d) A Heavenly Odyssey of the Soul?

In the same passage where Plutarch interprets the Sirens as celestial psychopomps who lead the souls towards their heavenly abode by means of the song, he alludes to passions as earplugs that prevent listening to the song of the celestial Sirens. This may point to a hypothetical commentary on the Odyssey, according to which the adventures of Ulysses were an allegory for the celestial journey of the soul. This kind of interpretations of ancient myths became current in Classical times: it was thought that myths did not mean what they seemed to, and that they had an occult, implicit meaning which only the wise ones could detect. Plato himself mentioned and applied that idea to Orphic doctrines about the Other World, in his Gorgias, and an Orphic theogony is dealt with in the same way in a commentary conserved in the so-called Derveni Papyrus, dating from the Classical period as well.

By the way, in the same Derveni Papyrus (col. XXIII, 3), the commentator says that the Ocean is the Air, and we find this again in Hesychius’ Lexicon (fifth-sixth centuries C. E.), who says: “The Ocean’s way: the air, to which the souls of the dying ones depart.” Later, the Etymologicum Magnum (twelfth century C. E.), implies an identification of the Ocean with the heaven, when it states that the name “Ocean” is due to the heaven being thought to make its way (ἀνύτω, in Greek) quickly (ὠκεῶς). This identification of the Ocean with the air (or the heaven) might fit well in that hypothetical commentary to the Odyssey to which Plutarch’s interpretation of the Sirens could belong. In fact, Moutsopoulos has suggested that the Sirens were placed in the heavens as a consequence of the heavens being identified with the Ocean.
Since the belief in a heavenly journey of the soul is attested in the Classical period (at least, in the *Phaedrus*, by Plato himself), we have some ground to admit that interpreting the *Odyssey* in such terms was already possible in Plato’s times.\(^{171}\) This is also supported by the Ocean being identified with the Air in the *Derveni Papyrus*, which is usually dated to the fourth century B. C. E. Now the problem arises that Plutarch’s interpretation of the Sirens as celestial psychopomps could not belong to such a commentary: the ruinous effects of the Sirens’ song in the *Odyssey* would not admit that interpretation. We actually know other Pythagorean exegeses of the Homeric Sirens, opposed to Plutarch’s. According to Clement of Alexandria,

> Pythagoras recommends to consider the Muses sweeter than the Sirens; he teaches to practice wisdom not in conjunction with pleasure, and denounces the other gratification as deceptive.

And Porphyrius put it in these words:

> There are two different kinds of pleasure: the one that is pleasing to the stomach and sex by means of luxury (he compared it to the man-killing songs of the Sirens); the other refers to things beautiful and decorous, which are necessary for life and immediately pleasant and not to be repented in the time to come as well. He (sc. Pythagoras) said that the latter is like a kind of harmony of the Muses.\(^{172}\)

Thus, it seems difficult to explain Plato’s choice of the Sirens on the ground of an alleged Pythagorean exegesis of the *Odyssey*, even if it existed in Plato’s time. It seems that the most influential factors for Plato’s Sirens being put on the edges of the heavenly spheres were those examined in the previous sections: the Sirens “abode in the harmonía,” as stated by a Pythagorean aphorism which, as we saw, could go back to Plato’s time and could inspire the author of the myth of Er.\(^{173}\) Besides, the Sirens were strongly associated
with the Other World in the age of Plato, as souls and as psychopomps. All this allowed Plutarch to modify the Pythagorean view of the Sirens, as shown by Clemens of Alexandria and Porphyrius, and to transform them in celestial psychopomps. But Plutarch had in the Classical era everything he needed for such a view of the Sirens: not only the Sirens as psychopomps, but also the belief in the cathartic function of the music of the spheres.\textsuperscript{174} As to Plato, the influence of the alleged Pythagorean identification of the Sirens with the lower pleasures could determine that, even if he transferred the Sirens to the heavens, he did not endow them with any cathartic, soteriological function.

e) Conclusion

It seems that the Platonic Sirens of the myth of Er were embodiments of the sound of the heavenly bodies, as Theon of Smyrna said. This was the Pythagorean interpretation of these Sirens, and it is consistent with the generally acknowledged Pythagorean character of the myth of Er. Of course, by the time of Plato, the Sirens could already have been interpreted as both souls and psychopomps, as they are in Plutarch’s \textit{Table Talk}, where their function of liberating the soul from the body and leading it through the heavens is exerted through song. All those meanings do not exclude each other, and all of them could have made sense for a reader of the Classical period.\textsuperscript{175}

But Plato, even hinting at the enticing character of the music of the spheres by choosing the Sirens as its bearers, left aside the soteriological aspect of the cosmic music, perhaps because it implied that the human souls could flee the cycle of transmigrations. Moreover, Plato could receive the influence of a Pythagorean identification of the Sirens
with lower pleasures. In Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* (modelled on the myth of Er, but lacking reincarnation), it is clearer that the music of the spheres guides the soul to the heavenly realm. The same thing might be said about Plutarch’s *Table Talk*: there the soteriological function of the music of the spheres is clearer, perhaps because by that time interest in immortality and fleeing the cycle of transmigrations was stronger, as we can see for example in the so called *Carmen Aureum* (“Golden Verses”), attributed to Pythagoras but written perhaps in the second century C. E. Verses 70-71 of that poem say: “And, if you leave your body and go unto the free ether, you will be immortal, an immortal god, not mortal any more.” With respect to the Pythagoreans of Plato’s time, we know few pieces of evidence allowing a decision as to whether they were so concerned by avoiding transmigration: Iamblichus, alongside the aphorism about the Sirens, quotes another Pythagorean saying that identifies the Sun and the Moon with the Isles of the Blest, and the fact that the Pythagoreans thought about those isles might hint at their interest in immortality beyond reincarnation. This aphorism about the Isles of the Blest may, however, be later than Plato, as is also the case for the aphorism about the Sirens.

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165 Cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, IX, 14, 745 E 5 – 745 F 1 (ἐνταύθα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφότερα τις οἶον ἡχῶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐκείνης ἔξικουμενή διὰ λόγων ἐκκαλεῖται καὶ ἀναμιμηθέει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τότε τὰ δὲ ὡς τῶν μὲν πλείστων περιαλήπτεται καὶ καταπέλασται σαρκίνοις ἐμφράγμασι καὶ πάθεις, οὐ κηρίνους· ἢ δὲ ὡς εὐφεῖαν αἰσθάνεται καὶ μυθημοῦει, καὶ τῶν ἑμμανεστάτων ἑρῶτων οὐκὲν ἀποδεῖ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς, γλυχομενής καὶ ποθούσης λύσαι τε μὴ δυναμεῖν ἐαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος), and Wedner, 1994, 73.

166 Cf. Delatte, 1915, 132-4; Boyancé, 1946, 4, and Boyancé, 1963, 73-9. Cumont, 1942, 188, quotes as other specimens of the Pythagorean exegesis of the *Odyssey* Porph. *De antro nympharum*, 34 (not clear), and *Vita Plotini*, 22 (probable; the Pythagorean character may be suggested by the presence in the same text of the choir of the Muses and Apollo conducting them).

This may be related to the Pythagorean aphorism, according to which Sun and Moon play the role of stations for which remains of an individual after dying: the Moon is the destiny of the soul, the Sun, that of the intellect.

This interpretation may be connected with the Pythagorean aphorism identifying the Sun and the Moon with the Isles of the Blest (Iambl. VP, 18, 82; cf. our n. 42, in II. 1. c.). The identification of Ocean and Air might be Pythagorean as well, but we know no direct evidence of this.

a) Vid. Detienne, 1962, 59, and Clement of Alexandria, Strom., I, 10, 48, 6: Μούσαις Σειρήνων ἡδίως ἠγείρατο Πυθαγόρας παρακείμενος τὰς σοφίας ἁσκεῖν μὴ μετὰ ἡδονῆς διδάσκειν, ἀπατηλοῦ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην διελέχων ψυχαγωγίαν; Porphyrius, VP, 39 (ἀποτιθέν γὰρ εἶναι διαφορὰν ἡδονῶν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γαστρὶ καὶ ἀφροδισίᾳ διὰ πολυτελείας κεχαρισμημένη ἀπείκαζε ταῖς ἀνδροφόνοις τῶν σειρήνων ὃδας· τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ καλοῖς καὶ δικαιοῖς ταῖς πρὸς τὸ ζήν ἀναγκαίοις, ὣμοιοι καὶ παραχρῆμα ἡδεῖαν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμεταπέλητον, ἵνα ἐφασκεν ἐκείκενα μουσῶν τινὶ ἀρμονίᾳ). Cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Graecarum affectionum curatio, 8, 1: Πυθαγόραν ἔκαγεν, οὐ κλέος εὐφράπ παρ’ ἡμῖν, εἴρηκενεν φαοῦν οἱ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἄγγελογράφοτες, ὡς χρῆ τῶν Σειρήνων προσφέρειν ταῖς Μοῦσαις (…) Ἔγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀπλοὶς ἐκεῖνος καὶ διαφανεῖς εἰώθει κεχρῆσθαι λόγοις, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ϕιλοσοφῶν πνεύς, ἔφην ἄν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδίον τὴν τῶν Μοῦσων προσεκαμινείν φωνήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἰνιγματώδεις οἱ ἐκεῖνοι γε λόγοι καὶ ὡφαλοὶ – ξυμβολικοὶ γάρ τοι τὰς παραφάνεις προσέφερον τοιοῦτο γάρ δὴ τὸ «μαχαίρι πόρῳ μὴ σκαλελέγων» καὶ «ἐπὶ χόνικος μὴ καθήμεθα» καὶ «μελάνουροι μὴ ἔσθεν» καὶ «Ξυγνόν μὴ ἔπερβαινεν» καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοῦτο ξυντεταγμένα –, οἷμα αὐτὸν Σειρῆνα μὲν ἀπεικάσα τοὺς κεκαμψμένους καὶ κατεγλωττισμένους λόγους, Μοῦσαις δὲ τοὺς ἑπίοισκατον μὲν οὐδέν ἔχοντας, γυμνὸν δὲ τῆς ἁλθείας τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδεικνύντας.

b) Detienne, 1962, 59, mentions also in this connection Demophilus (a gnomic writer of uncertain date; cf. Stob., III, 5, 30, ll. 2-3), in Mullach, 1875, vol. I, p. 486, No. 23: Δεί δέ άποστείρη Σειρήνως τὰς ἡδονάς παρτεθεῖν τὸν καταστεπθόντα τὴν ἀρετήν ἱδεῖν ὡς πατρίδα (“If you are hastening for seeing virtue as your homeland, you should pass by pleasures like if they were the Sirens”).

The aphorism about the Sirens and harmonía could have belonged to a Pythagorean tradition different from the exegesis of the Homeric Sirens, attested by Demophilus and Porphyrius.

Cf. Delatte, 1915, 134. The idea that human music owes its cathartic power to being an imitation of cosmic music is already suggested by Pl., Tim., 47 b-d; cf. also Iambl., VP, 15, 65 (both texts in our n. 160, in II. 1. d.).

As Pollard, 1977, 189, put it, “attempts to generalize about the significance of Sirens have failed. For the Greeks the art-form, half human, half bird, provided a useful means of expressing powers and epiphanies of various kinds.”

Thanks to Prof. Dr. Christoph Riedweg, Universität Zürich, for reminding us about this detail.

Plutarch, De facie in orbe lunae, 943b-944a, exposes an eschatology in which Sun and Moon play the role of stations for which remains of an individual after dying: the Moon is the destiny of the soul, the Sun, that of the intellect. This may be related to the Pythagorean aphorism, according to which Sun and Moon are the Isles of the Blest (cf. Burkert, 1962, 364, n. 75 of the English version).
II. 2. THE HYMN OF THE MOIRAI

Apart from the Sirens, the only singing mythical figures in Plato’s myth of Er are the Moirai (Greek plural for Moira), that is, the goddesses of destiny. According to Plato, each of the Sirens sings a single tone, and these tones collectively form a single harmonía, whereas the Moirai sing a hymn employing that harmonía. Here, we should not understand the word harmonía as “scale,” not only because there are many other possible senses of that word in Greek but also because this is too technical a meaning for what seems to be Plato’s aim: he was not writing a theoretical treatise but creating an allegory, for which the general meaning of harmonía as “fitting together” or “arrangement” of sounds was quite sufficient. Proclus, in his commentary on the myth of Er, seems to have gone beyond what Plato had in mind: Proclus understood the harmonía in the myth of Er as an octave, which is perceived as divided in seven intervals, beginning with the néte and ending with the hypáte. This confusion was the point of departure for the still more puzzling commentary of Proclus on the relationship between the harmonía of the Sirens and the hymn of the Moirai. According to Proclus, Plato was not right when saying that the hymn of the Moirai was in accordance with the harmonía of the Sirens, because it was the harmonía that should fit the song. In support of this view, Proclus alludes to a supposed passage of the Laws, but he has perhaps in mind another passage of the Republic, in which it is stated that harmonía and rhythm should fit the words. Proclus’s interpretation of the singing of the Moirai seems more important than his confusion with musical terminology and his misquotation of passages by Plato: he asserts that the hymn of the Moirai designs the intellectual cosmic operations or creations of those goddesses.
We should notice that Plato did not associate the Moirai with any cosmic region. This was difficult, since there were eight cosmic hemispheres in Plato’s cosmic model, whereas the Moirai were only three. An explicit connection of the Moirai with heavenly bodies or regions is to be found only later: according to Plutarch, for example, Atropos corresponded to the Sun, Klotho to the Moon, and Lachesis to the Earth. There were other systems as well. In later antiquity, the belief in astrology enhanced the association of the Moirai with the planets because both were thought to govern human destiny; the Moirai are said by Proclus to constitute a chorus conducted by the Sun. Proclus would seem to have substituted the Moirai for the planets (and for the Muses, who constitute the chorus lead by Apollo, as we shall see), since the cosmic chorus envisioned by the ancients was constituted by the planets, according to most sources. Moreover, a magical hymn to the Sun remembers that its name is numerically equal to the Moirai of the Hours.

Apart from Plato’s myth of Er, there are almost no other Greek sources relating the Moirai with singing or sound-phenomena in wider sense. On the other hand, Latin authors often mention the song of the Parcae (Latin name for the Moirai), and in the Augustan era, the mythographer Hyginus seems to have attributed to them the discovery of the seven vowels. The relationship between Moirai and the planets gained ground in the imagination of the ancients at the same time as the planets were associated with the vowels of the Greek alphabet. This association of the Moirai with some sounds of human language (which the Ancients regarded as having musical characteristics, insofar as it is a rhythmic phenomenon) does not prove any further relation between the Moirai and singing or sound-phenomena in the age of Plato but seems to belong only to the Augustan age. This might support the Plutarchean view that Plato had concealed the Delphic Muses under the name of the Moirai. If Plutarch was right, Plato would have
substituted the Moirai for the Delphic Muses because the Moirai better fit in an eschatological apocalypse, given their relation with destiny and death. On the other hand, Muses had a connection with oracles and divination, and the oracles were usually sung. And, just like the Hesiodic Muses, Plato’s Moirai sing the present, the past, and the future. Proclus regarded this as only a metaphor with which Plato intended to convey the hierarchy among the Moirai.

178 Pl. R., 617b-c: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων αὐτοῦ ἀνώθεν ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρήνα συμπεριφερομένη, ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐκ πατέων δὲ ὡκτῶν ὑσῶν μιᾶν ἀρμονίαν συμφωνεῖν. ἄλλας δὲ καθημένας πέριξ δὲ ἱοὺς τρεῖς, ἐν ὑμνίῳ ἐκάστην, θυγατέρας τῆς Ἄναγκης, Μοῖρας ... ἰμνεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων ἀρμονίαν.

179 Thanks to Prof. Thomas J. Mathiesen for these remarks. Cf. also Meyer, 1932, passim.

180 Proclus, In R., II, 237, 3-11 Kroll: καὶ τέλος ὡκτῶν τῶν κύκλων καὶ τῶν Σειρήνων ὑσῶν μιᾶν ἀρμονίαν ἐκ πατέων ἀποτελείσθαι φήσαι, οἷον τὴν διὰ πατέων, ἐν ὧραις μὲν ὡκτῶν θεωρομένην, ἐπτὰ δὲ διαστήματι, ὡς τῶν Σειρήνων τὰς ἐνεργεῖς εἰκάσθαι φθόγγοις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ διὰ πατέων ἀνταγωστάτη τῶν συμφωνεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰ διαστήματα τῶν φθόγγων, ἀρχίμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ἠτίης κάτωθι καὶ τελευτώσα εἰς τὴν ὑπάτην ἀνωτάτω οὖσαν. According to Prof. Thomas J. Mathiesen, Proclus’s association of “harmonia” with certain octaves is hardly surprising, because by his time, the term had come to be applied to various octave species (e-mail on Dec. 23rd, 2003; cf. Mathiesen, 1999, 381).

181 Procl., In R., vol. 2, p. 250 Kroll: [οὐ γάρ] κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τῶν ἰμνιον πρὸς] τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων ἀρμονίαν συμφωνεῖν ἀναστρέφας εἰπέν ό μίδος τὴν τάξιν, τὴν γὰρ ἀρμονίαν ἐπεσκαί δεὶ τῇ ψώ, καθάπερ εἰς τῶν Νόμων ἐδιάδαχθη, μέλει μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν ρυθμίων, ψώδὲ μὲν μέλος καί εἰς ἐναστάτη τούτῳ κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, πολλῷ πρότερον ἐν τῷ παντὶ τούτῳ κατὰ φύσιν. What Proclus seems to be alluding to is Plato’s Republic, 398d (Καί μὴν τὴν γε ἀρμονίαν καί μυθον ἀκολουθεῖν δεὶ τῷ λόγῳ). In this sense, Aristotle tells that “Philoxenus when he attempted to compose a dithyramb, The Mysians, in the Dorian harmonia was unable to do so, but merely by the force of nature fell back again into the suitable harmonia, the Phrygian” (Pol., 1342b: Φίλοξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν τῇ δωριστί ποιήσαι [δαθυραμβον] τῶν Μυσίων οὐχ οἶδος τ’ ἢν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγικήν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρμονίαν).

Anyway, in the passages of Plato’s Republic and Aristotle’s Politics, the word harmonia seems to have a somewhat broader meaning than the one assumed by Proclus in In R., II, 237, 3-11 Kroll, quoted in the former note: according to Prof. Th. J. Mathiesen, “the earlier conception of harmonia involved an entire complex of elements that characterized particular ethnic styles,” as we can see when Plato defines the Mixolydian and Intense Lydian harmoníai as threnodic, what shows that the expressive character was important to define an harmonía (R., 398e: Τίνες οὖν θρηνωδεῖς ἀρμονία; ...) Μειξολυδιστὶ, ἐφη, καὶ συντονολυδιστὶ καὶ τοκαυτὰ τίνες). Thanks to Prof. Thomas J. Mathiesen for his valuable observations on Proclus’ passage, and for making us pay attention to Aristotle’s passage (e-mail on Dec. 23rd and 31st 2003).

182 Proclus, In R., II, 250 Kroll (τὸ ἰμνεῖν δηλοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτῶν ... τὴν νοερᾶν); eisd., In Parm., p. 1236, 1. 9-10 Cousin: ψώδαις νοηρεῖς οὕσας καὶ ποιητεῖς περικοσμίως.
A. Moirai in the myth of Er: Pl. R., 617b-c: ἄλλος δὲ καθημένας πέρξι δὲ ἱσοῦ τρεῖς, ἐν θρόνῳ ἐκάστης, θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀνάγκης, Μοίρας, λευχεμούοντας, στέμματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐχόμεναι, Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Κλωθί καὶ "Ἀτροπόν, ὡμενίν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων ἀρμονίαν, Λάχεσιν μὲν τὰ γεγονότα, Κλωθί δὲ τὰ ὄντα, "Ἀτροπόν δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα.

B. The connection of the Moirai with heavenly regions seems to have been taught by Posidonius, quoted by Plutarch (De facie in orbe Lunae, 945c-d = Posidonius, fr. 398 Theiler: τριῶν Μοιρῶν ἢ μὲν "Ἀτροπός περὶ τῶν ἤλιων ἰδρυμένη τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδίδει τῆς γενέσεως, ἢ ἐς Κλωθί περὶ τὴν σελήνην φερομένη συνεκδεῖ καὶ μέγισσι, ἐσχάτη δὲ συνεφαίται περὶ γῆς ἢ Λάχεσις). Another source links Klotho with the highest part of the cosmic soul; Atropos with the middle region, and Lachesis with the lowest one (Ps. Plutarch, De fato, 568 E: ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ τρεῖς διαισιμηθείσα, εἰς τε τὴν ἀπλανή μοῦραν καὶ εἰς τὴν πλανάθαι νομιζομένην καὶ τρέτην [eis] τὴν ὑπουράγιον τὴν περὶ γῆν ὑπάρχουσαν· ὡς ἢ μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ Κλωθὶ προσαγορεύεται, ἢ δὲ μετ’ αὐτὴν "Ἀτροπός, ἢ κατωτάτῳ δ’ αὐ Lάχεσις). According to Proclus, Klotho is associated with the sphere of the fixed stars, Atropos with the region of the planets, and Lachesis with the whole heaven; cf. Proclus, On Plato’s Republic, vol. II, 94, 20-22 Kroll (ἡ μὲν Κλωθὶ τὴν ἀπλανή λαχυσά σφαίραν, ἢ δὲ "Ἀτροπὸς τὴν πλαναμένην, ἢ δὲ Λάχεσις τὸν ὅλον οὐρανόν), and Proclus, On Plato’s Republic, vol. II, 267, 6-14 Kroll: οὔτε εἰς τὴν Κλωθὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλανοῦσας μοῦσας οἱ κλήροι καὶ οἱ βίοι οὔτε εἰς τὴν Ἀτροπόν οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πλαναμένης μοῦσας ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ἤμεν ἀποδεμομένους εἰς τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀνήγαγον κυνηκίαν τὴν Λάχεσιν, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ μὲν αἱ τὴν τὰξιν εἶναι ἢ Ἀνάγκη αἰτία, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δεὶ αἰ Μοῖραι, ἢ’ ἃν οἱ κλήροι αἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι· ἄλλα μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἔτερας ταῖν περιοῦσι δεὶ ἁρὰ τὴν Λάχεσιν αὐτῶν περιεληφθέναι τὰς αἰτίας.


B. Moirai as goddesses of destiny: besides Plato, R., 617c, cf. Libanius, Or., 25, 7, 5-6 (Μοῖρας δὲ ἡγομένθα θεᾶς τινας εἶναι τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθροών ὀραζόσας νύμφας; Luc. Iuppiter confutatus, 1, 13-22 (εἰτὲ ὅν μοι εἰ ἄληθὶ ἔστω ἃ περὶ τῆς Εἰμαρμένης καὶ τῶν Μοῖρων ἑκεῖσθι ἐρραφιδίκησαι, ἄδικα εἶναι ὅποια ἢν αὕτη ἐπινήσασι γεινομένη ἐκάστῳ. Καὶ πάνω ἄληθὶ ταύτα· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἔστω ὃ τι μὴ αἱ Μοῖραι διατάτοςσα, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁπόσα γίνεται, ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτων ἀτράκτων στρεφόμενα εὕθες εἰς ἀρχῆς ἑκαστὸν ἐπικεκλωσμένην ἔχει τῇ ἀπόβασι, καὶ οὐ θέμις ἄλλως γενέθθαι).
A. Proclus substitutes the Moirai for the planets as members of the cosmic choir conducted by the Sun (Hymni, I, 15: σοι ο ου τα Μοιρα τον χορο ελευθερος). We shall deal with star choirs in II.4. As to the association of Moirai and planets, the Byzantine astronomer and astrologer Joannes Camaterus (XII A. D.) wrote that the power of the planets is rooted in the nature of the three Moirai (De zodiaco, 1023-4: Και γαρ δομινικ άστερων τριοι μοιραι περιγυμναι). The influence of stars is designated with the expression Τύχαι και Μοίραι in Papyri Graecae Magicae, Nr. 12 Preisendanz, lines 254-5 (σοι αι άγαθαι άπόρροιαι των άστερων είσιν, δαιμονίαι κα Τύχαι και Μοίραι, and Nr. 21 Preisendanz, I, 15-16 (ου αι άγαθαι άπόρροιαι των άστερων είσιν δαιμονίαι και Τύχαι και Μοίραι). That association of Moira and Tyche goes back to Archilochus (fr. 16 West = 3 Adriados, ap. Stob. I, 6, 3: Πάντα τύχη και μοῖρα, Περίκλεες, άνδρα δίδωσι) and Pindar (fr. 41 Snell-Maehler, ap. Paus. VII, 26, 8: εγ' μεν οὖν Πινδάρου τά τε ἅλλα πειθομαί τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ Μούρῳ τε εἶναι μέν τὰν Τύχην).

B. Sun, Moon, and planets as gods: Manetho (third century C. E.), Apotelesmatica, III, 29-34: τ' Άστερες ἐπτα θεοὶ μὲν αν', οὐρανοῦ ἥρα ποιητός, / τ' ζώνας κατέχουσιν άνω τάς ἐπτά πόλοιν, / τ' αἰώνιος τε γένος καὶ μίξα φύσεως πολυμόρφου, / τ' ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου σφαιρώμ' ἀνα καγχαλίσασιν / τ' εἰς ἕν διός ὅριος ψωμάσαν ήδε τ' ἐν οἴκοις: / τ' Ζεύς, Αἴρης, Παφίη, Μήνη, Κρώνος, Ἡλιος, Ἑρμής.

185 Cf. Hymni e papyris magicis collecti, fr. 4, 1, 23 (κλήζω δ' οὖνομα σὸν όρων Μοίραις ἱσάρθμον); perhaps a mistake instead κλήζω δ' οὖνομα σὸν, ὁρῷ, ὃν Μοίραις ἱσάρθμον (Papyri Graecae Magicae, 4, 1, 456, 1980 Preisendanz). In Papyri Graecae Magicae, 1, 1, 325 Preisendanz, there is no connection with the Horai: κλήζω δ' οὖνομα σὸν Μοίραις αὐτάς ἱσάρθμον. Moirai and Horai are related since Hesiod, Th., 901-6, who makes all of them daughters of Themis (δευτερον ήγάγετο λειπάρην Θέμην, ἥ τέκεν Ἡρας ... Μοίρας θ...).

186 A. A scholion to the fourth-third-century B. C. E. poet Lycothron (on the v. 585 of his Alexandra) mentions the sound of the spindle of the Moirai, without further implications. Among the Orphic Hymns (a collection dating from the second century C. E., if not later), the 59th is dedicated to the Moirai and ends with the verse Μοιραίων τέλος ἔλλαβ' ἀοιδή, ἢν ὕδαν' Ὀρφέες, which seems to have been atheitized by Quandt, and where the genitive Μοιραίων does not imply that the song were uttered by the Moirai; a proof of this is the text of the hymn itself. It is interesting too that the function of the Moirai is designed with the verb μυθίζω, in a scholion to Ps. Aeschylus, Prometheus vincit, 49 ("Ωλα αἱ Μοῖραι ἑρρίθησαν καὶ ἑτάξαν πλῆν τοῦ κομπάνει τῶν θεῶν"); but, given the nature of the Moirai, we may assume that this verse has no musical connotations there; it is used in its most general sense of "order, arrange, compose" (cf. Arist. Metaph. 1075b 12). The word ἀρμονία may be used with that (non musical) sense too, as in Ps. Aeschylus, Prometheus vincit, 551 (Δίδος ἀρμονίαν, explained by the scholiast as "the destiny", τὴν εἰμαρμένην).

B. As for "Parcae" as Latin name for the Moirai, cf. Hyginus, Fab., 277, where names of the Parcae are indicated which are the same as those for the Moirai in Plato’s myth of Er. On the song of the Parcae, cf. Catullus, 64, 306 (veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus), 321 (talia divino fuderunt carmine fata), and 383 (carmina divino cecinerunt pectore Parcae); Horatius, Carmen Saeculare, 25 (Vosque, veraces cecinisse Parcae); Hyginus, Astr., II, 15, 4, 5 (illo tempore Parcae fenrarunt cecinisse fata); Hyginus, Fab., 171, 1-2 (cum esset natus Meleager, subito in regia apparaerunt Parcae Clotho Lachesis Atropos, cui fata ita cecinerunt; cf. ibid., 174, 2, 2: huc Parcae venerant et Meleagro fata cecinerunt); Ovidius, Tristia, V, 3, 25-6 (scilicet hanc legem nentes fatalia Parcae / stamina bis genito bis cecinere nibi); Ov., Met., VIII, 455 (carmine dicto; the context shows that it is the Parcae who sing); Tibullus, I, 7, 1 (Hunc cecinere diem Parcae); eiusd., III, 11, 3 (Te nascente novum Parcae cecinere).
C. The myth of the invention of the vowels by the Parcae leans on an emendation by Roscher to Hyginus, *Fab.*, 277: Parcae, Clotho Lachesis Atropos, inuenarunt litteras Graecas septem, A B H T I Γ. : "The Parcae, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, found the seven Greek letters Α Β Η Τ Ι Γ Ω. Roscher, 1901, 369-70, suggested the emendation Α Β Η Ι Ο Υ Ω, on the basis that the only group of seven letters, among those distinguished by ancient grammarians, is that of the vowels (Dionysius Thrax, in Bekker, 1814, 631: φωνήεστα μεν είσιν ἔττα); cf. Arist. *Metaph.*, 1093 a 13-14 (seven are the vowels: έπτά μεν φωνήεστα; Philo Alexandrinus, *Sacraurum legum allegoriae*, I, 5 (vol. I, p. 46 Mangey; vol. I, p. 64 Cohn: ἐν γούν γραμματική τά ἁριστά τῶν στοιχείων καὶ πλειστίν δόμιμων ἔχοντα ἐπτά ἔστιν ἀριθμῷ, τὰ φωνήεστα); Zeno, in D. L., VII, 57 (φωνήεστα δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἐπτά, α, ε, η, λ, ο, υ, ω), and Macrobius, *In Somn. Scip.*, I, 6, 70: post annos septem … plene absolutur integritas loquenti: unde et septem vocales literae a natura dicuntur inuenae.

D. For the correspondences between planets and Greek vowels, cf. in general Godwin, 1991, and the following sources:

D. 1. The first allusion to a correspondence between vowels and heavenly bodies (the Pleiads) may be that of Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 1093a 13-14 (="Pythagoristae", 58 B 27 DK): ἐπτά μὲν φωνήεστα, ἐπτά δὲ χορδαὶ ἡ ἀρμονία, ἐπτά δὲ αἱ πλειάδες, ἐν ἑπτὰ δὲ ὁδώρουσα βάλλει (ἐνά γε, ἐνά δ' οὖ), ἐπτά δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ θύρας. Αρ' οὖν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ὁ ἄριθμός πέφυκεν, διὰ τούτο ἢ ἕκεινον ἐγένοτα ἐπτά ἢ ἡ πλεῖας ἐπτά ἀστέρων ἐστίν... A thorough discussion of this text, as far as the Pleiads are concerned, can be found in our chapter II. 4.

D. 2. The first allusion we know to a relationship between vowels and the heptad constituted by the Sun, Moon, and the five planets known to the Ancients, is to be found in Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 386a-b: ἐπτά μὲν εἶναι τὰ φωνή ἰδίᾳν ἄφιετα τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐπτά δὲ τοὺς κύκλους αὐτοτελῆ καὶ ἀκῦθεν εἰς ὀφθαλμὸν κυνομενοὺς ἀστέρας εἶναι δὲ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον τό τ' εἰ τῶν φωνηστῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν Ἥλιον ἀπὸ σελήνης τῶν πλανήτων.

D. 3. Scholia Vatica in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, p. 197, l. 33 – p. 198, l. 6 Hilgard (Καὶ τι δήποτε ὁ τεχνικὸς τῶν φωνηστῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπτά ὁριζεται; Καὶ φαίμεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὰ τὸ> (198.) ἀριθμός τῶν χορδῶν τῆς λύρας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν, ἡ κατὰ μέρην τῶν ἐπτά ἀστέρων τῶν πλανήτων τοῦ σύμφωνος-πλανήτης γὰρ εἰσίν ἐπτά, Κρόνος, Ζεύς, Ἀργος, Ηλιὸς, Ἀφροδίτη, Ἔμμη καὶ Σελήνη. Τάσην γὰρ τὰ φωνήστα τοὺς πλανήν ἀνάκειται: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀκραῖος τῇ Σελήνῃ ἀνακειότατο, τὸ δὲ ε τῷ Ἐμμῇ, τὸ δὲ ἡ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, τὸ δὲ ι τῷ Ηλίῳ, τὸ δὲ ι τῷ Ἀρεί, τὸ δὲ υ τῷ ΔΙῳ, τὸ δὲ υ τῷ Κρόνῳ); cf. scholia Londinensia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, p. 497, l. 20-6 Hilgard (Ἀνακείεται δὲ τὸ ι τῇ Αφροδίτῃ, ἀπὸ της πρώτης ἀρ' ἠμῶν λαχοῦσα ζώνῃ τὸ δὲ ε τῷ Ἐμμῇ τῆς δευτέρης ἔχουσιν τὸ δὲ ι τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῆς τρίτης ἐχούσῃ τὸ δὲ ι τῷ Ηλίῳ, ὅτι τὸν μέσον πόλον περιεῖ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ γραμμὴν ἀποτεπαθήνης τα καὶ ἅπαν, σημαίνονσαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἀποπετειμένας ἀκτίνας τὸ δὲ ι τῷ Ἀρεί τῆς πέμπτης ἔχουσιν τὸ δὲ υ τῷ ΔΙῳ τὴν ἕκτην ἔχουσιν τὸ δὲ υ τῷ Κρόνῳ τὴν τελευταίαν ἔχουσιν).


D. 8. Joannes Lydus Laurentius, De mensibus, II, 3 (Πάντας τούς ρυθμούς ἐκ τῆς τῶν πλανήτων κινήσεως εἶναι συμβαίνει: ο μὲν γὰρ Κρόνος τῷ Διώσει, ὁ δὲ Ζεύς τῷ Φυγίῳ, ὁ δ᾿ Ἀρής τῷ Λυώκῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κινοῦνται κατὰ τῶν Πιθαγόραν πρὸς τῶν ἤξυν τῶν φωτόσων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἑρμοῦ τὸν κ, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ι, ὁ δ᾿ Ἡμις τὸν η, καὶ οἱ Ζεύς τοῦ Κρόνου τὸν ι, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεος τὸν ι, καὶ Σέληνης τὸν ν, ὃ γε μήρ τοῦ Δίως ἀστήρ τὸν ν ῥυθμὸν ἀποτελεῖν).

187 Cf. Pl. R., 398d (ὅτι τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστῶν συγκείμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἀρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ); Aristoxenus, Fragmenta Parisisima, p. 27, 4 ff. Pighi (Ὑπερὶ εἰς τὰ ρυθμιζόμενα, λέξεις, μέλος, κίνησις συμβατική, ὡστε διαιρῆθη τῶν χρόνων ή μὲν λέξις τῶν αὐτής μέρεσιν ὁλον γραμμασι καὶ συλλαβασι καὶ μῆμασι καὶ πάσι τοῖς τουούτοις· τὸ δὲ μέλος τῶν αὐτοῦ φθόγγοι τε καὶ διαστήματι· δὲ κίνησις σημείων τε καὶ σχήμα καὶ εἰ τι τουούτο ἐστὶ κινήσεως μέρος ἐπὶ τοῖς: "Things that may be put into rhythmic patterns are three: language, music, and bodily movement. Thus, language will distribute time among its own parts (that is, letters, syllables, phrases, and all the like); music, among its sounds and intervals; movement, among gestures, postures, and whatever part of the movement there may be in addition." Cf. also Aristoxenus, Elementa rhythmica, II, p. 19, 11-20 (Εὕρεται δὲ τὰ ρυθμιζόμενα τριὰ· λέξεις, μέλος, κίνησις συμβατική, ὡστε διαιρῆθη τῶν χρόνων ή μὲν λέξις τῶν αὐτής μέρεσιν, ὁλον γραμμασι καὶ συλλαβασι καὶ μῆμασι καὶ πάσι τοῖς τουούτοις· τὸ δὲ μέλος τῶν αὐτοῦ φθόγγοι τε καὶ διαστήματι καὶ συστήματι· δὲ κίνησις σημείων τε καὶ σχήμα καὶ εἰ τι τουούτο ἐστι κινήσεως μέρος); for the differences between music and speech, cf. Aristoxenus, Elementa harmonica, p. 14, 1. 6-17 Da Rios (ὅταν μὲν οὕτωι κινῆται ὡς φωνή· ὡστε μηδαμοῦ δοκεῖ ἵστασθαι τὴν ἀκοήν, συνεχῆ λεγομεν ταῦτη τὴν κίνησιν· ὅταν δὲ στήραιν ποὺ δόξασαι εἰστα τῶν διαβαίνειν τίνα τῶν φαινή καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα πάλιν ἐφ’ ἔτερας στάσεως στήραιν δόξη καὶ τοῦτο ἐνναλλάζει ποιεῖν φαινομένη συνεχῶς διασταλη, διαστηματικὴν τὴν τοκαυτὴν κίνησιν λέγομεν· τὴν μὲν ὅτι συνεχῇ λογικήν εἶναι φαινετε, διαλεγομενῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὕτως ὡς φωνὴ· κινεῖται κατὰ τῶν ὡστε μηδαμοῦ ἵστασθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ἢν ὑμώμαζομεν διαστηματικὴν ἐναυτῶς πέμψει γίνεται· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἵστασθαι τε δοκεὶ καὶ πάντες τοῦτο φαινομένου ποιεῖν οὐκέτε λέγειν φαινείν ἄλλα θείαν, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De compositione verborum, 11.

188 We shall deal with these Delphic Muses in the next chapter.

A) About Plato’s having concealed the Delphic Muses under the names of the Moirai, cf. Plutarch, Table Talks, IX, 4, 3, 745a-c: τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Δελφῶν. λέγουσι γάρ ὁ φθόγγος οὐδὲ χρόνοις ἐπισώμεοις γεγονές τὸς Μούσας παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου τρεῖς πάντα νεκρομελείν πρῶτιν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν μερέδα, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν πλανομένων, ἐσχάτην δὲ τὴν τῶν ὑπὸ σειρήνην, συνηθίσατε δὲ πάσας καὶ συνεταχθαί κατὰ λόγους ἐναρμονίαν, ὡς ἐκάστης φίλακα Μοῦσαν εἶναι, τὴς μὲν πρώτης ἴππατρή, τῆς δ’ ἐσχάτης Νεάτην, Μεσίνη δὲ τῆς μεταξύ, συνέχουσαν ἁμα καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαν, ὡς ἀνυπότον ἐστί, τὰ βιβεία τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ περίερα τοῖς οὐρανίοις· ὡς καὶ Πλάτων (R. 617b-c) ἔνθετο τοῖς τῶν Μοῦσων ἀνάμμων τὴν μὲν "Αἴτροπον τὴν δὲ Κλωθὰ τὴν δὲ Λάχεσαν προσγυρεύεσαι.

mysteries and musical elements; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanae, I, 31, 1 (hegĕtō dē tēs ἀποστολῆς Εὐανδρος Ἐμμος λεγόμενος καὶ νόμφας τινὸς Ἀρχαίου ἐπιχορίας, ἢν ὦν Ἰλλῆνης Θέμων εἶναι λέγονται καὶ θεοφόροντος ἀποφαίνονται, οἱ δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράφας ἀρχαιολόγες τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ Καρμέντην ὑνομαζόντας εἰς δὲ Ἑλλάδα φονῆ Θεσσαλίδος τῇ νύφῃ τοῦνομα τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὀφέλος καλοῦς Ῥωμαῖοι πάρμανα, τὴν δὲ γνωρία ταύτην ὑμολογοῦν διαμοίραντα κατασχέσθην γενομένην τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν τῇ πλήρῃ δὲ ὀδὴ προλέγεται); Plutarchus, De Pythiae oraculis, 402d ( διὸ τὴν ἐν μέτροις καὶ μέλεις χρησιμοδιαί: ib., 407b (ποιητικοὶ τινες ἄνδρες ἐκδηχομένοι τὰς φωνὰς καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐκπίθυμαθαι περὶ τὸν χρηστήματος ὑπὸ τὸ προστυχός) periplēκτος: Cic. Div., II, 98, 9 ( nec eius fata canere dubitabant); Vergilius, Aen., III, 183 (sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat); ibid., III, 443-4 (insanam vatem aspicies, quae rape sub ima / fata canit follisque notas et nomina mandat); ibid., III, 456-7 (quae aedem vatem precibusque oracula poscas / ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat); ibid., V, 524 (serraque terrifici cecinereunt omina vates); ibid., VI, 65-76 ( ... naque, o sanctissima vates / ... / [v. 74] ... foliis tantum ne carmina mandaque, ne turbata volent rapidis ludiria ventis; / ipsa canas oro); ibid., VIII, 49 ( had incerta cano, says the god of the Tiber river); ibid., VIII, 339-41 (nymphae priuca Carmentis honorem; / vatis fatidicae, cecinat quae prina futuros / Aeneas magnos et nobile Pallanteum); ibid., VIII, 498-9 (haruspex / fata canens); ibid., VIII, 534 (hocsignum cecinimissuram diva creatrix); Horatius, Carm., I, 15, 4-5 (ut caneret fera / Nereus fata canet); Ovidius, Heroïdes, 21, 232 (quae est pulchro apud Deiphis fata canente deo); eiusd., Ibis., 246 (Faca canat vates); eiusd., Met., 2, 635-9 (ecce venit rutulis uenera protecta / filia centauro, quam quondam nymphā Carthlicio / fluminis in rapidī ripis exīsa vocavit / Ocyræna: non haec artes contenta paternas / edidicisse fut, fatorum arcana canebat); Tibullus, II, 5, 15-6 (Te duce Romanos nunquam frustrata Sibylla, / Abdicta quae sensis fata canit pedibus); Prop., IV, 7, 51 (iaro ego Fatorum nulli revolubile Carmen; Roman writers called the Moirai “Fata”, according to Procopius, De bellis, V, 20, 2, 1-2: Τρίτα Φάτα. οὐν γάρ Ῥωμαίοι τὰς Μοίρας νεομικάς καλείν); T. Livius, X, 8, 2 (carminum Sibyllae; the songs of the Sibylla are also mentioned in XXXVIII, 45, 3); Statius, Silv., V, 3, 174 (illa [sc. Sibylla] minas divum Parcarumque acta canebat); Silius Italicus, IV, 131 (Contra laeta Bogus Tyrion canuit optics et nomina regis); Sex. Pompeius Festus (II A. D.), De verborum significatione, p. 325, l. 11 Müller: Versus quoque antiquissimse, quibus Faustus fata cencisse homininus videtur); Argumenta Aeneidis (Decasticha), III, 5 (Phoebi responsa canentis); Paus. 10, 5, 7-8 (10, 5, 8: Ἄλκιθρη, ὃς γένετο πρωτός Φοῖβοι προφάτας, / πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαῖων ἐπών τεκταντ' αὐξανά); Plutarch's Aetia Romanu et Graeca, 278c (ἐμμετροὺς δὲ χρησμοὺς ἄδουσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λατινίων Καρμεντῶν νομιμαξεξῆσθαι τὰ χαρίζει τῇ κάμηνα καλοῦντο; eiusd. De sera numinis vindicta, 566d 8-9 (έλεγε δ' ὁ δαίμων τῇ φωνῇ εἶναι Σεβῆλλος· ἄδειε γὰρ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων); Servius, In Aen. VIII, 336 (CARMENTIS NIMPHAE MONITA matris eius, quae Nicostrate dicta est, sed ideo Carmentis appellata a suis, quod divinatione fata caneret: nam antque vates carmentes diecantur, unde etiam libriores quorum eorum dicta perscriberent, carmentarios nuncupatos); Hermias, In Platonis Phaedrum scholia, p. 88, l. 15-16 Couvreur (ὦ τε αὐται τῇ ποιητικῇ καὶ μουσικῇ προσχώρηται, ἐμμετρε γὰρ ὡς ἔπος εἰσεῖν ἀεὶ φθεγγυτὸν οἱ μάντες); Eustathius, Ad II., vol. 1, l. 15, l. 11 Van der Valk (μαντηκοὶ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν αὐτὸδα εἰνομίζοντας). 190 For the theme of the song of the Moirai being shared with that of the Muses’, cf. Res. Th., 36-8: τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα, τὰ δὲ πατρά / ὑμεῦσαι τέρπονται μέγας ὀνόμῃ ἐντός Ὀλύμπου, / εἰροοῦσα τὰς ἑούσαις πρὸς τὸ ἑούσα. The interpretation of past, present, and future (contents of the song of the Moirai) as a metaphoric device to express the hierarchy among the Moirai or the functions of their intelligences belongs to Proclus, In R., vol. 2, p. 250, l. 1-10 Kroll (τὴν τάξιν ἥθελεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιήσαι γνώριμον διὰ τῶν πρῶτος τοῦ χρόνου μορφών, ὥς ἢ ἴχνες μὲν τὸ γεγονός, ὥς ἢ Ἀδέσυς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐντύπων δὲ τὸ παρών, ὥς ἢ Κλωνίδες δευτέρα: τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὥς ἢ Ἀττρός, γελοῖον γὰρ, ἐι τῶς ἣδος τὰς χρόνους ὄντος δημιουργεῖ τὰς ὑμνήσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ συμβολικῶς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν
πρώτην καὶ μέσην καὶ τελευταίαν νοήμεσθκεν ἐνέργειαν, πασῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ χρόνου ὑψηλῶν, τοῦ δὲ μέθοδον
dιὰ τῶν χρονικῶν ὁνομάτων τὴν ἐξαλλαγήν τῶν 10 ἀχρόνων νοήμεσθων σημαίνοντο).
II. 3. THE HEAVENLY BODIES OF THE MUSES

a) Prooimion

We have already mentioned some affinities between the Sirens, Moirai, and Muses, and we must now deal with the Muses themselves as bearers of cosmic harmony. We are going to show that the Muses share with the Sirens the association with heavenly spheres/bodies, the fact that they were considered as embodiments of sound, and the function of leading the souls through heaven. The main difference between Muses and Sirens in this connection is that the former were not believed to be souls of the dead. Otherwise, the link between Muses and heavenly bodies may be of not too later origin than the celestial Sirens discussed in the previous chapter, although it had a greater literary success, and even survived among Christian Latin writers and medieval music theorists. The association of the Muses with the sounds of the musical system, and more specifically with the strings of the lyre, is far clearer than in the case of the Sirens, but it was of later origin (as we shall see in the next section, it was the Pleiads, not the Muses, who were linked with the strings of the lyre in the Classical period). On the other hand, Plato hinted at the role of the Muses as celestial psychopomps, whereas he did not attribute it to the Sirens. The Neoplatonists made further allusions to this aspect of the Muses.

b) Muses and Heavenly Realms

In the previous chapter we mentioned that, according to a passage of Plutarch’s Table Talk, the three Moirai singing in Plato’s myth of Er were a hint at
three Muses belonging to a Delphic tradition, whose names were Hypate, Mese, Neate, and who were linked with cosmic regions.

Still I wonder how Lamprias missed what they say in Delphi, namely, that among them the Muses are not the eponyms of the sounds or the strings, but since the world is as a whole divided in three parts, the first one is that of the fixed stars; second, that of the errant ones; last, the sublunar one, and all are joined together and arranged according harmonic ratios. A Muse is the protector of every one of them: Hypate guards the first region; Neate guards the last one; Mese, the middle one, who holds together and turns at the same time as much as possible the mortal things with the divine ones, those surrounding the Earth with those of heavens. Plato hinted at this with the names of the Moirai, giving to one of them the name ‘Atropos,’ to the other, ‘Klotho,’ and to the last one, ‘Lachesis,’ for he placed the Sirens, not the Muses, (who were equal in number) on the orbits of the eight spheres.

The names mentioned by Plutarch are attested for the Muses on an inscription from Argos (ca. 300 B. C. E.), where three Muses, called Neta, Messa and Hypata appear besides a fourth one, Prata (dialect form for Prote, i. e., “first”), possibly a local denomination of a string of the lyre otherwise called hyperhypate. Yet Plutarch did not refer those names of the Muses to the strings of the lyre, but to different regions of the Universe:

a) “Hypate” (“the uppermost”) was linked with the sphere of the fixed stars, because of the most general meaning of the adjective hypatos, “the uppermost.”
b) “Mese,” meaning “the middle,” was linked with the region of the planets as a whole, since it is placed between the sphere of the fixed stars and that of the Moon.

c) “Nete,” meaning “the uttermost,” was linked with the sublunar region.\(^{197}\)

Plutarch suggested that these Delphic Muses were already at work in the Platonic myth of Er, concealed under the names of the three Moirai,\(^{198}\) but Plato did not associate his Moirai with any cosmic region. Such a connection seems to be exclusively Plutarchean, but these three Muses and the Moirai, all linked with regions of a threefold cosmic scheme, will deserve further comments in another chapter.

On the other hand, Proclus, in his commentaries to Plato’s *Timaeus*, stated a relationship between the nine Muses and a nine-fold division of the universe.\(^{199}\)

c) Muses as Stars of Cosmic Music

The first source where a link between Muses and heavenly bodies might have been suggested is a fragment of the Latin poet Ennius (239-169 B. C. E.\(^{200}\)): *Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum* (“O ye Muses, who stamp with your feet the mighty Olympus”). Varro (116-27 B. C. E.\(^{201}\)), commenting on Ennius’s fragment, explains that the Greeks called the heaven “Olympus” (*caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum*).\(^{202}\) This might imply that for Ennius the Muses are the heavenly bodies: even if Ennius’s fragment makes sense without identifying heavens and Olympus, it is likely that Ennius, born in Rudiae, near Brindisi and Tarentum, in the third century B. C. E. (the same century in which Tarentum was conquered by Rome), knew and was influenced by the Pythagorean doctrines so widely extended in Magna Graecia.\(^{204}\) And the equation “Olympus” = “Heaven,” mentioned for the first time by Varro, as we
have seen, was ascribed to Philolaus by the first-second centuries C. E. doxographer Aetius, which suggests that it was accepted in Pythagorean circles.\textsuperscript{205}

A far more clear, direct piece of evidence for the Muses being related to cosmic harmony is at least three centuries later than Plato, and only a few decades later than Varro and earlier than Plutarch (\textit{ca.} 45-125 C. E.): Philo of Alexandria (25 B. C. E. – 50 C. E.) is the first author qualifying the harmony of the celestial movements as “like that of all the Muses” or alluding to the “harmonic arrangement and dance of the stars, truly like that of all the Muses.”\textsuperscript{206} Maximus of Tyros (125-185 C. E.\textsuperscript{207}) seems to imply an identification between Muses and stars in his interpretation of a passage of Hesiod: according to Maximus, Hesiod was alluding to the heavenly music when describing Mount Helicon, the most holy choirs dancing there, and Helios or Apollo as their coryphaeus. Given the Hesiodic passages, where Apollo leads the choir of the Muses, it is likely that Maximus of Tyros was implying an identification between Muses and stars.\textsuperscript{208}

Maximus of Tyros also suggests that a factor enhancing the association of the Muses with the stars might have been Apollo’s identification with the Sun. As a matter of fact, Apollo and the Sun are distinct from one another in the earliest sources (for example, in the \textit{Homeric Hymn to Apollo}, Apollo alludes to the Sun as being different from himself\textsuperscript{209}), but they became identified in Classical times.\textsuperscript{210} It seems that the Pythagoreans had some influence on that idea: according to Macrobius, the astronomer Oenopides explained the Apollinean epithet \textit{Λοξίας} on the ground that the Sun follows an inclined path through the ecliptic: the equation \textit{Apollo} = \textit{Sun} is implicit in this interpretation.\textsuperscript{211} Oenopides was not far from the Pythagoreans: Aetius says that Oenopides had kidnapped Pythagoras’s discovery of the obliquity of the ecliptic, and Aristotle attributed to “some Pythagoreans” the doctrine (later ascribed
to Oenopides) that the Milky Way was the ancient path of the Sun. If Apollo was already identified with the Sun, the Muses could be associated with the planets, because they constituted the choir usually lead by Apollo, and this god was honored by Plato as “conductor” of the cosmic harmony. Thus, the association of Muses and planets could have existed in Classical times as well, but our first piece of actual evidence is hardly to be dated to the third century B.C.E., if we accept that Ennius was implying such an association in the fragment discussed above.

No one of those authors specified the number of the Muses, but beyond the three Delphic Muses perhaps mentioned by Plutarch, other authors such as Arnobius take into account the nine Hesiodic Muses, and Porphyrius attributes to Pythagoras himself a link between those nine Muses and the heavenly bodies, as we shall see below. We can observe that, while there is no ancient source specifying individual links between the Sirens and the heavenly bodies, it is a different matter with respect to the Muses. We have seen a possible correspondence between the three Delphic Muses and the threefold division of the cosmos. When it came to linking Muses and heavenly bodies, the Ancients made several attempts to establish a correspondence between nine Muses and seven or eight cosmic spheres.

According to Plutarch, “the elders bequeathed us nine Muses: eight (according to Plato) bewitching around the heavenly bodies, and the ninth around the terrestrial realms.” In the Table Talk, the author places this ninth Muse between Moon and Earth and makes her transmit harmony and rhythm to the Earth, charming what is prone to disorder and trouble in human life. Other efforts to assign the nine Muses to eight positions are those of Porphyrius, who suggested that Apollo was the Sun and “the nine Muses who entice him are the sublunar sphere, the seven planetary spheres, and the sphere of the fixed stars.” This seems a logical derivation of the association
between Sun and Apollo, a link we can trace back to the fifth century B.C.E., and the seven planetary spheres mentioned by Porphyrius would be those of Mercury, Venus, Earth, Moon, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Porphyrius also attributed to Pythagoras an identification of the sounds of the seven planets, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the Counter-Earth with the Muses, as we shall see later. One can argue that these identifications involving nine heavenly bodies or regions cannot go back to the Pythagoreans of Classical times, who counted ten heavenly bodies; but it should be remembered that one of those ten heavenly bodies was the Sun, identified with Apollo, and, as we have seen, the Pythagoreans admitted this equation Apollo = Sun. The identification of Muses with planets, however, should belong to a tradition different from that of a Pythagorean aphorism quoted by Porphyrius himself, and according to which the planets are the dogs of Persephone.219

Another system, attributed to Porphyrius by Macrobius, considers that the ninth Muse corresponds to the harmony of all the eight celestial spheres together.220 Last, Martianus Capella is the only ancient author who specifies which sphere is linked with each Muse, taking into account the Earth: Urania is assigned the sphere of the fixed stars; Polyhymnia, that of Saturn; Euterpe, that of Jupiter (the “jovial” star); Erato, that of Mars; Melpomene, that of the Sun; Terpsichore, that of Venus; Calliope, that of Mercury; Clio, that of the Moon, and Thalia, that of the Earth.221 We can see that Porphyrius linked Apollo with the Sun, and included the Counter-Earth in the system attributed to Pythagoras, whereas Martianus Capella drops out the Counter-Earth, does not take Apollo into account, and associates the Sun with a Muse.

Last, we should remember Eratosthenes, the Alexandrine scholar of the third century B.C.E., author of a catalogue of constellations in which the myths related to them were also told. Of this work only an abridged version, perhaps dating from the
second century C. E., survives. It is known as the Pseudo-Eratosthenes’ *Catasterismoi*, and in its chapter 31, devoted to the constellation of the Dolphin, it is said that this animal is fond of music because the number of stars of its constellation is equal to that of the Muses.\textsuperscript{222}

d) Muses as Divine Embodiments of Sound

At the beginning of this chapter we saw that, according to Plutarch, the names of the three Delphic Muses, Hypate, Mese, and Nete, did not allude to the strings of the lyre, but to regions of the Universe (the sphere of the fixed stars, the region between Sun and Moon, and the sublunar realm). No one of the other authors examined so far specified any link between the Muses and the sounds of the musical system, but such links are attested elsewhere and constitute a further trait shared by Sirens and Muses. An association between Muses and strings of the lyre is even more consistently attested when it comes to the Muses than in the case of the Sirens.\textsuperscript{223}

For example, in plain opposition to Plutarch, Censorinus (third century C. E.\textsuperscript{224}) says that three Muses were worshipped in the past, Hypate, Mese, and Nete, because of the three pitch-regions of the instruments.\textsuperscript{225} In fact, “Hypate” (“the uppermost”) was the name for the string yielding the lowest sound, but the one being the farthest from the body of the player;\textsuperscript{226} “Mese,” meaning “the middle,” was the name for the string that yields a sound being a fourth higher than the “hypate,” and “Nete,” meaning “the uttermost,” was the highest in pitch.

Another link between the number of Muses and that of the sounds of ancient musical systems is also suggested two centuries before Censorinus: according to Cornutus, some men believed that the Muses were four or seven because that was the
number of sounds of the ancient instruments of the musicians. All this can be adaptations of an idea which may go back to Eratosthenes: the Alexandrine scholar seems to have written that Orpheus increased the number of strings of the lyre from seven to nine, “because of the number of the Muses.” If this actually goes back to Eratosthenes himself, it is the earliest piece of evidence associating Muses and strings of the lyre, and Cornutus and Censorinus would have adapted the idea to traditions presenting a different number of Muses.

Besides, Porphyrius attributes to Pythagoras himself the link between the nine Muses and the sounds of the heavenly bodies: according to Porphyrius, Pythagoras would have identified the sounds of the seven planets, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the Counter-Earth with the Muses. This brings to our mind that, according to Theon of Smyrna, the Pythagoreans interpreted the Sirens of Plato’s myth of Er as personifications of the sound of the stars. Both Sirens and Muses shared this association with celestial sounds.

e) Celestial Psychopomps?

Beyond these attempts at equating Muses, heavenly bodies, and musical sounds, or at identifying correspondences among them, we can say that the Muses represented the divine and musical character of the stars, as the Sirens also did. Amelius (a disciple of Plotinus, third century C. E.), quoted by the sixth century C. E. historian Johannes Lydus, said that:
The Muses are the souls of the spheres, who bring together the operations of all the causal powers and essences that they send forth toward the universe, and join them in one consonance, that has been settled by the Demiurge.\textsuperscript{231}

Obviously, this may remind us of the function of the Sirens, according to Proclus’s commentaries on Plato’s \textit{Republic} (see II. 1. c. 4), which note that the Sirens are inferior to the Muses as spirits to be carried round together with the heavenly circles.\textsuperscript{232} Both Muses and Sirens are interpreted as the musical tunes of the spheres by Macrobius, even if they are not identified:

\textsuperscript{[1]} In a discussion in the \textit{Republic} about the whirling motion of the heavenly spheres, Plato says that a Siren sits upon each of the spheres, thus indicating that by the motions of the spheres divinities were provided with song; for a singing Siren is equivalent to a god in the Greek acceptance of the word. Moreover, cosmogonists have chosen to consider the nine Muses as the tuneful song of the eight spheres and the one predominant harmony that comes from all of them. \textsuperscript{[2]} In the \textit{Theogony}, Hesiod calls the eighth Muse Urania because the eighth sphere, the star bearer, situated above the seven errant spheres, is correctly referred to as the sky; and to show that the ninth was the greatest, resulting from the harmony of all sounds together, he added: “Calliope, too, who is preeminent among all.” The very name shows that the ninth Muse was noted for the sweetness of her voice, for Calliope means “best voice.”\textsuperscript{233}

Besides being considered spirits of the heavenly spheres, the Muses, according to Proclus, share with the Sirens the cathartic function of cosmic music. For example, in the commentaries to Plato’s \textit{Republic}, Proclus says:
For one is the harmony that is fit for the gods, that saves the souls and sets them among the gods; the other is the harmony incident to generation, the harmony that binds the soul to material things. And the first one is actually the work of the Muses, who educate our intellectual faculties and bring them to perfection and make them resemble the celestial order, whereas the other one, belonging to a certain kind of Sirens, resembles the harmonies that favor generation.  

The same author of these lines said that the Muses teach the souls how to proceed, purified, towards the stars allotted to them, and Porphyrius credits them with that function as well.  

Plato did not explicitly attribute a cathartic function to the Muses, but we may infer he was hinting at it in certain passages of the Symposium and the Timaeus. In this dialogue, Plato states that the faculty of hearing and everything helpful for music was given to mankind in order to keep harmony, and that this is not oriented to irrational pleasure, but is a gift of the Muses to those who make use of them according to reason, for adapting the soul’s movements to those of music, and restore in that way the harmony of the soul. It is especially interesting that, for Plato, the Muse who most clearly plays this role is Urania. This was one of the Muses most frequently invoked in archaic Greek literature, and in the Hellenistic period she would become Muse of Astronomy. In the Symposium, Plato considered music as an erotic art, on the ground of its harmonizing power, and stated that love which infuses harmony into human soul is the heavenly one, that of Muse Urania. This is still alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, who wrote that Urania owes her name to the fact that she snatches to heaven those she has instructed. An interesting iconographic hint at this consideration of Urania can be seen on a Roman sarcophagus: next to a sitting man with a papyrus roll in his hand, Urania, standing, touches with a wand a starry sphere.
The meaning of that image, according to Marrou\textsuperscript{241} and Cumont,\textsuperscript{242} was this: the Muse of Astronomy was showing that the knowledge of heavens leads to immortality.\textsuperscript{243} This was an echo of the important role Plato had bestowed upon Urania.\textsuperscript{244}

f) Conclusion

As we have seen, the Muses share almost all the characteristics of the Sirens as mythical bearers of the harmony of the spheres, but their role in this connection is attested later than in the case of the Sirens. Their association with certain regions of the universe, or with the heavenly bodies, begins to be alluded to in literary sources of the first century B. C. E.-first century C. E., although it might be suggested by Ennius in the third-second centuries C. E. The individual links of the Muses with different heavenly bodies, however, is more clearly detailed than those of the Sirens. The same can be said about the Muses as divine embodiments of the sound: this character was first suggested by Cornutus in the first century C. E. Last, but not least, their function as psychopomps and purifiers of the soul was already suggested by Plato, and the Neoplatonists developed this idea and connected it with the ascent of the soul and the belief in astral immortality. On the other hand, we do not know any source hinting at a relation between the Muses and the souls of the dead: this is an important difference with respect to the Sirens.
We have seen that, before the Muses were associated with other heavenly bodies, Apollo was identified with the Sun and thought to be the conductor of cosmic harmony, and we have even suggested that both “equations” (Apollo – Sun; Muses – planets and sphere of the fixed stars) could have been linked. Now it seems interesting to present some other sources for Apollo-Sun as conductor of the harmony of heavens. We are going to show that, although the equation “Apollo – Sun” is older than the one identifying Muses and the other heavenly bodies, both ran a parallel story in literary sources during the Roman Empire.

It is really intriguing that the first divine conductor of the cosmic choir was Dionysus, not Apollo: in his Antigone, Sophocles invokes Dionysus as “chorus-leader of the fire-breathing stars.” This was, so far as we know, an isolated testimony, whereas the function of leading the chorus of the stars corresponded to Apollo, associated with the Sun. We have already alluded to Plato’s discussion of Apollo as conductor of the cosmic choir: in the Cratylus, speculating about possible etymologies of the name “Apollo,” Socrates says:

And with reference to music we have to understand that alpha often signifies “together,” and here it denotes moving together in the heavens about the poles, as we call them, and harmony in song, which is called concord; for, as the ingenious musicians and astronomers tell us, all these things move together by a kind of harmony. And this god directs the harmony, making them all move together, among both gods and men; and so, just as we call the homokeleuthon (him who accompanies), and homokoitin (bedfellow), by changing the homo to alpha, akolouthon and akoitin, so also we called him Apollo who was Homopolos, and the
second lambda was inserted, because without it the name sounded of disaster (apolò, apolòla, etc.).

This function of Apolo might already be hinted at in a fragment by the fifth century B. C. E. poet Scythinus. According to Plutarch, the Megareans dedicated a golden plectron to Apollo, because the god attuned his instrument with the sunlight, as the poet Scythinus had said when talking about Apollo’s lyre

Which the good-looking son of Zeus attunes in its wholeness,

encompassing its beginning and its end, and he has as his shining plectron the sunlight.

We can guess that, if Apollo’s plectron is the sunlight, his lyre, in this context, would be the cosmic one, constituted by the other heavenly bodies, whose sounds would correspond to those of the lyre, according to an image we find attested in later sources. It may be rather puzzling that the connection of Apollo-Sun with the harmony of the spheres, possibly hinted at by Scythinus and more clearly stated by Plato, was not attested again until the first century B. C. E. Cornutus wrote that Apollo was called “musician” and “cithara-player” “because he harmonically strikes every part of the universe and makes it to be in harmony with every other part.” The verb employed for “strike” (krouo in Greek) was also commonly used for “play an instrument,” and this implies that the universe (the kósmos mentioned in the text) was considered to be Apollo’s instrument.

On the other hand, Varro attributed to the Sun the same function in relation with the cosmic lyre:
The Sun, handling the pliant lyre of the gods with a certain tuning method, makes it alive with divine movements.\textsuperscript{252}

The musical connotations of the Sun’s relevance among heavenly bodies are also hinted at by Cicero, when he calls the Sun “leader, chief, and ruler of the other luminaries, mind and ordering principle of the world.”\textsuperscript{253} Boyancé observed that the words \textit{dux et princeps} (“leader and chief”) correspond to the Greek \textit{hegemon kai arkhon} the epithets with which the musicians described the function of the \textit{mese}, the central string of the lyre:\textsuperscript{254} Aristotle said that “the \textit{mese} is the chief,” and, in the pseudo-aristotelian \textit{Problemata}, we read that the \textit{mese} is the highest leader of the tetrachord; in fact, another passage of those \textit{Problemata} states that “for all [sc. ‘the strings’] to be attuned is to be in a certain relation to the \textit{mese},” and Dio Chrysostomus says that the musicians first attuned the \textit{mese}, then the other strings in relation to the \textit{mese}.\textsuperscript{255} This affinity between the position and function of the Sun and those of the \textit{mese} was developed by Philo of Alexandria in a passage of the \textit{Life of Moses}, where he wrote:

\begin{quote}
The Sun, placed like the lampstand amidst the other six, in the fourth position, brings light for the three which are above as well as for those, equal in number, which are below, and attunes the musical and truly divine instrument.\textsuperscript{256}
\end{quote}

It must be pointed out\textsuperscript{257} that the central position given by Cicero and Philo of Alexandria to the Sun was accepted by some of the Pythagoreans. Theo of Smyrna attributes to the Pythagoreans, without further specification, the following ordination of the heavenly bodies, with the Sun in the middle: Earth, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the sphere of the fixed stars.\textsuperscript{258} Aetius, however,
attributes to Philolaus a cosmographical system in which the Sun follows immediately the Moon.\textsuperscript{259} This suggests that the Sun’s association with the \textit{mese} and its function as “conductor” of the music of the spheres belonged, at least partly, to the Pythagorean lore as well.

After Varro, Cicero, and Philo of Alexandria, the next piece of evidence for the musical connotations of the leading role of the Sun is to be found in some of the systems of the harmony of the spheres propounded by the ancients. Trying to establish links between the strings of the lyre and the heavenly bodies, some authors ascribed the \textit{mese} to the Sun: for example, Alexander of Ephesus,\textsuperscript{260} Plutarch,\textsuperscript{261} Nicomachus of Gerasa,\textsuperscript{262} and Boethius.\textsuperscript{263}

Later, the so-called \textit{Orphic Hymns} (second-third centuries C. E.) contain a couple of relevant passages for our topic. The \textit{Orphic Hymn Nr. 8}, v. 10, invokes the Sun with these words: “Thou of the golden lyre, who drags the harmonious course of the world.”\textsuperscript{264} Another Orphic hymn, the Nr. 34, offers further details about Apollo’s ruling function of the cosmic harmony:

\begin{quote}
Thou govern the whole heaven with thy much-sounding cithara, when, going to the limit of the \textit{nete}, and other times in turn to that of the \textit{hypate}, sometimes tempering the whole heaven according to the Dorian arrangement, thou distinguish the life-supporting species. For that thou harmoniously mix the universal fate of men, combining for both\textsuperscript{265} the same amount of winter as of summer, distinguishing winter with the most acute sounds, summer with the lowest, with the Dorian mode the fresh flower of the much-loved spring.\textsuperscript{266}
\end{quote}

This text hints at an analogy between the strings of the lyre and the seasons of the year. Such analogy is attested elsewhere from the first century B. C. E. onwards.\textsuperscript{267}
The point here is that the analogy between sounds and seasons of the year is taken to be the ground on which Apollo regulates the succession of the seasons: the summer comes with the help of the highest string of Apollo’s lyre, and the winter, with that of the lowest string. It is rather strange that the name of a mode (“Dorian”) should be put at the same level of the strings corresponding to two individual sounds of that mode. We suggest that “Dorian” could have been here substituted for the string “mese”, corresponding to the spring in the other source linking three seasons with three strings (Diodorus Siculus, I, 16, quoted in n. 267): it is not the only example in which the names of the modes are mentioned in systems of cosmic harmony, instead of the names of the strings. Substituting the name of a mode for the “mese” can be due to the fact that the “mese” was the sound most frequently repeated in a melody, that is: it could be taken as the most characteristic sound of the mode.

In the last centuries of the ancient world, Apollo’s role as conductor of the harmony of the spheres was connected with that of coryphaeus of the Muses by Macrobius. Commenting on Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis*, Macrobius wrote:

They call Apollo, god of the sun, the “leader of the Muses,” as if to say that he is the leader and chief of the other spheres, just as Cicero, in referring to the sun, called it leader, chief, and regulator of the other planets, mind and moderator of the universe.

Besides, Macrobius alludes to this function of Apollo in his *Saturnalia*:

The seven-stringed lyre of Apollo is better for the movements of the same number of heavenly spheres to be understood, for which nature appointed the Sun as their ruler.
Last, but not least, Proclus, who has provided us with evidence about the Muses as souls of the spheres, mentioned Apollo as unifying conductor of the music of the universe:

The ancients set the Muses and their leader Apollo over the universe: the latter leads the unique union of the whole harmony, whereas the former hold together the differentiated harmonies emerging from that harmony.\(^{273}\)

Thus we can see that the notion of Apollo as conductor of the cosmic harmony is consistently attested along the whole literary history of the ancient world, since the fifth century B.C.E., and the belief in this function of Apollo paralleled that in the Muses as bearers of the music of the spheres in Latin and Greek sources of the imperial period.

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\(^{193}\) Cf. II. 1. a-b., about the Sirens.

\(^{192}\) A. Homer and Hesiod mention nine Muses (*Od.*, XXIV, 60: Μούσαι δ’ εἶνεά πάσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὑπὶ καλῆ; Hesiod, *Th.*, 75-76: ταῦτ’ ἄρα Μούσαι ἄειδον ‘Ολύμπια δόμιστ’ ἔχουσαι / εἶνεά θυγατέρες μεγάλου Δίος ἐκγεγαυκαί), but other authors, chronologically near to Plutarch, mention three: Diodorus Siculus, IV, 7, 2 (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς λέγοσιν, οἱ δ’ εἶνεά, καὶ κεκράτηκεν ὁ τῶν εἶνεά ἀρθμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπταεικαστῶν ἀνδρῶν βεβαιούμενος, λέγω δὲ Ὄμηρον τε καὶ Ἡσιόδον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων); Cornutus, *De nat. deor.*, 14, p. 15, 3 Lang (τρεῖς μὲν διὰ τὴν προειρεμιένην τῆς τριάδος τελειότητας), and Pausanias, IX, 29, 2 (οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀλκέως παῖδες ἀρθμῶν τὸ Μούσας εὐνόμωσαν εἶναι τρεῖς καὶ ὄνοματα αὐταῖς ἔθεντο Μελέτην καὶ Μνήμην καὶ Ἀοιδήν). This tradition may go back to Eumelus (eighth-seventh centuries B.C.E.), fr. 17 Bernabé: ἀλλ’ Ἐὔμηλος μὲν ὁ Κορινθίος τρεῖς φοινί εἶναι Μοῦσας, θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος, Κηφισοῦν, Ἀχελωώδα, Βορυσθείδα (cf. Cramer, 1835, IV, 424).

B. Apart from the passage quoted in n. 195, Plutarch insists that the designation of those Delphic Muses did not refer to the first, fourth and last notes of a scale, in *Table Talks*, IX, 14, 3, 744c-d: Εἶπεν οὖν ὁ ἄδελφός, ὅτι τρεῖς ἤδεσαν ὁι παλαιοὶ Μοῦσαι: “καὶ τοῦτον λέγειν ἀπόδειξιν ὀφθαλμθές ἐστι καὶ ἄγρυθων ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ τοιούτως ἀνδράσιν, αἰτία δ’ οὖν ἐνελέγουσα τὰ μελῳδούμενα γένεις, τὸ διάτονον καὶ τὸ χρωματικὸν καὶ τὸ ἑναρμόνιον’ οὔσ’ οί τὰ διαστήματα παρέχοντες ὄροι, νήτη καὶ μέση καὶ ὑπάτη καίτοι Δελφοῖ γε τὰς Μοῦσας ὡσ᾽ ὡνύμαζον, οὐκ ὠρθός ἐνι μαθῆματι, μᾶλλον δὲ μορφή μαθήματος ἐνός τοῦ μουσικοῦ, τῷ γ’ ἀρμονικῷ, προστιθέντες.


\(^{194}\) Literally “enharmonic ratios,” but it is almost sure that Plutarch is not referring here to a specific *genus*: the strings whose names coincide with those of the Muses mentioned by Plutarch (Hypate, Mese, Nete) correspond to the fixed sounds in the ancient Greek musical system, and did not vary depending on the *genus*. Cf. our n. 104 to II. 1. c. 4.
Roman Cond.

Plutarch, Table Talks, IX, 4, 3, 745a-c: άλλ’ έκεινο θαυμάζω, πώς ἔλαβε Λαμπρίαν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Δελφῶν, λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ φθόγγοι οὐδὲ χορδῶν ἐπώνυμων γεγονέναι τὰς Μούσας παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου τρίχῃ πάντα νευμηθημένον πρῶτην μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν μερίδα, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν πλανωμένων, ἐσχάτην δὲ τὴν τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνης, συνηρτήσας δὲ πάσας καὶ συνετάχθαι κατὰ λόγους έναρμοσίας, ὡν έκαστης φύλακα Μούσαν εἶναι, τῆς μὲν πρώτης Ὡπάτης, τῆς δ’ ἐσχάτης Νεάτης, Μήσην δὲ τῆς μεταξὺ, συνέχουσα ἁμα καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαν, ὡς ἀναστὸν ἔστιν, τὰ θυτὰ τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ πέργεα τοῖς οὐρανοῖς’ ὡς καὶ Πλάτων (R. 617b-c) ἤρξατο τοῖς τῶν Μούσων οὐραμέσι τῆς μὲν Ἀτρόπος τὴν δὲ Κλωμή τὴν δὲ Λάχεσιν προσαγορεύσας’ ἐπει τοῖς γε τῶν ὀκτώ οὐρανίων περιφοράς Σειρῆς, οἷς Μούσας ἀφαίρεσις ἐπέστησεν. Cf. De animae procreatione in Timaeo, 1029d, where the problem of linking nine Muses with eight heavenly spheres is also alluded to: οἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέροι Μούσας παρέδωκαν καὶ ἠμῶν ἐννέα, τὰς μὲν ὀκτώ καθάπερ ὁ Πλάτων περὶ τὰς οὐράνια, τὴν δ’ ἐναέρη τὰ πέργεα κηλεύν ἀνακαλυμμένη καὶ καθιστάσαν εἰκότως καὶ διαφοράς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐχούσης.

195 Vid. the inscription in Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, 30, 382; cf. West, 1992, 224, n. 14. For these names as referred to the strings of the lyre, vid. c) “Muses as Divine Embodiments of Sound,” in this same chapter.

196 As we saw in II. 2., the Moirai are the only singing mythical figures, other than the Sirens, in Plato’s myth, but we do not find them singing anywhere else in Greek sources, besides some commentaries to the myth of Er. In his treatise De facie in orbe Lunae, 945c-d, Plutarch associates certain regions of the Universe with the three Moirai: the solar region corresponds to Atropos; that of the Moon, to Clotho, and that of the Earth, to Lachesis; cf. text in n. 183 B to II. 2. This threefold cosmological schema has been attributed to Anaximander by Aetius, p. 345, II. 9-13 Diels (= Anaximander, fr. 18 DK: Ἀναξιμάνδρος) καὶ ἀνυπάτω μὲν πάντων τῶν ἤλιων τεταχθαι, μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτοῦς τὰ ἀπλανή τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τοὺς πλανήτας). Some authors had suggested that Pythagoras could link those cosmic regions with the three basic consonances of fourth, fifth, and octave (cf. Burkert, 1962, 355, n. 25 of the English version; Burnet, 1930, 110; Kranz, 1939, 437-8, and Pépin, 1986, col. 609-10). On the other side, Xenocrates (a disciple of Plato; fourth century B. C. E.) proposed another threefold schema and employed, in order to designate its parts, the adjectives υπατον and νεατον, as in the Delphic schema described by Plutarch: this may suggest a Platonic origin of this structure. Cf. Xenocrates, fr. 18 Heinze = 216 Isnardi-Parente, ap. Plut. Quaestiones platonicae, 1007 f (τὸ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ πρῶτον ὑπατον οἱ παλαιοὶ προσψηφούντες ἢ καὶ Σειρεκάτης (fr. 18 H.)) Δία τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ωσάτως ἐχούσιν υπατον καλεῖ, νεατον δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ σεληνήν, and fr. 5 Heinze = 83 Isnardi-Parente, ap. Sextus Empiricus, Adversus mathematicos, 7, 147 (Σειρεκάτης δὲ τριὲς δῆσιν οὐσίας εἶναι, τὴν μὲν αἰσθητὴν τὴν δὲ νοητὴν τὴν δὲ σύνθετον καὶ δοξάστην, ὡς αἰσθητὴν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἑντὸς οὐρανοῦ, νοητὴν δὲ τὴν οὔτως τῶν ἑκτὸς οὐρανοῦ, δοξάστην δὲ καὶ σύνθετον τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Vid. also Dörrie, 1954, esp. p. 336, and Heinze, 1892, 75-76.

197 Cf. Plutarch, Table Talks, IX, 14, 4, 745b-c, in n. 195, and our section II. 2.


199 Cf. for Ennius’s birthdate, Cicero, Brutus, 72 (quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/brut.shtml#72, as consulted on July 6, 2005: Atqui hic Livius [qui] primus fabulum C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consultibus docuit anno ipso ante quam natus est Ennius, post Roman conditam autem quarto decumo et quingentesimo, that is 753 – 514 = 239 B. C. E.); for the year of his
Mouvsa" Seirhvnwn hJdivou' hJgei'sqai Puqagovra' parainei'

Pythagoras taught that the Muses were more lovely than the Sirens (http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/9*.html)

More specifically, Pythagoras is said to have preached the cult to the Muses in Crotona (Iambl. VP, 9, 45:

δ' άπαγγέλθησθων των καιρών πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκέλεσαν οἱ χίλιοι τῶν Παυσαγόραν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ προοπανέασαντες ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς υἱῶς θηρίων ἐκέλεσαν, εἰ τὰ συμφέρον ἔχει λέγει τοῖς Κροτωνικάσι, ἀποφήμασα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς τῆς πολιτείας προκαθήμενοι. δὲ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰς συνεβούλευσεν ἱδρυσόταν Μουσῶν ιερῶν, ἕνα τηρών τὴν ὑπάρχοντα ὁμώνυμα τάσσας γάρ τὰς θέσεις καὶ τὴν προσθηρόταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπάσας ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ ἄλληλων παραδέδοσαν καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ χορὸν εἶναι τῶν Μουσῶν, ἕτερον μὲν συμφωνοῦσαν, ἀρμιῶν, ῥυθμῶν, ἀπαντα περιελθέναι τὰ παρακειμένα τὴν ὁμώνυμα, ἐπεδείκνυσε δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ὑμιᾶσαν οὐ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα θεωρήματα μόνον ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἀρμοδίων τῶν ὄντων).

Pythagoras’s devotion to the Muses is attested also by the first century B. C. E. Roman architect Vitruvius, IX, 7 (ita quantum areae pedum numerum duo quadrata ex tribus pedibus longitudinis laterum et quattuor efficiunt, ita quantum arboris pedum numerum duo quadrata ex tribus pedibus longitudinis laterum et quattuor efficiunt, id Pythagoras cum invenisset, non dubitans a...

According to Clement of Alexandria, Pythagoras taught that the Muses were more lovely than the Sirens (Strom., I, 10, 48, 6: Μουσᾶς Σεληνίων ἱδίου ἴχνης ἔχεισαν Πυθαγόρας παραγείται). Maximus of Tyron (15, 6f-g) says that if the Muses stopped singing, the world would be thrown into confusion and disorder (ὑ γάρ ἂν ἑπάσατο καὶ οὐράνος περιφέρειοις· καὶ γῆ τρέφουσα, καὶ ποταμῖ θάλασσα, καὶ δεχόμεν θάλασσα, καὶ ὦραι ἁμείονας, καὶ Μαῖας διαλαγχάνουσα, καὶ Μοῦσας ἄδυνα· ἑπάσατο δ’ ἂν καὶ αἰ ancρώπων ἀρεταί, καὶ ζωῶν σωτηρία, καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις, καὶ τὸ πάν τούτο αὐθὲς ἄν περὶ αὐτῶν σφαλλόμενοι συνεκήθη καὶ συσυσταράχθη).
periechontos, en o' tina elikriniian einai twn stochoeion, 'Olympon kaielai tis de òpio tis tov Olympos forain, en o' tous pente planiathas meb' hilo kai selhisa tetakhia, kosmou.

208 Cf. Philo of Alexandria, De somniis, I, 6, 35, t. III, p. 212, 25 C.-W.: o de ouvanos dei meliodie, kata tis kinseis tov en eauti tis pavmousou armonian apotelwv, kai De congressu eruditionis gratia, 10, 51, III, p. 82 C.-W.: ton aiouthtov ouvanos kai th tis en auti tis astera enafrwvov tazin kai pavmousov ow alhdoz choreiai. According to Cumont, 1942, 259, it is obvious that pavmousos means "all the Muses," in those passages, if we compare them with the myth told by the same Philo in De plantatione Noe, 28, 127 ff. (II, p. 156 ff. C.-W.), where the daughters of Mnemosyne are called also to the pavmousov kai emwvov genov (ibid., 30, 129, II, p. 159 C.-W.). Cf. also Cumont, 1919, esp. p. 78. However, LSJ, s. v. pavmousov translate it as "all-musical." For the Muses as daughters of Mnemosyne, cf. Hesiod, Theogony, vv. 52-4: Moussai 'Olymplades, koiera Deus aigiokho. tis en Piephei Krouedi teke patrki mygeisa / Mnemosiun...


213 For Apollo and cosmic harmony, cf. Pl., Crat., 405c-d: κατὰ δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν δὲ ὑπολαβέω [ὡσπερ τὸν ἄκολονθος τῇ καὶ τῇ ἀκουτίῳ] ὅτι τὸ ἄξυφο σημαίνεται πολλαχώ τῷ ὁμοίῳ, καὶ εἰστατέα τῇ ὁμοίᾳ πώλησιν καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς δὴ “πάλας” καλοῦσιν, καὶ [τὴν] περὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδόν ἄρμονίαν, ἢ δὴ συμφωνία καλεῖται, ὅτι ταύτα πάντα, ὡς φασιν οἱ κομβοὶ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἄρμονία τινι πολεί ἁμά πάντα ἐπιστετεῖ δὲ οὔτος ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἄρμονίᾳ ὁμολογούν αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ θεοὺς καὶ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους- ὡσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄρμοκλείσθην καὶ ἄρμοκλείτε” ἄκολονθος καὶ ἄκολονθον ἐκάλεσαμεν, μεταβαλοῦσε αὐτὴ τὸν ὁμοίως “-α-” οὔτω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκάλεσαμεν ὃς ἦν ὀμολόγους, ἐτέρων λάβῃ ἐμβαλλόντες, ὃτι ὁμοιώματι ἐγέρετο τῷ χαλεπῷ ὑνόματι. For Apollo as
conductor of the choir of the Muses, vid. II., I, 602 ff. (daíνων’), οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἔλησθι, καὶ οὐ μὲν φόρμανογος περικάλλεος, ἤν εἶ Ἄπόλλων, μουσάων ἃ, αἱ ἄειδον ἀμείβομεν ὀπίς καλῷ; cf. also the Hesiodic passages quoted above, n. 208, A. About Apollo as conductor of the cosmic choir, cf. “Appendix: The Conductors of the Cosmic Choir,” at the end of this chapter.

214 Arnobius, Adversus nationes, 3, 37: Hesiodus novem Musas prodit, dis caelum et sidera locupletans.

215 Perhaps this was due to a Pythagorean or Platonic innovation, because, as we have seen, Homer mentions only two Sirens, who could not be associated with heavenly bodies; cf. Od., 12, 52 (θύρα κε θερπύμενος ὑπὲρ ἀκούσις Σειρήνων): Od., 12, 167 (ινήσου Σειρήνων). Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. 2, p. 5, ll. 16-20: Δέο δὲ αὐτάς ἐμφαίνει ὁ ποιητὴς ἕν οἷς λέγει· ὅτα ἀκούσις Σειρήνων, καὶ ινήσου Σειρήνων, διεκόσ γάρ το Σειρήνων, ὡς τὸ ποδαῖν καὶ ὄμωεν, καὶ συνέδραμον τινὲς τῷ Όμήρῳ, αἱ καὶ ὀνόματά φασιν εἶναι αὐταῖς ‘Ἄγλαοφήμην καὶ Θελξιέπειαι, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λυκόφρων, τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἀρημοῦσα, Παρθενίπην, Λίγειαν, καὶ Λευκωσίαν.

216 Plutarch, De animae procreatione in Timaeo, 1029 d: οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Μούσαις παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν ἑνέκα, τὰς μὲν ὁκτὼ καθάπερ ὁ Πόλατ ς πέρα τὰ ὀφαίνα τὴν δ’ ἐνάτῃ τὰ πέργεια κηλεύν.

217 Plut., Quaest. conv., IX, 14, 7, p. 746 A: Μούσαι δ’ εἶσιν ὁκτὼ μὲν αἱ συμπεριπολοῦσα ταῖς ὁκτὼ σφαῖραις, μία δὲ τῶν περὶ γῆν εἶλησε τόπων, αἱ μὲν οὖν ὁκτὼ περίδοξοι ἐφεστώτα τὴν τῶν πλανωμένων ἄσυρτρο πρὸ τὰ ἀπαλή καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα ἱσιώσασθα καὶ διασώσασθαι ἁρμονίαν μία δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης ἐπισκόπουσα καὶ συμπεριπολοῦσα, τοῖς θυριητοῖς, ὡσον αὐθαυθιοῦσαι καὶ δεχόσι τέφθοι χαρμών καὶ ρήμων καὶ ἁρμονίας, εὐθύδιοι δὲ λόγων καὶ ὤδης, πεῖθῳ πολιτικῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆς συνεργῆς ἐπάγουσα παραμυθωμένην καὶ κρησοῦσαν ἡμῶν τὸ ταραχόβις καὶ τὸ πλανομένον ὕστερ ἐξ ἀνάδοξης ἀνακαλυμμένην ἐπεικείας καὶ καθαστάσας.


219 Cf. Porphyrius, Life of Pythagoras, 41: τούτοις δὲ πλαινήταις κύνας τῆς Φερσεφάνης (καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐκάλει).

220 For the ninth Muse corresponding to the harmony of all the eight celestial spheres, cf. Porph., In Tim., fr. 68

221 Martianus Capella, I, 27-8: superi autem globi orbesque septemplices suavis ciusdam melodiae harmonicae tinnitusibus concinebant ac sono ultra solitum dulciorre, quippe Musas adventare praesenserant; quae quidem singillatim circulis quibusque metamet, ubi suae pulsus modulationis agnoverant, constiterunt. Nam Vranie stellantis mundi sphæram extremum continuerat, quae acuto raptabatur sonora tinnitus, Polymnia Saturnium circulum tenuit, Euterpe Iovialem, Erato ingressa Martium modulatur, Melpomene medium, ubi Sol flammani mundum lumen convenustat, Terpsichore Venerio sociatur auro, Calliope orbem complexa Cylenium, Cliae citimum circulum, hoc est Luna collocavit hospitium, quae quidem graves pulsus modis raucioribus personabat.

**Pl. 32**: Muses, heavenly bodies, lyre strings, and Gregorian modes (from Franchino Gaffuri’s *Practica musica*).
Pythagoras, conception of the cosmic Muses may go back to Aristotle’s times is suggested by Iamblichus as well: in his De die natali, XXI, Censorinus says that he wrote that book in the year of the consulate of V. C. Pius and Pontianus, which corresponds to 991 A. V. C.: Secondum quam rationem nisi fallor hic annus, cuius velat index et titulus quidam est V. C. Pii et Pontiani consolatus, ab olympiade prima millensisimus est et quartus decimus, ex diebus dumtaxat aestivis, quibus aegon Olympicus celebratur; a Roma autem condita nongentesimus nonagenisimus primus, quoted from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Censorinus/text*.html, as consulted on July 9, 2005. Now 991 A. V. C. = 238 C. E.

Censorinus, fr. 12, 3 (p. 75 Sallmann): organum quodam habuit tres intentiones, gravem, medium et acutam.

Inde Musae quoque tres olim existimatae, hypate, mese, nete. Nunc in ampliore numero soni considerantur.


Cornutus, De nat. deor., 14, p. 15, 3 Lang (τέτταρες δὲ καὶ ἐπί τὰ τὰ ἀρχαὶ τὸ τὸ παλαιὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὄργανα τοσοῦτον φθόνγος ἐσχηκέναι).

Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 24 (almost literally identical to a scholion to Aratus, 269): κατεσκευάσθη δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ Ἐρμοῦ ἐκ τῆς χελώνας καί τῶν Ἄπολλωνος βωμός, ἐσχε δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ζ’ πλανητῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀπαντιδῶν, μετέλαβε δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλων καὶ συναρμοσάμενος ὃδην Ὀρφεῖ ἐδώκεν, ὡς Καλλιόπης υἱὸς ᾄς, μῆς τῶν Μουσῶν, ἐποίησε τὰς χορᾶς εἶναί απὸ τῶν Μουσῶν ἀρχείου. Cf., in the fourth century C. E., Callistatus, 7, 2 (μετεχείριζετο τήν λόραν, ἢ δ’ ἵσαρίθμους ταῖς Μουσάσις ἔξηπτο τοῖς φθόνγοις), and Avienus, Aratea, 621-5: hanc ubi rursum concentus superi complevi pulcher Apollo / Orphea Pangeae docuit gesture sub antro / hic iam fila novem docta in modulamina movit / Musarum ad speciem Musa satus, ille repertor / carmina Pleiadum numero deduxerat. Vid. Molina Moreno, 1998b, 431-2.

Porphyrius, Life of Pythagoras, 31: τά δ’ οὖν τῶν ἐπί τῶν ἀστέρων φθόνγα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλαναν ἐπί τάς τής ύπνης ἡμῶν λεγομένης δε κατ’ αὐτοῖς ἀντίχθουν τὰς εἶναί μούσας εἶναι διεβεβαιώτο. Cf. sch. in Od., I, 371: θεοίς ἐναλίγκιοι] ἡ ταῖς μούσαις, ἡ ταῖς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀρχηγεῖοι. P. Boyancé, 1946, 16, says that the mention of the Counter-Earth, in Porphyrius’ text, makes it likely to go back to quite early sources; actually, Porphyrius may be drawing on Aristotle, Metaph., 986a 8-12: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡ δεκαί εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ πάσαν περιελήφθη τήν τῶν ἀρμῆς φύσιν, καὶ τὰ φερόμενα κατὰ τῶν οὐρανῶν δέκα μὲν εἶναι φασιν, διότι δὲ εἶναι μίκον τῶν φανερῶν διὰ τόσο δεκαί τήν ἀντίχθουσα ποιοῦσιν (καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος). But the earliest Pythagorean cosmology, as described by Aristotle, counts ten heavenly bodies; on the other hand, the scientific astronomy of Porphyrius’s time could not accept the existence of the Counter-Earth (cf. Cumont, 1942, 259). It seems that Porphyrius pushed the old-fashioned Counter-Earth into his system in an effort to match the number of the Muses. That this conception of the cosmic Muses may go back to Aristotle’s times is suggested by lambilchus as well: in his Life of Pythagoras, 9, 45, we read: καὶ τὸ σώματον ἕνα καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀέρ χορόν εἶναι τῶν Μουσῶν. Cf. Arist.
Metaph., 986 a 2-3: τῶν ὠλον ὀφανῶν ἄρμονεάν εἶναι καὶ ἄρμονεάν, ἐτι δὲ συμφωνεῖν, ἄρμονεάν, ρυθμοῖς, ἀπαντα περειτηθέναι τὰ παρασκευάζοντα τὴν ὁμοιό σα, ἐπεδέεικεν δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρεα τό περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα θεωρήματα μόνον ἀνθίκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν συμφωνεῖν καὶ ἄρμονεάν τῶν ὀυτῶν.

230 Cf. II. 1. d, about the Sirens as psychopomps.


232 A. Proclus, In R., 2, 237 Kroll: Τούτων δ’ οὖν ὀφανῶς αὐτῷ διαστατημένων, ὡς εἰρήτων, τίνας εἶναι ῥήτεσεν τὰς Σειρήνας ταύτας: τό μὲν οὖν δὴ λέγει τὰς Μουσάς εἶναι καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἡμᾶς προστίθεναι τῇ λοιπῇ, ἵνα τὸν τῆς ἐννεάδος συμπληρώσωμεν ἀρμονής, οὐκ ἔστων ἐποπέμεναι ταῖς ῥήσεις... πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς κύκλοις τὰς Σειρήνας καταθευσταταῖς εἶναι τῶν Μουσών... 20.. a.eid...20.. ψυχική σωματικ...16. φωναῖς τῶν Μουσών εἶναι δ’ καὶ ἐναρμονικοῖς ἔχειν κινήσεις καὶ τοῖς κύκλοις οὔ εἴπερβαλκόμενοι προσεῖνεν τὴν ἐρήμων κήρυσσον πανάλλης. τίνα οὖν οὐσίαν καὶ τάξιν ἔχουσαν: ὃτι μὲν δὴ πρὸ σωμάτων οὕσας ἀναγκαίαν καὶ προσεχεῖς ἐφροσύνης τοῖς κύκλοις εἶναι ψυχας αὐτὰς, δῆλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς κύκλοις κυνείσθαι δήποτα μεταβατικῶς αὐτὰς αὐναδιάδεσκει.

B. On the other hand, the Sirens and Muses shared some features already in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems: cf. the wisdom of the Sirens, in Od., 12, 189-191 (‘δέμεν γὰρ τῷ πάνθῃ, ὡς ἐν Τροῖν ἐφείσει /...δέμεν δ’ ὡσα γενήσηται ἐπὶ χαῖραι πουλυβοτείρης). and that of the Muses, in Il., 2, 485 (ἐστε τὲ πάντα), and in Hes. Th., 27-8 (‘δέμεν θεόθεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐπόμενον ὤμεα, / δέμεν δ’ ἐστὶν ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθεὰ γγρόσσασθαι). Moreover, they were associated by Alcman (fr. 86 Calame = 30 Page: ἄδωσα κέκλαγ᾽ ἀ λήγα άρη, quoted by Aelius Aristides Rhet., Περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος. Jebb page 377, line 29). This poet compares their song with that of his choir in fr. 3 Calame = fr. 1, vn. 96 ss. Page: α ἀ τὸν Σημηνίδων / αὐθετέρα μὲν ὀψεῖ, / σαι γὰρ, ἀντὶ δ’ ἐνδεκα / παῖδων δεκάδ’ ἀείδει). West, 1965, 200, suggests that “being half-birds in form”, the Sirens “make good Muses for a poet who thinks of himself as an imitator of bird-music”, as we may see in the fr. 39 Page (/ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμάν / εὑρε γγλωσσαμέναν / κακκαβίδων ὅπα συσθεμένου = fr. 91 Calame: ἐπὶ δὲ γε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμάν / εὑρε ἔτε γγλωσσαμένου) / κακκαβίδων ὅπα συσθεμένου); fr. 40 Page (/οἴδα δ’ ὁρίχων νόμως; cf. fr. 140 Calame). Pindar substitutes the Sirens for the Muses too, for he talks of his work as an imitation of the singing of the Sirens (fr. 94b Snell-Machler, vn. 13-15: σειρήνα δὲ κύμπον / αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίσων / μιμητῷ ἀδιάδαι). We know that music, in Greek legends, was held to be learned from the birds: cf. Plutarch, De sollertia animalium, 20, 974α (Γελοῦσι δ’ ὡς εἶμεν εἶπεν τῇ μιαθσεῖν τὰ ζῷα σεμύνετες, ὅν ὁ Δημόκριτος (B 154) ἀποφαίνει μαθητᾶς ἐν τοῖς μεγάστοις γεγονόσις ἡμᾶς ἀράχης ἐν φυσική καὶ ἀκεστήκη, χελώδως ἐν οἰκοδόμῳ, καὶ τῶν λυγρῶν, κόκκινω καὶ ἀνήδοσος, ἐν ὁδῇ κατά μίμησιν); vid. Bowra, 1961, 30, and Hofstetter, 1990, 19 and 312, n. 116 to p. 19. We may recall that Orpheus learnt his art through the imitation of the birds, according to Theophilus of Antiochia, Ad Autolycum, II, 30 (ἀλλὰ δὲ Ὀρφέα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀριέων ἡμοφωλίας φασίν ἐξευρεχεῖται τὴν μουσικήν), and Philostratus the Elder, Im., II, 15, 6 (περιέχοσιν δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλκινός ὅμοι μὲν ἄδουςι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εξ ὧν αὐτὰ τε καὶ ὃ

254 Proclus, In R., 2, 68 Kroll: ή μέν γάρ ἐστιν ἀρμονία θεοτρητής καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς σώζουσα καὶ ἐνδυνάμωσα τὰς θεοὺς, ἢ γε γενεσιογράφος καὶ συνάπτουσα αὐτὰς τοὺς ἐνίοικος· καὶ ἦν μέν ὄντως ἐργον τῶν Μουσῶν τῶν παιδευσομας τὰς νομοὺς ἡμῶν διαμεῖς καὶ τέλευοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν οὐρανίαν τάξιν ἀφομοιουσάς, ἢ δὲ Σειρῆνος οὐσία τινος ταῖς τὴν γένεσαν αὐξόσας ἀρμονίας προσεκοίμασι.

255 Proclus, Hymn No. 3, vv. 6-7: καὶ σπείδευν ἐδίδαξαν ἑπέρ βαθυεύμων λήθην / ὦ ἵκους έχεουν, καθάρισας δὲ μελεῖν ποτι σύνομον ἄστρον. This notion of the ‘allotted star’ is found in Plato’s Timaeus, 42 b (καὶ ὦ μέν εὐ τὸν προσήκουσα χρῶν βεοῦς, πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συνιόμον πορευθεὶς ὄκησαν ἄστρον, βιβιούμαι καὶ συνήθη ἔξοι); cf. Proclus, In Tim., 3, 290, 18-9 Diehl (τὸ δὲ σύνομον ἄστρον ἔστι περὶ ὦ ὁ σπορά καὶ ἡ διανοιγμα τῶν τε ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκομάτων). The Muses are credited with the same catholic function by Porphyrius, Life of Plotinus, 22, vv. 20-8 (‘Ἀλλ’ ἀγε Μουσών ἱερὸς χορός, ἀπόσωμεν / εἰς ἑν ἐπιπειδευστες ἀκοῦς τέρματα πάσης· / ὅμι καὶ ἐν μέσασαι ἐγώ Φαίβος βαθυχαϊτής· / δαίμον, ἄνερ τὸ πάροθεν, ἀτάρ τὸν δαίμονος αἴσθη / θειοτήρ πελάω, δι’ ἐλόσον δεσμόν ἀνάγκης / ἀνδρομέουσῃ, μεθέων δὲ πολυφοιλίσματι κυδομοῦ / ἰσωσίμους τραπίδεσσαν ἐς ἴναι νηψίκος ἀκής / νῆξεν· ἐπεγγυμένους δῆμον ἀπὸ νόσφοι ἄλτρων / στηρίζει καθαρῆς ψυχῆς εὐκατέμεκ αἴσθημα.)


258 Cf. Pl. Smp., 187c-e (τὴν δὲ άρμονίαν πάσα τύποτε, ὅσπερ ἠκόλουθος ἑνακοίμησα ἄρμονίαν καὶ ἀρμονίαν ἐνθύμησα καὶ ἀρμονίαν πάσας ἐγνώσα: καὶ θείως ἀρμονίας καὶ μυθικῶν ἐρευνητικῶν ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἐν μὲν γε αὐτῇ τῇ συστάσει ἀρμονίας τε καὶ ρυθμοῦ οὐδὲν χαλεπῶν τὰ ἑρωτικὰ διαγράφονται, οὔτε ὦ διπλοῖς ἑρως ἐνθάδε ἀρμονίας τε ἀρμονίας τε ἀρμονίας τε ἀρμονίας: καί ἀκολούθη τὸν δὲ μελοποιοῦν καλοῦσα, καὶ χρώματος ὅρδος τις πεποιημένος μέλεις τε καὶ μέτροις, δι’ ὅδ’ παρείδεα ἐκλήθη, ἐνακοίμησα δὴ καὶ χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀγάθου δημιουργοῦ δεῖ. πάλιν γὰρ ἦκε ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
The stars are said to relate of those who pass their lives in philosophy and do honor the music of those two Muses, who certainly are most divine and human thoughts among all, and have the most beautiful voice (τῇ δὲ πρεσβυτᾶτῃ Καλλιόπῃ καὶ τῇ μετ’ αὐτῆς Οὐρανίᾳ τοῖς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διάγωνται τε καὶ τιμῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων μουσικὴν ἀγγέλλουσι, ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν Μουσῶν πέρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ λάγους οἴσαι θείους τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτὸν καλλιστὰν φωνὴν).

Of course this was not the case when it came to the Delphic Muses alluded to by Plutarch, and linked with the sphere of the fixed stars, the region of the planets, and the sublunar sphere, as we saw in b) “Muses and Heavenly Realms,” in this same chapter.

Cf. Sophocles, Antigone, 1146-7 (ὦ, πῦρ πυνειντὸν χοράγα ἀστρῶν). It should be noted that Dionysus was also linked with the Sun: cf. OF 239α Kern = 542 Bernabé (Ἡλίως, ὃν Διόνυσον ἑπίκλησαν καλέουσα), and OF 239β Kern = 543 Bernabé (ἐἰς Ζεὺς, ἐἰς Ἄρτας, ἐἰς Ἡλίος, ἐἰς Δίωνυσος), both quoted by Macrobius, Sat., I, 18, 17. On the other hand, Dionysos was called “star” by Aristophanes, Frogs, 341-2 (τὰσχε / νυκτέρι πελετῆς φωσφόρος αστήρ); cf. “Eumolpus,” quoted by Diodorus of Sicily, I, 11, 3 (ἀστροφαθή Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσι πυρωπών, where Lloyd-Jones, H., and Wilson, N. G., 1990, p. 145, read τοραίνουν instead of πυρωπών). He was also worshipped with choral dances, according to Euripides, Bacchae, 220 (Διόνυσον, ὡστες ἐστι, τιμώσας χοροῖς). Moreover, the ν. 9 of the prooemion to the Orphic hymns calls Dionysos χορευτῆς, “dancer;” the Orphic Hymn Nr. 52, ν. 7, calls him χορομανής. The stars are invited to join the Orphic ritual, in the Orphic Hymn Nr. 7, ν. 12 (ἐλθετ’ ἐπ’ εἰκόνα πελετῆς πολυκλαύστας ἄθλους), in what may be a late echo of the notions evoked by Sophocles. Thanks to Prof. Gabriella Ricciardelli, Università di Roma, for these references (e-mail July 18th 2005). In some texts of the Classical period, the stars are said to participate in the night festivals of Dionysus (Euripides, Ion, 1074 ff.: οἰκίσχυνομαι τοῖς πολύν: / μνον θεών, εἰ παρὰ καλλιχώρους παγαῖς / λαμπάδα θεωρών εἰκάδω / ὅμειροι εἰσάγομαι ἄτυπος ὃς, ὡτε / καὶ Δίως αἴστερπος / ἀνεχόμενος αἰθήρ / χορέει δὲ χελάνα). We may add a passage by Lydus, De mensibus, IV, 51, lines 21-4 Wünsch, where it is suggested that there was an allegorical interpretation of Mount Kithairon as heaven, which because of the harmony of the seven celestial bodies was called “Kitharon” (from καθάρα), and, since Dionysus was called “Bacchic Dancer of the Kithairon”, this could suggest that he was considered a conductor of cosmic music (οἱ δὲ τῆς Ρομαιοῦ τοῦ Διόνυσου Βασιλείας τῆς Κιθαιρονοῦ φανά, οἴονι βασιλείαν καὶ ἀνατηρώντας ἄνα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, <όν> ἓν τῆς τῶν ἐπτὰ συμφωνίας ἀστέρων Κυλήθοντα αὐξάμονα). We can see that this late and over-elaborate interpretation had its roots in Classical times.


This sarcophagus belongs to the old Simonetti Collection, and dates from the third century C. E.; vid. Marrou, 1933, 173 ff. (with a reproduction on p. 174, fig. 4); eiasd., 1938, 159-60, and Cumont, 1942, 300.

1933 and 1938.

1942, 300.

Urania is also represented on a sarcophagus of Palazzo Mattei (vid. Cumont, 1942, pl. XXXI, 1).

Plato showed a high esteem for Urania in another passage, besides that of the Symposium quoted above. In Phaedr., 259 d, Socrates says: “To the eldest, Calliope, and to the one who follows her, Urania, they make report of those who pass their lives in philosophy and do honor the music of those two Muses, who certainly are most related to divine and human thoughts among all, and have the most beautiful voice” (τῇ δὲ πρεσβυτᾶτῃ Καλλιόπῃ καὶ τῇ μετ’ αὐτῆς Οὐρανίᾳ τοῖς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διάγωνται τε καὶ τιμῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων μουσικὴν ἀγγέλλουσι, ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν Μουσῶν πέρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ λάγους οἴσαι θείους τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτὸν καλλιστὰν φωνὴν).
Cf., among other sources:


b) Varro of Atax, fr. 14 Morel (= 12 Traglia, = 11 Bichner, quoted by Marius Victorinus, in Grammatici Latini, VI, 60 Keil = Orph. vest. 419 Bernabé: vidit et aetherio mundum torquerer axe / et septem aeternis sonitum dare vocibus orbes / nitentes alis alios, quae maxima divis / laetitia est. at tunc longe gratissima Phoebi / dextra consimiles meditatur redere voces);

c) Alexander of Ephesus, fr. 21 Shell (quoted by Heraclitus, Allegoriae homericæ, 12, and by Theo of Smyrna, pp. 138-41 Hiller: ύψος δέ· άλλοθεν άλλος ύψεστερον ἐλλαξε κύκλον / ἐγχοτάτη μὲν διὰ Σεληναίαν περί γαίαν, / διέτεις αὐτῷ Ἐπικύρου γλυκοῦ ερμησίων, / τῷ δέ· ἐπί Φωσφόρος ἐόσθα φαενότατος Κυθηρείης, / τέτραςτοις αὐτὸς ὕψεθαι ἐπ’ Ἡλίου φέρηθ ἐπικύρος, / πέμπτος δέ· αὐτῷ Πυρόισι φανόν Θηρίκος Ἀρρής, / ἔπετο δ’ αὐτῷ Φεάθων Διὸς άγίωσ ἴσαται αύρηιε, / ἔβδομος <αὐτός> Φαῆνον Κρόνον ἠγχοθεν τέλεται ἀστρον· πάντες δέ· ἐπέτοιον λόγον φύσεως συννομον / ἀμοινόμην προχείου, διααστάτε άλλος ἐπ’ ἄλλη· γαία μὲν οὖν ὑπάτε τε βαρεία τε μειοῦσθαι ναιεί· ἀπλάνωι δὲ σφαίρα συνιμμεμεν ἐπάλυτο νῆπι· μέσην δέ· Ἡλίου πλαγιον θεόν έρεθέν αστρον· τοῦ δ’ ἀπὸ δή ψυχρὸς μὲν ἔρεθε διὰ τάξασα κύκλος· κεινων δέ· ημετόναν Φαῖνων άνήρι χειλασθείς· τοῦ δὲ τόου Φεάθων άοον άβμος Άρρής αύρηιε· / Ἡλίου δ’ ὕπο τοῖς τόνον τερψήμορτος έρεθε, / αύρηιες δ’ Ηλίου τοιποτόμου Κυθηρείων· / ημετόναν δ’ ὕπο τῷ Στήβλου φέρηθ’ Ερμησίων, / τόουν δὲ χρυσάσσαι φόσον πολυκυμηπη Μήνη· / κέντρον δ’ Ἡλίου ξέναν διὰ <πέντε> ἐλλαξε χύτως· αὐτῇ πενταξόνως αὐτῷ φιλον χύνεις τε / αύρηιες· αὐτῷ πυρόω ερχεθε τε σχένειας· οὐρανον έξατον τόνον έρεθε τόν διά πασων· τοῦν το σειρῆνα Διῶς πάσας έρμον Ερμῆς· / ἐπέπατον κάθαριν, θεομήστορος εἰκόνα κόσμου;

d) Philo of Alexandria, De opificio mundi, 126 (λύρα μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἐπταχόρδος ἀναλογοῦσα τήν τῶν πλανήτων χορειά τάς ἐλλογώμιας ἀμοινάς ἀποτελεῖ, σχεδὸν τῆς κατὰ μούσικην ὁργανοποιίας ἀπάτης ἡμιμοιός οὖσα);

e) Nicomachus of Gerasa, Ench., 3, pp. 241-2 Jan ("Ὅτι ἡ πρώτη ἐν αἰσθητοίς μουσικῆς περί τοὺς πλανήτας θεωρεῖται κατὰ μέρος δέ’ ἐκείνης ἢ παρ’ ἡμῖν. Τά μὲν οὖν ὁνομάτα τῶν φύλαξων ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανον ἱδέων ἐπτά ἀστέριων καὶ τῆς γῆς περιπελοκύνων πιθανῶν ὄνομάζοντα, πάντα γὰρ τὰ μοιρομενὰ ἐστὶ σύμματα καθεπεικόντως τυχος καὶ μόεται κυμαιμοῦνοι φόδος ἀναγκάζονται ποιεῖν μεγαθὲς καὶ φωνῆς τόπῳ παρηλαγμένους ἀλλῆλων ἴνα παρά τοὺς ἑαυτῶς ὅγκους ἢ παρά τὰς ἴδιας ταχυτήτας ἢ παρά τὰς ἑποχάς, ἢν αἰς ἡ ἐκάστου μοίρη συντελεῖται, εὐκαμοτοτρέας ἢ τοῦκοινην δυσπαλέας ὑπαρχοῦσας, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς αὕτη διαφορὰ τρανὸς ὀρώμεται περί τοὺς πλανήτας μεγεῖθε τε καὶ τάχει καὶ τόπῳ δειστότας ἀλλῆλων καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἰθεροῦ αναχάματος διηφκος καὶ
This system is attributed to Orpheus in an anonymous text copied by Constantinos Lascaris and conserved in the manuscript Matritensis gr. 4621 (former N-72), ff. 134 r – 136 r, of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (cf. Ruelle, 1878, and Martínez Manzano, 1994, 50 and 56-7).

f) Nicomachus of Gerasa, Thel. ar., p. 71, 14-18 De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it is a citation from an anonymous text), De Falco (who, having cited the text, adds that it 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τετραχόδιον ὁμοίων κατά σχῆμα ὃντες καὶ βαρυτέρον ἠμόσατο κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ὁμοιών τὸν ἑπτὰ στερέων. Cf. ibid., p. 58, line 20 – p. 60, line 16 Jonger. 'Οδεν οὖν τὴν μὲν πρώτην καὶ μεταφορὰν αὐτῆς χορδῆς, ἢ ὑπότις ἐκάλεσε διὰ τὸ ὑπότις τὸ πρώτον παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καλεῖσθαι, τῇ τῆς Σελήνης σφαιρᾶς σύν ἀπεικότος παρείκασεν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς φόδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλανημένων βαρύτατος· τὴν δὲ ἐβδομήν καὶ ἀξιοφθογγόνη, ἢ πάλιν νήπης ἐκάλεσε διὰ τὸ νέατον τὸ ὕψιστον παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καλεῖσθαι τῇ τὸν Κρόνον, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φόδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξήτατο· τὴν δὲ τετάρτην καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπότις ἐξενθογγοτέραν, τῇ δὲ νήπης βαρυφθογγοτέραν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως μέσην ὀνόμασθαι—μεσαντάτη καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τῇ τοιαύτης λύρας ἦστι—τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φόδος τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Σελήνης φόδογον ὀξύτερον, τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τὸν Κρόνον βαρύτερον· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ ἐξενθογγοτέραν τῇ ὑπότις, ἢν καὶ παραμάζει προσηγόρευτος διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπότις καλεῖθαι, τῇ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ἢ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φόδος τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὀξύτερος· τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρυφθογγοτέραν τῇ νήπης, ἢν παρανήπητην προσηγόρευτος διὰ τὸ ὕψος τῆς νήπης καλεῖθαι, τῇ τῷ Δίος, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φόδος τ游戏技巧 ἀπὸ τὸν Κρόνον βαρύτερος· τὴν δὲ τρίτην καὶ τῷ μὲν μέσῃς βαρυφθογγοτέρας, τῇ δὲ παραμάζεις ἀξιοφθογγοτέρας, ἢν καὶ ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ἐξηγεύσατο διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὑπὸ τὴν παραμάζειν καλεῖθαι, τῇ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς φόδογος τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τῷ Ἡλίου βαρύτερος, τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ὀξύτερος· τῇ τῷ Δίος καὶ λυρικοὶ καλεῖται, ἢν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ ὁλίγον εἴσοδον· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην καὶ τῷ μὲν μέσης ἀξιοφθογγοτέρας, τῇ δὲ παρανήπητης ἐξηγεύσατο διὰ τὸ παρασειάθαι τῇ μέση· τῇ τῷ Ἅρησι, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φόδογος τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τῷ Ἡλίου ὀξύτερος, τῷ δὲ τοῦ Δίος βαρύτερος.

Vid. also Jan, 1894; Reinach, 1900; Bragard, 1929; Gundel, 1950; Burkert, 1961, esp. 28—43; Pizzani, 1986; Freyburger, 1996, and Richter, 1999.

280 Cf. Cornutes, 32, p. 67, II. 17-9 Lang ἰμοσικός δὲ καὶ καθαριστὴς παρειπήκα τῶν κρούειν ἐναρμοσίως πάν μέρος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ συμβαίνον αὐτῷ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρει ποιεῖν.


283 Cf. Cic., De re p., VI. 17: Sol… dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio.

284 Cf. Boyancé, 1936, 98.

285 Cf. Arist. Metaph., IV, 2, 5, p. 1018 b 29 (ἡ μέση ἄρχῃ); Ps. Arist. Probl., XIX, 33, 920a 21 (ἡ γάρ μέση καὶ ἥρμων ἐξεντᾶται τῷ τετραχόδου), and XIX, 36, 920b 9-10 (ἡ ὁτι τὸ θρόνος ἡ σοφία ἐπέτει λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί σοσὶ καὶ τοῦτον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστέως ἐπετεί λόγον ἀριστεὶ λέγεται). Martinus Capella, II, 187, p. 73 Dick addresses these words to the Sun: Hinc est quod quarto ius est te currere circo, / ut tibi perfecta numeros ratione probetur: / nonne hac principio geminum tu das tetrachordum?


287 Cf. Boyancé, 1936, 97.
Cf. Theo of Smyrna, p. 138 Hiller (τὴν δὲ κατὰ τόπον τῶν σφαιρῶν ἡ κόκλων θέσιν τε καὶ τάξιν, ἐν ὃς κείμενα φέρεται τὰ πλανώμενα, τινὲς μὲν τῶν Πεδιαγορείων τοιάνδε νομίζομεν· προσθετομένων μὲν εἰσὶν τὸς τῆς σελήνης κόκλων, δεύτερον δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸν τοῦ Έρμοῦ, ἐπείτα τοῦ τού φωσφόρου, καὶ τέταρτον τῶν τοῦ ἄλος, εἶτα τὸν "Ἄρεως", ἐπείτα τοῦ τοῦ Δίος, τελευταῖο δὲ καὶ σύνεγγυς τάς ἀπλανησίας τῶν τοῦ Κρόνου μέσον εἰσί· οὕτως εἰσὶν χαλκιδικώτατον καὶ οἷον κορδίαν τοῦ παυτὸς).


260 Cf. Alexande, Enchiridion, 3, p. 224 Jan (καὶ διὰ τῶν θυσίων ιδιότητος τῶν θεῶν, ὅσοι δὲ τῶν θεῶν ιδιότητος εἶσπρας, ὅπερ δὲ τῶν θυσίων ιδιότητος ἐστὶ." It is rather puzzling that the Moon were also called mese and endowed with the function of harmonizing the cosmos, according to a passage of the hippocratic treatise De hebdomadibus, 2 (cf. West, 1971 b, 368-9): ἡ μὲν γὰρ θύσια μέση ἢ όλοις χόμος ὑπάτως ὄν ἀκατάστατο ἐστὶν· ἢ δὲ σελήνη μὲν γάρ ὁ συναρμόζει αὐτή <πάντων τῶν ἀλλῶν μερῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀνατέτατων, τῶν δὲ κατατέτατων>, συναρμόζει αὐτή τάξιν, ὥστε, ἐν ἀλλήλωι Ζωήν, καὶ τῇ ἕλληνι διεισάγεται· αὐτὰ τε ὑπὲρ ἔστατον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ἁλλίον κρίνεται.

261 Cf. Alexander of Ephesus, fr. 21 Shill., v. 14 (μεσάν δὴ ἡ ἴλλος πλαγκτῶν θέσιν έσχέθην ἄστρων). Vid. full quotation of this fragment in n. 249 to this same chapter.

262 Cf. Plutarch, De animae procreatione in Timaeo, 1029a (αὐτῶν τῶν ἄλλων ὡς μέσην συνέχειν τὸ διὰ παῦσιν ᾑξοῦσιν).


265 χρυσαὐρη, κόσμου τῶν ἑναρμονόν δρόμων ἐκλώς.

266 “Both,” that is, the life-supporting species, and the human kind.

267 Cf. Orphic Hymn, 34, vv. 16-23 (σὲ δὲ πάντι πόλιν καθαρὶ πολυκρέστω / ἀρμοίζεις, ὅτε μὲν νεάτης ἐπὶ τέρματα βαίνων, / ἃλλοτι δὲ αὐθ’ ὑπάτης, ποτε Δώρων εἰς διάκοσιον / πάντα πόλιν καραὶς κρίνεις βιοθρέμμονα φίλα, / ἀρμοίης κεράσας [τήν] παγκόσμιον ἀνδράσι μοῦρα, / μίξας χειμώνας θέρεος τ’ ἵσον ἄμφοτέροις, / ταῖς ὑπάταις χειμώνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας, / Δώρων εἰς ἔαρος πολυκράτου ὤφρων ἄθροι).

268 A. Cf. Diodorus of Sicily, I, 16, who tells a myth about Hermes’s invention of the lyre, according to which the first lyre had three strings because of the seasons of the year: the string yielding the highest pitch corresponded to the summer, the one yielding the lowest pitch, to the winter, and the intermediate, to the spring (λύραν τε νεφίμῃ ποιησα τρίχρονοι, μημεράμενον, τὰς κατ’ ἐναυτὸν ὄρας τρεῖς γάρ αὐτὸν ὑποστήρισθαι φόδρας, ὡξὶ καὶ βαρὺν καὶ μέσον, ὡξὶ κατ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ θερίους, βαρὺν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος, μέσον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρος). Diodorus’ source was probably Hecataeus of Abdera (fourth-third century B. C. E.); cf. F Gr Hist., 264 F 25 Jacoby.

B. Later sources consider a year divided in four seasons: cf. Plutarch, De animae procreatione in Timaeo, 1028 ε-τ (Χαλδαῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὸ ἕαν ἐν τῷ διὰ τεττάρων γέγονεθα πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον, ἐν δὲ τῷ διά
Aristides Quintilianus, III, 19, who attributes that system to Pythagoras (ἐξει τοίνυν τὸ ἔστρωμα, καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐφάσας λέγειν, πρὸς μὲν μετόπωρον τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, πρὸς δὲ χειμῶνα τὸ διὰ πάντων, πρὸς δὲ θέρους τὸ διὰ πασών), and Macrobius, I, 19, 15 (et tetrachordum Mercurio creditur attributum, quippe significat hic numerus vel totidem plagas mundi vel quattuor vices temporum quibus annus includitur, vel quod duobus aequinocitiis duobusque solstitiis zodiaci ratio distincta est).


269 Cf. Pliny the Elder, NH, II, 84 (sed Pythagoras interdum et musica ratione appellat quantum absit a terra luna, ab ea ad Mercurium dimidium spati et ad eo ad Veneris, a quo ad solem sexuplum, a sole ad Martem tonum [id est quantum ad lunam a terra], ab eo ad Iovem dimidium et ad eo ad Saturni, et inde sexuplum ad signiferum; ita septem tonis effici quam ad paswn ἀρμονια: hoc est universatem concentus; in ea Saturnum Dorio moveri phthongo, Iovem Phrygio et in reliquis similia, iucunda magis quam necessaria subtilitate, quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pliny.nh2.html, as consulted on July 20, 2005).


269 Cf. Pliny the Elder, NH, II, 84 (sed Pythagoras interdum et musica ratione appellat quantum absit a terra luna, ab ea ad Mercurium dimidium spati et ad eo ad Veneris, a quo ad solem sexuplum, a sole ad Martem tonum [id est quantum ad lunam a terra], ab eo ad Iovem dimidium et ad eo ad Saturni, et inde sexuplum ad signiferum; ita septem tonis effici quam ad paswn ἀρμονια: hoc est universatem concentus; in ea Saturnum Dorio moveri phthongo, Iovem Phrygio et in reliquis similia, iucunda magis quam necessaria subtilitate, quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pliny.nh2.html, as consulted on July 20, 2005).


272 Cf. Macrobius, Sat., I, 19, 15 (lya Apollinis chordarum septem tot cælestium sphaerarum motus praestat intelligi, quibus solem modereatur natura constituit).

273 Cf. Proclus, In Tim., II, 208, 9 Diehl: Μουσής οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγήτην ἐπέστησαν τῷ πάντῳ (?), τοῦ μὲν τὴν μίαν ἐνσωματικὴν ὄλης ἀρμονίας χορηγοῦσος, τῶν δὲ τὴν διηρομένην αὐτῆς πρόσοδον συνεχούσαν. Cf. Iambl., VP, 9, 45, quoted in n. 204 and 229 to this chapter.
II. 4. THE PLEIADS, OR THE FIRST COSMIC LYRE

As we have seen in II. 3., the heavenly bodies connected with the cosmic music (through the Muses, its mythical bearers) were the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the five planets known in antiquity, and the sphere of the fixed stars. But, prior to these, it is highly probable that the first heavenly body to be linked with music by the Pythagoreans was the Pleiads, a group of seven stars mentioned in the Homeric poems and belonging to the constellation of Taurus. And this musical connection of the Pleiads continued to be mentioned along the whole literary history of Antiquity.

We shall begin with a passage of Porphyrius’s *Life of Pythagoras*, where, citing Aristotle as his source, he wrote that the Pleiads were said by Pythagoras to be the lyre of the Muses. It seems that the planets had not yet been related to music in those early days: in the very same breath, Porphyrius also says that Pythagoras called the planets “the dogs of Persephone.” This could actually be an ancient tradition, because, according to the cosmology attributed to the Pythagoreans by Aristotle, there were ten heavenly bodies, so the common association of the seven-stringed lyre with the Sun, Moon, and the five planets observed in antiquity was not possible among the earlier Pythagoreans.

On the other side, in a passage of his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle criticizes the Pythagorean notion that number reflects the essence of things. In this discussion, he lists groups of seven elements, and asks whether those things come into being because they are seven. Among the heptads he mentions we find the seven strings of a *harmonía*, the vowels of ancient Greek, and the Pleiads, instead of the Sun, the Moon,
and the other five planets. Since the same Aristotle, as we said above, described a Pythagorean cosmic system of ten heavenly bodies, it is likely that the Stagirite drew those examples from the Pythagoreans whose doctrines he was discussing. And, even if he did not explicitly attribute to the Pythagoreans any association among those groups of seven, his mention of the seven strings and the seven Pleiads may hint at the Pythagorean symbolon “The Pleiads are the lyre of the Muses,” quoted by Porphyrius, who in this case was reliable: when he mentioned Aristotle as his source, he was not simply trying to make respectable a late speculation. Given that Aristotle was not a sympathizer with Pythagoreanism, Porphyrius (who was such a sympathizer) would not cite him as a source if he were only trying to discredit the Pythagoreans in this case by mentioning random examples. From all this, we can conclude that Porphyrius was actually transmitting an ancient tradition, and that the aphorism “The Pleiads are the lyre of the Muses” could actually go back to the time of the author of the Metaphysics.

The Pleiads were later superseded by another heptad (formed by the Sun, the Moon, and the five planets of antiquity) found in association with the strings of the lyre; but this could only have happened when the earlier Pythagorean cosmology was replaced by the geocentric model in which neither the central fire nor the counter-earth were accepted, and in which the Earth was motionless at the center of the cosmos. Further, since the fixed stars were obviously something other than a planet, the number of “planets,” plus the Sun and the Moon, was seven. The astrological relevance of the Sun, Moon, and the five planets enhanced the importance of their heptad, and diminished the significance of the Pleiads for being associated with the heptachord lyre. The attention paid to these stars by the Pythagoreans might have been due not only to the numerical coincidence with the number of the strings on the
standard lyre but also to the relevance of the Pleiads for determining the time in which important human activities should (or should not) be undertaken, as well as the beginning and end of the year and its seasons.\textsuperscript{280}

Additional sources establish a link between the Pleiads and the seven-stringed lyre,\textsuperscript{281} representing a continuation of the old Pythagorean tradition by the Alexandrine scholars and Latin poets. These include an anonymous commentator on Aratus, who wrote: “It (i.e. the lyre) was first made by Hermes from the tortoise-shell, and it had seven strings because of the Atlantids.”\textsuperscript{282} These Atlantids are the same as the Pleiads, who were called “offspring of Atlas” by Hesiod and many others.\textsuperscript{283} This link between the Pleiads and the strings of the lyre survives in Ovid’s \textit{Fasti} (“you are thought to have given seven strings, the Pleiads’ number, to the lyre”\textsuperscript{284}), and in the \textit{Aratea} by the fourth century C. E. Latin poet Avienus:

> When the beautiful Apollo filled it in his turn with celestial harmony, he taught Orpheus to handle it inside the Pangaean grotto. This one played wise tunes on nine strings according to the number of the Muses, being himself the son of a Muse; he who discovered it brought forth his songs from the number of the Pleiads.\textsuperscript{285}

That is, the Pleiads would have provided the heavenly pattern for human lyres. In the context of Avienus’ passage, the discoverer of the lyre was Hermes, as in the charming \textit{Hymn to Hermes}, and the reference to the Pleiads reminds us that Hermes was the son of Maia, one of the Pleiads.\textsuperscript{286} So, in fashioning the lyre, Hermes decided on seven strings as a reflection of the Pleiads, just as Orpheus would do when he increased the number of strings to reflect the Muses. Thus, it seems as if both Muses and Pleiads provided a divine model for the lyre, but, as we have seen, it is likely that the Pleiads were the first model according to the Pythagoreans. Among the
beings related to the lyre, only the Pleiads belonged primarily to the heavenly world, whereas the Sirens and Muses originally had no astral connections, nor did represent a set of seven elements.

Beyond their relationship to the lyre, the Pleiads were also occasionally related to music throughout antiquity. Sometimes the interpretation might be open, for example, when some authors view the Pleiads as forming a choir. The first source mentioning the Pleiads as a choir might be Euripides’ *Phaethon*, if we accept Diggle’s proposal for filling a lacuna on the papyrus where the corresponding fragment has been preserved. With Diggle’s supplement, Euripides’ lines read: “Above my head the choir of the Pleiads has fled.” It is not impossible that Euripides actually wrote that line, since the image of a choir of stars was already known in Greek poetry, and the same Euripides could have it in mind in another passage where he mentions the Pleiads and Hyads. If so, Euripides would be the first author linking the Pleiads with a musical reality, before the Pythagorean association with the seven-stringed lyre. One may, however, argue that the musical connotations of the word κορών were not at work in the texts mentioning the choir of the Pleiads. Euripides’ lines in *Phaethon*, mentioned above, contain no further reference to a musical activity of those stars, and the same thing can be told about the other passages: for example, Philo says “the choir of the Pleiads is made up of a hebdomad, and their risings and settings become causes of great goods for all,” in a passage where he is not dealing with music, but mentioning other groups of seven, like the Little Bear, which consists also of seven stars. When Hyginus tells the myth of the Pleiads, he says that one of them was ashamed to have a mortal husband, whereas her sisters married gods, and because of this she was evicted from the “choir of her sisters,” where chorus stays metaphorically for “group.” In those passages, κορών
can mean simply "troop" or "ordered group," a signification it shows when referred to things like fishes, specifically told to be "voiceless" by Sophocles in a fragment where he says: "the choir of voiceless fishes shouted in answer." Nevertheless, the reference to a musical activity is clearer when Hyginus said that the Pleiads lead the dance (chorea) of the stars. This may well be coherent with the regulating role of the Pleiads: as we have already mentioned, their rising and setting indicated the time adequate for important human activities, and the ancients were prone to express that notion of order in terms of musical harmony and rhythm. In any case, these characteristics (forming a choir or leading the dance of the stars) are very seldom applied to other constellations: only two stars of the Little Bear are called choreutae ("members of a choir") by Hyginus, and only Aries is said to lead the zodiac’s dance in a poem attributed to Empedocles. The Pleiads could be more often and consistently connected with the idea of choral dance because of their other associations with music.

Other sources are more explicit about the musical connections of the Pleiads. In the twilight of Antiquity, Nonnus of Panopolis explicitly attributes to the Pleiads sound phenomena in two passages where the Pythagorean passion for numerical coincidences can also be detected: “And the pole crashed, and, responding by itself to the seven-zoned heaven, the seven-mouthed echo of the Pleiads’ shout cried from their throats, whose number matches that of the heavens.” The second passage reads: “The winding seven-star echo of the band of the Pleiads made the seven-zoned heaven roar with recurrent voice, and the stars, running contrariwise and quivering their sound from their throats, whose number matches that of the heavens, wandered like Bacchants.” We may observe that the words employed by Nonnus for the sounds of the Pleiads coincide with those designating the sounds of the heavenly
bodies (presumably referring to the Sun, Moon, and the five planets) in some passages dealing with the music of the spheres. It is also noteworthy that the Pleiads were the only heavenly body in the sphere of the fixed stars to which sound phenomena are specifically attributed.

Another source, a Proclean *scholion* to Hesiod (probably not earlier than Nonnus) substitutes the individual Pleiads for the heavenly Muses in association with the planetary spheres:

His (i.e. Atlas’s) daughters are said in the myths to be the Pleiads, who are seven (Kelaino, Sterope, Merope, Electra, Alcyone, Maia, Taygete), and that these all are archangelic powers presiding over the archangels of the seven spheres; Kelaino of the sphere of Saturn; Sterope of that of Jupiter; Merope of that of Mars; Electra of that of the Sun; Alcyone of that of Venus; Maia of that of Mercury, and Taygete of that of the Moon. And the reasons for that are clear: there is one group of seven, settled in the sphere of the fixed stars as an image of what there is in heaven. This group is called Pleiads, and this is a heavenly body placed in the constellation of Taurus, which even the profane may watch, and which with its risings and settings cause a very important change of the air.

As in Nonnus, we may observe here the numerical correspondence between the Pleiads and the heavenly spheres. Apart from the strange association of the Pleiads with archangels, this text provides us a possible clue for answering the question: why were the Pleiads chosen as the first heavenly model of the seven-stringed lyre? The scholiast tells that the seven Pleiads were a model of another heptad, the one constituted by the Sun, the Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. This endows the Pleiads with a function similar to that of the Ideas from which the Platonic Demiurge creates the sensible things. Obviously, this association
probably does not stem from the earliest Pythagorean doctrines, in which ten celestial regions were the norm. Furthermore, the concept of a Demiurge is Platonic rather than Pythagorean. It seems that the scholiast produced a conflation of Pythagorean and Platonic conceptions: the importance of the Pleiads and their correspondence with the planetary spheres rests on the Pythagorean interest in numerical coincidences; the Pleiads as a model for a celestial system seems to draw on the Platonic Ideas, now expressed in the language of myth.

Such is the evidence for musical connections with the Pleiads. It seems that they were the first heavenly body to be linked with music. If this conception precedes Plato, as Euripides’ “choir of the Pleiads” may suggest, Plato himself may have substituted the Sirens for the Pleiads as bearers of cosmic music. His reasons for such a substitution might be the strong otherworldly quality of the Sirens, which made them better suited to an eschatological apocalypse, or because the number seven did not appear among those expressing the harmonic proportions of the world soul. On the other hand, Plato considered there to be eight celestial regions, and there were no established facts concerning the number of the Sirens. From this point of view, the Sirens were also good candidates for service as new bearers of cosmic music in the myth of Er.

In our chapter about the Sirens, we showed that if the Pythagorean aphorism about the harmony of the Sirens was earlier than Plato, there was no ground for seeing in that harmony an allusion to cosmic music. Further support for this view can be drawn from the fact that the mythical bearers of cosmic music in early Pythagoreanism were the Pleiads. On the other hand, after being replaced by the Sirens, the Pleiads reappeared in the cosmic “auditorium” at the twilight of antiquity,
as we have seen in Nonnus and in the scholion to Hesiod, where they were substituted for the Muses and linked to the archangels. This leads us to a discussion of certain common features of all these mythical bearers of heavenly music. The next section is devoted to such a discussion.

274 Cf. ll. 18, 486 (Πλημάδας θ᾽ Ἰάδας τε τὸ τε σθείνοις Ὠρίωνος), and Od., 5, 272 (Πλημάδας τ᾽ ἐσφόρωτι καὶ ὁβε ὅνοιτα Βοώτην). The first author saying that they are seven is Euripides, fr. 779, v. 4

Kannicht (= 779 Nauck = Phaethon, v. 171 Diggle, quoted by Ps. Longinus, De sublimitate, 15, 4: ἔτι δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἐπὶ πλειάδων ἔχων δρόμον). For their myth, cf. Aratus, 254-67 (Ἄγχις δὲ οἱ σκαλῆς ἐπὶ γουνιδίους ἠλαθα πᾶσαι, / Πλημάδες φορέσεται. ὃ δ᾽ οὐ μᾶλα πολλὰς ἀπάσας / χῶρος ἔχει, καὶ δ᾽ αὐτὰ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀφαρεῖ. / Ἐπτάποροι δὴ ταίγε μετ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἱδόντα, / ἐξ οἷα περ ἐνοῦσα ἐποίᾳ ὁφθαλμοῖσιν. / Οὐ μὲν ποὺς ἀπόλωλεν ἀπευθεῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἀστήρ, / ἐξ οὖν καὶ γενεθήσεθαι άκούσμε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλ᾽ αὐτῶς / εἴρεται ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἐκεῖναι ἐπιρρήθην καλέονται / Ἀλκυώνη Μερότη τε Κελαυνῷ τ᾽ Ἡλέκτρῃ τε / καὶ Στερότη καὶ Τηγήτη καὶ πότισσα Μαῖα. / Αἱ μὲν ὁμός ὀλίγα καὶ ἀφεγγυές, ἀλλ᾽ ὄνομασται / ἢρι καὶ ἐσπέραι, Ζεῦς δ᾽ αἰτίος, εἰλίσσονται, / ὁ σφίσι καὶ θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἀρχομένου / σημαίνειν ἐπένευσεν ἐπερχομένου τ᾽ ἀρότου; (Ps.) Eratosthenes, Cataristerni, 1, 23 (Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τοῦ Ταῦρου τῆς καλομενῆς ῥάχεως ὁ Πλεῖας ἐστίν την συνημμένης δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡς ἀστέρας ἐπάτω, λέγουσιν εἶναι τῶν Ἀτλαντος θυγατέρων, διὸ καὶ ἐπάτσερς καλεῖται. αὐξ ὀρῶνται δὲ αἱ ἐπάτω, αλλ᾽ αἱ ἐξ᾽ τὸ δὲ αἰτίων οὐτω πως λέγεται. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ φασὶ θεῶς μιγᾶται, τὴν δὲ μιᾶν θητή τρεῖς μὲν οὖν μιγᾶται Δίῳ, Ἡλέκτραν ἐξ ἦς Δάρδανος, Μάιαν ἐξ ἦς ἔρμης, Τηγήτην ἐξ ἦς Λακεδαίμων. Ποσειδώνι δὲ δύο μιγᾶται, Ἀλκυώνην ἐξ ἦς ἔρμης, Κελαυνῷ ἐξ ἦς Λύκος. Στερότη δὲ λέγεται Ἀρεί μιγᾶται, ἐξ ἦς Οἰνόμας ἐγένετο Μερόπη δὲ Σισύφῳ θητῇ, διὸ παναφανὴς ἐστὶν. μεγάτην δ᾽ ἔχουσι δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπισημαίνουσαν καὶ ὠραῖον. θέσιν δὲ ἔχουσιν εὖ μᾶλα κεῖμενα κατὰ τῶν Ἰππαρχον τριγωνοειδοὺς σχήματος; sch. in ll., 18, 486 (Πλημάδας. Ἐπὶ ἐστέρες εἰσὶ κείμεναι ἐπὶ τὴν πλευράν τοῦ Ταῦρου ὁ γὰρ Ταῦρος σῶος οὐκ ἄνθρωπός τινα). Αὐτὰ δὲ εἶσιν Ἀτλαντος, καὶ Πλημάδως θυγατέρες. ὅλα τὰ ὄνομα, Μαῖα, Τηγήτη, Κελαυνῷ, Μερόπη, Ἡλέκτρα, Στερότη, Ἀλκυώνη. Ἀτλας εἰς τῶν γιγάντων, μιγᾶς Πλημών τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐσχή θυγατέρας ἐπάτω, οἳ τὴν παρθενεῖαν ἀγαπήσατο, συνεκκενήσασι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. θεασάμενος δὲ Ὁρίων, ἡμᾶθη καὶ ἐδώκειν αὐτὰς μιγᾶται βουλόμενος. αὐτὲ δὲ περικατάλησεν γιγαντίας, θεοῦς ἤξιοντο μεταβαλεῖν τὴν φύσιν. Ζεὺς δὲ ἔλεησα αὐτὰς Πλειάδας ἐποίησε, καὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄστρον κατηστέρασε. οὐνομάσθησαν δὲ Πλημάδες ἀπὸ Πλημών τῆς μητρός αὐτῶν. φασὶ δὲ Ἡλέκτραν οὐ βουλομένην τῇ Ἰλεον πόρθησιν θεάσασθαι, τῷ τὸ κτίσμα εἶναι τῶν ἀπογόνων, καταλείπειν τὸν τόπον ἐνθα κατηστέραστο, διὸπερ οὖσας πρότερου ἐπάτα, γενέσθαι ἐξ᾽ ἡ ἱστορία παρά τοῖς Κυκλούκοις (fr. 14 Bernábé)); other sch. in ll., 18, 486
(Πλησίαδας θ' Ὄδας τε. Ὁδὲς μὲν καταστερισμένας ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ Ταῦρου Ὄδας ἔφοιτ᾽ εἰρήσθαι. τάς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμιτόμου πλευρᾶς, Πλησίαδας καλεῖσθαι ἄπαντα ὃς ὄντων ἐν Λιβύη κυνηγοῦσα, ὅποις κτεῖνε. καὶ αἱ μὲν πέντε τῶν ἀδελφῶν θρησκοῦσι ἀπόλλυται. τάς δὲ λοιπὰς δι᾽ οἴκτου καταστερίσας Ζεῦς, Ὄδας ἐποιώμεσαι, ἐπωνύμοις τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. αἱ δὲ πλείους ἐπτά, βραδέως μὲν. πλὴρ ἀποθανοῦσι. Πλησίαδες εἰρήνη.

Φερεκύδης (Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορικός τοῦ ἑυδοκίμου Πολικηνοῦ τοῦ Ἐυερμήο τοῦ Αθηναίων, ἐπολίσθε τῷ πρῶτῳ Κύπρος ἐμπεσάμενοι, ἱοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἐλλάδος συστάσεις γενόσας, καὶ τὰς κόμις ὤλσασαν, ἐνίοτε κομητὴν ἀστέρα φαίνεσθαι. ἂν δὲ καὶ Ἐλλάδος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Ἀτλαντιδόων, τὰς μὲν ἐξ θεῶν συνελθέν, Ταυγέτει διὶ, ὥν γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμόνι. Μαίαν Δί, ἀφ' ὕμν Ἐρήμης. Ἡλέκτραν Δί, ὅν Δάρδανος. Ἀλκοοῦνην Ποσειδώνην, ὅν Ἰρεύς, Στερότης Ἀρεί, ὅν Οἰνόμας. Κελαινὸς Ποσειδών καὶ αὐτὴ, ὅν γενέσθαι Λύκον. Μερόπην δὲ Σισύφῳ θηντὸ ὅντα, ὅν Πλαίκος, ἢ καὶ ἀμαυρὰν εἶναι. Ὅδας δὲ εἰρήνησθαι, ἦτο παρὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων θέσεως. τῷ γὰρ στοιχεῖον παραπληθύνων ἐστίν, ἢ ἐπεὶ ἀνατελλούσι τῶν καὶ δυνησί συναχθηκεν ὃς Ὅδας, αἱ δὲ Πλησίαδες, ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Πλησίανης. ἢ ὅτι πλείους ὧν ἀνατέλλεντων καὶ συναχθῆναι εἰσὶ. βότρυν γοῦν αὐτὰς λέγουσαν. ἢ ὅτι πλείους μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλάττους εἶσον. ἡ Πλησίας δ' πλησίων γὰρ κεῖται, ἢ ὅτι πλείους δ' αὐτὰς ἂν τῶν ὧν ἐτησιμαίστα, ἢ ὅτι πλείως, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐναυτοῦ σημαντικαί. χειμῶν γὰρ καὶ θέρος διορίζουσαν καθότι ἐπιφέρονται. καὶ ὅταν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν σημειώναται τὰς ἔως ἐπιτολάς πρὸς θέρος, καὶ τὰς ἐσπερίας πρὸς ἄρτρον ὃς Ἡσίοδος. Πλησίας Ἀτλαντεψών ἐπιτελεμενῶν, / "Ἀρχεσθ" ἀμητόα, αἴροσι τοῦ δυσμενεῖαν, τὰς δὲ Ἀτλαντὸς ἀτυχίας κλαίοντας αὐτὰς καταστερίσας φησὶ Λισχολός. Πλησίαδοι καὶ ἀνατολή ἡλίου ὑπὸς ἐν Διδύμως, δύσις δὲ ἐως κατὰ τὴν διάμετρον ἥλιου ὑπὸς ἐν Σκορπίῳ. Ταῦρον δὲ ὑπὸς κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐπίπαθες γίγνεται. καὶ γὰρ τῶν προανάληστοι Κριῶν ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας προκαταλάμπει καταρχάς ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς προανάληστοι Διδύμως ἐπὶ ἄλλας ἡμέρας πέντε. ὡσπέρ τι καῦμον πᾶρ τῆς ἱέρας ἀπόρροιαν ἐχεὶ βραχειάν καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν. διὰ τούτῳ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐφῆ: Ὅι δὲ τοῦ νῦκτας τε καὶ ὡματα τεσσαράκοντα κεκρυφάσατο, διότι καταγχάζουσι; D. S., III, 60, 4-5 (= Dionysius Scytobrachion, F Gr H 1a, 32 F 7 Jacoby, II. 230-59 = fr. 7 Rusten, esp. II. 18-36. ὑπάρχει δ' ὅτα Ἀτλαντὶ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπτά, τὰς κούκους μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καλομενήν Ἀτλαντίδας, ιδίᾳ δ' ἑκάστην ὀνομαζομένην Μαίαιν, Ἡλέκτραν, Ταυγέτην, Στερότην, Μερόπην, Ἀλκυόνην, καὶ τελευταίαν Κελαινόν, ταύτας δὲ μεγείάς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱέρως καὶ θεῶς ἀρχηγοὺς καταστήματι τῶν [πλείστοις] γένους τῶν ἄνθρωπων, τεκοῦσας τοὺς δὲ ἄρτητος θεῶς καὶ ἱέρως ὀνομαζότας, οἷον τὴν προεμβατήν Μαίαν Διὲ μεγείσαν Ἐρρήνη τεκνώσαι, πολλῶν εὑρετὴν γενόμενον τοὺς ἄνθρωποὺς συμπληρώσω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
'Ατλαντίδας γεννήσαι παίδας ἐπίφανεῖς, ὃν τοὺς μὲν ἔθηκ, τοὺς δὲ πόλεων γενέσθαι κτίστας, 5. διότι οὔ μόνον παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληστικὰ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀρχαίωτάτων ἥρων εἰς ταῦτα ἀναφέρει τὸ γένος. ὑπάρξαι δ' αὐτὸς καὶ σώφρονας διαφερόντας, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτῳ τιμῆς παρ’ ἀνθρώποις [καὶ] καθδρυθεῖσαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν Πλειάδων προσηγορίᾳ περιληφθεῖσαι, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ αἱ 'Ατλαντίδαις καὶ νύμφαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἑγχώρους κοινῆς γυναικάς νύμφας προσαγορεύειν; Dion. Hal., Antiquitates romanae, I, 61, 1, II, 5-9 ("Ατλάς γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλομμένῃ ἴδιᾳ 'Ἀρκαδίᾳ, οἶκε δὲ περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκώνιον ὄρος, τούτῳ θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἐπὶ αὐτόν ἐν οὐρανῷ κατηρτερίσθαι λεγόμεναι Πλειάδες ἐπικληθαί). Germanicus, Aratea, 255-69 (Poplite sub laevo, Tauri certissima signa, / Pleiades suberunt. brevis has locus occupat omnis, / nec facile cerni, nisi quod coeuntia plura / sidera communem ostendunt ex omnibus ignem. / septem traduntur, numero sed carpitur una, / deficiente oculo distinguere corpora parva. / nomina sed cunctis servavit fida vetustas: / Electra Alcyoneque Celaenoque Meropeque et / Taygete et Maia parente / caelifero genitae (si vere sustinet Atlas / regna Iovis superosque atque ipso pondere / gaudet). / lumine non multis Plias certaverit astris, / praecipuo sed honore ostendit tempora bina, / cum primum agricolam vernus tepor admonet agri / et cum surgit hiemps portu fugienda peritis; / sch. in Germ. Aratea, v. 254 (Pleiades a pluralitate Graeci vocant: Latini, eo quod vere exoriantur, Vergilias dicunt. Dicit autem Pherecydes Athenaeus (fr. 46f. Müller), septem sorores fuisse, Lycurgi filias, ex Naxo insula: et pro eo, quod Liberum educaverunt, a Iove inter sidera sunt relatae: Hyginus, Fab., 192 (Atlas ex Pleione sive Oceanitide duodecim filias habuit et filium Hyanten, quem ab apro vel leone occisum dum lugent sorores, ab eo luctu consumptae sunt. ex his quinque inter sidera relatae locum habent inter cornua Tauri, Phaesyla Ambrosia Coronis Eudora Polyxo, quae a fratris nomine appellatur Hyades; eadem Latine Suculas uocant. quidam aiunt in modum Τ litterae postis inde Hyades dici; nonnulli quod cum orientur pluuias efficiunt, est autem Graece u{ein} pluere; sunt qui existimant haec in sideribus esse quod fuerint nutrices Liberi patris, quas Lycurgo ex insula Naxo ediderat. ceterae sorores postea luctu consumpta sida facta sunt, et quia plures essent Pleiades dictae nonnulli existimant ita nominatas quia inter se coniunctae, quod est πληθυνόν, <a>deo enim confertae sunt ut vix numerentur, nec unquam ullius oculis certum est sex an septem existimentur. earum nonima haec sunt, Electra Alycone Celaeno Merope Sterope Taygeta et Maia, ex quibus Electren negant apparere propter Dardanum amissum Troiamque sibi ereptam; alii existimant Merope<n> conspicer e erubescere quia mortalem virum acceperit, cum ceterae deos haberent; ob eamque rem de choro sororum expulsae maerens crimem solum gerit, quae cometes appellatur sive longodes, quia in longitudinem producit, sive <phias> quia gladii mucronis effigiem producit; ea autem stella luctum portendit); Hyginus, Astr., II, 21, 2-4 (2. Pleiades autem appellantur sunt, ut ait Mnaseas [third century B. C. E.] [fr. 42 Müller], quod ex Atlante et Pleione Oceani filia sint quindecim filiae procreatae, quorum quinque Hyadas appellatas demonstrat, quod earum Hyas fuerit frater a sororibus plurimum dilectus; qui quum venans a leone esset interflectus, quinque, de quibus supra diximus, lamentationibus assiduissimis, permutae dicuntur interissi: quare eas, quod plurimum de eius morte laborarent, Hyadas appellatas. Reliquas vero decem sorores deliberasse de sororum morte, et earum septem sibi mortem conscisse: quare quod plures idem senserunt, Pleiadas dictas. 3. Alexander autem Hyadas ait dictas, quod Hy<ant>is et Boeotiae sint filiae; Pliadas autem, quod ex Plione Oceani et Atalante sint natae. Hae numero septem dicuntur, sed nemo amplius sex potest uidere; cuius causa proditur haec, quod de septem sex cum immortalibus concubuerint, tres cum love, duas cum Neptuno, una cum Marte, reliqua autem Sisyphi fuisse uxor demonstratur. Quorum ex Electra et love Dardanum, ex Maia Mercurium, ex Taygete Lacedaemona procreatum; ex Alcyone autem et Neptuno <H>yr<i>ea, ex Celaeno Lycum et Nyctea natum. Martem autem ex Sterope Oenomaum procreasse, quam alii
Oenomaia xexrom diexerun. Meropen autem Sisypho nuptam Glauca genuisse, quem complures Bellerophonits patrem esse diexerunt. Quae propter reliquas eius sorores inter sidera constitutam; sed quod homini nusperit, stellam eius obscuratam. Alii diont Electrum non apparere tdeo quod Pliaides existimantur chreom ducere stellis; sed postquam Troia sit capta et progenies eius, quae a Dardano fuerit, sit everova, dolore permutat ab his se removisse et in circulo, qui arcticus dicitur, constritisse, et quodam longo tempo tempore lamento capillo passo videri; itaque et facto cometen esse appellatam. 4. Sed has Piaidas antiqui astrologi seorsum a Tauro deiformaverunt, ut ante diximus, Phiones et Atlantis filias. Quae cum per Boeotiam cum pueili tier faceret, Oriona concitatum uolalisse ei uim adferre; illum fugere coepisse, Oriona autem secutam esse annos septem neque invenire potuisse. Iovem autem puellaram misertam, inter astra constituuisse, et postea a nonnullis astrologis caudam Tauri appellaras. Itaque adhuc Orion fugientes eas ad occasum sequi videtur. Eas stellas nostri Vergilias appellaruerunt, quod post ver exoriantur, et hae quidem ampliorum ceteribus habet honorem, quod in earum signo exoriente aetas significatur, occidente autem hiemis ostenditur, quod alis non est traditum signis); Hesychius, s. v. (π. 2550: πληγιάν πληγιάν, έστι δέ εν πάντας αστερίων, πληγιάν του ταύρου, ύμνομασθέντα ύμνομασθέντα από της μητρός αυτών Πληγιάν; Etymologicum Magnum, p. 675, II 35-54 Callierges (Πλειάδας: Τός έκ πλειάδων αστερών ύμνομασθέντα. Πληγιάν, από της Πληγιάν, υμνομάσθεν μην Άικεανου, γνωστός ός Ατλαντός. Λέγει δέ Πίνδαρος περί του καταστρεπτον μην, οτι, της Πληγιάν πορευόμενης μετά των υμνομάσθεν μετά την Βουσιάν, συναντήσας αυτή Μεσονα έτη έρασθείς, ύμνομασθέν ύμνομασθέν από το όμοιον το αρπάσας την δε, υμνομάσθεν μετά των υμνομάσθεν, Άικον έηθε: γενεται δέ αυτών των δρόμων πεντε έτη δισκάλειτον τον βασιλευς βασιλευς στα τα τι και τις Εφεσόνας. τον δ' έκ χαλκον χορομενον γνωμενον ήρων φωνην ειναι τινος των δαμόνων εναιπελημβηϊ την χαλκον. 275 Cf. Porph. VP, 41 (= Arist. fr. 196 Rose = 159 Gigon = "Pythagoristae", 58 C 2 DK): έλεγε δέ τινα και μυστικό τρόπον συμβολικος, ά δέ επί πλειν των θεοτοκελης ανέγραψεν οίον ότι την θάλασσαν μεν εκάθεν ειναι λόχοι τος δ' άρχοντος τοις χειρων της Κυκλων έτη έρασθείς, ύμνομασθέν πρός το αρπάσας την δε, υμνομάσθεν μετά των υμνομάσθεν, πληγιάν ύμνομασθέν. Φερσεφόνης, Ραίας, άρκτος μουσών δ' τας χειρας δακρυον, Ρέας, άρκτους μουσών δ' τας χειρας πλειάδα δε την· τρόπῳ δέ ανέγραψεν ις επί την, ήτοι πλεον Ρεπικαίρων οι έκ της Πληγιάν, άρχοντος τοις θεοτοκελης ανέγραψεν. 276 Namely: Sun, Moon, Earth, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the fixed stars, and the so called Counter-Earth; an invention to make the number of heavenly bodies equal to ten, the most perfect number for the Pythagoreans: cf. Arist. Cael., 293a 20-27 (= Pythagoristae, 58 B 37 DK): έναντιως οι περί την Ιταλιαν, καλούμενοι δε Πυθαγόρειου λέγουσιν επι μην γαρ του μεσου πυρ ειναι φασι την δε γην, εν των άστρων ουσιαν κυκλο ψευμενη περι το μεσον νυκτα τε και ήμεραι πεουεν. Έτι δ' έναντιαν άλλην ταυτη κατασκευαζουσι γην, ήν αντιχονα διαμα ου καλουσιν ου προς τα φαινομενα τους λογος και τας αιτιας ζητουντες άλλα προς τινας λογος και δοξας αυτων τα φαινομενα προσελκουσι ται περιμενον συγκοσμευναι Αριστ. Metaph., 986a 8-12 (= Pythagoristae, 58 B 4 DK: λεγω δ' οιον ίποι έπειδη τελειον ή δεκας ειναι δοκει και πασαν περιεληβεναι την των άρθιων φυσιον και τα φαινομενα κατα των ουρανων δεκα μεν ειναι φαινον ουτων δε ειναι μονων των φαινορων δια τουτο δεκατην την άντιχονα πολυσυνα; Αητιων Plac., II, 7, 7, pp. 336-7 Diels (ap. Stob. I, 22, 1d = Philolaus, 44 A 16 DK = A 16b Huffman: Φ. πυρ εν μεσω περι το κεντρον οπερ έστιν τοις παιντος καλει [Β 7] και Δι ος ο ι κον και μη τε γαι θειον ων θειον τε και συνοχην και μετρον φωσως και παλαι πυρ έτερον ανωτατω το περιμενον πρωτον δ' ειναι φωσε το μεσον περι δε τουτο δεκα σιματα θεια χορευεν ουκενον <μετα την των αειλανων ωφαναν> τους πλανητας μεθ ους ήλιων υφις οι σεληνης υφις η την γην υφις η την
ἀν τίχθονα, μεθ’ ἡ σύμπαντα τὸ πῦρ ἐστίς περὶ τὰ κέντρα τάξιν ἑπέχον, καὶ Aetius, Plac., III, 11, 3, p. 377 Diels, ap. Stob., I, 15, 7 (= Philol. 44 Α 17 ΔK = A 17 Huffman: Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὸ μὲν πῦρ μέσον (τούτῳ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἑστιάν), δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀντίχθονα, τρίτην δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην γῆν ἐξ ἐναντίας κείμενην τε καὶ περιφερεμένην τὴν ἀντίχθονα; την δὲ ὁ πυρετὴς καὶ την ἀντίχθονα, την δὲ ὁ πυρετὴς καὶ την ἀντίχθονα, and cf. Aetius, Plac., III, 11, 3, p. 377 Diels, ap. Stob., I, 15, 7 (= Philol. 44 Α 17 ΔK = A 17 Huffman: Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὸ μὲν πῦρ μέσον (τούτῳ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἑστιάν), δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀντίχθονα, τρίτην δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην γῆν ἐξ ἐναντίας κείμενην τε καὶ περιφερεμένην τὴν ἀντίχθονα; την δὲ ὁ πυρετὴς καὶ την ἀντίχθονα, την δὲ ὁ πυρετὴς καὶ την ἀντίχθονα, and cf. Ps. Plutarch, Plac. Phil., 895 c 8: ἵκετης ὁ Πυθαγόρειος δύο, ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀντίχθονα. The incompatibility of this cosmology with any planetary scale has been pointed out by Burkert, 1962, 351-2 of the English version. It is rather curious that no source is known linking the alleged ten heavenly bodies with the ten elements of the tetraktys.

277 Vid. Arist. Metaph., 1093a 13-14 (="Pythagoristae", 58 B 27 ΔK): ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν φωινεύτα, ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ χορδαὶ ἡ ἀρμονία, ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ ἀπειλεῖς, ἐν ἑπὶ τὰ δὲ δούλτας βάλλει (ἐνὶ γε, ἐνὶ δ’ οὐ), ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ Θῆβας, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτο ὁ ἀρθμὸς πέφυκεν, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἐκεῖνοι ἐγένοτο ἐπὶ ἡ ἡ πλεῖας ἐπὶ ἡ ἐστέρων ἐστίν...

278 We have given some further reasons for the antiquity of the Pythagorean symbola in our chapter II. 1.

279 We have given some further reasons for the antiquity of the Pythagorean symbola in our chapter II. 1.

280 A. On the relationship between the Pleiads, the calendar, and the seasons, cf. Böker, R., 1952 and 1952b. Among many other sources, vid. Aratus, 264-7 (Αἰ μὲν ὁμώς ὅλγαι καὶ ἄφεγγες, ἀλλ’ ὁνομασταὶ / ἢ καὶ ἐσπέραι, Ζεῦς δ’ αἰτίοι, εἰλισσοῦται, / δ’ ὁ σφίσι καὶ θέρεος καὶ χέιματος ἀρχομένου / σημαίνεις ἐπένευσεν ἐπερχομένου τ’ ἀρότου); scholion to Aratus (MDΔVUA), 259 (σημαίνουσιν οἱ Πλείαδες καιροὺς. ἐφ’ ἐμὲ γὰρ ἀνατέλλουσα σημαίνουσι θέρους ἀρχήν, ἐφ’ ἐμὲ δὲ δύοντο ἀντίληψιν τῶν κατὰ σπόρον ἐργῶν, ἐσπερίαν δὲ ἀνατολήν ποιούμεναι χειμώνος ἀρχήν σημαίνουσιν); Georgios Choeroboscos (a grammarian of the sixth century C. E.), De orthographia (epitone), p. 252, II. 18-20 Cramer (Πλείας· Σημαντικόν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ δύοςα γὰρ τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ δηλαὶ, ἀνατέλλουσα δὲ τὸ τέλος); Saint Isidorus of Sevilla, Etym., III, 71, 13 (quoted from http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost07/Isidorus/isiii_et03.html#c471, as consulted on April 29th 2005: Pliades a pluralitate dictae, quia pluralitatem Graeci ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείστου appellant. Sunt autem stellae septem ante genua Tauri, ex quibus sex videntur, nam latet una. Has Latini Vergilias dicunt, a temporis significatione, quod est, verum exoriantur. Nam occasu suo hiemem, ortu aestatem, primaeque navigatio tempus ostendunt).

B. The relevance of the Pleiads for regulating human activities is attested by Hesiod, who says that the rising of the Pleiads indicates the time for harvest; their setting, the time for ploughing (Hesiod, Op., 383-4: Πλημάδων ἱεροῦ ἐπετελεμένως / ἀρχεσθ’ ἀμήτου, ἀρότου δὲ δυσομενῶν. On the other side, the setting of the Pleiads indicates the time in which navigation should be avoided, according to Hesiod, Op., 618-23). Cf. Aratus, 264-7 (Αἰ μὲν ὁμώς ὅλγαι καὶ ἄφεγγες, ἀλλ’
281 On the following see Molina Moreno, 1998b, 431 ff.

282 A. Scholia in Aratum, v. 269 (sch. MDKVUA: αὕτη δὲ κατασκευάσθη μὲν ύφ' Ἕρμοι πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς χελώνης ἐπταχῦρδος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Ἀτλαντιῶν); cf. [Ps.] Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 24 (Περὶ τῆς Λύρας. Αὕτη ένατη κείται καὶ ἐστὶ Μουσών' κατασκευάσθη δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἕρμοι ἐκ τῆς χελώνης καὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος βωβῶν, ἐσχε δὲ χορδάς ἐπτά ή ἀπὸ τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν ή ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀτλαντιῶν); Hyginus, Astr., 2, 7, 2: Alii autem dicunt Mercurium, cum primum lyram fecisset in Cyllene monte Arcadiae, septem chordas instituisse ex Atlantidum numero, quod Maia una ex illarum numero esset, quae Mercurii est mater. It is interesting that the seven planets are alluded to by Ps. Eratosthenes, according to an analogy far more common among the ancient writers than the one with the Pleiads (cf. the sources quoted in our n. 249 to II. 3.); but the mention of the planets may be an interpolation (cf. Hübner, 1998, 106, n. 113.)

283 Hesiod, Op., 383 (Πλημάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενῶν), and Hesiod, fr. 169 Merkelbach, quoted in a scholion to Pindar, Nem., II, 17c (Τηγυήτη τ' ἐρόεσα καὶ Ἡλέκτρη κυανώπις / Ἀλκοοῦν τε καὶ Ἀστερόπη δή τε Κελαινῷ / Μαίᾳ τε καὶ Μερόπῃ, τάς γείνατο φαίδιμος Ἀτλαο); cf. by the way, the [Ps.] Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 23 (quoted in our note 274).

284 Fasti, V, 105-6: Septena putaris, / Pleiadum numerum, fila dedisse lyrae. This idea survived among Renaissance music theorists: for example, the Ovidian verses are quoted by Johannes Tinctoris, De inventione et usu musicae, p. 41 Weinmann (http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/15th/TININV_TEXT.html, consulted on July 6, 2004).

285 Avienus, Aratea, 621 sqq.: hanc ubi rursum / concentus superi complevit pulcher Apollo / Orphea Pangeo docuit gestare sub antro. / hic iam fila novem docta in modulamina movit / Musarum ad speciem Musa satus, ille repertor / carmina Pleiadum numero deduxerat.

286 Cf. Hes. fr. 169 Merkelbach, quoted above, n. 283; Hellanicus, F Gr H 1a,4,F 19a Jacoby, ap. schol. in Hom. II., XVIII, 486 (φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐλλάνκιος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν τὰς μὲν θεοὺς συνελθεῖν Ταυγυήτη Δίι, ὃν γενεσθαι Λακεδαιμονία: Μαίαν Δίι, ἄφ᾽ ὄν Ἐρμῆς...); Aratus, 261-3 (ἐπτα δ᾽ ἐκεῖναι ἐπιτρήβην καλέωσαι / Ἀλκυοῦν Μερόπῃ τε Κελαινῷ τ' Ἡλέκτρη τε / καὶ Στερόπῃ καὶ Τηγυήτη καὶ πότνια Μαία; [Ps.] Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 23 (τρεῖς μὲν οὐ μιγήναι Δίι, Ἡλέκτραν εἶ ἐς Δάρδανος, Μαίαν εἶ ἐς Ἐρμῆς...); Callimachus, fr. 693 Pfeiffer, ap. sch. in Ther., XIII, 25 (φησὶ Καλλάμαχος (fr. 693 Pfeiffer) ὅτι τῆς βασιλίσσης τῶν Ἀμαζώνων ἦσαν θυγατέρες ἐπτά, αἱ Πλειάδες καὶ Πλειάδες προσηγορεύθησαν, πρῶτον δ᾽ αὕτω χορέιαν καὶ πανωχίδα συνεκτίσατο παρθενεύοντα, ὅ ὦ νοῦς καθ᾽ ὃν, φησὶ, καρυν ἀνατέλλουσαν αἱ Πλειάδες θάλλει τε πάσα τὰς ταίς βοτάναις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, τηρικαῦτα τοῦ ἀπόπλου ἐφρόντιζον. Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Πλειάδων: Κοκκυμία, Γλαυκία, Πρώτης, Παρθενία, Μαία, Σταυρίχα, Λαμπαδία); D. S., III, 60, 4 (= Dionysius Scytobrachion. F Gr H 1a, 32 F 7 Jacoby, II. 230-59 = fr. 7 Rusten, II. 18-21: ὑπάρξει δ᾽ Ἀτλαντὶ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπτά, τὰς κοινῶς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καλομεμένας Ἀτλαντιδάς, ἢδία δ′ ἐκάστην ὄνομαζομένην Μαίαν ... ); Germanicus, Aratea, 262-3 (Electra Aleyoneque Celaenoque Meropeque / Asteropeque et Taygete et Maia parente); Hyginus, Fab., 192 (eurum nomina haec sunt, Electra
Alycione Celaeno Merope Sterope Taygeta et Maia); scholia vetera in Hes. Th., 383 (= scholia Proclii in Hes. Th., 381: τῶν δὲ παίδας τὰς Πλειάδας ἐμφυλόγησαν ἐπὶ οὕσας τὴν Κελαυτῷ, τὴν Στερότητα, τὴν Μερότητα, τὴν Ἡλέκτραν, τὴν Ἀλκινόην, τὴν Μαιαν, τὴν Ταυγήτην).

There is an only piece of evidence for a musical activity of the Pleiads while they were alive, although these Pleiads differ from those of the other sources, with respect both to their genealogy and their names: the Hellenistic poet Callimachus seems to have said that the Pleiads were the daughters of the Queen of the Amazons, and that they had established dance and night-festivals (cf. Callimachus, fr. 693 Pfeiffer, quoted in the previous note).

A. Choir of the Pleiads: Euripides, Phaethon, v. 66 Diggle (Πλειάδων πέφευγε χορός); Philo of Alexandria, De opificio mundi, 115 (ὁ τῶν πλείαδων χορός); Hyginus, Fab., 192 (et quia plures essent Pleiades dictae nonnulli existimata quia inter se coniunctae, quod est πλησίου, <α> deo enim confertae sunt ut vix numerentur, nec quanquam allius oculus certum est sex an septem existimentur. eorum nomina haec sunt, Electra Alycione Celaeno Merope Sterope Taygeta et Maia, ex quibus Electren negant apparere propter Dardanum amissum Troiamque sibi ereptam; alii existimant Merope(<n> conspicere erubescere quia mortalem virum acceperit, cum ceterae deos haberent; ob eamque rem de choro sororum expulsa maerens crinem solutum gerit, quae cometes appellatur); Horace, Carm., IV, 14, 21 (exercet Auster Pleiadum choro); Propertius, III, 5, 36 (Pleiadam spisso cur coit igne chorus); Quintus of Smyrna, XIII, 551-4 ής εἰνεκά φασί καὶ αὐτήν / Ηλεκτρὴν βαθύπεπλοῦν έόν δέμας ἀμφικαλύψαι / ἀχλυί καὶ νεφέσσαι ἀνημαμένην χορὸν ἄλλων / Πληιάδων αἰ δη ἄδελφειαι γεγάσασιν).

That is, the papyrus where the main extant parts of Euripides’s Phaethon have been preserved (Codex Parisinus Graecus 107B), cf. Diggle (ed.), 1970, 33-34, and Jouan & Van Looy, 2002, 244. Only the initial letters of the first word of v. 66 (πλεία) can be read on that papyrus. One of the editors of Euripides’s Phaethon, James Diggle, has proposed to fill the lacuna in this way: Πλειάδων πέφευγε χορός]. Cf. Diggle (ed.), 1970, 99, who provides many parallel passages for supporting his supplement:
a) Passages where the image of a choir of stars appears; cf. n. 290.

Cf. S. Ant., 1146-7 (ἲ᾽ο πῦρ πιεύωνον / χοράγ’ αστρῶν); Critias, B 19 DK (= fr. 4 Snell-Kannicht, ap. Clem. Al. Strom., V, 14, 114, 2, who attributes the fragment to Euripides; cf. the notes of Snell & Kannicht, 1986, 170-3): σὲ τῶν αὐτοφυή, τῶν ἐν αἰθερίῳ / ρύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξατ’; / ὃν πέρι μὲν θός, πέρι δ’ ὀρφαία / νῦξ αἰλόχρως ἀκρατός τ’ ἀστρῶν / ὁξίος ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχρεσθείς; E. Ion, 1078-80 (ὦτε καὶ Δίος ἀστερωτός / ἀνεχορεύσειν αἰθήρ, / χορεῖει δὲ σελάρα), and Electra, 467-8 (ἀστρῶν τ’ αἰθερίαις χοροί, / Πληιάδες ’Τάδες). Cf. Philoalus, A 16b

Cf. Philo of Alexandria, De opificio mundi, 115: ὁ τῶν πλειάδων χορὸς ἀστέρων ἐβδομάδι συμπεπλήρωται, ὥσπερ ἄπτολαι καὶ ἀποκρύφεις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν. 291

Cf. Philo of Alexandria, De opificio mundi, 114 (ἀρκτος γε μήν, ἣν φασί πλωτήρων ἐναὶ προπομπῶν, ἥττα ἀστέρων συνέστηκεν: εἰς ἣν ἀφορώτες κυβερνήτας τάς ἐν θαλάττῃ μυρίς ὀδοῖς ἀνέτευμον ἀπίστω πράγματι καὶ μείζονι ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθέμενοι). 292

Cf. Hyginus, Fab., 192, quoted above, n. 274 and 288.

S. Fr. 762 Radt, ap. Athenaeus (second-third centuries C. E.), VII, 5 (fish: χορὸς δὲ ἀναύδων ἱχθῶν ἐπερρόθης; Ael. NA, 5, 13 (bees: περὶ τῶν μελιττῶν χοροῦ); E. HF, 925 (children: χορὸς δὲ καλλίμορφος εἰστήκει τέκνων); X. Oec., 8, 20 (“row of dishes:” χορὸς γὰρ σκευῶν); Coluthus (an epic poet of the fifth-sixth centuries C. E.), v. 125, uses that word for the row of reeds forming a syrinx (καὶ χορὸν εὐκελάδῶν δονάκων ἐπὶ φηγοῦ ἔρεισας). In Ar. Ra., 548, it means “row of teeth” (τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν προσθέουσ). Cf. Galenus, De usu partium vol. III, p. 871 Kühn (ὁδύντων χορῶν ὀúτω καλῶς διεκόσμησεν ἡ φύσις).

Cf. above, n. 280.

A. Other constellations related to choral activities: a) Little Bear, according to Hyginus, Astr., III, 1, 2 (Minor autem habet in stationis unoquoque loco stellas singulas clare lucentes, et supra caudam tres, omnino septem. Sed in prioribus caudae stellae una est infima quae posita appellatur, at Erratosthenes dicit, quern locum ipse mundus existimatur versari. Reliqui autem duo Choreutae dicuntur, quod circum polum versantur); cf. Joannes Camaterus, Introductio in astronomiam, lines 617 ff. (ἡ δὲ Ἀρκτος ἡ μικρούτζικος ἀστέρας ἔχει τούσδε· ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρεθμων εἰσὶ, τρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πλιθύνον ὁ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτὸς ἀστήρ, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Πόλος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι δύο Ἑρέυστεῖται); b) Great and Little Bears, ap. Nonnus, 38, 407 (ἀλλὰ λων ἔχορευον ἐπὶ ξύ τυ κυκλάδες Ἀρκτος); c) Aries, ap. Ps. Empedocles, Sphaera, I, v. 83 (Πρῶτος χορεῖας Κρῶς ἤγείται κύκλου).

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298 Vid. Nonnus, XXXVIII, 380-3 (Πλημάδος δὲ φάλαγγος ἐλιξ ἐπτάστερος ἤχω / οὐρανοῦ ἐπτάζων ἐπέβρεμε κυκλάδι φωνῇ / καὶ κτύπων ἀιθύσσουτες ἵστρήμων ἀπὸ λαμών / ἀστέρες ἀντίθεους ἐβασχεύθησαν ἄλληται).

299 A. Cf. ἤχω, in Nonnus, I, 242; eiusd., XIII, 414 (quoted in n. 297), and XXXVIII, 380 (quoted in n. 298), with Theo of Smyrna, p. 147 Hiller (ἕνοι δὲ Σειρῆνας οὐ τοὺς ἀστέρας λέγεσθαι φασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων φοράς γινομένους ἤχους), and Simplicius, In Cael., p. 468, ll. 21-2 Heiberg (οἱ δὲ Πυθαγορεῖοι ἐναρμόνιον ἤχην ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν σωμάτων κινήσεως ἔλεγεν ἀποτελείσθαι).

B. Cf. φωνή, in Nonnus, XXXVIII, 381 (quoted in n. 299), with Philo of Alexandria, De vita Mosis, 2, 239 (οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες εἰς γενόμενοι χόρος ἴσανται τι μέλος ἐπάξιον, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ὁλος εἰς φωνὴν ἀναλυθεὶς δυνήσεται τι τῶν σων ἀρετῶν διηγήσασθαι μέρος), and Simpl. In Cael., p. 464, ll. 14-19 Heiberg (ἐν δὲ ὄξυτη καὶ βαρύτητα εἰσιν οἱ τῶν ἐναρμονίων λόγοι, εἰκότως τούτων ἐν τάς ἀποστάσεσι εὐρήκοτε καὶ διά τάς ἀποστάσεσι ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀνάλογον ἔχουσα ταῖς ἀποστάσεσι καὶ διά τάς μεγέθες ἐν τάς ταχύτητας καὶ βραδύτητας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀναλογίας φυλαττομένης ἐναρμόνιον γίνεσθαι φασὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἠτοι τῶν φόβον φερομένων κυκλῷ τῶν ἀστέρων). Φωνή is also used by Plato for his heavenly Sirens in the myth of Er (Pl. R., 617b, quoted in n. 2 to II. 1.).

300 Scholion to Hesiod, Op., 383 (a scholion Procli ad Hes. Op. v. 381: Τοῦτον δὲ πάϊδας τὰς Πλειάδας ἐμυθολόγησαν ἐπτὰ οὕσας, τὴν Κελαυνί, τὴν Στερόπην, τὴν Μερόπην, τὴν Ἡλέκτραν, τὴν Ἀλκυώνην, τὴν Μαίαν, τὴν Ταυγέτην. Πάσας ταύτας δυνάμεις ἀρχαγγελικὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ σφαιρῶν τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἑφεστώσας τὴν μὲν Κελαυνί τῷ Κρονία σφαίρα, τὴν δὲ Στερόπην τῇ τοῦ Δίος, τὴν δὲ Μερόπην τῇ Ἄρεως, τὴν δὲ Ἡλέκτραν τῇ Ἡλιακῆ, τὴν δὲ Ἀλκυώνην τῇ Ἀφροδίτη, τὴν δὲ Μαίαν τῇ Ἔρμου, τὴν δὲ Ταυγέτην τῇ Σελήνῃ. Καὶ δὴ λαῖ τούτων αἱ αἰτίαι. Μίαν δὲ ἀρα τῶν ἐπτὰ σύνταξιν ἐν ταῖς ἀπλαῖαι τετάχθαι καθάπερ ἀγαλμα ἐνορμαῖν, ὁ δὲ Πλειάδα προσαγορεύσωσιν, ἀστρον ἐμφαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἱδιώταις, ἐν τῷ Ταύρῳ κατεστηριγμένου, ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ ταῖς δύσεσι σαμπόλλην τοῦ ἀέρος τροπῆ ἐραγζόμενον).

301 Cf. Pl. R., 596b (Οὐκοῦν καὶ εἰσώθημεν λέγειν ὅτι ὁ δημιουργός ἐκατέρω τοῦ σκεύους πρός τὴν ἱδέαν βλέπων οὕτω ποιεῖ). Pl. Tim., 28a (ὥστε μὲν οὖν ἂν ὁ δημιουργός πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ταύτα ἔχον βλέπων οἱ, τοιούτω τινὶ προφρύσμενοι παραδείγματι, τὴν ἱδέαν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεργάζητα, καλὸν ἤξ ἀνάγκης οὕτως ἀποτελεῖσθαι πάν). A somewhat abridged version of this chapter can be seen in Molina Moreno, 2008 b.

302 In II. 1., we have seen that the Sirens could represent both souls and psychopomps; in III. 1., we shall show that the Pleiads could represent souls as well. There is no evidence of the Pleiads as psychopomps.

303 Although the first world-soul numbers mentioned by Plato, Tim., 35b, form a group of seven elements, the number seven is not among them: μὴν ἄφηνεν τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ παντὸς μοίραν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀφήνειν διαπλασίαν ταύτης, τὴν δ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἑμιολιὰν μὲν τῆς δευτέρας, τριπλασίαν δὲ τῆς πρώτης, τεταρτῆς δὲ τῆς δευτέρας διπλῆς, πέμπτης δὲ τριπλῆς τῆς τρίτης, τὴν δ’ ἐκτὸς τῆς πρώτης ἐκταπλασίαν, ἐβδομῆς δ’ ἐπτακακεικοσπλασίαν τῆς πρώτης. The numbers involved are 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 27, and the number seven is not found when we insert harmonic and
arithmetic means between each two of those numbers, according to what Plato said later. Last, but not least, we
know no source linking the Pleiads with the group of the seven first world-soul numbers.
III. **AUF FLÜGELN DES GESANGES**

*(ON THE WINGS OF SONG)*…?

We have chosen the title of a *Lied* by Mendelssohn as a seemingly alien *Leitmotiv* for this section because at least two of the sets of mythical beings related to the music of the cosmos (Sirens, Moirai, Muses, Pleiads) share a feature that may provide a thread for what remains: the wings. The Sirens were imagined as winged beings, and the Pleiads, before becoming stars, became doves, according to some sources, which thus bring them close to the winged people as well. As to the Muses and the Moirai, both literary and iconographic evidence of their wings is very scarce, but it exists. Further, the wings remain a common feature shared by Sirens, Pleiads, and their Christian counterparts as players of cosmic music (the angelic hierarchies), and they are an important trait in the ancient iconography of at least one among the heavenly bodies (the Sun). At this moment, we cannot be sure about whether the wings of all these beings had anything to do with their musical character, but we think that this phenomenon is sufficiently intriguing to deserve a closer examination, which we will undertake in this section.

In the last chapter of the previous section, we saw that Proclus, in a *scholion* to Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, linked the Pleiads with the archangels and substituted them for the Muses on the heavenly spheres. So, we will begin with an examination of the wings of the Pleiads; then, since they were substituted for the Muses in the same *scholion* to Hesiod, a discussion of the wings of the Muses will follow. For the Muses shared the oracular function of the Moirai, we will present the evidence about the wings of the Moirai, and continue with those of the Sirens, who sang together with the Moirai.
in Plato’s myth of Er. The last chapter of this section will deal with certain birds sharing many important features with the Sirens: the *thynges*, which could be a missing link between the Pagan and Christian bearers of heavenly music, as we shall see.

III.1. Winged Pleiads?

As we have seen in our chapter II.4., the Pleiads are mentioned for the first time in the Homeric poems. No myth is told about them there, but we hope to be able to demonstrate here that when the Pythagorean link of the Pleiads with the lyre of the Muses is attested, the myth was already endowing them with some avian characteristics. This brings the Pleiads close to the other bearers of the cosmic music with which we have dealt thus far, as well as to the angelic hierarchies with one of which they are connected in the *scholion* of Proclus to Hesiod, mentioned at the end of II.4.306

The development of the myth about the Pleiads may have begun with Hesiod, who says that they were the offspring of Atlas.307 Thus, the Pleiads (which had been first mentioned as stars in the Homeric poems) were anthropomorphized, and this motif would be carried on by Hellanicus (fifth century B. C. E.), Timaeus of Tauromenius (fourth-third centuries B. C. E.), and many other authors throughout antiquity.308 We can even assume that the Hesiodic personification of the Pleiads involved a myth of metamorphosis into stars, which would be one of the first myths of that kind attested in ancient Greek literature.

Some sources of this myth also allude to the bird-form of the Pleiads. One of these sources is a fragment by Simonides (sixth-fifth centuries B. C. E.): “And Hermes, who presides over the games, gives what had been prayed for, the son of fair-haired
Maia, whom Atlas begot, excellent by her figure among his seven dark-locked daughters, the so-called celestial Peleiades.”\(^{309}\) The word “Peleía\(d\)es” is one of the possible Greek names for the “dove” (like “péleia,” of which the plural can also be referred to the Pleiads\(^{310}\)), but it obviously refers here to the mythical daughters of Atlas. “Peleía\(d\)es” was still more clearly linked to the stars, the Pleiads, by Hesiod, who used it in fragments alluding to the setting of those “Peleiades.”\(^{311}\) We can see that, although the first attested name of the Pleiads (the Homeric “Pléi\(a\)\(d\)es”) did not mean “doves” (so far as we know, “Pléi\(a\)\(d\)es” is never used with that meaning), the Pleiads were also referred to by one of the names for the dove (“Peleiá\(d\)es”) at a quite early date.

The term “Peleiades” also appears in a passage of Pindar’s Second Nemean Ode:

“And it is appropriate that Orion go not far from the Peleiades of the mountains.\(^{312}\)” The allusion to Orion makes it most likely that Pindar had the Pleiads in mind, since Hesiod had already said that they flee Orion.\(^{313}\) Although a scholiast wrote that the line was about the doves, which can abide on the mountains, and that Pindar often played with this kind of phonetic similarity,\(^{314}\) other authors stated that Pindar was alluding to the Pleiads as stars.\(^{315}\) Likewise, the Etymologicum Magnum states that Pindar had told the metamorphosis of the Pleiads into stars:

Pleiad: As if it consisted of more\(^{316}\) stars. Pleiad, from Pleione, daughter of Ocean, wife of Atlas. Concerning their becoming stars, Pindar tells that, when Pleione was going with her daughters through Boeotia, Orion encountered her; this one desired her and hastened for the abduction. Orion chased her, who fled with her daughters, and their racing reached the duration of five years without intermission. But Zeus, because of their sufferings, as a memorial, turned the Pleiads into stars, fleeing Orion, who is the year.\(^{317}\)
A metamorphosis into star seems somewhat alien to Pindar’s religious beliefs, and it may have been the result of confusion by the author of the entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

The next author credited with an account of the Pleiads’ becoming stars is Aeschylus. The *scholia* to the *Iliad*, XVIII, 486, tell that, according to Aeschylus, the Pleiads were turned into stars because of their weeping for the sufferings of Atlas, their father; actually, this is alluded to in an Aeschylean fragment quoted literally by Athenaeus: “The so-called seven children of Atlas were weeping over their father’s enormous struggle with the heavenly vault, where they have the shapes of nightly visions, wingless doves.”318 This implies that the Pleiads had become stars: the Aeschylean word for “visions” in this passage is *phantásmata*, which may stand for the more common *phainómena* (“what appears”); something that appears by night on the heavenly vault can obviously be the stars. It is not impossible that this notion actually originated with Aeschylus, although the first pieces of direct evidence for a belief in souls becoming stars are a little bit later than the *Oresteia*.319 The puzzling thing is that Aeschylus qualifies the Pleiads as “wingless doves.” It seems that Aeschylus was playing with the phonetic similarity between the words *Pleiás* (“Pleiad”) and *Peleiás* (“dove”) and trying to draw a distinction between them;320 on the other hand, the term “Peleiádes” was applied to the Pleiads by Lamprocles (an Athenian lyric poet of the fifth century B. C. E.),321 who pointed out the homonymy. But, despite Aeschylus, we will try to demonstrate that in the fifth century B. C. E. the Pleiads, as stars, could at least have been imagined as winged creatures. And this image was, of course, still alive when Aristotle ascribed to the Pythagoreans the association of the Pleiads with the lyre, discussed in II.4.
The plural of another name for “dove,” péleia, could also be referred to the Pleiads: Simias (fourth-third centuries B. C. E.) mentioned the péleiai (lit. “doves”) as “swift servants of the aether,” and the clearest proof of the word péleiai applied to “the Pleiads” comes from a fragment by Poseidippos (third century B. C. E.), who alludes to the setting of the péleiai at nightfall.

The fragments we have discussed in the previous paragraphs were quoted by the first century B. C. E. grammarian Asclepiades of Myrlea to support his exegesis of the Homeric description of Nestor’s cup. According to Asclepiades, whose interpretation has been preserved by Athenaeus, the cup represented the universe and the peleiádes decorating it were the Pleiads, which could be given the names peleiádes and péleiai. According to Athenaeus, Asclepiades suggested that these alleged Pleiads were represented on the handles of Nestor’s cup as “girls with bird-like or human shape, embellished with stars.” The phrasing “girls with bird-like shape” brings to mind the common image of the Sirens, and the word ornithopheîs, which we find in Athenaeus’ quotation with the meaning “bird-like,” is employed for the Sirens by Eustathius. Even if those bird-like female figurines did not represent the Pleiads, a cup with dove-attachments was described by Schliemann in his account of his excavations at Mycenae and Tyrins (our pl. 33), and similar pieces have been found at Cyprus; further, Siren-attachments in the form of birds with human (both male and female) torsos had been found at Delphi and Asia Minor.
Pl. 33: The so-called Nestor’s cup,

with dove-shaped attachments on its handles.

Besides the fragments mentioned above, Asclepiades seems to have quoted another Homeric passage about the péleiai (literally, “doves”) that brought ambrosia for
Zeus. Some authors accepted the literal meaning of the passage without further complications, but the scholia to Homer have preserved an interpretation according to which those doves were the Pleiads, and Zeus, the Sun. Asclepiades thought that it would be indecorous for doves to have brought ambrosia for Zeus, whereas the Pleiads, being the indicators of the seasons for mankind, were the most proper cupbearers for the god; further (always according to Asclepiades), Homer made clear that those \( \pi\ell\alpha\iota\alpha\iota \) did not belong to the winged people when he said that the doves could not go through the clashing rocks about which Circe tells Ulysses: therefore, the \( \pi\ell\iota\alpha\iota \) would have to be the Pleiads. Asclepiades, however, was aware of at least one difficulty in his interpretation: the adjective \( \tau\rho\rho\omicron\omicron \) (“trembling”) employed by Homer in the passage he is discussing, is a formulaic epithet for the doves. Nevertheless, our fearless grammarian solved the problem by arguing that \( \tau\rho\rho\omicron\omicron \) could fit the Pleiads as well because they trembled when fleeing Orion.

Moreover, Asclepiades quoted another fragment, now by the poetess Moiro of Byzantium (fourth-third centuries B. C. E.), which presents us with a new myth about the Pleiads. Whereas other sources described the Pleiads as women who became doves when fleeing Orion and were then turned into stars, Moiro says that the Pleiads were the doves that, according to the Odyssey, brought ambrosia to Zeus, who in turn placed them among the stars:

Zeus the great was raised in Crete, and then no one among the blessed knew him, who was growing in all his limbs. The timorous ones [i. e., “the doves”] fed him in the divine cave, bringing ambrosia from the streams of the Ocean, and a large eagle, always drawing nectar from a stone, brought it in its jaws as a drink for Zeus. And Zeus the far-sounding, after defeating his father Kronos, immortalized the eagle and made it to dwell in heaven, and granted the same honor to the timorous doves, which certainly are the messengers of summer and winter.
Perhaps Asclepiades did not realize that, according to Moiro, the Pleiads had initially been doves, as the formulaic epithet proves (*trērōn* never qualifies *péleiai, peleíd̄es* in contexts where they unequivocally mean “Pleiads,” and only Asclepiades, for sticking to his view, pretends that *trērōn* could qualify the Pleiads). It is very interesting that both the Pleiads as stars and a kind of migratory dove named *peleíades* disappeared in winter: several authors state that the setting of the Pleiads indicates the beginning of winter, and this could enhance an association of those stars with the migratory doves.

Further, both Pleiads and doves indicated the time in which navigation was possible: according to Hesiod, one must not sail when the Pleiads set, and a *scholion* to Apollonius Rhodius says that those who are going to sail use a dove.

Asclepiades, however, may not have been right when stating that the Odyssean *péleiai* were the Pleiads. There are some other sources showing a relationship between Zeus and the doves: the latter served as oracular birds at the Dodonean temple of Zeus. However, from Herodotus onward it has been said that these doves of Dodona were a metaphorical designation of the women delivering oracles in the temple. In any case, if we remain in the realm of myth, we can say that there was a myth about the doves as oracular birds of Zeus at Dodona, making it more plausible that other doves could have been attendants of Zeus, as we see in the *Odyssey* and in Moiro’s fragment. In all those instances, the doves (which were later placed among the stars, according to Moiro, which suggests that they became the Pleiads) constituted the court of a god, and we shall see in the remaining chapters that the Sirens, Muses, Moirai, *fynges*, and a curious common ancestor to at least three of them were also members of divine retinues, sometimes with oracular functions and eventually winged as well.
The last instances of a connection between Pleiads and doves are provided by some later sources stating that the Pleiads became doves right before being turned into stars, when they were fleeing from Orion. Thus, a scholion to Hesiod says:

These, as they say, the Pleiads, with their mother Pleione, were pursued through Boeotia during five years by Orion, who wanted to have intercourse with them. But they, after praying the gods, changed to doves’ shape, and Zeus, compassioned because of their misfortune, placed them as stars in the Zodiac.339

For certain authors, this myth was the ground for deriving the name Pleiás from the Greek term for “dove,” (peleiás) in what seems to go beyond the phonetic similarity with which other writers had played, and turn into a false etymology.340 For example, another scholion to Hesiod says:

They are called ‘Pleiads’ either because of Pleione, or because they are useful for many things ['pollois' in Greek], or because their being turned into doves ['peleiai’ in Greek] since they were fleeing Orion as the archer…341

These allusions to the Pleiads being turned into doves before becoming stars represent an attempt to put together the motifs of the star-soul and of the soul-bird and the wings of the soul. As we saw in II.1.c), the idea of the soul-bird can be detected even in the Homeric poems, and it was current in Classical times, when the myth of the Pleiads begins to be attested in literary sources.342 On the other hand, the poetess Moiro regarded the Pleiads originally as doves: this innovation had its background not only in the phonetic similarity, but also in the fact that the image of winged stars was known from archaic Greek literature onwards. The very fact that the sky is the place for heavenly bodies could be enough for the ancient imagination to endow them with wings. For example, the Homeric hymn to Selene begins asking the Muses to “sing the long-winged Moon;” Critias alluded to the Great and Little Bears “with the swing of their quick-wandering wings;” Ion endowed the planet Venus with a white wing, and
Euripides mentioned the quick wing of the Sun.\textsuperscript{343} We may notice that this image was applied only to relevant stars, as were the Pleiads (we have mentioned their importance for determining the seasons and the appropriate time for sailing or for agricultural tasks). All this could enhance the link of the Pleiads with birds, an association that would be reflected in the false etymology deriving the name of the Pleiads from that of the “dove” and in the myth according to which they had become doves before becoming stars. Both the false etymology and the myth of the Pleiads turned into doves (or being doves from the very beginning, as in Moiro's fragment) are attested in late sources, but both could have made sense for a reader of the fifth century B. C. E.: the background for both ideas already existed in the Classical period, and we have seen that the Pleiads as stars were referred to with words meaning “dove” from the sixth century B. C. E. onwards. And such was the state of things when, as we saw in II.4., Aristotle said that, according to a Pythagorean aphorism, the Pleiads were the lyre of the Muses. So our first set of mythical bearers of the heavenly music could be endowed with wings in the imagination of the ancients.

Now, since we have been lead to this discussion by a \textit{scholion} to Hesiod, which substituted the Pleiads for the Muses of heavenly spheres, let us see whether the Muses had wings as well.

\textsuperscript{305} The wings are, so to say, the vocal organ of the Cherubim (who would become one of the angelic hierarchies), in \textit{Ezechiel}, 1, 24 (according to the \textit{Septuaginta}: καὶ ἥκουν τὴν φωνὴν τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδατος πολλοῦ; \textit{Ez.}, 3, 13 (καὶ εἴδον φωνὴν πτερύγων τῶν ζώων πτεροσομένων ἐτέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν), and \textit{Ez.}, 10, 5 (καὶ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων τῶν χερουβίων ἥκοντο ἐώς τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐξωτέρας ὡς φωνὴ θεοῦ Σαδδαίς λαλοῦντος).

\textsuperscript{306} Proclus might have had a more abstract concept of the archangels (we must not forget that not only the physiognomy, but the function of those archangels could influence their being linked with the Pleiads). But the angels were already represented with wings in the iconography by Proclus’s time: the first representation we know of a winged angel is on the sarcophagus of a child, dating from ca. 380 C. E., found in Sarıgülzel, now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul; vid. Kollwitz, 1941, pl. 45, and pp. 132 ff.

\textsuperscript{307} Hes. \textit{Op.}, 383: Πλημάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων.
Several sources define the peleia as peristera ("dove"): Cf. Hesychius, s. v. peleiades (πελείαδες) (π, entry 1326: peleiades: peristerae); Suda, s. v. peleiades (π, entry 941: peleiades: peristerae). And peleia, peristera, dei lai: the delaios, fee demarius peleia: ames, δ' εντροσοσ αναρα έγερμενα. "συνιστικα, πελειαν, peleia, and Suda, s. v. trevome ou, and Suda, s. v. trevome ou (π, entry 935: Τρικερώναο: δειλήν. "Ομηρος: αί δέ βασίν τρικερώναο πελείασιν ίμμαι ομψα, 'Αμτι τον δειλα το τρικερώναο: scholia to Il., 21, 493c (Peleia. Peristera): scholia to A. Th., 294j (peleia) peristera, BPd) and 294k (peleia) peristera. A2CHNaPTYα: scholia to Ps. A. Pr., 857b (peleiow) peristera, Aristot. distinguished between peleia and peristera: according to him, the peleia is smaller, but the peristera is easier to tame (cf. Arist. HA, 544b 1-5: έστι γάρ ἑτέρῳ πελείασι πελείασι πελείαος ταυτα τον έν τον πελείαος και μέλαιν και μερικά και ορθοστός καὶ τραχύτων, διδο και μεθορόπαι). This distinction, however, had no influence on the myth.

310 Cf. Hesiod, fr. 289 Merkelbach-West (χειμέραι δύναμις Πελείαδες), and fr. 290 Merkelbach-West (τήμος αποκρύπτουσα Πελείαδες), both quoted by Asclepiades of Myrlea, according to Ath., XI, 80. As for the plural of the word peleia (initially "dove") meaning "Pleisides," cf. nn. 322-3.

311 Cf. Pi. N., 10, 12: έστι δ' έουκος / άρειαν γε Πελείαδων / μή τηλθέν Ομηρώνα νείσαι).


314 Cf. Athenaeus, XI, 80 (μέγεγγες γάρ έστιν ον Θέαν τῆς ἀστροφεσία τῶν Πελείαδων διδ καὶ οί περί ταύτας μύθοι, διὸ θείων μετα τῆς μητρὸς τής Μηλόντος τῶν Θρώων, άρειας δέ λέγει τάς Πελείαδας έν ίδο τῷ άρείᾳ κατα παράλεψιν ου τού, ἐπείδη κείναι ἐπί τής ούρας τού ταύρου), and Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. II, p. 11, II. 2-3 Stallbaum (καί Πίνδαρος δε, ένθα άρειας
Poplar etymology derived from the similarity between “Pleiad” and the ancient Greek for “more” (πλείων).


Among the earliest pieces of direct evidence for the belief in the souls becoming stars, cf. Euripides, *Helen*, 140 (ἄστροι’ ὑμιοισόμεναι πλεῖον τῶν δισυμφωνίων ἄπερους πελείαδας εἶπεν ἐν πτώσει ὀρθῇ).

Cf. Athenaeus, XI, 80 (ἀπέρους γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐξήρηκε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὄρεις ὑμιοισίμαιρας), and Eustath., *In Od.*, XII, 62 = vol. II, p. 11, ll. 3-4 Stallbaum (καί Ἀισχύλος δὲ ἐκφανέστερον προσπαίζον πρὸς τὴν ὑμιοισίμαν ἄπερους πελείαδας εἶπεν ἐν πτώσει ὀρθῇ).


A. The Homeric description of Nestor’s cup is to be found at Il., XI, 632-7 (ضار δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, ὁ οἰκοθέν ἧν ἐκεῖ ἐραμένος, ἤ τρυζσίοις ἥλιοι πεπαρμένοιν οὐκά δ’ αὐτοῦ / τέσσαρ’ ἔσαν, δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἐκαστὸν / ἥρμισαν νεμέθοντο δὸ τ’ ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν. / ἄλλος μὲν μογέων ἀποκανήσασθα τραπέζης / πλείου εὖν: Νέστωρ δ’ ὁ γέρων ἁμογητὶ ἄειρεν).

B. Asclepiades’ interpretation is quoted by Athenaeus, XI, 78-79: 78. Ἄρτος φησιν ὁ Μυρλεανός, τάδε λέγω περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, οἱ πάλαιοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἥμεραν τροφῆν πρῶτοι διαταξαμένοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πειθόμενοι τὸν κόσμον εἶναι σφαιρειδῆ, λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἥλιου καὶ τῆς σελήνης τοὺς σχῆματος ἐναργεῖς τὰς φαντασίας, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν άδιόν τροφὴν τῷ περεύξουσι κατὰ τὴν ἴδεαν τοῦ σχῆματος ἀφομοιοῦν εἶναι δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον. διὸ τὴν τράπεζαν κυκλοειδῆ κατασκευάσαντο καὶ τοὺς τρίτοδας τοὺς τοῖς θείοις καθαγιζομένους, φθείρας κυκλοτερεῖς καὶ ἀστέρας ἔχοντας, οὓς καὶ καλοῦσα σελήνας, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον δ’ ἐκάλεσαν ὅτι τῶν σχήματων ὁ κύκλος ἀπήρτησαται καὶ ἔστε τέλειος. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον οὖν τὸ δεχόμενον τὴν ὑγραν τροφὴν κυκλοτερέσ εποίησαν κατὰ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νέστορος καὶ ἰδαιτέρων ἐστίν. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀστέρας, οὓς ἥλιος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀπεικάζει διὰ τὸ τούς ἀστέρας περιφερεῖς εἶναι τοῖς ἥλιοις ὀμοίως καὶ ὠσπέρ ἐμπεπηγήνει τῷ οὐρανῷ, καθὼς καὶ Ἄρατος φησὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν (453): οὐρανὶ παύειν ἀργίλατα νυκτὸς ὀνόσης.

περιττῶς δὲ καὶ τούτ’ ἐφρασεν ὁ ποιητὴς, τοὺς χρυσοὺς ἥλιους παρατεῖνει τῇ τοῦ ἅγιου ἐκπόματος φύσει, τῆς τῶν ἀστερῶν καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκτυπῶν κατὰ τὴν ἴδεαν τῆς χρώσης οὐσίαν. μὲν γὰρ οὐράνιον ἄργωρ προσεύχεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσῶν διὰ τὸ πυρώδες.


τὰς οὖν τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τελείώσεως προσημαντικὰς Πλειάδας οἰκείως ἐνετέρυσε τῷ τοῦ σοφώτατοῦ Νέστορος ὁ ποιητὴς ποτηρίων καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῆς ἑτέρας
τη μὲν τ’ οὐδὲ ποτήτα παρέρχεται οὐδὲ Πελείαι
tρήψωσε, ταῖ γὰρ Αμβροσίαν Δί Πατρὶ Φέρειν.
οὐ γάρ τὰς Πελείαδας τὰς ὁρνεῖς φέρειν νομιστεύον τῷ Δί τήν Ἀμβροσίαν, ὡς οὐ πολλοὶ
δοξάζωσιν (ἀσέμονον γάρ), ἀλλὰ τὰς Πελείαδας. οίκειον γὰρ τὰς προσημανώσας τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τάς ὥρας, ταύτας καὶ τῷ Δί δένει τήν Ἀμβροσίαν, διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν
πτηρῶν αὐτὰς χωρίζει λέγων·
τῇ μὲν τ’ οὐδὲ ποτήτα παρέρχεται οὐδὲ Πελείαι.

κ. Cf. also Eust. Ad Il., vol. 3, p. 280, ll. 1-23 Van der Valk: Ἡ Ιστέων δὲ ὅτι περὶ τῶν τῆς Νεστορίας κύλικος τεσσάρων οὐάτων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίου γλαφυρότερον φέρεται ταύτα. Ἡ Νεστορίας ὡς δύο εἶχεν ἄνω, καθὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποτήρια, καὶ ἔτερα δύο μικρὰ ἐκατέρθεθεν κατὰ μέσῳ τὸ κύριωμα, παρόμοια, φησὶ, Κορυνθιακῆς ὑδρίας, κατὰ δὲ ἐτέρους, φησί, ἐκ
μίας οὖν ρέεσι τῷ πυθμένι προσκυροῦσας καθ’ ἐκάτερον ὄους, τὸ ἐνθην δηλαδὴ καὶ ἔιθην,
ῥάβδοι ἤπαν δισχίδεις οὔ πολὺ ἄλληλοις διεστῶσαί. αὐτὰ μέχρι τοῦ χείλους ἐκτέρωθεν δήκουσα τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ μικρῶν μετεωρίζεται καὶ τὸ σχίσμα διὸκλὸν τηροῦσα πρὸς τὸ ἀπολίγυχν τῆς ἐρέσεως συμφώνωσα. καὶ γίνονται οὕτω τέσσαρα ὡς τῇ διασχίσει, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτὸ ἰδίον μάλιστα τῶν λεγομένων, φησὶ, Σελευκίδων. Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναῖος δηλοὶ καὶ τὰς ἐντοπορευμένας τῷ ποτηρίῳ πελείαδας οὐ περιστερὰς τινὰς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς ἀλλαγέναι ἀστροὺς, ὡς τεκμαίρονται τὰ περὶ ζωῆν οἱ ἀνθρωποί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ Πελείας, ἃς ὁμορος ποιητικῶν νόμων πελείαδας ἐφή, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρατὸν ὅλην μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ ἀφεγγέες, ὀνομασται δὲ, πρὸς ας καὶ σπόρος καὶ ἄμμησις γίνεται καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεως ἀρχή τε καὶ συναίρεσις, ὡς δηλοὶ καὶ Ἡσίοδος. Τὰς δε τοιαύτας πελείαδας δύο ὑποθετεν καθ’ ἐκατόν τῶν ὡτῶν, ἠγονοῦ δύο μέν ἐν ταῖς ἐκατέρωθι συμμείζεσιν ἄνω τῶν εἰρημένων διασχίσεων, ἐτέρας δὲ δύο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ συναφείας τῶν ὑπόληξεως. Καὶ κατασκευάσας πιθανῶς τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους ἐπάγει, ὃτι καὶ ἄλλα δύο ἦσαν ὑποπηυχέναι πελείαδαι, ἠγονοῦ υποκείμεναι τῷ πυθμένι, ὡς εἶναι τὰς πᾶσας ἐξ κατ’ ἄμμησις τῶν τῆς οὕραντος Πελείας, περὶ ἴς Ἀρατὸς φησίν ἑπτὰ δ’ ἐκείναι ἑπηρρήξην καλεόντα, ἐξ οίαι περὶ εὐόησος", ὀδεῖ θετε χοινοτέρα γλώσσα Ἐξάστερον αὐτὰς ὁνομαζεῖ.
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D. Cf. Eustathius, *Ad II.*, vol. 4, p. 908, l. 27 – p. 909, l. 9 Van der Valk: "Όρα δὲ ἐν τῷ "ός δ᾽ αὐτῶς πελειάδαν ὅπασα τιμήν," ὅτι ὁ Ὄμηρος συμφωνεῖν ἢ Μοῦροι ἔθελεν, ὡς γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτήν ὁ ἀέτος, οὕτω καθ᾽ Ὀμηροὺς αἱ πελειάδαις ἀμβροσίαν φέρουσα τῷ Δί. διό, φασί, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπιδοτοίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν τὰς Πελειάδας, ταύτων δ᾽ εἰπεῖν πελειάδας, προὐταξεί διὰ τὸ πάντη ἐπίσημον, εἰπὼν "Πηλιάδας θ᾽ ᾿Υάδας τε," καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ πτημῶν αὐτάς ἑχώρησε κατὰ τι εξαίρετον ἐν τῷ "τῇ μὲν τ᾽ οὖν ποτητὰ παρέχεται οὐδὲ πέλεαιαί." ὡς δὲ ταύτιζοται πρὸς τινως πελειάδαις καὶ Πελειάδες, δηλοὶ μὲν καὶ Αἰσκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρελαύνος, ἐθέλως τὰς Πελειάδας ἀμβροσίαν τῷ Δίῳ φέρειν. ἄσεμνον γὰρ, φησὶ, τὰς Πελειάδας φέρειν αὐτὸ, ἔχει δὲ τι γράφεν πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ Νεστόρις, ταύτων δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, τὸ παρ᾽ Ὀμηρῷ καλὸν ποτηρίου τοῦ σοφοῦ Νέστορος, καὶ τουαῦτα μὲν καὶ ταύτα.

E. Cf. also Eust., *Ad Od.*, vol. II, p. 10, ll. 10-16 Stallbaum: Ἀθήνας ἡ γράφει, ὅτι ἐπεὶ Δί τῆν ἀμβροσίαν φέρουσα πελειάδαις, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὄρης ἀλλὰ πελειάδαις αἱ προσμαίνουσας τὰς ὄρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, διατούτῳ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πτημῶν αὐτὰς χωρίζει Ὁμηρὸς ἐν τῷ, τῇ μὲν οὖν ποτητὰ παρέχεται καὶ ἐξῆς, ὡς δὲ τὰς πελειάδας τῶν ἐνυδροτάτων ἐν τοῖς ἀπλανέσσων ὁ ποιητῆς ὑπείλει, δηλοὶ ἐν τῇ ἀσπιδοτοίᾳ, προτάξει αὐτὰς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων συναρίθμησιν ἐν τῷ, ἐν δὲ τὰ τέιρεα πάντα καὶ ἐξῆς, δῆλον δὲ τὸ τῶν πελειάδων ἦτοι πελειάδων ἀξίωσα, καὶ παρὰ τῇ Βυζαντίᾳ Μοῦροι ἐν τῷ Ζεὺς τρήρωσι πελειάσων ὅπασα τιμήν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ θέρεως καὶ χειμώνος ἀγγέλοι εἰσίν.


326 Cf. Eustathius, *Ad II.*, vol. I, p. 135, l. 31 Van der Valk (ἡσαν γὰρ ὀρθοβοφεῖς αἱ Σειρήνες). We shall examine this aspect of the Sirens in a later chapter.


For the literal interpretation, Ps. Longinus, *De sublimitate*, 9, 14 (τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πελείαδων ὡς νεοσσὸν παρατρεφόμενον Δία); for the “astronomical” version, cf.


C. Eust., *Ad Od.*, vol. II, p. 10, ll. 30-39 Stallbaum: (Vers. 65.): πολιτικῶς αἰνιττομένου Ὄμήρου, ὡς τῶν πλείαδων ξυ ὁριῳεῖν, ὡς ἡς ἀριθμός αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀρείῳ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἑπτὰ δὲ μύθος οὐτῶ καυστά, ἡς οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἀσυνεῖς τὰς πέτρας διερχόμενοι, ἀλλὰ κολύουσιν ἡ οὐράνιον τῆς ἕτερον τῶν μερῶν, ο δὲ ποιήσῃ μέσως ἐφρασεῖ οὐ νοεῖσθαι μὲν καὶ τούτο, δοκεῖ δὲ ἄλλος, καὶ ὅλη πέλειαν μιᾶν ἐκ πολλῶν βλάπτεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸ, ἀλλ’ ἄλλην ἐνίσῃ πατήρ ἐναρθήμεν ἐνια λέγονται ἐνὶ αὐτῶ ἅμβηριμῶν εἶναι ὡς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐπιπλώυτος. οἵ δὲ παλαιοὶ οὐτω τὸ τῶν λόγων θεραπεύουσα. Χείρων ὁ Ἀμφιπολύτης Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδώνος ἑρωτήσαντος φασὶ, τι βούλεται παρὰ τῷ ποιήτῃ τῷ τὰς περιστεράς εἰπεῖν κομίζειν ἄμβροσίαν τῷ Δίῃ καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τι αὐτὰς καὶ τῶν πελείων, πέρι τῶν πλείαδων εἶναι τῶν λόγων ἔφη, ὡς εἶναι μὲν ἑπτά, φαίνεσθαι δὲ εξ τῶις ἐκεῖ, τῆς μιᾶς διὰ τὸ καὶ ἄλλος ἀμφότερον τοῦ ἀστρίου ἀφαιριζομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πετρῶν.
Cf. Il., XXII, 140 (ῥημίδως ούμιση μετὰ τρήρων πέλειαν); Il., XXIII, 853 (ἐκ δὲ τρήρων πέλειαν); Il., XXIII, 855 (τοξευέτων ὃς μὲν κε βάλῃ τρήρων πέλειαν).


τίμωρος (τρήρων) is a common epithet for the doves, as we have seen above (cf. n. 330).


A. For the setting of the Pleiads as mark of the beginning of winter, cf., for example, Galenus, In Hippocratis aphorismos commentarii VII, vol. 17b, p. 598, l. 18 - p. 599, l. 6 (ἐπιτολὴ πλειάδως ἀρχή θέρους ἐστὶ, μεθ’ ἢν κυνός ἐπιτολὴ τῆς καλομενῆς ὑπώρας, ἢν δὴ καὶ αὐτήν τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ θέρους τίθενται, μεθ’ ἢν ἀρκτοῦρος ἐπιτέλλων ἀρχὴν ποιεῖται φθινόπωρῳ, κάπετα δύσι πλειάδων χειμῶν ἀρχή γίνεται, εἰτα μετὰ τῶν χειμώνασ ἴσημερία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ ἥρος; scholia MDVUA to Aratus, 259 (σημαινοῦσα αἱ Πλειάδες καριός, ἐξαι μὲν γὰρ ἀνατέλλονται σημαινοῦσα θέρους ἀρχήν, ἐλεῖ δὲ δύνουσαι αὐτῆλην τῶν κατὰ στόρον ἔργων, ἐσπερίαν δὲ ἀνατολήν ποιοῦμενα χειμῶν ἀρχήν σημαινοῦσα); Pliny, NH, XVIII, 280 (vergiliae privatim attinent ad fructus, ut quarum exortu aestas incipiat, occasu hiemem), and Saint Isidorus of Sevilla, Erym., III, 71, 13 (quoted from http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lapost07/Isidorus/isi_et03.html#c471, as consulted on April 29th 2005: Ναμ οκασκα που h iaηημη, ορτς αεσταημ, πριμαιακε ναγινατιονις ρας ητταντ). B. For the migration of the “peleiádes” in winter, vid. Aristotle, História animalium, 597b 3-5 (Ἀπαίρουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ φάτται καὶ αἱ πελειάδες, καὶ οὐ χειμάζουσι, καὶ αἱ χειλόδες καὶ αἱ τρυγόνες· αἱ δὲ πεισταρα καταιμένουσι); cf. Bader, F., 1999, p. 475.

A. About the Pleiads as indicator for navigation, cf. Hesiod, Op., 618-23 (Εἰ δὲ σε ναυτηλίας δυσπερβέλου ἴμερος αἱρεί· / εὖτ’ ἂν Πλημαῖδες σθένος ἄβριμος Ἐρύων / φεύγοσαν πεπτωσών ἐς ἥραεαδέα πόντων, / δή τότε παντών ἀνέμων θύυσαν αἴτηαι· / καὶ τότε μηκέτι νηὰ ἔχουν ἐνι οὐντα πόντων, / γῆν δ’ ἐργαζότασι μεμημένος ὃς σε κελεύω). However, other authors state that the Greeks navigated when the Pleiads set in the morning; cf. for example scholion to Aeschylus, Ag., 826δ (ὅτι Πλημαῖδος ἐωί ἐπιτολὴ γίνεται τοῦ ἡλίου διελθόντος τὸν Ταῦρον -οὐ μέρος εἰσὶν αὕται· οὐράν γὰρ τοῦτον ταύτας εἶναι φαιν- καὶ τοὺς Δίδυμους περιπολούντος, ἢτοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ἀρχὴν, δύσις δ’ ἔως τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν Ζυγὸν ἤδη
A. The oracular doves at Dodona are mentioned by Sophocles, Tr., 171-2 (6στι τήν παλαιάν φηγον αὐθένται ποτε / Δωδώνι δισσών ἐκ πελείαδων ἔφη): for their legend and its rationalistic interpretation, cf. Herodotus, II, 55-7 (Ὑπάκε μὲν τῶν ἐν Θῆβαις ἱρέων ἤκουσαν, τάδε δὲ Δωδωνίας φασὶν αἱ προμάντες. Δύο πελείαδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄναπτομένας τήν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λυκήν, τήν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι: ιζομένην δὲ μιν ἐπὶ φηγον αὐθάδεσθαι φωνὴ ἀνθρωπή ὡς χρεὸν εἰπα μαντήναι αὐτοῦ Δίὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπολαβεῖν θείον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτου ποίησα. Τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβνας οἰχομένην πελείαδα λέγουσι "Ἀμμωνίοις χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Λίβνας ποιέειν" ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Δίῳ. Δωδωνίαι δὲ αἱ ἱρία, τῶν τῇ προσβύσει οὐφορα ἢν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετά ταῦτα Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἐλεγον ταῦτα: συνισμολόγου ἕς σφὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωνίαι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρύν.

B. Curiously enough, another group of stars belonging to the constellation of Taurus, the Hyades, were also identified with the Dodonean nymphs, who were turned into stars because they had been Dionysus' nurses. The sources for this myth about the Hyades are:

a) Hyginus, Fab., 192 (quoted in II.4., n. 274);

b) Phercydes, F Gr Hist 3 F 90c Jacoby, ap. sch. in Il., XVIII, 486 (Φηρεκύδης δὲ, καθ' αὐτοῖς, τὰς Ὕδας Δωδωνίδας νύμφας φησίν εἶναι, καὶ Διονύσου τροφοῦ, ἃς παρακαταθέσθαι τῶν Διώνυσου ἢνα διὰ τῶν Ἡρας φόβον, καθ' ὃν καρδῶν αὐτάς καὶ Λυκούργους ἐδίωξε); the same Phercydes could have told about the metamorphosis of the Hyades into stars in this context: cf. F Gr Hist 3 F 90b Jacoby, ap. sch. in Hom. Il., XVIII, 486 (Ὕδας. Τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ Ταῦρου ἐπτά αστέρας κείμενον, καλοῦσαν δὲ Ὅδας, ἦτο διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοῦ στοιχείου ὀμοιότητα, ἢ ἐπειδὴ, αὐτοῖς ὀμβρέω, καὶ ὑπω τὴν καθίσταται. Ζεὺς ἐκ τοῦ μυροῦ γεννηθέντα Διώνυσον ταῖς Δωδωνίαι νύμφαις τρέφειν ἐδωκέν, Ἀμμρόσια, Κορωνία, Εὐδώρη, Διώη, Φαιστόλη, Πολυδαί, Φαιαί. αὐτὸς θρέψασα τὸν Διώνυσον περιήγησαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὴν ἑυρείσαν ἀμπέλον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς ἀυθρώποις χαριζόμενα. Λυκούργος δὲ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης συνεδώξε τῶν Διώνυσον, ἥκειας δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐλέγχασα κατηρτίσασα, ἡ ἱστορία παρά Φηρεκύδην); cf. East. Ad Il., vol. IV, p. 225, Il. 13-16 Van der Valk (Αἱ δὲ Ὅδας ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Ταῦρου κείματα κεράτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἡπατα ὤν κληθείσα, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ διότι τὸ υ στοιχεῖο παρεμβερεῖ εἰσίν, ἢ ὅτι ὑπω ἐπισμηνασίας δηλοῦσι. Τῶν δὲ Δωδωνίας νύμφας αὐτὰς φασὶν, Διονύσου τροφοῦ)

c) Scholion to Aratus, 174 (ταύτας δὲ τὰς Ὅδας Διώνυσος νυμφὰς φασὶν εἶναι, ἢ ὅτι ἐν τῇ γενέσθαι τοῦ Διώνυσου ὤν ὁ Ζεὺς, τὰ δὲ νύμφαι τοῦτων εἰσὶν ταῦτα: Ἀμμρόσια, Φαιστόλη, Κλείτη, Εὐδώρα, Βρομεία, Κισσῆς).

C. Last, the Pleiads were also told to have been Dionysus’ nurses by two sources, one of which links that circumstance with their becoming stars:


Incidentally, we may notice that the same link between attending a god and becoming stars was established by Moiro of Byzantium for the Pleiads who brought ambrosia to Zeus.

338 On the oracular doves of Zeus, cf.:

a) Hdt., II. 55-7 (55). Ταύτα μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐν Θήβαις ἵρεών ἦκουσ, τάδε δὲ Δωδώναιων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες. Δύο πελείαδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θῆβαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναπαμένειας τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι· ιζομένην δὲ μὲν ἐπὶ φεγγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῆ ἀνθρωπητῆς ὡς χρεόν εἰπὲ μαντήσιμον αὐτῶθι Δίως γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβεῖν θεοῦ εἶναι ἀ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι αὐτοῖς καὶ σφέα ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. Τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβαντας οἰχομένην πελείαδα λέγουσι Ἀμμωνίων χρηστήριον κελεύειν τοὺς Λίβανας ποιέειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διώς. Δωδώναιων δὲ αἱ ιρήναι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβύτητι οὖν ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συμμολόγοις δὲ σφὶ καὶ οἱ άλλοι Δωδώναιοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ὕπον. 56. Ἔγω δὲ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνωμήν τῆς. Εἰ αληθεσὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱράς γυναίκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀπέδουσιν, δοκεῖ εἰμὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτή τῆς ἱνῆ Εὐλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίς καλομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, προβίβας ἐς Θεσπρωτοῦς· ἐπειτα δουλεύοντα αὐτῶθν ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκεί τὴν Διώς, ὥστε ἐν οἷκῶς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβαις ἱρόν Δίως, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγρήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν. Φάναι δὲ οἱ ἄδελφες ἐν Λιβύη πεπρῆσαν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοίνικῶν ὑπ᾽ ὅν καὶ αὐτὴ ἑρήμη. 57. Πελείαδες δὲ μοι δοκείουσιν κληρίνησαν πρὸς Δωδώναιων ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἔδοκεν δὲ σφὶ ύμνώϊς ὀρνισθείς φθέγγεσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνου τὴν πελείαδα ἀνθρωπητῆς φωνῆς αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετὰ σφὶ ηδόν ἡ γυνὴ ἐς δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὡριθὺς τρόπον ἐδοκεῖ σφὶ φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέσσερα τὴν πελείας γε αὐθρωπητῆς φωνῆς φθέγαςτο; Μέλαιαι δὲ λέγουσιν εἰναὶ τὴν πελείαδα σημαίνουσι ότι Αἰγυπτή ἡ γυνὴ ἦν. Ἡ δὲ μαντήσι ἢ τε ἐν Θήβαις τῆς Αἰγυπτίης καὶ οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλῆσαν ἀλλήλης πιθήκαντες εὐώσαν. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἀπηγέρνει;)

b) Dion. Hal., Ant. rom., I. 14, 5 (Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἦρεων πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Λατινῆς ὅδὸν ίδοὺς Βατία μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, Τύρα δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων, ἢ καλομενής Ματυνής, ἐν ταύτῃ λέγεται χρηστήριον "Ἀρεὸς γενέσθαι πάνω ἄρχαίον, ὁ δὲ τρόπος αὐτοῦ παρατηρήσεις ἢν χρείᾳ τῷ παρὰ Δωδώναιος μεθολογομενέω ποτὲ γενόσθαι· πλὴν ὄσον ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ όρυχος ιερᾶς 'πελείας καθεζομενῇ θεσπισθεῖν ἐλέγετο, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Ἀβοργάκιος θεοπεπτὸς ὀρνις, ὃν αὐτοῖς μὲν τίκοι, Ἠλληνες δὲ ὄρυκολάπτην καλύσαι, ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνων φαινόμενοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἐδρα).
c) Str., VIIa, 1, 1-2 (‘Ήν δε πρότερον περὶ Σκοτοῦσαν πολίν τῆς Πελασγώτιδος τὸ χρηστῆριον’ ἐμπρησθέντος δ’ ὑπὸ τινών τοῦ δεύδρον μετηρχήθη κατὰ χρημάτων τοῦ ‘Απόλλωνος ἐν Δωδώνῃ. ἐκχρησμώδει δ’ οὐ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινῶν συμβόλων, ὠστε τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ ‘Αμιμωνικῶν ἰσώς δὲ τίνα πήροις αἱ τρεῖς περιστέραι ἐπέτοντο ἐξαιρέοντο, ἓξ ὡς αἱ ἱερείαι παρατηροῦμεν προεθέσθησιν, φασὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μολοττῶν καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν γυλώταν τὰς γραίας πελίας καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦς γέροντας πελίους· καὶ ἵσως οὐκ ὅρνεα ἦσαν αἱ θραυσμένει πελείαδες, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες γραίαι τρεῖς περὶ τὸ ἵερον σχολάζουσαν. 2. Ὄτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοττῶν τὰς γραίας πελίας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πελίους, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόνι τελείων γυνών καλοῦσαν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἐν τίμαις, καθὰ παρὰ Λάκων καὶ Μασσαλίωτας τοὺς γέροντας· θεῖοι καὶ τάς ἐν τῇ Δωδώναιᾳ δρύῃ μεμεθέουσαν πελείας φασίν).

d) Theo, Progymnásmata, p. 95 Spengel (ὁπερ πεποίηκαν Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ περὶ τῶν πελείαδων διηγούμενος, ὡς ἐξέπτεσαν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἢ μὲν εἰς Δωδώνην, ἢ δὲ εἰς Ἀμιμωνίων ἀδίκετο, ἐξηγούμενος τῷ μυθολογικῷ φησιν, ὅτι παρθένοι τυνὲς ἐκ Θῆβων τῶν Αἰγύπτιων ἦσαν ἱερεῖαι, ἡν ἡ μὲν εἰς Δωδώνην ἔπραθη, ἢ δὲ εἰς Ἀμιμωνίων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ βαρβαροὶ ἐφθέγγυοι ἀλλὰ ἐξεπετῶς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, λόγος κατέσχεν ὡς ὅρνθες ἦσαν);

e) Paus., VII, 21, 2 (καταφεύγουσαν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ τῶν γάρ τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην οἰκούσι, τοὺς τε Λιτωλοὺς καί τοὺς προσχώροις αὐτῶν Ἀκαρνάσαι καί Ἡπερώταις, αἱ πέλειαι καὶ τά ἐκ τῆς δρυός μαντεύματα μετέχειν μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο ἀλθείας);

f) Paus., X, 12, 10 (Φαενίς δὲ θυγάτηρ βασιλεύσατος ἀνδρός ἐν Χάοι καί αἱ Πέλειαι παρὰ Δωδώναιοις ἐμαυτεύσατο μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ αὕτη, Σιβυλλα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκλήσαν, τής μὲν δὴ παθεῖσαι τὴν ἥλθιαν καὶ ἐπιλέξασαν τοὺς χρησμοὺς ΤΤΤ Ἀντιόχου γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀλώνιον Δημήτριον αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθαστάμενον γέγονε Φαενίς, τὰς Πελείαδας δὲ Φημοφόνης τε ἐτὶ προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ θάσι γυναικίων πρότας τάδε τὰ ἐπὶ Zeu; ἦν, Zeu; ἄστιν, Zeu; ἔσσεται ὁ μεγάλος Zeu; /Γα' καρποὺς ἀνεῖ, διὸ κληζετε Ματέρα γαϊάν;

g) Scholion to Il., 16, v. 233a (lemma: Δωδώναιε), II. 9-14 (b(BE3E4)Τ ὄνωμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Δωδώνων τοῦ Δίως καὶ Εὐφώτης τῆς θκεανοῦ, ὅσ καὶ παρὰ Δίως τὴν μαντικὴν εἰλῆφε. ἀλλοι φασὶ Δευκαλίων μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ γενόμενον παρὰ τῆς πελείαδος τῆς ἐπικαθήμενης τῇ δρύῃ κελευθήμεναι κατοικεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆμαιτα Δωδώνην θκεανία τὴν πόλιν οὕτω προσοφομᾶσα). 339 Sch. in Hes. Op., 382 quater (Ταύτας, φασὶ, τὰς Πελείαδας, μετὰ τὰς μητρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς Πελείας, κατὰ Βοιωτίαν πέντε ὄλους ἐναυτοὺς Ωρέων ἐδιώκειν ὡς συγγένειοι, αἱ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς εὑρήμεναι πρὸς πελείαδας μετήμευσαν. Zeu; δὲ τῆς κακοπαθείας οἰκτείρας, αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ Ζωδιακῷ κατατρέπεσαν). This scholion is due to Tzetzes, the Byzantine scholar of the twelfth century, who repeated all those same words in his Excerptum de Pleiadibus, p. 549 Martin (cf. also p. 547 Martin, with no new information). However, as we shall see, this was not necessarily an artificial, brain-spun combination of different
traditions, but could also have made sense when the Pythagoreans, according to Aristotle’s account, linked the Pleiads with the strings of the lyre.

340 Cf. the discussion by Bader, 1999.

341 Scholia in Hes. Op., 382 c (Πλημάδων) Πλειάδες λέγονται ἢ ἀπὸ Πλημόνης ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ εἶναι χρειῶδες ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς πελεῖας μεταμορφοῦμαι ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν τῶν Ἁμέρας ὡς τοξότητι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολεῖν ἐκ περιόδου καὶ συμπληρών τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν, εἰς ών καὶ πλεῖων ὁ ἐνιαυτῷ· ἢ ὅτι πλεῖον εἰσὶ κατά συναγωγὴν ἢ ὅτι πλεῖον εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπτά δοκῶσιν ἢ παρὰ τὸ πληρόντα κείσαθι πληράδες τινές οὖσαι. Cf. scholia MDΔΚVUA to Aratus, v. 254 (’Ατλαντός δὲ καὶ Πλημόνης γενεαλογοῦνται Πλειάδες, παρ’ ὅ καὶ λέγονται· ἢ ἔπει πελεῖου εἰσὶ χρειῶδεῖς, τοῖς τε πλεύσαι καὶ γεωργοῦσιν· ἢ ὅτι εἰς πελεῖας μεταμορφοῦμαι τῶν Ἁμέρας φεύγουσαν); Tzetzes, Scholia in Hes. Op., 382 bis et quater (Πλειάδες λέγονται, ἀπὸ Πλεῖον τῆς αὐτών μητρὸς· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πελείαδας αὐτὰς γεγονέναι φευγοῦσας τῶν Ἁμέρας), and eiusd., Excerptum de Pleiadibus, p. 548 Martin (καλοῦνται δὲ αἱ Πλειάδες τῷ ὠνόματι τοῦτῳ ἀπὸ Πλεῖον τῆς ἐαυτῶν μητρὸς, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πελείαδας γενέσθαι φευγοῦσας τῶν Ἁμέρας). Another twelfth century Byzantine scholar, Eustathius, told the same story in his commentaries to Iliad, XVIII, 486 (vol. 4, p. 225 Van der Valk): οἱ δὲ παρθένοι εἰσἰν φαίνει τάς ἑπτά καὶ συγκυκλητεῖν τῇ ‘Αρτέμιδι. Ἁμέρως δὲ διώκοντος κατ’ ἐρείτα, περικαταλήπτους γυνομένας μεταβαλεῖν δὲ εὐχής εἰς πελείαδας, εἴτε καὶ καταστρεπθηκαί, ὅθεν καὶ Πελείας κληθῆκαί, οἶονει Πελείας κατὰ συγκυκτίνην, διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν παρθένων, ὡς καὶ προδεδήλωται, Πελείαδα τὸ ἀστρον τοῦτο καλοῦσιν.

342 Although not every metamorphosis into stars is preceded by a metamorphosis into a bird, there is at least another myth in which things occur in that way; cf. Hyginus, Astr., II, 16, quoted in II.1.c.3., n. 85.

343 Cf. Homeric Hymn to Selene, v. 1 (Μήπην ἄείδειν ταυναστερον ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, quoted from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptextdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0137%3Ahymn%3D32, as consulted on May 11th 2005). According to Cássola, 1975, 447, there are no conclusive reasons for a late dating of this hymn.

Manilius also alludes to the wings of the Moon (after addressing to the Moon in I, 223, he says in I, 226: ultima ad hesperios infectis volveris alis, quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/manilius1.html, as consulted on May 19th 2005). Cf., for the Great and Little Bears, Critias, fr. 3 Snell (= B 18 DK, ap. Clem. Al., Strom., V, 6, 36, 1: ἀκάμας τε χρόνοις περί τ’ ἄειναι / ἱεράμην πληρής φοιτή τίκτων / αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν, δείξας τ’ ἀρκτίῳ / ταῖς ὑκυσπάλαιοι πτερύγων ῥηπαῖς / τῶν Ἀτλαντεῖων τηροῦσι πόλον); Ion, fr. 6 Page (= F Gr Hist, 3b,392,T 2 Jacoby, ap. Scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii RVAld to Aristophanes, Pax, 835; cf. Suda, ὅ, 1029: ἀδόν ἀειφοίται ἄστερα μείναιεν, ἄελιον λευκὰ πτέρυγι πρόδρομον); Euripides, Ion, 123 (παναμέρος ἅμ’ ἄελιον πτέρυγι θη λατερεῖαν). The Sun is the star most consistently endowed with wings in ancient literature and art; cf. later Orph. fr. 102 Bernabé (= fr. 62 Kern), ap. Joannes Malalas (fifth-sixth century C. E.), Chronographia, p. 73, l. 8 Dindorf: Ἡλέε χρυσάεησιν ἀειφόμενε πτέρυγεσσαν. The “bird of Zeus” in Aeschylus, Suppl., 212 (καὶ Ζηνὸς ὃν ἄν ἐνδόθε λέον καλλῆρης, has been interpreted as an allusion to the Sun, especially on the ground of the context (that verse is followed by another one saying καλλοφίν εἰς ἥλιον συνηρείας); cf. also E. Tr., 848-50 (το τάς δε λευκοπτέρου / φίλον Ἀμέρας βροτοί / φέγγος ὀλόν εἰς γαῖας), and Friis Johansen & Whittle, 1980, vol. II, p. 170. There are also pieces of evidence which endow with wings not just the Sun but the cup on which he travels, according to ancient imagination; cf. for example Mimmermus, fr. 12 West, quoted by Athenaeus, 11, 39:
'Ἡλίος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβεν πόνον ἡμετα πάντα,
oūdē po't ἂματος γίνεται οὐδεμία
ἐποικίαν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἁώς
ὄφειν προλιποῦν' οὕρανον εἰσαναβή·
tὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κῆμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή,
poukálē Ἡφαίστου χερόν ἐλημένη
χρυσοῦ τιμήντως, ὑπόπτερος, ἄφον ἢ ἐδορ
ἐνδονθ' ἀρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων
γαίαν ἐς Αἰθιόπων, ἵνα δὴ θαῦμα καὶ ἐπικρ
ἐστάσ', ὅφει' Ἡώς ἤμηγένθας μόλη.
ἐνθ' ἐπέβη ἐτέρων ὅχέων Ὑπερίονος υἱός.

Incidentally, we may add that when Proclus interpreted the Platonic Sirens as the souls of the heavenly spheres, he
might be under the influence not only of the powerful tradition of philosophic discussion about that topic, but also of
the fact that the iconography of Sirens shared a trait (the wings) not only with that of the human soul (cf. our section
II. 1. c. 3. “A Flight on the Wings of the Soul”), but with that of some heavenly bodies, as we can see. Although this
was not the most relevant factor, it could play some role on the genesis of Proclus’ interpretation.
III. 2. Muses and Moirai

In this chapter we are going to explore to which extent the Muses and Moirai, taken as cosmic singers, were thought of as winged goddesses. In our opinion, the sidereal Muses were winged creatures, but there is almost no evidence for the winged Moirai.

Let us begin with the Muses. As far as we know, the first allusion to their wings is to be found in a story told by Ovid: when the Muses were going to their temples in the Parnasus, they had to go through Pireneus’s territory; since it was raining heavily, Pireneus invited them to enter his palace, and to wait there until rainfall was over; then, he tried to rape them, but the Muses wore their wings and escaped.  

Later, Pausanias is the first authority for a legend according to which, when the Muses surpassed the Sirens, they took as their crown the Sirens’ wings. This legend may be reflected in some images of Muses with feather-crowns, as they are depicted on a Roman sarcophagus of the second quarter of the third century C. E., preserved in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. These images could parallel those of the Moirai described in a later paragraph of this same chapter.

The myth of the feather-crown of the Muses does not imply that they were winged beings. Porphyrius (third century C. E.), however, confirms that the Muses were endowed with wings in the imagination of the Ancients, and Himerius (fourth century C. E.) extols the “gold-winged Muses.” This image goes back to some earlier sources. In a fragment from an Encomion by Bacchylides, the author promises “a golden wing of the Muses,” which may stand metaphorically for “song,” like when Pindar in his First
Isthmian Ode mentions the “splendid wings of the fair-voiced Pierides,” which raise up the champion he celebrates in his poem.\textsuperscript{351} It may be interesting to observe that Pindar qualifies a hymn as “winged” too, and this beautiful metaphor of the swiftness of the word in general (and of the poetic word in particular)\textsuperscript{352} may go back to the Homeric formula “winged words.”\textsuperscript{353} By the way, some sources of the Byzantine period explain the Homeric formula as derived from the myth of the Muses making a crown for themselves with the wings of the Sirens.\textsuperscript{354}

Distinct from the former myths is an allusion by Philostratus the Elder, who said that the Muses guided the Athenian sailors in the shape of bees.\textsuperscript{355} We shall return to this allusion in III. 3., where further coincidences between Muses (more exactly the Delphic Muses), Sirens, and bees will be shown. As we shall see, such coincidences between Muses and bees can mean that the Delphic Muses were a derivation of the bees-nurses of Apollo, that is: that the Delphic Muses were originally winged beings as well. And both these Delphic Muses and the Pierides referred to in the previous paragraph were linked with heavenly regions and / or bodies.\textsuperscript{356}

That sort of feather crown we have seen on the heads of the Muses in the sources mentioned above, is placed on the Moirai’s in two reliefs: the first on a Roman sarcophagus from the mid-second century C. E., now at the Museo Regionale of Messina, shows a Moira with a headdress of wings on her head, fastening wings to the arms of Icarus; to the right of the scene, another Moira with the same headdressing, holds a \textit{volumen} besides Icarus’s corpse (from other images, we know that the \textit{volumen} was one of the attributes of the Moirai). Another Roman sarcophagus from 270-280 C. E., now at the Musée du Louvre (MA 339), shows two Moirai, each with a feather on their heads.\textsuperscript{357}
The literary evidence for the Moirai’s wings is very scarce as well. When arguing that the soul is stronger than destiny, Proclus quotes a fragment of the so-called *Chaldean oracles* (a collection probably gathered during the second-third centuries C. E.) the first line of which reads:

“They (sc. the souls) flee the shameless wing of the Moira allotted to them.”

The 59th of the *Hymns* ascribed to the legendary Orpheus (but written, however, by the second-third centuries C. E.) refers to the Moirai fluttering over the limitless Earth of the mortals. This may be linked to the allusion of the *Chaldean oracles*: the power of the goddesses of destiny is metaphorically conveyed by describing the goddesses flying over the Earth. This is the sum total of the literary evidence of the Moirai as winged deities. Indeed, no mention is made of the wings of the Moirai in the myth of Er, where they appear singing together with the Sirens, as we saw in II. 1. and II. 2. The next chapter will be devoted to the wings of the Sirens.

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345 For the Muses taking as their crown the wings of the Sirens, cf. Pausanias, IX, 34, 3, who refers this legend to *Coroneia* (Κορώνεια δὲ παρείχετο μὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγορᾶς Ἑρμοῦ βωμὸν Ἐπιμηλίου, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμου, κατωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ἡρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀγαλμα ἀρχαίον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, φέρει δὲ ἐπί τὴ χειρὶ Σειρήνας· τὰς γὰρ δὴ Ἀχελώων θυγατέρας ἀναπεισθείσας φασίν ὑπὸ Ἡρας καταστήσας πρὸς τὰς Μουσάς ἐς ωδῆς ἔργον· αἱ δὲ ὡς ἐνύχησαν, ἀποτίλασα τῶν Σειρήνων τὰ πτερὰ ποιήσασθαι στεφάνιος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν λέγοντας): Aelius Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*, vol. 3, 1, p. 386, II. 22-26 ("Ἀπετερα πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ Σειρήνων ἔριδος, τῆς ἐν τῷ μουσεῖῳ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τόπῳ τοιῷδε καλουμένῳ γειομένης, ἐν ὦ μετὰ τῆν ἐν μουσικῇ νίκην τῶν Μουσῶν αἱ..."
Seirh'nes διαφορούσαν τὰ πτερά τῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέβαλον καὶ λευκαὶ γενόμεναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνεβαλοῦσαν ἐαυτοῦς, literally copied by the sixth C. E. Byzantine grammarian Stephanus in his Ethnica, p. 107 Meineke); cf. Proclus, In R., vol. 2, p. 239, II. 7-12 Kroff (ἵππη ταῖς τεκνίας τῶν Σειρήνων καὶ τοῖς πτεροῖς αὐτῶν στεφανοῦσαί τα); scholion to Lycophron, Alexandra, v. 653 (λέγει δὲ περὶ τῶν σειρήνων· πτερωταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥς νικήσασι αἱ μούσαι ταῖς πτεροῖς ἐστεφανώθησαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ζωγραφοῦνται ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχειν αἱ μούσαι πτερα. μόνη δὲ Τερμιχρών οὐκ ἔχει s3 πτερὰ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ διότι μήτερ αὐτῶν ἢν); Suda, μ. 1293 (αἱ Μούσαι δὲ πτερῶ Σειρήνων ἐστεφανοῦσατο); Etymologicum Genuinum, compiled in A. D. IX (α, entry 1093: "Απετερά: πολὺς Κρήτης· ἐκλήθη δὲ Ἐπτέρα, ὅτι αἱ Σειρήνες ποτε πρὸς τὰς Μούσας εἰς ἔριν ἔλθουσαί καὶ ἤπτηθείσαι ἐκεῖ τὰ πτερὰ ἀπέβαλον, reproduced in the twelfth century by the Etymologicum Magnum, p. 133, l. 31 Kallierges, and by the Etymologicum Symeonis, vol. I, p. 105, l. 28-9); cf. Etymologicum Magnum, p. 694, l. 16-7 Kallierges ("Εἴπε αὐτῶν ἐπερύθη: ἠπειδὴ νικήσασι αἱ Μούσαι τὰς Σειρήνας ταῖς πτεροῖς αὐτῶν ἐστέφθησαν); Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. 2, p. 5, ll. 12-14 Stallbaum (ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις έρύσατε περὶ ὀδὸς πλάττει αὐτάς, ἕριν ἐκείνης, ἀφ᾽ ἦς πτεροῦντες λόγοι ἀλληλοῦ δηλοῦνται διὰ τὰ πτερὰ τῶν Σειρήνων, ἀ περι κατὰ τὸ συνδόξαν αἱ Μούσαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστέφαντο).


348 Cf. Porphyrius, De abstinentia, III, 16, 1: τὰς δὲ μούσας ἐπτέρωσαν, and Himerius, Or., 14, 37 = 48, 37 Colonna (μούσας χρυσοπτέρυγοι).

349 The earliest allusion might be that of Stesichorus (seventh-sixth centuries B. C. E.), fr. 16 Page: χρυσοπτερεῖς παρθένες; but, as Cerri, 1984-5, 159-70, esp. pp. 161-2, has argued, the Muses were neither virgins nor (according to him) winged deities. This last statement might be not too correct: as we are going to see, there are two other mentions of the Muses' wings in passages by Pindar and Bacchylides, that is, in authors of the same genre cultivated by Stesichorus. Cf. III. 3. a.


351 Pindar, Isthm., I, 64: εἶν νῦν εὐφώνων πτερύγεσσαν ἀερθείντ' ἀγ'λαίας Πιερίδων.

352 Cf. Pindar, Isthm., V, 63 (καὶ πτερόεντα νέον οὐμπεμπην ἤμων), and Maehler, 2004, 245.

353 Cf. Hubbard, 1985, 150. The Homeric passages where the formula ἐπεα πτερόεντα ("winged words") appears are: Iliad, Book 1, line 201 (καὶ μων φωνήσας ἐπεα πτερόεντα προσημᾶ; cf. 2, 7; 4, 312; 4, 369; 8, 101;
10, 163; 13, 750; 14, 138; 15, 35; 15, 89; 16, 6; 17, 74; 20, 331; 21, 73; 23, 601; 23, 625; 24, 517; 4, 284 (καὶ σφέας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα; cf. 4, 337; 10, 191; 15, 145); 5, 242 (αἶφα δὲ Τυδείδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα); 14, 2 (ἀλλ᾽ Ἀσκληπιάδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα); 21, 419 (αὐτίκ᾽ Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα); 22, 228 (ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμεῖν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα); Odyssey, Book 1, 122 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα; cf. 2, 269; 5, 117; 5, 172; 7, 236; 8, 346; 8, 407; 8, 442; 8, 460; 11, 209; 13, 58; 13, 227; 13, 253; 13, 290; 14, 114; 15, 259; 16, 180; 18, 104; 20, 198; 22, 410; 23, 34; 24, 372; 24, 399); 4, 77 (καὶ σφέας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδα); 4, 550 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημῖδων; cf. 11, 56; 11, 396; 12, 296).


356 Cf. II, 3.


III. 3. Auf Flügeln des Sirenengesanges

We turn now to a consideration of the wings of the Sirens. Our point here is that the cosmic Sirens were winged creatures, even if Plato made no explicit allusion to such feature. To show this, we will first review some mythographic details and discuss some pieces of iconographic evidence that may bear on the materials presented in II. 1. Then we will deal with the use of the word seirén as a name for certain kinds of birds. It is also very important that the word seirén could mean a kind of bee: this fact will lead us to the Delphic oracle, its relationship to a particular type of Sirens, and their link with cosmic harmony. And we think that these Delphic Sirens-bees were the point of departure for Plato’s conception of the celestial singers of the myth of Er.

a) Some Mythographic Details

As noticed by the grammarian Aristonicus (first century B. C. E. - first century C. E.), Homer did not say that the Sirens had wings, and two later sources suggest that they were women without any teratological feature. According to Eustathius, some authors more recent than Homer stated that the Sirens were three in number and had wings, whereas Homer says that there were two. Eustathius also says that it does not seem that the Homeric Sirens had wings because, if they had them, they could have pursued Ulysses by flying. Neither did Plato say that his cosmic Sirens had wings, but there are many pieces of both literary and iconographic evidence showing winged Sirens by the
time of Plato, and, as Gresseth has pointed out, arguing from the genealogical frame to which the Sirens belong, even the Homeric Sirens might have been winged as well.\(^\text{362}\)

The first piece of literary evidence for the wings of the Sirens might be a fragment of Stesichorus (seventh-sixth centuries B. C. E.), invoking a “golden-winged virgin.” According to Cerri, this can allude to a Siren, given the contextual similarity with the beginning of a choral song in Euripides’s *Helen*, where we read this invocation: “Winged maidens, virgins, daughters of the Earth, Sirens.” Even if one might expect an invocation to the Muse in that context, the Muses are not virgins (for example, Calliope was the mother of Orpheus, etc.), nor are they, according to Cerri, winged deities. There are, on the other hand, other affinities between Muses and Sirens, for the latter may be invoked as goddesses of poetry at the beginning of a poem.\(^\text{363}\)

Besides the above-mentioned line of *Helen*, Euripides also alluded to the winged sandals of the Sirens\(^\text{364}\) and there are further references along the whole Antiquity. Lycophron calls Parthenope (one of the Sirens) “bird-goddess,” and Aelianus wrote about an Indian bird called *katréa*: “They are invincible in their singing, euphony, and sweetness of song, as if they were… a kind of Sirens. For that these mythical maidens were winged, the poets sing it and the painters show it.”\(^\text{365}\)

Porphyrius said also that the Greeks endowed with wings the Sirens and Muses, and the grammarian and poet Joannes of Gaza (sixth century C. E.) spoke of the “winged sound of the Sirens.”\(^\text{366}\) The *scholia* to Homer, as well as Eustathius, comment that the Sirens had been turned into birds by Aphrodite, who was angry because of their virginity. Several other authors allude to the ornithomorphic physiognomy of the Sirens, although without mentioning their wings, perhaps because, according to a tradition first recorded
by Pausanias, the Sirens were defeated by the Muses in a musical contest, and then the Muses pulled off the Sirens’ wings and made with them a crown for themselves.\textsuperscript{367}

b) Some Pieces of Iconographic Evidence\textsuperscript{368}

In a previous chapter (II. 1.), we discussed several artistic representations of the Sirens, all showing them as birds with human head or torso. There are comparatively few pieces of evidence for wingless Sirens: Touchefeu-Meynier reports that there is only a single Greek image of Sirens without any ornithomorphic feature (a bowl with reliefs from Thebes, \textit{ca.} 130 B. C. E., now at the Louvre\textsuperscript{369}, and Marót mentions a relief from an Etruscan shrine from Volterra (third-second centuries B. C. E.) on which we see Ulysses on his ship before entirely anthropomorphic Sirens.\textsuperscript{370} Wingless, but bird-footed Sirens already appear in Classical times, as we can see in the Malibu group (our pl. 16) and in some specimens of the second-third centuries C. E.\textsuperscript{371} These images (like the texts mentioned in the former section) show what Touchefeu-Meynier and Leclerc-Marx have called the progressive humanization of the Sirens appearing in the images of the Odyssean scene,\textsuperscript{372} but they are few, isolated, and there is only one earlier than Plato, namely the Malibu group. It is most likely that the author of the myth of Er imagined the Sirens as winged beings, especially if we bear in mind their celestial abode.
c) Sirens, Birds, and Bees


There is actual evidence for the name “Siren” as a bird-name, which makes sense with the images and myths showing the Sirens as winged creatures. The word σειρήν stands for what D’Arcy Thompson translates as “serin-finch” (*Serinus hortulanus*) in the work of Aelianus (second-third centuries C. E.) on the nature of animals. Eustathius remarks that the Alexandrine poet Lycophron had named the Sirens “nightingales” because of their fine singing; on the other hand, the voices of a parrot and a jay are compared to those of the Sirens by Philostratus the Elder.

Σειρήν is also employed as the name of a bird in the *Septuagint* in Job (30.29), and two passages in Isaiah (13.21, and 43.20), which a number of Church Fathers tried to explain. According to De Rachewiltz and Leclercq-Marx, the Hebrew words translated as “Sirens” are “tannîm” and “benôt ya’ anâh,” that is, *jackals* and *female ostrichs*. There are no phonetic similarities between the original Semitic words and the Greek rendering, which makes the translation particularly intriguing.

Among the interpretations of the term offered by the Church Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa (fourth century C. E.) observes that the Holy Scripture used the word *seirên* and others familiar to the Greeks as a way of instructing them, but Origen (second-third centuries C. E.) commenting on the passage by Job hints at the Sirens as a kind of bird. In this connection, Basil and Eusebius of Caesarea (fourth century C. E.) state that the word *seirên* usually meant “singing woman;” but that in the prophetic text it seems to stand for
a kind of spirit, and for this reason Aquila rendered the word for “ostrich” as seîrên. This interpretation, later summarized by the sixth C. E. lexicographer Hesychius, raises two interesting issues: first, the association of the Sirens with a kind of spirit; second and most important, the puzzling relationship between “spirit” and “ostrich.” It is surprising that the term seîrên had been chosen to render the Hebrew for “ostrich,” according to Basil and Eusebius of Caesarea, not because of its philological correctness but because those beings were a kind of spirit. Was that because of the notion that every spirit is a winged being, according to Tertullianus? In any event, the Sirens are interpreted as evil spirits in a number of texts by the Church Fathers.

Cyril of Alexandria seems to identify these “Sirens” of Isaiah’s text with the little owl. This is less adequate in respect to the original texts, but the little owl, like the Sirens, has some connections with the Other World. The same author elsewhere interprets those “Sirens” as “sparrows,” whose Greek name (strouthós, strouthion) has the same root as that for “ostrich” (strouthokâmêlos) and whose lovely singing is expressly mentioned by Cyril. Perhaps Cyril was following a tradition, attested by some lexicographers, according to which the bird part of the body of the Sirens was sparrow-like. Or it may be that the lexicographers drew on Cyril’s interpretations.

Last, but perhaps not least, the Physiologus states that the Sirens are half-human, half-goose, and Julianus (fourth century C. E.) says that seîrên is said to mean “swan” among the Syrians. There are other Patristic interpretations of the word seîrên in the Septuagint, but with no relation to winged beings. It is important to recall that the swans were sacred to Apollo, and we are going to see something of the Sirens’ connection with the same god. Besides the relationship with Apollo, both Sirens and
swans are taken as models of the choral song in Alcman’s first parthenion, and the fact that the swan sings before dying brings it closer to the otherworldly music represented by the Sirens.386 Nevertheless, Sirens and swans remain distinct in artwork: the bird part of the Sirens’ body seldom resembles a swan.387

Despite the divergences of detail, all these interpretations of the word “siren” in the Holy Scripture link it with the winged people. This constitutes an interesting parallel phenomenon to the fact that seirén could designate other kinds of bird in non-biblical Greek.

c. 2. Sirens as Bees at Delphi

“Siren” is also the name for a winged insect, similar to the bee.388 As another coincidence between Sirens and bees, the latter may be images of the souls;389 therefore, they were thought to be fellows of Persephone and to have musical and mantic gifts.390 Moreover, the bees, like the Sirens, were eventually represented with human heads,391 and they were related to poetic activity.392

These Siren-bees had something to do with Delphi. Pausanias comments that according to the Delphians, the first temple of Apollo was built with laurel; then it was re-built by bees with honey, wax, and wings, and Apollo brought it to the land of the Hyperboreans.393 On the other hand, in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, when Apollo confers his mantic gift upon Hermes, he bestows as well three honored virgins described as if they were bees (with an explicit mention of their swift wings), who seem to have been Apollo’s teachers of the mantic art.394 Philochorus (fourth-third centuries B. C. E.)
tells of the three Thríai, nymphs who were nurses of Apollo and whose common name is also that of the divinatory pebbles, and Porphyrius quotes a fragment of a hymn to Apollo that mentions certain Naiads who reared the god with the breath of the Muse so that he would have an inspired voice. This bestowal of the prophetic inspiration suggests that these nymphs (Philochorus’s term Thríai is the most specific one) are the same “honored virgins” described as bees in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes.

According to Boyancé, the nymphs-bees-nurses of Apollo, called “Thríai” by Philochorus, thereafter became the three Delphic Muses (Hypate, Mese, Nete) whom Plutarch associated with certain heavenly regions. Their number and oracular functions enabled the “Thríai” to be named “Moirai,” and, since the prophecies were delivered in verse form, and Apollo was a musician god, the “Thríai” could be considered Muses. Their number and their aspect of bees made it possible for them to be called “Sirens,” and these were probably the Sirens alluded to in the Pythagorean aphorism about the Delphic oracle, tetrad, harmonía, and Sirens. Incidentally, we may recall that those who said the Sirens had wings (which could allow them to be linked with bees) also said that they were three, like these “Thríai,” whereas for Homer there were only two Sirens and no mention is made of their wings in the Odyssey. The only difficulty we meet is linking these three Sirens with any tetrad: Boyancé suggested that there might be an association of these Sirens with the “Nicomachean” tetrad (6, 8, 9, 12), whose elements correspond to the lengths of the hypate, mese, paramese, and neta, but the Delphic “Thríai”-Sirens were three, whereas the Nicomachean tetrad has four elements. We can hypothesize that the “Thríai”-Sirens did not correspond to the four elements of the Nicomachean tetrad, but to three proportions between them: 6:8,
corresponding to an interval of fourth; 6:9, corresponding to a fifth, and 6:12, corresponding to an octave.\textsuperscript{401} We must remember that a similar correspondence between Sirens and proportions was suggested by Plutarch in \textit{De animae procreatione in Timaeo}: as we saw in II. 1. b., Plutarch wrote that the eight Sirens of the myth of Er corresponded to eight proportions between the terms of the Platonic \textit{tetraktys}.\textsuperscript{402} Plutarch might have adapted to the Platonic \textit{tetraktys} the previous, hypothetical link of the Sirens—“Thríai” with the Nicomachean \textit{tetraktys} (which was at work in Delphi, according to Martianus Capella, and was probably the one alluded to in the Pythagorean aphorism about the Delphic oracle\textsuperscript{403}).

It is likely that the different transformations of the “Thríai” were associated with heavenly regions or bodies as a consequence of Apollo being identified with the Sun, as we suggested in II. 3.: if the god represented the Sun, his attendants might represent the planets. Given the eschatological context of the myth of Er, Plato preferred to call these Delphic spirits “Sirens” rather than Muses or “Thríai” because of the Sirens’ connexion with the Other World.\textsuperscript{404} The number of Sirens could be increased by Plato from three to eight in order to fit the number of heavenly regions he was considering (excluding the Earth and the Pythagorean Counter-Earth): the Sun, the Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars.\textsuperscript{405} As Mrs. Harrison suggested, Plato could not call the spirits of those eight heavenly spheres “Muses,” because these were nine: this was a further reason for choosing the Sirens as bearers of cosmic music in the myth of Er.\textsuperscript{406}

It is also probable that Plato wished the number of Sirens to match that of the sounds of two disjunct tetrachords, but not all ancient Greek scales included eight sounds: for instance, Aristides Quintilianus, I, 9, records scales with more and less than eight
sounds, which he attributes to the “exceedingly ancient peoples,” and the Pseudo-Aristotelian Problems and Nicomachus allude also to scales of only seven notes. Plato may have known such scales as well. Nicomachus, however, says that Pythagoras constructed the first eight-note scale, but we have no evidence for the Pythagoreans linking the Sirens with such a scale nor with the cosmic regions. On the other hand, it is likely that seven-note scales continued to be considered by the followers of Pythagoras: Aristotle, in criticizing the numerological quests of the Pythagoreans, said that they tried to find sevens everywhere, and one of their examples was that the scale consists of seven notes, which were associated with the Pleiads. All this suggests that the link of the Sirens with an eight-note scale would be Plato’s share, and the choice of an eight-note scale was due to the need of matching the number of celestial regions.

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363 The testimony of Stesichorus, fragment 16 Page, reads χρυσόπτερε παρθένε. Cf. Cerri, 1984-5, 159-70, esp. pp. 161-2, and the similar passage by Euripides, Hel., 167-9 (πτεροφόρον νεάνιδες, / παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι, / Σειρήνες). Cf. also Giangiulio, 1986, 125, n. 56 (who states, on the other side, that the Platonic link of the Sirens with cosmic harmony belongs in a tradition of non-theriomorphic Sirens). We must point out that there are two passages of the choral lyric poetry (that is, of the same genre of Stesichorus’ work) alluding to the golden wings of the Muses; cf.
III. 2. Cf. also II. 3, esp. n. 231, B, for other affinities between Muses and Sirens, allowing the last’s being invoked as goddesses of poetry at the beginning of a poem.


366 Porphyrius, De abstinentia, III, 16, ll. 14-15 (τὰς δὲ μούσας ἐπτέρωσαν καὶ τὰς σειρήνας), and Joannes of Gaza, Ἐκφάρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος, I, vv. 1-2 (Πῆς φέρομαι: πτεροῖς με δὲ ἡρόσι ἐμφροι ῥοϊζω / Σειρῆνων λιγόφωνος ἀγεί θρόσος). It may be interesting that words of the same root as ῥοῖζως, employed here to define the sound made by the Sirens could be used, although not exclusively, for the rush of wings, e. g. by the same Joannes of Gaza, Ἐκφάρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος, 2, 119 (ἀλλ’ ὃ μὲν ἐπιμείχθην πτερόγια ῥοῖζημα τυνάσσων); cf. Arist. HA, 535b, 27-31 (Καὶ γὰρ οἱ κτένες ὅταν φέρωται ἀπερειδόμεναι τῷ ὕγρῳ, ὃ καλοῦσα πέτεσθαι, ῥοῖζον, καὶ αἱ χελίδόνες αἱ ἀπαλάττεαι ὁμοίως: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ πέτουσιν μετέωρα, οὐχ ἀπτόμειν γῆς ἀλαττής: τα γὰρ πτερύγια ἔχουσι πλατέα καὶ μακρά. Ὡσπερ οὖν τῶν ῥόϊτων πτερομένων ὁ γυμνόμενος ταῖς πτέρυξι ψόφος οὐ φωνή ἐστίν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς); LXX, Wi., 5, 11 (ἡ ὡς ῥόϊνου διπτήυς ἄερα οὔθεν εὑρίσκεται τεκμήριον πορείας, πληγὴ δὲ μαστίζομενον ταρασών πνεῦμα κούφος καὶ σχιζόμενον βία ῥοίζων κυνομένων πτερόγια δωδεκάθεν); Aelianus, NA, 2, 26 (τόν γε τῶν πτερῶν αὐτῶν ῥοῖζοι); Eutocius, Paraphrasis in Oppiani cynegetica, p. 36, ll. 7-10 (ποιεῖται δὲ τίνι πτήσει οὐ πρὸς πνεύμα τῶν ἀνέμων δεῖ τού ἀπο ταῖς ἀντιμονίας (ἀντιπονίας legendum esse censeo) δοκομενένην κάμψει τε καὶ βαρύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νότον μὲν ἐπαυριζοῦστος πρὸς βορράν ἱετά τῶν πτερῶν τῷ ῥοῖζαματα); Gregory of Nyssa, In inscriptiones Psalmorum, vol. 5, page 52, lines 17-19 (ἐν τῷ ῥοῖζῳ τῆς πτήσεως); Epheoram Synus, In illud: Attendite tihi ibi (capita xii), 8, lines 43-6 (ὡς ὡς ῥόϊνου διπτήυς ἄερα, οὔθεν εὑρίσκεται τεκμήριον πορείας: πληγὴ δὲ ταρασών μαστίζομενον πνεῦμα κούφος καὶ σχιζόμενον βία ῥοίζων κυνομένων πτερῶν, δωδεκάθεθεν, cf. Sapientia Salomonis, 5, 11); Nonnus, 26, 214 (ὕμνοτόκων πτερόγια ἀνεμώδεα ῥοῖζων ἰάλλων); eiusd., 31, 141 (ἐφθάσαν Ἠγαλαίν πτερόγια διδυμάνω ῥοῖζων); eiusd., 42, 10-12 (ὡς τότε θύρος ὁ Ἐρως περιγεμένος ὁδεῖ ῥοῖζων, / παλλομένων πτερόγια ἀνεμώδεα βομβιον ἰάλλων, / ἑρόθεν ῥοῖζες); Michael Psellus (eleventh century C. E.), Theologica, 27, lines 113-4 (καὶ ὁ δαίμων τῷ ὄρνιον καὶ ῥοῖζων πεπετάται τῶν ὄρνιον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ῥοῖζῳ τῶν πτερῶν τῷ ἀερός ἐπισέρεται σῶματι); Michael Psellus, Theologica, 32, lines 17-25 (καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦσας καὶ ὁ συμπαθητής ἱερείας καὶ ἄπλως οί προφήται σύμπτωτες...
A. Sirens turned into birds by Aphrodite: scholion to Od., (ἀγαπησάς τὴν παρθένιαν ἀπεστύγησεν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ ὁρίσθωσεν), and Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. 2, p. 5, ll. 14-15 Stallbaum (λέγονται δὲ καὶ παρθένιαν ἐλέσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀπεστύγησε, φησιν, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ ὁρίσθωσεν αὐτάς). According to Hyginus, Fab., 141, it was Demeter who turned them into winged beings (Sirenes Acheloi fluminis et Melpomenes Musae filiae Proserpinae raptu aberrantes ad Apollinis terram venerunt, ibique Cereris voluntate, quod Proserpinae auxilium non tulerant, volaticae sunt factae), and Ovidius alluded to this legend too (Metamorphoses, V, 552-60: vobis, Acheloides, unde / pluma pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis? / an quia, cum legeret vernos Proserpina flores, / in comitum numero, docta Sirenes, eratis? / quam postquam toto frustra quaesistis in orbe, / protinus, et vestram sentirent aequora curam, / posse super fluctus alarum insistere remis / optastis facilesque deos habuistis et artus / vidistis vestrus subitis flavescere pennis).

B. Ornithomorphic Sirens: Anaxilas (IV B. C.), fr. 22 Kock, 1 Meineke, 22 Kassel-Austin, quoted by Athenaeus, XIII, 6 (vv. 20-1: ἡ Θεανίδις δ’ οὐχὶ Σειρῆν ἔστιν ἀποτευμενή / βλέπμα καὶ φωνῇ γυναικώς, τὰ σκῆλη δὲ κοφίχου; like Anaxilas, Heraclitus the Paradoxographer (after IV B. C.?) alludes only to the bird-legs of the Sirens, not explicitly to their wings (De incredibilius, 14: Περὶ Σειρῆνων. Ταῦτας διψαῦσεις μυθολογοῦσι τὰ μὲν σκῆλη ὀρνιθίως, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα γυναικῶν ἐχοῦσας). Cf. scholion to Od., XII, 39 (αἱ Σειρήνες ἡ ὀρνισθεὶς κέλαδοι ἦσαν ἐν λεμβῷ, ἡ γυναίκες θελητικαὶ καὶ ἀπατητικαῖ); Apollonius of Rhodes, IV, 898-9 (τότε δ’ ἄλλο μὲν οἰωνοῦσιν / ἄλλο δὲ παρθενικῆς ἑναλήγχαι ἐσκούν ἱδέσθαι: “At that time they were fashioned in part like birds and in parts like maidens to behold”, trans. R. C. Seaton in the Loeb Classical Library, quoted by De Rachewiltz, 1987, 56); Ovidius, Metamorphoses, V, 552-3 (vobis, Acheloides, unde / pluma pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis?); Hyginus, Fab., 125, 13 (tum ad Sirenas… quae partem suprioriorem muliebrem habebant, inferioriorem autem gallinaceam); Silius Italicus, XIV, 567 (pennataque Siren); Statius, Silv., II, 2, 116-7 (hinc levis e scopulis meliora ad carmina Siren / advolat); ibid., V, 3, 82 (Tyrrhenae volucres nautis praedulce minantur); Servius, In Verg. Aen. V, 864 (Sirenes secundum fabulam tres, parte virgins fuerunt, parte volucres); Julianus (IV A. D.), Commentarius in J oh. p. 186, l. 14 Hagedorn (οἱ μὲν μυθολογα τὰς σειρήνας φασὶ θηλυκρύστατα τινα ὀρνύφια εἶναι, almost literally reproduced by Suda, σ, 280); Eustathius, Ad II., vol. I, p. 135, l. 31 Van der Valk (ἠσαν γὰρ ὀρνισθεὶς αἱ Σειρήνες); Georgius Monachus (A. D. IX), Chronicon, p. 657, l. 4-9 De Boor (ἐφάνησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ ἤλιου ἀνατέλλοντος ἀνθρωπόμορφα ζώα δύο, ἀνήρ καὶ γυνή, ἀπηρ περιηγοῦτος προσαγορεύονται ἠδύφθογα πάνυ καὶ θανατηφόρα, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἠμσιν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς μέχρις ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πετευχοῦν), almost literally reproduced by Michael Glycas (XII A. D.), Annales, p. 507, l. 12-16 Bekker (ἐφάνησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ, ἤλιου ἀνατέλλοντος, ἀνθρωπόμορφα δύο ζώα, ἀνήρ καὶ γυνή, ἀπηρ καὶ Σειρήνες προσαγορεύονται, ἠδύφθογα πάνυ καὶ θανατηφόρα, ἄνθρωποπετευχοῦν).

C. The sources about the Sirens’ lost of the wings after being defeated by the Muses are quoted in III. 2., note 345.

367 These lines are intended to complete the information provided in our first chapter.
B. “Siren” as a name for a kind of birds: Basilius (IV A.D.), Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam, XIII, 275, l. 21-24 (on Is., 13, 21: Αναπαύονται δὲ ἐκεὶ σείρινης: Σείρινης ὁ μὲν ἐξωθεὶς λόγος παραδεδώκε γυναῖκας τινας μελωδούσας· ἐνταῦθα δὲ δαμόμων ἑοικεν ὄνομα εἶναι· διὸ Ἀκόλοχα τὰς σείρινης

Cf. Touchefeu-Meynier, 1992, VI, 1, Nos. 163 (mosaic from Tor Marancio, at the Museo Vaticano, first half of II century C. E.), 165 (mosaic from Cherchel, at the Museum of Cherchel), 167 (mosaic from Dougga, Tunis), 175 (sarcophagus from Rome, ca. 230-240 C. E., now at the Museo Nazionale Romano, 113227), 177 (sarcophagus at the Museo Vaticano, 31663), and 184a (lamp now at the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 5296). Cf. plates in Touchefeu-Meynier, 1992, VI, 2, 634-6.

Cf. Touchefeu-Meynier, 1968, 180-1; Candida, 1970-1, 249-50, and Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 12. Images of wingless sirens may be due to the will of humanizing them, but also of depriving them of all traits suggesting spiritual elevation (the same meaning could be conveyed by the myth according to which the Sirens were defeated by the Muses, and the latter made themselves a crown with the feathers of the Sirens’ wings).

Cf. Thompson, 1936, 257, and Bader, 1994, 18.

373 Aelianus, De natura animalium, IV, 5, 4-5 (κτεινός γε μήν καὶ κόραξ ἐχθρός· σείριν ἔν πρὸς κήρυκην); ibid., IV, 16, 7 (ὁ πέραξ καὶ σείρινας ἐς το έφολκόν προτεινεῖ); Hesychius (V-VI A. D.), σ, 340 (σειρηνοῦ· ἡ ἀναδέσμη, καὶ μέλετα, ἡ μελίττης οἴκος, καὶ ὀρυθάραμον τι ποιον, καὶ ἱμάτιον ἀσπάθητον λεπτόν); Eustathius, Ad II., vol. I, p. 15, l. 6-7 Van der Valk (καὶ τὰς Σείρινας (ὡς καλῶν αἰειδούσας) ἀπόδονα ὁ Λυκόφρων· ἐκάλεσε); cf. Lycophon, Alexandra, v. 670 (τίς οὐκ ἄρων στείρα Κενταυροκτόνος), and the scholion on that same verse (Ἀπόδονα τὰς σείρινας λέγει διὰ τὸ θελητικοῦ). Photius alludes to the death of the Kentauroi because of the alluring song of the Sirens, in Bibliotheca, 190, p. 150b 29-32 Bekker (Ὡς οἱ Κένταυροι φεύγουντες Ἡρακλέα διὰ Τυρσηνίας λιμῷ διεφθάρμασαν, θεληθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς Σείρινας ἰδιφωκας), an epidos which is explicitly referred to Lycophon’s passage in Photius’s Bibliotheca, 190, p. 151b 32-4 Bekker (Ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ Λυκόφρων εἰπὼν “ποία δε ἄρων στείρα κενταυροκτόνος τάς Σείρινας κενταυροκτόνους ἐκέπε;”) cf. also Philostratus the Elder, Imagines, II, 17, 14 (φιττάρκες τε καὶ κίττα ἐν οἰκίας πλεκτοὶ Σειρηνῶν δίκην ἐν τῇ γῆς ἄδουσαν); Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. II, p. 265, l. 44 Stallbaum (αὐτὸ τὸ κατὰ σείρινας ἄθνεν, ἐι μὴ τάς τοῦ μύθου νοεῖ τις, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῆς ζωίκης ἱστορίας).


375 Cf. Gregorius of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium, II, 1, 437, 7-10 (ὅτι τότε ἐν τῷ βίῳ τετραμένοις ὄνομα πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ἦμών συγκεχρήσει ἢ θεία γραφή. οὕτω καὶ Ἁμαλθείας κέρας ἐν τῷ ἱσσβ ἀκηράσμεν καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ἡσαῖας Σειρηνᾶς).

376 A. “Siren” as a name for a kind of birds, in general: scholion to Od., XII, 39 (αἱ Σειρήνες ἡ ρωίδες κέλαδοι ἦσαν ἐν λειμωίν, ἡ γυναῖκες θελκτικα καὶ ἀπατητικα); Origenes, Homiliae in Job e codicibus Vaticanis, p. 379, II. 12-14 Pitra (Ἀδελφὸς γέγονα Σειρήνων, ἑταρὸς δε στρουθῶν. Εἰς τὴν ρώιδας ἤθραδες ἐξέπεσα, φθιάν); Procopius of Gaza, Commentarii in Isaiam, p. 2396, l. 3-4 (Εἴτε, διά τινων ρώιδων ἤθρωσίων, ἡ Σειρήνας ἐκάλεσε.;)

B. “Siren” as a name for a kind of spirits and for the ostrich: Basilius (IV A.D.), Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam, XIII, 275, l. 21-24 (on Is., 13, 21: Αναπαύονται δὲ ἐκεὶ σειρήνες: Σειρήνας ὁ μὲν ἐξωθεὶς λόγος παραδεδώκε γυναῖκας τινας μελωδούσας· ἐνταῦθα δὲ δαμόμων ἑοικεν ὄνομα εἶναι· διὸ Ἀκόλοχα τας σείριναςкті.
rhematon, mentioned understood that word as "spirits (kai; μαλλον τα;) πθυσει αειν σκοπτω, οι ον γλαυξ, και τα; ευοικολουστα, Αμηγεραι τη ημερα και ημερα, διδυμοι των των αποστολων, ετερους δε οικηθηναι φρατι των των τοτους ορεα και εχυνους και ζης και κορακας, δε; ου ανιντταται φυσας οικακαστους, οποιαι ήσαν αι των μετα ταυτα εξ αλλωφυλω και αλλογενων ειθον των τοπων οικησαντων ειδωλολατρων, ου μονοι δε τοτους κατακαθος των τοπων αντι των παλαι οικητωρων φησιν, αλλα και ουκοινταυρους και σειρηνας και στρουβοις, δαιμονιας τινας αινιττυμονος αυτων εν ταις αγαλαιας της ειδωλολατριας αυτων εμφυλευσαται; the signs 3 mean that those portions of text belongs to scholia included in the oldest extant manuscripts; Theodoreus (IV-V A. D.), Commentaria in Isaiah, 5, II. 181-190 (on Is., 13, 21: 'Αναπαυονται δε εκεί σειρηνες'), Ασαματος μεν ή των δαιμονιων φωσις, εξαπαταν δε των ανθρωπων ειωθες άλλοκοτα την (τοτος) επεξεκευσασθαι σχηματα. Απο τοινου της κατεχουσας παρα των ανθρωπων δοξης τηθεικα τα (ινοματα) και καλει ουκοινταυρους μεν ος οι παλαιοι μεν εμποσας οι δε των ονοσκελεοντας σφαγομενους, σειρηνας δε τως ταις πανευδαπαις καταθελγοντας εξαπατας. (Οι μεντα Λοιποι) Έρμηρευται αντι των σειρηνων "στρουθοκαμηλους" τηθεικεασ; Theodoreus, Interpretatio in Jeremia, PG, 81, 745, 15-7 (θυγατέρας δε των των Σειρηνων ο Συρος των στρουθοκαμηλους ημηρευμεος και δαιμονιας δε έθος ευτω καλειν τη θεια Γραφη, δε τα καταθελγειν και εξαπαταν των ανθρωποις των); Suda, σ, 280 (αι δε παρα τω της Ήσαια ειρημεναι της Σειρηνης και των των οπωρονων δαιμονιων πινες είσται τον ηλισ οι κελευσιν, αδελφος γεγονα των Σειρηνων, έηταιρος δε στρουθων, τωτεστιν άδης των αματου κομματας, ησπερ Σειρηνες, στρουθοις δε λεγει, ου ημεις στρουθοκαμηλων λεγομεν, ορεας μεν οντα, πόδας δε και τραχηλον ουν οκκετμενοι).

378 Tertullianus, Apologeticus, XXIII (omnis spiritus ales est); Origenes, Fragmenta in Lamentationes, fr. 95, l. 4 Klostermann (τας κατα Σύμμαχον Σειρήνας ακοιοτε τα ποιημα πιειματα). It is interesting that Hieronymus describes the Sirens in his commentaries as crested and flying demons, monsters or dragons, a rather different view in comparison with the Classical one, but which retains the flight as a characteristic of those beings (Commentaria in Isaiah, V in Is., 13, 22–, PL 23, col. 159c: Sirenae autem THENNIM vocantur, quas nos aut daemones, aut monstra quadam, vel certe dracones magnos interpretabimus, qui cristiati sunt et volantes).

379 Sirens = owls: Cyrilus of Alexandria, (IV-V A. D.), Commentarius in Isaiah prophetam, PG, vol. 70, p. 364, l. 52-3: Σειρήνας δε, αιμαι, φησι τα ευτομεα ειδους πιτηρα, η κατα γε την Εβραιων εκδοσαν, την γλαυκα, copied by Procopius of Gaza (V-VI A. D.), Commentarius in Isaiah, PG, vol. 86, p. 2089, l. 4-6; cf. ibid., p. 748, l. 5-10: Σειρήνας δε Θρησκευθειν ανεπικρατους, α μεθ Ημερων μεν ημερει, και τας Θρησκευθεων των χωρων έναυλησεται; παιεται δε μαλλον τας πτησεις εν σκωτα, οιον η γλαυε, και τα ευκολη. There is a fragment by Hipponax (54 West), which may be interpreted as suggesting that the owls are messengers of the Other World: κριγη δε νεκρων άγγελος και μηρος; cf. Weicker, 1902, 27. Hesychius attests the word κριγη meaning γλαυε, but he says also that others understood that word as "spirits (sc. of the dead)," and the editors of both Hesychius and Hipponax think that the above mentioned fragment 54 West of Hipponax is an example of that meaning. On the other hand, Herodianus, Peri rhematon, 3, 2, p. 803, quotes the same fragment to exemplify the meaning "shriek". However, this seems to
correspond to the word κρίγη, perhaps not to be confounded with κρήγη. The scholia to Aristophanes, Av., 1521, and Suda, s. v., explain κρίγη as the grinding of the moribunds, and add that this word was used also to name every unintelligible babble. On the owl as bird of the Other World, cf. Ovid, Met., V, 543-550; VI, 431-2; X, 453, and XV, 791. All this might bring the owls closer to the Sirens.

380 Sirens = sparrows: Cyrilus of Alexandria, Commentarius in XII prophetas minores, vol. I, p. 614, l. 10-14 (σειρήνας δὲ λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες μὲν καὶ παιδείς ἑκέινων πτημα μελῳδεῖν εἰδότα, καὶ καταθλίγειν ἵσχυοντα ταῖς τῶν φώνων εὐρύθμίαις τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις. ἢ δὲ γε θεόπνευστος γραφῇ σειρήνας ἀποκαλεῖ τὰ τῶν στρουθῶν λαλίστατα τε καὶ εὐστομεῖν εἰδότα); cf. eiusd. Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam, PG, vol. 70, p. 908, ll. 45-50 (on Is., 43, 20: εὐλογήσει με τὰ θηρὰ τοῦ ἄγρου, σειρήνες καὶ θυγατέρες στρουθῶν). Σειρήνας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας στρουθῶν τοὺς εὐστομεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰδότας φησί, καὶ ἐξηρκημένους τὸ καλλιεργεῖ. Ἐδῶ δὲ τὴ θεοπνευστῇ Γραφῇ σειρήνας ἀποκαλεῖν τὰ τῶν στρουθῶν λαλίστατα, καὶ ἐμμελές τι καὶ εὐφυμένων ἀναφωνεῖ εἰδώτα; eiusd., Glaphyra in Pentateuchum, PG, vol. 69, p. 384, l. 7-8: σειρήνας ὑώμας, τοιτέςτα, τὰ τῶν στρουθῶν εὐστομώματα. In his Commentarii in Job, p. 257, ll. 14-15 Hagedorn, Olympiodorus Diaconus (an Alexandrian ecclesiastical writer of the VI A. D.) explains that, according to Symmachus’ recension, the word στρουθόκαμψος is to be read instead of στρουθὸς, in Job, 30, 29 (ἀδελφὸς γέγονα σειρήνων, ἐταίρος δὲ στρουθών); but this does not refer to the actual meaning of the word σειρήν in this context. However, Olympiodorus’ commentary to the word σειρήν is interesting too, as it shows the two meanings of the same word σειρήν: singing birds or spirits (ibid., l. 16 Hagedorn: σειρήνας δὲ λέγει ἡ ὄδυκος ὁρίει ἡ ἀνθρωπομορφὰ δαίμονα, almost literally repeated in his Commentarii in Jeremiam, PG, 93, p. 717). Sirens and στρουθῶν are mentioned together by Isaiah too (34, 13: καὶ ἔσται ἐπαυλὺς σειρήνων καὶ αὐλὴ στρουθῶν).

381 Pausanias Atticista (II A. D.), Ἀττικῶν ὄνομάτων συναγωγή, σ, 8 (εἴχον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ θώρακος κάτω εἶδος στρουθῶν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω γυναικῶν); scholion on Lycophron’s Alexandra, v. 715 (τὰ μὲν εἴχον παρθένων, τὰ δὲ ὄρνεθά s3 s4. διὰ τοῦτο λέγονται σειρήνες. ὀρνίθες ἤσαν πτερὰ ἔχοντες); scholion on Lycophron’s Alexandra, v. 721 (οἴνων θεῖον; διὰ τὸ ὀρνιομεγείς εἶναι τὰς σειρήνας οἰωνίως καλεῖ); Lexica Segueriana (Collectio verborum utilium e differentibus rhetoribus et sapientibus, p. 362, ll. 28-30 Bachmann: εἴχον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ θώρακος καὶ ἄνω, εἶδος στρουθῶν, τὰ δὲ κάτω, γυναικῶν; the same words in Photius’sLexikon, σ, p. 504, ll. 6-8 Porson, and in Suda, σ, 280).

382 Physiologus (redactio prima, second-third century C. E.), sect. 13, ll. 6-7: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἠμισὺ μέρος ἐως τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσα μορφήν, τὸ δὲ ἠμισὺ ἐως ἐξω χρήσις.

383 For “siren” as a name of the swan among the Syrians, cf. the fourth C. E. ecclesiastical writer Julianus, Commentarius in Job, p. 187, ll. 7-8 Hagedorn: οἱ δὲ Σύροι τοῖς κύκνοις φασίν εἶναι καὶ γάρ οὕτω λουσάμενοι καὶ ἀνασίντες ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατος καὶ τοῦ άερος ἦδω τι μέλος ἄδουσιν (cf. Suda, σ, 280). All these interpretations of the word seiren as a name of a bird and of a spirit might have its ground in more ancient Near and Middle Eastern beliefs, which could have been reflected in figures like those of the “cherubim” and the like. We plan to undertake in the future a deeper comparative research of these possible affinities between Sirens and some fabulous creatures in ancient Near and Middle Eastern mythologies.

384 According to Eusebius of Caesarea, some interpreters had explained the word σειρήν as if it meant “hedgehog” (Commentarius in Isaiam, I, 67, l. 35-6: ἄλλα καὶ ἄντι ἔχινων όμοιώς οἱ τρεῖς ἐρμηνευταί σειρήνες
A. Alcman compares the song of the Sirens with that of his choir in fr. 3 Calame = fr. 1, vv. 96 ff. Page (whose supplements we accept: α δε των Σημειων [ήδη] και [ιδιων] με υμιν ευείθεια, / στις γαρ, αυτ[ι] δε ένθεκα / παλαιων δεκαγειδε[λε[ι]); cf. West, 1965, 200, who suggests that “being half-birds in form”, the Sirens “make good Muses for a poet who thinks of himself as an imitator of bird-music”, as we may see in the fr. 39 Page (f’ επη τάδε και μέλος Αλκιμάν / εύρη γεγυλοσομαίναν / κακοκαβιδον οτα συσβερμένοιοι; cf. fr. 91 Calame); 40 Page (f’ αῦθα δ’ όρνιχών νόμως; cf. fr. 140 Calame); cf. also Hofstetter, 1990, 311, nn. 110 and 112 to p. 18.

B. For the swans’ song before their death, cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1444-5 (η δε των κύκνων δίκην / των ζωτατων μέλασθαθα θανάσιμων γους); Pl., Phaed., 84d-85b (και, ώς έοικε, των κύκνων δοκού θαυμάτηρος ουκ είναι την μαντικήν, οι έπειθαν αισθάνεται ότι δει αυτούς ἀποθανείν, δοποίτες και εν 85.α".1 τῶν πρόσθεν χρόνων, τότε δή πλείστα κακόπραξα δόξους, γεγυλοτέρας οτα μέλλουσα παρά των θεών άπείνα στοιχεία της θερίσεως; οι δ’ άνθρωποι διά τον αὐτοὺς δοχόν των θανάτου καὶ τῶν κύκνων...
Swans and Sirens remain different, as we may see in the images discussed by Hofstetter, 1990, 36, K 14; p. 103, A 63, and p. 187, B 8. The handle of a mirror from ca. 470 (Hofstetter, 1990, 264-5: W 34, now in Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1960, 4, formerly in the Forman collection; cf. Zimmer, 1987, 47, pl. 3) shows a Siren from whose wings two swan-necks seem to arise, so the wings may be also swan-bodies. Hofstetter, 1990, 179, mentions some images of Sirens in which their claws are represented as triangles that may suggest the presence of natatorial membranes (cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 159, A 220 and 234); but she says that this was an innovation: the Sirens were not always associated with aquatic birds, and she mentions even an image in which the swan may represent the life threatened by the demonic Sirens (Hofstetter, 1990, 96, A 105; cf. also her p. 338, n. 447 to p. 104). A Corinthian column krater from 600-590 B. C. E., now at the Muzeum Narodowe (National Museum) of Warsaw (Nr. 142344) shows a swan between two sirens. 

Swans and Sirens were not always associated with aquatic life, and Artemidorus, II, 20 (ινοσύστε δε ἰρῶνος μὲν σωπήραν μαντεύεται, φθεγγόμενος δὲ ὀλέθρῳ γὰρ γὰρ πρότερον φθέγγεται εἰ μή πρὸς τὸ ἀπόβηθεσθαι ἃ).

387 Swans and Sirens remain different, as we may see in the images discussed by Hofstetter, 1990, 36, K 14; p. 103, A 63, and p. 187, B 8. The handle of a mirror from ca. 470 (Hofstetter, 1990, 264-5: W 34, now in Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1960, 4, formerly in the Forman collection; cf. Zimmer, 1987, 47, pl. 3) shows a Siren from whose wings two swan-necks seem to arise, so the wings may be also swan-bodies. Hofstetter, 1990, 179, mentions some images of Sirens in which their claws are represented as triangles that may suggest the presence of natatorial membranes (cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 159, A 220 and 234); but she says that this was an innovation: the Sirens were not always associated with aquatic birds, and she mentions even an image in which the swan may represent the life threatened by the demonic Sirens (Hofstetter, 1990, 96, A 105; cf. also her p. 338, n. 447 to p. 104). A Corinthian column krater from 600-590 B. C. E., now at the Muzeum Narodowe (National Museum) of Warsaw (Nr. 142344) shows a swan between two sirens.

388 Aristotle, fr. 359 Rose, = 290 Gigon ap. Zonenbius, Prov., 5, 97 (σείρην... ζῷον ὑπόπτερον μελίσση έικός, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης); Aristotle, HA, 623b 11 (μοναδικά ὑπέ τρία, σείρην ὁ μικρός, φαύς, ἄλλος σείρην ὁ μείζων, ὁ μέλας καὶ πακίλλος, τρίτος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος βουβύλλος); scholion to Lycophron, 653 (εἰ δὲ καὶ σειρῆνες ζωφία μικρά, μελίσσες παρόμιλα); scholion to Lycothron, 1463 (ἐστὶ δὲ *καὶ* ζωφίου ὁμιοῦ μελίσση λεγόμενον σειρήν); Plinius, XI, 48 (fuci [sc. vocantur serenes vel cephenes]; Aelianus Herodianus (II A. D.), Περὶ μούρον τε λέξεων, in Grammatici Graeci, vol. 3, 2, p. 922, 1. 24 (τὸ Σείρην... ὑπὸ τὸ καὶ μελίσσης εἰδὸς σημαίας); Pausanias Atticista (II A. D.), Ἀττικῶν ὁνομάτων συναγωγῆ, σ, 7 (σείρην ζῴων ἄστι κηροποιῶν μελίσση παραπλῆσιον), reproduced by Photius (IX A. D.), Lexikos, σ, p. 503, 1. 26 – p. 504, 1. 2 Porson; Hesychius (V-VI A. D.), s, 341 (σειρῆνος) ἡ ἀναδέσμη. Καὶ μέλιτα, ἡ μελίττης οἶκος. Καὶ ὀμνυθάριν τι πολλάν; Zenoibius (II A. D.), Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi, 5, 97 (Σείρην... μὲν φίλον ἀγγεῖλε, ξείρην δὲ μελίσσα· σειρῆνά λέογε ὑπὸ τῶν φώκων παρεθέντων μίαν, ἄλλα ζῴων ὑπόπτερον μελίσση έικός, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης); Suda, σ, 279 (Σείρην... μὲν φίλον ἀγγεῖλε, ξείρην δὲ μελίσσα· σειρῆν ζῷων ἄστι κηροποιῶν, μελίσση παραπλῆσιον), and Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. 2, p. 5, 11, 27-8 Stallbaum (παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει δὲ ζωφίων τι ἐνυμότων ἄστιν ὁ σείρην). Besides that, cf. also Aelianus, De
natura animalium, V, 42 (Εἰς σοι βουλομένως μαθεῖν ἐστὶ μελιτῶν όνόματα, ..., καλοῦνται τινες καὶ ἄλλαι σειρῆνες), and Michael Apostolius (ΧV A. D.), Collectio paroemiurarum, 15, 38 (σειρήν δὲ ζωῶν ἐστὶ κηροποιῶν, μελίσσῃ παραπλησίων, οί δὲ μέλη τινά, ὃν ἀκούσας οὐ ζήσεται).

389 Cf. Weicker, 1902, 29-30; Germain, 1954, 389, and Marót, 1960, 142. The main sources are a scholion to Euripides, Hippolytus, 73 (μέλισσαν μεντοι ἄλλογορει αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχήν, καθαρωτάτων γάρ τι ζωῶν ἢ μελίσσας); Vergilius, Aen., VI, 706-9 (hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant: / ac velati in pratis abe apes acate stera / floribus insidunt variis et candida circum / liila funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus); Porphyrius, De antro nympharum, 18 (βουγενείς δ’ αἱ μελίσσαι, καὶ ψυχαὶ δ’ εἰς γένεσιν οὐσά τι βουγενείς), and 19 (οὐχ ἀπόδοι μεντοι πάσαις ψυχαὶ εἰς γένεσιν οὐσάς μελίσσας ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τὰς μελισσας μετὰ δικαιούσης βιοτείνει καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν εὐργασμένας τὰ θεοῖς φίλα); Servius, In Aen., I, 430 (sane fabula de apibus talis est. apud Isthmon anus quaedam nomine Melissa fuit. hanc Cereris sacrorum suorum cum secreta docuisset, interminata est, ne cui ea quae didicisset aperiret; sed cum ad eam mulieres accessisset, ut ab ea primo blandimentos post precibus et praemiis elicerent, ut sibi a Cerere commissa patiaceret, atque in silento perduraret, ab eisdem iratis mulieribus discerpta est. quam rem Ceres inmissa tam supra dictis feminis quam populo eius regionis pestilentia ulta est; de corpore vero Melissae abe nasci fecit. Latine autem melíssa apis dicitur).

390 A. Porphyrius, De antro nympharum, 19 (καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἀιείας ὡς τῆς χολίας θεᾶς μύστεις μελίσσας αἱ παλαιοί ἐκάλουν αὕτη τε τὴν Κόρην Μελιτώδη, Σεληνίην τε οὕσαν γενεσίους προστάτιδα Μελίσσαν ἐκάλουσι; scholion to Theocritus, 15, 94 (Μελιτώδη δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φησὶ κατ’ ἀντίφρασιν ὡς καὶ Κόρην); διὰ τὸ τὰς ἔρειας αὕτης καὶ τὴς Δήμητρος μελίσσας λέγεσθαι). The mantic power of the bee is suggested by Arist. An. Hist., X, 40, 627b 10 (Προγινώσκουσι δὲ καὶ χειμώνα καὶ ὁδὸν αἱ μελίτταις σημείον δὲ, οὐκ ἀποπέτοινται γὰρ ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ εὐδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνελοῦνται, ὥς γνώσκουσιν οἱ μελιττοργία οἵτι χειμώνα προσδέχονται); Aelianus, NA, I, 11 (ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ μαυτικός, ὡστε καὶ ὠτῶν καὶ κρόων ἐπιδημίαι προμαθεῖν καὶ όταν τοιῶν τὸ ἔτερον Ṽ καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐσθεσαί κατοικήσαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ μήκοστοι ἐκτείνουσι τὴν πτήνεσι, ἀλλὰ περιποτώσις τοῖς σημείοις, καὶ οἷονει περιβορυσί, ἐκ δὴ τοῖς οἱ μελιττοργία ὀνωσάμαχοι προέλεγον τοῖς χειμῶνας ἐπιδημίαν τοῖς χειμῶνοις); ibid., V, 13 (οἴδε δὲ ἁρα ἡ μελίτα καὶ ὠτοῦ ἀπελοῦντος ἐπιδημίαν καὶ σχετῶν πνεῦμα ἐσόμενον). Cf. Cook, 1895, 7, who also refers to “Iamnos, son of Apollo by Euadne, from whom the prophetic Iamidae traced their descent, and who was fed by two snakes with blameless bee-honey (αἵμαρβείς ἐς μελισσάν, according to Pindar, Ol., VI, 45 ff.). Moreover, “the oracle of Trophonios was made known to the Boeotians by means of a swarm of bees” (cf. Pausanias, IX, 40, 1: τὸ δὲ μαυτεῖον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῦτο οὐ πεπομένοι πρότερον ἐπ’ αὐτί τοιδε ἔγνωσαν, θεωρῶν αὐτ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἀνδρὰς ἀποστέλλουσαν ἐς Δέλφους· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφαίρος ἔτος δεύτερον ἦν ὁ θεὸς, τούτοις αὐτοῦ ἔτος ἑπανόρθωμα τοῦ ἀχύμου προσέταξεν ἢ Πυθία παρὰ Τροφίωνος ἑς Λεβάδεαν ἐλθοῦσιν εὑρασαί παρὰ ἑκείνου τὸ ἱαμα, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λεβάδεαν ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἑδώναυτο εὑρέθερ τὸ μαυτεῖον, ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐς ‘Ἄκραφινποίκες Σάων ὀὔτε δὲ ἢν καὶ ἥμικα τῶν θεωρῶν πρεσβύτατος-εἶδεν ἑσόμιον μελισσῶν, καὶ παρέστη οἷς ὡς ὅτι ποτ’ ἂν ἀποτράπησαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέσπευσαι, αὐτίκα δὴ τὰς μελίσσας ἐς τοῦτο ἐσπερομένας ὀρα τῆς γῆς, καὶ συνεστήθη σφαίρ οὕς τὸ μαυτεῖον).

B. Concerning the analogy between bees and Muses, Varro, De re rustica, III, 16, 7, states that the bees were called flying creatures of the Muses (apes… musarum esse dicuntur volucres, quod et, si quando displicatae sunt, cymbalis et
Plancamitiam commentarii, ejn eu'qen melitt'w'n ejn toi'" ceivlesin aujtou' kaqivsasai uJph'/don, th' n tou' katevkline Plavtwna ejn tai'" plhsivon murrivnai" daseivai" ou[sai" kai; puknai". kaqeuvdonti de; ejsmo;" Arivstwno" ejn ÔUmhttw'/ tai'" Mouvsai" h] tai'" nuvmfai", oi} me;n pro;" th' n iJerourgivan h
Aelian.,

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Pliny_th
ore infantis tum etiam Platonis, suavitatem illam praedulcis eloquii portendentes,
http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione1.shtml#78, as consulted on November 3rd 2004), and II, 31, 66 (apes, quas distixi in labris Platonis consedisse pueri, quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione2.shtml#66, as consulted on November 3rd 2004); Valer. Max., I, 6, ext. 3 (Formicis Midae iare meritoque apes Platonis praetulerim: illae enim caducae ac fragilis, hae solidae et aeternae felicitatis indices exti
ext. 3 (http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione1.shtml#78, as consulted on November 3rd 2004)), and II, 31, 66 (apes, quas distixi in labris Platonis consedisse pueri, quoted from http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione2.shtml#66, as consulted on November 3rd 2004); Valer. Max., I, 6, ext. 3 (Formicis Midae iare meritoque apes Platonis praetulerim: illae enim caducae ac fragilis, hae solidae et aeternae felicitatis indices exti

...
In this respect, Artemidorus, V, 83 says that honey represents the eloquence of wisdom (ἐστήμα αὐτὸ τοῦ μέλι τῆς σοφίας). According to Cook, 1895, 8, “in like manner the Muses as patrons of divine song are akin to bees” (cf. AP, IX, 505, 5-6: Ἐνέργησε διότι πολυτροπίας λεγαίνει, η πνεύμα σοφῆς ὄχημάς ἐπιστείρουσα μελίσσης). The Muses “sent bees to feed their favourite, the Sicilian Komatas, who sacrificed his master’s goats to them, and was by way of punishment confined for two months in a wooden chest” (cf. Theoc. Id., VII, 78-85: ἄσει δ’ ὡς ποι’ ἐδέκτο τὸν ἀιώλον οὐφρά νάρκαζ / ζώων ἐόντα κακαίσαι ἀτασθαλίασιν ἀνακτος, / ὡς τε τιν τιν αἰ σμαί λειμωνόθη φέρθον ιοήσαι / κέδρον ἐς ἀδείαν μαλακίς ἀφθέγεσι μέλισσαι, / οὐνεκά οί ἱλικι Μοῖσα κατὰ στόματος χέε νεκταρ. / ὃ μακαριστῆ Κομάτα, τῷ τθν τάξει τερπινὰ πεπανθεὶς / καί τὸ κατεκκλάσθης ἐς λάρνακα, καὶ τῷ μελισσάν / κηρία φερβόμενος ἐτος ὄριον ἐξεποίνασας); “sometimes they [sc. “the Muses”] appeared in insect form. It was as a swarm of bees that they guided the Athenian colonists to Ionia” (Philostratus, Imagines, II, 8, 5: Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Μύθῃς ὀτὲ ἀπίρκειοι, Μοῖσα ἠγούντο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν εἴδει μελιτων; Himerius, 59, 1: Ἰωαῖς ὁ ἔριος, γένος Ἀττικῶν· φέρε αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τέττιγος τῆς μητρόπολος τῷ λόγῳ δείξωμεν, μελίττα γὰρ ἀπεινόν αὐτοῖς ἐπ’ Ἰωάννῃ ἠγόστο).  

391 Cf. Cook, 1895, 12. It is a golden plaque, brought from Camiros in Rhodes, embossed with the design of a winged female, who from the waist downward has the body of a bee. Cook does not interpret this human female, who from the waist downward has the body of a bee. Cook does not interpret this human female, who from the waist downward has the body of a bee.  

392 Cf. Bader, 1994. Some poets were named “bees,” as Phrynichus (cf. Aristophanes, Birds, 748-51: έιδεθεν ὑποπερεὶ μέλιττα Φρύνικος ἀμφροσίων μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπόν ἀεὶ φέρων γλυκειαν ώδαν) or Sophocles (Suda, o, 815, 5: προσορισσεῦθη δὲ Μελίττα διὰ τό γλυκό; scholion to Aristophanes, Wasps, 462b: Σοφοκλῆς ἡδός· δεό καὶ μελιττα ἐκαλείτο). Aristophanes mentions the “bees of the Muse” in Ecclesiazousai, 973 (μέλιττα Μούσης).  

393 Cf. Pausanias, X, 5, 9 (περιβάλλει δὲ τῶν ναῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ ἄρχοισταν δάφνης φασὶ, κοιμάθηται δὲ τοῖς κλάδοις ἀπὸ τῆς δάφνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι· καλύβης δὲ ἀν σχήμα ωτὸς γε ἂν εἰς παρεσοχηματισμένος ὁ ναὸς, δεύτερα δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοί γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τῶν ναῶν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἕκ πτερῶν περιβαλθήμενα δὲ ἐς ὑπερβορέεως φασίν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος). Strabo, IX, 3, 9, is perhaps the first direct source to mention this temple “made of wings” (Τῶν δὲ ναῶν τῶν μὲν πτερίνων εἰς τοὺς μύθους τακτέονα; but Stobaeus included in his Anthology (III, 21, 26) a passage by Porphyrius (Περὶ τοῦ γνώθι σαυτόν, α’, fr. 273 Smith), who quoted Aristotle for that issue (ἐν τῷ ἑρμηθείνη νεῦ μετὰ τῶν πτερινῶν τε καὶ χαλκοῦν, καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας [fr. 28 Gigon, 3 Rose] ἔιρηκεν); cf. thereafter Ps. Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 29 (ἐν ὑπερβορείοις οὐ καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτερῖνος; Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, VI, 10 ὡςίσης γὰρ ποτε καὶ λιθῆν στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὕτως, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ἄνωπλή κηρᾶ, ἃς ἦς ξυμβαλλέσθαι λέγουσι καλύττα μὲν κηρῖν, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρθας; Plutarch, De Pythiae oraculis, 402d 4-9 (τὰς δὲ Μοῦσας ἱδρύσαυτο παρεδρῶς τῆς ματικῆς καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ νάμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἢς λέγεται τὸ μαυτείον γενέσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἐν
μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι χρησμωδέαν. ἕνοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα φασιν ἥρων μέτρον ἀκουσθῆραι, "συμφέρετε πτερά 〈τ〉, οἰωνοί, κηρὸν τε, μέλεσα""). Vid. Cook, 1895, 4-5 with nn. 27 and 29, and Frazer, 1913, vol. V, p. 239. We shall discuss the presence of Siren-like creatures as part of the decoration of the Delphic temple in III. 4.

394 Homeric Hymn to Hermes, vv. 552-64: σεμναῖ γὰρ τινες εἰσὶ κατήγινται γεγαύι / παρθενοὶ ὀκείσην ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσι / τρεῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατός πεπαλαγμέναι ἀλφίτα λευκά / οίκια ναιετώσιμον ὑπὸ πτυχῆς Παρμησόου / μαντείας ἀπανθίει διδάσκαλοι ἦν ἐπὶ βουσὶ / παῖς ἔτε ʼἐὼν μελέτησα· πατὴρ δ’ ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιηζεν. / ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἐπείτα ποτάμεινα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη / κηρία βόσκονται καὶ τε κραίνουσιν ἐκαστα. / αἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θυσίων ἐδηνύαι μέλι χλωρῶν / προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείαν ἀγορεύειν: / ἣν δ’ ἀπονοσιμαθῶς θεω ἠδειαν ἐδωδῆν / ἠθεότοτο δὴ ἐπείτα δε’ ἀλλήλων δοιεύουσαι. / τὰς το δὲπείτε διὸμι,... About all this matter, cf. Cook, 1895; Boyancé, 1938, 315; Germain, 1954, 389, and Iriarte, 1992, 3 and 8, n. 14 to p. 3. In this connexion, we may remember that the Pythia was also nick-named “Bee”; cf. Pindar, Fourth Pythian Ode, v. 60 (χρησμὸς ὀρθωθεὶς μελίσσας Δελφικὸς αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ), and sch. in Pi. P. 4, 106 ὅτι δὲ τὰς περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διατελοῦσας καὶ Μελίσσας ἐλέγον, Μινασέας ὁ Παταρεύς (FGH ΙΙΙ p. 150) ἀφηγεῖται λέγων, ὡς κατέστασαν αὐτὰ σαρκοφαγοῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πείσασι τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δεινῶν χρήσατα τροφή, καθ’ ὃν καιρὸν καὶ Μέλισσα μία τῆς αὐτῶν κηρία μέλιτος εὕρεσις πρώτη ἐφαγε καὶ ὑδάτι μείζονα ἐπεί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὲ ἐδίδαξε, καὶ τὰ ζύμα μελίσσας ἔξ ἐαυτῆς ἐκάλεσε, καὶ φυλακήν πλείστην ἑποίησαντο ταῦτα δὲ φήσαι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ γενέσθαι (... ἄλλως· χρησμὸς μελίσσας· τῆς Δελφικῆς ἱερείας· φήσι δὲ τῆς Πυθόνος); Servius, in Aen. I, 430, quoted in n. 389; Porphyrius, De antro nympharum, 18 (καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερεῖας ὡς τῆς χθώνιας θεᾶς μύστιδες μελίσσας οἱ παλαιὰ ἐκάλουν αὐτὴν τῇ τὴν Κόρην Μελιτώδη); Hesychius, μ, 719 (μελίσσας· αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες· cf. Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, 110: Δηοί δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὤδωρ φορέωσι καὶ Μελίσσας).


396 Boyancé, 1938, 315. For the Delphic Muses mentioned by Plutarch, cf. II. 3.

397 Taken as Moirai, they were associated by Plutarch with cosmic regions as well; cf. Plutarch, De facie in orbe Lunae, 945c-d, quoted in II. 2., n. 183 B.

About the winged Sirens being three, cf. Eustathius, *Ad Od.*, vol. 2, p. 5, ll. 19-21. Stallbaum, quoted in the n. 361 to the section A. “Some Mythographic Details”, in this same chapter. On the Pythagorean aphorism about Delphi being the *tetraktys*, that is, the *harmonia* in which the Sirens abode, cf. II. 1. b.

Cf. Boyancé, 1951, and our section II. 1. b, paragraph corresponding to notes 23-26.

This could explain why Plutarch insists that the Muses Hypate, Mese, and Nete did not correspond to the strings of the lyre the names of which they bear: if Boyancé’s hypothesis and ours are correct, the Muses Hypate, Mese, and Nete would be another “mutation” of the three “Thríai,” who, as Sirens, had been linked with the proportions between the terms of the *tetraktys*, not with those terms (that is, with the string-lengths) themselves.

Cf. Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 1017d 4 – e 1, and *ibid.*, 1029c 3 – d 1, both texts quoted in n. 28 to II. 1.

Cf. Boyancé, 1951, and our section II. 1. b, paragraph corresponding to notes 23-26.

Discussed in II. 1. c.

Dicks, 1970, 111, infers that the eight whorls correspond with those celestial regions on the ground that the outermost one is said by Plato to be variegated (*R.*, 616e 8-9: καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου πολκίλου), which may be an allusion to the fixed stars; the eighth one, counting from outside inwards, is said to receive its color from the seventh one (*R.*, 616e 9-617a 1: τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὄγδον τὸ χρώμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔχειν προσλάμποντος), which may be interpreted as the Moon receiving its light from the Sun; the fourth whorl is said to be reddish (*R.*, 617a 4: υπέρθρων), which may refer to Mars; the eighth whorl is said to be the fastest, and the seventh, sixth, and fifth whorls are said to have the same velocity, which may correspond to the velocity of the Moon and to the belief that the Sun, Mercurius, and Venus have equal velocities (*R.*, 617a-b: αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τάχιστα μὲν ἴναι τὸν ὄγδοο, δευτέρους δὲ καὶ ἀμα ἄλλησις τὸν τε ἐβδόμον καὶ ἐκτον καὶ πέμπτον; *cf.* *Tim.*, 38d: ἐωσφόρον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἐρμοῦ λεγόμενον εἰς [τὸν] τάχει μὲν ἵσδρομον ἡλίω κύκλων ἱόντα*).

Cf. Harrison, 1882, 166.

Vid. Aristides Quintilianus, I, 9: γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τετραχορδικαὶ διαιρέσεις, αἷς καὶ οἱ παίνει παλαιότατοι πρὸς τὰς ἀρμονίας κέχρηται, ἐνίοτε μὲν οὖν αὕτω τέλειον ὀκτάχορδόν ἐπιλήψον, ἐσθ’ ὀπι δὲ καὶ μείζον ἐξατόμον σύστημα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐλαττών οὐδὲ γάρ πάντας παρελάμβανον ἀεὶ τοὺς φθόγγους. On this, cf. Mathiesen, 1983, 20 and 85. Cf. also Aristoxenus, *Elementa harmonica*, p. 6, l. 13-16 Da Rios (περὶ συστημάτων ὀκταχόρδων ἐναρμονίων μόνον ἔλεγον: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μεγεθῶν τε καὶ σχημάτων ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ γένει τοῦτω καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδέις οὐδ’ ἐπεχείρει καταμαθθάνειν) and the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, 920a 14-18 (Διὰ τὶ διὰ πασῶν καλεῖται, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διʻ ὀκτὼ, ὅσπερ καὶ διὰ τεττάρων καὶ διὰ πέντε; ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ ἦσαν αἱ χορδαὶ τὸ ἄρχαῖον,...; *ibid.*, 922a 21-23 (Διὰ τὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ μέσῃ καλεῖται, τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ οὐκ ἔστι μέσων; ἢ ὅτι ἐπτάχορδοι ἦσαν αἱ ἀρμονία τὸ παλαιόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔχει μέσων:). Nicomachus of Gerasa alludes to seven-note scales, for example, in *Enchiridion*, 3, p. 242 Jan (μεσή διὰ τετσάρων πρὸς ἀμφότερα άκρα ἐν τῇ ἐπταχόρδῳ κατὰ τὸ παλαιόν διεστώσα), and *ibid.*, 7, p. 249 Jan (ἐν τῇ ἀρχαιοτέρᾳ τῇ ἐπταχόρδῳ).

Although Aristotle was not a music theorist, and his thought was far from the Pythagoreans, he was probably transmitting an authentic Pythagorean tradition in that passage; cf. our discussion in II. 4.

III. 4. Auf Flügeln der “Íynges” nach Osten?

The aim of this chapter is to explore the role of the íynges (a certain rank of divinities in the system of the so-called Chaldean oracles) as a hypothetical transition figure between the Sirens (Pagan bearers of the music of the spheres) and their Christian counterparts (the angelic hierarchies). We are going to show that an antecedent to these divinities, long before their appearance in the Chaldean oracles and in their Neoplatonic exegeses, could have been present in the Delphic oracle, and that the íynges have some traits in common with the Sirens as bearers of cosmic harmony.

a) A Missing Link Between Sirens and Íynges:

The Mystery of the Delphic Kēlēdōnes

We have already mentioned the Pythagorean aphorism stating that the Delphic oracle is the tetraktys, the harmony in which the Sirens abide. In the previous section we presented and developed the hypothesis of Delatte and Boyancé, who tried to explain this aphorism on the ground of the Delphic realia. In this connection, Delatte said that, since the Sirens had the gift of prophecy, they appeared near Apollo in Greek art, and, to judge from Pausanias, it seems possible that they—or certain beings closely akin to them—were represented in the decoration of the Delphic temple. The appearance of the Delphic sanctuary might therefore have inspired the Pythagorean aphorism to a certain degree. Those Siren-like figures might be the golden Kēlēdōnes (“charmers”) that were represented singing over the gable of that temple, described by Pindar in a fragment
quoted by Pausanias. For the latter, being rather skeptical about this point, these Kēlēdōnes were only an imitation of the Homeric Sirens. This might be true, but Pindar does not say anything about the appearance of the Kēlēdōnes. The verb kēléō, from which Kēlēdōnes is derived, was used to mean the Sirens’ enticing song but Eustathius thinks that Kēlēdōnes and Sirens are different beings. Still, these Kēlēdōnes sing, like the Sirens, and to judge from other verses of Pindar’s fragment, seem to have the oracular power of the Sirens as well as their fascinating voices, which made the visitors “waste away apart from children and wives, hanging up their spirit as a dedication to the sweet voice.” They could appear in funerary art, too, like the Sirens: according to the Life of Sophocles, there was “a Siren, or, according to others, a Kēlēdôn” on the tomb of the great tragic poet.\textsuperscript{412} Beyond all this, there is no trace of any relationship between Kēlēdōnes and heavenly bodies or harmony; thus, if the Delphic Kēlēdōnes inspired the Pythagorean ākousma about the Sirens and Delphi, the link between Sirens and harmony (in the ākousma) could be a Pythagorean addition.

b) The Delphic Íynges

The Kēlēdōnes do not seem to have anything to do with the music of the spheres, but Philostratus description of the Delphic temple refers to other figures similar to the Sirens: the Íynges, which do have some tenuous links with cosmic music. Without specifying their actual placement, Philostratus says that there were some Íynges attached to the temple (he does not specify whether they were literally attached or represented in a sculpture or relief), and that they possessed the enticing power of the Sirens.\textsuperscript{413} What
were these íynges?

The primary meaning of the name íynx (plur. íynges) is “wryneck” (*Lynx torquilla*).

To judge from Pindar’s *Fourth Pythian Ode* (one of our first sources about the magic use of the íynx) this bird, attached to a revolving wheel, was employed as a talisman to persuade untrue lovers to return:

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But the sovereign of swiftest darts,
Cyprogeneia, binding
the dappled wryneck
four-spoked upon an indissoluble wheel
first brought the maddening bird
to human kind and thus taught Aeson's son
skill in invocations and incantations,
that he might strip Medea of all reverence
for her parents and that Hellas, fiercely desired,
might set her whirling, as she blazed in spirit,
with the scourge of Persuasion.
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Later, the word íynx was used to refer to the wheel to which the bird was tied, even when no bird was attached to it, and it came to mean "enchantment." According to Sarah Iles Johnston,

most scholars equate the iynx-wheel with a device frequently illustrated in vase paintings that resembles a child’s toy still in use today. A string or thong was passed first through one and then through the other of two holes pierced in the middle of a four-spoked disk. Finally, the string was tied together so as to form a loop. By alternately increasing and relaxing the tension of the two sides of the loop, the operator caused the disk to spin.

That the íynges were birds and related to magic might link them with the Sirens. According to Antoninus Liberalis, the Ematids, after a musical contest with the Muses, were transformed into birds, one of them into an íynx. As Luisa Breglia Pulci Doria has rightly pointed out, this seems to be the reversal of the myth of the loss of wings by the Sirens following their contest with the Muses. In a scholion to Theocritus, Íynx is said to have been a nymph metamorphosed by Hera into a bird for having beguiled Zeus (this suggests an erotic and persuasive power like that of the Sirens). The íynx has some connections with music as well: we have seen that according to Antoninus Liberalis, the íynx resulted from a musical contest; on the other hand, the scholion to Theocritus says that Íynx was the daughter of Echo. Its voice was said to be similar to the sound of an aulós, and its name was used to designate a kind of syrinx and a kind of kithara. Last, but perhaps not least, it is possible that an íynx was represented as a bird with human head (that is, like a Siren) on a Corinthian vase from 625-600 B. C. E., now seemingly lost.

Now we must return to the Delphic íynges. Apart from mentioning the íynges in his description of Apollo’s temple at Delphi, Philostratus mentions them in another
passage as part of the decoration of the royal palace at Babylon (Life of Apollonius of Tyana, 1, 25). There the ceiling of the justice-hall represented heaven, from which four íynges hung, which the magoi called “tongues of the gods.” Philostratus adds that those íynges were tuned (ἀριστήρας σεβάσματος) by the magoi.\(^{423}\) If we knew whether these íynges of Babylon were talismans or statues of the bird called íynx, we would know more exactly what the Delphic íynges were.

Sarah Iles Johnston has rightly pointed out that Philostratus’ reference to “tuning” would make “easiest to understand those íynges as golden versions of the íynx-wheel\(^{424}\) rather than as statues of íynx-birds. The noise made by such a tool can, in fact, be altered by changing the diameter, thickness and material of which the wheel is made, the contours of its spokes and rim, the length and material of the attached cord and the speed at which it is turned,” whereas “it is difficult to see how a statue of a bird, in contrast, could be ‘tuned’ so as to produce various sounds.”\(^{425}\) These íynges, however, seemed to play an oracular role like that of the birds mentioned in a similar context in the Historia Alexandri Magni,\(^{426}\) and that could as well suggest that they were birds, besides reminding us of the role of the Kēlēdōnes at Delphi. As Sarah Iles Johnston has said: “It is tempting to understand the Delphic íynges, in contrast to those in the Babylonian judgment hall, as decorative statues of birds, since they were attached to the pediment of a temple,”\(^{427}\) but, according to Pindar, it was the Kēlēdōnes, not the íynges, that were attached to the pediment of the temple and sang from above it.\(^{428}\) As to the Babylonian and Delphic íynges, the words employed by Philostratus (apokremánνµ, anáptō) mean hang up,\(^{429}\) which distinguishes their position from that of the Kēlēdōnes: the latter were above the gable.
These minor quibbles notwithstanding, Johnston’s argument reminds us further that the pseudo-Aristotelian **Mechanics** mentions “wheels of brass and iron that they make and dedicate in temples”; likewise, the second-century B. C. E. grammarian Dionysius of Thrace mentions “wheels that turn in the precincts of the gods.” Moreover, Johnston identifies those wheels with the ones seen hanging from the ceilings of temples in a number of fourth-century B. C. E. Apulian vase paintings: for example, a volute krater in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli (No. 82270, H 3249, ca. 370-360 B. C. E.; our pl. 35) shows two of these wheels hanging from the roof of Apollo’s temple in Delphi.
Perhaps the Pythagorean ἀκουσμα about Delphi, the harmonia and the Sirens alluded collectively to those ἰνγες-wheels: perhaps there were no Sirens in the sanctuary and the aphorism used their name to conceal a reference to the ἰνγες. According to A. B. Cook, these wheels are commonly supposed to be chariot wheels, but we should hardly imagine that they were habitually hung from the ceiling of a palace, still less from that of a temple. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the wheels depending from the roof of temple and palace are rather to be interpreted as magic wheels of a prophylactic sort, in a word as ἰνγες.

Cook suggested that the presence of the ἰνγες-wheels at Delphi was due to the partially solar character of both Apollo and the ἱναξ itself: a four-spoked wheel and a bird which can effect a complete rotation of its neck could represent the Sun. In Cook’s words,

if the ἱναξ-wheel was indeed a representation of the sun, we might reasonably expect to find it in the entourage of Apollon. For this god, though not himself primarily or originally solar, can be shown to have absorbed into his cult certain features of early sun-magic.

In II. 3., we saw that, although Apollo and the Sun are distinct from one another in the earliest sources, they became identified in Classical times. Nevertheless, apart from literary or speculative manifestations, that identification found only weak responses in Greek cults. According to L. R. Farnell, as regards explicit identification of Apollo with Helios the cults that attest it belong to Asia Minor; and the evidence, drawn from inscriptions or coins of Patara, Thyateira, Smyrna, Tralles, and Phrygia, is mainly of the late Roman and in no case of the Hellenic period. Dio Chrysostomus indeed speaks as if the Rhodians regarded the two gods as one, but the record of the Helios cult at Rhodes fails to confirm his statement; which is further damaged by his affirming that Dionysos was included in this Rhodian Trinity. Such testimony coming from the latter days of Paganism proves nothing of the earlier period of worship, still less can it reveal the aboriginal character of the deity.
Nevertheless, when the vase painters depict wheels hanging from the ceiling of the temples (although not always from that of the Delphic temple of Apollo), the equation of Apollo with the Sun was already current.

The Sirens of the Pythagorean ákousma about the Delphic oracle may be a metaphor for the hanging íynges-wheels we have discussed so far. The literary texts do not say that the Kēlēdōnes and íynges were Sirens, or that there were Sirens at Delphi: they only compare the Delphic Kēlēdōnes and íynges with Sirens, and this comparison most likely refers only to the seductive quality of their sounds, not to their physiognomy. An identification of the Delphic íynges with the hanging wheels represented on vase paintings, taken together with Pindar’s statement that the Kēlēdōnes sang from above the pediment of the temple, makes it possible to identify the Kēlēdōnes as akrōtēria, as Furtwängler proposed. It seems that Pindar and Philostratus were talking about different things and that Philostratus did not use íynges to mean the same thing Pindar meant when he used Kēlēdōnes. In fact, Pindar’s Kēlēdōnes could represent the Thríai-bees-Muses mentioned at the end of III. 3 of this study, and thus Pausanias might well have said that they were an imitation of the Sirens, while Eustathius stated that they were not identical.

c) Philostratus and the Babylonian Íynges

The Íynges-wheels, however, lack the determining characteristic we have required so far: the wings. Moreover, they seem to lack any link with the harmony of the spheres. Yet íynx is also a divinity whose link with the harmony of the spheres is quite tenuous but
who shares many traits with the angelic hierarchies. The path towards this divine íynx may be found among the íynges hanging from the ceilings of the Delphic temple and especially of the Babylonian palace, described by Philostratus.

The solar association of the Delphic íynges (assuming that they were wheels hung from the temples’ ceiling, as we have shown above) can also be detected in the íynges of the Babylonian palace, described by Philostratus. As we saw, “in describing the palace of the king of Babylon” Philostratus “mentions ‘a hall, whose ceiling was vaulted like a sky and roofed with sapphire, a stone of the bluest and most heavenly colour. Images of the gods whom they worship are set up above, and appear as golden figures emerging from the upper air. Here the king passes judgment; and íynges of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Necessity and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. These the Magicians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods.’” Cook attempted “to elucidate Philostratos’ account in the light of a stone tablet found by the veteran explorer Mr. Hormuzd Rassam at Abû-Habbah, the site of the old Babylonian city Sippar” (our pl. 36). Cook quoted the “official description” of that monument, now at the British Museum, as follows:

Tablet sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the Temple of Sippar, and inscribed with a record of the restoration of the temple by Nabu-pal-idinna, king of Babylonia, about B. C. 870. In the upper part of the tablet the Sun-god is seen seated within a shrine upon a throne, the sides of which are sculptured with figures of mythical beings in relief; in his right hand he holds a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun’s orbit, or eternity.
Above his head are the three symbols of the Moon and the Sun and the planet Venus. The roof of the shrine is supported by a column in the form of a palm-trunk. Before the shrine upon an altar or table stands the disk of the sun, which is held in position by means of ropes tightly drawn in the hands of two divine beings who form part of the celestial canopy.446 Approaching the disk are
three human figures; the first of these is the high priest of the Sun-god, who is leading by the hand the king to do worship to the symbol of the solar deity, and the last figure is either an attendant priest or a royal minister.\textsuperscript{447} The shrine of the god stands upon the Celestial Ocean, and the four small disks upon which it rests seem to indicate the four cardinal points. The text describes the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-god by two kings called Simmash-Shikhu (about B.C. 1050) and E-ulbar-shakin-shum (about B.C. 1020). It then goes on to say that Nabû-pal-idinna, king of Babylonia, found and restored the ancient image of the Sun-god and the sculptures of the temple, which had been overthrown by the enemies of the country…. He also beautified the ancient figure of the Sun-god with gold and lapis-lazuli…. This tablet was made by Nabû-pal-idinna in the ninth century before Christ, but he probably copied the sculptured scene at the top from a relief of a very much older period.\textsuperscript{448}

In Cook’s opinion,

comparing now the tablet with the words of Philostratos, we note that it exhibits a throne-room with a ceiling vaulted like the sky, from which emerge certain divine figures. It also mentions lapis-lazuli and gold, thereby recalling the sapphire vault and golden images of the Greek author. Above all, the solar disk suspended by cords and the emblems of sun, moon, and star seen beneath the ceiling are analogous to the four "ýnges" said to have been hung from the roof.

Thus, Cook ventured to conclude that Philostratos was not talking at random, but was describing an actual chamber in the Babylonian palace, such as we know to have been constructed by several grandees from that day to this.\textsuperscript{449} Golden disks representing the principal heavenly bodies there dangle from a mimic sky. That of the sun, upheld by two genii of gold, announced by its mobility and resonance the divine will. Indeed, all alike were known as 'the voices of the gods.'\textsuperscript{450}

Cook went further and speculated that the Delphic wheels were suspended from the hands of siren-like figures placed upon the roof much as we see the solar disk suspended on the Babylonian tablet.\textsuperscript{451}
Seductive as this is, we do not know any evidence of those wheels being held by any figures in Delphi.

d) The Chaldean Íynges

There is no evidence, so far as we know, of the Íynx-bird, the wryneck, being sacred or used for magical purposes among the ancient Babylonians, but in the fifth century C. E., Marinus states, in his Life of Proclus, that Proclus was purified by Chaldean rites “and by moving a certain Íynx in the correct manner caused a rain-fall and freed Attike from a destructive drought.” This represents an extension of the magic uses of the Íynx. Relating it to the Chaldeans was a well-known trick to give such practices an exotic aura of respectable antiquity, but it is likely that the Íynx described by Marinus was not the Íynx found in Pindar and Theocritus. Rather it was another kind of magical device, described by Michael Psellos (eleventh century C. E.) in these terms:

Hekate’s top is a golden ball, formed around a sapphire, whirled around by means of a rawhide thong, with characters [engraved] all over it. Wirling it, [the theurgists] used to make invocations. And they were accustomed to call these [tops] ‘íynges,’ whether they were spherical or triangular or of some other shape. Whirling them, [the whirlers] gave forth indiscriminate sounds, or sounds like a beast, laughing and whipping the air. [The Oracle] teaches that the movement of the top, having an ineffable power, works the rite. It is called ‘Hekate’s top’ because it is consecrated to Hekate.

The interesting fact is that Psellos mentions this in a commentary on the so-called Chaldean Oracles, a collection of mystico-magical poems forged by the second century C. E. and often quoted and discussed by Proclus and other Neoplatonists. In these poems and in their Neoplatonic exegeses, the íynges are a kind of divinity corresponding to a
certain degree of emanation of the Universe, who share certain characteristics (even a certain connection with cosmic harmony) both with Sirens and with the angelic hierarchies. These ïnges may represent a “missing link” between Sirens and angels as bearers of cosmic harmony.

Michael Psellos, in the same Commentary on the Chaldean oracles, states that the ïnges are “powers” formed after the Paternal abyss. This is explained by Psellus in his Summarized and concise exposition of the Chaldean doctrines:

[The Chaldeans] believed in a principle of all things, which they praise as “the One” and “the Good.” Thereafter they worship a certain “Paternal abyss,” consisting of three triads. Every triad has Father, Power, and Intellect. Then there is the intelligible Íynx.

If we now return to the Neoplatonic philosophers who dealt with the Chaldean oracles, we find that Psellos’s statements are not far from those of his predecessors, for Proclus shows the ïnges as intermediate beings between the Father and the World. Incidentally, this characterization allows for a deeper understanding of the function of the Babylonian ïnges. Sarah Iles Johnston observes:

The stated purpose of the iynges’ presence inside the hall is to remind the king of his place within that universe. The iynges also remind him of man’s separation from and subordination to the gods by reminding him of Adrasteia; in later antiquity, this goddess—scarcely more than a personification—commonly represented the prerogative of the omnipotent gods to reward or punish men. These golden iynges, then, suspended between the gods on the roof and the king on his throne, reminded the king of the basically bilateral division of the universe into human and divine portions and the corresponding division between man and god.

The iynges were not merely symbolic ornaments, however. They also had a magical function, from which, indeed, the symbolic function probably arose. Their magical potential is indicated by Philostratus’ statement that their maintenance was the responsibility of the Magi—well known in Graeco-Roman antiquity as magicians par excellence. The verb that Philostratus uses to describe
this maintenance, “ἀρμόττεσθαι,” was translated above as “harmonize” or “attune;” it indicates that the Magi carefully brought the iynges into the correct relationship with something else. Considering the rest of the passage, it seems likely that what they were brought into harmony with were the immortal and mortal elements of the universe, embodied on the one hand by the figures of the gods, poised above the iynges, and on the other hand by the Babylonian king, who sitting in judgment below represented his subjects as a whole. The possibility of the Magi bringing the iynges into simultaneous harmony with both immortal and mortal makes the iynges a potential link or connective element between the divine and human worlds, as well as a symbol of their separation. Given the right knowledge, in other words, the Magi would be able to use the iynges to bridge the gulf between god and man. Philostratus’ statement that the Magi called the iynges “tongues of the gods” supports this—the name suggests that they were transmitters of divine knowledge or oracles to men. Generally, the whole picture brings to mind the mediating duties of the Chaldean iynges.459

It is possible, then, that Philostratus was reflecting the doctrines of the Chaldean oracles (or other sources from which those might have been developed) in his “archaeological” description of the Babylonian palace. Other sources also suggest that iynyx-wheels created sympathy, according to the magoi.460 In the account by Psellos, we saw that the iynges of the magoi, just like those mentioned by Pindar and Theocritus, were whirled, and it is interesting to note that the activity of the iynges as daemones is often “described in terms of whirling or rushing movement.”461 For example, in a fragment of the Chaldean Oracles, we read: “But the sacred name just with a ceaseless whirl leaps into the spheres at the energetic command of the Father,”462 where the “sacred name” that leaps into the spheres probably represents the iynges, to judge from Proclus’s Commentary on Plato’s Alcibiades, in which a “mediating name” is said to leap into the spheres.463 Proclus again qualified the name of the iynges as “mediating” in his
commentaries to Plato’s *Cratylus*. In Johnston’s words: “modern experiments, including some reported by Gow, have shown that the whirling of iynx-wheels—particularly those with serrations—produces a high-pitched, whistling sound; its sound was at least as important as its motion,” because “the sympathetic importance of the sound made by the whirling iynx-wheel fits in with the general importance of sounds in magical or theurgical acts. To take but two examples: magicians believed that the correct pronunciation of each of the seven Greek vowels affected one of the seven astral spheres and therefore aided in invoking and controlling the spheres’ divinities; the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, similarly, each had its twin in the twenty-four elements of the cosmos. St. Augustine remarks that the sympathetic tools of the theurgist included “certain sounds and words.”

From all this, we might deduce a connection between the harmony of the spheres and the *íynges* as Chaldean divinities. In the fragment of the *Chaldean Oracles* quoted above, the *íynges* “leap into the spheres,” and we find the same idea in another fragment, quoted by Damascius:

> For certainly the *íynges* are not only three, but more: actually, the god of the oracles says:

> “These stand in huge number upon the radiant spheres unto which they leap; among them the excellences are three: <the fiery one, the aetherial one, and the material one>.”

Here we understand the Greek *κόσμου* as “cosmic spheres” or at least “cosmic regions,” on the ground of the use of that word in other fragments of the *Chaldean Oracles*. In respect to this, Johnston has developed a suggestion by Lewy, according to whom “the spinning motion of the iynx-top was imagined to affect *per analogiam* the revolution of the heavenly spheres, and thus to attract the celestial iynges who ‘leap into’ them.” According to Johnston,
as the iynx-wheel was able to be “attuned” or “harmonized” (that is, the pitch of the sound could be altered by changing the size of the wheel or its serrations), individual iynx-wheels were intended to affect—and thus control—individual celestial spheres by imitating not only the spheres’ motion but also the specific tones that they contributed to the music of the spheres.⁴⁷¹

And she concludes:

If the hypothesis that a iynx-wheel’s tone strengthened sympatheia by mimicking the tone emitted by a cosmic sphere is correct, then it is likely that this idea was influenced by the Republic’s portrayal of the Sirens riding on cosmic spheres and helping to produce their music.⁴⁷²

Such may have been the link between íynges and the harmony of the spheres. But there is still another important coincidence between the Chaldean íynges and the cosmic Sirens described by Plutarch: the former were also thought to have the function of leading the souls upwards.⁴⁷³ Some of these features bring the Chaldean íynges close to the angelic hierarchies among Jews, Christians, and Muslims: the angels are organized into ranks or hierarchies as well,⁴⁷⁴ they are linked with different regions of the Universe, they lead the souls toward the heavenly paradise, and they are mediators between God and the world.⁴⁷⁵ Finally, their wings make them similar to the Sirens and to the Pleiads, who were said to have become doves before their metamorphosis into a constellation, and whom the Pythagoreans called “the lyre of the Muses.” We may remember here the curious text according to which each of the Pleiads leads the archangels of each heavenly sphere.⁴⁷⁶ But what about the íynges? Besides the íynx being a bird in nature,⁴⁷⁷ were the íynges-divinities imagined as winged beings? There is almost no evidence of this. Johnston has suggested that a passage from Damascius’s Vita Isidori could imply that “the Chaldeans also incorporated the traditional avian aspects of the iynx into their hybrid portrait.” The text does not mention the íynges but says that the Chaldeans imitated the
sound of the wings of “other birds and little house sparrows when they are rousing themselves to take flight.” Those “other birds” may have included the ἰῡγεῖς: as Johnston puts it, “perhaps the manipulation of the iynx as a symbolon was accomplished not only by the whirling of the iynx-wheel or invocation of the iynx-daemon but also by the imitation of the iynx-bird’s cries and motions. This would agree with Psellus’ statement that the theurgists made sounds like beasts when using the iynx.”

There are some further dubious hints at a connexion between the ἰῡγεῖς and the music of the spheres. These hints depend on the identity between the ἰῡγεῖς and the Ideas, suggested by some fragments of the Chaldean Oracles: for example, the ἰῡγεῖς are said to be “thought by the Father and also think themselves, / Being moved by his ineffable will so as to think,” whereas the Ideas are sent whirring through the air by the Paternal Intellect. That “whirring” is also found in the same fragment (37 Des Places), describing the emergence of the Ideas from the Paternal Intellect. Lines 1-2 of that fragment read:

The Paternal Intellect, thinking with a vigorous will,

sends the multi-formed Ideas whirring through the air…

and ll. 8-9:

...From one source

whir forth other, divided, mighty [Ideas]...

Should we dare to attribute to the ἰῡγεῖς that same whirring because they, like the Ideas, were born from the Paternal Intellect? There would be further support for this in the fact that the verb ὑποτεῖω is used in some texts for the sound of the heavenly spheres, whose relation with the ἰῡγεῖς was discussed above. And we might add that the same verb applies to the sound of the bird’s wings, but it seems impossible to link all these
facts into a combination of birds, stars, and sounds, a blend that we do not find attested anywhere.

d) Conclusion

Such is the history of what the ancients believed about the īynges, initially a kind of bird with many traits in common with the Sirens. The īynges shared their name with a magical wheel and seemingly with other kinds of wheels (perhaps representing the Sun), that decorated the Delphic temple of Apollo and the palace of Babylon. There is, however, no evidence of those īynges-wheels (nor the īynges-birds) being linked with cosmic music.

In late antiquity, a collection of magico-mystical poems called the Chaldean Oracles, and their Neoplatonic commentators, used the word īynx to designate a hierarchy of divinities that, apart from some tenuous hints at their bird-like aspect, share many features with both the Sirens and the angelic hierarchies: those “Chaldean” īynges were intermediate beings between the Father and the World, they were linked to the cosmic spheres, and they had the function of leading the souls upwards (as did the cosmic Sirens and Muses, as well as the angelic hierarchies). Their relation with sound, however, and more specifically with the sound of the heavenly spheres is not directly attested in our sources, and it is difficult to infer from them a belief in the connexion between the Chaldean īynges and the harmony of the spheres. Nevertheless, the Chaldean īynges might be considered as a missing link between the Pagan and Christian bearers of heavenly music or, more exactly, as a collateral relative of both Sirens-Muses and angelic
hierarchies. Any relation to the heavenly music is far clearer both in the case of the Sirens and Muses and in that of the angelic hierarchies, to be discussed in a later section.

410 Cf. Delatte, 1915, 260-1, and Waerden, 1979, 108. The prophetic gift of the Sirens is attested at Od., XII, 189-91 ( Idle i'v tov 'dyn'&; , &;a' 'Aroq'k; 'Aroq'q; te thewów 'lóttta máqhtan, , Idle i'v &;a' 'açq;áa genvntai &;p; chwía poulwboteír'h;); Plutarch, De animae procreatione in Timaeo, 1029c 8 (τά θεία εἴρων); Porphyrius (third century C. E.), Quaestionum Homericarum ad Odysseam pertinentium reliquiae (on Od., XII, 184): mantíkaiv tíne' aí Seirh'ne'; cf. Scholia vetera in Odysseam, ad loc. It is not sure that they could guess the future, despite Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. 2, p. 7, l. 21-3 Stallbaum (υπεμφαίνει δε καὶ μαντυκήν εἶναι τήν ποίησιν, εἰ γε καὶ αἱ αὐτῶι Σειρήνες οδάσιν οὐ μόνον ὡσα καθ' ἰστορίαι γεγονότα μὴ εἶδον αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τα ἄμα, καὶ ὡσα δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐρήμηθεν, γενήσεται), and the scholion to Lycophron’s Alexandra, v. 1463 (Σειρήνος: ἑαυτή εἶπε σειρήνα διὰ τὸ τὰ μέλλοντα προειπεῖν).

A 24 (p. 77): lékythos of the Universität Heidelberg, 68/1; cf. our pl. 37 and Gropengiesser, 1977, 602, fig. 28; cf. also Hampe, 1971, lámn. 32, and Gropengiesser, 1977, 583, fig. 1-2, and 589, fig. 9. Gropengiesser dates it ca. 580 B. C. E.; but she does not think that the male figure represented on this lékythos might be Apollo, but Orpheus; cf. Gropengiesser, 1977, 610, n. 129, and Schefold, 1993, 268. Contra, Hofstetter, 1992, 1099, No. 8, interprets that male figure as Apollo.
B. Delcourt, 1981, 250 ff., says that there is no evidence for Sirens at the Delphic sanctuary. Delatte and Weicker, however, mention a vase on which the Sirens appeared flanking the Pythia’s tripod; cf. Delatte, 1915, 260, and Weicker, 1902, 49: it is a vase from the fourth century B. C. E., conserved in Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. No. ΠU-1853.68 (vid. Stephani, 1877, esp. p. 44 and pl. II, 7, and Reinach, 1894-1900, vol. I, p. 42, fig. 1, 2, who give 1821 as reference number for that vase in the Hermitage collection). We thank the reproduction service of the State Hermitage Museum at Saint-Petersburg for providing a watercolor reproduction of this image (our pl. 39).
C. Levi, 1945, 295, fig. 15, reproduces another tripod decorated with birds, probably a remote antecedent of the Sirens on the vase of Saint Petersburg. But those Sirens are two, whereas the Delphic “Thrái”,-Sirens were three, as we have seen in III.3. Attachments in form of birds with human torso have been found at Delphi; cf. Hermann, 1966, pl. 23; 27, 3-4 (from Delphi, Inv. 2704), and 34-35 (from Delphi, Inv. 1248 and 1666.) It is not sure whether they belonged to the decoration of Apollo’s temple.
Pl. 37: Lékýthos of the “Antikenmuseum der Universität Heidelberg”, Inv. 68/1 (Photo: Hubert Vögele).
Pl. 38: Red-figured neck amphora with Hermes, Apollo, and a Siren.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin.
Pl. 39: Two Sirens flanking the Delphic Tripod, 
watercolor reproduction of a fourth century B. C. E. vase from Southern Russia, 
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.


B) For κηλέω meaning the Sirens’ enticing, cf. Xenophon, Mem., II, 6, 31, 5-7 (τᾶς δὲ γε Σειρήνας... πάντας φασίν ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν κηλεύσαι); Arist. EE, 1230b 35 (οἱ κηλοῦμεν παρὰ ταῖς Σειρήνης); Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Math., I, 42, 1-5 (ἐκεῖνα... θεσπεσίας μέλεις κηλήσεις τοὺς παραπλέοντας); Hermias, In Platonis Phaedrum scholia, p. 214, l. 4 Couvreur (οἱ ὑπὸ Σειρήνων καθελκοῦμεν καὶ κατακηλοῦμεν); Julianus, Commentarius in Job, p. 186, 14-15 Hagedorn (οἱ μὲν μυθολόγοι τᾶς σειρήνας φασὶ θηλυπρόσωπά τινα ὄρνύσια εἶναι ἀπατώτα τοὺς παραπλέοντας ἄσμαι τις πορνικοῖς καὶ κηλοῦντα τὰς ἀκούσας τῶν ἀκρομένων; cf. Suda, σ, 280, I. 5-7); Michael Psellus, Oratoria minora, 37, l. 167 (Σειρηναῖα μέλη καὶ κηλητήρεια).

C) For Sirens and Κηληδόνες being different, Eustathius, Ad Od., vol. I, p. 422, II, 30-1 Stallbaum (Έκ δὲ τοῦ κηλεύν καὶ αἱ παρὰ τῷ Πινδάρῳ κηληδόνες παράγονται, ὃν Ἀθήναιος μέμνηται, ὡς θελουσῶν οὐδέν
For the possibility that the Kēlēdōnēs were oracular beings, vid. Hofstetter, 1990, 25, and p. 317, n. 191 to p. 25, and Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, 245, both following Lobel’s reconstruction of the meaning of Pindar, fr. 52i, vv. 82-6 Snell-Maehler. The text reads: ἐνέθηκε δὴ Παλλᾶς ἁμ[ / φωνῇ τα' ἔόντα τε κα][ / πρόσθεν γεγενημένα / ...... ἦτα τῆς Μνημοσύνης[ / —]. ἦτανα σφήν ἐφθα[σ]ν, and Lobel, 1961, 47, interprets “Mnemosyne told them (sc. ‘the Kēlēdōnēs’) everything about the present, past, and future.” Cf. also Rutherford, 2001, 213 and 220.


F) As to the keledōn on Sophocles’s tomb, cf. the Vita Sophoclis, 15, p. XX Pearson = p. 37, l. 64-5 Radt (φασὶ δὲ ὧτι καὶ τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ σειρῆνα ἐπέστησαν, οἱ δὲ κηρηδόνα χαλκῆν; the reading of the manuscripts seems to have been χελδῶνα, which is not confirmed by the archaeological evidence (vid. Vedder, 1985, 135-6), and was corrected into κηρηδόνα by Huschke, an emendation accepted by Jahn, 1882, 16. Cf. the Siren over the tomb of Isocrates, mentioned by Plutarch, Lives of the ten orators, 838c 7-8 (αὐτῷ δ’ Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπῆν κιόν τριάκοντα πιθῶν, ἐφ’ οὓς σειρῆνα πιθῶν ἔπτα συμβολίζω). and by Flavius Philostratus, Lives of the sophists, I, p. 503 Olearius (‘Η δὲ Σειρήν ἥ ἐφεστηκία τῷ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι).

413 Flavius Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, 6, 11, II. 186-7 Kayser: χρυσάς θυγγας αἴναβαι λέγεται Σειρῆνων τυά ἐπεχούσας πειθό. Cf. Lucianus, De domo, 13, 5-6: πέπεισμαι καὶ ἐς τὸν ὀίκον ἐπὶ λόγος παρελήθυα ὅσπερ ὑπὸ θυγγας ἡ Σειρῆνος τῷ κάλλει ἐλκόμενος.


415 Aristotle, Historia animalium, 504 a 11-19 (ἄλγογ δὲ τινώς δύο μὲν ἐμπροσθεν δύο δ’ ὀπίσθεν, οὗ ἡ καλουμένη θυγν. Ἀusterity δ’ ἐστὶ μικρό γὰρ μὲν μείζων σπίζας, τὸ δ’ εἶδος ποικίλον, ἱδία δ’ ἔχει τὰ τέρτα τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὴν χλωτάν ὅμων τὰς ὀψεις: ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ μίκρος ἐκτάσει καὶ ἐπὶ τέτταρας δακτύλων, καὶ πάλιν συστήλλεται εἰς ἑαυτήν. Ἐπὶ δὲ περιστρέφει τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τοῦπιστά τοῦ λαφυτοῦ σώματος ἱμεροῦντος, καθάπερ οἱ ὀψεις. Ὀμοίως δ’ ἔχει μεγάλους μὲν ὀμοίους μὲντοι πεφυκότας τῶν τῶν κολούων καὶ τῇ δ’ φωνῇ τρέξει); Pliny the Elder, NH, 11, 256: iynx sola utrinque binos habet; eadem linguam serpentium similem in magnum longitudinem porrigit; collum circumagit in aversam se; uungues


Cf. also *Nem.*, 4, 35 (ἴουγα δ’ ἐλκομαὶ ἢτορ); Xenophon, *Mem.*, III, 11, 8 (ἐδ’ ἐσθι ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν φιλτρῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθόν καὶ ἴουγων ἔστι. Χρῆσον τοινῦν μια, ἐφ’ ἦν ἴουγα, ἵνα ἵπτοι σοὶ πρῶτον ἐλκὼ αὐτὴν. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δ’ ἐφ’, οὐκ ἄντις ἐλκομαὶ πρὸς σε βούλομαι, ἀλλὰ σὲ πρὸς εἰμὲ πορεύεσθαι;* Theocritus, *Idyllia*, 2, 17 (Ἰουγξ, ἐλκε τὸ τίφρν ἐμὸν ποτὶ δόμα τὸν ἄνδρα), and *AP* 5, 205 (Ἰουγξ ἢ Νικοῦ, ἢ καὶ διαπόντων ἐλκεν / ἄνδρα καὶ ἐκ βαλάμων παῖδα ἐπισταμένη), among others. Pindar’s first quotation shows that the bird was fastened to a wheel; cf. *sch.* Theocritus, *II*, 17 Ἰουγξ’ ὄρνεον Ἀφροδίτης, ὦ οἱ φαρμακίδες συνεργέων ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰς μαγείας, εἰς γάρ προχων κήρυν ἐμβαλοῦσα καὶ διὰ ἰμάντος ἐκάτεροθεν ἀνάβασα αὐτὸ, περιστρέφουσα ῥομβοῦσα τὰς κυκλίκους ὑπὸ τυρᾶς ἐπέδουσα ὁ βούλομαι: ὁ δὲ ἀναδινομένος θάγχως τίκεται, ἐπιλέγουσα δὲ αὐτῷ εἰ τῦχος ὁ ὀμίβος, ἀοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἐμὸν ἐρῶν τακεῖ, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἔρωτα ἁπτὸ τὸν ἐνότον ζώου ἴουγα, ὥς φησὶ καὶ Πίνδαρος (Ν. 1, 35). <...> καθ’ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὁσον (*Hist. an.*), II 12, 504 a 12 μικρῷ μείζονι σπίζῃς αὐτῷ λέγων· ἢ καὶναίδον ἢ φερωμίζως σεισοπυχεῖς καλεῖται διὰ τὸ πανταχοῦ στρέφειν καὶ λυγίζειν [τὸν αὐξεῖα ἢ] τὴν πυγήν, ἢ [παρὰ] τὴν ἴουγα, ἢν φησὶ Καλλίμαχος (fr. 100c, 8 Schneider, I 293) Ἦχους θυγατέρα, φαρμακεύειν δὲ τὸν Δία, ὅπως ἢν αὐτῇ μιχθῇ ὦθεν ὑπὸ Ἡρας εἰς ὀρνύθιον αὐτὴν μεταβληθῆναι καὶ συνεργεῖν ταῖς φαρμακείαις), and *Suda*, τ. 759 (Ἰουγξ, Ἦχους ἢ Πειθῶς θυγατέρα, ἱερωνίκης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης) καταφαμμάττουσα δὲ τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τοιούτως ἀπελθόθη ὑπὸ Ἡρας, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπ’ ἐνων καὶναίδον, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὀργάνων τὶ ἱουγξ καλομένων, ὄπερ εἰσθαναι αἱ φαρμακίδες στρέφειν, ὡς κατακλημέναι τοὺς ἀγαπωμένους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁρνεῖν τι, ὦ πρόσειται τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν, ὠθεν δεσμεύουσα τοῖς προχισεσαίοις). On all this, see Cook, 1914-40, I, 253-65; Detienne, 1972, 163-4; Gow, 1934; Johnston, 1995; Segal, 1973; Tavenner, 1933, and Vox, 1980. Borgeaud, 1979, 132-3 (= pp. 85-6 of the English version), says that the object seemed to reproduce the principal traits of the bird: the turn of the neck and the musical character.

B. Concerning the antiquity of the ἴουγα as talisman, Johnston, 1990, 91, n. 4, says that “the fact that ‘íynx’ was used metaphorically to mean ‘passion’ or ‘desire’ as early as Aeschylus (Pers., 989: ἴουγα μοι δήτ/ ἀγαθῶν ἐπάρων ύπονείς) and Sophocles (fr. 474, 1-2 Radt: τοῖαν Πέλοξ ἴουγα θηρατρίειαν / ἐρωτος, ἀστρατή τιν’ ὀμμάτων, ἐχεί) implies that the íynx-charm had existed for some time previously.” Vox, 1980, esp. p. 176, says that the íynx as talisman might have existed in Boeotia in the Geometric period, as suggested by a curious wheel in terracotta with bird-like prothesis, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; cf. Nelson, 1940; contra, De la Genière, 1958, 35, argues that it does not seem appropriate to interpret an object of the eighth century B. C. E. on the ground of fifth-century B. C. E. texts; cf. Karageorghis, 1989, 264. According to Johnston, 1990, 91, n. 4, the Boston terracotta wheel “does not correspond very well to the supposed íynx-wheels that appear later in vase paintings” (the differences have been pointed out by Nelson herself; cf. also De la Genière, 1958, 30: Pindar mentions only a bird, whereas there
are several on the Boston wheel). Gow, 1934, 3, says that the textual evidence (especially Pindar’s Fourth Pythian Ode, vv. 213-8) allows the playthings of Eros on the images of Gow, 1934, 1 and 4, to be identified as ἰγγες. On the other hand, Nelson, 1940, 446, mentions examples of bronze-wheels with bird-attachments, dating from the Geometric period, found in the Argive Heraion, in Olympia, Thessalia, the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Lindos (Rhodes), in the Athenian Acropolis (cf. De la Genière, 1958, esp. p. 31, fig. 2); at Kameiros in Rhodes (cf. Walters, et al., 1899, Nos. 159-160, and Cook, 1914-40, I, p. 331, fig. 263); cf. also Besques-Mollard, 1954, B 127, p. 22, pl. XVI, and perhaps B. 101, p. 18, pl. XIII. These last specimens could actually be ἰγγες, and perhaps attest the existence of the related magic practices in the Geometric period, were it not because the vase paintings never show the bird attached to the wheel (De la Genière, 1958, 29). De la Genière relates these objects and the one from the Cabinet des Médailles to which is devoted his article (cf. De la Genière, 1958, pl. I), to Sun-magic; but let’s not forget that the ἰγνξ as erotic talisman could have its roots in Sun-magic as well, according to Cook, 1914-40, 258 and 265. It seems, thus, that the ἰγνξ-charm may be later than the Geometric period, and that their use was current by Classical times.

417 According to De la Genière, 1958, 30, the turning of the wheel reproduced that of the bird’s neck, so the wheel was given the same name of the bird. ἰγνξ meaning “charm, enchantment,” in Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 1110-1 (ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῇ σῇ λυθέντες ἤγγα / συνεχώρησάν σοι); Aelianus, De natura animalium, I, 23 (ἐλκόμενοι δὲ οἱ σαργάς ὡς ὑπό τυφος ἤγγας τῆς ὀσμῆς τῆς προερήμενης προσίασα); ibid., I, 44 (Τῶν γεφάνων αἱ κλαγγαὶ καλύσαν ὀμβρέας, ὡς φασίν ὅ δὲ ἐγκέφαλος γυναικῶν ἐς χάριν ἀφροδίσιον ἔχει τυφαὶ ἤγγας); ibid., II, 9 (καὶ ἔλκει ὡς ἤγας τῷ πνεύματι), and Lucianus, De domo, 13, 5-6 (πεπείσμας καὶ ἐς τῶν οἴκων ἐπὶ λόγοις παρελθήσα σώπερ ὑπὸ ἤγγας ἢ Σειρήνος τῷ κάλλει ἐλλόμενος).


420 Cf. Breglia Pulci Doria, 1987, 84, and scholion in Theocritum, II, 17 (Ἰγγα, ἢν φησι Καλλίμαχος [fr. 685 Pfeiffer] Ἡχοὺς θυγατέρα, φαρμακεύει δὲ τῶν Δία, ὅπως ἃν αὐτῇ μιχῆθη ὤθεν ὑπὸ Ἦρας εἰς ὄρνθάρων αὐτὴν μεταβληθήσας καὶ συνεργεῖ ταῖς φαρμακείαις). As to the persuasion, Breglia Pulci Doria recalls that ἰγγες was a metaphor for θέλεινες λόγοι (cf. Etymologicum Magnum, p. 479, l. 58 Kallierges, and scholia in Oppiani Halieutica, I, 565: ἰγγας έχουσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ σοφισταί; this bring the ἰγγες very close to the Sirens), and that ἰγνξ was said to be the daughter of Peitho, according to the Suda, I, 759, and Photius, Lex., p. 118, l. 11 (Ἰγγα, Ἡχοὺς ἢ Πειθοῦς θυγάτηρ). There are earlier examples of ἰγνξ as a metaphor for persuasion (cf. Johnston, 1995, 183): Aelius Aristides, Panathenaikos, p. 182, ll. 13-20 (τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
Eleusinivos teleth' tois eisaphikomoumeinos ezhgethai tois ierwv kai mystagogoi keklymene, dia pantos de tov chrwvnon pasin anfhropous tois eis to meso eisaphrophv ierwv ezhgethai kai didaskalov kathedisthatei: an' oan aptanta tais prepousaies epimwv efelektse, ouk igygh upokynnustes, alla to kalidh tov farrmakwv, to lvwgo, opere ai theia pantov anaptovn anfhropwv mwn tov allov edwfrhswvnto); Origen, Contra Celsum, III, 10, 11-15 (Tosavut gav rh tis igygh ien tois 'Hesov logois, oux ou monov anhvas entpse na thelein autw eis tas eermias alal kai xwvrakas, oux upoemumenvnas thn gnavikeian asbheinein kai to dokev en tis akolouthein eis tas eermias tov didasklalov); Diogenes Laertius, VI, 6, 76 (tosavut ths prosf igygh tois 'Divughnikov lgois). According to the Anonymi Lexeis Rhetoricae, 32, igyn is a synonym of “affection” (igygh diakhesis, filia).  

A. For Echo as igyn's mother, cf. Callimachus, fr. 685 Pfeiffer; Photius, Lex., p. 118, l. 11, and Suda, i., 759, quoted in the previous note.  

B. For the similitude of the igynes' voice to the sound of an aulos, cf. Aelian, De natura animalium, VI, 19 (aikaxe de tais mymhssei tais tauvotov o te anhov kaloymvnoi kai h sallpigv kai h igygh kai o kovrav, kai o mwn anhov upokrvnetai xremetisma ippon, thn sallpigya de h omwvno, kai toin plagion h igygh avlw).  

C. The word igyn was used for a cithara or a string of a cithara, as we can see in sch. Ael. Arist. Pan., 182, 11 Jebb (igygh estin orphvnon, ae xienv thn oupravn. lgenva de echein epiphrdeis pro podr xorwvka, kai einai avghv x Thkorktos: "Igygh elke th tivn evmav pote dwia thn anhav.") tinex de lgouvxi xorhav tiva kathrav pavan emmelhy, and in sch. in Lykophoronem, 310 (alloi de katharav pavan emmelh fasin einai thn igvgh xeiin pavan podheivn igygh kaleita).  

D. Igyph can also be the name of a syrinx monokalamos, according to the scholia in Oppiani Halieutica, I, 565 ('igygh zowv aikokwntovn h legevmewn seivosura h kwravos, esti de kai eidoq orghanov moussikov, h chrwvta ai farrmakiqes eis filias (...) lgenva de kai igygh sypigigh monokalamos); cf. Etymologicum Magnum, p. 480, 1-3 ('Igygh, boh, phwv kai iexi, boh, krawghv poievi. Lgenva de kai igygh sypigigh monokalamos. Swmapnei de kai wofin), and Anecdota Bekkeriana, I, 265 ('igygh- sypigigh monokalamos. Koi orheov, wofin kai peivw).  

422 See Brown, 1975, and the drawing in Kanowski, 1973, 73. Brown, 1975, 138-9, has observed that the human headed bird poised on the left-hand chariot, in that image, turn its human head “right round, a motion for which the wryneck is especially remarkable” (cf. Aristotle, Historia animalium, 504 a 11-19, quoted above, n. 415). Brown interprets the almost illegible name written near the bird as 'IOUTH, that is “(bird) of Io,” since a legend said that Hera had metamorphosed lynx into a bird, for having helped Io to seduce Zeus (cf. scholion to Pi. N. 4, 35: pvev de h igygh oj mewn fasin 'Hcow, oj de Piovdos geyenhvthei thugatere, hptis farrmadosousa thn 'Dias eis thn 'Iovs pthoun kath 'cholov 'Hrav eis orweov metebelhva, h khrhrmati aia ta erwlkia skeuazousa xwraikes).  

423 Philostratus, VA, I, 25: fasyi de kai anhrov evntuxein, ouv ton orofon eis thlou anhchv saqma ophravw twn eiskamwn, saqfevirh de autovn katpfrhndi lhv 'kaiavwtphe de h lhov kai xwvraka iedvn kai theow agalma, ouv xumivwvndn, idrvtai anw kai chrav saqinevta, kathpt eix aiheros. dikaxeine men de h basililos evnathva, chrvas de igvghes apokrmenata tov orofon tepetares thn 'Adrapsteiai autov paragevousa kai to wph uper ths anhrovpsous airefsba. Tautas oj magov autov fasin armotstevbba fwtwntes eis ta basileia, kaloudi de autovs theov glwtas.
That is, of the talisman first described by Pindar, *P. IV*, 213-5 (vid. *supra*, n. 416), and cf. the images in Cook, 1914-40, I, pp. 255-6 and figs. 186-7, and Gow, 1934, 1 and 4. Vid. also Johnston, 1990, 91, 4.

Cf. Johnston, 1990, 97, and 1995, 184. It may be argued that ἀρμόττω can mean simply “adjust,” “match;” but it makes not too much sense that it were just the duty of the magi to do that if it were simply “adjusting.”

Cf. *Historia Alexandri Magni* (recensio vetus), 3, 28, 7-8: ἢν δὲ ὁ οἶκος μέγας προμῆκης, οὗ ἀυτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴδιστο χρηματίζειν, εἴν ἣ ἐφασαν ὀρνέον ἀνθρωπίνη φωνῇ ἐρμηνεύειν ἄρηκα ἀν τὰς πρω ἂν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ὀρθόβασις ὀργυτροφεῖον χρυσών κρεμώμενον, ἐν ὃ ἢ ὁ ὀρνεον ἥλικον <περιστερά> τούτῳ ἐφασαν ἐρμηνεύειν ταῖς βασιλεύσαι· ἔν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐφασαν εἶναι χρώμων ικανῶν. βουλομένου δὲ μοι καθελεῖν αὐτό, ὡπως ἀποστείλω σοι, ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐφασακεν αὐτῷ ἱερὸν εἶναι.


Cf. Cook, 1914-40, 258, for different textual variants of Pindar’s fragment. All of them point to the *Kéledónes* being placed above the pediment of the temple. According to Spiro’s edition, Pausanias, X, 5, 12, quotes Pindar as follows: χρύσεια δ’ ἐξύπερθ’ αἰετοῦ / ἄειδον Κηληδόνες, whereas Snell-Maehler’s edition of Pindar reads (fr. 52i Snell-Maehler): χρύσεια δ’ ἐξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ / ἄειδον Κηληδόνες, now accepted by Rocha Pereira in her edition of Pausanias. Both, like the other variants gathered by Cook, point to the *Kéledónes* being placed above the pediment of the temple, not hanging from the ceiling, pace the current opinion since Boeckh, 1821, 569, onwards (Bowra, 1964, 373; Dickie, 1997, 12, etc.).

For ἀνάπτω as “hang up,” *LSJ*, s. v. mention *Od.*, 3, 274 (πολλὰ δ’ ἀγάλματ’ ἀνήμεν); Lyc. 853 (καὶ δόρ’ ἀνάψει παρθενί Σκυλλητίς), and Tryph. 256 (ἀθανάτως ἐκέλευον ἀρήμον ἱππον ἀνάφαι).


Cf. for instance Paton, 1908, 410.


Cook, 1914-40, 258, and Farnell, 1907, 137-8.

Cf. section II. 3., with notes 209-10.
On the other hand, Sourvinou (1940, vol. I, p. 296) says that “the words of the maiden’s… and Pallas [Athene] put in… to the voice…” but this cannot be referred immediately to wheels attached on the pediment. It suggests the golden voices of sirens;” but this cannot be referred immediately to wheels attached on the pediment. It could be made of gold (Pausanias, V, 10, 4, describes golden cauldrons placed on each end of the roof, and a Nike on the center of the gable of a temple at Olympia: “éν δὲ Ὄλυμπη λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ὄρφον τῷ πέρατι ἐπέκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἐστήκε τῶν ἄετῶν, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὐτή;” cf. also the golden lion sent by Croesus to Delphi, and which was placed on golden ingots (Herodotus, I, 50, 3: Ἐποιεότε ὅτα καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέθρη, ἔλλουσι παιδίων τάλαντα δέκα ὦτος ὃ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατακαίετο ὅ ἐν Δελφοῖς νησῷ, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἠμπλωθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἱδρυτοῖ)). Last, according to Rutherford, 2001, 219, “a real-life work of art that may have contributed to the idea of the Delphic Kéledónes is the famous winged Sphinx, dedicated by the Naxians in the period 570-560 B.C., which sat perched on top of a tall column immediately to the south of the historical temple;” cf. Bommelaer and Lapoire, 1991, 144-5, and fig. 53.

Cook, 1914-40, I, 292-3, mentions some pieces of evidence suggesting that the akroteria could be wheel-shaped as well; cf. Benndorf, 1899, 12-13 (figs. 10-12), p. 16 (fig. 16: image on a vase in the Musée du Louvre; cf. Cook, 1914-1940, vol. I, p. 293, fig. 212), and p. 18, fig. 20 (image on an hydria from the Torlonia collection, Rome); Boetticher, 1886, 201 ff., fig. 43 and pl. 4, and Marquand, 1909, 238 ff. (Heraion of Olympia). Cf. Nelson, 1940, 446. This could allow the Kéledónes-akroteria to be identified with the hanging ínyes (cf. Cook, 1914-40, I, p. 296): the same object (a solar wheel or disk, according to Cook) could occupy different places; but in any case a question remains without answer: how could Pindar say that these objects sang? Did those wheels, if such they were, sound (when moved by the wind, for example)? Could that sound be referred to with the verb ἀείῳδος? Nelson, 1940, 448, says: “magic wheels, of gilded wood or metal, if suspended on taut wires, when set in motion may have emitted delicate musical sounds suggesting the golden voices of sirens;” but this cannot be referred immediately to wheels attached on the pediment. It seems easier to understand Pindar’s fragment assuming that the aspect of the Kéledónes was at least partially human, according to Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, 245, n. 76, who judges from the verses 80-86 (in Snell’s edition; vv. 117-123 Rutherford) of Pindar’s fragment, as interpreted by Lobel, 1961, 47. Pindar’s text reads as follows: λυσίμβροτον παρθενία κε[ / ἀκριπότων δαίδαλα / / ἐνέθηκε δὲ Παλλάς ἄμ[ / φωνὴ τὰς τῇ ἑντα σε κα[ / πρόσθεν γεγενημένα/ ……] ἦται Μνημοσύνα[ / ——].] Παιντα σφιν ἕφρα[σ.ν = “man-redeeming artefact of pure (words?)” in the maiden’s… and Pallas [Athene] put in… to the voice… and (the daughters of?) Memory told them everything that is, and that was before…” (translation quoted from Rutherford, 2001, 213). Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, 245, n. 76, says that “the words παρθενία and perhaps also ἀκριπότω” and vv. 81-6 “surely imply a human voice.” On the other hand, Sourvinou-Inwood admits that “otherwise” the Kéledónes “appear to have had, partly or wholly, the
form of wrynecks,” on the ground of Philostratus’s description, but we have seen that Pindar was probably not alluding to the same thing as Philostratus, and that the latter might have had in mind the ἰνκ-ω-ν, not the ἰνκ-bird.

What follows is based on Cook, 1914-40, vol. I, pp. 262-5. That the Delphic ἰνγες and the ones alluded to by Philostratus were similar things is also accepted by Eitrem, 1942, 79.

According to Ball, 1899, 156, they are “perhaps the genii who guide the sun along his celestial path.”

Ball, 1899, 157, says that, on those three persons, there is an inscription which he transliterates as follows: “SALAM SHAMSHI BELI RABI ASHIB E-BARRA SHA KIRIB SIPAR,” and translates: “Image of the Sun-god, the might Lord, Who dwelleth in E-BARRA [Bît-shamshi, the House of the Sun; cf. Beth-Shemesh] which is Sippar.”


Χαλδαϊκοὶ λόγοι, ἐνέργεια περὶ τῶν Ἐκατικῶν στροφάλων.

Ἐξήγησις ὁ Ἐκατικὸς στροφάλος σφαιρὰ ἐστι χρυσῆ, μέσον σάφειρον περικλείουσα, διὰ ταυρείου στρεφομένη ἱμάντων, δί ὀλῆς αὐτῆς ἔχουσα χαρακτήρας ἢν δὴ στρέφοντες ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπικλήσεις. καὶ τὰ τουλάχιστον εἰσόδους ἱγγας, εἶτε σφαιρικὸν ἐχοιεν εἶτε τριγωνοὶ εἶτε ἄλλο τι σχῆμα. ἢ δὴ δυνάμενοι τοῦς ἄσμενον ἢ κτηρίωδες ἐξεφώνου ἱγγας, γελώντες καὶ τὸν ἀέρα μαστίζοντες, διδάσκει δὲ ἔνα τις πελτηθὲν ἐνεργεία τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ τοιούτου στροφαλοῦ ὡς δύναμιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχουσαν. Ἐκατικὸς δὲ καλεῖται ὡς τὴ Ἑκάτη ἀνακείμενος.


Quoted from Johnston, 1990, 96-7.


Cf. Gow, 1934, 5, n. 13: “If the wheel has a smooth edge, the instrument makes no more than a faint whir: with a serrated edge an agreeable windy whistle may be produced.” We may wonder whether it was with this kind of wheels that Hippasos discovered the mathematical proportions corresponding to the musical consonances.


471 Quoted from Johnston, 1990, 101. Cf. ibid., n. 31: “Philostratus’ attachment to them [the Babylonian iynges] of the name “iynges” itself signifies his understanding of iynges as cosmically intermediate powers; sun, moon and stars in late times commonly were understood to exist between heaven and earth. It should be remembered that at least from the time of the Timaeus, this music or harmony of the spheres was connected closely with the creation and function of the Cosmic Soul, who later became identified with Hekate.” On Hekate as cosmic soul, cf. Johnston, 1990, chapter IV and Appendix.


473 Cf. Damascius, On Plato’s Parmenides, p. 95, 12-18 Ruelle = vol. II, p. 47, II. 1-13 Westerink: Εἴ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ ἵγγα αὐτὴν ὠνόμασαν, εἶτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄργανου, ὡς ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ ἐξαίφνης πάντα δρόμος, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνη τάξιστα πολλαπλασιάζει τὰς οἰκείας γονῆς, καὶ συναρεῖ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἀναλύουσα· διό καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ἀρπάζειν εἰρήνη πρὸς τὸ ἀνόυ εἶπε καὶ τὸ ὄργανον εἰς ἁμέν στρεφόμενον προκαλεῖται θεοῦς, ἕξω δὲ, ἀποκλεῖται τοῖς κληθένταις· εἶτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱύζων, φωνῆς ἐνθουσιαστικῆς τε καὶ εἰς ὃν ἀποτελευτώσης, πάντα ἄν ἔχοι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα προπάντως. Leading the souls to heaven was a function of the celestial Sirens, according to Plutarch, as we have seen in II. 1. d.

474 We may realize that there is no hierarchy among Muses nor among Sirens, the pagan counterparts of the angelic hierarchies as players of cosmic music.

475 We shall discuss these aspects of the angelic hierarchies in the next chapter.

476 Cf. our sections II. 4 and III. 1.

477 Let us remember that birds were thought of as messengers of the gods, that is: they had the main function of the angels; cf. Il., 24, 292 (αἴτει δ’ οἰων’να ταχύν ἄγγελον).
Cf. Johnston, 1990, 102, n. 34, and Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, fr. 200, ll. 2-6: Διαπορομένων γονὸν τὸν Πρόκλοιν περί τῶν Ἱσαίων μυμήσεως τῶν ὁρνέων [καὶ] τῶν φωτῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἀπηχημάτων ἐνίοτε ἐν τοῖς Χαλδαιοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτὸς ὑπεδείκυσεν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς μυμήσεως ἅλλων τε καὶ στροφῆς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων καὶ κατακλίδων τῆς πτήσεως, οἷα ψοφοῦσα ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἐγειρόμενοι πρὸς το πετάσθαι. With respect to the sparrows, let us remember the relations between Sirens and sparrows, alluded to by some late authors from the fourth century C. E. onwards (cf. III. 3. c. 1.), that is, roughly contemporaneous to Damascius.


Cf. Johnston, 1990, 103-4, with references.


482 Or. Chald., fr. 37 Des Places, vv. 1-2, ap. Procl. *In Parm.*., p. 800, l. 20 – p. 801, l. 1: Νονὰς πατρὸς ἐφορείζησε νοήματα ἀκμαία βουλή / Παμμόρφους ἱδέας, πηγής δὲ μιᾶς ἀπὸ πᾶσαι...

483 Or. Chald., fr. 37 Des Places, vv. 8-9, ap. Procl. *In Parm.*, p. 800, l. 27-8: ὅταν μία πηγή, / έξ ἧς ῥαζοῦνται μεμερισμέναι ἄλλαι ἀπλατοί...


485 Cf. texts quoted in n. 366 (to III. 3. a.).
IV. ANGELIC HIERARCHIES OF MUSICIANS

IV. 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is not a thorough examination of the whole evidence about angelic hierarchies as bearers of cosmic music, but rather to provide a point of departure for such a research. We shall show to which degree the angelic hierarchies shared some features of the Sirens and Muses of the Pythagorean-Platonic speculation: those features will be the wings, the song, the function of leading the souls to the paradise, and the connection with heavenly realms or bodies. We shall see that, like the Sirens (and far more consistently than the Muses), the angels were imagined as winged creatures; that, like both Sirens and Muses, they are singers connected (but not identified) with heavenly realms or with the stars and planets, and that the main difference between angels and their Pagan counterparts is that the song of the former does not lead the souls to the paradise, but is only an expression of joy because the souls of the righteous reach the paradise.

These conclusions are provisory in a higher degree than those of any scientific research, because this chapter is not based on a full exploration of the evidence available through searches of textual databases like the TLG-E or the “Patrologia Latina Database”, but mostly on the evidence mentioned in the secondary literature.
IV. 2. Winged Singers

We have seen that all previously discussed heavenly musicians had wings. Their Christian counterparts bore this feature still more clearly than the Sirens, Muses, and Pleiads. The *seraphim* and *cherubim*, who would later become angelic hierarchies, are described as winged beings in the *Old Testament*. For example, Isaiah tells: “And the *seraphim* stood around Him, six wings for each one, and six wings for each one, and with two wings they covered their face, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew.”487 The book of Ezechiel begins with a fascinating vision that describes four fabulous creatures:

“And I looked, behold, a stormy wind came out of the north, and a great cloud, with brightness round about it, and fire flashing forth continually, and in the midst of the fire there was like an appearance of amber in the middle of the fire and splendor in it.

“And from the midst of it came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance: they had the form of men,

“but each had four faces, and each of them had four wings.

“Their legs were straight, and their feet were winged, and there were sparks like flashing copper, and their wings were nimble.

“And there was a human hand underneath their wings upon their four parts, and the faces of the four

“did not turn round when they walked; each of them marched against the face of them.

“And the image of their faces: the four had a face of a man and a face of a lion from the right side, and the four had a face of an ox and a face of an eagle from the left side.

“And their wings were spread out above the four, and each of them had two wings paired with each other, and two wings covered over the upper part of their bodies.”488
In a rather intriguing way, Ezechiel alludes to the sound of the wings of these creatures: “And when they went I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of many waters. And when they stopped, their wings stopped.” This is an important difference with respect to the Sirens, Muses, and Pleiads, none of whom had the wings as their vocal organ.

Later we shall learn that these creatures are the *cherubim* who hold the throne of God. First, we read that Ezechiel saw “the likeness of a firmament over the heads of the living creatures, shining like crystal spread out above their wings.” And above the firmament he saw the likeness of a throne, on which there was somebody with human appearance, and this was a vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. Some chapters later we find a similar description where those fantastic beings that hold the firmament and the throne are called *cherubim*. The sound of their wings, their four faces and the human hands under their wings are also referred to, like in the description of the first chapter of this same book of Ezechiel. The Fathers of the Church mention also this characteristic of the *cherubim*: for example, Clement of Alexandria tells that the wings of the *cherubim* represent the services to God.

In the realm of iconography, the angels begin to be represented as winged youths in the fourth century C. E., as we can see on the sarcophagus of a child, dating from ca. 380 C. E., found in Sarigüzel, now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. It has been suggested that the wings were adopted as an iconographic trait of the angels due to the influence of the pagan images of the *érotes, nikai*, and of a deity called “Aion,” who had, like the Pythagorean Sirens, a certain connection with the stars, and was represented as a winged god. More exactly, “Aion” was an alternative name of Helios, with which the
eternity of the Sun was referred to. For example, Mesomedes employs the name “Aion” to address a deity unmistakably characterized as the Sun in this passage of his *Hymn to Physis*:

> Oh thou who kindle the whole earth  
> With brilliant beams,  
> Aion of the inextinguishable flames,  
> Look at me with your eyeballs  
> Shedding bright bliss  
> For your dancer, oh Paean.\(^{497}\)

In fact, *aion* could mean “eternity” since the time of Plato, as we can see in this passage of the *Timaeus*:

> But inasmuch as the nature of the Living Creature was eternal, this quality it was impossible to attach in its entirety to what is generated; wherefore He planned to make a movable image of Eternity, and, as He set in order the Heaven, of that Eternity which abides in unity He made an eternal image, moving according to number, even that which we have named Time.\(^{498}\)

This meaning was still at work in later times.\(^{499}\) On the other side, “Aion” was called “light-giver” in a magical papyrus, and that name was given to the Sun by Simplicius.\(^{500}\) “Aion” was frequently represented with wings in the scenes of apotheosis, where they escorted the souls in their heavenly ascension to the immortality: for example, we saw him in the relief of Sabina’s apotheosis, dating from *ca.* 138 C. E. (now in the Palazzo dei
Conservatori, Roma\textsuperscript{501}). This role of psychopomp and their winged figure brings Aion closer to the Pythagorean Sirens, but we have no evidence of Aion as a celestial singer.

IV. 3. \textsc{Winged Psychopomps}

The angels, however, share with the Sirens the wings, the song, and the soul-leading function. In the \textit{Evangelium Lucae}, the angels appear leading the soul of the beggar to the bosom of Abraham.\textsuperscript{502} Some patristic sources attest that the angels sing when they lead the souls: for example, St. Gregorius of Nazianzus evokes “the angelic choirs that rejoice God with their psalms, standing and sending the souls to Him in their hymns.”\textsuperscript{503} There is, however, an important difference between these angels and the heavenly Sirens and Muses: the latter led the souls by means of their singing, according to Plutarch, etc., but we have found no sources in which the idea of the song of the angels as a guide for the souls be exactly attested. Indeed, this is a provisory statement. For example, the angelic song can be an expression of joy because the souls of the righteous join God, according to St. John Chrysostomus:

And when they ascend to heaven, all those holy powers run alongside with them. For if, when foreign champions come to stay in the city, all the people flow round from every side, surround them and observe the vigor of their limbs, so much more when the champions of righteousness ascend to the heavens, the angels run together and all the powers of above flow round from every side and observe their wounds, and, as if they were heroes coming back from the war and the battle with a lot of trophies and victories, so they welcome all of them with joy and greet them; then they bring them with a large body-guard before the King of Heavens, to that throne which is full of glory, where the Cherubim and the Seraphim stand.\textsuperscript{504}
Another passage by St. Gregory the Great, however, can suggest an auxiliary function of the angels’ singing when the soul of the righteous leaves the body: “The sweetness of the heavenly praise often bursts when the souls of the elected ones leave, in order to them to be allowed as less as possible to feel the separation of the flesh from the soul, while they listen with pleasure to such praises.” But we can see that the song of the angels does not by itself guide the souls to the heaven, and this can be due to the fact that it is the word of God, not the song of the angelic hierarchies, what saves the soul, according to the Christians. In fact, there are pieces of evidence where no songs are mentioned when the angels lead the souls unto heaven: for example, the 35th chapter of Pope Zacharias’ Greek version of the biography of St. Benedict deals with a vision in which St. Benedict saw the soul of Germanus, bishop of Capua, being raised by angels to heaven inside a sphere of fire, without any mention of songs of praise.

IV. 4. THE STARS OF THE SONG OF PRAISE

There is another important feature of the angelic song, which will provide the basis for discussing the link between angelic hierarchies and heavenly spheres. The song of the angels is primarily a hymn in praise of God, as we can see in this passage by Clement of Alexandria, who seems to quote an apocalypse by Sophonias: “And the Spirit raised me and brought me to the fifth heaven, and I saw the angels called ‘lords’… who abide in the temples of salvation and sing hymns unto God the unspeakable and highest.” This is a recurring motif in apocalyptic literature. For example in the
Apocalypsis Petri, we read: “The angels run around them over there, and the glory of those who abide there was the same, and they proclaim God the Lord enjoying themselves in that place.” The Syrian jacobite liturgy alludes to the hymns sung unto God by the heavens, the choir of the stars and the angelic hierarchies. As Cumont rightly pointed out, singing hymns in praise of God brings the angelic hierarchies very close to the Muses of the “Pythagorean myth” told by Philo of Alexandria:

There is a celebrated old story, figured out by the wise and bestowed in succession, as usually happens, to the memory to those who came thereafter, and it did not pass unnoticed by our ears, always curious after instruction. It is as follows: they say that, when the Creator completed the whole world, he asked one of his interpreters whether this one missed something that did not come into being among all that was on earth, in the waters or in the high realm of the air or the limits of the whole heaven. And the latter answered that all was perfect and complete in all respects, but that he felt the want of only one thing: the word which will praise everything, the word which will not so much praise but proclaim the perfections in all things, even in those that seem most petty and unnoticed. For narrating the deeds of God is the most sufficient praise of them, because they do not lack any addition from outside for the sake of order, but the truth without deceit is the most perfect eulogy of what exists. Listening to this, the Father of the Universe approved what had been said, and the race of all the hymn-singing Muses shortly came into being from one of the powers around him, the virgin Mneme, whom many call by the altered name Mnemosyne.

Now we can say that Philo of Alexandria was who most aptly could notice the analogy between the Pythagorean Muses and the Jewish angels: in fact, the Jews also believe that the stars together with the angels praise God, as we can see in some Old Testament passages:
Praise Him, all His angels,
Praise Him, all His powers,
Praise Him, Sun and Moon,
Praise Him, all the stars and the light,
Praise Him, heavens of the heavens
And the water above the heavens.\textsuperscript{512}

Eulogize the Lord, oh Sun and Moon,
Sing hymns unto Him and exalt Him forever.
Eulogize the Lord, oh stars of heaven,
Sing hymns unto Him and exalt Him forever.\textsuperscript{513}

In this connection, it is well known a splendid passage of Hiob: “When the stars of the morning praised me together / and all the children of God rejoiced.”\textsuperscript{514} And from some other passages we learn that such praises were specifically musical: “Sing praises to the Lord on the zither, play the ten-stringed psaltery for Him;” “Praise Him in the echo of the trumpet, praise Him in the psaltery and the zither; / praise Him in the drum and the choir, praise Him in the strings and the organ; / praise Him in the well-sounding cymbals, praise Him in the cymbals of shouting.”\textsuperscript{515} Such motifs are also found in the apocrypha, as we can see, for example, in this passage from the \textit{Slavic Book of Henoch}: “And \textit{there are} three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours.”\textsuperscript{516} In the \textit{Testament of Levi}, we read: “And in the heaven next to this are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.”\textsuperscript{517}
We have seen that both angels and stars (or heavens) sing praises to God. Now we can ask whether angels and heavenly realms had any further connection. We find some allusions to this in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. For example, in the Greek Legend of Isaiah we read: “And he brought me in turn to the first heaven, and I saw there a throne in the center of the heaven, and divine angels set to the right and to the left, singing hymns with never silent voice.” On the other hand, the angels are not only allotted to different heavens according to their hierarchies, but they are also thought to govern the stars and the heavens, as we can see in the Slavic Book of Henoch: “They brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two hundred angels, who rule the stars and their service to the heavens.”

The Apocalypse of St. John plainly identifies angels and stars.

These ideas are also found among the Fathers of the Church. A distribution of angelic hierarchies through the heavens is suggested by Cyrillus of Jerusalem: “For, if someone (if ever this were possible) ascended to the first heaven and apprehended the condition of the angels over there...Go up to the second heaven, and to the third; go, if you can, before the thrones and dominions...” And the idea that the angels move the heavens is attested in the Latin version of Theodorus of Mopsuestia’s commentary to St. Paul’s Epistula ad Colossenses, I, 16:

Seats or dominions, principalities or powers

Whence no mention of the angels is made, because that name seems to rather have a meaning of service; but he said “seats and dominions and principalities and powers,” which are so called namely because of the service that they seem to fulfill. But they have a certain meaning of that dignity that is for them, because they undertook that they should command unseen. And some of them command the air, some the Sun, some the Moon, some command the stars.
We may add these passages by Cosmas Indicopleustes:

“Some among the angels were entrusted to move the air, some to move the Sun, some to move the Moon, some others to move the stars.”

“For when the stars fell, according to the Holy Scripture, and the angels who move them were set free…”

There is, however, a passage by Anastasius Sinaïta (eighth century C. E.), where a distinction is drawn between the heaven of the stars, and that of the angels.

On the other hand, the stars were thought of as animated beings, as we see attested in passages of authors relevant for our topic. For example, Philo of Alexandria wrote: “Other beings have only their share of goodness, because they do not participate of badness. Such are the stars. For these are said to be living and intellectual creatures,” and that the stars are “entirely souls undefiled in all respects and divine, wherefore they are also moved in circle with the movement most connatural to the intellect.” Clement of Alexandria seems to have developed these doctrines, setting the angels as souls of the heavenly bodies (“the stars, bodies conveying breath, sharing it with the angels that are set upon them and by whom they are governed”).

The role of souls of the heavenly bodies was played by the Sirens and Muses among the Neoplatonists. From a passage of St. Irenaeus of Lyon, we can infer that the substitution of the angels for the Pagan Sirens and Muses on the heavens was due to the Gnostics: “They say that the seven heavens are not intellectual, but they assume the existence of the angels themselves and of the Demiurgos himself as an angel similar to God, so that they say that the paradise, being upon the third heaven, is virtually an angel.”
Among the Fathers of the Church, however, the angelic hierarchies were not identified with the stars or with the heavens, and we find Byzantine sources where stars and angels are still allotted different heavens, or distinguished on the ground that the heavenly bodies have no soul, whereas the angels are animated beings.\textsuperscript{531} In II.1.c.4.1., we saw that the views of Plato and Aristotle about the souls and the divinity of the heavenly bodies and spheres were known and discussed, but, with some exceptions, not shared by early Christian and medieval scholars and theologians. And perhaps it was not by mere chance if at the same time as the heavenly bodies lost their divine status and even were thought to be without soul, the beliefs about the harmony of the spheres lost their soteriological aspect. To keep distance with any consideration that the heavenly bodies might be divine, their relationship with the angelic beings (who replaced the Sirens and Muses of Plato and the Neoplatonists) was far of being stable and clearly defined, and even the singing angels seem to lack the soteriological function of Sirens and Muses. Furthermore, the angels’ song remained distinct from the sounds of the heavenly bodies. Indeed, both kinds of superhuman music were conceived as praise to God. For example, Origen stated that the stars sing hymns to God: \textquotedblleft And we sing hymns to God and to His only Son, as the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and the whole heavenly army does. For all those sing hymns, being a divine chorus, along with those who are righteous among men, to God who is above all and to His only Son."\textsuperscript{532} This was an obvious continuation of the passages from the Psalms quoted above.\textsuperscript{533} St. Ambrosius also developed ideas already expressed in the Psalms, when he says that the angels praise God: \textquotedblleft The angels praise the Lord, the powers of the heavens sing psalms for Him, and before the very beginning of the world the Cherubim and the Seraphim say with the
softness of their harmonious voice: *Holy, Holy, Holy.* No mention is made there of any song by the heavenly bodies, and still in the sixteenth century the Greek theologian Damascenus Studites wrote that all creatures serve their Creator, and as examples of that Damascenus Studites mentions that the heavens give the star (that guided the three Magi), and the angels, their hymn. Moreover, the diagram next to the hymn *Naturalis concordia vocum cum planetis,* preserved alongside with a manuscript of Boethius’s *De musica,* show that the harmony of the spheres and the song of the angelic hierarchies were not the same thing, because the heavenly bodies and the angelic orders are allotted different sounds of the ancient Greek musical system: Moon – *proslambanomenos;* Mercury – *hypate hypaton;* Venus – *parhypate hypaton;* Sun – *lichanos hypaton;* Mars – *hypate meson;* Jupiter – *parhypate meson;* Saturn – *lichanos meson;* Caelum (that is, the sphere of the fixed stars) – *mese;* virtutes – *paramese;* potestates – *mese diezeugmenon;* principatus – *paranete diezeugmenon;* dominatio – *nete diezeugmenon;* tronus – *trite hyperbolaion;* cherubin – *paranete hyperbolaion;* seraphin – *nete hyperbolaion.*

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487 Cf. *Isaiah,* 6, 2 (καὶ σεραφίν εἰστίκειται κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἔνι καὶ ἐξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἔνι, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν ἐπέτατο).

488 Cf. *Ezechiel,* 1, 4-11:

1.4. καὶ ἠδον καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα ἐξαίρετο ἥρχετο ἀπό βορρᾶ, καὶ νεφέλη μεγάλη ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ φέγγος κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πῦρ ἔξαετράπτον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτοῦ ὡς ὀρασις ἡλέκτρου ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ φέγγος ἐν αὐτῷ.

1.5. καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ὡς ὀμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ὀρασις αὐτῶν ὀμοίωμα ἁνθρώπου ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς,

1.6. καὶ τέσσαρα πρόσωπα τῷ ἔνι, καὶ τέσσαρας πτέρυγες τῷ ἔνι.

1.7. καὶ τὰ σκέλη αὐτῶν ὀρθὰ, καὶ πτερωτοῖ ὡς πόδες αὐτῶν, καὶ επιθῆρες ὡς ξαστράπτων χαλκός, καὶ ἑλαφραί αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν.
1.8. καὶ χείρ ἀνθρώπου ὑποκάτωθεν τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τέρασα μέρη αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν τῶν τεσσάρων
1.9. οὐκ ἔπεστρέφοιτο ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν αὐτά, ἔκαστον κατέναντι τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύοντο.
1.10. καὶ ὠμοίωσε τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου καὶ πρόσωπον λέοντος ἕκ δεξιώτικοι τοῖς τέρασκαις καὶ πρόσωπον μόσχου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τοῖς τέρασκαις καὶ πρόσωπον ἅρτου τοῖς τέρασκαις.
1.11. καὶ αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν ἐκτεταμέναι ἀνώθεν τοῖς τέρασκαις, ἐκατέρω δύο συνεζευγμέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ δύο ἐπεκάλυπτον ἑπάνω τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν.

Transl. by the author, based on the revised standard version as retrieved from the CD-ROM #5.3 edited by the Packard Humanities Institute.

489 Vid. Ezechiel, 1, 24 (according to the Septuaginta: καὶ ἦκον τὴν φωνὴν τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ ὡς φωνὴν ὦδατος πόλλον); cf. also Ez., 3, 13 (καὶ ἐδόξων φωνὴν πτερύγων τῶν ζῴων πτεροσαμίενων ἐτέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν).

490 Cf. Ezechiel, 1, 22 (καὶ ὁμοίωμα ὑπὲρ κεφάλης αὐτοῖς τῶν ζῴων ὡς πτέρυγα ὡς ὀρασίς κρυστάλλου ἐκτεταμένων ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ἑπάνωθεν).

491 Cf. Ezechiel, 1, 26 (ὡς ὀρασίς λίθου σαφεῖρου ὁμοίωμα θρόνου ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμολόγου τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα ὡς ἔδωκ ἀνθρώπου ἀνώθεν).

492 Cf. Ezechiel, 1, 28 (αὕτη ἡ ὁμοιόμορφος δόξῃς κυρίῳ).

493 Cf. Ezechiel, X, 1 (Καὶ ἐδόξων καὶ ὲδον ἑπάνω τοῦ στεφανόμετο τοῦ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῶν χερουμν ὡς λίθου σαφείρου ὁμοίωμα θρόνου ἐπὶ αὐτῶν).

494 Cf. Ezechiel, X, 5 (καὶ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων τῶν χερουμν ἦκαντο ἐνεπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐξωτέρας ὡς φωνής θεοῦ Σαδδάκ λαλοῦντος), and X, 21 (τέρασα πρόσωπα τῷ ἐνὶ, καὶ ὀκτώ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ, καὶ ὁμοίωμα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπου ὑποκάτωθεν τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν); cf. I, 24, and I, 8, quoted in nn. 489 and 488.

495 Cf. Clem. Al., Strom., V, 6, 36, 4 (αὐτίκεςται Χερουμμῆ ... συμβολον δ᾽ ἐστὶ λογικῆς μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ψυχῆς, πτέρυγες δὲ λειτουργίαι).


497 Cf. Mesomedes, Hymn to Physis, vv. 15-20 (σὺ δ᾽ ὡς λαμπραῖς ἀκτίσισι / γαϊὰν πάσαν πυρσające / Αἰών ἀσβέστως φλογ mockMvcι / ταῖς σαίσ δέρκευ με γλήναις / ὀλβόν χεῦνεν εὐαγῇ / τῷ σῷ, Παῖαιν, βασιλεύτῃ). The name Paian corresponded to Apollo; the identification of Apollo and the Sun has been discussed in II. 3. c., and III. 4. B.

498 Cf. Pl. Tim., 37d ὥ μὲν ὦν τοῦ ζῶου φύσις ἐτύγχανεν ὡσα αἰώνος, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ γεννητῷ παντελῶς προσάπτειν οὐκ ἦν δυνατῷ· εἰκώ δ᾽ ἐπενέχει κινητῶν τυνα αἰώνος

499 Cf. Plotinus, III, 7, 5, 12-13 (τὸ οὕτως ἔχων αἰώνων καὶ ἀεὶ ὅν, τὸ μὴ ἀποκλίνου εἰς ἐτέραν φύσιν κατὰ μηδὲν).

500 Cf. PMG, IV, 594-6 (Αἰών... φωτοδότα), and Simplicius, Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion, p. 13, 1. 32 Dübner (φωτοδότης ο ἡλίος). Vid. Casadio, 1997, 49-50.

501 Cf. our pl. 31 and Berefelt, 1968, 58, fig. 38; for the apotheosis of Faustina and Antoninus Pius, carried by Aion as well, cf. Boissier, 1877, 325, fig. 390; Berefelt, 1968, 59, fig. 39, and our pl. 30.

502 Cf. Le., 16, 22 (ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆραι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἄβρααμ).

503 Cf. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Carmina de se ipso, II, 280-1, PG, 37, 991, ll. 4-5 (Ἀγγελικοὶ τε χοραῖ, φαλαύνεις Θεόν ὁ γ΄ ἐρέθουσιν, / Ἰστάμενοι, φυχάς τε Θεῷ πέμπουστε ἐν ἡμῖν).

504 Cf. St. John Chrysostomus, De sanctis martyribus, 2, PG, 50, 710, 9-23: Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναβώσων εἰς τῶν οὐρανῶν, πάσας ἐκεῖναι αἱ ἄγας δυνάμεις συντρέχουσι. Εἰ γὰρ ἅθλητῶν ἕξων ἐπιδημοῦστων τῇ πόλει, πάς ὁ δήμος περιβρέει πανταχόθεν, καὶ κυκλώσασθεν αὐτοῦς καταμαθάνουσι τῶν μελῶν τὴν εἰνέξαν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῶν ἅθλητῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀναβάσας, συντρέχοντος αὐτοῦς, καὶ πάσας αἱ ἄγας δυνάμεις πάντοθεν περιβρέεσθαι καταμαθάνουσα τούτως τὰ τραίματα, καὶ καθάπερ τινὰς ἀριστέας ἐκ πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἐπανελθόντας μετὰ πολλὰ τρόπαια καὶ νίκας, οὕτω μὲθ’ ἡδονῆς δεξιοῦνται πάντοτε αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀσπάζονται. ἔτι ἄγουσιν αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς δορυφορίας πρὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ τῶν βρόνων ἐκείνου τῶν πολλῆς δόξης γέμουσα, ἐνθά τὰ Χέρουβιμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφιμ.

505 Cf. St. Gregory the Great, Dialogi, 15, 1: Saepe animabus exeuntibus electorum dulcedo sole laudis caelestis erumpere, ut, dum illa libenter audiunt, dissolutionem carnis ab anima sentire minime permittantur.

506 Cf. for example Anthologia Graeca, I, 119, vv. 24-6 (ὡς θάνεν· ὡς Αἰδαο σιδήρεα ῥῆξε θύρετρα, / κεῖθεν δὲ ἡγανομένοις θεοπειθέας οὐρανὸν εἴσω / ἤγαγεν ἀχράντοισιν ὑπ᾿ ἐννεσίῃσι τοκῆος).

507 According to the index of Pope Zacharias’ Vita sancti Benedicti graece reddita (eighth century), the 35th chapter of that work bears the title Περὶ Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Καπούνης (Καπούης deb. ἐπισκόπου ὅτε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν πυρίνῃ σφαίρᾳ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀναλαμβανομένην ὁ ἅγιος ἐθεάσατο. Then, in chapter 35, section 3, we read: Θαύματος δὲ πλῆρες μυστήριον ἐν τῇ ἑκείνης ὥρᾳ ἐξηκολούθησεν, καθὼς ὁ αὐτὸς πατὴρ μετέπειτα διηγήσατο. Εἶδον γάρ, φησὶν ἐφασκεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος, ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα ἐν συναθροισθείς. Ἐτι δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ φωτὸς τῇ λαμπρότητι ἀτενῶς προσέχων, εἰδὲν Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Καπούνης ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἁγίαν ψυχὴν ἐν πυρίνῃ σφαίρᾳ ὑπὸ ἁγγέλων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀναλαμβανομένην. Cf. section 6 (Ὁ τοίνυν άνήρ οὗτος τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς σφαίραν θεωσάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἅγγελους ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὕποστρέφοντας, προδήλως τοῦτο θεωρῆσαι οὐχ ἡδῶντο, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ύπῆρχεν), and Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth century), Quaestiones theologicae de praedestinatione divina et de anima, II, 3, 11, lines 73-5 (Ὁ αὐτὸς
Βενέδικτος εἶδε καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ψυχήν Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καπούας ἐν πυρίνῃ σφαίρῃ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναλαμβανομένην.

508 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, 5, 11, 77, 2 (καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήμεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἑθέωρον ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους,... οἰκούντας ἐν ναοὶς κοσμημέας καὶ ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕμιστον). For the heavenly music as praise to God, cf. later Dante, Purgatorio, 30, 92-3 (anzi'l cantar che notan sempre / dietro a le note de li eterni girl; Paradiso, 27, 1-2 (“Al Padre, al Figlio, a lo Spirito Santo” / cominciò: “Gloria!”, tutto'l paradiso / con tre melode, che suonano in tree / ordini di letizia onde s'interna. / In essa gerarchia son l'altre dec: / prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi; / l'ordine terzo di Podestadi èe. / Poczia ne' due penultiimi tripudi / Principati e Arcanggeli si gierano; / l'ultimo è tutto d'Angelici ludi). On the music of the spheres in the Divina Commedia, cf., for example, Cappuccio, 2008.


512 Cf. Ps. 148, 2-4 (αινείτε αὐτῶν, πάντες οἱ ἀγγέλοι αὐτῶν / αἰνείτε αὐτῶν, πάσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν. / αἰνείτε αὐτῶν, ἤλιος καὶ σελήνη / αἰνείτε αὐτῶν, πάντα τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς. / αἰνείτε αὐτῶν, οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν / καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν).

513 Cf. Odae, 8, 62-3 (εὐλογείτε, ἤλιος καὶ σελήνη, τῶν κύριων / ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερψυοῦτε αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας / εὐλογείτε, ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τῶν κύριων / ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερψυοῦτε αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας).
οὐκ τοῖς ἔξωθεν, συνεχεῖς τῶν σφαιροειδεῖς καὶ σώμα τὴν ναστοὺς διαφανεῖς κατὰ οὐρανοὺς ὅτι ὑπὸ ἐν καὶ ἀγγέλων κινοῦνται ἀέρι τῷ γῆς τῆς;

516 Since it was impossible for us to deal with the original, given the time available for this research, we have provisionally used the English translation by Charles, 1913, 434, available on line, http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/fbe/fbe115.htm, as consulted on September 5th 2005.


518 Cf. Greek Legend of Isaiah, 2, 12 (Καὶ πάλιν ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν πρῶτον οὐρανοῦ, καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ κατὰ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θρόνον, δεξιόν τε καὶ ἀριστερός ἐστῶτας θείους ἀγγέλους καὶ ὑμνοῦντας ἀσιγήτω φωνή). This motif is repeated until 2, 22.


521 Cf. Cyrilus of Jerusalem, in PG, 33, 704: Εἴ γὰρ τις (εἴ γε δυνατὸν) ἀναβάς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον οὐρανόν, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγγέλων κατανυστήσας τὴν κατάστασιν... 'Ανάβηθι πρὸς δεύτερον οὐρανόν, καὶ τρίτων· φθάσων, εἰ δύνη, πρὸς θρόνους καὶ κυριότητας...

522 Theodorus of Mopsuestia, In Epistulam ad Colossenses, 1, 16 (pp. 270-1 Swete): sedes sive dominationes, principatus sive potestates. unde non est memoratas 'angelorum,' eo quod hoc nomen ministrationis magis significantiam habere videretur; sed 'sedes et dominationes et principatus et potestates' dicit, quae et ipsae vocantur quidem sic a functione illa quam implere viderentur; habent autem et aliquam significationem dignitatis illa, quae et ipsae vocantur principatus sive potestates. unde non est memoratus 'angelorum,' eo quod ho

523 Cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographia christiana, II, 84: Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν ἀέρα καὶ νημίν ἐπετρέποντο, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἕλμον, οἱ δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ἄλλοι τὰ ἀστέρα, ἔτεροι νόημας καὶ θρησκείας ἐρμαζόμενοι, καὶ ἔτερα πολλά: τούτο γὰρ ἔρχον καὶ νόμος τῶν ἀγγέλων ταχυδρόμων τις καὶ Δυνάμεων ἔστι, τὸ διακο救治 πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ τιμὴν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ καὶ οὖν καὶ πάντα, ὡς ὑπήκους στρατιώτης τοῦ μασάγα. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔρχον τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκελεύσθησαν ποιεῖν, οὗτος καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον τοῖς ἀστήρων κατεξάδεσθαι.

524 Cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographia christiana, II, 97: Τῶν γὰρ ἀστερῶν πιπτόντων κατὰ τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν καὶ δρόμον καὶ νεκτώς καὶ ἱμέρας παυμενούν, καὶ ἐλευθερούμενον τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ταύτα καυσάτωσιν... Cf. also III, 5 (Ἐντούθα ἐφ' ὑψῖ λοις γενόμενοι οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωπος τὸν πτώχον ὑπόδουμον, καὶ συγχώς τοῖς ἀστήρων ὑπονοοῦντες καὶ ὑφώντες τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀστερῶν ἐνεργόμενα, τὰ δὲ κατερχόμενα, τρόπον τινά ὡς ἐπὶ μηχανῆς στρεφόμενον ὑπότευναν πρὸς τῷ οὐρανοῦ διακοΰντας ἔστιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἡγόνουσα γὰρ καὶ τῷ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλων καυσάτωσιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα); ΙΧ, 6 (Τοῦς κύκλους τούτους, ὅσα κατερχόμενα, οὕτως οὐράνοις οὐρανοειδεῖς, συνεχεῖς καὶ ναότος τοὺς οἰκομετὰ καὶ διαφανεῖς, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἑξωθεν
ληροθέαν κατεγράφαμεν, ἀλλὰ πορείας ἄστρων κυκλοφερεῖς ἀερίας διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐκπλοηγμένας θέλοντες οἰμάναι, τούτους κατεγράφαμεν, ἵν' εὑρύνοπτα τοῖς θεομένοις γένονται. Ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ λόγῳ μεμημέθη εἰσόντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους καινεῖν τοὺς φωτίσας καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ως πρὸς διακοινίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τεταγμένους, ἐναντία δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα κατεγράφαμεν, ὡς ἐνδεχεται αὐτὸ γραφή παραδούναι; IX, 13 (ασφαξὸς οὖν ἐλευθερούμενων τῶν ἀγγέλων, τῶν αὐτὰ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὰ λουπά κυνοῦντων, τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης, πέπειεν εἰς γῆν ἐβήθαι τὰ ἄστρα).

525 Anasstius Sinaita, In Hexameron analogicae contemplationes. ΙΙ. 4, 2 (lines 160-4 Baggarly-Kuehn): Ὄταν δὲ Πατέλλων ὁ ἀρχηγός ἀρπαξαμένου ἐώς τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, πρῶτον οὐρανόν τοῦ ἀέρα εἶναι νόμιμα κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐγνωκα πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄερος, εἶτα δεύτερον λυπῶν τὸν οὐρανόν τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ τρίτον τὸν ἀνώτατον οὐρανόν τῶν ἀγγέλων.

526 We have described the history of this notion in ΙΙ. 1. c. 4. 1.

527 Cf. Philo of Alexandria, De opificio mundi, 73 (τά δ' αὐτής κεκοινωνηκεν ἄρετῆς ἀμέτοχα πάσης ὡς κακίας, ὡσπερ οἱ ἀστέρες· οὕτοι γὰρ ζῷα τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ ζῷα νοερά), and De gigantibus, 8 (καὶ γὰρ οὕτωι ψυχαί διὰ δε' ὀλων ἀκήρατοι τοι καὶ θείαι, παρὰ καὶ κύκλω κυνοῦντα τὴν συγγενεστάτην νῦν κίνησιν).

528 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Eclogae propheticae, 55, 1 (Ὅι ἀστέρες, κύκλω πνευματικά, κεκοινωνηκότα ἀγγέλους ἔφεστοι διοικοῦμενα).


531 Cf. Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth century C. E.), Epistulae diversae, ΙΙ. 3, 14, lines 15-26 (Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀλλήθετερον ἐστὶν, ὅτι τρίτος οὐρανὸς ἔσται, ὅν καὶ παραδείγματι λέγει, ὁ ἐξωτερικὸς οὐρανός καὶ τελευταῖος τετρεῖς γὰρ εἰσίν οἱ οὐρανοί ὁ ἐμπρός ἤγγον ὁ ἐχθὸν τις ἀστέρας· ὁ δεύτερος ὁ χρυσάλλος ἤγγον το στεφώμα· τρίτος τῇ ἐξορύμα ὅπου ἀνέρχονται αἰ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἄγγων (...). Ἐξει τοινυν εἰς τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταίον οὐρανὸν καὶ νοητὸν παραδείγματος, ὃς ὥσπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι), and Damascenus Studites (sixteenth century C. E.), Thesaurus, 10, lines 21-3 (Τα ἐποιηθήναι μᾶθε, εὐλογηθέντι Χριστιανοῖ, ὃτι εἶναι εἰς δύο τάξεις, εἰς
ἐμψυχα, καὶ ἄψυχα· ἐμψυχα μὲν εἶναι οἱ Ἁγγελοί· ἄψυχα δὲ εἶναι ὁ οὐρανός, ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄστερες).

Cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, 8, 66: καὶ ὑμνοῦμεν γε Θεὸν καὶ τὸν Μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ἥλιος, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οὐρανία στρατιά. Ὑμνοῦσι γὰρ πάντες οὕτω, θείος ὄντες χορός, μετὰ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δυκαίων τὸν ἐπὶ πάσι Θεὸν καὶ τὸν Μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ.

The “heavenly army” to which Origen alluded in this passage, is a very interesting expression, because it can refer both to:
a) The angels, according to Philo of Alexandria, De sacrificiis Abelis et CAINI, 5, 3 (ἄγγελοι γὰρ στρατός εἰσι θεοῦ), who might rely on passages like I Reg. 22, 19 (= III Reg., 22, 19: εἶδον τὸν κύριον θεόν Ισραηλ. καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσα ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰστήκει περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ) and Is., 6, 2 (καὶ σαραφινεῖσαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ). Cf. also Ephraem of Syria, Sermo de habenda semper in mente die exitus vitae, lines 3-4: παραγίνονται γὰρ ἐπʼ αὐτῇ Ἁγγελοὶ ἑγαθοὶ καὶ πλῆθος στραταῖς οὐρανίων.

b) The heavenly bodies, according to Jer., 8, 2 (καὶ ψύξουσιν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πρὸς πάσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and Jud., 5, 20 (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπολέμησαν ἄστερες, ἐκ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ Σίσαρα). In the fourteenth century C. E. Matthaeus Vlastares still held that “the army of heaven” must be understood as a reference to the heavenly bodies (Colleectio alphabetica, ε, 3, line 49: στρατάν μέντοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς ἄστερες νοητέον).

Cf. St. Ambrosius, Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos, I, 2, in PL, 14, 921: Laudent Angeli Dominum, psallunt ei Potestates caelorum, et ante ipsum initium mundi Cherubim et Seraphim cum suavitate canorae vocis suae dicunt: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.”

Damascenus Studites, Thesaurus, 2, lines 156-8: διὰ τούτο καὶ πάν ποίημα Θεοῦ δορυφορεῖ τὸν γεννηθέντα· οἱ μὲν οὐρανοὶ δίδουν τὸν ἄστερα· οἱ ἅγγελοι τὸν ἥλιον.

Cf. Handschin, 1927, 201 (reproduction) and 204 (transcription); cf. also Meyer-Baer, 1970, 80 ff.
We have seen that the Sirens were the first mythical bearers of the music of the spheres ever mentioned in ancient Greek literature, in the myth of Er, at the end of Plato’s Republic. They were mythical embodiments of the cosmic sounds, and Plutarch transmitted an interpretation, according to which those Sirens, by means of their singing, guided the souls in their heavenly ascent. The celestial Sirens were also thought to be souls themselves, more specifically souls of the heavenly bodies or spheres. All these possibilities do not exclude each other, and could have been accepted in Classical times. The role of the heavenly Sirens as guides for the souls in the journey to paradise implies that cosmic music, for the ancients, was also the ground of the belief that the stars are the abode of the blest. The souls were believed to ascend toward the stars because heavenly music was thought to guide and attract them.

On the other hand, Plato presented the Moirai singing in his myth of Er, and there were some attempts to link the Moirai with the regions of a threefold cosmological scheme, but this was a marginal phenomenon, and the Moirai did not play any role in guiding the souls to the heavens.

The Platonic notion of heavenly Sirens could be inspired by a Pythagorean aphorism (quoted by Iamblichus) that identified the Delphic oracle with the tetraktys, and added that the tetraktys was the harmony in which the Sirens had their abode. If this
aphorism were, as it is usually assumed, earlier than Plato, nothing in it could allow us to admit that the harmony alluded to were that of the spheres. The Sirens were, in that aphorism, a mythical personification of the sounds of the musical system. Plato transferred them to the heavens and they became embodiments of the cosmic sounds.

But it is likely that the first mythical bearers of cosmic music, among the early Pythagoreans, were the Pleiads, called “the lyre of the Muses” in another Pythagorean aphorism quoted by Porphyry, and going back at least to Aristotle’s time. The Pleiads were also the first heavenly body associated with music by the Pythagoreans, and they constituted the first lyre of the cosmos, before the several tentative systems of cosmic harmony that linked the seven notes of a heptachord lyre with the Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. There are some more pieces of evidence for the musical character of the Pleiads, but these stars did not have the soul-leading function of the heavenly Sirens.

The eschatological side of the Pleiads as bearers of cosmic music is far different from that of the Sirens as psychopomps. The Pleiads were the result of a myth of metamorphosis into a heavenly body, one of the first myths of that kind. Such a myth implied that they became immortals, but we have found no source in which the Pleiads were turned into stars thanks to their connection with music (which did only exist after they became stars537) or by means of a heavenly singing psychopomp. There is not enough evidence to support the view that the Pythagoreans believed that the souls become stars after the death of the body, and Plato tells nothing about that, while the belief in the cathartic power of the music of the spheres more clearly belongs to the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition. On the other hand, the myth about the transformation of
the Pleiads into stars is almost the only one among such myths (alongside with that about the lyre of Orpheus) that is related to cosmic music, but the Pleiads do not lead the souls to any heavenly paradise. On the other hand, the heavenly Sirens, who acted as psychopomps, were not the result of a metamorphosis into star.

We can see that Sirens and Pleiads were the first mythical embodiments of the sounds of the universe. The Muses were also associated with the heavenly spheres; this does not seem to have happened earlier than the late Hellenistic period, but it had better fortune in the literary tradition, and survived even in the Middle Ages. The Muses shared with the Sirens the association with heavenly bodies or spheres, as well as the role of leading souls towards paradise. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the Muses were not psychopomps in their origins, but the Neoplatonists attributed them such a function in a more consistent way than to the Sirens. This may be due to the fact that the Muses lacked the irrational, perverse connotations of the Sirens. On the other hand, both Muses and Pleiads were associated with the strings of different kinds of lyre. We think that perhaps the Sirens were not associated with the strings of the lyre because of the sensual and irrational character of their song. Last, the angelic hierarchies replaced the Pagan Sirens and Muses on the heavenly spheres, and shared with them the wings, the song, the association with stars or cosmic spheres, and the role of leading the souls before God, but it is not at all sure that they guided the souls by means of their song.

We have seen that all cosmic musicians have wings. The only exception seems to be the Moirai, of whom there are only very few iconographic testimonies showing them with a feather crown. On the other hand, the Moirai have a very slight relationship with music and with the universe: in fact, they owe their role as cosmic singers to a Platonic
whim. It is difficult to say whether there is a causal relationship between their slight relationship to music and the scarcity with which they are represented with a feather crown (not even with wings). The winged physiognomy of the Muses is not attested by iconographic sources (excepting very few images of Muses with a feather crown), but the wings of the Muses are mentioned in some literary sources. On the other hand, if Boyancé’s suggestions are right, the cosmic Muses and the Platonic Moirai could have their background in the Delphic thríai, who were originally bee-maidens, and consequently were winged as well. Another common feature of all cosmic musicians is that they are attendants of other main deities: Apollo, in the case of the Sirens, Muses, and thríai; Dionysus or Zeus, in that of the Pleiads, and the Jewish-Christian-Muslim God, when it comes to the angelic hierarchies. Whether all these beings had any common origin in the mythologies of the Near and Middle East, would be the topic of another research.

There is almost no ground to affirm that the wings were the vocal organ of the Sirens, Muses, and Pleiads, as to the angelic hierarchies, so far as we know, only the sound of the cherubim’ wings is mentioned in some passages of Ezechiel. In general, all these creatures were imagined as having wings because of their celestial connections, but we think it is worthwhile to consider whether there was any special relationship between the winged character of Sirens, Muses, and Pleiads, and their musical activity. At least the myth according to which the Sirens lose their wings after being defeated by the Sirens in a musical contest, suggests that the wings were, if not the vocal organ of the Sirens, at least the symbol of their musical power. The Muses, however, despite the fact that their link with the cosmic spheres is more often mentioned and in a more detailed
way, were not so clearly and consistently endowed with wings. This can be due to the relatively late and secondary character of their association with cosmic music, and probably to their closeness to the Olympian rationalism and anthropomorphism; further, those sources that do not speak of the Muses’ wings, but attribute them a headdress made with the feathers of the Sirens’ wings, can suggest that the musical power of the Muses dwelled on their heads, and this hints to their rational character as well. The Pleiads, who might be the first mythical bearers of cosmic music, are also the ones more strongly endowed with bird-like characteristics.541

There is still an important factor to be dealt with in this context. We think that it makes sense that the mythical embodiments of the cosmic sounds had wings, according to the imagination of the ancients, because they also attributed metaphoric wings to different sound phenomena: the Homeric formula “winged words” is well known,542 and the fourth century C. E. sophist Himerius brilliantly developed the image of the winged words.543 Among the countless amazing verses we owe to Sophocles’ genius, there is one mentioning the “winged thunder of Zeus.”544 A fragment by Pratinas of Flius mentions a “tune with wings of changeful hue,”545 and Pindar promised a “winged hymn” in his fifth Isthmian ode.546 All this can be borne in mind when we read a passage by Themistius, where the nature of the wing is said to be akin to music, because all winged animals are musical, and all wingless are indifferent to music.547 It seems logical that the ancients imagined the mythical musicians of the cosmos as winged creatures: if the sound we can perceive was thought to have wings, we could easily expect that the same idea were also valid about celestial sounds, which provided the model for human music. In fact, some sources explained the Homeric expression “winged words” on the ground of the Muses
making a crown for themselves from the feathers of the Sirens’ wings. Further, the wings bring to the mind the heavenly realm from which such music comes.

537 With the exception of the Pleiads mentioned by Callimachus, fr. 693 Pfeiffer.
539 We have found only a passage mentioning “the winged sound of the Sirens”; cf. Joannes of Gaza, Ἐκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πάπακος, I, vv. 1-2, quoted in III. 3., n. 366.
540 Other attendants of a deity, the swans of Apollo, also made sounds with their wings, as we can see in the *Homerian Hymn Nr. 21 (To Apollo)*, v. 1: “Phoebus, the swan certainly sings you with its wings in clear tone” (Ποιηθεῖς ἡ τοῦ σφήνου καὶ τῆς πτερονίδος μέλος ἡμοῖς ἑλεύ[θερος]), and in Aristophanes, *Aves*, vv. 769-72: “Such are the things, mixed together with their cry, that the swans sound in praise of Apollo, striking their wings.” (Τοιαῦτα κύκνῳ, / τοιοποιοῦσα τιτοπλέει, / συμμετέχει βοὴν ὠμοί / πτερασί κρέοντες ἵπποι). We can see that the sound of the wings of the swans conveys a praise for Apollo, as it is confirmed by the scholion (“for they sing a hymn to Apollo by moving their wings”): δι’ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν κύκνων κυνηγοῦσας ὠμοῖος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνῳ. This motif reappears in a passage by Himerius, *Or.*, 63, ll. 25-6 (“the swan makes ready its wing for singing hymns to Apollo”: κύκνος ὑπερτεροῖς ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος); cf. also Procopius, *Declamationes*, 2, ll. 6-11 (“When even the swans... turning their wings to the Zephyrus sing hymns to Apollo”: ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ κύκνοι νῦν ἐκ τῆς ώρας εἰς μνήμην ἔρχονται τῆς ὑμνής, καὶ παρὰ Ξάνθον οἷμαι ποταμὸν ἢ καὶ Ἰστροῦ τὰς ὦχθας ἢ καὶ ἀνὰ πεδία παρὰ Πακτωλὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν Λύδιον ποταμὸν ἀνίπτανται τε, καὶ τῷ Ζεφύρῳ τὸ πτερὸν ἐπιτρέπαντες ὠμοῖοι τε τὸν Ἀπόλλων καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ὑπομιμνήσκουσι λύρας· καθείποις ἢδιστα μὲν τοῦτων ἄκοντε). Further, the swans are yoked to Apollo’s chariot, as we can see in a paraphrase of Alcaeus by Himerius, *Or.*, 48, 109-15 (= Alcaeus, fr. 307 c Voigt: ὠτὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο, κομήσας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεῦς μίτα τε χρυσῆ καὶ λύρα, δουὲ τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἄρμα ἐλαύνει—κύκνοι δὲ ἔρχον τὸ ἄρμα—εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπει καὶ Κασταλίαν ἀνάβει, ἐκεῖθεν προφήτευον δέκτην καὶ βέμυ τοῖς Ἑλληνικῖς, ὃ δὲ ἐπιβάς επὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐφῆκε τοὺς κύκνους ἐκ Ὑπερβορέως πέτεσθαι). This function of the swans brings them closer to the cherubim of Ezechiel’s vision. The only problem is that Apollo’s swans are not, so far as we know, connected to the harmony of the spheres.

541 It is very curious that the doves (to which the name “Pleiads” was referred by some sources; cf. III. 1.) are not a singing bird, but the clapping sound of their wings was already observed by the ancients; cf. Joannes Philoponus, *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria*, Volume 15, page 378, lines 14-17: “And therefore it seems that they make sounds, as we said when it came to bees and cicadas, in such a way that the noise comes to being outside of the animal, and not by means of the vocal organs. Something similar happens when it comes to such animals, as well as to the doves, which make sounds with their wings when they fly” (καὶ ταύτης δοκοῦσιν ἔκεινοι φωνεῖν, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ μινών καὶ τεπτίγων ἐλέγομεν, ὡστε ἐξω τοῦ ζῶου γίνεται ὁ φῶς, καὶ οὐ διὰ φωνητικῶν ὁργάνων. καὶ παραπλήσου συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν περιστερῶν, αἰτίας ἱπτάμεναι φοινίκες ταῖς πτέρυξιν). It is also very important to remember that, if the Sirens and Muses that were connected to the harmony of the spheres had as an antecedent the Delphic thríai (maidens-bees) as Boyancé suggested, we would be
also dealing with creatures that make sounds with their wings, but not with their larynx (cf. Aristotle, \textit{HA}, 535b 9-11: 
"And the flies and the bees, and every other that lift and draw together by flying: for the sound is a friction of the inner air")

542 Cf. Homer, 	extit{Iliad}, 1, line 201 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας’ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα, also in 2, 7; 4, 312; 4, 369; 8, 101; 10, 163; 13, 750; 14, 138; 15, 35; 15, 89; 16, 6; 17, 74; 20, 331; 21, 73; 23, 601; 23, 625; 24, 517); 4, 284 (καὶ σφέας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα, also in 4, 337; 10, 191; 15, 145); 5, 242 (αὕρα δὲ Τυδείδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); 14, 2 (ἀλλ’ Ἀσκληπιάδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); 21, 419 (ἀὐτίκ’ Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); 22, 228 (ἄγχος τ’ ἵσταμεν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); Odyssey, 1, 122 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας’ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα, also in 2, 269; 5, 117; 5, 172; 7, 236; 8, 346; 8, 407; 8, 442; 8, 460; 11, 209; 13, 58; 13, 227; 13, 253; 13, 290; 14, 114; 15, 259; 16, 180; 18, 104; 20, 198; 22, 410; 23, 34; 24, 372; 24, 399); 4, 77 (καὶ σφέας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); 4, 550 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα, also in 11, 56; 11, 396; 12, 296); Hom. \textit{Hymn to Demeter}, v. 320 (καὶ μὲν φωνήσας’ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα, also in \textit{Hom. Hymn to Hermes}, 435); Hom. \textit{Hymn to Apollo} (fort. Auctore Cynaetho Chio), v. 451 (καὶ σφέας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα); Ps. Hes., \textit{Scutum}, v. 326 (καὶ σφέας θαρσοῦνσ’ ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσημόδα).

543 Cf. Himerius, \textit{Or.}, 48, ll. 380 ff. (ἀγε δή μοι πτεροῦσθε τὸ λοιπὸν, ὁ λόγοι, καὶ τὸ κάτω μεθέντες πρὸς αἴθερα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν φέρεσθαι. πτεραὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ Μουσηγήτης καὶ τοῖς ὕψι ήλιον δεῖκναι, οὐ κατὰ Δαίδαλον προστιθέεις πτερὰ, οὐς ἔπαρθενοι λόγος τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεανίσκοι Ἰκαρον πιστεύει μὲν ύπέρ θαλάσσης πτησθεῖσαι, ἐγγὺς δὲ ἠλίῳ γενόμενον ὄμοι τῇ κηρῷ λυθήναι καὶ μύδοι γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν πτερῶν τοῖς ύστερον τὰ δὲ ὑμῶν πτερὰ Μοῦσαι μὲν ἐφύσαν ἐν Μηθοσώσεως κῆποις; \textit{ibid.}, 69,1.43 (φθοῦν δὲ ἢσως οὐχ ἀλλ᾽ ἢσως ἂν οἱ λόγοι χρυσὰς κοιφίζωντα πτερεῖς).


545 Cf. Pratinas, fr. 1 Page, v. 5 (ποικιλόπτερον μέλος), quoted by Athenaeus, XIV, 8, 617 c.

546 Cf. Pindar, \textit{Isth.} 5, 63 (καὶ πτερόεντα νέον ὑμῖν ὑμοιν).

547 Cf. Themistius, p. 336 b 7-9 Harudion (οὕτω δὲ ἢ πτεροῦ φῶς μοισικὴ συγγενεῖ τὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπό ἄπερα, καὶ ἰμισαν πάντα, ὅσα ἕμοισα, καὶ πτερα, ἢ ἄριστο, ὁ κύκνος, ὁ τέττειξ). It is very interesting that the system of the ancient Greek scales were represented by means of a diagram called “wing” (cf. Aristides Quintilianus, I, 11: καὶ ὅπως τὰ κατὰ μοισικὴν ἀπόρρητα συγκράτησαν εὐκόλως, αἰτὶ τῶν ἐν χρήσει γραμμάτων τῶν κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἐκθέσιν ὑπογεγραμμένα κατατάξτων, πτέρα τὸ διά-γραμμα τῶν τρόπων γίνεται παραπλήσιον), and the diagram on a manuscript of Boethius, available on line at \url{http://www.music.indiana.edu/ml/6th-8th/BOEMUS4C_18GF.gif}, as consulted on September 10th 2005 (manuscript from the Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 15.22 (944), f. 88r). Thanks to Prof. Thomas J. Mathiesen for making us pay attention to this fact.
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