

The Academy through Epicurean Eyes: Some Lives of Academic Philosophers in Philodemus' *Syntaxis*

The papyri: *PHerc* 1021 (opisthographic roll thought to contain an early draft)
PHerc 164 (very badly damaged, short fragments from a later –final?– version)

Some editions: S. Mekler, *Academicorum philosophorum Index Herculaneensis*. Berlin 1902, 1958.
K. Gaiser, *Philodemus Academica. Die Berichte über Platon und die Alte Akademie in zwei herkulanensischen Papyri*, Supplementum Platonicum I. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1988 [first half of the roll]
T. Dorandi, *Filodemo, Storia dei filosofi. Platone e l'Accademia*. Naples 1991.
----- *Storia dei filosofi: la Stoà da Zenone a Panezio (PHerc. 1018)* Leiden 1994.
E. Puglia, 'Le biografie di Filone e di Antiocho nella Storia dell' Accademia di Filodemo', *ZPE* (2000) 130: 17–28
D. Blank, 'The life of Antiochus of Ascalon in Philodemus' History of the Academy and a tale of two letters', *ZPE* 162 (2007): 87–93

1. Philodemus' *Syntaxis*

συνεφιλοσόφουν δ' αὐτῶ προτρεψαμένω και οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, Νεοκλῆς Χαιρέδημος Ἀριστόβουλος, καθά φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων συντάξεως.

At his (sc. Epicurus') instigation his three brothers, Neocles, Chaeredemus, and Aristobulus, joined in his studies, according to Philodemus the Epicurean in the tenth book of his *Collection/System of the Philosophers*. (D.L. 10.3)

2. 'Successions' genre

Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὅμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησι μετὰ τὸ μνηῦσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἴ τις ἄλλος εἶη...

Demetrius in his work on *Men of the Same Name* says that he (sc. Zeno of Elea) bit off, not the ear, but the nose. According to Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, after informing against the tyrant's friends, he was asked by the tyrant whether there was anyone else in the plot... (D.L. 9.27)

ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ και οἶδε, καθά φησιν Ἰππόβοτος: Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεύς, Ζήνων Σιδώνιος.

And furthermore the following according to Hippobotus were pupils of Zeno: Philonides of Thebes; Callippus of Corinth; Posidonius of Alexandria; Athenodorus of Soli; and Zeno of Sidon. (D.L. 7.38)

4. Philodemus on successions in the Academy

(i) *Σπεύ[κιππος] μὲν οὖν πα[ρ] ἀ]ὐτοῦ [Πλ]άτων[ος νο]σῶν' διεδέ[ξ]ατο τὴν δ[ια]τριβή[ν].*

But Speusippus inherited the school from Plato himself while he was ill (VI 28-30)¹

(ii) *οἱ δ[ὲ] νεανίσκοι ψηφ[ο]φορήσαντες ὅστις αὐτῶν ἡγή[σ]ετα[ι], Ξενοκράτη[ν] εἴλοντο*

The young members held a vote on who would lead them and chose Xenocrates (VI 41-44)

(iii) *ἐκχωρήσαντος | αὐτῷ τῆς διατριβῆς Σωκρατίδου τινός*

... after a certain Socratides ceded the school to him (sc. to Arcesilaus) (XVIII 2-4)

(iv) *Κλε[ιτόμα]χος εἰς | Ἀκαδημεία[ν] ἐπέβαλεν | μετὰ πολλῶν γνωρίμων*

Clitomachus burst into the Academy with many associates (XXIV 32-4)

¹ All references are to column and line numbers in Dorandi's text, unless otherwise indicated.

5. The conclusions to Philodemus' Histories of the Stoa and the Academy

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Ζ[ή]νωνος Στωικοὶ διὰ[δοχοὶ | π]άντ[ε]ς αἱ θ' αἰρ[έ]σεις

All the Stoic successors from Zeno and the schools of thought... (*Index St.* LXXIX 5-7)

Εὐκλείδου | καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων [τῶν] ἐπιγεγο[ν]υῶν
αἰρέσεων τ[ε] | καὶ δι' αὐτῶν συναγωγῆ...

Collection [of the successions from?] Euclid and from Plato, and also of the other ensuing schools and successions (*Index Ac.* XXXVI 15-19)

6. Academics outside the location of the Academy

(i) ὁ δὲ [Μενέδημος] ἕτερον περίπατον καὶ [δι]ατριβὴν κατεσκευάσατο, 'Menedemus set up another school and course of study' (VII 8-10)

(ii) Ζηνόδορος Τύριος κατ' | Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡγήσά[μενος], 'Zenodorus of Tyre who taught at Alexandria' (XXIII 2-3)

(iii) σχ[ο]λὴν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ[ι] συνεστήσατο ἄρχοντι[ο]ς Ἀγνοθέου, '(Clitomachus) set up his own school at the Palladium in the archonship of Hagnotheus' (149/39 BC) (XXV 8-10)

(iv) καὶ πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος ἰκαν[ῶ]ς κα[ὶ] | φύσει
μνήμων, ἀνεγκλιῶς δὲ πολλά, ραδίως
[ἔ]τ[υ]χε πολιτείας τε κἀν[ῶ]τιξε | σχολὰς
ἐν τῷ Π[το]λεμαί[ω]ι...

... being sufficiently experienced in practical matters and naturally gifted with strong memory, and having read many things, he (no name survives: Charmadas?) easily gained citizenship and opened a school at the Ptolemaeum... (XXXII 3-8)

(v) οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐν | ἄστ[ε]ι τ[ὰ]ς σχολὰς πεπονημένοι, 'and those who did not teach within the city' (XXXII 13-15)

7. Character traits explained through philosophical positions

[ἔ]δυσχεραίνε δὲ κα[ὶ] | τοῖς εἰς ἀδύνατ' ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις, ἀξιῶν | ἐν τοῖς
πράγμασιν γυμνάζεσθαι. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ἀσόλοικος ἦν καὶ παντὸς ἕξω
πεπτωκῶς ἀστεί[σμο]ῦ

He (sc. Polemo) disapproved of those who drove questions to impossibilities, requiring that people train in practical questions. This is why in argumentation he insisted on linguistic correctness and avoided all witticism (XIV 4-10)

δόγμα δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰ[ρ]εσιν συνηθίθει. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἡ προσιόντων δίσταντο κατὰ τὰ ἡθη
καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἀλλήλων, ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσταλμένον καὶ μέτριον, οἱ πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ
τὸ θρασύτερον καὶ δεσποτικώτερον | τραπέντες.

He (sc. Arcesilaus) did not come up with any doctrine or any set of opinions. For this reason his associates differed among themselves in character and opinions, some tended to be restrained and measured, but most turned more arrogant and aggressive (XVIII 40 – XIX 7)

8. The Metrodorean interpretation of Carneades

Μητροδώρος | δὲ ὁ Στρατονικεὺς ... ἔφη [Κ]αρνεάδου παρακηκοέναι | πάντα, οὐ γὰρ
ἀκατάληπτα ν[ε]νομικέναι πάντα...

Metrodorus of Stratonicea ... said that everyone had misunderstood Carneades, for he had not believed that all things are inapprehensible (XXVI 4-11)

9. Philodemus and Antiochus

ἡγαπημέ[νο]ς ὑπὸ πολλῶν κά[μ]οῦ καὶ αὐτὸς [ἡ]μᾶς ἀποδεδεγμένος.

He (sc. Antiochus) had been loved by many people, including me, and had himself received us hospitably (XXXIV 43 – XXXV 2, text from Blank)

10. Academics with other school allegiances

(i) ἔφη δ' Ἀρκεσίλαος ὅτι αὐτῶι παρὰ Θεοφράστου μετελθόντι φανείησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν [Π]ολέμωνα ἢ θεοὶ τινες ἢ λ[ε]ίψανα τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους διαπειπασμένων ἀ[νθ]ρώπων...

Arcesilaus said that when he came over from Theophrastus Polemo and his associates seemed like gods or remnants of those ancient people of the golden race (XV 4-10)

(ii) <...>, ὃς μετα[θέμ]ενος τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀ[πέδωκ]εν τέλος...

(Name missing) who, having switched position, said that pleasure is the *telos* (XX 39-42)

(iii) Μητρόδωρος [Στ]ρατογί[κευ]ς ὁ καὶ ἰπρότερον Ἐ[πικουρεί]ων ἀκ[ούσας]

Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who earlier had been a pupil of the Epicureans... (XXIV 9-12)

12. Circulation of texts

(i) εὐξήσε[ν φ]ιλοσοφίαν καὶ κατέλυσ[ε]. προ[ε]τρέψατο μὲν γὰρ ἀπει[ί]ρου[ς] ἢ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ ἢ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν λόγων. ἐπιπολ[α]ίως δὲ καὶ ἢ [τινας] ἐπο[ί]ησε φιλοσοφεῖν...

He promoted philosophy and destroyed it. For he encouraged innumerable people so to speak towards philosophy through his written dialogues. But he made some philosophise superficially... (I 10-16)

(ii) λε[ι]φ[θ]έ[ν]τα ὑπὸ Κράντορος ὑπομνήματά [φησ]ι διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν καὶ μετατιθέσθαι· τινὲς αὐτὸν ἔφασαν αὐτὰ γεγραφένα, τιν[έ]ς δ' ἂν συνέγραψε κατακεκαυ[κ]έναι].

... he (sc. Philodemus' source) says that he (sc. Arcesilaus) had some notes left behind by Crantor in his hands, and changed them. Some say that he had written them himself, others that he burnt what he wrote. (XVIII 34-40) Cf. D.L. 4. 32: οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐφωράθη <Κράντορος> τινὰ διορθῶν, ἃ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ κατακαῦσαι.

(iii) Ζήνων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἢ καὶ σχολὰς ἀναγράφας αὐτοῦ καὶ προαπαλλάξας –

τ[.] οὐ ἴτον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἀναγιγνωσκομένων ἢ [ἐλέγξει φασί] Καρ[νε]άδην ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀξ[ύ]τα ἢτα ... Ἄγων Ταρσεὺς ὁ καὶ εὐνό<ω>ς ἢ [ἀ]ναγρά[ψ]ας ἐκ τῶν σχολ[ῶ]ν ἢ πλείω[ι] καὶ ἐπαινούμενος...

Zeno of Alexandria who wrote up his lectures and died before him – they say that during a reading of the notes Carneades rebuked him in front of the others very strongly ... Hagnon of Tarsus who wrote more notes from the lectures favourably and was praised ... (XXII 37 – XXIII 6)

See also: Πυθόδωρος ὁ καὶ ἢ σχολὰς ἀναγράφας αὐτοῦ, XX 43-4, on Arcesilaus; Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Τηλεκλέ[ους] μαθητῆς ἢ καὶ ἢ ἀ[να]γεγρα[φ]ῶς ὑπο[μ]νήμα[τ] ἐκ ἢ τῶν σχολ[ῶ]ν αὐτοῦ, O 32-5

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