

Pindar's *Olympian* 2, Theron's Faith, and Empedocles' *Katharmoi*

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IN 476 B.C. Theron, tyrant of Akragas, won a victory in the Olympic games. In celebration of this victory Pindar, visiting the court of the tyrant, composed *Olympian* 2, incidentally providing us with one of the earliest literary expressions of a belief in transmigration of souls by his mention of the beliefs of Theron concerning the life of the soul after death. While many scholars identify these beliefs as Pythagorean,¹ the ode seems to me to contain clues which point to an independent, non-Pythagorean origin for the Akragantine cult. Before we turn to the ode itself, however, we should first review the ancient evidence which supports a Pythagorean origin.

This evidence goes back only as far as the scholium (Drachmann I 92) on *Olympian* 2.234a, which may derive from Aristarchus (third century B.C.),² or perhaps from Crates of Mallus, head of the school at Pergamon (slightly later than Aristarchus), who seems to have had a special interest in Sicilian affairs; five of the six Pindar scholia specifically attributed to him deal with Sicily or Sicilian history.³ At any rate, there seems no reason to believe that the scholiast was basing his statement on anything more than the appearance of the 'Pythagorean' concept of metempsychosis in the ode itself.⁴ Another possible bit of evidence lies in the fact that Clement of Alexandria calls Pindar himself a Pythagorean;⁵ aside from the fact, however, that in *Olympian* 2 we are dealing with the beliefs of Theron and not with those of

¹ L. R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar* (Amsterdam 1932) 19; H. S. Long, *A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Greece from Pythagoras to Plato* (Princeton 1948); F. Solmsen, "Two Pindaric Passages on the Hereafter," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 503-06; skeptics include Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 251; and R. Hampe, "Zur Eschatologie in Pindars zweiter olympischer Ode," *Hermeneia, Festschrift Otto Regenbogen* (Heidelberg 1952) 46-65.

² On the value of Aristarchus in matters of fact and history, see H. T. Deas, "The Scholia Vetera to Pindar," *HSCP* 42 (1937) 5-11.

³ *ibid.* 12.

⁴ M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Influential Fictions in the Scholia to Pindar's *Pythian* 8," *CP* 70 (1975) 173ff.

⁵ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.102.2: *μυστικώτερον δὲ ὁ μὲν Βοιώτιος Πίνδαρος, ἅτε Πυθαγόρειος ὦν . .*

Pindar, it is difficult, from a study of Pindar's own work, to attribute any consistent Pythagorean orientation to his varied religious expressions.⁶ All in all, it seems that the ancient evidence identifying the religious beliefs of *Olympian 2* as Pythagorean is late and not very strong: nevertheless, many modern scholars assume Pythagorean influence,⁷ often basing their suppositions upon the presence of the idea of transmigration in the ode. While it is true that belief in transmigration is well attested for Pythagoras, this does not exclude the possibility that the idea was held independently by others. Therefore, we shall examine the ode itself and consider what evidence it offers for classifying the faith of Theron.

One of the major themes of this ode, as of most of the victory odes, is the linking of the victor to his city's historical and legendary past; what is of particular significance in *Olympian 2* is the stress on the specifically Rhodian elements of this past and the linking of Theron's belief with the history of the city. Theron was a great-grandson of Telemachos, a Rhodian who traced his ancestry back to Thebes and who, after taking part in the original settlement of Akragas,⁸ led the popular revolt which overthrew the tyrant Phalaris in 554 B.C.; he later became ruler of the city.⁹ In early lines of the ode Pindar recalls the foundation of Akragas and calls Theron the "choicest flower of noble ancestors, upholding the city" (line 7). Again, the reference to Athena in the story of Semele (line 26) may also be specifically Akragantine,¹⁰ a reference to the important Akragantine cult of Athena, which had its origins in Rhodes.¹¹ The mention of Athena would link the Theban background of Theron's family, represented by the story of Semele, with its rôle in Akragantine history. Another reference with relevance to Theron is that which places Peleus, Achilles and Kadmos in the Isles of the Blessed (lines 78–80); Thummer draws attention to the existence of a proportionate relationship—Peleus is to Achilles as Kadmos is to

⁶ C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 89–95.

⁷ See n.1 *supra*.

⁸ Schol. *Ol.* 2.82d (I 82 Drachmann).

⁹ *ibid.*; 3.68d (I 124 Drachmann).

¹⁰ This reference to Athena is explained by Farnell (*supra* n.1) by the goddess' importance at Thebes, and by Gilbert Norwood as a part of a stress upon female deities in the ode, possibly in deference to Theron's daughter Damareta (*Pindar* [Berkeley 1945] 136f).

¹¹ See J. A. de Waele, *Acragas Graeca I* (The Hague 1971) 190f.

Theron.¹² With this relationship in mind, the passage may be interpreted as suggesting hope for the future life for Theron, perhaps through the intercession of his ancestors. A more definite link between the history of Akragas and Theron's faith, however, is to be found in the section which deals with the concept of metempsychosis itself (lines 57–80):

*Of the dead, lawless hearts pay a penalty there straightway—
there is one below the earth who judges sins in this kingdom of god,
giving his verdict with hateful necessity.
But the good, having the sun in equal nights, forever, in equal days,¹³
receive a more untroubled life,
not bestirring the earth with strength of hand,
nor the sea water, throughout a barren life,
but beside the honored gods,
all who rejoiced in keeping their oaths will dwell forever without tears.
Others endure a suffering not to be looked upon.
But all who, remaining three times on either side,
have the resolution to keep their souls wholly from wrongdoing,
these complete the road of Zeus past the Tower of Kronos.
There ocean breezes blow across the Islands of the Blessed,¹⁴ and flowers
of gold flame forth,
some are landlings, sprung from splendid trees, others water nourishes;
with plaited chains of these about their arms, and wreathed, they go
in the upright judgements of Rhadamanthys,
whom the great father of all keeps close at hand beside him,
husband of highest-throned Rhea.
Peleus and Kadmos are counted among them, and Achilles*

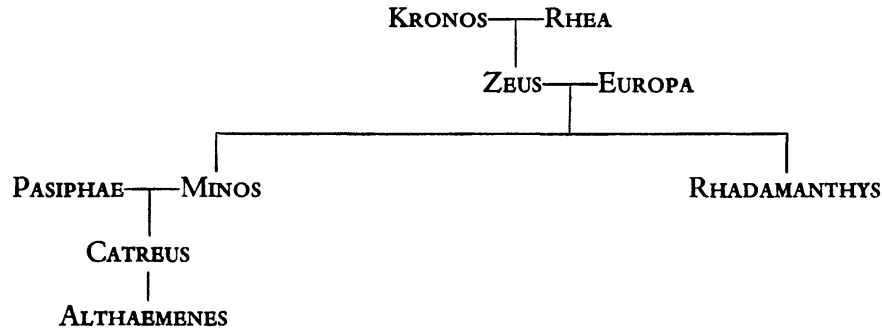
This passage peoples the ruling hierarchy of the afterlife with a family which has no special Pythagorean connections but which does

¹² E. Thummer, "Die Religiosität Pindars," *Commentationes Aenipontanae* 13 (1957) 127 n.2.

¹³ Taking the ms. readings; L. Woodbury offers a convincing defense of the notion of equinox which this reading seems to imply ("Equinox at Akragas: Pindar, Ol. 2.61–62," *TAPA* 97 [1966] 597–616).

¹⁴ The Islands of the Blessed suggest a Cretan connection (see below in text for other allusions to Crete). Going beyond Crete, however, there is good reason to see the influence of the Egyptian concept of the Island of the Blessed upon the Cretan idea (M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I³ [Munich 1967] 328–29; *The Minoan–Mycenaean Religion*² [Lund 1968] 623–32). Could this somehow relate to the claim of Herodotus (2.123.2) that the idea of transmigration had an Egyptian origin?

have peculiar relevance to the Akragantine/Rhodian cult of Zeus Atabyrios. This can be seen most clearly in a genealogical chart:



Before Althaemenes, the divine family is firmly located in Crete. Althaemenes, in a futile attempt to avoid fulfilling the prophecy that he would kill his father, fled to Rhodes, where he established the cult of the Cretan Zeus as Zeus Atabyrios.¹⁵ From Rhodes the cult was carried to Gela by its Rhodian colonists; Rhodian colonists also may have introduced the cult into Akragas directly from Rhodes, although Gela, mother-city of Akragas, could have been responsible for its transmission.¹⁶

One of the most interesting reflections of the cult in Akragas is to be found in the odd tale of the bronze bull of Phalaris, in which the tyrant allegedly roasted men alive.¹⁷ One of the forms of the Cretan Zeus was the bull, and in Rhodes bronze bulls were placed on the top of Mt Atabyrion to roar a warning of impending danger to the city;¹⁸ many small votive figurines of bulls have been found there.¹⁹ The bull of Phalaris may represent such a cult object.²⁰

The Cretan element in the culture of Gela was strengthened and augmented by the presence among the original colonists of settlers from Crete itself;²¹ in fact, it seems reasonable to assume that the

¹⁵ Diod. 5.59; Apollod. 3.2; D. Morelli, "I culti in Rodi," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 8 (1959) 138–39; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II.2 (Cambridge 1925) 922 n.5; de Waele (*supra* n.11) 186f.

¹⁶ T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 237; R. van Compernelle, *Étude de chronologie et d'historiographie siciliotes* (Brussels 1960) 378ff.

¹⁷ Pind. *Pyth.* 1; Polyb. 12.25; Diod. 13.99; Cic. *Verr.* 4.33; see E. A. Freeman, *The History of Sicily* II (Oxford 1891) 461–66.

¹⁸ Tim. *ap. schol. Pind. Ol.* 7.160 (I 233 Drachmann).

¹⁹ J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus* I (New York 1921) 307 n.4; Cook (*supra* n.15) 643, fig. 501.

²⁰ Thus E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*³ III (Stuttgart 1937) 632 n.2; P. N. Ure suggests that the bull had Carthaginian origins (*The Origin of Tyranny* [Cambridge 1922] 278 n.2).

²¹ Thuc. 6.4; Diod. 8.23; schol. *Ol.* 2.16.

choice of Cretans as co-founders of Gela was made for the express purpose of strengthening the Cretan element in its culture. This culture was passed on to Akragas when that city was founded by Gelians and Rhodians. In this connection we should consider the odd circumlocution at *Olympian* 2.76–77, where allusion is made to Kronos as the husband of Rhea without mention of his own name. This allusive means of reference has been explained as subserving the emphasis upon female deities which Pindar displays in this passage;²² it could also be explained, however, as a device designed to call attention to the *Cretan Zeus* (in Akragas, as we have seen, he was Zeus Atabyrios).

Cretan Zeus was borne by Rhea and hidden from his father in a cave where he was guarded by the Kuretes. Unlike Olympian Zeus, the Cretan Zeus was a vegetation god, a mystery god of the dying and rising type,²³ whose cult has been interpreted as incorporating a belief in a cycle of rebirth.²⁴ At a date somewhat later in the fifth century we have evidence that Cretan Zeus was worshipped in Crete with cere-

²² See *supra* n.10.

²³ Cook, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.15) 644ff, App. B; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston 1955) 35–65.

²⁴ R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 44, 59ff; this interpretation is based upon an admittedly disputed analysis of Cretan religion as totemic in character (a view held also by G. Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society* [London 1949] 114ff; opposed are M. P. Nilsson, *The History of Greek Religion* [Oxford 1949] 77–78; H. J. Rose, *The Sacral Kingship* [Leiden 1959] 315). There is other evidence, however, which suggests that a belief in transmigration might have existed in Crete: Eur. *Hec.* 1266–69 and *Hdt.* 4.95 both attest at least a primitive form of this belief in Thrace, and it was believed that the mystery cult of Thrace, as well as those of Eleusis and Samothrace, had originated in Crete (Diod. 5.77). Pythagoras, whose belief in transmigration is well-attested, was said to have undergone initiation in the cult of the Cretan Zeus (D.L. 8.3; Porph. *Plot.* 17); while this is not strong evidence for a connection between Pythagoras and Crete, see also S. N. Marinatos, "The Cult of the Cretan Caves," *Review of Religions* 5 (1940–41) 129–36; a curious parallel to later Pythagorean activity (Eurytos, DK 45.2,3) exists in the 'dot pictures' of the cavern Skordolakkia at Asfendon, see P. Faure, "Cultes populaires dans la Crète antique," *BCH* 96 (1972) 411–12 and figs. 12–14. Long (*supra* n.1) in ch. 1 outlines the preconditions for a belief in metempsychosis and admits that these preconditions, as well as a 'popular' belief in transmigration, were widespread before Pythagoras, while yet maintaining that one man must have enunciated the 'strict' version of the doctrine, and this man he argues to have been Pythagoras. There is no logical ground, however, for his assumption that the final step must have been taken by one individual; the very fact that he accepts the probability that a similarly 'strict' version of the doctrine arose independently in India contradicts this assumption. Moreover, the opposite *a priori* assumption is asserted by A. B. Keith, who declares that no one man could have been responsible for the doctrine ("Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration," *JRAS* 1909, 605); see also Nilsson, *GGR* 1³ (*supra* n.14) 678–708.

monies of initiation and that his devotees followed rules of ritual prohibition, including abstinence from meat. This evidence is contained in a fragment of a choral passage from Euripides' *Cretans*:²⁵

*Child of Phoenician-born Europa
and of the great Zeus who rules over
Crete of the hundred cities,
I have come leaving behind holy temples
which a beam hewn on the very spot
furnishes roofs, with the Chalybon axe,
and whose upright joints of cypress
are fastened with bull-binding glue.
I have led a holy life since the time
when I became a Mystes of Idaean Zeus,
and a Thunderer of the night-roaming Zagreus,
having celebrated the banquet of raw flesh
and lifted up torches to the mountain Mother.
Purified, I am called Bacchus of the Kuretes.
Wearing all-white garments I flee
the birth of men, nor touch a coffin,
and I shun food which has had life in it.*

While the details undoubtedly are incomplete, this passage probably embodies the main outlines of the practices of the Cretan cult in 431 B.C., the probable date of the play.²⁶ Another fragment attributed to the same play is 912 (Nauck):

*To you ruling over all I bring a mixed offering, whether you are
pleased to be called Zeus or Hades; accept from me a sacrifice
without fire, poured forth, full of all sorts of fruit.*

On the Pasiphaë sarcophagus Robert found additional evidence for the practice of abstinence from meat and from blood sacrifice in the cult of Cretan Zeus.²⁷ One of its panels depicts a bloodless sacrifice, and Robert suggested that a version of the Pasiphaë story existed in which Zeus' son Minos, following the lead of his father, avoided the promised sacrifice of the bull by substituting not another bull but a bloodless sacrifice, thus bringing down the wrath of Poseidon upon

²⁵ Fr.472 (Nauck); discussed by Cook, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.15) 648ff; see also Willetts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 239–43.

²⁶ Wilamowitz, in *BKT* 5 (1907) 79.

²⁷ C. Robert, *Der Pasiphaesarkophag* (Halle 1890) 20–23.

his wife Pasiphaë. Robert believed that this is the version of the story presented in *The Cretans*, and that the play centred not upon the passion of Pasiphaë but upon the mysticism of Minos.

Although the temple of Zeus Atabyrios in Akragas has not been excavated,²⁸ and thus no information is available about the type of sacrifice offered there, there is good reason to believe that bloodless sacrifice was offered at the adjacent shrine of Athena Lindia.²⁹ Archaeological evidence *has* been found in Akragas for the practice of bloodless sacrifice at the shrine of the Chthonic deities, coexisting with blood sacrifice at other altars in the same shrine;³⁰ such coexistence seems to imply a time in the history of the cult (in its original home rather than in its colonial days) when earlier worshippers practising bloodless sacrifice reached this mode of accommodation with later arrivals who worshipped with blood sacrifice.³¹ A folk tradition which recalled a past before the institution of blood sacrifice seems to be embodied in the tradition of a Golden Age, which Empedocles (DK 31 B 128) describes as the age of Kypris:

Nor was there any god Ares for them, nor Tumult, nor Zeus the King, nor Kronos, nor Poseidon, but Kypris the Queen. Her they propitiated with holy offerings, with painted animals and skilfully-scented perfumes, and with sacrifices of unmixed myrrh and of sweet-smelling frankincense, and libations of golden honey, casting them into the earth. And they did not make the altar flow with the murder of bulls, but that was the greatest defilement among men, tearing out the life, to eat the noble limbs.

Could it be that this passage, and Empedocles' repeated condemnations of blood sacrifice, were part of an effort to reform cult practices by eliminating the later accretion of blood sacrifice, and that the resulting controversy is reflected in Euripides' *Cretans*?

The emphasis which Pindar puts upon local elements in speaking

²⁸ The temple is probably located under the present Cathedral of S. Gerland (Cook, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.15] 910); shown on plan in "Akragas," REI (1894) 1189ff; it was probably by undertaking the building of this temple that Phalaris was able to secure the tyranny (Polyaenus 5.1.1); see J. Schubring, *Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien* (Leipzig 1870) 24f.

²⁹ de Waele, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) 191; Pindar tells of the institution of bloodless sacrifice at the shrine of Athena Lindia in Rhodes (*Ol.* 7.47).

³⁰ de Waele, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.11) 196.

³¹ C. Blinkenberg, *L'image d'Athana Lindia* (Copenhagen 1917) 11; see also pp. 58–59 on the Dipolia at Athens as another mode of accommodation to this situation.

of Theron's doctrine of the afterlife, the links between the cult of Zeus Atabyrios in Akragas and Rhodes, and the cult's ultimate Cretan origins, lend support to the conclusion that Theron's faith was peculiarly Akragantine, a mystery cult of Cretan origin probably still bearing close resemblance to the cult of Zeus in Crete which we meet in *The Cretans*. (A better known example of such a phenomenon—a cult belonging to a specific family which developed national significance—is the cult of Eleusis).³² There seems to be little reason to invoke Pythagoreanism as a source for Theron's religious beliefs since a local source for this peculiar faith is at hand.

A related question remains, and that is, whether we would be justified in calling the faith of Theron 'Orphic'.³³ Despite the rather broad range of mystery cults which have at one time or another been accommodated under this title, even this designation does not seem to be justified in this case. We have seen that the treatment of Theron's beliefs in *Olympian 2* is solidly fixed in the local context of Akragantine history and legend. Linforth says of the ancients' own use of the denomination 'Orphic' that "Local institutions, with names of their own, though they may be said to be indebted in some way to Orpheus, are never bluntly called Orphic, whereas all the mysteries that are called Orphic appear to be unattached mysteries . . . local mysteries, even though they too might have a similar association [with Orphic poems], were not called Orphic because it was more natural and convenient to use their own proper local designation."³⁴ A parallel argument would seem to apply to the modern use of the term 'Orphic': though it may be more "natural and convenient" for us in our ignorance to lump together the mystery cults indiscriminately under the labels 'Orphic' or 'Pythagorean', we are more true to the actual historical situation—to the multiplicity and variety of mystery cults which swept the Greek world beginning in the archaic age³⁵—when we preserve the separateness and distinctiveness of these cults by refusing to apply the umbrella terms 'Orphic' or 'Pythag-

³² On connections between other specific cults and families, see M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940) 80–82.

³³ Thus Farnell, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 19; Norwood, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.10) 130–34; Eduard Norden, *Aeneis VI 4* (Stuttgart 1957) 36, 38ff, and comm. to 548ff, answered by Hampe, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1).

³⁴ I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley 1941) 298–99.

³⁵ Linforth, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.34) 289–306; M. P. Nilsson, "Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements," *HThR* 28 (1935) 181–230, and *GGR I* (*supra* n.14) 676–78, 745; John Pollard, *Seers, Shrines and Sirens* (London 1965) esp. ch. IX on state cults.

orean' whenever we have evidence that a particular cult was in all probability local and idiosyncratic, as is the case with the cult observed by Theron at Akragas.

Our conclusion regarding the source of Theron's belief also has possible implications for another dispute about Pythagorean influence: the question of a Pythagorean source for the *Katharmoi* of Empedocles. Empedocles was born in Akragas about 490.³⁶ He would have been in his teens when Pindar visited the court of Theron and composed *Olympian 2*; during his childhood and youth he would have become thoroughly familiar with the peculiar cult of his own city.³⁷ This is suggested not only by a general argument from probability but also by the fact that in his own later work we find a concept of metempsychosis very similar to that expressed in *Olympian 2*.³⁸ Nevertheless, many scholars see a Pythagorean origin of the views set forth in the *Katharmoi*;³⁹ even Zuntz, who vividly portrays the probable effects of the religious atmosphere of Akragas upon the young Empedocles, nevertheless goes on to maintain that Empedocles took his ideas from the Pythagoreans.⁴⁰ But does any ancient evidence compel us to assign a Pythagorean instead of an Akragantine source for the faith of Empedocles?

Beyond the theory of transmigration itself (which, as we have

³⁶ On the question of dating, see G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1966) 321; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy II* (Cambridge 1965) 128–29.

³⁷ See G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford 1971) 182–84, for a vividly imagined account of his probable experiences.

³⁸ The most significant similarities are the theory of transmigration based upon the number three and the important rôle given to oaths and perjury; another parallel exists between the flowery garlands which Empedocles wears (DK 31 B 112) and the garlanded inhabitants of Pindar's Islands of the Blessed (*Ol.* 2.74).

³⁹ John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*⁴ (London 1930) 93, credits Pythagoras with the introduction of the concept of transmigration into the west from Ionia, and thus presumably he considers Empedocles' theory of transmigration to be an offshoot of Pythagoreanism; Long, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) *passim*; W. Kranz, *Empedocles* (Zürich 1949) 18f, 26, 31; K. von Fritz, "Pythagoras," *RE* 24 (1963) 190–91; Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.36) 245ff; C. Kahn, "Religion and Natural Philosophy in Empedocles' Doctrine of the Soul," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 42 (1960) 29 (reprinted without the appendix in A. P. D. Mourelatos, *The Pre-Socratics* [New York 1974] 426–56); Kirk and Raven, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.36) 332; Zuntz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.37) 232; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, transl. E. L. Minar, Jr (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972) 133. Among recent treatments of the question, J. P. Hershbell stands almost alone in seeing no overwhelming evidence for Pythagorean influence, "Hesiod and Empedocles," *CJ* 65 (1970) 147.

⁴⁰ Zuntz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.37) 182–84, 232–34.

argued, *need* not be Pythagorean), there are two fragments of Empedocles which have suggested to some a Pythagorean source for his ideas. In DK 31 B 129 he speaks of an unidentified man: "There was living among them a man of surpassing knowledge, who had acquired the extremest wealth of the intellect, one expert in every kind of skilled activity. For whenever he reached out with his whole intellect, he easily discerned each one of existing things, in ten and even twenty lifetimes of mankind" (transl. Freeman). Timaeus believed that the man referred to was Pythagoras; Diogenes Laertius (8.54) tells us that others identified him as Parmenides. Modern scholars lean heavily toward an identification with Pythagoras, but the point remains disputed.⁴¹ Nevertheless, even if the reference is to Pythagoras, this does not prove that Pythagoreanism was the source of Empedocles' beliefs. He could have known about Pythagoras, and even appreciated him as a fellow mystic, without being indebted to him for his own doctrines. The other fragment which has suggested to some a Pythagorean connection is DK 31 B 141, a prohibition against eating beans; this fragment embodies a taboo which was also 'Orphic' and, in fact, may not have been Pythagorean at all.⁴²

The secondary ancient evidence for a connection between Empedocles and Pythagoras goes back to the fourth century B.C. Alcidas tells us that Empedocles was at one time a pupil of Parmenides, then left him and became the pupil of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras (the Pythagoreans?), following Anaxagoras in his physical investigations and Pythagoras in his dignity of life (D.L. 8.56). Theophrastus tells us something similar, that Empedocles was a pupil and associate of Parmenides and, even more, of the Pythagoreans (DK 31 A 7). A further corruption of this report seems to occur in Diodorus of Ephesus (*ap.* D.L. 8.70), who says that Empedocles emulated *Anaximander* in his theatrical manner and dignified attire. Both Theophrastus and Diodorus seem to derive from Alcidas or from his source. Aside from the obvious difficulty with the reference to Pythagoras and the oddity of making Empedocles a pupil of Anaxagoras (Aristotle says that Anaxagoras was *τῆ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τούτου* [*sc.* Empedocles] *τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὑστερος*, *Metaph.* 984a11), Alcidas, as a pupil of Gorgias, who was himself reputedly a pupil of Empedocles (DK 82 A 2, *Suda*),

⁴¹ See Guthrie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.36) 251, for a discussion.

⁴² Aristoxenos, DK 14 A 9.5; see Burnet, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.39) 93 n.5.

would seem to be a fair source—if one may accept the *Suda* as evidence for these pupil-teacher relationships.

Given the propensity of ancient scholars to exploit every possibility in order to create neat master-pupil relationships, a reasonable caution seems to suggest a position of skepticism toward these reported connections between Empedocles and Pythagoreanism, especially in view of the simpler explanation which is available—that the *Katharmoi* are the fruit of the peculiar faith of Akragas, a branch perhaps parallel with, but not identical to, Pythagoreanism.⁴³

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June, 1975

⁴³ I express my thanks to Professor Mary Lefkowitz for helpful comments and suggestions on this paper.