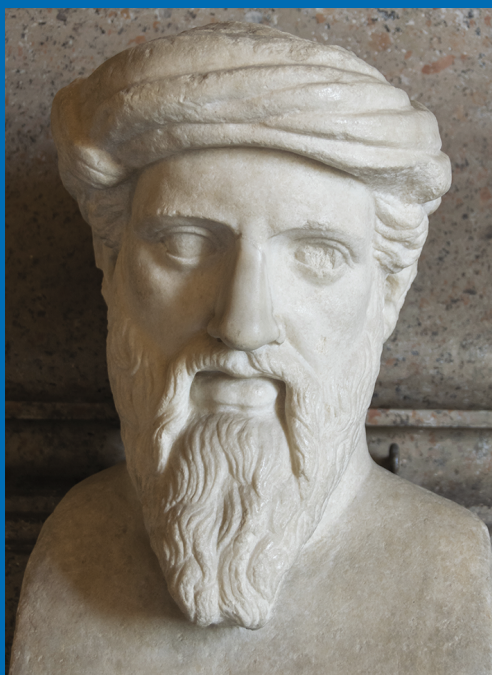


Macris | Dorandi | Brisson [eds.]

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*

Table of Contents

Preface	9
Notes on the contributors	13
Abbreviations	19
Texts Attributed to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans: A Brief Introductory Guide	23
<i>Constantinos Macris</i>	

I. Sources and transmission of the fragments

<i>Pseudopythagorica</i> nell' <i>Anthologion</i> di Giovanni Stobeo: provenienza, principi di selezione e distribuzione	73
<i>Rosa Maria Piccione</i>	
Les fragments d'Archytas et de Philolaos dans l' <i>Introduction</i> <i>arithmétique</i> de Nicomaque de Gerasa	107
<i>Carole Hofstetter</i>	

II. Authors and texts

Archytas: Author and Authenticator of Pythagoreanism	141
<i>Phillip Sidney Horky</i>	
Le traité <i>Sur la loi et la justice</i> et le fragment 3 attribués à Archytas. Une théorie de la loi en rapport avec celle du <i>Minos</i> attribué à Platon	177
<i>Francesca Scrofani</i>	
The <i>Golden Verses</i> as Pseudo-Pythagorean Text	205
<i>Johan C. Thom</i>	

Table of Contents

Il tempo, la Terra, i pianeti. Osservazioni sull'esegesi di <i>Tim.</i> 37c-39e in Ps.-Timeo di Locri	229
---	-----

Matteo Varoli

L'eschatologie du pseudo-Timée	249
--------------------------------	-----

Lucia Saudelli

« Pempélos » <i>Sur les parents</i> et les <i>Lois</i> de Platon	275
--	-----

Marco Donato

III. Expanding Holger Thesleff's corpus

Androcydes' <i>On the Pythagorean Symbola</i> as Pseudo-Pythagorean Text	317
--	-----

Johan C. Thom

The <i>Anonymus arithmologicus</i> and its Philosophical Background	341
---	-----

Leonid Zhmud

Les lettres « pythagoriciennes » attribuées à Platon	381
--	-----

Luc Brisson

IV. Reception(s)

Jamblique source des néoplatoniciens tardifs : les cas du <i>Discours sacré</i> dorien et de l' <i>Hymne au nombre</i>	401
--	-----

Adrien Lecerf

De l'usage d'une autorité : Timée de Locres et Simplicius	447
---	-----

Marc-Antoine Gavrav

The Riddles of Pythagoras. Arabic and Syriac <i>Symbola</i> Attributed to Pythagoras and Socrates	475
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Anna Izdebska

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.

Preface

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. BNP for the transl. into English.)
DPhA	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.
LGNP	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).

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

Texts Attributed to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans: A Brief Introductory Guide

Constantinos Macris

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Concerning Pythagoras' wisdom, to put it simply, let the greatest proof be the records [or notes, *hypomnēmata*] written by the Pythagoreans, which contain the truth about all things: compared to all other writings, they are well-rounded and exceptional in exuding something archaic, a patina of antiquity, like a bloom not touched by hand. They are the fruit of the thoroughest study [or, more technically: 'most skilfully concluded syllogistically', ἄκρως συλλελογισμένα], carried out with a science worthy of a divine being (δαιμονίας); packed full of ideas/concepts (ἐννοίαις) and particularly dense, while being diverse and extremely varied in form and content; devoid of anything redundant yet showing no deficiency in language or style; filled to the utmost with clear and undisputable realities, accompanied by scientific demonstration replete with the so-called 'deductive argument'. [All of this becomes obvious] if one approaches these [writings] making use of the proper methods and not in a casual or careless way likely to generate misunderstandings (παρηκουσμένως).

These records, therefore, transmit the science relating to the intelligibles and the gods, beginning from first principles (ἀνωθεν). Then they explain everything concerning physics and have brought to perfection both ethical philosophy and logic; moreover, they convey all kinds of knowledge in mathematics (*mathēmata*) and the best sciences; in short, there is no subject whatsoever on which men have attained knowledge, which is not dealt with accurately in these writings.

[...] As for the general sciences, like those of demonstration, definition and division, Pythagoras bestowed them [also] to mankind, as can be learned from the Pythagorean records¹.

1 Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, XXIX, 157–158, p. 88, 12 – 89, 2 Deubner + 161, p. 90, 22–25 Deubner. I submit my own translation here, after having taken into consideration those of Gillian Clark (1989), John M. Dillon & Jackson P. Hershbell (1991) and Luc Brisson & Alain Ph. Segonds (2011² [1996¹]).

This is how the Neoplatonist Iamblichus, toward the beginning of the 4th century CE, unconditionally praised the texts (or at least some of the texts) which constitute the object of the present collection of essays. For him, their antiquity and authenticity were beyond any doubt², and the prospective philosophers of his time were called to give them their full attention in order to acquire rigorous scientific knowledge on every field – from metaphysics and theology to physics, ethics, logic and the sciences of the quadrivium.

This view prevailed for a very long period of time, and remained almost entirely uncontested, especially in the Neoplatonic schools and circles of Late Antiquity (the heirs of Iamblichus), as well as among major Renaissance humanists like Ficino or, later still, among the ‘Cambridge Platonists’, down to Thomas Taylor in the early 19th century. Modern textual criticism, however, especially since Eduard Zeller’s *The Philosophy of the Greeks in its Historical Development*³, gradually revealed that the vast majority of them are in fact late pseudepigraphic productions which had used various credibility strategies – pseudonymity; reference to the ‘founding father’ and to the early tradition; stylistic imitation; use of Doric dialect and of vocabulary and themes bearing the ‘trademark’ of Pythagoreanism – in order to look like authentic products of the ancient, pristine Pythagorean ‘School’. This decisive shift was achieved by means of a philological examination of the language and vocabulary of the extant fragments (or, more rarely, entire texts), and of an historical-philosophical analysis of their doctrinal content, which bears recognizable marks of Platonic, Aristotelian or Stoic influence⁴.

The texts attributed to Pythagoras and the (ancient) Pythagoreans, men and women – be they major and famous figures like Philolaus and Archy-

2 Despite the fact that he was not unaware of the existence of “numerous false and spurious treatises” which “obscured” the Pythagorean philosophical tradition, as he states at the very beginning of his *Pythagorean Way of Life* (and hence of his whole *Pythagorean Summa*); see C. Macris (2002: 117–118). On Porphyry’s take on this issue, see his *Life of Pythagoras*, 53, with C. Macris (2002: 111ff.).

3 Original title in German: *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1st ed. Tübingen-Leipzig: F. Fues Verlag, 1856–1868).

4 On the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha in general, see the standard edition by H. Thesleff (1965), with the review of W. Burkert (1967), and for handy translations of most of the texts, R. Navon (ed.) (1986) and D.R. Fidler (ed.) (1987). Studies and overviews: W. Burkert (1961) and (1972b); H. Thesleff (1961) – with the reviews of P. Boyancé (1962) and W. Burkert (1962) – and *Id.* (1972); P. Moraux (1984); B. Centrone (2000c), (2014) and (2021); M. Frede (2008); C. Macris (2018b: 1129–1135); R. Chiaradonna (2019); L. Zhmud (2019).

tas⁵, minor and forgotten ones, or completely unknown and shadowy, perhaps even fictitious ones⁶, including members of Pythagoras' family⁷ – were apparently intended to remedy the absence of original authoritative texts by the Master and his earliest disciples. This gap must have been embarrassing for the followers of Pythagoreanism in later times (or for whoever was eager to go 'back to the Ancients' and revive the Pythagorean tradition)⁸. So the lack of texts was partly assumed (the choice of orality and the practice of secrecy explaining why Pythagoras and the first generation of Pythagoreans did not leave any writings⁹), and partly explained

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- 5 On these two key figures of ancient Pythagoreanism, see C.A. Huffman (1993), (2005), (2020^{2a}) and (2020^{2b}), providing extensive discussion of their genuine fragments.
 - 6 For possible explanations for the attribution to obscure figures, see H. Thesleff (1961: 76); B. Centrone (2021: 119–120). – For the ancient forgers' predilection for rare fictitious names one may profitably compare the acute observations of R. Syme (1971) and (1976) on the "bogus names" and the "bogus authors" of the *Historia Augusta*.
 - 7 For an exhaustive and comprehensive *conspectus* of the alleged authors' names and the corresponding texts, see H. Thesleff (1961: 7–29). Most of these names are otherwise known to us solely through Iamblichus, who availed himself of a long catalogue of 234 Pythagoreans, men and women – a really exceptional document, arguably going back to Aristoxenus; see C. Macris (2018b: 1041–1044), and on the correspondences with the *Pseudopythagorica*, L. Zhmud (2019: 86). B. Centrone (2021: 123–127) draws also attention to the overlapping with names appearing in the reports on the end of the Pythagorean School (Aristoxenus) and on its 'succession' (from *Diadochai*-literature, perhaps drawing ultimately on the historian Timaeus; see C. Macris [2018b: 1045]), also reproduced by Iamblichus.
 - 8 In this respect the comparison with Iamblichus' successful attempt to set up Pythagoreanism as a fully-fledged philosophical *hairesis* is illuminating: this would never have been possible without a sizeable *corpus* of *Pythagorica* serving as a textual basis to build upon; see C. Macris (2009: 158–160), and on Iamblichus' "Pythagorean library", C. Macris (2002: 88–91).
 - 9 For the evidence relating to the writings of Pythagoras and his disciples, see W. Burkert (1972a: 218–238). On the assertion that "Pythagoras left not a single writing", see C. Riedweg (1997). On orality and secrecy, C. Macris (2018b: 819–821). On the information that "one book or more were published (made public)" by Philolaus, "after they had already been circulating within the Pythagorean community", or, alternatively, that "only hitherto unpublished doctrines were published (made public)" by him "in a book first written for this purpose", see K.J. Fleischer (2019: 153). On Philolaus' book(s) see further C. Macris (2018a: 643–645).

away by the misfortunes linked to the history of the sect¹⁰. But above all, it was filled in with a considerable amount of fabricated texts¹¹.

One must confess that, strictly speaking, almost everything concerning this set of texts, which were collected and edited by Holger Thesleff in 1965 in a dense 270-page volume, is unknown and hence debatable and bound to speculation: their dating, their true authors, the reasons and purposes of their composition, their place of origin and the *milieu* of their initial circulation, their intended readership, and – most importantly – their relation to ancient Pythagorean thought and literature, and the degree to which they can even be seen as belonging at least to the later history of Pythagoreanism, of (Pythagoreanizing dogmatic) Platonism or of neither tradition.

These writings were designated by H. Thesleff (1961) and (1965) as *The Pythagorean Texts* (or *Writings*) of the Hellenistic Period, a designation that did not prejudge the authenticity of their content¹² and implied a continuity that bridged the gap between the classical Pythagoreanism of the mid-4th century BCE and (the modern category of) Neo-Pythagoreanism, whose beginnings are situated in the 1st century BCE. However, at least since Walter Burkert (1961) and (1972b), whose publications on them appeared at exactly the same time as Thesleff's, these very texts are

10 The ancient writings would have perished in a fire: this can be deduced from Nicomachus of Gerasa's dramatic account of the end of the Pythagorean School and the diaspora of the Pythagoreans preserved by Porphyry (*Life of Pythagoras*, 57–58) and Iamblichus (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, 252–253).

11 One may wonder here if at least some of the discontinuities in the Pythagorean tradition can be explained with the help of the 'dialectic' between 'submerged' and 'emerged' literature fruitfully employed as a heuristic tool in the numerous studies collected by G. Colesanti & M. Giordano (ed.) (2014), G. Colesanti & L. Lulli (ed.) (2016) and A. Ercolani & M. Giordano (ed.) (2016), which are inspired by a suggestion of the late Luigi Enrico Rossi. See in particular E. Lippolis (2016), S. Ribichini (2016), as well as the 'introductory notes' to each of the three volumes and the conclusions in the first one.

12 A. Städele (1980) will maintain a similar neutral attitude in his *Briefe des Pythagoras und der Pythagoreer* despite the fact that he dates most of them in the Imperial times or even in Late Antiquity. More recently, G. De Cesaris & P.S. Horky (2018) describe Ps.-Archytas' *On Intellect and Sense Perception* as "Hellenistic Pythagorean"; see also O. Murray (1971); C. Montepaone & I. Brancaccio (2011); P.S. Horky (forthcoming). Similarly, the provisional title of Phillip S. Horky's sourcebook (in preparation with Cambridge University Press) is *Pythagorean Philosophy, 250 BCE – 200 CE. An Introduction and Collection of Sources in Translation*.

more commonly referred to today as *Pseudopythagorica*¹³, or, a bit more graciously, as the ‘Pythagorean pseudepigrapha’¹⁴, given that most modern scholars prefer to emphasize in one way or another their pseudepigraphic character¹⁵. Other scholars, apparently less interested in the authenticity/pseudepigraphy issue, simply call them ‘Neopythagorean’¹⁶, whereas the use of the ‘politically correct’ expression ‘texts attributed to...’¹⁷ has also the advantage of being inclusive, enabling one to embrace every kind of attribution without discrimination and to abstain from qualifying or problematizing the relation between the possible ancient sources of inspiration of the ‘forgers’ (authoritative figures, authors, texts or free-floating ideas) and the later reception and appropriation of these sources as it is evidenced in the attributed texts.

If one attempts to ‘map the territory’ constituted by these texts and to offer an updated bibliographical guide to them, one can proceed, first, by an alphabetical listing of the *names* of their alleged authors. This has been done in an exhaustive way elsewhere¹⁸. Here I only list the most important

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- 13 See, e.g., B. Centrone (1990) *et saep.*; F. Becchi (1992); J.G.-J. Abbenes (1997); C. Macris (2002); M. Frede (2008); A. Ulacco (2017) *et saep.*; R. Chiaradonna (2019); M. Varoli (2019); L. Zhmud (2019). It is perhaps significant that H. Thesleff, too, ended up using the same label in his last publication on the subject (1972). – A more discreet and economical way to express the same idea is by using inverted commas around the adjective ‘Pythagorean’: M.J. Griffin (2015); L. Brisson & I.F. Viltanioti (2020); M.B. Trapp (2020); see also J. Mansfeld (2019): ‘Pythagoras’. – J.D.P. Bolton (1963) speaks more blatantly of “Pythagorean forgeries”.
- 14 So, e.g., P. Moraux (1984); N. Lambardi (1999); A.C. Cassio (2000); M. Bonazzi (2013a); P.S. Horky (2015: 21 n. 4). This expression highlights the pseudonymous character of the texts without branding them as un-Pythagorean, thus “leav[ing] open the question of their connection to ancient Pythagoreanism” (C. Pellò [2020: 13 n. 4]). *Contra*: L. Zhmud (2019), according to whom all *Pseudopythagorica* without exception “contain astonishingly little that is authentically Pythagorean”.
- 15 Interestingly, emphasis on the pseudepigraphy issue appears much less in scholarship on the *Pythagorean Golden Verses* (cf. Johan C. Thom’s contribution to the present volume), and not at all *à propos* the attribution of (often pseudo-)doxographical items to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, or with regard to the collections of *Pythagorean Sentences* (on which see below, n. 93).
- 16 F. Wilhelm (1915); M. Plessner (1928); J.C. Thom (1997) and (2008); R. Reuthner (2009); A. Gangloff (ed.) (2020). – G. Roskam (2020a) and (2020b) uses ‘pseudo-Pythagorean’ and ‘Neopythagorean’ interchangeably for the treatises *On Kingship*.
- 17 Found, e.g., in F. Cordano (1971); P.S. Horky & M.R. Johnson (2020).
- 18 See the *conspectus* in Thesleff (1961: 7–29), and C. Macris (2018b: 1132–1134), who provides an “orientation platform” to the entries of the *Dictionnaire*

names: Pythagoras first, of course¹⁹, and then Aisara (*On the Nature of Man*)²⁰, Archytas²¹, Brotinus (*On Intellect and Discursive Thought*)²², Bryson (*Management of the Estate*)²³, Hippodamus (*Peri politeias*)²⁴, Lysis (*Letter to Hipparchus*)²⁵, Ocellus Lucanus (*On the Nature of the Universe* [*inter*

des philosophes antiques (R. Goulet [ed.] [1989–2018]) on individual pseudo-Pythagorean texts, as well as some updates and bibliographical *addenda*.

- 19 For comprehensive overviews see B.L. van der Waerden (1965); C. Macris (2018b: 843–850). See also the observations of B. Centrone (2000: 431–448); (2014: 316–318); (2021: 115–118).
- 20 C. Macris (2018c); M. Migliorati (2019) and (2020), and for a study of the Doric dialect used in this text, R. Fohalle (1928). See also P.S. Horky (2021), who opted for a non-committal ‘ps-Aresas/Aesara’, taking also into consideration Thesleff’s proposal to correct the name Aesara transmitted by Stobaeus into Aresas.
- 21 B. Centrone (1994); C.A. Huffman (2005: 595–618) with the substantial review of M.R. Johnson (2008); see also the contribution of Phillip S. Horky to this volume. – On the treatise *On Law and Justice* attributed to Archytas, see F.D. Harvey (1965: 124, 131–135); F. Cordano (1971); B. Centrone (2000b); M.R. Johnson (2008); J.D. Gower (2015); S. Minon (2018); P.S. Horky & M.R. Johnson (2020); and the contribution of Francesca Scrofani to the present volume. – On the treatise *On Universal Reason* (*Logos*), or *On Predicates* (alternatively: *On the Whole System* [*sc. of Categories*]) and the much later – indeed, Renaissance humanist – *Katholikoi logoi deka*, Th.A. Szlezák (ed.) (1972), with the review of P.M. Huby (1975); see the studies of R. Sorabji (2007: 565–566, 570–573); M.J. Griffin (2015); A. Ulacco (2016: 205–210); M. Hatzimichali (2018). (On its reception among the Neoplatonists, see below, n. 129–132.) – On ps-Archytas’ treatises *On Principles*, *On Opposites* and *On Intellect and Sense Perception*, A. Ulacco (2017). – On his *On Principles*, J. Mansfeld (2019). – On his ethical treatises, K. Praechter (1891); B. Centrone (ed.) 1990; F. Becchi (1992); S. Giani (ed.) (1993), with the review of F. Becchi (1995). – On ps-Archytas’ *On Wisdom*, P.S. Horky (2015).
- 22 A. Ulacco (2017: 157–164).
- 23 M. Plessner (1928); R. Zoepffel (2006: 265–280); S. Swain (2013); J.T. Fitzgerald (2019: 42–46). See also the brief but well informed French Wikipedia article on “Bryson (néopythagoricien)”.
- 24 J.C. Hogan (1959); Ch. Schubert (2010); B. Centrone (2015b: 411–414). Cf. E. Greco (2018).
- 25 A. Delatte (1911) = (1915: 83–106); W. Burkert (1961: 16–28); D. Hernández de la Fuente (2011). – On the reception of this *Letter* in Clement of Alexandria, see M. Tardieu (1974); in the Renaissance, E. Del Soldato (2021).
- 26 R. Harder (ed.) (1926), with the review of W. Theiler (1926b); B. Centrone & C. Macris (2005a); R. Zoepffel (2006: 247–250); A. Ulacco (2016: 210–215); P.S. Horky (forthcoming). Cf. C.A. Huffman (2019: 33–37, 66, 374–376) for the parallels with Aristoxenus’ *Pythagorean Precepts*.
- 27 B. Centrone & C. Macris (2005b); M. Curnis (2006); L.K.M. Maisel (2017). For the context in which this fragment appears in Stobaeus, *Id.* (2020). On Onatas’ reception already in Middle Platonism, see J.M. Dillon (2002: 238, 240–241). – Cf. also I.M. Bugár (2002: 213–214).

alia]]²⁶, Onatas²⁷, Perictione²⁸, Philolaus²⁹, Phintys³⁰, Theages³¹, Theano³², Timaeus Locrus (*On the Nature of the World and the Soul*)³³, Zaleucus (*Preambles to the Laws*)³⁴. Perhaps a special mention should be made (a) of the writings attributed to Pythagorean *women*, given the relative rarity of philosophical literature authored by women in Antiquity³⁵, as well as (b) of the unexpectedly and somehow provocatively ambitious ps.-Timaeus Locrus and ps.-Archytas' *On Universal Reason/Logos* (or *On the Whole System* [*sc. of Categories*]), which claimed to be the original authoritative sources, the *Urtexte*, from which Plato drew inspiration for the *Timaeus*³⁶ and Aristotle for the *Categories* respectively.

Another way of mapping the territory is by considering the *types of texts* or the literary genres involved. Five types of texts are prominent

28 C. Macris (2012a); G. De Cesaris & C. Pellò (2022).

29 C. Steel (2007: 218–224): “Pseudo-Philolaus: an example of geometrical theology”. *Contra*, W. Hübner (1980), who accepts the authenticity of these fragments attributed to Philolaus interpreting them in astronomical terms; see also V. Gysembergh (2015: 42–44, 48). – On the “God-Soul” in Ps.-Philolaus, see A. Ulacco (2020c: 205–208). – On the scholarly attempts to sort the authentic from the spurious among the *philolaica*, C.A. Huffman (1993: 17–35 and *passim*); C. Macris (2018a: 645–647).

30 C. Macris (2012b); C. Pellò (2020).

31 C. Macris (2016b).

32 C. Macris (2016c). Add C. Montepaone (1999); *Ead.* & M. Catarzi (2016); D. Dutsch (2020, *passim*). On the extant Syriac translation of *The Advice of Theano*, a gnomology almost certainly deriving from a now lost Greek original, see U. Possekel (1998).

33 Edition (already printed in H. Thesleff [1965: 203–225]): W. Marg (1972); commentary: M. Baltes (1972); reviewed together by both G.J.P. O'Daly (1975) and Th.A. Szlezák (1976). Studies: B. Centrone (1982); C. Macris (2018e), containing full bibliography. Add the useful note by J.D.P. Bolton (1963); C. Steel (2009: 262–264); A. Ulacco (2020b: 192–203) and (2020c); A. Ulacco & J. Opsomer (2014), and see also the contributions of Lucia Saudelli, Matteo Varoli and Marc-Antoine Gavray to the present volume. – A thorough study of this major *pseudo-pythagoricum* is being prepared currently by Angela Ulacco (Research Fellow at the Université de Fribourg en Suisse, and from July 2021 Post-doc in the ERC-Advanced Project ‘Not another history of Platonism’, PI Jan Opsomer, Leuven) under the title *On Plato and the Physical World: Timaeus Locrus and the Timaeus*.

34 C. Macris (2018f: 315–317).

35 R. Zoepffel (2006: 287–297); R. Reuthner (2009); M. Catarzi (2010); A.B. Huizenga (2010) and (2013); I. Brancaccio (2011); C. Montepaone & I. Brancaccio (2011); S.B. Pomeroy (2013); C. Macris (2016c), providing extensive bibliography; D. Dutsch (2020); J. Sattler (2020); R. Twomey (2022). See also the more specific studies on Aisara, Perictione, Phintys and Theano mentioned in the notes 20, 28, 30 and 32.

36 A. Ulacco (2020b: 192–203).

in Thesleff's collection of *Pythagorica*: [1] treatises (which constitute the overwhelming majority); [2] letters³⁷; [3] sacred discourses (*hieroi logoi*)³⁸; [4] records, note(book)s or memoirs (*hypomnēmata*)³⁹; and [5] anonymous doxographical accounts which found their way in various philosophical or antiquarian sources⁴⁰.

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- 37 A. Städele (1980), with the review of J. Mansfeld (1985). On the letters by and to Pythagoras and the Seven Sages preserved in Diogenes Laertius as belonging to a *Briefroman*, see N.C. Dührsen (1994); C. Macris (2002: 83 n. 24). On the *Letter of Lysis*, see above, n. 25. On the letters attributed to Pythagorean women, D. Dutsch (2020: 173–212): “*Ipsa dixit*”. On the alleged epistolary exchange between Archytas and Plato, H. Thesleff (1962). On the (pseudepigraphic) Pythagoreanizing *Letters* belonging to the Platonic *corpus* and those attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, see below, n. 91–92. – On ancient *philosophical* epistolography more generally, especially in its pseudepigraphic aspects, see N. Holzberg & S. Merkle (ed.) (1994), on the ‘epistolary novels’; F. Junqua (2000), on the letters attributed to the Cynics; P.A. Rosenmeyer (2001: 193–233) and (2006: 97–129), on “Pseudonymous letter collections” and “Pseudo-historical letter collections of the Second Sophistic” respectively; A.D. Morrison (2013b), M. Burnyeat & M. Frede (2015) and M.B. Trapp (2016), on the ‘Platonic’ epistles; M.B. Trapp (2003) and M. Cambron-Goulet (2014), in general. Cf. also P. Ceccarelli *et al.* (ed.) (2018) on addressee communities and their configuration through epistles. – A Conference on *Philosophy and Epistolarity* was held in September 2018 at the University of Manchester, at which three papers directly relevant to our subject were delivered, by Carol Atack, “Housework versus sex work: the construction of gender roles in the letters of the Pythagorean women”; Elsa Simonetti, “The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana: constructing a ‘Neo-Pythagorean’ and his community in the first centuries AD”; and Andrew Morrison, “Lookin’ for Love (in Plato’s Epistles)“.
- 38 A. Delatte (1915: 1–79, 191–227), with the review of W. Theiler (1926a); R. Baumgarten (1998: 144–170); C. Macris (2018b: 845–846, 847–848); M. Tasseva Bencheva (2018), and the contribution of Adrien Lecerf to this volume. – For this type of literature more generally, see A. Henrichs (2003); J.N. Bremmer (2010); M. Tasseva Bencheva (2014); cf. also E. Lippolis (2016); S. Ribichini (2016).
- 39 The term is used by Iamblichus in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter. See further C. Macris (2002: 102–103). – On the Πυθαγορικά ὑπομνήματα transmitted by Alexander Polyhistor and quoted by Diogenes Laertius, see A.J. Festugière (1945); W. Burkert (1961: 16–28); A. Laks (2013); A.A. Long (2013); C. Macris (2018b: 1059). – On the meaning of what seems to have been a *terminus technicus* for ancient Greek ecdotic practices, see T. Dorandi (2007: 65–81), (2016) and (2019: 83–87). On its Platonic undertones, D. Thiel (1993).
- 40 [1] *Anonymus Alexandri*: see previous note; [2] *Anonymus Diodori*: S. Schorn (2013); C. Macris (2018b: 732–733); [3] *Anonymus Ovidii*: Id. (2018b: 1123–1125); [4] *Anonymus Photii*: Id. (2018b: 752–753). H. Thesleff (1961: 25 n. 3 & 120 n. 3) refers also in passing to [5] an *Anonymus Sophoniae*, which is otherwise left unexplored. One should add here, in the same spirit, [6] *Anonymus Sexti* and

As far as their transmission is concerned, most of these texts have only been preserved in fragments, a huge portion of which is included in John Stobaeus' *Anthologion*⁴¹ or embedded in discussions by Neoplatonic authors such as Iamblichus and Simplicius (see below). Very few texts have had the privilege to survive in full and to be transmitted by an independent manuscript tradition, but, certainly not by chance, those who did so are among the most important ones from a philosophical point of view: ps.-Timaeus Locrus' *On the Nature of the World and the Soul* (transmitted along with Plato's dialogues, just before the supposedly derivative *Timaeus*), Ocellus Lucanus' *On the Nature of the Universe* and ps.-Archytas' *On Universal Reason*.

Thesleff had proposed a division of his 'Hellenistic *Pythagorica*' into two categories, which still seems useful and valid, at a purely *descriptive* level at least.

The first one (Class I) consists of a relatively small number of texts, written in Attic *koine* or in the Ionian dialect, in prose or hexameters. Attributed to Pythagoras or to members of his family, these texts are characterized by a marked interest in the person of Pythagoras himself and in mystico-religious themes with affinities to certain Orphic writings and to Empedocles' *Purifications*. The major pieces of this group are undoubtedly the Pythagorean *Golden Verses*⁴² and the so-called *Tripartite* (or *Triple*) *Treatise* (*On Education, On Politics, On Nature*) attributed to Pythagoras⁴³.

The second (Class II) comprises the most numerous and important texts, in terms of both content and length. Written mostly in Doric dialect⁴⁴, almost always in prose, they are attributed to various Pythagoreans and are almost totally devoid of mysticism, esotericism and 'symbols', as

[7] *Anonymus Hippolyti*: C. Macris (2018b: 1060), as well as [8] the *Anonymus arithmologicus* studied by Leonid Zhmud in the present volume.

41 On Stobaeus, see the contribution of Rosa Maria Piccione to this volume; and on some specific pseudo-Pythagorean fragments transmitted by him, M. Curnis (2004) and (2006).

42 J.C. Thom (1995), and the more recent references given in his contribution to the present volume. Cf. also C. Macris (2018b: 1061).

43 H. Diels (1890); W. Burkert (1961: 16–28); C. Macris (2018b: 844–845). On its relation to the *Anonymus Diodori*, see S. Schorn (2013).

44 R. Fohalle (1928); H. Thesleff (1961: 77–96); M. Baltes (1972: 12–19); C.A. Huffman (1985); A.C. Cassio (1988) and (2000); J.G.-J. Abbenes (1997); S. Minon (2018); A. Ulacco (2020b: 186 n. 13). According to S. Minon, the doricized *koine* used by Archytas, his followers and his later imitators would have been chosen as a "school marker" of an intellectual identity distinct from that of the Academy or of Aristotle, or as a claim for a distinctly South Italian original thought.