THE REVIVAL OF PYTHAGOREANISM IN THE SECOND-FIRST CENTURY B.C TILL THE SECOND CENTURY

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We hardly find any traces of the school of Pythagoras between Aristozenus and The first Century B.C. Since the first part of this century, however, a stream of Pythagorean pseudepigraphs burst forth. (1) Varro always mention Pythagoreans, he knows Ocellus and Archytas. Cicero mentions P.Nigidius as the man who restored Pythagoreanism in Rome. (2)

We find the oldest testimony of the revival of Pythagoreanism in Alexander Polyhistor's account of what he found in Πυθαγορικῶς Ὑπομνήμασιν, preserved in Diogenes Laertius:

[ Ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπάντων μονάδα. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀδριστοῦ δυάδα ὡς ὡς ἔληθν τῇ μονάδι αὐτῷ ὀντὶ ὑπ-

(1) A List of writings is found in Zeller 3, P,116. about ninety are known to us either by fragments or by titles.
(2) Cicero, Timaeus I.,: Multa sunt a nobis et in Academicis conscripta contra physicos et saepe cum P.Nigidio Carneado more et modo disputata. Fuit enim vir ille cum ceteris artibus, quae quidem dignae libero essent, ornatus omnibus, tum acer investigator et diligens earum quae a natura involutae videntur: denique sic indicò post illos nobiles Pythagoreos, quorum disciplina extincta est quodam modo, cum aliquot saecula in Italia Siciliaque vigissent, hunc exstittisse qui illam renovaret.
(3) Lived in Rome between 80 - 40 B.C.
The meaning of the text is as follows:

"The principle of all things is the monad (unit) arising from this monad the undefined "dyad" or tow serves as material substratum to the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the undefined dyad spring numbers from numbers, points, form points, lines; from lines, plane figures; from plane figures solid figures, from solid figures, sensible bodies, the elements of interchange and turn into one another completely, and combine to prouduce a universe animate, intelligent, spherical, with the earth at its center, the earth itself too being spherical and inhabited round about."

I must make some remarks to the text quoted above:

1 - That the earliest pythagoreans were not monists, but

(1) Diog. Laert. v111 25
dualists.

2 - Aristotle says in his Metaphysics (1) That instead the Pythagorean απεριον (infinite) which is one, Plato adopted the undefined dyad. And we must infer from this that wherever the δυας αύριστος (the undefined dyad) appears as a second principle, we are not really dealing with early Pythagorean doctrine.

3 - Plato, at least in his later years, called his first principle the one. He also assumed a second principle, which he called either by the Pythagorean term απεριον (infinite) or by his own denominations τό μέγα καὶ μικρόν (the great and the small) or aoristos duas (3) (undefined dyad). This second principle, however, far from being derived directly form the One, forms the antipole of the scale of being. One wonders how Plato could have traced it back to the first principle. It seems that on this point Alexander's account shows a later unplatonic conception.

4 - The doctrine that the elements interchange and turn into one another is stoic Heraclitism (4) We find it also in Philo who views the λόγος as mediating between the opposites. (5) The statement that the doctrine is found in the

(1) Aristotle, Metaphysics, A6, 9876 - 26 f
(2) Plato, Philebus 24-25.
(3) Ibid, 24 a - 25 b.
(4) About this stoic doctrine known as πῦρ Τεχνικόν (periodical fire) cf: Diog. Laert., VII 156 and Actius, Plac. 1, 7,33 (SVF 1027).
(5) The same term in Cicero ignis articios (Natura Deorum, II,22,57)
(5) Philo, De Opificio Mundi 4,16.
Timaeus of Plato is only partly correct, for Plato says that the four elements only seemed to blend into each other, but that in fact one of them does not change into anything else.

If we find it necessary to quote the following Passage concerning the doctrine of the opposite qualities and their equilibrium:

[Ἡσυχια ἡ ὕπερ ἡν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος, καὶ θέρμον καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ ἔγρον καὶ ὕγρον. Ὁν κατ᾿ ἐπικράτειαν θερμοῦ μὲν θέρος γίνεσθαι, ψυχροῦ δὲ χειμῶνα, ἔγρου δὲ ἔδρα, καὶ ὕγρου πλινότωρον. ἐάν δὲ ἰσομοιρία, τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι τοῦ ἐτους, οὐ τὸ μὲν θάλλον ἔδρα ὑγιεινόν, τὸ δὲ φθίνον πλινότωρον νοσερόν.]

"Light and darkness have equal part in the universe, so have hot and cold, and dry and moist, and of these, if hot predominates, we have summer; if cold, we have winter; if dry, spring; if moist, Late autumn. If all are in equilibrium, we have the best periods of the year, of which the freshness of spring constitutes the healthy season, and the decay of late autumn the unhealthy."
Doubtless, the doctrine of the opposite qualities and their equilibrium is found in Plato. And so our another (Alexander Polyhistor) may have borrowed it though it goes back to Alcmæon.

Turning to another point dealing with mortal beings and immortal beings I have to quote the following:

[τὸν τε περὶ τὴν γῆν ἄερα ἄσειστον καὶ νοσερὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θνητὰ. τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτοις ἀείκινητον τείναι καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀθάνατα καὶ διὰ τούτο θεία. ἦλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας εἶναι θεοὺς. ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὸ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἰτίαν.]

"the air about the earth is stagnant and unwholesome and all within it is mortal; but the uppermost air is ever moved and pure and healthy and all within it is immortal and consequently divine. The sun, the moon, and the other stars are gods, for in them there is a preponderance of heat, and heat is the cause of life.

"what the text includes comes partly from Plato, partly from Aristotle. The aether theory as it comes here, shows Plata's view in Timaeus where the aether is not yet a fifth

(1) Plato, Symposium 186 d, 188 a - Timaeus 81 e
(2) Diog Laert VIII, 26 - 27
element, but is known as the purest air (1)

As to the doctrine that heat is the cause of life Aristotle supposed that the vital heat in animals is something analogous to the aether, because it generates living beings (2)

In the following Passage I turn to discuss God and man and providence.

[Kai ἄνθρωπος εἶναι πρὸς θεοῦς συγγένεια, κατὰ τὸ μετεχεῖν ἄνθρωπον θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, εἰμαρμένην τε τῶν ὦλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αὐτίκαν εἶναι τῆς διουκήσεως.] (3)

"Gods and men are akin, inasmuch as man partakes of heat; therefore god takes thought for man, Fate is the cause of things being thus ordered both as a whole and separately"

Here, Alexander's Pythagoreans share Stoic pantheism their god is not transcendent, but by his reason man is of the substance of god, i.e. of the fiery pneuma that penetrates the universe. the statement that εἰμαρμένη (Fate) is the cause of things being ordered, both as a whole and in particular, indicates that for these so-called pythagoreans the relation of προνοια (providence) and εἰμαρμένη (fate) - much dis-

(1) Plato, Timaeus, 58 d
(2) Aristotle, De Caelo I, 3, 270 b 22, also, De generatione II, 3, 7366 33 - 737 a 6.
(3) Diog Laert, VIII - 27
cussed in the second century after Christ and later by Plotinus and those who follow him was already a problem.

The following passage from Diogenes Laertius brings us back to the ancient Orphic - Pythagorean sphere:

[ τὴν δ', ἀγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιπραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς κύλικος καὶ λέχος καὶ μίσματος παντὸς καὶ ἄπεχθαι βρωτῶν θυσειδῶν τε κρεδῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανούρων καὶ ὠνον καὶ τῶν φοτόκων καὶ ξώον καὶ κυάμοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ παρακλεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες] (1).

"purification is by cleansing, baptism and lustration, and by keeping clean from all deaths and births and all pollution, and abstaining from meat and flesh of animals that have died, mullets, gurnards, eggs and egg-sprung animals, beans, and the other abstinences prescribed by those who perform mystic rites in the temples".

I say that these things bring us back to the ancient Orphic - Pythagorean sphere, for Pythagoras and his opponents had put deep meanings and principles for purification, they also used music for the purification of (soul) (ψυχή).

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(1) Diog, Laert VIII 33, 34
It is known that Pythagoreanism had some abstinences concerning with food, meat in particular, Pythagoreanism prohibited meat in accordance with his argument that there is a kinship between man and animal. Zeller was probably right in thinking that the doctrine expounded in the above-mentioned passage did not originate from Rome, where Nigidius Figulus is said to have first restored Pythagoreanism, but from Alexandria\(^1\), where it is known to Arius Didymus in the first century (B.C.)\(^2\).

We have also Ocellus, whose work (περὶ τοῦ πάντου φύσεως) (about the whole nature) is cited by Censorinus\(^3\) and by Philo\(^4\) and shows mainly peripatetic influence says in this work:

(δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ πᾶν ανώλεθρον εἶναι καὶ αγεννητον αει τὸ γὰρ ἡν καὶ εσται ει γαρ εγχρονον, Οὐκ ἄν ετι ἡν, οὕτως οὖν ανώλεθρον τε καὶ αγεννητον το πᾶν\(^1\))

\(^1\) Zeller, outlines of the History of Greek Philosphy p. 119.
\(^2\) Arius Odymus of Alexandria (65 B.C - A. D. 10) on account of his enormous industry, was the author of a Commentary on Homer, embodying the opinions of Aristarchus Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, partia commentary on Demosthenes by Didymus has survived.
\(^3\) Ap. Varro, De Re Rustica II 1.3.
\(^4\) Philo, De Aeterntitate Mundi 12.
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(δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ πάν ἀνώλεθρον εἶναι καὶ ἀγένητον ἀεὶ τὸ γὰρ ήν καὶ ἔσται εἰ γὰρ ἐγχρονον, Οὐκ ἔν τι ἦν. οὕτως οὖν ἀνώλεθρον τε καὶ ἀγένητον τὸ πάν (1))

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(4) Philo, De Aeternitate Mundi 12.
It seems to me that the universe is imperishable and uncreated, for it had been always and will be for ever, for if it had in time, it would not be. Therefore it is imperishable and uncreated.

In Rome Quintus Sextius founded a school of philosophy which flourished under Augustus and claimed to be Pythagorean, Seneca knows the works of the elder Sextius and cites him often with great esteem. But in Seneca's days the school was almost forgotten.

In the first and second century only a few Neo-Pythagoreans Moderatus of Gades lived under Nero or the Flavians.

His eleven books Πυθαγορικῶν όχιλῶν (pythagorean schools) are mentioned by Eusebius.

According to Porphyrius' account he used pythagorean number theory as a means to explain Plato's metaphysical principles.

we have another account of Moderatus' theory by Sim-

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1. Ocellus 1. 27. 9
2. Seneca, Epistolae, 59, 7 also 64, 2
3. Seneca, Naturales Quaestiones VII 32, 2:
Pythagorica illa invidiosa turbae schola praecipuorum non inventa sextiorum nova et Romani roboris secta inter initia sua, cum magno impetu coepisset, extincta est.
4. cf. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, IV, 19, 8
5. Porphyrius, Vita Pythag. 48 - 51
Simplicius who cites a passage of Porphyrius' *Peri òyleis* (2)
pythagoreans were the first to conceive (material) as something that is distinguished by mass ὀγκῶς and distance διάστασις and division μέρος not measurable by ordinary measures, but only capable of being defined by means of εἴδησις μέτρα (formal meters) after them Plato conceived it in this way as Moderatus says:

Οἵτως γὰρ κατὰ τούς Πυθαγορέους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ εἶναι καὶ πάσων οὐσίαν ἀποφαίνεται, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ δύνατον δὲ καὶ νοητόν, τὰ ἐιδὴ φησὶν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ψυχικόν, μετέχειν τοῦ ἐνός καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τελευταίαν φύσιν τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσιῶν μὴ δὲ μετέχειν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμφάσιν ἐκείνων ἔκκοσμίζεται, τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀλίγης τοῦ μὴ δύνατος πρῶτος ἐν τῷ ποσῷ ὄντος οὐσίας καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὑποβεβηκτος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο. καὶ ταύτα δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ Περί ὑλής τα τοῦ Μοδεράτου παρατίθεμενος γέγραψεν ὅτι "βουληθεὶς ὁ εἰναίδος λόγος, ὡς τῶν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τὴν γένεσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν δυντῶν συντήσασθαι, κατὰ στέρησιν αὐτοῦ ἐχώρησε τὴν ποσότητα πάντων αὐτὴν στερήσας τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων καὶ εἰδῶν. τοῦτο δὲ ποσότητα ἐκάλεσεν ἐμφάνισι καὶ ἀδιάκριτον καὶ ἀκομφάσιστον, ἐπειδεχομένην μὲν τοῦ μορφῆς σχῆμα διάφορον ποιότητα πάν τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἕπι ταύτης φησι, φησι, τῆς ποσότητος ὁ Πλάτων τὰ πλεῖόν ὧν ἡμᾶς καταγράφησεν "πανδεχεῖ" καὶ ἀνείλθον λόγων καὶ "ἀδρατον" καὶ "ἀπορώτατα τοῦ νοητοῦ μετεξείληθαι" αὐτὴν καὶ "λογισμῷ νόθῳ μάλις ληπτῆν" καὶ τὰν τὸ τούτοις ἐμφαρές. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ποσότητος, φησι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος τὸ κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ ἐναίδος λόγου νοούμενον τοῦ πάντων τοὺς λόγους τῶν δύνατων ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιεληφώτως παραδείγματα ἄστι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὑλῆς, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν ποσόν καὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορέους καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καλεῖν ἔλεγεν, οὐ τὸ ὡς εἴδος ποσόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ παράλυσιν καὶ ἐκταίσιν καὶ διασπασμι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ δύνατος παράλλαξιν, δι' ἃ καὶ κακὸν δοκεῖ ἡ ὑλή ὡς τὸ ἄγαθον ἀποφεύγωσα. καὶ καταλαμβάνεται ὅπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξελέβειν τῶν ὄρων οὐ συγχωρεῖαι, τῆς μὲν ἐκτάσεως τῶν τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ μεγέθους λόγων ἐπειδεχομένης καὶ τούτῳ ὑριτομένης, τοῦ δὲ διασπασμοῦ τῇ ἀφθονηθεὶς διαχρίσει εἰδοποιουμένου".

(1) Simplicius, *physics*, p 230, 41 - 231, 25
From simplicius' account of Moderatus, doctrine we see for the first time the four stages of the Neoplatonic hierarchy of being clearly outlined.

Dodds recognized it as a Neopythagorean interpretation of Plato's Parminides (1) of which he finds an earlier trace in a correction made by the Neopythogonean Eudorus of Alexandria in a passage of Aristotle; The text of Aristotle, Metaphysics (2).

Τὰ γὰρ εἴδη τοῦ τί ἐστιν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῖς δὲ, εἴδεσιν τὸ ἔν (3). Alexander in Metaphysics says that Eudorus and Euarmostus read: Τοῖς δὲ, εἴδεσιν τὸ ἔν καὶ τὴν ὀλή. Dodds thinks there is not an omission here, but Eudorus changed the text of Aristotle in the sense of Neopythagorean monism which derived the (άπειρον) (infinite) directly from the one.

In The Third Century Philostratus wrote a kind of saint's life of Apollonius, as an example of the perfectus sapiens (perfect wise man) in Pythagonean style, The story abounds with miracles, but the author takes great pains to explain that they are not produced by magic art but spring from a superior wisdom and intimate connection with God (or the

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(1) The Parminides of Plato and the origin of the Neoplatonic (One) in class, Quart 1928 p 129 - 142.
(2) Aristotle, Metaph A 988 a 10 - 11
Dio Cassius mentions Apollonius and His life of Pythagorus is cited by Porphyrius and by Iamblichus, of his books περὶ Θυσιῶν a fragment is preserved by Eusebius.

Nicomachus of Gerasa elaborated the early Pythagorean Theory of number as a cosmic principle.

Nicomachus says that of the mathematical sciences arithmetic is concerned with absolute quantity, music with relative quantity; two other sciences deal with size, geometry with the part that is at rest, astronomy with that which moves, These sciences, are indispensable for the knowledge of things and a Condition of wisdom so he means that Mathematics a condition of wisdom.

Nicomachus speaks of μονᾶς ἀρσενόθηλος as follows:

[Δέγει δὲ Τὴν μονάδα ἄλλα τε ὅληγα τῶν πλασμάτων τῇ περὶ αὐτήν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ τοῖς προσοῦσιν φυσικοῖς ἰδιώμασι, καταυγνύσι, καὶ ως νοὺς τε εἰη, ἔιτα καὶ ἀρσενόθηλος, καὶ θέος, καὶ ἔλη δὲ πῶς, πάντα χρήματα μιγνύσ ὡς ἐληθῶς, καὶ πανδοχεύς λοιπὸν καὶ χωρητικὴ καὶ χάος, σύγχυσις σύγκρασις, ἀλαμμία, οκτωδία, χάσμα, τάρταρος].

(1) Philostratos, 12; V 12, VIII 7,9.
That the first principle is at once ὑλή - not only that ὑλή derives from it - is not yet in Alexander polyhistor's account of Pythagorean doctrine mentioned in Diog Laert (1) but it is found in the Stoa (2).

(2) Stobaeus (SVF I 87):
Ζηνωνος ούσιαν δὲ εἶναι τὴν τῶν ὄντων πάντων πρῶτην ὑλὴν, Ταύτην δὲ πασάν αἰδίων καὶ οὕτω πλείω γεγομένην ὦτε ἐλάττω, Τὸ δὲ μέρος ταύτης οὐκ ἂν ταύτα διαμένει ἄλλα διαφέρονται καὶ συνέχειοι.
διὰ ταύτης δὲ διαθέτει τὸν τοῦ παντὸς λόγον ὅν ἐνιοί εἰ-μαρμένην καλούσιν οἴοντερ καὶ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα.
: """""", De Caelo
: """""", De Generatione

:: Diogenes Laertius I, II (Loeb)
:: Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Loeb)
:: Philo, *De Aeternitate Mundi*
:: Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*
:: Plato, *Philebus*
:: Plato, *Symposium*
:: Plato, *Timaeus*
:: Seneca, *Epistolae Morales* (Loeb)
:: Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturalis* (Loeb)
:: Stobaeus, *Caelius* Porphyrius and Simplicius Ap:
:: J. Von Armin, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Lipsiae)
:: References /

Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy*,
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