

LYCON'S EVALUATION OF THE PYTHAGOREAN WAY OF LIFE

With a view to shed light on Lycon's evaluation of the Pythagorean way of life, we take into account that C.F. Bähr, P. Smith, W. Capelle and A.S. Arvanitopoulos contended that the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Tarentum was not the same person as the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Iasus¹, whereas E. Zeller- R. Mondolfo, P.M. Fraser- E. Matthews and C. Riedweg objected that the distinction between Lycon of Tarentum and Lycon of Iasus may be a distinction without a difference². As a matter of fact, F. Susemihl's, K. Freeman's and D. Delattre's remark that Lycon had been a native of Iasus who went to Tarentum for instruction³ carries us back to Diogenes Laertius' account of Philolaus⁴ and bears upon Diogenes Laertius' assertion that there was only one Pythagorean who bore the name of Lycon⁵. This being so, we may reach the conclusion that Lycon of Iasus was rightly regarded as the author of a book⁶ dealing with Pythagoras' moral philosophy⁷ and entitled *Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου>*⁸. To our way of thinking, there is no denying the fact that F. Susemihl's suggestion that Lycon might have been a younger contemporary of Archytas⁹ is an acceptable one to those who take into consideration that Philolaus had the reputation of being the first Pythagorean to write a

1. Cf. C.F. BÄHR, Lykon, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. 4, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1846, p. 1260; P. SMITH, Lycon, in W. SMITH, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, vol. 2, London, Murray, 1880, p. 847; W. CAPELLE, Lykon, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. 13, part 2, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1927, p. 2308; A.S. ARVANITOPOULOS, Lycon the Pythagorean (in Greek), *The Eleutheroudaces Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, Athens, Eleutheroudaces, 1930, p. 869; ANONYMOUS, Lycon the Pythagorean (in Greek), *The Helios Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, Athens, Helios, p. 639.

2. Cf. E. ZELLER - R. MONDOLFO, *La filosofia dei Greci*, part 1, vol. 2, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1950², p. 432; P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 3, part 1, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1997, p. 281; C. RIEDWEG, Lykon, *Der neue Pauly*, vol. 7, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1999, p. 567.

3. Cf. F. SUSEMIHL, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, vol. 2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1892, p. 691; K. FREEMAN, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, London, Blackwell, 1946, p. 243; J.P. DUMONT - D. DELATTRE - J.L. POIRIER, *Les Présocratiques*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988, p. 556.

4. Cf. A. CAPIZZI, *Platone nel suo tempo*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984, pp. 98- 99.

5. Cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 5.69.

6. Cf. ANONYME, Lycon de Iasos, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, vol. 32, Copenhagen, Rosenkilde et Bagger, 1965², p. 372.

7. Cf. P. KROH, *Lexikon der antiken Autoren*, Stuttgart, Kröner, 1972, p. 384.

8. Cf. G. KAIBEL, *Athenaei Naucraticae Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, vol. 2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1887, p. 411; C. BURTON - GULICK, *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists*, vol. 4, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1930, p. 396. As a matter of fact, the phrase ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου> has been omitted by the epitomizer of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* (cf. S.P. PEPPINK, *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum Epitome*, vol. 2, part 2, Leiden, Brill, 1939, p. 27).

9. Cf. F. SUSEMIHL, *op. cit.*, p. 692.

book¹⁰ but Lycon was not counted among his immediate followers¹¹. Such being the case, we consider that Lycon, who spent his declining years in Iasus because of the disappearance of the Pythagorean Society, which had been found in Tarentum¹², was still alive not only in the last decade of the fourth century B.C.¹³ but also in the first decade of the third century B.C.¹⁴.

Far from feeling confident of the authenticity of a fragment preserved by the epitomizer of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* and attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon, C. Burton-Gulick, H. Diels - W. Kranz and W. Burkert implied that there can be no certainty about the attribution of this fragment because the so-called reference to Lycon (Λύκος δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος) is based upon a conjectural remark made by C. Valckenaer (Λύκος=Λύκων)¹⁵. Being favourable to C. Valckenaer's view, M. Timpanaro Cardini objected against P. Maas, who had argued for accepting the emendation Ἰκκος δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος¹⁶, that the name Ἰκκος does not occur in any other passage taken from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*¹⁷. Keeping in mind that the manuscripts have Ἰβυκος δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος¹⁸ and taking into account that the story of Ibycus' death has much in common with a story related to the Pythagoreans of Croton¹⁹, we may conjecture that the occurrence of the name Ἰβυκος in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* is due to a clerical error. Such being the case, we are of the opinion that in all probability the epitomizer of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* mistook Λύκων for Λύκος and therefore we concur with G.E. Benseler, C. Müller, E. Zeller - R. Mondolfo, H. Dörrie and J.F. Mattéi in observing that C. Valckenaer was right in his above-mentioned conjectural remark²⁰. From this point of view it seems reasonable to infer that Lycon was probably the first²¹ to give us a detailed description of «a certain kind of lettuce well known as an anti-aphrodisiac»²² in spite of the fact that his name

10. Cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 8.85. Keeping in mind that Diogenes Laertius saw it stated by Demetrius of Magnesia that Philolaus had been the first Pythagorean to write a book, we are inclined to think that Diogenes Laertius made mention of the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon (cf. *supra* and n.5) on the authority of Demetrius of Magnesia. In other words, Diogenes' phraseology γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Λύκωνες· πρῶτος Πυθαγορικός, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος (sc. Τρῶα-δεύς), τρίτος ἐπῶν ποιητής, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής reminds us of a passage from Demetrius' *Dictionary of Poets and Authors of the Same Name* (cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 1.38).

11. Cf. *ibid.*, 8.46.

12. Cf. A. CAPIZZI, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 - 147.

13. Cf. W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, p. 2309; V. SPANDAGOS - R. SPANDAGOU - D. TRAVLOU, *Ancient Greek Physicians and Pharmacologists* (in Greek), Athens, Aethra, 1996, p. 109.

14. Cf. P. WUILLEUMIER, *Tarente*, Paris, de Boccard, 1939, p. 717.

15. Cf. C. BURTON - GULICK, *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists*, vol. 1, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1927, p. 303; H. DIELS - W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, Berlin, Weidmann, 1974¹⁷, p. 445; W. BURKERT, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard Univ. Press, 1972, p. 204.

16. Cf. P. MAAS, *Ibykos*, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 9, part 1, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1914, p. 818.

17. Cf. M. TIMPANARO CARDINI, *Pitagorici*, vol. 2, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1962, p. 440.

18. Cf. P. MAAS, *op. cit.*, p. 818.

19. Cf. IAMBL., *Vit. Pyth.*, 126.

20. Cf. G.E. BENSELER, *W.Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 3, part 2, Braunschweig, Vieweg, 1875², p. 826; C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 2, Paris, Didot, 1878, p. 370; E. ZELLER - R. MONDOLFO, *op. cit.*, p. 432; H. DÖRRIE, *Lykon*, *Der kleine Pauly*, vol. 3, Stuttgart, Druckenmüller, 1969, pp. 813 - 814; J.F. MATTÉI, *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* (translated from French into Modern Greek by C. CAPSAMBELE), Athens, Cardamitsa, 1995, p. 75.

21. Cf. C. GEORGACOPOULOS, *Ancient Greek Physicians* (in Greek), Athens, Iaso, 1998, p. 316.

22. Cf. K. FREEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Taking into account that the term ἐννοῦχος, which was used by

has been omitted not only by Plinius²³ but also by the author of *Geoponica*²⁴. In our opinion, W. Capelle's suggestion that Athenaeus' statement on Lycon's botanical studies might have been drawn from the physician Heracleides of Tarentum²⁵ is an acceptable one to those who are going on the assumption that Heracleides did not fail to distinguish the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Iasus from the Peripatetic philosopher Lycon of Troas, who was also interested in investigating natural causes and phenomena²⁶. Granting this to be true, we do not align ourselves with H. Thesleff, who supposed that there was a writing wrongly attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon²⁷ and therefore had no hesitation in stating that Lycon's work *Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου>* was an obscure one²⁸. In other words, we consider that there is much reliance to be placed on Lycon's reference to *bishop's weed*²⁹, which harmonizes well with genuine Pythagoreanism³⁰ and, in view of Lycon's adherence to Menestor's way of thinking³¹, provides

Aristotle with reference to a certain kind of dates (cf. H.G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT, *A Greek - English Lexicon*, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1940⁹, p. 724), had been used by Lycon's Pythagorean predecessors with reference to a certain kind of lettuce (cf. *supra* and n.21), we consider that for Lycon the term *ἐὐνοῦχος* had something to do with botanical data. In this connexion we may note that, according to Lycon, the term *ἄστυτις*, which had been commonly used in talk as an equivalent of the term *ἐὐνοῦχος* (cf. J.P. DUMONT - D. DELATTRE - J.L. POIRIER, *op. cit.*, p. 556), was far from being a suitable one for formal occasions because it was closely tied to the Cynic conception of *ἀναισχυντία* (cf. A. MEINEKE, *Analecta critica ad Athenaei Deipnosophistas*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1867, p. 35), which was the contrary of the Pythagorean conception of *σεμνοπρέπεια* (cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 8.36).

23. Cf. M. TIMPANARO CARDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

24. Cf. J. ANDRÉ, *Pline l' Ancien. Histoire Naturelle. Livre XIX*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1964, p. 146.

25. Cf. W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 2308- 2309.

26. Cf. F. WEHRLI, *Lykon*, Basel, Schwabe, 1968², p. 26. To our mind, Lycon's reference to a certain kind of lettuce (cf. A.M. DESROUSSEAUX - C. ASTRUC, *Athénée de Naucratis. Les Deipnosophistes*, vol. 1, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1956, p. 171), which was named after a Laconian village (cf. *ibid.*, p. 205) may go back to Eudoxus. In other words, we do not disregard the fact that Eudoxus did not only concern himself with the population of some Laconian villages (cf. EUDOX., F 316 Lasserre) but was also interested in giving indications of the provenance of several kinds of the vegetable kingdom (cf. IDEM, F 285 Lasserre). Furthermore, we keep in mind that Eudoxus studied under Philistion (cf. IDEM, T 7 Lasserre), who had mentioned a certain kind of carrot well known as an aphrodisiac (cf. PHILISTION, F 12 Wellmann).

27. Cf. H. THESLEFF, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo, Åbo Akademi, 1961, p. 15; IDEM, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo, Åbo Akademi, 1965, p. 109.

28. Cf. IDEM, *An Introduction...*, p. 24.

29. Cf. W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, p. 2308; J.P. DUMONT - D. DELATTRE - J.L. POIRIER, *op. cit.*, p. 557. It is perhaps worth recalling that Plinius, who had no hesitation in stating that Hippocrates, Glaucón and Nicander concerned themselves with the properties of *bishop's weed* (cf. O. SCHNEIDER, *Nicandrea*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1856, p. 145), made no mention of Lycon's reference to *bishop's weed*.

30. Cf. L. ZHMUD, *Wissenschaft, Philosophie und Religion im frühen Pythagoreismus*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1997, p. 43.

31. Cf. J.P. DUMONT - D. DELATTRE - J.L. POIRIER, *op. cit.*, p. 1388. It deserves to be noted that Antigonus of Carystus, who took a great interest in Eudoxean topics (cf. EUDOX., F 347 Lasserre), stressed the point that, according to Lycon, *bishop's weed* was a herb and not a tree. As a matter of fact, Lycon's suggestion meets with Plinius' approval (cf. M. TIMPANARO CARDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 443). To our way of thinking, it seems probable that Philistion, who laid special emphasis on the so-called Academic classification of plants (cf. M. ISNARDI PARENTE, *Speusippo. Frammenti*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 1980, p. 240), had a profound impact on Lycon (cf. *supra* and n. 26).

a clue regarding the fact that some sources indicate antagonism between the Schools of Lycon and Aristotle³².

Far from being agreeable to W. Capelle's view that it is possible to distinguish Lycon who criticized Aristotle's way of life from Lycon who wrote a biography of Pythagoras³³, we concur with J.A. Fabricius, V. Brochard, K. von Fritz and W. Burkert in observing that there is no reason not to identify Lycon who intended reflexion on Aristotle's character with the Pythagorean philosopher who bore the name of Lycon³⁴. In this connexion we may note that Lycon, who was regarded as an unreliable detractor of Aristotle³⁵, had access to Aristotle's last will and testament³⁶ and made precise references not only to Aristotle's wealth³⁷ but also to some elaborate funeral services held by Aristotle in honour of his wife who bore the name of Pythias³⁸. Moreover, we take into consideration that Lycon maintained that Aristotle «placed a skin of warm oil on his stomach»³⁹ because he had information concerning Aristotle's suffering from a serious stomach disease⁴⁰. Keeping in mind that Lycon was regarded as an anti-Aristotelian thinker who «depreciated the knowledge of the orators...and ridiculed those who devoted themselves to this art»⁴¹ because he was fitted into the Pythagorean Succession⁴², we do not disregard the fact that Lycon's reference to Pythagoras' moderation in eating was influential in accomplishing Aristoxenus' portrayal of Pythagoras⁴³. In our opinion, evidence in confirmation of C. Riedweg's⁴⁴ statement that Lycon criticized Aristotle's extravagant tastes

32. Cf. M. TIMPANARO CARDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

33. Cf. W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 2308-2309.

34. Cf. J.A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. 1, Hildesheim, Olms, 1966⁴, p. 851; V. BROCHARD, Lycon, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. 22, Paris, Larousse, p. 813; K. VON FRITZ, Pythagoreer, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 24, part 1, Stuttgart, Druckenmüller, 1963, p. 219; W. BURKERT, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

35. Cf. A.H. CHROUST, *Aristotle*, vol. 1, Notre Dame, The Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1973, p. 381.

36. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 321.

37. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 399.

38. Cf. I. DÜRING, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition*, Göteborg, Elanders, 1957, p. 391; A.H. CHROUST, *op. cit.*, p. 43. One should particularly mention that the suggestion that Lycon's story might be either «a transfer to Aristotle and Pythias of that of Harpalus and Pythionice, with Demeter instead of Aphrodite» (cf. I. DÜRING, *op. cit.*, p. 391) or «a transfer from Phaestis (Aristotle's mother) to Pythias (Aristotle's wife)» (cf. A.H. CHROUST, *op. cit.*, p. 401) falls wide of the mark.

39. Cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 5.16. The translation is by R.D. HICKS, *Diogenes Laertius*, vol. 1, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard Univ. Press, 1991⁸, p. 459.

40. Cf. I. DÜRING, *op. cit.*, p. 391; A.H. CHROUST, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

41. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 108.

42. Cf. W. BURKERT, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Taking into account that Lycon wrote against Aristotle, we contend that he might have been the anonymous Pythagorean who criticized not only Aristotle but also Plato, Speusippus, Aristoxenus and Xenocrates for not adhering faithfully to Pythagoras' doctrines (cf. PORPH., *Vit. Pyth.*, 53). From this point of view, it would seem that Lycon was the first to maintain that report had it that Plato had a tendency to melancholy (cf. ARIST., *Pr.*, Α1, 953 a 26), Speusippus was prone to anger (cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 4.1), Aristoxenus was a laughter-hating (cf. ARISTOX., F 7 Wehrli) and Xenocrates was grave of demeanour (cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 4.6), whereas the Pythagoreans «were not sometimes merry, and sometimes downcast, but observed an equitable and calm joy» (cf. IAMBL., *Vit. Pyth.*, 196; the translation is by J. DILLON - J. HERSHBELL, *Iamblichus. On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1991, p. 201).

43. Cf. J. HAUSSLEITER, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1935, p. 111; E. ZELLER - R. MONDOLFO, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

44. Cf. C. RIEDWEG, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

and habits from a Pythagorean perspective is not lacking for those who take into account that Pythagoras' strong feeling of dislike for the persons who had given themselves up to luxury and sensual pleasures⁴⁵ was influential in producing a new way of life⁴⁶.

As a matter of fact, F. Susemihl and H. Diels - W. Kranz contended that in all probability the author of *Suda* held that Lycon who contributed new information on the problem of the authenticity of Epicharmus' *Comedies*, which had something to do with the Pythagorean way of life, was the same person as the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Iasus⁴⁷, whereas W. Capelle and H. Thesleff implied that the point at issue was perhaps due to a confusion of the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Iasus with the Peripatetic philosopher Lycon of Troas⁴⁸. Now F. Wehrli, who doubted the truth of both views⁴⁹, approved of G. Kaibel's⁵⁰ suggestion that in the above-mentioned passage the reading Λύκων is nothing but a corrupt form of the reading Λυκόφρων. With a view to argue for G. Kaibel's suggestion, we underline the fact that Λύκων does not appear to be named in any other passage taken from *Suda*, whereas the name Λυκόφρων does occur in a long passage dealing with Lycophron's life and works⁵¹ and including a valuable piece of information about Lycophron's work *On Comedy*⁵². On the other hand, we take into consideration that, according to F. Jacoby, Porphyry's reference to a biographer of Pythagoras who bore the name of Λύκος is probably a reference to the philosopher Lycon of Iasus⁵³, whereas, according to F. Susemihl, W. Burkert and E. des Places, Porphyry's above-mentioned reference is probably a reference to the historian Lycus of Rhegium⁵⁴. In view of Porphyry's quotation from Λύκος (τὴν μὲν οὖν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἧς γενέσθαι πολίτην τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον (sc. Πυθαγόραν) συμβέβηκεν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνεις κατειδώς, μηδὲν διαφερέτω σοι)⁵⁵, we consider that Λύκος is naturally to be distinguished from the Pythagorean philosopher Lycon of Iasus, who must have known that, according to Eudoxus⁵⁶, Pythagoras was a citizen of Samos. In this connexion we may note that Athenaeus' disputable reference to an author who bore the name of Λύκος⁵⁷ and was the first to state that «the Cynians...are long-lived because they always eat honey»⁵⁸ is probably a reference to Lycon, which seems to be in line with Lycon's evaluation of

45. Cf. J. MEWALDT, *De Aristoxeni Pythagoricis Sententiis et Vita Pythagorica*, Berlin, Wagner, 1904, pp. 51- 52; I. LÉVY, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore*, Paris, Leroux, 1926, p. 56.

46. In point of fact, Jamblichus' phrase τοῦ Πυθαγορείου βίου (cf. IAMBL., *Vit. Pyth.*, 248) is the exact equivalent of Porphyry's phrase τῆς Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίας (cf. PORPH., *Vit. Pyth.*, 54).

47. Cf. F. SUSEMIHL, *op. cit.*, p. 692; H. DIELS - W. KRANZ, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

48. Cf. W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, p. 2309; H. THESLEFF, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo, Åbo Akademi, 1965, p. 109.

49. Cf. F. WEHRLI, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

50. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15.

51. Cf. SUDA, *Lex.*, s.v. Λυκόφρων.

52. Cf. A.W. MAIR - G.R. MAIR, *Callimachus. Lycophron. Aratus*, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard Univ. Press, 1955², p. 305. It is perhaps worth mentioning that no one can deny the fact that any reference to Comic poets is out of line with the Pythagorean condemnation of κατὰ γέλως, σκώμματα καὶ διγγύματα φορτικά (cf. DIOG. LAERT., *Vit. Phil.*, 8. 20).

53. Cf. F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. 3, part 2, Leiden, Brill, 1955, p. 601.

54. Cf. F. SUSEMIHL, *op. cit.*, p. 692; W. BURKERT, *op. cit.*, p. 204; É. DES PLACES, *Porphyre. Vie de Pythagore. Lettre à Marcella*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1982, p. 151.

55. Cf. PORPH., *Vit. Pyth.*, 5.

56. Cf. C.N. POLYCARPOU, *The Eudoxean Biography of Pythagoras, Diotima*, 32, 2004, p. 60.

57. Cf. F. SUSEMIHL, *op. cit.*, p. 691; W. CAPELLE, *op. cit.*, p. 2309. To our way of thinking, one may fairly assume that the epitomizer of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* mistook Λύκων for Λύκος (cf. *supra* and n.20).

the Pythagorean way of life⁵⁹. Furthermore, we put forward the opinion that Lycon did not disregard the fact that Plato had become enthusiastic not only over the moral⁶⁰ but also over the scientific⁶¹ aspect of the Pythagorean way of life. With a view to shed light on Menaechmus' reference to Plato's evaluation of the Pythagorean way of life⁶², Lycon probably implied that Eudoxus had laid special emphasis on the medical background of the conception of αἰσχύνῃ⁶³, which had been of great importance to those who were remaining faithful to the moral values of genuine Pythagoreanism⁶⁴.

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58. Cf. ATHEN., *Deipnos.*, II 47 A. The translation is by C. BURTON - GULICK, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

59. Cf. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.*, p. 600. It may be a coincidence, but Athenaeus' explicit references to Lycon and Aristoxenus harmonize well with each other (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 600- 601). Taking into account that the name Λύκων was included in the Aristoxenian catalogue of Archytas' immediate followers (cf. L. ZHMUD, *op. cit.*, p. 74), we are inclined to think that Aristoxenus, who attempted to demonstrate that the Pythagorean way of life was worthy of great praise (cf. M. VON ALBRECHT, *Das Menschenbild in Jamblichs Darstellung der pythagoreischen Lebensform*, in *Jamblich. Pythagoras: Legende - Lehre - Lebensgestaltung*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002, p. 259), had been influenced by Lycon's example.

60. Cf. K. PRAECHTER, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin, Mittler, 1926¹², p. 63; J.A. PHILIP, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism*, Toronto, The Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966, p. 138.

61. Cf. E. ZELLER - R. MONDOLFO, *op. cit.*, p. 336; W.K.C. GUTHRIE, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 1, London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1962, p. 148; W. RÖD, *Die Philosophie der Antike*, vol. 1, München, Beck, 1976, p. 54; A. CAPIZZI, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

62. Cf. C.N. POLYCARPOU, Menaechmus' Philosophical Investigations, *Philosophia*, 29, 1999, pp. 64- 65. In view of Lycon's reference to Plato's evaluation of the Pythagorean way of life, which represents the original insight of Pythagoras (cf. B. JOWETT - L. CAMPBELL, *Plato's Republic*, vol. 3, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1894, p. 447), we maintain that for Lycon Pythagoras was a thinker skilled in music (cf. E. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Presocratic Thought* (in Greek), Athens, Gregores, 1978², p. 39), who therefore became the founder of a way of life that produced for his followers.

63. Cf. EUDOX., F 299 Lasserre.

64. Cf. E. ZELLER - R. MONDOLFO, *op. cit.*, pp. 579- 580. Granting this to be true, we consider that in all probability Lycon was the first to stress the point that all those who were «ill - tempered, violent, turbulent and despotic in character» (cf. IAMBL., *Vit. Pyth.*, 248; the translation is by J. DILLON - H. HERSHBELL, *op. cit.*, p. 243) had no right to share in the Pythagorean way of life. Moreover, in view of the Platonic distinction between the Pythagorean way of life and the Homeric one (cf. PL., *R.*, X, 600 a- b), we put forward the opinion that for Lycon the keynote of Pythagoras' speeches was the precept φιλοτιμίαν φεύγειν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν (cf. PORPH., *Vit. Pyth.*, 32), which contrasts sharply with the Homeric precept ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων (cf. HOM., *Il.*, Z 208). This being so, we have reason to believe that Lycon laid special emphasis on the precept πάντων δὲ μάλιστα αἰσχύνει σαυτόν, which was in line with the medical background of genuine Pythagoreanism (cf. I. GOBRY, *Pythagore*, Paris, Éditions Universitaires, 1992, p. 102). It is therefore legitimate to infer that in a way Lycon's work Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου> was a reply to those who had tried to reduce the importance of the Pythagorean way of life (cf. IAMBL., *Vit. Pyth.*, 234). In this connexion we may note that Lycon was a younger contemporary of Alcidamas, who had praised Pythagoras for his σεμνότητα... τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος (cf. W. CRÖNERT, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Leipzig, Avenarius, 1906, p. 3). From this point of view it seems probable that Diodorus of Ephesus, who disapproved of Alcidamas' above-mentioned reference to Pythagoras (cf. M. GIGANTE, *Diogene Laerzio. Vita dei filosofi*, Bari, Laterza, 2000⁴, p. 553), was very much opposed to Lycon's evaluation of the Pythagorean way of life.