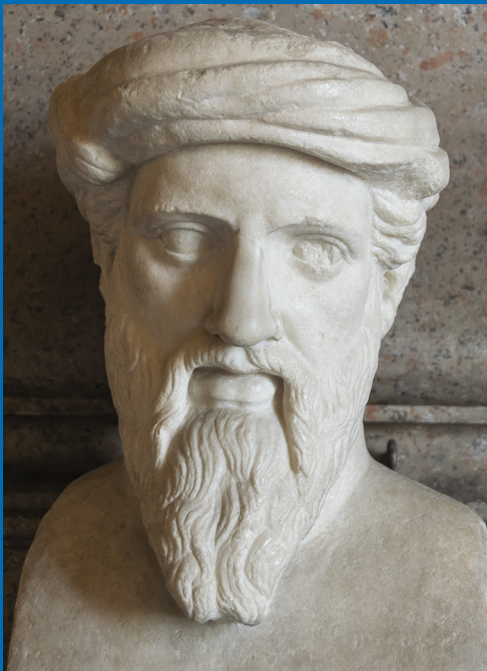


Macris | Dorandi | Brisson [eds.]

Pythagoras redivivus

Studies on the Texts attributed to
Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans



ACADEMIA

Constantinos Macris
Tiziano Dorandi
Luc Brisson [eds.]

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Rome, Capitoline Museums (inv. 594), 'Hall of the philosophers', No 80: neoclassical portrait herm of a bearded man wearing a turban (1st century CE) identified as Pythagoras since the early 20th century. The uncertainty of the attribution has not prevented people from widely accepting it as a given. To our eyes this image is emblematic of the false attributions of texts to Pythagoras (and the Pythagoreans) through the centuries.

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*À Holger Thesleff, maître des recherches
sur la littérature pythagoricienne*

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Preface

The texts attributed to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, the so-called *Pseudopythagorica*, constitute a *corpus* of philosophical texts which started to circulate from the Hellenistic era onwards. Their authors – be they ‘authentic’ (neo) Pythagoreans or skilled and learned forgers – used credibility strategies such as pseudonymity, reference to tradition, use of Doric dialect *inter alia* in order to convince (who? why?) that they were faithfully expressing the positions of the ancient, original Pythagorean ‘School’ in the fields of *Prinzipienlehre*, number philosophy, theology, physics and logic, as well as of political philosophy, ethics and lifestyle. And (at least some of these texts) were extraordinarily successful, if we consider the authority given to them by Neoplatonists and Renaissance philosophers – and even by Copernicus. The most ambitious of these texts claimed no less than to be the sources from which Plato and Aristotle drew in order to write the *Timaeus* and the *Categories* respectively.

This vast and variegated *corpus* has never been examined systematically – in a way that takes into account both its philological and its philosophical aspects – in the context of a collective project, nor has there been a single International Conference devoted to this subject. But over the last two or three decades quite favorable conditions have been created for this kind of cooperative endeavor, given the impressive boom in Pythagorean studies, and the large number of both senior and junior researchers working on these texts throughout the world. It is precisely these specialists from different countries that we have called upon in order to examine collectively, and from an interdisciplinary perspective, this particular phenomenon of philosophical pseudepigraphy in all its dimensions, not without also trying to establish networks of interconnections with other types of literature, both earlier and later.

The project that emerged, entitled “*Pseudopythagorica*. Stratégies du faire croire dans la philosophie antique” (Strategies of credibility in ancient philosophy), was launched in 2015 and is still running in 2021, thanks to the annual funding and the technical and scientific support of the Laboratoire d’excellence HASTEC (Histoire et Anthropologie des Savoirs, Techniques et Croyances), in partnership with the Laboratoire d’Études sur les Monothéismes (LEM, UMR 8584, CNRS, PSL University, Paris [Aubervilliers]) and the Centre Jean Pépin (UMR 8230, CNRS-ENS, PSL University, Paris [Villejuif]).

Preface

To all three institutions we would like to express our deep gratitude.

It may be of interest to list here, in alphabetical order, the names of the participants, as well as (translated into English) the titles of the papers they gave at the ten (10) International Workshops held in Paris between 2015 and 2019:

Jelle ABBENES (Amsterdam): A Grammar of Pseudo-Pythagorean Doric – 20 Years Later.

Omar ÁLVAREZ SALAS (Mexico City): *Pseudopythagorica* and *PseudepicharMEA*. I. Observations on the Origin and Typology of the Texts Attributed to Epicharmus – II. *Pseudopythagorica* and *PseudepicharMEA*: Twin Textual corpora?

Mauro BONAZZI (Utrecht): Pseudo-Aristaios, *On the Eternity of the Universe*.

Luc BRISSON (Paris-Villejuif): (1) The Pseudo-Pythagorean Texts on Law – (2) The *Letters* Attributed to Plato.

Albio Cesare CASSIO (Rome): Observations on the Ionian Dialect Used in the *Pseudopythagorica* (Perictione).

Michele CURNIS (Madrid): Pythagorean Materials and Textual Issues in John Stobaeus: The Case of III 1, 199.

Marco DONATO (Aix-Marseille): ‘Pempelus’ Fragment *On Parents*: Translation and Commentary.

Tiziano DORANDI (Paris-Villejuif): Stobaeus as a Major Source of Transmission for the *Pseudopythagorica*: Problems and Challenges in Editing the *Anthology*.

Dorota DUTSCH (Santa Barbara, California): “But I think...”: Phintys’ Theory of Virtue.

Anne GANGLOFF (Rennes): Neopythagorean Treatises *On Kingship*: State of Research, Methodological Considerations, and New Vistas.

Marc-Antoine GAVRAY (Liège): The Treatise of Pseudo-Timaeus of Locri *On the Nature of the World and the Soul* as Quoted by Simplicius.

Victor GYSEMBERGH (Paris): The Treatise *On Cyclic Theory* Attributed to Archytas: First Considerations.

Carole HOFSTETTER (Paris): The Textual Transmission of Archytas’ and Philolaus’ Fragments in Nicomachus’ *Introduction to Arithmetic*.

Phillip S. HORKY (Durham): (1) Pseudo-Archytas, the One and Many – (2) System (σύστημα) in the Pythagorean Pseudepigrapha.

Michel HUMM (Strasbourg): The Neo-Pythagorean Content of the (Spurious) Books of Numa.

Anna IZDEBSKA (Warsaw): (1) Composing a Pseudo-Pythagorean Gnomology: A Case Study of an Arabic Collection of Sentences Attributed to Pythagoras – (2) Pseudo-Pythagorean and Pseudo-Socratic *Symbola* Transmitted in Arabic.

Izabela JURASZ (Paris): *Theano’s Advice* Transmitted in Syriac: Introduction, Translation and Commentary.

Adrien LECERF (Paris): Iamblichus as a Source of Late Neoplatonists for the Exegesis of the *Sacred Discourse* in Doric attributed to Pythagoras and of the *Hymn to Number*.

- Constantinos MACRIS (Paris): (1) The ‘Theano’ File – (2) Pseudo-Onatas, *On God and the Divine*: Translation and Commentary – (3) The ‘Pythagorean Divisions’ set out in Iamblichus’ *Protreptic to Philosophy*.
- Jaap MANSFELD (Utrecht): (1) Some Comments on the Presence of ‘Pythagoras’ in Aetius’ *Placita* – (2) Named and Anonymous Pythagoreans in Aetius: Some Examples.
- Matteo MARTELLI (Bologna): Between Bolus of Mendes and Pseudo-Democritus: The Alchemical Face of Pythagoreanism?
- Sophie MINON (Paris): (1) The Dorian Literary *koina* of the 5 Fragments of the Περὶ νόμου καὶ δικαιοσύνης Attributed to Archytas of Tarentum and Transmitted by Stobaeus: Prolegomena – (2) Dialectalisation in the Service of Philosophical Pseudepigraphy: The Case of Pseudo-Archytas.
- Jan OPSOMER (Leuven): The Theory of the Elements in Pseudo-Ocellus.
- Caterina PELLÒ (St Andrews): (1) Early Pythagorean Women and Pseudo-Pythagorean Writings – (2) The Early Pythagorean Women’s Way of Life: Continuities and Discontinuities with the *Pseudopythagorica*.
- Rosa Maria PICCIONE (Turin): *Pythagorica* in the *Anthologion* of John Stobaeus: Provenance and Principles of Selection and Distribution.
- Katarzyna PROCHENKO (Zürich): (1) The Textual Transmission of the *Pythagorean Sentences* – (2) The Sentences Attributed to Pythagoras in Stobaeus’ *Anthologion*.
- Lucia SAUDELLI (Paris): Eschatology in the Pseudo-Timaeus.
- Francesca SCROFANI (Paris): (1) The Relationship between the Περὶ νόμου καὶ δικαιοσύνης Attributed to Archytas and the *Minos* Attributed to Plato – (2) Towards a New Interpretation of Archytas’ Fragment 3.
- Georges SKALTSAS (Athens): “Becoming One”: On a Pseudo-Pythagorean *dictum* in Clement of Alexandria.
- Pinelopi SKARSOULI (Paris): What is a ‘Pseudo’ Author? Reflections Related to the Conception of an Online Bibliographic Database (the *Répertoire des sources philosophiques antiques*: <<http://rspa.vjf.cnrs.fr/>>).
- Johan C. THOM (Stellenbosch, South Africa): (1) The *Golden Verses* as Pseudo-Pythagorean Text – (2) Androcydes’ *On the Pythagorean Symbola* as Pseudo-Pythagorean Text?
- Georgia TSOUNI (Basel & Rethymno, Crete): Common Themes in (Arius?) Didymus’ *Outline of Peripatetic Ethics* and [Archytas]’ *Pseudopythagorica ethica*.
- Angela ULACCO (Fribourg, Suisse): (1) Pseudo-Archytas, *On Intellect and Sense Perception* – (2) Pseudo-Archytas’ and Pseudo-Brotinus’ Divided Line in the Context of Post-Hellenistic Platonic Epistemology.
- Sophie VAN DER MEEREN-FERRERI (Rennes): Nature and Functions of Persuasion, According to Ecphantus’ Treatise *On Kingship* (Stobaeus, IV, vii, 65, p. 276, 10 – 278, 20 Hense).
- Matteo VAROLI (Cagliari): Time, Earth and the Planets: Astronomical Issues in Timaeus of Locri.

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Pierre VESPERINI (Paris): (1) Historiographical Questions about Nigidius Figulus and Neopythagoreanism – (2) On the Formula “Nature is Charmed by Nature, Nature Conquers Nature, Nature Dominates Nature” Attributed to the ‘Pythagorean’ Bolus of Mendes.

Irini-Foteini VILTANIOTI (Leuven & Rethymno, Crete): (1) Justice and Universal Harmony in the Hellenistic *Pseudopythagorica* – (2) Pseudo-Eccelos, *On Justice*, and Pseudo-Theages, *On Virtue*: Translation and Commentary.

Sharon WEISSER (Tel Aviv): *Apatheia* versus *Metriopatheia* in Pseudo-Archytas.

Leonid ZHMUD (St. Petersburg): (1) What is Pythagorean in the Pseudo-Pythagorean Texts? – (2) The Anonymous *Tractatus arithmologicus*.

We are extremely thankful to all of the above colleagues for their substantial contributions, and for their enthusiasm to join us in this novel exploration!

In the present volume we are publishing the revised and updated versions of a first ensemble of these papers. A sequel is planned, to be published next year (2022) under the title *From the Pseudopythagorica to the Neopythagoreans: Further Studies on the Texts Attributed to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* – a title that clearly indicates our intention to focus on the specific role played by the so-called *Pseudopythagorica* to the Neopythagorean revival observable both in Rome and in Alexandria, but also in other places of the Mediterranean *oecumene*, from the first century BCE onwards.

At the threshold of what we consider to be a collective effort that will hopefully open up new paths in the scientific study of ancient Pythagoreanism and its reception(s), we would like to thank Academia Verlag/Nomos Verlag, and Dr. Steffen Burk in particular, for having warmly welcomed our volume in the series ‘Academia Philosophical Studies’, as well as for his availability and efficiency at all stages of the book’s production. Special thanks are also due to Alexandra Beutelmann for the care, the competence, and the collaborative spirit with which she worked on the preparation of this volume.

Luc Brisson
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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this volume are those of the *Année philologique* (cf. <<https://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/c.php?g=381579&p=2585381>>) and of the *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. The most frequent ones are listed below. For the names of the ancient authors and the titles of their texts the abbreviations used are those of the *LSJ* (H.G. Liddell, R. Scott & H.S. Jones (ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*; see below).

<i>AAnthung</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest).
<i>A&R</i>	<i>Atene e Roma</i> (Firenze).
<i>AGPh</i>	<i>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie</i> (Berlin).
<i>AION (filol)</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i> . Dipartimento di Studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione filologico-letteraria (Napoli).
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> (Baltimore, Maryland).
<i>AncPhil</i>	<i>Ancient Philosophy</i> (Pittsburgh, Penn.).
<i>ANRW</i>	Temporini, H. & Haase, W. (ed.) (1972 – ...). <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>ARF</i>	<i>Appunti Romani di Filologia</i> . Studi e comunicazioni di filologia, linguistica e letteratura greca e latina (Pisa).
<i>ASGM</i>	<i>Atti del Sodalizio glottologico milanese</i> (Milano).
<i>BAB</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique</i> (Bruxelles).
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> (University of London).
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i> (Bryn Mawr College, Penn.).
<i>BNJ</i>	I. Worthington (ed.) (2005 – ...). <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> (2nd ed. 2016 – ...). A fully-revised and enlarged edition of F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> , I-III.
<i>BNP</i>	Salazar, C.F. & Gentry, F.G. (ed.) (2002–2010). <i>Brill's New Pauly</i> , Leiden: Brill. (Cf. <i>DNP</i> for the German original.)
<i>BT</i>	<i>Bibliotheca teubneriana</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (München).
<i>C&M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i> . Revue danoise d'histoire et de philologie publiée par la Société danoise pour les études anciennes et médiévales (København).
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i> (Berkeley).
<i>CPF</i>	<i>Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini. Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina</i> , Firenze: L.S. Olschki Editore, 1989 – ...
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago, Ill.).
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> (Oxford).

Abbreviations

CR	<i>Classical Review</i> (Oxford).
CUF	Collection des Universités de France. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
DELG	Chantraine, P. (2009 ² [1967-1980 ¹]). <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , Paris: Klincksieck.
DGE	Adrados, F.R. (ed.) (1989-2009). <i>Diccionario griego-español</i> , Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas.
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i> (Paris).
DK	Diels, H. (1951). <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 6th ed. with W. Kranz. Berlin: Weidmann.
DNP	Cancik, H., Schneider, H. & Landfester, M. (ed.) (1996–2003). <i>Der Neue Pauly</i> , Stuttgart: Metzler. (Cf. <i>BNP</i> for the transl. into English.)
DPbA	Goulet, R. (ed.) (1989–2018). <i>Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques</i> , Paris: CNRS Éditions, 7 vols. + Suppl.
EPh	<i>Les études philosophiques</i> (Paris).
EPlaton	<i>Études Platoniciennes</i> . Publication annuelle de la Société d'études platoniciennes (Paris).
GE	Montanari, F., Goh, M. & Schroeder, C. (ed.) (2015). <i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i> , Leiden-Boston: Brill.
GI	Montanari, F. (ed.) (2013 ³). <i>Vocabolario della lingua greca</i> , Torino: Loescher.
GIF	<i>Giornale italiano di filologia</i> (Roma).
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.).
HSF	<i>Historische Sprachforschung</i> (Göttingen).
HSPb	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> (Cambridge, Mass.).
IJPITr	<i>International Journal of the Platonic Tradition</i> (Leiden).
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> (Münster).
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> (Atlanta [GA]).
JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London).
LfgRE	Snell, B. et al. (ed.) (1955-2010). <i>Lexikon der frühgriechischen Epos</i> , Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
LGPN	Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. et al. (ed.) (1987-2018). <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press / Oxford University Press.
LSJ	Liddel, H.G., Scott, R. & Jones, H.S. (1996 ¹⁰). <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford University Press.
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i> . Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'Antiquité classique (Basel).
Muséon	<i>Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales</i> (Louvain).
OCD	Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. & Eidinow, E. (ed.) (2012). <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th ed. Oxford University Press.
OSAPb	<i>Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy</i> (Oxford).
PhilosAnt	<i>Philosophie antique: problèmes, renaissances, usages</i> (Villeneuve-d'Ascq).
PP	<i>La parola del passato</i> (Napoli).
QS	<i>Quaderni di storia</i> (Bari).

Abbreviations

<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica</i> (Roma).
<i>RAC</i>	Klauser, T. (ed.) (1941 – ...). <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann.
<i>RBPb</i>	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i> (Mechelen).
<i>RE</i>	Pauly, A., Wissowa, G. & Kroll, W. (ed.) (1893–1978). <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart: Metzler.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> (Talence).
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> (Paris).
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i> (Torino-Firenze-Roma).
<i>RFN</i>	<i>Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica</i> (Milano).
<i>RbM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> (Frankfurt am Main).
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> (Paris).
<i>RHT</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire des textes</i> (Paris).
<i>RMM</i>	<i>Revue de métaphysique et de morale</i> (Paris).
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i> (Paris).
<i>RPhA</i>	<i>Revue de philosophie ancienne</i> (Bruxelles).
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di storia della filosofia</i> (Firenze).
<i>RSQ</i>	<i>Rhetoric Society Quarterly</i> (London & New York).
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i> (Firenze).
<i>StudPhilon</i>	<i>Studia Philonica</i> . The annual publication of the Philo Institute (Chicago, Ill.).
<i>StudPhilonAnn</i>	<i>The Studia Philonica Annual</i> . Studies in Hellenistic Judaism (Atlanta, Ga).
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i> (Lancaster, Penn.).
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus linguae graecae</i> . A Digital Library of Greek Literature, online: < http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ >.
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> . A Review of Early Christian Life and Language (Amsterdam).
<i>WJA</i>	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Würzburg).
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i> . Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik (Wien).
<i>YCIS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i> (New Haven [Conn.]).
<i>ZNT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</i> (Tübingen).
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> (Bonn).
<i>ZVS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> (Göttingen).

