

TOD, M.N.

JULY 1957

SIDELIGHTS ON GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

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We regard the rise and development of philosophy as one of the supreme achievements of the Greeks, which has permanently and profoundly affected Western civilisation. Did the later Greeks share this view? Inscriptions offer some evidence which merits consideration. The author of the Parian Chronicle,¹ who is for us, owing to the mutilation of the stone, anonymous, compiled a chronological table of the outstanding personalities and events in Greek history down to 264-3 B.C. The extant record is fairly complete from 1581-80 to 355-4 B.C. and again from 336-5 to 299-8, and if we examine the period after 1000 B.C. we are struck by the predominance of Greek tyrants and foreign potentates in the sphere of political and military history and of poets (prose authors are ignored) in the realm of culture; Terpander of Lesbos (A34) is the sole representative of music and Callippus, the astronomer (B6), of natural science, while sculptors, painters and architects are passed over in silence. Philosophy appears only in the persons of Socrates, Anaxagoras and Aristotle;² a brief reference to two of these, [ῥ]σαν δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδην Σωκράτης τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, is tacked on as an afterthought to the record (A60) of Euripides' first victory in 442-1 B.C., and the death of 'Socrates the philosopher' at the age of 70 is reported (A66) under the date 400-399,³ while in a paragraph (B11) relating to events in Asia Minor and Egypt in 321-20 B.C. occurs the phrase καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ σοφιστὴς ἐτελεύτησεν.⁴ A fragment of another chronological table,⁵ drawn up in A.D. 15-16, survives in Rome and gives rather more recognition to philosophy; S[olon], Anacharsis, the Seven Sages and Aesop are mentioned in B2, 4 and 5, B7 tells of Pythagoras's capture by Cambyses in Egypt⁶ in 524-3, and B10 runs: ἀφ' οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος [καὶ Ἡρά]κλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων, ἔτη—, where the year is unfortunately lost. Nor is it without significance that the owner of a villa in Colonia Agrippinensis (Köln) in the Imperial period, wishing to adorn it with mosaic portraits of leading representatives of Greek thought and letters, placed Διογένης, the cynic, depicted in his tub, in the centre, with Σωκράτης, [Κλ]εόβουλος, [Χ]εῖλ[ων], Σοφοκλῆς and two others, possibly Plato and Aristotle, around him.⁷

We may begin our brief survey with that curious blend of religion, mysticism and philosophy which has come down to us under the name of Orphism. Ten Orphic poems, engraved on thin sheets of gold, have been found in graves at Petelia (IG XIV 638) and Thurii (*ibid.* 641-2) in Southern Italy, near Rome, and at Eleutherna in Western Crete (*I Cret* II xii 31, three copies of the same poem). These have been long known and often edited,⁸ but recent years have brought to light two further relevant documents. The first is another inscription⁹ of the same nature, similar to, yet at a number of points differing from, that of Petelia, discovered, along with human ashes, in an elaborately ornamented bronze urn at Pharsalus in Thessaly; the editor assigns both urn and inscription to about the middle of the fourth century B.C., so that it must rank as the earliest member of the series. The second is an extraordinary alabaster bowl¹⁰ of uncertain provenance,

¹ IG XII (5) 444 and Suppl. p. 110, F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin, 1904), *FGr Hist*, no. 239.

² In the mutilated paragraph A79, relating to 355-4 B.C., the letters ΣΟΦΟΞ were read by Selden and may refer to a philosopher; we should expect some reference to Plato, but I know no event in Plato's life dated in that year which would call for notice.

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⁸ J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Reli-*

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⁹ N. M. Verdélis, *AE* 1950-1, 98 ff.; cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* LXV 152 f. (*Bull* 1952, 70), A. R[ostagni], *Riv Fil* LXXX 282.

¹⁰ H. Lamer, *Ph W* LI (1931) 653 ff., R. Delbrueck and W. Vollgraff, *JHS* LIV 129 ff. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.* II 411 f.

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now in Geneva, the interior of which is decorated by sixteen nude figures, male and female, grouped around a central dragon, and the exterior by four Erotes and an inscribed band containing four quotations of unmistakably Orphic character; the bowl, almost certainly authentic, is dated by its editors between the third and the sixth century A.D., and so attests the survival of the Orphic faith to a surprisingly late period.

Of the early philosophers inscriptions give us some glimpses. Diogenes of Oenoanda¹¹ prefaces his account of the elements (στοιχεῖα), ἐξ ἀρ[ι]σ[τ]ο[φ]άν[η]ς μ[ὲ]ν ὑφ[ε]στ[η]κότα | [καὶ ὄν]τα ἀφθαρτα, γεννῶν[τα] δὲ | τὰ πράγματα (fr. V i 3 ff.), by a summary of the ἐτέρων δόξαι, which deserves quotation: 'Ηράκλειτος | [μὲν] οὖν ὁ 'Εφέσιος πῦρ εἶ[ναι] σ[τοιχεῖον] εἶπεν, Θα[λῆς] δ' ὁ Μειλήσιος ὕδωρ, | [Διογένης] δὲ ὁ 'Απολλωνιάτης καὶ 'Αναξίμενης | ἀέρα, 'Εμπεδοκλῆς δ' ὁ 'Α[κράγους] κ[αὶ] πῦρ καὶ ἀέρα | καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, 'Ανα[ξαγόρας] δ' ὁ Κλαζομένιος | τὰς ὁμοιομερείας ἐκάσ[του] πράγματος, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ | τῆς στοᾶς ὕλην καὶ θε[όν]. Δημόκριτος δὲ ὁ 'Α[βδηρῆις] εἶπε μὲν ἀτόμους φύσεις καλῶς γε ποιῶν κτλ. (fr. V i 10–ii 12). He goes on to arraign the philosophers here named, οὐ φιλο[νέ]ικω πρὸς αὐτοὺς πά[θ]ει || χρώμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀλ[ήθει]αν σωθῆναι θέλο[ντες] (fr. V iii 3 ff.), beginning with Heraclitus thus:¹² κακῶς, 'Ηρά[κλει]τε, πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖ[ον] λέ[γεις]. οὔτε γὰρ ἀφθαρτόν | ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ φθειρόμ[ενον] | ὀρώμεν αὐτό, οὔτε δύ[να]ται γεννᾶν τὰ πράγμ[ατα] (fr. V iii. 9 ff.). Here unfortunately the fragment ends and we lack the refutations of the remaining δόξαι save for a passage pointing out a serious error in Democritus, τὰς || ἀτόμους μόνας κατ' ἀλ[ήθειαν] εἰπὼν ὑπάρχειν | ἐν τοῖς οὔσι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ | [ν]ομιστεῖ ἅπαντα (fr. VI ii 4 ff.).

The name Θαλῆς occurs in a sixth-, or even a seventh-, century dedication of a marble lion, now in the British Museum, which stood beside the Sacred Way leading to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae,¹³ but as his father's name is Python he cannot be the celebrated philosopher, who was son of Examyas, as we learn from Diogenes Laertius and from a headless Roman herm inscribed Θαλῆς | 'Εξαμύου | Μιλήσιος (IG XIV 1163); another herm, found at Brundisium, bore the legend Θαλῆς Μειλήσιος. | 'Εγγύα, παρὰ δ' ἄτα (*ibid.* 673). A seated statue from Branchidae bears a boustrophedon dedication of the children of Anaximander, son of Mandromachus,¹⁴ but again the patronymic forbids identification with the philosopher, son of Praxiades. But it has been plausibly suggested¹⁵ that an archaic statue inscribed [Ἀ]ναξίμανδρον, unearthed in the Milesian βουλευτήριον, may be dedicated by the philosopher, and the view that a Hellenistic relief in Rome inscribed [Ἀ]ναξίμανδρος¹⁶ portrays the Milesian is confirmed by the discovery of a similar relief, now in Budapest, inscribed Εὔδοξος. Of the other philosophers named by Diogenes in the passage quoted above,¹⁷ Empedocles recurs in fr. XXXV ii and Democritus in fr. XXXIII ii, iii, while Anaxagoras appears in the Parian (A60) and the Roman Chronicle (IG XIV 1297 ii 31).

Pythagoras, whose many-sided genius deeply influenced Greek life and thought, is named only once in the extant portion of Diogenes' inscription,¹⁸ but his capture by Cambyses is recorded, as we have seen, in the Roman Chronicle and we find references to some of his followers, as Sex. Cl. Aurelianus of Smyrna Πυθαγόριος, on whom the Delphians conferred πολιτεία (Fouilles, III (1) 203), and to his doctrines, as in the epitaph¹⁹ of an otherwise unknown Pythagoras of Philadelphia in Lydia, which begins

Οὐ γενόμεν Σάμιος [κ]εῖνος ὁ Πυθαγόρας,
ἀλλ' ἐφύην σοφίῃ τὰτὸ λαχὼν ὄνο[μα],
[τὸν] πόνον{ον} ἐνκρίνας αἰρετόν [ἐν βίῳ],

and is accompanied by the sign Y, symbolising the two paths between which man must make his choice (JEA XI 129), or in the late epigram²⁰ in honour of Laetus, probably a Neoplatonist, which ends

εἰ κατὰ Πυθαγόρην ψυχὴ μεταβαίνει ἐς ἄλλον,
ἐν σοί, Λαίτε, Πλάτων ζῆ πάλι φαινόμενος.

M. Guarducci recently sought²¹ to trace Pythagorean influence in three epigrams of the second

¹¹ Diogenes Oenoandensis, ed. I. William, Leipzig, 1907.

¹² I see no reference to Diogenes of Oenoanda in G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: the Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge, 1954). For a herm at Rome inscribed 'Ηράκλειτος | Βλῶσωνος | 'Εφέσιος see IG XIV 1159; for his date, *ibid.*, 1297 ii. 30; for the legend 'Ηράκλειτος 'Εφεσίων on an Ephesian bronze coin issued under Philip I (A.D. 244–9), *BMC Coins: Ionia*, 98, H. Diels, *Fragmente*⁶, I, p. 144, II, p. 3.

¹³ SIG 3a, DGE 723, IBM 930.

¹⁴ SIG 3b, IBM 931.

¹⁵ SIG 3c; cf. C. Friedrich, *Milet*, I(2) 112, no. 8, W. Darsow, *Jd I LXIX* 101 ff.

¹⁶ IG XIV 1231 (where the name is regarded as a sculptor's signature); cf. Helbig, *Führer*³, II 175 f.,

no. 1408, K. Schefold, *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter*, 156 f.

¹⁷ Diogenes also deals with Xenophanes (fr. XXI), Diagoras of Melos, who [ἐν] τῇ παρὰ || [Εὐδήμῳ] τῆς δόξης | [ἀποδείξει] ἀντι[κρυσ] εἶπε μὴ εἶν[αι] θε[ο]ύς (fr. XII i 9 ff.), and Protagoras of Abdera, who τῇ μὲν δυνάμει τὴν αὐτὴν ἤενκε Διαγόρα || δόξαν, ταῖς λέξεσιν δὲ | ἐτέρας ἐχρήσατο, ὥς | τὸ λείαν ἱταμόν αὐτῆς | ἐκφευζόμενος. ἔφη | σε γὰρ μὴ εἰδέναι, εἰ θε[ο]οὶ εἰσιν (fr. XII ii 3 ff.).

¹⁸ Fr. XXXIV Πυθα[γόρας] οὐδ' | μόνος μαίν[εται] . . .

¹⁹ J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien* (Wien. Denkschr. LIII 2) 34, no. 55; cf. A. Brinkmann, *Rh Mus* LXVI 616 ff.

²⁰ IG II² 3816; cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 257 f., who compares *Anth. Pal.* VII 75.

²¹ *Rend Pont Ac* XXIII–IV 209 ff.

century A.D. found at Ostia, but her interpretation is called in question by A. Vogliano.²² That Samos continued to pride itself upon being the birthplace of so illustrious a man is shown by a coin of Trajan's reign representing a statue of the philosopher and bearing the legend *Πυθαγόρης Σαμίων*.²³

Socrates, the first of Athenian philosophers, opened a new chapter in the history of Greek thought. His arresting personality, his patent sincerity, and the novelty of his method and field of investigation, combined with his good fortune in having his teaching, or what purported to be his teaching, expressed by so consummate a literary artist and so devoted a disciple as Plato, secured him a lasting place among the immortals. He appears, as we have seen, in the Parian and the Roman Chronicle and on the Köln mosaic. On a mosaic²⁴ at Syrian Apamea he is shown presiding over a conclave of six unnamed philosophers, and Hanfmann, who dates it between A.D. 350 and 400, regards it as a proof of the popularity of Socrates among the educated Syrian pagans of that time. His memory was also kept alive by portrait-herms bearing his name;²⁵ one double herm²⁶ portrays Socrates and Seneca, their names inscribed in Greek and in Latin letters respectively. In Diogenes of Oenoanda he appears in a mutilated fragment, which runs thus: *τινὲς τῶν φιλο[σόφων] | καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ Σω[κράτην], τὸ δ[ὲ] φυσιο[λογεῖν] καὶ τὰ [μετέω]||ρα πολυπραγμ[ονεῖν] | περιττόν φα[σιν εἶναι]* (fr. III). Since the main philosophical schools traced their ancestry to Socrates, *Σωκρατικός* rarely appears as an epithet of a philosopher, because it was not sufficiently distinctive; we have, however, an Attic epigram of the first or second century A.D., which runs

*Υἱὸν Ἐπιστή[μης Φα]ίδροιο τε, | Τρωάδος ἄνθος, |
Σωκρατικῆς σοφίης | ἄστρον ὁρᾷς Σενέκαν.²⁷*

Plato is more frequently mentioned, and it is probably a mere chance that his name does not occur in the extant portions of the Parian and Roman Chronicles, the inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda and the Köln mosaic; his statue stood in the 'exedra of poets and sages' at Memphis.²⁸ The epitaph of Collega Macedo at Pisidian Antioch, dating from the fourth century A.D., speaks of him as *φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἔτι αἰρούμενον*?²⁹ and to this evidence for the widespread and lasting influence of Plato we may add that of the named herms, busts and statuette found in or near Rome,³⁰ the third-century Eleusinian memorial of the *ιερόφαντις* Eunice, which refers to her great-uncle as *σοφίης ἡγήτορι—τήν τε (or τὴν <δ>ἐ) Πλά[τωνος] | δρέφατο—: Καλλαισχρῶ περιωνύμω*,³¹ and the fourth-century inscription recording the visit of the Athenian sophist Nicagoras, *ὁ δαδοῦχος τῶν ἀγιοπάτων Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων*, to the Egyptian Syringes, *πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις μετὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτων>α ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, which ends with the prayer *ἵλεως ἡμῖν Πλάτων καὶ ἐνταῦθα*³² suggesting a Plato-cult amounting almost, if not quite, to apotheosis. The metrical epitaph³³ of Aricides of Rhodes refers to the Muses, *τὸν ἀοίδιμον αἶ σε τιθηνοῖς | χερσὶ Πλατωνείους θρέψαν ὑπ' ἀτραπιτοῦς*, and the title *φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός* is given to C. Julius Sabinus at Athens,³⁴ to L. Mestrius Autobulus, a descendant of Plutarch, at Chaeronea,³⁵ to Theon at Smyrna,³⁶ to Secundinus of Tralles at Ephesus,³⁷ to Flavius Maecius Se[cundus?] Dionysodorus at Antinoe,³⁸ and, in a Latin honorary inscription, to Apuleius at his native Madaura in Numidia.³⁹ Delphi exercised, not unnaturally, a powerful fascination for these devotees of Plato, and some of them received from the Delphians citizenship and other privileges; such were Isidore of Thmouis in the Egyptian Delta,⁴⁰ the famous L. Calvenus Taurus of Berytus, friend of Plutarch and teacher of Aulus Gellius and Atticus Herodes, honoured at Delphi about A.D. 163,⁴¹ and Bacchius of Paphos, the first teacher of Marcus Aurelius, Zosimus (also named Sotimus) and Claudius Nicostratus of Athens, and

²² *Prolegomena*, I 120 f., 155 f.; cf. A. Barigazzi, *Κρητ. Χρον.* VII 97 ff.

²³ H. Diels, *Fragmente* I, p. xii = *BMCCoins: Ionia*, 373 (cf. 381, 390, 392).

²⁴ G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Harv St LX* 205 ff., thinks that Socrates is represented as teaching a class of six disciples, but C. Picard, *RA XLI* (1953) 100 ff., draws attention to the difficulty of this interpretation.

²⁵ *IG XIV* 1214–17, A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 19 ff.

²⁶ K. Schefold, *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter*, 178 f., C. Blümel, *Röm. Bildnisse*, R106, pl. 71.

²⁷ *IG II²* 3795.

²⁸ U. Wilcken, *JdI XXXII* 160 ff., C. Picard, *CRAI* 1951, 71 ff., esp. 75 f.

²⁹ *CR XXXIII* 2. See below, p. 139.

³⁰ *IG XIV* 1196–1200; cf. A. Hekler, *op. cit.* 22 f.

³¹ *IG II²* 3709. 11 f. (with *stemma*), J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 251 (with *stemma* facing p. 248).

³² *OGI* 721. Cf. J. Baillet, *Inscr. gr. et lat. des tombeaux*

des rois, 1265, *CRAI* 1922, 282 ff. (who dates the inscription in A.D. 326), W. Stegemann, *RE XVII* 218, no. 9, O. Schissel, *Klio*, XXI 361 ff.

³³ F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *BCH XXXVI* 230 ff.

³⁴ *IG II²* 3803 (post med. s. II p.).

³⁵ *IG VII* 3423 = *SIG* 844A. For another third-century philosopher in the same family, *ἔκτον ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου*, see *IG VII* 3425, where the restoration *ἐντ[ελῆ]* is uncertain (cf. *SIG* 844B).

³⁶ *IGR IV* 1449; cf. Schefold, *op. cit.* (n. 26) 181(3).

³⁷ *Ephesos*, IV(3) 288, no. 40.

³⁸ *IBM* 1076 = *Sammelbuch*, 6012.

³⁹ *Ann. Ép.* 1919, no. 36; so Apuleius describes himself as *philosophum Platonicum Madauremsem (Liber περὶ ἐρμηνείας, IV)*.

⁴⁰ *Fouilles*, III (2) 116, where Isidore is regarded as probably one of the earliest masters of Neoplatonism.

⁴¹ His name appears as *Καλβήνω* in the Delphian document (*SIG* 868A), as Calvisius in Aulus Gellius, *XVIII* 10. 3; cf. *PIR²* II p. 79, no. 339.

M. Sextius Cornelianus of Mallus, enfranchised a little earlier,⁴² while Gaius, son of Xenon and adoptive father of Bacchius, who previously received similar honours,⁴³ though described simply as φιλόσοφος, was almost certainly also a Platonist. The words Πλατωνικός φιλόσοφος are also cut in a *tabula ansata* on a rock at Termessus in Pisidia,⁴⁴ but no name accompanies them and their purpose is uncertain. The excavation of the site of the Platonic Academy by P. Z. Aristophron brought to light a tantalising fragment⁴⁵ bearing the familiar names Χαρμ[ίδης], | 'Αρίστ[ον], | 'Αξι[οχος], | Κρίτον, in fifth-century script. On a herm, probably of Socrates or Plato, is engraved the concluding prayer from the *Phaedrus*, 279B, C, ὦ φίλε Πάν . . . ἄλλος ἢ ὁ σὺ φρων,⁴⁶ and on the shaft of a herm of Plato are two brief quotations⁴⁷ from his works, αἰτία ἐλομένῳ · θεὸς | ἀναίτιος (*Republic*, 617E) and ψυχὴ δὲ πᾶσα | ἀθάνατος (*Phaedrus*, 245C). In a well-known passage (III 4) Diogenes Laertius asserts that Plato was a nickname given to one whose true name was Aristocles, but J. A. Notopoulos has collected forty-six epigraphical examples of Πλάτων,⁴⁸ which show that this was a normal personal name, especially common in Attica.

The encyclopaedic range of Aristotle's studies and teaching may explain, at least in part, why the author of the Parian Chronicle terms him ὁ σοφιστής (B11) rather than ὁ φιλόσοφος. The title φιλόσοφος was probably omitted from the decree⁴⁹ of the Delphic Amphictyony which commended Aristotle and Callisthenes for their services in compiling a list of Πυθιονίκαί and ordered its publication. Whether he figured in the Köln mosaic we cannot say, nor does he seem to have had a place in the exedra of poets and sages at Memphis, but his memory was kept alive at Rome by named portrait-herms,⁵⁰ while a headless herm at Athens, not earlier than the time of Hadrian, is inscribed

[Υἱὸν Νικομ[ά]|χου, σοφίη[ς] | ἐπίστορα | πάσης,
στῇ||σεν 'Αλέξαν[δρος] θεῖον | 'Αριστοτέλ[ην].⁵¹

Diogenes of Oenoanda states that Aristotle and οἱ τὸν αὐτὸν 'Αριστο[τ]έλει ἐμβαίοντες περίπατον οὐδὲν | ἐπιστητὸν φασιν εἶναι · | ρεῖν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ πράγμα|τα καὶ δι' ὀξύτητα | τῆς ρεύσεως τὴν ἡμε|τέραν ἐκφεύγειν ἀντί|λημψιν (fr. IV i 13–ii 8), and proceeds to refute this view. Lycon of Alexandria Troas, who followed Theophrastus and Strato in the headship of the Peripatetic School at Athens, which he held from c. 270 until his death c. 226 B.C., received from the Delphic Amphictyons a series of honours and privileges on the ground of his εὐνοία καὶ φιλοτιμία towards Apollo, his sanctuary and the Amphictyonic κοινόν, but his philosophy is not mentioned.⁵² His name recurs at Athens as a donor of 200 dr. to a fund εἰς τὴν σω[τηρίαν] τῆς πό[λεως] καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς [χώρας]⁵³ in the archonship of Diomedon,⁵⁴ and there the word φιλόσο(φος) is added in place of a demotic or ethnic. Another member of the School, Serenus, was among the many educated Greeks who visited the Egyptian Syringes,⁵⁵ while of yet another, the otherwise unknown⁵⁶ Epicrates of Heraclea, we have a pleasing picture in a Samian decree⁵⁷ of c. 200 B.C., which grants him full citizenship because πλείονα χρόνον | [παρεπιδε]δήμηκεν ἡμῶν ἐν τεῖ πόλει | [καὶ διὰ τῆς] αὐτοῦ παιδείας πολλὰ | [τοῦ]ς νέους εὐεργέτηκεν, χαρίζεσθ[αι] βο[υ]λόμενος καὶ ἰδῆαι τοῖς ἀπαντῶ[σι] τῶν συσχολαζόντων ἑαυτῷ καὶ | [κοιν]ῇ τῷ δήμῳ, μεταδιδούς ἀφθόνως || [τῆς] καθ' αὐτὸν παιδείας τοῖς βουλομέ[νοις] μετέχειν τῷ πολιτῶν, τοῖς τε[μῇ] δυναμένοις τῷ[ν] δ[η]μοτῶν τελεῖν | [τὸν] ἐκκείμενον ὑφ' αὐτοῦ μισθόν

⁴² SIG 868B; for the date see G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, 94, for Nicostratus, K. Praechter, *Hermes*, LVII 481 ff.

⁴³ SIG 868C; for the date see Daux, *loc. cit.* For Gaius, who may have known Tacitus, see K. Praechter, *RE Suppl.* III 535 ff., W. Theiler, *Phyllobolia für P. von der Mühl*, 70 ff., A. Momigliano, *JRS* XXXVI 226.

⁴⁴ TAM III 882 (IGR III 459 combines this with TAM III 744). IG II² 12767a, an Attic epigram probably of the second century A.D., reads in l. 7 –σμα Πλάτωνος, which Kirchner, following Peek, restores as κτίσμα Πλάτωνος. I am not sure that of the 700 words ending in –σμα collected by Kretschmer-Locker (*Rückl. Wörterb.* 56 ff.) κτίσμα is the only one which will suit the context.

⁴⁵ AA 1934, 137 ff., *JHS* LV 180.

⁴⁶ IG XIV 1215.

⁴⁷ IG XIV 1196 (the MS. text reads ἐλομένον and omits δέ).

⁴⁸ *Cl Phil* XXXIV 144; cf. *REG* LXIII 179.

⁴⁹ SIG 275; cf. *FGH Hist.* no. 124T23, with Jacoby's comment. These honours were subsequently cancelled for political reasons (Aelian, *V.H.* XIV 1).

⁵⁰ IG XIV 1137, 1138 and perhaps 1139.

⁵¹ IG II² 4261. IG II² 4262, an Athenian epigram, which used to be read σοφίης ἔδον ἡγήτηρα | <στῇσεν 'Αλέξανδρο< > κλεινὸν ἅπασι θεῶν (or θεό >ν) and referred

to Aristotle, is now correctly read with 'Αλέξανδρον and Θεόν. Of this philosopher and his grateful disciple Theon we know nothing further. Is he perhaps to be identified with the καθηγητὴν 'Αλέξανδρον | Μάρανος Φαληρέα (IG II² 3793) and/or with the teacher honoured by the herm inscribed θεῖον 'Αλέξανδρον | τὸν ὁμόνυμον ἄλσει || μέσσωι ὁ | γνώριμός | μ' ἔστησε τὸν | διδάσκαλον (IG II² 3819), for whom see Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XVIII 99 f.?

⁵² Fouilles, III (3) 167 (dated by Daux and Salač 249–39 B.C.) = SIG 461 (dated by Pomtow 254–44 B.C.). Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 141 f. (who dates it 242–1 B.C.), R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolians à Delphes*, 260, *Diog. Laert.* V 68.

⁵³ IG II² 791d 29 = SIG 491.70. Cf. Kirchner, *Imag. Inscr. Att.* 2 90.

⁵⁴ The date of Diomedon's archonship has been much disputed. Kirchner and Kolbe assigned it to 232–1 B.C., Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, 31, 55) to 247–6 and later (*Athenian Archon List*, 21) to 246–5, Pritchett and Meritt (*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, xxii) to 247–6.

⁵⁵ CIG 4814c (Add. p. 1213); others include the philosophers Lampon and Philastrius (CIG 4785, 4817).

⁵⁶ Unless he is the Epicrates who was an executor of the scholar Strato (*Diog. Laert.* V 62).

⁵⁷ SEG I 368.

προϊκα | [σχο]λάζων. Part of the base of a statue of Critolaus has recently been unearthed at Olympia (*BCH* LXXIX 247).

The Zeno named in the Roman Chronicle together with Socrates, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras and Parmenides is presumably Zeno of Elea. His more famous namesake, Zeno of Citium, was the founder of the Stoic School, and his appearance is familiar to us thanks to a bronze bust from Herculaneum and at least two named portrait-herms from Rome.⁵⁸ Two of his successors, entitled *ὁ διάδοχος τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος λόγων*, occur in inscriptions of the second century A.D., that in honour of the Athenian Aurelius Heraclides and the epitaph of Julius Zosimianus.⁵⁹ Several Stoics are specifically described as such in inscriptions—Sarapion (below, p. 139), Theoxenus, son of Achilles, of Patrae, who died at Athens in the second or third century A.D.,⁶⁰ T. Avianius Bassus Polyaenus of Hadriani in Bithynia,⁶¹ Lucius Peticius Propas of Corinth, commemorated at Olympia by his mother,⁶² an Athenian, whose name is lost, buried at Carystus,⁶³ and Ti. Claudius Alexander and C. Tutilius Hostilianus of Cortona.⁶⁴ Several Stoic doctrines are stated and criticised from the Epicurean standpoint by Diogenes of Oenoanda (fr. VII, XXXVI; cf. V ii).

That fervent evangelist of the Epicurean faith, having reached life's eventide ([ἐπὶ δυ]σμαῖς ἤδη | [τοῦ β]ίου καθεστη|[κότ]ε) δια τὸ γῆρας) and feeling the imminence of death, determined βο|ηθεῖν ἤδη τοῖς εὐ|συνκρίτοις. Seeing that οἱ πλεῖστ[ο]ι || καθάπερ ἐν λοιμῶ | τῇ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων | ψευδοδοξία νοσοῦ|σι κοινῶς, and that the infection was rapidly spreading, and being eager [καὶ] τοῖς μεθ' ἡ|μᾶς ἐσομένοις βοη|θῆσαι—κάκεινοι γάρ | εἰσιν ἡμέτεροι καὶ εἰ | [μὴ] γεγόνασιν πω, decided τῇ στοᾷ ταύ|τῃ καταχρησάμενος | [ἐ]ν κοινῶ τὰ τῆς σωτη|ρίας προθε|ῖναι φάρμα|κα (fr. II iii–vi). Epicurean views are defended in his letter to Antipater περὶ ἀπειρίας κόσμων (fr. XVIII iii; cf. XIX) and in his *disputatio ethica* (fr. XXXIII iii), and he collects a number of Epicurus's maxims (fr. XLII–LXI), some of which can be restored by the aid of the forty κύρια δόξαι⁶⁵ recorded by Diogenes Laertius (X 139–54) while others are new. In Rome a double herm⁶⁶ survives portraying Epicurus and Metrodorus, his ardent disciple,⁶⁷ and other members of the School include C. Julius Amynias, τὸν καλούμενον Ἰσοκράτη, of Samos,⁶⁸ Eucratis of Rhodes, who died at Brundisium,⁶⁹ Philocrates of Sidon, of whom we read in his epitaph, inscribed at Boeotian Orchomenus in the second century B.C.

ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ πράτας μεμελημένος ἡς Ἐπικούρου
δόγμασιν εὐξύνετοίς, [ὦ]ς [θ]έμις, ἀλικίας,⁷⁰

the προφήτης Philidas of Didyma,^{70a} and a μολπός at Aegiale on Amorgos.⁷¹ Among the various bodies which expressed their admiration for the Rhodiapolite doctor-philosopher Heraclitus (see below, p. 138) are Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ [ἡ] | ἱερωτάτη Ἀρεοπαγείτων βουλή καὶ οἱ | Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ θυμेलικὴ σύνοδος.⁷² Of special interest is a bilingual dossier⁷³ of A.D. 121 relating to the headship of the Epicurean School at Athens; this consists of (1) the date, written in Latin below five Greek letters, the sole survivors of a document or formula now lost (ll. 1, 2); (2) a letter *a Plotina Augusta*, Trajan's widow, addressed to the Emperor Hadrian (ll. 3–11); (3) a Latin letter from Hadrian to Popilius Theotimus, head of the School (ll. 12–15), and (4) a Greek letter from Plotina sent πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις. At Theotimus's request the Dowager Empress asked Hadrian to relax for him and all his successors the restriction whereby [n]on licet nisi ex civibus Romanis adsumi diad[o]chum (l. 5), so making it possible to appoint, by a will drawn up in Greek, the best person available, whether Roman or peregrei|nae condicionis (ll. 7 f.). The Emperor gave his consent in a letter to Theotimus, and he also, no doubt, communicated his decision to Plotina, who forthwith wrote in Greek to the whole body of Epicureans at Athens, emphasising the benefit so secured, the gratitude due τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐεργέτῃ καὶ πάσης π[α]ιδείας κοσμητῇ ὄντι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο σε[βα]σμῷ | -τάτῳ αὐτοκράτορι (ll. 21 f.), and the added responsibility resting on the holder of the καθηγεμονία τοῦ σωτήρος (l. 35; σωτήρ is apparently used of Epicurus) to select a successor on the basis not of personal favouritism, but of moral ὑπεροχή (ll. 27, 37). This dossier throws an interesting

⁵⁸ *IG* XIV 710, 1156–8 (1158 is perhaps spurious); cf. Schefold, *op. cit.* 108, 209.

⁵⁹ *IG* II² 3801 (cf. 3989), 11551.

⁶⁰ *IG* II² 10046a.

⁶¹ *BCH* XXXIII 409 f., no. 409.

⁶² *IvOl* 453.

⁶³ *IG* XII (9) 40; possibly this belongs to Attica.

⁶⁴ *CIL* VI 9784, 9785 (= Dessau, *ILS* 7779). Neither *CIL* VI (5) 2135* nor *IG* XIV 281* is authentic. For the 'Stoikerinschrift', *IG* II² 1938, see Kirchner's comments.

⁶⁵ Cf. C. Bailey, *Epicurus*, 94 ff., 344 ff.

⁶⁶ *IG* XIV 1150; cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 100.

⁶⁷ *Diog. Laert.* X 18, 22 f.

⁶⁸ *IGR* IV 997.

⁶⁹ *IG* XIV 674 = *CIL* IX 48 = *SIG* 1227 = *IGR* I 466.

⁷⁰ *IG* VII 3226.

^{70a} Le Bas-Wadd. 239.

⁷¹ *IG* XII (7) 418 (cf. Suppl. p. 145) = *IGR* IV 998.

⁷² *TAM* II 910 (= *IGR* III 733) 9 ff.

⁷³ *IG* II² 1099 = *SIG* 834 (ll. 16–38 only) = Dessau, *ILS* 7784 (ll. 1–17 only). Cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 203 ff., A. Steinwenter, *Zts. Savignyst.* LI 404 ff., Kirchner, *Imag. Inscr. Att.* 130. For another Imperial letter of c. 125 relating to the Epicurean School (*IG* II² 1097 + *SEG* III 226) see J. H. Oliver, *TAPA* LXIX 494 ff.

light on Plotina and Hadrian, as well as on the organisation of the School⁷⁴ and on the control exercised by the Imperial government.

Of other philosophical schools I have little to note. Diogenes the Cynic occupies, as we have seen (above, p. 132), the centre of the Köln mosaic, a portrait-herm in Rome bears his name,⁷⁵ and two *dicta* of Διογένης ὁ κυνικός φιλόσοφος are written as a school exercise on an Egyptian ostrakon of the fourth or fifth century A.D.⁷⁶ A visit to the Theban Syringes and the statue of Memnon is recorded in a couplet by Οὐράνιος κυνικός,⁷⁷ and a stone inscribed κυνικῶν, found on the north slope of the Acropolis,⁷⁸ may belong to a meeting-place of the Cynics in the first or second century A.D. A metrical epitaph from Ali-aga, near Cyme, commemorates the Pyrrhonian (Πυρρωνιαστᾶς) philosopher and poet Menecles, τὸν ἀτάραχον ἐν βροτοῖς θεύσας ὁδόν,⁷⁹ while another, from Suessa Aurunca, describes one who migrated from Macedonia to Italy as

τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς εἰδήμονα φῶτα | Φίλιππον,
πρέσβυν Εἰλαο|νίης ἐμπέραμον σοφίης.⁸⁰

One sage, Ortyx of Parium, ὃς πάντα | λόγοις ὑπο|τάσσει, claims that he is *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*; his curious epitaph begins εἰμὶ μὲν ἐκ | Παρίου Ὀρτυ|ξί|σοφὸς αὐτο|διδάκτος.⁸¹

An interesting glimpse of the part played by philosophy in the education of the Athenian youth is afforded by a group of decrees passed by the Council and Demos in honour of the preceding year's class of epheboi, together with the κοσμητῆς and the διδάσκαλοι (or παιδευταί) responsible for their training. Thus we read⁸² that the epheboi of 123–2 B.C. were honoured because they duly performed their religious and other duties and devoted themselves to τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προστεταγμένα μαθήματα, προσεκαρτέ|ρησαν δὲ καὶ Ζηνοδότῳ σχολ|άζ|οντε[s ἐν τ]ε τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ || ἐν Λυκείῳ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [φιλο]σόφοις ἅπασιν[ν] τοῖς τε ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημ|ίαι δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐ|νιαυτοῦ (ll. 19 f.), and that their κοσμητῆς was praised because προ|ενοήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς πα|ιδείας αὐτῷ[ν] ἐν ἅπασιν | καὶ σωφροσύνης, τοῖς [φιλο]σόφοις αὐτοῖς [π]αρακαθίζων [καὶ σ]χολάζων ἅπασιν τοῖς[- - δι' ὅλου τοῦ] ἐνιαυτοῦ · | ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τ[ῆς ἐν τοῖς] γράμμασιν [αὐ]τῶν ὡ[φελίας ἐφρόν]τισε σχολάζων Ζηνοδ[ότῳ - - - (ll. 62 ff.). This suggests a comprehensive programme of philosophical lectures, and the Zenodotus here named may well be the pupil of the famous Stoic Diogenes of Babylon, who wrote a metrical epitaph of Zeno.⁸³ A similar decree⁸⁴ of 101 B.C. is less detailed, merely stating that the epheboi ἐσχόλασαν δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐ|νιαυτοῦ || τοῖς φιλοσόφοις μετὰ πάσης εὐταξίας, and this phrase recurs in decrees⁸⁵ of c. 95 B.C. and some years later, while about 80 B.C. it is further shortened⁸⁶ to [παρ]εδρεύοντες ταῖς τ[ῶν φιλο]σόφων σχολαῖς. Some extension of the curriculum is later indicated by the phrases ταῖς τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ γραμματικῶν [σχολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀεὶ γει|νομέναις ἀκροάσειν παρατυγχάνοντες,⁸⁷ and παρεδρεύοντες τ[αῖς τῶν [φιλο]σόφων καὶ ῥ[ητόρ]ων καὶ γραμματικῶν σχολαῖς],⁸⁸ and π[αρ]εδρεύοντες ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ γραμματ[ικῶν] σχολαῖς καὶ ἐν τ[αῖς ἀεὶ γινομέναις ἀκροάσειν].⁸⁹ This evidence, though less detailed than we could wish, proves that for at least a century attendance at courses of philosophical lectures was an important element in the training prescribed by the δῆμος, βουλόμενος το[ῦ]ς ἐκ τῶν πα[ί]δων μεταβαίνοντας εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι τῆς πατρίδος διαδ[ό]χους.⁹⁰ The fascination exercised by philosophy is illustrated by the case of the Pergamene who παραγενόμενος θεωρὸς εἰς τὰ [Παναθήναια | παρεδήμησεν ἐπὶ? πλ]είῳ, τῆς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν παιδείας [ἐχόμενος | ὡς τοῦ πρὸ πάντων ἀρ]ίστου ἐπιτηδεύματος,⁹¹ and after returning home influenced King Attalus I in favour of the Athenians; the words τῶν Εὐάνδρου σχολαστῶν in l. 13 suggest that he came under the spell of Evander, who succeeded Lacydes as head of the Academic School.⁹²

⁷⁴ In the Latin letters the School is termed *secta Epicuri* (ll. 4, 9) or *Epicurea* (l. 13), in the Greek, σχολή (l. 36); the phrase *chorus Epicureus* appears in *CIL* X 2971 = Dessau, *ILS* 7781.

⁷⁵ *IG* XIV 1148; cf. Schefold, *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter*, 155. ⁷⁶ *Sammelbuch*, 5730.

⁷⁷ *CIG* 4807h = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1017.

⁷⁸ *IG* II² 5184.

⁷⁹ *IGR* IV 1740; cf. *BCH* XII 368 f., no. 17.

⁸⁰ *IG* XIV 888 = *IGR* I 407.

⁸¹ *IGR* IV 176; cf. *AM* IX 61 f., no. 4.

⁸² *IG* II² 1006. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII 23 ff., no. 11 (adding a new fragment to ll. 89–116), M. T. Mitsos, *AE* 1950–1, 45, no. 25 (adding *IG* II² 2485), F. Jacoby, *JHS* LXIV 66.

⁸³ Diog. Laert. VII 30, *Anth. Pal.* VII 117.

⁸⁴ *IG* II² 1028 (= *SIG* 717) 34 f.

⁸⁵ *IG* II² 1029. 21 (dated in 94 B.C. by *IG*, in 95 by Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 290, and in 96 by Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII 6, 11), 1030. 31.

⁸⁶ *IG* II² 1039. 47, dated in 80 B.C. by Dinsmoor,

op. cit. 290 f., and Notopoulos, *op. cit.* 24 f. Cf. R. Laqueur, *Epigr. Unters.* 11, Kirchner, *Imag. Inscr. Att.*² 112.

⁸⁷ *IG* II² 1042c 7 f. (cf. *ab* 19 f.), dated in 40 B.C.

⁸⁸ *IG* II² 1043. 42 f. (cf. 19 f.), dated in 38 (Kirchner) or 37 (Dinsmoor); cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV 219, Kirchner, *Imag. Inscr. Att.*² 116.

⁸⁹ *IG* II² 1040, 26 ff., dated in 21 B.C. by Notopoulos, *op. cit.* 12, in 18 B.C. by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* 286.

⁹⁰ *IG* II² 1006. 53 f. In l. 84 the kosmetes is praised because συνεσχό|λασεν τοῖς μαθήμ[α]σιν αὐτῶν (cf. 1028. 85).

⁹¹ *IG* II² 886. 8 ff., dated in 200–197 by Kirchner, in 192 by Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, 183 ff., and by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, xxvi, 111. I distrust ἐπὶ πλ|είῳ in l. 9, and should prefer to restore ἐτη πλ|είῳ or ἐπεδήμησεν χρόνον πλ|είῳ (cf. *SEG* I 368. 5, 13).

⁹² For the date see Kirchner's comment on *IG* II² 849, Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 48 f., 254. In *IG* II² 12764 we have the metrical epitaph of Telecles of Phocaea, Evander's colleague, who died in 167–6 B.C.

In advanced education also philosophers took an important part, though their popularity tended to wane as that of sophists and rhetors increased.⁹³ In the remarkable document discovered at Pergamum in 1934 and edited with a masterly commentary by R. Herzog,⁹⁴ comprising an edict issued by Vespasian on December 27, A.D. 74, granting immunity from billeting and taxation, together with other privileges, to *ιατροί, παιδευταί* and *ιατραλείπται*, followed by a rescript of Domitian denouncing [*avaritiam medicorum atque*] *praeceptorum* in instructing slaves [*aug]endae mercedis gratia*, philosophers are not expressly named, while the Edict of Diocletian, which in A.D. 301 prescribed the maximum payments chargeable for all commodities sold and all services rendered, the chapter *de mercedibus operariorum*,⁹⁵ while including the item *ρήτορι ἤτοι σοφιστῇ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου μαθητοῦ μηνιαία* (δηνάρια) σν', does not specifically mention philosophers. They did, however, play a leading role in some at least of the *Μουσεία*—Academies, or Institutes for Advanced Study—which existed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁹⁶ The most famous of these was that at Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy I Soter and favoured by Hadrian; its members, divided into sections or classes, one of which consisted of philosophers, enjoyed the privileges of *ἀτέλεια* and *σίτησις*. Thus an inscription of Antioch, probably of the third century A.D., honours Dionysodorus, τῶν [ἐν τῷ] | Μουσείῳ σιτουμέν[ων ἀτελῶν] | Πλατωνικὸν φιλό[σοφον],⁹⁷ and a certain Fronto, τῶν ἐν τῷ | Μουσείῳ [sic] σειτουμένων φιλοσόφων | τῶν Ἀ[λ]εξαν[δ]ρια[νῶν], appears in an inscription of Saryschlar in Lydia.⁹⁸ Elsewhere also the phrases τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ || [σειτου]μένων ἀτελῶν φιλοσόφων,⁹⁹ τοῦ ἀπὸ Μουσείου [φιλοσόφ]ου,¹⁰⁰ and [φι]λοσόφου ἀπὸ Μουσείου¹⁰¹ probably refer to the Alexandrian Academy. But J. H. Oliver has shown¹⁰² that the titles τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μουσίου[ν], borne by Cassianus, also called Synesius, on a third-century base at Athens (*IG* II² 3712), and τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσείου φιλόσοφον, given to T. Pompeius Dionysius (*IG* II² 3810), refer to the Athenian *Μουσείον*, the University of Athens organised under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; 'the philosophers ἀπὸ (τοῦ) Μουσείου are', he claims, 'the incumbents of the philosophical chairs at Athens'. So also J. Keil has proved¹⁰³ that an honorary inscription at Ephesus set up about the middle of the second century A.D. by οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσείον παιδευταί and a reference in a grave-inscription to οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἱατροί point to the existence in that city of a *Μουσείον* in which *παιδευταί* and doctors formed two sections; whether philosophers were included in the former class or constituted a separate section we do not know.

The close association of philosophy and medicine is illustrated by numerous examples, literary and epigraphical.¹⁰⁴ Empedocles was noted both as doctor and as philosopher; Socrates' mother Phaenarete was a midwife, a fact which left clear traces in his teaching and his terminology, and Aristotle's father Nicomachus was a Stagirite doctor, who traced his ancestry back to the Messenian healing god Nicomachus, son of Machaon and grandson of Asclepius. Galen of Pergamum underwent a philosophical training before devoting himself to medical study and practice, and maintained throughout his life a keen interest in philosophy; one of his minor works is entitled *Ὅτι ὁ ἄριστος ἱατρός καὶ φιλόσοφος*, and another¹⁰⁵ summarises his many contributions to philosophical literature. In Rome lived Ortesinus, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος, ἱατρός δὲ τὴν τέχνην, ἐν λόγοις φιλοσόφους καὶ ἥθει θαυμαστός (*IG* XIV 1900), and a portrait-herm commemorated Asclepiades (*ibid.* 1142), the philosopher-doctor of Prusa in Bithynia, who lived and practised in Rome. The Council, People and Gerusia of Rhodiapolis in Lycia conferred outstanding honours on Heraclitus, Rhodiapolite and Rhodian and priest of Asclepius and Hygiea, πρῶτον ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἱατρὸν καὶ συγγραφέα καὶ ποιητὴν ἔργων ἱατρικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας, || ὃν ἀνέγραψαν ἱατρικῶν ποιημάτων | Ὅμηρον εἶναι,¹⁰⁶ and an interesting

⁹³ J. W. H. Walden, *Universities of Ancient Greece*, 68 ff., A. D. Nock, *Sallustius*, xvii ff., H. von Arnim, *Dio*, 4 ff. A philosopher might, however, be at the same time a sophist and/or rhetor, as was Lachares, whose 'metrical' epitaph survives in *IG* II² 11952, and T. Flavius Glaucus, described as ποιητῆς καὶ ῥήτορος καὶ φιλόσοφος (*IG* II² 3704. 12; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 246 ff.). 'Suidas' calls Hippias of Elis σοφιστῆς καὶ φιλόσοφος, and says that Zoilus of Amphipolis ῥήτορ ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, ἔγραψε μέντοι τινὰ καὶ γραμματικά.

⁹⁴ *SB* Berlin, 1935, 967 ff.; cf. *RA* VIII (1936) 289 ff., *Gnomon*, XIV 507 ff.

⁹⁵ E. Graser ap. T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, V 344 ff., ch. VII 71; cf. J. Bingen, *BCH* LXXVII 655.

⁹⁶ E. Müller-Graupa, *RE* XVI 797 ff., F. Poland, *Geschichte d. griech. Vereinswesen*, 121, 206, *SIG* 900, n. 17, *OGI* 714, n. 4, E. Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, 69 ff.

⁹⁷ *IBM* 1076 = *Sammelbuch*, 6012. A Roman officer who in A.D. 122-3 carved his name on the statue of Memnon is called τῶν [ἐν Μουσείῳ] | σειτουμένων ἀτελ[ῶν] (*IG* I 1200 = *Sammelbuch*, 8340), but we are not told to which section he belonged.

⁹⁸ Keil-von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, 210 = *IGR* IV 1373.

⁹⁹ *IG* XIV 1103 = *OGI* 714 = *IGR* I 154 (Rome). M. Aur. Asclepiades of Alexandria, the philosopher in question, was a distinguished pancratiast and senior νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (cf. *IG* XIV 1102). The phrase recurs in *Pap. Ryl.* 143. 2 ff. of A.D. 38.

¹⁰⁰ *SIG* 900, 53 f. (Panamara, A.D. 305-13).

¹⁰¹ *BCH* IV 405 (Halicarnassus). Cf. *IvMagn* 189. 3 (ἀπὸ Μουσείου), *CIG* 4748. 5 (Ὁμηρικοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐκ Μουσείου).

¹⁰² *Hesperia*, III 191 ff. Pompeius Dionysius may well be the same as the Πτομ. Διονύσιος Παα(νιεύς) named in l. 21 of a prytany-list (*IG* II² 1826) dated 'c.a. 210 p.' by Kirchner and assigned to A.D. 222-3 by J. A. Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII 37 ff., 53). For the University of Athens at this period see J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, 130 ff.

¹⁰³ *ÖJh* VIII 135 f.; cf. *Ephesos*, II, no. 65, III, no. 68, IV (1), no. 1, *ÖJh* XL 11.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. A. D. Nock, *Sallustius*, xxii f.

¹⁰⁵ *Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων*, xii-xvi.

¹⁰⁶ *TAM* II 910 (= *IGR* III 733) 12 ff.

inscription of Pisidian Antioch describes C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo, a Christian *βουλευτής* (*curialis*) of the fourth century, who died at the early age of thirty, as *ρήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις κλ[ῆρον ἔχοντα?]*, *| φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἐτι α[ἱρουμένον?]*, *| ἀρχιατρὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἱπποκράτους το[λμήσαντα?]* (CR XXXIII 2 ff.). Other cases are more doubtful. The city of Sosandra in Lycia honoured Menecrates, *μ[έγαν | ἱ]ατρὸν καὶ φιλ[όσοφ]ον* (IGR IV 1359), who may be the same as Tiberius Claudius Menecrates, to whom, *ιατρῶν Καισάρων καὶ ἰδίας λογικῆς ἐναργούς ιατρικῆς κτίστην ἐν βιβλίοις ρυσ'* and *τῶν ἐαυτῶν αἰρεσιάρχην*, his *γνώριμοι* erected a *ἡρώων* at Rome.¹⁰⁷ But the identification is dubious, and even the restoration *φιλ[όσοφ]ον* is uncertain, as we see by comparing an epitaph of Lydae in Lycia commemorating Aminias, or Aristobulus, *γε[γ]νόμενον ἱατρὸν τέλειον καὶ φιλόλογον*.¹⁰⁸ The Roman epigram *ἐνθάδε κεῖται ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξις ἄλλων | Πομπήμιος Διοκλῆς τέρματ' ἔχων σοφίης*¹⁰⁹ may refer to a doctor or a philosopher or one who was both, though the obvious echo of *Iliad*, XI 514, *ἡτρώς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξις ἄλλων*, supports the view that he was a doctor. A remarkable philosopher-poet of the time of the Flavians and Trajan, on whom recent epigraphical studies have thrown fresh light,¹¹⁰ is the Athenian Sarapion, whom his grandson described as *[Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην >π[οιητὴν] - - | καὶ φιλόσοφον Στωϊκ[όν]* (IG II² 3796, 3631) on a monument on which he inscribed Sarapion's poem *de officiis medici moralibus*,¹¹¹ which is in the best tradition of the Hippocratic oath. He was a friend of Plutarch, who introduces him into several of his works, especially the *De Pythiae oraculis*, in which he figures prominently and is acclaimed as one who has revived the old custom of expressing philosophic truth in poetic form (402 E, F; cf. 396 F).

Occasionally, or perhaps normally, the Athenian epheboi at the close of their course made a present of books to the 'Library in the Ptolemaion', which they presumably used for their instruction or recreation. It is recorded that the epheboi of 117-16 B.C. dedicated *[βυ]βλία ἑκάτ[ον] εἰς τὴν βυβλιοθήκην* *πρῶτοι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ Θεοδωρίδης Πειραι[εύς]* *εἶπεν*,¹¹² and that those of 96-5 dedicated *βυβλία εἰς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίῳ βυβλιοθήκην ἑκατὸν κατὰ | [τὸ ψήφισμα]*,¹¹³ and a mutilated passage relating to those of some year c. 44 B.C. seems to refer to a similar gift.¹¹⁴ It would be interesting to have a list of the books comprised in such a present, and to see what part, if any, philosophical literature took in it, but the decrees in question do not enlighten us beyond indicating that on the last occasion the gift included one or more plays *Εὐ[ριπίδ]ου* and a copy of *τῆν Ἰλιάδα*, no doubt as duplicates or in replacement of worn or lost copies. We possess, however, a considerable fragment of a book-catalogue¹¹⁵ of the late second or early first century B.C., which may relate to an ephebic presentation; in it the dramatists (Sophocles, Euripides, Achaëus, Crates, Diphilus, Menander, etc.) predominate, but the *Εὐκλ[είδου] Αἰσχίνης* of l. 10 is probably the dialogue of Euclides of Megara which bore this title.¹¹⁶ Another fragmentary book-list¹¹⁷ of c. 100 B.C. gives us a glimpse of the contents of a Rhodian library, for which the gymnasiarchs apparently had some responsibility; authors' names are arranged in alphabetical order—[Demetrius (Phalereus)], Hegesias, Theodectes, Theopompus of Chios and a second Theopompus—but the only work which here concerns us is Theopompus's *Καταδρομὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος* *διατριβῆς*. Very different is the list preserved in a papyrus¹¹⁸ of the early third century from Memphis; here philo-

¹⁰⁷ IG XIV 1759. Cf. PIR² II 218, no. 937, IGR I 286, SIG 803.

¹⁰⁸ TAM II 147 = IGR III 534.

¹⁰⁹ IG XIV 1951 = IGR I 333. It is uncertain whether the *εἰρητὴρ ὁ <π>άνσοφος* of IG XIV 942 (Ostia) was philosopher as well as doctor; I think not.

¹¹⁰ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 243 ff. (partly superseding his earlier treatment in *Hesperia*, V 91 ff.); cf. R. Flacelière, *REG* LXIV 325 ff.

¹¹¹ P. L. Maas and J. H. Oliver, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VII 315 ff., Oliver, *op. cit.* 245 f. I doubt Oliver's translation of *θεὸς οἷα [σ]αυτήρ | δμῶν ἀκτ[ε]άνων [τ]ε καὶ ἀφνειῶν καὶ ἀνάκτων | ἴσος [εὐ]ε* (ll. 25-7) by 'like a savior god, let him make himself the equal of slaves and of paupers, of the rich and of rulers of men'. Does it not rather mean that the doctor should treat all men alike, regardless of status and of wealth? Another fragment of Sarapion's poetry is preserved in Stobaeus, *Anthol.* III 10. 2 Hense; for his *stemma* see Oliver, *op. cit.*, facing p. 248. In *RE* he is dismissed in two lines.

¹¹² *Hesperia*, XVI 171, ll. 31 f. = IG II² 1009. 7 f. A fragment containing parts of ll. 52-62 was added in 1946 by Meritt (*Hesperia*, XV 213 f.), who in the following year published (*Hesperia*, XVI 170 ff., no. 67) a large fragment bearing the opening lines of the decree. Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *AJA* XLIX 435, n. 5, M. T. Mitsos, *AE* 1950-1, 41 f., no. 19.

¹¹³ IG II² 1029. 25 f. For the date see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 290, J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII 6, 11.

¹¹⁴ IG II² 1041. 23 f. For the date see Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* 292.

¹¹⁵ IG II² 2363. R. J. Walker's ingenious interpretation (*Parnassus Biceps*, Paris, 1926) is rejected by E. J. Thomas, *CR* XL 215.

¹¹⁶ 'Suidas' s.v. *Εὐκλείδης*, *Μεγαρεὺς . . . φιλόσοφος . . . συνέγραψε διαλόγους Ἀλκιβιάδην, Αἰσχίνην, Κρίτωνα, κτλ.*

¹¹⁷ A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, no. 11, Jacoby, *FGr Hist.*, no. 115 T 48, no. 228 T 11, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Gnomon*, II 195 f., 365, *RE* Suppl. V 825, G. De Sanctis, *Riv Fil* LIV 63 ff. It is uncertain whether the names Dionysius and Democlidus in col. ii are those of authors or titles. Maiuri also edited (*op. cit.*, no. 4; cf. *Gnomon*, II 195) a decree inviting gifts of books for a library (perhaps that of no. 11) and recording donors' names. Cf. M. Segre, *Riv Fil* LXIII 214 ff., LXIV 40.

¹¹⁸ Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I (2) 182 ff., no. 155. F. G. Kenyon's examination of the literary fragments discovered at Oxyrhynchus (*JEA* VIII 129 ff.) showed that 'Demosthenes stands out as clearly among the orators as Thucydides among the historians. The same is true of Plato among the philosophers; and here it is a case of "Eclipse first and the rest nowhere"' (p. 136).

sophical works by Aristotle, Theophrastus, Posidonius and others form the great majority in what appears to be a private collection rather than a public library.

Most of the inscriptions naming individual philosophers fall into one of four classes: (1) decrees conferring honours and privileges; (2) honorary inscriptions, often engraved on the bases of statues of the philosophers concerned; (3) epitaphs; and (4) names inscribed on busts or herms indicating the persons portrayed. Of the first, third and fourth classes I have already given some examples, but the second calls for some further remarks. We may distinguish three types: (a) honours paid by states or other public bodies, e.g. to T. Pompeius Dionysius at Athens (*IG* II² 3810), to M. Aurelius Olympiodorus, *τειμηθέντα λογιστέα ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς δεκαετίαν* at Troezen (*IG* IV 796), to Flavius Maecius Dionysodorus at Antinoë (see p. 138), to Ti. Claudius Paulinus *ἀντι[ταμίαν] τῆς κολωνείας* at Pergamum (*Abh Berl* 1932 (5) 42 no. 2), and to Apuleius at Madaura, below whose statue stood the inscription [*Ph*]ilosopho[*Pl*]atonico[*Ma*]daurenses[*cives*][*ornament[o]*][*suo* d.d. p. [*p.*] (*Ann. Ep.* 1919, 36); (b) honours paid by the recipients' relatives or friends,¹¹⁹ and (c) expressions of esteem and gratitude felt by pupils to their teachers.¹²⁰ Private inscriptions of these last two types frequently include a phrase indicating that the erection of the statue has received the sanction of the state. Among many examples of type (c) I call attention to two, which concern well-known philosophers. In 1949 the American excavators of the Athenian Agora unearthed a previously known, but long lost, plinth of a seated bronze statue inscribed *Καρνεάδην Ἀζηνιέα* | *Ἀτταλος καὶ Ἀριάρθης Συναλήττι[οι]* | *ἀνέθηκαν*,¹²¹ attesting the regard felt for Carneades of Cyrene, now a citizen of Athens, by two of his pupils, Attalus (later Attalus II, King of Pergamum 159–38 B.C.) and his kinsman Ariarathes (later Ariarathes V, King of Cappadocia 162–c. 131 B.C.), both of whom had received Athenian citizenship. Again, A. E. Raubitschek has recently shown¹²² how much light is thrown by the skilful comparison and restoration of a number of Attic inscriptions, mostly honorary, on the history and family of the *Φαῖδρος Λυσιάρχου Βερενικίδης* of *IG* II² 3897–9 (which he dates c. 78 B.C.), head of the Epicurean School and a close friend of Cicero and of T. Pomponius Atticus. His statue was erected by Lucius Saufeius, often mentioned in Cicero's letters to Atticus, who terms him *τὸν ἑαυτ[οῦ] κα[θηγη]τήν* (3897.6, with a new fragment), and probably also by Atticus himself (3899), while Appius Saufeius, Lucius' brother, dedicated a herm, the basis of which has come to light in the Agora, portraying Phaedrus, *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [καθηγ]ητήν*, probably in the Athenian Eleusinion.

Philosophic training might begin at an early age; the phrase *ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀλκίας* occurs in an epigram of Orchomenus (*IG* VII 3226), *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας* in an honorary decree from Branchidae (*IBM* 925b14) and *ἄγαν κεῖται νέος* in the epitaph of a Stoic from Patrae buried at Athens (*IG* II² 10046a), while an inscription of Chaeronea commemorates an *ἐντ[ελῆ] | φιλόσοφον ἐτῶν [κ]β'* (*IG* VII 3425, if the restorations are correct), and a metrical epitaph from Gythium contains the couplet *Ἀτταλος ἐνθάδε ἔφηβ[ο]ς ἔτη ζήσας δεκ[α]πέντε | κεῖται τὴν Μουσῶν γνοῦς ἐπ' ἄκρον σοφίην* (*IG* V (1) 1186.7 f.). Nor was philosophy confined to men; an inscription of Apollonia in Mysia honours *Μά[γ]υλλα[ν] φιλό[σοφον] Μάγν[ου] | φιλοσόφου θυγα[τέρα], Μηνίο[ν] φιλο[σόφου] γυ[ναῖκα]* (*IGR* IV 125),¹²³ an epigram from Nicaea in Bithynia commemorating a Christian nun is headed *Ἀττία φιλοσόφισσα* (*AM* XXXVI 103),¹²⁴ and the adjective *φιλόσοφος* is applied to a woman in Paros (*IG* XII (5) 292.6) and, in the superlative degree, to two women honoured at Sparta in Imperial times (*IG* V (1) 598 f.).

Philosophers did not necessarily devote themselves wholly to contemplation and to teaching; many of them played active, some even leading, roles in the life of their communities. We may cite the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Julian, *τὸν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας βασιλεύοντα* (*OGI* 520),¹²⁵ the statesman Demetrius of Phalerum, the hieromnemon Menedemus of Eretria,¹²⁶ M. Aurelius Olympiodorus at Troezen, *τειμηθέντα λογιστέα εἰς δεκαετίαν* (*IG* IV 796), a *[διὰ] βίου ξυστάρχην καὶ ἐπὶ βαλανείων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* at Rome (*IG* XIV 1103 = *OGI* 714), an *ἀντι[ταμίαν] τῆς κολωνείας* at Pergamum (*Abh Berl* 1932 (5) 42 no. 2), *βουλευταὶ* at Antinoë (*IBM* 1076 = *Sammelbuch*, 6012) and Pisidian Antioch (*CR* XXXIII 2), and a *πρώτον τοῦ ἔθνους* | *δὲς Γαλατάρχην φιλόδοξον* || *καὶ κτίστην*

¹¹⁹ Examples are *IGR* IV 1449 (*τὸν πατέρα*), *IG* VII 3423 (*τὸν πρὸς μητρός πάππον*), *BCH* XXXIII 407 ff., nos. 407, 409 (*τὸν φίλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον*), *BSA* XXIX 33, *JHS* XLIV 42, no. 76 (*τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην*).

¹²⁰ Examples are *Ephesos*, IV (3) 288, no. 40 (*[τὸν] ἑαυτοῦ | [δι]δάσκαλον*), *IG* II² 3801 (*τὸν διδάσκαλον*), 3819 (*τὸν διδάσκαλον*), 3793 (*[τὸν] ἑαυτῶν | καθηγητήν*), 4262 (*σοφίης ἐόν ἡγητήρα*).

¹²¹ *IG* II² 3781 = *SIG* 666. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII 29, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX 318 f.

¹²² *Hesperia*, XVIII 98 ff. The article includes a valuable discussion of the title *καθηγητής*, characteristic

of, and at first restricted to, the Epicurean School.

¹²³ For philosophy running in families see also *IG* II² 3704. 9, 12, S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, 53, n. 4.

¹²⁴ The feminine *philosophia* is found in Dessau, *ILS* 7783 = *CIL* VI 33898 (Rome).

¹²⁵ Cf. Dessau, *ILS* 751 *filosofi[ae] magistro*, Nilsson, *Geschichte der griech. Religion*, II 435 ff.

¹²⁶ R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolians à Delphes*, 188, 387 f., no. 5. For the date, 274 or 273 B.C., see *op. cit.* 439, G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, 34G6, Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, 57, 60.

καὶ πλουτιστὴν | καὶ πολυστέφανον φιλόσο|φ[ο]ν φιλόπατρην καὶ | ἄλειπτον πολειτευτὴν at Ancyra (*JHS* XLIV 42, no. 76).

The rarity of the word φιλόσοφος in Greek epigrams is due to the fact that it is inadmissible in elegiac and hexameter verse,¹²⁷ the favourite metres of epigrammatists, though not in iambs or trochaics, as, e.g., in the epitaphs οὐνεκ' ἦν ῥήτωρ μὲν εἰπεῖν, φιλόσοφος δ' ἂν χρή νοεῖν,¹²⁸ and Μάρκου Πολείτου φιλοσόφου, πάντων φίλου.¹²⁹ Epigrams therefore often use σοφός or σοφία in phrases which sometimes leave us in doubt whether philosophy is indicated rather than medicine or some other branch of learning or skill.¹³⁰

The aim of the present article is merely to illustrate some of the ways in which epigraphical discoveries contribute to our knowledge of Greek philosophy and its exponents. I close by calling attention, briefly and in general terms, to three aspects of this contribution.

(1) Inscriptions render a valuable service in enabling us to identify the portraits of a number of philosophers, writers and orators. I content myself with a reference to K. Schefold's remarks on this subject.¹³¹

(2) Many important events in the lives of philosophers and the history of the philosophical Schools are dated by the names of Athenian eponymous archons. The determination of the archon-list for the Hellenistic and Roman periods depends mainly on epigraphical evidence, and, although complete unanimity has not yet been reached, very remarkable progress has recently been made, thanks especially to discoveries made in the Agora and the researches of American scholars.¹³²

(3) It would be interesting to inquire how deeply and in what directions philosophic teaching affected the thought and speech and life of the common people of the Greek and Greco-Roman world. To assess this influence accurately is beyond our power, but much valuable evidence may be gained by a study of the language and thought of the surviving epigrams¹³³—not so much the dainty and polished products of the epigrammatists' art collected in the *Anthologia Palatina* as the more spontaneous, if cruder, works of lesser artists preserved on stone, often faulty in metre and grammar and spelling, yet affording an insight into the hearts and minds of those who wrote them and of those for whom they were written, and indicating their attitude to some of the fundamental problems of life and death and God.

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¹²⁷ In defiance of metre Aristophanes ends a hexameter with φιλόσοφον ἐγείρειν (*Eccl.* 571), which doubtless evoked a hearty laugh from the audience.

¹²⁸ Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 106 = *IG* II² 10826.

¹²⁹ Kaibel, 391 = *IGR* IV 628 (Traianopolis).

¹³⁰ See, e.g., Kaibel, 103 (= *IG* XII (9) 954), 104 (= *IG* II² 11140), 372 (*IGR* IV 606), 845 (= *IG* II² 3790), *IG* II² 4251, V (1) 598. 19, 1186. 3, 8, VII 93, 581. Σοφός is also used occasionally in prose inscriptions, e.g. *IG* XII (9) 147, 253.

¹³¹ *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, 193.

¹³² See especially W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*

in the Hellenistic Age (Harvard U.P., 1931), *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Columbia U.P., 1939), W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Harvard U.P., 1940), S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III 140 ff., J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII 1 ff.

¹³³ See R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1942), especially ch. II, A. D. Nock, *Sallustius*, xxxii ff. The study will be greatly facilitated by the publication of the remaining volumes of P. Friedländer's *Epigrammata* and of W. Peek's *Griechische Versinschriften*; meanwhile G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, published in 1878, has by no means lost all value.