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The Lives of the Peripatetics: Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum, Book Five

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Michael Sollenberger Philologists 1986

The Lives of the Peripatetics: Diogenes Laertius, <u>Vitae</u> <u>Philosophorum</u> Book Five

The biographies of six early Peripatetic philosophers are contained in the fifth book of Diogenes Laertius! Vitae philosophorum: the lives of the first four heads of the sect - Aristotle, Theophrastus, Strato, and Lyco - and those of two outstanding members of the school - Demetrius of Phalerum and Heraclides of Pontus. For the history of two rival schools, the Academy and the Stoa, we are fortunate in having not only Diogenes' versions in Books Four and Seven, but also the Index Academicorum and the Index Stoicorum preserved among the papyri from Herculaneum. But for the Peripatos there is no such second source. Of course there are numerous bits and pieces of evidence concerning the school and its members scattered throughout ancient literature and these are easily accessible in Wehrli's Die Schule des Aristoteles. Moreover, in addition to Diogenes' version, several other lives of Aristotle have come down to us and are collected by During in his Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition. But for the lives of other Peripatetics, Diogenes' account is the only one available.

To discuss all of the many aspects of these six lives is not my purpose in this paper; for that task would require many, many more pages. Instead, although I am aware of the risk of oversimplifying some complex problems, consideration will be limited to rather general matters of structure, organization, and arrangement of material in Book Five as a whole, to the different categories of information in the individual lives, and to the most striking features of this book which set it apart from other books: namely, the wills of the first four scholarchs and the extensive catalogues of writings which Diogenes has included for five of the six philosophers.

In his prologue Diogenes introduces various methods of treating the historical development of philosophy (1.13-19). Generally, these consist of different ways of dividing and arranging individual philosophers and sects. Focusing on one particular approach, that of successions ($\delta_{1\alpha}\delta_{0\chi\alpha}$, an approach to which he himself adheres in compiling his work, Diogenes explains that there were two separate successions of philosophers: an Ionic or eastern succession and an Italian or western one. The individuals who figure in each are connected by the postulation of teacher-student relationships as follows:¹ Ľ

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Ionic			Italian				
Thales			Pherecydes				
Anaximander			Pythagoras				
An	aximenes	Telauges					
An	axagoras		Xenophanes				
Archelaus			Parmenides				
S	ocrates		Zeno of Elea				
Antisthenes Plat		ato	Leucippus				
Diogenes	Speusippus	Aristotle	Democritus				
Cratés	Xenocrates	Theophrastus	Nausiphanes				
Zeno of Citium	Polemo		Epicurus				
Cleanthes	Crantor						
Chrysippus	Crates						
	Arcesilaus						
	Lacydes	·					
	Carneades						

Clitomachus

Within each of the two lists of successions the philosophers are grouped according to their sects. In the eastern division the early Ionians are listed in the traditional arrangement from Thales to Socrates. After Socrates the succession splits into two branches, each represented by a follower of Socrates. One branch, headed by Antisthenes, represents the Cynic branch which, via a direct link or line of succession, hooks up with the Stoics in the person of its founder, Zeno. At the head of the other Socratic branch stands Plato, from whom two different sects descend: the Academics and the Peripatetics. According to this scheme Diogenes devotes each book of his work to a different sect and the whole work is ordered according to the two separate successions: Books Two through Seven for the Ionic and Eight through Ten for the Italian line.

Nevertheless, there are several discrepancies between the scheme laid out in the prologue and the actual treatment of sects in the body of the work.² Particularly noteworthy is the representation of the Peripatetic branch. In the prologue Theophrastus terminates this branch,³ but when we turn to Book Five, we find the succession extended beyond Theophrastus to include his successors Strato and Scholars have suggested that Diogenes omitted Strato and Lyco Lvco. in the prologue and yet included them in Book Five because he was following a different source in each case. In the prologue his source is thought to have been Sotion, who supposedly disapproved of Theophrastus' successors and so neglected them in the successions.⁴ This may be true, but an alternate explanation is possible. It is that the list of successions in the prologue primarily concerns ethical philosophers. This seems to be the case at least for the post-Socratic section of the lists. For when Socrates is listed (1.14), Diogenes tells us that his contribution to philosophy was the introduction of ethics, and the four branches in which both the eastern and western lines of succession terminate correspond to the four major ethical sects of the Hellenistic age: the Stoics, Academics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans. In the case of the Peripatetics, Theophrastus' immediate successor Strato was notorious for having abandoned ethics for physics or natural science. In fact, so great was his devotion to physics that it earned for him the epithet o oucirós.⁵ Clearly then, Strato the physicist finds no appropriate place in a list of ethical successions and the Peripatetic branch accordingly ends with Theophrastus.

In Book Five Diogenes' survey of the early Peripatos covers the first century of the school's existence. One naturally wonders why Diogenes has selected this limited gallery of portraits and only included these particular six Peripatetic lives. Why does he leave off with Lyco and not continue on with the succeeding scholarchs? The school continued to exist without a break in its succession for several more centuries.⁶ Moreover, Diogenes' account of the Academy extends for more than two and a half centuries, from its foundation by Plato through the scholarchate of Clitomachus near the end of the second century B.C. Likewise the lives of the Stoics in Book Seven,

although they break off in extant manuscripts with Chrysippus, originally included the philosophers down to Cornutus in the first century of our era.⁷ The simplest answer to why Diogenes left off with Lyco is that his sources left off with him. The upshot is, of course, that these sources were written shortly after Lyco's scholarchate, which ended with his death ca. 228-5 B.C. This particular point of discontinuation in Diogenes' account is a major factor in the thesis of Paul Moraux, who asserted that Diogenes' main source for the lives of the four scholarchs was the history of the Peripatos composed by Lyco's immediate successor as head of the Lyceum, Ariston of Ceos. Moraux's thesis will be discussed at greater length later.

The other two lives in Book Five, those of Demetrius and Heraclides, were most likely included not only because they were each famous in their own rights, but also because they represent and illustrate the openness of the Peripatos and the widely different types of individuals which the school attracted, accepted, and accommodated. On the one hand, Demetrius was an Athenian citizen and, though not of noble birth, an eminent man of practical and political affairs as well as an outstanding orator and a very prolific author. Heraclides, on the other hand, is portrayed as a very strange, even enigmatic character, whose stately solemness and dignified manner combined with his corpulence and elegant clothing encouraged sarcastic Athenians to alter his ethnic name Ποντικός to the sardonic but telling Πομπικός (5.86). Heraclides is usually considered a member of the Academy, for he is recorded as having been a temporary scholarch of the Academy while Plato was in Sicily. He also ran against and lost to Xenocrates for the headship of the school after Speusippus' death in 339/8 B.C.⁸ Diogenes, moreover, lists him as a student of Plato in the latter's life (3.46). Still, in Book Five, on the authority of Sotion, Diogenes makes Heraclides a student successively of Speusippus, the Pythagoreans, Plato, and finally of Aristotle (5.86). This rather odd chronology is surely erroneous; that he ever studied with the Pythagoreans has been shown to be an inference drawn from Heraclides! own writings.⁹ Since Heraclides allegedly left Athens for his homeland after his defeat by Xenocrates in 339/8 B.C., and Aristotle did not return to Athens until at least 335/4, it seems most likely that if he was ever at any time Aristotle's student, it could only have been while both of them were still members of the Academy before

Plato's death.¹⁰ At any rate, Sotion seems to have regarded Heraclides as a younger contemporary of Aristotle, a classmate of Theophrastus, and so a Peripatetic.¹¹

In Book Five, just as in other books, several basic categories of information, or rubrics,¹² are presented with regularity. Not only do the reappearances of these rubrics from life to life give certain indications of Diogenes' interests, systematic spirit, and his methods of collecting, classifying, and compiling, but they also weave a unifying thread throughout the work and furnish it with some degree of continuity and integrity. These rubrics or fundamental categories are:¹³

1. origin (place and parentage)

- 2. education and philosophical development
- 3. report of succession or foundation of a school
- 4. character as illustrated by anecdotes and apophthegms
- 5. important events
- 6. anecdotal account of death and epigram on it
- 7. floruit and chronological information
- 8. writings
- 9. doctrines
- 10. documents (testament, letters, etc.)
- 11. homonyms (persons of the same name)
- 12. different additional notes (disciples, inventions, etc.)

Of course not all categories are found in each life nor do they invariably occur in the same order. Nevertheless, these classes of information recur with such regularity that the sorts of material Diogenes considered appropriate and important for inclusion in his biographies is apparent. The following table shows the occurrence or non-occurrence of fifteen categories in each of the Peripatetic lives.¹⁴

	Aristotle	Theophrastus	Strato	Lyco	Demetrius	Heraclides
1. Origin (place, parentage)	1	1.	1	1	1	1
2. Education	1	1	: :	1	1	/
3. Succession/foundation		V	. 🗸	1		
4. Appearance	1		1	1	1	/
5. Political activity	1	1	1	. /	1	/
6. Disciples	1	1		1		
7. Important events	1	1		-	/	1
8. Anecdotes		1		1	/	/
9. Apophthegms		1		1	1.	!
10. Account of death and epigram	1	1	1	1	/	1
11. Floruit/chronol. information	1	1	1	1	/	•
12. Writings	1	1	1		1	/
1 <u>3. Doctrines</u>	1					
14. Testament	1	1	/	1		
1 <u>5. Homonyms (namesakes)</u>		!	/	1	1	1

Eleven of these categories (1-11) may be grouped together under the rubric "biography proper". This reduces the number of major divisions to five: I) "biography proper", II) list of writings, III) will, IV) doxography, and V) homonyms. Each of these five sections corresponds to a discrete and often separable section in each life. However, neither the order of the five divisions nor that of the topoi within "biography proper" is firmly fixed. It will be noticed that of the six lives Aristotle's is the most fully developed and the only one which includes all fifteen categories. This completeness is due in part to the fact that Diogenes, according to his customary manner, reports the views of only the founder of a school and not those of individual members.¹⁵ Only three rubrics are common to all six lives: those concerning the details of the philosophers' origins (which is regularly found in the same place first - in each life) (1), the political activities of the philosophers (5), and the accounts of their deaths, together with Dio-

genes' inevitable epigram on the topic (10). While two of the Peripatetics do not have any apophthegms or sayings attributed to them, of the four who do, Aristotle's and Demetrius' appear in an isolated section, forming a discrete unit in the manner of an appendix (5.17-21 and 5.82-3). On the other hand, Lyco's sayings are woven tightly into the fabric of his "biography proper" and constitute no easily detached unit. The sayings of Theophrastus are placed in an even more complicated manner, for while three of them occur as a distinct unit (5.39-40), his dying words occur after the notice of his death, yet seem to be included as an integral part of the biographical narrative.

As mentioned earlier, the order of rubrics varies from life to life, and often the result appears to be a jumble of quite unrelated items, a series of notes thrown together with little or no attempt made at a logical arrangement. Indeed, while the order of the lives appears to be roughly chronological, i.e., origin is given first and the circumstances of death appear last, within this broad framework the presentation of material is in no way uniform.¹⁶

Of momentous value is Diogenes' preservation of extensive catalogues of the writings of five of the six Peripatetics, for in addito revealing the intellectual character of the individuals, tion they certainly provide a significant addition to our knowledge of the immense literary production of the early Peripatos and of the types and organization of research and study which interested these members of the school and to which they devoted themselves. Only Lyco lacks a list of writings. Perhaps Diogenes himself gives the reason for not including a list for him. For after praising Lyco for his eloquence, his sonorous power of expression and the sweetness of his voice, Diogenes adds that "in writing he was not similarly proficient" (5.65-6). It may also be noted that Diogenes characterizes Lyco as a φραστικός ανήρ (5.65), a man of words rather than letters. Although the mention of published and unpublished works in his will (τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα, τὰ ἀνέκδοτα, 5.73) clearly attests to some literary activity by Lyco, the few meager fragments of his works which have survived ¹⁷ and Cicero's general judgment of his writings as oratione locuples, rebus ipsis ieiunior (De finibus 5.13), corrobor-

ate Diogenes' estimate. There is the alternative, of course, that the basis for the omission of a book list for Lyco may simply be that none was available.¹⁸

The catalogues are arranged according to different principles and there is an overall lack of uniformity which would seem to indicate different sources. All, moreover, are unsatisfactory or imperfect, for several reasons: for each philosopher we can point to titles of works cited by other ancient authors which do not appear in Diogenes' lists, there are many repetitions or duplications of the same title in a single catalogue, variant titles for the same work, clear misattributions, instances of melding and blending with other lists and later supplements, restorations, and other contaminations. All of these present almost insuperable difficulties for analysis; nevertheless, some general characteristics of the lists are ascertainable.

The catalogues of Aristotle (5.21-7) and Strato (5.59-60) are most like one another, being ordered along similar lines in a sensible manner: dialogues or exoteric works appear first, esoteric works come next, within which various scientific treatises are grouped according to subject matter, then follow different collections, e.g. $\delta \pi \sigma \mu \nu \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ and $\pi \rho \sigma \beta \lambda \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, and each list concludes with personal papers and letters.¹⁹ One remarkable difference between these two catalogues is that in Strato's $\sigma n l_{\gamma}$ in the first five titles and the next to last are the number of books given, which, if it is taken at face value, would mean that those without book numbers (the vast majority) were monographs.

Likewise the catalogues of Demetrius of Phalerum (5.80-1) and Heraclides of Pontus (5.86-8) exhibit definite resemblances in arrangement, for both proceed according to subject or thematic content.²⁰ Yet in the case of Demetrius' catalogue the subject headings are given by Diogenes in the introduction to the list (5.80), while Heraclides' list is actually divided into sections, each of which bears a distinct subject heading.²¹ We should observe here, too, that whereas many of Heraclides' works are listed as having several books, after the first nine titles in Demetrius' list the remainder are all listed as being in one book only, similar to the case of

Strato, which is an indication that the literary production of the Peripatos became progressively more monographic in character.²²

The catalogue of Theophrastus (5.42-50) is significantly different from the others, and actually consists of five separate lists: I = 5.42-6 (up to Repi $\psi_{0}\chi_{0}\gamma_{5}$ $\theta_{0}\delta_{0}\gamma_{5}\alpha'$), II = 5.46-8 (to Repi $\psi_{0}\omega_{-}\delta_{0}\delta_{0}\gamma_{5}\alpha'$), III = 5.48-50 (to Tà πρò tũν tonũν α'), IV = 5.50 (to Rpotpeπtikòs α'), and V = 5.50 (to end). Three of these lists (I, II, and IV) are arranged according to the alphabet (with some disruptions), list III exhibits no discernible principle of ordering or scheme of arrangement, and list V may be viewed as either an alphabetical list with two additions, or possibly as two separate lists: Va, which is alphabetical, and Vb, which consists of two additions. 2^{3}

It is interesting that for three of the lists, those of Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Strato, Diogenes gives a stichometric notice.²⁴ This is an indication of the total length of all the writings in each catalogue. The figure is given in $\sigma\tau_{\chi}$, or verses. One otixos was regarded as a line of prose or poetry equivalent in length to one hexameter verse, i.e., approximately sixteen syllables or 34-8 letters.²⁶ The total for Aristotle is given as 445,270, for Theophrastus 232,850 are listed, and for Strato 332,420. The numbers, however, are surely corrupt, for if they are supposed to represent the number of lines comprised in all of the works in each catalogue, there is some disproportion. Aristotle's list contains 146 titles comprising over 550 individual books, yet his total number of lines is almost twice that of Theophrastus, whose catalogue lists 225 titles and almost 500 individual books. But Strato's catalogue has only 47 titles which amount to only around 58 books, and so his number of lines should be much less, at least, one would think, less than those given for Theophrastus.²⁷

The final feature of Book Five to be discussed is the most striking of all - the inclusion of the wills of the first four scholarchs. These unquestionably valuable and precious documents preserve for us in concise form what amounts to a summary of personal and professi nal relationships of the philosophers. Since they were doubtlessly important as proof of the legal basis for the existence of the

school, they furnish us with material by which we can come to a better understanding of the organization and character of the Peripatos during the first century of its existence. And much like diaries or journals, the wills often reveal the human sides of their authors.

There is little reason to doubt the authenticity of the wills. The evidence that they are genuine is of a cumulative nature. There are simply too many details - precise dispositions of particular possessions, meticulous provisions for the welfare of descendants and dependents, names of many otherwise unknown persons, exact injunctions and requests, several personal touches, often exquisite, of the testators, a noticeable progression in the use of grammatical forms which is consistent with the historical development of the Greek language - which, taken in their entirety, would surely be beyond the capacity of any forger to reproduce in a convincing manner.²⁸

The wills have been the subject of several different discussions and have been scrutinized according to historical, legal, educational, and institutional aspects, but no real comprehensive study of them has been done.²⁹ I shall limit my comments here to matters of a general nature.

It is in Strato's life that we find information concerning the source of the wills. Immediately following Strato's will Diogenes tells us "And these are the things conveyed in his will, just as Ariston of Ceos has collected somewhere" (5.64).³⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude from this that as the fifth head of the Lyceum, Ariston had collected the wills of his four predecessors, or at least had ready access to their wills. Less convincing is Moraux's conclusion from this passage,³¹ that Ariston included the wills as parts of biographies of his forerunners. Ariston might simply have issued a collection of wills, a possibility hinted at by Diogenes' use of $\sigma v \eta \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon (5.64)$. Even supposing that Ariston did write biographies of his predecessors and included them in their wills, we cannot be sure that Diogenes knew them first-hand. In fact, he himself alludes to this further by saying that Ariston collected them "somewhere" ($\pi o v$, 5.64). It is also possible that

the wills were contained in the collections of Ariston's contemporary Hermippus, for we know that he wrote β ioi which included a Hapi 'Apiototékouş (D.L. 5.1 = fr. 44 Wehrli) and a Hapi Θεοφράστου (D.L. 2.55 = fr. 52), both of which seem to have been biographical in nature.³² Hermippus may have gained access to the wills during Ariston's scholarchate and acknowledged that Ariston provided it to him. If so, Diogenes is mistakenly or misleadingly citing Ariston from Hermippus. However, these speculations lead me away from general contents of the wills and toward that dangerous and practically hopeless area of Diogenes' sources, an area which I have tried to avoid as much as possible in this paper.

Aristotle's will (5.11-16) is concerned almost exclusively with the disposition of personal property and with his concerns for the well-being of the members of his family and household. It is quite significant that there is no mention of the school or library at all in his will. This has led some to believe that we do not have the complete will in Diogenes, or an earlier version of it, or that it is an abridged version.³³ Others are inclined to see in this absence of any mention of the school proof that Aristotle did not in fact found the Peripatetic school in the concrete, institutional sense.³⁴ This, it is argued, would only have been possible if the leader owned real estate on which the school could be established legally as a privately owned piece of property. Aristotle, however, being a metic in Athens, could not legally own land there, 35 and so could not establish a school in the sense of a legally recognized institution. But Theophrastus "came into possession of his own garden after the death of Aristotle, since Demetrius of Phalerum, who was also his pupil, helped him to obtain it" (5.39). It is generally assumed that Demetrius' help consisted of the granting of the right of Eykthous to Theophrastus, i.e., privileged permission to purchase landed property in Athens, and that this, combined with the fact that in his will Theophrastus gives the school property to a group of ten senior members of the school (5.52), shows that Theophrastus was the sole owner of the school and thus the founder of the Peripatos in the institutional sense.36

Theophrastus' will (5.51-7) is the most juridical, technical, and thorough of the four. It is crammed with detailed information

concerning his personal possessions and wealth, which were quite extensive, and their disposition to designated individuals. Theophrastus' explicit orders for rebuilding, refurbishing, and general maintenance of the school buildings and grounds gives us a rare glimpse of the school in its physical setting in the early third century B.C.³⁷ His will, moreover, is the only one of the four which mentions copies as having been made and placed in safe-keeping (5.57).³⁸ Overall, it is evident that Theophrastus crafted his will with great care; he tried to foresee any and all contingencies and eventualities and thereby clearly expressed his deep concern for the school and its continuance and, moreover, set an example which Strato and Lyco each attempt to follow in their wills.

In Strato's will (5.61-4), which is the shortest, we are confronted with numerous minor legacies which attest to the substantial wealth of Strato. But we find no enumeration of the members of the school as we do in the wills of Theophrastus and Lyco, nor does Strato provide many details about the school buildings and properties. But one of the most interesting features of Strato's will is that unlike Theophrastus, who left the school to a KOIVWVía of ten members (5.52), Strato expressly names Lyco as his successor as owner and head of the Lyceum. He gives as his reasons for choosing Lyco that "some of the members are too old, and others are too busy" (5.62). Lyco, however, was notoriously immoderate, even licentious in his behavior, a hard-drinker and a lover of wild parties, and, unlike most other philosophers (except for a few Cynics) a great lover of gymnastics, being particularly fond of boxing, wrestling, and ball-playing.³⁹ He is regularly portrayed as vain, worldly, and shallow, and would would have expected that his character and antics would have been decisive in dissuading the more upright and serious youths from joining the school. While the school did decline during his leadership, it must be said in Lyco's favor that, although he was not a bookish man, he appeared to have been a popular figure, a crowd-pleaser, and attempted to distinguish the Peripatos externally, aiming the school's sights at the world in general. We read that Lyco was ώς οὐκ ἄλλος a good friend of the kings Eumenes, Attalus, and Antiochus (5.67) and quite active in Athenian civic life as advisor and benefactor (5.66).40

Lyco's will is the longest (5.69-74) and perhaps most personal, but is also the least finished and shows the most signs of carelessness.

There are duplications of requests concerning his burial arrangements (5.69 and 71) and he does not specify in all cases who is to be responsible for what or from what source funds are to be taken. Still, it is noteworthy that he resorted to Theophrastus' egalitarian (or non-committal?) measure of bequeathing the school to a committee of ten members and enjoining them to elect as his successor "someone who they think will persevere in the task and be especially capable of extending the Peripatos" (5.70).

All four wills bring us face to face with the men who wrote them in their private lives and public offices. We cannot fail to notice that all were exceedingly wealthy and eager to share their fortunes. Due to the lack of mention of wives or children, we infer that all except Aristotle remained unmarried. All four men appear in their wills as kind, generous, and benevolent, and each reveals his great concern for posterity; something of their individual characters and the circumstances in which they composed their last wills and testaments is revealed to us briefly.

More information concerning the wills, or books lists, or biographies of these six Peripatetics could be presented, but would undoubtedly develop into extended analysis of minute details, which, while certainly not unimportant, would be outside the aim of this general survey of the contents of Diogenes' lives of the Peripatetics.

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1. Modelled, most likely, on the precedent established by the successors of Alexander the Great. See F. Ueberweg, <u>Grundriss der Geschichte</u> <u>der Philosophie</u>. <u>Teil I: Die Philosophie</u> <u>des Altertums</u>. 12th ed. by K. Praechter (Darmstadt, 1961) 18.

2. Several of the inconsistencies have been analyzed by H. Usener, "Die Unterlage des Laertius Diogenes", <u>SB</u> Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl. 49 (1892) 1024-34, A. Gercke, <u>De quibusdam Laertii Diogenis auctoribus</u>. Wissenschaftl. Beilage z. Verlesungsverzeichnis der Univ. Greifswald-(Greifswald, 1899) 46-54, K.O. Brink, "Peripatos", <u>RE</u> Suppl. 7 (1940) 908-11, and J. Mejer, <u>Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background</u>. Hermes Einzelschrift 40. (Wiesbaden, 1978) 60-81.

3. Rather than assume that the text is corrupt and that the names of Theophrastus' successors have simply fallen out in the manuscripts, it should be noted that Theophrastus is named as the terminator of the Peripatetic branch two additional times in 1.15.

4. Usener, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 2) 1034 n.2, Gercke, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 2) 54, and on Sotion in general, Wehrli, <u>Die Schule des Aristoteles</u>, Suppl. 2 (Basel, 1976) and J. Mejer, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 2) 65.

5. Polybius 12.25.3 (fr.16 Wehrli), D.L. 5.61 (fr.10) and 5.64 (fr.15), Suda, s.v. Στράτων, no.1185 (fr.2) and Cic., <u>De fin</u>. 5.13 (fr.12) and <u>Acad. post</u>. 1.33 (fr.13.

6. See H. Zumpt, "Ueber den Bestan der philosophischen Schulen in Athen und die Succession der Scholarchen", <u>Abh. Berlin</u>, 1844, 27-119, and J.P. Lynch, <u>Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational</u> <u>Institution</u> (Berkeley, 1972) 192-207 and 213-16.

7. For this lacuna which is in all manuscripts of Diogenes' work and the list of Stoics omitted, see V. Rose, "Die Lücke im Diogenes Laertius und der alte Uebersetzer", <u>Hermes</u> 1 (1866) 367-97, and E. Martini, "Analecta Laertiana pars prima", <u>Leipziger</u> Studien 19 (1899) 104-6.

8. See Philodemus, <u>Index Acad.</u> col.ó (p.38 Mekler • fr.9 Mehrli) and Suda, s.v. ⁶Ηρακλείδης, no.461 (fr.1).

9. H. Gottschalk, <u>Heraclides of Pontus</u> (Oxford, 1980) provides a good account of how exegesis of and inferences from Heraclides' own works often led to the ascription not only of Pythagoreanism to him, but also of mythical and marvelous feats and miracles performed by him.

10. See Gottschalk, <u>op. cit.</u> (note 9) 3-6, Baebritz, "Herakleides", no.45, <u>RE</u> 8 (1913) 472-3, and F. Wehrli, "Herakleides", no.45, <u>RE</u> Suppl. 11 (1968) 675-7.

11. Likewise Aetius, <u>Placita</u> 2.13.5 (<u>Doxogr</u>. <u>Gr</u>. p.366 Diels), seems to associate Heraclides with the Peripatetics.

12. The term seems to have been used first by A. Delatte in <u>La Vie de</u> <u>Pythagore de Diogène Laërce</u> (Brussels, 1922) 54.

13. This list also appears in Delatte, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 12) 54-5 and, using Greek terms, in A. Frenkian, "Analecta Laertiana", <u>Studii</u> <u>Clasice</u> 3 (1961-401-2.

14. A similar table is provided by P. Moraux, "La composition de la 'Vie d'Aristote' chez Diogène Laërce", <u>RÉG</u> 68 (1955) 154.

15. On the doxographical section (5.28-34) see P. Moraux, "L'exposé de la philosophie d'Aristote chez Diogène Laërce (V, 28-34)", <u>La</u> <u>Revue philosophique de Louvain</u> 47 (1949) 5-43 and I. Düring, <u>Aristotle</u> <u>in the Ancient Biographical Tradition</u>. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 5 (Göteborg, 1957) 69-77.

16. Several scholars have tried to sourt out Diogenes' patchwork arrangement and seeming haphazard order and have arrived at some conclusions concerning Diogenes' methods of composition. Most significant are the studies of J. Mejer, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 2) 16-29, who gives detailed explanations of Diogenes' technique of using excerpts, and P. Moraux, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 14) 155-63, who noticed that Diogenes often chains together unrelated items by means of association or train of thought. oraux also suggested that the frequent interruptions and misplacements in the text are due to the (often incorrect) insertion of marginalia.

17. Fifteen fragments collected by Wehrli, <u>Die Schule</u>, vol. 6 (Basel, 1952) 13-15 (fr.17-31).

18. Cf. the remarks of P. Moraux, <u>Les listes anciennes des ouvrages</u> <u>d'Aristote</u> (Louvain, 1951) 247 and W. Capelle, "Lykon", no.14, <u>RE</u> 13.2 (1927) 2305-6.

19. For further similarities see Moraux, op. cit. (note 18) 246-7.

20. Very similar are the catalogues of Chrysippus (7.189-202) and Democritus (9.46-9).

21. In this regard Heraclides' catalogue is more like those of Chrys-

22. See F. Wehrli, "Rückblick der Peripatos in vorchristlichen Zeit", in <u>Die Schule</u>, vol. 10 (Basel, 1952) 98-101, and Brink, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., (note 2) 914 ff.

23. For specific details on Theophrastus' book lists see M. Sollenberger, "Diogenes Laertius 5.36-57: The <u>Vita Theophrasti</u>", <u>Rutgers</u> <u>University Studies in Classical Humanities</u> 2 (1985) 1-62, esp. 46-54, and O. Regenbogen, "Theophrastos", no.3, <u>RE</u> Suppl. 7 (1940) 1367-70.

24. Stichometric notices were a common bibliographic practice in Alexandria in the third century B.C. See F. Ritschl, "Die Stichometrie der Alten", in <u>Opuscula Philologica</u>, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866) 74 and 84 ff., C. Graux, "Nouvelle Recherches sur la Stichometrie", <u>Revue de</u> <u>philologie</u> 2 (1878) 97-8, and Weinberger, "Stichometrie", <u>RE</u> 3A (1929) 2487-8.

25. The total length of entire bodies of works is given in $\sigma\tau\chi\sigma\iota$ only in Books Four and Five. Totals elsewhere are given in $\xi\pi\eta$, i.e., 1.34, 9.20 and 111. Totals for individual writings are also given at 1.61, 68, 79, 85, 89, 97, 101, and 8.77. See further F. Ritschl, "Stichometrisches bei Diogenes Laertius", <u>RhM</u> 13 (1858) 305-14.

26. According to Galen, <u>De plac. Hipp.</u> et <u>Plat.</u> (vol. 5 p.655-6 Kuhn); see also T. Birt, <u>Die antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Liter--</u> <u>atur</u> (Berlin, 1882) 204-5, and F. Kenyon, "Stichometry", <u>OCD</u>, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972) 1013.

27. Moraux, op. cit. (note 18) 192-3, gives computations for the numbers in the case of Aristotle.

28. For further details see H. Gottschalk, Notes on the Wills of the Peripatetic Scholarchs", <u>Hermes</u> 100 (1972) 314-42, esp. 317.

28) p.314; see also Lynch, op. cit. (note 6) passim. 30. Strato, fr.10 Wehrli = Ariston, fr.31; see the comments of Wehrli, ad loc., Die Schule, vol. 6 (1952) 65-6. 31. Moraux, op. cit., (note 18) 244 ff. 32. Cf. During, op. cit. (note 15) 61-2 and 269, Gottschalk, op. cit. (note 28) 315-16, and Wehrli, <u>Die Schule</u>, Suppl. 1 (Basel, 1974) 72-9. We may note further that Diogenes intimates by his use of περιετύχομεν (5.11 and 69) and εύρον (5.51) that wills were not commonly found as parts of biographies. 33. See During, op. cit. (note 15) 61-2 and Gottschalk, op. cit. (note 28) 315. It is striking that only in Aristotle's will is the past tense, $\delta \cdot \epsilon \theta \epsilon \tau \sigma$, found (5.11); the other three have the present tense, διατίθεμαι (5.51, 61, and 69). Does διέθετο indicate that the will is some sort of epitome or abridgement? 34. Gottschalk, op. cit. (note 28) 329, and Lynch, op. cit. (note 6) 106. 35. Düring, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 15) 62, Gottschalk, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 28) 329. and D. Whitehead, "Aristotle the Metic", PCPhS 21 (1975) 94-9. 36. Gottschalk, op. cit. (note 28) 329-31, and Lynch, op. cit. (note 6) 106-8. 37. Abundant details about the school, its location, and physical setting are available in Lynch, op. cit. (note 6), esp. 9-31 and 209-12. 38. In 4.43 Diogenes records that Arcesilaus had three copies of his will made, too; unfortunately, no text of any of them is given. 39. In addition to Dicgenes' account substantial information on Lyco recorded by Antigonus of Carystus is preserved in Athenaeus, Deion. 12 547D ff.; see the comments of Wilamowitz, <u>Antigonus von Karystos</u>. Philol. Unters. 4 (Berlin, 1881) 78 ff. and 263 ff., and of Capelle, op. cit. (note 18) 2303 ff. 40. In IG II² 791 (fr.14 Wehrli) it is recorded also that Lyco presented a gift of 200 drachmas to the city. See also Lynch, op. cit. (note 6) 155, and Capelle, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 18) 2304.

29. The relevant literature is listed by Gottschalk, op. cit. (note