

This article provides a new edition of a passage from Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* (*PHerc.* 1021, col. XXXIV 6-19), in which pupils of Philo of Larissa are listed. Several new readings allow for a better understanding of the content and rendering of this list, one of which might even corroborate the hypothesis that Philodemus sojourned in Sicily.

*Keywords:* Philo of Larissa, Heraclitus of Tyre, Philodemus, Sicily, *Historia Academicorum*

Shortly before the end of his *Index Academicorum* Philodemus informs us about the life of Philo of Larissa (*PHerc.* 1021, coll. XXXIII f.).<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding its fragmentary state, the passage is highly valuable, since it preserves much otherwise unattested information on Philo and allows us to reconstruct to a certain extent his personal and philosophical development. The passage dealing with Philo ends with a list of pupils that was long thought to include the pupils of Antiochus of Ascalon. Puglia was the first to argue convincingly that the names listed represent pupils of Philo, not of Antiochus.<sup>2</sup>

In this contribution I will present a new edition of this list (col. XXXIV 6-19), based on autopsy and for the first time exploiting the multispectral digital images,

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**Bibliographical Abbreviations:** BLANK 2007 = D. BLANK, *The Life of Antiochus of Ascalon in Philodemus' History of the Academy and a Tale of Two Letters*, «ZPE» 162/2007, pp. 87-93; BÜCHELER 1869 = F. BÜCHELER, *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculensis* (Greifswald 1869); DORANDI 1991 = T. DORANDI, *Filodemo. Storia dei filosofi. Platone e l'Accademia* (*PHerc.* 1021 e 164), La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi di-

retta da M. GIGANTE, vol. XII (Napoli 1991); FLEISCHER 2014 = K. FLEISCHER, *Der Akademiker Charmadas in Apollodors Chronik* (*PHerc.* 1021, Kol. 31-32), «CERC» 44/2014, pp. 65-75; FLEISCHER 2015A = ID., *Der Stoiker Mnesarch als Lehrer des Antiochus im Index Academicorum*, «Mnemosyne» 68/2015, pp. 413-423; FLEISCHER 2015B = ID., *Die Schüler des Charmadas* (*PHerc.* 1021, XXXV 32-XXXVI 14), «CERC» 45/2015, pp. 49-53; FLEISCHER 2016A = ID., *Dionysios von Alexandria, De natura* (περὶ φύσεως). *Übersetzung, Kommentar und Würdigung. Mit einer Einleitung zur Geschichte des Epikureismus in Alexandria* (Turnhout 2016); FLEISCHER 2016B = ID., *New readings in Philodemus' Index Academicorum: Dio of Alexandria*, in T. DERDA ET AL., *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 1 (Warsaw 2016), pp. 459-470; FLEISCHER 2017 = ID., *New Evidence on the Death of Philo of Larissa* (*PHerc.* 1021, cols. 33.42-34.7), «CCJ» 63/2017 (forthcoming); GÖRLER 1994 = W. GÖRLER, *Älterer Pyrrhonismus. Jüngere Akademie. Antiochos aus Askalon* (§ 5), in H. FLASHAR, *Die hellenistische Philosophie*, *GGPh* 4.2 (Basel 1994), pp. 717-989; HAAKE 2007 = M. HAAKE, *Der Philosoph in der Stadt* (München 2007); HABICHT 1988 = C. HABICHT, *Der Akademiker Iollas von Sardis*, «ZPE» 74/1988, pp. 215-218; HATZIMICHALI 2011 = M. HATZIMICHALI, *Potamo of Alexandria and the Emergence of Eclecticism in Late Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge 2011); MEKLER

## THE PUPILS OF PHILO OF LARISSA AND PHILODEMUS' STAY IN SICILY (*PHERC.* 1021, COL. XXXIV 6-19)

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1902 = S. MEKLER, *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculensis* (Berlin 1902); PAPE-BENSELER 1911 = W. PAPE, *Lexikon der Griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup>, revised by E. BENSELER (Braunschweig 1911); PUGLIA 2000 = E. PUGLIA, *Le biografie di Filone e di Antiocho nella Storia dell'Accademia di Filodemo*, «ZPE» 130/2000, pp. 17-28; SIDER 1997 = D. SIDER, *The Epigrams of Philodemos* (Oxford 1997).

<sup>1</sup> The *Index Academicorum* (also called *Historia Academicorum* or the like) is commonly deemed to represent a part (book) of Philodemus' treatise *Ἐὐνοῦσις τῶν φιλοσόφων* which consisted of at least ten books (D.L. X 3). Our main witness for the *Index Academicorum* is *PHerc.* 1021, a preliminary draft and Philodemus' working manuscript, whereas *PHerc.* 164 preserves some very scanty remains of the final version (cf. T. DORANDI, *Nell'officina dei classici. Come lavoravano gli autori antichi*, Roma 2007, pp. 40-42). The value of *PHerc.* 1021 for philosophical-historical research is outstanding, since it contains much otherwise lost information about the Academy and its most distinguished figures. The remains of three columns today conserved with *PHerc.* 1691 belong also to *PHerc.* 1021; cf. G. DEL MASTRO, *Altri frammenti dal PHerc. 1691: Historia Academicorum e Di III*, «CERC» 42/2012, pp. 277-292.

<sup>2</sup> PUGLIA 2000.

which are of enormous help in deciphering this dark papyrus. Furthermore, I want to perform on close analysis of the complete list, one new reading I suggest may have a very interesting implication.

### New edition and translation

My new edition and translation of the list and its context (Italics) in coll. XXXIII 42-XXXIV 43 read as follows:<sup>3</sup>

The pupils of Philo of Larisa - Phld., *Ind. Acad. (PHerc. 1021)*, col. XXXIV 6-19

col. XXXIII: <sup>42</sup> βιώσα[ε] [[ . . | . . ω . ( . ) ] ] ` δ' ` ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη ` καὶ τρία' κατέ[ε]τρευσεν ἐπὶ Νικήτου περὶ <sup>45</sup> τ[η]ν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ τὴν οἴ[ε] col. XXXIV: <sup>1</sup> κ] ουμένην ἐπιδραμόντ[ε] | κα[τ]άρρωι· καὶ τὴν χολή[ν] | αὐτοῦ π. . [ . ] οσο[ . ] μαικιος ἐ[φ] ` ἡ[[ν]] ` μῶν' Ἀθήνησι προ[ε]βαλόντων ἐξ Ἀ[λ]εξανδρείας

- 6 ἤδη διακατεῖχεν. ἦσαν  
 δ' αὐτοῦ μαθη[η]ταὶ καὶ Ἰόλα-  
 ος Καρδιανὸ[ε] καὶ Με[ν]εκρά-  
 της Μιτυληναῖος ὁ [κ]αὶ κα-  
 10 τὰ Κι[κ]ελίαν (vac.) - ὡς προ[ε]ήν -  
 διατρίβων καὶ Μνα[ε]ίας  
 Τύριος κα[ὶ] . ] ω . [ . ] ε Ἄκρα-  
 γαντίν[ος κ]α[ὶ] Μελάνθιος  
 ὁ] Αἰσχίνο[υ] καὶ Λυσίμαχος  
 15 ὁ πρότερο[υ] ἀ[ε]τρολογίης  
 καὶ Ἡρακλ[ε]ίτου μετασχὼν  
 κ[αὶ] Παυκανίας, ὃς καὶ αὐτ[ο]ῦ  
 Ἀ[υ]τιμάχου δ[ι]ήκουσεν ( )  
 19 . . . . . δ[ . . . ( ) ] . . . . . ( )

<sup>3</sup> The latest complete edition of the *Index Academicorum* was provided by DORANDI 1991. Coll. XXXIII 1-XXXV 16 were reedited by PUGLIA 2000, pp. 23-27. BLANK 2007 edited coll. XXXIV 34-XXXV 16; cf. also FLEISCHER 2015A, who made some improvements to col. XXXIV. I have not indicated in the apparatus where Puglia or Blank made minor/insignificant changes to the text of Dorandi/Puglia. Prior editions of the *Index Academicorum* had been provided by BÜCHELER 1869 (only based on the *Collectio Altera*) and MEKLER 1902.

<sup>4</sup> For the slightly different numbering of these lines in comparison with Dorandi's edition, see FLEISCHER 2017, n. 4.

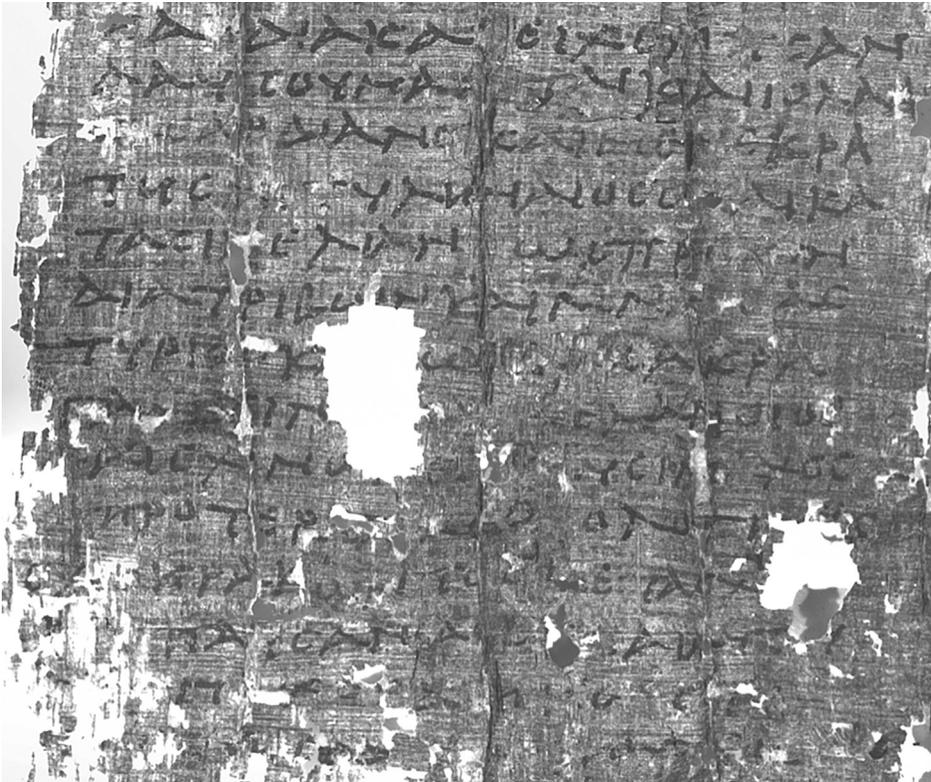
<sup>5</sup> BLANK 2007, p. 87 n. 5 discusses the reading and expresses some doubts about Puglia's suggestion. For the arguments in favour of the reading Ἀθήνησι and the discussion related to this question (M. GIGANTE, *Dove visse Filodemo?*, «ZPE» 136/2001, pp. 25-32 and E. PUGLIA, *Perché Filodemo non fu ad Alessandria?*, «SEP» 1/2004, pp. 133-138), see FLEISCHER 2016A, pp. 84-94 where I recapitulate the discussion and come to the conclusion that the reading Ἀθήνησι is rather likely.

<sup>20</sup>[ . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ . ] . . . . . | . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . ] . . . [ . . ] . . . | . [ . . . ] α[ . ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . ο . . . | . [ . . ] . . . . . [ . . ] . . α Μνη|[ε]ἀ[ρχ]ωι δ[ε] τῷ[ε] C. [τω]ϊκῶι <sup>25</sup> π[α]ρ[α]βαλὼν [ . ] . . . . . | - - -| - - -| - - -| - - -| <sup>30</sup> - - -| - - -| - - -| - - -| [ . . . . . ] πατος διεγ[έν]ετο <sup>35</sup> . . . . . ] τὸ πλεῖστον] τοῦ | βί[ου] παρεβέον Ἀ[θή]νηθεγ [ε]ῖς τε Ῥώμη[ν κ]αὶ πρὸς | τοὺς [ε]ῖν ταῖς ἐπαρχε[ῖαι]ς στρα[τηγ]οῦς, κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ] πέρασ ἐν <sup>40</sup> τῇ Μ[ε]σοποταμίαι Λευκίωι | Λευκ[ό]λλωι προσκαρτε[ρῶν] [ε]τελεύτησεν ἡγα[πη]μέ[νο]ς ὑπὸ πολλῶν κα

Col. XXXIII: 43-45 legi et conieci (FLEISCHER 2017).<sup>4</sup> Col. XXXIV: 1 sq. legi et conieci (FLEISCHER 2017) 3 initio lineae fortasse Πῶλος, οἶ[μα]ι, Κῖος conieci, iam Puglia de ea divisione dubitanter cogitavit (FLEISCHER 2017); Μαίκιος Dorandi 4 ἡ[[ν]] μῶν' legi (FLEISCHER 2017); ἡ[[α]] μῶν' Dorandi/Puglia; Ἀθήνησι Puglia; Ἀθήνηθεγ Dorandi<sup>5</sup> 4 sq. προ[ε]βαλόντων legi/supplevi sequens Blank (FLEISCHER 2017); π[α]ρ[α]βαλόντων

Puglia/Dorandi 6 ἤδη legi (FLEISCHER 2017); κα[ι] Dorandi/Puglia 7 sq. Ἰόλα|ος legi; Ἰόλλας | [ὁ] Dorandi 10 spatium unius litterae conieci; ὡς Essler; προ[ρ]ῆν Blank; [ἔ]ως πρόην Dorandi; [ἔ]ως προ[ρ]ῆν non excludendum est 12 C]ωρ[ί]ας anonymus revisor 14 cogitaveris de Aischine Neapolitano discipulo Melanthii Rhodii 15 ἀ[ρ] ολογήας Blank per litteras; φιλολογή[ρ]ας Dorandi 16-18 legi et supplevi 16 Heraclitus Tyrius mihi esse videtur 17 sq. Ν: . . πα(.)τανα . . . αιαυ . . . | . . . μ . . . δ . . ο . ς . . (.) 19 δ[Ἄντ]ίχοχος (sc. Ascalonites) conieci; ante δ[Ἄντ]ίχοχος litterae ςε vel ος mihi esse videntur 23 initio fortasse ]ου 23-25 legi et supplevi (FLEISCHER 2015)

«Having lived for 63 years, he (sc. Philo) died under the archonship of Niketes (84/83 BC) in the land of Italy by an *influenza* (catarrh) which spread then over the entire world. And his school already had (name dubious) in charge of it when I (sc. Philodemus) arrived (by ship) in Athens, coming from Alexandria. Among his (i.e. Philo's) pupils were also Iolaos of Sardis, Menecrates of Mytilene who also sojourned in Sicily - when I was there as well -, Mnaseas of Tyre, [unknown] from Agrigento, Melanthius, son of Aischines, Lysimachus, who formerly was an astronomer and a pupil of Heraclitus (of Tyre), and Pausanias, who has also heard Lysimachus himself. [Antiochus] ... (ca. 4 lines missing) ... after having heard the Stoic Mnesarchus ... (ca. 10 lines missing) ... He (Antiochus) spent most of his life on embassies from Athens both to Rome and to the generals in the provinces, and in the end it was in Mesopotamia, while in attendance upon Lucius Lucullus, that he died. He had been loved by many ... ».<sup>6</sup>



Philodemus, *Index Academicorum* (PHerc. 1021), col. XXXIV 7-19

<sup>6</sup> For the translation of col. XXXIV 1-6, cf. FLEISCHER 2017. For the translation of coll. XXXIV, XXXV-XLIII 14 I follow D. SEDLEY, *The Philosophy of Antiochus* (Cambridge 2012), p. 336.

## Iolaos of Sardis from the papyrus - Iollas of Sardis from an inscription

First, it should be noted that the introducing καί (l. 7) was convincingly explained by Puglia as referring to the previously mentioned successor or representative of Philo (l. 3) who surely was a former pupil of Philo. Therefore the men listed in ll. 7 ff. were also (καί) pupils of Philo.<sup>7</sup>

In ll. 7 f. I transcribe Ἰόλα|οϛ. The α is only conservatively dotted; the ink following the α on the bottom of the line is a *sovrapposto* with the left part of the η of δὴ in col. XXXV 7 on it.<sup>8</sup> The space at the beginning of l. 8 definitely demands 1,5 to 2 letters; supplementing only the letter ο is not possible. The faded and scattered traces are perfectly compatible with οϛ. Basically, an article between the personal name and the ethnicon as Dorandi restored it, is hardly justifiable, inasmuch as on dozens of other occasions in the *Index Academicorum* Philodemus never inserts an article between the personal name and the ethnicon.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, the transcription Ἰόλα|οϛ is beyond any reasonable doubt.

This new reading is already the fourth (!) version of the name: Bücheler suggested (κ)ἀπολλᾶ[ς],<sup>10</sup> Mekler transcribed Ἰολλά[ς] without an attestation of this name,<sup>11</sup> finally Dorandi offered the reading Ἰόλλας | [ὁ] Καρδιανό[ς].<sup>12</sup> This last variant even provoked an article titled *Der Akademiker Iollas von Sardis* in which Habicht argued that the Iollas from the *Index Academicorum* should be identified with an Iollas known from an honorary inscription of Sardis characterising him as a man of no mean reputation and achievements.<sup>13</sup> Is this identification still arguable with regard to the new reading? Habicht remarks in his article quite casually that Iolaos is just a variant to Iollas, not a genuine, different name, and he implies that any person called Iollas may alternatively be called Iolaos.<sup>14</sup> For sure, there are cases where both names are used (or confused) for the same person, but it seems questionable to me that the equation Iollas = Iolaos was universally at all times valid. So, the (new) *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* lists 29 persons named Iolaos and 49 persons named Iollas.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, the new reading Ἰόλα|οϛ raises some doubts whether the Iollas of the inscription and the Iolaos of the papyrus represent one and the same person.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, it is possible that the Iollas from the inscription studied philosophy with Philo of Larissa and that the name Iolaos in *PHerc.* 1021 is just a different spelling

<sup>7</sup> PUGLIA 2000, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Crönert, who checked some passages on the original papyrus on behalf of Mekler, had already speculated that the traces right to the λ hint at α. MEKLER 1902 cites Crönert in a note ad locum: «mihi Ἰόλλας vid. scribend. esse, sed post I O Λ potius A quam extat, seq. ΑÇΙ». This means he has seen some ink to the right of the α which now turns out to be a misplaced layer. There exist no Oxford *disegno* for this column. The Neapolitan *disegno* (and *VH<sup>2</sup>*) reads: ΑΠΟΛΛΑ|, .CAP.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. for instance coll. IV 10-15; VI 1-7; XX 7-11 and 37-43; O 15-20; M 12-18; XXII 38; XXIII 2-16; XXIII 41-XXIV 10 and many other passages. Philodemus (his sources) uses the article only when there is an additional particle between the name and the ethnicon (μὲν, δὲ, τε, and the like. See for instance X 34 f.; S 31 f.; etc.). The «Thrax» of Dionysios Thrax (N 18) represents no exception since we are dealing with a nickname here, not an ethnicon in the strict sense.

<sup>10</sup> BÜCHELER 1869. This reading has even led to an entry in the *RE* (H. VON ARNIM, *Apoll<as>* (4), *RE* 1/1894, 2841 f. «Aus Sardeis, Akademiker»).

<sup>11</sup> MEKLER 1902. Obviously based on Crönert's transcription (cf. n. 8).

<sup>12</sup> DORANDI 1986 AND ID. 1991. Dorandi's reading was also adopted/confirmed by PUGLIA 2000, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> I Sardis 27 (the beginning: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Ἰόλλαν Ἰόλλου χρυσοῖς τεφράνοισι κτλ.). HABICHT 1988; HAAKE 2007, pp. 213-216 embeds Iollas in his monograph about philosophers who were involved in political affairs of their cities (XI. Iollas - Schüler des Antiochus von Askalon und *euergetes* seiner *patris*), but ignores PUGLIA's 2000 probable point that pupils of Philo, not of Antiochus are listed. For Iollas see also GÖRLER 1994, p. 945.

<sup>14</sup> HABICHT 1988, p. 216: «... die alle Makedonen mit dem Namen Iolaos waren, den man nur als eine Variante zu Iollas, nicht als einen anderen Namen ansieht». This is in accordance with the entries in PAPE/BENSELER 1911.

<sup>15</sup> Ἰόλαος has 27 entries in volumes 1-5A of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (online search) and two further entries in volume 5B (Asia minor-including Sardeis). Ἰόλλας has 38 entries in volumes 1-5A (online search) and three in volume 5B; Ἰολλάς with circumflex on the α has 8 entries (online search: vol. 1-5A; the evidence for the alternative accentuation is not obvious). The name Iolaos in a certain respect might be a variant of Iollas and might occasionally or even often have functioned as a

substitute for Iollas, but it should not be taken for granted that the two names were always interchangeable and that it was, as it were, irrelevant which of the names was given to a person.

<sup>16</sup> The inscription I. Sardis 27 dates from the second or third quarter of the first century B.C. (cf. HAAKE 2007, p. 213), so that it is still possible from a chronological point of view that the Iollas mentioned is identical with the person in the papyrus, although the papyrus is giving a list of the pupils of Philo. If Iolaos (= Iollas) studied with Philo around 100 B.C., at around age 20, he could have been honoured at a great age by his city. Alternatively, the father of the honoured Iollas, also called Iollas, might be associated with the Iolaos of *PHerc.* 1021.

(not a misspelling in the strict sense),<sup>17</sup> but, on the other hand, it is not excluded that Sardis harboured two renowned, approximately contemporary persons with similar names, Iollas and Iolaos. In the latter case, the philosopher mentioned in the papyrus (Iolaos) would be no more than a mere name to us.<sup>18</sup>

### Menecrates of Mytilene in Sicily - Philodemus in Sicily?

The next philosopher, Menecrates of Mytilene,<sup>19</sup> is not known from any other sources. The name was a very popular one and there is no reason to assume an incorrect ethnicon.<sup>20</sup> The description might mean that Menecrates spent also (καί, in addition to Athens, where he lived while studying with Philo) some time in Sicily.<sup>21</sup>

Some introductory remarks are essential to understand why this passage is highly intriguing and of some relevance for Philodemus' biography. First, we should remember that there are many self-references to Philodemus in columns XXXIV f. The first self-reference occurs in col. XXXIV 3 f. when Philodemus describes himself as coming from Alexandria (and being in Athens) when a pupil or the successor of Philo of Larisa was in charge of the Academy (probably not much later than 86 B.C.). Philodemus says later on that he held Antiochus of Ascalon in high esteem and that the Academic returned this affection. In addition, he calls some of Antiochus' pupils his friends and possibly says that he has heard something from Dion of Alexandria.<sup>22</sup> The account of the death of Antiochus (68 B.C.) provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the *Index Academicorum* and the work is likely to have been written down not much later.<sup>23</sup> Although Philodemus might have found a list of these pupils of Philo in a treatise composed slightly earlier than his own, he could have added some details known to him from oral sources. As his acquaintance with Antiochus shows, he was well integrated in the philosophical (not only the Epicurean) community of his days and his social network was surely ideal to get the latest news about the activities of contemporary philosophers. The Suda gives us evidence that Philodemus spent some time of his life in Himera (Sicily) and was expelled from the city, charged with causing an epidemic.<sup>24</sup> Modern scholars disagree whether this information or its details should enjoy (high) credibility, but altogether there is a tendency to assume a sojourn of Philodemus in Sicily.<sup>25</sup> As far as I can see the Suda evidence has never been linked to the passage about Menecrates before and its reliability has only been evaluated separately.

<sup>17</sup> The mention of Iollas (Iolaos) in the papyrus could have been influenced by the celebrity of Iollas (Iolaos). At least the inscriptions suggest that he was an important person.

<sup>18</sup> Since Iolaos, the charioteer of Heracles, is said to have brought colonists to Sardinia (cf. W. KROLL, *Iolaos* (1), *RE* 9/1916, 1843-1846) and one could fancy that Iolaos is a perfect name for a Sardinian, it should be noted that the ethnicon Καρδιανός[c] is not attested as referring to Sardinia; it always designates Sardis (PAPE/BENSELER 1911 and online-search).

<sup>19</sup> Strangely, the *RE* (1938) has no entry for him.

<sup>20</sup> An online search in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (voll. 1-5A) resulted in 787 matches for Menecrates. An online search in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (voll. 1-5A) resulted in 787 matches for Menecrates.

<sup>21</sup> For the wandering of Academic philosophers see for instance Charmadas (col. XXXI 40-43) and his pupils (col. XXXV 36 f. - τῶν πλανουμένων πολλοί τι[vec]). New editions

of these passages are provided by FLEISCHER 2014 and Id. 2015b. For the travelling of some Academic philosophers and in particular Philodemus, see E. PUGLIA, *Il viaggio dei filosofi: Platone e Filodemo*, in M. CAPASSO, *Terra marique. Ricerche sul tema del viaggio nella letteratura classica* (Lecce 2014), pp. 75-83.

<sup>22</sup> Coll. XXXIV 3-6; XXXIV 43-XXXV 2; XXXV 7-10. These self-references are partly due to new readings and interpretations, see PUGLIA 2000; BLANK 2007; FLEISCHER 2016b.

<sup>23</sup> FLEISCHER 2016b, p. 468 has argued on basis of a new reading in col. XXXV 17 f. for 57 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem*. For reasons of palaeography G. CAVALLI, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*, I Suppl. a «Cerc» 13/1983, p. 51 has assigned the work to 75-50 B.C.; cf. DORANDI 1991, p. 104.

<sup>24</sup> The episode was reconstructed plausibly by the combination of three passages in the Suda: <Ἰμεραία> γραῦς τις. καὶ πόλις ἐκ δὴ τούτων νόσοι καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία τὴν Ἰμεραίαν κατέσχον. <Cycoφαντεῖν> ... Αἰλιανός· ὁ δὲ ἐκυκοφάντει τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγορίας. ἐκ δὴ τούτων νόσοι καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία τὴν Ἰμεραίων κατέσχον. <Τιμώνται> ζημιῶσι, καταδικάζουσιν. οἷγε μὴν Ἰμεραῖοι τὸν Φιλόδημον τιμώνται πρὸς τῇ δημεύσει καὶ φυγῆς {ζημία}. The last word was deleted by Holford-Strevens as a gloss, cf. SIDER 1997, p. 213.

<sup>25</sup> M. ERLER, *Die Hellenistische Philosophie, GGPh* 4.1, ed. H. FLASHAR (Basel 1994), p. 290 questions the story; SIDER 1997, p. 9 regards the story «credible in itself, but not altogether securely stitched together from several lemmata»; R. JANKO, *On Poems, Book I* (Oxford 2000), pp. 5 f. embeds the story in Philodemus' biography, similar D. SEDLEY, *Epicureanism in the Roman Republic*, in J. WARREN, *The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism* (Cambridge 2009), p. 33. Many scholars assume a sojourn of Philodemus in Sicily, while others simply ignore this episode or articulate some doubts (for ignoring see e.g. M. GIGANTE, *Filodemo in Italia*, Firenze 1990, pp. 63-68; for raising doubts see e.g. G. ROSKAM, *Live unnoticed, λάθε βιώσας*, Leiden 2007, pp. 109 f.). The majority of scholars are in favour of a stay in Sicily.

My new reading of this passage would imply that Philodemus sojourned in Sicily, but let us first look at Dorandi's suggestion [Ξ]ωc πρῶτην.<sup>26</sup> This reading is not ruled out by the traces, but it seems a relatively awkward way to say 'until recently'. Furthermore, the combination Ξωc πρῶ(τ)ην is not otherwise attested. What is more problematic, however, is the fact that Dorandi's suggestion is vitiated by the present participle διατρίβων, marking the action as continued. For the expression Ξωc πρῶ(τ)ην the participle aorist would be more natural.<sup>27</sup> Assuming Dorandi's reading is correct, it might either indicate that Menecrates was not in Sicily any longer when Philodemus was writing these lines ('until recently') or that Philodemus reports his latest information.<sup>28</sup> I do not believe that Philodemus would have copied the description ὁ [κ]αὶ κα<sup>10</sup>τὰ Cι[κ]ελίαν [Ξ]ωc πρῶτην| διατρίβων mechanically from another source; in particular, the adverbial expression would suggest that he was in a way personally briefed about Menecrates' recent activities. The question arises, why and how Philodemus could have known about Menecrates' recent stay in Sicily. Possibly Philodemus was provided with information about Menecrates' activities in Sicily by friends who had stayed there and it was just 'by chance' that he embedded this localisation in his work. However, there is another attractive explanation, namely that Philodemus knew about Menecrates' Sicilian activities because he himself had been in Sicily sometime before and thus had got in touch with the Academic philosopher or, alternatively, being in Sicily he might have made friends who kept him later updated about new developments in Sicily, precisely Menecrates' (recent) teaching activities.

Yet, another supplement is much more tantalizing and perfectly compatible with the traces: προ[ς]ῆν. The supplement προ[ς]ῆν was brought up by David Blank who translated «who (Menecrates) also sojourned in Sicily while he lived».<sup>29</sup> Although I could not find any parallel for Ξωc with this verb, it seems to be acceptable Greek. However, περιῆν (suggested by Bücheler and Mette, but clearly incompatible with the traces) would be more natural for «while he lived» in such a context. Assuming that Philodemus had wished to express that Menecrates was still alive when being in Sicily, there would have been much more elegant ways to do so and the information seems rather boring to me.

Accordingly, I have considered a first person singular translation for Ξωc προ[ς]ῆν: «while I (Philodemus) was (also) there». The verb can basically be used in the sense of «to be present» as it is also used by Philodemus in *De libertate dicendi*.<sup>30</sup> A parallel for this meaning in connection with a person can be found for instance in Aelius Aristides. The expression might be slightly colloquial in this context and connote that Philodemus was «also around» in Sicily when Menecrates lived there.<sup>31</sup>

The fact that the change of subject is not explicitly indicated might be explained by the self-reference (or possibly two self-references) just a few lines earlier. Philodemus could have expected that the reader would not be surprised by another self-reference. The 1. p. sg. might even have a close parallel in the possible ο[ἶ]μαι in l. 4.<sup>32</sup>

Concerning the temporal conjunction, Essler pointed out that one would rather expect ὡc than Ξωc. This observation led me to the assumption of a *spatium* indicating an insertion after Cι[κ]ελίαν. Indeed, a closer look at the original papyrus showed that there are not any clear traces of ink where one would

<sup>26</sup> The space between ρ and ν seems a bit too small for an additional τ as Dorandi prints it. Ξωc can be combined with adverbs, so that the reading/supplement [Ξ]ωc πρῶτην is possible, albeit this combination has no parallel in the *TLG* (online search).

<sup>27</sup> I am grateful to Holger Essler for this observation. The anonymous reviewer points out that the present participle may be used to indicate the durative or iterative nature of an action. However, the adverb suggests that the action is complete.

<sup>28</sup> Alternatively, one may consider that Menecrates was already dead when Philodemus was writing. Being a pupil of Philo, Menecrates was born most likely around 130-120 B.C. So he could easily have died in the (late) 60ths, maybe shortly before Philodemus wrote his work. On the composition date of the *Index Academicorum* see the main text above.

<sup>29</sup> His suggestion was based on an earlier draft of this article where I fancied I could see very scanty and faded remains of the ε and transcribed Ξωc, tempted by Dorandi's suggestion [Ξ]ωc πρῶτην.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *TLG* and Philod., *De lib. dic.* XXX 8.

<sup>31</sup> Ael. Aris., *Hieroi Logoi* 4, 334: προσρηθῆναι μὲν ἔδοξα ὡc ἐν Cικύρῃ ὑπὸ τινος καὶ μάλα συγγαίροντος, Θεόδωρε χαίρε· καὶ ἈσιάρχῃC, οἶμαι, προσῆν· δέξασθαι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πρόσρησιν, ὡc ἄρα πᾶν τοῦμόν εἶη τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεά.

<sup>32</sup> Another less close parallel would be the possible 1.p. sg. in col. XXXV 17 f., cf. FLEISCHER 2016b, p. 461.

suppose the letter ε.<sup>33</sup> Regardless of a hole in the papyrus and a slightly abraded surface at its right edge, one would expect at least parts of a letter, if one was written in the papyrus. The *vacat* should be ‘dotted’, since one cannot entirely exclude that there was a letter between Cι[κ]ελίαν and ωc, but it does not seem likely to me.

The *spatium* within the description of Menecrates might be due to the fact that ὥc προ[ε]ήν is a kind of insertion, precisely a self-reference to Philodemus which is, unlike the other self-references in columns XXXIV f., not a genuine part of the description/phrase.<sup>34</sup> A second *spatium* at the end of the insertion was not necessary, since the line ended with the insertion (προ[ε]ήν). Considering the position of ὥc προ[ε]ήν within the description of Menecrates such a *spatium* seems, if not necessary, at least useful to distinguish this self-reference from the rest of the phrase and helps to avoid confusion. We cannot be sure whether Philodemus phrased this in a similar way in the final version of the *Index Academicorum* or modified it.

A self-reference ὥc προ[ε]ήν would provide definitive proof that Philodemus dwelled for a while in Sicily and our restoration of this passage/insertion seems not unlikely at all, since Philodemus tells us about the sojourn of an approximately contemporary Academic philosopher in Sicily in a context where he makes a lot of self-references and at the same time the Suda tells us that Philodemus stayed in Sicily.<sup>35</sup> Philodemus mentions his arrival in Athens, coming from Alexandria, a few lines earlier by using his own movements as reference point. It should not surprise us that he did so in the description of Menecrates.

The mention of Menecrates in the list might even have been influenced or motivated by the fact that he was in Sicily when Philodemus lived there. Philodemus might have been able to make this precise statement about the place where Menecrates lived and taught, because both philosophers met each other in Sicily. Alternatively, Philodemus might have heard from others while being in Sicily that Menecrates was also there. Unlike the three pupils of Antiochus in col. XXXV, Aristo and Dio, both Alexandrians, and Cratippus of Pergamon, Philodemus does not credit Menecrates with being a personal friend. While this certainly does not mean that Philodemus and Menecrates never met and did not know each other (superficially), Philodemus would probably have stated a very close relationship explicitly.

### **Mnaseas of Tyre and an unknown philosopher from Agrigento**

All we know of Mnaseas of Tyre is his name.<sup>36</sup> There is another Academic philosopher from Tyre, Heraclitus, who is said by Cicero to have been the pupil of both Clitomachus and Philo.<sup>37</sup> This Heraclitus is probably mentioned a bit later in the list (l. 17),<sup>38</sup> but, as a new supplement/reading of his name shows, he was apparently not listed as a pupil of Philo, since Clitomachus was probably Heraclitus’ main teacher (see below). In any case, Tyre was a huge city and it is more than likely that Heraclitus was not the only Tyrian who moved to Athens for advanced philosophical education when Clitomachus and Philo headed the Academy. Consequently, there is hardly a good reason to assume a mixing up of the ethnicon or name.

The name belonging to the ethnicon Ἀκρα|γαντῖν[ωc] cannot be supplemented/

<sup>33</sup> I would like to thank Essler for his observation and for crosschecking the papyrus. He agrees that no remains of ink are recognizable with certainty. What looks like ink on the MSI is a break in the papyrus where the light reflects differently. Also the Neapolitan *Disegno* (and *VH<sup>2</sup>*) does not show any remains of a letter.

<sup>34</sup> Col. XXXIV 3 (possible; in a way proper part of the phrase); XXXIV 4 f. (Athens/Alexandria); XXXIV 1 and 43 (friend of Antiochus); XXXIV 7 f. (friendship with pupil of Antiochus); XXXIV 17 f. (possible reference to Dio, cf. FLEISCHER 2016B).

<sup>35</sup> Even if we assumed that there was no *spatium*, the supplement [ἔ]ωc προ[ε]ήν would probably imply a self-reference to Philodemus.

<sup>36</sup> The name is quite common. For the Academic philosopher see W. CAPELLE, *Mnaseas* (5), *RE* 15(2)/1932, 2250 (obsolete in detail; the name/supplement is now quite sure).

<sup>37</sup> Cic., *Luc.* 11, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Concerning the identity of a Heraclitus mentioned in col. XXV 34 f., see n. 37.

read with any certainty. The *lacuna* after κq[ί seems to speak for a fairly narrow letter. Whereas ω can be read clearly, I could not assign the following traces to distinctive letters; the papyrus is torn here and it is difficult to tell whether we are dealing with ink traces or just dark papyrus strips or pieces. There is space for roughly three letters between the ω and the preserved final c. For reasons of space I regard the two suggestions brought up so far for the name (Δῶ[ροc and Π]ῶ[λ]oc respectively)<sup>39</sup> as highly unlikely, not to say impossible. The supplement of the rather common name C]ωc[ί]αc might be attractive and matches the space requirements.<sup>40</sup>

### Melanthius, son of Aischines - an Academic family tradition?

Is it possible to connect Melanthius and Aischines with known persons? So far, scholars have not made any attempt to illuminate the names, but I think there is a good point for identification which will be discussed here for the first time. We have some information about the Academic philosopher Melanthius of Rhodes (born around 180 B.C.)<sup>41</sup> who is said to have been a pupil of Carneades as well as the teacher and lover of Aischines of Naples.<sup>42</sup> Aischines is the only known pupil of Melanthius and their relationship was obviously very close. Aischines purports that he had still heard Carneades, so that his discipleship with Melanthius should be dated around 130, maybe continuing for a longer time. According to a passage in Cicero's *De oratore*, Aischines was a leading figure in the Academy (around 110 B.C.): *audivi enim summos homines, cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas, florente Academia, ut temporibus illis ferebatur, cum eam Charmadas et Clitomachus et Aeschines obtinebant.*<sup>43</sup> Since Aischines was the darling of Melanthius of Rhodes he might have given the name of his admired and beloved Academic teacher to a son born around 120 B.C. who later became a pupil of Philo (around 100 B.C.). It is probable that Aischines settled in Athens where he met Melanthius of Rhodes and excelled in the Academy. The missing ethnicon of the Melanthius mentioned in the papyrus could be due to the fact that he was an Athenian. Maybe Philodemus or his source believed that a description of Melanthius based on the patronymicon is more adequate, because his father Aischines was a distinguished member of the Academy and an indication by the ethnicon Athenian would have been too trivial. Even more, Melanthius' occurrence in the list could have been motivated by his famous father. Indeed, the hypothesis that we are dealing with the renowned Academic Aischines of Naples and his son who was named after the teacher and lover of Aischines, Melanthius of Rhodes, is attractive. Nonetheless we should bear in mind that both names were very common<sup>44</sup> and it cannot be entirely excluded that the combination of the names is just a coincidence without any relation to Melanthius of Rhodes and Aischines of Naples.

### Lysimachus - former astrologist and pupil of Heraclitus of Tyre (in Alexandria)

In l. 14 the space between the obvious πρότερ and ολογίαc is clearly too broad for the generally accepted supplement πρότε[ρον φιλ]ολογίαc. David Blank suggested the transcription ἄc[τρ]ολογίαc which is compatible with space and traces.<sup>45</sup> In l. 15 I was able to verify Puglia's suggestion μεταcχ[ών<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Δῶ[ροc: BÜCHELER 1869, p. 20. Π]ῶ[λ]oc: MEKLER 1902, p. 109, followed by H. METTE, *Philon von Larisa und Antiochos von Askalon*, «Lustrum» 28-29/1986-87, pp. 9-63, spec. p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer, who suggested this supplement.

<sup>41</sup> For Melanthios of Rhodes and a new edition of the Melanthios passage in Apollodorus' *Chronica*, see K. FLEISCHER, *Ein Leben im Überfluss - Melanthios von Rhodos in Apollodors Chronik (PHerc. 1021, XXXI)*, «Philologus» (forthcoming; online available). Further bibliography to Melanthius: W. CAPPELLE, *Melanthios* (12), *RE* 15(1)/1931, 430 f.; DORANDI 1991, pp. 74 f.; GÖRLER 1994, p. 909; T. DORANDI, *Mélanthios de Rhodes* (87), in R. GOULET, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* IV (Paris 2005), pp. 383 f.

<sup>42</sup> For Aischines, see R. GOULET, *Aischinès de Naples*, in R. GOULET, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* I (Paris 1989), p. 89; GÖRLER 1994, p. 910. Cic., *De orat.* I 45; D.L. II 64: ἔκτος Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος Ακαδημαϊκός, Μελανθίου τοῦ Ῥοδίου μαθητῆς καὶ παιδικά. For the alleged discipleship at Carneades see Plut., *An seni sit gerenda res publica* 13 (791 A,B).

<sup>43</sup> Cic., *De orat.* I 45. The speaker in this passage is Crassus.

<sup>44</sup> Melanthius has 108 matches in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Aischines has 201 matches (online- search: vol. 1-5A).

<sup>45</sup> I thought first about τε φ[ι]λο]λογίαc[α]c, but the space and the traces do practically rule out this reading. Note further that the article ὀ before πρότερον is to be found on a *sottoposto*.

<sup>46</sup> PUGLIA 2000, p. 22.

by putting a *sovrapposto* into the correct place on which a clear ω and traces of ν are identifiable. My transcription is μετασχών. At the beginning of l. 16 I transcribe κ]αῖ<sup>47</sup> and at the beginning of l. 17 κ]αῖ Πανσανίας. Consequently, Puglia's reading Ἡράκ[λε]ίτου [ὁ] μετασχ[ών] (the nominative is also read by Dorandi) is doubtful inasmuch as μετασχ[ών] («being pupil, participating in one's teaching») and ἦσαν | δ' αὐτοῦ μαθ[η]ταί at the beginning of the list would cause an unacceptable redundancy. And indeed, there is no clear c at the end of the name, the ink traces after the o are compatible with the left stroke of υ. Furthermore there is hardly space for the additional article [ὁ] supplemented by Puglia. The genitive Ἡρακλ[ε]ίτου is possible and, as the phrasing and our further reconstruction will show (see below), virtually unavoidable. The fact that Philodemus does not specify Heraclitus by an ethnicon or the like, strongly suggests that he is talking about an Academic (rather than about an unknown astrologer) and that this Academic has already been mentioned before in one of the lost passages of the papyri.<sup>48</sup>

Is there an Academic bearing the name Heraclitus who fits the context? Certainly, there is. We know from Cicero's *Lucullus* that Heraclitus of Tyre was a distinguished (sceptical) Academic who had heard Clitomachus and Philo. He was present when Antiochus was in Alexandria and received the so called 'Roman books' (88/87 B.C.) which provoked Antiochus' work *Sosus* («Sosus affair»): *At ille 'Cum Alexandriae pro quaestore' inquit 'essem, fuit Antiochus mecum, et erat iam antea Alexandriae familiaris Antiochi Heraclitus Tyrius, qui et Clitomachum multos annos et Philonem audierat, homo sane in ista philosophia, quae nunc prope dimissa revocatur, probatus et nobilis; cum quo et Antiochum saepe disputantem audiebam – sed utrumque leniter... tum igitur et cum Heraclitum studiose audirem contra Antiochum disserentem et item Antiochum contra Academicos ...'*<sup>49</sup>

The word order of the relative clause (*qui Clitomachum multos annos et Philonem audierat*) may mean that Heraclitus studied with Clitomachus for many years, and that he was Heraclitus' main teacher, but less extensively with Philo. After Clitomachus' death Heraclitus may have studied with Philo for a comparatively short time before he himself began to teach. That Heraclitus did teach is clear from the new reading of the papyrus, which says that Lysimachus was his student. Clearly, Heraclitus was a friend (*familiaris*), not a disciple of Antiochus whose philosophical views he opposed in favour of Academic scepticism (*Heraclitum studiose audirem contra Antiochum disserentem*). Given that Heraclitus was a pupil of Clitomachus he must have been somewhat older than Antiochus, who attended Academic lectures exclusively by Philo. Most probably Antiochus and Heraclitus knew each other from common studies with Philo in his early years in Athens. Coming to Alexandria Antiochus had a contact to turn to. Now the crucial question is what *iam antea Alexandriae* means. Does it indicate a quite recent arrival of Heraclitus in Alexandria (leaving Athens in 88 B.C. because of the Mithridatic war and the tyrannis) or does it mean that Heraclitus was established in Alexandria long before Antiochus had arrived there in 87/86 B.C.?<sup>50</sup> The reading/supplement of the genitive instead of the nominative in the papyrus gives us clear evidence for the first time that Heraclitus was actively teaching philosophy. Where did he teach? If Heraclitus had taught in Athens, why should Lysimachus not have attended the lectures of Philo himself, who

<sup>47</sup> α and ι are to be found on a *sottoposto*.

<sup>48</sup> For instance, he could have been listed as a pupil of Clitomachus in the lost parts of column XXV. However, the name Heraclitus in col. XXV 34 is doubtful and/or may not refer to the philosopher, but to an archon.

<sup>49</sup> Cic., *Luc.* XI 12.

<sup>50</sup> HATZIMICHALI 2011, p. 38, supposes in her thorough analysis of philosophy in Alexandria during the 2./1. century B.C., that Heraclitus «came from Athens ... probably in the fallout of the political crisis there». This means she thinks of *iam antea Alexandria* as a rather short time. Still, the new reading in our papyrus may indicate that a longer time is meant.

was in charge of the Academy? Maybe more strikingly, we have no evidence that Heraclitus lectured in Athens, although we know of many famous Academic philosophers who are said to have flourished there during or shortly before Philo's scholarchate (110/109 - 88/84).<sup>51</sup> The only source mentioning Heraclitus, Lucullus (Cicero), associates him with Alexandria and the fact that his pupil Lysimachus did formerly astrology fits well with Alexandria. Surely, Lysimachus could have done astrology somewhere else, but Alexandria was definitely the place to be for an astrologer and the adverb πρότερον could imply a later change of places.<sup>52</sup>

Hence I hypothesise that Lysimachus had first practiced/taught astrology (probably in the context of the library and the Museion) and later studied Academic philosophy with Heraclitus in Alexandria before<sup>53</sup> he went to Philo in Athens. Since he had pupils, of whom Lysimachus was one, Heraclitus must have had a kind of school or at least have given lectures. Alexandria seems to be the most likely place for such an Academic-sceptical 'school' or lectures. I interpret the *erat iam antea Alexandriae* to the effect that Heraclitus was much earlier than Antiochus in Alexandria, *i.e.* that he had been living in Alexandria for several years before Antiochus arrived there and might have run a kind of school. We know of another Academic, Zenodorus, a pupil of Carneades (and interestingly also from Tyre) who led an Academic school in Alexandria around the middle of the second century B.C. (and maybe longer).<sup>54</sup> In addition, the renowned Academic Charmadas seems to have spent some time in Alexandria before going to Athens.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, Academic teaching activities in Alexandria around 100 B.C. and later conducted by Heraclitus of Tyre are not unexpected. He might well have run a kind of Academic-sceptical school or at least might have regularly lectured on Academic philosophy in Alexandria as Zenodorus had done a few decades earlier. We should not think of a huge institution like the Academy in Athens, more a kind of small private school where people interested in Academic philosophy but not willing to go to Athens gathered. In a city as populous and cultivated as Alexandria there was surely demand for such a 'school', in particular if we take into account that dogmatic philosophy was still flourishing in the Mediterranean area at that time. We cannot entirely exclude that it was Athens where Heraclitus was 'somehow' the teacher of Lysimachus, but this location seems less likely to me. However, whether we are allowed to draw a direct line from Heraclitus of Tyre to Dion of Alexandria,<sup>56</sup> pupil of

<sup>51</sup> For instance Charmadas and Aischines, cf. Cic., *De orat.* I 45 (see main text above).

<sup>52</sup> There is no well known astrologer named 'Heraclitus' who lived during the time of Lysimachus and can be expected to have been mentioned here.

<sup>53</sup> The adverb πρότερον seems also to refer to the second participle (μετασχών).

<sup>54</sup> Col. XXIII 2 f. (Ζηνόδορος Τύριος κα[τ'] Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡγήσά[μενος]) and col. XXXII 16 f. (Zenodorus' name is newly read, cf. FLEISCHER 2014, p. 74. HATZIMICHALI 2011, pp.

26 f. regards it best to interpret the passage «as a reference to a group of personal pupils that Zenodorus 'led'... rather than to an official Academic annexe». There might not have been a highly official annexe, but the verb might well signify the leading of a small Academic 'school' which might have been not much more than the lectures Zenodorus gave.

<sup>55</sup> Based on a new reading in col. XXXI 33 f., cf. FLEISCHER 2014, pp. 66 f.

<sup>56</sup> For Dio see especially HATZIMICHALI 2011, pp. 46-50.

Antiochus and teacher in Alexandria, or to possible Old Academy activities in Alexandria, is a question I do not want to focus on here. It is quite unlikely that Lysimachus did astrology with Heraclitus, since nothing hints at astrological teaching activities of Heraclitus and the phrasing of the passage may not support such an assumption.

A missing *expressis verbis* reference to Alexandria in the description of Lysimachus might be explained by a previous mention of Heraclitus, now lost, which mentioned his teaching in Alexandria. So the participle ἀσ[τρ]ολογῆσας combined with the discipleship at Heraclitus would have been sufficient (or at least Philodemus thought so) to make clear to the readers that Lysimachus stayed formerly in Alexandria. The participle ἀσ[τρ]ολογῆσας could mean more than that Lysimachus had just some basic knowledge in the field of astrology. He may have been an advanced student of astrology or a kind of scholar in his early years. As the following new readings show, it is even possible that he taught astrology.

### Pausanias - pupil of Lysimachus

In ll. 17 f. the transcription κα[ὶ] Πασσανίας, ὃς καὶ αὐτ[ο]ῦ | Ἀ[ν]τιμάχου δ[ι]ήκουσεν ( ) is possible and seems to fit the context well.<sup>57</sup> This reading/supplement confirms the reading Ἡρακλείτου to some extent since καὶ αὐτ[ο]ῦ | Ἀ[ν]τιμάχου strongly suggests that Lysimachus was the pupil immediately preceding Pausanias in the list.<sup>58</sup> In col. XXXV 34 f. (though partly supplemented) the list of pupils of an unknown philosopher ends with a similar relative clause:<sup>59</sup> [ὃς] καὶ τοῦ Στρατ[ο]νικέως<sup>35</sup> [δι]ήκουσε (*spatium*). Hence, it is likely that the relative clause in ll. 17 f. marked the end of the pupil list as it did in the parallel, whereas the information about the philosophers ‘within’ the list (Menecrates, Lysimachus) was expressed by using participle constructions for reasons of smoothness.

Where and in what context was Pausanias a pupil of Lysimachus? Given that Lysimachus obviously had a ‘pupil’ (Pausanias) one could hypothesize that the participle ἀσ[τρ]ολογῆσας means that Lysimachus has taught astrology. Lysimachus is not reported to have been an Academic teacher in Athens and one may ask why Pausanias should not have attended Philo’s own lectures. So the hypothesis that Pausanias had been a pupil of Lysimachus in Alexandria before the latter changed his allegiance to Academic philosophy, possibly followed by his pupil, is worth thinking about. However, Academic teaching of Lysimachus (in Athens) in whatever context is also possible and in the light of the fact that it is not explicitly stated that Pausanias did astrology under Lysimachus, perhaps even more likely. Certainly, the fact that one pupil of Philo was the other’s teacher might at first glance challenge the reading/supplement, but if we remember that Philo was head of the Academy for 22 years and during that time other Academics also taught in the Athenian Academy (*e.g.* Aischines, Charmadas) a discipleship of Pausanias under Lysimachus (in Athens) might be somehow explicable. Lysimachus may have become a kind of teaching assistant of Philo at some point.<sup>60</sup> The missing ethnicon of Pausanias might hint at an Athenian origin. Perhaps Philodemus thought that the relative clause described Pausanias more properly than any ethnicon, and this might imply teaching activities of Lysimachus in Athens.

<sup>57</sup> I have already suggested the name Pausanias in FLEISCHER 2015A, p. 418 n. 18. The reading is also partly backed by the Neapolitan *disegno* and *VHP* (cf. apparatus).

<sup>58</sup> Pausanias studied with Philo and also with Lysimachus (the ‘himself’ is an argument in favour of the reading that excluded Heraclitus as a pupil of Philo, since it functions anaphorically to refer back to Lysimachus, excluding Heraclitus). It is worth mentioning that the space before μάχου is much too short for supplementing [Κλειτο]μάχου.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. FLEISCHER 2015B for possible identifications and a new edition of the passage.

<sup>60</sup> It is even possible, although it may be less likely, that Pausanias attended Lysimachus’ lectures after the death of Philo.

## The end of the list and Antiochus

Finally, we would still expect the mention of Philo's most famous pupil, Antiochus of Ascalon, who later rejected his teacher's tenets and set up his own 'Old Academy'. In a contribution in *Mnemosyne* I presented a new reading for ll. 23-25 (until then printed as *vacant*):<sup>61</sup> Μνη|[c]ἀ|[ρ]χ]ωι δ[ε] τῶ[ι] C[τ]ω]ϊκῶι |<sup>25</sup> πα[ρ]αβαλῶν. This information undoubtedly refers to Antiochus who obviously rejected Academic scepticism after having heard the Stoic Mnesarchus.<sup>62</sup> So the name of Antiochus must have occurred somewhere between ll. 19 and 23. And indeed, it seems probable that it immediately followed the relative clause which well may have marked the preliminary end of the pupil list. For l. 19 one may think about the transcription . . . . . δ' [Αντ]ίσοχος. (.), but it should be emphasized that the remaining traces are very scanty and the reading is more a kind of supplement based on a comparatively secure οχ and δ. The content of ll. 19-26 might have been the following: «Antiochus (of Ascalon), was first a pupil of Philo (for many years and/or other information), too, but after hearing the Stoic Mnesarchus, he set up his own school (abandoned Philo's tenets or the like)». <sup>63</sup> Thus Antiochus' name was most probably not part of the list itself, but his discipleship under Philo was either reported in a way that led to his own *vita* fluently or it was an integral part of the beginning of his *vita*. As already outlined above, Heraclitus of Tyre is apparently not commemorated as a pupil of Philo in the list. This is understandable if we consider that the word order of the Cicero passages suggests that Heraclitus was mainly a pupil of Clitomachus (see above). Alternatively, Heraclitus' time with Philo might have already been mentioned in a lost passage and was purposely not repeated again by Philodemus.

## Conclusion

Apart from some substantial textual improvement, we have conducted the first thorough analysis of the complete list and the philosophers mentioned.

col. XXXIV 7 f.: The papyrus reads Iolaos (not Iollas) of Sardis. We argued that the identification of this Academic philosopher with a certain Iollas of Sardis known from an inscription remains possible, but it is similarly arguable that we are dealing with a different person rather than a spelling variant.

col. XXXIV 8-11: A self-reference to Philodemus in this passage, as I suggest on basis of a new reading (ὅς προ[c]ήν, preceded by a *spatium*), would confirm the Suda information about a stay of Philodemus in Sicily. Philodemus' sojourn in Sicily must have (partly) overlapped with that of Menecrates of Mytilene.

Col. XXXIV 11-13: Nothing of interest can be said about Mnaseas of Tyre and the unknown philosopher from Agrigento.

Col. XXXIV 13 f.: It is possible that the renowned Academic philosopher Aischines of Naples is meant. He may have named his son after his beloved teacher Melanthius of Rhodes and may have inspired his son to pursue Academic studies.

Col. XXXIV 14-16: Lysimachus was an erstwhile astrologer and pupil of Heraclitus of Tyre. The new reading gives us evidence for the first time that

<sup>61</sup> FLEISCHER 2015A. Note that I have numbered the lines of the new reading with ll. 22-24, but a new graphical reconstruction of the papyrus showed that it should be rather ll. 23-25. This insignificant shift has no impact on the validity of the reading or on my former interpretation.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Eus., *P. E.* 14, 9, 3 (=T1 METTE =Fr. 28 DES PLACES); Aug., *C. A.* 3, 41 (=F8a METTE).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. FLEISCHER 2015A, p. 418. Notwithstanding the supplement, it is questionable whether his having studied with Mnesarchus was the only reason why Antiochus abandoned Old Academic tenets.

Heraclitus lectured on Academic philosophy. Alexandria seems the most probable place for his teaching activities where Lysimachus may have done astrology and later may have attended Heraclitus' lectures before he went to Philo in Athens.

Col. XXXIV 16-18. At some point in his life Lysimachus must have given lectures, whether in astrology or philosophy, since a certain Pausanias is said to have heard him, too. However, we are not able to tell where, when and under what circumstances Pausanias was a pupil of Lysimachus. The Academy in Athens might be the most likely place.

Col. XXXIV 19: The name of Antiochus probably occurred in l. 19. It is likely that Philodemus here began Antiochus' biography by mentioning that he studied with Philo.

Although Cicero mentioned several Roman pupils of Philo, we should not be surprised that there are no Roman names to be found in the list,<sup>64</sup> since they probably studied with Philo in Athens for a short time («visiting students») or heard him in Italy (88-84/83). So Philodemus (his source) did not include them in the list and gave only the names of the most distinguished Greek long-term students of Philo in Athens. Altogether 10 pupils of Philo of Larisa are identifiable (by name) in the *Index Academicorum*.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> GÖRLER 1994, pp. 917 f., mentions C. Aurelius Cotta (90. B.C. in Athens) and for Philo's Roman time (88-84 B.C.) M. Tullius Cicero, P. Selsius, C. Selsius, Tetrilius Rogus, Q. Lutatius Catulus, Q. Lutatius Catulus (iunior). Further, Ainesidemus and L. Aelius Tubero may have attended Philo's lectures, cf. GÖRLER 1994, pp. 983 f.

<sup>65</sup> In the order as they occur in col. XXXIV: an unknown person who held the school after Philo had gone to Italy (he must have been a pupil of Philo as the καί at the beginning of the pupil list proves), Iolaos of Sardis, Menecrates of Mytilene, Mnaseas of Tyre, (name not readable, maybe Sosias) of Agrigento, Melanthius, son of Aischines (probably Athenian), Lysimachus (probably Athenian or Alexandrian), Pausanias (probably Athenian), Antiochus of Ascalon, Heraclitus of Tyre (mentioned as a pupil of Philo by Cicero and as a teacher of Lysimachus by Philodemus; his studies with Philo were perhaps mentioned earlier in a lost passage of the papyrus).

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