

## The Orphic Diet

Having discussed the Orphic dietary prescriptions, we meet a series of questions and impediments. First of them comes the unsolved problem of chronology. When did the legendary Orpheus, who gave the regimen to the Thracian people, live? Should we trust the so-called Parian Marble (erected in 264 BC) that indicates the date 1398 BC,<sup>1</sup> or 189 years before the Trojan war? Besides, the related sources (collected in part six of the present paper) are ranged from ca. 444 BC to ca. AD 1200. It amounts to over one and a half millennium! If someone says that the Orphic way of life was known to Euripides and Plato (438–350 BC), how to define the “Orpheomania” of the later neo-Platonists (AD 400–529)? The 800 years make a difference that can shift the Orphic phenomenon on another level.

The second problem is the close interrelation between the Orphic asceticism and the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras, who flourished between 540 and 525 BC, migrated from the island of Samos to Croton in the southern Italy where he founded the influential school that lasted until the late 360s BC.<sup>2</sup> The philosopher of Samos was to ascribe some of his own writings to Orpheus,<sup>3</sup> and to compose the hexametric poem under the Orphic title: Ἱερὸς λόγος.<sup>4</sup> Was it true what is said by Pythagoras in his poem that Aglaophamus in Thrace had initiated him into the Orphic mysteries?<sup>5</sup> It would be a good reason why the Pythagorean brotherhood adopted the Orphic lifestyle including some Orphic dietary taboos. But do we really believe that Pythagoras came to Thrace to be initiated into the Orphic mysteries and described his mystic experience in the *Sacred Tale*—the same that the neo-Platonists kept in their libraries? Are we sure that Pythagoras himself composed the *Sacred Tale* which was, otherwise,

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<sup>1</sup> *OF* 1018ii = *FGrHist* 239 F14. The list of bibliographic abbreviations is found in part seven of the present paper.

<sup>2</sup> Pythagoras no. 8 Cardini = Pseudo-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetics* 40 (52–53 Falco); Pythagoras no. 10 Cardini = Aristoxenus fr. 19 Wehrli qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.46 (626 Dorandi); Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 36.265–67 (142–47 Deubner).

<sup>3</sup> Ion of Chios, *Triagmoi* fr. 116 Leurini = *FGrHist* 392 F25a = *OF* 506 = Pythagoras fr. F Cardini.

<sup>4</sup> Sotion of Alexandria (200–170 BC) qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.7 (604 Dorandi) = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 2 Thesleff = Pythagoras fr. 19 Cardini.

<sup>5</sup> *OF* 1144iii = Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 28.146 (82 Deubner); *OF* 1144iv = Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* fr. 74 Dillon.

attributed to Cercops the Pythagorean?<sup>6</sup> Actually, the question concerns the unexplored channels of transmission between the early Pythagoreanism that died out in 360s BC and its neo-Pythagorean revival in Rome 300 years later (Kingsley 317–34).

The third problem is of no less importance. We are told that Orpheus composed a number of hymns that were sung during the Eleusinian Mysteries since ca. 300 BC or even earlier.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, we are informed about the dietetic regulations at Eleusis, obligatory for the initiated and aimed at their purity, which were very similar to the Orphic ones.<sup>8</sup> The question is either the initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries had to be practicing “Orphics” all their lives long or only during eight days of the Eleusinia held between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>th</sup> of Boedromion. Euripides represented Hippolytus as a young Athenian keeping the Orphic diet after he was initiated at Eleusis, against his father, Theseus, who imputed a hypocrisy to him.<sup>9</sup> Who was right, then, the father or his son? If Euripides’ Theseus was, the Eleusinian fasting would be a weekly abstinence from some foods like poultry, fish, eggs, beans, etc.—identical with the dietetic restrictions during the Attic festivals of Demeter: Thesmophoria, held from 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> of Pyanopsion, and Haloa on the 26<sup>th</sup> of Poseideon<sup>10</sup>—whereas the extraordinary diet Orpheus propagated in Thrace was to be a lifelong practice. So, was the Orphic diet observed permanently—like Buddhist vegetarianism—or temporarily, in analogy to Christian Lenten fasting?

The question is very important because it involves the next one. The fourth problem concerns the participation in traditional bloody sacrifices. Could the Orphics (i.e. the people who lived the Orphic lives) ever sacrifice animals to the gods if they refused to eat meat? We know that Proclus (AD 412–85), a rigorous vegetarian who used to observe the Orphic purifications, sometimes tasted a meat. Proclus did it “from piety,” as his biographer remarks, to have a sacrificial meal which was demanded by a given cult.<sup>11</sup> Besides, Proclus must have

<sup>6</sup> OF 406 = Epigenes of Alexandria (before 278 BC) qtd. in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.21.131.5 (1: 81 Stählin).

<sup>7</sup> OF 682 + OF 531ii = Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.30.12 (3: 59 Rocha-Pereira).

<sup>8</sup> Xenocrates of Chalcedon, fr. F170 Parente; Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 4.16.6 (26–27 Patillon).

<sup>9</sup> OF 627 = Euripides, *Hippolytus* 952–54 (2: 216 Kovacs); Euripides, *Hippolytus* 25 (2: 126 Kovacs).

<sup>10</sup> Scholia on Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 7.4 s.v. “Haloa” (280–81 Rabe); Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.19.3 (28 Marcovich).

<sup>11</sup> Marinus of Neapolis, *Life of Proclus* 18–19 (75 Masullo).

remembered that his master Plutarch of Athens enjoined him not to abstain from meat completely,<sup>12</sup> having pointed at semi-vegetarianism (Taormina 40–42). Seneca the Younger tells a story that happened in his early years. He says that he had to abandon the vegetarian regimen he used to keep for one year, under the influence of his Pythagorean teacher, because the emperor Tiberius in AD 19 persecuted all celebrants of foreign cults, and a young vegetarian, as was he, would look like one of them.<sup>13</sup> We ask, then, if the vegetarian diet was merely the Orphic dream that had never been realized in Graeco-Roman world, even by so devoted partisans as Seneca and Proclus?

Now, after pointing these essential problems, I am going to do the only thing I can: to trace the ancient sources and to follow them closely. Maybe the ancient testimonies, written in Greek and Latin, will bring some answers to the questions I asked.

### I. Orphic Lives, Orphic Taboos

Whereas the ancient sources leave us unsure if the Orphic sect ever existed (Burkert 1982, 194–204), there is no room for doubt that the Orphic lifestyle was something real. In the times of Plato, “the so-called Orphic lives” (Ὀρφικοί τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι) became proverbial to characterize the people who completely abstained from meat, having sacrificed no living animal to the gods, and never polluted the altars with sacrificial blood. Their offerings were pure (ἀγνὰ θύματα), for they used to sacrifice only cakes, honey, and fruit (T.1).<sup>14</sup>

Plato seems to summarize the longer tradition. So far as we know, the first historically attested man who lived the Orphic life was Empedocles, the Italian man of aristocratic Greek pedigree, born in Acragas, Sicily, ca. 490 BC and hosted at Thurii, Calabria, since 444 BC.<sup>15</sup> He was an eclectic philosopher, “both Pythagorean and Orphic” (T.2), or an unorthodox Pythagorean (T.3). Empedocles was notorious for sacrificing no living thing to the gods and credited with offering the animal-shaped cake, made of meal and honey, instead of living ox (T.4a); the same anecdote, however, has been told on Pythagoras (T.4b). Empedocles’ cake was to be a symbolic refusal of animal sacrifice and meat-eating. The Sicilian philosopher explained, in his inspired poem, the reason why he has gone out of these bloody practices. In

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch of Athens fr. 2 Taormina qtd. in Marinus of Neapolis, *Life of Proclus* 12 (69 Masullo).

<sup>13</sup> Seneca the Younger, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 108.17–22 (454–56 Reynolds).

<sup>14</sup> For references to the ancient testimonies see part six of the present paper.

<sup>15</sup> Apollodorus of Athens, *Chronica*, *FGrHist* 244 F32.

very emotional verses (“Alas that the pitiless day...”) he repented that fatal day on which he polluted his lips with flesh for the first time (T.5).

Empedocles’ disgust with meat-eating foreshadows an Orphic-like inclination of the giant figure of the Athenian theatre: Euripides. In his *Hippolytus*, he patterned a character of young Hippolytus, Theseus’ son, after a contemporary Athenian youth, just initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries (line 25: σεμνῶν ἐξ ὄψιν καὶ τέλη μυστηρίων). Hippolytus is said to be a puritan to whom his father imputed to make a show with keeping a vegetarian diet under the guidance of Orpheus—as his new in-style authority—and inhaling smokes of many books in honor of his master (T.6). Theseus’ disapproval would mean that no one in Athens—including a candidate for an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries—observed the meatless diet; otherwise, if someone did, the alleged Orphism might be imputed to him (Bernabé 2016: “the vegetarian diet, characteristic of both Orphics and Pythagoreans... was very shocking to the Athenians of the time”). The *Hippolytus* was produced in 428 BC, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, about 16 years after Empedocles moved in Thurii. Jan N. Bremmer may be right in his opinion that the Orphic movement was an Italian import which came to Athens from Magna Graecia, to infiltrate into higher classes of the Athenian society (Bremmer 65–66).

After Euripides died in Macedon in 406 BC, his fellow-citizen Aristophanes composed the *Frogs* to mock on the Euripidean tragedies. The play-writer charged Euripides with a crime of feeding his art only on a sea beet and a decoct from some books (T.7). Saying of his diet, Aristophanes probably meant Euripides’ interest in some esoteric writings signed with Orpheus’ seal, which propagated the Orphic lifestyle (including vegetarianism) that seemed something bizarre to the contemporary Athenians (Scodel 79–81). In the *Frogs*, too, Aristophanes mentions Orpheus’ teaching on abstinence from killing—that must be nothing else than a meatless diet—in connection to some mystic rites as revealed by Orpheus (T.8). Should we assume, then, that the Orphic abstinence from meat to which Aristophanes refers is the same as the vegetarianism of Euripides’ Hippolytus? Perhaps we should because both of them appear in the same period and the context of the mysteries (the Eleusinian ones in the *Hippolytus*; some unspecified ones in the *Frogs*). Anyway, we can be sure that Aristophanes’ words reflect the boom of the Orphic literature which propagated vegetarianism in Athens during and after the Peloponnesian war.

In addition, we have a number of late ancient testimonies that can be related to Aristophanes’ *Frogs*. Firstly, Plutarch of Chaeronea, who wrote half a millennium after Aristophanes and used to echo the classical Greek authors, having added nothing else, says

that Orpheus, the ancient poet, was credited with eating no meat (**T.9**). One can interpret the Plutarchean passage in the sense that the Orphic poetry, which was believed to be the oldest poetic tradition transmitted in Greece, implied a vegetarian inclination.

Next, we meet an interesting testimony in Porphyry of Tyre who claims, in his work on vegetarianism, that the Theologian (viz. Orpheus<sup>16</sup>) prohibited the people from sacrificing animals and recommended to them only bloodless offerings, like grains, honey, fruit, flowers. Porphyry quoted only one line from the Theologian in question: μηδὲ ἀφ’ ἡμαγμένης ἐσχάρας ἔστω τὸ πῦρ (“Let not the fire burn on a bloodstained altar!”)—and stopped speaking as the one who is not allowed to recite the sacred text in full (**T.10**). It is worth of noting that Porphyry in the same work referred a vegetarian song by Orpheus with no title (**T.11**). Because the Porphyrian text has been transmitted only in Latin, it is difficult to say either Orpheus’ song was originally titleless or the translator failed.

Marinus of Neapolis, who provides us with very interesting material concerning Proclus—the head of neo-Platonic school at Athens in AD 437–85 and an expert in the Orphic poetry,<sup>17</sup> represents his master as the one who rigorously observed the abstinence from animal meat, except the occasions when he sacrificed animals to the gods (**T.12a**), and who used to practice the Orphic purifications (**T.12b**). The Greek name of these practices: Ὀρφικοί καθαρμοί sounds like the title of lost Orphic poem on prohibited foods known to a Hellenistic author of the *Pythagorean Golden Verses* (Thesleff 1961, 19; Thom 90) (**T.13**) and Oenomaus of Gadara who composed his Γοήτων φώρα ca. AD 119 (**T.14**). Besides, one of Empedocles’ works might be entitled Καθαρμοί, too (Wright 85–86). My conclusion is that the conjectural title of Orpheus’ song, known to Porphyry, was *The Orphic Purifications* (Ὀρφικοί καθαρμοί) (contra: Bernabé in *OF* vol. 2, p. 207; Jiménez 427).

Apart from a meat, the sources attest two other dietary taboos, which were considered as “Orphic” or “Orphic-and-Pythagorean”. They concern the broad bean and eggs. We have a problem with identifying the former one because the plant, which the ancient puritans used to avoid, evolved ca. AD 500 and has not existed anymore (Prance 142). The Greek bean (κύαμος Ἑλληνικός)—to use the term applied by Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 2.105 [1: 179 Wellmann])—had smaller and more orbiculate seeds than our broad beans that grow today (Andrews 274). The image of the Greek bean, found in the so-called Vienna

<sup>16</sup> For the discussion on identity of the “Theologian” see Bernabé 2013, 122.

<sup>17</sup> Marinus of Neapolis, *Life of Proclus* 20, 26–27 (77, 81–82 Masullo).

Dioscorides—an illuminated manuscript created ca. AD 515—is to reproduce a Hellenistic pattern (**fig. 1**).



**Fig.1.** The κύαμος (fava beans)

in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 189v. Source of illustration:

<[http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/jac\\_189v.jpg](http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/jac_189v.jpg).>

Empedocles, whose emphatic lines on meat-eating have been recalled just before, was notorious for his abomination to fava beans and composing the manifesto: δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κύαμων ἄπο χειρας ἔχεσθαι (“Fools, withhold your hands from beans!”) (**T.15**). The famous line, however, despite of being wide-spread and over-quoted in Hellenistic literature (**T.16**), may be an antique pastiche (Wright 289). Didymus of Alexandria, the late ancient author of the *Georgics* (**T.17a**), excerpted two lines from Orpheus, as he claims, on the abstinence from

beans (**T.17b**). Of these lines, the former one is identical with the Empedoclean verse, while the latter one: Ἴσόν τοι κυάμους φαγέειν, κεφαλὰς τε τοκίων (“To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents’ heads”) is attributed to Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* by Holger Thesleff (Thesleff 159). On the other hand, the same line was attributed to “the poet,” or Orpheus (Borgeaud 277), by Heraclides Ponticus, the Hellenistic writer (ca. 339 BC), who composed the special work on the Pythagoreans (**T.18**). Heraclides is the first to quote the verse in question (Detienne 1970, 154 note 84). Likewise, the *Orphic Hymns*—a late ancient compilation of older material of unknown provenance—banned on beans during the nocturnal fumigation of grains and aromatic herbs to Gaia, the earth goddess (**T.19**). Similarly, Gregory of Nazianzus, the well-informed Church father contemporary to Didymus of Alexandria, mentions “the Orphic beans” (**T.20**). To sum up, the ancient sources recognized the bean taboo as a dietary prescription of Orphic origin.

Plutarch of Chaeronea knew another Orphic taboo: eggs (**T.21a**), which were interdicted by “the Orphic sacred tale” that had been kept in top secrecy against all profane (**T.21b**). In the first-century Rome, where Plutarch placed a dramatic setting of his *Table Talks*, the dietary restriction concerning eggs must have seemed something eccentric because the chicken eggs belonged to everyday menu. Therefore, Plutarch explains, if someone abstained from eating eggs, the Romans used to recognize him as an Orphic or Pythagorean sectarian (**T.22**). The sectarians in question associated eggs with beans and, in turn, beans with animal reproduction because κύαμοι, the Greek word for beans, sounded like κύησις (“procreation”) to their ears. Besides, these men thought that eating eggs does not differ from eating the egg-born animals (**T.23**).



To summarize, vegetarianism was the most recognizable feature of the Orphic asceticism in Graeco-Roman antiquity (Bernabé 2015, 29–31). The Orphic lives, then, meant nothing but abstinence from meat-eating (ἀπέχεσθαι σαρκῶν ἐδωδῆς)—the term which can be substituted with a modern “vegetarianism” or “veganism.” The abstinence from eggs and beans, as associated with procreation of animals, could be a logical, or quasi-logical, consequence of the Orphic veganism. The *Orphic Hymns* that recommended the initiated to sacrifice nothing animated and displayed an obsessive fear of fava bean, *horror fabae*, seem to be the most representative of the Orphic diet (Morand 151–52).

## II. What Foods Did Pythagoras Used to Eat?

### The Pythagorean Diet in a False Mirror

The question: what foods did Pythagoras used to eat?, was seriously asked by many imitators of the Pythagorean lifestyle who sympathized with the Pythagoreans still living in diasporas in Greek cities. They were styled Pythagorists (Πυθαγορισταί), as opposed to Pythagoras' personal friends, the so-called Pythagorics (Πυθαγορικοί), and to their disciples: the Pythagoreans (Πυθαγόρειοι) (T.24). While the latter ones used to live the genuine Pythagorean life (Πυθαγόρειος τρόπος τοῦ βίου), to use Plato's own words (T.25), the Pythagorists did nothing but fed on a bizarre diet.

The middle Attic comedy mocks on these strange men and women who ate no meat and drank no wine (T.26). What a severe fare, of prisoners or beggars! (T.27). The quotations come from the fragments of comedy *Tarentines* (*The Men from Tarentum*) by Alexis, a native of Thurii, that was inspired by Plato's third visit to Sicily (361 BC) and a circle of his Italian friends who resided in the Academy after they emigrated, or were exiled, from their native cities. It was Dion of Syracuse, Plato's student in the years 366–357 BC, and companions of Archytas, the Pythagorean king of Tarentum who lost his throne ca. 360 BC (Edmonds 2: 479 note d; contra: Burkert 1972, 201 notes 49 and 51).

In common opinion of many, the Pythagorists never ate meat or sacrificed any living things to the gods (T.28). They satisfied themselves only with bread, greens, and pure water (T.29, T.30). Alexis, in his another comedy entitled *Pythagorizousa* (*The Pythagorean Woman*), remarks that they sometimes consumed something else, like dried figs, olive-mush, and cheese (T.31). The ordinary Athenians in the mid-fourth century BC—like the slave who is speaking in Aristophon's comedy *The Pythagorist*—did not believe that the reason why the Pythagorists ate neither meat or fish would be different from a poverty they actually lived in (T.32). The poets of the middle comedy represent the Pythagorists as keeping the ascetic diet similar to the Orphic one.

### Aristoxenus' Dementi

Aristoxenus of Tarentum, Aristotle's disciple and successor, who lived in Athens contemporaneously with Aristophon (T.33), refuted this satirical image as a pure fiction. He

published the first biography of Pythagoras under the title *On Pythagoras and His Circle* (T.34), of which some fragments are extant.<sup>18</sup>

Aristoxenus intended to represent Pythagoras as a sage absolutely free from any superstitious beliefs and, then, to contrast an ideal figure, as was he, to his grotesque caricature—a Pythagorist. He aimed at demonstrating that the genuine Pythagoreanism never focused on the question of diet. Especially, the biographer fought against the erroneous opinions of most people that Pythagoras abstained from meat and the Greek beans (T.35). What a nonsense, he says, Pythagoras never abstained from animal flesh (T.36); moreover, the Samian philosopher both sacrificed and ate cocks, sucking goats and piglets (T.37). It follows, from Aristoxenus’ argumentation, that Pythagoras could have pork and beans for dinner! According to the biographer, Pythagoras abstained from ploughing oxen and lambs only (T.38, T.39). What about the alleged bean taboo? Aristoxenus argued that Pythagoras loved to eat beans that were his favorite vegetables (T.40), and that the anti-bean line: *δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κύμων ἄπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι* has been originally composed by Empedocles, the Pythagorean (T.41); note that Callimachus attributed the same verse to Pythagoras (T.16).

The next legend Aristoxenus discredited was that Pythagoras neither drunk wine or ate fish. It is true, he says, that the philosopher of Samos never drunk wine—but only during daytime when drinking wine is incorrect—and rarely ate fish (T.42). Aristoxenus gave an insight into the Pythagorean menu. He reports that the Pythagoreans used to eat for lunch bread with honey or honey-comb (T.43), because these foods are healthy (T.44). For dinner, he continues, they regularly consumed bread made of millet and vegetables, both raw and boiled, and sometimes ate sacrificial meat except these parts of flesh that were prohibited (T.45). During dinners, which they always had before the sunset, they used to drink wine but rarely tasted fish (T.46). At last, they poured a libation of wine and swore not destroying any cultivated plant or harmless animal (T.47).

Nevertheless, Aristoxenus’ dementi awakes some suspicions. How did he know what foods did Pythagoras used to eat? Why did he ignore the tradition transmitted through the generations since Pythagoras’ death (ca. 500 BC) and written down after the persecution of the Pythagoreans in Italy (ca. 450 BC)? For, as Charles H. Kahn suggested, Aristoxenus—an ex-Pythagorean conflicted with Plato and his Italian friends—showed the Pythagorean diet in

<sup>18</sup> The fragments of Aristoxenus, to the best of my knowledge, have been edited twice, by Fritz Wehrli (1967) and Maria Cardini (2010, rpt. 1958–64). In my opinion, none of these two editions is complete: the several fragments, evidently taken from Aristoxenus’ work, are lacking both in Wehrli and Cardini. These are our T.35, T.37, T.42, and perhaps T.45. The editors distribute the extant fragments of Aristoxenus’ work into three distinct titles: *On Pythagoras and His Circle*, *Pythagorean Maxims*, and *On the Pythagorean Life*.

equally tendentious light as did the middle comedy (Kahn 70–71). To sum up, Aristoxenus’ dementi has nothing to do with the genuine Pythagoreanism.

### The Pythagorean Symbols

The Pythagorean tradition transmitted a collection of Pythagoras’ sayings that were named acousmata after “acousmatics”—the most genuine heirs of Pythagoras’ philosophy (T.48), whom we can identify with the Pythagorics and the Pythagoreans (cf. T.24). The acousmata (“things heard”)—note that the name suggest an oral transmission—contained, among others, the simple instructions what is to do or what is not to do (T.49). They were believed to be commandments and laws given by Pythagoras himself (T.50). The acousmata have been also called “symbols”—the term that means “things done” in the context—by the early Pythagoreans, especially those who lived in diasporas (T.51). For, doing what Pythagoras said signified that a person either was one of them or wanted to enter a Pythagorean club (T.52). The Pythagorean Symbols became a secret code that had to be done but never spoken in the presence of people from outside the Pythagorean brotherhood (T.53) (Berra; Struck 96–107; Zhmud 169–74, 196; Parker 291–98).

The collection of the Pythagorean Symbols transmitted by the acousmatic tradition contains a list of 75 precepts<sup>19</sup> that are formulated in a brief imperative: “do” or “do not,” of which ten items concern the food regulations (Delatte 1915, 289–94). These are prohibitions on beans, sacred fish, white chickens, animal hearts and brains, non-sacrificial meat, and meat in general (T.54). Despite of their name “things heard,” the acousmata have been written down, to trust Nicomachus of Gerasa (T.55), after the political catastrophe that decimated the Pythagorean population in the southern Italy in the mid-fifth century BC (Baron 138 note 2). Nevertheless, they were kept in secrecy for the next 100 years. The first man to publish them was—according to Timaeus of Tauromenium—Diodorus of Aspendus (T.56), a shaggy-haired Pythagorean poser who flourished ca. 350 BC (Burkert 1972, 202–03; Baron 156–58). During the same period (approximately 350–100 BC), the Symbols were incorporated into the

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<sup>19</sup> Iamblichus transmitted the list of 39 Pythagorean Symbols (*Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 [133–51 Places]). The modern editions, by Fridericus Boehm (1905) and Kenneth S. Guthrie (1920, only in English translation), complete Iamblichus’ list to enumerate 75 Pythagorean Symbols. They give the same number of them but differ in numeration and contents. The entire list of the *acousmata* can be enlarged to 120 or even 200 items (Thom 2013, 77 note 2).

*Pythagorean Memoirs* (lost), which have been excerpted by Alexander Polyhistor between 80 and 60 year BC (T.57).<sup>20</sup>

Since the first publication of the Pythagorean Symbols ca. 350 BC, the ancient readers required some clues to solve Pythagoras' puzzles. The fourth-century writings, which dealt with the topic, are known only by their titles: *Explanation of the Pythagorean Symbols* by Anaximander Junior (T.58a) and *On the Symbols* by Androcydes (T.58b). Both of them might be referred by Alexander Polyhistor in his lost work *On the Pythagorean Symbols* (T.58c). The most valuable, however, seems to be Aristotle's lost work *On the Pythagoreans*, transmitted by several authors of the imperial period, which must have been known to his disciple Aristoxenus of Tarentum who wrote the first biography of Pythagoras. So far as we know, Aristotle utilized the *Pythagorean Memoirs* (the same as Alexander Polyhistor excerpted 300 years after) and referred the Pythagorean Symbols too. It is worth noting that all the works: by Anaximander, Androcydes, and Aristotle, were composed in the mid-fourth century when the early Pythagoreanism was dead.

Because of the loss, the most important texts to throw the light on the Pythagorean Symbols are two treatises by Iamblichus of Chalcis composed in the AD 290s, especially *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*. The particular sections of the work stem directly from the acousmatic tradition via Aristotle's *On the Pythagoreans* (Huffmann 61) and Androcydes' *On Symbols* (Hausleiter 108). Iamblichus informs, after Aristotle, that some of the Pythagorean Symbols had the reasons why someone should do something, or do not, attached to them from the beginning (i.e. by Pythagoras himself or his disciples) and the other have not; the reasons that have been added later seem more probable than the genuine ones that used to focus on religious matters (T.59). He also relates, after Nicomachus of Gerasa (or Androcydes), the Pythagorean Symbols concerning the food prohibitions and the reasons for them: the ban on hearts and brains because they are the ruling organs of body; the abstinence from mallow that is to symbolize the cosmic sympathy; the prohibition on blacktail and pandora for they are fish sacred to the underworld gods; and, finally, the taboo on beans as they figuratively pertain to the soul (T.60).

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<sup>20</sup> The passage on ritual purity belongs to the important testimonies on the Pythagoreans, recorded by Alexander Polyhistor in his *Successions of Philosophers* and transmitted by Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.24–33 [613–18 Dorandi]). Alexander claims that he excerpted the material from the *Pythagorean Memoirs* (T.57). The *Pythagorean Memoirs* have been an object of scholarly discussion. Charles H. Kahn believes that Alexander referred a Hellenistic document dating from 350–100 BC (Kahn 82–83), but A. A. Long does not accept his opinion (Long 139–40, 158).

Iamblichus, in the final chapter of his another work: *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy*, enumerates the list of 39 Pythagorean Symbols to interpret them in an allegorical way “through symbols” (T.61). The source of which he derived the list and the interpretation is unknown. Arnaud Delatte suggested a neo-Pythagorean source that went back to Androcydes (Delatte 1915, 286), which seems very convincing to me.

The reason why I discuss the Pythagorean Symbols in the paper on the Orphic diet is following. As we have seen in part one, the Orphic taboos on meat, beans, and eggs were enrooted in Orpheus’ Ἱερὸς λόγος, subtitled Καθαρμοί (unless they were two different works), that was the top secret in antiquity and has been lost. Of which, there are extant two original lines: on the blood taboo (T.10 μηδὲ ἀφ’ ἡμαγμένης ἐσχάρας ἔστω τὸ πῦρ) and the famous ban on beans (T.18 ἴσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκήων); the verse on the sanctity of eggs is alluded but never quoted (T.21b ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι). Likewise, some of the Pythagorean Symbols recur in the *Hieros Logos* attributed to Pythagoras. For example, the Pythagorean Symbol 14 (“Abstain from any living animals”) is paired by the quotations from Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* that prohibit from bloody sacrifices to the gods: βωμὸν ἐρεύθοντας μακάρων θερμοῖσι φόνοισιν (T.62) and from injuring any fruit trees or killing harmless animals (T.63). The latter quotation can be linked to Aristoxenus’ report on the Pythagorean suppers after which the oath of not harming fruitful plants and tame animals was proclaimed (T.47). Similarly, the Pythagorean Symbol 15 (“Eat not the heart”) corresponds to the hexametric line from the *Hieros Logos* quoted in Stobaeus (Delatte 1915, 35): Φεῖδεο τῆς ζωῆς, μή μιν καταθυμοβορήσης (T.64).

Finally, we find in Herodotus the mention about the ἱερὸς λόγος that prohibited from using woolen wrappings in the burial rituals (T.65). This is the earliest reference to the *Sacred Tale* we have, but it occurs in unclear context, being Orphic, Bacchic, Egyptian, and Pythagorean as well (Parker 290). Presumably, Herodotus alluded to the Italiotic beliefs (note that he was a citizen of Thurii since 443 BC) and to the Pythagorean Symbol 14 (“Abstain from any living animals”), because a wool, as Flavius Philostratus explains, belongs to the animals that are virtually dead (T.66).

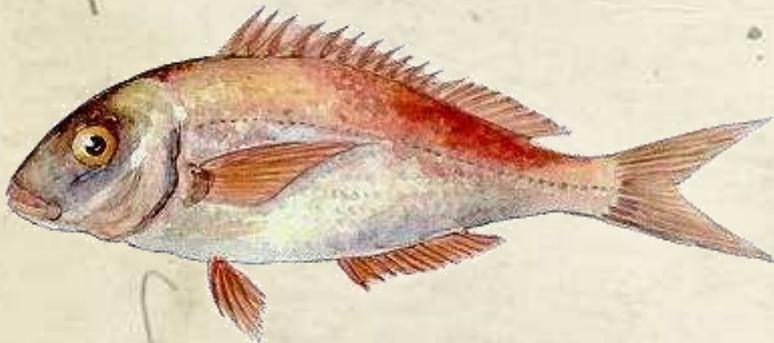
Besides, Iamblichus of Chalcis mentions Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* that was recited aloud amid the initiated of the southern Italy (T.67). The sacred text he summarized contains, among others, the Pythagorean Symbol 28 (“Honor the gods with cedar, laurel, cypress, oak, and myrtle”) and the Symbol 39 (“Roast what not is boiled”). Above all, the Pythagorean Symbol 11 (“Abstain from beans”) is linked to the famous line: ἴσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκήων (T.68), which is attributed both to Pythagoras and Orpheus. From these,

one can infer that the relation between these two *Hieroi Logoi*—the Orphic one and the Pythagorean one that included the Pythagorean Symbols (Thesleff 1961, 18–19)—were very close.

### Symbol 12: Abstain from the Sacred Fish

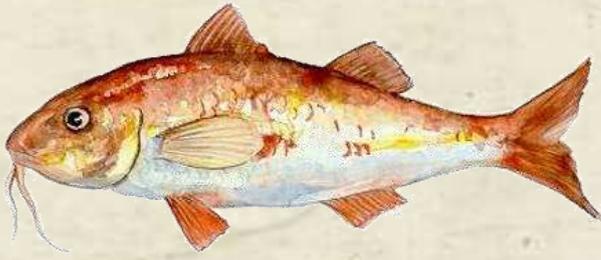
The Pythagorean Symbols concerning particular foods are well documented. Aristotle informs that Pythagoras banned on the fish that were sacred (ἱεροί)—note that ἱεροί was a Greek word for “tabooed” (Parker 328)—and dedicated to the gods (**T.69**). According to Aristotle, the sacred fish were four in number: ἐρυθ(ρ)ῖνος, τρίγλη, μελάνουρος, and ἀκαλήφη (**T.70a–c**). The first three can be identified as follows: ἐρυθῖνος—pandora (Thompson 65–67), τρίγλη—red mullet (Thompson 264–68), and μελάνουρος—melanure that means “blacktail” (Thompson 159–60). All of them are tasty and popular in the Sicilian cookery until today.

The pandora is of brilliant red, whence Ovid says of *rubens erythinus* (*Haliética* 104 [78 Mikołajczak]) and the Italian name of the fish is *fragolino* (“strawberry”) (Thompson 65; Hoffman 264) (**fig. 2**).

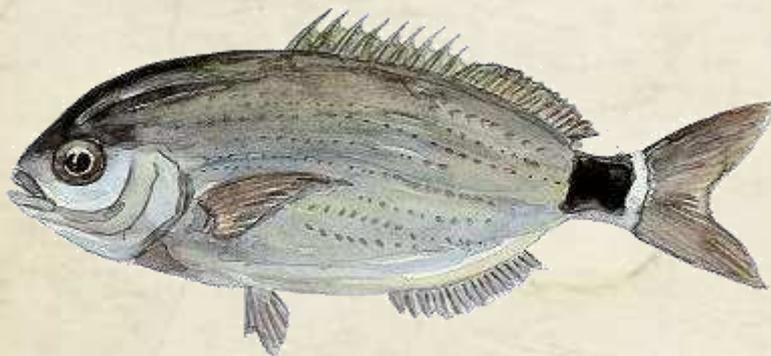


**Fig. 2.** The pandora, *Pagellus erythrinus* L. 1758 (ἐρυθῖνος). Source of illustration: <http://www.webdelanzarote.com/pesca9.jpg>.

The red mullet has an intensive red flesh (**fig. 3**); the melanure, or blacktail, is marked with a characteristic black spot on its tail according to its Greek and English names (**fig. 4**).



**Fig. 3.** The red mullet (τρίγλη). Source of illustration: <<http://www.aglioolioepeperoncino.com/2011/03/italian-fish-seafood-names-translated.html>.>



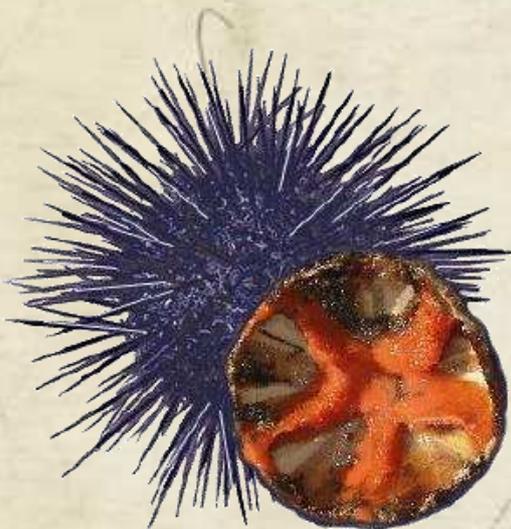
**Fig. 4.** The blacktail, *Oblada melanura* L. 1758 (μελάνουρος). Source of illustration: <<http://www.webdelanzarote.com/pesca21.jpg>.>

The ἀκαλήφη is a marine creature. D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson and Andrew Dalby identify it with a sea-anemone (Thompson 5–6; Dalby 2003, 296). The identification, though being compatible with Aristotle (*History of Animals* 531a–b, 590a), is failing because sea-anemones are not tasty. It would make the prohibition from them an absurd (why prohibit from something uneatable?); besides, it does not explain the link that Aristotle made between ἀκαλήφη and μήτρα (“uterus,” “womb,” “pork belly”) in his work on the Pythagoreans (T.70a–c). Three ancient authors bring the solution of the problem. Athenaeus of Naucratis, in his article on the ἀκαλήφη, refers Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 549 and remarks that the poet in a comic way jumbled ἀκαλήφη and μήτρα (T.71). We are not told why Aristophanes associated these two. The cue is given by the physician Dioscorides who informs that the seed of plant ἀκαλήφη, called also κνίδη, is an aphrodisiac that opens the uterus when drunk with grape syrup (T.72). The plant in question is stinging nettle, otherwise known as *urtica Romana* vel *urtica Graeca*, that has globular thorny seeds (fig. 5).



**Fig. 5a** (left). *Urtica Graeca* in the Codex Neapolitanus 57. Source of illustration: <http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=urtica>.> **Fig. 5b** (right). The stinging nettle (*Urtica pillulifera*) found in the neighborhood of Plato’s Academy, Athens. Photo by E. O.

The stinging seed of *urtica Graeca* resembles the sea urchin, called also *urtica* in Latin (cf. T.70b), which is a globular creature endowed with long black thorns (**fig. 6**). The edible sea urchin, *il riccio di mare*, has inside a coral-colored roe of which the delicious Sicilian sauce for pasta is prepared.



**Fig. 6.** The Sicilian sea urchin (ἀκαλήφη). Source of illustration: <http://www.bestofsicily.com/mag/art397.jpg>.>

My point is the ἀκαλήφη was a popular (not technical) term applied for one of edible species of sea urchin that is similar to the seed of stinging nettle, of which an aphrodisiac for women was produced. It explains the association, otherwise unexplained, between ἀκαλήφη and μήτρα in Aristophanes and Aristotle.

With these four sea animals, the most popular delicacies were excluded from the Pythagorean menu. What was the reason of ban on them? Androcydes delivered two alternative explanations as concerns the blacktail. First of them was that the blacktail has been prohibited because it is sacred to the underworld gods (**T.73**), who are opposite to the heavenly ones (**T.74**). The second explanation concerns the black color (the fish has a dark spot on its tail) that is to symbolize the obscurity of lies (**T.75a**), or the black characters of bad people (**T.75b**).

Let us turn to the red fish. The pandora was prohibited from the same reasons as the blacktail: for it belongs to the earth gods (cf. T.73). Besides, the name of pandora, ἐρυθ(ρ)ῖνος in Greek, was etymologized as ἐρυθρός that means “red” and linked to the cognate verb ἐρυθρίαῶ that is “to blush,”<sup>21</sup> so the “coloristic” interpretation suggested by Androcydes goes thus: receive not an unblushing and impudent man (**T.76**). As concerns the red mullet, we have no strictly Pythagorean commentary on the prohibition on it. However, some texts of classical and Hellenistic periods mention the ritual prohibition on the red mullet. Melanthius of Athens, the well-informed author of the book on the Eleusinian Mysteries, says that the red mullet was sacred to Hecate, the sea goddess (**T.77**). Apollodorus of Athens, an expert in the Athenian cults, reports that the red mullet, which is τρίγλη in Greek, was sacrificed to Hecate because it bears her name (**T.78**). What it actually means is clear from the fragment of a lost comedy by Charicleides that enumerates three cultic epithets of Hecate: Τριοδίτης (“of three-way”), τρίμορφος (“three-formed”), and τριπρόσωπος (“three-faced”) (**T.79**). The reason, then, why the τρι- fish is sacred to Hecate needs no comment (see, however, Delatte 1915, 224).

Certainly, Nicomachus is right in his observation that some animals were excluded, in the Pythagorean circles, from a common consumption because of honor of the gods to whom they were devoted (**T.80**). Iamblichus’ remark perfectly agrees with Aristotle’s statement that Pythagoras prohibited the sacred fish “for it is not right that gods and men should be allotted the same things, any more than free men and slaves” (T.69).

<sup>21</sup> LSJ 692 s.v. “erythriaō,” 693 s.v. “erythros.”

Let us return, now, to the contradictory statements that appear in two quotations from Aristotle’s work on the Pythagoreans (compare T.70b and T.70c). There is no doubt that the contradiction is due to the transmission of the text. The former quotation (T.70b χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, “they ate the other kinds [of fish]”) appears in Aulus Gellius, the AD second-century author who was well-versed in the early Pythagorean writings. His point is that only some species of marine creatures were excluded from the Pythagorean menu whereas the other were not. The latter fragment (T.70c ἀπέχεσθαι... σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαλασσίων ξυμπάντων, “he recommended abstinence from... all seafood”) means quite different thing: that all seafood had been prohibited. The fragment has been transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre who derived from Antonius Diogenes who, in his turn, used the second-hand quotation from Aristotle. The quotation has been distorted by a neo-Pythagorean source with its vegetarian ideology that can be seen also in Plutarch’s *Table Talks*. According to Plutarch (T.81), the Pythagoreans were credited with abstaining from any fish on the base of the funny wordplay on the ἔλλοψ,<sup>22</sup> a poetic epithet of fish (“mute”, “dumb”), which corresponds to silence that the Pythagoreans had to maintain during the five-year novitiate (Teodorsson 3: 241–42; Gemelli 144).

The neo-Pythagorean ideology, however, vegetarianism, and absolute abstinence from any fish have nothing to do with the early Pythagorean taboo on the so-called sacred fish: pandora, red mullet, blacktail, and sea urchin. The more representative for the fish taboo of the early Pythagoreans seems to be the quotation from Cratinus’ comic play on Trophonius, the hero worshipped at Lebadea (ca. 430 BC). Cratinus explains that the worshippers of the Boeotian Trophonius used to avoid eating red mullet because of its intensive red flesh and were afraid of melanure due to its black tail looking like a bad omen (T.82). The question of color (black and red) might be a decisive reason why the early Pythagoreans considered these fish: blacktail and red mullet, as sacred to the underground gods (T.73, T.74) and Hecate (T.77–T.79).

### **Symbol 13: Not to Sacrifice a White Chicken**

The Pythagorean taboo on black and red marine creatures can be completed by the prohibition on white chickens, which seemed to Plutarch as ridiculous as the Egyptian book of superstitions (T.83). By the way, the Symbol 13 might originate the late ancient legend on

<sup>22</sup> The ἔλλοψ, a word of uncertain etymology (either “mute” or “scaled”), was a common poetic epithet of fish, see LSJ 537 s.v. “ellops;” Beekes 413–14 s.v. “ellops.”

Pythagoras as a rooster (Marcovich 1988). Iamblichus, after his anonymous neo-Pythagorean source, quotes the Symbol 13: “nourish a cock, but do not sacrifice it,” together with an explanation that was originally added to it: “for it is sacred to the Moon and the Sun” (T.84). The Iamblichean explanation is paralleled by two other testimonies, however, none of them contains both Moon and Sun. The entry on Pythagoras in the Suda lexicon mentions only the latter one: “Pythagoras also recommended not eating a white rooster, as it is sacred to the Sun” (T.85). Aristotle, in turn, knew the former one: “not to eat white cocks, as being sacred to the Month” (T.86). It does not matter that Alexander Polyhistor who has transmitted Aristotle’s text replaced the Moon (T.84 μήνη) with the Hellenistic deity Men (T.86 Μηνὸς), associated with the moon goddess Selene (Mene) and the sun god Helios (CMRDM 86–87). Nevertheless, a remark on symbolic meanings of the colors: black to represent the evil and white to symbolize the good, is derived from the genuine Pythagorean tradition, like the *Pythagorean Memoirs*.

The Symbols 12 and 13 did not exclude from the Pythagorean menu fish and fowl at all but only the particular species. The cause of the exclusion was nothing else but the color: black, red, and white. The blacktail was banned because of its blackness that represents the evil and makes the fish sacred to the underground gods (T.73, T.74). The white roosters were prohibited from sacrificing for their whiteness that made the white birds sacred to the heavenly gods: Helios and Mene (or Men), and was to symbolize the good (T.86). It is worth of noting that the Pythagoreans were notorious of wearing white clothes (Tigchelaar). What about the other prohibited creatures: pandora, red mullet, and sea urchin? Both pandora and red mullet have intensive red color, and the sea urchin is red inside, what follows that the cause of the ban on them was the redness. Why the redness had been prohibited among the Pythagoreans is clear from the link made between the red mullet and Hecate (T.77–T.79). Since the goddess of gates and crossroads, according to the Orphic Hymn to Prothyraia (*Orphic Hymns* 2 [29 Fayant]), patronized births and was responsible for generation of the human race.

### **Symbol 18: Transplant but Do Not Eat Mallow**

The prohibition against eating mallows belonged to the most essential Pythagorean Symbols (T.54). Damascius reports that the neo-Platonist Proclus refused to feed on mallow leaves—as contradicting the Pythagorean law—when his doctor Iacobus recommended mallow instead of indigestible cabbage (T.87). Dioscorides, the famous physician, informs

that the mallow leaves were good for intestines and were believed to be an antidote against many internal diseases and venomous animals (T.88).

The plant in question is *Malva silvestris* L., a common mallow, called μαλάχη in Attic dialect and μολόχη in vernacular Greek (LSJ 1077 s.v. “malache;” Beekes 896 s.v. “malache”). The illustrated codex of Dioscorides, produced ca. AD 515, offers an adequate image of the sacred plant: it had deep purple flowers, an orange-colored root, and the extraordinary leaves shaped as the seven-pointed stars (fig. 7). The mallows that are found in Greece nowadays, with pink flowers and five-pointed leaves, must be of some different kind.



Fig. 7. The mallow (μαλάχη) in the

Juliana Anicia Codex, 228v. Source of illustration:

<[http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/jac\\_228v.jpg](http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/jac_228v.jpg)>

Aristotle, in his valuable work *On the Pythagoreans*, makes clear what part of the plant was the object of worship: it was the mallow leaf (T.89). Furthermore, Androcydes interprets the mallow as a symbol of the sympathy between heavenly and earthly things

(**T.90a**). In the same vein, an unknown neo-Pythagorean quoted by Iamblichus comments on the meaning of the Pythagorean commandment: the mallow, because of its turning with the sun, is to symbolize the cosmic sympathy of all beings centered in Helios (**T.90b**). Both authorities presumably refer a seven-pointed mallow leaf because the interpretation they suggest (mallow as a symbol of the cosmic sympathy) resembles the neo-Pythagorean arithmology of seven, the sacred number (*Theology of Arithmetics* 43 [57–58 Falco]).

We have also a puzzling fragment, derived from the *Chaldean Oracles*, that indicates that the abstention from mallow concerned the month of August alone (**T.91**). Because of incompleteness of the *Chaldean Oracles*, it is difficult to say if the restriction on mallow had anything to do with Pythagoreanism. If it really had, it might imply a periodical (monthly) abstinence from mallow leaves in the Pythagorean circles of late antiquity.

### **Symbol 17: Eat of Sacrificial Animals Only**

The Pythagorean Symbol: “eat of sacrificial animals only,” attested by the best of our sources since 350 BC, denies the alleged vegetarianism of the early Pythagoreans. Plutarch informs in his *Table Talks* that the “Pythagorics” (i.e. personal pupils of Pythagoras) were allowed tasting only sacrificial meat (**T.92**). The rule implied, he continues, the prohibition on fish of all kinds because no fish was sacrificed to the gods. Likewise Porphyry explains the question of Pythagorean “vegetarianism”: the Pythagoreans, he says, abstained from flesh-eating all their lives except the occasions of offering animals “in place of themselves” (ἀνθ’ ἑαυτῶν), while the non-sacrificial meat was absolutely prohibited (**T.93**). The early Pythagorean regimen evidently was imitated by the neo-Platonist Proclus, a radical vegetarian, who sometimes used to taste a sacrificial meat (T.12a).

Aristotle, quoted by Iamblichus, gives a good reason for the Symbol 17. He says that the Pythagoreans believed that the human soul never enter the sacrificial animals whereas it can incarnate into the other living things (**T.94**). The Aristotelian explanation can be linked to the earliest source on Pythagoras’ doctrine of transmigration of the souls, that is, an anecdote told by Xenophanes of Colophon: when Pythagoras heard a puppy dog, beaten by someone, he recognized the soul of his friend whining in it (**T.95**). The story seems to agree with the explanation of the Symbol 17 as transmitted by Aristotle: the soul of Pythagoras’ friend could incarnate into a dog because dogs were not sacrificed in regular rites. We have also a fragment from Empedocles who claims that some human souls incarnate into lions and laurel trees (**T.96**). No-one ever sacrificed lions, so a special prohibition was not needed, but the

laurel leaves were—and still are—used as a spice in the Greek cookery (**fig. 8**).

Unsurprisingly, among the extant fragments from Empedocles there is the prohibition from picking bay leaves: “keep completely from leaves of laurel” (**T.97**). The verse could also allude to the Symbol 28: “Honor the gods with cedar, laurel, cypress, oak, and myrtle” (**T.54**).



**Fig. 8a.** The δάφνη (bay laurel) in the Morgan Dioscorides, 37r. Source of illustration:

[http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/m652\\_37r.jpg](http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/data/images/m652_37r.jpg).

**Fig. 8b.** The laurel branch, *Laurus nobilis*. Source of illustration: [https://plantogram.com/wa-](https://plantogram.com/wa-data/public/shop/products/98/04/498/images/635/635.750x0.jpg)

[data/public/shop/products/98/04/498/images/635/635.750x0.jpg](https://plantogram.com/wa-data/public/shop/products/98/04/498/images/635/635.750x0.jpg).

It has not been said clearly what animals were sacrificial and consumed during the Pythagorean banquets. We can assume that pork and beef, the most popular sacrificial meat, were allowed and considered as, to say, “kosher”. The sources highlight the special prohibitions on working oxen, rams, and the pork belly<sup>23</sup> (T.37–T.39, T.70a–c). What there is left are piglets and calves, kids and sheep, domestic fowl and chickens except the white-feathered ones.

<sup>23</sup> Andrew Dalby claims that the Greek μήτρα was not a pork belly but a swine womb after miscarriage (Dalby 2003, 360 s.v. “womb”). However, the recipe for preparing the latter one (e.g. Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 3.101A–B [1: 548 Olson]) was more typical of the Roman kitchen than the Sicilian cookery.

### Symbols 15–16: Eat Not the Heart & Brain

The prohibition against eating hearts and brains has to be connected to the previous one (“eat of sacrificial animals only”). It means the Pythagoreans could consume flesh of some sacrificial animals except their hearts and brains. Why? The answers diverge in a few directions.

The most obvious reason is that given by Androcydes: heart and brain of every animal are ruling parts and seats of its thinking and living, and it is why they are excluded from any sacrificial feasts (T.98). The *Pythagorean Memoirs*, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, may also be helpful in explaining that particular parts of soul are located in the heart and brain, between which there is found the ἀρχή of the soul that draws nourishment from the blood (T.99). As concerns the ἀρχή, Timaeus of Locri considered a brain as the ἀρχή of body (T.100); likewise, Philolaus of Croton thought that the brain and heart constitute, respectively, the ἀρχαί of human and animal life (T.101). The quoted passages on the Pythagorean psychology explains the Pythagorean prohibition on these organs (eating hearts and brains would be as much as to consume the soul itself) and the Jewish law against eating blood of sacrificial animals (for blood is equal to animal’s life) (T.102).

Another reason is less evident. Aristotle, the best of our sources, links the ban on heart to the taboos on pork belly and beans (T.103). At the first glance, it seems curious because beans (vegetable) and heart (a part of animal) have nothing to do with each other. We can quote, however, Athenaeus’ short entry on pigs’ brains, probably based on Aristotle, that informs that the ancient philosophers do not permitted to eat the swine brain because it contains almost all senses of the animal, and, moreover, brains are comparable with beans, for, according to the well-known verse, eating beans is like devouring one’s parents’ heads (T.104). We find, again, a ruling part of animal body (brain) linked to the beans.

Why the beans were associated with the hearts and brains? Perhaps, the answer has been suggested by Empedocles (transmitted by Aristoxenus of Tarentum) who etymologized the beans (κυάμους) as the testicles responsible for reproduction (αἴτιοι τοῦ κυεῖν) of the human race (T.105). There is no doubt that the testicles, as reproductive organs, are responsible for procreation but the brains and the hearts are not. However, we find in Plutarch the clear statement that brains and hearts are “the first principle of generation” (ἀρχὴν... γενέσεως), which makes them responsible exactly for procreation (T.106) (Teodorsson 1: 212). If the beans were identified with the testicles, and, in turn, the genitals were associated with hearts and brains, it follows that the latter ones would be linked to the beans. The

association between these three: beans, sexual intercourses, and hearts, is also attested by the first-century temple inscription from Rhodes (T.107) (Robertson 231).

The Pythagorean taboo on hearts and beans belonged to the more general prohibition on the particular parts of sacrificial animals. We have very interesting passage derived from the acousmatic tradition and transmitted, via Androcydes (or Aristotle) and Antonius Diogenes, by Porphyry of Tyre (T.108). To trust them all, some parts of sacrificial animals, namely loins, testicles, genitals, marrow, feet, and heads were believed to symbolize four universal principles: γένεσις, αὔξησις, ἀρχή, τελευτή—or, in another version, preserved in Plutarch: ζωή, κίνησις, γένεσις, φθορά (T.109)—that constitute together the fifth: ὑπόθεσις, the fundament of all beings. Porphyry provides us with the following examples: testicles and genitals belong to the category of γένεσις (“generation”); marrow is responsible for αὔξησις (“growth”); legs and heads are to represent, respectively, ἀρχή (“beginning”) and τελευτή (“end”); and, finally, the loins symbolize ὑπόθεσις (“fundament”). It is clear that both hearts and brains (unmentioned here) must belong to the category of γένεσις, as being identical with testicles and genitals.

The discussed passages lead to the conclusion that the acousmatics imposed the further restrictions on the consumption of sacrificial meat, namely the prohibitions against eating the vital parts of animals: legs, heads, genitals, hearts, brains, marrow, and loins, what must have resulted in ban on loin chops, roast beef, and pig’s trotters.

On the other hand, the ancient sources since Aristotle preserved another explanation of the Pythagorean Symbol 15. They claim that the prohibition against heart-eating means nothing else but “do not worry” (T.110, T.111) or “do not give yourself up to melancholy” (T.112). It looks like an allegorical explanation of something else, perhaps the verse from the lost *Sacred Tale* we have already quoted: Φείδω τῆς ζωῆς, μή μιν καταθυμοβορήσης (T.64). The context of the extant verse is not given. We can only imagine what it was and accept, if we want to, the speculations of the modern scholars that the Pythagorean taboo on hearts refers the Orphic myth according to which the Titans devoured Dionysus, the baby god, but left his heart untouched (Burkert 1972, 181–82; Bernabé in *OF* 314–15, vol. 2, pp. 213–14). The proposal, however, is not supported directly by any ancient testimonies.

### **Symbol 39: Roast What Not Is Boiled**

The ordinance: “roast what not is boiled” (T.54, T.67) looks like an instruction for preparing the sacrificial meat that had to be grilled before cooking. The sequence is important

here, because meat boiled before roasting is tasteless. Iamblichus, however, interpreted the Symbol 39 in a moral way: “gentleness does not need anger,” which brings no one informative thing in understanding the instruction (T.113). Another explanation seems to be more tempting. There is a comment, preserved in book three of the *Physical Problems*, which refers the prohibition against roasting a boiled meat to the sacred text recited during the initiation, τελετή (T.114). No one knows what the initiation was because the rituals like that were wrapped with the veil of secrecy. It might be even some late ancient mysteries because the text that mentioned τελετή—the *Physical Problems* incorporated into the Corpus Aristotelicum—dates from the AD third century (Sharples).

The hypothesis by Marcel Detienne (Detienne 1979, 69, 74), Martin L. West (West 1983, 160–61), and Alberto Bernabé (*OF* vol. 2, p. 203) is that the ἐφθὸν μὴ ὀπτᾶν reflects the myth on the young Dionysus, killed and torn into seven pieces by the Titans who first boiled their victim in a cauldron, and next skewered his boiled limbs on spits to grill them with fire (T.115). Were there any connections between the early Pythagorean instruction on preparing sacrificial meat and the mystic crime of Titans referred since the AD second century onward? I do not know the answer yet.

#### **Symbol 14: Abstain from Any Living Things**

The Pythagorean Symbol 14 makes a confusion. What was the need for the other commandments of the Pythagorean catechism (“eat of sacrificial meat only,” “do not sacrifice a white chicken,” “do not consume the heart and brain,” “do not eat the sacred fish”) if the “orthodox” Pythagoreans had to eat no living animal? The later neo-Platonist Hierocles of Alexandria, who composed a *Commentary on the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans*, must have felt the same confusion when he wrote: “The precept to abstain from the heart opposes that of abstaining from animals... For partial abstinence is superfluous for those to whom the entire animal has been forbidden” (T.116). What for, then, or for whom the partial abstinence was? Hierocles supposes, in the quoted passage, that “abstaining from the heart is prescribed for beginners, whereas abstinence from living animals is for those already perfect.”

Hierocles’ speculation seems to be based on the earlier sources, especially Nicomachus of Gerasa (ca. AD 151) whose work on Pythagoras has been extensively quoted by Iamblichus in his *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* (Radicke 125 note 13). Nicomachus, then, claims that Pythagoras forbade the theoretical philosophers (τοῖς θεωρητικωτάτοις τῶν φιλοσόφων) to eat, sacrifice, or harm anything animate (T.117). At the same time, he says,

Pythagoras permitted the others, as having being not purified yet, to consume certain animals except a period of absolute abstinence from meat they had to observe (T.118). The next section is more informative. Nicomachus explains “the others” as acousmatics or politics, and “certain animals” as the sacrificial victims: a cock, a lamb or another newborn animal, but never an ox. He also specifies what offerings the theoretical philosophers sacrificed: cakes, flour, honey, frankincense, and fragrant stuffs (T.119). Perhaps the mention on the meat-eating acousmatics, as opposed to the contemplative philosophers, has something to do with another passage from Nicomachus where he comments on the schism inside the Pythagoreans that took place in the second half of the fifth century BC (Burkert 1972, 192–208; Zhmud 169–205). The Pythagorean movement had split up there and divided into two competitive factions: the acousmatics who preserved Pythagoras’ authentic teachings and the mathematicians who followed Hippasus<sup>24</sup> (T.120).

Moreover, Nicomachus claims that the law-givers of the politics—like the theoretical philosophers (T.119)—had to abstain from animals because all living beings, both humans and animals, belong to the one great family as sharing the similar life and consisting of the same elements (T.121). The argument from justice appears in Iamblichus *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* where he gives the explanation for the Symbol 14: “abstain from the use of living creatures,’ exhorts to justice, with a due regard for what is of a kindred nature, and a sympathetic treatment of life which is similar to our own” (T.122). The argument for vegetarianism from justice goes back to Pseudo-Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* that links justice to the restrictions against destroying fruit-trees and injuring tame animals (T.123a). Almost the same text recurs in the Pythagorean oath: not to destroy any cultivated plants and not to harm any harmless animals (T.123b). It is known from Aristoxenus that the Pythagoreans recited the oath after every dinner (T.47).

The Pythagorean law was obligatory also for the animals that lived in the Pythagorean communities. Nicomachus of Gerasa told a story about an ox of Tarentum that grazed in the bean field. Pythagoras persuaded the animal not to taste the beans again—because beans were prohibited among the Pythagoreans—and feed only on a human food, which the temple

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<sup>24</sup> Iamblichus informs that Hippasus of Metapontum (ca. 520–440 BC) was a great mathematician: “On the matter of Hippasus: he was a Pythagorean, but because of having disclosed and given a diagram for the first time of the sphere from the twelve pentagons, he perished in the sea since he committed impiety. He acquired fame as having made the discovery, but all the discoveries were of that man, for so they refer to Pythagoras, and do not call him by his name.” (Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.88 [52 Deubner] = Hippasus no. 4 Cardini, trans. Dillon–Hershbell 111–13). Walter Burkert claims that “Hippasus is the oldest Pythagorean we know who worked at mathematics and music theory... and was one of the *mathematici*” (Burkert 1972, 206–07). For more detailed treatment of Hippasus see: Horkey 37–84.

visitors offered to him (T.124a–b). Marcel Detienne, in his *La cuisine de Pythagore*, speculates that if the ox did not stop feeding on beans, it would be punished and killed for transgressing the Pythagorean law, by analogy to the ancient Athenian custom (Detienne 1970, 155–61). For, the ancient Athenians since the sixth century BC used to sacrifice the “criminal” bull for the alleged crime of tasting an offertory cake during the annual festival of Bouphonia held on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of Skirophorion (Simon 8–12). There is nothing in the Greek sources to support the hypothesis of Detienne, unless the Evangelical story on the fruitless fig tree, punished by Jesus, hinted at it (T.125).

The ploughing oxen were under the special protection in the Pythagorean communities, as being excluded from the number of animals the acousmatics could sacrificed to the gods, because killing the animal that works for the people was against the Pythagorean law (T.38, T.119). By analogy, the Jewish law contains a prescription against muzzling a threshing ox (T.126). Besides, the Pythagorean Symbols include a special number 40 on justice: “always put salt on the table,” for salt that arises from the purest sources: sun and sea, is to remind of what is right (T.127). The prescription, attested already by Aristotle, is alluded by the Gospel of Matthew, in saying: “You are the salt of the earth...” (T.128).

Anyway, another tradition prevailed. The Hellenistic sources ignored the differentiations inside the early Pythagoreanism and the complicated code of prohibited foods observed by the conservative acousmatics, to highlight the pure vegetarian faction. The sources, since Timaeus of Tauromenium, cite a line from Pseudo-Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* on “worshipping before altars unstained with blood”, to support a view that the Pythagoreans never sacrificed living animals to the gods (T.129a–c). The Hellenistic authors, one by one, say that Pythagoras, having been a strict vegetarian and a blood-hater, introduced a vegetarian lifestyle that was imitated by the Pythagoreans and the other philosophers, like Socrates, Diogenes, and others. Eudoxus of Cnidus—who must have been close to the tradition of the mathematicians via his teacher, Archytas of Tarentum (Burkert 1972, 200)—was convinced that the historical Pythagoras was so shocked at every killing and blood-shedding that even approached no butcher or hunter (T.130). The same legend on Pythagoras, a spokesman of vegetarianism, recurs in Onesicritus of Astypalaia (T.131) and Callimachus of Cyrene (T.132).

Vegetarianism became the most recognizable feature of the neo-Pythagorean way of life. Seneca the Younger relates his own vegetarian experiment he took up place in his early years. Having been influenced by a certain Sotion, a Pythagorean, the young Seneca went to keeping the abstinence from animals, to use his words: *abstinere animalibus*, during a one

year period until AD 19 when his father forced him to abandon the vegetarian diet, from a fear of the imperial persecution (T.133).

Diogenes Laertios tried to persuade that Pythagoras, as the historical figure, fed only on uncooked foods and drank pure water, and never sacrificed any animals to the gods, what follows that the only one altar on which he could make offerings was the altar of Apollo at Delos where flour, meal, and cakes, with no fire or blood, used to be sacrificed. Pythagoras' point was, as he says, “to practice people and accustom them to simplicity of life” (T.134). Likewise, Iamblichus saw in the Symbol 14 an attempt of promoting peace by accustoming the people to save life (T.135). None of these reasons, albeit they sound reasonable, is derived from the genuine Pythagoreanism.

### A Quest for Purity

The basic question: what for Pythagoras ordained these dietetic regulations, has been answered in antiquity. Androcydes thought that Pythagoras pointed at moral excellence, ἀρετή, of his followers (T.136). The answer, given by Hierocles of Alexandria, is that the aim of the Pythagorean Symbols was to be the moral progress that leads the human beings through the partial abstinence from some foods (like the sacred fish, heads, hearts) to the absolute abstention from animals, expressed in the Symbol 14, which is very close to the absolute purification, κάθαρσις, of the human soul from passion (T.137). The Pythagoreans themselves would answer, as did the *Pythagorean Memoirs*, that the scope they had in mind was ἀγνεΐα, the ritual purity achieved not only by means of ablutions with water but also by abstaining from meat, red mullets, blacktails, eggs, egg-laying animals, and beans (T.138).

As concerns the origin of the Pythagorean taboos, the Greek authors are essentially congenial with the modern scholarly view that “food interdictions are mostly non-Greek” (Robertson 231) and that the Pythagorean lifestyle was related to the priesthood regulation in ancient Egypt (Gemelli 139–41). Isocrates, in his speech entitled *Busiris*, represents Pythagoras as the Samian sage who was especially interested in sacrificial rites and temple rituals that were practiced in Egypt where he ventured to (T.139). Hermippus of Smyrna made a remark on affinity between the Pythagorean Symbols and the Jewish and Thracian beliefs (T.140).

The interesting comment has been provided by the neo-Platonist Iamblichus who saw in Pythagoras “a zealous admirer of Orpheus” and the religious reformer who mingled the Orphic books, the ancient Egyptian cult regulations, some barbarian religions of the

Chaldeans and of the Magi (perhaps he meant here Judaism and Zoroastrianism), and innumerable Greek mystic rites from Eleusis, Imbros, Samothrace, and Lemnos (T.141). The Iamblichean representation of Pythagoras, as the inventor of syncretistic religion, seems to be quite convincing. It is true that the Pythagorean Symbols were convergent with the sacred law of Eleusis that reads: γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῷα μὴ σίνεσθαι (“to honor one’s parents, to worship the gods with fruit, never to hurt animals”) (T.142).

Moreover, if Iamblichus actually had Judaism in mind, the Pythagorean Symbols can be compared to the Holiness Code of the Jewish religion in the Bible: the sacred law that divides all animals into clean and unclean (T.143), that recommends or prohibits from eating the animals with the (οὐ) φάγεσθε formula (T.144), to make the Jewish people “a holy nation,” λαὸς ἅγιος (T.145) (Houston). Making the holy race was the point at which Pythagoras aimed too. Iamblichus was also right in attributing to Pythagoras’ teachings an Orphic contribution. Pythagoras’ indebtedness in Orpheus will be discussed in the next chapter.



In the previous chapters, the Orphic and Pythagorean taboos on some foods have been discussed. The collected testimonies lead to the conclusion that the adherents of Orphic movement were strict vegetarians, having consumed no animals or eggs, observed the taboo on beans, and sacrificed only pure offerings with no blood, which agrees with the remark made by Leonid Zhmud on three Orphic taboos: meat, beans, and eggs (Zhmud 205 note 136), but diverges from the opinion by Gábor Betegh on pluralism in the Orphic diet (Betegh 154–59). On the other hand, the sources on the Pythagorean dietary regulations are abundant and often misleading, to make difficult “the navigation through the mire of dietary perplexity,” to use the words by Michael Beer (Beer 36).

The analysis of the Pythagorean material shows the differentiation between the dietary regulations of the acousmatics, with the taboos on black, white, and red things (for they symbolize, respectively, evil, goodness, and birth), and the strict vegetarian regimen observed by the theoretical philosophers and the law-givers of the politics who reduced the system of the Pythagorean prohibitions to the only one Symbol 14: “abstain from any living things.” My conclusions at this point do not agree with any scholarly experts in Pythagoreanism.

What were the points of convergence between the Orphic and Pythagorean diets? I think that the most reasonable is to accept the simplified view that the Pythagoreans shared with the Orphics the taboos on meat (cf. T.54 Symbol 14 and T.6, T.8–T.11), on beans (cf. T.54 Symbol 11 and T.15–T.20), and on eggs (cf. T.138 and T.21–T.22).

### III. Why Abstain from...

#### ...Meat?

Let us start with the question why the ancient Orphics and Pythagoreans—the sources often make no distinction between them—abstained from meat. Two reasons are given in the anonymous neo-Pythagorean *Life of Pythagoras* excerpted by Photius. The Pythagoreans ate no flesh of animals, he says, because they blindly believed in reincarnation of the human soul and were convinced that the carnivorous diet, too nutritive and heavy, dulls of mind (T.146). The latter reason seems to appeal to the common sense but probably was so mystical as the former one. The ancient authority, namely Xenocrates of Chalcedon (fl. 339–314 BC), who wrote a special treatise on food derived from animals, argued that meat-eating makes the humans similar to the irrational creatures they devour; to say: you are what you eat (T.147). Likewise, Diodorus of Sicily claims that the belief in reincarnation of the human soul in animal bodies underlaid Pythagoras' rejection of meat-eating (T.148). It is the most probable that the excerpt from Eubulus' dissertation on Mithras, preserved in Porphyry, concerned the Pythagorean (or the neo-Pythagorean) dietary regulations and had nothing to do with the Persian adherents of Zoroastrianism. The author associated abstinence from meat, both temporal and permanent, with the belief in μετεμψύχωσις (T.149).

Now, let the ancient Orphic-and-Pythagorean speak for himself to explain why he has abhorred an animal flesh:

There is a decree of Necessity, ratified long ago by the gods, eternal and sealed by broad oaths, that whenever one in error, from fear, defiles his own limbs, having by his error made false the oath he swore—daimons to whom life long-lasting is apportioned—he wanders from the blessed ones for three times ten-thousand years, being born throughout the time as all kinds of mortal forms, exchanging one hard way of life for another. For the force of air pursues him into sea, and sea spits him out onto earth's surface, earth casts him into the rays of blazing sun, and sun into the eddies of air; one takes him from another, and all abhor him. I too am now one of these, an exile from the gods and a wanderer, having put my trust in raving strife. (T.150)

The poet, who makes himself a δαίμων, says that the cycle of lives he passed by was abnormally long (30,000 years!) because in one of his previous incarnations he had tasted an animal flesh. The gods punished him and exiled from the happy netherland and now he is here, in this body, to suffer and hate. Plutarch of Chaeronea interprets Empedocles' confession as acknowledgment of murder and cannibalism. (T.151). Why cannibalism? Because Empedocles believed that both humans and animals belong to the same family of living beings and are related to each others (T.152), to constitute the world soul (T.153). It

follows that feeding on animal flesh is like cannibalism (eating kindred persons) or even self-eating (eating bodies that could be your own).

Let us dwell, for awhile, on the origin of the doctrine of metempsychosis. Aristoxenus of Tarentum claimed that Pythagoras was the first to declare that the immortal soul used to move away from one body to another until it fulfills the cycle of Necessity (**T.154**); note that the same divine agent, ἀνάγκη in Greek, has been mentioned by Empedocles (T.150). Dicaearchus of Messana, transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre, is more precise when he says that Pythagoras was the first philosopher who transplanted the doctrine of reincarnation into Greek soil (**T.155**). Herodotus speculated that the tenet in question had been invented by the ancient Egyptians, and then it has been borrowed by some Greeks whose names were too famous to spell them (**T.156**); he could hint at Empedocles, his co-citizen in Thurii. Herodotus is mistaken in attributing the idea of rebirth to the Egyptians (Lloyd 3: 59–60); perhaps he meant only that the Greek inventors of reincarnation doctrine have been indebted in someone else. In whom? The Hellenistic pseudepigraph *Hieros Logos*, allegedly authored by Pythagoras and son (his name was Telauges), tells a story on the initiation of Pythagoras into the Orphic mysteries that took place at Libethra, Thrace, with Aglaophamus the prophet of Orpheus (**T.157**); otherwise we know that Orpheus was to study the Egyptian theology.<sup>25</sup>

We are free to suppose that the mystery teachings by Aglaophamus concerned, to some extent, the doctrine of reincarnation which was probably Orphic—but not Pythagorean or Egyptian—invention (Zhmud 229). It is really hard to agree with the opinion by Walter Burkert, based on Ulrich von Wilamovitz-Moellendorf, that “metempsychosis is not attested directly for Orphism in any ancient source” (Burkert 1972, 126). Alberto Bernabé has demonstrated the groundlessness of this standpoint (Bernabé 2011). The most striking examples he showed are: the fragment of Pindar’s threnody (**T.158**); the inscribed gold tablet from Thurii that had belonged to the grave goods of the fourth century BC (**T.159**); the fragment of the Epicurean inscription by Diogenes of Oenoanda (**T.160**); and—last but not least—some extant remains from the *Orphic Rhapsodies* quoted by the neo-Platonist Proclus (**T.161**, **T.162**).

The *Orphic Rhapsodies*, a lost cosmogonic poem in 24 books, were attributed to Theognetus of Thessaly or Cercops the Pythagorean (*OF* 1120; *OF* 1101; Cardini 167); the provenance and date of the poem are unknown. Anyway, the author—Orpheus, Theognetus,

<sup>25</sup> *OF* 48iii + *OF* 55 + *OF* 61 + *OF* 293 Kern = Pseudo-Hecataeus, *On Abraham and the Egyptians*, *FGrHist* 264 F25.

Cercops or whoever he was—explains why every human soul, after the 300-year stay in Hades, must enter the next body. The reason, according to the *Rhapsodies*, is that the human souls, made out of Titans’ ashes, must suffer for Titans’ crime. This is why the souls change the mortal bodies, again and again, and migrate from one life to another, which is either human or animal: of a horse, a ram, a bird, a dog, a snake. The mystic crime and punishment of the Titans seem to be what has activated the process of reincarnation.

For what crime the Titans have been punished? Plutarch of Chaeronea explains it was when the Titans murdered the mystic baby Dionysus, dismembered his body, and tasted his blood; for Plutarch, that myth is nothing else than an allegory of rebirth, *παλιγγενεσία* (T.163). Besides, Nonnus of Panopolis, the learned poet who collected all pieces of Dionysian myth that were current in the AD mid-fifth century, informs that Dionysus, styled Zagreus, metamorphosed eight times before the Titans killed him: into a young man, a monster child, a girl, a lion, a horse, a snake, a tiger, and a bull, so the Titans slaughtered him as the bull (T.164). The murder of Zagreus, as represented by Nonnus, looks like a standard Greek sacrifice of bull or ox, from which the Pythagorean acousmatics were prohibited.

The Dionysus story known from the Orphic sources would be a piece of evidence for the Orphic origin of the doctrine of reincarnation and abstinence from animal flesh (Bernabé 2015, 35–38). In Pythagoreanism, on the other hand, the reason for metempsychosis is not given, and this is why “Pythagorean metempsychosis looks like a borrowed doctrine,” to quote the opinion by Leonid Zhmud (Zhmud 228–29). Anyway, Empedocles, who enjoys describing bloody sacrifices of animals that are incarnated humans (T.165), never refers the first sacrifice of Zagreus.

While the Orphic poems taught that the human soul incarnates into a human or animal body (T.161, T.162), the Pythagoreans believed that the rational soul can enter any body, to quote Aristotle (T.166). “Any body” means here also vegetative forms of life, e.g. trees, shrubs, plants. Pythagoras himself was credited with incarnating into heroes, humans, animals, and plants (T.167). Empedocles declared that he himself was, in his previous incarnations, a man, a woman, a bush, a bird, and a fish (T.168). It explains why Empedocles recommended the abstention from the laurel leaves (T.97). Two Platonic passages from the *Timaeus* on recycling or descending degradation of the soul stuff (man, woman, bird, quadruped, fish), probably reflect the Empedoclean doctrine, albeit the plants are not included (T.169a–b).

The Orphics had another motive—quite different from belief in metempsychosis—for abstention from meat. There was Orpheus song (or songs) on the kidnapping of Cora, the

wandering of Demeter in search of her, the invention of agriculture and law, and perhaps the foundation of the Eleusinian Mysteries. From the fact that the same, or related, song is referred in the Parian Marble (**T.170**), we can infer that the literary motif like that circulated before 264 BC when the monument was erected. The song has been lost and its reconstruction out of some fragments, scattered in ancient literature since the fourth century BC onwards, is almost impossible. Alberto Bernabé places the fragments under the headline *Carmen Orphicum de agri culturae et legum origine* (*OF* 641–44), albeit Otto Kern suggested the title *Καθαρμοί* (*OF* 291–92 Kern).

Some passages from Empedocles and Plato may mirror the story (Parker 299 note 93). Empedocles describes the golden age of Love when the people used to offer to the goddess of Love only pure sacrifices with no bloodshed, like honey, frankincense, and the painted figurines of animals instead of living ones<sup>26</sup> that had not be killed (**T.171**). Plato’s *Laws* and *Statesman* have almost identical story on the golden age of Cronus (who replaced Empedocles’ Love) and provide us with further details: the happy existence of the first people, defined as “Orphic lives,” has been followed by the episode of cannibalism and, next, Triptolemus’ mission to propagate the gift of Demeter and Core, viz. cultivated cereals (**T.172a–c**).

The story transmitted by Plato in the *Laws* 713a–728d, and allegorized in his *Statesman* 269a–273e (Horn; Vidal-Naquet), perfectly agrees with two lines from Orpheus’ song on cannibalism of ancient people, preserved in Sextus Empiricus, and the summary of the rest of the poem: the lawless cannibalism has been stopped by twain goddesses described as θεσμοφόροι, “the law-bearing ones” (**T.173**); the *Orphic Argonautics*, in recapitulation of the *Orphic Rhapsodies*, apply the epithet θεσμοφόρος to Phersephone alone (**T.174**). Finally, Themistius commented on the myth in his speech *On Husbandry* and interpreted the agricultural mission of Orpheus (not Triptolemus) as the progress of civilization that has replaced the previous barbarity (**T.175**).

To answer the question: why abstain from meat?, we should say that the traces lead to two Orphic myths: the Zagreus myth and the story on the origin of agriculture. From both of them, one conclusion can be drawn: meat-eating has been prohibited because it was reputed to be absolutely lawless, like theophagy (because Titans boiled, grilled, and ate Dionysus’ flesh), murder (the people used to kill the kindred animals to eat them), and cannibalism (for, the men in ancient times devoured each others). To use again the voice of divine-inspired

<sup>26</sup> Empedocles himself, in the later tradition, was credited with sacrificing an ox-shaped cake, cf. T.4a.

Empedocles: “Will you not cease the din of slaughter? Do you not see that you are devouring one another because of your careless way of thinking?” (T.176).

### ...Beans?

We used to think that the Pythagorean Symbol 11: “abstain from beans” (T.54) refers exceptionally to the edible seeds of the plant. It is a mistake. Aristotle who is the most reliable authority for the history of early Pythagoreanism enumerates five reasons for the Pythagorean ban on beans: (1) beans (both flowers and seeds) look like the male genitals; (2) beans (stems), as unjointed, are similar to the gates of Hades; (3) beans (seeds) are injurious; (4) beans (seeds) are like the form of the universe; (5) beans (seeds) belong to oligarchy because they are used in election by lot (T.177). The explanations given by Aristotle were widespread in ancient literature (Delatte 1915, 292–94).

The second reason, concerning similarity of the bean stems to the gates of Hades, is found both in Androcydes (T.178) and Porphyry (T.179). The Tyrian philosopher argues that the unjointed—or hollow—stems of this plant symbolize a passage way between Hades and generation, therefore the bees that are symbols of pure souls never light on the bean flowers. The bean flowers were commented on by Varro, who says—as regards a number of the bizarre taboos kept by *flamen Dialis*, the high priest of Jupiter<sup>27</sup>—that there are seen some omen-like letters (*litterae lugubres*) inscribed on the bean flowers (T.180a). The same piece of information is found in Didymus of Alexandria who translated *litterae lugubres* into Greek as πένθιμα γράμματα and replaced *flamen Dialis* with Pythagoras (T.180b). We have the ancient illustration of the fava bean plant with no black splotch but something like Θ on the flowers (see fig. 1). I suppose that the Θ-like sign might be deciphered as the Greek letter Θ with which begins the word θάνατος (“death”). Plutarch of Chaeronea, in the context of the Roman rituals of Lemuria, etymologized the name of pulse as Lethe (λάθυρος—λήθη) and chickpea as Erebus (ἐρέβινθος—ἔρεβος), to show the relation between Hades and the other legumes, too (T.181).

The Hellenistic and Byzantine scholia on the *Iliad*, in referring to the black color of the bean seeds—κύαμοι μελανόχροες—mentioned by Homer, quote two lines from the titleless poem on beans: “they are the way out from the house of Hades and the ladder of

<sup>27</sup> The *flamen Dialis* labored under a remarkable number of taboos, among others, he had to keep away from goats, raw meat, ivy, and beans. See Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 10.15.12 (317 Marshall); Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Roman Questions* 109–10, 289F–290A (172 Boulogne); Pötscher 1968.

ascent for the souls of strong men when they return to the rays of light” (T.182a–b). These verses are evidently related to the Pythagorean explanation of the bean stems as the path from Hades, and belong to Pseudo-Pythagoras’ *Hieros Logos* rather than to the Orphic poems. I suppose the stories on the Pythagorean martyrs—who preferred to die rather than cross the bean field, which was blooming, and tread on the beans (T.183a–c)—refer exactly to the quoted verses. The most striking in these relations is that Timycha, the Pythagorean heroine (died in ?365 BC), refused not only to eat beans but also to reveal the reason of abhorring them, and she bit off her own tongue to not “disclose the mysteries” (T.183c ἐξορχήσασθαι τὰ ἀπόρρητα). The Pythagorean fear of touching beans (T.183b κυάμων μὴ θιγγάνειν) might result from the fear of reincarnation they wanted to avoid. To quote the Pythagorean-influenced couplets:<sup>28</sup> “Best is for mortals never to have been born at all, nor seen the rays of the bright sun...” (T.184).

The third reason for the bean taboo concerns corruption which prevents the divine prophecy (T.185). The simplest explanation is that eating beans causes bad dreams because of flatulence (T.186); in general, beans were recognized as flatulent (T.187, T.188). The Pseudo-Pythagorean *Hieros Logos*, however, understands flatulence of beans in a special way: “flatulent” (πνευματώδεις) is to mean “partaking of soul” (μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ) (T.189). How come beans partake of soul? Varro explains that the souls of the dead are contained in a bean, and this is why beans were used in the memorial sacrifices to dead relatives (T.190) (cf. T.181). John the Lydian reports that the beans were thrown into the graves for salvation of the human race (T.191). It would mean that throwing the beans into graves was to cause the reincarnation of the souls. Anyway, the reason given by Pliny (souls of the dead are contained in a bean seed) seems to coincide with the Orphic concept of soul, as the breath, or wind, attested by Aristotle (T.192).

The fifth question: beans as the symbol of democracy, political corruption, and bribes (T.193–T.195), is closely connected to the oligarchic, and then anti-democratic, orientation of the early Pythagoreans who were involved into the southern-Italian politics (Andrews 278 note 38).

Another reason for abstaining from beans, different from these five adduced by Aristotle, is more complicated, to say: mystic. There is the oft-quoted verse: “To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents’ heads” (T.196), attributed by Heraclides Ponticus to “the

<sup>28</sup> Arnaud Delatte argues that the couplets, albeit belonging to the Corpus Theognideum, has been influenced by early Pythagoreanism (Delatte 1915, 42).

poet” (Orpheus) (T.18) and by Holger Thesleff to Pseudo-Pythagoras (Thesleff 159). The line in question was understood in the sense that beans are literally a human flesh (T.197), which evoked the horror similar to the one of cannibalism (Borgeaud 275–76).

The beans were believed, in the Orphic circles, to be not out of the earth, like the other vegetables, but from something else (Morand 130–33). Heraclides Ponticus described a bizarre experiment with a bean, thrown into a coffin and covered with earth, which after 40 days becomes a full-grown human form (T.198). The number of 40 days had a special meaning for the Pythagoreans because of their belief that a human embryo is formed in about 40 days (T.199). A bit different story is told by Antonius Diogenes (T.200) and Porphyry (T.201), who derived from a common source. They say that a bean homunculus can be produced from a buried bean flower in 90 days, and they claim that a crushed bean seed smells like a male sperm (Antonius Diogenes) or a human blood (Porphyry). To explain these curious phenomena, they tell the myth on the common origin of the beans and the mankind that both are said to sprout out of the same putrefaction (σηπεδόνας), whatever it means. John the Lydian etymologized the word “bean” as blood (κύαμος ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος), and claimed that both bean and the so-called χρυσολάχανον grew out of women’s menstrual blood (T.202). The *chrysolachanon* is an alternative name for the red orach (*Artiplex hortensis rubra* L.) that has edible bloody-colored leaves (fig. 9).



**Fig. 9a** (left). The ἀνδράφαξις, or χρυσολάχανον, in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 50v. Source of illustration: <<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=andrphaxis>.> **Fig. 9b** (right). The leaves of red orach, *Artiplex hortensis rubra* L. Source of illustration: <<http://www.rareseeds.com/assets/1/14/DimLarge/Orach-Red-OG103-web.jpg>.>

There is a very interesting inscription from the second-century Smyrna that contains the purity regulations for the precinct of Dionysios Bromios (T.203). The text is recognized as influenced by Orphism, or both by Orphism and Pythagoreanism (Nock; Nilsson 133–43; Robertson 228–29). There are found here, among others, the prohibitions on non-sacrificial meat, eggs, hearts, mint, and beans. The following reason is given: beans, being the most hateful root, are out of the sperm of the Titans. We can compare to it the myth told by Dio Chrysostom in his speech *Charidemos* on the origin of miserable human race out of the blood of Titans (T.204). Both versions of the myth on the origin of humans: from Titans’ sperm (the Smyrna inscription) and Titans’ blood (Dio Chrysostom) may be linked to the curious stories on the growth of mankind and of bean from the same putrefaction (Antonius Diogenes, Porphyry) or from menstrual blood (John the Lydian).

Perhaps all these stories are some jigsaw pieces of Orpheus’ *Hieros Logos*, the top secret but mentioned by Pausanias twice in the context of Eleusinian prohibition on beans (T.205, T.206). The text of the sacred tale, ἱερὸς λόγος, attributed by Pausanias to the so-called Ὀρφικά, had not to be revealed to the uninitiated and must have remain unspoken. The hero Cyamites mentioned in the latter passage (T.206) is a great unknown. Pausanias says only that Cyamites, the eponym of beans (Κυαμίτης—κύαμος), had his temple on Cerameicus, Athens, next to the exit of the Sacred Way to Eleusis. The speculations of Photius on the subject who Cyamites was are highly uninformative (T.207). There is no evidence for accepting the proposal of Francois Lenormant that Cyamites was the same as Iacchus, an Eleusinian god (Lenormant 337–424). It is possible that Cyamites, as belonging to the Eleusinian mythology, might have something to do with the bean homunculus from the Orphic tales quoted just before (T.198–T.202).

Some Greek testimonies: by Herodotus, Aristagoras, and Plutarch, refer the allegedly Egyptian origin of the bean taboo (T.208–T.210). It is a pure literary fiction, according to the well-known rule that all Pythagorean institutions were rooted at Egypt, because the meals made of beans—like the *ful medames*—were and still are very popular in Egyptian kitchen (Lloyd 2: 168–69; Griffiths 272).

I have almost nothing to say about what the gloss on the Homeric “black beans” informs: “under the reign of Cronos the people used a bread made of bean meal which was to be prohibited in the later times to save no memory of Cronos” (T.182b). The Roman sources note the use of bean porridge (*pulsa fabata*) in religious rites (T.190), especially in sacrifice to the goddess Carna on the first of June, called *Kalendae fabariae* after *fabas* (T.211). On the other hand, we hear from Dicaearchus of Messana that the golden generation that lived in the

Cronian times made the food out of greens that the earth produced spontaneously (T.212a–b). I have, however, some objections against combining the Greek testimony with the Latin one, to interpret the puzzling bread of bean eaten by the Cronian people.

The problem of favism (the genetic condition called G6PD deficiency), as a possible reason for the Orphic and Pythagorean taboo on fava beans (Scarborough), falls outside the scope of my paper.

### ...Eggs?

The reasons for abstaining from eggs have been deduced from Aristotle’s explanations of the bean taboo, number one: beans look like the male genitals, and number four: beans are like the form of the universe (T.213). Plutarch says, in his talk on *What Came First: A Chicken or an Egg*, that in Orphic and Pythagorean circles eggs were denominated κύαμοι (“beans”) because of being responsible for procreation, κήσις (T.214), in the same degree as the beans, according to Empedocles, were (T.215). The eggs, then, belong in the opinion of Plutarch to the category of γένεσις, the same as hearts and brains do (T.216) (cf. chapter two, Symbols 15–16). Besides, Plutarch adds, the egg, as producing an animal, is a potential living thing, so eating it in no way differs from devouring the egg-born animals (T.217).

Aristotle says that a bean is like the form of the universe (T.213), having in mind either a globular shape of a bean seed or a leathery involucre that encloses the edible content. What Aristotle said about a bean, Plutarch tells on an egg that imitates the world enclosing and engendering everything within itself. Therefore, he says, the egg is sacred to Dionysus and adored during the Dionysiac mysteries (T.218). The adoration of the egg excluded a consumption. We know from the sacred law from Smyrna that eggs were prohibited from eating during the Bacchic festivals celebrated in the local precinct of Dionysus Bromios (T.219). Macrobius, in his paraphrase of Plutarch’s text (T.218), applied the Latin term *mundi simulacrum* for describing an egg as an image of the world (T.220). Macrobius’ wording brings to mind the Pindaric expression: αἰῶνος εἶδωλον that refers the immortal human soul (T.221). It comes out that the identification of a spherical egg—as well as an orbicular bean—with the world would be another rationale for defining eggs as beans.

The most interesting thing is that Plutarch links the taboo on eggs, which was kept by the contemporary Orphics and the neo-Pythagoreans, to the *Orphic Sacred Tale* (τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον), of which no one was allowed to quote anything except the opening ἀεῖσω ξυνετοῖσι (T.222). The Orphic *Hieros Logos* Plutarch referred to has been lost. I want to

believe that Aristophanes' line on the cosmic egg, windy, deposited by dark-winged Night at the beginning of the world, reveals something of the lost poem (T.223). In the quotation, the “windy” (ὕπηνέμιον) could mean “empty” or “unfertilized,” like the chicken eggs often are (Christopoulos 209). The more convincing seems to me another explanation of “windy,” as suggested by the Hippocratic treatise *On Diet*: an egg is windy “because from small bulk it expands to a great one” (T.224).



To summarize the chapter: since the early classical period, the Orphics and the Pythagoreans shared the taboos on meat, beans, and eggs. The Orphic regimen that was nothing but a vegan diet must have been much simpler than the Pythagorean regulations transmitted by the acousmatic tradition. The Pythagoreans could consume, during the sacrificial meals, the meat of sacrificial animals—in their number: piglets, kids, lambs, calves, and fowls—but had to avoid the vital parts of them: heads, brains, hearts, loins, genitals, and feet. Besides, they were prohibited from some black, red, and white things—like the black and red fish, white chickens, black-colored beans—because of the symbolic meaning of the colors. Of the Pythagoreans, the theoretical mathematicians and the lawgivers of the acousmatics were on a strict vegetarian diet in which they approached to the Orphics.

The sources, from Empedocles to Byzantine empire period, give us too many explanations why both Pythagoreans and Orphics kept the taboos on meat, beans, and eggs. However, there is a path seen among the forest of numerous reports. The Pythagorean prohibitions seem to focus on the question of reincarnation: “keep away from beans”—because the stem of this plant, as being soul's passage way from Hades to the upper world, can cause the unwanted comeback to a body; “eat of sacrificial animals only”—because human souls never enter into them; “abstain from laurel leaves”—because human soul may incarnate into the bay tree; “never consume eggs”—because an egg is similar to a bean seed that contains the soul which is spherical-shaped like the world itself.

The belief in reincarnation is attested for the Orphics as well as to the Pythagoreans. Nevertheless, the sources do not link the Orphic doctrine of metempsychosis to the Orphic diet, but refer the particular Orphic dietary taboos to the esoteric poem by Orpheus. The date, provenance, and title of the composition are highly problematic. Some pieces of the sacred tale, Ἰερὸς λόγος, can be traced so far as the five-century Magna Graecia (Empedocles) and the post-Periclean Athens (Aristophanes, Euripides, Plato). The allusions to it in classical Greek literature and some damaged quotations, which appear only in late ancient and

Byzantine sources, seem to be accidental and often mixed with the verses of the Ἱερὸς λόγος by Pseudo-Pythagoras composed in Hellenistic times (Delatte 1915, 208–30).

The material analyzed above allows to infer that the Orphic Ἱερὸς λόγος suggested some reasons for prohibitions from meat, beans, and eggs. There were the myths on the cosmic egg and the golden generation that fed on fruit of the earth; the stories about the mystic crime and punishment of Titans who cooked and devoured the bull-shaped Zagreus, and how out of their blood the new human race together with the bean plant arose; and a quasi-historical narration concerning the first people who were committing cannibalism and carnivorous practices until the Twain Goddesses brought them bread—the civilized food.

On the other hand, the late ancient sources refer another song by Orpheus, devoted especially to the food prohibitions (T.11–T.14). The conjectural title of the song would be the Ὀρφικοὶ καθαρμοί.

Apart from the food prohibitions announced in the Ὀρφικοὶ καθαρμοί and the particular reasons for them expounded in the Ἱερὸς λόγος, the more general questions remain: what was the aim of holding the vegan diet? what for did the Orphics have to abstain from some foods? The question has been already answered by the Orphic poems, *Purifications* and *Deliverance of the Soul*, attributed to Pythagoras: “Keep away from food that we have mentioned... Then, if you leave the body behind and go to the free ether, you will be immortal, an undying god, no longer mortal” (T.13).

#### IV. Δείπνον ἄδειπνον. Trying to Restore the Orphic Menu

##### Recipes for Preparing a Pure Meal

Let us leave, now, the negative way of taboos and prohibitions to find something constructive. If the Orphics used to avoid every kind of meat, and eggs, and beans, the question is: what did they eat? It is a high time to examine a number of testimonies that can reflect, more or less, the everyday Orphic menu.

First of them, in chronological order, is Aristophanes’ *Birds*, performed in 414 BC. There is a saying, here, put in the mouth of Epops (actually, Tereus incarnated in a hoopoe), which concerns the birdfeed consisting of white sesame (λευκὰ σήσαμα), myrtle berries (μύρτα), poppies (μήκων), and water mint (σισύμβρια) (T.225). Menelaos Christopoulos thinks that the lines on the birdfeed can mirror the vegetarian diet of the Orphics (Christopoulos 212). He also remarks that Aristophanes’ birds—that abolished animal sacrifices to the Olympian gods—are costumes and masks for the sect of Orpheus whose

theogony has been travestied in the parabasis of the same play (Aristophanes, *Birds* 693–703 = *OF* 64). Franciszek Sokolowski was of different opinion when he associated the seeds of Aristophanes’ birds with the sacred menu of the Thesmophoria (*LSS* p. 209 note 11). It was the autumn festival, celebrated by Attic women from the 11<sup>th</sup> day of Pyanopsion to 13<sup>th</sup>, during which the special diet consisting of grains and seeds had been observed. There is an Attic inscription of the fourth century BC that specifies the alimentary products needed to prepare the sacred menu: barley, wheat, barley-groats, wheat-flour, dried figs, wine, olive oil, honey, white and black sesame seeds, poppy seeds, cheese, and garlic (T.226). Euelpides’ comment in the *Birds*: “you are all living the life of honeymooners!” (T.225) seems to support the view of Sokolowski.

By μήκων, they meant seed of the opium poppy (fig. 10), that was applied also in cookery: “there is one kind that is cultivated and that is grown in gardens; its seed is baked into bread to use in a health-inducing diet; they also use it with honey instead of sesame” (Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 4.64.1 [2: 218 Wellmann], trans. Beck 273).



Fig. 10. The μήκων (*Papaver somniferum*

*L.*, opium poppy) in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 221v. Source of illustrations:

<<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=mekon>.>

The grains, seeds, flour, dried fruit, and olive oil enumerated in the Attic inscription, were to be ingredients needed for preparing the festive cakes. Harpocration of Alexandria, in commentary on Demosthenes' word *νεήλατα* (a kind of cakes), quotes a recipe for preparing the cakes made of barley-flour, rolled out, soaked in honey, and stuffed with raisins and green chickpeas (T.227a–b). The recipe is similar to the popular dessert which is called *kataifi* in modern Greek.

Let us try something else: vegetables. The Attic middle comedy brings another set of foods that were to be consumed by the contemporary vegetarians: Orphics and Pythagoreans; unfortunately, the plays are poorly preserved. The only extant phrase from Antiphanes' *Orpheus* mentions “a loaf made of certain leaves” (T.228); we can infer from the title *Orpheus* that the verse concerned the Orphic diet. What leaves did he mean? Another comedy by Antiphanes, entitled *The Monuments*, represents the Pythagoreans as looking for leaves of tree purslane (T.229). Dioscorides of Anazarbus informs that the boiled leaves of this plant were used as vegetables for eating (T.230). The illustrated codex of Dioscorides, produced for the princess Juliana Anicia in AD 515, shows the plant in question (fig. 11)

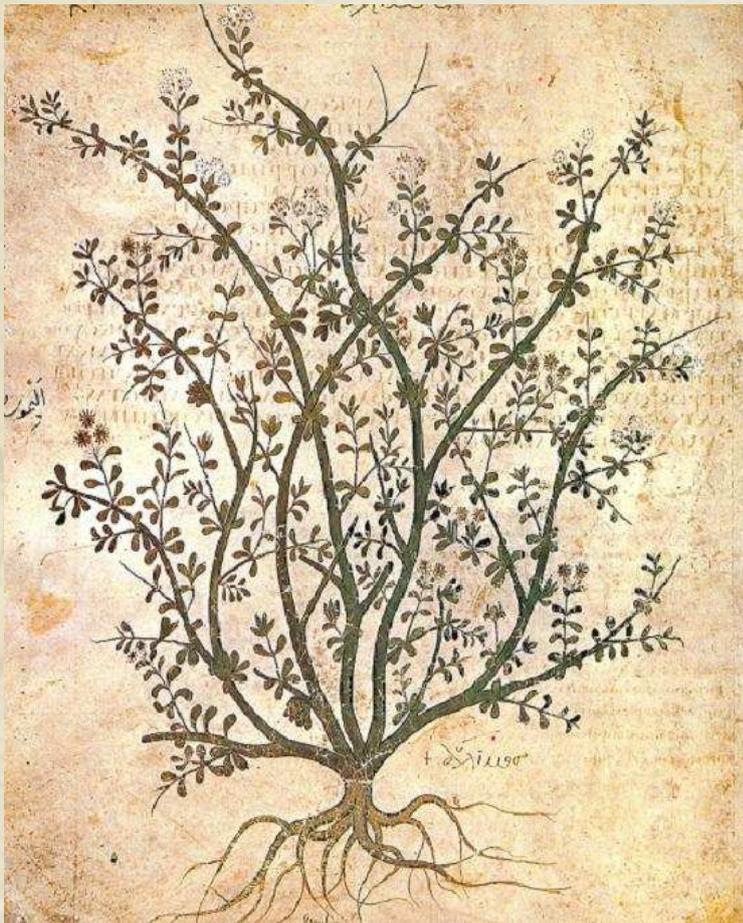


Fig. 11. The ἄλιμος (*Atriplex halimus*

L., tree-purslane, sea orach) in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 34v. Source:

<<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=halimus.>>

The cycle of comedies on Plato’s friends gives the list of other vegetarian delicacies that only Pythagoreans were able to eat. Alexis’ *Pythagoreaness* praises dried figs (ισχάδες), olive-mush (στέμφυλα), and cheese (τυρός), as the most suitable for sacrificing to the gods (T.231); Antiphanes’ *Bumblebee* recommends garlic (σκορόδια), cheese, onions (κρόμμυα), and capers (κάππαρις), that are tasty and cheap (T.232); Aristophon enumerates capers, pennyroyal (βλήχων), thyme (θύμος), and asparagus (ἀσπάραγος) (T.233).

Of these, pennyroyal, an aromatic herb with lilac flowers, was a spice ingredient of the Eleusinian κυκεών (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 209 [48 West]) (fig. 12).



**Fig. 12a.** The βλήχων (γλήχων) in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 087r. Source of illustration:

<<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=mentha+pulegium>.>

**Fig. 12b.** Pennyroyal, or *Mentha pulegium* L. 1753. Source of illustration:

<[http://www.floreAlpes.com/fiche\\_menthapulegium.php?addcomp2=menthapulegium&PHPSESSID=007e613d5439c0b2945d31d8492e8918](http://www.floreAlpes.com/fiche_menthapulegium.php?addcomp2=menthapulegium&PHPSESSID=007e613d5439c0b2945d31d8492e8918).>

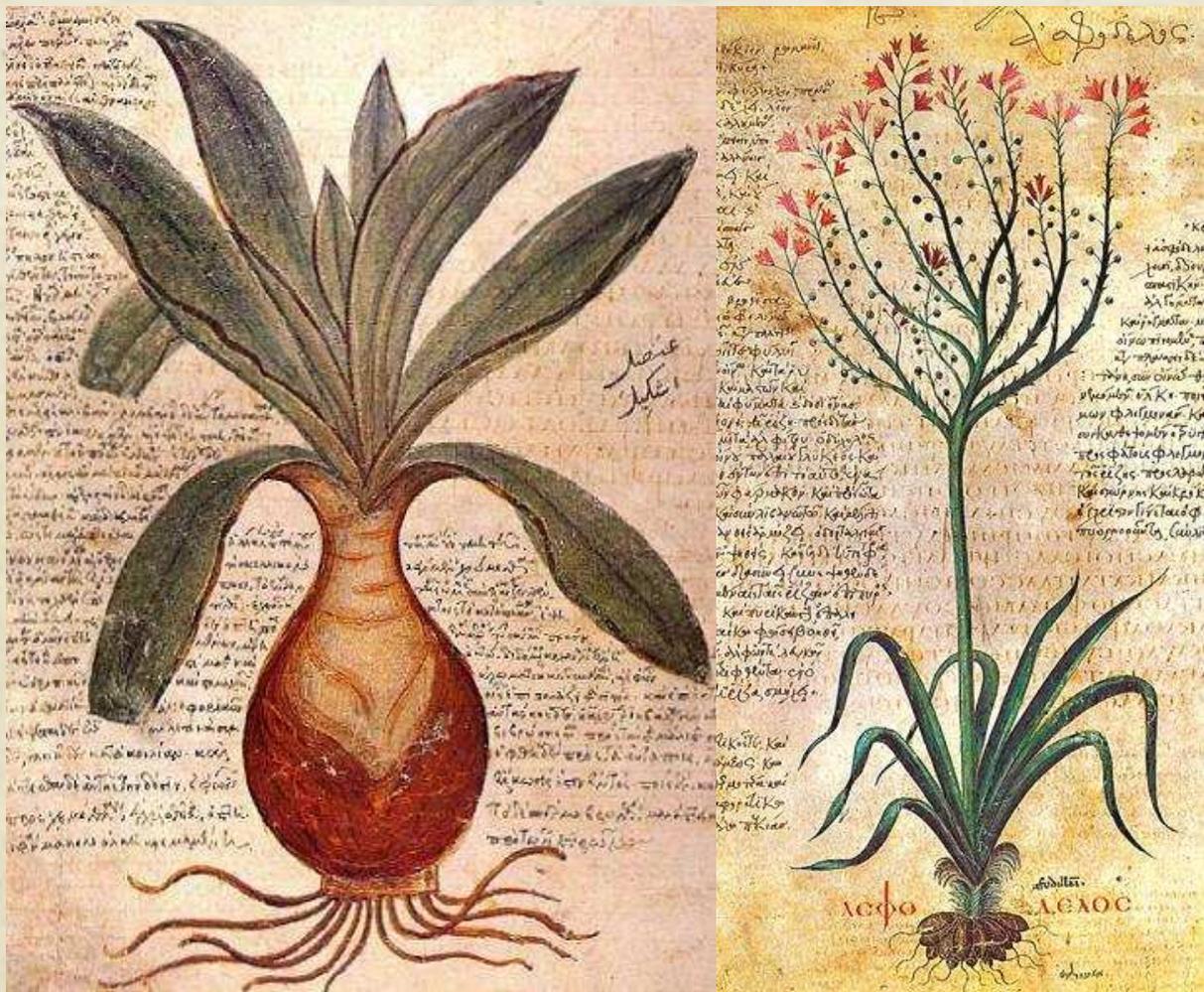
Capers, shown in fig. 13, were and still are very popular in the Mediterranean cookery; the ancient people, however, preferred capers’ fruit and stems, brine-cured, to the buds (Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 2.173.2 [1: 240 Wellmann]).



**Fig. 13a** (left). The κάππαρις in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 172v. Source of illustration: <http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=caper>.> **Fig. 13b** (right). The caper bush (*Capparis spinosa* L.) in Siracuse, Italy. Photo by E. O.

There is an interesting passage, transmitted by Antonius Diogenes (?AD second century), that concerns, at first glance, the diet of Pythagoras (T.234). The passage in question contains two special recipes for preparing the anti-hunger and anti-thirst foods (ἀλίμοις... καὶ ἀδίψοις τροφαῖς), that Pythagoras was to prepare every time when he visited the sacred places. The former one, for pastry against hunger, enumerates nine ingredients: (1) poppy seed, (2) sesame, (3) skin of the sea-onion, (4) the asphodelus flowers, (5) leaves of mallows, (6) barley, (7) barley-groats, (8) chickpeas, and (9) honey of Hymettus. The latter recipe, for mixture against thirst, specifies following ingredients, which are also nine in number: (1\*) seed of cucumbers, (2\*) raisins, (3\*) flowers of coriander (κόριον), (4\*) seeds of mallows, (5\*) common purslane (ἀνδράχνη), (6\*) scraped cheese, (7\*) wheat-meal, (8\*) cream, and (9\*) wild island honey. As concerns the anti-hunger recipe, we have already met the most of them—like poppy, sesame, barley, chickpeas, and honey—in the sacred menu for celebrating the Thesmophoria (T.226). The medical applications of the sea-onion (σκίλλα) and the asphodelus (ἀσφόδελος) have been described by Pedanius Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 2.169; 2.171 [1: 234–39 Wellmann]); the late ancient images of these plants come from his work (figs. 14–15). Besides, we know from Diogenes Laertios (*The Lives of Eminent*

Philosophers 8.47) about the dietetic treatise *On the Sea-Onion* (Περὶ σκίλλης), attributed to Pythagoras the Physician (Pseudo-Pythagoras, *On the Effect of Plants* fr. 6 Thesleff [p. 176]).



**Fig. 14** (left). The σκίλλα (*Scilla maritima* L., squill, sea-onion) in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 297v. Source of illustration:

<<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=Scilla+maritima>.>

**Fig. 15** (right). The ἀσφόδελος (*Asphodelus ramosus* L., asphodelus) in the Juliana Anicia Codex, 26v. Source of illustration:

<<http://tulip.hort.purdue.edu/herbalimages/results.php?search=asphodelus>.>

Of nine ingredients of each recipe (T.234), none recurs except the mallow (fig. 7), which appears in both recipes: the mallow leaves in (5) and the mallow seeds in (4\*). Albeit the medical applications of this plant were well-known (T.88), the use of mallow leaves (μαλάχης φύλλων) by Pythagoras himself arises some suspicions. For the Pythagoreans, the mallow leaf was the most sacred thing (T.89), so eating leaves of mallow contradicted the Pythagorean law (T.87) and the Pythagorean Symbol 18: “never eat mallow” (T.54).

Therefore, it is hard to believe that the recipes in question could stem from the Pythagorean tradition.

There is an evidence for the non-Pythagorean provenance of both recipes. Michael Psellus makes clear that the recipe for preparing the ἄλιμος—of asphodel, a root of mallow, sesame, white opium poppy, and raw sea-onion—has been invented by Epimenides (T.235). The same is stated by Plutarch of Chaeronea: that Epimenides’ magic brew to neutralize hunger and thirst (ἄλιμα ταῦτα καὶ ἄδιψα φάρμακα), made of mallow, asphodelus’ flowers, seeds, cheese, and honey—was contrived when Epimenides, a wise, tried to understand the line from Hesiod (*Works and Days* 41): “what a great profit mallow and asphodel have” (T.236) (Hausleiter 79–82).

Who was Epimenides of Crete? There is an essential disagreement between two ancient testimonies, by Plato (*FGrHist* 457 T4a) and Aristotle (*FGrHist* 457 T4b), on the chronology of Epimenides. Plato says that he was born “yesterday” (T.237a), to purify Athens ten years before the Persian attack, in 500 BC (T.237b), whereas the tradition going back to Aristotle locates his activity at ca. 630 BC (T.238). Presumably, Plato was right (Arrighetti 217–19). Epimenides is said to compose the *Purifications* in verses (T.239)—note that the poetry book under the same title was attributed also to Orpheus (T.14)—and the major poems *On the Birth of the Curetes and Corybantes* and the *Theogony* (T.240). Timaeus of Tauromenium and Demetrius of Magnesia show a disbelief in the story on Epimenides’ invention, in saying that Epimenides just received his magic cure for hunger from some Nymphs (T.241).

Herodorus of Heraclea, the author of *Story of Heracles*, had another idea (Detienne 1970, 150 note 60). According to Herodorus, the magic brew of asphodelus and mallow has been used, for the first time, by Heracles when he went to waterless desert during his Libyan adventures (T.242). The hero, in turn, was to learn the recipe from Demeter (T.243). It follows that the origin of the Epimenidean recipes and the Epimenidean Καθαρμοί may be traced back not only on the island of Crete but also in Athens and Eleusis.

### **Omophagy: What the Hell It Means?**

Porphyry of Tyre is to whom we owe the important excerpt which is reputed to be the oldest extant testimony concerning the Orphic diet. There is a famous fragment from the lost tragedy *Cretans* composed by Euripides and performed on the Athenian stage between 438 and 431 BC. The Tyrian philosopher quoted 20 lines from it to support his argumentation for

the superiority of the meatless diet in his work *On Abstinence from Living Animals*. He says that the lines, which come from chorus' address to Minos, concern the abstinence of the prophets of Zeus in Crete (T.244). The quotation from the *Cretans* contains a number of extremely interesting topics. The coryphaeus who is speaking here introduces himself as an initiate of Idaean Zeus, a “herdsman” of nocturnal Zagreus, a (Corybant) performing the rites of Curetes to the Mountain Mother, and a “bacchus,” who just left the temple (of Rhea) built of the local cypress wood. His life is pure, he says, because he used to abstain from eating the living food and wear white cloths, having approached neither dead bodies or childbirth. The text implies the cults of following deities: the Idaean Zeus, Zagreus, and the Mountain Mother who was identified with Rhea (T.245).

The most puzzling is chorus' declaration: “I became... a servitor of night-ranging Zagreus, after performing the feast on raw food” (T.245 lines 11–12). The phrase τὰς ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελέσας has been controversial since late antiquity. Jerome of Stridonium ratiocinated, in a logical way, that Euripides speaking of ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας had in mind nothing but abstention from cooked meals, *coctis cibus* (T.246). On the other hand, the lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria commented on the same line: “the ones who divide raw meat, and eat” (T.247), as if the τὰς... δαΐτας were derived from ὁ δαΐτης (“the one who divides meat,” LSJ 366 s.v. “daites”), not from ἡ δαΐς (“feast”). The grammatical confusion of two homonyms, δαΐτας (Euripides) and δαΐτας (Hesychius), resulted in over-interpretation of the Euripidean passage in the modern scholarship and never-ending discussions on omophagy, defined as the cultic feast on raw flesh (Cook 644–65; Haussleiter 88–96; Kern 1916; Parker 302; Casadio; Bernabé 2004; Jiménez 2009; Herrero; Bernabé 2016).

Let us take a closer look at the context in which the ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας appears. The play has been lost and there are left only the ancient recapitulations that are highly unsatisfactory. The complementary texts are: one poetic fragment attributed to Euripides' *Cretans*, Antonius Diogenes' narration on the mysteries of the Idaean Dactyls, and Diodorus of Sicily who derived from the earlier historians of Hellenistic period.

The Euripidean fragment, attributed to the *Cretans*, depicts the offering without fire, θυσία ἄπυρος, explained as some greens and πόπανα—offertory cakes made of fruit. The offering is devoted to the god, being both Zeus and Hades, who sends the souls of the dead to prophesy (T.248). The syncretistic Zeus-Hades might be the same as the night-ranging Zagreus mentioned by Euripides (T.245), because Aeschylus in his lost play *The Egyptians* bestowed the name of Zagreus upon Pluto, the god of the underworld (T.249).

We are not told who were to deal with the necromancy like that; Porphyry presumed they were “the prophets of Zeus” (T.244). Antonius Diogenes (?AD second century) is who reports Pythagoras’ initiation into the mysteries of Idaean Zeus. The bizarre ritual, which was believed to come down from the Idaean Dactyls, entailed a series of purification (with a meteoric thunderstone, with a sea water, with a river water), wearing black cap and black wool dress, and descending into the Idaean cave—where Zeus’ throne and tomb were placed—to stay there for 27 days. The ritual involved also some unspecified offering to Zeus who was called Zan in the Cretan dialect<sup>29</sup> (T.250). The cave and temple of Zeus near Cnossos, which must have been the same as the Idaean one, is referred by Plato in his *Laws* (T.251). The grave and the strange name Zan (?Zanes in plural, see Rose 1921) might also refer to the people who were consecrated to Zeus and killed in honor of him (T.252). It is difficult to say if the prophesying ghosts of Zeus-Hades (T.248) can be included into the category of Zanes (T.252), and if they were consulted in the Idaean cave or somewhere else. Anyway, I do not think that the Cretan Zan can be linked to the bull-shaped Zagreus, killed by the Titans, as Arthur B. Cook proposed (Cook 646–47).

Let us turn, now, to Diodorus of Sicily who summarized the plot of the *Cretans*. He says that Minos (the future king of Cnossos and Crete), was punished by Poseidon for sacrificing to him another bull than the chosen one. The wrath of Poseidon was the reason why Minos’ wife Pasiphae fell in love with the not-sacrificed bull and subsequently gave birth to Minotaur, the hybrid bull-headed baby (T.253). One may speculate that the plot of the *Cretans* begins at the moment when Minos summoned Zeus’ prophets to consult with them the omen, as the ones who used to ask the questions to prophesying ghosts, but they refused under the cover of their purity, symbolized by white garments and vegetarian lifestyle.

Diodorus also relates the local Cretan legends on the mythical events that preceded the birth of Minotaur. He starts with the quotation from Ephorus of Cyme who narrated that the Idaean Dactyls, born in Phrygia, were credited with inventing mysteries and initiatory rites, and with instructing Orpheus how to perform them (T.254). Next, Diodorus continues with *The History of Crete* by Epimenides the Genealogist, who is different from Epimenides of Crete mentioned in the previous section. After them, he says, the nine Curetes have been born from the earth (T.255). At that time, there were still living six Titans and five Titanids, the children of Heaven and Earth, that had been dwelling near Cnossos where Rhea, one of the

<sup>29</sup> In Doric, Zan means Zeus, see LSJ 753 s.v. “Zan.” I have no idea if this Zan had something to do with Zas (Zeus) who played the crucial part in cosmogony of Pythagoras’ teacher Pherecydes, frs. 14, 66, 68–69 Schibli.

Titanids, had a house in the cypress grove<sup>30</sup> (T.256). When she delivered Zeus, the Curetes took care of her baby (T.257). Zeus, on his native island, raped Phersephone and fathered Dionysus who was torn into pieces by the Titans, his own uncles. The story is said to be told by Orpheus and related to some mystery rites (T.258). Diodorus' version, which is derived from Epimenides, lacks in the well-known sequel of the story, namely the myth on creation of the mankind out of ashes of the Titans, burnt with Zeus' thunderbolt, that occurs half a millennium later in Olympiodorus of Alexandria (T.259).

Finally, there is found in Diodorus also Corybant, the first priest of the Mother of Gods, after whom all priests performing her sacred rites (ἱερὰ) were called “Corybantes” (T.260). The sacred rites of the same goddess, Mountain Mother, accompanied by the Curetes, has been mentioned by Euripides in the *Cretans* (T.245 line 14). Theophrastus of Eresus and the Hellenistic historians knew the transcriptions of the Corybantic rites from Crete, inscribed on the special tablets called κύρβεις, that concerned the festivals and sacrifices (T.261, T.262). Theophrastus mentioned these *kyrbeis* in the context of bloodless sacrifices and wineless libations.

The connection between the vegetarian diet and Corybantic rites is attested by Nonnus of Panopolis who describes δεῖπνον ἄδειπνον (“the supper no supper”), hosted by a certain countryman Brongus who inhabited οἶκον ἄοικον (“the house no house”)<sup>31</sup> in the Homeric land Alybe,<sup>32</sup> which would be located in Bithynia or the northern Phrygia (T.263). The hospitable shepherd invited the travelling Dionysus to his cave, treated with milk, and tried to sacrifice one of his sheep but the god stopped him. Brongus, then, served some olive fruit in brine and curdled cheese in wickerwork baskets, which Francis Vian interprets as fresh cheese mixed with herbs that was called *moretum* in Latin (Vian 1991, 593). After Dionysus satisfied himself with the meatless banquet, δεῖπνον ἄδειπνον, he was reminded of the frugal feast and the bloodless table of Cybele, the Mountain Mother.

From the epithet γηγενέων (“giant”), applied by Nonnus to Brongus' cave, Enrico Livrea infers that the Nonnian passage on Brongus' hospitality might be patterned after the *Gigantias* by Dionysius (Livrea). The poem is lost except a few damaged fragments of which

<sup>30</sup> The cypress forests on Crete have disappeared in the Middle Ages, after AD 1414 (Baumann 35).

<sup>31</sup> For the wording used here see very similar passage on the riddles in Trypho of Alexandria, *On the Tropes* 4 (194 Spengel): man not man is an eunuch; bird not bird is a bat; wood not wood is a giant fennel (*Ferula communis* L.).

<sup>32</sup> Alybe is a Homeric toponym (Homer, *Iliad* 2.857). Its localization has been problematic since antiquity (Gerlaud 129–31).

one concerns the preparations to a feast and a meatless menu which consists of beans, cereals, grains of wheat, and a potion with meal (T.264). It would mean that Brongus was a giant, the earth-born one. We know from Pseudo-Epimenides (cf. T.255), that Curetes were also reputed to be generated from the earth. Perhaps Brongus whom Dionysus met in Alybe was one of them.

My conclusion is that the Euripidean phrase ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας, interrelated with the cults of Zeus-Hades and the Mountain Mother, means nothing but feeding on uncooked vegetarian food, or performing bloodless sacrifices without fire. In my conclusion, I agree with the constation made by Juan I. González in his paper on the subject of omophagy (González). Among a number of the testimonies adduced by González, there is the one of special importance. It is the passage from Palladius of Helenopolis on the lifespan diet kept by the Egyptian monk Ammonius. His regimen from early youth until death was the ὠμοφαγία, as Palladius says, what is explained as eating nothing that had passed through the fire: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ διὰ πυρὸς διήρχετο (T.265). I think that also Euripides had in mind such an omophagy: eating uncooked foods.

We have a number of testimonies on another kind of omophagy, that is devouring a raw flesh of still living animals by the worshippers of Dionysus<sup>33</sup> (T.266–T.271). The testimonies in question concern, in my opinion, the ecstatic cult of Dionysus Omadios (“the raw-eater one”)—the epithet attested, among others, by the Orphic hymn to the Biennial God (T.272a)—and some aberrations of the Dionysiac cult, including a human sacrifice, that are unattested for the Orphic movement (T.272b).

### Milk: Not Good for You?

There is left a question of drinks. Presumably every kind of potion was allowed with exception of milk. Why milk? The column six of the Derveni Papyrus deals with the offerings usually made to the countless souls of the dead that are identified here with the Eumenides. The offerings to the Eumenides were to be sacred cakes called πόπανα and wineless libations of ὕδωρ καὶ γάλα, “water and milk,” poured to them before the regular sacrifices to the gods (T.273). The later sources link the libations of milk to the special ceramic vessels, ἄγγεσι κεραμείοις (T.274).

<sup>33</sup> In the cult of Dionysus with epiclesis “Omestes” or “Omadios” (“Raw-Eater”), the living animals were torn into pieces but probably not eaten by the worshippers of the god (Ekroth 101).

Albert Henrichs (Henrichs) supposes that the vessels in question would be the same as the Eleusinian *πλημοχόαι* (fig. 16), used on Boedromion 22<sup>th</sup>, or the final day of the Great Mysteries at Eleusis<sup>34</sup> (T.275). Edward L. Ochsenschlager speculated that the scope of the Eleusinian libations was aimed at the cosmic rebirth and recycling of the souls (Ochsenschlager).



**Fig. 16.** The Athenian black-figured *plemochoe*, 550–500 BC, attributed to Lysiades Potter. The Metropolitan Museum, inv. 07.286.46. Beazley 348.2. Source of illustration: <http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/gr/original/DP119370.jpg>.

Finally, Numenius of Apamea remarks that the libations of honey and milk were poured to the souls, because milk—the first nourishment of newborn babies—used to attract the souls that enter the next bodies (T.276).

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Orphics and the Pythagoreans abstained from some kinds of foods (meat, eggs, beans) in order to avoid rebirth or to reduce a number of incarnations. If they believed that drinking milk result in subsequent generation in the body, it comes out that they must have to abstain from it.

<sup>34</sup> It was the eight day of the Great Mysteries celebrated at Eleusis on Boedromion 22<sup>th</sup> (the end of September).

### Cheers! Wine Is Allowed

There is no reason to suppose that the Orphics drank only water all their lives, like the so-called Pythagorists of late classical and early Hellenistic period (T.277). The ὕδροποσία (“drinking pure water”) could not be a hallmark of the ancient Orphism. Apart from the disgust of ancient Mediterranean people at a pure water, attested among others by Aelius Aristides (T.278), it is hard to imagine the Orphic lives without wine, the gift of Dionysus whose mysteries were to be invented by Orpheus (T.279a) and referred in the *Orphic Initiations* by Onomacritus (T.279b). Orpheus was who persuaded the ancient inhabitants of Greece that the afterlife in Hades would be μέθη αἰώνιος, or “drunkenness forever” (T.280). The drunkenness, an eschatological hope of the Orphics, implies drinking wine as acceptable in the Orphic circles since classical antiquity.

### A City of Pigs?

To close the chapter on the Orphic menu, we can quote the passage from the *Republic* where Plato, through his mouthpiece, Socrates, discusses the question of diet in the ideal city Callipolis (T.281). What will the people eat in the ideal city? Socrates says that they will feed on bread and cakes made of wheat and barley, and they will drink wine; next, he adds salt, olives, cheese, boiled roots, local vegetables, figs, lentils, roast myrtle, and acorns. The simple menu, which would be convergent with the Orphic diet and the Corybantic δεῖπνον ἄδειπνον, is commented on by Glaucon, Socrates’ interlocutor, in the following way: “If you were founding a city for pigs, Socrates, he replied, wouldn’t you fatten them on the same diet?” We can ask, then, if the ὤν πόλις was to express Plato’s actual attitude to the “Orphic lives” he glorified in his *Laws* (T.1)?



To summarize, we can use Philostratus’ words, put in the mouth of Apollonius of Tyana, that concern the impure and pure foods. He says that the meat of animals is impure, whereas pure is everything which the earth itself produces, so, as he argues, fruit and vegetables belong to pure foods and wine is a καθαρὸν πῶμα (T.282). The dietetic regulation, formulated by the neo-Pythagorean Apollonius, could be representative of the Orphic regimen too. On the other hand, the strict diet kept by the Pythagoreans of the Hellenistic period, which consists of uncooked foods and water only (T.277), cannot be considered as Orphic.

Anyway, the Orphics were allowed to consume raw vegetables. What about a raw animal meat? The bizarre idea that the Orphics who had to eat no meat were occasionally

allowed to consume a raw flesh has been suggested by the only one phrase: τὰς ὁμοφάγους δαῖτας τελέσας from Euripides' *Cretans* (T.245). I have argued that the phrase concerns eating raw food rather than a raw flesh and appears in the double context of the bloodless fireless offerings to the Idaean Zeus-Hades (T.248) as well as the Corybantic rites from Crete that were credited with sacrificing no living animal (T.261–T.263). There is no connection here to the sanguinary frenzy of Dionysus Omadios or the ritual dismemberment of living animals in honor of him (T.266–T.272).

Besides, the tradition transmitted two recipes, descended from Epimenides of Crete (ca. 500 BC), for preparing the pastries out of raw greens, seeds, vegetables, fruit, grains, honey etc. (T.234). The small portions of the pastries were used against hunger and thirst when the person who prepared them (Epimenides and Pythagoras are mentioned in the context) visited some sacred places and stayed there a number of days. Antonius Diogenes informs that the initiation into the mysteries of the Idaean Zeus took 27 days and that an initiated had to inhabit the Idaean cave, Crete, during the period (T.250). The same initiation is probably alluded in Euripides' *Cretans* (T.245 lines 9–20). I cannot find any reasons for maintaining that Euripides, in saying of ὁμοφάγους δαῖτας, referred the bloody feast on a raw flesh rather than a vegetarian pastry prepared out of raw ingredients according to Epimenides' recipe.

## V. Conclusions

To conclude the problem of the Orphic diet, I should return to the beginning of my paper where I have asked four essential questions concerning (i.) the chronology of related sources; (ii.) the relation between the Orphic food taboos and the Pythagorean Symbols; (iii.) the attitude of the Orphic puritans to an animal sacrifice; and (iv.) the difference between the Orphic diet and ritual fasting during some festivals, initiations into mysteries and so on.

### i.

The question of sources is an awkward problem. For, of 282 fragments discussed above, only several items pertain exactly the Orphic diet. All of them, about 20 in number, are the second-hand quotations and none is derived directly from the so-called Orphica (“Orphic writings”) of classical period. The collected sources do not clarify where and when the Orphic sect begun.

Of them, the earliest testimonies come from the Athenian play-writers who not only were tendentious but also addressed the hardheaded auditorium that used to display a hostility

towards any religious novelties including the Orphic movement. The poetic verses by Euripides, Aristophanes, and Antiphanes on the meatless diet propagated by the Orphic books date from the years 428–365 BC (T.6–T.8, T.228). Above all, Empedocles of Acragas, well acquainted with the religious traditions of the Magna Graecia, has transformed both Orphic and Pythagorean food regulations into his personal dietary code (Kołakowska 103). The Sicilian philosopher seems to be the first to comment on the Orphic diet (ca. 444 BC).

Plato, in his *Laws* written ca. 350 BC, refers “the Orphic lives”—characterized by the meatless menu and bloodless sacrifices—to the unidentified non-Hesiodic story on the golden generation that lived under Cronus (T.1, T.172a–c), which had been known to Empedocles too (T.171). In the *Republic*, Plato introduces the vegetarian utopia to his ideal city and represents the people of Callipolis as feeding on greens, vegetables, lentils, bread, cheese etc., which he calls the pig menu (T.281).

A number of authors of Roman imperial period (AD 100–554) either refer Orpheus’ poetry book on the prohibitions from meat, eggs, and beans (T.9, T.11, T.206) or quote some isolated verses from it (T.10, T.18, T.21b, T.173). Some writers paraphrase or allude to the Orphic tale (T.175, T.200, T.201, T.216, T.218). The most valuable is the passage quoted by John the Lydian (AD 554) after Heraclides Ponticus (339 BC) who excerpted an authentic anti-bean line from the poet himself, viz. Orpheus (T.198). Plutarch of Chaeronea, Pausanias Periegeta, and Porphyry inform that Orpheus’ poem on the prohibited foods had been forbidden to every uninitiated person (T.10, T.21b, T.206). It explains the surprisingly small dossier of sources concerning the Orphic diet that date from classical and Hellenistic periods (Borgeaud 262 and note 6). There is no literary evidence for practicing the Orphic life before 444 BC by anyone except Epimenides of Crete who can be recognized as a “Corybant” but hardly as an “Orphic.”

## ii.

The Orphics shared the taboos on meat, beans, and eggs with the early Pythagoreans who flourished in the southern Italy between ca. 520 BC and 360 BC. The sources on the history of early Pythagoreanism are abundant. Despite the Pythagorean tenets had to be kept in top secrecy, there were some unorthodox Pythagoreans to betray them to everyone: Empedocles of Acragas (444 BC), Plato of Athens (385 BC), and Diodorus of Aspendus (ca. 350 BC). Moreover, the authentic *Pythagoreans Memoirs* have been collected and written down since 450 BC, to leak out—through Aristotle and Alexander Polyhistor—between 350 BC and 80 BC. The work in question referred the so-called Pythagorean Symbols that contained, among others, the list of prohibited foods. After the genuine Pythagoreans died out

in Magna Graecia (ca. 360 BC), the Pythagorean lifestyle became an Athenian phenomenon. The sources (the Attic middle comedy, Aristoxenus of Tarentum) often refer the diet of the contemporary “Pythagorists,” but they are misleading.

The Pythagorean Symbols include the prohibitions against eating beans and animals (T.54 Symbols 11 and 14), whereas the *Pythagorean Memoirs* point at eggs as forbidden food (T.138). Nevertheless, the Pythagorean dietary restrictions cannot be identified with the Orphic diet. Why? The detailed analysis of related sources in part two of the present paper shows that the genuine Pythagoreans—before they disappeared in the late 360s BC—were allowed to sacrifice select animals and eat some parts of them, and to consume fish except the black and red ones. It was “semi-vegetarianism,” to use a modern term, which permitted to make an animal sacrifice demanded by most ancient cults. The example of the later neo-Platonist Proclus is the best illustration of the Pythagorean cult practice (T.12a).

### iii.

On contrary, the Orphics were prohibited from any bloody sacrifices with no exception. The most representative of the Orphic custom seems to be the corpus of 87 *Orphic Hymns* (?AD 200), of which 78 hymns specify what type of fumigation was needed to honor each deity. There are found here frankincense, myrrh, potpourri, resin, storax, saffron, grains of all kinds, poppy-seeds, smoke of a torch, and milk, whereas beans and any animal products have been excluded from the list of offerings (Morand 115–37).

### iv.

The Pythagorean Symbols stem from the ritual texts that were used during initiations only (T.114 τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ τελετῇ; T.138 οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες), having been prohibited from the Greek public (T.67, T.183b–c). The sacred books in question have been lost and are known only by their titles: Ἱερὸς λόγος (*Sacred Tale*) and Καθαρμοί (*Purifications*). Because the ancient Greek tradition knew double Ἱερὸς λόγος (both Orphic and Pythagorean) and a few different Καθαρμοί (Epimenidean, Orphic, Empedoclean), the scholars have a serious difficulty with discerning them from each other. Anyway, the texts revealed, among others, the mystic reasons why some foods—like meat, beans, eggs—have been forbidden. The oldest of them seems to be the *Purifications* by Epimenides of Crete (ca. 500 BC), whereas the *Orphic Purifications* and the *Orphic Sacred Tale*—that were reputed to date from classical period—antedate the Pythagorean *Sacred Tale*, which is a Hellenistic composition.

In fact, the Pythagorean dietary regulations resemble the so-called sacred law concerning some Attic festivals. During the Great Mysteries at Eleusis (Boedromion 15<sup>th</sup>–

22<sup>th</sup>), there was a ban on birds, fish, beans, pomegranates, and apples (T.283), and, similarly, the celebrants of Haloa (held on Poseideion 26<sup>th</sup>) were prohibited from pomegranates, apples, domestic fowl, eggs, and—of seafood—from red mullet, pandora, blacktail, crayfish, and dogfish (T.284). Likewise, during the Dionysiac festivals celebrated at Smyrna, it was a rule to abstain from eggs, beans, hearts, and wild mint (T.203). The same prohibitions on beans, eggs, hearts, red mullet, pandora, and blacktail have been attested for the early Pythagorean communities.

Anyway, the sacred law concerning the prohibited foods during the Eleusinia, Haloa, and Dionysia cannot be linked to the Orphic diet. While the ritual fasting was temporary, i.e. obligatory during a few festive days, the Orphic diet was to be observed permanently to become the Orphic life (T.1). After all, what was permitted to a pious initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries: sacrificing “the mystic pig” (T.285a) (Parker 282–86) and eating a sausage made of it (T.285b), would be impossible, as being unholy, for a puritan Orphic.

## VI. Corpus of Related Texts in Greek and Latin<sup>35</sup>

### A. Orphic Lives, Orphic Taboos

**T.1** Plato, *Laws* 782c–d Burnet 350 BC

*OF* 625i; Orfismo E6 Scarpi; no. 53 Harden

...ὅτε οὐδὲ βοὸς ἐτόλμων μὲν γεύεσθαι, θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγνὰ θύματα, σαρκῶν δ' ἀπείχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὄν ἐσθίειν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρφικοὶ τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίνοντο ἡμῶν τοῖς τότε, ἀψύχων μὲν ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχων δὲ τοῦναντίον πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι.

...there was a time when we didn't even dare to eat beef, and the sacrifices offered to the gods were not animals, but cakes and meal soaked in honey and other 'pure' offerings like that. People kept off meat on the grounds that it was an act of impiety to eat it, or to pollute the altars of the gods with blood. So at that time men lived a sort of 'Orphic' life, keeping exclusively to inanimate food and entirely abstaining from eating the flesh of animals. (trans. Cooper 1454–55)

<sup>35</sup> The choice of texts collected here diverges from the Orphic fragments by Alberto Bernabé (*OF* 625–*OF* 649, vol. 2, pp. 199–218) and the loci discussed by Johannes Haussleiter (Haussleiter 79–162: *Begründer und Vollender des griechischen Vegetarismus*).

- T.2** Syrianus, *Commentary on the Metaphysics* 1000a19 (43 Kroll) AD 430–37

OF 1108iii

ἀλλὰ γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον ὄντα καὶ Ὀρφικὸν [sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα—Bernabé]

Since [Empedocles] is an Orphic and a Pythagorean. (trans. Bernabé 2013, 129)

- T.3** Timaeus of Tauromenium, *History of Sicily, book nine*, *FGrHist* 566 F14 qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.54 (632 Dorandi) 339–279 BC

Ἀκοῦσαι δ’ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ τῆς ἐνάτης ἱστορεῖ λέγων ὅτι καταγνωσθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπία τότε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων, τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν.

Timaeus in the ninth book of his *Histories* says he (sc. Empedocles) was a pupil of Pythagoras,<sup>36</sup> adding that, having been convicted at that time of stealing his discourses, he was, like Plato, excluded from taking part in the discussions of the school. (trans. Hicks 2: 369–71)

- T.4a** Favorinus of Arelate, *Memorabilia* fr. F56 Amato qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.53 (631 Dorandi) AD 130–60

OF 1108i

ἐγὼ δ’ εὔρον ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσσε τοῖς θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων...

I found in the *Memorabilia* of Favorinus a statement that Empedocles feasted the sacred envoys on a sacrificial ox made of honey and barley-meal... (trans. Hicks 2: 369)

- T.4b** Dicaearchus of Messana qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 36 (52–53 Places) fl. 320 BC

ἐβουθύτησεν δέ ποτε σταίτινον, ὡς φασὶ βοῦν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, ἐξευρῶν τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἴσον δυναμένην ταῖς περιεχούσαις.

When he [sc. Pythagoras] discovered the proposition that the square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle was equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle, he is said to have sacrificed an ox,<sup>37</sup> although the more accurate<sup>38</sup> say that this ox was made of flour. (trans. Guthrie 130)

<sup>36</sup> The chronology given in the text is a little suspicious. Pythagoras died between 500 and 495 BC, Empedocles was born in 490 BC. How come, then, could Empedocles be a pupil of Pythagoras?

<sup>37</sup> Apollodorus of Cyzicus (the fourth century BC) claimed, in his *Life of Pythagoras*, that Pythagoras sacrificed an ox—or even a hecatomb (100 oxen)—after he discovered a right-angled triangle (*FGrHist* 1097 F1b–c).

- T.5** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 120 Wright 444 BC  
*OF* 637  
 οἴμ' ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν με διώλεσε νηλεὲς ἦμαρ,  
 πρὶν σχέτλι' ἔργα βορᾶς περὶ χεῖλεσι μητίσασθαι.  
 Alas that the pitiless day did not destroy me first, before I devised for my lips the cruel deed of eating flesh. (trans. Wright 284)
- T.6** Euripides, *Hippolytus* 952–54 (2: 216 Kovacs) 428 BC  
*OF* 627; Orfismo E5 Scarpi; no. 52 Harden  
 ἤδη νυν αὖχει καὶ δι' ἀνύχου βορᾶς  
 σίτοις καπήλευ' Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων  
 βάκχευε πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνοῦς·  
 Continue then your confident boasting, adopt a meatless diet and play the showman with your food, make Orpheus your lord and engage in mystic rites, holding the vaporings of many books in honor! (trans. Kovacs 2: 217)
- T.7** Aristophanes, *Frogs* 939–43 (2: 177 Wilson) 405–404 BC  
 ἀλλ' ὡς παρέλαβον τὴν τέχνην παρὰ σοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς  
 οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ρημάτων ἐπαχθῶν,  
 ἴσχανα μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφεῖλον  
 ἐπυλλίοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ τευτλίοισι λευκοῖς,  
 χυλὸν διδοῦς στωμυλμάτων ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἀπηθῶν·  
 {Euripides' soul is speaking} No, as soon as I first inherited the art from you, bloated with bombast and obese vocabulary, I immediately put in on a diet and took off the weight with a regimen of wordlets and strolls and little white beets [*Beta vulgaris maritima* L.], administering chatter-juice pressed from books... (trans. Henderson 4: 153)
- T.8** Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1032 (2: 181 Wilson) 405–404 BC  
*OF* 547i; *OF* 626i; Orfismo E4 Scarpi  
 Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι...  
 {Aeschylus' soul is speaking} Orpheus revealed mystic rites to us, and taught us to abstain from killings... (trans. Henderson 4: 165)
- T.9** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Dinner of the Seven Sages* 16, 159C (327 Gärtner). AD 68–120

<sup>38</sup> J. Radicke infers—from the phrase of Porphyry (*Life of Pythagoras* 56): Δικαίαρχος καὶ οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι—that he meant here Dicaearchus of Messana (Radicke 372). On the other hand, Walter Burkert was of opinion that the text in question is derived from Antonius Diogenes' *Wonders beyond Thoule* (Burkert 1972, 180 note 110).

OF 629; Orfismo E7 Scarpi

τὸ δ' ἀπέχεσθαι σαρκῶν ἐδωδῆς, ὡσπερ Ὀρφέα τὸν παλαιὸν ἱστοροῦσι, σόφισμα μᾶλλον ἢ φυγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀδικημάτων ἐστί.

But to refrain entirely from eating meat, as they record of Orpheus of old, is rather a quibble than a way of avoiding wrong in regard to food. (trans. Babbitt 2: 421)

- T.10** Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 2.36.4–6 (102–03 Bouffartigue). AD 263

OF 635

Φησὶ δὲ ἔμψυχον οὗτος θύειν μηδὲ ἓν, ἀλλ' ἄχρις ἀλφίτων καὶ μέλιτος καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀκροδρῦων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθέων ἀπάρχεσθαι· μηδὲ ἀφ' ἡμαγμένης ἐσχάρας ἔστω τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα φησὶ ἐκεῖνος. τί γὰρ δεῖ μεταγράφειν ταῦτα; οἶδε δὲ ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας φροντίζων ὡς θεοῖς μὲν οὐ θύεται οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον, δαίμοσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ἦτοι ἀγαθοῖς ἢ καὶ φαύλοις, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ τὸ θύειν τούτοις καὶ τούτων ἄχρι τίνος αὐτοῦ δεομένων. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εὐστομα κείσθω.

He [sc. the Theologian] says that not a single animate creature should be sacrificed, but offerings should not go beyond barley-grains and honey and the fruits of the earth, including flowers. 'Let not the fire burn on a bloodstained altar,' and the rest of what he says, for what need is there to copy out the words? Someone concerned for piety knows that no animate creature is sacrificed to the gods, but to other *daimones*, either good or bad, and knows whose practice it is to sacrifice to them and to what extent these people need to do so. For the rest, 'let it remain unsaid' [Herodotus, *Histories* 2.171] by me. (trans. Clark 70)

- T.11** Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 269 qtd. in Jerome of Stridonium, *Against Jovinian* 2.14.1 (40 Patillon) AD 263

OF 630

Orpheus in carmine suo esum carniū penitus detestatur.

Orpheus in his hymn utterly rejects the eating of meat. (trans. Clark 194 note 687)

- T.12a** Marinus of Neapolis, *Life of Proclus* 19 (75 Masullo) AD 485–90

τὰ πολλὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν ἠσπάζετο· εἰ δὲ ποτε καιρὸς τις ἰσχυρότερος ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων χρῆσιν ἐκάλει, μόνον ἀπεγεύσατο, καὶ τοῦτο ὀσίας χάριν.

For the most part he made it a rule to abstain from living creatures, and if some pressing occasion called on him to eat them, he merely tasted them, and then only for the sake of piety. (trans. Edwards 86)

- T.12b** Marinus of Neapolis, *Life of Proclus* 18 (75 Masullo) AD 485–90

OF 561

νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀποτροπαῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς χρώμενος, ὅτε μὲν Ὀρφικοῖς ὅτε δὲ Χαλδαϊκοῖς...

Day and night he made use of apotropaic, lustratory and other purifications, sometimes the Orphic, sometimes the Chaldean... (trans. Edwards 85)

- T.13** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Golden Verses* 67–71 (98 Thom) Hellenistic period

*Hieros Logos* fr. 10 Thesleff (p. 162)

ἀλλ’ εἴργου βρωτῶν ὧν εἶπομεν ἔν τε Καθαρμοῖς  
ἔν τε Λύσει ψυχῆς, κρίνων καὶ φράζου ἕκαστα  
ἠνίοχον γνώμην στήσας καθύπερθεν ἀρίστην.  
ἦν δ’ ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθέρ’ ἐλεύθερον ἔλθης,  
ἔσσει ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.

But keep away from food that we have mentioned in *Purifications* and in *Deliverance of the Soul*, with discernment, and consider each thing by putting the excellent faculty of judgment in control as charioteer. Then, if you leave the body behind and go to the free ether, you will be immortal, an undying god, no longer mortal. (trans. Thom 99)

- T.14** Oenomaus of Gadara, *Charlatans Exposed* fr. 11C Hammerstaedt qtd. in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5.31.3 (280 Mras) AD 119

*OF* 607; Epimenides fr. 12ii (*PEG* 2.3: 121); *FGrHist* 1070 F3

ὥς μὴ μᾶλλον τῆς Κρήτης σὺ καθαρμοῦ προσδέη, Ὀρφικούς τινας ἢ Ἐπιμενιδεῖους καθαρμοὺς φανταζόμενος.

Beware lest thou need lustration more than Crete, for inventing lustrations such as those of Orpheus and Epimenides. (trans. Gifford 244)

- T.15** Pseudo-Empedocles, *Katharmoi* fr. 128 Wright 444 BC

δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἄπο χειρας ἔχεσθαι.

Wretches, utter wretches, keep your hands from beans! (trans. Wright 289)

- T.16** Callimachus of Cyrene fr. 553 Pfeiffer 278–246 BC

καὶ κυάμων ἄπο χειρας ἔχειν, ἀνιῶντος ἐδεστοῦ,  
κῆγῶ, Πυθαγόρης ὡς ἐκέλευε, λέγω.

I tell you too, as did Pythagoras, withhold your hands from beans, a hurtful food. (trans. Rolfe 347)

- T.17a** Suda Lexicon, Δ 876 (2: 81 Adler) after AD 1028

Δίδυμος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς· Γεωργικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ιε’.

Didymus, of Alexandria. [He wrote] *Georgics* in 15 books. (the SOL translation)

**T.17b** Didymus of Alexandria, *Georgics* qtd. in *Geoponica* 2.35.8 (73 Beckh) AD 400

*OF* 648xi; Orfismo E9 Scarpi

Πρῶτος δὲ ἀπέσχετο κυάμων Ἀμφιάραιος, διὰ τὴν δι' ὄνειρων μαντείαν. φέρεται δὲ καὶ Ὀρφέως τοιάδε ἔπη·

Δειλοί, κυάμων ἄπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθε, καὶ·

Ἴσόν τοι κυάμους φαγέειν, κεφαλὰς τε τοκῆων.

The first to abstain from beans was Amphiaraios, owing to the practice of foretelling the future from dreams. Verses such as these are quoted from Orpheus:

‘Fools! Withhold your hands from beans!’ [Pseudo-Empedocles, *Katharmoi* fr. 128 Wright], and:

‘To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents’ heads.’ [*OF* 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff] (trans. Dalby 93)

**T.18** Heraclides of Pontus, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 129 Schütrumpf qtd. in John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.42 (99 Wuensch) 339 BC

*OF* 648iii + *OF* 648

...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποιητὴν φάναι·

Ἴσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλὰς τε τοκῆων.

And (he continues) this is why the poet said:

‘It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents.’ [Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff] (trans. Schütrumpf 239)

**T.19** *Orphic Hymns* 26 proem (231 Fayant) ?AD 200

Γῆς θυμίαμα· πᾶν σπέρμα πλὴν κυάμων καὶ ἀρωμάτων.

To Earth: incense, any grains save beans and aromatic herbs. (trans. Athanassakis 24)

**T.20** Gregory of Nazianzus, *Theological Orations* 27.10 (94 Galloway) AD 380

*OF* 648xiii

...τοὺς κυάμους τοὺς Ὀρφικούς...

...the Orphic beans... (trans. E. O.)

**T.21a** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E (57 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 645

Ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τινὸς ἀπε<ιχό>μην ὧν πολὺν ἦδ' .... παρὰ τοῦτο ποιούμενος, ἐν ὧν καθάπερ ἐν Καρὶ διάπειραν λαβεῖν τῆς ὄψεως ἐναργῶς μοι πολλάκις γενομένης·

Because of a dream, I had for a long time now been avoiding eggs, and I was acting so for this reason, that I might test by an egg, as by a Carian, the vision which came to me clearly and frequently. (trans. Clement 145)

**T.21b** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talk* 2.3.2, 636D (60 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 646i

‘αείσω ξυνετοῖσι’ τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃς οὐκ ὄρνιθος μόνον τὸ ᾠόν ἀποφαίνει πρεσβύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαβὸν ἅπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ πρεσβυγένειαν ἀνατίθησιν. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν ‘εὔστομα κείσθω’ καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον, ἔστι γὰρ μυστικώτερα...

What is more, he added with a laugh, ‘I shall recite for men of understanding’ [*OF* 101] the Orphic sacred tale which not only declares the egg older than the hen, but also attributes to it the absolute primordiality over all things together without exception. As for the rest of the doctrine, ‘let reverent silence prevail,’ as Herodotus says [*Histories* 2.171]; for it is very much of a mystical secret. (trans. Clement 149–51)

**T.22** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 647i; Orfismo E8 Scarpi

ὑπόνοιαν μέντοι παρέσχον, ἐστιῶντος ἡμᾶς Σοσσίου Σενεκίωνος, ἐνέχεσθαι δόγμασιν Ὀρφικοῖς ἢ Πυθαγορικοῖς, καὶ τὸ ᾠόν, ὡσπερ ἔνιοι καρδίαν καὶ ἐγκέφαλον, ἀρχὴν ἡγούμενος γενέσεως ἀφοσιῶσθαι...

But my companions at one of Sossius Senecio’s dinners suspected me of being committed to beliefs of the Orphics or the Pythagoreans and holding the egg taboo, as some hold the heart and brain, because I thought it to be the first principle of creation. (trans. Clement 145)

**T.23** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E–F (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 645; *OF* 648v; Orfismo E8 Scarpi

ὡς δὴ κυάμους τὰ ᾠὰ διὰ τὴν κύησιν αἰνιττομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, διαφέρειν δὲ μηδὲν οἰομένων τὸ ἐσθίειν ᾠὰ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τίκτουςι τὰ ᾠὰ ζώοις.

For these people call eggs ‘beans’ (κύαμοι), punning on the word ‘conception’ (κύησις), and they think that eating eggs in no way differs from using the creatures which produce the eggs. (trans. Clement 145)

## B. What Foods Did Pythagoras Used to Eat?

### The Pythagorean Diet in a False Mirror

**T.24** *Life of Pythagoras* qtd. in Photius, *Bibliotheca* cod. 249 (126 Henry). ?AD first century

Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶ τῷ Πυθαγόρῃ συγγενόμενοι ἐκαλοῦντο Πυθαγορικοί, οἱ δὲ τούτων μαθηταὶ Πυθαγόρειοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλως ἔξωθεν ζηλωταὶ Πυθαγορισταί.

Those who had been personal companions of Pythagoras were known as Pythagorics, their pupils as Pythagoreans, and various external followers as Pythagorists. (trans. Wilson 219)<sup>39</sup>

**T.25** Plato, *Republic* 600b Burnet 371 BC

Πυθαγόρας αὐτός τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠγαπήθη, καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπονομάζοντες τοῦ βίου διαφανεῖς πῆ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις...

Pythagoras is particularly loved for this, and even today his followers are conspicuous for what they call the Pythagorean way of life. (trans. Cooper 1204)

**T.26** Alexis of Thuri, *Tarentines* frs. 220–21 Edmonds 360 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 1 Cardini

οἱ Πυθαγορίζοντες γάρ, ὡς ἀκούομεν,  
οὔτ' ὄψον ἐσθίουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν  
ἔμψυχον, οἶνόν τ' οὐχὶ πίνουσιν μόνοι.

Pythagoreans eat no fish, they say, nor any living thing, and only they never drink wine. (trans. Edmonds 2: 481)

**T.27** Alexis of Thuri, *Tarentines* frs. 220–21 Edmonds 360 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 1 Cardini

A. Πυθαγορισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι  
λεπτοὶ διεσμιλευμένοι τε φροντίδες  
τρέφουσ' ἐκείνους, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τάδε·  
ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον  
ὑδατος· τοσαῦτα ταῦτα. B. δεσμοτηρίου  
λέγεις δίαιταν: πάντες οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ  
διάγουσι καὶ τοιαῦτα κακοπαθοῦσί που;  
A. τρυφῶσιν οὗτοι πρὸς ἐτέρους. ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι  
Μελανιπίδης ἐταῖρός ἐστι καὶ Φάων  
καὶ Φυρόμαχος καὶ Φᾶνος, οἳ δι' ἡμέρας  
δειπνοῦσι πέμπτης ἀλφίτων κοτύλην μίαν.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.80 (46 Deubner): “According to this rule, then, he called some ‘Pythagoreans,’ other ‘Pythagorists’ (just as we name some ‘Attics,’ but others ‘Atticists’) and after suitably distinguishing the names, he identified the former as his true followers, and decreed that the latter show themselves emulators of these” (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 105).

A. What keeps 'em is Pythagorisms and quirks and ideas as smooth-cut as a sculptor's works; but their one meal's two dry loaves between two with a cup of water. B. According then to you it's prison fare, theirs. Do all the devotees live in such misery? A. No; they have degrees of luxury. Think; Melanippides, Phaon, Phyromachus, Phanus of that clique eat half a pint of barley twice a week. (trans. Edmonds 2: 481)

**T.28** Mnesimachus, *Alcmaeon* fr. 1 Edmonds ca. 340 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 2 Cardini

ὡς Πυθαγοριστὶ θύομεν τῷ Λοξίᾳ,  
ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν ἐσθίοντες παντελῶς.

For when we sacrifice to Loxias [viz. Apollo], we eschew what is living, à la Pythagoras. (trans. Edmonds 2: 361)

**T.29** Antiphanes, *Bag* fr. 135 Edmonds 359 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 1 Cardini

πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ πυθαγορίζων ἐσθίει  
ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ πλείστης τοῦβολοῦ  
μάζης μελαγχρῆ μερίδα λαμβάνων λέπει.

First, like one of Pythagoras' following, he never eats a single living thing—takes a black helping of the barley-duff you get most of for a penny, and that's enough. (trans. Edmonds 2: 227)

**T.30** Aristophon, *Pythagorist* fr. 13 Edmonds 338 BC

OF 432iii; Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 2 Cardini

ἐσθίουσί τε  
λάχανά τε καὶ πίνουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕδωρ·

Greens are their food and water is their drink... (trans. Edmonds 2: 527)

**T.31** Alexis of Thuri, *Pythagoreaness* frs. 196–97 Edmonds ?366–357 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 1 Cardini

A. ἡ δ' ἐστίασις ἰσχάδες καὶ στέμφυλα  
καὶ τυρὸς ἔσται: ταῦτα γὰρ θύειν νόμος  
τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις. B. νῆ Δί', ἱερεῖον μὲν οὖν  
ὁποῖον ἂν κάλλιστον, ὃ βέλτιστ', ἔχη.

A. They 'll give me dried figs, olive-mush, and cheese; reg'lar Pythagorean offering, that. B. You couldn't have a better, man; that's flat. (trans. Edmonds 2: 469)

**T.32** Aristophon, *Pythagorist* fr. 9 Edmonds 338 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 2 Cardini

πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ  
 τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς γινομένους ὄντως ῥυπᾶν  
 ἐκόντας ἢ φορεῖν τρίβωνας ἡδέως;  
 οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ·  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἓν,  
 τῆς εὐτελείας πρόφασιν εὐρόντες καλὴν  
 ὄρους ἔπηξαν τοῖς πένησι χρησίμους.  
 ἐπεὶ παράθες αὐτοῖσιν ἰχθῦς ἢ κρέας,  
 κᾶν μὴ κατεσθίωσι καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους,  
 ἐθέλω κρέμασθαι δεκάκις.

{Slave is speaking} Can we agree the old Pythagoreans willingly went dirty or wore  
 frieze cloaks just for fun? No fear; smartness needs cash, and having none, they found  
 a good excuse for living cheap, and fixed a standard for poor folks to keep. What I say  
 is, just give'em fish or meat, and they 'll bite their fingers in their haste to eat, or I'll  
 be blogged ten times. (trans. Edmonds 2: 525)

Aristoxenus' Dementi

- T.33** Aristoxenus of Tarentum fr. 1 Wehrli qtd. in Suda Lexicon, A 3927 (1: 357 Adler).  
 336–333 BC

Ἀριστόξενος, υἱὸς Μνησίου, τοῦ καὶ Σπινθάρου, μουσικοῦ, ἀπὸ Τάραντος τῆς  
 Ἰταλίας. διατρίψας δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ φιλόσοφος γέγονε καὶ μουσικῇ ἐπιθέμενος οὐκ  
 ἡστόχησεν, ἀκουστῆς τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ Λάμπρου τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου, εἶτα Ξενοφίλου  
 τοῦ Πυθαγορείου καὶ τέλος Ἀριστοτέλους· εἰς ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὕβρισε, διότι κατέλιπε  
 τῆς σχολῆς διάδοχον Θεόφραστον, αὐτοῦ δόξαν μεγάλην ἐν τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς τοῖς  
 Ἀριστοτέλους ἔχοντος. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μετέπειτα χρόνων· ὡς  
 εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ριᾶ Ὀλυμπιάδος, σύγχρονος Δικαιάρχῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ. συνετάξατο δὲ  
 μουσικὰ τε καὶ φιλόσοφα, καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ παντὸς εἶδους παιδείας· καὶ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ βιβλία εἰς ὑγ' .

Aristoxenus, Son of Mnesias (also known as Spintharos), who was an authority on  
 music, from Taras in Italy. Having taken up residence at Mantinea he became a  
 philosopher, and on applying himself to music showed great talent for it, as a student  
 of his father and of Lampros the Erythraian, then of Xenophilos the Pythagorean and  
 finally of Aristotle. He heaped insults on the lattermost after his death, because he left  
 Theophrastus as head of the school, although Aristoxenos himself had achieved great  
 distinction among the students of Aristotle. And he flourished in the time of Alexander  
 and the years following, so as to be around the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad a contemporary of  
 Dicaearchus of Messana. He composed works on music and philosophy and history,  
 and every aspect of culture. His books number 453. (the SOL translation)

- T.34** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On Pythagoras and His Circle* fr. 14 Wehrli qtd. in  
 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.118 (145 Dorandi) 336–333 BC

Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι νοσήσαντα  
 αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ.

But Aristoxenus in his work *On Pythagoras and His Circle* affirms that he [sc. Pherecydes—Wehrli] died a natural death and was buried by Pythagoras in Delos (trans. Hicks 1: 125, modified)

- T.35** ?Aristoxenus of Tarentum qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.1 (177 Marshall). Before AD 150

Opinio vetus falsa occupavit et convaluit Pythagoram philosophum non esitavisse ex animalibus item abstinuisse fabulo, quem Graeci κύαμος appellant.

An erroneous belief of long standing has established itself and become current, that the philosopher Pythagoras did not eat of animals: also that he abstained from the bean, which the Greeks call κύαμος. (trans. Rolfe 347)

- T.36** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 28 Wehrli qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 10.418E (4: 464 Olson) 336–333 BC

καὶ Πυθαγόρας δ' ὁ Σάμιος μετρία τροφῆ ἐχρῆτο, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Λύκων ὁ Ἴασεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου>. οὐκ ἀπέιχετο δὲ ἐμψύχων, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος εἶρηκεν.

Pythagoras of Samos also ate moderately, according to Lycon of Iasos in his *On the Pythagorean Lifestyle* [D-K 57.3, vol. 1, p. 445]; but he did not avoid meat, according to Aristoxenus. (trans. Olson 4: 465)

- T.37** ?Aristoxenus of Tarentum qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.20 (611 Dorandi) before AD 200

θυσίαις τε ἐχρῆτο ἀψύχοις, οἱ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἀλέκτορσι μόνον καὶ ἐρίφοις γαλαθινοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπαλίας,<sup>40</sup> ἥκιστα δὲ ἄρνασιν.

The offerings he made were always inanimate; though some say that he would offer cocks, sucking goats and porkers, as they are called, but lambs never. (trans. Hicks 2: 339)

- T.38** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 29a Wehrli qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.20 (611–12 Dorandi) 336–333 BC

ὃ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τᾶλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνον δ' ἀπέχεσθαι βοῶς ἀροτῆρος καὶ κριοῦ.

However, Aristoxenus has it that he consented to the eating of all other animals, and only abstained from ploughing oxen and rams. (trans. Hicks 2: 339)

- T.39** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 25 Wehrli qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.7 (177–78 Marshall) 336–333 BC

Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

<sup>40</sup> The ἀπαλίας means a sucking pig, see LSJ 176 s.v. “hapalia.”

Porculis quoque minusculis et haedis tenerioribus victitasse idem Aristoxenus refert. Quem rem videtur cognovisse e Xenophilo Pythagorico, familiari suo, et ex quibusdam aliis natu maioribus, qui ab aetate Pythagorae <minus diu aberrant.>

Aristoxenus also relates that Pythagoras ate very young pigs and tender kids. This fact he seems to have learned from his intimate friend Xenophilus the Pythagorean and from some other older men, who lived not long after the time of Pythagoras. (trans. Rolfe 350)

- T.40** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 25 Wehrli qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.4 (177 Marshall) 336–333 BC

Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

Sed Aristoxenus musicus, vir litterarum veterum diligentissimus, Aristoteli philosophi auditor, in libro, quem de Pythagora reliquit, nullo saepius legumento Pythagoram dicit usum quam fabis, quoniam is cibus et subduceret sensim alvum et levigaret. Verba ipsa Aristoxeni subscripsi: Πυθάγορας δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων μάλιστα τὸν κύαμον ἐδοκίμασεν. λειαντικόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ διαχωρητικόν, διὸ καὶ μάλιστα κέχρηται αὐτῷ.

But Aristoxenus the musician, a man thoroughly versed in early literature, a pupil of the philosopher Aristotle, in the book *On Pythagoras* which he has left us, says that Pythagoras used no vegetable more often than beans, since that food gently loosened the bowels and relieved them. I add Aristoxenus' own words: 'Pythagoras among vegetables especially recommended the bean, saying that it was both digestible and loosening; and therefore he most frequently made use of it.' (trans. Rolfe 350)

- T.41** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On Pythagoras and His Circle* fr. 25 Wehrli qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.9 (178 Marshall) 336–333 BC

Videtur autem de κύαμῳ non esitato causam erroris fuisse, quia in Empedocli carmine, qui disciplinas Pythagorae secutus est, versus hic invenitur:  
δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κύαμων ἄπο χειρας ἔχεσθαι.

Furthermore, the reason for the mistaken idea about abstaining from beans seems to be, that in a poem of Empedocles, who was a follower of Pythagoras, this line is found:

‘O wretches, utter wretches, from beans withhold your hands.’ (Pseudo-Empedocles, *Katharmoi* fr. 128 Wright) (trans. Rolfe 349)

- T.42** ?Aristoxenus of Tarentum qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.19 (611 Dorandi) before AD 200

ἐνίοτε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασὶ τινες ἢ κηρίῳ ἢ ἄρτῳ, οἴνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γεύεσθαι· ὄψῳ τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνοις ἐφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ θαλαττίοις σπανίως.

Some say that he contented himself with just some honey or a honeycomb or bread, never touching wine in the daytime, and with greens boiled or raw for dainties, and fish but rarely. (trans. Hicks 2: 337, modified)

- T.43** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *Pythagorean Maxims & On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 1a Cardini qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 21.97 (56 Deubner) 336–333 BC

ἀρίστω δὲ ἐχρῶντο ἄρτω καὶ μέλιτι ἢ κηρίῳ, οἴνου δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν οὐ μετεῖχον.

For lunch they ate bread and honey and honey-comb, but during the day they did not drink wine. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 121)

- T.44** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 27 Wehrli qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 2.47A (1: 262 Olson) 336–333 BC

καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δὲ τροφή ἦν ἄρτος μετὰ μέλιτος, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος, τοὺς προσφερομένους αὐτὰ ἀεὶ ἐπ’ ἀρίστω λέγων ἀνόσους διατελεῖν.

According to Aristoxenus, the Pythagorean diet consisted of bread and honey; he claims that anyone who regularly eats this for lunch never gets sick. (trans. Olson 1: 263)

- T.45** ?Aristoxenus of Tarentum qtd. in Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens before AD second century

Transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 34 (51–52 Places)

Τῆς δὲ διαίτης τὸ μὲν ἄριστον ἦν κηρίον ἢ μέλι, δεῖπνον δ’ ἄρτος ἐκ κέγχρων ἢ μᾶζα καὶ λάχανα ἐφθὰ καὶ ὠμά, σπανίως δὲ κρέας ἱερείων θυσίμων καὶ τοῦτο οὐδ’ ἐκ παντὸς μέρους.

As to his diet, his breakfast was honeycomb or honey; his dinner was millet bread or barley bread and vegetables, cooked and raw, rarely meat from sacrificed animals, and not from every part of the animal. (trans. Stephens 139)

- T.46** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *Pythagorean Maxims & On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 1a Cardini qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 21.98 (57 Deubner) 336–333 BC

ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον χωρεῖν, ὡς πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἀποδεδειπνηκένοι. χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ οἴνω καὶ μᾶζῃ καὶ ἄρτω καὶ ὄψω καὶ λαχάνοις ἐφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς. παρατίθεσθαι δὲ κρέα ζῴων θυσίμων [ἱερείων], τῶν δὲ θαλασσίων ὄψων σπανίως [χρῆσθαι]· εἶναι γάρ τινα αὐτῶν δι’ αἰτίας τινὰς οὐ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι.

Then they went to dinner, so as to finish dinning before the sun’s setting. And they consumed wine, barley-cake, bread, relishes, boiled and raw vegetables. Meat of sacrificial animals was set before them, but they rarely ate fish: for certain reasons, some of these were not proper for consumption. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 123)

- T.47** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *Pythagorean Maxims & On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 1a Cardini qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 21.99 (57 Deubner) 336–333 BC

Cf. Porhyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 39 (53 Places)

ἐπεὶ δὲ μέλλοιεν ἀπιέναι, σπονδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐνέχει ὁ οἰνοχόος, σπείσαντων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος παρήγγελλε τάδε·

ἡμερον φυτὸν καὶ ἔγκαρπον μῆτε βλάπτειν μῆτε φθείρειν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ζῶον, ὃ μὴ πέφυκε βλαβερόν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει, μῆτε βλάπτειν μῆτε φθείρειν.

And when they were about to leave, the cup-bearer poured out a libation for them, and when the libations were made, the oldest proclaimed these things:

not to harm or destroy a cultivated and fruitful plant, and in like manner, not to harm or destroy a living being harmless by nature to the human race. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 123)

#### The Pythagorean Symbols

- T.48** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa 350 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.82 (47 Deubner)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 4 Cardini

ἔστι δὲ ἢ μὲν τῶν ἀκουσματικῶν φιλοσοφία ἀκούσματα ἀναπόδεικτα καὶ ἄνευ λόγου, ὅτι οὕτως πρακτέον, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα παρ’ ἐκείνου ἐρρέθη, ταῦτα πειρῶνται διαφυλάττειν ὡς θεῖα δόγματα, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν οὔτε λέγειν προσποιῶνται οὔτε λεκτέον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνουσι τούτους ἔχειν βέλτιστα πρὸς φρόνησιν, οἵτινες πλεῖστα ἀκούσματα ἔσχον. πάντα δὲ τὰ οὕτως <καλούμενα> ἀκούσματα διήρηται εἰς τρία εἶδη· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τί ἐστι σημαίνει, τὰ δὲ τί μάλιστα, τὰ δὲ τί δεῖ πράττειν ἢ μὴ πράττειν.

The philosophy of the acousmatics consists of oral instructions without demonstration and without argument: e.g. ‘in this way one must act.’ And the other things said by that one [Pythagoras], these they try to preserve as divine teachings. They do not claim to speak for themselves; nor must one so speak, but even among themselves they suppose those have made best progress towards practical wisdom who have absorbed the fullest oral instructions. All these so-called oral instructions are divided into three kinds: for some indicate what a thing is; others, what is the most; and others, what is necessary to do or not to do. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 107, modified)

- T.49** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa 350 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.83 (48 Deubner)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 4 Cardini

τὰ δὲ τί πρακτέον ἢ οὐ πρακτέον τῶν ἀκουσμάτων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν...

The oral instructions about what must be done or what must not be done were of this sort: for example... (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 107)

- T.50** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.17 (200–02 Wilson) 350 BC

Προσέταπτε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Πυθαγόρας καρδίας ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἀλεκτρονόου λευκοῦ καὶ τῶν θνησιδίων παντὸς μᾶλλον...

The same Pythagoras gave instructions not to eat heart or white chicken, and above all to avoid eating dead animals... (trans. Wilson 201–03)

- T.51** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.17 (609 Dorandi) AD 200

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Ἦν δ' αὐτῶ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε:...

The following were his watchwords or precepts:... (trans. Hicks 2: 335)

- T.52** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *Rules of Pedagogy, book ten* fr. 43 Wehrli qtd. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.15–16 (609 Dorandi) 336–333 BC

ἔλεγόν τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πυθαγόρειοι μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν δεκάτῃ Παιδευτικῶν νόμων... ἱκανός τε γὰρ ἦν φιλίας ἐργάτης τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ εἴ τινα πύθοιτο τῶν συμβόλων αὐτοῦ κεκοινωνηκότα, εὐθύς τε προσηταιρίζετο καὶ φίλον κατεσκεύαζεν.

And the rest of the Pythagoreans used to say that not all his doctrines were for all men to hear, our authority for this being Aristoxenus in the tenth book of his *Rules of Pedagogy*... Whenever he [Pythagoras] heard a person who was making use of his symbols, he immediately took him into his circle, and made him a friend. (Hicks 2: 335 + Struck 100)

- T.53** Timaeus of Tauromenium qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 32.226–27 (121–22 Deubner) 339–279 BC

τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ιδέας τῶν ἡθῶν θετέον καὶ ὅτι τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν ἑαυτῶν δογμάτων ἀπόρρητα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διεφύλαττον ἅπαντες αἰεὶ, μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς ἐχεμυθίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐξωτερικοὺς ἀνέκφορα διατηροῦντες ἀγράφως ἐν μνήμῃ, τοῖς διαδόχοις ἅπερ μυστήρια θεῶν μεταπαραδιδόντες. διόπερ οὐδὲν ἐξεφοίτησε τῶν γε λόγου ἀξίων μέχρι πολλοῦ, διδασκόμενά τε καὶ μανθανόμενα ἐντὸς τοίχων μόνον ἐγνωρίζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θυραίων καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν βεβήλων, εἰ καὶ ποτε τύχοι, διὰ συμβόλων ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἄνδρες ἠνίττοντο, ὧν ἴχνος ἔτι νῦν [ὧν] περιφέρονται...

To the same quality of character must also be attributed the fact that they all always kept secret among themselves their own principal and most essential beliefs. Maintaining strict reserve toward those outside their fellowship, they kept these

hidden, unwritten, in their memory, and handed them down to their successors as mysteries of the gods. Hence for a long time nothing worth mentioning spread abroad, and what was taught and learned was known only within their walls. But in the presence of those outside the doors and, so to speak, profane, if ever one were present, these men spoke obscurely to one another by means of ‘symbols,’ of which the ones now commonly quoted still bear a trace... (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 223)

**T.54** Pythagorean Symbols (Acousmata) classical period

- Symbol 11 Boehm (no. 17 Guthrie): Κυάμων απέχου = No. 37 Iamblichus  
 Symbol 12 Boehm (nos. 18–19 Guthrie): τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἄπεςθαι ὅσοι ἱεροί = Symbol 5(6) + no. 33 Iamblichus  
 Symbol 13 Boehm (no. 27 Guthrie): Ἀλεκτρυόνα μὴ ἄπεςθαι λευκοῦ = No. 17(18) Iamblichus  
 Symbol 14 Boehm (nos. 21–22 Guthrie): Ἐμψύχων απέχου = No. 39 Iamblichus  
 Symbol 15 Boehm (no. 4 Guthrie): Καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν = No. 30 Iamblichus (*OF* 647iv)  
 Symbol 16 Boehm (no. 57 Guthrie): Ἐγκέφαλον μὴ ἐσθίειν = No. 31 Iamblichus  
 Symbol 17 Boehm (no. 45 Guthrie): Θυσίμων χρὴ ἐσθίειν μόνον  
 Symbol 18 Boehm (no. 13 Guthrie): Μαλάχην μεταφύτευε μὲν μὴ ἔσθιε δέ = Symbol 38 Iamblichus  
 Symbol 28 Boehm: κέδρω δὲ λέγει καὶ δάφνη καὶ κυπαρίττω καὶ δρυὶ καὶ μυρρίνη τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos in Latin* Thesleff p. 167  
 Symbol 39 Guthrie: τὸ ἐφθὸν ὀπτᾶν οὐ νόμος = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos in Latin* Thesleff p. 167  
 Symbol 40 Boehm (no. 23 Guthrie): περὶ τῶν ἀλῶν, ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι

- Symbol 11 Boehm: Abstain from beans.  
 Symbol 12 Boehm: Not to touch the fish that are sacred.  
 Symbol 13 Boehm: Not to touch white chicken.  
 Symbol 14 Boehm: Abstain from any living animals.  
 Symbol 15 Boehm: Eat not the heart.  
 Symbol 16 Boehm: Eat not the brain.  
 Symbol 17 Boehm: One may eat of sacrificial animals only.  
 Symbol 18 Boehm: Sow mallows, but do not eat them.  
 Symbol 28 Boehm: Honor the gods with cedar, laurel, cypress, oak, and myrtle.  
 Symbol 39 Guthrie: Roast what not is boiled.  
 Symbol 40 Boehm: Always put salt on the table. (trans. Guthrie 159–61 + Dillon–Hershbell 169, modified)

**T.55** Nicomachus of Gerasa, *?Life of Pythagoras*, *FGrHist* 1063 F2 qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 35.253 (136 Deubner) ca. AD 151

...ὑπομνήματά τινα κεφαλαιώδη καὶ συμβολικὰ συνταξάμενοι τὰ τε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συγγράμματα καὶ ὧν διεμémνηντο συναλίσσαντες...

They put together some works containing their teaching in summary and symbolic form. And they collected treatises of the older Pythagoreans and such sayings of theirs as they remembered. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 245–47)

- T.56** Timaeus of Tauromenium qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 36.266 (143 Deubner) 339–279 BC

Diodoros p. 70 Thesleff

πρὸς ὃν ἀφικέσθαι Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, ὃν παραδεχθῆναι διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι ἀνδρῶν. οὗτος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθὼν διέδωκε τὰς Πυθαγορείους φωνάς.

...to him [sc. Aresas from Lucania] came Diodorus of Aspendus, whom he received because of the scarcity of men in the community. This man, on returning to Hellas, spread abroad the Pythagorean sayings. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 255)

- T.57** Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus, *Successions of Philosophers*, *FGrHist* 273 F93 qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.24–36 (613–19 Dorandi). 80–60 BC

[24] Φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς καὶ ταῦτα εὐρηκέναι ἐν Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν... [36] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν φησὶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὐρηκέναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐχόμενα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης.

[24] Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that he found in the *Pythagorean Memoirs* the following tenets as well.... [36] This is what Alexander says that he found in the *Pythagorean Memoirs*. What follows is Aristotle's. (trans. Hicks 2: 341–51)

- T.58a** Anaximander Junior of Miletus, *Explanation of the Pythagorean Symbols*, *FGrHist* 9 T1 qtd. in Suda Lexicon, A 1987 (1: 179 Adler) after 359 BC

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Ἀναξίμανδρος, Ἀναξιμάνδρου, Μιλήσιος, ὁ νεώτερος, ἱστορικός. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀρταξέρξου χρόνους τοῦ Μνήμονος κληθέντος. ἔγραψε συμβόλων Πυθαγορείων ἐξήγησιν...

Son of Anaximander, a Milesian, the younger, a historian. He was born in the time of Artaxerxes who was called Mnemon [404–359 BC]. He wrote an *Explanation of the Pythagorean Symbols*... (the SOL translation)

- T.58b** Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Pseudo-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetics* 40 (52 Falco) fl. 356–323 BC

Pythagoras fr. 8 Cardini

Ἀνδροκύδης τε ὁ Πυθαγορικός ὁ Περί τῶν συμβόλων γράψας... οἱ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγράψαντες σὺς ἔτεσι τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις τὰς αὐτῷ συμβεβηκυίας ἔφασαν γεγονέναι.

Androcydes the Pythagorean, who wrote *On the Symbols*... who all recorded Pythagoras' deeds, said that the transmigrations of soul which he [sc. Pythagoras] underwent occurred at 216-intervals... (trans. Waterfield 84)

- T.58c** Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus, *On the Pythagorean Symbols*, *FGrHist* 273 F94 qtd. in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.15.70.1 (1: 44 Stählin) 80–60 BC

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων...

Alexander, in his book *On the Pythagorean Symbols*... (trans. ANF 2: 316)

- T.59** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa 350 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.86 (50 Deubner)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 4 Cardini

ἐπ' ἐνίων μὲν οὖν ἐπιλέγεται τί δεῖ, οἷον ὅτι δεῖ τεκνοποιεῖσθαι ἔνεκα τοῦ καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ θεῶν θεραπευτὴν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος πρόσεστι. καὶ ἓνα μὲν τῶν ἐπιλεγόμενων δόξει προσπεφυκέναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἓνα δὲ πόρρω· οἷον περὶ τοῦ τὸν ἄρτον μὴ καταγνύναι, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἄδου κρίσιν οὐ συμφέρει. αἱ δὲ προστιθέμεναι εἰκοτολογίαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ εἰσὶ Πυθαγορικαί, ἀλλ' ἐνίων ἔξωθεν ἐπισοφιζομένων καὶ πειρωμένων προσάπτειν εἰκότα λόγον, οἷον καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος, διὰ τί οὐ δεῖ καταγνύναι τὸν ἄρτον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τὸν συνάγοντα διαλύειν (τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον βαρβαρικῶς πάντες ἐπὶ ἓνα ἄρτον συνήεσαν οἱ φίλοι)...

In the case of some [instructions], a reason why is added; for example, one must bear children in order to leave behind another in the place of oneself for worship of the gods. But for other [ones], no reason is added. And some of the reasons given seem to have been attached from the beginning and others later; for example, not to break bread, because it is not advantageous for judgment in Hades. The probable reasons given about such matters are not Pythagorean, but were devised by some outside the school trying to give a likely reason, as, for example, that now mentioned: why one ought not break bread means not to dissolve the congregation (for in the past, all who were friends came together in foreign fashion for one loaf of bread). (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 109, modified)

- T.60** ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καρδίαν μὴ τρώγειν, ἐγκέφαλον μὴ ἐσθίειν, καὶ τούτων εἶργεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς· ἡγεμονία γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἐπιβάθραι καὶ ἔδραι τινὲς τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν. ἀφωσιοῦτο δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου φύσιν. οὕτως καὶ μαλάχης εἶργεσθαι ἐκέλευεν, ὅτι πρώτη ἄγγελος καὶ σημάντρια συμπαθείας οὐρανίων πρὸς ἐπίγεια. καὶ μελανούρου δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι παρήγγελλε· χθονίων γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν. καὶ ἐρυθρίνον μὴ προσλαμβάνειν δι' ἕτερα

τοιαῦτα αἴτια. καὶ ‘κυσσῶν ἀπέχου’ διὰ πολλὰς ἱεράς τε καὶ φυσικὰς καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνηκούσας αἰτίας. καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διεθεσμοθέτησε τούτοις ὅμοια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἀρχόμενος εἰς ἀρετὴν ὁδηγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

He decreed that they not ‘munch on the heart’ nor ‘eat brain,’ and from these all Pythagoreans are banned; for these organs are the ruling parts and, as it were, stepping-stones and seats of practical thinking and living. And these same things he eschewed on religious grounds because of the nature of the divine reason. Se also he commanded them to abstain from mallow, because it is the first messenger and indicator of an affinity of heavenly things with things earthly. And he ordered them to abstain from blacktail, for it belongs to the earth gods; and do not eat pandora for similar reasons. And to ‘abstain from beans’ because of many sacred and physical reasons, and reasons pertaining to the soul. He prescribed other rules like these, and thus, beginning with food, he led human beings to moral excellence. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.61** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (133–51 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

ἔστω δὲ τὰ φρασθησόμενα Σύμβολα ταῦτα.... Διὰ πάντων δὴ οὖν τούτων φανερὸς γέγονε καὶ ὁ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων προτρεπτικὸς τύπος ἔχων πολὺ τὸ ἀρχαιότροπον καὶ Πυθαγορικόν.

The following are the Symbols which will be elucidated:.. Through all the foregoing explanations, therefore, appears the mode of exhortation through symbols containing much of the ancient and Pythagoric method. (trans. Johnson 92–112)

- T.62** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 8 Thesleff (p. 159) qtd. in Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Physicists* (AM 9) 128 (243 Mutschmann) classical period

ἔνθεν καὶ παρήνουν οὗτοι οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων, καὶ ἀσεβεῖν ἔφασκον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
βωμὸν ἐρεύθοντας μακάρων θερμοῖσι φόνοισιν.

Hence, too, these philosophers [viz. Pythagoras, Empedocles *et consortes*] advised abstinence from animal food, and declared that those men were impious who ‘Reddened the Blessed Ones’ altars with warm blood pouring from victims.’ (trans. Bury 3: 69)

- T.63** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 11 Thesleff (p. 162) qtd. in Timaeus of Tauromenium classical period

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.23 (613 Dorandi)

νόμῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀνομία πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἡμέρον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῶον ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ἀνθρώπους.

To support the law, to wage war on lawlessness. Never to kill or injure trees that are not wild, nor even any animal that does not injure man. (trans. Hicks 2: 341)

- T.64** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* qtd. in Stobaeus, *Anthology* 4.56.24 (5: 1128 Wachsmuth) classical period

Φεῖδεο τῆς ζωῆς, μή μιν καταθυμοβορήσης.

Save the life, do not eat [i.e. vex—E. O.] the heart. (trans. E. O.)

- T.65** Herodotus of Halicarnassus, *Histories* 2.81.1–2 (187 Rosén) 443 BC

*OF* 650 + *OF* 43; Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 1 Thesleff; Pythagoras no. 1 Cardini; Orfismo C7 Scarpi

οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον. ὁμολογεύουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὄσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἶμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them; that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the so-called Orphic and Bacchic [?rituals, ?books], but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean [ones]; for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woolen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this. (trans. Godley 367, modified)

- T.66** Flavius Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.11.3 (2: 122 Jones) AD 215–17

*OF* 636

βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἄψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμψύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρῆσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θνησειδίων ζύγκεται...

He [viz. Pythagoras] approached altars in purity, he kept his stomach undefiled by the flesh of living things, and his body uncontaminated by all clothes made from dead creatures. (trans. Jones 2: 123)

- T.67** (cf. T.54) Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 28.152–54 (85–87 Deubner) AD 300

Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* in Latin (Thesleff p. 167)<sup>41</sup>

ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῦ Πυθαγόρου τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον, οὐκ εἰς τῶν πάντας οὐδ' ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν μετεχόντων ἐτοίμως πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν διδασκαλίαν καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ἐπιτηδεύοντων... κέδρω δὲ λέγει καὶ δάφνη καὶ

<sup>41</sup> Holger Thesleff infers, from the Iamblichean phrase: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις, that the *Hieros Logos* in question was composed in Latin (Thesleff 1961, 19). Iamblichus, however, tells a different story: that the text was read to the Latins, by whom he meant the Italiotes, i.e. the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Magna Graecia.

κυπαρίττω καὶ δρυὶ καὶ μυρρίνη τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν... ἐφθὸν δὲ παραγγέλλει μὴ ὀπτᾶν...

Among the Latins the *Sacred Discourse* of Pythagoras is read aloud, not to all or by all, but by those favorably disposed to the teaching of good things, and who indulge in no shameful practices.... Honor the gods with cedar, laurel, cypress, oak, and myrtle... He forbade roasting the boiled... (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 169)

**T.68** (cf. T.18) Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff classical period

OF 648

ἴσόν τοι κῦάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκῆων.

It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents. (trans. Schütrumpf 239)

Symbol 12: Abstain from the Sacred Fish

**T.69** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 195 Rose qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.34 (618 Dorandi) 350 BC

τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἄπτεσθαι, ὅσοι ἱεροί· μὴ γὰρ δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ τετάχθαι θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις καὶ δούλοις.

Not to touch such fish as were sacred; for it is not right that gods and men should be allotted the same things, any more than free men and slaves. (trans. Hicks 2: 351)

**T.70a** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 194 Rose qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.19 (610–11 Dorandi) 350 BC

Παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μήτε ἐρυθθῖνον ἐσθίειν μήτε μελάνουρον, καρδίας τ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κῦάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησι καὶ μήτρας καὶ τρίγλης ἐνίοτε.

Above all, he forbade pandora and blacktail as food, and he enjoined abstinence from the hearts of animals and from beans, and sometimes, according to Aristotle, from pork belly and red mullet too. (trans. Hicks 2: 337, modified)

**T.70b** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 194 Rose qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.11–13 (178 Marshall) 350 BC

OF 647v; Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

Plutarchus quoque, homo in disciplinis gravi auctoritate, in primo librorum, quos *de Homero* composuit, Aristotelem philosophum scripsit eadem ipsa de Pythagoricis scripsisse, quod non abstinuerint edundis animalibus, nisi pauca carne quadam. Verba ipsa Plutarchi, quoniam res inopinata est, subscripsi: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μήτρας καὶ καρδίας καὶ ἀκαλήφης καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχεσθαι φησι τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἀκαλήφης autem est animal marinum, quod *urtica* appellatur. Sed et piscibus mullis abstinere Pythagoricis Plutarchus in *Symposiacis* dicit.

Plutarch too, a weighty authority in matters of scholarship, wrote in the first book of his books *On Homer* [fr. 122 Sandbach] that the philosopher Aristotle made the same statement about the Pythagoreans, namely that they did not abstain from eating animals, except for a few particular meats. As this is unexpected, I add Plutarch's own words: 'Aristotle says that the Pythagoreans abstained from the pig's paunch, the heart, the ἀκαλήφη and some other things of the sort, but ate everything else.' Now the ἀκαλήφη is a marine creature which is called the sea-nettle. But Plutarch in his *Table Talks* [670D] says that the Pythagoreans also abstained from mullets. (trans. Sandbach 239 + Rolfe 351)

- T.70c** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 194 Rose qtd. in Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule*, fr. 2b Stephens 350 BC

Transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 45 (57 Places)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλων παρήνει, οἷον μήτρας τε καὶ τριγλίδος καὶ ἀκαλήφης, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαλασσίων ζυμπάντων.

He also recommended abstinence from other foods, such as pork belly, red mullet and sea urchin, and practically all seafood. (trans. Stephens 145, modified)

- T.71** Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 3.90B–C (1: 492 Olson). AD 195–217

τὸ δ' ἐν Λυσιστράτῃ Ἀριστοφάνους πέπαικται  
 ἄλλ' ὃ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν.  
 ἐπεὶ τήθεα τὰ ὄστρεα. μέμικται γὰρ κωμωδικῶς πρὸς τὴν τήθην καὶ μητέρα.

The passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (549) represents a play on words:  
 'O most manly of sea-squirts (*tēthea*) and nettle-mommies (*mētridia*);  
 Since sea-squirts are a type of shellfish, and he has created a comic jumble involving the words *tēthē* ('grandmother') and *mētēr* ('mother'). (trans. Olson 1: 493)

- T.72** Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica* 4.93.1–2 (2: 252 Wellmann). AD 50–70

[1] ἀκαλήφη· οἱ δὲ κνίδην... [2] τὸ δὲ σπέρμα ἐπὶ συνουσίαν παρορμᾷ πινόμενον μετὰ γλυκέος καὶ ὑστέραν ἀναστομοῖ...

[1] The stinging nettle, but some call it *knide*... [2] The seed is aphrodisiac and opens the uterus when drunk with grape syrup. (trans. Beck 288)

- T.73** (cf. T.60) ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa. ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

καὶ μελανούρου δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι παρήγγελλε· χθονίων γάρ ἐστι θεῶν. καὶ ἐρυθρῖνον μὴ προσλαμβάνειν δι' ἕτερα τοιαῦτα αἷτια.

And he ordered them to abstain from blacktail, for it belongs to the earth gods; and do not eat pandora for similar reasons. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.74** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (138 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

μελανούρου ἀπέχου· χθονίων γάρ ἐστι θεῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ συμβόλων ἐροῦμεν, ὅσα δὲ εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρμόζει, παραγγέλλει τῆς οὐρανίας πορείας ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς συνάπτεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐνύλου φύσεως χωρίζεσθαι καὶ περιάγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄυλον καὶ καθαρὰν ζωὴν, θεῶν τε θεραπεία χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀρίστη καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πρωτίστοις θεοῖς προσηκούση.

Cognate to the preceding is the sixth symbol, ‘abstain from blacktail, for it belongs to the terrestrial Gods.’ This admonishes us to enter upon the celestial journey, to unite ourselves to the intellectual Gods, to become separate from the material nature, and to be led as it were in circular progression to an immaterial and pure life. It further exhorts us to adopt the most excellent worship to the Gods, and especially that which pertains to the primary Gods. (trans. Johnson 97, modified)

- T.75a** Trypho of Alexandria, *On Tropes* 4 (193–94 Spengel) first century BC

Ἀνδροκύδης ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς ἔλεγε... μελάνουρον μὴ ἐσθίειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ψευδῆ λόγον μὴ προίεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι μελαίνεται καὶ ἀμαυροῦται.

Androcydes the Pythagorean said:... ‘Do not eat the blacktail;’ that is, ‘Do not speak lying word, for every lie, as it turns out, becomes dark and obscure.’ (trans. E. O.)

- T.75b** Pseudo-Plutarch, *Education of Children* 17, 12D (24 Gärtner) after AD 120

‘μὴ γεύεσθαι μελανούρων’ τουτέστι μὴ συνδιατρίβειν μέλασιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ κακοῦθιαν.

‘Do not taste of blacktails;’ that is, ‘Do not spend your time with men of black character, because of their malevolence.’ (Babbitt 1: 59)

- T.76** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (149 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Τὸ δὲ ἐρυθρῖνον μὴ προσλαμβάνου φαίνεται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐτυμολογίαν ψιλὴν συμβεβλήσθαι. ἀπηρυθριακότα γὰρ καὶ ἀναίσχυντον μὴ ἐπιδέχου ἀνθρώπων, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου καταπλήγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ ταπεινούμενον ὑπὸ τε νοῦ καὶ ἀσθενοῦς διανοίας. διὰ δὲ τούτου νοεῖται τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτος ἴσθαι.

This, ‘Do not receive the fish *erythrinus*,’ seems to merely refer to the etymology of the word. For it signifies: receive not an unblushing and impudent man; nor, on the

contrary, one who is stupidly astonished and who blushes at everything; and is humble in the extreme, through the imbecility of his intellect and reasoning power. Hence this also is understood: Be not yourself such a one. (trans. Johnson 110)

- T.77** Melanthius of Athens, *On the Mysteries at Eleusis*, *FGrHist* 326 F2 qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 7.325C (3: 532 Olson) 350–270 BC

Μελάνθιος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνοι μυστηρίων καὶ τρίγλην καὶ μαινίδα, ὅτι καὶ θαλάττιος ἢ Ἐκάτη.

But Melanthius in his *On the Mysteries at Eleusis* says that both the red mullet and the sprat are [sc. sacrificed to Hecate], because Hecate is a sea goddess. (trans. Olson 3: 533)

- T.78** Apollodorus of Athens, *On Gods*, *FGrHist* 244 F109a qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 7.325B (3: 532 Olson) ca. 146 BC

Ἀπολλόδορος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν τῇ Ἐκάτῃ φησὶ θύεσθαι τρίγλην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκειότητα· τρίμορφος γὰρ ἢ θεός.

Apollodorus in his *On Gods* claims that the red mullet is sacrificed to Hecate because it has an appropriate name; for the goddess takes three forms. (trans. Olson 3: 533)

- T.79** Chariclides, *Chain* fr. 1, *CAF* 3: 394 qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 7.325D (3: 534 Olson) after 327 BC

δέσποινα Ἐκάτη Τριοδίτι,  
τρίμορφε, τριπρόσωπε,  
τρίγλαις † κηδευμένα.

Mistress Hecate of the Crossroads, with three forms and three faces, attended by red mullets. (trans. Olson 3: 535)

- T.80** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.106 (61 Deubner) ca. AD 151

καθόλου δὲ ἀπεδοκίμαζε καὶ τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀλλότρια ὡς ἀπάγοντα ἡμᾶς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἰκειώσεως. κατ' ἄλλον δὲ αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι ἱερῶν σφόδρα ἀπέχεσθαι παρήγγελλεν ὡς τιμῆς ἀξίων ὄντων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης χρήσεως...

He entirely rejected foods which are foreign to the gods because they divert us from kinship with the gods. Again, on another basis, he emphatically commended abstention from foods believed sacred since they are worthy of honor, and not for common and human consumption. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 131)

- T.81** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 8.8.1, 728D–E (286 Hubert) AD 99–110

...ὅτι δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀπείχοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἱστορεῖται τοῦτο περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀλεξικράτους ἐνέτυχον μαθηταῖς ἄλλα μὲν

<ἔμψυχ’> ἔστιν ὅτε μετρίως προσφερομένοις καὶ νῆ Δία θύουσιν, ἰχθύος δὲ μὴ γεύσασθαι τὸ παράπαν ὑπομένουσιν. ἦν δὲ Τυνδάρης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος αἰτίαν \*\*\* ἔλεγε δὲ τῆς ἐχεμυθίας τοῦτο γέρας εἶναι, τοὺς ἰχθύς καλεῖν <ἔλλοπας>, οἷον ἰλλομένην τὴν ὅπα καὶ καθειργομένην ἔχοντας...

...that they used to abstain especially from fish. Not only is this reported of the ancient Pythagoreans, but I have also met pupils of Alexicrates, our contemporary, who sometimes used the flesh of other living creatures in moderation, and even offered it in sacrifice, but who could not bear to taste fish at all. The reason advanced by the Lacedaemonian Tyndares I cannot accept, that this abstention is out of regard for their silence, and that they call fish *ellops* ('silent') because they keep their mouths shut and under restraint. (trans. Minar 175)

**T.82** Cratinus, *Trophonius* fr. 221 Edmonds before 430 BC

οὐδ’ Αἰζωνίδ’ ἐρυθρόχρων ἐσθίειν ἔτι τρίγλην  
οὐδὲ τρυγόνος οὐδὲ δεινοῦ φυῆν μελανούρου.

Nor any more the red-fleshed Aexonian mullet to eat, not yet of trygon to taste nor the queer-natured melanure’s meat. (trans. Edmonds 1: 103)

Symbol 13: Not to Sacrifice a White Chicken

**T.83** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 4.5.2, 670C–D (144 Hubert) AD 99–110

καὶ τί ἂν τις Αἰγυπτίους αἰτιῶτο τῆς τοσαύτης ἀλογίας, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ἀλεκτρούνα λευκὸν σέβεσθαι καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων μάλιστα τρίγλης καὶ ἀκαλήφης ἀπέχεσθαι...

How could anyone blame the Egyptians for such irrationality when it is recorded that the Pythagoreans respect even a white cock, and that they abstain particularly from the red mullet and the sea urchin among the marine animals? (trans. Clement 355)

**T.84** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (142 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Τὸ δὲ ἀλεκτρούνα τρέφε μὲν, μὴ θῦε δέ· μήνη γὰρ καὶ ἡλίω καθιέρωται συμβουλεύει ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφειν καὶ σωματοποιεῖν καὶ μὴ παρορᾶν ἀπολλύμενα καὶ διαφθειρόμενα τὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐνώσεως καὶ ἀλληλουχίας συμπαθείας τε καὶ συμπνοίας μεγάλα τεκμήρια. ὥστε προτρέπει τῆς τοῦ παντὸς θεωρίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπόκρυφος φύσει ἢ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀλήθεια, καὶ δυσθήρατος ἰκανῶς· ζητητέα δὲ ὅμως ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐξιχνευτέα μάλιστα διὰ φιλοσοφίας. διὰ γὰρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐπιτηδεύματος οὕτως ἀδύνατον· αὕτη δὲ μικρά τινα ἐναύσματα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως λαμβάνουσα καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἐφοδιαζομένη ζωτῆς φύσεως λαμβάνουσα καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἐφοδιαζομένη ζωπυρεῖ τε αὐτὰ καὶ μεγεθύνει καὶ ἐνεργέστερα διὰ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῆς μαθημάτων ἀπεργάζεται. φιλοσοφητέον ἄρα ἂν εἴη.

This, ‘nourish a cock, but do not sacrifice it, for it is sacred to the sun and the moon,’ advises us to nourish and not neglect those things which perish and are destroyed because they are mighty proofs of the union, connection, sympathy and consent of the world. So that it exhorts us to apprehend the theory and philosophy of the universe. For though the truth concerning the universe is naturally recondite, and sufficiently difficult of investigation, it must nevertheless be sought and investigated by man, and chiefly through Philosophy. For it is truly impossible to discover it through any other study or pursuit. But philosophy receiving certain sparks from nature blows them up into a great flame, making them more active through the disciplines or sciences which she possesses. Wherefore we should philosophize. (trans. Johnson 102)

- T.85** Suda Lexicon, Π 3124 (4: 266 Adler) after AD 1028

μήτε λευκὸν ἀλεκτρούνα ἐσθίειν, ὡς ἱερὸν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τὰς ὥρας μηνύοντα.

Pythagoras also recommended not eating a white rooster, as it is sacred to the Sun and indicates the hours. (the SOL translation)

- T.86** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 195 Rose qtd. in Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus. 350 BC

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.34 (618–19 Dorandi)

CMRDM T.7 (p. 116); Akousmata & Symbola no. 3 Cardini

Ἀλεκτρούνονος μὴ ἄπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερὸς τοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ ἰκέτης· τὸ δ' ἦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τῷ τε Μηνὶ ἱερὸς· σημαίνει γὰρ τὰς ὥρας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μέλαν τοῦ κακοῦ.

Another of his precepts was not to eat white cocks, as being sacred to the Month and wearing suppliant garb—now supplication ranked with things good—sacred to the Month because they announce the time of day; and again white represents the nature of the good, black the nature of evil. (trans. Hicks 2: 351)

Symbol 18: Transplant but Do Not Eat Mallow

- T.87** Damascius, *Philosophical History* fr. 84J Athanassiadi AD 497–526

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰάκωβος Πρόκλω νοσοῦντι, ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβων καὶ θαυμαζόμενος, προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν κράμβης, ἐμπορεῖσθαι δὲ τῶν μαλαχῶν· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόρειον νόμον οὐκ ἠνέσχετο μαλάχης ἐσθίειν.

At the time when this Iacobus lived in Athens and was held in high esteem, he told the sick Proclus to abstain from cabbage and take his fill of mallow instead. Proclus however could not bring himself to eat mallow following the Pythagorean law. (trans. Athanassiadi 213)

- T.88** Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica* 2.118.1–2 (1: 191–92 Wellmann). AD 50–70

[1] μολόχη· ἐδωδιωτέρα ἢ κηπευτὴ μᾶλλον τῆς χερσαίας, κακοστόμαχος δὲ καὶ εὐκοίλιος, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ καυλοὶ, ἐντέροις δὲ καὶ κύστει ὠφέλιμος. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει τὰ φύλλα ὡμὰ μασηθέντα καὶ ἐπιπλασθέντα μετ’ ὀλίγων ἁλῶν αἰγιλώπια ἀνασκευάζειν· πρὸς μέντοι τὴν ἀπούλωσιν δίχα τῶν ἁλῶν χρηστέον αὐτῇ. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς σφηκῶν καὶ μελισσῶν πληγὰς καταπλασομένη· κἂν περιχρίσῃται δὲ τις αὐτοῖς ὡμοῖς λείοις σὺν ἐλαίῳ, ἄπληκτος διαμένει· μετὰ δὲ οὖρου καταπλασθέντα ἀχῶρας καὶ πίτυρα ἰᾶται. [2] ἐφθὰ δὲ λεῖα τὰ φύλλα σὺν ἐλαίῳ ἐπιτιθέμενα πυρίκαυτα καὶ ἐρυσσιπέλατα ὠφελεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἀφέψημα αὐτῆς μαλακτικὸν ἐγκάθισμα ὑστέρας, εἰς τε ἐνέματα πρὸς δηγμοὺς ἐντρέων καὶ μήτρας καὶ δακτυλίου ἀρμόδιον.

[1] The mallow: the cultivated mallow is more edible than the wild. It is bad for the stomach, it eases the bowel, especially its stems, and it is beneficial to the intestines and the bladder. Its leaves, chewed raw and used as a poultice with a small amount of salt, can remove lachrymal fistulas, but to cicatrize them, one must use the mallow without salt. It is also good to plaster on wasp and bee stings, and if a person smeared himself with raw leaves ground up with olive oil, he will be immune to stings. Plastered on with urine, they cure scurf and dandruff. [2] Boiled, ground up, and applied with olive oil, the leaves benefit burns and erysipelas. The decoction of this plant is an emollient sitz bath for the uterus and an appropriate clyster for gnawing pains of the intestines, uterus, and anus. (trans. Beck 142)

- T.89** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.17 (200 Wilson) 350 BC

Akousmata & Symbola no. 2 Cardini

Ἔλεγε δὲ ἱερώτατον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μαλάχης φύλλον.

He said that the most sacred object is the mallow leaf. (trans. Wilson 201)

- T.90a** (cf. T.60) ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa. ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

οὕτως καὶ μαλάχης εἶργεσθαι ἐκέλευεν, ὅτι πρώτη ἄγγελος καὶ σημάντρια συμπαθείας οὐρανίων πρὸς ἐπίγεια.

So also he commanded them to abstain from mallow, because it is the first messenger and indicator of an affinity of heavenly things with things earthly. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.90b** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (150–51 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Τὸ δὲ μολόχην μεταφύτευε μὲν, μὴ ἔσθιε δέ, αἰνίττεται μὲν ὅτι συντρέπεται τῷ ἡλίῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα φυτὰ καὶ παρατηρεῖν ἀξιοῖ τοῦτο, πρόσκειται δὲ τὸ μεταφύτευε, τουτέστιν ἐπιστὰς τῇ αὐτοῦ φύσει καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον διατάσει καὶ

συμπαθεία μὴ ἄρκοῦ μηδὲ ἐπίμενε μόνω τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν μεταβίβαζε καὶ ὥσανεὶ μεταφύτευε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ φυτὰ καὶ λάχανα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ ὁμογενῆ [δὲ] ζῶα ἤδη καὶ λίθους καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ πάσας ἀπλῶς φύσεις· πολύχουν γὰρ εὐρήσεις καὶ πολύτροπον θαυμασίως δὲ δαψιλῆς τὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐνώσεως καὶ συμποίας σημαντικόν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης καὶ ἀφετήρος τῆς μολόχης ὠρμημένος. οὐ μόνον οὖν μὴ ἔσθιε μηδὲ ἀφάνιζε τὰς τοιαύτας παρατηρήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕξε καὶ πληθοποιεῖ δίκην μεταφυτεύοντος.

This, ‘transplant mallows in your garden, but eat them not,’ obscurely signifies that plants of this kind turn with the sun, and directs that this should be noticed by us. The symbol also adds, ‘transplant,’ that is to say, observe its nature, its tendency towards, and sympathy with, the sun; but rest not satisfied, nor dwell upon this, but transfer and as it were transplant your conception to kindred plants and herbs, and also to animals which are not kindred, to stones and rivers, and in brief, to natures of every kind. For you will find them to be prolific and multiform, and admirably abundant; and this to one who begins from the mallows, as from a root and principle, is significant of the union and consent of the world. Not only, therefore, do not destroy or obliterate observations of this kind, but increase and multiply them as it were by transplantation. (trans. Johnson 111–12)

- T.91** *Chaldean Oracles* fr. 210a Majercik qtd. in John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.120 (158 Wuensch) AD 173

μαλάχης ἀπέχεσθαι· κατὰ δὲ τὸν Αὐγουστον μῆνα μαλάχης ἀπέχεσθαι τοῖς γε βουλομένοις ὑγιαίνειν τὰ ἄρθρα τὸ λόγιον θεσπίζει.

To refrain from mallow: The oracle advises those who wish keep their joints healthy ‘to refrain from mallow’ during the month of August. (trans. Majercik 129)

Symbol 17: Eat of Sacrificial Animals Only

- T.92** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 8.8.3, 729D (288 Hubert) AD 99–110

Ταῦτ’ ἐπαινέσας ὁ Σύλλας προσεῖπε περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, ὡς μάλιστα μὲν ἐγεύοντο τῶν ἱεροθύτων ἀπαρξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς· ἰχθύων δὲ θύσιμος οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ ἱερεύσιμός ἐστιν.

Agreeing with this, Sulla added, concerning the Pythagoreans, that if they tasted flesh it was most often that of sacrificial animals, and after a preliminary offering to the gods, but that no fish is fit for dedication or sacrifice. (trans. Minar 179)

- T.93** Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 2.28.2 (95 Bouffartigue). AD 263

Διόπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τοῦτο παραδεξάμενοι κατὰ μὲν τὸν πάντα βίον ἀπείχοντο τῆς ζῴοφαγίας, ὅτε δὲ εἰς ἀπαρχὴν τι τῶν ζῴων ἀνθ’ ἑαυτῶν μερίσειαν τοῖς θεοῖς, τούτου γευσάμενοι μόνον, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄφικτοι τῶν λοιπῶν ὄντες ἔζων.

The Pythagoreans, following this tradition, abstained from animal-eating all their lives, and when they did assign some animal to the gods as an offering in place of

themselves, they ate only that, but continued to live for truth, not touching the others.  
(trans. Clark 66)

**T.94** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa 350 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.85 (49 Deubner)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 4 Cardini

εἰς μόνα τῶν ζώων οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ, οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ τυθῆναι· διὰ τοῦτο τῶν θυσίμων χρῆ ἐσθίειν μόνον, οἷς ἂν τὸ ἐσθίειν καθήκη, ἄλλου δὲ μηδενὸς ζώου. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστον ἔχοντα μῆκος περὶ τε θυσίας καθ’ ἐκάστους τοὺς καιροὺς πῶς χρῆ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τε ἄλλας <θεῶν τιμὰς> καὶ περὶ μετοικήσεως τῆς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ περὶ τὰς ταφάς, πῶς δεῖ καταθάπτεσθαι.

Only into those animals which it is lawful to sacrifice does there not enter a human soul; for this reason one may eat only sacrificial animals, such as are suitable for eating, but no other living being. Such, then, were some of his oral instructions, but those of greatest length concerned sacrifices: how one should perform them on each particular occasion, and [observe] the other prerogatives of the gods; also about transmigration of souls from the present life and about burials, and how one should be buried. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 109)

**T.95** Xenophanes of Colophon fr. 7 Lesher 478–467 BC

Pythagoras fr. A Cardini

Νῦν αὖτ’ ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον.

καὶ ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα  
φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος·  
Παῦσαι μὴδὲ ράπιζ’, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶν  
ψυχὴ, τὴν ἔγνω φθεγξαμένης αἴων.

Now I will come to yet another account, and I will show the way.

And they say that once as he<sup>42</sup> was passing by a puppy being beaten, He felt compassion and said this: ‘Stop, don’t beat it, since in truth it is the soul of a friend Which I recognized upon hearing it cry out.’ (trans. Lesher 19)

**T.96** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 131 Wright 444 BC

ἐν θήρεσσι λέοντες ὀρειλεχέες χαμαιεῦναι  
γίγνονται, δάφναι δ’ ἐνὶ δένδρεσιν ἠγκόμοισιν.

<sup>42</sup> Xenophanes refers here to Pythagoras (Tsekourakis 370; Lesher 118).

Among animals they are born as lions that make their lairs in the hills and bed on the ground, and among fair-leaved trees as laurels. (trans. Wright 290)

- T.97** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 127 Wright 444 BC

δάφνης τῶν φύλλων ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἔχεσθαι

to keep completely from leaves of laurel. (trans. Wright 288)

Symbols 15–16: Eat Not the Heart & Brain

- T.98** (cf. T.60) ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa. ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καρδίαν μὴ τρώγειν, ἐγκέφαλον μὴ ἐσθίειν, καὶ τούτων εἴργεσθαι πάντα τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς· ἡγεμονίαι γὰρ εἰσι καὶ ὡσανεὶ ἐπιβάθραι καὶ ἔδραι τινὲς τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν. ἀφωσιούτο δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου φύσιν.

He decreed that they not ‘munch on the heart’ nor ‘eat brain,’ and from these all Pythagoreans are banned; for these organs are the ruling parts and, as it were, stepping-stones and seats of practical thinking and living. And these same things he eschewed on religious grounds because of the nature of the divine reason. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.99** *Pythagorean Memoirs* qtd. in Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus, *Successions of Philosophers*, *FGrHist* 273 F93 350 BC

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.30 (616 Dorandi)

Τὴν δ’ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαρεῖσθαι τριχῆ, εἷς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. νοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ θυμόν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις, φρένας δὲ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ καρδίας μέχρις ἐγκεφάλου· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν θυμόν, φρένας δὲ καὶ νοῦν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ· σταγόνας δ’ εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτων τὰς αἰσθήσεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν φρόνιμον ἀθάνατον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θνητά. τρέφεσθαι τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος...

The soul of man, he says, is divided into three parts, intelligence, reason, and passion. Intelligence and passion are possessed by other animals as well, but reason by man alone. The seat of the soul extends from the heart to the brain; the part of it which is in the heart is passion, while the parts located in the brain are reason and intelligence. The senses are distillations from these. Reason is immortal, all else mortal. The soul draws nourishment from the blood... (trans. Hicks 2: 347)

- T.100** Timaeus of Locri, *On the Nature of the World and the Soul* 47 (218 Thesleff). 420–380 BC

τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἀρχὰν μὲν καὶ ρίζαν μυελοῦ εἶμεν ἐγκέφαλον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀγεμονία.

The principle of the body and root of the marrow is the brain, wherein resides the ruling power. (trans. Guthrie 292)

- T.101** Philolaus of Croton qtd. in Pseudo-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetics* 21 (25–26 Falco) before 385 BC

ἐγκέφαλος δὲ <σαμαίνει> τὰν ἀνθρώπω ἀρχάν, καρδία δὲ τὰν ζώου...

The brain provides the source for man, the heart for animals... (trans. Waterfield 59)

- T.102** Leviticus<sup>LXX</sup> 17.10–14 250 BC

[10] Καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἂν φάγη πᾶν αἷμα, καὶ ἐπιστήσω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἔσθουσιν τὸ αἷμα καὶ ἀπολώ αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς· [11] ἢ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτὸ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν· τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται. [12] διὰ τοῦτο εἶρηκα τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν οὐ φάγεται αἷμα, καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ προσκειμένος ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ φάγεται αἷμα. [13] καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἂν θηρεύσῃ θήρευμα θηρίον ἢ πετεινόν, ὃ ἔσθεται, καὶ ἐκχεεῖ τὸ αἷμα καὶ καλύψει αὐτὸ τῇ γῆ· [14] ἢ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

[10] Person by person of the sons of Israel or of the guests among you who adhere, whoever eats any blood—and I will set my face against the soul who eats blood and will utterly destroy it from its people. [11] For the life of all flesh is its blood, and I have given it to you for making atonement for your souls on the altar, for it is its blood that makes atonement for the soul. [12] Therefore I have said to the sons of Israel: No soul among you shall eat blood, and no guest among you who adheres shall eat blood. [13] And person by person of the sons of Israel and of the guests among you who adhere, whoever hunts as prey a wild animal or bird that may be eaten, shall pour out the blood and cover it with earth. [14] For the life of all flesh is its blood... (trans. NETS 98)

- T.103** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 194 Rose qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.19 (611 Dorandi) 350 BC

OF 647ii

...καρδίας τ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κυάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησι καὶ μήτρας...

...and he enjoined abstinence from the hearts of animals and from beans, and, according to Aristotle, from pork belly... (trans. Hicks 2: 337, modified)

- T.104** ?Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 2.72, 65F (1: 370 Olson) ?350 BC

OF 648iv

Ἐγκέφαλοι χοίρειοι τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐσθίειν οὐκ εἶον οἱ φιλόσοφοι φάσκοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας ἴσον καὶ κυάμων τρώγειν κεφαλῶν τε οὐ τοκῆων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βεβήλων. οὐδένα γοῦν τῶν ἀρχαίων βεβρωκέσαι διὰ τὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπάσας σχεδὸν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι.

*Pigs' Brains*: The philosophers did not permit us to eat these, saying about those who partake of them that eating fava beans is equivalent to eating not just the heads of one's parents [*OF* 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff], but the heads of anything polluted. None of the ancients, at any rate, ate pigs' brains, because they contain almost all the senses. (trans. Olson 1: 371)

- T.105** Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On Pythagoras and His Circle* fr. 25 Wehrli qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.10 (178 Marshall) 336–333 BC

Opinati enim sunt plerique κυάμους legumentum dici, ut a vulgo dicitur. Sed qui diligentius scitiusque carmina Empedocli arbitrati sunt, κυάμους hoc in loco testiculos significare dicunt, eosque more Pythagorae aperte atque symbolice κυάμους appellatos, quod sint αἴτιοι τοῦ κυεῖν et geniturae humanae vim praebeant; idcircoque Empedoclen versu isto non a fabulo edendo, sed a rei veneriae proluvio voluisse homines deducere.

For most men thought that κυάμους meant the vegetable, according to the common use of the word. But those who have studied the poems of Empedocles with greater care and knowledge say that here κυάμους refers to the testicles, and that after the Pythagorean manner they were called in a covert and symbolic way κύαμοι, because they are the cause of pregnancy and furnish the power for human generation: and that therefore Empedocles in that verse desired to keep men, not from eating beans, but from excess in venery. (trans. Rolfe 349–51)

- T.106** (cf. T.22) Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 647i; Orfismo E8 Scarpi

ὑπόνοιαν μέντοι παρέσχον, ἐστιῶντος ἡμᾶς Σοσσίου Σενεκίωνος, ἐνέχεσθαι δόγμασιν Ὀρφικοῖς ἢ Πυθαγορικοῖς, καὶ τὸ ὄν, ὡσπερ ἔνιοι καρδίαν καὶ ἐγκέφαλον, ἀρχὴν ἡγούμενος γενέσεως ἀφοσιῶσθαι·

But my companions at one of Sossius Senecio's dinners suspected me of being committed to beliefs of the Orphics or the Pythagoreans and holding the egg taboo, as some hold the heart and brain, because I thought it to be the first principle of creation. (trans. Clement 145)

- T.107** The purity regulation from Rhodes (?temple of Sarapis-Asclepius), *LSS* no. 108. AD first century

*OF* vol. 2, p. 215

[ἀπὸ ἀφρ]οδισίω[v]  
ἀ[πὸ] κυάμων  
ἀπὸ καρδίας.

ἀγνὸν χρῆ ναοῖο θ[υ]-  
 ὠδεος ἐντὸς ἰοντ[α]  
 ἔμμεναι· οὐ λουτρῶ  
 ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρὸν.

...from sexual intercourse, from beans, from a heart. One must be in a pure state to enter and be in the fragrant temple. Not clean by bathing, but by mind. (trans. Rostad 265)

- T.108** Androcydes, *On the Symbols* or Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd. in Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens ca. 350 BC

Transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 42–43 (56 Places)

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

[42] μηδ' ἐσθίειν ὅσα μὴ θέμις, γένεσιν, αὔξησιν, ἀρχὴν, τελευτήν, μηδ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ πρώτη τῶν πάντων ὑπόθεσις γίνεται. [43] ἔλεγε δ' ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν καταθυομένων ὀσφύος καὶ διδύμων καὶ αἰδοίων καὶ μυελοῦ καὶ ποδῶν καὶ κεφαλῆς. ὑπόθεσιν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἐκάλει, διότι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ὡς ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ συνίσταται τὰ ζῶα· γένεσιν δὲ τοὺς διδύμους καὶ αἰδοῖα, ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἐνεργείας οὐ γίνεται ζῶον· αὔξησιν δὲ τὸν μυελὸν ἐκάλει, ὃς τοῦ αὔξεσθαι πᾶσιν ζῴοις αἴτιος· ἀρχὴν δὲ τοὺς πόδας, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τελευτήν· ἄπερ τὰς μεγίστας ἡγεμονίας ἔχει τοῦ σώματος.

[42] Do not eat what is not allowed—birth, growth, beginning, end, nor those things from which the first foundation of all things arises; [43] he meant that one should abstain from certain parts of sacrificed animals—loins, testicles, genitals, marrow, feet, and head. For he called the loin the ‘foundation’ since it is as it were what underlies and supports the structure of the animal; ‘birth’ means the testicles and genitals, without whose activity no animal comes into being; ‘growth’ was his name for marrow, which is the cause of growth for all animals; ‘beginning’ means the feet, ‘end’ the head, which two have the greatest leadership in the body. (trans. Stephens 145)

- T.109** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *On the Sign of Socrates* 591B (596 Paton) AD 68–120

τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ πάντων, ζωῆς μὲν ἡ πρώτη κινήσεως δ' ἡ δευτέρα γενέσεως δ' ἡ τρίτη φθορᾶς δ' ἡ τελευταία· συνδεῖ δὲ τῇ μὲν δευτέρῃ τὴν πρώτην Μονὰς κατὰ τὸ ἀόρατον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῇ τρίτῃ Νοῦς καθ' ἡλίον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην πρὸς τετάρτην Φύσις κατὰ σελήνην.

Four principles there are of all things: the first is of life, the second of motion, the third of birth, and the last of decay; the first is linked to the second by Unity at the invisible, the second to the third by Mind at the sun, and the third to the fourth by Nature at the moon. (trans. Lacy 469)

- T.110** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 197 Rose qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 42 (55 Places)<sup>43</sup> 350 BC

μη καρδιαν ἐσθίειν, οἶον μη λυπεῖν ἀνίας.

Moreover, ‘eat not the heart’ signified not to afflict ourselves with sorrows. (trans. Guthrie 131)

- T.111** Demetrius of Byzantium, *On Poems, book four, FHG 2: 624* qtd. in Athenaeus, *Learned Banqueters* 10.452d (5: 166 Olson) ca. 278/277 BC

καὶ τὰ Πυθαγόρου δὲ αἰνίγματα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ ποιημάτων καρδιαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλυπίαν ἀσκεῖν.

Pythagoras’ puzzles are also of this type, according to Demetrius of Byzantium in Book IV of *On Poems*: ‘Don’t eat your heart’ means ‘Try not to get upset.’ (trans. Olson 5: 167)

- T.112** Pseudo-Plutarch, *Education of Children* 17, 12E (24 Gärtner) after AD 120

‘μη ἐσθίειν καρδιαν’ ἤτοι μὴ βλάπτειν τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς φροντίσιν αὐτὴν κατατρώχοντα.

‘Do not eat your heart,’ as much as to say, ‘Do not injure your soul by wasting it with worries. (Babbitt 1: 61)

#### Symbol 39: Roast What Not Is Boiled

- T.113** (cf. T.67) Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 28.154 (87 Deubner) AD 300

Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* in Latin (Thesleff p. 167)

ἐφθὸν δὲ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ὀπτᾶν, τὴν πραότητα λέγων μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς.

He forbade roasting the boiled, saying gentleness does not need anger. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 169)

- T.114** Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physical Problems* 3.43 (331 Bussemaker) ?AD 200

*OF* 633

Διὰ τί τὸ ἐφθὸν ὀπτᾶν οὐ νόμος, ὀπτὸν δὲ ἔψειν νόμος; Πότερον δὲ διὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ τελετῇ, ἢ ὅτι ὕστερον ἔμαθον ἐφθᾶ ἢ ὀπτᾶ; τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ὄπτων πάντα.

Why is it not permitted to roast boiled [beef], while it is permitted to boil roasted [beef]? Is it because of what is said in the *Telete*?<sup>44</sup> Or is it because men only learned

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.18 (610 Dorandi): διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδιαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐδήλου μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίας καὶ λύπαις κατατῆκεν (“By not eating your heart he meant not wasting your life in troubles and pains,” trans. Hicks 2: 337).

later on to prepare boiled food, since in the old days they roasted everything? (trans. Detienne 1979, 74)

**T.115** Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.18.1 (27 Marcovich). AD 195

OF 312i

οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβalόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον· ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις περιπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστιο.

But the Titans, they who tore him to pieces, placed a caldron upon a tripod, and casting the limbs of Dionysus into it first boiled them down; then, piercing them with spits, they ‘held them over Hephaestus.’ (trans. Butterworth 39)

Symbol 14: Abstain from Any Living Things

**T.116** Hierocles of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans* 26.19–20 (175 Mullach) AD 408–50

[19] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τάξει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς ἀποχῆς ἐποιοῦντο, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μαχόμενα, ὡς ἂν οἰηθεῖ τις, εὐρίσκεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς σύμβολα. τῷ γὰρ ζῶων ἀπέχου τὸ καρδίας ἀπέχου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ πού τις τὸ μὲν καρδίας ἀπέχου τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρηγγέλθαι λέγοι, τὸ δὲ ζῶων τοῖς ἤδη τελείοις. [20] περιττὴ γὰρ ἡ κατὰ μέρος ἀποχή, οἷς τὸ ὅλον ζῶον ἀπηγόρευτο.

[19] But since they [the Pythagoreans] conceived of abstinence as an orderly progression, on account of this their symbols are found, as one might suppose, to be conflicting. The precept to abstain from the heart opposes that of abstaining from animals, unless one should say that abstaining from the heart is prescribed for beginners, whereas abstinence from living animals is for those already perfect. [20] For partial abstinence is superfluous for those to whom the entire animal has been forbidden. (trans. Schibli 316)

**T.117** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.107 (62 Deubner) ca. AD 151

κοινῶς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησε περὶ τροφῆς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς θεωρητικωτάτοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀκροτάτοις καθάπαξ περιήρει τὰ περιττὰ καὶ ἄδικα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, μήτε ἔμψυχον μηδὲν μηδέποτε ἐσθίειν εἰσηγούμενος μήτε οἶνον ὅλως πίνειν μήτε θύειν ζῶα θεοῖς μήτε καταβλάπτειν μηδ’ ὀτιοῦν αὐτά, διασφάζειν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιμελέστατα.

This, then, was his general legislation about nourishment. In particular, he removed once for all from the most contemplative group of philosophers, especially those at the

<sup>44</sup> According to Marcel Detienne, the so-called *Telete* was “the Orphic narrative *Initiation Rite* in which the myth of Dionysus and the Titans was told” (Detienne 1979, 74).

highest level, the use of superfluous and ill-gotten foods, by instructing them never to eat anything animate and never to drink wine; neither to sacrifice living beings to the gods nor to harm them in any way, but to maintain justice most carefully towards them. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 131)

- T.118** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (62–63 Deubner) ca. AD 151

τοῖς μέντοι ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεπέ τινων ζώων ἄπτεσθαι, ὅσοις ὁ βίος μὴ πάνυ ἦν ἐκκεκαθαρμένος καὶ ἱερὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος· καὶ τούτοις χρόνον τινὰ ὥριζε τῆς ἀποχῆς ὠρισμένον.

He permitted the rest, nevertheless, to eat certain animals, those whose way of life was not entirely purified, holy, and philosophic; even for these, however, he set a definite period of abstinence. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.119** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 28.150 (84 Deubner) ca. AD 151

ἐπέθυε δὲ θεοῖς λίβανον, κέγγρους, πόπανα, κηρία, σμύρναν, τὰ ἄλλα θυμιάματα· ζῶα δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔθυσεν οὐδὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν φιλοσόφων οὐδεῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀκουσματικοῖς ἢ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς προστέτακτο σπανίως ἔμψυχα θύειν, ἢ πού ἀλεκτρούνα ἢ ἄρνα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν νεογνῶν, βοῦς δὲ μὴ θύειν.

He sacrificed to the gods frankincense, millet, *popana*, honey-combs, myrrh, and other fragrant stuffs, but he himself did not sacrifice animals, nor did any of the contemplative philosophers. But the others, the *acousmatici* or the *politici*, were commanded to sacrifice animals sparingly, perhaps, a cock or lamb or some other newborn animal, but never an ox. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 167)

- T.120** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the General Mathematical Science* 25 (76 Festa) ca. AD 151

Δύο δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶδη, καλουμένης δὲ Πυθαγορικῆς. δύο γὰρ ἦν γένη καὶ τῶν μεταχειριζομένων αὐτήν, οἱ μὲν ἀκουσματικοί, οἱ δὲ μαθηματικοί. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀκουσματικοὶ ὠμολογοῦντο Πυθαγόρειοι εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ μαθηματικούς οὗτοι οὐχ ὠμολόγουν, οὔτε τὴν πραγματείαν αὐτῶν εἶναι Πυθαγόρου, ἀλλ' Ἰππάσου.<sup>45</sup>

There were two forms of kinds of Italiote, so-called Pythagorean philosophy; for there were two sorts of people pursuing it, the acousmatics and the mathematicians. Of these, the acousmatics were recognized as Pythagoreans by the others, but they in turn did not recognize the mathematicians, saying that their activity did not even stem from Pythagoras but Hippasus. (trans. Burkert 1982, 213)

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the similar, but not the same, text in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.81 (46–47 Deubner): “there were two kinds of philosophy, for there were two kinds of those pursuing it: some were *acousmatici* and others were *mathematici*. Of these, the *mathematici* do not agree that the *acousmatici* are Pythagoreans, or that their mode of study derived from Pythagoras, but from Hippasus” (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 105). The quoted text is corrupted (or altered by Iamblichus), whereas Iamblichus’ *On the General Mathematical Science* has preserved the original version (Burkert 1972, 193 and note 8).

- T.121** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.108 (62 Deubner) ca. AD 151

D-K 31 B135, p. 366

ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τοῖς νομοθέταις προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων· ἅτε γὰρ βουλομένους ἄκρως δικαιοπραγεῖν ἔδει δήπου μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τῶν συγγενῶν ζῴων. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐπεισαν δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοὶ ἀλίσκόμενοι ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ; συγγενικὴ δ' ἡ τῶν ζῴων μετοχή, ἅπερ διὰ τὴν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῶν στοιχείων τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωσίαν καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων συνισταμένης συγκράσεως ὡσανεὶ ἀδελφότητι πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνέζευκται.

And he ordered law-givers<sup>46</sup> of the politics to abstain from living beings; for since they wished to act completely in justice, it was necessary, surely, not to injure kindred animals, since how could they persuade others to behave justly if they themselves be caught in greediness? There is a congenial partnership of living beings, since, through sharing life and the same elements and the mixture arising from these, they are yoked together with us by brotherhood, as it were. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 131–32, modified)

- T.122** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21 (151 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Τὸ δὲ ἐμψύχων ἀπέχου ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνην προτρέπει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ συγγενοῦς τιμὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας ζωῆς ἀποδοχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα πλείονα.

This, ‘abstain from the use of living creatures,’ exhorts to justice, with a due regard for what is of a kindred nature, and a sympathetic treatment of life which is similar to our own. (trans. Johnson 112)

- T.123a**(cf. T.63) Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 11 Thesleff (p. 162) qtd. in Timaeus of Tauromenium classical period

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.23 (613 Dorandi)

νόμῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀνομία πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἡμέρον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῶον ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ἀνθρώπους.

To support the law, to wage war on lawlessness. Never to kill or injure trees that are not wild, nor even any animal that does not injure man. (trans. Hicks 2: 341)

- T.123b** (cf. T.47) Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *Pythagorean Maxims & On the Pythagorean Life* fr. 1a Cardini qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 39 (53 Places). 336–333 BC

<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere in the same work, Iamblichus informs that every Pythagorean community was subdivided into political, economic, and legislative groups (Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 18.89 [52 Deubner]).

φυτὸν ἡμερον καὶ ἔγκαρπον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῶον ὃ μὴ βλαβερὸν εἶναι πέφυκε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει, μήτε φθεῖρην μήτε βλάπτειν.

- A cultivated and fruit-bearing plant, as well as an animal harmless by nature to the human race, should be neither destroyed nor injured. (trans. Guthrie 130, modified)

**T.124a** Nicomachus of Gerasa, *?Life of Pythagoras*, *FGrHist* 1063 F1 qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 24 (46–47 Places) ca. AD 151

βοῦν δ' ἐν Τάραντι ἰδὼν ἐν παμιγιῇ νομῇ κυάμων χλωρῶν ἐφαπτόμενον, τῷ βουκόλῳ παραστὰς συνεβούλευσεν εἰπεῖν τῷ βοῖ τῶν κυάμων ἀποσχέσθαι· προσπαίζαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ βουκόλου καὶ φήσαντος οὐκ εἰδέναι βοῖστί λαλεῖν, προσελθόντα καὶ εἰς τὸ οὖς προσψιθυρίσαντα τῷ ταύρῳ οὐ μόνον τότε ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ κυαμῶνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθις μηδέποτε κυάμων θιγεῖν, μακροχρονιώτατον δ' ἐν Τάραντι κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν γηρῶντα διαμεμενηκέαι τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον βοῦν, τροφὰς σιτούμενον ἃς οἱ ἀπαντῶντες ὄρεγον.

At Tarentum, when he saw an ox in a mixed pasturage feeding on green beans, he approached the herdsman and advised him to tell the ox to abstain from the beans. When the herdsman laughed at him and said that he did not know how to speak the ox's language, he went to the bull and whispered into his ear to leave the field of beans not only for the moment, but also never to touch beans afterwards. And it grew very old living at Tarentum at the sanctuary of Hera, the so-called holy ox, feeding on the food the visitors offered to it. (trans. Radicke 115)

**T.124b** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 13.61 (33 Deubner) ca. AD 151

βοῦν δὲ ἐν Τάραντι ἰδὼν ἐν παμιγιῇ νομῇ καὶ κυάμων χλωρῶν παραπτόμενον, τῷ βουκόλῳ παραστὰς συνεβούλευσεν εἰπεῖν τῷ βοῖ τῶν κυάμων ἀποσχέσθαι. προσπαίζαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βουκόλου περὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐ φήσαντος εἰδέναι βοῖστί εἰπεῖν, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς οἶδε, καὶ περισσῶς συμβουλεύειν, δέον τῷ βοῖ παραινεῖν, προσελθὼν αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ οὖς πολλὴν ὥραν προσψιθυρίσας τῷ ταύρῳ, οὐ μόνον τότε αὐτὸν ἀμελλητὶ ἐκόντα ἀπέστεσε τοῦ κυαμῶνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσαῦθις λέγουσι μηκέτι γεγεῦσθαι κυάμων τὸ παράπαν τὸν βοῦν ἐκεῖνον, μακροχρονιώτατον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τάραντι κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν γηρῶντα διαμεμενηκέαι, τὸν ἱερὸν ἀνακαλούμενον Πυθαγόρου βοῦν ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνθρωπίναις τροφαῖς σιτούμενον, ἃς οἱ ἀπαντῶντες αὐτῷ προσώρεγον.

And when he saw a bull in Tarentum in mixed pasturage, grazing on green beans, he approached the herdsman, and advised him to tell the bull to abstain from the beans. But the herdsman jested with him about how to communicate with it, and said he did not know how to speak 'bull-talk.' If he himself knew, then it as was superfluous to urge him on, if the bull had to be admonished. So he himself approached, and whispered in the bull's ear for a long time, and the bull then not only willingly, but immediately abstained from the beans. Even afterwards, they say, that bull no longer ate any beans, but lived for a very long time growing old in Tarentum in the temple of Hera. Called by all the 'sacred ox of Pythagoras,' he was fed with human provisions which passersby offered to him. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 85)

**T.125** Gospel of Matthew 21.19 (NA<sup>28</sup>) AD 67–81

καὶ ἰδὼν συκῆν μίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ οὐδὲν εὔρεν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ φύλλα μόνον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ, Μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. καὶ ἐξηράνθη παραχρῆμα ἡ συκῆ.

Seeing a fig tree by the road, he went up to it but found nothing on it except leaves. Then he said to it, 'May you never bear fruit again!' Immediately the tree withered. (the NIV translation)

**T.126** Deuteronomium<sup>LXX</sup> 25.4 250 BC

Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

You shall not muzzle a threshing ox. (trans. NETS 164)

**T.127** (cf. T.54) Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* qtd in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.35 (619 Dorandi) 350 BC

περὶ τῶν ἀλῶν, ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου· οἱ γὰρ ἅλες πᾶν σφάζουσιν ὃ τι ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῶν καθαρωτάτων ἡλίου καὶ θαλάσσης.

Of salt he said it should be brought to table to remind us of what is right; for salt preserves whatever it finds, and it arises from the purest sources, sun and sea. (trans. Hicks 2: 351)

**T.128** Gospel of Matthew 5.13 (NA<sup>28</sup>) AD 67–81

Ἵμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται; εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ 'βληθὲν ἔξω' καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

You are the salt of the earth. But if the salt loses its saltiness, how can it be made salty again? It is no longer good for anything, except to be thrown out and trampled by men. (the NIV translation)

**T.129a** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 11 Thesleff (p. 162) qtd. in Timaeus of Tauromenium classical period

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.22 (612 Dorandi)

σφάγια τε θεοῖς προσφέρειν κωλύειν, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν προσκυνεῖν.

Not to let victims be brought for sacrifice to the gods, and to worship only at the altar unstained with blood. (trans. Hicks 2: 339)

**T.129b** Nicomachus of Gerasa qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.108 (62 Deubner) ca. AD 151

καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔζησεν, ἀπεχόμενος τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ζῴων τροφῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀναιμάκτους βωμοὺς προσκυνῶν, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲ ἄλλοι ἀναιρήσωσι τὰ ὁμοφυῆ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ζῶα προθυμούμενος, τὰ τε ἄγρια ζῶα σωφρονίζων μᾶλλον καὶ παιδεύων διὰ λόγων καὶ ἔργων, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ διὰ κολάσεως καταβλάπτων.

He himself lived according to these precepts, abstaining from food provided by living beings and worshipping before altars unstained with blood, desiring eagerly that others not destroy animals kindred in nature with us; rather he chastened and educated wild animals by words and deeds, and did not harm them with punishment. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 131)

**T.129c** Pseudo-Orpheus, *Lithica* 699–700 (119 Halleux)

after AD 370

πρῶτα μὲν οὖν σπένδοντας ἀναιμάκτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν  
—οὐ γὰρ ἄγειν θέμις ἐστὶ θυηλὴν ἐμψύχοιο...

First, when you pour libations onto the altars unstained with blood—for no one is allowed bringing any living sacrifice... (trans. E. O.)

**T.130** Eudoxus of Cnidus, *Description of the Earth, book seven* fr. 36 Gisinger (p. 119) qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa 367 BC

Transmitted by Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 7 (38–39 Places)

Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

πλὴν τοσαύτη γε ἀγνεία φησὶν Εὐδοξος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῆς Γῆς Περιόδου κεχρηῆσθαι καὶ τῇ περὶ τοὺς φόνους φυγῆ καὶ τῶν φονευόντων, ὡς μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ περὶ τοὺς φόνους φυγῆ καὶ τῶν φονευόντων, ὡς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαγεῖροις καὶ θηράτορσι μηδέποτε πλησιάζειν.

Moreover, Eudoxus, in the seventh book of his *Description of the Earth*, writes that Pythagoras practiced the greatest purity, and was shocked at all blood-shedding and killing; that he not only abstained from animal food, but never in any way approached butchers or hunters. (trans. Guthrie 124)

**T.131** Onesicritus of Astypalaia, *How Alexander Was Educated*, *FGrHist* 134 F17 qtd. in Strabo of Amaseia, *Geography* 15.1.65 (4: 216 Radt) 323 BC

Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

εἰπόντος δ’ ὅτι καὶ Πυθαγόρας τοιαῦτα λέγοι κελεύοι τε ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Διογένης οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκροάσαιτο...

When he [Onesicritus] replied that Pythagoras taught such things (and also urged abstention from living beings), as well as Socrates and Diogenes (whom he himself had heard)... (trans. Roller 671)

**T.132** Callimachus of Cyrene, *Iambus* 1, fr. 191.61–63 Pfeiffer

278–246 BC

Pythagoras fr. 9 Cardini

κηδίδαξε νηστεύειν  
τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν  
οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐς εἶχεν οὔτερος δαίμων.

And taught full abstinence from tasting flesh of living things; but all would not to this  
He [sc. Pythagoras] taught to abstain from living animals; but all would not to this  
give heed, except the ones possessed by alien daimon. (trans. Oldfather 4: 63,  
completed)

**T.133** Seneca the Younger, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 108.22 (455–56 Reynolds). AD 19

no. 44 Harden

His ego instinctus abstinere animalibus coepi, et anno peracto non tantum facilis erat mihi consuetudo sed dulcis. Agitatioem mihi animum esse credebam nec tibi hodie adfirmaverim an fuerit. Quaeris quomodo desierim? In primum Tiberii Caesaris principatum iuventae tempus inciderat: alienigena tum sacra movebantur et inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorundam animalium abstinencia. Patre itaque meo rogante, qui non calumniam timebat sed philosophiam oderat, ad pristinam consuetudinem redii; nec difficulter mihi ut inciperem melius cenare persuasit.

I was imbued with this teaching [of Sotion the Pythagorean], and began to abstain from animal food; at the end of a year the habit was as pleasant as it was easy, I was beginning to feel that my mind was more active; though I would not today positively state whether it really was or not. Do you ask how I came to abandon the practice? It was this way: The days of my youth coincided with the early part of the reign of Tiberius Caesar. Some foreign rites were at that time being inaugurated, and abstinence from certain kinds of animal food was set down as a proof of interest in the strange cult. So at the request of my father, who did not fear gossip, but who detested philosophy, I returned to my previous habits; it was no very hard matter to induce me to dine more comfortably. (trans. Gummere 243–45)

**T.134** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.13 (607–08 Dorandi). AD 200

τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τὸ φονεύειν ἀπαγορεύειν, μὴ ὅτι γεύεσθαι τῶν ζώων κοινὸν δίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχόντων ψυχῆς. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν τὸ πρόσχημα· τὸ δ' ἀληθές τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπηγόρευεν ἄπτεσθαι συνασκῶν καὶ συνεθίζων εἰς εὐκολίαν βίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε εὐπορίστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰς τροφάς, ἅπυρα προσφερομένοις καὶ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πίνουσιν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ ψυχῆς ὀξύτητα περιγίνεσθαι. ἀμέλει καὶ βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ γενέτορος, ὃς ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Κερατίνου, διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν, ὡς φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων πολιτείᾳ.

Pythagoras, who forbade even the killing, let alone the eating, of animals which share with us the privilege of having a soul. This was the excuse put forward; but his real reason for forbidding animal diet was to practice people and accustom them to simplicity of life, so that they could live on things easily procurable, spreading their

tables with uncooked foods and drinking pure water only, for this was the way to a healthy body and a keen mind. Of course the only altar at which he worshipped was that of Apollo the Giver of Life, behind the Altar of Horns at Delos, for thereon were placed flour and meal and cakes, without the use of fire, and there was no animal victim, as we are told by Aristotle in his *Constitution of Delos* [fr. 489 Rose]. (trans. Hicks 2: 333)

- T.135** Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 30.186 (103 Deubner). AD 300

καὶ τὸ ἐμψύχων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐνομοθέτησε διὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ὡς εἰρηνοποιὸν· τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. ἐθιζόμενοι γὰρ μυσάττεσθαι φόνον ζώων ὡς ἄνομον καὶ παρὰ φύσιν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀθεμιτώτερον τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἡγούμενοι κτείνειν οὐκέτι ἐπολέμουν. φόνων δὲ χορηγέτης καὶ νομοθέτης ὁ πόλεμος...

And he (Pythagoras) ordered abstinence from living beings for many other reasons, but mainly because the practice tended to promote peace. For once human beings became accustomed to loathe the slaughter of animals as lawless and contrary to nature, they would no longer make war, thinking it even more unlawful to kill a human being. War is the leader and lawgiver of slaughters... (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 195)

#### A Quest for Purity

- T.136** (cf. T.60) ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa. ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διεθεσμοθέτησε τούτοις ὅμοια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἀρχόμενος εἰς ἀρετὴν ὀδηγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

He prescribed other rules like these, and thus, beginning with food, he led human beings to moral excellence. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

- T.137** Hierocles of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans* 26.18–19 (175 Mullach) AD 408–50

[18] τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀποφθέγμασιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρεδίδοτο, ὧν ἕκαστον εἰ καὶ μερικὴν ἀποχὴν εἰσηγεῖτο οἶον, κυάμων μὲν ἐν σπέρμασι, θνησειδίων δὲ ἐν ζώοις καὶ τούτων κατὰ γένος ὡς ἐπὶ ἰχθύων τὸ ἐρυθρίνου ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ἐν χερσαίοις ἄλλου καὶ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἐν πτηνοῖς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον μέρη τινὰ ζώων ἀπηγόρευεν οἶον, κεφαλὴν μὴ ἐσθίειν μηδὲ καρδίαν, ὅμως καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τούτων τὴν τελειότητα τῆς καθάρσεως ἐναπετυποῦτο ὁ λόγος, διὰ μὲν τινὰς φυσικὰς ιδιότητας τότε ἢ ποῦτο ὁ λόγος, διὰ μὲν τινὰς φυσικὰς ιδιότητας τότε ἢ τότε εἰς σωματικὴν ἀποχὴν κατατάξας, δι’ ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν τῆς θνητῆς προσπαθείας κάθαρσιν εἰσηγούμενος καὶ ἐθίζων διὰ πάντων εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστραφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοῦ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τόπου ἐξαναδύναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ Ἥλύσιον πεδίον καὶ αἰθέρα τὸν ἐλεύθερον μετοικίσασθαι. [19] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τάξει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς ἀποχῆς

ἐποιοῦντο, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μαχόμενα, ὡς ἂν οἰηθεῖη τις, εὐρίσκεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς σύμβολα.

[18] The details have been transmitted in secret in the sacred sayings. Even if each of them proposed a partial abstinence, for example from beans among seeds, from carcasses among animals, and of animals to abstain according to kind, as from red mullet among fish, from this kind among land animals and from another among birds, and, finally, if each forbade certain parts of animals, for example, not to eat the head or heart, none the less in each of them the text would be expressing the perfection of purification. On account of some physical peculiarities it would be assigning this or that as an object for bodily abstinence, yet through each advising purification from the passionate attachment to the mortal and through all of them accustoming man to turn himself inwards, to rise from the region of generation and destruction, and to change his abode to the Elysian field and the free ether. [19] But since they [the Pythagoreans] conceived of abstinence as an orderly progression, on account of this their symbols are found, as one might suppose, to be conflicting. (trans. Schibli 315–16)

**T.138** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 195 Rose = *Pythagorean Memoirs* qtd. in Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus, *Successions of Philosophers*, *FGrHist* 273 F93. 350 BC

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.33 (618 Dorandi)

*OF* 628; no. 47 Harden

τὴν δ’ ἀγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀπὸ τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωτῶν θνησειδίων τε κρεῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανούρων καὶ ῥῶν καὶ τῶν φωτόκων ζῴων καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν παρακελεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες.

Purity is achieved through purifications and baths and ablutions and keeping oneself pure from funeral rites and childbirth and all pollution, and by abstaining from meat and carcasses and red mullets and blacktail fish and eggs and egg-laying animals and from beans and from other things forbidden by those who perform ritual initiations in the sanctuaries. (trans. Kahn 83, modified)

**T.139** Isocrates, *Busiris* 28 (195 Mathieu) 391–385 BC

Pythagoras no. 4 Cardini

Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιός... ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ μαθητὴς ἐκείνων γενόμενος τὴν τ’ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπούδασεν...

Pythagoras of Samos... After he went to Egypt and became their student, he was the first to bring the rest of philosophy to the Greeks, but he was clearly interested than others in their sacrificial rites and in the temple rituals. (trans. Mirhady 56)

- T.140** Hermippus of Smyrna, *On Pythagoras, book one*, *FGrHist* 1026 F21 qtd. in Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.164–65 (31 Niese) 200 BC

GLAJJ no. 25

καὶ ὅτι παρεκελεύετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τόπον, ἐφ’ ὃν ὄνος ὀκλάση, καὶ τῶν διψίων ὑδάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπέχειν βλασφημίας. εἶτα προστίθησι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τάδε: “ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔλεγε τὰς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Θρακῶν δόξας μιμούμενος καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν.”

Hermippus also says that Pythagoras prescribed not to walk past any place where an ass has crouched down [sc. without stopping], to abstain from water that causes thirst and to avoid all kinds of defamation.<sup>47</sup> To this he then adds the following: ‘In practicing and saying this he [sc. Pythagoras] imitated and appropriated the beliefs of Jews and Thracians.’ (trans. Bollansée 33)

- T.141** Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 28.151 (85 Deubner). AD 300

OF 1144vii + OF 508i

ὅλως δὲ φασὶ Πυθαγόραν ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι τῆς Ὀρφέως ἐρμηνείας τε καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ τιμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ Ὀρφεῖ παραπλησίως, ἰσταμένους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι καὶ τῷ χαλκῷ, οὐ ταῖς ἡμετέραις συνεζευγμένους μορφαῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδρύμασι τοῖς θείοις, πάντα περιέχοντας καὶ πάντων προνοοῦντας καὶ τῷ παντὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν μορφήν ὁμοίαν ἔχοντας, ἀγγέλλειν δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς καθαρμούς καὶ τὰς λεγομένας τελετάς, τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην εἶδησιν αὐτῶν ἔχοντα. ἔτι δὲ φασὶ καὶ σύνθετον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τὴν θεῖαν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ θεραπείαν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν, ἃ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερέων, ἃ δὲ παρὰ Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ἃ δὲ παρὰ τῆς τελετῆς τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ γινομένης, ἐν Ἴμβρῳ τε καὶ Σαμοθράκῃ καὶ Λήμνῳ, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τοῖς κοινοῖς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κελτοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.

In general, they say Pythagoras was a zealous admirer of Orpheus’ style and rhetorical art, and honored the gods in a manner nearly like Orpheus, setting them up, indeed, in the bronze of statues, not bound down with our human appearances, but with those divine rites of gods who comprehend and take thought for all things, and who have a substance and form similar to the All. He proclaimed their purificatory rites and what are called ‘mystic initiations’, and he had most accurate knowledge of these things. Moreover, they say that he made a synthesis of divine philosophy and worship of the gods, having learned some things from the Orphics, others from the Egyptian priests; some from the Chaldeans and the magi, others from the mystic rites in Eleusis, Imbros, Samothrace, and Lemnos, and whatever was to be learned from mystic associations; and some from the Celts and Iberians. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 167)

- T.142** Xenocrates of Chalcedon, fr. F170 Parente qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 4.22.2 (38–39 Patillon) 339–314 BC

<sup>47</sup> Jan Bollansée, after Howard Jacobson, argues that Hermippus refers here three Pythagorean symbols that correspond to the Jewish law of the Pentateuch (Bollansée 236–40).

φασὶ δὲ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθηναίοις νομοθητῆσαι, καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔτι Ξενοκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος λέγει διαμένειν Ἐλευσίνοι τούσδε· γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι.

It is said that Triptolemos too gave laws to the Athenians, and Xenocrates the philosopher says that the following three of his laws are still abided by in Eleusis: to honor one's parents, to worship the gods with offers of fruits, and never to hurt animals. (trans. Bollansée 19–21)

**T.143** Leviticus<sup>LXX</sup> 11.46–47

250 BC

[46] Οὗτος ὁ νόμος περὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ πάσης ψυχῆς τῆς κινουμένης ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ πάσης ψυχῆς ἐρπούσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, [47] διαστεῖλαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν καθαρῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ζωογονούντων τὰ ἐσθιόμενα, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ζωογονούντων τὰ μὴ ἐσθιόμενα.

[46] This is the law pertaining to land animals and birds and every being that moves through the water and every being that crawls upon the earth, [47] to make a distinction between the unclean and between the clean and between breeding things that may be eaten and between breeding things that may not be eaten. (trans. NETS 92)

**T.144** Deuteronomium<sup>LXX</sup> 14.3–8

250 BC

[3] Οὐ φάγεσθε πᾶν βδέλυγμα. [4] ταῦτα τὰ κτήνη, ἃ φάγεσθε... [7] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπὸ τῶν... ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐστι· [8] ... ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῶν οὐ φάγεσθε καὶ τῶν θνησιμαίων αὐτῶν οὐχ ἄψεσθε.

[3] You shall not eat any abomination. [4] These are the animals you shall eat... [7] And these you shall not eat... they are unclean for you. [8] .... You shall not eat their flesh, and you shall not touch their carcasses. (trans. NETS 157)

**T.145** Deuteronomium<sup>LXX</sup> 14.2

250 BC

ὅτι λαὸς ἅγιος εἶ κύριῳ τῷ θεῷ σου, καὶ σὲ ἐξελέξατο κύριος ὁ θεός σου γενέσθαι σε λαὸν αὐτῷ περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

For you are a people holy to the Lord your God, and it is you the Lord your God has chosen to be an exceptional people to him out of all the nations on the face of the earth. (trans. NETS 157)

### C. Why Abstain from...

#### ...Meat?

**T.146** *Life of Pythagoras* qtd. in Photius, *Bibliotheca* cod. 249 (128 Henry). ?AD first century

Πυθαγόρειοι τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχοντο, τὴν μετεμψύχωσιν ἀφρόνως ὡς ἀληθῆ ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν βρωμάτων παχύνει τὸν νοῦν, τροφιμώτερα ὄντα καὶ πολλὴν ἀνάδοσιν ποιοῦντα.

The Pythagoreans did not eat the flesh of living creatures, because they unreasonably believed in metempsychosis and thought such foods dull of mind, being too nutritive and making much work for the digestion. (trans. Wilson 220)

- T.147** Xenocrates of Chalcedon fr. F185 Parente qtd. in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 7.6.32.9 (2: 24–25 Stählin) 339–314 BC

δοκεῖ δὲ Ξενοκράτης ἰδίᾳ πραγματευόμενος Περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων τροφῆς καὶ Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου συντάγμασι σαφῶς λέγειν, ὡς ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τῶν σαρκῶν τροφή, <ἢ> εἰργασμένη ἤδη καὶ ἐξομοιωτὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀλόγων ψυχαῖς.

Now Xenocrates, treating by himself *Of the Food Derived from Animals*, and Polemon in his work *On Life according to Nature*, seem clearly to say that animal food is unwholesome, inasmuch as it has already been elaborated and assimilated to the souls of the irrational creatures. (trans. ANF 2: 532)

- T.148** Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 10.6.1 (2: 197–98 Vogel) 60–30 BC

ὅτι ὁ Πυθαγόρας μετεμψύχωσιν ἐδόξαζε καὶ κρεοφαγίαν ὡς ἀποτρόπαιον ἡγεῖτο, πάντων τῶν ζώων τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον εἰς ἕτερα ζῶα λέγων εἰσέρχεσθαι.

Pythagoras believed in the transmigration of souls and considered the eating of flesh as an abominable thing, saying that the souls of all living creatures pass after death into other living creatures. (trans. Oldfather 4: 61)

- T.149** Eubulus, *On Mithras* no. 133 Vasunia qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence* 4.16.1–2 (25 Patillon) ?AD second century

[1] Παρά γε μὴν τοῖς Πέρσiais οἱ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σοφοὶ καὶ τούτου θεράποντες μάγοι μὲν προσαγορεύονται· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον ὁ μάγος· οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ σεβάσμιον γένος τοῦτο παρὰ Πέρσiais νενόμισται, ὥστε καὶ Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπου ἐπιγράψαι τῷ μνήματι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι καὶ μαγικῶν γένοιτο διδάσκαλος. [2] Διήρηντο δὲ οὗτοι εἰς γένη τρία, ὡς φησὶν Εὐβουλος ὁ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα ἱστορίαν ἐν πολλοῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγράψας, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ λογιώτατοι οὐτ' ἐσθίουσιν ἐμψυχον οὔτε φονεύουσιν, ἐμμένουσι δὲ τῇ παλαιᾷ τῶν ζώων ἀποχῆ· οἱ δὲ δευτέροι χρωῶνται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἡμέρων ζώων τι κτείνουσιν· οὐδ' οἱ τρίτοι ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφάπτονται πάντων· καὶ γὰρ δόγμα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν πρώτων τὴν μετεμψύχωσιν εἶναι, ὃ καὶ ἐμφαίνειν εἰκόσασιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις.

[1] Among the Persians, those who are wise about the divine and serve it are called Magi, for that is what ‘magos’ means in the native language. These people are regarded as so great and reverend a race by the Persians that Darius son of Hystaspes had written on his tomb, in addition to the rest, that he was a teacher of wisdom of the magi. [2] They are divided into three groups, according to Euboulos who wrote an investigation of Mithras in several books. The first and most learned neither eat nor

kill any animate creature, but abide by the ancient abstinence from animals. The second group make use of animals, but do not any of the tame animals; and even the third group, like the others, do not eat all animals. For it is the belief of them all that metempsychosis is of the first importance, and this, apparently, they reveal in the mysteries of Mithras. (trans. Clark 112)

**T.150** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 107 Wright

444 BC

OF 449

ἔστιν ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,  
αἰδίου, πλατέεσσι κατεσφρηγισμένον ὄρκοις·  
εὐτὲ τις ἀμπλακίησι φόνῳ φίλα γυῖα μίηνη,  
<νεῖκεῖ θ’> ὅς κ(ε) ἐπίορκον ἀμαρτήσας ἐπομόσση,  
δαίμονες οἳ τε μακραίωνος λελόγγασι βίοιο·  
τρὶς μιν μυρίας ὥρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάλησθαι.  
φυομένους παντοῖα διὰ χρόνου εἶδεα θνητῶν  
ἀργαλέας βιότοιο μεταλλάσσοντα κελεύθους.  
αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει,  
πόντος δ’ ἐς χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπτυσσε, γαῖα δ’ ἐς αὐγὰς  
ἡελίου φαέθοντος, ὁ δ’ αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις·  
ἄλλος δ’ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες.  
τῶν καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν εἶμι φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης·  
νεῖκεῖ μαινομένῳ πίσυνος.

There is a decree of Necessity, ratified long ago by the gods, eternal and sealed by broad oaths, that whenever one in error, from fear, defiles his own limbs, having by his error made false the oath he swore—daimons to whom life long-lasting is apportioned—he wanders from the blessed ones for three times ten-thousand years, being born throughout the time as all kinds of mortal forms, exchanging one hard way of life for another. For the force of air pursues him into sea, and sea spits him out onto earth’s surface, earth casts him into the rays of blazing sun, and sun into the eddies of air; one takes him from another, and all abhor him. I too am now one of these, an exile from the gods and a wanderer, having put my trust in raving strife. (trans. Wright 270, modified)

**T.151** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *On the Eating of Flesh* 1.7, 996B (6.1: 103 Hubert). AD 68–120

OF 318ii

ἀλληγορεῖ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅτι φόνων καὶ βρώσεως σαρκῶν καὶ ἀλληλοφαγίας δίκην τίνουσαι σώμασι θνητοῖς ἐνδέδενται.

By these lines he [sc. Empedocles] means, though he does not say so directly, that human souls are imprisoned in mortal bodies as a punishment for murder, the eating of animal flesh, and cannibalism. (trans. Cherniss 559)

**T.152** Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Physicists* (AM 9) 127 (242 Mutschmann). AD 180–210

οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἰταλῶν πλῆθος φασι μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι τινα κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων.

Now Pythagoras and Empedocles and the rest of the Italian company declare that we have some fellowship not only with one another and with the gods but also with the irrational animals. (trans. Bury 3: 69)

**T.153** Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.165–75 (452 Tarrant)

before AD 8

no. 51 Harden

Omnia mutantur, nihil interit. errat et illinc  
huc venit, hinc illuc et quoslibet occupat artus  
spiritus eque feris humana in corpora transit  
inque feras noster, nec tempore deperit ullo.  
utque novis facilis signatur cera figures,  
nec manet ut fuerat nec formas servat easdem,  
sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eandem  
esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras.  
ergo, ne pietas sit victa cupidine ventris,  
parcite, vaticinor, cognatas caede nefanda  
exturbare animas, nec sanguine sanguis alatur.

{Pythagoras' soul is speaking} All things are changing; nothing dies. The spirit wanders, comes now here, now there, and occupies whatever frame it pleases. From beasts it passes into human bodies, and from our bodies into beasts, but never perishes. And, as the pliant wax is stamped with new designs, does not remain as it was before nor keep the same form long, but is still the selfsame wax, so do I teach that the soul is ever the same, though it passes into ever-changing bodies. Therefore, lest your piety be overcome by appetite, I warn you as a seer, do not drive out by impious slaughter what may be kindred souls, and let not life be fed on life. (trans. Miller 377)

**T.154** Aristoxenus of Tarentum qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.14 (608 Dorandi) 336–333 BC

Πρῶτόν τε φασι τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοις ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζώοις...

He [sc. Pythagoras] was the first, they say, to declare that the soul, bound now in this creature, now in that, thus goes on a round ordained of necessity. (trans. Hicks 2: 333)

**T.155** Dicaearchus of Messana, *Philosophical Biographies (Περὶ βίων)* fr. 40 Mirhady qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 19 (44–45 Places) fl. 320 BC

Pythagoras no. 8a Cardini

Μάλιστα μέντοι γνώριμα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζώων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι κατὰ περιόδους τινὰς τὰ γενόμενά ποτε πάλιν γίγνεται, νέον δ' οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἔστι καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ

γινόμενα ἔμψυχα ὁμογενῆ δεῖ νομίζειν. φέρεται γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ δόγματα πρῶτος κομίσει ταῦτα Πυθαγόρας.

However, it was especially well-known by all, first, that the soul is immortal, then, that it transmigrated into other kinds of animals, and in addition that what happens happens again at some time according to certain cycles, that, in short, there is nothing new, and that is necessary to believe that all ensouled beings are of the same kind. For it appears that Pythagoras was the first to bring these teachings into Greece. (trans. Mirhady 39–40)

**T.156** Herodotus of Halicarnassus, *Histories* 2.123.2–3 (216–17 Rosén) 443 BC

*OF* 423; Pythagoras no. 1 Cardini

[2] πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὗτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. [3] τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσι οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδῶς τὰ σὺνόματα οὐ γράφω.

Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them. (trans. Goodley 425)

**T.157** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos (or Discourse on the Gods in Doric prose)* fr. 1 Thesleff (p. 164) Hellenistic period

*OF* 1144iii

δηλοῦται δὴ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου τούτου [ἢ περὶ θεῶν λόγου, ἐπιγράφεται γὰρ ἀμφότερον] καὶ τίς ἦν ὁ παραδεκῶς Πυθαγόρα τὸν περὶ θεῶν λόγον. λέγει γὰρ: <λόγος> ὅδε περὶ θεῶν Πυθαγόρα τῷ Μνημάρχῳ, τὸν ἐξέμαθον ὀργιασθεὶς ἐν Λιβήθροις τοῖς Θρακίοις, Ἀγλαοφάμῳ τελεστᾷ μεταδόντος, ὡς ἄρα Ὀρφεὺς ὁ Καλλιόπας κατὰ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ὑπὸ τᾶς ματρὸς πινυσθεὶς ἔφα...

It is certainly clear from this *Sacred Discourse* (or *Discourse on the Gods*, both titles exists), who gave Pythagoras the discourse on gods, for it says: ‘This (discourse) is what I Pythagoras, son of Mnemarchus, learned on initiation in the Thracian Libethra, from Aglaophamus the initiator, who communicated to me that Orpheus, son of Calliope, taught by his mother on Mt. Pangaeon, said:...’ (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 163–65)

**T.158** Pindar of Thebes fr. 65(133) Fera ca. 476 BC

*OF* 443

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος  
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτωι ἔτει  
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοὶ  
καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι  
ἄνδρες αὖξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥροες ἀγνοὶ  
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

But as for those from whom Persephone shall exact the penalty of their pristine woe, in the ninth year she once more restoreth their souls to the upper sun-light; and from these come into being august monarchs, and men who are swift in strength and supreme in wisdom; and, for all future time, men call them sainted. (trans. Sandys 591)

**T.159** The gold tablet from Thurii no. 5 Graf–Johnston fourth century BC

*OF 488*

Ἔρχομαι ἐκ κοθαρθῶν κοθαρά, χθονίων βασιλεια,  
Εὐκλῆς Εὐβοῦλεὺς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὖχομαι εἶμεν.  
ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' {α} ἐδάμασσε {καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι}  
καὶ ἀσ{σ}τεροβλήτα κερραυνῶι.  
κύκλοσ δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπεν θεός ἀργαλέοιο,...

I come pure from the pure, Queen of the Chthonian Ones, Eucles, Euboleus and the other immortal gods. For I also claim to be of your happy race. But Moira overcame me and the other immortal gods and the star-flinger with lightning. I have flown out of the heavy, difficult circle... (trans. Graf–Johnston 13)

**T.160** Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 40 Smith AD 200

*OF 427i*

[μηδὲ λέγωμεν ὅτι]  
[ἢ ψυχῇ] με[ταβαίνουσα οὐ]-  
[κ ἀ]πώλλ[υτο ὡς οἱ Ὀρφεῖ]-  
οι, καὶ Πυθαγ[όρας οὐ]  
μόνος, μαιν[όμενοι δοκοῦσιν].

[And let us not say that the soul transmigrated and did not perish, as the Orphics] and [not] only Pythagoras, crazily [suppose]. (trans. Smith 387)

**T.161** Proclus, *Commentary on the Republic* 2: 173 Kroll AD 440–80

*OF 346*

καὶ ὁ μὲν Πλάτων διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας ἀποδίδωσι τὴν χιλιάδα ταῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Πλούτωνι ψυχαῖς, ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς διὰ τριακοσίων αὐτὰς ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἄγει τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δικαιοτηρίων αὐθις εἰς γένεσιν, σύνθημα καὶ οὗτος ποιούμενος τὰς τρεῖς

έκτοντάδας τῆς τελείας περιόδου τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν καθαιρομένων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐβίωσαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τὴν γένεσιν.

Therefore, Plato [*Phdr.* 249b] gives Pluto the souls for one thousand years, whereas Orpheus leads them, during 300 years, from the underground places and prisons there back to generation, and the period of 300 years is a symbol of time that is needed for the perfect purification of human souls, after which they go back to the generation. (trans. E. O.)

**T.162** *Orphic Rhapsodies* qtd. in Proclus, *Commentary on the Republic* 2: 338–39 Kroll. Before AD 440–80

*OF* 338i + *OF* 338

ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα σαφῶς παραδίδωσιν, ὅταν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Τιτάνων μυθικὴν δίκην καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων γένεσιν τῶν θνητῶν τούτων ζῶων λέγῃ πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τοὺς βίους ἀμειβουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ κατὰ δὴ τινὰς περιόδους καὶ εἰσδύονται ἄλλαι εἰς ἄλλα σώματα πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων·

οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ πατέρες τε καὶ υἱέες ἐν μεγάροισιν  
εὐκοσμοὶ τ’ ἄλοχοι καὶ μητέρες ἠδὲ θύγατρες  
γίνοντ’ ἀλλήλων μεταμειβομένησι γενέθλαις.

ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὴν ἀπ’ ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων εἰς ἀνθρώπινα μετοίκισιν αὐτῶν παραδίδωσιν... ἔπειθ’ ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα μετάβασίς ἐστὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ τοῦτο διαρρήδη Ὀρφεὺς ἀναδιδάσκει, ὁπνῆκα ἂν διορίζηται·

οὐνεκ’ ἀμειβομένη ψυχὴ κατὰ κύκλα χρόνοιο  
ἀνθρώπων ζῶοισι μετέρχεται ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοις·  
ἄλλοτε μὲν θ’ ἵππος, τότε γίνεται — — —  
ἄλλοτε δὲ πρόβατον, τότε δ’ ὄρνεον αἰνὸν ιδέσθαι,  
ἄλλοτε δ’ αὖ κύνεόν τε δέμας φωνὴ τε βαρεῖα,  
καὶ ψυχρῶν ὀφίων ἔρπει γένος ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ.

Does not Orpheus clearly transmit the things like that? For he says that after the mythical punishments of Titans and the subsequent creation of the mortal beings out of them [sc. Titans] the souls change their lives, in some cycles of time, and enter other bodies that are mostly human:

‘The same inhabit the house as fathers and sons,  
As respected wives and cherished daughters,  
Become each others in alternating generations.’

In these lines, he transmits [the Orphic tradition on] a transmigration [of soul] from one human body into another... Furthermore, there is a transmigration of the human souls into the other animals, what Orpheus explicitly says when he makes the following distinction:

‘This is why the soul changes abodes, in cycles of time,  
Goes from human bodies into animal ones,  
To become either a horse, or a — — —  
Either a ram, or bird of prey, a dreadful look,  
Either a canine species to bark with deep voice,  
Or one of cold serpents that crawl on the earth.’ (trans. E. O.)

**T.163** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *On the Eating of Flesh* 1.7, 996C (6.1: 103–04 Hubert). AD 68–120

OF 671

καίτοι δοκεῖ παλαιότερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἶναι· τὰ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μεμυθευμένα πάθη τοῦ διαμελισμοῦ καὶ τὰ Τιτάνων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τολμήματα, κολάσεις τε τούτων καὶ κεραυνώσεις γευσαμένων τοῦ φόνου, ἠνιγμένος ἐστὶ εἰς τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν.

This doctrine, however, seems to be even older, for the stories told about the suffering and dismemberment of Dionysus and the outrageous assaults of the Titans upon him, and their punishment and blasting by thunderbolt after they had tasted his blood—all this is a myth which in its inner meaning has to do with rebirth. (trans. Cherniss 559)

**T.164** Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* 6.169–205 (52–53 Chuvin)

AD 450

OF 308i + OF 304v + OF 309viii

οὐδὲ Διὸς θρόνον εἶχεν ἐπὶ χρόνον· ἀλλὰ ἐ γύψω  
 [170] κερδαλέη χρισθέντες ἐπὶ κλοπα κύκλα προσώπου  
 δαίμονος ἀστόργοιο χόλω βαρυμήνιος Ἴηρης  
 Ταρταρίη Τιτῆνες ἐδηλήσαντο μαχαίρη  
 ἀντιτύπῳ νόθον εἶδος ὀπιπεύοντα κατόπτρῳ.  
 ἔνθα διχαζομένων μελέων Τιτῆνι σιδήρῳ  
 [175] τέρμα βίου Διόνυσος ἔχων παλινάγρετον ἀρχὴν  
 ἄλλοφυῆς μορφοῦτο πολυσπερὲς εἶδος ἀμείβων,  
 πῆ μὲν ἄτε Κρονίδης δόλιος νέος αἰγίδα σείων,  
 πῆ δὲ γέρων βαρύγουνος ἄτε Κρόνος ὄμβρον ἰάλλων·  
 ἄλλοτε ποικιλόμορφον ἔην βρέφος, ἄλλοτε κούρῳ  
 [180] εἵκελος οἰσθηθέντι, νέον δὲ οἱ ἄνθος ἰούλων  
 ἀκροκελαινιόωντα κατέγραφε κύκλα προσώπου·  
 πῆ δὲ χόλω δασπλήτι λέων μιμηλὸς ἰάλλων  
 φρικαλέον βρύχημα σεσηρότι μαίνετο λαιμῶ,  
 ὀρθώσας πυκινῆσι κατάσκιον αὐχένα χαίταις,  
 [185] ἀμφελελιζομένης λασιότριχος ὑπόθι νότου  
 αὐτομάτη μᾶστιγι περιστίζων δέμας οὐρῆς·  
 ἔνθα λεοντείοιο λιπῶν ἴνδαλμα προσώπου  
 ὑψιλόφῳ χρεμετισμὸν ὁμοίον ἔβρεμεν ἵππῳ  
 ἄζυγι, γαῦρον ὀδόντα μετοχμάζοντι χαλινοῦ,  
 [190] καὶ πολιῶ λεύκαινε περιτρίβων γένυν ἀφρῶ·  
 ἄλλοτε ροιζήεντα χέων συριγμὸν ὑπῆνης  
 ἀμφιλαφῆς φολίδεσσι δράκων ἐλέλικτο κεράστης,  
 γλῶσσαν ἔχων προβλήτα κεχηνότος ἀνθερεῶνος,  
 καὶ βλοσυρῶ Τιτῆνος ἐπεσκίρτησε καρῆνῳ  
 [195] ὄρμον ἐχιδνήεντα περίπλοκον αὐχένι δήσας·  
 καὶ δέμας ἐρπηστῆρος ἀειδίνητον ἐάσας  
 τίγρις ἔην, στίξας δέμας αἰόλον· ἄλλοτε ταύρῳ  
 ἰσοφυῆς, στομάτων δὲ νόθον μυκηθμὸν ἰάλλων  
 θηγαλέη Τιτῆνας ἀνεστυφέλιξε κεραίη.

[200] καὶ ψυχῆς προμάχιζεν, ἕως ζηλήμονι λαιμῶ  
 τρηχάλεον μύκημα δι' ἠέρος ἔβρεμεν Ἥρη,  
 μητρυιῇ βαρύμηνις, ἰσοφθόγγῳ δὲ θεαίνῃ  
 αἰθέριον κελάδημα πύλαι κανάχιζον Ὀλύμπου,  
 καὶ θρασὺς ὠκλάσε ταῦρος· ἀμοιβαίῃ δὲ φονῆες  
 [205] ταυροφυῇ Διόνυσον ἐμιστύλλοντο μαχαίρῃ.

But he did not hold the throne of Zeus for long. By the fierce resentment of implacable Hera, the Titans cunningly smeared their round faces with disguising chalk, and while he contemplated his changeling countenance reflected in a mirror they destroyed him with an infernal knife. There where his limbs had been cut piecemeal by the Titan steel, the end of his life was the beginning of a new life as Dionysus. He appeared in another shape, and changed into many forms: now young like crafty Cronides shaking the aegis-cape, now as ancient Cronos heavy-kneed, pouring rain. Sometimes he was a curiously formed baby, sometimes like a mad youth with the flower of the first down marking his rounded chin with black. Again, a mimic lion he uttered a horrible roar in furious rage from a wild snarling throat, as he lifted a neck shadowed by a thick mane, marking his body on both sides with the self-striking whip of a tail which flickered about over his hairy back. Next, he left the shape of a lion's looks and let out a ringing neigh, now like an unbroken horse that lifts his neck on high to shake out the imperious tooth of the bit, and rubbing, whitened his cheek with hoary foam. Sometimes he poured out a whistling hiss from his mouth, a curling horned serpent covered with scales, darting out his tongue from his gaping throat, and leaping upon the grim head of some Titan encircled his neck in snaky spiral coils. Then he left the shape of the restless crawler and became a tiger with gay stripes on his body; or again like a bull emitting a counterfeit roar from his mouth he butted the Titans with sharp horn. So he fought for his life, until Hera with jealous throat bellowed harshly through the air—that heavy-resentful stepmother! and the gates of Olympus rattled in echo to her jealous throat from high heaven. Then the bold bull collapsed: the murderers each eager for his turn with the knife chopped piecemeal the bull-shaped Dionysus. (trans. Rouse 1: 227–29)

**T.165** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 124 Wright

444 BC

*OF* 640

μορφὴν δ' ἀλλάξαντα πατὴρ φίλον υἱὸν ἀείρας  
 σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος· οἱ δ' ἐπορευῶνται  
 λισσόμενοι θύοντας, ὁ δ' αὖ νήκουστος ὁμοκλέων  
 σφάξας ἐν μεγάροισι κακὴν ἀλεγύνατο δαῖτα.  
 ὥς δ' αὐτῶς πατέρ' υἱὸς ἐλὼν καὶ μητέρα παῖδες  
 θυμὸν ἀπορραΐσαντε φίλας κατὰ σάρκας ἔδουσιν.

The father will lift up dear son in a changed form, and, blind fool, as he prays he will slay him, and those who take part in the sacrifice bring (the victim) as he pleads. But the father, deaf to his cries, slays him in his house and prepares an evil feast. In the same way son seizes father, and children their mother, and having bereaved them of life devour the flesh of those they love. (trans. Wright 286)

**T.166** Aristotle, *On the Soul* 407b.20–23 (15 Ross)

after 335 BC

οἱ δὲ μόνον ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν ποῖόν τι ἡ ψυχὴ, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξομένου σώματος οὐθὲν ἔτι προσδιορίζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνδεχόμενον κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς μύθους τὴν τυχοῦσαν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ἐνδύεσθαι σῶμα.

The supporters of such theories merely undertake to explain the nature of the soul. Of the body which is to receive it they have nothing more to say: just as if it were possible for any soul taken at random, according to the Pythagorean stories, to pass into any body. (trans. Hicks 29)

- T.167** Heraclides of Pontus, *Diseases* fr. 86 Schütrumpf qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.4 (602–03 Dorandi) 339 BC

Pythagoras no. 8 Cardini

Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἐλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας· αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων· ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὐφορβὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τραθῆναι· ὁ δ' Εὐφορβὸς ἔλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγονότι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῶα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν Ἄιδῃ ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.

Heraclides Ponticus says that this man (Pythagoras) told the following about himself: how he had once been born Aethalides and was believed to be a son of Hermes, and that Hermes told him to choose anything he wished except immortality. So he requested that while living and while dead he might hold a memory of what happened (to him). Thus in his life he remembered everything, and when he died he retained the same memory. And later in time he came into (the body of) Euphorbus and was wounded by Menelaus. And Euphorbus told how he had once born Aethalides and that he received from Hermes his gift, and told of the wandering of his soul, how it wandered about, and in how many plants and animals it came to be present, and how many things his soul suffered in Hades, and what the other souls endure. (trans. Schütrumpf 167)

- T.168** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 108 Wright 444 BC

OF 451

ἦδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμεν κοῦρός τε κόρη τε  
θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἔξαλος ἔλλοπος ἰχθύς.

For before now I have been at some time boy and girl, bush, bird, and a mute fish in the sea. (trans. Wright 275)

- T.169a** Plato, *Timaeus* 42b–d Burnet ca. 360 BC

καὶ ὁ μὲν εὖ τὸν προσήκοντα χρόνον βιούς, πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν ἄστρου, βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ συνήθη ἔξοι, σφαιεὶς δὲ τούτων εἰς γυναικὸς φύσιν ἐν τῇ [42c] δευτέρῃ γενέσει μεταβαλοῖ: μὴ παυόμενός τε ἐν τούτοις ἔτι κακίας,

τρόπον ὄν κακύνοιτο, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς τοῦ τρόπου γενέσεως εἰς τινα τοιαύτην αἰεὶ μεταβαλοῖ θήρειον φύσιν, ἀλλάττων τε οὐ πρότερον πόνων λήξοι, πρὶν τῇ ταυτοῦ καὶ ὁμοίου περιόδῳ τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπισπώμενος τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ ὕστερον προσφύντα ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος [42d] καὶ γῆς, θορυβώδη καὶ ἄλογον ὄντα, λόγῳ κρατήσας εἰς τὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀρίστης ἀφίκοιτο εἶδος ἕξεως.

And if a person lived a good life throughout the due course of his time, he would at the end return to his dwelling place in his companion star, to live a life of happiness that agreed with his character. [42c] But if he failed in this, he would be born a second time, now as a woman. And if even then he still could not refrain from wickedness, he would be changed once again, this time into some wild animal that resembled the wicked character he had acquired. [42d] And he would have no rest from these toilsome transformations until he had dragged that massive accretion of fire water-air-earth into conformity with the revolution of the Same and uniform within him, and so subdued that turbulent, irrational mass by means of reason. This would return him to his original condition of excellence. (trans. Cooper 1245)

**T.169b** Plato, *Timaeus* 91d–92c Burnet

ca. 360 BC

γυναῖκες μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ πᾶν οὕτω γέγονεν: τὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρνέων φύλον μετερρυθμίζετο, ἀντὶ τριχῶν περὰ φύον, ἐκ τῶν ἀκάκων ἀνδρῶν, κούφων δέ, καὶ μετεωρολογικῶν μὲν, ἡγουμένων δὲ δι' ὄψεως [91e] τὰς περὶ τούτων ἀποδείξεις βεβαιοτάτας εἶναι δι' εὐήθειαν. τὸ δ' αὖ πεζὸν καὶ θηριῶδες γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν μηδὲν προσχρωμένων φιλοσοφία μηδὲ ἀθρούντων τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν φύσεως πέρι μηδὲν, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ χρῆσθαι περιόδοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ στήθη τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεσθαι μέρεσιν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ τ' ἐμπρόσθια κῶλα καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς εἰς γῆν ἐλκόμενα ὑπὸ συγγενείας ἤρρισαν, προμήκεις τε καὶ παντοίας ἔσχον τὰς [92a] κορυφάς, ὅπη συνεθλίφθησαν ὑπὸ ἀργίας ἐκάστων αἱ περιφοραὶ· τετράπουν τε τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐκ ταύτης ἐφύετο καὶ πολύπουν τῆς προφάσεως, θεοῦ βάσεις ὑποτιθέντος πλείους τοῖς μᾶλλον ἄφροσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐπὶ γῆν ἔλκοιντο. τοῖς δ' ἀφρονεστάτοις αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ παντάπασιν πρὸς γῆν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κατατεινομένοις ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ποδῶν χρείας οὔσης, ἅποδα αὐτὰ καὶ ἰλυσπώμενα ἐπὶ γῆς ἐγέννησαν. τὸ δὲ [92b] τέταρτον γένος ἔνυδρον γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα ἀνοητοτάτων καὶ ἀμαθεστάτων, οὓς οὐδ' ἀναπνοῆς καθαρᾶς ἔτι ἤξιωσαν οἱ μεταπλάττοντες, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ πλημμελείας πάσης ἀκαθάρτως ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ λεπτῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς ἀναπνοῆς ἀέρος εἰς ὕδατος θολερὰν καὶ βαθεῖαν ἔωσαν ἀνάπνευσιν· ὅθεν ἰχθύων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστρέων συναπάντων τε ὅσα ἔνυδρα γέγονεν, δίκην ἀμαθίας ἐσχάτης ἐσχάτας οἰκήσεις [92c] εἰληχότων. καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τότε καὶ νῦν διαμείβεται τὰ ζῷα εἰς ἄλληλα, νοῦ καὶ ἀνοίας ἀποβολῆ καὶ κτήσει μεταβαλλόμενα.

That is how women and females in general came to be. As for birds, as a kind they are the products of a transformation. They grow feathers instead of hair. They descended from innocent but simple minded men, men who studied the heavenly bodies but in their naiveté believed that the most reliable proofs concerning them could be based upon visual observation. [91e] Land animals in the wild, moreover, came from men who had no tincture of philosophy and who made no study of the universe whatsoever, because they no longer made use of the revolutions in their heads but instead followed the lead of the parts of the soul that reside in the chest. As a consequence of these ways of theirs they carried their forelimbs and their heads dragging towards the ground, like towards like. [92a] The tops of their heads became elongated and took all

sorts of shapes, depending on the particular way the revolutions were squeezed together from lack of use. This is the reason animals of this kind have four or more feet. The god placed a greater number of supports under the more mindless beings, so that they might be drawn more closely to the ground. As for the most mindless of these animals, the ones whose entire bodies stretch out completely along the ground, the gods made them without feet, crawling along the ground, there being no need of feet anymore. [92b] The fourth kind of animal, the kind that lives in water, came from those men who were without question the most stupid and ignorant of all. The gods who brought about their transformation concluded that these no longer deserved to breathe pure air, because their souls were tainted with transgressions of every sort. Instead of letting them breathe rare and pure air, they shoved them into water to breathe its murky depths. This is the origin of fish, of all shellfish, and of every water-inhabiting animal. Their justly due reward for their extreme stupidity is their extreme dwelling place. [92c] These, then, are the conditions that govern, both then and now, how all the animals exchange their forms, one for the other, and in the process lose or gain intelligence or folly. (trans. Cooper 1290–91)

**T.170** Marmor Parium, *FGrHist* 239 F14 (1398/1397 BC) 264 BC

*IG XII*<sup>5</sup> 444; *OF* 379

[ἀφ' οὗ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ Οἰάγρου καὶ Καλλιόπης] υἱὸς τῆν [ἐ]αυτοῦ πο<ί>ησιν ἐξ[έ]θηκε Κόρης τε ἀρπαγὴν καὶ Δήμητρος ζήτησιν καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ[ρ]γηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς σπόρον καὶ τὸ] [ἐ]κεῖθεν ἔ[θ]ος τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τὸν καρπὸν, ἔτη ΧΗΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἐριχθέως.<sup>48</sup>

From when Orpheus, son of Oeagrus and Calliope, made known his own poetry: the rape of Core and the search of Demeter and [the seed created by her and the lifestyle of those receiving the corn, 1135 years when Erechtheus was king of Athens. (translation retrieved from <http://www.ashmolean.org/ash/faqs/q004/q004009.html>, completed)

**T.171** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 118 Wright 444 BC

*OF* 638

τὴν οἷ γ' εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀγάλμασιν ἰλάσκοντο  
 γραπτοῖς τε ζώιοισι μύροισι τε δαιδαλεόδοις  
 σμύρνης τ' ἀκρήτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους,  
 ξουθῶν τε σπονδᾶς μελιτῶν ρίπτοντες ἐς οὐδᾶς·  
 ταύρων δ' ἀκρήτοισι φόνους οὐ δέυετο βωμός,  
 ἀλλὰ μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον,  
 θυμὸν ἀπορραΐσαντας ἐνέδμεναι ἠέα γυῖα.

Her [i.e. Cypris] they propitiated with holy images and painted animal figures, with perfumes of subtle fragrance and offerings of distilled myrrh and sweet-smelling

<sup>48</sup> The Greek text is reproduced after: *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* by The Packard Humanities Institute, Cornell U, Ohio State U (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/77668?&bookid=21&location=6>).

frankincense, and pouring on the earth libations of golden honey. Their altar was not drenched by the (?unspeakable) slaughter of bulls, but this was the greatest defilement among men—to bereave of life and eat noble limbs. (trans. Wright 282)

**T.172a** Plato, *Statesman* 271e–272e Burnet

after 366 BC

θεὸς ἔνεμεν αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν, καθάπερ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ζῶον ὃν ἕτερον θειότερον, ἄλλα γένη φαυλότερα αὐτῶν νομεύουσι· νέμοντος δὲ ἐκείνου πολιτεῖαι τε οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲ κτήσεις [272a] γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν· ἐκ γῆς γὰρ ἀνεβιώσκοντο πάντες, οὐδὲν μεμνημένοι τῶν πρόσθεν· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπῆν πάντα, καρποὺς δὲ ἀφθόλους εἶχον ἀπὸ τε δένδρων καὶ πολλῆς ὕλης ἄλλης, οὐχ ὑπὸ γεωργίας φυομένους, ἀλλ’ αὐτομάτης ἀναδιδούσης τῆς γῆς. γυμνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄστρωτοι θυραυλοῦντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέμοντο· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ὥρων αὐτοῖς ἄλυπον ἐκέκρατο, μαλακὰς δὲ εὐνάς εἶχον ἀναφυομένης ἐκ [272b] γῆς πόας ἀφθόλου. τὸν δὲ βίον, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἀκούεις μὲν τὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Κρόνου·... ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάντων τούτων χρόνος ἐτελεώθη καὶ μεταβολὴν ἔδει γίνεσθαι καὶ [272e] δὴ καὶ τὸ γήινον ἤδη πᾶν ἀνήλωτο γένος, πάσας ἐκάστης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς γενέσεις ἀποδεδωκυίας, ὅσα ἦν ἐκάστη προσταχθὲν τοσαῦτα εἰς γῆν σπέρματα πεσοῦσης....

A god tended them, taking charge of them himself, just as now human beings, themselves living creatures, but different and more divine, pasture other kinds of living creatures more lowly than themselves; and given his tendance, they had no political constitutions, [272a] nor acquired wives and children, for all of them came back to life from the earth, remembering nothing of the past. While they lacked things of this sort, they had an abundance of fruits from trees and many other plants, which grew not through cultivation but because the earth sent them up of its own accord. For the most part they would feed outdoors, naked and without bedding; for the blend of the seasons was without painful extremes, [272b] and they had soft beds from abundant grass that sprang from the earth. What you are hearing about, then, Socrates, is the life of those who lived in the time of Cronus... When the time of all these things had been completed [272e] and the hour for change had come, and in particular all the earth-born race had been used up, each soul having rendered its sum of births, falling to the earth as seed as many times as had been laid down for each... (trans. Cooper 313–14)

**T.172b** (cf. T.1) Plato, *Laws* 782c–d Burnet

350 BC

*OF* 625i; Orfismo E6 Scarpi; no. 53 Harden

...ὅτε οὐδὲ βοῶς ἐτόλμων μὲν γεύεσθαι, θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγνὰ θύματα, σαρκῶν δ’ ἀπείχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὃν ἐσθίειν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μαιίνειν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρφικοί τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίνοντο ἡμῶν τοῖς τότε, ἀψύχων μὲν ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχων δὲ τοῦναντίον [782d] πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι.

...there was a time when we didn’t even dare to eat beef, and the sacrifices offered to the gods were not animals, but cakes and meal soaked in honey and other ‘pure’ offerings like that. People kept off meat on the grounds that it was an act of impiety to eat it, or to pollute the altars of the gods with blood. So at that time men lived a sort of

‘Orphic’ life, keeping exclusively to inanimate food and entirely abstaining from eating [782d] the flesh of animals. (trans. Cooper 1454–55)

**T.172c** Plato, *Laws* 782b–c Burnet

350 BC

[782b] τί οὖν; πιστεύομεν ἀμπέλους τε φανῆναί πού ποτε πρότερον οὐκ οὔσας; ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐλάας καὶ τὰ Δήμητρος τε καὶ Κόρης δῶρα; Τριπτόλεμόν τε τινα τῶν τοιούτων γενέσθαι διάκονον; ἐν ᾧ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ, μῶν οὐκ οἴομεθα τὰ ζῶα, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐδωδὴν τρέπεσθαι; [782c] {Ἀθηναῖος} τὸ δὲ μὴν θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ νῦν παραμένον ὁρῶμεν πολλοῖς·...

Well, we believe, don’t we, that at a certain point grapevine made their appearance, not having existed before, and olives likewise, and the gifts of Demeter and Kore, which Triptolemus, or whoever it was, handed on to us? So long as these things did not exist, we can take it that animals resorted to feeding on each other, as they do now? [782c] We observe, of course, the survival of human sacrifice among many people today.... (trans. Cooper 1454, modified)

**T.173** Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Rhetoricians* (AM 2) 31–32 (90 Mau)

AD 180–210

OF 641 + OF 642

παρὸ καὶ ὁ ἠθολόγος Ὀρφεὺς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνων φησὶ ἦν χρόνος ἠνίκα φῶτες ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων βίον εἶχον σαρκοδακῆ, κρείσσων δὲ τὸν ἥττονα φῶτα δάιζεν. μηδενὸς γὰρ ἐπιστατοῦντος νόμου ἕκαστος ἐν χερσὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶχε, ὡς καὶ ἰχθύσι <μέν> καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς ἐπιτέτρπται

ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ’ αὐτοῖς, μέχρις ὅτε ὁ θεὸς οἰκτεῖρων μογοῦσιν αὐτοῖς θεσμοφόρους θεὰς ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἃς ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀλληλοφάγον ἀνομίαν καταλῦσαι πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ καρποῖς ἡμερῶσαι τὸν βίον ἐθαύμασαν ἄνθρωποι.

Hence, the theologian Orpheus hints at their necessity when he say,—

‘There was a time when every man lived by devouring his fellow Cannibal-wise, and the stronger man did feast on the wicker,’

(for when no law was in control each man maintained his right by force of hand, even as it is permitted to

‘Fishes and beasts of the wild and the winged ravens and vultures, Each to devour the other, for justice exists not among them,’ [Hesiod, *Works and Days* 277–78]

until God in his pity for their misery sent to them law-bearing goddesses, and men admired these for the way they stopped the lawless cannibalism more than for the way they civilized life by means of the fruits of the earth. (trans. Bury 4: 205)

**T.174** *Orphic Argonautics* 20–28 (76 Vian)

AD fifth century

OF 99

τιθείαν τε Ζηνός, ὀρεσσιδρόμου τε λατρείαν

Μητρός ἅ τ' ἐν Κυβέλοις ὄρεσιν μητίσατο κούρη  
 Φερσεφόνην περὶ πατρός ἀμαιμακέτου Κρονίωνος·  
 Κασμίλου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέος περίφημον ἄμυξιν,  
 [25] ὄργιά τ' Ἰδαίων, Κορυβάντων τ' ἄπλετον ἰσχύν·  
 Δήμητρός τε πλάνην καὶ Φερσεφόνης μέγα πένθος,  
 θεσμοφόρος θ' ὡς ἦν· ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα Καβείρων,  
 χρησμούς τ' ἀρρήτους Νυκτὸς περὶ Βάκχου ἀνακτος...

And the nursing of Zeus, the cult of the mountain-running Mother, the things she devised on the Kybelean mountains for maiden Persephone concerning her father, the invincible son of Cronos, the famous rending of Casmilos and of Heracles, the rites of Ida, the mighty Corybantes. The wandering of Demeter and the great grief of Persephone and how she became Thesmophoros. And then the glittering gifts of the Cabeiroi, and the ineffable oracles of Night concerning lord Bakchos... (trans. Edmonds 2011: 77–78)

**T.175** Themistius, *On Husbandry* (Or. 30) 349b (183 Downey)

AD 350–90

OF 632

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ὀφέως τελετάς τε καὶ ὄργια γεωργίας ἐκτὸς συμβέβηκεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο αἰνίτεται, πάντα κηλεῖν τε καὶ θέλγειν τὸν Ὀρφέα λέγων. ὑπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἡμέρων ὧν γεωργία παρέχει πᾶσαν ἡμερῶσαι φύσιν καὶ θηρίων διαίταν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς θηριῶδες ἐκκόσαι καὶ ἡμερῶσαι. καὶ τὰ θηρία γὰρ τῷ μέλει κηλεῖν ἐπιστεύθη θυσίας τε πάσας καὶ τελετάς διὰ τῶν ἐκ γεωργίας καλῶν εἰς θεοῦς ἀνάγων. πάντας γοῦν ἀνθρώπους ἐπῆλθε τῆ δόξῃ καὶ πάντες ἐδέξαντο γεωργίαν.

The truth that the initiations and mysteries of Orpheus are closely related to agriculture is also said, in allegorical way, in the myth on Orpheus who was to enchant and master every living thing. By analogy, husbandry that provides us with every kind of civilized nourishment, by means of cultivated plants, is able to civilize the bestial diet and to eradicate a beast in us. We believe that he charmed wild beasts with his music, that is, he was leading them to the gods through sacrifices, initiations, and all gifts we owe to husbandry. All people have been persuaded by him, and all of them have adopted husbandry. (trans. E. O.)

**T.176** Empedocles of Acragas, *Katharmoi* fr. 122 Wright

444 BC

OF 639

οὐ παύσεσθε φόνοιο δυσηχέος; οὐκ ἐσοῦᾶτε  
 ἀλλήλους δάπτοντες ἀκηδείησι νόοιο;

Will you not cease the din of slaughter? Do you not see that you are devouring one another because of your careless way of thinking? (trans. Wright 285)

...Beans?

**T.177** Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 195 Rose qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.34 (618 Dorandi)

350 BC

## Akousmata &amp; Symbola no. 3 Cardini

φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν †κυάμων†<sup>49</sup> παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κυάμων ἥτοι ὅτι αἰδοίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι ἢ ὅτι Ἄδου πύλαις. ἀγόνατον γὰρ μόνον· ἢ ὅτι φθείρει ἢ ὅτι τῆ τοῦ ὄλου φύσει ὅμοιον ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγαρχικόν· κληροῦνται γοῦν αὐτοῖς.

According to Aristotle in his work *On the Beans*, Pythagoras counseled abstinence from beans either because they are like the genitals, or because they are like the gates of Hades as being alone unjointed, or because they are injurious, or because they are like the form of the universe, or because they belong to oligarchy, since they are used in election by lot. (trans. Hicks 2: 349, modified)

**T.178** (cf. T.60) ?Androcydes, *On the Symbols* qtd. in Nicomachus of Gerasa. ?356–323 BC

Transmitted by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 24.109 (63 Deubner)

καὶ ‘κυάμων ἀπέχου’ διὰ πολλὰς ἱεράς τε καὶ φυσικὰς καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνηκούσας αἰτίας.

And to ‘abstain from beans’ because of many sacred and physical reasons, and reasons pertaining to the soul. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 133)

**T.179** Porphyry of Tyre, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* 19 (62 Simonini) AD 263–305

οὐχ ἀπλῶς μέντοι πάσας ψυχὰς εἰς γένεσιν ἰούσας μελίσσας, ἔλεγον ἀλλὰ τὰς μελλούσας μετὰ δικαιοσύνης βιοτεύειν καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν εἰργασμένας τὰ θεοῖς φίλα. τὸ γὰρ ζῆον φιλόστροφον καὶ μάλιστα δίκαιον καὶ νηφαντικόν· ὅθεν καὶ νηφάλιοι σπονδαὶ αἰ διὰ μέλιτος. καὶ κυάμους οὐκ ἐφιζάνουσιν, οὐς ἐλάμβανον εἰς σύμβολον τῆς κατ’ εὐθείαν γενέσεως καὶ ἀκαμποῦς διὰ τὸ μόνον σχεδὸν τῶν σπερματικῶν δι’ ὄλου τετρηῆσθαι, μὴ ἐγκοπτόμενον ταῖς μεταξὺ τῶν γονάτων ἐμφράξεσι.

They did not simply call all the souls entering into *genesis* ‘bees,’ but specifically those that were to live just lives and return after performing acts pleasing to the gods, for bees love to return to their source and are remarkably even-tempered and sober. Thus libations of honey are ‘sober’ libations. Moreover, bees do not light on the flowers of fava beans, which the ancients used to take as a symbol of the direct and unswerving path of *genesis*, since fava beans are virtually unique among seed-bearing plants in having stems that are continuously hollow and not interrupted by cross-membranes at the nodes. (trans. Lambertson 32)

**T.180a** Varro of Reate, *De vita populi Romani* fr. 445 Salvatore qtd. in Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 18.118 (175 Mayhoff) ca. 47 BC

<sup>49</sup> There is a lacuna in the text after the ἐν τῷ. The possible alternative readings are either Περὶ τῶν κυάμων or Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων (Delatte 131; Dorandi 618).

Varro et ob haec flaminem ea non vesci tradit et quoniam in flore eius litterae lugubres reperiantur.

Moreover according to Varro's account it is partly for these reasons that a priest abstains from eating beans, though also because certain letters of gloomy omen are to be found inscribed on a bean flower. (trans. Rackham 265)

**T.180b** Didymus of Alexandria, *Georgics* qtd. in *Geoponica* 2.35.6 (73 Beckh) AD 400

*OF* vol. 2, p. 216

Τοὺς δὲ κῦαμους ὁ Πυθαγόρας φησὶ μὴ χρῆναι ἐσθίειν, διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄνθει αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι πένθημα γράμματα.

Pythagoras says that beans should not be eaten because of the grievous letters written on their flowers. (trans. Dalby 93)

**T.181** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Roman Questions* 95, 286D–E (164 Boulogne). After AD 105

διὰ τί νενόμισται τοὺς ἀγνεύοντας ὀσπρίων ἀπέχεσθαι; πότερον, ὡς οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ, τοὺς μὲν κῦαμους ἀφωσιοῦντο διὰ τὰς λεγομένας αἰτίας, τὸν δὲ λάθυρον καὶ τὸν ἐρέβινθον ὡς παρωνύμους τοῦ ἐρέβους καὶ τῆς λήθης; ἢ ὅτι πρὸς τὰ περιδείπνα καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις τῶν νεκρῶν μάλιστα χρῶνται τοῖς ὀσπρίοις;

Why is it the customary rule that those who are practicing holy living must abstain from legumes? Did they, like the followers of Pythagoras, religiously abstain from beans for the reasons which are commonly offered, and from vetch and chickpea, because their names suggest Lethe and Erebus? Or is it because they make particular use of legumes for funeral feasts and invocations of the dead?<sup>50</sup> (trans. Babbitt 4: 143)

**T.182a** Scholia on the *Iliad* 13.589 (3: 513 Erbse) s.v. “kyamoi melanochroes.” After 143 BC

*OF* 648i + *OF* 648

τοὺς δὲ κῦαμους ὡς μέλανας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἱερὸν λόγον φασίν·  
ἴσόν τοι κῦαμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκῆων,

<sup>50</sup> It concerns the Roman rites of Lemuria, celebrated on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup>, and described by Ovid, *Fasti* 5.419–44 (127 Alton): “When from that day the Evening Star shall thrice have shown his beauteous face, and thrice the vanquished stars shall have retreated before Phoebus, there will be celebrated an olden rite, the nocturnal Lemuria: it will bring offerings to the silent ghosts. The year was formerly shorter, and the pious rites of purification (*februa*) were unknown, and thou, two-headed Janus, wast not the leader of the months. Yet even then people brought gifts to the ashes of the dead, as their due, and the grandson paid his respects to the tomb of his buried grandsire. It was the month of May, so named after our forefathers (*maiores*), and it still retains part of the ancient custom. When midnight has come and lends silence to sleep, and dogs and all ye varied fowls are hushed, the worshipper who bears the olden rite in mind and fears the gods arises; no knots constrict his feet; and he makes a sign with his thumb in the middle of his closed fingers, lest in his silence an unsubstantial shade should meet him. And after washing his hands clean in spring water, he turns, and first he receives black beans and throws them away with face averted; but while he throws them, he says: ‘These I cast; with these beans I redeem me and mine.’ This he says nine times, without looking back: the shade is thought to gather the beans, and to follow unseen behind. Again he touches water, and clashes Temesan bronze, and asks the shade to go out of his house. When he has said nine times, ‘Ghosts of my fathers, go forth!’ he looks back, and thinks that he has duly performed the sacred rites.” (trans. Frazer 291–93)

διὰ τὸ

ψυχῆς αἰζηῶν βάσιν ἔμμεναι ἢδ' ἀναβαθμὸν  
ἐξ Αἴδαο δόμων, ὅταν αὐγάς εἰσανίωσιν.

οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἄρτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὕστερον δὲ μὴ γεύεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπετρέπη, ἵνα μὴδ' ὄλως ἐκείνου μνήμη φυλαχθῆ.

The priests used to eat no bean because of its black color. Some people say  
'To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents' heads' [OF 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff],

because the beans

'are the way out from the house of Hades and the ladder of ascent for the souls of strong men when they return to the rays of light.' [OF 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros logos* fr. 6 Thesleff]

The others say that under the reign of Cronos the people used a bread made of bean meal which was to be prohibited in the later times to save no memory of him. (trans. E. O.)

**T.182b** Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentary on the Iliad* 13.589 (3: 518 Valk) s.v. "kyamoi melanochroes" ca. AD 1178

OF 648ii + OF 648

Σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Ὀμήρου εἰπόντος κύαμοι μελανόχροες γράφουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι τοὺς κύαμους ὡς μέλανας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, οἷς καὶ λόγον φασὶν εἶναι ἱερὸν τοιοῦτον·

ἴσόν τοι κύαμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκήων,

διὰ τὸ

ψυχῆς αἰζηῶν βάσιν ἔμμεναι ἢδὲ ἀναβαθμὸν  
ἐξ Αἴδαο, ὅταν αὐγάς εἰσανίωσιν.

Οἱ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἄρτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὕστερον δὲ μὴ γεύεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπετρέπη, ἵνα μὴδ' ὄλως μνήμη τοῦ Κρόνου φυλάττοιο.

The ancient authors write that the Homeric phrase 'black-colored beans' signifies that the priests do not eat beans because of black color and they are said to compose the following verse:

'To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents' heads' [OF 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff],

because the beans

'are the way out from the house of Hades and the ladder of ascent for the souls of strong men when they return to the rays of light.' [OF 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros logos* fr. 6 Thesleff]

The other authorities say that under the reign of Cronos the people used a bread made of bean meal which was to be prohibited in the later times to save no memory of Cronos. (trans. E. O.)

**T.183a** Hermippus of Smyrna, *On Pythagoras, book two*, *FGrHist* 1026 F25 qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.40 (623 Dorandi) 200 BC

Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησι, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἐξελεθῆναι τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων τροπῆς δὲ

γενομένης περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν κυάμων χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι· τούς τε λοιπούς, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι, θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι.

Hermippus on his part relates that, when the Acragantines and the Syracusans were at war, Pythagoras and his disciples marched out at the head of the Acragantine troops; when their line was routed, he was killed by the Syracusans as he was trying to get round the bean-field; the others, some 35 men, were burned at the stake in Tarentum because they [were suspected of] wanting to oppose the policy of the established authorities. (trans. Bollansée 35)

**T.183b** Neanthes of Cyzicus, *Pythagorica*, *FGrH* 84 F31b qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 31.189–94 (104–07 Deubner) ca. 274 BC

[189] τὸν γὰρ Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννόν φασιν, ὡς πάντα ποιῶν οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἐπετύγχανε τῆς φιλίας, φυλαττομένων καὶ περισταμένων τὸ μοναρχικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ παράνομον, λόχον τινὰ τριάκοντα ἀνδρῶν, ἡγουμένου Εὐρυμένους Συρακουσίου, Δίωνος ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπιπέμψαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, λοχῆσοντα τὴν μετάβασιν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπὸ Τάραντος εἰς Μεταπόντιον εἰωθυῖαν κατὰ καιρὸν γίνεσθαι· ἡμόζοντο γὰρ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὠρῶν μεταβολὰς καὶ τόπους εἰς τὰ τοιάδε ἐπελέγοντο ἐπιτηδεῖους... [191] καὶ ἐπετύγχανον δὲ ἤδη τούτου (βαρούμενοι γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπελείποντο οἱ σὺν Εὐρυμένει τοῦ διωγμοῦ), εἰ μὴ περ φεύγοντες ἐνέτυχον πεδίῳ τινὶ κυάμοις ἐσπαρμένῳ καὶ τεθηλότι ἱκανῶς, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι δόγμα παραβαίνειν τὸ κελεῦον κυάμων μὴ θιγγάνειν ἔστησαν καὶ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ τοῖς προστυχοῦσιν ἕκαστος μέχρι τοσοῦτου ἡμύνοντο τοὺς διώκοντας, μέχρι τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνηρηκέσαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τετραυματικέσαι. πάντα μὴν ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ μηδένα τὸ παράπαν ζωγρηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτων θάνατον ἀσμενίσαι κατὰ τὰς τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐντολάς... [193] τοῦ δὲ Μυλλίου καὶ τῆς Τιμύχας πρὸς πάντα ἃ ἐπηγγέλλετο ἀνανευόντων, ‘ἀλλὰ ἐν γέ με’ ἔφη ‘διδάξαντες μετὰ τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης προπομπῆς διασφύζεσθε ἴπυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Μυλλίου καὶ τί ποτ’ ἐστίν, ὃ μαθεῖν προθυμεῖται, ‘ἐκεῖνο’ εἶπεν ὁ Διονύσιος· ‘τίς ἢ αἰτία, δι’ ἣν οἱ ἐταῖροί σου ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον εἶλαντο ἢ κυάμους πατῆσαι;’ καὶ ὁ Μυλλίας εὐθύς ‘ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν’ εἶπεν ‘ὑπέμειναν, ἵνα μὴ κυάμους πατήσωσιν, ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ αἰροῦμαι, ἵνα τούτου σοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μὴ ἐξείπω, κυάμους μᾶλλον πατῆσαι’. [194] καταπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ μεταστῆσαι κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν σὺν βίᾳ, βασάνους δὲ ἐπιφέρειν τῇ Τιμύχᾳ προστάττοντος (ἐνόμιζε γὰρ ἄτε γυναικὰ τε οὖσαν καὶ ἔπογκον ἐρήμηγν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ῥαδίως τοῦτο ἐκλαλήσειν φόβῳ τῶν βασάνων), ἡ γενναία συμβρῦξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ἀποκόψασα αὐτὴν προσέπτυσσε τῷ τυράννῳ, ἐμφαίνουσα ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βασάνων τὸ θῆλυ αὐτῆς νικηθὲν συναναγκασθεῖ τῶν ἐχεμυθομένων τι ἀνακαλύψαι, τὸ μὴν ὑπηρετῆσον ἐκποδῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς περικέκοπται. οὕτως δυσσυγκατάθετοι πρὸς τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς φιλίας ἦσαν, εἰ καὶ βασιλικαὶ τυγχάνοιεν.

[189] Dionysius, the tyrant,<sup>51</sup> although doing everything possible, gained the friendship of one of them, since they avoided and shunned his monarchical and

<sup>51</sup> Dionysius the Younger was the tyrant of Syracuse in the years 367–357 BC, and again in 346–344 BC.

shunned his monarchical and lawless rule. He sent against these men an armed troop of 30 led by Eurymenes the Syracusan, a brother of Dion, to ambush them at opportune time when their customary migration from Tarentum to Metapontium took place; for they adapted themselves to changes of the seasons, and selected suitable places for such... [191] And they would have actually succeeded (for weighted down with heavy arms, those with Eurymenes were abandoning the pursuit) had they not encountered while fleeing a field planted and fully blooming with beans. And not wishing to transgress the decree which ordered them not to touch beans, they stopped and by necessity defended themselves against those in pursuit. Each one (fought) with stones, sticks, and whatever else there was, until they had killed and wounded many. Nevertheless, all were destroyed by the tyrant's bodyguards and no one was taken alive, but rather than that, they gladly accepted death in accord with the commands of their school... [193] When Myllias inquired what he was eager to learn, Dionysius said: “Just this: what was the reason your companions chose to die rather than tread on beans?” And Myllias immediately replied, “Those submitted to death in order that they not tread on beans, and I would choose rather to tread on beans than to tell you the reason for this.” [194] Dionysius was astounded, ordered him removed by force, and commanded infliction of tortures on Timycha (for he believed since she was a woman, both pregnant and deprived of her husband, she would readily divulge this for fear of the tortures). But the noble woman clamped her teeth on her tongue, cut it off and spat it at the tyrant, showing that, even if her female nature, conquered by tortures, were compelled to reveal something of the things kept secret, that which would serve that purpose would be removed to her. So slow were they to make friendship outside the school, even if they were friendship with kings. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 197–201)

**T.183c** Pseudo-Elias (?Stephen of Alexandria), *Prolegomena to Philosophy* 6 (15 Busse). ?AD 610–41

*OF* 648vii

γοῦν Πυθαγόρειον γύναιον ὑπὸ τυράννου συσχεθὲν καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενον ἐξορχήσασθαι τὰ ἀπόρρητα, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐσθίουσι κυάμους (ἦν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ Ἴσόν τοι κυάμους φαγέειν, κεφαλὰς τε τοκήων), ἔφη 'φάγοιμι ἂν ἢ εἴποιμι,' τοῦ δὲ φαγεῖν ἀναγκάζοντος πάλιν εἶπεν 'εἴποιμι ἂν ἢ φάγοιμι.' τέλος οὖν ἀναγκαζομένη δυοῖν θάτερον πρᾶξαι, ἢ φαγεῖν ἢ εἰπεῖν, μασησαμένη τὴν ἑαυτῆς γλῶτταν ἀπέτεμεν ὡς ὄργανον διαλέκτου καὶ γεύσεως, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αἰκιζομένη μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον.<sup>52</sup>

The Pythagorean women, who was arrested by the tyrant and compelled to reveal their mysteries, that is, to say the reason, why they do not eat beans (for they had this saying: ‘To eat beans is as much as to eat your parents’ heads’), she said, then: ‘I would rather eat them than tell you the reason.’ And when the tyrant, in turn, compelled her to eat she said: ‘I would rather tell you the reason than eat them.’ Finally, the woman, who had to make a choice between eating and speaking, ended by biting off her own tongue—as the organ both of speech and taste—and thus, having been tortured, left her life. (trans. E. O.)

<sup>52</sup> The abbreviated version of the same story is found in Olympiodorus’ *Commentary on the Phaedo* 1.8 (51 Westerink).

- T.184** Corpus Theognideum, *Elegiaca* 1.425–28 (28 Diehl) before fourth century BC

Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον  
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν ἀγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου,  
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Αἴδαο περῆσαι  
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

Best is for mortals never to have been born at all, nor seen the rays of the bright sun;  
or else, once born, to pass through Hades' gates at breakneck speed and lie well  
wrapped in earth. (trans. Annas 203)

- T.185** Anonymus qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy* 21  
(150 Places) before AD 290s

Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

Τὸ δὲ κυάμων ἀπέχου συμβουλεύει φυλάττεσθαι πᾶν ὅσον ἐστὶ φθαρτικὸν τῆς  
πρὸς θεοῦς ὁμιλίας καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐστὶ φθαρτικὸν τῆς πρὸς θεοῦς ὁμιλίας καὶ τῆς θείας  
μαντικῆς.

This, 'abstain from beans,' advises us to beware of everything which is corruptive of  
our converse with the Gods and divine prophecy. (trans. Johnson 111)

- T.186** Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica* 2.105 (1: 179 Wellmann). AD 50–70

κύαμος Ἑλληνικὸς πνευματωτικὸς, φουσῶδης, δύσπεπτος, δυσόνειρος...

The Greek bean is full of wind, causes flatulence, is difficult to digest, and causes bad  
dreams... (trans. Beck 136)

- T. 187** Corpus Hippocraticum, *On Diet* 2.45.1 (44 Joly) after 370 BC

Κύαμοι, τρόφιμόν τι καὶ στατικὸν καὶ φουσῶδες· φουσῶδες μὲν ὅτι οὐ δέχονται οἱ πόροι  
τὴν τροφήν ἀλέα ἐπιούσαν· στάσιμον δὲ ὅτι ὀλίγην ἔχει τὴν ὑποστάθμην τῆς τροφῆς.

Beans afford an astringent and flatulent nourishment; flatulent because that the  
passages do not admit the abundant nourishment which is brought, astringent because  
that it has only a small residue from its nourishment. (trans. Jones 315)

- T.188** Cicero, *On the Divination* 1.30.62 (39 Giomini) 45–44 BC

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ex quo etiam Pythagoriis interdictum putatur, ne faba vescerentur, quod habet  
inflationem magnam is cibus tranquillitati mentis querenti vera contrariam.

For this reason it is thought that the Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat beans, because  
that food produces great flatulence which is prejudicial to the tranquility of a soul in  
search of the truth. (trans. Wardle 66)

- T.189** Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 11 Thesleff (p. 163) qtd. in Timaeus of Tauromenium classical period

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.24 (613 Dorandi)

τῶν δὲ κυάμων ὑπηγόρευεν ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ πνευματώδεις ὄντας μάλιστα μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ· καὶ ἄλλως κοσμιωτέρας ἀπεργάζεσθαι, μὴ παραληφθέντας, τὰς γαστέρας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς καθ' ὕπνου φαντασίας λείας καὶ ἀταράχους ἀποτελεῖν.

To abstain from beans because they are flatulent and partake most of the breath of life; and besides, it is better for the stomach if they are not taken, and this again will make our dreams in sleep smooth and untroubled. (trans. Hicks 2: 341)

- T.190** Varro of Reate, *De vita populi Romani* fr. 445 Salvatore qtd. in Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 18.118 (175 Mayhoff) ca. 47 BC

quin et prisco ritu pulsa fabata suae religionis diis in sacro est. praevalens pulmentari cibo, set hebetare sensus existimata, insomnia quoque facere, ob haec Pythagoricae sententiae damnata, ut alii tradidere, quoniam mortuorum animae sint in ea, qua de causa parentando utique adsumitur.

Moreover in ancient ritual bean pottage has a sanctity of its own in sacrifice to the gods. It occupies a high place as a delicacy for the table, but it was thought to have a dulling effect on the senses, and also to cause sleeplessness, and it was under a ban with the Pythagorean system on that account—or, as others have reported, because the souls of the dead are contained in a bean, and at all events it is for that reason that beans are employed in memorial sacrifices to dead relatives. (trans. Rackham 263–65)

- T.191** John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.42 (100 Wuensch) before AD 554

τούτου χάριν εἰς τοὺς τάφους κύαμοι ρίπτονται ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων.

For this reason beans are thrown into the graves for the sake of the well-being of humans. (trans. Bandy 213)

- T.192** Aristotle, *On the Soul* 410b.27–411a.2 (22–23 Ross) after 335 B

τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεσι λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων...

The account given in the so-called Orphic poems is open to the same strictures. For the soul, it is there asserted, enters from the universe in the process of respiration, being borne upon the winds. (trans. Hicks 43)

- T.193** Apollonius of Tyana, *Life of Pythagoras*, *FGrHist* 1064 F2 qtd. in Iamblichus of Chalcis, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 35.260 (139–40 Deubner). Before AD 100

τοῖς κυάμοις πολεμεῖν ὡς ἀρχηγοῖς γεγονόσι τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ καθιστάναι τοὺς λαχόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιμελείας.

They are to war against beans, since they are lords of the lot, and established those chosen by lot in their public offices. (trans. Dillon–Hershbell 251)

**T.194** Pseudo-Plutarch, *Education of Children* 17, 12E (24 Gärtner) after AD 120

‘κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι’ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πολιτεύεσθαι· κυαμευταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἔμπροσθεν αἰ ψηφοφορίαὶ δι’ ὧν πέρας ἐπετίθεσαν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς.

‘Abstain from beans;’ means that a man should keep out of politics, for beans were used in earlier times for voting upon the removal of magistrates from office. (Babbitt 1: 61)

**T.195** Pseudo-Nonnus, *Scholia Mythologica* 4.17 (83 Nimmo Smith) AD sixth century

Ἐπτακαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἢ κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς κυάμους. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη. Πυθαγόρειοι γένος φιλοσόφων ἐκ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Σαμίου. οὗτοι δι’ αἰνιγμάτων τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐμάνθανον δόγματα. παρεδίδοτο δὲ μετὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἰνίγμα, Κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν. τουτέστι, μὴ προδιδόντας τὸ δίκαιον δωροδοκεῖσθαι χρήμασιν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθήνησι πάλαι δικασταὶ ἀντὶ ψήφων κυάμοις ἐχρῶντο πρὸς κατάκρισιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις. φησὶν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κυάμων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου μὴ δεῖν ἐσθίειν.

Seventeenth is the story about the Pythagorean beans. It is this. The Pythagoreans are a sect of philosophers (who derived) from Pythagoras the Samian. These learnt the precepts of the philosophy by means of riddles. This riddle, too, was handed down among the rest. ‘Do not eat beans.’ This is, ‘Do not take bribes in betrayal of justice.’ For long ago in Athens the jurors used beans instead of counters for judgments in the law-courts. So he says that one should not eat of the beans from the law-court. (trans. Nimmo Smith 13)

**T.196** (cf. T.68) Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff classical period

OF 648

ἴσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλὰς τε τοκῆων.

It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents. (trans. Schütrumpf 239)

**T.197** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 43 (56 Places) ?AD second century

OF 648xii; Akousmata & Symbola no. 6 Cardini

ἴσα δὲ κυάμων παρήγει ἀπέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν.

He advised his followers to abstain from beans as they would from human flesh. (trans. Stephens 145)

**T.198** (cf. T.18) Heraclides of Pontus, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 129 Schütrumpf qtd. in John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.42 (99 Wuensch) 339 BC

OF 648iii + OF 648

ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης φησίν, ὡς εἶ τις τὸν κύαμον ἐν καινῇ θήκῃ ἐμβάλων ἀποκρύψει τῇ κόπρῳ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πάσας ἡμέρας, εἰς ὅσιν ἀνθρώπου σεσαρκωμένου μεταβαλόντα τὸν κύαμον εὐρήσει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποιητὴν φάναί·  
ἴσόν τοι κύαμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκῆων.

Heraclides Ponticus says that if somebody throws a bean into a new coffin and covers it with dung for a full 40 days, he will find that the bean has changed into the appearance of a human in full flesh. And (he continues) this is why the poet said:

‘It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents.’

[OF 648 = Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Hieros Logos* fr. 5 Thesleff] (trans. Schütrumpf 239)

- T.199** *Pythagorean Memoirs* qtd. in Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus, *Successions of Philosophers*, FGrHist 273 F93 350 BC

Transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.29 (616 Dorandi)

μορφοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παγὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους ἐν ἑπτὰ ἢ ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ πλεῖστον μηνὶ τελεωθὲν ἀποκυῖσκεσθαι τὸ βρέφος·

First congealing in about 40 days, it receives form and, according to the ratios of harmony, in seven, nine, or at the most ten, months, the mature child is brought forth. (trans. Hicks 2: 345)

- T.200** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule*, book 13 fr. 1b Stephens qtd. in John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.42 (99–100 Wuensch) ?AD second century

OF vol. 2, p. 216

Διογένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς τρισκαιδεκάτῃ ἀπίστων ταῦτά φησιν· τότε ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς σηπέδονος ἄνθρωπον συστήναι καὶ κύαμον βλαστήσαι. τούτου δὲ φανερὰ ἐπιγέ τεκμήρια· εἰ γὰρ τις διατραγῶν κύαμον καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι λεάνας ἐν ἀλέᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου βολῆς καταθεῖη πρὸς ὀλίγον, εἶτα ἀναστὰς ἐπανέλθοι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ, εὔροι ἂν ὀδωδότα ἀνθρωπέου φόνου· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνθοῦντος ἐν τῷ βλαστάνειν τοῦ κύαμου λαβὼν τις περκάζοντος τοῦ ἄνθους βραχὺ ἐνθεῖη ἀγγεῖῳ κεραμεῷ καὶ ἐπίθεμα ἐπιθεῖς ἐν τῇ γῆ τε κατορύξειε καὶ ἐννεήκοντα παραφυλάξειεν ἡμέρας μετὰ τὸ κατορυχθῆναι, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρύξειε καὶ λάβοι καὶ ἀφέλοι τὸ πῶμα, εὔροι ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ κύαμου ἢ παιδὸς κεφαλὴν συνεστῶσαν ἢ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον.

Diogenes in the 13<sup>th</sup> book of his *Incredible Things* says: ‘At that time from the same putrescence human beings were formed and beans sprouted. He adduces evident proofs of this. For if one thoroughly chews a bean and mashes it into a paste with one’s teeth and leaves it for a little while in a spot warmed by the sun’s rays and then returns after a short interval, he would find it smelling of human gore. And if when the bean plant is blossoming one takes a bit of its ripening floweret and places it in a covered ceramic vessel and buries it in the earth and returns to dig it up after 90 days,

then one would find on taking off the lid that instead of a bean there had been formed either a child's head or a woman's genitals.' (trans. Stephens 131)

- T.201** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 44 (56–57 Places) ?AD second century

*OF* vol. 2, p. 216

ιστοροῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαγορεύειν τὸ τοιοῦτο ὅτι τῆς πρώτης τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως ταραττομένης καὶ πολλῶν ἅμα συνηνεγμένων καὶ συσπειρομένων καὶ συσσηπομένων ἐν τῇ γῆ κατ' ὀλίγον γένεσις καὶ διάκρισις συνέστη ζῴων τε ὁμοῦ γεννωμένων καὶ φυτῶν ἀναδιδομένων, τότε δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς σηπεδόνης ἀνθρώπους συστήναι καὶ κύαμον βλαστῆσαι. τούτου τε φανερὰ ἐπῆγε τεκμήρια. εἰ γάρ τις διατραγῶν κύαμον καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι λεάνας ἐν ἀλέα τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου βολῆς καταθεῖη πρὸς ὀλίγον, εἴτ' ἀποστὰς ἐπανέλθοι μετ' οὐ πολὺ, εὔροι ἂν ὀδωδότα ἀνθρωπείου γόνου· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνθοῦντος ἐν τῷ βλαστάνειν τοῦ κυάμου λαβὼν τις περκάζοντος τοῦ ἄνθους βραχὺ ἐνθεῖη ἀγγεῖω κεραμεῶ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς ἐν τῇ γῆ κατορύξειεν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα παραφυλάξειεν ἡμέρας μετὰ τὸ κατορυχθῆναι, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρύξας λάβοι καὶ ἀφέλοι τὸ πῶμα, εὔροι ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ κυάμου ἢ παιδὸς κεφαλὴν συνεστῶσαν ἢ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον.

They report that he issued such a ban because when the first principle of generation was all in a confusion and many things had been combined together and their various seeds and putrescences were coming together in the earth, there gradually occurred a generation and a separating out of living creatures that had been generated together and plants that had sprung up. At that time from the same putrescence human beings were formed and beans sprouted. He adduces evident proofs of this. For if one thoroughly chews a bean and mashes it into a paste with one's teeth and leaves it for a little while in a spot warmed by the sun's rays and then returns after a short interval, he will find it smelling of human gore. And if when the bean plant is blossoming one takes a bit of its ripening floweret and places it in a covered ceramic vessel and buries it in the earth and returns to dig it up after 90 days, then one will find on taking off lid that instead of a bean there had been formed either a child's head or a woman's genitals. (trans. Stephens 145)

- T.202** John the Lydian, *On Months* 4.42 (100 Wuensch) before AD 554

ὥστε ἀφεκτέον κατὰ Πυθαγόραν κυάμου, ὡς καὶ τῶν λεγομένων χρυσολαχάνων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ γένεσις ἐξ ἐμμήνων γυναικῶν ἐστι... ὅτι δὲ κύαμος ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος εἴρηται, δυνατόν τῇ πείρᾳ παραλαβεῖν· εἰ τις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποβρέξει ἐπὶ νυχθήμερον, τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ὕδωρ λύθρον εὐρήσει.

According to Pythagoras one must abstain, therefore, from the bean, as also from the so-called *chrysolachana*, since also their generation springs from menses of women... That the bean has been said to be from blood<sup>53</sup> can be accepted by experience. For, if

<sup>53</sup> Compare the etymology κύαμος ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος (bean is derived from blood) to another one: κύαμος... αἴτιοι τοῦ κρεῖν (beans are responsible for procreation), given by Empedocles (T.105). Robert S. Beekes in the *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* rejects both etymologies to conclude that the word κύαμος is of pre-Greek origin (Beekes 792–93 s.v. “kyamos”).

anyone will soak the bean for a night and a day, he will find the water in it to be gore.  
(trans. Bandy 213)

**T.203** Sacred law concerning the cult of Dionysus Bromios, Smyrna, *LSAM* no. 84. AD second century

*OF* 582

. της Μενάνδρου ὁ θεοφάντης ἀνέθηκεν.  
τες ὅσοι τέμενος Βρομίου ναούς τε περᾶτε,  
τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἡμέματα ἀπ' ἐχθέσεως πεφύλαχθε  
νηπιάχοιο βρέφους, μὴ δὴ μήνεια γένηται,  
[5] ἔκτρωσίν τε γυναικὸς ὁμοίως ἡμέματα τόσσα·  
ἦν δέ τιν' οἰκείων θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα καλύψη,  
εἴργεσθαι μηνὸς τρίτατον μέρος ἐκ προπύλοιο·  
ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίων οἴκων τι μίασμα γένηται,  
ἠελίους τρισσοὺς μεῖναι νέκυος φθιμένοιο,  
[10] μὴδὲ μελανφάρους προσίνα βωμοῖσι ἀνακτ[ος]  
μὴδ' ἀθύτοις θυσίαις ἱερῶν ἐπὶ χῆρας ἰάλ[λιν]  
μὴδ' ἐν Βακχείοις ᾧδὸν ποτὶ δαῖτα τ[ιθεσθαι]  
καὶ κραδίην καρποῦν ἱεροῖς βωμοῖς  
ἠδεόσμου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι, ὃν Δημη[ητηρ ἀμάθυνεν·]  
[15] ἐχθροτάτην ρίζαν κυάμων ἐκ σπέ[ρματος]  
Τειτάνων προλέγειν μύσταις ....

The *theophantes* ... son of Menandros dedicated (this stele). All who enter the *temenos* and temples of Bromios: avoid for forty days after the exposure of a newborn child, so that (divine) wrath does not occur; after the miscarriage of a woman for the same amount of days. If he conceals the death and fate of a relative, keep away from the propylon for the third of a month. If impurity occurs from other houses, remain for three days after the departure of the dead. No one wearing black clothes may approach the altar of the king, nor lay hands on things not sacrificed from sacrificial animals, nor place an egg as food at the Bacchic feast, nor sacrifice a heart on the holy altars [...] keep away from the wild mint, which Demeter [treaded into the soil]; and the most hateful root of beans from seed of Titans; proclaim to the *mystai*... (trans. Rostad 259, modified)

**T.204** Dio Chrysostom, *Charidemos* (Or. 30) 10 (408 Cohoon) ?before AD 115

*OF* 320vii

ἔχοντα δέ τι θαυμαστὸν ἴσως' ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὡς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐχθρῶν ὄντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολεμησάντων οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς φίλοι ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ κολαζόμεθά τε ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τιμωρία γεγόναμεν, ἐν φρουρᾷ δὴ ὄντες ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστοι ζῶμεν. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθνήσκοντας ἡμῶν κεκολασμένους ἤδη ἱκανῶς λύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

It is to the effect that all we human beings are of the blood of the Titans. Then, because they were hateful to the gods and had waged war on them, we are not dear to them either, but are punished by them and have been born for chastisement, being, in

truth, imprisoned in life for as long a time as we each live. And when any of us die, it means that we, having already been sufficiently chastised, are released and go our way. (trans. Cohoon 409)

**T.205** Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.15.3–4 (3: 253 Rocha-Pereira) AD 160–80

OF 649ii

Φενεατῶν δέ ἐστι λόγος, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Ναὸν ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρα πλανωμένην: ὅσοι δὲ Φενεατῶν οἴῳ τε καὶ ξενίοις ἐδέξαντο αὐτήν, τούτοις τὰ ὄσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κύαμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκε σφίσι. κύαμον μὲν οὖν ἐφ’ ὅτῳ μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν ὄσπριον, ἔστιν ἱερὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγος.

The Pheneatians have a story that even before Naus arrived the wanderings of Demeter brought her to their city also. To those Pheneatians who received her with hospitality into their homes the goddess gave all sorts of pulse save the bean only. There is a sacred story to explain why the bean in their eyes is an impure kind of pulse.<sup>54</sup> (trans. Jones 3: 421)

**T.206** Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.37.4 (1: 86 Rocha-Pereira) AD 160–80

OF 649i

ῥκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυαμίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κύαμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κύαμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσι ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὕρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετήν Ἐλευσίῃ εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικὰ ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω.

On the road stands a small temple called that of Cyamites. I cannot state for certain whether he was the first to sow beans, or whether they gave this name to a hero because they may not attribute to Demeter the discovery of beans. Whoever has been initiated at Eleusis or has read what are called the *Orphica* knows what I mean. (trans. Jones 1: 198)

**T.207** Photius, *Lexicon* K 1137 (451 Theodoridis) AD 845–55

Κυαμίτης· ἥρωος ἦν ὄνομα κύριον· ἴσως δὲ ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας τῶν κύαμων, δι’ ὅτι παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐκκληροῦντο οἱ κυαμίται ἄρχοντες· ἢ ὅτι ὁ κύαμος ἐπιπράσκετο παρ’ αὐτῷ.

*Kyamites*: the name of hero in nominative, perhaps he may have been named from the beans, because in his [temple] archons were elected by lot with beans, or because the bean market was located not far from there. (trans. E. O.)

**T.208** Herodotus of Halicarnassus, *Histories* 2.37.5 (163 Rosén) 443 BC

<sup>54</sup> The text concerns the mysteries of Demeter Thesmia at Pheneos, Arcadia, about which next to nothing is known (Jost 154–55).

κυάμου δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψνοντες πατέονται· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὄσπριον.

The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of legume. (trans. Godley 321)

- T.209** Aristagoras of Miletus, *History of Egypt*, *FGrHist* 608 F7 qtd. in Plutarch of Chaeronea, *De Iside et Osiride* 5 (124 Griffiths) ?fourth century BC

οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς οὕτω δυσχεραίνουνσι τὴν τῶν περιττωμάτων φύσιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παραιτεῖσθαι τῶν ὄσπριων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ μήλεια καὶ ὕεια, πολλὴν ποιοῦντα περιττώσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλας τῶν σιτίων ἐν ταῖς ἀγνεύαις ἀφαιρεῖν...

The priests have such a loathing for the growth of surplus matter that they not only reject most kind a of pulse and of flesh of sheep and swine because they produce much surplus fat, but also in their periods of purification they exclude salt from food... (trans. Griffiths 125)

- T.210** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 8.8.2, 729A (287 Hubert) AD 99–110

Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τοῖς σοφοῖς συγγενέσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ὁμολογεῖται ζηλωσαί τε πολλὰ καὶ δοκιμάσαι μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὰς ἱερατικὰς ἀγιστείας, οἷόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τῶν κυάμων· οὔτε γὰρ σπείρειν οὔτε σιτεῖσθαι κύαμον Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρῶντας ἀνέχεσθαι φησὶν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος. ἰχθύων δὲ † καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἴσμεν ἔτι νῦν ἀπεχομένους...

But it is fully agreed that he [sc. Pythagoras] associated for a long while with the wise men of Egypt, and that he emulated them in many ways and considered them to be of very great authority in matters of priestly ritual. An example is abstention from beans; Herodotus [*Histories* 2.37.5] says that the Egyptians neither plant nor eat beans, and cannot even bear to look at them; and we know that even now the priests abstain from fish. (Minar 177)

- T.211** Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.31–33 (64–65 Kaster) AD 395

[31] Non nonnulli putaverunt Iunium mensum a Iunio Bruto qui primus Romae consul factus est nominatum, quod hoc mense, id est Kalendis Iuniis, pulso Tarquinio sacrum Carnae deae in Caelio monte voti reus fecerit. [32] Hanc deam vitalibus humanis praeesse credunt. Ab ea denique petitur ut iecinora et corda quaeque sunt intrinsecus viscera salva conservet: et quia cordis beneficio, cuius dissimulatione brutus habebatur, idoneus emendationi publici status extitit, hanc deam quae vitalibus praeest templo sacrauit. [33] Cui pulte fabacia et larido sacrificatur, quod his maxime rebus vires corporis roborentur. Nam et Kalendae Iuniae fabariae vulgo vocantur, quia hoc mense adultae fabae divinis rebus adhibentur.

Some have thought that June was named after Junius Brutus, Rome's first consul, because in this month—specifically, on the Kalends of June—he discharged a vow by sacrificing to the goddess Carna on the Caelian Hill after the expulsion of Tarquin. [32] This goddess is thought to hold human vital organs in her power and is accordingly called upon to keep our livers, hearts, and all our innards healthy. Brutus

turned out to be the right man to improve our constitution by virtue of his wits [lit. ‘heart’]—which he concealed, and so was thought doltish [*brutus*—and for that reason he dedicated a temple to the goddess in charge of vital organs. [33] The goddess receives an offering of bean porridge and bacon, which are especially conducive to bodily strength. The Kalends of June is also called the ‘bean Kalends,’ because in this month ripe beans are used in sacrifice. (trans. Kaster 1: 151–53)

**T.212a** Dicaearchus of Messana, *Cultural History* fr. 56A Mirhady qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On the Abstinence from Living Animals* 4.2.3 (2 Patillon) fl. 320 BC

ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐξηγούμενος ὁ Δικαίαρχος τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον τοιοῦτον εἶναι φησίν. εἰ δεῖ λαμβάνειν μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς γεγονότα καὶ μὴ μάτην ἐπιπεφημισμένον, τὸ δὲ λίαν μυθικὸν ἀφέντας εἰς τὸ διὰ τοῦ λόγου φυσικὸν ἀνάγειν. αὐτόματα μὲν γὰρ πάντα ἐφύετο, εἰκότως, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ γε κατεσκευάζον οὐθέν διὰ τὸ μήτε τὴν γεωργικὴν ἔχειν πω τέχνην μήθ’ ἑτέραν μηδεμίαν ἀπλῶς. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ γεωργικὴν ἔχειν πω τέχνην μήθ’ ἑτέραν μηδεμίαν ἀπλῶς.

In explanation of this, Dicaearchus says that life under Cronus was of this kind—since it is necessary to accept that it did exist, that it has not been renowned to no purpose, but also, by lying aside what is excessively mythical, to reduce it to natural items based on reason. All things, therefore, are very reasonably said to have grown of their own accord; for men themselves did not procure anything because they were still unacquainted with the agricultural art, or, in fact, any other art. (trans. Mirhady 63–65)

**T.212b** Dicaearchus of Messana, *Cultural History* fr. 56B Mirhady qtd. in Jerome of Stridonium, *Against Jovinian* 2.13 (PL 23: 315C–316A) fl. 320 BC

Dicaearchus in libris Antiquitatum et Descriptione Graeciae refert sub Saturno (id est in aureo saeculo), cum omnia humus funderet, nullum comedisse carnem, sed universos vixisse frugibus et pomis quae sponte terra gignebat.

Dicaearchus in the books of *Antiquities* and *Description of Greece* says that under Saturn, that is, in the golden age, when the earth provided all things, no one ate meat, but all lived from the fruits and vegetables that the earth bore spontaneously. (trans. Mirhady 67)

...Eggs?

**T.213** (cf. T.177) Aristotle, *On the Pythagoreans* fr. 195 Rose qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.34 (618 Dorandi) 350 BC

Akousmata & Symbola no. 3 Cardini

φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἰκνύμων παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κνύμων ἥτοι ὅτι αἰδοίσις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι... ἢ ὅτι τῆ τοῦ ὄλου φύσει ὅμοιοι

According to Aristotle in his work *On the Beans*, Pythagoras counseled abstinence from beans either because they are like the genitals... or because they are like the form of the universe... (trans. Hicks 2: 349, modified)

**T.214** (cf. T.23) Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 648v

ὡς δὴ κῦάμους τὰ ᾧὰ διὰ τὴν κῦησιν αἰνιττομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν...

For these people call eggs ‘beans’ (κῦάμοι), punning on the word ‘conception’ (κῦησις)... (trans. Clement 145)

**T.215** (cf. T.105) Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *On Pythagoras and His Circle* fr. 25 Wehrli qtd. in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.10 (178 Marshall) 336–333 BC

Opinati enim sunt plerique κῦάμους legumentum dici, ut a vulgo dicitur. Sed qui diligentius scitiusque carmina Empedocli arbitrati sunt, κῦάμους hoc in loco testiculos significare dicunt, eosque more Pythagorae operte atque symbolice κῦάμους appellatos, quod sint αἴτιοι τοῦ κυεῖν et geniturae humanae vim praebeant; idcircoque Empedoclen versu isto non a fabulo edendo, sed a rei veneriae proluvio voluisse homines deducere.

For most men thought that κῦάμους meant the vegetable, according to the common use of the word. But those who have studied the poems of Empedocles with greater care and knowledge say that here κῦάμους refers to the testicles, and that after the Pythagorean manner they were called in a covert and symbolic way κῦάμοι, because they are the cause of pregnancy and furnish the power for human generation: and that therefore Empedocles in that verse desired to keep men, not from eating beans, but from excess in venery. (trans. Rolfe 349–51)

**T.216** (cf. T.22) Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635E (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 647i; Orfismo E8 Scarpi

ὑπόνοιαν μέντοι παρέσχον, ἐστιῶντος ἡμᾶς Σοσσίου Σενεκίωνος, ἐνέχεσθαι δόγμασιν Ὀρφικοῖς ἢ Πυθαγορικοῖς, καὶ τὸ ᾧόν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι καρδίαν καὶ ἐγκέφαλον, ἀρχὴν ἡγούμενος γενέσεως ἀφοσιοῦσθαι...

But my companions at one of Sossius Senecio’s dinners suspected me of being committed to beliefs of the Orphics or the Pythagoreans and holding the egg taboo, as some hold the heart and brain, because I thought it to be the first principle of creation... (trans. Clement 145)

**T.217** (cf. T.23) Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talks* 2.3.1, 635F (58 Hubert) AD 99–110

*OF* 648v; Orfismo E8 Scarpi

...διαφέρειν δὲ μηδὲν οἰομένων τὸ ἐσθίειν ᾧὰ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τίκτουσι τὰ ᾧὰ ζῴοις.

...they think that eating eggs in no way differs from using the creatures which produce the eggs. (trans. Clement 145)

**T.218** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talk* 2.3.2, 636E (60 Hubert) AD 99–110

OF 646i

ὄθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ὡς μίμημα τοῦ τὰ πάντα γεννῶντος καὶ περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ συγκαθωσῖται.

It is therefore not inappropriate that in the rites of Dionysus the egg is consecrated as a symbol of that which produces everything and contains everything within itself. (trans. Clement 151)

**T.219** (cf. T.203) Sacred law concerning the cult of Dionysus Bromios, Smyrna, *LSAM* no. 84. AD second century

OF 582

μηδ' ἐν Βακχείοις ᾠδὸν ποτὶ δαῖτα τ[ιθεσθαι]

...nor place an egg as food at the Bacchic feast... (trans. Rostad 259)

**T.220** Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7.16.8 (475–76 Kaster) AD 395

OF 646ii

et ne videar plus nimio extulisse ovum elementi vocabulo, consule initiatos sacris Liberi patris, in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur ut ex forma tereti ac paene sphaerali atque undique versum clausa et includente intra se vitam, mundi simulacrum vocetur, mundum autem consensu omnium constat universitatis esse principium.

And lest I seem to have exalted the egg excessively by calling it an element, consider those initiated in the rites of father Liber, in which an egg is so worshipped that—being rounded and almost spherical, perfectly enclosed on all sides, and keeping life shut up within it—it is called a likeness of the universe, which, which by general agreement is held to be first beginning of all that is. (trans. Kaster 3: 299)

**T.221** Pindar of Thebes fr. 59(131) Fera before 443 BC

OF 442

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,  
ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἶδωλον· τὸ γὰρ ἔστι μόνον  
ἐκ θεῶν·

And, while the body of all men is subject to over-mastering death, an image of world remaineth alive, for it alone cometh from the gods. (trans. Sandys 589, modified)

**T.222** (cf. T.21b) Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Table Talk* 2.3.2, 636D (60 Hubert) AD 99–110

OF 646i

‘ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι’ τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃς οὐκ ὄρνιθος μόνον τὸ ᾠδὸν ἀποφαίνει πρεσβύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαβὸν ἅπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ

πρεσβυγένειαν ἀνατίθησιν. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν ‘εὖστομα κείσθω’ καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον, ἔστι γὰρ μυστικώτερα...

What is more, he added with a laugh, ‘I shall recite for men of understanding’ [OF 101] the Orphic sacred tale which not only declares the egg older than the hen, but also attributes to it the absolute primordality over all things together without exception. As for the rest of the doctrine, ‘let reverent silence prevail,’ as Herodotus says [Histories 2.171]; for it is very much of a mystical secret. (trans. Clement 149–51)

**T.223** Aristophanes, *Birds* 695 (1: 381 Wilson) 414 BC

OF 64; Orfismo A1 Scarpì

τίκτει πρότιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νύξ ἢ μελανόπτερος ῥόν...

...did black-winged Night at the very start bring forth a wind egg... (trans. Henderson 3: 117)

**T.224** Corpus Hippocraticum, *On Diet* 2.50.1 (49 Joly) after 370 BC

Ὡτιὰ δὲ ὀρνίθων ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τρόφιμον καὶ φυσῶδες· ἰσχυρὸν μὲν, ὅτι γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῦ ζώου, τρόφιμον δέ, ὅτι γάλα ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῷ νεοσσῷ, φυσῶδες δέ, ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ ὄγκου ἐς πολὺ διαχεῖται.

Birds’ eggs are strong, nourishing and windy. An egg is strong because it is the origin of an animal; nourishing because it is the milk of the animal; windy, because from small bulk it expands to a great one. (trans. Jones 325)

#### D. Δεῖπνον ἄδειπνον. Trying to Restore the Orphic Menu

##### Recipes for Preparing a Pure Meal

**T.225** Aristophanes, *Birds* 159–61 (1: 354 Wilson) 414 BC

{Ἔποψ} νεμόμεσθα δ’ ἐν κήποις τὰ λευκὰ σήσαμα  
καὶ μύρτα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.

{Ἐυελπίδης} ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄρα ζῆτε νυμφίων βίον.

{Hoopoe} And in the gardens we feed on white sesame seeds, myrtle berries, poppies, and watermint. {Euelpides} Why, you are all living the life of honeymooners! (trans. Henderson 3: 37)

**T.226** Regulation of the Thesmophoria, Attica, LSS no. 124 fourth century BC

τὰς δὲ ἀρχούσας κοινεῖ ἀμφοτέρων διδόναι τῆς ἱερείας εἰς [5] τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμικτεῖον κριθῶν, ἡμικτεῖον πυρῶν, ἡμικτέον ἀλφίτων, ἡμικτέον ἀλ-

[ε]ύρων, ἰσχάδων ἡμικτέον,  
 [10] χοῦ οἴνου, ἡμίχουν ἐλαίου, δύο κοτ-  
 ύλας μέλιτος, σησάμων λευκῶν χοί-  
 νικα, μελάνων χοίνικα, [μ]ήκωνος  
 χοίνικα, τυροῦ δύο τροφαλίδας μῆ  
 ἔλαττον ἢ στατηρια[ί]αν ἑκατέραν  
 [15] καὶ σκόρδων δύο στατῆρας...

Both women chosen to preside the festival should give in common [5] to celebrate and prepare the Thesmophoria [the following products]: half a *sextarius* of barley, half a *sextarius* of wheat, half a *sextarius* of barley-groats, half a *sextarius* of wheat-flour, half a *sextarius* of dried figs, [10] one *chous* of wine, half a *chous* of olive oil, two cups of honey, one *choenix* of white sesame seeds, one *choenix* of black sesame seeds, one *choenix* of poppy seeds, two wheels of cheese—each of one pound, [15] and two pounds of garlic. (trans. E. O.)

**T.227a** Demosthenes, *On the Crown* (Or. 18) 260 (299 Dilts) 330 BC

Orfismo C4 Scarpi

μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα...

You were paid with sappy bread, twisted rolls, and flat cakes. (trans. Yunis 96)

**T.227b** Harpocration of Alexandria, *Lexeis of the Ten Orators* s.v. “neēlata” (182 Keaney).  
 Ca. AD 150

OF 577xvi

Νεήλατα· τὰ νεωστὶ ἀληλεσμένα ἄλφιτα καὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένα, οἷς καὶ ἀσταφίδες καὶ  
 χλωροὶ ἐρέβινθοι συνεφύροντο· ἃ τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ τελοῦσιν ἔνεμον. ἐκάλουν δέ τινες αὐτὰ  
 καὶ ἀμβροσίαν καὶ μακαρίαν.

*Neelata*: Barley-cakes recently rolled out and soaked in honey, to which raisins and green chickpeas also were stirred in; these they would distribute to those taking part in the ceremonies. Some used to call them divine and blessed too. (the SOL translation)

**T.228** Antiphanes, *Orpheus* fr. 180 Edmonds 365–360 BC

OF 631; OF 1149

βύστραν τιν’ ἐκ φύλλων τινῶν.

A loaf made of certain leaves. (trans. Edmonds 2: 251, modified)

**T.229** Antiphanes, *Monuments* fr. 160 Edmonds after 386 BC

Pitagoristi nella commedia di mezzo no. 1 Cardini

τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δ’ ἔτυχον ἄθλιοί τινες

ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ τρώγοντες ἄλιμα καὶ κακὰ  
τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες <ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ.>

It so fell out that down in the ravine some miserable Pythagorists were seen eating what wretched spinach they could gather—tree-purslane and suchlike—in their bag of leather. (trans. Edmonds 2: 239)

**T.230** Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica* 1.91 (1: 84 Wellmann) AD 50–70

ἄλιμον ... λαχανεύεται δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ φύλλα ἐψόμενα εἰς βρῶσιν.

The tree-purslane... Its leaves are used as vegetables boiled for eating. (trans. Beck 66)

**T.231** Alexis of Thuri, *Pythagoreaness* frs. 196–97 Edmonds ?366–357 BC

A. ἢ δ' ἐστίασις ἰσχάδες καὶ στέμφυλα  
καὶ τυρὸς ἔσται: ταῦτα γὰρ θύειν νόμος  
τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις. B. νῆ Δί', ἱερεῖον μὲν οὖν  
ὁποῖον ἂν κάλλιστον, ὃ βέλτιστ', ἔχη.

A. They 'll give me dried figs, olive-mush, and cheese; Reg'lar Pythagorean offering, that. B. You couldn't have a better, man; that's flat. (trans. Edmonds 2: 469)

**T.232** Antiphanes, *Bumblebee* fr. 62 Edmonds after 386 BC

σκορόδια, τυρόν, κρόμμου, κάππαριν ...  
ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν δραχμῆς.

Garlic, cheese, onions, capers—the whole lot can be supplied for a shilling. (trans. Edmonds 2: 193)

**T.233** Aristophon, Unnamed play fr. 16 Edmonds ?362 BC

κάππαριν, βληγῶ, θύμον,  
ἀσπάραγον...

Capers, pennyroyal, thyme, asparagus... (trans. Edmonds 2: 529)

**T.234** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 34 (52 Places) ?AD second century

PEG 2.3: 128

τά γε μὴν πλεῖστα ὅποτε θεῶν ἀδύτοις ἐγκαταδύσεσθαι μέλλοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα χρόνου  
τινὸς ἐνδιατρίψειν, ἀλίμοις ἐχρήτο καὶ ἀδίμοις τροφαῖς, τὴν μὲν ἄλιμον συντιθεῖς ἐκ  
μήκωνος σπέρματος καὶ σησάμου καὶ φλοιοῦ σκίλλης πλυθείσης ἀκριβῶς ἔστ' ἂν τοῦ  
περὶ αὐτὴν ὁποῦ καθαρθεῖη, καὶ ἀσφοδέλων ἀνθερίκων καὶ μαλάχης φύλλων καὶ  
ἀλφίτων καὶ κριθῶν καὶ ἐρεβίνθων, ἅπερ κατ' ἴσον πάντα σταθμὸν κοπέντα μέλιτι

ἀνέδευεν Ὑμηττίῳ· τὴν δ' ἄδιψον ἐκ σικύων σπέρματος καὶ ἀσταφίδος λιπαρᾶς, ἐξελὼν αὐτῆς τὰ γίγαρτα, καὶ ἄνθους κορίου καὶ μαλάχης ὁμοίως σπέρματος καὶ ἀνδράχνης καὶ τυροῦ κνήστεως καὶ ἀλεύρου πάλης καὶ γάλακτος λίπους, ἅπερ πάντα ἀνεμίγνυ μέλιτι νησιωτικῷ.

For the most part, whenever he was about to enter into the inner sancta of the gods and spend a certain time there, he used no-hunger and no-thirst foods. He prepared the no-hunger from poppy seeds and sesame and skin of a sea-onion carefully washed until it is purified of all its sap and flowering stems of asphodel, and mallow leaves and barley meal and barley corns and garbanzos, all mashed together in equal amounts by weight and moistened with Hymettan honey. He made the no-thirst from squirting cucumber seeds and glistening raisins with the seeds removed and coriander blossom and also mallow seed and common purslane and grated cheese and fine wheat meal and pure cream, all mixed together with wild island honey. (trans. Stephens 139, modified)

**T.235** Michael Psellus, *Opuscula minora* 32 (109 Duffy)

AD 1042–55

Epimenides fr. 27v (PEG 2.3: 129)

ἴσθι τοιγαροῦν ὡς ἡ Ἐπιμενίδειος ἄλιμος μίγμα ἐστὶν ἀσφοδέλου ξηροῦ καὶ μαλάχης ρίζης καὶ σησάμης πεπλυμένης μήκωνός τε λευκοῦ σκίλλης τε ὠμῆς τῆς ξανθῆς, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων τοῦτο ἄσιτος ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς διημερεύσειεν ἀλυπότατος.

You should know that the Epimenidean anti-hunger is a mixture of dry asphodel, a root of mallow, washed sesame, white opium poppy, and raw sea-onion; the one who takes it can endure many days with no food, no hunger, no discomfort. (trans. E. O.)

**T.236** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Dinner of the Seven Sages* 14, 157D–F (323–24 Gärtner). AD 68–120

Epimenides fr. 27ii (PEG 2.3: 129)

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Ἄρδαλος, ἅρ' οὖν, ἔφη, ‘καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ὑμῶν Σόλωνος δὲ ξένον Ἐπιμενίδην νόμος τις ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων σιτίων κελεύει, τῆς δ' ἀλίμου δυνάμεως ἦν αὐτὸς συντίθησι μικρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνοντα διημερεύειν ἀνάριστον καὶ ἄδειπνον;’... Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἔφη θαυμάζειν τὸν Ἄρδαλον εἰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀνέγνωκε τῆς διαίτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς Ἡσιόδου γεγραμμένον· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος Ἐπιμενίδη σπέρματα τῆς τροφῆς ταύτης παρασχὼν καὶ ζητεῖν ὁ διδάξας

‘ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.’

‘Οἶει γάρ,’ ὁ Περίανδρος εἶπε, ‘τὸν Ἡσιόδον ἐννοῆσαί τι τοιοῦτον; οὐκ ἐπαινέτην ὄντα φειδοῦς ἀεὶ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λιτότατα τῶν ὄψων ὡς ἥδιστα παρακαλεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἀγαθὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ μαλάχη βρωθῆναι, γλυκὺς δ' ὁ ἀνθέρικος· τὰ δ' ἄλιμα ταῦτα καὶ ἄδιψα φάρμακα μᾶλλον ἢ σιτία πυνθάνομαι καὶ μέλι καὶ τυρόν τινα βαρβαρικὸν δέχεσθαι καὶ σπέρματα πάμπολλα τῶν οὐκ εὐπορίστων.

Ardalus then joined in and said, ‘Well, then, is there some law which commands that comrade of all of you, Solon’s foreign friend, Epimenides, to abstain from all other kinds of food, and by taking into his mouth a bit of the potent «no-hunger», which he himself compounds, to go all day without luncheon and dinner?’... Solon said that he was surprised at Ardalus if he had not read the regulations governing the manner of

living of the man in question, which are given in writing in Hesiod’s verses. For Hesiod is the one who first sowed in the mind of Epimenides the seeds of this form of nourishment, inasmuch as it was he who taught that one should seek to find

‘How in mallow and asphodel lies an immense advantage.’ [Hesiod, *Works and Days* 41]

‘Do you really think,’ said Periander, ‘that Hesiod ever had any such idea in mind? Do you not rather think that, since he was always sounding the praises of frugality, he was also summoning us to the simplest of dishes as being the most pleasant? For the mallow is good eating, and the stalk of the asphodel is luscious; but these no-hunger and no-thirst drugs (for they are drugs rather than foods), I understand, include in their composition a sweet gum and a cheese found among barbarian peoples, and a great many seeds of a sort hard to procure. (trans. Babbitt 2: 411–13)

**T.237a** Plato, *Laws* 677d–e Burnet

350 BC

Epimenides fr. 16ii (*PEG* 2.3: 124)

{Αθηναῖος} ἄριστ’, ὃ Κλεινία, τὸν φίλον ὅτι παρέλιπες, τὸν ἀτεχνῶς χθὲς γενόμενον. {Κλεινίας} μῶν φράζεις Ἐπιμενίδην; {Αθηναῖος} ναί, τοῦτον· πολὺ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπερεπήδησε τῷ μηχανήματι τοὺς σύμπαντας, ὃ φίλε, ὃ λόγῳ μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἐμαντεύετο πάλαι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκεῖνος ἀπετέλεσεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε.

{Athenian} How tactful of you, Clinias, to leave out your friend, who really was born ‘yesterday’! {Clinias} I suppose you mean Epimenides? {Athenian} Yes, that’s the man. His discovery, my dear fellows, put him streets ahead of all the other inventors. Hesiod [*Days and Works* 41] had foreshadowed it in his poetry long before, but it was Epimenides who achieved it in practice, so you Cretans claim. (trans. Cooper 1366)

**T.237b** Plato, *Laws* 642d–e Burnet

350 BC

Epimenides fr. 16ii (*PEG* 2.3: 124); *FGrHist* 457 T4a

τῆδε γὰρ ἴσως ἀκήκοας ὡς Ἐπιμενίδης γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θεῖος, ὃς ἦν ἡμῖν οἰκειὸς, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν δέκα ἔτεσιν πρότερον παρ’ ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν, θυσίας τε ἐθύσατό τινας ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν...

You have probably heard that Epimenides, a man who was divinely inspired, was born hereabouts. He was connected with my family, and ten years before the Persian attack [ca. 500 BC] he obeyed the command of the oracle to go to Athens, where he performed certain sacrifices which the god had ordered. (trans. Cooper 1336)

**T.238** Suda Lexicon, E 2471 (2: 370 Adler)

after AD 1028

Epimenides fr. 2 (*PEG* 2.3: 111); Epimenides fr. T2 Fowler; *FGrHist* 457 T2

Ἐπιμενίδης, Φαίστου ἢ Δοσιάδου ἢ Ἀγιασάρχου υἱός, καὶ μητρὸς Βλάστας, Κρῆς ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ, ἐποποιός· οὗ λόγος, ὡς ἐξίοι ἢ ψυχὴ ὅποσον ἤθελε καιρόν, καὶ πάλιν εἰσῆει ἐν τῷ σώματι· τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, πόρρω χρόνων τὸ δέρμα εὐρήσθαι γράμμασι κατάστικτον. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λ’ Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν καὶ τῶν ζ’ κληθέντων σοφῶν ἢ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. ἐκάθηρε γοῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῦ

Κυλωνείου ἄγους κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα, γηραιὸς ὢν. ἔγραψε δὲ πολλὰ ἐπικῶς· καὶ καταλογάδην μυστήριά τινα καὶ καθαρμούς καὶ ἄλλα αἰνιγματώδη.

Epimenides: son of Phaistos or Dosiadas or Agiasarchos and, as his mother, Blasta; a Cretan from Knossos; an epic poet. Of him there is a story that his soul could leave his body on any occasion he liked and enter it again; and long after he had died his skin was found tattooed with letters. He lived in the 30<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, [660–657 BC] which makes him a predecessor rather than a contemporary of the so-called Seven Sages. At any rate he purified Athens from the Kylonian curse in the 44<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, [604–601 BC] as an old man [by that time]. He wrote many epic poems and, in prose, certain mystery-writings and spells and other riddling works. (the SOL translation)

**T.239** Strabo of Amaseia, *Geography* 10.4.14 (3: 256 Radt) 26 BC

Epimenides fr. 54i (PEG 2.3: 160); *FGrHist* 457 T2

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμούς ποιήσαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι.

They say that Epimenides, who composed his *Purifications* in poetry, was from Phaistos. (trans. Roller 466)

**T.240** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.111 (140 Dorandi) AD 200

Epimenides fr. 1 (PEG 2.3: 109); Epimenides fr. T1 Fowler; *FGrHist* 457 T1

Ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν καὶ Θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν ἔπη ἑξακισχίλια πεντακόσια. συνέγραψε δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην Περί θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτη πολιτείας καὶ Περί Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθους εἰς ἔπη τετρακισχίλια.

He wrote a poem *On the Birth of the Curetes and Corybantes* and a *Theogony*, 5,000 lines in all; another on the building of the Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis in 6,500 lines. He also compiled prose works *On Sacrifices and the Cretan Constitution*, also *On Minos and Rhadamanthys*, running to about 4,000 lines. (trans. Hicks 1: 117)

**T.241** Demetrius of Magnesia, *On Poets and Authors of the Same Name* fr. 11 Mejer qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.114 (142 Dorandi) 50 BC

Epimenides fr. 1 (PEG 2.3: 109–10)

φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριός τις ἱστορεῖν ὡς λάβοι παρὰ Νυμφῶν ἔδεσμά τι καὶ φυλάττοι ἐν χηλῇ βοός· προσφερόμενός τε κατ' ὀλίγον μηδεμιᾶ κενοῦσθαι ἀποκρίσει μηδὲ ὀφθῆναι ποτε ἐσθίων. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ.

But Demetrius reports a story that he received from the Nymphs food of a special sort and kept it in a cow's hoof; that he took small doses of this food, which was entirely absorbed into his system, and he was never seen to eat. Timaeus mentions him in his second book [*History of Sicily*, *FGrHist* 566 F4]. (tr. Hicks 1: 119)

- T.242** Herodorus Heracleota (vel Ponticus), *Story of Heracles* fr. 1 Fowler qtd. in Proclus, *Commentary on Hesiod's Works and Days* 41 (26 Marzillo) 400–340 BC

Epimenides fr. 27i (*PEG* 2.3: 128–29); *FGrHist* 31 F1

Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἱστορίας τοῦτο λέγει. Ἑρμιππος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἀλίμου βρώσεως λέγει (μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἀλίμου καὶ Ἡρόδωρος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέα λόγου) καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νόμων. Ἐπιμενίδην φησὶ μικρὸν τι ἐδεσμάτιον προσφερόμενον ὧδε ὄλην διατελεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτον καὶ ἄποτον. ἦν δ' ἐξ ἀσφοδέλου καὶ μαλάχης, ὅπερ αὐτὸν ἄλιμον καὶ ἄδιψον ἐποίει.

In his work *On the Seven Sages* [*FGrHist* 1026 F12a–b], Hermippus says the following about the ‘hunger-banishing’ food (Herodorus in the fifth book of his *Story of Heracles* and Plato in the third book of the *Laws* [677e] also mentioned it): that Epimenides would eat only a little bit of this food and then could make it through an entire day without additional nourishment or beverage. It was made of asphodel and mallow, and caused him never to feel hungry or thirsty. (trans. Bollansée 25–27)

- T.243** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2b Stephens qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 35 (52 Places) ?AD second century

ταῦτα δ' Ἡρακλέα παρὰ Δήμητρος ἔφασκε μαθεῖν στελλόμενον εἰς τὴν Λιβύην τὴν ἄνυδρον.

He said that Heracles learned these recipes from Demeter when he was sent to waterless Libya. (trans. Stephens 139)

Omophagy: What the Hell It Means?

- T.244** Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 4.19.1–2 (32 Patillon). AD 263

μικροῦ με παρήλθε καὶ τὸ Εὐριπίδειον παραθέσθαι, ὃς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ τοῦ Διὸς προφήτας ἀπέχεσθαι φησὶ διὰ τούτων· λέγουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸν χορὸν πρὸς τὸν Μίνω·

I almost omitted to cite Euripides, who says in these lines that the prophets of Zeus in Crete abstain: the chorus is speaking to Minos. (trans. Clark 115)

- T.245** Euripides, *Cretans* fr. 79 Austin; *TrGF* 472; fr. 1 Cozzoli 438–431 BC

*OF* 567

Φοινικογενοῦς τέκνον Εὐρώπης  
καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζηνός, ἀνάσσω  
Κρήτης ἑκατομπολιέθρου·  
ἦκω ζαθεοὺς ναοὺς προλιπών,  
[5] οὐς αὐθιγενῆς στεγανοὺς παρέχει  
τμηθεῖσα δοκοὺς Χαλύβω πελέκει  
καὶ ταυροδέτῳ κόλλῃ κραθεῖσ'  
ἀτρεκεῖς ἄρμους κυπάρισσος,  
ἀγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνομεν ἐξ οὗ

[10] Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην,  
καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βούτης [βροντὰς—Cozzoli, βιοτὰς—González]  
τὰς ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελέσας  
Μητρί τ' ὀρεῖα δᾶδας ἀνασχῶν  
ἔμετὰ Κουρήτων  
[15] βᾶκχος ἐκλήθην ὀσιωθεῖς.  
πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω  
γένεσίν τε βροτῶν < >  
καὶ νεκροθήκας οὐ χριμπτόμενος,  
τήν τ' ἐμψύχων  
[20] βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαί.

{Chorus' address to Minos} Son Phoenician-born Europa and of great Zeus—you who rule Crete and its hundred cities! I have come here from the most holy temple whose roof is provided from native cypress-wood cut into beams with Chalybean axe and bonded in exact joints with ox-glue. Pure is the life I have led since I became an initiate of Idaean Zeus, and a servitor of night-ranging Zagreus, after performing the feast on raw food; and raising torches high to the Mountain Mother among the Curetes I was consecrated and named a 'bacchus'. In clothing all of white I shun the birthing of men, and the places of their dead I do not go near; against the eating of animal foods I have guarded myself. (trans. Collard 537–39, modified)

**T.246** Jerome of Stridonium, *Against Jovinian* 2.14 (PL 23: 317B) AD 392

Euripides, in *Creta Iovis prophetas non solum carnibus, sed et coctis cibis abstinuisse refert.*

Euripides relates that Zeus' prophets in Crete used to abstain not only from flesh but even from any cooked meals. (trans. E. O.)

**T.247** Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon* Ω 218 (4: 265 Hansen) AD fifth century

ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας.<sup>55</sup> τοὺς ὠμὰ κρέα μερίζοντας. καὶ ἐσθίοντας

*ōmophagous daitas*: the ones who divide raw meat, and eat. (trans. E. O.)

**T.248** Euripides, *?Cretans*, *TrGF* 912 ?438–431 BC

*OF* 458

σοὶ πάντων μεδέοντι χλόην  
πελανόν τε φέρω, Ζεὺς εἶθ' Ἄιδης  
ὀνομαζόμενος στέργει· σὺ δὲ μοι  
θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The gloss is a commentary on Euripides' *Cretans*, *TrGF* 472 Kannicht. The Euripidean text, however, has τὰς ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας which is a plural accusative from ἡ δαΐς ("feast") (Austin 52), whereas Hesychius, by misunderstanding, reads δαΐτας that is a plural accusative from ὁ δαΐτης to signify "the priest who divides the sacrificial victims" (LSJ 366 s.v. "daites").

[5] δέξαι πλήρη προχυταίαν.  
 σὺ γὰρ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῖς Οὐρανίδαῖς  
 σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις  
 χθονίων θ' Ἄϊδη μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.  
 πέμψον δ' ἐς φῶς ψυχὰς ἐνέρων<sup>57</sup>  
 [10] τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄθλους προμαχεῖν  
 πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ρίζα κακῶν,  
 τίνι δεῖ μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους  
 εὐρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάπαυλαν.

To you, ruler of all—whether you favor the name Zeus or Hades—I bring fresh greenery and offertory cake; accept, I beg you, this unburned offering of all kinds of produce, poured forth in abundance. For you wield the scepter of Zeus amongst the gods of heaven, and also share with Hades the rule of those within the earth. Send into the light the souls of the dead for those who wish to learn the trials awaiting them—whence they have grown, what is the root of their woes, which of the gods they should appease with sacrifice and so find respite from their tribulations. (trans. Collard 509)

**T.249** Aeschylus, *Egyptians*, TrGF 5

before 456 BC

Ζαγρεύς (= Πλούτων)

Zagreus<sup>58</sup> (= Pluto<sup>59</sup>)

**T.250** Antonius Diogenes, *Wonders beyond Thoule* fr. 2a Stephens qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *Life of Pythagoras* 17 (43 Places)

?AD second century

Κρήτης δ' ἐπιβάς τοῖς Μόργου μύσταις προσήει ἐνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ὕφ' ὧν καὶ ἐκαθάρθη τῇ κεραυνία λίθῳ, ἔωθεν μὲν παρὰ θαλάττη πρηγῆς ἐκταθείς, νύκτωρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ ἀρνειοῦ μέλανος μαλλοῖς ἐστεφανωμένος. Εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νομιζόμενας τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν καὶ καθήγισεν τῷ Διὶ τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμά τ' ἐνεχάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράψας 'Πυθαγόρας τῷ Διὶ', οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·  
 Ὡδε θανῶν κεῖται Ζάν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Dalby comments on this place: “The Greek *pankarpia* was an offering of every kind of fruit in the form of a cake. The cake involved perhaps took different forms; it is described by Euripides as a *pelanos*” (Dalby 2003, 69 s.v. “pankarpia”).

<sup>57</sup> Note that Orpheus was credited with enchanting even the ghosts of the dead in the hell. See *OF* 1074vi = Manilius, *Astronomica* 1.324–27 (10 Goold): *et Lyra diducta per caelum cornibus inter sidera conspicitur, qua quondam ceperat Orpheus omne quod attigerat cantu, manesque per ipsos fecit iter domuitque infernas carmine leges* (“and one may see among the stars the Lyre, its arms spread apart in heaven, with which the time gone by Orpheus charmed all that his music reached, making his way even to the ghosts of the dead and causing the decrees of hell to yield to his song,” trans. Goold 31).

<sup>58</sup> For the first time, the name Zagreus occurs in Alcmaeonis (Alcmaeonis fr. 3 [PEG 1: 33]), a poet of the sixth century BC: *πότνια Γῆ, Ζαγρεῦ τε θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων* (“Queen of the earth and you, supreme Zagreus, the highest of all!” trans. E. O.). Unfortunately, the context of the fragment is not given.

<sup>59</sup> Pluto is an alias for Hades.

Arriving at Crete, he [sc. Pythagoras] visited the initiates of Morgos, one of the Idaean Dactyls; they purified him using a thunder-struck stone, requiring him to stretch out prone by the seashore at dawn and by night at the riverside crowned with black sheep's wool. He descended into the so-called Idaean cave<sup>60</sup> carrying black wool and spent the assigned twenty-seven days there; he made offerings to Zeus, and he saw the throne that was furnished there for him annually. He inscribed an epigram on the tomb headed 'Pythagoras to Zeus,' which begins:

'Here lies the dead Zan, whom they call Zeus.' [Pseudo-Pythagoras, *Epigram on Zeus' Tomb*, Thesleff p. 174] (trans. Stephens 137)

**T.251** Plato, *Laws* 624a–625c Burnet

350 BC

{Αθηναῖος} μῶν οὖν καθ' Ὅμηρον λέγεις ὡς τοῦ Μίνω φοιτῶντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκάστοτε συνουσίαν δι' ἐνάτου ἔτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου φήμας ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῖν θέντος τοὺς νόμους; {Κλεινίας} λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παρ' ἡμῖν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν γε αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθον—ἀκούετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα—δικαιοτάτον [625a] γεγονέναι. τοῦτον οὖν φαῖμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρήτες, ἐκ τοῦ τότε διανέμειν τὰ περὶ τὰς δίκας, ὀρθῶς τοῦτον τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. {Αθηναῖος} καὶ καλόν γε τὸ κλέος ὑεῖ τε Διὸς μάλα πρόπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις ἤθεσι τέθραφθε νομικοῖς σὺ τε καὶ ὄδε, προσδοκῶ οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς περὶ τε πολιτείας τὰ νῦν καὶ νόμων τὴν διατριβήν, λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἅμα κατὰ [625b] τὴν πορείαν, ποιήσασθαι. πάντως δ' ἢ γε ἐκ Κνωσοῦ ὁδὸς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον καὶ ἱερόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἰκανή, καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς εἰκός, πνίγους ὄντος τὰ νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς δένδρεσιν εἰσι σκιαραί, καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις πρόπον ἂν ἡμῶν εἶη τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι πυκνὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, λόγοις τε ἀλλήλους παραμυθουμένους τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν οὕτω μετὰ ῥαστώνης διαπερᾶναι. {Κλεινίας} καὶ μὴν ἔστιν γε, ὧς ξέने, προϊόντι κυπαρίττων τε [625c] ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν ὕψη καὶ κάλλη θαυμάσια, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐν οἷσιν ἀναπαυόμενοι διατρίβοιμεν ἄν.

{Athenian} You follow Homer [*Odyssey* 19.178–79], presumably, and say that every ninth year Minos used to go to a consultation with his father Zeus, and laid down laws for your cities on the basis of the god's pronouncements? {Clinias} Yes, that's our Cretan version, and we add that Minos' brother, Rhadamanthus—doubtless you know the name—was an absolute paragon of justice. We Cretans would say that he won this reputation because of the scrupulously fair way in which he settled the judicial problems of his day. {Athenian} A distinguished reputation indeed, and one particularly appropriate for a son of Zeus. Well then, since you and your companion have been raised under laws with such a splendid ancestry, I expect you will be quite happy if we spend our time together today in a discussion about constitutions and laws, and occupy our journey in a mutual exchange of views. I've heard it said that from Cnossos to Zeus' cave and shrine is quite a long way, and the tall trees along the route provide shady resting places which will be more than welcome in this stiflingly hot weather. At our age, there is every excuse for having frequent rests in them, so as to refresh ourselves by conversation. In this way we shall come to the end of the whole journey without having tired ourselves out. {Clinias} And as you go on, sir, you find

<sup>60</sup> Pythagoras was to descend there in company of Epimenides of Crete (Epimenides fr. 22i [PEG 2.3] qtd. in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.3), his disciple and student (Epimenides fr. 25 [PEG 2.3: 127] qtd. in Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 32.222).

tremendously tall and graceful cypress trees in the sacred groves; there are also meadows in which we can pause and rest. (trans. Cooper 1319–20)

- T.252** Trebatius Testa, *De religionibus*, book nine fr. 8 Bremer (p. 406) qtd. in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.7.5–8 (181–82 Kaster) first century BC

[5] Hoc loco non alienum videtur de condicione eorum hominum referre, quos leges sacros esse certis diis iubent, quia non ignore, quibusdam mirum videri, quod cum cetera sacra violari nefas sit, hominem sacrum ius fuerit occidi. [6] Cuius rei causa haec est. Veteres nullum animal sacrum in finibus suis esse patiebantur, sed abigebant ad fines deorum quibus sacrum esset, animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Graeci ζώανας (†zanas†—Kaster) vocant, dis debitas aestimabant. [7] Quem ad modum igitur quod sacrum ad deos ipsos mitti non poterat, a se dimittere non dubitabant, sic animas, quas sacras in coelum mitti posse arbitrati sunt viduatas corpora, quam primum illo ire voluerunt. [8] Disputat de hoc more etiam Trebatius religionum libro nono.

[5] Here it seems appropriate to comment on the condition of those people whom the laws consecrate to specific gods, because I know some people think it strange that a consecrated person may be killed legally when it is against the law for all other consecrated things to be treated violently. [6] Here is the reason: because the ancients wanted to have no consecrated animal in their own territory, they used to drive them off to the territory of the gods to whom they were consecrated, whereas they thought that the souls of consecrated persons, whom the Greeks call *zanas*, are owed to the gods. [7] Therefore, just as they did not hesitate to drive away any consecrated animal that could not be conveyed directly to the gods, so they wanted consecrated souls, which they judged could be conveyed directly to heaven, to be separated from the body and make the journey at the first possible moment. [8] Trebatius, too, discusses this custom in book nine of his *Religious Scruples*... (trans. Kaster 2: 55–57)

- T.253** Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 4.77.2–3 (1: 519 Vogel) 60–30 BC

[2] μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Μίνωα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνήθως καθιεροῦν τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν γινομένων ταύρων τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ θύειν τοῦτον τῷ θεῷ· γενομένου δὲ τότε ταύρου κάλλει διαφέροντος ἕτερον τῶν ἡττόνων ταύρων θῦσαι· τὸν δὲ Ποσειδῶνα μηνίσαντα τῷ Μίνῳ ποιῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Πασιφάην ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ ταύρου. [3] διὰ δὲ τῆς τούτου φιλοτεχνίας τὴν Πασιφάην μιγεῖσαν τῷ ταύρῳ γεννήσαι τὸν μυθολογούμενον Μινώταυρον. τοῦτον δὲ φασὶ διφυῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνώτερα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄχρι τῶν ὤμων ἔχειν ταύρου, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀνθρώπου.

[2] In explanation of this the myths offer the following account: before this time it had been the custom of Minos annually to dedicate to Poseidon the fairest bull born in his herds and to sacrifice it to the god; but at the time in question there was born a bull of extraordinary beauty and he sacrificed another from among those which were inferior, whereupon Poseidon, becoming angry at Minos, caused his wife Pasiphae to become enamored of the bull. [3] And by means of the ingenuity of Daedalus Pasiphae had intercourse with the bull and gave birth to the Minotaur, famed in the myth. This creature, they say, was of double form, the upper parts of the body as far as the shoulders being those of a bull and the remaining parts those of a man. (trans. Oldfather 3: 61)

- T.254** Ephorus of Cyme, *On the Discoveries*, *FGrHist* 70 F104 qtd. in Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.64.4 (2: 90 Vogel) 341 BC

OF 519 + OF 940i; Orfismo D1 Scarpi

ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἐφορος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδὴν τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μυγδόνοιο εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰς τε ἐπωδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια, καὶ περὶ Σαμοθράκην διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως ἐν τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ποίησιν καὶ μελωδίαν, μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τούτων, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια.

But some historians, and Ephorus is one of them, record that the Idaean Dactyli were in fact born on the Mt. Ide which is in Phrygia and passed over to Europe together with Mygdon; and since they were wizards, they practised charms and initiatory rites and mysteries, and in the course of a sojourn in Samothrace they amazed the natives of that island not a little by their skill in such matters. And it was at this time, we are further told, that Orpheus, who was endowed with an exceptional gift of poesy and song, also became a pupil of theirs, and he was subsequently the first to introduce initiatory rites and mysteries to the Greeks. (trans. Oldfather 3: 271)

- T.255** Epimenides the Genealogist (vel Theologian), *History of Crete* fr. 4 Fowler qtd. in Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.65.1 (2: 91 Vogel) Hellenistic period

*FGrHist* 457 F17 = *FGrHist* 468 F1

μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι Κούρητας ἑννέα. τούτους δ' οἱ μὲν μυθολογοῦσι γεγονέναι γηγενεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπογόνους τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων.

After the Idaean Dactyli, according to accounts we have, here were nine Curetes. Some writers of myths relate that these gods were born of the earth, but according to others, they were descended from the Idaean Dactyli. (trans. Oldfather 3: 273)

- T.256** Epimenides the Genealogist (vel Theologian), *History of Crete* fr. 4 Fowler qtd. in Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.66.1–3 (2: 92 Vogel) Hellenistic period

*FGrHist* 457 F17 = *FGrHist* 468 F1

[1] μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρηῖτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοὺς καλουμένους Τιτᾶνας. τούτους δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν, ὅπου περ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυται θεμέλια Ῥέας οἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ἀνειμένον. [2] ὑπάρξει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξ μὲν ἀνδρας, πέντε δὲ γυναῖκας, ὡς μὲν τινες μυθολογοῦσιν, Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς ὄντας, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασιν, ἕκ τινος τῶν Κουρήτων καὶ μητρὸς Τιταίας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοὺς ταύτης τετευχέναι τῆς προσηγορίας. [3] ἄρρενας μὲν οὖν γενέσθαι τὸν τε Κρόνον καὶ Ὑπερίωνα καὶ Κοῖον, ἔτι δὲ Ἰαπετὸν καὶ Κριὸν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ὠκεανόν, ἀδελφὰς δὲ τούτων τὴν τε Ῥεάν καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Μνημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ Φοῖβην καὶ Τηθύν.

[1] The myth the Cretans relate runs like this: When the Curetes were young men, the Titans, as they are called, were still living. These Titans had their dwelling in the land

about Cnossos, at the place where even to this day men point out foundation of a house of Rhea and a cypress grove which has been consecrated to her from ancient times. [2] The Titans numbered six men and five women, being born, as certain writers of myths relate, of Uranus and Ge, but according to others, of one of the Curetes and Titaea, from whom as their mother they derive the name they have. [3] The males were Cronus, Hyperion, Coeus, Iapetus, Crius, and Oceanus, and their sisters were Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, and Tethys. (trans. Oldfather 3: 273–75)

- T.257** Epimenides the Genealogist (vel Theologian), *History of Crete* fr. 4 Fowler qtd. in Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.65.4 (2: 92 Vogel) Hellenistic period

*FGrHist* 457 F17 = *FGrHist* 468 F1

εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ κράνη καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις, δι' ὧν ποιοῦντας μεγάλους ψόφους ἀπατᾶν τὸν Κρόνον. φασὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Δία, λάθρα τοῦ πατρὸς Κρόνου παραδόσης Ῥέας τῆς μητρός, ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ θρέψαι· περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς δηλοῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω τὴν διήγησιν.

The Curetes also invented swords and helmets and the war-dance, by means of which they raised a great alarm and deceived Cronus. And we are told that, when Rhea, the mother of Zeus, entrusted him to them unbeknown to Cronus his father, they took him under their care and saw to his nurture. (trans. Oldfather 3: 273)

- T.258** Epimenides the Genealogist (vel Theologian), *History of Crete* fr. 4 Fowler qtd. in Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.75.4 (2: 107 Vogel) Hellenistic period

*OF* 283i + *OF* 311xii + *OF* 530; *FGrHist* 457 F17 = *FGrHist* 468 F1

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην, ὃν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων· πλείονας γὰρ Διονύσους συμβαίνει γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς σαφέστερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν οἰκειότεροις καιροῖς ἀναγεγράφαμεν.

This god [viz. Dionysus] was born in Crete, men say, of Zeus and Persephone, and Orpheus has handed down the tradition in the initiatory rites that he was torn in pieces by the Titans. And the fact is that there is have been several who bore the name Dionysus... (trans. Oldfather 3: 303)

- T.259** Olympiodorus of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Phaedo* 1.3 (41–43 Westerink). AD 525–65

*OF* 220 Kern + *OF* 304i + *OF* 313ii + *OF* 318iii + *OF* 320i; Orfismo A16 Scarpi

καὶ ἔστι τὸ μυθικὸν ἐπιχείρημα τοιοῦτον· παρὰ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι παραδίδονται. πρώτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἣν ὁ Κρόνος διεδέξατο ἐκτεμὼν τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κρόνον ὁ Ζεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν καταταρταρώσας τὸν πατέρα· εἶτα τὸν Δία διεδέξατο ὁ Διόνυσος, ὃν φασὶ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν τῆς Ἥρας τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Τιτᾶνας σπαράττειν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπογεύεσθαι. καὶ τούτους ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν ἀτμῶν τῶν ἀναδοθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕλης

γενομένης γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. οὐ δεῖ οὖν ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοῦς... ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκείμεθα γευσασμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου.

The mythical argument is as follows: in the Orphic tradition we hear of four reigns. The first is that of Uranus, to which Kronos succeeds after emasculating his father; after Kronos Zeus becomes king having hurled down his father into Tartarus; then Zeus is succeeded by Dionysus, whom, they say his retainers the Titans tear to pieces through Hera's plotting, and they eat his flesh. Zeus, incensed, strikes them with his thunderbolts, and the soot of the vapors that rise from them becomes the matter from which men are created. Therefore suicide is forbidden... because our bodies are Dionysiac; we are, in fact, a part of him, being made of the soot of the Titans who ate his flesh. (trans. Westerink 40–42, modified)

**T.260** Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 5.49.2–3 (2: 72 Vogel) 60–30 BC

τὸν δ' Ἰασίωνα γήμαντα Κυβέλην γεννῆσαι Κορύβαντα... Δάρδανον καὶ Κυβέλην καὶ Κορύβαντα μετακομίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ συναπαρᾶσαι εἰς Φρυγίαν... [3] τὸν δὲ Κορύβαντα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἱεροῖς ἐνθουσιάσαντας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κορύβαντας προσαγορεύσαι...

Iasion married Cybele and begat Corybas... Dardanus and Cybele and Corybas conveyed to Asia the sacred rites of the Mother of the Gods and removed with them to Phrygia... [3] and Corybas gave the name of Corybantes to all who, in celebrating the rites of his mother, acted like men possessed... (trans. Oldfather 3: 233–34)

**T.261** Theophrastus of Eresus, *On Piety* fr. 12 Pötscher qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 2.21.1 (88 Bouffartigue) 322 BC

μαρτυρεῖται δὲ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν κύρβεων, αἱ τῶν Κρήτηθὲν εἰσι Κορυβαντικῶν ἱερῶν οἷον ἀντίγραφα ἅττα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς περὶ τῆς θεογονίας διεξιὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν θυμάτων παρεμφαίνει λέγει... ταύρων δ' ἀκρήτοισι φόνους οὐ δεῦτε βωμός.

Evidence for this<sup>61</sup> comes not only from the *kyrbeis*, which are really a kind of transcription of the Corybantic rites from Crete, but also in Empedocles [fr. 118 Wright], who comments on sacrifices in expounding his theogony:... 'the altar was not soaked by violent deaths of bulls.' (trans. Clark 63)

**T.262** Aristophanes of Byzantium fr. 410 Slater 200 BC

Κύρβεις· αἱ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἑορτὰς ἔχουσαι· κρύβιές τινες οὔσαι, ἐν αἷς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκρυπτόμενα ἔδει εἶναι. Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὅτι ἀπὸ Κύρβεως τοῦ τὰς θυσίας ὀρίσαντος, ὡς φησι Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἀπὸ τούτου ταῦτα κυρωθῆναι τοῖς γράμμασι. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τριγώνους αὐτὰς φησιν εἶναι· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁμοίας εἶναι φησι τοῖς ἄξοσι, πλην ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄξονες νόμους, αἱ δὲ κύρβεις θυσίας εἶχον.

<sup>61</sup> Sc. bloodless sacrifices and wineless libations.

*Kyrbeis*: Those containing [sc. lists of] the festivals of the gods; being a sort of secret sources, in which the matters of the gods were to be hidden away. Asclepiades [*FGrHist* 339 F1] says that [the term comes] from Kyrbes, who ‘defined the sacrifices,’ as Phantias the Eresian says [fr. 22b Wehrli]. By him these [matters] were validated in writing. Eratosthenes [fr. 80 Strecker] says they were three-cornered. Aristophanes [of Byzantium] says they are like the ‘axles,’ except that the axles contained the laws but the *kyrbeis* the sacrifices. (the SOL translation, modified)

**T.263** Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* 17.37–66 (159–60 Gerlaud)

AD 450

Ἔνθα διαστείχοντα βαθυπλούτῳ παρὰ πέτρῃ  
 βουκεραίοις Σατύροισιν ὀμήλυδα πεζὸν ὀδίτην  
 Βάκχον ἀνήρ ἄγραυλος ἐρημάδι δέκτο καλιῆ,  
 [40] Βρόγγος, ἀδωμήτων ὄρεσίδρομος ἀστὸς ἐναύλων,  
 γηγενέων ἀχάρακτον ὑπὸ κρηπίδα θεμέθλων  
 ναίων οἶκον ἄοικον. Ἐυφροσύνης δὲ δοτῆρα  
 αἰγὸς ἀμελγομένης κεράσας χιονωπὸν ἐέρσην  
 [44] ξεινοδόκος γλαγόεντι ποτῶ μελιζατο ποιμῆν.  
 [46] Καὶ μίαν εἰροπόκων οἴων ἀνελύσατο μάνδρης,  
 ὄφρα κε δαιτρεύσειε θυηπολίην Διονύσῳ·  
 ἀλλὰ θεὸς κατέρυκε· γέρον δ’ ἐπεπέθειτο Βάκχου  
 νεύμασιν ἀτρέπτοισιν, ὅιν δ’ ἄψαυστον ἐάσας  
 [50] ποιμενίην τινὰ δαῖτα θελήμονι θῆκε Λυαίῳ,  
 [51] τεύχων δειπνον ἄδειπνον ἀδαιτρεύτοιο τραπέζης,  
 [45] εἶδασιν οὐτιδανοῖσι καὶ ἀγραύλοισι κυπέλλοις  
 [52] οἷα Κλεωναίοιο φατίζεται ἀμφὶ Μολόρκου  
 κεῖνα, τὰ περ σπεύδοντι λεοντοφόνους ἐς ἀγῶνας  
 ὦπλισεν Ἡρακλῆι. χύδην δ’ ἐπέβαλλε τραπέζῃ  
 [55] εἰν ἀλὶ νηχομένης φθινοπωρίδος ἄνθος ἐλαίης  
 Βρόγγος, ἔχων μίμημα φιλοστόργιο νομῆος,  
 πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροις νεοπηγέα τυρὸν ἀείρων,  
 ἰκμαλέον, τροχόνεντα. Θεὸς δ’ ἐγέλασσε δοκεύων  
 ἀγρονόμων λιτὰ δεῖπνα· φιλοξείνῳ δὲ νομῆι  
 [60] ἴλαον ὄμμα φέρων ὀλίγης ἔψαυσε τραπέζης  
 δαρδάπτων ἀκόρητος· αἰεὶ δ’ ἐμνώετο κείνης  
 εἰλαπίνην ἐλάχειαν ἀναιμάκτοιο τραπέζης  
 μητρὸς ἧς παρὰ δόρπον, ὄρεσσαύλοιο Κυβήλης.  
 Καὶ κραναοὺς πυλεῶνας ἐθάμβεε κυκλάδος αὐλῆς,  
 [65] πῶς Φύσις ἐργοπόνος δόμον ἐγλυφε, πῶς δίχα τέχνης  
 ἀντιτύποις κανόνεσσιν ἐτορνώθησαν ἐρίπναι.

There as the company of footmen with the homed Satyrs travelled beside the richly stored rocks, Bacchus on his march was entertained by a countryman in a lonely hut, Brongos, dweller in the highland glens where no houses are built. Beside the unquarried wall of these giant strongholds he dwelt, in a house that was no house. The hospitable shepherd milked a goat, and drew a potion snowy-white, to seek the favor of the giver of jolly good cheer with his milky draught in country cups, with common vittles. He brought out a fleecy sheep from the fold, as an offering for Dionysus, but the god stayed him. The old man obeyed the immutable bidding of Bacchus, and leaving the sheep untouched he set shepherd's fare before willing Lyaios. So he served

a supper no supper, board without beef, such as they say in Cleonai Molorcos once provided for Heracles on his way to fight the lion. Brongos like that kind-hearted shepherd set on the board plenty of the autumn fruit of the olive swimming in brine, and brought fresh curdled cheese in wickerwork baskets, juicy and round. The god laughed when he saw the countryman's light supper, and turning a gracious eye on the hospitable shepherd, he partook of the humble fare, munching greedily. All the time he was reminded of the frugal banquet on that bloodless table, when there was a meal for his Mother, Cybele of the highlands. And he wondered at the stone doors of the round courtyard, how industrious nature had carved a house, how without art the cliffs were rounded in answering proportion. (trans. Rouse 2: 35–37)

**T.264** Dionysius, *Gigantias*, *GDRK* 1 no. 19.26, p. 76

AD third century

τοῖς ἐνὶ μὲν κύαμοι ζ[  
οἴκυλα τε ζειαί τε περ[  
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν χαλκὸς μ[  
τινθαλέος ζείησι τα[  
[5] δὴ τότε ἔγὼ θάλαμόνδ[ε  
.. λομαι ὄφρα κε δαῖτα[  
...]ν κάγκανα κῆλα [  
...]εθ' ὕδωρ

In which there were beans, cereals, grains of wheat, and..... When the brazen.....  
potion with meal..... Then I want to..... to the house until the banquet..... dried  
woods..... with water. (trans. E. O.)

**T.265** Palladius of Helenopolis, *Lausiaca History* 11.4 (52 Bartelink)

AD 388

τούτου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου φέρεται τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἠδονῆς αὐτῷ  
ἐπαναστάσης τοῦ σαρκίου αὐτοῦ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σίδηρον ἐκπυρώσας προσετίθει τοῖς  
ἑαυτοῦ μέλεσιν, ὡς πάντοτε αὐτὸν ἠλκωμένον εἶναι. ἢ μέντοι τράπεζα αὐτοῦ γέγονεν  
ἐκ νεότητος ὠμοφαγία ἕως θανάτου· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ διὰ πυρὸς διήρχετο ἔφαγε ποτε ἐκτὸς  
ἄρτου.

About this Ammonius the following marvelous story was told. When desire arose in  
him, he never spared his poor body, but heating an iron in the fire he would apply it to  
his members, so that he became a mass of ulcers. Now his table from youth until death  
contained raw food only. For he never ate anything that had passed through the fire  
except bread. (trans. Clarke 65)

**T.266** Euripides, *Bacchantes* 136–42 (6: 22 Kovacs)

406 BC

ἠδὺς ἐν ὄρεσιν, ὅταν  
ἐκ θιάσων δρομαίων  
πέση πεδόσε, νεβρίδος ἔχων  
ιερὸν ἐνδυτόν, ἀγρεύων  
αἶμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν,  
ιέμενος ἐς ὄρεα  
Λύδι', ὃ δ' ἔξαρχος Βρόμιος,  
εὐοῖ.

Welcomes is the god when on the mountains he leaves the coursing covens and falls to the ground, his holy garment of fawn-skin about him, in pursuit of the shed blood of the skin goat, the glad meal of raw flesh, rushing to the mountains of Lydia, this leader of ours, Bromios, *euhoi!* (trans. Kovacs 6: 23)

- T.267** Regulation concerning the bloody sacrifices to Dionysus Bacchius, from Miletus, *LSAM* no. 48 276/275 BC

*OF* 583

. . . .Ν. ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἱέρεια ἐπι[τελέσ]ῃ τὰ ἱερά ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εω]ς [πάσης] μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν μηθεὶ πρότερον [ἢ ἡ ἱέ]ρεια ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐμβάλῃ.

It is not permitted to anyone to put down the *omophagion* before the priestess does so on behalf of the city. (trans. Kane 336)

- T.268** Plutarch of Chaeronea, *Obsolence of Oracles* 14, 417C (117 Flacelière) AD 119

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἔστι τῆς περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, ‘εὖστομά μοι κείσθω’ καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον· ἑορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοὶ πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς...

Regarding the rites of the Mysteries, in which it is possible to gain the clearest reflections and adumbrations of the truth about the demigods, ‘let my lips be piously sealed,’ as Herodotus says [*Histories* 2.171]; but as for festivals and sacrifices, which may be compared with ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur the eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting, and beating of breasts, and again in many places scurrilous language at the shrines... (Babbitt 5: 391)

- T.269** Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.12.2 (20–21 Marcovich). AD 195

Διόνυσον μαινόλην ὀργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὠμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστεμμένοι τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὐάν, Εὐάν ἐκείνην, δι’ ἣν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησεν: καὶ σημεῖον ὀργίων βακχικῶν ὄφις ἐστὶ τετελεσμένος. αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ἐυία δασυνόμενον ἐρμηνεύεται ὄφις ἢ θήλεια.

The raving Dionysus is worshipped by Bacchantes with orgies, in which they celebrate their sacred frenzy by a feast of raw flesh. Wreathed with Dionysus snakes, they perform the distribution of portions of their victims, shouting the name of Eva, that Eva through whom error entered into the world; and a consecrated snake is the emblem of the Bacchic orgies. At any rate, according to the correct Hebrew speech, the word ‘hevia’ with an aspirate means the female snake. (trans. Butterworth 31)

- T.270** Lucian of Samosata, *Dionysus* 2 (17 MacLeod) AD 165–80

τὰς δ’ οὖν ποιμένας διηρπάσθαι ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ διεσπᾶσθαι ἔτι ζῶντα τὰ θρέμματα· ὠμοφάγους γάρ τινας αὐτὰς εἶναι.

The flocks have already been harried by the women, and the animals torn limb from limb while still alive; for they are eaters of raw meat. (trans. Harmon 51)

**T.271** Firmicus Maternus, *On the Error of the Pagan Religions* 6.5 (89–90 Turcan). AD 340

OF 322

Cretenses ut furentis tyranni saevitiam mitigarent festos funeris dies statuunt et annum sacrum trieterica consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes quae per puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est. vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes, et per secreta silvarum clamoribus dissonis eiulantes fingunt animi furentis insaniam, ut illud facinus non per fraudem factum, sed per insaniam crederetur. Prefertur cista in qua cor soror latenter absconderat tibiaram cantu et cymbalorum tinnitus crepundia, quibus puer deceptus fuerat, metiuntur, sic in honorem tyranny a serviente plebe deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam.

The Cretans, to soothe the fierce mood of the angry tyrant [i.e. Jupiter], instituted certain days as a funeral feast and coupled a yearly rite with a celebration on alternate years, performing in order due all that the boy [i.e. Liber] had done or suffered at his death. They tore a live bull with their teeth, recalling the savage banquet by a yearly commemoration of it. They penetrated the solitudes of the forest uttering discordant cries and so feigning madness, that the crime might be set down to lunacy, not to guile. Before them was carried the basket in which the sister [i.e. Minerva] had concealed and hidden the heart. With the music of pipes and the clash of cymbals they got up a make-belief of the rattles by which the boy had been deluded. (trans. Cook 662)

**T.272a** *Orphic Hymns* 52.4–7 (427 Fayant)

?AD 200

νυκτέρι', Εὐβουλεῦ, μιτρηφόρε, θυρσοτινάκτα,  
ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος,  
Πρωτογον', Ἑρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ,  
ὠμάδιε, σκηπτοῦχε, χοροϊμανές, ἀγέτα κόμων...

...you lead them in the night, o filleted, o thyrsus-shaking Eubouleus. Your nature three-fold, your rites ineffable, o secret offspring of Zeus, primeval, Erikepaios, father and son of the gods, you take raw flesh [*Omadie*], and sceptered you lead us into the madness of revel and dance... (trans. Athanassakis 43)

**T.272b** Euelpis of Carystus, *FHG* 4: 408 qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 2.55.3 (118 Bouffartigue) before AD 263

ἔθνον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἄνθρωπον διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησὶν Εὐέλπις ὁ Καρύστιος...

In Chios they used to sacrifice a human to Dionysus Omadios, tearing him to pieces; this also happened to Tenedos, according to Euelpis of Karystos (trans. Clark 77)

Milk: Not Good for You?**T.273** Derveni Papyrus, col. 6 lines 5–10 (73 KTP)

340 BC

OF 471; Orfismo C6 Scarpi

[5] τοῖς δὲ  
 ἱεροῖ[ς] ἐπισπένδουσιν ὕ[δω]ρ καὶ γάλα, ἐξ ὧν περ καὶ τὰς  
 χοὰς ποιοῦσι. ἀνάριθμα [κα]ὶ πολυόμφαλα τὰ πόπανα  
 θύουσιν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀνάριθμο[ί] εἰσι. Μύσται  
 Εὐμενίστι προθύουσι κ[ατὰ τὰ] αὐτὰ μάγοις· Εὐμενίδες γὰρ  
 [10] ψυχαὶ εἰσιν.

And on the offerings they pour water and milk, from which [plural] they also make the libations to the dead. Innumerable and many-knobbed are the cakes they sacrifice, because the souls too are innumerable. Initiates make a preliminary sacrifice to the Eumenides in the same way the magi do; for the Eumenides are souls. (trans. KTP 130)

**T.274** *Scholia vetera in Aeschinem* 1, 374a (53–54 Dilts)

before AD tenth century

ταῖς Σεμναῖς θεαῖς· . . . ἦν δὲ τὰ πεμπόμενα αὐταῖς ἱερὰ πόπανα καὶ γάλα ἐν ἄγγεσι κεραμείοις. φασὶ μέντοι αὐτὰς οἱ μὲν Γῆς εἶναι καὶ Σκότους, οἱ δὲ Σκότους καὶ Εὐωνύμης, ἦν καὶ Γῆν ὀνομάζεσθαι. κληθῆναι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου πρῶτον Ἐρινύας καλούμενας.

The *Semnai* Goddesses: . . . there were sacrificed to them sacred cakes and milk in the special ceramic vessels. Some people say that they were born from Ge and Skotos, the others that from Skotos and Euonyme who was also named Ge. In Orestes' times they were bestowed Eumenides, albeit formerly they were called Erinyes. (trans. E. O.)

**T.275** Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Learned Banqueters* 11.93, 496A–B (5: 412–14 Olson). AD 195–217

Πλημοχόη σκεῦος κεραμεοῦν βεμβικῶδες ἔδραϊον ἡσυχῆ, ὃ κοτυλίσκον ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ὡς φησι Πάμφιλος. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἦν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ἧ' δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν < . . . > ἀνιστάμενοι ἀνατρέπουσιν τε ἐπιλέγοντες ῥῆσιν μυστικῆν.

*Plemochoe*: A ceramic vessel that resembles a top, but is relatively stable; some people employ the term *kotuliskos* for it, according to Pamphilus [of Alexandria]. It is used at Eleusis on the final day of the Mysteries, which is accordingly referred to as *Plemochoi*. On this day they fill two *plemochoai*, and standing facing east in the case of one, and facing west in the case of the other . . . and turn them upside down, reciting a formula associated with the Mysteries.<sup>62</sup> (trans. Olson 5: 413–15)

<sup>62</sup> Edward Ochsenschlager speculates that the mystic formula spoken during the libations from the *plemochoai* was the same as: ὕε . . . κύε (“rain . . . conceive”), attested by Proclus in his *Commentary on the Timaeus* 3: 176.28–30 Diehl.

- T.276** Numenius of Apamea fr. 32 Places qtd. in Porphyry of Tyre, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* 28 (74 Simonini) AD 150

δῆμος δὲ ὄνειρων κατὰ Πυθαγόραν αἱ ψυχαί, ὡς συνάγεσθαι φησὶν εἰς τὸν γαλαξίαν τὸν οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν γάλακτι τρεφομένων, ὅταν εἰς γένεσιν πέσωσιν. ᾧ καὶ σπένδειν αὐταῖς τοὺς ψυχαγωγοὺς μέλι κεκραμένον γάλακτι ὡς ἂν δι' ἡδονῆς εἰς γένεσιν μεμελετηκυῖαις ἔρχεσθαι· αἷς συγκυεῖσθαι τὸ γάλα πέφυκεν.

According to Pythagoras, the souls are the ‘people of dreams’ [Homer, *Odyssey* 24.12] who, as he says, are assembled in the Milky Way which derives its name from ‘milk’ because they are nourished with milk when they first fall into *genesis*. For this reason also, he says, those who call forth souls pour libations of milk and honey to them, since they are accustomed to enter *genesis*, because of the lure of pleasure. Also, milk is produced from the time of birth. (trans. Lambertson 36)

#### Cheers! Wine Is Allowed

- T.277** Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 10.7.2 (2: 199 Vogel) 60–30 BC

πολλοὺς δὲ ἔπειθεν ἀπύροις σιτίοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὕδροποσίαις πάντα τὸν βίον ἔνεκεν τοῦ τάγαθὰ θηρᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.

Many men were also persuaded by him [sc. Pythagoras] to eat uncooked food and to drink only water all their life long, in order to pursue what is in truth the good. (trans. Oldfather 4: 63)

- T.278** Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 3.32 (421 Keil) AD 148

ὅσον μὲν οὖν τινα χρόνον διήνεγκα τὴν ὕδροποσίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω λέγειν· ὅτι δ' εὐκόλως τε καὶ ῥαδίως αἰεὶ πως πρότερον δυσχεραίνων τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ναυτιῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐλελειτούργητο, τοῦ μὲν ὕδατος ἀφήσιν με, οἴνου δὲ ἔταξε μέτρον, καὶ ἦν γε ῥῆμα ἡμίνα βασιλική· γνώριμον δὴ που ὅτι ἔφραζεν ἡμικότυλον. ἐχρώμην τούτῳ καὶ οὕτως ἤρκει ὡς οὐκ ἤρκει πρότερον τὸ διπλάσιον...

I also cannot say for how long I endured water drinking, but it was easy and pleasant, although before I always found water somehow disagreeable and disgusting. When this duty also had been performed, he [sc. Asclepius] took me off water, and assigned me a measure of wine. The word was a *demiroyal*. It is quite clear that he meant a half cup. I used this, and it sufficed, as formerly twice the amount did not. (trans. Behr 313)

- T.279a** Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Library* 1.3.2 (18 Frazer) ca. AD 100

*OF* 501; Orfismo A20 Scarpì

εὗρε δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μυστήρια...

Orpheus also invented the mysteries of Dionysus...<sup>63</sup> (trans. Frazer 19)

<sup>63</sup> For more testimonies on Orpheus as a founder of mysteries see Frazer 18 note 1.

**T.297b** Onomacritus of Athens, *Orphic Initiations* (Ὀρφέως Τελεταί) fr. II A4 D’Agostino qtd. in Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.37.5 (2: 301 Rocha-Pereira) ca. 508 BC

OF 1113

παρὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος παραλαβὸν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργός.

From Homer the name of the Titans was taken by Onomacritus, who in the orgies he composed for Dionysus made the Titans the authors of the god’s sufferings. (trans. Jones 4: 87)

**T.280** Plato, *Republic* 363c–d Burnet

371 BC

OF 431i

Μουσαῖος δὲ τούτων νεανικώτερα τάγαθὰ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρὰ θεῶν διδόασιν τοῖς δικαίοις· εἰς Ἄιδου γὰρ ἀγαγόντες τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κατακλινάντες καὶ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀσίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐστεφανωμένους ποιοῦσιν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἤδη διάγειν μεθύοντας, ἡγησάμενοι κάλλιστον ἀρετῆς μισθὸν μέθην αἰώνιον.

Musaeus and his son<sup>64</sup> make the gods give the just more headstrong goods than these. In their stories, they lead the just to Hades, seat them on couches, provide them with a symposium of pious people, crown them with wreaths, and make them spend all their time drinking—as if they thought drunkenness forever was the finest wage of virtue. (trans. Cooper 1003, modified)

#### A City of Pigs?

**T.281** Plato, *Republic* 372b–d Burnet

371 BC

θρέψονται δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἄλφιτα σκευαζόμενοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρα, τὰ μὲν πέψαντες, τὰ δὲ μάξαντες, μάζας γενναίας καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ κάλαμόν τινα παραβαλλόμενοι ἢ φύλλα καθαρὰ, κατακλινέντες ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἐστρωμένων μίλακί τε καὶ μυρρίναις, εὐωχῆσονται αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἐπιπίνοντες τοῦ οἴνου, ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τοὺς θεούς,... [372c] καὶ ὁ Γλαύκων ὑπολαβὼν, Ἄνευ ὄψου, ἔφη, ὡς εἰκας, ποιεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐστιωμένους. ἀληθῆ, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, λέγεις. ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι καὶ ὄψον ἔξουσιν, ἄλας τε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐλάας καὶ τυρόν, καὶ βολβούς καὶ λάχανά γε, οἷα δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐνήματα, ἐνήσονται. καὶ τραγήματά που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κυάμων, καὶ μύρτα καὶ φηγούς σποδιοῦσιν [372d] πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, μετρίως ὑποπίνοντες· καὶ οὕτω διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσουσιν. καὶ ὅς, εἰ δὲ ὑὼν πόλιν, ὧ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, κατεσκεύαζες, τί ἂν αὐτὰς ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα ἐχόρταζες;

<sup>64</sup> Musaeus’ son was Orpheus, to trust Plutarch of Chaeronea who states that Plato alludes here to Orpheus, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα (OF 431ii). See Bernabé 2013, 137.

For food, they'll knead and cook the flour and meal they've made from wheat and barley. They'll put their honest cakes and loaves on reeds or clean leaves, and, reclining on beds strewn with yew and myrtle, they'll feast with their children, drink their wine, and, crowned with wreaths, hymn the gods... [372c] It seems that you make your people feast without any delicacies, Glaucon interrupted. True enough, I said, I was forgetting that they'll obviously need salt, olives, cheese, boiled roots, and vegetables of the sort they cook in the country. We'll give them desserts, too, of course, consisting of figs, chickpeas, and beans, and they'll roast myrtle and acorns [372d] before the fire, drinking moderately. And so they'll live in peace and good health, and when they die at a ripe old age, they'll bequeath a similar life to their children. If you were founding a city for pigs, Socrates, he replied, wouldn't you fatten them on the same diet? (trans. Cooper 1011)

**T.282** Flavius Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.8.1 (1: 46–47 Jones). AD 215–17

καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὡς οὔτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν παχυνούσας παρητήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ λάχανα ἐσιτεῖτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὅποσα ἡ γῆ αὐτῇ δίδωσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνον καθαρὸν μὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πᾶμα ἐκ φυτοῦ οὕτως ἡμέρου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἦκοντα, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ νοῦ συστάσει διαθολοῦντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αἰθέρα.

And after saying this he refused the meat of animals as impure and dulling the mind, and lived off dried fruit and vegetables, saying that everything was pure which the earth produced unaided. Wine, he said, was a pure drink, since it came from a plant so beneficial to humans, but it obstructed mental balance by confusing the ether in the soul. (trans. Jones 1: 47–48)

### E. Conclusions

**T.283** Porphyry of Tyre, *On Abstinence from Living Animals* 4.16.6 (26–27 Pattison). AD 263

Eleusi F31 Scarpi

Μαῖα δὲ ἡ αὐτῇ τῇ Φερσεφόνη ὡς ἂν μαῖα καὶ τροφὸς οὔσα· χθονία γὰρ ἡ θεὸς καὶ Δημήτηρ ἡ αὐτή. καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα δὲ ταύτη ἀφιέρωσαν. Διὸ καὶ ἀπέχονται οἱ ταύτης μύσται ὀρνίθων ἐνοικιδίων. Παραγγέλλεται γὰρ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κατοικιδίων ὀρνίθων καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ κυάμων ροιᾶς τε καὶ μήλων, καὶ ἐπ' ἴσης μεμιάται ὅ τε λεχοῦς ἀψάμενος καὶ ὁ θνησειδίων.

Maia is the same as Persephone, in that she is nurse and nurturer, for she is an earth-goddess and Demeter is the same. They also consecrated the cock to her. That is why her initiates abstain from household birds. It is also a rule at Eleusis to abstain from domestic fowls, from fish, and from beans, pomegranates and apples; and pollution is incurred equally by coming into contact with childbed or with animals that have died. (trans. Clark 112)

**T.284** Scholia on Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 7.4 s.v. "Haloa" (280–81 Rabe). Before AD 13<sup>th</sup> century

ἐνταῦθα οἶνός τε πολὺς πρόκειται καὶ τράπεζαι πάντων τῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης γέμουσαι βρωμάτων πλὴν τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ, ροιᾶς φημι καὶ μήλου καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ ῥῶν καὶ θαλαττίων τρίγλης, ἐρυθίνου, μελανούρου, καράβου, γαλεοῦ.... πρόσκειται δὲ ταῖς τραπέζαις καὶ ἐκ πλακοῦντος κατεσκευασμένα ἀμφοτέρων γενῶν αἰδοῖα.

There is plenty of wine and variety of seafood and all fruits of the earth laid on the tables, except the ones prohibited during the mysteries, I mean pomegranate, apple, domestic fowl, and eggs; from seafood, red mullet, pandora, blacktail, crayfish, and dogfish are excluded.... Besides, cakes shaped like the symbols of both sexes are laid on the tables. (trans. E. O.)

**T.285a** Scholia on Aristophanes *Acharnians* 764 (101 Wilson) before AD tenth century

χοίρους ἐγώνγα μυστικάς· διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις τῆς Δήμητρος θύεσθαι χοίρους.

I've got piglets for the Mysteries: because during the Mysteries of Demeter the piglets were sacrificed. (trans. E. O.)

**T.285b** Aristophanes, *Frogs* 337–39 (2: 150–51 Wilson) 405–404 BC

{Ξανθίας} ὃ πότνια πολυτίμητε Δήμητρος κόρη,  
ὡς ἠδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρείων κρεῶν.  
{Διόνυσος} οὐκουν ἀτρέμ' ἔξεις, ἦν τι καὶ χορδῆς λάβης;

{Xanthias} Most exalted lady, daughter of Demeter, what a nice aroma of pork wafted over me! {Dionysus} Then be still, and you might get some sausage too. (trans. Henderson 4: 73)

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## DIETA ORFICKA

(Streszczenie)

Artykuł jest poświęcony tak zwanemu życiu orfickiemu, które wedle Platona polegało na zadowalaniu się pokarmem bezmięsnym i składaniu bogom ofiar bezkrwawych. Szereg świadectw starożytnych potwierdza praktykowanie diety orfickiej w Atenach co najmniej od początku wojny peloponeskiej (431 p.n.e.).

Część pierwsza omawia teksty źródłowe mówiące o tym, czym było życie orfickie i skąd się wzięło. Źródła jednoznacznie wskazują na Orfeusza jako sprawcę rewolucji dietetycznej i przypisywane mu poematy, które zakazywały jedzenia trzech produktów: mięsa, jaj i bobu greckiego. Ten ostatni nie był identyczny z naszym bobem, bo roślina zakazana przez Orfeusza już nie istnieje (ilustracja 1). Wiadomo, że bób grecki miał łodygi puste w środku, złowrózbnę cętki na kwiatach i czarne okrągłe nasionka. Źródła niedokładnie cytują Orfeusza, nie podając tytułu jego pieśni i przytaczając zaledwie dwa bezpośrednie cytaty: „jedzenie bobu jest jak pożeranie głów rodziców” i „ogień niech płonie na nieskrwawionym ołtarzu.” Plutarch z Cheronei twierdzi, że wyczytał zakaz jedzenia jaj w *Świętym orędziu orfickim*, którego wszakże nie wolno było recytować w obecności niewtajemniczonych. Z kolei autor *Złoty wierszy pitagorejskich* utrzymuje, że poemat o zakazanych pokarmach nosił tytuł *Oczyszczenia*.

Część druga dotyczy diety pitagorejskiej, która często bywa mylona lub utożsamiana z dietą orficką. Moje wnioski są takie, że dieta stosowana przez pitagorejczyków w południowej Italii w latach 520–360 p.n.e. nie powinna być identyfikowana z dietą orficką rozpropagowaną w Atenach po 431 roku p.n.e. Powód jest następujący. Akuzmatycy po katastrofie w 450 roku p.n.e. zlecili spisanie tradycji życia pitagorejskiego, w tym kodeksu dietetycznego. Ich zapiski przeciekły do opinii publicznej ok. 350 roku p.n.e. i odtąd były szeroko komentowane. Z nich wiadomo, że pitagorejczycy przestrzegali zakazu spożywania bobu i jaj, który był zbieżny z regułą orficką; ponadto nie wolno im było konsumować liści laurowych i malwy (*malachē* to kolejna wymarła odmiana, zob. ilustracja 7). Nie mieli jednak całkowitego zakazu jedzenia mięsa, co ich odróżniało od orfickiego wegetarianizmu. Mogli więc jeść mięso zwierząt ofiarnych – oprócz wołów i baranów – z wyjątkiem ich serc, mózgów, szpiku, głów, nóg, genitaliów i lędźwi oraz wieprzowego boczku. Zakazane było pieczenie uprzednio ugotowanego mięsa. Mogli jeść drób, z wyjątkiem białych kogutów, oraz

ryby i owoce morza, oprócz czterech „świętych” gatunków: morlesz szkarłatny, barwena, oblada i jeżowiec (ilustracje 2, 3, 4, 6). Powodem nałożenia prohibicji na białe koguty oraz zwierzęta morskie, z których dwie pierwsze ryby są intensywnie czerwone, trzecia ma czarną plamkę na ogonie, a czwarte stworzenie – jeżowiec – zawiera koralową ikrę, była symbolika barw. Wedle pitagorejczyków biel symbolizowała dobro i bóstwa solarne, czerń – zło i bogów podziemia, zaś czerwień – narodziny i ich patronkę Hekate. Starożytni komentatorzy zauważają podobieństwo diety pitagorejskiej do Prawa Mojżeszowego i postów obowiązujących podczas misterii w Eleusis i gdzie indziej w Grecji.

Część trzecia dyskutuje mistyczne przyczyny nałożenia sankcji na mięso, bób i jaja, które były podane w poematach Orfeusza. Mimo że oryginalne teksty orfickie zaginęły, to jednak późniejsi autorzy, poczynając od Empedoklesa a kończąc na scholiastach bizantyńskich, relacjonują je na tyle, że można pokusić się o próbę rekonstrukcji. Zakaz jedzenia jaj kurzych wynikał z orfickiego mitu o kosmicznym jajku, z którego miał się wykluczyć Pierwszy Żyjący, stwórca świata. Następnie, kategoryczny zakaz jedzenia mięsa zwierzęcego wyrósł z sagi o srebrnym pokoleniu, które żyło za Kronosa i odżywiało się wyłącznie owocami ziemi, by w końcu ustąpić gorszej rasie ludzi wskrzeszonych z krwi Tytanów – zabójców Dionizosa, szóstego i ostatniego króla bogów. Zbrodnia popełniona przez Tytanów była szczególnie perwersyjna. Tytani najpierw zaszlachtowali boskie dziecię, które metamorfozowało w byka, potem poćwiartowali jego ciało, ugotowali, nadziali na rożny, upiekli i zjedli. Rozgniewany Zeus spalił ich za to piorunem. Dusze ludzkie, które powstały z prochów tych kanibali, zwykły wcielać się w organimy zarówno ludzkie, jak i zwierzęce, tu są wyszczególniane: koń, baran, ptak, pies i wąż. Zatem człowiek, który zjada mięso jakiegokolwiek zwierzęcia, pożera istotę sobie pokrewną, przez co staje się takim samym kanibalem jak Tytani. Zakaz konsumpcji bobu był wyjaśniany w ten sposób, że bób wyrósł z nasienia Tytanów, protoplastów ludzkości, a to oznacza, że zjedanie go jest równoznaczne z kanibalizmem. Orfickie mity wywarły wpływ nie tylko na dietę orficką, lecz także pitagorejską z jej zakazami konsumpcji bobu, jaj i mięsa niektórych zwierząt, m.in. wołowiny.

Część czwarta bada źródła, które zawierają informacje na temat orfickiego jadłospisu. Można przyjąć za rzecz pewną, że podstawę diety orfickiej stanowiły zboże, ziarna (tj. sezam i mak), oliwa, miód, wino, natomiast unikano mleka ze względu na skojarzenia z cyklem narodzin. Zachowała się glosa z komedii pt. *Orfeusz* (ok. 365–360 p.n.e.), która mówi o bochenku wykonanym ze sprasowanych liści. Szereg komedii z połowy czwartego wieku wysmiewających tak zwanych „pitagorystów” (ateńskich naśladowców pitagorejskiego stylu

życia) wymienia produkty, które mogły być także wegetariańskimi przysmakami orfików: szparagi, marynowane owoce i lodygi kaparowca, gotowane liście łobody solniskowej, wytloki z oliwek, suszone figi, czosnek, cebulę, tymianek, miętę polej – ta ostatnia była składnikiem eleuzyńskiego kykeonu. Platon czyni aluzję do diety orfickiej w *Państwie* 372b–d, gdzie układa menu wegetariańskie („świńskie,” wedle jego własnych słów) dla mieszkańców swego idealnego państwa. Serwuje im chleb, ser, oliwki, wino, sól, pieczone warzywa i kasztany, figi, jagody mirtu, ciecierzycę i groch.

Spośród przytaczanych źródeł najciekawszy, ale i najbardziej kontrowersyjny, jest znany fragment z Eurypidesa *Kreteńczyków* (ok. 438 p.n.e.), dotyczący – zdaniem badaczy (m.in. Alberto Bernabé) – inicjacji w misteria, która miałaby polegać na omofagii definiowanej jako jednorazowa rytualna konsumpcja surowego mięsa. Kontrargumentuję przeciw tej powszechnie przyjętej hipotezie, próbując odtworzyć oryginalny kontekst tego wyrwanego z kontekstu fragmentu. Mój wniosek jest taki, że fragment *TrGF* 472 dotyczy *ōmophagous daitas* rozumianych – zgodnie z etymologią greckiego wyrazu – jako wikt na surowych, niegotowanych produktach. Tego rodzaju omofagia mogła być faktycznie przestrzegana w ramach miesięcznego oczyszczenia poprzedzającego inicjację w misteria Idajskiego Zeusa i Korybantów, dokonywanych właśnie we wskazanym przez Eurypidesa miejscu na Idzie i szeroko znanych z detestacji do ofiar krwawych. Antoniusz Diogenes i kilku innych autorów z okresu Cesarstwa przekazuje recepty na surowe wegetariańskie pasty hamujące apetyt i pragnienie, które miały być wymyślone przez eksperta od rytuałów korybanckich: Epimenidesa z Krety (500 p.n.e.). Moim zdaniem sporny fragment Eurypidesa nie ma związku z misteriami orfickimi ani dionizyjskimi, natomiast odnosi się do rytuałów korybanckich i *Oczyszczeń* Epimenidesa.

Część piąta formułuje konkluzje. Analizowane teksty nie dają podstaw do łączenia „życia orfickiego” z działalnością domniemanej sekty orfickiej w Attyce czy południowej Italii. Dieta orficka, polegająca na dożywotnim unikaniu produktów zwierzęcych i bobu, była czymś znacznie więcej niż kilkudniowe posty przestrzegane podczas Misteriów Eleuzyńskich i innych świąt ateńskich ku czci Demeter. Jedyne trop prowadzi do zaginionych pieśni Orfeusza, znanych tylko wtajemniczonym, które przedstawiały jedzenie mięsa, jaj i bobu jako odrażający akt kanibalizmu.

Część szósta obejmuje korpus 285 tekstów, które stanowiły bazę źródłową analiz przeprowadzonych w niniejszym artykule, podając je w wersji bilingwicznej: w oryginale greckim lub łacińskim oraz w przekładzie na język angielski. Część siódma zawiera wykaz cytowanych pozycji bibliograficznych i edycji wykorzystanych tekstów źródłowych.

**Abstract:** The paper discusses the dietary prohibitions implied by Orpheus’ poems, the so-called Orphica, attested since ca. 444 BC; the interrelations between the Orphic diet and the taboos observed by early Pythagoreans (520–360 BC); the reasons why the adherents of Orphic movement used to abstain from meat, beans, and eggs; and the virtual Orphic menu.

**Keywords:** Orphic diet; vegetarianism; Pythagoreanism; taboo foods; sacrifices; mysteries; Graeco-Roman religion

**Słowa kluczowe:** dieta orficka; wegetarianizm; pitagoreizm; zakazane pokarmy; ofiary; misteria; religia grecko-rzymska.

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