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Theios aner and the Markan miracle traditions : a critique of the theios aner concept as an interpretative background of the miracle traditions used by Mark / [Text]

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came to be regarded by some as Zeus¹¹⁴. In fact, even Menecrates himself succumbed to the idea and had the audacity to make such a claim before Philip of Macedon and the Spartan king Archidamus¹¹⁵. He certainly dressed the part, adorning himself "in purple, with a gold crown on his head and carrying a sceptre, his feet shod with slippers"¹¹⁶.

5. Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus is the sole example of a Hellenistic king who was reputed to have possessed miraculous powers. Plutarch says that Pyrrhus had the power to heal swollen spleens by sacrificing a white cock and pressing his right foot against the spleen¹¹⁷. The use of the right foot is no doubt connected to the further tradition that the big toe of his right foot possessed δύναμιν θεῖαν, "so that after the rest of his body had been consumed, this was found to be untouched and unharmed by the fire"¹¹⁸. As a γέρας for his healings Pyrrhus would gladly accept the sacrificial cock¹¹⁹; this suggests "that the true believers put him on a level with Asclepius on the basis of this power"¹²⁰. Indeed, since a cock was the most common sacrifice to Asclepius, the phrase "a cock to Asclepius" became almost proverbial¹²¹.

C. Miracle Workers of Various Types

1. Amphion

According to traditional chronology, Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope¹²², is the earliest of the miracle workers surveyed in this section. Like Orpheus, whom we will examine shortly, Amphion had the power to charm nature with his music. That he was able to charm animals to follow him is not unknown¹²³, but his sole specific miracle occurred when he

114 Ehippus, Frag. 17 (Theodor Kock, ed., *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* [=CAF], vol. 2 [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884]); Alexis, Frag. 136 (CAF, 2); Hegesander, Frag. 5 (FHG, 4); Plut. *Ages.* 21; idem *Apophth.* 191A; idem *Apophth. Lac.* 213A; Athen. 7. 289a–f; Clem. A1. *Protr.* 4. 54; Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12. 51. The three patients mentioned above plus an unknown one became Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, and Asclepius, respectively.

115 Hegesander, Frag. 5 (FHG, 4); Athen. 7. 289a–f; Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12. 51. In Plutarch (*Ages.* 21; *Apophth.* 191A; *Apophth. Lac.* 213A) Agesilaus takes the place of Philip.

116 Athen. 7. 289c.

117 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3. 4.

118 Ibid., 3. 5.

119 Ibid.

120 Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, p. 91.

121 Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 2:189f.

122 Hom. *Od.* 11. 260–62; Sen. *Her. Fur.* 262f.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 5. 5; 3. 10. 1; Paus. 2. 6. 4; Hygin. *Fab.* 7.

123 Eumelus, Frag. 12 (Kinkel); Verg. *Ecl.* 2. 23f.; Paus. 9. 5. 8.

charmed the rocks to form themselves into the walls of Thebes¹²⁴. According to a late report, Tiberias honored the sons of Antiope (Amphion and Zethus) as Dioscuroi by building two pillars for them¹²⁵.

2. Calais and Zetes

Just as the Argonauts were not devoid of seers, so they were not lacking in heroes who possessed other kinds of miraculous powers. The gift of flight belonged to Calais and Zetes, the sons of the wind god, Boreas, and Oreithyia¹²⁶. Equipped with wings, they were able to chase away the Harpies that were tormenting the seer Phineus in exchange for his unerring counsel¹²⁷. According to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the columns placed over their graves by Heracles was reputed to move whenever the north wind blew¹²⁸.

3. Euphemus

The Argonaut Euphemus, son of Poseidon¹²⁹, received from his father the ability to run over the sea without getting his feet wet¹³⁰.

4. Periclymenus

To Periclymenus, the son of Neleus and Chloris (Amphion's daughter) and therefore the grandson of Poseidon¹³¹, his grandfather gave the ability to transform himself into various creatures: bird, ant, bee, snake, and lion¹³². As an Argonaut he used this power in his battle with Heracles, who

124 Hes., Frag. 182 (Merkelbach and West); Eur. *Phoen.* 823f.; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 740f.; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 1f.; idem *Ars P.* 394–96; Prop. 1. 9. 10; Ovid *Meta.* 6. 177–79; Sen. *Her. Fur.* 262f.; idem *Phoen.* 566–70; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 2. 60–62; idem *Theb.* 4. 356–60; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32. 62; Plut. *Maxime Cum Principibus Philosopho Esse Disserendum* 4 (779A); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 5. 5; Paus. 2. 6. 4; 6. 20. 18; 9. 5. 7f.; 9. 17. 7; Lucian *Imag.* 14; Philostr. *Eld. Imag.* 1. 10.

125 Johannes Malalas *Chronographia* 10 (Dindorf, p. 234, lines 18–20).

126 Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 181–83; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 211–13; Diod. Sic. 4. 43. 3; Ovid *Meta.* 6. 702–13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 16; 3. 15. 2; Paus. 5. 17. 11; Hygin. *Fab.* 14, 19.

127 Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 181–83; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 219–23; 2. 178–300, 426–36; Ovid *Meta.* 6. 714–18; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 21; 3. 15. 2; Hygin. *Fab.* 14, 19. The chasing of the Harpies was a popular motif on vases (cf. A. Rapp, "Boreaden," in Roscher, 1:798f., and Frank Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* [Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1960²], p. 351).

128 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 1296–1308.

129 Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 43–46; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 179–81; Paus. 5. 17. 9; Hygin. *Fab.* 14, 157.

130 Asclepiades in Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 61 and Tzetz. Schol. ad Lycoph. *Alex.* 886; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 179–84; Hygin. *Fab.* 14.

131 Hom. *Od.* 11. 281–86; Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4F125; Asclepiades Tragilus *FGrHist* 12F21; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 156; Diod. Sic. 4. 68. 6; Hygin. *Fab.* 14.

132 Hes., Frag. 33 (Merkelbach and West); Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 156–60; Philodemus *De Pietate* 128; Sen. *Med.* 634–36; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 9; 2. 7. 3. Therefore Euphorion, Frag. 77 (August Meineke, ed., *De Euphorionis Chalcidensis Vita et Scriptis* [Gedani: J. C. Albert, 1823]), compared Periclymenus to Proteus.

nevertheless proved capable of destroying his gifted foe¹³³. Explicit references to Periclymenus' superhuman status are rare: (1) Seneca calls him "Neptune's son" (but probably not intending to deny the intermediate ancestor, Neleus), and (2) there was a Periclymenus, the son of Poseidon and Chloris, who was probably originally identical with Neleus' son¹³⁴. Thus the miracle-working Periclymenus may have sometimes passed as a son of Poseidon/Neptune.

5. Orpheus

The Thracian Orpheus, also an Argonaut according to some versions, was among the most popular of the early Greeks credited with supernatural powers. The miraculous powers attributed to this figure revolve around his reputation as the singer and musician *par excellence*. Numerous authorities, classical and Hellenistic, relate how Orpheus, by singing and playing (the lute, lyre, or cithara), could charm animate and even inanimate nature¹³⁵. Most frequently they claim that Orpheus' music charmed the rocks and trees to follow him. He also charmed and attracted both tame and wild animals. Even the elements were subject to his magic: he exercised control over wind, hail, snow, seas, and particularly, rivers¹³⁶.

While most of the references to Orpheus' powers over nature do not narrate any particular incident, the tradition does know three occasions on which his power manifested itself. Entering Hades alive to retrieve his dead wife, Eurydice, Orpheus charmed both the inhabitants and the ruler, Pluto, and thereby gained permission to take Eurydice back to the upper air provided that he not look back at her until they reached their destination¹³⁷. Twice during the Argonauts' expedition Orpheus' music proved

133 Hes., *Frag.* 33 (Merkelbach and West); *Ovid Met.* 12. 556–72; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1. 9. 9; *Nonnus Dion.* 43. 247–49. According to *Hygin. Fab.* 10, Periclymenus escaped Heracles by changing into an eagle.

134 (1): *Sen. Med.* 635f.; (2): K. Scherling, "Periklymenos," in *PW*, 19.792f.

135 Simonides, *Frag.* 384 (Page); *Eur. Bacch.* 560–64; *idem Iph. Aut.* 1211f.; *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 1. 26–31, 569–79; *Anthologia Graeca* 7. 8f.; *Agatharchides De Mari Erythraeo* 7 (Karl Müller, ed., *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 1 [Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855]); *Diod. Sic.* 4. 25. 2; 37. 30. 2; *Verg. Cul.* 117f., 278–82; *idem Georg.* 4. 507–10; *idem Ecl.* 6. 30; *Conon Narr., FGHist* 26F1. 45. 3; *Hor. Carm.* 1. 12. 3–12; 3. 11. 13f.; *Prop.* 2. 13. 5f.; 3. 2. 3–6; *Ovid Met.* 10. 86–108; *Manilius Astron.* 5. 326–28; *Sen. Med.* 228f.; 625–29; *idem Her. Fur.* 572–74; *idem Her. Oet.* 1031–60; *Mela De Chorographia* 2. 28; *Quint. Inst.* 1. 10. 9; *Dio Chrys. Or.* 32. 62f.; 35. 9; *Philost. Jd. Imag.* 2. 15; *Philost. Jr. Imag.* 6; *Callistratus Descript.* 7; *Claudian Raptus Proserpinae* 2 (Praef.). 1–8, 13–28; *Cornelius Minorum* 18. 19f. Additional evidence from coins and art objects is supplied by W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen & Co., 1952), p. 21, and plates 1 and 15.

136 *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 1. 26f.; *Anthologia Graeca* 7. 8; *Verg. Cul.* 117f., 278; *Hor. Carm.* 1. 12. 10; 3. 11. 14; *Prop.* 3. 2; *Manilius Astron.* 5. 326f.; *Sen. Med.* 625–27; *idem Her. Fur.* 573; *idem Her. Oet.* 1037.

137 Especially *Verg. Cul.* 268–93; *idem Georg.* 4. 454–503; *Ovid Met.* 10. 1–73; *Sen. Her. Fur.* 569–89; *idem Her. Oet.* 1061–89. Also *Eur. Alc.* 357–62; *Isoc. Or.* 11. 8; *Moschus Epithalamium*

very beneficial: (1) he ended a quarrel among the Argonauts by soothing their wrath, and (2) he enabled his ship to evade the alluring Sirens, breaking their spell by the sound of his lyre¹³⁸.

A passage from *Dionysius Scytobrachion* used by *Diodorus Siculus* relates how Orpheus twice saved his ship from the peril of storm by offering up the proper prayers to the gods of Samothrace¹³⁹. Although strictly speaking Orpheus does not perform a miracle – the actual saviors are gods – the first of these two stories constitutes perhaps the closest parallel between Jesus' calming of the wind and waves (*Mk.* 4:35–41) and a similar tale with a miracle-working divine man as its subject:

But there came on a great storm and the chieftains had given up hope of being saved, when Orpheus, they say, who was the only one on shipboard who had ever been initiated in the mysteries of the deities of Samothrace, offered to these deities the prayers for their salvation (*σωτηρία*). And immediately (*εὐθέως*) the wind died down and two stars fell over the heads of the Dioscuri, and the whole company was amazed (*ἐκπλάγησαν*) at the marvel which had taken place and concluded that they had been rescued from their perils by an act of Providence of the gods.

The final singing miracle of Orpheus occurred after the Maenads of Thrace dismembered his body: his head, singing as it went, was swept away by the river Hebrus¹⁴⁰. It eventually arrived at Lesbos where, according to *Philostratus*, it became a source of oracles¹⁴¹. Perhaps this tradition is connected with the occasionally expressed opinion that Orpheus was a seer¹⁴².

It is unanimously held that Orpheus was the son of the Muse Calliope¹⁴³. Occasionally *Apollo* is called his father¹⁴⁴, but it is doubtful whether this was understood in more than a metaphorical sense¹⁴⁵, normally *Oeagrus* is his father¹⁴⁶. *Athenaeus* classes Orpheus among the demigods (*ἡμίθεοι*),

Bionis 123–26; *Diod. Sic.* 4. 25. 4; *Verg. Aen.* 6. 119f.; *Hor. Carm.* 3. 11. 17–24; *Conon Narr., FGHist* 26F1. 45. 2; *Manilius Astron.* 5. 328; *Stat. Theb.* 8. 57–79; *Plut. Ser. Num. Pun.* 28 (566B); *idem Amat.* 17 (761F); *Apollod. Bibl.* 1. 3. 2; *Lucian Dial. Mort.* 23 (281CL). 3; *Athen.* 13. 597b–c. *Paus.* 9. 30. 4, 6 dismisses this story as a falsehood. For extra-literary evidence of this tradition in antiquity see *Konrat Ziegler*, "Orpheus," in *PW*, 18:1279–80.

138 (1): *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 1. 492–518; (2): *ibid.*, 4. 904–9; *Sen. Med.* 355–60; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1. 9. 25.

139 *Dionysius Scytobrachion FGHist* 32F14 (*Diod.* Sic. 4. 43. 1f., 48. 5f.).

140 *Lucian Ind.* 11; cf. also *Ovid Met.* 11. 50–60.

141 *Philost. Her.* 5. 3; *Vit. Ap.* 4. 14. However, the evidence from art presented by *Guthrie, Orpheus*, pp. 36–39 and plate 5, proves that some such tradition is much older than *Philostratus*.

142 Perhaps *Plat. Prot.* 316D; certainly *Pliny Hist. Nat.* 7. 56. 203; *Clem. Al. Strom.* 1. 21. 134. 4; *Schol.* ad *Eur. Alc.* 968; *Schol.* ad *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 2. 684.

143 *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 1. 23f.; *Anthologia Graeca* 7. 8f.; *Verg. Ecl.* 4. 55–57; *Hor. Carm.* 1. 12. 8–10; *Sen. Med.* 625; *idem Her. Oet.* 1034; *Dio Chrys. Or.* 78. 19; *Callistratus Descript.* 7; *Philost. Jr. Imag.* 6. *Paus.* (9. 30. 4) acknowledges the tradition but believes it false. *Quint. Inst.* 1. 10. 9) simply notes that Orpheus was of divine origin.

144 *Pind. Pyth.* 4. 176f.; *Ovid Met.* 10. 167; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1. 3. 2.

145 See *Ziegler*, "Orpheus," pp. 1217f.

146 *Pind.* *Frag.* 139. 9 (LCL); *Plat. Symp.* 179D, etc.

those great figures of the heroic period who were superhuman in virtue of having enjoyed a divine as well as a mortal parent¹⁴⁷. Inscriptions provide evidence that Orpheus enjoyed (hero?) worship in Maroneia¹⁴⁸ (1st cent. A.D.) and possibly in Sparta¹⁴⁹. In the Italian town of Sena Orpheus was revered as a god: 'Ὁρφεὺς θεὸς ἡμῶν τῆς πόλ[εως] . . .'¹⁵⁰

6. Museus

Closely related to Orpheus – sometimes regarded as his pupil¹⁵¹ – is the mythical poet Museus. Like Orpheus, Museus' mother is a supernatural being – in this case the goddess Selene¹⁵². Unlike Orpheus, however, little is told about his miraculous activity. Aristophanes presents Museus as one who taught "healing and oracle lore"¹⁵³. Plato speaks of Orpheus, Museus and their sects, who disguised sophistry in "mystic rites and soothsayings (χαρημαδίας)"¹⁵⁴. Finally, Pausanias mentions a verse, of which he believes Onomacritus to be the author, which revealed that the North Wind endowed Museus with the gift of flight¹⁵⁵.

7. Abaris

Like the O.T. priest Melchizedek, Abaris the Hyperborean makes his literary appearances, "without father or mother or genealogy, and has neither beginning of days nor end of life." This priest of the Hyperborean Apollo¹⁵⁶, variously dated in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries¹⁵⁷, won fame through several miraculous feats. He acquired the nickname αἰθροβάτης, "air-walker," "because, riding on the arrow given him by the Hyperborean Apollo, he crossed rivers and seas and impassible places, somehow walking on the air"¹⁵⁸. Abaris was also a successful μάγιστρος, able

to predict earthquakes and plagues¹⁵⁹. Apollonius the Paradoxographer (citing Bolus) tells how he prevented a plague in Lacedaemon by prescribing an averting sacrifice¹⁶⁰. Similarly Nicomachus says that Pythagoras taught Abaris, along with Empedocles and Epimenides, how to perform feats similar to his own, i.e., predicting earthquakes, averting plagues, and subduing winds, hailstorms, and waters¹⁶¹. The latter feats, which exceed mere prediction, may be compared to the charms of Abaris (apparently for restoring health) mentioned by Plato¹⁶². Finally, at least twice it is mentioned that Abaris engaged in a continual fast¹⁶³.

The tradition neither assigns Abaris a divine mother or father nor in any other way explicitly reflects on his nature, but it is clear that he was a Hyperborean¹⁶⁴. Pindar says that the Hyperboreans, a legendary tribe living far north of Greece, were a "chosen (ἐεῖρε) people" among whom "neither sickness nor baneful eld mingled"¹⁶⁵. Whether this means that they were immortal¹⁶⁶, or only that they lived extremely long lives¹⁶⁷, they were undoubtedly regarded as a race superior to ordinary mortals.

8. Aristeas of Proconnesus

Like Abaris, Aristeas of Proconnesus was a *Wundermann* closely associated with Apollo. Concerning this figure, whom the *Suda* dates in the sixth century B.C.¹⁶⁸, Herodotus records a local tradition from Proconnesus and Cyzicus:

in Moses Hadas and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods, Religious Perspectives*, 13 [New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965], p. 117). Cf. Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 91, 140. The same tradition is found earlier in Heraclid. Pont., Frag. 51c (Fritz Wehrli, ed., *Die Schule des Aristoteles* [= Wehrli], vol. 7: *Heraclides Pontikos* [Bass: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1933]), and later in the *Suda*, "Ἀβάρης." That Abaris carried Apollo's arrow is attested in Hdt. 4. 36 and Lycurg., Frag. 85 (N. C. Conomis, ed., *Lycurgus Oratio in Leocratem* [= Conomis], BSGRT [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1970]).

159 Lycurg., Frag. 85 (Conomis); Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 4. According to Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 93 and 147, Pythagoras taught Abaris how to divine through numbers rather than the entrails of animals.

160 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 4. Cf. Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 92, 141.

161 Nicomachus in Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 29 and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135; in chapter 91 Iamblichus states that Abaris used Apollo's arrow to control the elements and to avert pestilence.

162 Hdt. *Charm.* 158B. Schol. ad Aristoph. *Eq.* 729 mentions oracles attributed to Abaris.

163 Hdt. 4. 36; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 141. Some of Abaris' miraculous exploits were no doubt related in Heraclides Ponticus' book about Abaris mentioned by Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 1 (14E).

164 Hdt. 4. 36; Lycurg., Frag. 85 (Conomis); Plut. *Charm.* 158B; Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 4; Nicomachus in Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 28 and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 90, 140f.; Harp., "Ἀβάρης," *Suda*, "Ἀβάρης."

165 Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 41f.

166 Frank Nisetich, ed., *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 214.

167 Lewis Farnell, *The Works of Pindar*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1932), 2:218. Strab. 15. 1. 57 (711) assigns them a life span of 1000 years.

168 *Suda*, "Ἀριστεάς." Strab. 14. 1. 18 (639) preserves the notion that Aristeas was Homer's teacher.

147 Athen. 14. 632c.

148 J. A. R. Munro, "Epigraphical Notes from Eastern Macedonia and Thrace," *JHS* 16 (1896): 321.

149 *CGG*, 1, no. 1446; C. Tsountas, "Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακτορίου," *Εφemeris Ἀρχαιολογική* (1892): 20f. 150 *CGG*, 3, no. 5970.

151 Tattam. *Ad. Gr.* 41; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 10. 11. 30; *Suda*, "Μουσάιος."

152 Plat. *Resp.* 2. 7 (364E); Philochorus *FGH Hist* 328F208. According to Hermesianax, Frag. 2 (Ernst Diehl, ed., *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, vol. 2, BSGRT [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1925]) he is the son of Μηρῆς. His father is usually Eumolpus (Philochoorus *FGH Hist* 328F208; Dioe-Laert. *Proem.* 1. 3), but others say Antiphemus (Andron *FGH Hist* 10F13; *Suda*, "Μουσάιος") or even Orpheus (Diod. Sic. 4. 25).

153 Aristoph. *Ran.* 1033. Cf. Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 21. 21.

154 Plat. *Prot.* 316D. The various oracles attributed to Museus were collected by Onomacritus, but he was banished from Athens by Hipparchus when it was discovered that he had inserted some of his own oracles (Aristoph. *Ran.* 1033; Hdt. 7. 6; 8. 96; Paus. 1. 22. 7; 10. 9. 11).

155 Paus. 1. 22. 7.

156 Nicomachus in Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 28 and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 91.

157 Harp., "Ἀβάρης."

158 Nicomachus in Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 29 and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 136 (trans. of Porphyry by M. Smith

It is said that this Aristas . . . went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the fuller shut his workshop and went away to tell the dead man's kinsfolk, and the report of Aristas' death being now spread about in the city, it was disputed by a man of Cyzicus, who . . . said that he had met Aristas going towards Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he vehemently disputed the kinsfolk of the dead man had come to the fuller's shop . . . but when the house was opened there was no Aristas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that Aristas appeared at Proconnesus and made that which the Greeks now call the Arimaspa, after which he vanished once again.¹⁶⁹

But this was not the end of Aristas' activities. Herodotus adds a Metapontine tradition to the effect that 240 years after the second disappearance of Aristas he appeared at Metapontum and commanded its citizens to establish an altar for Apollo, beside which they were to erect a statue bearing Aristas' name.¹⁷⁰ The reason: "Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italic lands, and he himself — who was now Aristas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow — had come with him." According to Apollonius the Paradoxographer, Aristas, after his death in Proconnesus, made numerous appearances over a long period of time in Sicily.¹⁷¹

In Herodotus and Apollonius the various appearances seem to be post-mortem; later traditions, however, relate how Aristas' body would fall into a death-like trance during which his soul would wander abroad "like a bird, surveying all beneath, land, sea, rivers, cities, nations of mankind, and occurrences and creatures of all sort."¹⁷² Pliny says that "The soul of Aristas . . . was seen flying from his mouth in Proconnesus in the form of a raven."¹⁷³

Like Abaris, Aristas is neither the son of a god nor a goddess, but there is some evidence of his heroic or divine status after death. Apollonius says that the Sicilians, in response to Aristas' appearances in Sicily, "built a temple and sacrificed to him as a hero."¹⁷⁴ Celsus adds that Apollo commanded the Metapontines to regard Aristas as a god, but that *τοῦτον οὐδείς ἐτι νομίζει θεόν*.¹⁷⁵

169 Hdt. 4. 14. The essence of this report (save the second appearance) is preserved in Plut. *Rom.* 28, where Aristas is seen on his way to Croton instead of Cyzicus. Origen c. *Cels.* 3. 26 believes that this account was recorded by Pindar as well as by Herodotus.

170 Hdt. 4. 15. This visit to Metapontum is also attested by Athen. 13. 605c (citing Theopompus *FGHHist* 115F248).

171 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 2.

172 Maximus Tyrius *Dissertationes* 10. 2. According to 38. 3c–f, Aristas invented the device of relating his soul's travels to convince men that he was wise in spite of his lack of education.

173 Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 7. 52. 174. Cf. also the *Suda*, "Ἀριστάς."

174 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 2 (translated by Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, p. 314).

175 Origen c. *Cels.* 3. 26. Origen explains (3. 29): "... the Metapontines thought that the obvious fact that Aristas was a man, and perhaps not a good one, was more important than the oracle which pronounced him to be a god, or worthy of divine honours," and "on this account they were not willing to obey Apollo, and thus no one thinks Aristas a god" (trans. by Henry Chad-

9. Hermotimus of Clazomenae

Hermotimus of Clazomenae, like Aristas, was able to send his soul on long journeys during which he would witness events in remote places.¹⁷⁶ The only pre-Christian evidence for this tradition relates that when his soul visited a new place he would predict various natural catastrophes.¹⁷⁷ These soul journeys came to an abrupt halt, however, when Hermotimus' enemies, aided by his wife, burned his body while his soul was abroad.¹⁷⁸ Apollonius the Paradoxographer and Tertullian say that Clazomenae honored Hermotimus with a temple after his death.¹⁷⁹ Hermotimus' superhuman status is also indicated in the tradition that regards him as a prior incarnation of the divine Pythagoras.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, Celsus can appeal to Hermotimus, like Abaris and Aristas, as a miracle worker whom men did not believe to be a god.¹⁸¹

10. Epimenides

Moving from Asia Minor to Crete, we encounter Epimenides, whose life provides the locus for several marvels. Especially distinctive was his nap in a Cretan cave that lasted for fifty-seven years.¹⁸² Undoubtedly related are the various opinions as to the longevity of his life (154, 157, or 299 years).¹⁸³ Epimenides was successful at prediction: when the Athenians were fearing a Persian assault, he assured them that it would not come for ten years.¹⁸⁴ Post-Christian texts provide two more examples: (1) Epimenides warned the Athenians of the woes that the Munichia would bring,¹⁸⁵ and (2) he told the Lacedaemonians about their future defeat by the Arcadians.¹⁸⁶ As early as Plato, Epimenides was credited with having

wick, ed., *Origen: Contra Celsum* [Cambridge: University Press, 1953]). In Hdt. 4. 15, Apollo only instructs the Metapontines to obey Aristas' command to build an altar for Apollo and to erect a statue in honor of Aristas; he does not say that Aristas is to be regarded as a god.

176 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 3; Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 7. 52. 174; Plut. *De gen.* 22 (592C–D) (Hermodorus); Lucian *Musc. Encon.* 7; Tert. *De Anim.* 44.

177 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 3.

178 See note 176.

179 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 3; Tert. *De Anim.* 44.

180 Heraclicus Pont., Frag. 89 (Weinli); Tert. *De Anim.* 28; Diog. Laert. 8. 5; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 45; *Suda*, "ἔβη."

181 Origen c. *Cels.* 3. 32.

182 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 1; Diog. Laert. 1. 109. Tert. *De Anim.* 44 knows that he slept for around fifty years.

183 Xenophanes, Frag. 20 (Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* [= *DK*], vol. 1 [Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1934]); Phlegon *FGHHist* 257F38; Diog. Laert. 1. 111.

184 Plat. *Leg.* 1. 642D–E.

185 Plut. *Sol.* 12; Diog. Laert. 1. 114.

186 Diog. Laert. 1. 115. Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 17. 10 (1418a), however, says that Epimenides divined not the future, but obscure things of the past.

produced some type of beneficial compound from certain herbs¹⁸⁷. Perhaps this is related to the tradition first attested by Demetrius of Magnesia (ca. 50 B.C.) that the Nymphs gave Epimenides a special food to be consumed in small doses which would be completely absorbed by his body. He was never, therefore, seen eating¹⁸⁸.

In addition to the above-mentioned marvels, there are others found only in post-Christian texts. Nicomachus, who believes that Epimenides, Abaris, and Empedocles were Pythagoras' disciples, says that the master taught them how to predict earthquakes, avert plagues, and subdue winds, hailstorms, and waters¹⁸⁹. Diogenes Laertius records Epimenides' claim that like Pythagoras "his soul had passed through many incarnations"¹⁹⁰. Iamblichus tells how he, upon the verge of being destroyed by enemies, invoked the Furies and avenging gods whereupon his enemies killed each other¹⁹¹. The *Suda* appears to assimilate Epimenides to Aristas or Hermotimus when it speaks of his ability to send his soul on migrations from his body¹⁹².

Epimenides distinguishes himself from all the *Wundermänner* surveyed thus far in that he is the first to have been described, in so many words, as a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ*¹⁹³. It may be confidently concluded, however, that Plato did not form this judgment on the basis of Epimenides' paradoxical acts. Plutarch says that because of his mystical and divine wisdom in religious affairs "the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures"¹⁹⁴. Finally, there is a passage in Diogenes Laertius which requires reproduction:

Some writers say that the Cretans sacrifice to him [Epimenides] as a god (ὡς θεῷ); for they say that he had superhuman foresight. For instance, when he saw Munichia, at Athens, he said the Athenians did not know how many evils that place would bring upon them; for, if they did, they would destroy it even if they had to do so with their teeth. And this he said so long before the event. It is also stated that he was the first to call himself Aeacus [son of Zeus and Aegina]; that he foretold to the Lacedaemonians their defeat by the Arcadians; and that he claimed that his soul had passed through many incarnations¹⁹⁵.

187 Plat. *Leg.* 3. 677D. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 7. 12. 1, where "Epimenides" is the name of a certain plant whose roots are edible.

188 In Diog. Laert. 1. 114. Also Plat. *Conv. sept. sap.* 14 (157D).

189 In Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 29 and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135.

190 Diog. Laert. 1. 114.

191 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 222.

192 *Suda*, "Εμμενίδης."

193 Plat. *Leg.* 1. 642D.

194 Plat. *Sol.* 12. The Curetes were the divine (Hes. *Frag.* 123 [Merkelbach and West] calls them *θεοί*) or semi-divine inhabitants of Crete who protected Zeus during his infancy. Epimenides as one of the Curetes is also attested by Myronianus (In Diog. Laert. 1. 115).

195 Diog. Laert. 1. 114.

This block of material is noteworthy not only because it records the opinion that the Cretans worship Epimenides as a god, but also because of the way it explicitly grounds this estimate in his "superhuman foresight" and possibly also in two self-claims which cast a numinous aura about his person. Whether Diogenes created or has simply transmitted this unit, it has the appearance of an aretalog in the sense of being a list of miracles and self-claims which substantiate the subject's divine nature. A similar but more developed unit with Pythagoras as its subject will be seen directly.

11. Pythagoras

The great but enigmatic Pythagoras, who flourished in the sixth century B.C.¹⁹⁶, is, in the context of this study, the most important divine miracle worker of the pre-Christian era. Because of the quantity and significance of the various traditions about him, it will be necessary to examine them chronologically rather than topically. This will demand careful effort to identify the various sources used by the two Neoplatonic biographers of Pythagoras: Porphyry and Iamblichus¹⁹⁷.

The earliest witnesses to Pythagoras' superhuman power and divine status come from the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Epimenides, claims Apollonius of Tyana, believed that Pythagoras was the son of Apollo and Parthenis, a mortal¹⁹⁸. The earliest reference to Pythagoras' supernatural knowledge is possibly found in the fragment of Xenophanes according to which an unnamed person [Pythagoras?] recognized the soul of a barking dog as that which had been previously incarnate in a human friend¹⁹⁹.

196 "Da die antiken Nachrichten über die Chronologie des Lebens des P. ausserordentlich widerspruchsvoll sind," the reader is directed to the discussion of Kurt von Fritz, "Pythagoras," in *PW*, 24:179-87.

197 The critical texts are found in Augustus Nauck, ed., *Porphyrius Opuscula selecta*, BSGRT (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1886), pp. 17-52, and Ludwig Deubner, ed., *Iamblich: De Vita Pythagorica Liber*, BSGRT (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1975). Unless otherwise stated, Eng. translations of Porphyry will be those of Morton Smith in Hadas and Smith, *Heroes and Gods*, pp. 107-28; unless indicated otherwise, translations of Iamblichus will be those of Thomas Taylor, ed., *Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras* (London: N.p., 1818).

198 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 7. According to the parallel passage in Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 2, this material was derived from an Apollonius who wrote *On Pythagoras*. Porphyry's text, however, does not mention Epimenides, Endoxus and Xenocrates as advocates of the Apolline paternity of Pythagoras, and therefore this element of the tradition may not have been mediated by Apollonius. Most, like W. Burkert, believe that "The identity of this Apollonius with the wonder-worker of Tyana . . . has probability on its side" since "Apollonius was a conscious and enthusiastic Pythagorean" (*Love and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, trans. E. Minar, Jr. [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972], p. 100, n. 10). But cf. Georges Meunier, *Recherches sur le pythagorisme*, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 9 (Neuchâtel: Fac. des Lettres, 1922), p. 91.

199 Xenophanes *DK* 21B7.

From the same general period comes the assertion of Empedocles, that "whenever he [Pythagoras?] reached out with all his thoughts, easily he saw each of the things that are, in ten and even twenty generations of men"²⁰⁰. This is commonly interpreted to mean that Pythagoras remembered the former incarnations of his soul²⁰¹.

That Pythagoras was Apollo's son and that he remembered his soul's prior incarnations are likewise confirmed by fourth-century authorities. Again, according to Apollonius of Tyana, Eudoxus and Xenocrates followed Epimenides' judgment that Apollo himself had impregnated Parthenis²⁰². On the matter of prior incarnations, Heraclides Ponticus yields more information: Pythagoras said he was once Aethalides, the son of Hermes, and that from the latter he received the ability to remember all of his experiences throughout his incarnations. After death his soul entered Euphorbus who, in turn, was killed by Menelaus in the Trojan war. Next, Pythagoras' soul animated Hermotimus, who authenticated his prior existence as Euphorbus by identifying the shield of Menelaus in Apollo's temple at Branchidae. When Hermotimus died, his soul entered Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos, whose soul finally embodied itself in Pythagoras²⁰³. A variation of this sequence is provided by Dicaearchus and Clearchus²⁰⁴.

The fourth-century witnesses, however, do more than confirm pre-existing tradition: they present a treasure trove of completely new items. Here the most important source is a fragment from Aristotle's lost treatise on Pythagoras²⁰⁵ which comprises a list of miracles, very succinctly narrated, pertaining to Pythagoras' life. The sources for reconstructing this fragment are Apollonius the Paradoxographer, Nicomachus, Aelian, Diogenes Laertius, and Iamblichus²⁰⁶. Though only Apollonius and Aelian actually cite Aristotle as their source, it is clear that the same *Urryp* underlies all the versions. These items are attested by at least two of the five versions:

200 M. R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 256 (Frag. 99) = DK 31B129.

201 For a list of adherents of this interpretation plus a dissenting opinion see Wright, *Empedocles*, pp. 257f.

202 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 7. See note 199 above.

203 Heraclid. Pont., Frag. 89 (Wehrli).

204 Dicaearchus, Frag. 36 (Wehrli); Clearchus, Frag. 10 (Wehrli).

205 W. D. Ross, ed., *Aristotelis: Fragmenta Selecta* (= Ross), SCBO (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 129-43.

206 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 6; Nicomachus (Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 27f. = Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 134f.); Ael. *Var. Hist.* 2, 26; 4, 17; Diog. Laert. 8, 11; and Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 140-43.

1. Pythagoras' disciples regarded him as the Hyperborean Apollo²⁰⁷.
2. Pythagoras predicted that a corpse would be found on a cargo-laden ship in the harbor of Metapontum²⁰⁸.
3. In Caulonia he successfully prophesied that a white bear would appear²⁰⁹.
4. At Tyrhenia he bit a poisonous snake and killed it²¹⁰.
5. Upon crossing a river (Cosa, Nessus, or Caucasus) a superhuman voice greeted him²¹¹.
6. On the same day and hour he was seen teaching in Croton and Metapontum²¹².
7. At Olympia he revealed that he had a golden thigh²¹³.
8. He reminded Myllias of Croton that he had once been Midas²¹⁴.
9. In Croton he stroked a white eagle²¹⁵.
10. Many other miraculous things are related concerning Pythagoras²¹⁶.

Apollonius, who claims to be quoting Aristotle, adds that Pythagoras predicted the subsequent divisions among the Pythagoreans and that he left Metapontum without being seen by anyone.

Of the ten items that are attested by at least two of the extant versions, only two are absent from Apollonius, the only pre-Christian version. That Pythagoras reminded Myllias that the latter had been Midas is mentioned by Aelian, who cites Aristotle's name, and Iamblichus. The first item, Pythagoras' identity as the Hyperborean Apollo, is supported by Aelian, Diogenes, and Iamblichus. The apparent literary independence of these three versions makes it probable that this item belonged to the original Aristotle passage. Moreover, since the three versions agree in placing it at the head of the list, and since this would be the logical position for it inasmuch as it does not recite a paradoxical event but reveals Pythagoras' true identity, it is reasonable to conclude that this was its original position.

207 Ael., Diog. Laert., and Iamb.

208 Apollonius Para., Nicomachus (only present in Porph., who omits reference to Metapontum), and Iamb.

209 Apollonius Para. (inferred from the mention of Caulonia followed by a gap in the text) and Iamb. Cf. Nicomachus (Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 23 = Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 60).

210 Apollonius Para. and Iamb. (Pythagoras only caught a poisonous snake).

211 Apollonius Para., Nicomachus, Ael., and Diog. Laert.

212 Apollonius Para., Nicomachus (Metapontum and Tauroemenum), and Ael. According to Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* 4, 10 the two places were Thurii and Metapontum.

213 Diog. Laert. (Olympia omitted), and Iamb.

214 Ael. and Iamb. Cf. Nicomachus (Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 26 = Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 63).

215 *Ibid.* Ael. omits Croton. Nicomachus' version of this event appears in a different context (Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 25 = Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 62).

216 Apollonius Para., Nicomachus, Ael., and Iamb.

It is not clear whether this lost Aristotelian book on Pythagoras was really Aristotle's production.²¹⁷ For our purposes it is only necessary to note that whether genuine or forged, it must be dated as early as Apollonius (2nd cent. B.C.), and if Apollonius derived his chapter on Pythagoras from Bolus, then the *terminus ad quem* is pushed back into the third century.²¹⁸

Whether Aristotelian or not, this reconstructed fragment is quite significant in the way it appears to ground Pythagoras' divinity in a series of paradoxical events, the majority of which are miracles which he performed. The traditions hitherto surveyed, with one or two exceptions, fail to explicate the relationship between miracles and superhuman rank; they stand side by side, but unconnected. In a sense, of course, this is true of the Aristotle list. Yet as one examines the list it is difficult to avoid the feeling that Pythagoras' identity as Apollo is very closely related to the miraculous events which follow. This relationship can be expressed in two ways depending on whether one proceeds from the Apolline identity or the miraculous events: one could say that since Pythagoras was Apollo, such miraculous occurrences should be expected, or conversely, that the miracles demonstrate Pythagoras' divine nature. Either way there is the general assumption that the miraculous is particularly characteristic of divinity.

In addition to the Aristotelian fragment just examined, Iamblichus quotes Aristotle as having preserved a Pythagorean dictum concerning the master's nature: "... among rational beings there is that which is god, that which is man, and that which is like Pythagoras."²¹⁹ Although this evaluation would appear to conflict with Pythagoras' Apolline identity, a harmonization is not impossible: "... the third kind of being could be gods in human form."²²⁰

Three successful predictions omitted by the Aristotle list were, according to Porphyry²²¹, recorded by the fourth-century author Andron of Ephesus: (1) in Metapontum Pythagoras took a drink from a well and predicted an earthquake on the third day, (2) in Megara Hyblaea he prophesied that a ship sailing with a favorable wind would sink and it occurred immediately, and (3) he predicted the conquest of Sybaris.

217 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 29, n. 5, lists advocates of both views.

218 *Ibid.*, p. 29, n. 5 and p. 141, n. 115.

219 Arist. *De Pythagoreis*, Frag. 2 (Ross) = Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 31 (translated by Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 144).

220 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 144.

221 Porph. (in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 10. 3. 6). The first two of these miracles are ascribed to Pythagoras by Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 136. However, Theopompus (*FGHHist* 115F70), according to Porph., falsely attributed these three wonders to Pherecydes. As Pherecydes' miracles they are recited in Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 5 and Diog. Laert. 1. 116.

The final element of the Pythagoras legend that is attested as early as the fourth century is the story, attributed to Timaeus, that the citizens of Croton, after Pythagoras' death, converted his house into a temple of Demeter and renamed his street "Museum Street."²²²

Third-century witnesses, like those of the fourth, repeat pre-existing traditions and yet also provide new material. Bolus apparently incorporated the Aristotelian list of miracles into his discussion of Pythagoras²²³ and Callimachus knows that Pythagoras' soul was earlier incarnated in Euphorbus²²⁴ — an abbreviated and eventually dominant version of the series of incarnations found in Heraclides Ponticus. The new element is furnished by Hieronymus of Rhodes and Hermippus: Pythagoras experienced a *katabasis* to Hades²²⁵. Hermippus' account contains two points worth mentioning: (1) after Pythagoras returned from Hades the Italians believed that he was *Θείον πύρα*, and (2) this judgment is based on his supernatural journey to and from Hades and especially on his supernatural knowledge of what had transpired among the Italians during his absence. In this case the direction of thought is clear: supernatural events and knowledge lead to an ascription of divinity.

From the beginning of the second century B.C. until around the middle of the first century A.D., nothing new is added to the superhuman portrait of Pythagoras, and in fact very little of what has already surfaced is repeated. From the second century comes Apollonius' *Historia Mirabilium* in which, through Bolus, Aristotle's list of miracles is incorporated²²⁶, and from the first century B.C. are references to the Pythagoras-Euphorbus equation by Diodorus Siculus and Horace²²⁷.

In contrast to this paucity, the hundred years between 50 and 150 A.D. compares favorably with the fourth century B.C. in the amount of old and new information that its authorities produce. The two most important authors for this period are two Neopythagoreans, Apollonius of Tyana (died in Nerva's reign²²⁸) and Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. 50–150)²²⁹. Source

222 Timaeus *FGHHist* 566F131.

223 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 6; cf. the lemma that prefaces chapter one.

224 Callim., Frag. 191, line 59 (Rudolf Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus*, vol. 1: *Fragmenta* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949]). Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 140, follows Rohde in concluding that the abbreviated version is actually the original one. On the basis of Hom. *Il.* 16. 849f., K. Kerényi, *Pythagoras and Orpheus* (Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1950²), p. 19, suggested that Euphorbus was a cipher for Apollo.

225 Hieronymus of Rhodes, Frag. 42 (Wehrli), and Hermippus, Frag. 20 (Wehrli).

226 Apollonius Para. *Mir.* 6.

227 Diog. Sic. 10. 6. 1; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 28. 10f.

228 Suda, "Ἀπολλώνιος Τυανεύς."

229 Apuleius (born c. A.D. 123) produced a Latin trans. of Nicomachus' *Introductionis Arithmeticae* (Cassiodorus *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum* 586 [1. -p. Magne, *Patrologiae*, Series Latina, vol. 70, p. 12081). J. M. Dillon, "A Date for the Death of Nicomachus of Gerasa,"

analysis of the biographies of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus has revealed portions of these earlier (and no longer extant) Neopythagorean treatments of Pythagoras²³⁰.

Apollonius, who probably wrote earlier than Nicomachus, cites Epimenides, Eudoxus, and Xenocrates for the belief that Pythagoras' mother was impregnated by Apollo²³¹. At this point he quotes an anonymous Samian poet: "Pythagoras, the friend of Zeus, whom Pythais, most beautiful of the Samians, bore to Apollo"²³². But if what follows in Iamblichus²³³ is also attributed to Apollonius, then he categorically denies this notion²³⁴. He does, however, affirm that "the soul of Pythagoras was sent to mankind from the empire of Apollo, either being an attendant on the God, or co-arranged with him in some other more familiar way: for this may be inferred both from his birth and the all-various wisdom of his soul"²³⁵. In this statement Pythagoras' divinity is authenticated on the basis of his wisdom (probably not to be sharply contrasted with the miraculous, the mystical, the irrational) and on the basis of the wondrous event prior to his birth: at Delphi Apollo informed Pythagoras' father, Mnesarchus, that he would have a son who would be of the greatest advantage to the human race in every thing pertaining to the life of man"²³⁶. Mnesarchus, who came to Delphi to inquire only concerning his impending voyage to Syria, knew that Apollo would not have given him unrequested information concerning a future child *ei μὴ ἐξαίρετον ποσέπρημα ἔμελλε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ θεοὺς ὥρη-τον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρεσθαι*²³⁷.

Classical Review, N. S., 19 (1969): 274f., argues that Nicomachus may have died in A.D. 196 since (1) Proclus, who was born A.D. 412, believed himself to be a reincarnation of Nicomachus, and since (2) Pythagoreans believed that Pythagoras' incarnations occurred at intervals of 216 years.

230 Cf. Erwin Rohde, "Die Quellen des Iamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras," *Rheinisches Museum* 26 (1871): 554–76, and 27 (1872): 23–61 (later published in his *Kleine Schriften* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901], 2:102–72); Isidore Levy, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1926), and Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 97–109. J. A. Philip, "The Biographical Tradition – Pythagoras," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 90 (1959): 185–94, explains most of the material common to Porphyry and Iamblichus as the result of the latter having used the former.

But cf. Burkert's critique (*Lore and Science*, p. 98, n. 5).
231 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 7. That this tradition is embedded in material derived from Apollonius is proved by Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 2. As noted earlier, however, Porphyry does not specifically mention Xenocrates, Eudoxus, and Epimenides, but only says that "some declare Pythagoras was by procreation the child of Apollo."

232 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 2; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 5.

233 Absent from Porph.

234 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 7.

235 *Ibid.*, 8.

236 *Ibid.*, 5.

237 *Ibid.*, 6. The point is that Apollo would not have given unrequested information about a future child if the child had not been destined to be extraordinary. Therefore, Taylor's translation is

The birth story does not exhaust Apollonius' knowledge of Pythagoras' superhuman power and status. If Apollonius composed the material comprising Iamblichus 215–22²³⁸, then he relates how Pythagoras, defending himself before the tyrant Phalaris, knew that he was not destined to be executed by him²³⁹. On the contrary, Pythagoras liberated Sicily by effecting, in a somewhat supernatural way, Phalaris' death²⁴⁰. Elsewhere Apollonius twice refers to Pythagoras' divine dignity: (1) the young Pythagoras was regarded as a god by the multitudes in Samos, and (2) the Pythagoreans refused to call Pythagoras by name, but while living they called him *θεῖον*, and after he died *ἐκείνου τὸν ἀδελφά*²⁴¹.

Outside of the fragments of Apollonius' book on Pythagoras to be gleaned from Porphyry and Iamblichus, there is one further Apollonian reference to Pythagoras' divinity to be found in the so-called Letters of Apollonius²⁴². In the fiftieth epistle, whose authenticity like that of all the letters is highly questionable, Apollonius places Pythagoras *ἐν γέρει δαμνῶν*.

The sections in Porphyry and Iamblichus which were derived from Nicomachus²⁴³ greatly surpass the Apollonian fragments in their presentation of Pythagorean miracles absent from earlier sources²⁴⁴. Moreover, if Porphyry 23–31 was lifted directly from Nicomachus with little alteration²⁴⁵, then he recited these materials back-to-back, thus creating (or maintaining) an impressive list. The first four of these miracles, in which animals play a key role, are more developed than the miracles in the Aristotle list and consequently bear more resemblance to the Markan miracle stories in length and form, if not content. The less verbose version appears in Porphyry²⁴⁶:

inadequate: "But, when Mnesarchus considered with himself, that the God, without being interrogated concerning his son, had informed him by an oracle, that he would possess an illustrious prerogative, and a gift truly divine, he immediately . . ."

238 Cf. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, 2:164–66; Levy, *Recherches*, pp. 109f., follows Rohde with the exception of chapter 222.

239 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 217.

240 *Ibid.*, 220–22.

241 *Ibid.*, 11, 255. Iamb. names Apollonius as his source in chapter 254 and it is generally agreed that the Apollonian material extends through chapter 264.

242 Text and commentary by Robert J. Penella, *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana*, Mnemosyne Supplements, 56 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979).

243 Cf. Burkert's list (*Lore and Science*, p. 98, n. 6) of Nicomachean fragments in Porph. and Iamb.

244 Despite the number of miracles which Nicomachus records, Burkert (*Lore and Science*, p. 146) thinks he detects a tendency to tone down or ignore the paradoxical "so that what remains is, essentially, clairvoyance and the doctrine of the kinship of all living beings, and the exhortation to *ἡμετέρας*."

245 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 99.

246 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 23–25; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 60–62, 36.

Moreover, if the ancient and reputable authors who wrote accounts of his life are to be credited, his admonitions extended even to irrational animals. For catching the Dauntian bear, that is said to have wounded many of those who lived in its country, he stroked it for a long time and fed it with barley cake and accorns, and having sworn it never again to touch living creatures, let it go. Thereupon it went off into the mountains and thickets, and was never again seen attacking any animal at all. Again, when he saw an ox in Tarentum eating green beans in a pasture that contained many sorts of food, he went up to the oxherd and advised him to tell the ox to abstain from beans. The oxherd answered him with ridicule and said that, himself, he didn't speak ox language. So Pythagoras went near and whispered in the ear of the ox. It not only left the bean-field at that moment but never again touched beans. It lived to an extreme old age in Tarentum, staying near the temple of Hera, and was called the sacred ox and ate such food as the passers-by offered it. Yet again, at Olympia, when he chanced to speak to his acquaintances concerning auguries from flights of birds and omens and signs from the sky, saying that these too are messages of a sort from the gods to those among men who are truly dear to them, it is reported that he drew to earth an eagle that was flying over, stroked it, and again, let it go.

Once he came upon fishermen drawing in their nets from the deep with a great catch, and he foretold to them how many fish they were pulling, specifying the number. When the men undertook to do whatever he might order, should this number turn out to be correct, he commanded them to let the fish go again, alive, after they had counted them accurately. What was yet more marvelous, although the fish stayed out of the water for all the long time it took to count them, none of them died while he was present.

The story of Pythagoras summoning and stroking the eagle, of course, is a variant to the similar miracle in the Aristotle list. The other three, however, are new²⁴⁷.

Following these four miracles Nicomachus presents a series of miracles which are attested much earlier. Fourth-century sources know that Pythagoras "called back to the memories of many whom he met the former lives their souls had lived" and "by indisputable signs . . . proved himself to have been Euphorbus."²⁴⁸ Next, Nicomachus inserts his version of the Aristotle list, which includes four of the ten items attested in at least two versions.²⁴⁹ To these four items, however, he adds one which partially rests on the old tradition that in Olympia Pythagoras revealed his golden thigh. Pythagoras showed his golden thigh to Abaris, priest of the Hyperborean Apollo, in order to confirm the priest's supposition that Pythagoras himself was the Hyperborean Apollo. This is one of two, possibly three, places where Nicomachus closely correlates supernatural phenomena with divine nature²⁵⁰.

Nicomachus concludes his recitation of Pythagoras' miraculous powers with two motifs that hitherto have not surfaced. First, he describes Pythagoras' powers over the elements of nature, which confirm that "about

247 There are, however, earlier, non-miraculous versions of the fish story: Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.

8, 3 (729D); idem *De Capienda ex Inimicis Utilitate* 9 (91C); and Apul. *Apol.* 31.

248 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 26; Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 63, 134.

249 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 27f.; Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 134f.

250 Of course, for the Pythagoreans who believed their master was Apollo, his golden thigh may have signified more than a mere marvelous fact (cf. Burkert, *Love and Science*, pp. 159f.).

no one else have greater and more extraordinary things been believed!"²⁵¹ He averted earthquakes and "drove off plagues and checked violent winds and hailstorms and calmed the waters of rivers and seas, so that his companions could easily cross them." Some believed that Pythagoras was able to teach in Metapontum and Tauromenium on the same day for the same reason that Abaris was able to cross rivers and seas and other forbidding places: by somehow walking on air (perhaps through the aid of Apollo's arrow).

The second motif unfolds itself as Nicomachus reveals how Pythagoras was able to hear the cosmic music and thereby was able to heal both physical and organic illnesses by means of music and incantations.²⁵² Moreover, it is clear that Nicomachus grounded Pythagoras' ability to hear the cosmic music in his superhuman nature. We do not hear this harmony because of the inferiority of our nature (*σικυρότητα τῆς φύσεως*)²⁵³. Pythagoras, however,

... employing a certain ineffable divinity (*θεϊότητα*) . . . extended his ears, and fixed his intellect in the sublime symphonies of the world . . . For he conceived that by him alone, of all the inhabitants of the earth, the mundane sounds were understood and heard, and this from a natural fountain itself and root. He therefore thought himself worthy to be taught, and to learn something about the celestial orbs, and to be assimilated to them by desire and imitation, as being the only one on the earth adapted to this, by the conformation of his body, through the daemonic power (*δαμονίον*) that inspired him.²⁵⁴

In addition to the ascriptions of divinity to Pythagoras within his miracle cycle, Nicomachus included a similar testimony in a preceding paragraph: the Italian disciples of Pythagoras "both communicated their possessions and counted Pythagoras among the gods."²⁵⁵ This assertion, standing so near the beginning of his list of miracles (assuming Porphyry has left Nicomachus intact), may reflect his or others' opinion that the miracles confirm this judgment. If so, this equating of Pythagoras with the gods might function like the first item of the Aristotle fragment.

Plutarch, Antonius Diogenes, and Favorinus, writing in the same general period as Nicomachus, offer nothing new. Two of the elements (and perhaps more) of the Aristotle list — that Pythagoras brought down and tamed an eagle and that he showed his golden thigh in Olympia — are known to Plutarch²⁵⁶. Diogenes, like Nicomachus, carried an account of Pythagoras' use of music and charms to cure illnesses.²⁵⁷ Favorinus knew a

251 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 28f.; Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135f.

252 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 30f.; Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 64–67.

253 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 30.

254 Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 65f.

255 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 20; Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 30.

256 Plut. *Num.* 8.

257 Antonius Diogenes (in Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 32f. and Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 110f.).

variant of the tradition, attested by Timaeus, that Pythagoras' house was converted into a shrine for Demeter.²⁵⁸

Echoes of earlier traditions are also scattered about in the writings of the second-century skeptic Lucian. That Pythagoras had a golden thigh, that he was previously Euphorbus, and that he descended to and returned from Hades are all known to him.²⁵⁹ Lucian also knows that Pythagoras' divinity was authenticated by the miraculous. For example, in his *Vitarum Auctio* Lucian puts the following words into the mouth of one who contemplates buying a Pythagorean philosopher: "Come, strip, for I want to see you unclothed. Heracles! His thigh is of gold! He seems to be a god (*θεός*) and not a mortal (*βροτός*) . . ."²⁶⁰ In the *Dialogi Mortuorum* Menippus greets Pythagoras thus: "Good day to you, Euphorbus or Apollo, or whatever name you prefer." Then, after being wished a bad day by Pythagoras, Menippus asks: "Don't you still have your thigh of gold?"²⁶¹ Finally, in *Gallus* Lucian makes Pythagoras say: "I even went to Egypt to study with the prophets, penetrated into their sanctuaries and learned the books of Horus and Isis by heart, and then I sailed away to Italy and worked upon the Greeks in that quarter of the world to such an extent that they thought me a god" (*θεός*).²⁶²

There is a passage in *Gallus* where the relationship between Pythagoras and Apollo is not formulated in terms of identity. Here the cock, animated by Pythagoras' soul, says: "How my soul originally left Apollo, flew down to earth and entered a human body and what sin it was condemned to expiate in that way would make a long story!"²⁶³ This conception of Pythagoras' relationship to Apollo apart from the reference to sin and expiation is similar to that (possibly) offered by Apollonius of Tyana.²⁶⁴

Several authors from between the final years of the second century through the initial years of the fourth transmit various elements of the Pythagoras legend, but with the exception of Iamblichus, little new material emerges. In his *Vita Apollonii* Philostratus attributes to Pythagoras the claim that he had sure knowledge concerning the divinity (*τὸ θεῖον*) since "Apollo had come to him acknowledging that he was the god in person; and that Athene and the Muses and other gods . . . had also con-

sorted with him though without making such acknowledgment."²⁶⁵ No wonder, then, that Pythagoras' disciples "honoured him as an emissary from Zeus (*ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἡκούρα*)"²⁶⁶. As regards miracles, Philostratus knows that Pythagoras was in two places at the same time.²⁶⁷

We have already noted that one of the five versions of the Aristotle list was transmitted by Aelian. His version, which includes six of the ten elements listed above, is actually derived from two separate passages.²⁶⁸ The first list of three miracles is introduced with the statement that the Crotonians regarded Pythagoras as the Hyperborean Apollo. The second list of five miracles (three of which overlap the first list) is preceded by a similar affirmation: *Ἐδίδακε Ἰπθαγόρου τοῦ ἀθωπώου ὅτι κροτωνῶν γερῶνται σπερμάτων ἢ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν θνητὴν*. The way in which the following miracles are linked to this statement by the word *γάρ* distinguishes this text as one of the clearest examples of the notion that supernatural deeds prove supernatural origin and nature.

As one would expect, a good deal of information about Pythagoras can be found in Diogenes Laertius; in fact several older texts are known through his citations: Xenophanes on Pythagoras' recognition of a human soul in a dog, Heraclides Ponticus on the previous incarnations of Pythagoras' soul, Hieronymus and Hermippus on his *katábasis*, and Favorinus on the conversion of his house into a shrine for Demeter.²⁶⁹ He also, of course, records a brief version of the Aristotle list.²⁷⁰ However, he is not devoid of new information. Besides adducing Hieronymus and Hermippus as witnesses to a *katábasis* tradition, Diogenes quotes a work in which Pythagoras is supposed to have said that "after two hundred and seven years in Hades he . . . returned to the land of the living."²⁷¹ Diogenes also discloses that Pythagoras "used to practise divination by sounds or voices and by auguries, never by burnt-offerings, beyond frankincense."²⁷²

To the declarations of Pythagoras' divinity found in Diogenes' quotations from earlier authors, he adds nothing save his testimony that Pythagoras was admitted to such an extent that "his disciples used to be called 'prophets to declare the voice of God'."²⁷³

Every element pertaining to Pythagoras' miracles and divine status which appears in the biography by Porphyry has already been encountered.

258 Favorinus, Frag. 73 (Adelmo Barigazzi, ed., *Favorino di Arelate Opere* [Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1966]). The authority for this fragment is Diog. Laert. 8. 15, but also see Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 170, where the same tradition is quoted without reference to Favorinus.

259 Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 20. 3; idem *Vit. Auct.* 6; idem *Gall.* 4. 15–18.

260 Lucian *Vit. Auct.* 6.

261 Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 20. 3.

262 Lucian *Gall.* 18.

263 *Ibid.*, 16.

264 Cf. p. 42.

265 Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* 1. 1.

266 *Ibid.*

267 *Ibid.*, 4. 10 (Thurii and Metapontum).

268 Ael. *Var. Hist.* 2. 26; 4. 17.

269 Diog. Laert. 8. 36; 8. 4 (cf. 8. 45); 8. 21; 8. 41; 8. 15.

270 *Ibid.*, 8. 11.

271 *Ibid.*, 8. 14.

272 *Ibid.*, 8. 20.

273 *Ibid.*, 8. 14.

He knows a five-series list of Pythagoras' incarnations very much like that given by Heraclides Ponticus²⁷⁴. To Timaeus he attributes the tradition that Pythagoras' house became a temple for Demeter²⁷⁵. That Pythagoras was believed by some (e.g., a Samian poet) to have been the son of Apollo is derived from Apollonius of Tyana²⁷⁶. His largest debt, however, is to Nicomachus, from whom he borrowed all the Nicomachean traditions delineated above. Although Nicomachus knew that Pythagoras was able to heal through music and incantations, Porphyry also referred to a similar tradition known to Antonius Diogenes²⁷⁷. Finally, though nothing is said about it in the *Vita Pythagorae*, Porphyry knew, according to Eusebius, the miracles of prophecy that were credited to Pythagoras-by Andron of Ephesus²⁷⁸.

Iamblichus, the other Neoplatonic biographer of Pythagoras, knew the traditions attested by Aristotle, Apollonius of Tyana, Nicomachus, Antonius Diogenes, and Favorinus. However, in the case of the Nicomachean version of the Aristotle list, Iamblichus has produced an interesting modification (assuming that Porphyry's version is more original). From a bare list of miracles Iamblichus has created an explicit aretalogy: He places Pythagoras' miracles under the rubric τὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργα αὐτοῦ²⁷⁹; they are all indications of his εὐσέβεια²⁸⁰. If ἀρετή, in analogy with the aretalogies of Isis and Sarapis²⁸¹, is to be understood as the supernatural power wielded by a god, then we may conclude that Iamblichus has here forged a direct link between miracles and divinity.

Besides the Nicomachean version of the Aristotle list, Iamblichus incorporates a version of his own, in which four new items appear: (1) Pythagoras entertained a Hyperborean, Abaris, as his guest and received from him the golden arrow on which he flew, (2) in Sybaris he caught and dismissed a poisonous snake, (3) he predicted the death of the white bear of Caulonia "to one who was about to tell him that it was dead," and (4) "the person who bought his house, and who dug up that which had been buried in it, did not dare to tell anyone what he saw"²⁸². As in the case of the Nicomachean version, Iamblichus closely correlates Pythagoras' mira-

cles and divinity: immediately following this list Iamblichus says that the Pythagoreans relate these things

... in order to render their opinions worthy of belief. And as these are acknowledged to be true, and it is impossible they should have happened to one man, they consequently think it is clear, that what is related of Pythagoras, should be received as pertaining to a being superior to man, and not to a mere man. This also is the meaning of their enigmatical assertion, that *man, bird, and another third thing, are bipeḗs*. For the third thing is Pythagoras²⁸³.

A similar correlation is apparent in Iamblichus' account of Pythagoras' voyage from Syria to Egypt. Certain Egyptian sailors agreed to take Pythagoras from Mount Carmel to Egypt, secretly planning to sell him at a large profit.

But when, during the voyage, they perceived with what continence and venerable gravity he conducted himself, . . . they were more benevolently disposed toward him. Observing, likewise, that there was something greater than what pertains to human nature in the modesty of the youth, they called to mind how unexpectedly he had appeared to them on their landing, when from the summit of mount Carmelus, which they knew was more sacred than other mountains, and inaccessible to the vulgar, he leisurely descended without looking back, or suffering any delay from precipices or opposing stones; and that when he came to the boat, he said nothing more than, "Are you bound to Egypt?" And farther, that on their answering in the affirmative, he ascended the ship and sat [sic] silent in the whole time of the voyage . . . But Pythagoras remained in one and the same unmoved state for two nights and three days, neither partaking of food, nor drink, nor sleep . . . To which we may add, that when the sailors considered how, contrary to their expectations, their voyage had been continued and uninterrupted, as if some deity had been present (ὡς δὲ τινος παρουσία, θεοῦ); putting all these things together, they concluded that a divine daemon (δελήνοια θεῖον) had in reality passed over with them from Syria into Egypt . . . Here the sailors reverently assisted him in descending from the ship; and after they had placed him on the purest sand, they raised a certain temporary altar before him, and heaping on it from their present abundance the fruit of trees, and presenting him as it were with the first fruits of their freight, they departed from thence . . .²⁸⁴

Here virtue, miracle, and numinous behavior are intertwined and made the basis for the conclusion that Pythagoras is really a daemon.

In connection with Pythagoras' use of music to heal somatic and psychic illnesses, Iamblichus furnishes a concrete example:

Among the deeds of Pythagoras . . . it is said, that once through the spondaic song of a piper, he extinguished the rage of a Tauromenian lad, who had been feasting by night, and intended to burn the vestibule of his mistress, in consequence of seeing her coming from the house of his rival. For the lad was inflamed and excited by a Phrygian song; which however Pythagoras most rapidly suppressed. But Pythagoras, as he was astronomizing, happened to meet with the Phrygian piper at an unseasonable time of night, and persuaded him to change his Phrygian for a spondaic song; through which the fury of the lad being immediately repressed, he returned home in an orderly manner, though a little before this, he could not be in the least restrained, nor would in short, bear any admonition; and even stupidly insulted Pythagoras when he met him . . .²⁸⁵

274 Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 45.

275 *Ibid.*, 4.

276 *Ibid.*, 2.

277 *Ibid.*, 32f.

278 Porph. (in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 10. 3. 6).

279 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 134.

280 *Ibid.*, 137.

281 See the collection of aretalogies in V. Longo, ed., *Aretalogie nel mondo greco*, vol. I, Epigrafi e papiri (Genova: Istituto di filologia classica e medioevale, 1969).

282 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 140-43.

283 *Ibid.*, 143f.

284 *Ibid.*, 14-17.

285 *Ibid.*, 112.

This tale, which illustrates the divine wisdom and persuasive powers of Pythagoras, resembles several of the evangelical miracle stories in general form and certain specific motifs (e.g., immediacy of the cure).

Lamblichus records no more new miracle stories, but he does reveal that Pythagoras practiced divination by using numbers.²⁸⁶

The divine status of Pythagoras is expressed in a multitude of (sometimes conflicting) ways. This is true even if one ignores the expressions of divinity which appear in the identifiable sources of Lamblichus — Aristotle, Apollonius of Tyana, Nicomachus, and Antonius Diogenes. Pythagoras' identity with Apollo is known in passages not derived from Aristotle or Nicomachus: "... by certain persons he was thought to be Apollo," and the precepts of Pythagoras were "like certain oracles delivered by the Pythian Apollo."²⁸⁷ Elsewhere, Abarris knew that Pythagoras was not a magician, but rather "admitted him as if he had been a God" (ἐθαύμαζεν ὡς ἄν θεόν)²⁸⁸. Sometimes we encounter Pythagoras the δαίμων. Above it was observed that the sailors who carried Pythagoras to Egypt concluded that he was a δαίμονα θεῖον; earlier Lamblichus recorded how the young Pythagoras "dwelt at Samos like a beneficent daemon" (δαίμων τις ἀγαθός)²⁸⁹. On the other hand, Lamblichus includes the statement that the young Pythagoras' behavior was so commendable that "it was reasonably asserted by many, that he was a son of God" (θεοῦ παῖδα)²⁹⁰.

Besides classifications like θεός (Apollo), δαίμων, and παῖς θεοῦ, Lamblichus employs a variety of other means to depict Pythagoras as a man who, as a higher type of being, stands above the mass of humanity. Thus we find the Pythagorean tenet: "... man, bird, and another third thing, are bipeds"²⁹¹. As seen above, Lamblichus identifies this "third thing" as Pythagoras, who is "a being superior to man, and not... a mere man." In contrast to Porphyry, and indeed all earlier discussions of Pythagoras, the latter appears relatively often as the "divine" or "most divine" Pythagoras²⁹². Similarly, he is described as a δαμόνιος ἀνὴρ²⁹³, as ἐνθεός²⁹⁴, as θεοπρεπέντατος²⁹⁵, and as possessing a φύσις ἐν θεοειδίαι²⁹⁶.

The unity of opinion that Pythagoras was "superior to man" and the disagreement as to the precise nature of that superiority are clearly expressed in a passage (possibly Nicomachean²⁹⁷) depicting how Pythagoras' original adherents in Croton reacted to his person:

Such also was their reverence for Pythagoras, that they numbered him with the Gods (θεῶν), as a certain beneficent and most philanthropic daemon (δαίμων). And some indeed celebrated him as the Pythian, but others as the Hyperborean Apollo. Some again considered him as Paëon, but others as one of the daemons that inhabit the moon; and others as one of the Olympian Gods, who, in order to benefit and correct the mortal life, appeared to the men of those times in human form (ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μορφῇ φανήναι τοῖς ῥέτε), in order that he might extend to them the salutary light of felicity and philosophy.²⁹⁸

12. Empedocles

According to Alcidas and Timaeus²⁹⁹, Pythagoras was the teacher of that great pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles. The case of Empedocles is unusual in that he himself has provided us with testimony regarding his miraculous works and his divine status. In the last fragment of his *Physics* he promises:

You will learn remedies for ills and help against old age, since for you alone shall I accomplish all these things. You will check the force of tireless winds . . . ; and again . . . you will restore compensating breezes. After black rain you will bring dry weather . . . and too after summer dryness you will bring tree-nourishing showers . . . and you will lead from Hades the life-force of a dead man³⁰⁰.

More remarkable is the first fragment of his *Katharmoi*, in which he appears to claim that he has become a god:

I tell you I travel up and down as an immortal god, mortal no longer, honored by all as it seems, crowned with ribbons and fresh garlands. Whenever I enter prospering towns I am revered by both men and women. They follow me in countless numbers, to ask where their advantage lies, some seeking prophecies, others, long pierced by harsh pains, ask to hear the word of healing for all kinds of illnesses³⁰¹.

Even if Empedocles is claiming neither miraculous powers³⁰² nor deity³⁰³, at least not in the usual sense, these fragments would easily come to

²⁹⁷ Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 20 only says that the Pythagoreans "counted Pythagoras among the gods."
²⁹⁸ Lamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 30.

²⁹⁹ Alcidas (in Diog. Laert. 8, 56); Timaeus *FGHIST* 566F14 = Diog. Laert. 8, 54. This, however, is discounted by Wright, *Empedocles*, p. 5, who in pp. 3–6 gives the ancient testimony on Empedocles' chronology and concludes that a life span of about 494–434 B.C. is probable.

³⁰⁰ Emped., Frag. 101 (Wright [whose trans. is used]) = Diog. Laert. 8, 59.

³⁰¹ Ibid., Frag. 102 (Wright) = DK 31B112 = Diog. Laert. 8, 62 (cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6, 3, 30). Cf. the notes, translation, and paraphrase of Günther Zuntz, *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 189–93, 251–53.

³⁰² Wright, *Empedocles*, p. 262: "The main point is that E. expects that an understanding of the nature of earth, fire, and water alone and in combinations will bring with it the ability to manipulate them. This may well have been thought to extend to medicine, where a knowledge of respiration could lead to the restoration of the breathing mechanism."

³⁰³ Cf. Wright, *Empedocles*, pp. 60f. N. van der Ben, *The Poem of Empedocles' Peri Physios* (Am-

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 93, 147.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 133 (cf. 177), 213 (cf. 34).

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 216.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 10.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 144. Cf. the similar dictum in chap. 31.

²⁹² Ibid., 1, 12, 53, 162.

²⁹³ Ibid., 76.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 216.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 9.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 10.

be so interpreted. According to Satyrus, Gorgias of Leontini maintained that Empedocles had claimed the ability to γογγεῖν, and that he himself had witnessed various feats.³⁰⁴ Timaeus recorded a miracle which illustrates the powers of Empedocles as expressed in the fragment from *Physics*:

When the etesian winds once began to blow violently and to damage the crops, he ordered asses to be flayed and bags to be made of their skin. These he stretched out here and there on the hills and headlands to catch the wind and, because this checked the wind, he was called the "wind-stayer."³⁰⁵

Heraclides Ponticus illustrated Empedocles' claim to healing power with a story about a woman in a trance whose body "he kept . . . without pulsation though she never breathed"³⁰⁶. Because of this, said Heraclides, "Empedocles became famous because he had sent away the dead woman alive."³⁰⁷ Hermippus identified this woman as "Panthea, a woman of Agrigentum, who had been given up by the physicians."³⁰⁸ Finally, Empedocles, like Pythagoras, was reputed to have subdued violent passions by music:

When a certain youth also rushed with a drawn sword on Anctius, the host of Empedocles, because, being a judge, he had publicly condemned his father to death, and would have slain him as a homicide, Empedocles changed the intention of the youth, by singing to his lyre that verse of Homer,

Nepenthe, without gall, o'er every ill
Oblivion spreads;—

and thus snatched his host Anctius from death, and the youth from the crime of homicide. It is also related that the youth from that time became the most celebrated of the disciples of Pythagoras.³⁰⁹

That Empedocles thought that he had become a god is the basis for the tradition that he ended his life by jumping into the fiery crater of Mt. Aetna.³¹⁰ Hippobotus and Diodorus of Ephesus say that he was motivated

sterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1975), pp. 22–25, argues that Empedocles was not actually claiming to be a god. Zuntz, *Persephone*, pp. 251–74, maintained that Empedocles' claim is to be understood against the belief, closely related to the Pythagorean transmigration of souls, that each earthly person is a fallen god, "a divine potency stripped, for an aeon, of his divine identity" (p. 271), whose task and hope is recovery of the original divine state through proper worship (which includes abstention from blood sacrifices).

304 Satyrus, Frag. 12 (FHG. 3) = Diog. Laert. 8. 59.

305 Timaeus *FGH Hist* 566F30 = Diog. Laert. 8. 60. Other versions appear in Plut. *Curios.* 1 (515C); idem *Col.* 32 (1126B) (in both passages the deed is rationalized); Clem. *Al. Strom.* 6. 3. 30; Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* 8. 7. 8; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 29; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 135f.; *Suda*, "Εμπεδοκλήτης."

306 Heraclides Pont., Frag. 77 (Wehrli) = Diog. Laert. 8. 60–62. Because of this feat "Heraclides

called him not merely a physician but a diviner (*μάντις*) as well" (Diog. Laert. 8. 61).

307 Ibid., Frag. 83 (Wehrli) = Diog. Laert. 8. 67.

308 Hermippus, Frag. 27 (Wehrli) = Diog. Laert. 8. 69.

309 Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 113.

310 Heraclides experienced apotheosis when he burned himself on a pyre at Mt. Aetna (Eur. *Heracl.* 910–16; Diog. Sic. 4. 38. 4f. [skeptical]; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 7. 7).

by the desire to confirm reports that he had become a god³¹¹. According to Diodorus, Empedocles once eradicated a pestilence in Selinus by diverting, at his own expense, the courses of two rivers so that they merged with the putrid river near Selinus. After

... the pestilence had been stayed and the Selinuntines were feasting on the river bank, Empedocles appeared (*ἐπιδειννῶν*); and the company rose up and worshipped (*προσκύνησαν*) and prayed to him as to a god (*καθάραι θείῳ*). It was to confirm this belief of theirs that he leapt into the fire.

There is, however, an alternate version of Empedocles' apotheosis: Heraclides Ponticus tells how, on the morning after Empedocles and his friends had been sacrificing and feasting, Empedocles was discovered missing. In the course of attempting to discover his whereabouts, "someone said that in the middle of the night he heard an exceedingly loud voice calling Empedocles," whereupon "he got up and beheld a light in the heavens and a glitter of lamps, but nothing else." Having searched for him with no success, Pausanias instructed the people "to sacrifice to him since he was now a god"³¹².

13. Zalmoxis

Zalmoxis³¹³, who came to be regarded as a god among the Getae, was also reputed to have had a close relationship with Pythagoras. Herodotus knows the tradition that Zalmoxis was one of Pythagoras' slaves, but having become free and wealthy he migrated to Thrace, where he taught its inhabitants that they would all live forever in a blessed state. To prove this doctrine, he built an underground vault and having concealed himself therein for three years, he reappeared to the people in the fourth year, whereupon the populace believed his doctrine and came to reverence him as a god³¹⁴. To this basic outline Strabo adds that the deification of Zalmoxis partially rested on his ability (learned from Pythagoras) to "make predictions from the celestial signs"³¹⁵, and Diogenes Laertius adds that the Getae worshiped him as Kronos³¹⁶. Plato and Apuleius know certain charms of Zalmoxis³¹⁷.

311 Hippobotus (in Diog. Laert. 8. 69); Diodorus of Ephesus (in Diog. Laert. 8. 70). Cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 464–66; Ovid *Ibis* 597f.; Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 20 (6–LCI), 4; idem *Aug.* 1.

312 Heraclides Pont., Frag. 83 (Wehrli) = Diog. Laert. 8. 67f.

313 On Zalmoxis in general see Mircea Eliade, *Zalmoxis: The Vanishing God*, trans. W. R. Trask (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

314 Hdt. 4. 94f.; Helianthus *FGH Hist* 4F73 = *Suda*, "Ζάμοκλις." Cf. Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 42; idem

Deo. Concl. 9; Diog. Laert. 8. 2; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 173.

315 Strab. 7. 3. 5 (297f.).

316 Diog. Laert. 8. 2.

317 Plat. *Charm.* 158B (cf. 156D); Apul. *Apol.* 26.

14. Socrates

At this point it may seem highly inappropriate to introduce the name of Socrates, since his reputation as a θεῖος³¹⁸ is overwhelmingly based on his rational powers and moral virtue; however, his famous statement about his θεῖον τι καὶ δαμόνιον in Plato's *Apology*,³¹⁹ paved the way for Socrates to be viewed, by some at least, as a type of seer. Even in the *Apology* the absence of the forbidding voice of the δαμόνιον allows Socrates to fore-know that his death will not be an evil thing³²⁰. In course of time there developed several stories of how individuals or groups suffered misfortune when they disregarded the warnings of Socrates' δαμόνιον: (1) calamity befell Charmides because he trained for the Nemean races³²¹; (2) Timarchus was executed because he left a wine party and subsequently committed a murder³²²; (3) the Athenians' campaigns against Sicily and Ephesus/Ionia were disastrous³²³; (4) Charillus the flute player and others were caught in a stampede of pigs when they refused to take an alternate route to Euthyphron's house³²⁴; (5) the branch of a tree struck Crito's eye when he went for a walk in the country³²⁵; and (6) certain friends of Plato's stepfather, Pyrilampes, were killed in retreat because they did not follow Socrates³²⁶. Inasmuch as some of these accounts presuppose that Socrates' δαμόνιον sometimes warned him about the plans and intentions of his friends as well as his own, they go beyond Plato's remarks; however, like Plato they understand the δαμόνιον's function in a negative manner, i.e., it does not provide positive encouragement or information but merely warns against proposed actions. Yet this limitation is sometimes transcended³²⁷.

The most remarkable development of the idea of Socrates' δαμόνιον is found in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Theages*³²⁸. Besides its traditional function, the δαμόνιον becomes a mysterious supernatural entity that is

318 Plato nowhere says that Socrates was θεῖος, but in *Symp.* 219C Alcibiades describes him as δαμόνιος ὡς ἀνθρώπος καὶ θαυμαστός. Windisch, *Paulus und Christus*, pp. 36–38, adduces several texts to show that Plato certainly understood Socrates as a true θεῖος; in later writers θεῖος became a common epithet for him.

319 Plat. *Apol.* 31C–D.

320 Ibid., 40A–C; in 31D Socrates says the voice prevented him from entering politics.

321 Ps. Plat. *Theag.* 128D–E.

322 Ibid., 129A–C.

323 Ibid., 129D; Plat. *De gen.* 11 (581D).

324 Plat. *De gen.* 10 (580D–F).

325 Cic. *Div.* 1. 54. 123.

326 Ibid.; Plat. *De gen.* 11 (581D–E). Cicero says that Antipater of Tarsus (fl. 144 B.C.) "gathered a mass of remarkable premonitions received by Socrates."

327 Xen. *Mem.* 1. 1. 3–5.

328 W. R. M. Lamb, ed., *Plato*, 10 vols., LCL (London: W. Heinemann, 1927), 8:345, suggests the second century B.C. as the date of composition; others prefer an earlier date (H. Leisegang, "Platon," in *PW*, 20:2366f.).

ultimately responsible for the educational progress and attainments of Socrates' pupils. Moreover, in some cases the power of the δαμόνιον is effective only in physical proximity to Socrates. Theages, a young man wishing to study under Socrates, is told that unless the δαμόνιον approves, his conversations with Socrates will profit him nothing³²⁹. And even if the voice does not forbid, he may find that, like a certain Aristides, his wisdom or δυνάμεις will gradually dissipate when he becomes physically distant from Socrates³³⁰. After realizing the reason for his loss of wisdom, Aristides confessed, "... my progress was far the greatest and most marked whenever I sat beside you and held and touched you."³³¹

A further development in *Theages* is found in its conception of the δαμόνιον as an almost personal divine being. If the δαμόνιον renders a negative verdict on Socrates' plan to teach Theages, the latter may "try to conciliate the divine sign itself . . . with prayers and sacrifices and anything else that the seers may indicate"³³². This tendency is pushed to the extreme in Apuleius wherein the δαμόνιον is no longer a voice, but a daemon who visibly manifests himself to Socrates but remains invisible to others³³³.

15. Nectanebus

*Pseudo-Callisthenes*³³⁴, whose date of composition is uncertain³³⁵, bears witness that Nectanebus, the last independent ruler of ancient Egypt (4th cent. B.C.), acquired the reputation of a powerful wizard³³⁶. While Pharaoh, he was able to divine the results of his battles and thus to plan accordingly³³⁷. Having determined that the gods were about to betray Egypt in battle, he fled to Macedonian Pella, where he became so famous as a diviner and astrologer that Olympias, wife of Philip of Macedon,

329 Ps. Plat. *Theag.* 129E.

330 Ibid., 130A–E.

331 Ibid., 130D–E. Cf. Dorothy Tarrant, "The Touch of Socrates," *The Classical Quarterly*, N.S., 8 (1958): 95–98.

332 Ibid., 131A.

333 Apul. *De deo Soc.* 20.

334 Greek Text: Wilhelm Kroll, ed., *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926); Eng. trans. of Syriac version: Ernest A. W. Budge, ed., *The History of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: University Press, 1889).

335 Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexander-Romans*, Zetemata, 9 (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954), p. 59, suggests that an Alexandrian produced it in the third Christian century. Budge, *Alexander*, p. xxxvi, considered it probable that the Greek *Rh.-Callisthenes* (or at least book one) was translated from an older Egyptian work.

336 How early this reputation was acquired is unknown, but it is generally acknowledged that the legend of Nectanebus predates *Rh.-Callisthenes* (cf. Merkelbach, *Quellen*, pp. 57f.).

337 Ps. -*Callisthenes* 1. 1. See the discussion of Nectanebus' magical technique of divination in Budge, *Alexander*, pp. xxxvii–xl.

requested a meeting with him³³⁸. After predicting that Philip would eventually divorce her, Nectanebus proceeded to convince her that she would sleep with and bear a son by the god Ammon; this son in turn would avenge her against Philip³³⁹. By his magic, Nectanebus first caused Olympias to dream that she slept with Ammon³⁴⁰, subsequently, having transformed himself into the forms of a snake, Ammon, Heracles, and Dionysus, he himself slept with her and caused her to become pregnant with Alexander the Great³⁴¹. Next, Nectanebus induced Philip to have a dream which convinced him that his wife was pregnant by a god³⁴². Later, when Philip began to have doubts, Nectanebus, in the form of a large snake, entered the room where Philip and Olympias were and kissed the latter³⁴³. Before his death is recorded, three more examples of his power in divination and astrology are furnished: (1) he instructs Olympias as to the right hour to give birth to Alexander, (2) he tells Olympias that her position as Philip's wife is presently secure, and (3) he predicts that he will be killed by his son³⁴⁴.

Although the form of the Nectanebus legend in *Pseudo-Callisthenes* depicts Nectanebus as a magician who tried to pass himself off as Ammon³⁴⁵, R. Merkelbach argued that "Ursprünglich war der König der Gott." This is based on his opinion that the Nectanebus legend "ist nur der letzte Ausläufer des alten ägyptischen *iephōs λόγος*, nach dem der jeweilige Pharas Sohn des Ammon und dann selbst wieder Verkörperung des Ammon ist und mit der Königin den Thronfolger erzeugt"³⁴⁶. At any rate, those who told and heard the legend will probably have known of Nectanebus' status as a son of Ammon in virtue of his status as Pharaoh.

16. Imouthes

At least by around 600 B.C. Imouthes (= Imhotep), who had served as vizier and chief architect under the Egyptian king Djoser (27th cent.), was esteemed as a god³⁴⁷. As early as Manetho (c. 280 B.C.) he was

338 *Ibid.*, 1.2–4.

339 *Ibid.*, 1.4.

340 *Ibid.*, 1.5.

341 *Ibid.*, 1.6f.

342 *Ibid.*, 1.7f.

343 *Ibid.*, 1.10.

344 *Ibid.*, 1.12, 14.

345 *Ibid.*, 1.7: *Ὁρθω μὲν ὁ Ὀυρανὸς ἐνκαυῶντο, ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοχλὶν ὡς θεῶν συνερχομένη, πᾶσι Ἀγνοῦντες βασιλεῖ.*

346 Merkelbach, *Quellen*, p. 58.

347 Günther Roeder, "Imuthes," in *PW*, 9:1213–15. On Imouthes in general see also Kurt H. Sethe, *Imhotep, der Asklepios der Ägypter*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertums-kunde Ägyptens, 2.4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902).

identified with Asclepius on the basis of their common fame as healing deities³⁴⁸. As was true in Asclepian worship, the cult of Imouthes, with temples in Memphis, Thebes, and Philae³⁴⁹, was characterized by overnight temple incubation, during which the god would appear to the sleeping suppliant and effect the healing, or at least reveal the cure³⁵⁰. Specific healings are attested in the Imouthes Aretalogy (1–2nd cent. A.D.). Here the translator of an Egyptian book glorifying Imouthes/Asclepius introduces his work by relating how the god saved his mother from a quartan fever and later himself from severe pain in his right side³⁵¹. This aretalogy also celebrates Imouthes as a god who delivers from perils at sea³⁵². At some point he also gained fame as a great astrologer³⁵³. In his status as a god he was regarded as the son of Ptah, who was identified as Hephaestus by the Egyptians³⁵⁴.

17. Nechepso-Petosisiris

In Ptolemaic Egypt a very influential magico-astrological work appeared (c. 150–152 B.C.) purporting to be authored by a certain Nechepso and a priest and counselor named Petosisiris³⁵⁵. Although "Nechepso and Petosisiris" may be pseudonyms for a single author, the fact that this book became a major textbook for later astrologers and healers ensured that these two Egyptian figures would be revered as great masters of astrological prediction and the iatromantic³⁵⁶ art. Although within the work itself Nechepso was not described as a king so far as we know³⁵⁷, he is occasionally styled as *ὁ βασιλεὺς* by others³⁵⁸. In addition to the fact that Egyptian

348 *FGHHist* 609F2–3b (pp. 22f.); this assumes the correctness of the conjectural reading advocated by Sethe, *Imhotep*, p. 19. The correlation with Asclepius is clearly seen in the Imouthes Aretalogy (found in B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* [= *POxy*], Part 11 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915], no. 1381). There is also evidence that Imouthes was sometimes assimilated to other gods: Harpocrates, Harsomtus, and Chnum of Elephantine (see Roeder, "Imuthes," p. 1217).

349 Roeder, "Imuthes," pp. 1215f.

350 *POxy*, 1381.

351 *Ibid.*, cols. 3–7. I know of no healings or miracles attributed to the "earthly" Imouthes.

352 *Ibid.*, col. 10, lines 214f.

353 Thus the alchemist Zosimus wrote a book on astrology entitled *Ἰμωθ. Cf.* also Stob. *Ecl.* 1.41, 44.

354 E.g., *POxy*, 1381, col. 9, lines 201f.; col. 11, lines 228f. Hieroglyphic evidence can be seen in Sethe, *Imhotep*, p. 4.

355 The extant fragments have been edited by Ernst Riess, *Philologus*, Suppl. 6 (1891–93):325–94; cf. also his *Nechepsonis et Petosisiris fragmenta magica* (Bonn: Caroli Georgi, 1890), and M. Pieper, "Nechepso," in *PW*, 16:2160–67.

356 This subject was treated in the fourteenth book of the Nechepso-Petosisiris work (cf. Pieper, "Nechepso," pp. 2162f.).

357 Pieper, "Nechepso," p. 2167.

358 *Ibid.*, p. 2160; Vett. Val. 6. 1. Manetho knew a King Nechepso of the twenty-sixth Saite dynasty (*FGHHist* 609F2–3c [pp. 48f.]).

kings were viewed as gods, one fragment of this work related a heavenly ascent during which Nechepso had conversations with "immortal souls and divine holy thoughts"³⁵⁹. For his part Petosiris is a priest and sage who "had discussions with various orders of gods and angels"³⁶⁰. It may also be possible that he was identified by some with the high priest of Thoth on whose grave the following *graffiti*, perhaps dating from the middle of the third century B.C., was discovered: *Περὶ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ (ν) κατὰ χθονὸς πέκυν, νῦν δ' ἐν θεοῖσι κείμενον μετὰ σοφῶν σοφῶ(ν)*³⁶¹.

18. Zoroaster

Among Eastern wise men of repute in the Hellenistic world pride of place should perhaps be given to the Persian Zarathustra, or Zoroaster as he was known in the West³⁶². Born in Bactria in perhaps the sixth or seventh century B.C.³⁶³, this religious innovator who established the worship of Ahura-Mazdā was known to the Hellenistic world as the first of the Magi and the teacher of Pythagoras – a great prophet, magician, and astrologer³⁶⁴. Despite this reputation Hellenistic authors reveal few miraculous details of his life³⁶⁵. According to Pliny, Zoroaster's precocity was revealed when, on the day of his birth, he laughed and "his brain throbbed so violently as to dislodge a hand placed on his head"³⁶⁶. Dio relates the tradition that once when Zoroaster was in meditation upon a mountain,

fire from heaven enveloped the summit and burned continuously. However, when the Persian king and his nobles approached to worship the deity, Zoroaster, unharmed by the fire, stepped forward and "bade them to be of good cheer (*θαρσύνειν*) and to offer certain sacrifices in recognition of the god's having come to that place"³⁶⁷. Zoroaster died, according to Malalas, when he prayed that Orion would consume him with heavenly fire³⁶⁸. This is clearly a variant of a tradition deposited in the Pseudo-Clementines: the Persians worship Zoroaster at a temple marking the burial site of his remains since a chariot of lightning transported his soul to heaven as a living star³⁶⁹. In addition to this reference to the worship of Zoroaster, his exalted status is attested by the notion that his father was Ahura-Mazdā himself, and that his advent on earth was the result of a descent from heaven through the fiery ether³⁷⁰.

19. Moses

To complete our survey of the divine miracle workers of the pre-Christian period, it is necessary to move from the pagan sphere to the figure of Moses as he was understood by certain Hellenistic-Jewish authors³⁷¹. A series of distinguished scholars have argued with considerable force that Artapanus, Philo, and Josephus have transformed (or at least reflect the transformation of) Moses the O.T. prophet, the man of God, into a true

359 Riess, *Philologus*, Suppl. 6, Frag. 1. (= Vett. Val. 6. 1); Eng. trans. by Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:214.

360 Riess, *Philologus*, Suppl. 6, Frag. 33 (= Procl. 2. 344 [Kroll]).

361 Pieper, "Nechepso," pp. 216-41; see Gustave Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1923-24).

362 Useful resources for the study of Zoroaster include Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les Mages Hellenisés* (= Bidez-Cumont), 2 vols. (Paris: Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres," 1938), 1:3-163; 2:7-263; E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster – Politician or Witch-Doctor?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *The Western Response to Zoroaster* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); and W. Wini, *Zarathustra* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961).

363 Traditional Greek dating was much earlier; cf. Diog. Laert. 1. 2.

364 *First Magi*: Dio Chrys. 36. 40; Diog. Laert. 1. 2; *teacher of Pythagoras*: Apul. *Apol.* 31; *idem* *Flor.* 15; Clem. A. *Strom.* 1. 15. 69; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 12; *prophet*: Diog. Sic. 1. 94. 2; *Plut. Num.* 4. 7; Clem. A. *Strom.* 1. 15. 69, 21. 133 (where Alexander Polyhistor knows an identification of Zoroaster with Ezekiel); on Zoroaster as a prophet in Mazdean sources see Bidez-Cumont, 1:28f.; in the post-Christian period it was believed that he had predicted Jesus' birth (Bidez-Cumont, 1:51f.; 2:117-35); *magician*: Ps. *-Plat. Alc.* 1. 121E-122A; Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 30. 2. 3f.; Apul. *Apol.* 26, 90; on the books of magic ascribed to Zoroaster see Bidez-Cumont, 1:143-50; 2:242-48; *astrologer*: see the astrological works attributed to Zoroaster in Bidez-Cumont, 2:207-42.

365 For a convenient collection of Zoroastrian texts in Eng. translation which relate various miracles performed by Zoroaster see Mary Boyce, ed. and trans., *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984), pp. 72-77.

366 *Hist. Nat.* 7. 16. 72.

367 Dio Chrys. 36. 40.

368 Johannes Malalas *Anonymi Chronologica* 20 (p. 84B in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae*, Series Graecae, vol. 97); cf. *Suda*, "Ζωροάστρης."

369 Ps. *-Clem. Recog.* 4. 27f.; *idem Hom.* 9. 4f. The author of *Recog.* adds his polemical version: the demon whom Zoroaster was using to bring down sparks from the stars became incensed at the latter's constant demands and consumed him with fire.

370 Ps. *-Plat. Alc.* 1. 122A; Hermippus in Arnobius *Adv. Nat.* 1. 52. Bidez-Cumont, 1:24, says that neither of these assertions have to do with "une filiation réelle," but the poetic assertions of some could easily be understood as literal descriptions by others.

371 On Moses' reputation among gentiles see John Gager's *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, SBLMS, 16 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), esp. pp. 134-61 ("Moses and Magic").

Although Moses is viewed as the most obvious example of an O.T. hero transformed into a θεός *ἀνθρώπου* by Hellenistic Judaism, there are other O.T. prophets and miracle workers for whom this claim has been made (e.g., see Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ*, 2:28f.): (1) Solomon, whose wisdom enabled him to exorcize demons (Jos. *Ant.* 8. 45-49); (2) Jeremiah, rebuked by the prophet Jaddan, called him a θεῖος *ἀνθρώπου καὶ προφήτην ἄνθρωπον* (ibid., 8. 243); (3) Elijah was ἐνθεός (Philo *Immut.* 138); (4) Elisha during his life and after his death possessed a δυνάμει θεῶν (Jos. *Ant.* 9. 183); (5) Isaiah's predictions qualified him as a prophet δυνάμει θεῶν (ibid., 10. 35); (6) Daniel, on account of his beneficent and true predictions, received δόξαν θεοῦ (ibid., 10. 64); (7) the prophets as a whole are θεοὶ *προφῆται* (ibid., 18. 64).

Here it is also appropriate to mention the exalted status enjoyed by Joseph in the romance of Joseph and Asenath (cf. esp. chapters 5f.; also Marc Philonenko, *Joseph et Asenath*, SPB, 13 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968], pp. 79-98, and Howard C. Kee, "The Socio-Religious Setting and Aims of Joseph and Asenath," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers*, ed. G. Mac-