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VII

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PINDAR AND THE AFTER-LIFE

No early Greek poet is more aware than Pindar of the mortality of man and of the impermanence of all human things. For brief moments of their brief lives, certain men may be irradiated by the splendour that comes from Zeus; but even in his hour of triumph, a man must remember that his limbs are mortal, and that at the end of all things his covering will be earth.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BURKERT, *GRAKE*	W. BURKERT, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart [etc.] 1977).
BURKERT, *LSAP*	W. BURKERT, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972; 2nd ed. of *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon* [Nürnberg 1962]).
BREMMER	Jan BREMMER, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton 1983).
CLAUS	David B. CLAUS, *Toward the Soul. An Inquiry into the Meaning of* ψυχή *before Plato* (New Haven 1981).
COLE	Susan G. COLE, in *GRBS* 21 (1980), 223 ff.
D.-K.	H. DIELS und W. KRANZ (edd.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols. (Berlin ^{6}1951-1952).

That makes it remarkable that in certain poems Pindar voices beliefs about what happens after death which are at variance with those which were generally held among his contemporaries and which the great body of his work appears to presuppose. The evil are punished and the good rewarded; men's souls are reincarnated in other bodies; and certain chosen persons are transported to the Islands of the Blest, and that not simply because they are the children or the favourites of the gods, but because they have lived out three lifetimes without committing an injustice. The principal account of this belief is in the Second *Olympian Ode*, performed in 476 B.C. in honour of the Olympic chariot victory of Theron, ruler of Akragas. Akragas was the home of Empedokles, at that time about twenty years of age, who was later to put forward a remarkable theory of reincarna-

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GUTHRIE	W. K. C. GUTHRIE, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London 1935; ^{2}1952).
HAMPE	R. HAMPE, "Zur Eschatologie in Pindars zweiter olympischer Ode", in EPMHNEIA. *Festschrift Otto Regenbogen* (Heidelberg 1952), 46-65.
KERN, *OF*	O. KERN (ed.), *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922).
KRS	G. S. KIRK, J. E. RAVEN and M. SCHOFIELD, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge ^{2}1983; 1st ed. by Kirk and Raven, 1957).
LINFORTH, *AO*	I. M. LINFORTH, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley 1941).
NILSSON, *GGR*	M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (München ^{3}1967; ^{1}1940; ^{2}1955).
ROHDE, *Psyche*	E. ROHDE, *Psyche* (Tübingen ^{1}1894; ^{2}1898, of which subsequent editions are reprints) = English version by W. B. HILLIS, 1925.
VAN LEEUWEN	J. VAN LEEUWEN (ed.), *Pindarus' Tweede Olympische Ode*, 2 vols. (Assen 1964).
WEST, *OP*	M. L. WEST, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983).
WILAMOWITZ, *Pindaros*	U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922).
ZUNTZ, *Persephone*	G. ZUNTZ, *Persephone* (Oxford 1971).

tion, certainly influenced by Pythagoras; and it was not very far distant from Thourioi, in whose neighbourhood some of the gold tablets buried with dead persons to help them in the underworld and often held to reflect Orphic or Pythagorean beliefs have been discovered. Much of Pindar's account of the next world is distinctively heroic and Pindaric, and Roland Hampe in a fine article has done his best to stress this fact; but there is a solid residuum of matter that shows an unmistakable affinity with what is considered Orphic or Pythagorean. Did Theron belong to an Orphic or Pythagorean sect? Wilamowitz was among those who have contended that Pindar was voicing the beliefs of his patron, not his own; but Rohde and others have insisted that Pindar's manifest sincerity and the calm assurance with which he puts forward the beliefs in question make it impossible that he himself should not have entertained them.[1]

That problem has been endlessly discussed; also has that of the exact nature of the beliefs about the next world that are in question. As lately as 1971, the whole matter was treated with great learning and with impressive amplitude by Günther Zuntz in his fine book *Persephone*.[2] This work contains first a detailed history of the cult of Demeter and Persephone, the great goddess of Sicily, to whom according to Pindar Zeus gave that island as a present;[3] then a new edition of Empedokles' poem *Katharmoi*, with useful contributions to the constitution and the understanding of its text; and finally the best and most useful edition so far of the texts preserved upon the gold leaves from Thourioi and other places, with full commentary and discussion.

[1] *Pindaros*, 251 f.; ROHDE, *Psyche*, II 204 f. = English version, 414 f.

[2] See the review by W. BURKERT, in *Gnomon* 46 (1974), 326 f.

[3] *N.* I 14; cf. L. R. FARNELL, *The Cults of the Greek States* III (Oxford 1907), 65; 337; 375; ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, *passim*.

But since Zuntz wrote new research has thrown light on some of the problems he discussed, and even more significantly new evidence bearing on those problems has been discovered. David Claus and Jan Bremmer have published important investigations of the early history of the concept of the soul.[4] Fritz Graf [5] has made a valuable study of the Orphic poetry relating to Eleusis and its mysteries; Martin West [6] has given us a masterly treatment of Orphic poetry in general, with a bold attempt to assign each of the poetical fragments in Kern's collection to that one of the six Orphic theogonies to which it belongs; and various aspects of these problems have been discussed in various places by the eminent scholar who has done more than any man living for the study of Greek religion, Walter Burkert.[7] In 1974 was discovered the earliest and most interesting of all the gold leaves, that found at Hipponion, the Roman Vibo Valentia.[8] In 1978 the Russian scholar A. S. Rusyaeva published the inscriptions from three small

[4] CLAUS and BREMMER: see the list of abbreviations, above.

[5] F. GRAF, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 1974); for Pindar's treatment of the legend of Herakles' initiation, see H. LLOYD-JONES, in *Maia* N. S. 19 (1967), 211 f.

[6] WEST, *OP*.

[7] BURKERT, *LSAP*; "Le laminette auree. Da Orfeo a Lampone", in *Orfismo in Magna Grecia. Atti del Quattordicesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Napoli 1975), 81 f.; "Orphism and Bacchic Mysteries. New Evidence and Old Problems", in W. WUELLNER (ed.), *The Center for Hermeneutical Studies. Colloquy* 28 (1977), 1-8 and 31 f.; *GRAKE*, 436 f.

[8] G. FOTI and G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, in *PP* 29 (1974), 91 f.; R. MERKELBACH, in *ZPE* 17 (1975), 8-9; M. L. WEST, in *ZPE* 18 (1975), 229-236; M. MARCOVICH, in *ZPE* 23 (1976), 221-224; M. GIGANTE, in *PP* 30 (1975), 223-225; H. LLOYD-JONES, *ibid.*, 225-226; G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *ibid.*, 226-31, and in *PP* 31 (1976), 458-466; G. ZUNTZ, in *WS* N.F. 10 (1976), 129 ff.; *SEG* XXVI 1139; XXVII 226 bis; W. BURKERT, "Neue Funde zur Orphik", in *Informationen zum altsprachlichen Unterricht* II 2 (Graz 1980), 27 ff.; A. HENRICHS, in B. F. MAYER and E. P. SANDERS (edd.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* III (London 1982), 154; COLE, 223 ff. (with bibliography); Robert PARKER, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983), 286 f.; R. JANKO, in *CQ* 34 (1984), 89 ff.

tablets of bone found on the site of Olbia,[9] the Greek colony on the Dnieper, where as we know from the story of the Scythian prince Skyles told by Herodotus (IV 76 ff.), the worship of Dionysus was popular in early times; and these are of much significance both for Dionysiac worship and for early Orphism. Zuntz in the wake of Wilamowitz had treated Orphism with a robust scepticism, regarding the gold tablets as Pythagorean rather than as Orphic and pointing to the absence from them of any reference to Dionysus as an indication of this fact. But as Pentheus found, Dionysus has a way of turning up when and where you least expect him, and in the gold tablet from Hipponion and the bone tablets from Olbia he has done so in a way somewhat disconcerting for the learned author of *Persephone*. That makes it necessary for certain questions that have often been asked with regard to the Second *Olympian* and certain Pindaric fragments to be revived again. For the understanding of these poems the questions are of great importance, so that I must ask you to forgive me for detaining you for some time in the strange world of early Orphic, Pythagorean and Dionysiac speculation about the human soul and its destiny in the world it enters after death.

Let us first glance briefly at the Second *Olympian*[10] itself, so as to consider how the mention of beliefs about the after-life fit into the framework of the poem. Addressing the songs that rule the phorminx, the great lyre, the poet asks what god, what hero, what man is to be

[9] See F. TINNEFELD, in *ZPE* 38 (1980), 67 ff.; W. BURKERT, *art. cit.* (*supra* n. 8), 36; M. L. WEST, in *ZPE* 45 (1982), 17 ff.; *OP*, 17 ff. and see Index *s.v.* Olbia.

[10] Douglas GERBER's material in his *A Bibliography of Pindar* (Americ. Philol. Assoc. 1969), 19 f. and Maria RICO's from *Ensayo de Bibliografia Pindárica* (Madrid 1969), 87 f. may be supplemented from Luigi LEHNUS (ed.), Pindaro. *Olimpiche*. Traduzione, commento, note e lettura critica (Milano 1981), 27; since then the ode has been commented on by G. KIRKWOOD (ed.), *Selections from Pindar* (Chico,

honoured; the god is Zeus, the lord of Olympia, the hero is Herakles, the founder of its games, the man is Theron, victor in the Olympic chariot-race. Theron is just in the regard he shows for guests; he is the support of Akragas; he is the fine flour of a family whose members bear auspicious names, keeping the city straight. With much labour they secured the sacred habitation of the river of Akragas, and were the eye of Sicily; and their fated lifetime came bringing wealth and gratitude, thanks to their genuine excellences. Next comes a solemn prayer to Zeus, lord of Olympus and of Olympia, to take pleasure in the song and to secure the ownership of the land that has been their fathers' to Theron's heirs. What has been done, in justice and injustice, not even Time, the father of all things, can render undone; but may there be forgetfulness, conjoined with happy fortune; for good things in which we delight can subdue malignant pain so that it perishes, when fate given by a god sends up prosperity on high.

We know virtually nothing of how the Emmenidai achieved their power. It is usual for Pindar to lay stress upon the pain and labour that have gone to the winning of the triumphs which he celebrates; but it would not be wise to assume that his mention of their struggles was nothing but the reiteration of a commonplace. It is also usual for Pindar to say that the final triumph causes its winner to forget his pain, so that it would be equally unwise to assume that the reference to the past and the impossibility of altering it must hint at something sinister which Theron might wish forgotten. Pindar could, I think, speak of Time the father of all things without having in mind the special

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Calif. 1982), 61 f. and by J. K. and F. S. NEWMAN, *Pindar's Art. Its Tradition and Aims* (Hildesheim 1984), 162 f. (a work with whose method I am out of sympathy); cf. L. GERNET, in the posthumously published essay at *Les Grecs sans miracle* (Paris 1983), 70 ff. Detailed treatment and a vast doxography is provided by VAN LEEUWEN (see the list of abbreviations, above).

importance of Time in Orphic theogonies;[11] and he could speak of the divine fate as sending up prosperity from the earth without being directly conscious of the notion that wealth is sent up from the nether regions by the chthonic deities.[12]

Now the poet illustrates his view of human fortune from the history of the House of Laios, from which Theron claimed descent through Polyneikes. Great though their sufferings were, the daughters of Kadmos achieved fame; their sorrows were outweighed by greater goods. Semele, though destroyed by the lightning, lives among the gods, loved by Pallas, by Zeus the father and by her son; Ino lives an immortal life beneath the waves; of Agaue Pindar says nothing. Mortals cannot know when they will die, or when they will finish the day with happiness still undiminished; the tides bring now delight, now labour to men; and so Fate who sustains the fortune of the house may bring not only god-given prosperity but also pain once more. Oedipus fulfilled Apollo's prophecy and slew his father, and the Erinys saw it and caused his sons to slay each other; but Polyneikes when he fell left behind him Thersandros, who triumphed at Thebes with the Epigonoi.

So Pindar comes to the formal praise of the Olympic triumph and of the other victories of Theron and his brother; it is proper, he declares, that a descendant of this family should be praised in song. Success brings relief from sorrows; wealth adorned by deeds of valour brings the right moment to act in one thing after another, giving sensations that bring delight (ἁβροτέραν Stadtmüller, Wilamowitz); wealth is a star seen from afar, true radiance for a

[11] But see WEST, *OP*, 103 ff. and the last sentence of n. 82 on p. 110.

[12] See Ed. NORDEN (ed.), P. Vergilius Maro. *Aeneis, Buch VI* (Berlin ^{3}1927), 38 f.; against HAMPE, 46 f.

man. To appreciate the significance of Pindar's praise of wealth, one must remember that the Greeks thought wealth honestly come by to be god-given, so that wealth deserved praise hardly less than excellence.

But Theron has not only wealth, but knowledge of what happens in the next world that will serve him well. "If a man has wealth and knows the future", the poet continues in a sentence whose anacoluthon should not perplex the reader; and then follows the section of the poem which must be examined in some detail, since I cannot translate or summarise these words without explaining why I interpret them in the way I do:

> εἰ δέ νιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον,
> ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
> ποινὰς ἔτεισαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τᾶιδε Διὸς ἀρχᾶι
> ἀλιτρὰ κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθρᾶι
> λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκαι·
> (lines 56-60)

Let us deal first with the problem of the meaning of ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες. Many scholars, taking it for granted that the sentence must be taken closely with the sentence which follows it, so that the dead pay the penalty for the crimes which someone judges, have taken the word ἀπάλαμνοι to mean "wicked".[13] They agree that in general the meaning of the word is not 'wicked', but 'helpless', standing to παλάμη as the commoner synonym ἀμήχανος does to μηχανή (cf. *O.* I 59, where Tantalos' ἀπάλαμον βίον is not a wicked life): but they have cited four passages in which they argue that its meaning must be 'wicked'. Let us consider these passages, one by one:

1) Euripides, *Cyc.* 597-8

> χώρει δ' ἐς οἴκους, πρίν τι τὸν πατέρα παθεῖν
> ἀπάλαμνον· (Canter: ἀπαλλαγμὸν L)

[13] Rohde, *Psyche*, II 208 n. 3 = English version, 442 n. 35.

There is indeed a danger that the Cyclops may do "something bad" to Silenus; but the literal meaning of τι ... ἀπάλαμνον is "something which he cannot help", just as at *Il.* VIII 130 ἀμήχανα ἔργα means "things which cannot be helped", or "things about which nothing could be done"; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 589 δόλον αἰπύν, ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισιν.

2) Solon fr. 27, 11-12 West

τῆι δ' ἕκτηι περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός,
οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει.

Here the ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα are the equivalent of the Homeric ἀμήχανα ἔργα: no doubt these things are bad, but the literal meaning is not "bad" but rather "impossible", in the sense in which one says that a particular person is "impossible", meaning that he will not see reason.

3) Theognis 279-282

εἰκὸς τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν,
μηδέμιαν κατόπισθ' ἁζόμενον νέμεσιν·
δειλῶι γάρ τ' ἀπάλαμνα βροτῶι πάρα πόλλ' ἀνελέσθαι
πὰρ ποδός, ἡγεῖσθαί θ' ὡς καλὰ πάντα τιθεῖ.

Once again, the ἀπάλαμνα... πολλά are like the ἀμήχανα ἔργα in Homer.

4) Theognis 481 (of a drunken man): μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα. Here as in all these passages the reference is to things which are ἀμήχανα, and which are so called because nothing can be done about them; to reduce the meaning of the adjective to the simple 'bad' is not permissible.

In the Pindaric passage, the word is not applied to 'things'; it stands in agreement with the noun φρένες. With that noun it is most unlikely to mean "minds you can do nothing about"; the natural sense would be, as Rohde

saw,[14] "minds that have no resource, feeble minds". The spirits of the dead are sometimes said to have no φρένες whatever, as at *Il.* XXIII 104, or at *Od.* X 493, where Tiresias alone is said to have his φρένες ἔμπεδοι; they are ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα. At Aeschylus, *Cho.* 157 the dead Agamemnon has a φρήν which is ἀμαυρά, like the χθονία φρήν of the dead kings of Cyrene at *P.* V 101. The sense must be that when men die here, their feeble minds at once pay the penalty; the penalty consists in their minds becoming feeble, that is to say, in death.

If the penalty which those who die pay consists in death, it is not the same as the penalty paid by the souls whose crimes are judged according to the following sentence. Indeed the sense appears to be that all who die here immediately pay a penalty; then someone who pronounces sentence with cruel necessity judges crimes committed in this realm of Zeus. The expression chosen reminds one that Hades also is a realm of Zeus; so that if one wishes to guess at the identity of the judge, it is natural to think first of the subterranean Zeus known to us from *Il.* IX 457 and from Aeschylus, *Supp.* 156-157 and 230-231. But what do those who die pay the penalty for? I shall return to that later.[15]

"But the good receive an easier life than ours, with nights equal to ours and having the sun for equal days,

[14] Tycho MOMMSEN, *Annotationis criticae supplementum ad Pindari Olympias* (Berlin 1864); cf. WILAMOWITZ, *Pindaros*, 248; W. SCHADEWALDT, *Hellas und Hesperien*[2] I (Zürich 1970), 159 ("der hienieden Hingeschiedenen frevelhafte Herzen"); D. L. PAGE (ed.), *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 315.

[15] Albert Henrichs, to whom I am indebted for helpful comments on this paper, has already illustrated the concept of ποινή as a retribution for spilled blood by citing Herodotus II 134,4; III 14,5; VII 134,2; 136,3, Antiphon, *Or.* II (*Tetralogia* A) 4 (δ), 11, and KERN, *OF*, 32 d and 32 e, 4, and also *O.* II 57 and fr. 133. He thinks that the penalty consists in some sort of accountability after death rather than in death itself; but to me it seems likelier that all men make atonement to the goddess by their deaths, but that she accepts atonement only from the good.

never vexing earth nor the sea's water with their hands; but those who have rejoiced in keeping their oaths live a life free from tears at the court of gods enjoying special honour; but those others endure toil not to be contemplated" (*O.* II 61-67). Some scholars, of course, take the view that nights and days in the underworld are said to be of equal length, and it has been argued that this is indicative of a specially just dispensation. But in fr. 129, from a dirge, Pindar says that the sun shines for those in the world below during our night, and the interpretation which I have preferred harmonises with that.[16] Boeckh took τιμίοις θεῶν (lines 65-66) to mean "with those honoured by the gods"; but surely it means "gods who have special honour", and refers doubtless to Persephone and those about her.

"And they who have had the strength to remain three times on each side and to keep their soul free altogether from unjust acts go along the road of Zeus to the tower of Kronos; here the breezes of Ocean blow about the Islands of the Blest. Flowers of gold blaze, some on land, growing from the splendid trees, and others fed by the water; with clusters of these they join hands and weave crowns, in the upright counsels of Rhadamanthys, whom the great father has as a companion ready by his side, the husband of Rhea who has the highest throne of all. Peleus and Kadmos are numbered among them; and Achilles was brought there by his mother, after she had won over the heart of Zeus with her prayers—he who brought down Hektor, the matchless

[16] Thus ROHDE, *Psyche*, II 210 n. 1 = English version, 444 n. 38; this is the natural way to take the words, and has the advantage of making them correspond with fr. 129. But WILAMOWITZ, *Pindaros*, 249 says, "an ewig gleichen Sonnentagen", and L. WOODBURY, in *TAPA* 97 (1966), 597 ff. has argued that equal days and nights imply a just dispensation. Most have followed Wilamowitz (see VAN LEEUWEN, 181 f.). On the differences between the after-life of the Second *Olympian* and that of the θρῆνοι to which frr. 129 and 131 belong, see Fr. SOLMSEN, in *Hermes* 96 (1968), 503 f.

firm pillar of Troy, and did Kyknos to death, and the Ethiopian child of Dawn" (lines 68-83).

The dirge of which fr. 129 is part also described the agreeably idle existence led by the good in Hades; it too speaks of golden fruit, together with crimson meadows and the enjoyment of riding, gymnastics and board-games, and the delicious scent of incense from continual sacrifices. Most notably, it mentioned rites of initiation (fr. 131 a ὄλβιοι δ' ἅπαντες αἵσαι λυσιπόνων τελετᾶν (Wilamowitz: λυσίπονον τελετάν codd.); and that reminds us that in the Third *Olympian*, which is the companion poem to the Second, Pindar speaks of the Emmenidai as "guarding with pious purpose the τελεταί of the blessed ones" (41).

But for a chosen few there is a higher destiny in store, transportation to the Island of the Blest, located in Okeanos.[17] The place is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, where it is said that Menelaos as son-in-law of Zeus will be conveyed there, and the whole race of heroes finishes up there in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. But here Pindar mentions only a select number of heroes, not including Menelaos. Peleus and Kadmos both married goddesses, and both are often mentioned by Pindar as great heroes who despite some reverses enjoyed singular felicity; the same is true of Achilles, whose after-life is usually located in his own private island of Leuke in the Pontos. Rhadamanthys [18] is often placed in Elysium, a place sometimes identified with the Islands of the Blest, as well as being frequently a judge in Hades, so that there is no need to appeal to his Boeotian connections to explain his presence; as a known pattern of virtue he is an appropriate inmate for a resort to which virtue, or at least abstinence from injustice, can gain admittance. Kronos presides over the Islands in Hesiod, *Op.* 173 A-E,

[17] See NILSSON, *GGR*, 324 ff.; BURKERT, *GRAKE*, 300 ff.

[18] See L. MALTEN, "Elysion und Rhadamanthys", in *JDAI* 28 (1913), 35 ff.

lines which figure in two papyri but not in a third, nor (except for 173 A, in another place) in the medieval tradition. He was notoriously more indulgent to men than his successor Zeus, and his associations with the Titans, who are often connected with the origins of men, may not be irrelevant.

Pindar now breaks off his disquisition on the life after death with a transitional formula specially appropriate to the present context: "Beneath my arm are many swift arrows in my quiver, which speak to those who can understand; but in general they need interpreters" (lines 84-86). This is not the only place where Pindar compares himself to an archer and his words to arrows. But though "a word to the wise" is a common enough expression—Bacchylides 3, 85 says φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω, with no mysterious overtones—it is hard not to be reminded of such formulas as φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι (Kern, *OF* 245, 1-2) or ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι (*ibid.*, 334). Can it be that the hearer is being warned that the preceding passage contains certain allusions which will be clear only to persons familiar with certain secret doctrines known to those acquainted with the mysteries?

The thought that his poem is hard for some people to interpret brings Pindar to another of his poetical commonplaces, that of the contrast between the naturally gifted person and the industrious learner: "Wise is he who knows much (*i.e.*, understands much) by nature; but learners shriek loudly like a pair of crows against the godlike bird of Zeus" (lines 86-88). Ancient commentators saw here an allusion to Pindar's supposed rivals, Simonides and Bacchylides, which recent scholarship has rightly rejected. But how is one to explain the dual γαρύετον? Bergk's alteration of this word to γαρυέτων has been adopted by several scholars during the last few years; but Kirkwood seems right in pointing out that one would expect the form

γαρυόντων.[19] A different explanation has occurred to me. The dual was originally designed to signify not so much the number two as the concept of duality or the notion of a pair belonging together; thus in Homer it is constantly used of things that form a natural pair, like hands or thighs, or of brothers, spouses or friends who regularly act together. It is a known fact that crows are often seen in pairs, and A. de Jongh in 1865 [20] was the first to adduce two passages in Aratus which seem likely to be relevant. At *Phaen.* 966-969 we read

> καί που κόρακες δίους σταλαγμοὺς
> φωνῆι ἐμιμήσαντο σὺν ὕδατος ἐρχομένοιο·
> ἤ ποτε καὶ κρώξαντε βαρείηι δισσάκι φωνῆι
> μακρὸν ἐπιρροιζεῦσι τιναξάμενοι πτερὰ πυκνά.

The same surprising combination of plural and dual is found at 1021-1023 of the same poem:

> καὶ χῆνες κλαγγηδὸν ἐπειγόμεναι βρωμοῖο
> χειμῶνος μέγα σῆμα, καὶ ἐννεάγηρα κορώνη
> νύκτερον ἀείδουσα, καὶ ὀψὲ βοῶντε κολοιοί.

Jackdaws, of course, are the other kind of bird to which Pindar compares his detractors; at *N.* III 82 he writes κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.

Now Pindar orders his θυμός to aim its bow at the mark; the arrows that bring fame are to be aimed at Akragas. Swearing a solemn oath,[21] Pindar declares that in a hundred years the city has given birth to no man who has done more kindnesses to his friends than Theron. The poet

[19] *CQ* 31 (1981), 240 ff. and later *Selections from Pindar*, 35 f.

[20] *Pindari carmina Olympia* (Utrecht 1865), *ad loc.*; on this way of using fable, see M. R. Lefkowitz, in *HSCP* 73 (1969), 55 n. 13.

[21] Van Leeuwen, II 522 finds fault with Wilamowitz for saying that Bacchylides was readier with oaths than Pindar; but see Bacchyl. 5, 42, with H. Maehler's note (*Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, I: *Die Siegeslieder* II [Leiden 1982], 99).

cuts short his encomium with a mention of satiety provoked by the envy of small-minded persons; none can count the grains of sand, and who can enumerate the joys Theron has brought to others?

The stress laid upon Theron's kindness and generosity to others is most notable; he is designated by the word εὐεργέτας, the very word which later became the standard term for the Hellenistic king as 'benefactor'.[22] Pindar avoids the crudity of claiming directly that Theron is likely after death to share the bliss of Peleus, Kadmos and Achilles; yet the whole burden of the poem suggests that after the many hardships of a noble and generous life he is worthy to be granted no ordinary reward.

Let us now return to the section of the poem, beginning at line 61, that is concerned with the life after death. I have argued that the first sentence means that when men die, they at once pay a penalty when their wits become feeble, as the wits of the dead are commonly thought to be. I have also argued that the reference cannot be to a punishment ordained by the judge who in the following sentence is said to judge crimes committed upon earth. In that case, for what offences can the penalty of death be paid?

Socrates in Plato's *Meno* quotes a passage of Pindar (fr. 133), perhaps from a dirge, that has been much discussed. It may be rendered as follows: "The souls of those for whom Persephone accepts atonement for her ancient grief, she sends back to the sun above in the ninth year; from them rise up great kings and men of mighty strength or great in wisdom, and for the rest of time they are called by men holy heroes".

Zuntz (*Persephone*, 86) writes that the reference remains obscure; "It must be", he writes, "to a myth which

[22] On the notion of εὐεργέτης in Pindar, see HAMPE, 48 f.

accounted, in a manner unknown to us, for the fact that the soul, which is 'from the gods', ever lost its divine status". According to West (*OP*, 110 n. 82), "If Pindar thought of these souls as having begun their career as fallen gods"—a supposition based, like that of Zuntz, upon the assumption that Empedokles can guide us here—"the 'ancient grief' for which they atone should be their original offence (perjury or bloodshed, as Emp. B 115?)".

Another theory which has been put forward, and which has attained considerable popularity, is based not upon the analogy offered by Empedokles, but on the conjecture that a myth narrated in an Orphic theogony can supply the answer. First put forward by Paul Tannery in 1899,[23] it was revived by Salomon Reinach in 1922, and was argued for in detail by H. J. Rose in 1936 and again in 1943; it has won the approval of the sceptical Linforth, of Burkert, and of Robert Parker in his important book *Miasma*. According to this theory, the 'ancient grief' of Persephone is the grief caused her by the Titans, who slaughtered, cooked and devoured her son Dionysus.

The Orphic Theogony in question is that known as the Eudemian Theogony, much of whose contents were later incorporated in the Rhapsodic Theogony. Much of our evidence for its contents, which is most fully set out by Linforth and West,[24] comes from authors of the imperial

[23] P. TANNERY, in *RPh* 23 (1899), 129; S. REINACH, in *RA* 1919, 162 f.; *Cultes, mythes et religions* (Paris 1922), 61 f.; H. J. ROSE, "The Ancient Grief", in *Greek Poetry and Life. Essays presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford 1936), 79-96, and *HTR* 36 (1943), 247-250; cf. LINFORTH, *AO*, 348 f.; BURKERT, *GRAKE*, 443; R. PARKER, *Miasma*, 299 f.

[24] LINFORTH, *AO*, 307 f.; WEST, *OP*, 140 f.; M. P. NILSSON, in *HTR* 28 (1935), 221 f. = *Opuscula selecta* II (Lund 1952), 673 f.; on the question of what purpose the myth was designed to serve, see WEST, *OP*, ch. 5 *passim*, and M. DETIENNE, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris 1977), English version, *Dionysos Slain* (Baltimore 1979); L. J. ALDERINK, *Creation and Salvation in Ancient Orphism* (Chico 1981).

period, but the facts are clear enough, and West dates the Eudemian Theogony at about 500 B.C. The original Dionysus was the son of Zeus by his own daughter Persephone. While still a child he was decoyed with the offer of toys by the evil Titans, who slew him, cut him into pieces, boiled the pieces and stuck them upon spits and then roasted them. The one part that survived was the heart, which Athena rescued and brought to Zeus, who swallowed it,[25] and soon after had intercourse with Semele, so that Dionysus was born again. The Titans were destroyed by Zeus with his thunder; from the soot that rose from their charred ashes mankind came into being. Man thus partakes of the nature of the Titans, who though divine were evil, but also of the nature of Dionysus, son of Zeus and of Persephone.[26]

The Eudemian Theogony told the story of Zeus' birth in Crete, his nursing by Ida and Adrasteia, and his protection by the Kouretes which is familiar from Hellenistic poetry.[27] Dionysus too was born in Crete and was guarded by the Kouretes, a story known from so early a source as the *Bacchae* of Euripides. Early Cretan religion, with its god who died and was reborn each year, was in its original form distinct from Greek religion, and was adapted to it only with some difficulty. The great god might be called Zeus, in which case his father must be Kronos and his mother must be Rhea, who could be equated with the Great Mother, as in the *Bacchae*, where despite the part played by the Semele story, the importance of Dionysus' divine mother cannot be concealed (see E. R. Dodds, Euripides. *Bacchae* [Oxford ²1960], on 78-79). But the great god of

[25] According to Hyginus, *Fab.* 167, Zeus swallowed the heart; cf. A. HENRICHS (ed.), *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos* (Bonn 1972), 69 f. and WEST, *OP*, 162 f.

[26] But see BURKERT, *GRAKE*, 253.

[27] See GUTHRIE, 108 f. and WEST, *OP*, 131 f.

Crete might also be equated with Dionysus, in which case his mother was Persephone. For the purpose of the cult myth in which Dionysus arrives at Thebes, his mother must be the daughter of the local king, to wit Semele. But even Semele was originally an earth goddess, as the etymology of the name reveals; the fundamental fact is that Dionysus must be the son of an earth goddess. Zeus may be equated with Hades, as he is in the ninth book of the *Iliad* (457) and in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus (156 ff.; 230-231); so might Dionysus, as he is by Herakleitos (22 B 15 D.-K.). The chorus of Cretan initiates of Idaean Zeus in Euripides' *Kretes* (fr. 472 Nauck^2 = 79 Austin) mentions "the thunder", in connection with "the raw feasts of night-wandering Zagreus". Aeschylus, fr. 377 Mette said that Zagreus was the son of Hades; in the post-Homeric epic *Alkmaionis* (fr. 3) he was addressed as θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων. Callimachus speaks of Dionysus Zagreus (fr. 43, 117; cf. frr. 517 and 643); he and Euphorion (fr. 13 Powell) both told the story of Dionysus' murder by the Titans. In Crete there was a tomb of Zeus; at Delphi there was a tomb of Dionysus,[28] from which he was annually 'roused up' during the winter month Daidaphoros. When the Eudemian Theogony made Apollo take the remains of Dionysus from Crete to Delphi and bury them there, it was alluding to this belief; this reminds one of the tradition, featured in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, that Delphi was founded by some Cretans. Our information about Epimenides, set out with great clarity by West, *OP* 45, is infuriatingly vague; but was poetry put out under his name the source of these Cretan elements in the theogonies? [29]

[28] See WEST, *OP*, 146 f.

[29] Pointing out that there was a Cretan element in the population of Gela, Nancy DEMAND, in *GRBS* 16 (1975), 347-357, has conjectured that the beliefs of Theron regarding the after-life had a Cretan origin.

Zuntz (86 n. 3) complains that he "cannot visualize Pindar, or Theron, indulging in theological abstrusities of this kind". But it must be agreed that Pindar often took pains to familiarise himself with myths and beliefs cherished by his patrons that cannot have been widely known. It is certain enough that in the Second *Olympian* and other poems Pindar alluded to beliefs of the kind usually called Orphic or Pythagorean, and since he did this it would hardly be surprising if he made use of myths pertaining to those beliefs. We do not have to suppose that the allusion to the 'ancient grief' was as cryptic to the ancient hearer as it is to us, since for all we know the poem which contained it may have made the matter quite explicit, and in any case the poem may have been performed somewhere where the myth was known to many persons present. The allusion in the Second *Olympian* to the paying of a penalty would indeed have been obscure; only we must remember that Pindar, using language that recalls that of the mysteries, says that the arrows of his poetry had a voice for those who understood.

Zuntz in the same place complains that "there is in ancient Akragas, and most of Sicily, a marked scarcity of evidence for any cult of Dionysus... and without Dionysus this whole 'Orphism' becomes non-existent". As Susan Cole [30] has shown, there is rather more evidence for Dionysiac religion in Magna Graecia than Zuntz allows. But for Dionysus to be important in a cult connected with Persephone that was familiar in a certain region it would not be necessary for Dionysus to have a cult of his own in that neighbourhood; at Eleusis there is no denying the importance of Iakchos, who is commonly identified with Dionysus. Scholars have long been puzzled by the invoca-

[30] *GRBS* 21 (1980), 234 f.

tion of Dionysus by the chorus of Sophocles' *Antigone* (1115 ff.):

> πολυώνυμε, Καδμείας ἄγαλμα νύμφας
> καὶ Διὸς βαρυβρεμέτα
> γένος, κλυτὰν ὃς ἀμφέπεις
> Ἰταλίαν, μέδεις δὲ
> παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας
> Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, ὦ Βακχεῦ...

Ἰταλίαν was changed to Ἰκαρίαν by Unger, to Κιδαρίαν by Bergk, to Φυταλίαν by Seyffert; Gerhard Müller in 1967 approved Unger's conjecture, and Dawe in 1979 conjectured Οἰχαλίαν and put it in the text. But it would seem that after saluting Dionysus as the son of Semele and Zeus, the chorus names him as the ruler of two localities where he was specially connected with τελεταί, first Italy and then Eleusis.

But what reason have we for thinking that Dionysus was connected with τελεταί in Magna Graecia? Three years after the appearance of Zuntz' splendid book, the most interesting of all the gold tablets was found at Hipponion, in the territory of ancient Lokroi.[31] Its last two lines (15-16) read as follows:

> καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πιὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
> μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλ(ε)εινοί.

Here we find the allusion to Dionysus whose absence led Zuntz to pronounce that the gold tablets might be termed 'Pythagorean', but should not be termed 'Orphic'. In the wake of Wilamowitz, Zuntz is somewhat disdainful about anything 'Orphic'; he seems unable to forget Plato's mock-

[31] See n. 8 above; Susan Cole has shown that the word βάκχοι implies a Dionysiac element. Cf. the archaic inscription from the cemetery of Cumae οὐ θέμις ἐν|τοῦθα κεῖσθ|αιι μὲ̀ τὸν βε|βαχχευμέ|νον (Ed. Schwyzer [ed.], *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* [Leipzig 1923], n. 792).

ery of the absurd pretensions of the Orpheotelestai, and its echo in Theophrastos' character of the Superstitious Man. But the term 'Orphic' is of very wide extension, and to separate what is 'Orphic' from what is 'Pythagorean' is by no means easy. Not only did Epigenes, apparently a fourth-century writer,[32] name certain Pythagoreans as the authors of Orphic poems, but Ion of Chios,[33] writing during the fifth century, said the same thing of Pythagoras himself.

Next, the bone tablets from Olbia, a place where we know Dionysiac cult to have existed in the sixth century, bear the inscription ΔΙΟΝ, pretty clearly standing for Διόνυσος and also a word which certainly begins with the letters ΟΡΦΙΚ and which may be ΟΡΦΙΚΟΙ.[34] If it is, we have the earliest *safe* instance of that term as the name of a group of persons; even if it is not, we have some kind of allusion to Orphism. The same tablets have βίος θάνατος ἀλήθεια ψεῦδος: tables of opposites are regarded as Pythagorean, even though these particular examples remind us less of the Pythagorean mathematical tables of opposites preserved by Aristotle than of various pairs of opposites coupled by Herakleitos.[35]

We must also consider the famous passage of Herodotus dealing with this topic; of the two versions in the manuscripts, the longer is surely to be preferred, as Burkert seems to me to have established. Herodotus writes (II 81) that in the refusal to allow woollen garments to enter temples or to be buried with the dead, the Egyptians ὁμολογέουσι ... τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι. Parker, following

[32] See KERN, *OF*, 222 and cf. WEST, *OP*, 9 f.

[33] See KERN, *OF*, test. 248 (Ion 36 B 2 D.-K.); cf. LINFORTH, *AO*, 111 and WEST, *OP*, 7; 9.

[34] See the full discussion by WEST, *OP*, 17 f.

[35] See BURKERT, *LSAP*, 51 f.; cf. Heraclitus Ephesius 22 B 21, 48, 62, 67, 76-77, 126 D.-K.

Burkert, has well written that "the traditional tug-of-war between pan-Orphism and pan-Pythagoreanism has given way of late to a recognition that coincidences between the two doctrines are probably more important than divergences".[36]

If I am right in taking the penalty paid by all the dead in the Second *Olympian* to be identical with the atonement accepted by Persephone from certain dead persons in the other poem, which Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, 252) rightly warned should not be assumed necessarily to have been a dirge, then the dead from whom the goddess accepted the atonement were presumably the good. The souls of these, according to the poem quoted in the *Meno*, are sent back to the world by the goddess after eight years; the period recalls the nine-year exile endured, according to Hesiod, *Theog.* 793 ff., by gods who have committed perjury. From these good souls, Pindar says, come great kings, men of mighty strength—one may think of athletes, but as Hampe (63) says surely not only of athletes—and men great in wisdom, who will later be called heroes. The doctrine found in the Second *Olympian* would seem to be a further refinement of this, made by combining the Homeric and Hesiodic notion of the Islands of the Blest for selected heroes with a doctrine of paradise as the reward of three successive lives free from injustice that must derive from an Orphic or a Pythagorean source.[37] The mention of the kings, strong men and wise men has often called to mind

[36] *Miasma*, 290; cf. BURKERT, *GRAKE*, 445, and see Burkert's discussion of the Herodotean passage, *LSAP*, 127 f.

[37] The exact implications of ἑστρὶς ἑκατέρωθι μείναντες (*O.* II 68-69) have been much argued over. Tycho MOMMSEN, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 14), 30, argued for one life on earth, then a stay in Hades, then a second life in the world above followed by translation to the Islands of the Blest (cf. H. S. LONG, *A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Greece from Pythagoras to Plato* [Diss. Princeton 1948], 29 f.; HAMPE, 63). But ROHDE, *Psyche*, II 212 n. 2 (= English version, 445 n. 32),

the fragment in which Empedokles (31 B 146 D.-K.) writes that the souls of the wise end by becoming prophets, poets, doctors and leaders. Empedokles, if the usual dating is correct, will have been about twenty when the Second *Olympian* was first performed. But his work should be used with great caution in guessing at the nature of the doctrine known to Pindar, for like Pindar's his was an original and independent mind.

Empedokles does not speak of the *psyche*, but of a *daimon* who has been imprisoned in the body as a punishment for certain crimes, very possibly for having eaten flesh, and may eventually win release from the cycle of successive reincarnations. Pindar speaks, indeed, of the human soul as "from the gods" in one of the fragments from a dirge (fr. 131 b). "The body of all", this fragment says, "follows mighty death; but the αἰῶνος εἴδωλον is still alive; for that alone is from the gods, and it sleeps while the limbs are active, but while they sleep it reveals in many dreams the coming decision of pleasant and of unwelcome things". The word αἰών is coupled with ψυχή at *Il.* XVI 453 λίπηι ψυχή τε καὶ αἰών: elsewhere in Homer it means 'life', but after Homer 'lifetime'. Homer calls the spirits of the dead εἴδωλα καμόντων, and they are usually imagined as images of the living man; thus αἰῶνος εἴδωλον means "image of life".[38] Jan Bremmer [39] seems to me to have shown that

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thought it meant three lives on each of the two sides; K. von FRITZ, in *Phronesis* 2 (1957), 86-87, and D. MACGIBBON, in *Phronesis* 9 (1964), 5-11, with various refinements, take views similar to Rohde's. The poet's words do not seem to me to furnish sufficient evidence to decide the question; but the greater simplicity of Mommsen's view surely makes in its favour.

[38] See CLAUS, 117.

[39] See n. 4 above; BREMMER, 51 cites the Hippocratic passage. In this connection we may note that A. DIHLE, "Totenglaube und Seelenvorstellung im 7. Jahrhundert vor Christus", in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum. Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stuiber*, JbAC, Erg.-Bd. 9 (1982), 9 f. has argued that the Nekyia of the

the notion of a soul which not only survives the living man, but is able while he lives to leave the body at intervals, in the way described by Pindar and illustrated also by such stories as Herodotus tells of Aristeas and Hermotimos, and in a striking passage of the Hippocratic *De victu* in which it is described in terms not unlike those used by Pindar, is not a fifth-century innovation; using comparative material, much of it from Sanskrit sources, he argues that the notion of such a detachable soul is common to several Indo-European cultures from an early date. Bremmer distinguishes between the 'free soul', in Greek ψυχή, and the 'body soul', denoted by such words as θυμός, μένος, νόος: whether 'soul' is an adequate word to describe the latter may be disputed.

Oddly enough Bremmer does not raise the question of when the soul first came to be called 'immortal', or 'divine'. I know of no assertion that the soul comes from the gods earlier than Pindar fr. 131 b; but as Burkert has written "the mystery cults bring man the hope of escaping death and joining the gods; and it is an easy step from this to the doctrine that man is of divine descent and returns at death to his place of origin".[40] The Greeks had various accounts of the creation of man, none of which makes very ambitious claims for him.[41] Hesiod, *Op.* 119 ff., asserts that the immortals made him; but the particular immortals usually

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Odyssey reveals more than one conception of the *psyche*. Like Dihle's consultant Dr. William Furley (see p. 19), I am not impressed by the argument that Antikleia's soul reveals different preoccupations from those of male heroes, since as she was a woman and Odysseus' mother, this is what I should expect. But when Dihle remarks "Dass ein Dasein wie das der Psyche des Orion oder des Tantalos Grundlage einer Belohnung oder Bestrafung der auf der Welt vollbrachten Taten sein kann, liegt auf der Hand", he is making an observation of great interest.

[40] *LSAP*, 359.

[41] See ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, 365; S. G. F. BRANDON, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London 1963), 189.

associated with the creation are the Titans, and particularly Prometheus. The Titans had been vanquished by Zeus, and were from several points of view less respectable than other Olympians; but they were certainly divine, and a divine pedigree that made man descended from them was better than none at all. Empedokles made man a fallen *daimon*, and the gold tablets, the earliest of which has been dated about ten years after the production of the Second *Olympian*, make a similar claim.

Let us take a look at the tablets and consider their relation to what Pindar says about the life after death. They were placed in graves so that the departed might take advantage of his membership of the group to which he belonged to establish his credentials as one of those who in Pindar's terminology are called 'the good'. Men die, according to the physician Alkmaion of Croton,[42] who is often thought to have had Pythagorean connections, because they cannot fit the beginning onto the end; and Pindar wrote that the man who had been initiated at Eleusis was fortunate, because he knew the end of life and knew the Zeus-given beginning (fr. 137). The tablet would enable the soul of the dead initiate to begin again soon after his end.

The Hipponion tablet,[43] which has been dated about 465 B.C., contains a fuller and better version of the poem

[42] 24 B 2 D.-K. = *KRS*, fr. 455 p. 347.

[43] See R. JANKO, *art. cit.* (*supra* n. 8), for a careful attempt to reconstruct the archetype. My purpose requires only that I give a text of H, a text of the B tablets (n. 44, based on ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, 368) and a text of the A tablets, also based on ZUNTZ (n. 46).

1 Μναμοσύνας τόδε δῶρον· ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι θανεῖσθαι
2 εἶσ' Ἀΐδαο δόμους εὐήρεας, ἔστ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κρήνην
3 πὰρ δ' αὐτὰν ἑστακῦ<ι>α λευκὰ κυπάρισσος
4 ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται.
5 ταύτας τᾶς κράνας μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθῃς

found with variations on B 1, from Petelia, south-east of Thourioi, B 2, from Pharsalos in Thessaly, and B 3-8, all from Eleutherna in central Crete; B 1 and B 2 are assigned to the fourth century and B 3-8 to the third century B.C. Zuntz, on p. 368, gives a composite version, giving all the variants, of the poem on the first two B tablets, which must be compared with the tablet from Hipponion (H);[44] tablets 3-8 (see Zuntz 362) are not relevant to my purpose.

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6 πρόσθεν δ' εὑρήσεις τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
7 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πρόρεον· φύλακες δ' ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι.
8 οἱ δέ σ' <ἐπ>ειρήσονται ἐν<ὶ> φρεσὶ πευκαλίμ[ηισιν
9 ὀ̣τ̣<τ>ι διεξερέεις Ἄϊδος σκότος ο[...]εεντος
10 εἶπον· "ὑὸς Γαίας καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
11 δίψαι δ' ἠμ' αὖος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' ὦ[κα
12 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πρόρεον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λί[μνης."
13 αἱ δ' αὐτοί σ' ἐλ<εή>σουσιν χθόνιοι βασιλῆες,
14 καὶ δή σοι δώσουσι πιεῖν κείνας [ἀπὸ λίμνας.
15 καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πιὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἅν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
16 μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλε<ε>ινοί.

1 δῶρον Ll.-J. (1977), cf. A 5, 3: ἠριον H: see JANKO, 92, for other recordings.
2 Two lines seem to have been conflated.
3 There are no white cypresses in this world; but why should they not be imagined in the next?
8 Suppl. Ll-J. (1977).
9 ὀ[κρυ]όεντος?
10 Γαίας: Βαρέας ed. pr., approved by Janko.
13 Emend. Ll-J. (1977): καὶ δὴ τοί σ' ἐλεοῦσιν ὑποχθόνιοι.
14 κείνας Ll-J.: τᾶς Μναμοσύνας H.: ταύτας Marcovich.
15 καὶ σὺ πίων Luppe, Gil, Gallavotti (see JANKO, p. 89 n. 1).
16 κλε<ε>ινοί: I do not favour the conjecture κλυτάν τε (B. FEYERABEND, in *RhM* 127 [1984], 4 f.).

[44] 1. B1 εὑρήσεις δ' Ἀΐδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερα κρήνην
B2 » ÷ » δόμοις ἐνδέξια »
2. B1 πάρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον·
B2 » » » » » »
3. B1 ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας
B2 » » » » σχεδόθεν πελάσησθα.
4. B1 εὑρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης
B2 πρόσσω » εὑρήσεις τὸ » » »

The soul arrives in the underworld desperately thirsty, "dry with thirst". Near the entrance is a fountain, where according to H 4, souls may be seen getting refreshment (ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται). Ψύχεσθαι is cognate with ψυχή, so that refreshment is a basic need of the soul; but these souls are getting it from the wrong place, for this is the fountain of Lethe, the source of forgetfulness. If it drinks of this fountain, the soul will forget the knowledge gathered in its previous existence; it was the mark of the superior soul, such as that of Pythagoras or later Empedokles, that it was able to remember its former lives. The soul of the initiate must drink not of this fountain, but of the fountain of Mnemosyne. H starts with the difficult and unmetrical words Μνημοσύνης τόδε ἠρίον ("this is the tomb, the monument, of Mnemosyne"). Metre and sense will be restored if we suppose that Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον, a phrase which is found in the much later tablet A 5, 3 was what stood in the original poem.

The fountain of Mnemosyne is guarded by watchers, who when the initiate approaches will question him as to his identity and origin. In reply, he is to say that he is a

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5. B1 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πρόρεον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἔασιν.
   B2 » » » » » ἐπύπερθεν »
5a B2 οἱ δέ σ' <ἐπ>ειρήσονται ὅ τι χρέος εἰσαφικάνεις·
5b B2 τοῖς δὲ σὺ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαν ἀληθείην καταλέξαι·
6. B1 εἰπεῖν· Γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
   B2 » » » » » » »
7. B1 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.
   B2 Ἀστέριος ὄνομα· ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷
8. B1 δίψηι δ' εἰμὶ αὖη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
   B2 » » εἰμ' αὖος· ÷ ÷ » δότε μοι
9. B1 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πρόρεον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.
   B2 πιεῖν ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ » τῆς κρήνης.
10. B1 καὐτοί <σοι> δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ[ὸ κρή]νης.
11. B1 καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν ἀναξει[ς...

(÷ = om.)

B1 had apparently three more verses.

child of Earth and Heaven. The gods, of course, were children of Earth and Heaven; but so were the Titans, and so is even man; ἓν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν/ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι, Pindar says at the beginning of the Sixth *Nemean* (1-2). Then the soul must explain that it is perishing of thirst, and must ask for water from the Lake of Memory. Now the rulers beneath the earth will take pity on the soul, and will allow it to drink; after that it will be free to tread the sacred road previously trod by other μύσται καὶ βάκχοι. The sacred road reminds us of the 'sacred way' at Eleusis and of Pindar's road of Zeus; but the road here spoken of is trodden by all the good, and not only by the select company that finds speaks of going by the "mystic path" to Rhadamanthys.[45]

A 1-4 were found in the necropolis of Thourioi; the first three come from a tomb assigned to the middle of the fourth century B.C., the other from one perhaps as late as about 300 B.C.; A 5, found at Rome, is about six hundred years later, and bears the name of its owner, one Caecilia Secundina.[46] First, the soul claims to be pure and to come from the pure; this will presumably imply that the bearer of

[45] H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin 1983), Nr. 705; see H. Lloyd-Jones, in *JHS* 83 (1963), 93-94. Burkert made this observation; see Cole, 231 n. 28; and cf. Hegesippus, *Anth. Palat.* VII 545, 1-2 = lines 1913-1914 Gow-Page (*Hellenistic Epigrams*).

[46] A 1:

1 ἔρχομαι ἐκ κοθαρῶν κοθαρά, χθονίων βασίλεια,
2 Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι·
3 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶμεν.
4 ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε [καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι]
καὶ ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνῶι.
5 κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο,
6 ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι,
7 δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας
[ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι]
8 "ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔσηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο".
9 ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον.

the tablet has been initiated and has observed certain purificatory rules. It addresses the Queen of the Chthonioi, who is obviously Persephone, but also Eukles, Eubouleus and other immortal gods.

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4 et 7 dittographias del. Kaibel 4 κεραυνῶι Zuntz: κεραυνον tab.

A 2:
1 ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, χθονίων βασίλεια,
2 Εὔκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ θεοὶ δαίμονες ἄλλοι·
3 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος εὔχομαι ὄλβιον εἶναι·
4 ποινὰν δ' ἀνταπέτεισ' ἔργων ἕνεκ' οὔτι δικαίων·
5 εἴτε με μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσ' εἴτ' ἀστεροπῆτι κεραυνῶ(ν).
6 νῦν δ' ἱκέτης ἥκω παρ' ἁγνὴν Περσεφόνειαν
7 ὥς με πρόφρων πέμψηι ἕδρας ἐς εὐαγέων.

2 θε<ῖ>οι? (cf. A 3,2) 6 ἀγαυὴν Diels 7 ἕδρας εἰς εὐαγεόντων Diels

A 3:
1 ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθα<ρά, χθ>ο<νίων> βασίλεια
2 Εὔκλε [υα] καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δαίμονες ἄλλοι.
3 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος <ὄλβιον> εὔχομαι εἶναι· [ὄλβιον]
4 ποινὰν δ' ἀνταπέτεισ' ἔργων <ἕνεκ'> οὔ τι δικαίων·
5 εἴτε με μοῖρ' <ἐδάμασσ'> εἴτ' † εροπητι [κη] κεραυνο †.
6 νῦν δ' <ἱ>κ<έτης> ἥκω παρ' ἁ<γνὴν> Περσεφ<όνειαν>
7 ὥς με πρόφρων πέμψηι ἕδρας ἐς εὐαγέων.

2 θεοὶ ὅσοι] θεῖοι?

A 4:
1 ἀλλ' ὁπόταμ ψυχὴ προλίπηι φάος Ἀελίοιο,
2 δεξιὸν † εσοιασδεετ † <ἰέ>ναι πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα.
3 χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ' οὔπω προσθ' ἐπεπόνθεις·
4 θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου· ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες.
5 χαῖρ<ε> χαῖρε· δεξιὰν ὁδοιπόρ<ει>
6 λειμῶνάς τε ἱεροὺς καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείας.

1 and 5 suppl. Zuntz

A 5:
1 ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, χθονίων βασίλεια,
2 Εὔκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε, Διὸς τέκος ἀγλαά· ἔχω δὲ
3 Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν.
4 "Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα".

Tablet C is not relevant to my purpose (see ZUNTZ, 344 ff.); neither is the new tablet published by J. BRESLIN, *A Greek Prayer* (Pasadena, Calif., Ambassador College, 1977) and transcribed by R. MERKELBACH, in *ZPE* 25 (1977), 276, which adds nothing to our knowledge.

Eukles, as Zuntz (310) remarks, has been compared with Κλύμενος,[47] a familiar name of Hades, and the Euklos mentioned in the Oscan tablet from Agnone may indeed be Hades. That suggested to Olivieri the trinity Persephone, Hades, Dionysus. But can Eubouleus be Dionysus? He is Dionysus in the *Orphic hymns*, where he is equated with Plouton and is called a son of Demeter and Dysaules; but more often Eubouleus, or Euboulos, is a title of Hades, though it is also a title of Zeus. Zuntz is emphatic in warning us against the identification suggested by Olivieri. But as he says the name Eubouleus is an euphemism; so is the name Eukles; and it is highly characteristic of the language of the mysteries, at Eleusis in particular, to denote awe-inspiring deities by obscure and euphemising aliases. What is significant is that the tablets name one female deity, the Queen of the Chthonioi, together with two male deities, thus giving us the trinity of one female and two male persons which we should expect. That matters more than the attempt to establish an exact equation between the names of the trinity's male members and other known gods.

As in the B poems, the soul goes on to claim divine ancestry, but in a less specific way, for it says, "for I too claim to be of your blessed race". A 2 and 3 go on to claim to have paid the penalty for unjust actions, "whether Fate subdued me or the lord of lightning with his bolt". A 1, however, omits the claim to have paid the penalty, going straight from the claim to divine birth to say, "But Fate subdued me, and the lord of lightning with his bolt". This must surely remind one of Pindar fr. 133, where Persephone is said to accept atonement for certain souls, and also of the Second *Olympian*, where those who die are said at once to pay the penalty.

[47] See Lasos fr. 1 Page (= *PMG* fr. 702).

The mention of the lord of lightning leads Zuntz (316) to suggest that all tablets bearing this particular verse were placed in the graves of persons killed by lightning. It has long been known that early religion attributed a peculiar sanctity to persons and places struck by lightning; yet deaths by lightning are not so frequent that one would expect three of the few tablets discovered to contain a verse written to refer to them. Also, one remembers that according to the myth recounted in the Eudemian Theogony, the Titans were punished for the murder of Dionysus by being destroyed by Zeus' lightning; and it seems to me highly probable that it was this episode to which the soul of the initiate here refers.

Against this interpretation Zuntz (312) has objected that in line 3 (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶναι) one would expect not ὑμῶν but σοῦ. But as the parallel in the other group of tablets indicates, in saying "I am a child of earth and heaven" the soul is not claiming descent from Persephone, but is rather claiming to share the descent from Earth and Heaven which the Titans had in common with the gods. The soul, he complains, could hardly expect to curry favour with Persephone by claiming descent from the murderers of her child; but as the soul points out it has now paid the penalty, and Dionysus as well as the Titans was its ancestor.

A 2 and A 3 conclude with a couplet in which the soul declares that it comes as a suppliant to mighty Persephone, so that she may graciously send it to the seats of the blessed ones. But A 1 offers a different conclusion, five lines long. The first three say, "I have flown out of the grievous cycle of deep mourning, and have attained with swift feet to the longed-for crown, and have crept beneath the lap of the Mistress, Queen of Earth".

Zuntz (320 f.) remarks that, since life with its uncertainties is sometimes compared to a cycle one cannot

assume without a definite indication that we have here a reference to a cycle of successive incarnations, like that described by Empedokles; but since Diogenes Laertius, probably following Aristoxenos, says that Pythagoras spoke of the "wheel of Ananke", and since there is a line of Orphic poetry (Kern, *OF* 229-230) κύκλου τε λῆξαι καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι κακότητος, he admits that κύκλος was "a Pythagorean term for life on earth conceived as a series of doleful incarnations". It seems certain that the word has this connotation here.

In the next line, "I have attained to the longed-for crown", the metaphor must be from the garland that was the prize in an athletic contest. Then the soul claims to have found a refuge with Persephone; one is reminded of the tragic metaphor by which children are said to take refuge under their mother's wings as though she were a hen.

A 1 continues with words presumably put into the mouth of the goddess, "Happy and blessed one, you shall be a god instead of a mortal". The divinity here claimed is asserted on behalf of the *daimon* that is the equivalent of the human soul with far greater conviction and far greater eloquence by Empedokles; Pindar, we remember, says in fr. 131 b that the human soul comes from the gods.

A 1 concludes with a line of prose, containing the mysterious expression, "I am a kid who has fallen into milk". The riddling use of a proverbial expression recalls other sayings associated with the mysteries; among countless attempts at explanation, one may single out R.S. Conway's suggestion [48] that it was a proverb indicating that an apparent disaster has resulted in unparalleled good fortune. But maybe there was no suggestion of an apparent disaster, and the phrase simply meant that the initiate was extremely fortunate.

[48] *Bull. John Rylands Library* 1933, 76, cited by GUTHRIE, 179.

My conclusion is that the tablets give a picture of the beliefs behind initiation rites that has more in common with what we learn from Pindar than has so far been allowed. Now that we have a rough general notion of the Orphic or Pythagorean beliefs that were entertained not only in South Italy, but in other places also, we can go back to Pindar and consider how he may have adapted these notions to his own literary purposes. The tablets, which are designed simply to help the soul of the initiate to present his credentials, distinguish the common souls who drink of the fountain of forgetfulness from the souls of the initiates who drink at the fountain of memory; but they give no notion of the existence of the special third category whom Pindar places in the Islands of the Blest. Neither does the comparatively simple scheme which we see in operation here give any indication, despite the reference to the "grievous cycle of deep mourning", of the series of incarnations, starting from plants and animals and ending with the fallen *daimon*'s return to its divine status, described by Empedokles.

Pindar describes with sympathy the easy life in Hades of those who have been good throughout a single life, and in fr. 129 we seem to have a more detailed picture of that life and of the pleasures which it offered. But his special interest is reserved for the inhabitants of the Islands of the Blest, dwelling in their island in Okeanos with its golden flowers, with Kronos and with Rhadamanthys. The Orphic or Pythagorean scheme with its moral element has so far influenced Pindar that he admits those who have lived out three lives on earth without injustice; but he prefers to think in terms of the Islands of the Blest known from Homer and Hesiod, where one could find the great heroes whose deeds he loves to celebrate, like Kadmos, Peleus and Achilles.

Theron's great benefits to others, it is delicately

implied, though not directly stated, make it possible that after death he may attain this privileged position. But Pindar writes of his patron and his family and their fortunes in a manner far removed from any complacent optimism. Tracing their history from the time of Kadmos and his daughters, and dwelling on the sad episode of Oedipus and his sons, he lays the strongest stress on the sorrow which alternates with the happiness of even those human beings who attain to most felicity. Theron himself has lived a life of many vicissitudes, it is made clear, though without details, in the first triad of the poem. Between the initiate and his future life there lies, in any case, the bourne of death; all humans must pay the penalty to Persephone. If the beliefs about the after-life which figure in this poem can properly be called 'Orphic', then Orphism as Pindar has presented it is as far from the vulgar Orphism of the practitioners described by Plato as the Christianity of Paul Claudel or T. S. Eliot is removed from that of the vulgar practitioners of that religion. His depiction of the highest bliss is couched in heroic terms; where Empedokles thought of it as a reward for purity, Pindar prefers to think of as a reward for heroism.

Let us return to the question mentioned at the start; did Pindar 'believe' in this doctrine of an after-life, or did he merely work into his poem allusions to a belief cherished by his patron Theron? It is a question calculated to perplex Christians and persons whose outlook is conditioned by Romanticism. Wilamowitz was not a Christian, but it has justly been remarked that the very title of his great book on Greek religion indicates that its author has been brought up as a Lutheran. However, in dealing with Greek religion, the question as to what people believed is not always the right question to ask. The Greeks did not believe their myths in the same literal way in which Christians, until comparatively lately, believed theirs, although in our time

the growth of scepticism has forced Christians more and more to fall back on the defence of their myths as myths that was first elaborated late in the eighteenth century. Again, since the decline of Romanticism it has become easier to understand that a great poet can write great poetry about images or ideas which have captured his imagination even without being in a Christian or a Romantic sense totally 'sincere'.

The kind of 'Orphism' we find in the Second *Olympian* was not confined to Magna Graecia, but existed in several parts of Greece. It may not have been so different from what one might call Eleusinian Orphism, with which Pindar was certainly familiar,[49] as is usually assumed; at Eleusis also we find Dionysus, and at a critical stage of the celebration of the mysteries the hierophant proclaimed that the Mistress had given birth to a holy child, Brimo to Brimos, presumably with reference either to Iakchos or to Ploutos.[50] It would appear that Theron was an initiate of a mystery cult; the Third *Olympian* (line 41) refers to the Emmenidai as "guarding the τελεταί of the blessed ones with pious purpose". Even if Pindar had no part in such a cult and did not share its special interests—and in Greek religion it was hard to honour all gods in equal measure—one can understand that while he was composing a poem in honour of a family that subscribed to it, a family, moreover with which he seems to have had a specially close personal connection; this like the Eleusinian cult may have kindled his imagination. As he presents it, the eternal bliss of the elect has a heroic colour; and nothing in his poem minimises the finality and solemnity of death, the penalty that all mortals must render to Persephone.

[49] See F. Graf, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5); on Pindar fr. 346, probably from a Pindaric poem which mentioned the initiation of Herakles by Eumolpos, see H. Lloyd-Jones, *art. cit.* (*supra* n. 5).

[50] See Burkert, *GRAKE*, 430.

DISCUSSION

M. Hurst: Chacun sera reconnaissant à M. Lloyd-Jones d'avoir hardiment repris en mains une vieille question à la lumière de documents nouveaux. Il y a ceux qui, dans un livre sur Pindare cherchent du nouveau sur la IIe *Pythique*, mais il y a aussi ceux qui cherchent du nouveau sur la IIe *Olympique*: ces derniers ne seront pas déçus, sans doute. Du sens de certains mots jusqu'à la vision de l'énoncé 'mythique' complexe de cette ode, vous nous offrez de quoi réfléchir à nouveau et peut-être de quoi changer d'avis.

M. Gerber: I am intrigued by the interpretation you offer for ἀπάλαμνος and *O.* II 51-58, but I should like to see a more detailed explanation of the syntax such an interpretation involves.

M. Lloyd-Jones: I would say that ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες ποινὰς ἔτεισαν was equivalent to αἱ φρένες αὐτῶν τὰς ποινὰς ἔτεισαν ἀπάλαμνοι γιγνόμεναι.

M. Pòrtulas: Le professeur Lloyd-Jones a soulevé la question des origines de l'homme. J'avoue ne pas le comprendre quand il dit que «Hesiod asserts that the immortals made him». Sans doute les dieux ont-ils créé les races d'or, d'argent et de bronze. Mais la race de fer? Hésiode ne dit pas quelle est son origine. D'où ma conviction qu'une des singularités de l'orphisme est précisément d'avoir donné à ce sujet un enseignement. La religion grecque ne disposait pas d'une anthropogonie communément acceptée, ce qui a frappé les historiens des religions. Ils ont donc insisté sur la singularité, à cet égard, de l'orphisme.

Deuxième remarque: la question des rapports entre l'orphisme et le pythagorisme mérite, sans doute, une discussion plus poussée. Je me limiterai toutefois à signaler qu'on a de bonnes raisons de croire qu'elle était surtout de nature politico-sociale: les pythagoriciens ont constitué un mouvement à caractère fermé, avec le dessein de concilier le refus

orphique de la vie de la πόλις avec leur propre intervention dans les affaires politiques. Il serait fallacieux de se borner, pour traiter de ce problème, à des points de vue étroitement philologiques. Je suis reconnaissant à M. Lloyd-Jones d'avoir évité cet écueil.

M. Lloyd-Jones: Je me sens conforté, Monsieur, par votre approbation.

M. Köhnken: I have learned much about orphism as a background for interpreting *O.* II and agree with your explanation of ἀπάλαμνος (line 57) and γαρύετον (line 87). Concerning the relationship between *O.* II and fr. 129 ff. I should like to ask whether the fact that the accounts of the after-life given in both places are basically the same does not argue against the assumption that in *O.* II Pindar is voicing the beliefs of his addressee.

M. Lloyd-Jones: The poem may not have contained quite the same motif, but it might in any case have been written for the same people and so have referred to the same beliefs.

M. Köhnken: Ich weiss nicht, ob die übliche Auffassung der Partie *O.* II 30 ff. (ἤτοι βροτῶν γε κέκριται πεῖρας οὔ τι θανάτου, οὐδ' ... ὁπότε ... τελευτάσομεν'...), auf die Sie kurz Bezug nehmen (S. 251): «Mortals cannot know when they will die, or when they will finish the day with happiness still undiminished» richtig ist. Spricht nicht der Kontext und das auf die vorhergehenden *paradeigmata* der Kadmostöchter Semele und Ino zurückweisende ἤτοι (30; vgl. zur Funktion dieser Partikel *P.* XII 13) eher dafür, den Satz folgendermassen zu verstehen: «für die Sterblichen ist also wirklich eine Todesgrenze [1] durchaus nicht festgelegt und (es ist) auch nicht (bestimmt), wann wir den friedlichen Tag in unzerstörbarenem Glück beenden werden», d.h. das Dasein ist für die Sterblichen mit dem Tode nicht zu Ende, wie das Beispiel von Semele

[1] Der Ausdruck πεῖρας ... θανάτου (31) im Anschluss an *Od.* XXII 41: ὑμῖν ... πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπται (vgl. *Il.* VI 143).

und Ino zeigt, die nach ihrem (schrecklichen) Tod für alle Zeit glücklich 'weiterleben' (25 von Semele ζώει ... ἀποθανοῖσα sie 'lebt', obwohl sie 'gestorben' ist; vgl. 29 f. von Ino βίοτον ἄφθιτον / ... τὸν ὅλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον; s. auch 24 κρεσσόνων πρὸς ἀγαθῶν im Mythos und 33 ἀτείρει σὺν ἀγαθῷ in der allgemeinen Aussage: die Sentenz ist im Hinblick auf die vorhergehenden Exempla formuliert). Die vorgeschlagene Erklärung scheint mir gestützt zu werden durch *Parth.* I 14-15: ἀθάναται δὲ βροτοῖς ἁμέραι, σῶμα δ' ἐστι θνατόν und fr. 131 b 1-2: σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ ... ζωὸν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον und sie würde zu Ihrer Interpretation der Verse 56 ff. passen.

M. Lloyd-Jones: I agree.

M. Reverdin: Nous voici à nouveau sur un terrain solide, et je m'en réjouis. Il est dangereux de divaguer à propos de l'orphisme, du pythagorisme. C'est pour parler avec Rabelais, «sasser et beluter son temps en ce bas monde»!

M. Lloyd-Jones: The history of people's attitudes to 'orphism' and its problems in our times take the form of a Hegelian triad; excessive confidence lends to exaggeration (such people as V. Macchioro inventing an Orphic church with clergy, dogmas and sacraments); then comes the sceptical reaction (Wilamowitz, Linforth); finally a cautious middle view.

M^me Lefkowitz: Professor Lloyd-Jones' analysis illustrates once again the importance of the patron-poet relationship. Unlike the romantic poet, who preferred to draw his inspiration from nature, the ancient poet wrote for and was influenced by his patron, often with remarkable results, like *O.* II.

M. Lloyd-Jones: It may be significant that the person for whom this poem was written belonged to the family of patrons with which there is best reason to believe that the poet was in intimate terms.

In such a case, whether someone 'believed' is perhaps not the most important question; Catholics may find this easier to understand than Protestants.

M. Hurst: Vous avez évoqué prudemment le rapport avec Empédocle. Ne pensez-vous pas qu'on puisse aller un peu plus avant et lire dans la description de l'île des bienheureux le schéma des quatre éléments (72: αὔραι/φλέγει – 73: χερσόθεν/ὕδωρ)?

M. Lloyd-Jones: It is an ingenious suggestion, and may conceivably be right; but I am wary of reading back Empedoclean notions into Pindar.