

# ZALMOXIS. ADDENDA TO *FHD*

DAN DANA-LIGIA RUSCU (Cluj-Napoca)

This study<sup>1</sup> sets forth a large number of sources concerning the Getic god Zalmoxis/Zamolxis, most of them little known, as *addenda* to *Fontes ad Historiam Dacoromanae pertinentes / Izvoare privind istoria României* (the first two volumes, Bucharest 1964-1970, edd. Vl. Iliescu, V. Popescu, Gh. Ștefan, H. Mihăescu, R. Hincu). In the *Introduction* (I, p. V), the authors expressed their hope that they had registered all ancient information concerning the populations of today's Romanian territory; they did not exclude, however, the possibility to have forgotten some information, except minimal and unessential one. Now we are able to see that, as regards Zalmoxis, their work presents serious omissions: they registered 21 authors, but they left out about 50 passages belonging to 36 authors or sources about the same god. Some of these sources are indeed not of the utmost importance; but they also excluded information extant in authors published in the *FHD* and even in the same works there registered (e.g. Plato, Lucian, Origen, Iamblichus, Julian, *Souda*)<sup>2</sup>.

From the sources here forwarded, only five are later than 1000 A. D. (the upper limit of *FHD* I-II); most of them belong to Late Antiquity. These "new" passages are, with few exceptions, unpublished in Romania. There are, for some of them, certain quotations or even translations<sup>3</sup>, or, in general, lists with ancient writers, for the name of the god (Zalmoxis or Zamolxis)<sup>4</sup>.

The main part of these texts belongs to the centuries II-III-IV A. D. - a period of flourishing rhetoric, the so-called "Second Sophistic" (II-III), and also of polemical Christian writings (III-IV) -, and, in Byzantine times, to the IXth-Xth centuries (the lexicographic works in the time of Patriarch Photius' "Renaissance"). These are all *secondary sources*, in which there can be detected no new, conclusive information about the "real" Zalmoxis; so we will not submit a new theory about Zalmoxis' nature from these texts. But they certainly help us to see more clearly the images and the legend of the Thracian/Getic/Scythian/Barbarian Zalmoxis in the Greek literary space. Ranging the passages in chronological order, we give only laconic

data about the authors and their works; the multitude of writings and their extent disallow us to offer larger commentaries.

## 1. PLATO, *Charmides*

Famous philosopher (428-347 B. C.), disciple of Socrates, founder of the Academy of Athens in 387 B. C.

### *Charmides* 158 B-C:

Ἔχει δ' οὖν οὕτως. Εἰ μὲν σοι ἤδη πάρεστιν, ὡς λέγει Κριτίας ὅδε, σωφροσύνη καὶ εἰ σώφρων ἱκανῶς, οὐδὲν ἔτι σοι δεῖ οὔτε τῶν Ζαλμόξιδος<sup>5</sup> οὔτε τῶν Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου<sup>6</sup> ἐπιφθῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτό σοι ἂν ἤδη δοτεόν εἴη τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φάρμακον· εἰ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἐπαδεῆς εἶναι δοκεῖς, ἐπαστέον πρὸς τῆς τοῦ φαρμάκου δόσεως.

Edition: Alfred Croiset, *Platon. Oeuvres complètes, Tome II*, Paris, LBL, 1921, p. 58.

"However, the case stands thus: if you already possess temperance, as Critias here declares, and you are sufficiently temperate, then you never had any need of the charms of Zalmoxis or of Abaris the Hyperborean, and might well be given at once the remedy for the head; but if you prove to be still lacking that virtue, we must apply the charm before the remedy" (*LCL* transl. by W. R. M. Lamb<sup>7</sup>)

## 2. POSEIDONIUS, *Fragmenta*

Stoic philosopher, historian, and geographer (born in Apamea, ca. 135-50/51 B. C.). Major works (fragments): *On the Ocean* (between 75-65 B. C.), *Historics* (ca. 80 B. C.).

F 135 Theiler (= Strabo 7.3.5):

... λέγεται γὰρ τινα τῶν Γετῶν ὄνομα Ζάμολξιν δουλεῦσαι Πυθαγόρῃ καὶ τινα τῶν οὐρανίων παρ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων πλανηθέντα καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο· ἐπανελθόντα δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ ἔθνει προλέγοντα τὰς ἐπισημασίας, τελευτώντα δὲ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα κοινωνῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ὡς τὰ

παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἱκανόν· καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἱερέα κατασταθῆναι τοῦ μάλιστα τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ θεὸν προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ καταλαβόντα ἀντρώδεις τι χωρίον ἄβατον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνταῦτα διαιτᾶσθαι, σπάνιον ἐντυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκτὸς πλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν θεραπεύοντων· συμπράττει δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ὀρώντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προέχοντας ἑαυτῷ πολὺ πλεόν ἢ πρότερον, ὡς ἐκφέροντι τὰ προστάγματα κατὰ συμβουλήν θεῶν. τοῦτι δὲ τὸ ἔθος διέτεινεν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, αἰεὶ τινος εὐρισκομένου τοιοῦτου τὸ ἔθος, ὃς τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ σύμβουλος ὑπῆρχε, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ὀνομάζετο θεός· καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὑπελήφθη ἱερόν, καὶ προσαγορεύουσι οὕτως· ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ Κωγαίονον ὀμώνυμον τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ.<sup>8</sup>

Edition: Willy Theiler, *Poseidonios. Die Fragmente*, herausgegeben von Willy Theiler, I. *Texte*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1982, p. 115 (and commentaries in vol. II, *Erläuterungen*, p. 99).

"... In fact, as said that a certain man of the Getae, Zamolxis by name, had been a slave to Pythagoras, and had learned some things about the heavenly bodies from him, as also certain other things from the Egyptians, for in his wanderings he had gone even as far as Egypt, and when he came on back to his homeland he was eagerly courted by the rulers and the people of the tribe, because he could make predictions from the celestial signs; and at least he persuaded the king to take him as a partner in the government, on the ground that he was competent to report the will of the gods; and although at the outset he was only made a priest of the god who was most honored in their country, yet afterwards he was even addressed as god, and having taken possession of a certain cavernous place that was inaccessible to anyone else he spent his life there, only rarely meeting with any people outside except the king and his own attendants, and the king cooperated with him, because he saw that the people paid much more attention to himself than before, in the belief that the decrees which he promulgated were in accordance with the counsel of the gods. This custom persisted even down to our own time, because some man of that character was always to be found, who, though in fact only a counselor to the king, was called god among the Getae. And the people took up the notion that the mountain was sacred and they so call it, but its name is Cogaeonum, like that of the river which flows past it." (*LCL* transl. by H. L. Jones<sup>9</sup>).

### 3. APOLLONIUS OF TYANA, *Epistolae*

Famed philosopher and, later on, illustrious example of *theios aner* (ca. 40-120 A. D.), Apollonius is to be considered in the eclectic philosophical thought of the first and second centuries A. D., among the Platonising Pythagoreans of the early Empire. The corpus of his epistles (*Epistolae Apollonii*) is not entirely genuine.

*Ep. Apoll.* 28: Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἷ γε μαθητῆς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο. καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὡς Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκὼν ἂν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἶει δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.<sup>10</sup>

Edition: *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana. A Critical Text with Prolegomena, Translation and Commentary* by Robert J. Penella, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979, p. 46 (and commentaries, pp. 105-107).

"To a king of the Scythians:

Zamolxis was a good man and a philosopher, since he was a pupil of Pythagoras. And if in his time the Romans had been such as they are now, he would have willingly been their friend. But if you think you must endure strife and toil on behalf of freedom, be known as a philosopher, that is a free man." (Transl. R. J. Penella, p. 47).

### 4. DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Getica (Fragmenta)*

Prestigious rhetorician and philosopher, born in Prusa (Bithynia) (ca. 40-120 A. D.). He also wrote a lost *Getica*<sup>11</sup>, on the history of the Getae.

*FGrHist* 707 F 1 (= Jordanes, *Get.* V, 39): *ut ergo ad nostrum propositum redeamus, in prima sede Scythiae iuxta Meotidem commanentes praefati, unde loquimur, Filimer regem habuisse noscuntur; in secunda, id est Daciae Thraciacque et Mysiae solo Zalmoxen, quem mirae philosophiae eruditionis fuisse testantur plerique scriptores annalium: nam et Zeutam prius habuerunt eruditum, post etiam Dicineum, [[tertium Zalmoxen, de quo superius diximus]], nec defuerunt, qui eos sapientiam erudirent. unde et pene omnibus barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper extiterunt Grecisque pene consimiles, ut refert Dio, qui historias eorum annalesque Greco stilo composuit*<sup>12</sup>.

Edition: Felix Jacoby, *FGrHist*, III C<sub>1</sub>, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1958, p. 578.

"To return, then, to my subject. The aforesaid race of which I speak is known to have had Filimer as king while they remained in their first home in Scythia near

Maeotis. In their second home, that is the countries of Dacia, Thrace and Moesia, Zalmoxes reigned, whom many writers of annals mention as a man of remarkable learning in philosophy. Yet even before this they had a learned man Zeuta, and after him Dicineus; [[and the third was Zalmoxes of whom I have made mention above]]. Nor did they lack teachers of wisdom. Wherefore the Goths have ever been wiser than other barbarians and were nearly like the Greeks, as Dio relates, who wrote their history and annals with a Greek pen." (transl. Charles C. Mierow<sup>13</sup>).

##### 5. ANTONIUS DIOGENES, *De mirabilibus ultra Thulen*

Greek novelist, who wrote, presumably in the first half of the second century, his strange novel, *Wonders Beyond Thule* (Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα), in 24 books; preserved in an epitome of Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 166), some quotations (Porphry, *V. Pyth.* and John Lydus, *De mens.*), and several papyri; his writing, as the novelistic genre generally, is very much discussed in our days<sup>14</sup>. Constructed in the technique of narrative flashbacks littered with geographical and philosophical lore (namely Pythagorean), and historical authenticating devices, this piece of literary fiction implies also the use of Pythagorean topics.

a. Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 166, 110 a: "Ἐπειτα ὡς λαβόντες Μαντινίας καὶ Δερκυλλίς ἐκ Λεωντίνων τὸ Παάπιδος πηρίδιον μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βιβλίων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ κιβώτιον, ἀπαίρουσιν εἰς Ῥήγιον κάκειθεν εἰς Μεταπόντιον, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοὺς Ἀστραῖος<sup>15</sup> ἐπικαταβῶν μηνύει κατὰ πόδας διώκειν Παάπιν. Καὶ ὡς συναπαίρουσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Θρακίας καὶ Μασσαγέτας<sup>16</sup>, πρὸς Ζάμολξιν τὸν ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ ἀπιοντι, ὅσα τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἴδοιεν, καὶ ὅπως ἐντύχοι Ἀστραῖος Ζαμόλξιδι παρὰ Γέταις ἤδη<sup>17</sup> θεῶ νομιζομένῳ· καὶ ὅσα εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δεηθῆναι Δερκυλλίς τε καὶ Μαντινίας Ἀστραῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἠξίωσαν. Καὶ ὡς χρησμός<sup>18</sup> αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέπεσεν ἐπὶ Θούλην εἶναι πεπρωμένον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἐς ὕστερον καὶ πατρίδα ὄφοντα, πρότερον ἄλλὰ τε ἐνταλαιπωροῦντες, καὶ δίκην τῆς ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ἀνοσιότητος (εἰ καὶ ἄκοντες ἤμαρτον) τινύντες τῷ τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς εἰς ζωὴν καὶ θάνατον διαμερισθῆναι, καὶ ζῆν μὲν ἐν νυκτί, νεκροῖς δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ. Εἶτα ὡς τοιοῦτος χρησμούς λαβόντες ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκεῖθεν τὸν Ἀστραῖον σὺν Ζαμόλξιδι λείποντες ὑπὸ Γετῶν

δοξαζόμενοι. Καὶ ὅσα περὶ Βορρᾶν αὐτοῖς τεράστια ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι συνηγάθη<sup>19</sup>.

Edition: René Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, Tome II («codices» 84-185), Paris, LBL, 1960, pp. 143-144.

"Then, as they left Leontini, Mantinias and Dercyllis took Paapis' bag, the books in it and a small wooden box of plants. They sailed to Rhegium and from there to Metapontum, where Astracus overtook them and warned them that Paapis was hard on their heels. They sailed away to Thrace and the Massagetae, together with Astracus, who was going to visit his friend Zalmoxis. There is an account of what they saw during these travels, of how Astracus met Zalmoxis, who was already regarded as a god among the Getae, and of what Dercyllis and Mantinias asked Astracus to say to him and ask him on their behalf. There, an oracle declared that they would go to Thule and that they would undergo trials and make atonement for their, albeit unintentional, irreverence towards their parents by dividing their time between life and death, by living at night but being corpses each day. After hearing such predictions, they set sail from there, leaving Astracus, who was revered by the Getae, with Zalmoxis. There is an account of all the marvellous sights and tales that they encountered in the north" (transl. Gerald N. Sandy, pp. 779-780)

b. Porphry, *V. Pyth.* 14: "Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερον μεράκιον ὃ ἐκ Θρακίας ἐκτίσαστο, ᾧ Ζάμολξίς ἦν ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ γεννηθέντι αὐτῷ δορὰ ἄρκτου ἐπεβλήθη· τὴν γὰρ δορὰν οἱ Θρακῆες ζαλμόν καλοῦσιν<sup>20</sup>. Ἀγαπῶν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Πυθαγόρας τὴν μετέωρον θεωρίαν ἐπαίδευσε τὰ τε περὶ ἱερουργίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς θεοὺς θρησκείας<sup>21</sup>.

Edition: *Porphyre. Vie de Pythagore. Lettre à Marcella*, texte établi et traduit par E. Des Places, Paris, LBL, 1982, p. 42.

"There was another youth in his company whom he acquired from Thrace, named Zalmoxis from the fact that at his birth he was wrapped in a bear hide, since the Thracians call a hide a *zalmos*. Pythagoras cherished him and taught him the theory of the heavens and about sacred rites and other matters pertaining to the cult of the gods." (transl. S. A. Stephens, J. J. Winkler, p. 135)

##### 6. FAVORINUS, *Fragmenta*

Western as origin (from Arlate, today Arles), but Greek by culture, Favorinus was a well-known sophist and writer of his time (ca. 80-150/160).

F 99 Barigazzi (= Stobaeus, *Flor.* 62.43; IV 429 Hense): Ζάμολξις οικήτης ἦν Πυθαγόρου, καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτὸν οἱ Γέται<sup>22</sup>.

Edition: *Favorino di Arelate, Opere. Introduzione, testo critico e commento* a cura di Adelmo Barigazzi, Felice le Monier, Florence, 1966, p. 526 and commentary.

"Zamolxis was a slave of Pythagoras and the Getae worshipped him." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 7. LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA, *Scythia*

Rhetorician, sophist, philosopher and writer, born in Samosata (cc. 120-180/190). Probable redaction of the *Scythia*: between 150-163<sup>23</sup>.

*Scythia* 4: ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀκινάκου καὶ Ζαμόλξιδος<sup>24</sup>, τῶν πατρῶων ἡμῖν θεῶν, σύ με, ὦ Τόξαρι, παραλαβὼν ξενάγησον καὶ δεῖξον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν Ἀτῆνησιν, εἶτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, νόμων τε τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ἀνδρῶν τοὺς βελτίστους...

Edition: *Luciani Scytharum colloquia, quae inscribuntur Toxaris, Scythia, Anacharsis cum scholiis* edidit Erwin Steindl, Leipzig, Teubner, 1970, p. 48.

"Now by our native gods Acinaces and Zamolxis, I ask you, Toxaris, to take me with you and be my guide and show me the best of what there is in Athens and then in the rest of Greece - their finest laws, their greatest men..." (LCL transl. by K. Kilburn)

### 8. CELSUS, *Ἀληθῆς Λόγος*

Neoplatonist philosopher of the second century; he wrote an animated anti-Christian book, in 8 treatises, more likely about 177-180, entitled *The True Doctrine* (*Ἀληθῆς Λόγος*), defending the "antiquity" and the truthfulness of the classical religion and culture, against the "new", i.e. dubious faith of the Christians<sup>25</sup>.

a. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.55: Μετὰ ταῦτα φησιν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος<sup>26</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας τῷ Ἰησοῦ πιστεύοντας· Θέρε δὴ καὶ πιστεύωμεν ἡμῖν τοῦτ' εἰρησθαι. Πόσοι δ' ἄλλοι τοιαῦτα θεραπεύονται, πειθοῦς ἕνεκα τῶν εὐήθως ἀκούντων ἐνεργολαβοῦντες τῇ πλάνῃ; "Ὅπερ οὖν καὶ Ζάμολξιν ἐν Σκύθαις<sup>27</sup> φασί, τὸν Πυθαγόρου δούλον<sup>28</sup>, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ<sup>29</sup> καὶ Ῥαμψίνιτον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>30</sup>· τοῦτον μὲν καὶ «συγκυβεύειν» ἐν ἕδου «τῇ Δήμητρου» καὶ ἀνελεῖν «δῶρον» «παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρυσοῦν» φέροντα· καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὀρφέα ἐν Ὀδρῦσαις καὶ Πρωτεσίλαον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ Τανάρῳ καὶ Θησέα. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκεπτόεν, εἴ τις ὡς ἀληθῶς

ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη ποτὲ αὐτῷ σώματι.

Edition: Marcel Borret, *Origène. Contre Celse*, Tome I (livres I et II) (SC 132), Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1967, p. 414.

"After this the Jew says to his fellow-citizens who believe in Jesus: *Come now, let us believe your view that he actually said this. How many others produce wonders like this to convince simple hearers whom they exploit by deceit? They say that Zamolxis, a slave of Pythagoras, also did this among the Scythians, and Pythagoras himself in Italy and Rhampsinitus in Egypt The last, at Hades, "playing dice with Demeter" obtained from her "a hand-bag plastered with gold", which he took with him as a present. Also Orpheus among the Odrisians, Protesilaus in Thessaly, Herakles at Tenara and Theseus. But we must examine this question whether anyone who really died ever rose again with the same body.*" (transl. H. Chadwick<sup>31</sup>).

b. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.34: Μετὰ ταῦτα παραπλήσιον ἡμᾶς οἶεται πεποιθέναι τόν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Κέλσος, ἀλόντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα θρησκευόντας τοῖς Γέταις σέβουσι τὸν Ζάμολξιν καὶ Κίλιξι τὸν Μόψον καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσι τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸν Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ Λεβαδίοις τὸν Τροφώνιον<sup>32</sup>.

Edition: Marcel Borret, *Origène, Contre Celse*, Tome II (livres III et IV), Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1968 (SC 136), p. 80.

"After this Celsus thinks that *because we worship the man who was arrested and died, we behave like the Getae who reverence Zamolxis, and the Cilicians who worship Mopsus, the Acarnanians Amphilochous, the Thebans Amphiarus, and the Lebadeans Trophonius.*" (transl. H. Chadwick, p. 151)

### 9. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Protrepticus* and *Stromata*

Prominent Alexandrine Father, apologist and theologian, well-acquainted with the classical tradition (ca. 150-215). *Protrepticus* ("Exhortation to the Heathen") was composed between 180-189, and the first of *Stromata* at the end of the second century<sup>33</sup>.

a. *Protr.* 6.70.1: Πόθεν, ὦ Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰνίττη; Πόθεν ἢ τῶν λόγων ἄφθονος χορηγία τὴν θεοσέβειαν μαντεύεται; Σοφώτερα, φησίν, τούτων βαρβάρων τὰ γένη. Οἶδα σου τοὺς διδασκάλους, κἴν ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλλης· γεωμετρίαν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων

μανθάνεις, ἀστρονομίαν παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων, ἐπωδὰς τὰς ὑγιεῖς παρὰ Θρακῶν λαμβάνεις<sup>34</sup>, πολλὰ σε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι πεπαιδευκάσι, νόμους δὲ τοὺς ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς καὶ δόξαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλησαι τῶν Ἑβραίων...

Edition: *Clément d'Alexandrie, Le Protreptique*, introduction, traduction et notes de Claude Mondésert, Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1976<sup>3</sup> (SC 2<sup>bis</sup>), p. 135.

"Whence, O Plato, is that hint of the truth which thou givest? Whence this rich copiousness of diction, which proclaims piety with oracular utterance? The tribes of the barbarians, he says, are wiser than these; I know your teachers, even if you wouldst conceal them. You have learned geometry from the Egyptians, astronomy from the Babylonians; the charms of healing you have got from the Thracians; the Assyrians also have taught you many things; but for the laws that are consistent with truth, and your sentiments respecting God, you are indebted to the Hebrews ..." (transl. from *ANF*, II<sup>35</sup>, by W. Wilson)

b. *Stromata* 1.68.3: ἀλλὰ κὰν τῷ Χαρμίδῃ Θρακῆς τις<sup>36</sup> ἐπιστάμενος φαίνεται, οἱ λέγονται ἀπαθανατίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν.

Edition: Otto Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus. II. Stromata Buch I-VI*, 1960<sup>3</sup> (GCS; new ed. by L. Früchtel), Berlin, p. 43.

"But in the Charmides, it is manifest that he knew certain Thracians who were said to make the soul immortal." (transl. from *ANF*, II, by W. Wilson)

#### 10. HIPPOLYTUS, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*

Bishop of Rome, exegete, theologian, polemicist, and chronicler of his time (ca. 175-235). His authorship of *Refutatio* (or *Elenchus*) is until now debatable<sup>37</sup>; the *Refutatio* seems to have been composed between 222 and 235.

a. *Ref.* 1.2.17: τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ οἱ διαφυγόντες τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν Λύσις ἦν καὶ Ἀρχιππος<sup>38</sup> καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου οἰκέτης Ζάμολις<sup>39</sup>, ὅς καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Κελτοῖς Δρυΐδας λέγεται διδάξαι φιλοσοφεῖν τὴν Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν.

Edition: *Hippolytus Refutatio omnium haeresium*, edited by M. Marcovich, Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1986, p. 61.

"Among his followers, who escaped the conflagration were Lysis and Archippus, and the servant of Pythagoras, Zalmoxis, who also is said to have taught the

Celtic Druids to cultivate the philosophy of Pythagoras". (transl. S. D. F. Salmond, *ANF*, V)

b. *Ref.* 1.25.1: Δρυΐδαι <δὲ> οἱ ἐν Κελτοῖς τῇ Πυθαγορείῳ φιλοσοφία κατ' ἄκρον ἐγκύψαντες<sup>40</sup>, αἰτίου αὐτοῖς γενομένου ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως Ζαμόλιξιδος δούλου Πυθαγόρου, γένει Θρακίου· ὃς μετὰ τὴν Πυθαγόρου τελευταίην ἐκεῖ χωρήσας αἴτιος τούτοις ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐγένετο<sup>41</sup>.

Edition: *Hippolytus Refutatio omnium haeresium*, edited by M. Marcovich, Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1986, p. 88.

"And the Celtic Druids investigated to the very highest point the Pythagorean philosophy, after Zalmoxis, by birth a Thracian, a servant of Pythagoras, became to them the originator of this discipline. Now after the death of Pythagoras, Zalmoxis, repairing thither, became to them the originator of this philosophy". (transl. S. D. F. Salmond, *ANF*, V)

#### 11. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *De vitis, dogmatis et apophthegmatis clarorum philosophorum*

Greek historian of philosophy; his work constitutes a mixture of biography and doxography (composed probably in the first half of the third century, about 200-225)<sup>42</sup>.

a. 1.1: Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνοι φασιν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσας Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίους ἢ Ἀσσυρίους Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς, παρὰ τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθεύς· καθὰ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς. Φοινικὰ τε γενέσθαι Ὠχον<sup>43</sup>, καὶ Θρακὰ Ζάμολιξιν, καὶ Λίβυν Ἀτλαντα.

Edition: *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosopharum*, recognovit brevitque adnotatione critica instruxit H. S. Long, Oxonii, Oxford Univ. Press, 1966<sup>2</sup>, p. 1.

"There are some who say that the study of philosophy had its beginning among the barbarians. They urge that the Persians have their Magi, the Babylonians or Assyrians their Chaldaeans, and the Indians their Gymnosophists; and among the Cetics and the Gauls there are the people called Druids or Holly Ones, for which they cite as authorities the *Magicus* of Aristotle and Sotion in the twenty-third book of his *Succession of Philosophers*. Also they say that Mochus was a Phoenician, Zalmoxis a Thracian, and Atlas a Libyan." (LCL transl. by R. D. Hicks<sup>44</sup>)

b. 8.2: Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου ... ἔσχε ... καὶ δούλον Ζάμολξιν, ᾧ Γέται θυσοῖ - Κρόνον νομίζοντες - ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος<sup>45</sup>.

Edition: A. Delatte, *La Vie de Pythagore de Diogène Laërce*, édition critique avec introduction & commentaire par A. Delatte, Bruxelles, 1922 (reprint New York, Arno Press, 1979), p. 104; and commentaries, pp. 149-150.

"Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchos... had... as slave Zamolxis, whom the Getae bring sacrifices to - thinking him Kronos -, as Herodotus says<sup>46</sup>." (transl. L. Ruscu)

## 12. ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*

Distinguished Alexandrine Father (ca 185-255), eminent theologian of the Church (albeit later on accused of heresy); very prolific. During the reign of Philip the Arab (244-249) (cf. Eusebius, *HE* 6.36.2), he wrote *Contra Celsum* in 8 books, against the *True Doctrine* of Celsus, in the apologetic spirit of his epoch<sup>47</sup>.

*Contra Celsum* 2.55: Πόσοι δ' ἄλλοι τοιαῦτα τερατεύονται, ὅποια Μωϋσῆς, πειθοῦς ἕνεκα τῶν εὐήθως ἀκούοντων ἐνεργολαβοῦντες τῇ πλάνῃ; Καὶ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ἀπιστοῦντα Μωϋσεῖ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν παραδέσθαι τὸν Ζάμολξιν<sup>48</sup> καὶ Πυθαγόραν τοὺς τερατουσαμένους ἔπερ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, οὐ πάνυ φιλομαθῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰς Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίας.

Edition: M. Borret, *Origène, Contre Celse*, tome I (livres I et II), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1967 (*SC* 132), p. 416.

"How many others produce wonders like these which Moses did, to convince simple hearers whom they exploit by deceit? The ability to quote the prodigious stories of Zalmoxis and Pythagoras would be more appropriate for a man who disbelieves Moses than for a Jew who has no great interest in Greek stories." (transl. H. Chadwick, p. 109)

## 13. DIONYSOPHANES, *Fragmenta*

Unknown writer, maybe from the second or third centuries<sup>49</sup>.

*FGrHist* 865 F 1 (Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 15): Διονυσοφανῆς δὲ λέγει δουλεῦσαι μὲν τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ, ἐμπροσθέντα δ' εἰς ἰημιστὰς καὶ σιχθέντα, ὅτε κατεστασιάσθη ὁ Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἔφρευγεν<sup>50</sup>, δῆσαι τὸ μέτωπον διὰ τὰ στίγματα<sup>51</sup>.

Edition: F. Jacoby, *FGrHist*, III C2, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1969, p. 943.

"Dionysophanes says that he was Pythagoras' slave and that he fell into the hands of brigands and was tattooed, when Pythagoras was defeated by a rival faction and sent into exile and that he later bound his forehead to cover the tattoo." (transl. S. A. Stephens-J. J. Winkler, pp. 135-136)

## 14. IAMBLICHUS, *De vita Pythagorica*

Important Neoplatonist philosopher, disciple of Porphyry (ca. 240-325). His system of philosophy is essentially an elaboration of Plotinus' Platonism.

*V. Pyth.* XXIII,104: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ διδασκαλείου τούτου, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ παλαιότατοι καὶ αὐτῷ συγχρονίσαντες καὶ μαθητεύσαντες τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ πρεσβύτερη νεοί, Φιλόλαος τε καὶ Εὐρύτος καὶ Χαρόνδας καὶ Ζάλευκος καὶ Βρύσων, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Ἀρισταῖος καὶ Λῦσις καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ζάμολξις<sup>52</sup> καὶ Ἐπιμενίδης καὶ Μίλων, Λεύκιππος τε καὶ Ἀλκμαίων καὶ Ἰππασος καὶ Θυμαρίδας καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες, πλήθος ἐλλογιμῶν καὶ ὑπερφῶν ἀνδρῶν...

Edition: *Iamblichi De vita Pythagorica liber*, edidit Ludovicus Deubner (1937), editionem addendis et corrigendis adiunctus curavit Udalricus Klein, Stuttgart, Teubner, 1975, p. 60.

"Those of his school, mostly the older ones, who were of his age, and the young ones, who were the disciples of Pythagoras, him being older, Philolaos and Eurytos and Charondas and Zaleukos and Bryson, Archytas the elder and Aristaios and Lysis and Empedokles and Zamolxis and Milon, Leukippos and Alkmaion and Hippasos and Thymaridas and all those with them, a group of very learned and superior men..." (transl. L. Ruscu)

## 15. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Laus Constantini and Theophania*

Influential historian and chronicler of the Church (ca. 260/264-339/340). From 313, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. His *Laus Constantini* was composed in 335-336. This oration used at large extent passages from his previous writing *Theophania*, composed about 333. *Theophania* is preserved in Greek only in some fragments<sup>53</sup>, but we have a complete translation into Syriac, the so-called *Theophania Syriace*<sup>54</sup>.

a. *Laus Constantini* 13.5: Φοίνικες δὲ Μελέκταρον καὶ Οὐσῶρον καὶ πνας ἄλλους ἀτιμο-

τέρους θνητοὺς πάλιν ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἀνηγόρευσαν, ὡς καὶ παῖδες Ἀράβων Δούσαριν τινα καὶ Ὀβοδον, καὶ οἱ Γέται τὸν Ζάμολξιν καὶ τὸν Μόψον Κίλικες, καὶ τὸν Ἀμφάρεων Θηβαῖοι, καὶ παρ' ἐτέροις [ἄλλοι] πάλιν ἐτέρους, τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν τῶν θνητῶν διαλλάττοντας αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπους.

Edition: Ivar A. Heikel, *Eusebius. Werke. I. Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die Heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, Leipzig, 1902 (GCS), pp. 236-237.

"The Phoenicians proclaimed Melkart and Ousoros gods, as well as certain other even more disreputable men, although mortal. Similarly, the Arabs named a certain Dousaris and Obodos, and the Getae Zamolxis, the Cilicians Mopsus, the Thebans Amphiarus, and elsewhere others yet, beings who differed naught in nature from mortals but were, simply and truly, men." (transl. H. A. Drake<sup>56</sup>)

b. *Theophania Syriace* 2.12: "Die Söhne der Phöniker aber nannten den \*Melkathros<sup>57</sup> und Ousoros und ferner einige andere sterbliche Menschen, die verachteter waren als diese, Götter, die Söhne der Araber aber den Dusares und Obdos, die Gothen den \*Zamolxis<sup>58</sup>, die Kiliker den Mopsos, die Thebaner den Amphiaros, und bei anderen wiederum ehrte man andere mit dem Namen der Götter, die ihrer Natur nach sich in nichts unterschieden von den Sterblichen, sondern in Wahrheit allein dies: Menschen waren." (German translation from the Syrian version by H. Gressmann).

Edition: H. Gressmann, *Eusebius Werke III.2, Die Theophanie. Die griechischen Bruchstücke der syrischen Überlieferung*, Leipzig, 1904 (GCS), p. 84.

## 16. LIBANIUS, *Orationes*

Eminent rhetorician and Greek writer in Antioch (ca. 314-392/393), a leading pagan intellectual in the Christianizing late antiquity. He wrote his *LXIVth Oration (Pro Sallatoribus)* in 361.

Or. 64.93: τῶν γὰρ δὴ παίδων τινὲς διακονοῦτες δεσπόταις εἰς ἀγορὰν τρέχοντες κάκεῖθεν οἴκαδε τῶν ἁμάτων ἅττα ἂν διασώσωνται διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν σπεύδοντες ἄδουσι, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀκοῦειν ἀνάγκη ἀκοῦειν εἶναι καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀκοῦειν τὴν μνήμην ἐνίστε πῆγνυσθαι. διεφθάρης οὖν καὶ αὐτός. ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ζάμολξιν ὑπὸ γῆ ἐδιητώ<sup>59</sup> καὶ διέφευγες τὴν ἄλμην;

ἢ κηρὸν ἐμβαλὼν τοῖς ὡσί περιήγεις καὶ τὰς Σειρήνας παρέπλεις<sup>60</sup>; καὶ μὴ κατηγορεῖς γε τῶν ἁσμάτων.

Edition: *Libanii opera recensuit Richardus Foerster*, vol. IV, *Orationes LI-LXIV*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, p. 481.

"For some of the slaves who were serving their masters running to the agora and thence back home they sang songs to whomever they saved, hastening through the narrow streets, so that even those who did not want to listen were compelled to and by its length it sometimes got fixed into the memory of the ones who did not want to listen. So you destroy this one too. Or do you go towards Zamolxis underground and cross the salty sea? Or do you stick wax into your ears and pass by the Mermaids? And certainly you accuse the songs." (transl. L. Ruscio)

## 17. JULIAN THE EMPEROR, *Epitaphius Sallustii and Caesares*

Roman emperor (361-363), defender of "Hellenism" (i.e. pagan religion and classical culture), engaged in Greek culture and writing (born in 331 at Constantinople, died in 363). He wrote the Eight Oration (*Epitaphius Sallustii*) as a "speech of consolation" to his friend Sallust, and *Caesares* at Constantinople in 361.

a. *Or. VIII*, 244 A: τί ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρῆ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπώδᾳς εὐρόντα πείσαι πρῶτος ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυβουμένην τὴν ψυψήν; ἄρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξειδος εἰσι μμητέοι λόγοι, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θράκης ἐπώδᾳς, ἃς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ὀδύνην ἰᾶσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδειν ἠξίου τῷ καλῷ Χαρμίδη;<sup>61</sup>

Edition: *The Works of the Emperor Julian, with an English Translation* by W. C. Wright, II, London-Cambridge (Mass.), LCL, 1969, p. 174.

"Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zalmoxis - I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?" (LCL transl. by W. C. Wright, p. 175)

b. *Caesares*, 309 C: ἀλλ' ἔθι, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζήνων, ἐπαμελήθητι τοῦμοῦ θρέμματος. ὁ δὲ ὑπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων, ὥσπερ οἱ ἃς Ζαμόλξειδος ἐπώδᾳς<sup>62</sup> θρυλοῦντες, ἀπέφηνεν ἄνδρα ἔμφρονα καὶ σώφρονα.

Edition: *The Works of the Emperor Julian, with an English Translation* by W. C. Wright, II, London-Cambridge (Mass.), LCL, 1969, pp. 350-352.

"Come, Zeno', he cried, 'take charge of my nursling'. Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his doctrines, in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis, he made him wise and temperate." (LCL transl. by W. C. Wright, pp. 351-353)

### 18. PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN

The common opinion asserts that this anthology was made by St. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. But the notion of "Philocalists" is to be preferred. This *florilegium* of texts from Origen's works was composed in Cappadocia between 364-389.

*Philocalia* 18.24: ἄρα οἱ φιλοσοφούντες οὐ προκαλοῦνται μειράκια ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν; καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ κακίστου βίου νέους οὐ παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίονα; τί δὲ τοὺς οἰκότριβας οὐ βούλονται φιλοσοφεῖν; ἢ καὶ ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν ἐγκαλεῖν φιλόσοφους οἰκότριβας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρεψαμένοις, Πυθαγόρα μὲν τὸν Ζάμολξιν, Ζήνωνι δὲ τὸν Περσαῖον, καὶ χθῆς καὶ πρῶην τοῖς προτρεψαμένοις 'Ἐπίκτητον ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν; ἢ ὑμῖν μὲν, ᾧ Ἕλληνας, ἔξεσι μειράκια καὶ οἰκότριβας καὶ ἀνοήτους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖν<sup>63</sup>.

Edition: J. A. Robinson, *Philocalia sive Eclogae de operibus Origenis a Basilio et Gregorio Nazianzeo factae* (chapt. 1-27), Cambridge, 1893, pp. 118-119.

"Do not philosophers call adolescent boys to hear them? And do they not exhort youths to abandon a very evil life for better things? Do they not want slaves to study philosophy? Or shall we criticize philosophers for encouraging slaves to pursue virtue, as Pythagoras did to Zamolxis, ad Zeno to Persaeus, and those who recently encouraged Epictetus to be a philosopher? Or are you, Greeks, to be allowed to call adolescent boys and slaves and stupid men towards philosophy?" (transl. from H. Chadwick, p. 165)

### 19. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *De S. Babylas*

Bishop and rhetorician, remarkably influential Cappadocian Father (ca. 344/347-407). *De S. Babylas* was wrote in 378/379.

De S. Babylas 10: Εἰπέ γὰρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ

ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδένες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν; "Οτι πλάσματα ἦν τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἅπαντα. Καίτοι κάκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων συνθέντες δεινοὶ γενέσθαι λέγονται οἱ μὲν γοητείαν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι οἱ δὲ συσκιάσαι ψεῦδος τῆ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι.

Edition: *Jean Chrysostome, Discours sur Babylas. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* par M. A. Schatkin (SC 362), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1990, pp. 102-104.

"Tell me then, why that famous Zoroaster and that Zamolxis most people do not know not even by name, or better, nobody knows them but a few? Because all that was said about them was fiction. And, however, these people as well as the ones who wrote their history have been able, we are told, the ones to find a trick and practice it, the others to hide a lie under the appearance of a speech." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 20. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Carmina Historica liber II*

Another Cappadocian Father (ca. 330-390), bishop of Nazianzus (381-383).

*Carm. Hist.* 2.7, vv. 274-275: Καὶ Γετικὸς Ζάμολξις οἷστεύων δι' ὀμίλου<sup>65</sup>.

Πάντα θεῶν Ταύρων τε κακὴ ξείνοισι θυλή<sup>66</sup>.

Edition: *PG*, 37, 1572 A (vv. 274-275).

"And the Getic Zamolxis throwing arrows through the multitude;

And the harmful sacrifice of strangers to all the gods of the Tauri." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 21. STOBÆUS, *Florilegium*

Born at Stoboi in Macedonia, he wrote an anthology of some 500 Greek authors in four books, for the use and moral education of his son, in the early fifth century.

a. *Flor.* 62.4 (IV 429 Hense):

Φαβωρίνου (fr. 63 p. 127 Marr.).

Ζάμολξις οἰκέτης ἦν Πυθαγόρου, καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτὸν οἱ Γέται<sup>67</sup>.

Edition: *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium*, recensuerunt Curtius Wachsmuth et Otto Hense, IV, Berlin, Weidmann, 1909 (reprint 1958), p. 429.

"Of Favorinus:

Zamolxis was a slave of Pythagoras and the Getae worshipped him." (transl. L. Ruscu)



b. *Flor.* 101.23 (V 892-893 Hense):

Πλάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ Χαρμίδου (π. 156 Δ-157 Α).

Τοιοῦτον τοῖνυν ἐστίν, ὃ Χαρμίδη, τὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐπώδης. ἔμαθον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ στρατείας παρὰ τινος τῶν Θρακῶν τῶν Ζαμόλξιδος<sup>68</sup> πολιτῶν<sup>69</sup>, οἱ λέγονται ἀπαθανατίζειν. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Θραξ οὗτος ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ "Ἕλληνας ἰατροί, ἃ νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, καλῶς λέγοιεν· ἀλλὰ Ζάμολξις, ἔφε, λέγει ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς, θεὸς ὢν, ὅτι ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνευ κεφαλῆς οὐδεὶς ἐπαχειρεῖ λαθεῖν οὐδὲ κεφαλὴν ἄνευ σώματος, οὕτως οὐδὲ σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἴτιον εἶη τοῦ διαφεύγειν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς "Ἕλλησιν ἰατροὺς τὰ πολλὰ νοσήματα, ὅτι τοῦ ἄλλου ἀμελοῦσιν οὐ δέοι τὴν ἐπαμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀδύνατον εἶη τὸ μέρος <εὔ> ἔχειν. πάντα γὰρ ἔφη ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὠρμησθαι καὶ τάγαθα καὶ τὰ κακὰ τῷ σώματι, παντὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κάκειθεν ἐπαρρεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄμματα. δεῖν οὖν ἐκεῖνο καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα θεραπεύειν, εἰ μέλλει καὶ τὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος καλῶς ἔχειν. θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφε, ὃ μακάριε, ἐπώδαις τισι, τὰς δ' ἐπώδᾶς ταύτας τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλοὺς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ταῖς ψυχαῖς σωφροσύνην ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἧς ἐγγενομένης καὶ παρούσης ῥάδιον ἦδη εἶναι τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι πορίζειν<sup>70</sup>.

Edition: *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium*, recensuerunt Curtius Wachsmuth et Otto Hense, V, Berlin, Weidmann, 1912 (reprint 1958), pp. 892-893.

"Of Plato from *Charmides*:

So I said, such, then, Charmides, is the nature of this charm. I learnt it on campaign over there, from one of the Thracian citizens of Zamolxis, who are said even to make one immortal. This Thracian said that the Greeks were right in advising as I told you just now: but Zamolxis, he said, our king, who is a god, says that as you ought not to attempt to cure eyes without head, or head without body, so you should not treat body without soul; and this was the reason why most maladies evaded the physicians of Greece—that they neglected the whole, on which they ought to spend their pains, for if this were out of order it was impossible for the part to be in order. For all that was good and evil, he said, in the body and in man altogether was sprung from the soul, and flowed along from thence as it did from the head into the eyes. Wherefore the part was to be treated first and foremost, if all was to be well with the head and the rest of the body.

And the treatment of the soul, so he said, my wonderful friend, is by means of certain charms, and these charms are words of the right sort: by the use of such words is temperance engendered in our souls, and as soon as it is engendered and present we may easily secure health to the head and to the rest of the body also." (after W. R. M. Lamb's *LCL* transl.)

## 22. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Contra Iulianum*

Theologian, exegete and polemicist (ca 370/380-444), Patriarch of Alexandria (412-444). *Contra Iulianum*, against the virulent *Contra Galilaeos* of the emperor Julian the Apostate (written in the winter of 362-363), was presumably composed between 423 and 426<sup>71</sup>.

a. *Contra Iul.* 4.133-134 Aubert: ἐφλοσόφουσαν δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους οἱ κεκλημένοι προφήται· καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι, καὶ ἐκ Βάκτρων τῶν Περσικῶν Σαμαναῖοι, καὶ Κελτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ παρὰ Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι, καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀνάχαρις παρὰ Σκύθαις, Ζάμολξις ἐν Θρακίᾳ, φασὶ δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν Ὑπερβοραίων ἐθνῶν<sup>72</sup> κτλ.

Edition: *PG*, 76, 705 B.

"With philosophy there are dealing from the Egyptians the so-called prophets; likewise from the Assyrians the Chaldaeans, and from the Galatae the Druids, and from the Persian Bactrians the Samanacans, and from the Celts not a few, and from the Persians the Magi, and from the Indians the Gymnosophists, and the same Anacharsis from the Scythians, Zamolxis in Thrace, some say that also certain of the Hyperborean peoples, etc." (transl. L. Ruscus)

b. *Contra Iul.* 6.208 Aubert: Καίτοι Ζάμολξις ὁ Θραξ, Πυθαγόρου μὲν ἦν οἰκέτης· τεθαύμασθαι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀπάσης ἐπιστήμης εἰς λῆξιν ἐληλακῶς. Διαμέμνηται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Πορφύριος, καὶ δὴ καὶ οὗτο φησίν· Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἕτερον μειράκιον, ὃν ἐκ Θρακίης ἐκτίσαστο, ᾧ Ζάμολξις ἦν ὄνομα· ἀγαπῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πυθαγόρας, τὴν μετέωρον θεωρίαν ἐπαίδευσεν<sup>73</sup>.

Edition: *PG*, 76, 820 A-B.

"However, Zamolxis the Thracian was a slave of Pythagoras; he was admired by them, as he was an outstanding master of all sciences. Porphyry mentions him also, writing thus: *There was another youth in his compa-*

ny whom he acquired from Thrace, named Zamolxis; Pythagoras cherished him and taught him the theory of the heavens." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 23. AENEAS OF GAZA, *Theophrastus*

Christian rhetorician, disciple of the Neoplatonist Hierocles of Alexandria; he lived at the end of 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 6<sup>th</sup> century.

*Theophrastus* pp. 33-34 Colonna: ὁ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Θρακῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν πεπόνθασι, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτας ἢ ὄλων ἄρχοντας οὐχ ἤρωας ἀλλὰ θεοὺς νομίζοντες καὶ προσκυνοῦντες καὶ οἷα θεοὺς τελοῦμενοι καὶ θύοντες<sup>74</sup>.

Edition: Maria Elisabetta Colonna, *Aeneas di Gaza: Teofrasto*, Naples, 1958, pp. 33-34.

"And in this same situation were many of the Greeks and Thracians and Egyptians and Italics, which believed their benefactors or, generally, their masters, to be not heroes, but gods, and worshipped them and like to gods consecrated them and offered sacrifices" (transl. L. Ruscu).

### 24. HESYCHIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Lexicon*

Lexicographer of the fifth or, more likely, sixth century. His main source was the lexicon of Diogenianus (during the reign of Hadrian).

s.v. Σάλμοξις<sup>75</sup>· ὁ Κρόνος<sup>76</sup>. Καὶ ὄρχησις. Καὶ ᾠδή<sup>77</sup>.

Edition: *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, post Ioannem Albertum recensuit Mauricius Schmidt, Halle, 1862 (reprint Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965), vol. IV, p. 6.

"Salmoxis: Kronos. And dance. And song." (transl. L. Ruscu).

### 25. HESYCHIUS OF MILETUS

#### (ILLUSTRIOUS), *Onomatologus*

Lexicographer of the sixth century. His *Onomatologus* was a basic source for the *Souda*.

*Onom.* 686, s.v. Πυθαγόρας ... δοῦλος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ζάμολις, ᾧ Γέται ὡς Κρόνον θύουσι<sup>78</sup>.

Edition: I. Flach, *Biographi Graeci qui ab Hesychio pendent*, Berlin, 1883, p. 110.

"His slave was Zamolxis, to whom the Getae bring sacrifices as to Kronos." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 26. PAPYRUS CAIRENSIS 88747

This is the oldest extant Greek document where Zalmoxis is present, a literary papyrus. In September

1941, at Toura, a village near Cairo, several manuscripts were discovered; among them, the *Pap. Cair.* 88747, containing extracts of the books I and II of the *Contra Celsum* by Origen (of whom is the greatest part of the excerpted books); in fact, this is not exactly the *Contra Celsum*, but quite another document. The first-hand excerpts were made by a literate monk who transcribed passages of variable length, in the early seventh century, presumably for his own use<sup>79</sup>.

*Papyrus Cairensis* 88747, p. 123 Scherer II. 4-11: 'Ο Ἰουδαῖος· πόσοι δ' ἄλλοι τοιαῦτα θεραπεύονται, πειθοῦς ἕνεκα; \*\*\* "Ὅπερ οὖν καὶ Ζάμολιξιν ἐν Σκύθαις φασίν, τὸν Πυθαγόρου δοῦλον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Ῥαμφίνιτον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· τοῦτον μὲν καὶ συγκυβεύει<v> ἐν ἕδου τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ ἀνελεῖν δῶρον παρ' αὐτῆς χειρῶμακτρον χρυσοῦν φέροντα· καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὀρφέα ἐν Ὀδρῦσαις καὶ Πρωτεσίλαον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Θησέα. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκε[π]τέον, εἴ τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη ποτὲ αὐτῷ σώματι [ ]<sup>80</sup>.

Edition: J. Scherer, *Extraits des livres I et II du Contre Celse d'Origène, d'après le Papyrus n° 88747 du Musée de Caire*, (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 28), Cairo, 1956, p. 123, II. 4-11.

"The Jew: How many others produce wonders like this to convince? This was the case, it is said, in Scythia of Zamolxis, a slave of Pythagoras, of Pythagoras himself in Italy, of Rhampsinitus in Egypt. The last, at Hades, "playing dice with Demeter" obtained from her "a hand-bag plastered with gold", which he took with him as a present. Also Orpheus among the Odrysians, Protesilaus in Thessaly, Herakles at Tenara and Theseus. But we must examine this question whether anyone who really died ever rose again with the same body." (transl. from H. Chadwick, p. 109)

### 27. PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca and Lexicon*

Twice appointed patriarch of Constantinople (857-867; 877-886), Photius was one of the most learned man of his times, during the so-called ninth century Byzantine "Renaissance" (ca. 810-893). The "Library" contains 280 "codici", in all prose genres, profane and Christian literature alike; it was composed probably in 845, at his brother's request, Tarasius<sup>81</sup>. He wrote also a *Lexicon*, edited by Naber. In 1959, L. Politis discovered in the monastery of St. Nicanos in Zavorda (Macedonia) the complete text of the *Lexicon*; and a new edition was started by Chr. Theodoridis.

a. *Bibl. cod.* 166, 110 a: "Ἐπειτα ὡς λαβόντες Μαννίνας καὶ Δερκυλλίς ἐκ Λεωντίνων τὸ Παάπιδος πηρίδιον μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βιβλίων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ κιβώτιον, ἀπαίρουσιν εἰς Ῥήγιον κάκειθεν εἰς Μεταπόντιον, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοὺς Ἄστρατος ἐπακαταλαβὼν μηνύει κατὰ πόδας διώκειν Παάπιν. Καὶ ὡς συναπαίρουσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Θρακίας καὶ Μασσαγέτας, πρὸς Ζάμολξιν τὸν ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ ἀπιοντι, ὅσα τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδοιορίαν ἴδοιεν, καὶ ὅπως ἐντύχοι Ἄστρατος. Ζαμόλξιδι παρὰ Γέταις ἤδη θεῶ νομιζομένῳ· καὶ ὅσα εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δεηθῆναι Δερκυλλίς τε καὶ Μαννίνας Ἄστρατον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἠξίωσαν. Καὶ ὡς χρησμός αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέπεσεν ἐπὶ Θούλην εἶναι πεπρωμένον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἐς ὕστερον καὶ πατρίδα ὄψονται, πρότερον ἄλλὰ τε ἐνταλαιπωροῦντες, καὶ δίκην τῆς ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ἀνοσιότητος (εἰ καὶ ἄκοντες ἤμαρτον) πυννύντες τῷ τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς εἰς ζωὴν καὶ θάνατον διαμερισθῆναι, καὶ ζῆν μὲν ἐν νυκτί, νεκροὺς δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ. Εἶτα ὡς τοιοῦτος χρησμούς λαβόντες ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκεῖθεν τὸν Ἄστρατον σὺν Ζαμόλξιδι λείποντες ὑπὸ Γετῶν δοξαζόμενοι. Καὶ ὅσα περὶ Βορραῖν αὐτοῖς τεράσσια ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι συνηέχθε<sup>82</sup>.

Edition: René Henry, *Photius. Bibliothéque*, Tome II (<<codices>> 84-185), Paris, *LBL*, 1960, pp. 143-144.

"Then, as they left Leontini, Mantinias and Dercyllis took Paapis' bag, the books in it and a small wooden box of plants. They sailed to Rhegium and from there to Metapontum, where Astracus overtook them and warned them that Paapis was hard on their heels. They sailed away to Thrace and the Massagetae, together with Astraeus, who was going to visit his friend Zamolxis. There is an account of what they saw during these travels, of how Astraeus met Zamolxis, who was already regarded as a god among the Getae, and of what Dercyllis and Mantinias asked Astraeus to say to him and ask him on their behalf. There, an oracle declared that they would go to Thule and that they would undergo trials and make atonement for their, albeit unintentional, irreverence towards their parents by dividing their time between life and death, by living at night but being corpses each day. After hearing such predictions, they set sail from there, leaving Astraeus, who was revered by the Getae, with Zamolxis." (transl. Gerald N. Sandy)

b. *Lexicon* s. v.: Ζάμολξις<sup>83</sup>. Πυθαγόρα δουλεύσας, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος δ'<sup>84</sup>. Σκύθης<sup>85</sup>, ὃς

ἐπανελθὼν ἐδίδασκε περὶ τοῦ ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν· Μνασέας<sup>86</sup> δὲ παρὰ Γέταις τὸν Κρόνον οὔτω τιμᾶσθαι (καὶ) καλεῖσθαι Ζάμολξιν· Ἑλλάνκος<sup>87</sup> ἐν τοῖς Βαρβαρικοῖς νομίμοις φησὶν ὅτι Ἑλληνικός τις γεγωνὸς τελετὰς κατέδειξε Γέταις τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐτ' ἀποθάνοι οὐθ' οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔξοσι πάντα τάγατά· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἠφοδοῦμαι οἴκημα κατάγαιον, ἔπειτα ἀφανιστεῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ Θρακῶν ἐν τούτῳ διητᾶτο· οἱ δὲ Γέται ἐπόθουν αὐτὸν τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν φαίνεται· καὶ οἱ Θράκες αὐτῷ πάντα (τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦς) ἐπίστευσαν· λέγουσι δὲ πνεῦς ὡς ὁ Ζάμολξις ἐδούλευσε Πυθαγόρα Μνησάρχου Σαμίῳ καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς ταῦτα ἐσοφίζετο· ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερός μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Ζάμολξις Πυθαγόρου γενέσθαι· ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ καὶ Τερέτζοι<sup>88</sup> καὶ Κρόβυζοι καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς Ζάμολξιν φασὶν οἴχεσθαι, ἤξιν δ' αὐθις· καὶ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ νομίζουσιν ἀληθεύειν· θύουσι δὲ καὶ εὐχοῦνται ὡς αὐθις ἤξοντος τοῦ ἀποθανόντος.

Edition: *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, recensuit, adnotationibus instruxit et prolegomena addidit S. A. Naber, I, Leiden, 1864 (reprint Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965), pp. 244-245.

"Zalmoxis: he was a slave of Pythagoras, as Herodotus says in the fourth book; a Scythian who, returning, taught about the immortality of the soul. Mnaseas says that he was honored by the Getae as Kronos and called Zamolxis. Hellanikos in the *Barbarian Folkways* says that, having become Greek, he made known to the Getae in Thrace the initiation, and says that neither he nor those with him will die, but will enjoy all the good. While saying this, he built an underground dwelling; afterwards, disappearing suddenly from among the Thracians, he hid in it. The Getae longed for him. In the fourth year he reappeared; and the Thracians trusted him in all things regarding them. Some say that Zalmoxis had been a slave of Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchos, the Samian, and, getting free, he acquired wisdom. But Zalmoxis seems to me to have lived much before Pythagoras. Also the Teretizoi and Krobyzoi think themselves immortal and say that the dead leave like Zamolxis and will come back. And these they think to be for ever true. They bring sacrifices and feast, for the dead will return." (transl. L. Ruscu)

## 28. SCHOLIA PLATONICA

Compiled in the ninth century.

*Rep.* 600 B: Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου ... ἔσχε ... καὶ δοῦλον Ζάμολξιν, ᾧ Γέται θύουσιν ὡς Κρόνῳ<sup>89</sup>...

Edition: *Scholia Platonica*, contulerunt atque investigaverunt Fredericus de Forest Allen, Ioannes Burnet, Carolus Pomeroy Parker, omnia recognita praefatione indicibusque instructa, edidit Gulielmus Chase Greene, in lucem protulit Societas Philosophica Americana, Haverfordiae in civitate Pennsylvaniae, 1938, pp. 272-273.

"Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchos ... had ... as slave Zamolxis, whom the Getae bring sacrifices to as Kronos..." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 29. CHRESTOMATHIA E STRABONE

Χρηστομάτεια ἐκ τῶν Στράβωνος Γεωγραφικῶν is an epitome of Strabo's *Geographika*, made about 850-875 (preserved in Palatinus Heidelb. gr. 398, ca. 870-875).

*Chrestomathia e Strabone* 7.12 (GGM, II, 567-568): Εὐκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν ὕστερον τοὺς Γέτας ἀναπεῖσαι πυθαγορίζειν, εὐρόντα ἐτοιμοὺς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν<sup>90</sup>.

Edition: Carolus Müllerus, GGM, II, Paris, Didot, 1861, pp. 567-568.

"Probably also Zamolxis in later times persuaded the Getae to lead a Pythagorean life, as he found them prone to philosophy" (transl. L. Ruscu).

### 30. LEXICON GENUINUM

Composed in the second half of the ninth century, as yet unpublished, except the letters β, λ, and partially α. This is the main source for the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Two manuscripts are preserved: A = *Vat. Gr.* 1818; B = *Laur. S. Marci* 304. Miller gave only a collation of B with the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

s.v.: Ζάμολξιν, 407, 45. - L. 5, τοῖς Θρακικοῖς, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι κτλ. 408, 1. Après Pythagore le ms. ajoute, comme Photius et Suidas, Μνησάρχου Σαμίω.

Collation: M. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque contenant un grand nombre de textes inédits*, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1867 (reprint Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965), p. 139.

### 31. SOUDA

Substantial Byzantine lexicon of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, of ca. 30.000 lemmata; *Souda* proclaims itself to be an epitome of Hesychius of Miletus (one of his main sources, for biographies).

a. s.v.: Ζάμολξιν; θηλυκῶς. ὄνομα θεᾶς<sup>91</sup>. (Z 18)

Edition: *Suidae Lexicon*, edidit Ada Adler, Leipzig, Teubner, II, 1931 (reprint in 1967, Stuttgart), p. 500.

"Zamolxis: feminine; name of a goddess." (transl. L. Ruscu).

b. s.v. Ὦχος, φιλόσοφος παρὰ Φοίνιξι, Ζάμολξι παρὰ Θραξίν, Ἄτλας παρὰ Λίβυσιν<sup>92</sup>. (Ω 283)

"Ochos, a philosopher of the Phoenicians, Zamolxis of the Thracians, Atlas of the Libyans." (transl. L. Ruscu).

Edition: Ada Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, III, Leipzig, Teubner, 1933 (reprint in 1967, Stuttgart), p. 631.

### 32. ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM

Byzantine lexicon of the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century; derives in great part from the (partially published) *Genuinum*.

s.v. (407, 45): Ζάμολξιν<sup>93</sup>: Πυθαγόρα δουλεύσας ὡς Ἡρόδοτος τετάρτη, Σκυθῆς ὃς ἐπανελθὼν ἐδίδασκε περὶ τοῦ ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν. Μνασέας δὲ παρὰ Γέταις τὸν χρόνον οὕτω τιμᾶσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι Ζάμολξιν. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Βαρβαρικοῖς Νόμοις φησὶν, ὅτι Ἑλληνικός τις γεγὼνός, τελετὰς κατέδειξε Γέταις τοῖς ἐν Θράκη, καὶ ἔλεγεν (ὅτι) οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀποθάνοι, οὐθ' οἱ μετὰ τούτου, ἀλλ' ἔξουσι πάντα ἀγατά. Ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων, ἠκοδόμησε οἰκημα κατάγων ἔπειτα ἀφανιστεῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ Θρακῶν, ἐν τούτῳ διητᾶτο. Οἱ δὲ Γέται ἐπόθουν αὐτόν. Τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτι πάλιν φαίνεται καὶ οἱ Θράκες αὐτῷ πάντα ἐπίστευσαν. Λέγουσι δὲ πνευ, ὡς ὁ Ζάμολξιν ἐδούλευσε Πυθαγόρα<sup>94</sup>, καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς ταῦτα ἐσοφίζετο. Ἄλλὰ πολὺ πρότερός μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Ζάμολξιν Πυθαγόρου γενέσθαι. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ καὶ Τέριξοι<sup>95</sup> καὶ Κρόβιξοι καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς Ζάμολξιν φασὶν οἰχέσθαι, ἤξειν δ' αὐθις. Καὶ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ νομίζουσι ἀληθεύειν. Θύουσι δὲ καὶ εὐωχοῦνται, ὡς αὐθις ἤξοντος τοῦ ἀποθανόντος. Ῥητορικῆ<sup>96</sup>.

Edition: *Etymologicum Magnum seu verius Lexicon*, Thomas Gaisford, Oxford, 1848 (reprint Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1962), coll. 1164-1165.

"Zamolxis: he was a slave of Pythagoras, as Herodotus says in the fourth book (Herodotus 4.94-96), a Scythian; who, returning, taught about the immortality of the soul. Mnaseas says that he was honored by the Getae as Time and called Zamolxos (Mnaseas F 23 Müller).

Hellanikos in the *Barbarian Folkways* (FGrHist 4 F 73) says that, having become Greek, he made known to the Getae in Thrace the initiation, and says that neither he nor those with him will die, but will enjoy all the good. While saying this, he built an underground dwelling; afterwards, disappearing suddenly from among the Thracians, he hid in it. The Getae longed for him. In the fourth year he reappeared; and the Thracians trusted him in all. Some say that Zamolxis had been a slave of Pythagoras and, getting free, he acquired wisdom. But Zamolxis seems to me to have lived much before Pythagoras. Also the Terizoi and Krobyzoi think themselves immortal; and they say the dead leave like Zamolxis and will come back. And these they think to be for ever true. They bring sacrifices and feast, for the dead will return. Rhetoriké." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 33. NICEPHORUS BASILACA, *Adversus Bagoam declamatio forensis*

Professor of exegesis at the Patriarchate's school in Constantinople; rhetorician of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. *Adversus Bagoam* was written after 1157.

*Adv. Bagoam* 17: τρίτον ὅτι μηδ' ἀρχαίό-πλουτος εἶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ὑποσκάζεις τὰ μητρόθεν περὶ τὸ σέβας, καὶ δέδια μὴ τὸν Ἀκινάκην τιμᾶς καὶ ἀποθειάζεις τὸν Ζάμολξιν<sup>97</sup>.

Edition: *Nicephori Basilacae Orationes et Epistolae*, recensuit Antonius Garzya, Leipzig, Teubner, 1984, pp. 102-103.

"Third, because you are not rich of old regarding piety, but on the mother's side you fail regarding the fear of the gods, and don't honor Acinaces and abjure Zamolxis." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 34. EUSTATHIUS, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam and Commentarii ad Dionysium*

Erudite intellectual of his time (ca. 1110-1192), archbishop of Thessalonica (1175-1192). Major works: *Homeric Commentaries* (both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), and to *Dionysius Periegetes* (second century AD).

a. *ad Od.* 1615 (I 65): φασὶ γοῦν ὅτι Ζαμόλξιδος διδάξαντος, ὃς δοκεῖ πρότερον Πυθαγόρας γενέσθαι, ἔθνον οἱ Γέται καὶ εὐαχοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὡς αὐτίς ἔξοντος τοῦ ἀποθανόντος. καὶ οὔτο μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν νεκρικὴν ἀνάκλησιν<sup>98</sup>.

Edition: G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I,

Leipzig, 1825 (reprint Hildesheim - New York, Olms, 1970), p. 322.

"They also say for instance that to Zamolxis, who had taught them and who was thought to have been formerly Pythagoras', the Getae brought sacrifices and banqueted over the dead, for the dead were to come back. And from here (comes) the above mentioned funerary recall." (transl. L. Ruscu)

b. *ad Od.* 1701 (L 592): ... καθὰ καὶ Ζάμολξιν κατάγαιον φασὶν οἴκημα πεποιηκῶς, ὡς καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ ἀφανιστεῖς ἐκ Θρακῶν αἰφνίδιος τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἐφανή, καὶ οἱ Θράκες αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευσαν<sup>99</sup>, ὅτε καὶ ἦν εἰκὸς λογίσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ Σοφόκλειον καὶ εἰπεῖν· τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦδ' ὅταν λόγοισι θανῶν ἔργοισι σωθῶ κάξενέγκομαι κλέος;

Edition: G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I, Leipzig, 1825 (reprint Hildesheim - New York, Olms, 1970), p. 438.

"So they say Zamolxis made himself an underground dwelling, like Pythagoras, and, disappearing from among the Thracians, he suddenly reappeared in the fourth year, and the Thracians trusted him in all things regarding them, as it would have been likely for Sophocles to think and say: why should this ail me, if, dead in words, I'm saved in fact and I conquer glory?" (transl. L. Ruscu)

c. *ad Dion.* 304 (GGM, II, 270): Ἡρόδοτος δὲ μέρος οἶεται εἶναι ἄν Θρακῶν τοὺς Γέτας<sup>100</sup>, ὁ δὲ Γεωγράφος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ αὐτοῦς οἰκεῖν ἱστορεῖ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Θρακᾶς<sup>101</sup>. Φιλογύναιοι δὲ, γφησίν, εἰσὶ, καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδάζοντες<sup>102</sup>. Παρ' οἷς ἦν καὶ Ζάμολξιν Πυθαγόρα φοιτήσας καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ πολλὰ προειπῶν, καὶ θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο κληθεῖς, καὶ κοινωνῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων<sup>103</sup>. (...) Ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν τινῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων φράσει, ὅτι τὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἔθνος τῶν πάποτε μαχιμωτάτων, διὰ τε ἀνδρίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν Ζάμολξιν ὄν τιμῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐτοιμότερον θνήσκουσιν ἢ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσι<sup>104</sup>. Καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἀπαθανατίζοντας αὐτοῦς καλεῖ, διὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα γοῖτα Ζάμολξιν, ὃν καὶ δουλεῦσαι ὑπὸς τῷ Πυθαγῶρα φησίν<sup>105</sup>.

Edition: Carolus Müllerus, *GGM*, II, Paris, Didot, 1861 (reprint Hildesheim, Olms, 1965), p. 270.

"... Herodotus thought the Getae to be part of the Thracians; the Geographer tells they live on both sides of the river, like the Mysi and the Thracians. They are fond of women, he says, and zealous about the sacred things. Of them was also that Zamolxis who heard Pythagoras and the Egyptians and who made many predictions, and who because of this was called a god by them and reigned like a king over the common good (...) Julian in one of his discourses writes that the Getae are the most warlike people of all times, because of their bravery and because of Zamolxis, whom they honor; they believe they do not die, but migrate, so they would rather die than let themselves be moved elsewhere. Herodotus also calls them the ones who believe themselves immortal, because of the said wizard Zamolxis, who he says had been a slave of Pythagoras ..." (transl. L. Ruscu)

### 35. PSEUDO-ZONARAS, *Lexicon*

Falsely ascribed to Zonaras.; in fact composed between the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, probably by Antonius Monachus.

s.v.: Ζάμοξις. κύριον.

Edition: *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, Iohannes Augustus Henricus Tittmann, I, Lepizig, 1808 (reprint Amsterdam, Hakkerl, 1967), col. 949.

"Zalmoxis. Proper name." (transl. D. Dana)

### 36. EUDOCIA AUGUSTA, *Violarium*

*Violarium* (Ἰωνία) was ascribed to Eudocia, the learned wife of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Dukas (1059-1067), but actually was compiled after 1543; just a forgery of the scribe Constantine Paleokappa.

*Violarium* 412: Περί Ζαμόλξιδος.

Ζάμολξις Γετικὸς γόης. οὗτος τὰ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἦν μεμνημένος καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπηκριβωμένος, εἶτα πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, τοὺς Γέτας, ἐπαγελθὼν καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλὰ προειπὼν, ἐθαυμάσθη καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν νομοθετῶν. ὃν καὶ θανόντα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐναριθιμοῦσι καὶ ὡς θεὸν ἤδη σέβονται. Τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος λέγει Πυθαγόρου δοῦλον γενέσθαι, εἶτα ἐλευθερωθέντα καὶ πλεύσαντα ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ σωφρονεστέρην μαθόντα δίαιταν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀστῶν συνάγειν καὶ εὐχαεῖν, λέγοντα, ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς, οὔτε οἱ συμπόται

τεθνήξοιτο<sup>106</sup>. ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν τινι τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων φράζει, ὅτι τὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἔθνος τῶν πάποτε μαχμωτάτον, διὰ τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ διὰ τὸν Ζάμολξιν, ὃν τιμῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀλλὰ μετοικίεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐτοιμότερον θνήσκουσιν, ἢ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νόμος Γετικὸς, ἐπισφάξεσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ θανόντι καὶ καθαρίζειν, ὅταν ἐπακρηκεύωνται. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ τοξεύειν φεσὶν αὐτοὺς ἄνω πρὸς τὴν βροντὴν καὶ τὴν ἀστραπὴν, ἀπειλοῦντας τῷ θεῷ<sup>107</sup>.

Edition: I. Flach, *Eudociae Augustae Violarium*, Lipsiae, Teubner, 1880, p. 304.

"Zamolxis was a Getic wizard. He received the teaching of Pythagoras and perfected it, for himself and for his people, the Getae; returning and foretelling much to the Egyptians, he amazed and was a convincing lawgiver. After his death he was reckoned among the gods and is still honored as such. About him, Herodotus says that he was a slave of Pythagoras, afterwards, getting free and sailing away, and deeming the Greek way of life wiser, he assembled the first men in town and gave them banquets, telling them that neither himself nor his convives will ever die. Julian in one of his discourses writes that the people of the Getae was the most warlike ever, because of their gallantry and because of Zamolxis, whom they honor; they think they will not die, but migrate, so they rather die than leave their abodes. There is also a Getic custom that the wife has to be slain at the death of her husband and they play the kithara, as if sending a herald. Herodotus also says they shoot arrows upward at the thunder and the lightning, threatening the god." (transl. L. Ruscu)

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It is now clear that concerning Zalmoxis we are dealing with a literary tradition or, better, with *literary traditions*; and the authors of these assertions were a *lettered elite*, using this motif for their varied purposes. Most striking is the use of Zalmoxis as a pretext in their discourses. Therefore, the variety of contexts in which Zalmoxis occurs is remarkable: historical, geographical, philosophical, fictional, lexicographic writings. Also, their interpretation proves the importance of the changing cultural milieu, in which they occur.

Among these works we can discern several traditions:

1. **Herodotus** (4.94-96): Zalmoxis appears first in Herodotus and he is certainly the only informed source

(even if his data are secondary and already altered). Here the Getic god is shown as a slave/disciple of Pythagoras, concerned with immortality and to whom human sacrifices are performed. We assume that Herodotus is the inspiring source for all traditions. From the above published texts, Herodotus was certainly read (or known in some other way) by Lucian, Celsus, Origen, Libanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Eustathius and the lexicon-source for the other compilations.

2. **Plato** (*Charm.* 156 D-157 C): in this tradition, the priests of the Thracian Zalmoxis, also concerned with immortality, know some healing incantations (*epódati*) for both body and soul. The echoes from Plato's *Charmides* appear or are even quoted by (except the well-known Apuleius, *Apol.* 26): Clement of Alexandria (twice), Julian the Emperor (twice), Stobaeus, and maybe Hesychius of Alexandria.

3. **Mnaseas of Patara** (F 23 Müller), ca. 200 B. C.: he assimilated Zalmoxis to Kronos and, since some sources mention that the Getae bring sacrifices to Zalmoxis as to Kronos (in Greek culture, Kronos is constantly connected to human sacrifice among the Barbarians), this equivalence seems to have been made not for reasons of immortality, temporality or the reign in the kingdom of the dead in the other world (as the greatest part of the scholars asserted), but simply for the motif of human sacrifice. This equivalence appears in the common source of Diogenes Laertius and Hesychius of Miletus, in Hesychius of Alexandria (twice) and in the lexicon-source for the Byzantine lexicons.

4. **The (Neo-)Pythagorean literature** of the Empire, where Zalmoxis appears as a slave/disciple of Pythagoras or, more interesting, in some anecdotal accounts (Zalmoxis as a historical person, companion of Pythagoras, survivor of the Crotonian fire, Pythagorean missionary to the Druids, tattooed by brigands - not to be forgotten that he is both a Thracian and a slave -, some attempts at etymology): Antonius Diogenes, Dionysophanes, Hippolytus, Iamblichus. There is also a connection to the oracles or the oracular and prophetic characters and heroes, as in Poseidonius, Antonius Diogenes, Celsus, Eusebius<sup>108</sup>.

Finally, in almost all Byzantine lexicons we meet broadly the same information (based on Herodotus, Mnaseas, Hellanikos). For Photius, the *Genuinum*, the *Souda*, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, we may suppose as source the *Lexicon Rhetoricum* (based upon the marginal

gloss in *Suidas*), or the *Glossarium Cyrilli* (from which the *Lexicon Rhetoricum* extracted its information).

Almost all texts relate Zalmoxis to Pythagoras. Certainly, the topos of the Thracian (as in the majority of testimonies) Zalmoxis' enslavement and assimilation of his master's philosophy is the major characteristic of his legend. Very important is thereafter the topos of the Barbarian wisdom: Zalmoxis appears, alone or among other prominent figures of "alien wisdom", in Celsus, Clement, Diogenes Laertius, Cyril. Consequently, Zalmoxis is also known as a Barbarian philosopher to Apollonius of Tyana, Dio Chrysostom, Hippolytus of Rome, Diogenes Laertius, Origen, Cyril, *Chrestomathia e Strabone*.

In Christian literature, there are some outstanding features: generally, Zalmoxis is seen as a positive character, just because he is not a Greek, but a Barbarian sage; moreover, there appears the motif of the virtuous slave, able to pursue virtue and learn his master's philosophy (an allegory of the Christians' humble position and their search for the divine truth): so in Origen, the *Philocalia of Origen*, Cyril. He may also be inserted among pagan gods, especially among deified men (another argument in the Christian anti-pagan discourse) worshipped as idols: Origen, Eusebius, Aeneas of Gaza. An explicit negative approach to him there is to be found in Gregory of Nazianzus, where the Getic ritual of launching arrows against the sky (during a storm, cf. Herodotus 4.94) is inserted among orgiastic, cruel and inhuman practices (and sacrifices) of pagan religions; and in John Chrysostom.

*Zalmoxis is definitely a Greek character.* He appears in some 50 Greek sources, from Herodotus to the late Byzantium (more than 1500 years), in a large variety of traditions and contexts. Only two Latin authors named him, both using Greek sources: Apuleius (*Apol.* 26, quoting Plato's *Charm.* 157) and Jordanes (using Dio Chrysostomus' *Getica* through Cassiodorus' *Historia Gothorum*). Thereafter, in the Latin Middle Ages, Zalmoxis will be known in the West only because of the tradition originating in Jordanes (in many chronicles and excerpts) and thanks to the Getae/Gothi confusion in the Germanic space<sup>109</sup>. But the traditions here recorded came to light again beginning with the extraordinary discovery of the past and its re-thinking during the Renaissance.

Finally, as Origen and John Chrysostom said, these are just Greek stories (Ἑλληνῶν ἱστορία) and fictions (πλάσματα). Once again, behind the stories about Zalmoxis we are dealing with Greek ways of thinking.

## NOTES

1. This paper was possible thanks to a three months research at Messina, Italy; I express hereby my gratitude for their large support to Proff. Lietta de Salvo and Lucia di Paola (Università degli Studi di Messina). I am indebted also to Prof. Enzo Degani (Università degli Studi di Bologna) for the information concerning the lexicons (D. D.). Abbreviations: *ANF* (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Edinburgh), *FHD* (*Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae*, I-II, Bucharest), *FHG* (C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*), *FGrHist* (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*), *GCS* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig), *GGM* (C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*), *LBL* (Les Belles Lettres, Paris), *LCL* (The Loeb Classical Library, London), *PG* (*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne, Paris), *SC* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris). Abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

2. See D. M. Pippidi, in *Note de lectură (47. În marginea vol II din culegerea 'Izvoarele istoriei României')*, StudClas, 15, 1974, pp. 251-253, for omissions in *FHD*. Authors mentioning Zalmoxis edited in *FHD*, I-II (Greek or Latin text and Romanian transl.): Herodotus 4.94-96; Hellanikos of Lesbos *FGrHist* 4 F 73; Plato, *Charm.* 156 D-157 C; Mnaseas of Patara F 23 Müller (*FHG*, III, 153); Diodorus 1.94.2; Strabo 7.3.5, 7.3.11, and 16.2.39; Herodianus, s.v. Ζάμολιξ (II, 514,25); Lucian, *Scyth.* 1, *Ver. hist.* 2.17, *Iupp. Trag.* 42, *Deor. conc.* 9; Apuleius, *Apol.* 26; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.57.2-58.1; Origen, *C. Cels.* 2.55, 3.34, and 3.54; Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 14-15; Iamblichus, *V. Pyth.*, XXX,173; Julian the Emperor, *Cacs.* 327 D; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Gracc. affect. cur.* 1.25; Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophr.*, *PG*, 85, 940; Agathias of Myrina, *Hist., Proem.* 3; Jordanes, *Get.* V, 39; Hesychius of Alexandria, s.v. Ζάμολιξ; Leo the Deacon, *Hist.*, 9.6; *Souda* s.vv. Ζάμολιξ and Πυθαγόρας. In sum: 21 authors (with 29 occurrences).

3. Romanian translations: Plato (by C. Noica); Diogenes Laertius (by C. Balmuş). Quotations and discussions of ancient texts: W. Schmidt, *Die Geten und Daken. Ein historischer Versuch als Beitrag zur siebenbürgischen Landeskunde (II)*, Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 4 (II. Heft), 1859, pp. 135-147; Gr. Tocilescu, *Dacia înainte de romani*, Bucharest, 1980, pp. 684-689; I. G. Coman, *L'immortalité chez les Thraco-Géto-Daces*, *RHR*, 198, 1981, pp. 243-278 (Hippolytus, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus); I. H. Crişan, *Spiritualitatea geto-dacilor*, Bucharest, 1986, pp. 345-356 (Hippolytus, under the name of Origen, and quoting as genuine text the paraphrase of Tocilescu [sic!]; Iamblichus, *V. Pyth.* XXX, 104; *Souda* s. v. Zamolxis [the goddess]); S. Sanie, *Din*

*istoria culturii și religiei geto-dacice*, Iași, 1999<sup>2</sup>, pp. 253-269 (Apollonius of Tyana, p. 260; Diogenes Laertius 1.1, pp. 262-263).

4. P. Kretschmer, *Zum Balkan-Skythischen*, Glotta, 24, 1936, pp. 44-45; I. I. Russu, *Religia Geto-Dacilor. Zei, credințe, practici religioase*, Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice (Cluj), 5, 1944-1948, p. 86; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Vienna, 1976<sup>2</sup>, pp. 173-175; N. Gostar, *Zalmoxis-Zamolxis, zeul suprem al dacilor. Discuții și controverse*, Cercetări istorice, 12-13, 1981-1982, pp. 291-292; S. Sanie, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

5. Cf. *Charm.* 156 D. For this subject, see T.G. Tuckey, *Plato's Charmides*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 18-19; and more recently F. P. Coolidge, *The Relation of Philosophy to Σωφροσύνη: Zalmoxian Medicine in Plato's Charmides*, *AncPhil*, 13, 1993, pp. 23-36.

6. Cf. Herodotus 4.36.

7. W. R. M. Lamb, *Plato*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, LCL, 1967, vol. III.

8. This passage of Strabo, as well as 7.3.11, were excerpted by Gemistos Pletho in 1445 (*Marcianus gr.* 379). Published and translated into Romanian in *FHD*, I, pp. 228-231, for Strabo. Ascribed to Poseidonius also by R. Baladić, *Strabon. Géographie. Tome IV (livre VII)*, Paris, *LBL*, 1989, p. 20; D. Slușanschi, *ΚΑΓΑ și ΚΩΓΑΙΟΝΟΝ. Analiză filologică și lingvistică*, Thraco-Dacica, 10, 1989, pp. 219-220; and Zoe Petre, *Le mythe de Zalmoxis*, *Analele Universității București. Istorie*, 42-43, 1993-1994, pp. 23-24. Theiler ascribed to Poseidonius also F 133 (Strabo 16.2.35-39) and F 134 (Diodorus 1.94.1-2), where it is told about Zalmoxis as a lawgiver; but the certainty is lacking (see Jacoby, *FGrHist* 87 F 70: the passage concerning Zalmoxis from Strabo 16.2.39 is not accepted). For Poseidonius, see M. Lafranque, *Poseidonios d'Apamée. Essai de mise au point*, Paris, 1964.

9. H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, LCL, 1924.

10. Zalmoxis as a Scythian in Celsus *apud* Origen, *C. Cels.* 2.55; Lucian, *Scyth.* 1 and 4; Photius, *Lex. Geminum*, *Souda*, *Etym. Magnum* s.v. For the question of authenticity, see F. Lo Cascio, *Sulla autenticità delle Epistole di Apollonio Tiano*, Palermo, 1978, p. 29 (positive); but Penella's position (a fabricated letter) is much more appropriate. More about Apollonius: E. L. Bowie, *Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality*, ANRW, II.16.2, 1978, pp. 1652-1699; and M. Dzielska's excellent book *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, Rome, 1986. Ep. 28 was published in Romania by M. Alexianu,



*Epistola XXVIII attribuită lui Apollonios din Tyana*, Thracodacica, 12, 1991, pp. 149-152 (Greek text and Romanian transl., p. 150; he used the Conybeare edition, London 1969, LCL).

11. For which see Zoe Petre, *A propos des sources de Jordanes*, Getica 39-41 et 67-72, in ed. L. Boia, *Etudes d'histoire-riographie*, Bucharest, 1985, pp. 39-51, and C.P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1978 (especially the pp. 52-53 et 122-123). See now Sabrina Terrei, *I Getica di Dione Crisostomo*, Aevum, 74, 2000, pp. 177-186.

12. Registered earlier by J. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae extant omnia*, II, Berlin, 1893, *Praefatio*, p. V, as F 1 (for *Getica*, see pp. IV-IX). Jordanes' *Getica* is an epitome of Cassiodorus' lost *Historia Gothorum* (in 12 books), who presumably used Dio's writing. Of course, by Goths it is meant Getae.

13. Ch. C. Microw, *The Origin and the Deeds of the Goths*, Princeton University Press, 1915. Passage present in *FHD*, II, 413, for Jordanes. Mommsen's classic edition is now replaced by F. Giunta's new version (*Jordanis de origine actibusque Getarum*, Rome, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 117, 1991).

14. Aside from E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig, 1900<sup>2</sup>, pp. 285-286, 304-305 and R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 31-32, very important are the studies of: K. Reuhl, *Antonios Diogenes. Untersuchungen zu den Roman-Fragmenten der 'Wunder jenseits von Thule' und zu den 'Wahren Geschichten' des Lukian* (Diss.), Tübingen, 1969 (concerning Zalmoxis, especially the sections *Dic Astraios Aretalogie*, pp. 90-94, and *Götter, Orakel, Jenseitsvisionen*, pp. 102-106); W. Fauth, *Astraios und Zalmoxis. Über Spuren pythagoreischer Aretalogie im Thule-Roman des Antonius Diogenes*, Hermes, 106, 1978, pp. 220-241; the edition of M. Fusillo, *Antonio Diogene. Le incredibili avventure al di là di Thule*, Palermo, 1990 (with Italian version); G. N. Sandy, *Antonius Diogenes. The Wonders Beyond Thule*, in ed. B. P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels (CAGN)*, Berkeley, 1989, pp. 775-782; S. A. Stephens-J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments*, Princeton (New Jersey), 1995, pp. 101-178. Other studies: L. di Gregorio, *Sugli "ΑΠΙΣΤΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΘΟΥΑΗΝ" di Antonio Diogene*, Aevum, 42, 1968, pp. 199-211; A. Borgogno, *Sulla struttura degli Apista di Antonio Diogene*, Prometheus, 1, 1975, pp. 49-64; Idem, *Antonio Diogene e le trame dei romanzi greci*, Prometheus, 5, 1979, pp. 137-157; J. R. Morgan, *Lucian's True Histories and The Wonders beyond Thule of Antonius Diogenes*, CQ, 35, 1985, pp. 475-490; J. Romm, *Novels Beyond Thule: Antonius Diogenes, Rabelais, Cervantes*, in ed. J. Tatum,

*The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore-London, 1994, pp. 101-116; S. Stephens, *Antonius Diogenes*, in ed. G. Schmeling, *The Novel in the Ancient World*, (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 159), Leiden, 1996, pp. 674-680; M. Fusillo, s.v. *Antonios (3, Diogenes)*, in *Der Neue Pauly*, I, 1996, coll. 806-807. During the last two decades, the study of Greek novels was particularly fashionable.

15. Astraeus is Pythagoras' foster brother, helping here the brothers Mantinias and Dercyllis (from Tyre) to flee (for they are chased by the wicked Egyptian wizard Paapis); he leads them to his friend of Thrace, Zalmoxis, also a disciple of Pythagoras. Astraeus reports about Pythagoras' life (in Photius' epitome, 109 b), and appears too in Porphyry (*V. Pyth.* 10 and 13).

16. *Massagetae* in all manuscripts, instead of *Getae*. This confusion (Photius' or Antonius'?) is not a hapax: for it occurs also in Lucanus, *Phars.* 2.50 (and the scholium: *Massageten gens Thraciae*); also Philostratus, *Her.* 6.5; Synesius of Cyrene (*De regno*, 15.17); Evagrius 3.2; St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei* 20.11); Isidorus of Sevilla (*Etym.* 9.2.63: *Massagetae, quasi graves, id est fortes Getae*). It is certainly a confusion both etymological and late, especially in the works of erudition and in Late Antiquity; in addition, both were peripheral peoples. In *cod.* 64, 26 a (Theophanes of Byzantium, end of sixth century), Photius says that the Turks inhabit eastwards of Tanais, and were formerly named Massagetae.

17. "Already" refers probably to the fact that after his enslavement at Pythagoras, Zalmoxis returned home and was worshipped as a god by the Getae (cf. Herodotus 4.95; Strabo 7.3.5).

18. The prophecy which anticipates adventures, misfortunes and happy-ends is quite common in the Greek novel: the Colophonian oracle in Xenophon Efesius 1.6; the oracle of Apollo referring to Ethiopia in Heliodorus 2.35. For the role of oracles in Greek novels, see S. Saïd, *Oracles et devins dans le roman grec*, in ed. J.-G. Heinz, *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1997, pp. 367-403.

19. S. A. Stephens-J. J. Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 125 (English translation).

20. As for the form of the name, the problem is indefinite, since we have more readings - Ζάλοξις Nauck: Ζάμολξις *codd.*: Ζάμολξις Des Places (misprinted?), stressing once more the ambiguity. This text was used, especially by the German school (but also by A. B. Cook, Rh. Carpenter), in order to sustain a totemic interpretation of Zalmoxis, yet totally erroneous.

21. About Pythagoras teaching divine matters and pertaining to the sky to his slave Zalmoxis, cf. also Strabo 7.3.5.

Published as Antonius' also by: M. Fusillo, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75; S. A. Stephens-J. J. Winkler, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135 (Greek text and English translation).

22. From Stobaeus' chapter XIX (Περὶ δεσποτῶν καὶ δουλῶν). Marres ascribed this fragment to the historical works; but Barigazzi thinks about *Ars amatoria Socratis* (p. 526, also p. 167), which is less plausible (since there is no allusion to the Thracian charms). It probably comes from the *Commentarii*, a work in at least five books with anecdotal characters and containing biographical particularities; in the third book were mentioned Plato and Pythagoras. He wrote also *Omnigena historia*, in 34 books (see for more A. Barigazzi, *Favorino di Arelate*, ANRW, II.34.1, 1993, pp. 556-581). C. Moreschini labeled him as the best example of Second Sophistic's encyclopedism (*Aspetti della cultura filosofica negli ambienti della Seconda Sofistica*, ANRW, II.36.7, 1994, p. 5129).

23. For the chronology of Lucian's writings, and generally about him, see M. D. MacLeod, *Lucianic Studies Since 1930*, ANRW, II.34.2, pp. 1362-1421.

24. Zamolxis as a Scythian: Lucian, *Scyth.* 1; present also in *Ver. hist.* 2.17; *Iupp. Trag.* 42; *Deor. conc.* 9.

25. See more in W. Den Boer, *La polémique anti-chrétienne du I<sup>er</sup> siècle: "La doctrine de vérité" de Celse*, Athenaeum, NS, 64, 1976, pp. 300-318; S. Benko, *Pagan Criticism of Christianity During the First Two Centuries A. D.*, ANRW, II.23.2, 1980, pp. 1101-1108; M. Frede, *Celsus philosophus platonius*, ANRW, Nachträge zu band II.36.1, 1994, pp. 5183-5213; M. Baltés, s.v. *Kelsos*, in *Der Neue Pauly*, VI, 1999, coll. 385-387.

26. Celsus introduces an imaginary Jew attacking the Christian doctrine (in fact, presenting his own opinions).

27. Zalmoxis as a Scythian in Lucian, *Scyth.* 1 and 4, and the lexicons s.v.

28. Cf. Herodotus 4.95.

29. Cf. Diogenes Laertius 8.41, *apud* Hermippus (F 20 Wehrli). In the Pythagorean tradition, there is also a reference to Zalmoxis's katabasis, related to that of Pythagoras; see E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, Tübingen-Leipzig, 1901, II, p. 158; W. Burkert, *Das Proömium des Parmenides und die Katabasis des Pythagoras*, *Phronesis* 14 (1969), p. 25-26; Idem, *Lore and science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1972, pp. 155-159; F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, Heft X, Basel-Stuttgart, 1969, discussing F 42 Hieronymus of Rhodes (= Diogenes Laertius 8.21), p. 41; Id., *Supplementband I. Hermippos der Kallimacheer*, Basel-Stuttgart, 1974, p. 56-57, discussing F 20 (= Diogenes Laertius 8.40), p. 59, and F 22 (Thracians and Jews as masters of

Pythagoras). For Zalmoxis in Celsus, see F. Masetto, *I miracoli vangelici nel dibattito tra Celso e Origene*, Rome, 1986, p. 65; M. Fédou, *Christianisme et religions païennes dans le Contre Celse d'Origène*, Paris, 1988, pp. 190, 195. Celsus gave several lists of ancient and sage nations (excluding the Jews, and therefore, indirectly, the Christians), cf. Origen, *C. Cels.* 1.16: "he says, moreover, that *the Galactophagi of Homer, the Druids of the Gauls, and the Getae are very wise and ancient nations, who believe doctrines akin to those of the Jews*" (transl. H. Chadwick, p. 18).

30. Herodotus 2.122. This passage is published in FHD, I, 714, for Origen. The italicized texts are more likely extracts from Celsus' treatise.

31. Henry Chadwick, *Origen. Contra Celsum*, Cambridge, 1965<sup>2</sup>, p. 109; all other translations from Origen's texts are provided by Chadwick's work.

32. This text is published in FHD, I, 714, for Origen. A more extended list with prophets and oracles in Strabo 16.2.39 (where there appear Amphiarus, Trophonius, Zalmoxis). Cf. for the same oracles (except Zalmoxis) Celsus in Origen, *C. Cels.* 7.35. This text is published in FHD, I, 714, for Origen. For Mopsus see now R. Badriga, *Mopso tra Oriente e Grecia. Storia di un personaggio di frontiera*, QUCC, 46, 1994, pp. 35-71.

33. See A. Méhat, *Etude sur les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1966. The genre of the *Stromata* seems to belong, within the "littérature variée", to a category composed principally from quotations, and expressly oriented towards philosophy (p. 106). His major directions: delineation of the Christianity as philosophy, polemic against heresies, Gnostic inspiration.

34. Cf. Plato, *Charm.* 156 D - 157 A.

35. Also discussed in A. G. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Greek Interpretation of the History and Culture*, Tübingen, 1989, p. 130.

36. Cf. Plato, *Charm.* 156 D. Zalmoxis also present in *Strom.* 4.57.2-58.1.

37. See *Ricerche su Ippolito*, Rome, 1977 (*SEA* 13); *Nuove ricerche su Ippolito*, Rome, 1989 (*SEA* 30); I. Mueller, *Heterodoxy and Doxography in Hippolytus' 'Refutation of All Heresies'*, ANRW, II.36.6, 1992, p. 4327 n. 55.

38. Lysis and Archippos as the survivors of the fire: Neanthes, *FGrHist* 84 F 30 (in Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 55); Aristoxenus (in Iamblichus, *V. Pyth.* XXXV, 249); Polybius 2.39; Diogenes Laertius 8.39; Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 57.

39. See I. Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 4327 n. 55; C. J. De Vogel, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism. An Interpretation of Neglected Evidence on the Philosopher Pythagoras*, Assen,

1966, pp. 34-35; P.-M. Duval, *La Gaule jusqu'au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I, part II, Paris, 1971, p. 496; J.-J. Hatt, *L'opinion que les Grecs avaient des Celtes*, *Ktéma*, 9, 1984, pp. 83-85. Another anecdotal story on Zalmoxis and the rebellion against Pythagoras in Dionysophanes, *FGrHist* 856 F 1 (see below, number 14).

40. Sources as Diodorus 5.28.6; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 30.5; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.70 (after Alexander Polyhistor, *De Pythagoricis symbolis FHG*, III, F 94; quoted later by Cyril of Alexandria, *C. Jul.*, book IV, PG, 76, 705); Strabo 4.4; Iamblichus, *V. Pyth.* XXVIII, 151; Ammianus Marcellinus, 15.9.4 (following Timagenes); Valerius Maximus 2.6.10.

41. *Refutatio* 1.12.17 et 1.25 also in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, pp. 558 et 574.

42. Cf. A. Frenkian, *Analecta Laertiana*, StudClas, 3, 1961, p. 402. See Jørgen Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background*, Wiesbaden (Hermes Einzelschriften-Heft 40), 1978; Idem, *Diogenes Laertius and the Transmission of Greek Philosophy*, ANRW, II.36.5, 1992, pp. 3556-3602.

43. O. Gigon has supposed, on the ground of a combination of the data found in this passage and Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Phys.* 1.363, that Posidonius may have mentioned three "Urphilosophen" for each of the three parts of the world (*Die Erneuerung der Philosophie in der Zeit Ciceros, Entretiens III. Recherches sur la tradition platonicienne*, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1957, p. 30): Ochos for Asia, Zalmoxis for Europe and Atlas for Libya (likewise A. J. Droge, *op.cit.*, pp. 15 et 90); but this remains indeterminate. Passage present also in F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 784 F 2 (as Mochos), Democritus 55 D.-K. (for Mochos), Ps.-Aristotle, σ F 35 Rose.

44. *Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, I, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, *LCL*, 1995, p. 3.

45. The identification of Zalmoxis with Kronos belongs to Mnaseas of Patara (*FHG*, III, 153, F 23 Müller), and not to Herodotus, erroneously quoted here. From this text there is an *excerptum in Vatic.* 96: ὅτι ζάλμοξις - δοῦλος ἦν πρυθαγόρου. See also the *Commentarii in Diogenem Laertium* of H. G. Hübner, (reprint Hildesheim-New York, Olms, 1981, I-II). For Zalmoxis in the eighth book, see B. Centrone, *L'VIII libro delle 'Vite' di Diogene Laerzio*, ANRW, II.36.6, 1992, p. 4187-4188 and n. 20.

46. R. D. Hicks, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 321 and 323, has translated: "he also had a slave, Zalmoxis, who is worshipped, so says Herodotus, by the Getaans, as Cronos".

47. More about Origen in G. Sfameni-Gasparro, *Origene e la tradizione origeniana in Occidente: letture storico-religiose*, Rome, 1999.

48. Zalmoxis also in Origen, *C. Cels.* 2.55 (before our paragraph), 3.34, and 3.54.

49. E. Des Places, *Porphyre. Vie de Pythagore. Lettre à Marcella*, Paris, 1982, p. 42 n. 2: "Dionysophanès n'est guère pour nous qu'un nom"; whether he must or not be identified to Diophanes or Diophantas (F 1 Müller, *FHG* IV 395) as believes E. Schwartz, *RE*, V, col. 1051, s.v. *Diophantas* (14), is uncertain. The second (yet questionable) mention is made by the *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1.826 B (*FGrHist* 856 F 2).

50. Also for Zalmoxis' part in the rebellion against Pythagoras: Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.2.17.

51. Tattooing is constantly mentioned among Thracians: Herodotus 5.6; *Δισσοὶ Λόγοι* F 2,13; Clearchus of Soloi F 8 Müller; Strabo 7.5.4; Phanocles F 1 (in Stobaeus, Flor. 54.14); Artemidorus of Daldis, *Oneir.* 1.8; Plutarchus, *De sera numin. vind.* 12; Valerius Flaccus 2.150; Thracian women: Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 14.19; Bistonian women: *Anthol. Palat.* 7.10; Dacians: Pliny the Elder *NH* 22.1.2 and 7.11.50. Dionysophanes' report in: C. P. Jones, *Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, JRS, 77, 1987, p. 144; I. P. Culianu-C. Poghire, s.v. *Zalmoxis*, in *The Encyclopedia of Religions* (ed. M. Eliade), XV, New York, 1987, p. 554; on penal tattooing: W. Mark Gustafson, *Inscripta in fronte: Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity*, CA, 16, 1997, pp. 79-105. Text published in *FHD*, I, 742, for Porphyry.

52. Zalmoxis also in Iamblichus, *V. Pyth.* XXX, 173. See for the philosopher J. Dillon, *Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 240-325 A. D.)*, ANRW, II.36.2, 1987, pp. 862-909.

53. Published in *PG*, 24, coll. 607-692; Angelo Mai, *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum* 4, 110 and 130.

54. The manuscript was purchased, with other 50 Syrian manuscripts, in 1839, by a Coptic scholar, Henry Tattam of Bedford, from a monastery of Ethiopia. In the beginning we may read: "This writing was wrote, in Urhai (Edessa), the town of Mesopotamia, by a man named Ja'kob (and) was finished in the year 723 in the last month Theshrin", i.e. the February of 411 AD. Edition by Samuel Lee, *Eusebius on The Theophania* (London, 1842, the Syrian text; London, 1843, the English transl.). This version, however inaccessible to us, was judged inappropriate by the German editor H. Gressmann.

55. Cf. a similar list in Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.34 (Zalmoxis, Mopsus, Amphilocheus, Amphiarus, Trophonius).

56. H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine. A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1976, p. 112. See also T. D. Barnes, *Two Speeches of Eusebius*, GRBS, 18, 1977, pp. 341-345.

57. *Melquthururum* in the Syrian version.

58. Book II, "Against the Philosophers" (not Eusebius' title). We have here quite the same text as in *Laus Const.* 13.5, but the Greek text must have had οἱ Γότ[τ]θοι τὸν Ζάμοξιον instead of οἱ Γέται τὸν Ζάμοξιον (as in *Laus Const.*). It is noteworthy that this confusion Getae/Goths, before its large diffusion in Latin literature, was also present in Greek writings, as early as the fourth century, and some later: the same Eusebius (*Constantine to the Holy Assembly* 24.1), Julian the Emperor (*Praise of the Constantine emperor* 7), Themistius (discourses XI and XII), Philostorgius 2.5, Procopius of Caesarea (*De bellis* 3.2.2), John Lydus (*De mens.* 4.83; *De mag.* 3.55). The above mentioned passage of *Theophrastus* was inserted by Eusebius, few years after, in his *Laus Constantini*.

59. Cf. Herodotus 4.95.

60. Cf. *Od.* M 47 and 173 sqq.

61. Cf. Plato, *Charm.* 156 D.

62. Cf. Plato, *Charm.* 156 D; Zalmoxis also in Julian, *Caes.* 327 D. For the education and the works of the apostate emperor, see J. Bouffartigue, *L'Empereur Julien et la culture de son temps*, Paris, 1992.

63. From Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.54. This text appears also in *FHD*, I, 714, for Origen. See also M. Harl, *Origène, Philocalie, 1-20. Sur les Écritures*, Paris, 1983 (SC 302); É. Junod, *Origène. Philocalie 21-27. Sur le Libre Arbitre*, Paris, 1976 (SC). The chapter XVIII contains extracts of books I and III of Origen, and, as said in *κεφαλαίον* (the heading), against the pagan accusation that the disciples of Jesus were simple-minded people, slaves (ἄνδράποδα), women and children (Harl, pp. 458-464).

64. Zoroaster and Zalmoxis also in Diodorus 1.94.2; Apuleius, *Apol.* 26. Present as testimony B 10 c in J. Bidez-F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspes d'après la tradition grecque*, II (*Textes*), Paris, LBL, 1938, p. 23.

65. This strange ritual was mentioned by Herodotus 4.94; cf. also *Paraxographus Vaticanus Rohdii* 42. Inappropriate translation in I. G. Coman, op. cit., p. 276: "Zalmoxis ... divinisait chaque (fidèle)". The *scholion* well explains δὲ ὄμιλον by διὰ τοῦ πλήθους, "through the crowd".

66. Herodotus 4.103.

67. Favorinus F 99 Barigazzi (see nr. 6). From Stobaeus' chapter XIX (Περὶ δεσπντῶν καὶ δουλῶν).

68. There appears a difference from Plato's text in the rendering of the god's name: Ζάμολις instead of Ζάμοξις, as in Plato.

69. We have πολιτῶν ("of the citizens") in Stobaeus instead of ἰατρῶν ("of the physicians") in Plato.

70. It belongs to Stobaeus' chapter XXXVII, Περὶ ὑγείας καὶ διαφωνῆς αὐτῆς?

71. See, generally, W. J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity. The Conflict Between Hellenic and Christian Wisdom in the Contra Galilaeos of Julian the Apostate and the Contra Julianum of St. Cyrill of Alexandria*, Rome, 1978. P. Burguère and P. Évioux's SC edition covers only the first two books; a new edition is intended (see C. Riedweg, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Apologie Kyrills von Alexandrien Contra Iulianum*, MH, 57, 2000, pp. 151-165).

72. Cyril has used for this Clement, *Strom.* 1.71.4-72.2, where is present this list, but Zalmoxis is missing; he was however present in *Strom.* 4.57.2-58.1. Likewise, Theodoret of Cyrillus, who used too Clement's work, has put together as examples of barbarian sages the Thracian Zalmoxis, the Scythian Anacharsis and the Brachmans (*Gracc. affect. cur.* 1.25). Zalmoxis among the Barbarian wise nations and sages occurs in Diogenes Laertius 1.1. See also for this Christian topos (derived from the classical tradition) J. H. Waszink, *Some Observations on the Appreciation of 'The Philosophy of the Barbarians' in Early Christian Literature*, in *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 41-56; W. Speyer-I. Opelt, *Barbar. Nachtrage zum Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (RAC)*, JbAC, 10, 1967, pp. 251-190 (including the Christian literature). J. F. Kindstrand's book *Anacharsis, The Legend and the Apophthegmata*, Uppsala, 1981, is an excellent model in the study of a barbarian sage.

73. Text quoted from Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 14. The *Life of Pythagoras* belonged to the first book of Porphyry's lost *History of Philosophy*, from which, grace to Cyril's citations, we possess some fragments (see A.-Ph. Segonds, *Appendice. Les Fragments de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, in É. Des Places, *Porphyre*, pp. 163-197). Cyril's purpose was similar to that of Origen: the slaves are also able to acquire wisdom (and the humble Christians, the divine truth).

74. Then follows a passage published in *FHD*, II, 321, on Zalmoxis.

75. The form *Salmoxis* in Herodotus 4.94-96; Herodianus s.v. Ζάμολις (II, 514, 25). Zalmoxis also in Hesychius s.v. Ζάμοξις.

76. Cf. Mnaseas of Patara, F 23 Müller; Diogenes Laertius 8. 2; Hesychius s.v. Ζάμοξις; the other lexicons, s.v.

77. From Plato (*Charmides*)?

78. Cf. Diogenes Laertius 8.2. The same text in *Souda* s.v. Πυθαγόρας. See for Hesychius of Miletus H. Schultz, *RE*, VIII, s.v. *Hesychios* (10), coll. 1322-1327; he distrusts the method of Flach's edition (copying the articles of *Souda*).

79. See O. Guéraud, *Note préliminaire sur les papyrus d'Origène découverts à Toura*, RHR, 131, pp. 85-108. Edition by

Jean Scherer, *Extraits des livres I et II du Contre Celse d'Origène (Papyrus n° 88747 du Musée du Caire)*, Cairo, 1956.

80. From Origen, *C. Cels.* 2.55; \*\*\* indicates an excerpt. The extracts from Origen were written on 4 books, (in all, 59 pages). Our text belongs to the page 52, in the fourth book (number δ').

81. See W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the "Bibliotheca" of Photius*, Washington (Dumbarton Oaks Papers XVIII), 1980; and Th. Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpieren in der Bibliothek*, Uppsala, 1975.

82. This novel id to be considered, according to Hägg's terminology, as an *analytisches Referat* (analytical review), and by Treadgold as a "precise summary", unlike the other categories (*Kurzreferat, Exzerpte*).

83. The same text (with slight alterations) in *Souda, Lex. Genuinum, Lex. Rhetoricum, Etym. Magnum*, s. v. In the manuscripts of the lexicon there appears the form Ζάμολις and not, as published, Ζάμολις; και inserted by Naber from *Etym. Magnum*. For the problem of lexicons, see ed. E. Gangutia Elicegui, *Introducción a la lexicografía griega*, Madrid, 1977; E. Degani, *Lessicografi*, in ed. F. della Corte, *Dizionario degli scrittori greci e latini*, II, Milan, 1987, pp. 1169-1189; Idem, *La lessicografia*, in ed. G. Cambiano, L. Canfora, D. Lanza, *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, II, Rome, 1992, pp. 505-527.

84. Herodotus 4.95.

85. Zalmoxis as Scythian in Apollonius of Tyana, *Ep.* 28; *Lucian*, *Scyth.* 1 and 4, Celsus in Origen, *C. Cels.* 2.55.

86. Mnaseas of Patara, F 23 Müller.

87. Hellanikos of Lesbos, *FGrHist* 4 F 73.

88. Τερέτιζοι in Photius, Τέριζοι in *Souda, Etym. M.*

89. From Hesychius of Miletus, *Onom.* 686, according to the editors.

90. Résumé of Strabo 7.3.5.

91. The information comes from the as yet unpublished *Lexicon Ambrosianum* (apud A. Adler, marginal notes; on which see Adler, p. XVII).

92. From Diogenes Laertius 1.1 (see nr. 12).

93. Probably from *Etym. M.*

94. Μνησάρχου Σαμίω added in Photius and *Souda*.

95. Τερέτιζοι in Photius.

96. This other anonymous source, cited only by the *Et. M.*, is the *Lexicon Rhetoricum* (Συναφωγή), from which there is

as yet published only the letter α; for Zalmoxis, it was used also by Photius, and the *Souda*, according to the marginal note of Adler edition.

97. From *Lucian, Scyth.* 4.

98. From the lexicographic material. For Eustathius' use of the *Souda* in his Homeric commentaries, see A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, I, pp. XIV-XV.

99. From the lexicographic material.

100. Herodotus 4.93.

101. Strabo 7.3.2.

102. Strabo 7.3.4.

103. Strabo 7.3.5.

104. Julian, *Caes.* 327 D.

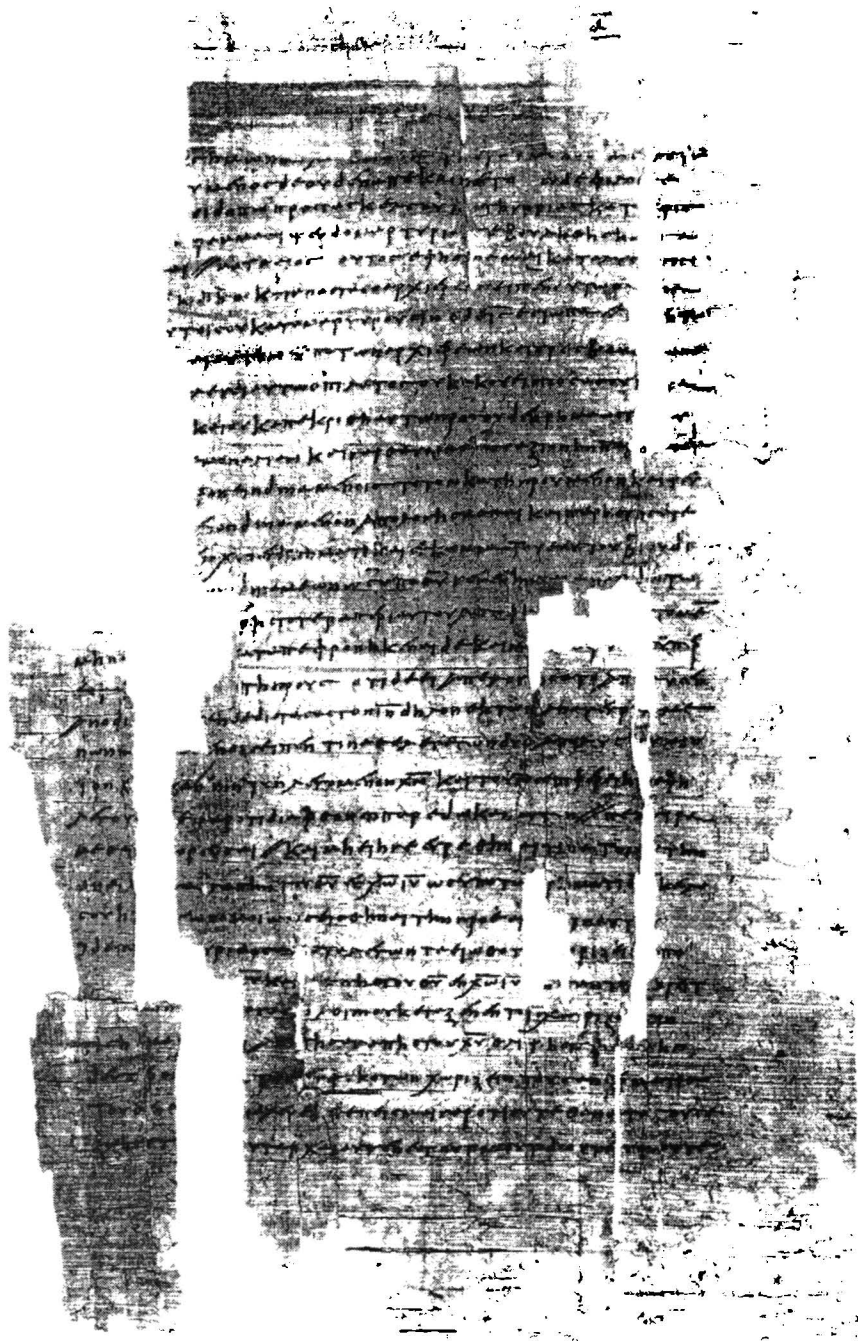
105. Herodotus 4.93-96. Greek text and Romanian translation of Eustathius' passage: M. Băluță-Skultéty, *Dionis Periagetul și comentatorul său, Eustațiu, despre daci și tracii*, in ed. E. Cizek, *Romanodacica II. Izvoare antice ale istoriei României*, Bucharest, 1994, pp. 214-216.

106. Cf. Eustathius, *ad. Dion.* 304, and Hesychius, s.v. Ζάμολις.

107. Cf. Eustathius, *ad. Dion.* 304.

108. A chronological delineation of sources concerning Zalmoxis in Z. Petre, *Le mythe de Zalmoxis*, pp. 23-24: a) Herodotus and Hellanikos (first contacts between the Ionians and the Black Sea and Danube space); b) the ancient Pythagorean milieu of Southern Italy (end of Vth and early IVth centuries B. C.: Zalmoxis as evidence of the universality of Pythagoreanism, in the long list of lawgivers inspired by the Master); c) Poseidonius and his followers (Strabo, Diodorus, Dio Chrysostom). It is noteworthy that: "L'ensemble de la tradition grecque sur Zalmoxis dérive, ainsi, soit directement d'Hérodote, soit indirectement, de la tradition pythagoricienne de nomothète reprise par Poséidonios" (p. 24).

109. In Romania are known a few of them, for the Spanish domain, as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso el Sabio (and the so-called *Cronica de los Godos*); see Al. Busuioceanu, *Zalmoxis. Mitul dacic în istoria și legendele Spaniei*, Bucharest, 1985. But there are also other mentions on Zalmoxis, in fact excerpts from Jordanes, such as the bishop Frechulfus of Lexovium (IXth c.), *Chronicon Vedastinum/Excerpta Duacensia* (Xth c.), Guilelmus Calculus (XIth c.), Frutolfus/Ekkehardt (XIIth c.) ... This may be considered as the fifth literary tradition (the medieval tradition of Jordanes).



Toura Papyrus page 1 (book  $\alpha'$ ) (Scherer, Pl. I).