

New evidence on the death of Philo of Larissa (PHerc. 1021, col. 33,42 -34,7)

1. Introduction

Philo of Larissa (159/58 or ca. 147 -84/83) was the last distinguished representative of the so-called sceptical Academy.¹ He succeeded Clitomachus as scholarch in 110/09 BC and fled from Athens to Italy on the eve of the Mithridatic War and Sulla's siege of Athens (88 BC). In Italy, Philo lectured on philosophy and attracted a lot of young noblemen, amongst them Cicero.² A lot of valuable information about Philo's life can be found exclusively in the final columns of Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* (PHerc. 1021, col. 33,34). Although several improvements that could be made to the text since Dorandi's edition (1991) have been published,³ a fragmentary passage between the report of Philo's death and the mention of a person who obviously succeeded or deputised him during his absence continues to represent a puzzle to scholars (col. 33, 44 –col. 34,2). This is all the more regrettable if we take into consideration that the content of these lines could have a significant impact on the suggested supplements in the surrounding context and the whole syntax. In any case, the lines seem to contain a pivotal statement about either Philo or another Academic.

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¹ Of course, one could argue that Cicero should be credited with this title. At least Philo was the last distinguished Greek representative of the sceptical Academy. For Philo of Larissa see Görler (1994) 915-37; Brittain (2001); Goulet (2012) 404–38. For his date of birth and age at death see Fleischer (2017) and Fleischer (forthcoming); for a collection of fragments see Mette (1986/87) 25-63 (Philo 9-24), partly revised and supplemented by Brittain (2001) 345-70.

² Cic. *Brut.* 306 (=II Brittain = F4 Mette); *Ac.* 1 13 (= XXX Brittain = F7 Mette); *Tusc.* 2,9 (= XXXV Brittain =F 9 Mette); *De nat. deor.* 1,6 (= XXXIII Brittain =F10 Mette). For the Greek pupils of Philo of Larissa see Fleischer (forthcoming).

³ Dorandi (1991a). Prior editions were provided by Bücheler (1869), based on the coll. Altera, and Mekler (1902). For these improvements see Puglia (2000) and Fleischer (forthcoming). Del Mastro (2012) identified some fragments numbered under PHerc. 1691 which also belong to PHerc. 1021. For the improvements one may refer to Blank (2007) whose new readings reveal that Philodemus was an acquaintance of Antiochus, or to Puglia (2000) who showed that the persons listed in col. 34 are the pupils of Philo, not Antiochus; Further, he argued plausibly that it emerges from col. 34,3-5 that Philodemus lived for a while in Alexandria, cf. Fleischer (2016) 82-104.

So far, the passage in Dorandi's standard edition, modified by some subsequent improvements, reads as follows:⁴

Philodemus, *Index Academicorum* (PHerc. 1021), col. 33,42 - col. 34,7:

⁴² ____ . [.] . [.] τώσεις. βιώσας [[(.)]. . ω . (.)] δ' ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη `καὶ τρία` κατέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Νικήτου
[κατ'⁴⁵ Ἴτ]αλίαν ἐν τῷ τ[ρ]ίτῳ ΠΡΟ||

col. 34 [. .]. ὙΠΕΝΗΓ [.] ἐπιδραμῶ[v. . | . . .]ΤΑΡΡΩΙ. καὶ τὴν σχολή[v] | αὐτοῦ Π. . . [.] ΟΣ Ο
. ΜΑΙΚΙΟΣ, ἐφ' ἡ[[α]]μῶν Ἀθήνησιν π[αρ]αβαλόν⁵των ἐξ Α[λ]εξανδρείας, κα[ι] διακατεῖχεν.
ἦσαν⁷ δ' αὐτοῦ (i.e. Philo) μαθηταὶ κτλ.

col. 33: 42-44 legi et supplevi 42-45 [. . .] τώσεις. Βιώσας δ' [. .] | [καὶ] ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη κατέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Νικήτου [- - - | . .]. ΙΑΝ ἐν τῷ τ[ρ]ίτῳ Τ[- - -] Dorandi; [ἔξ]? Dorandi; [. . .] τώσεις. Βιώσας δ' [εννέα] / κα[ι] ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη `..... Α' [. . .] ἀπ[ε]θήσανε]ν ἐπὶ Νικήτου [κατ' Ἴτ]αλίαν ἐν τῷ τ[ρ]ίτῳ προ Puglia
col. 34: 1-2 [. .]. ὙΠΕΝΗΓ [.] ἐπιδραμῶ[v. . | . . .]ΤΑΡΡΩΙ. Puglia; [. .]. ὙΠΕΓΗΓ[] ἐπιδραμῶ[v. . | . . .]
. ΑΡΡΩΙ Dorandi 3 Μαΐκιος Dorandi; Ο. ΜΑΙΚΙΟΣ Puglia 4 Ἀθήνησιν Puglia

“Having lived for 63 years, he (*sc. Philo*) died under the archonship of Niketes (84/83 BC) in Italy in the third ... and his school [...] (and?) in charge of it when I (*sc. Philodemus*) arrived in Athens coming from Alexandria. His (*sc. Philo*'s) disciples were...”

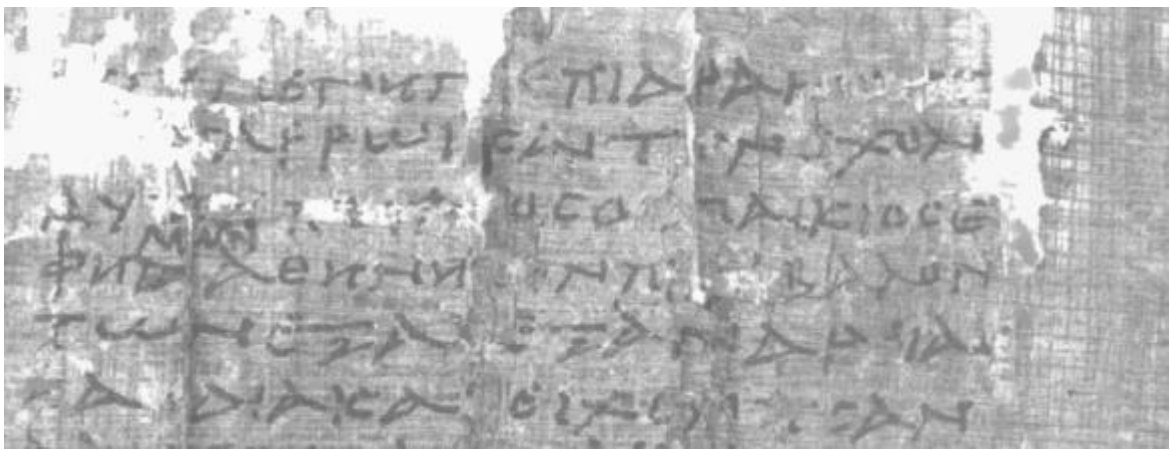
The papyrus tells us that Philo died at the age of 63 under the archon Niketes, who can be securely dated to 84/83 BC. Puglia (2000) was the first to suggest the supplement/reading “Italy”. This suggestion is in accordance with all other sources, not reporting that Philo ever returned to Greece. An unknown person was in charge of Philo's school when Philodemus arrived in Athens. The lines in between (col. 33,45-34,2) and especially the ordinal number (third) remain obscure.⁵

⁴ A new digital graphical reconstruction of the column has shown that columns 33 and 34 most probably consisted of 45 lines, and for this reason the assignment of the lines is different from that given in Mekler's/Dorandi's edition (and adopted by all other scholars).

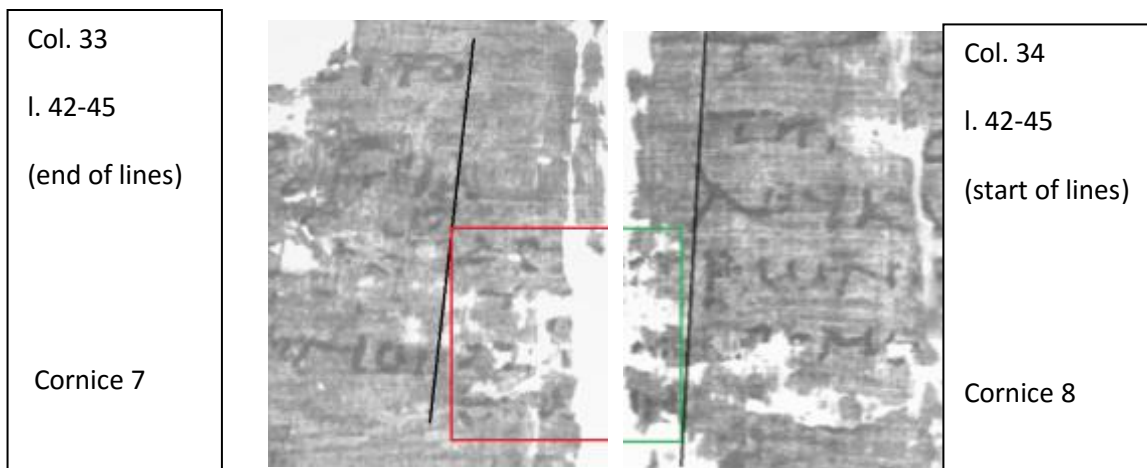
⁵ Puglia (2000) 20 speculated: “...in Italia, dove era fuggito nel terzo anno (?) prima della morte”.



Col. 33, 41-45



Col. 34, 2-6



The red/green square embraces an intercolumnar insertion. The black lines mark the endings or the beginnings of the lines of the main text.⁶

2. New transcription and translation (PHerc. 1021, col. 33,42 -34,7)

⁶ Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli – Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah, USA). All rights reserved. With permission from Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo.

First, it is crucial to state that the digital images printed above reveal a detail for restoring these lines which editors have not taken notice of so far. Undoubtedly, a kind of intercolumnar supplement was inserted at the right hand margin of col. 33, 44-45. Previous editors erroneously believed that parts of this insertion belong to the main column line 45, which complicated a possible reconstruction of the whole passage.⁷ Insertions like this occur at other passages in PHerc. 1021 which represents Philodemus' preliminary working draft, not the final version of the treatise.⁸ The letters belonging to the insertion are slightly dislocated relative to the level of the lines of the main text and should not mistakenly be regarded as belonging to the main text which is what scholars have done so far. My transcription of the intercolumnar insertion is as follows:

1 (ad marg. 44) δε. (.)

2 (ad marg. 44) . . . [.(.)]

3 (ad marg. 45) (.)

4 ad marg. 45) y

4 prima littera ε aut θ esse videtur; tertia littera fortasse α aut λ

The hypothesis that the insertion has some relation to the doublet reporting the death of Philo twice (col. 33,17-19 and 42-44) seems attractive. If “63 years” was not the correct age,⁹ one could think about an adjustment or additional information. However, the traces of the insertion do not support such an assumption.¹⁰ Therefore, the insertion was perhaps a corresponding element to the bracket(s)

⁷ The πρρ of Puglia (2000) is in fact part of this insertion, though his transcription πρρ is not certain. Only a remark in the apparatus of Mekler's edition implies that Croenert had already realised that we are not dealing with letters of the main line, but he did not identify the entire insertion (Mekler ad locum: τωι . . . τωι mihi esse videbatur, τωιτ. λνοι Croenerto, qui πρσ alio pertinere arbitratur). Mekler and Dorandi regarded at least parts of this insertion as belonging to the main text of line 45.

⁸ Cf. for instance the supplements/notes between columns 6 and 7 (at the middle and end of the columns). PHerc. 164 preserves some scanty remains of the final version. For the character of PHerc. 1021 as a draft see Dorandi (1991b) and Dorandi (2007) 40-2.

⁹ Cf. for the age of Philo of Larissa at his death my new readings in Fleischer (2017) and more detailed in Fleischer (forthcoming) The papyrus mentions twice (col.33,17-19 and 42-44) that Philo died at the age of 63.

¹⁰ The traces are hardly compatible with any alternative number indicating age.

drawn along lines 19-21¹¹ and was made in order to ensure that Philo's death would not occur twice in the final version of the *Index Academicorum*.

I transcribe *περὶ* at the end of line 44 of the main text and *τ[ῆ]ν* at the beginning of line 45.¹² The phrasing *περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν* occurs dozens of times in ancient literature and often simply means “in (around) Italy”, synonymous for *κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν*.¹³ It could be that Philodemus or his source used that particular preposition in order to convey that they did not know the exact place where Philo had died or that he had died in the countryside.

The Greek letter sequence *αρρωι* is quite rare and turns out to be the key for restoring the whole passage. I could not find any personal name or place including this combination of letters and fitting the context. The letters are readable very clearly and no signs of correction can be detected; the lacunose context should prevent us from assuming a misspelling and arbitrarily correcting the fragmentary text (a methodological principle known as Youties's law). Among the very few Greek allowing for the ending *-αρρωι* only the reading/supplement *[κα]τάρρωι* matches the requirements of space and context. The further restoration of the lines will illuminate what exactly is meant by *[κα]τάρρωι*.

The presumed syntax was obviously responsible for Mekler's/Dorandi's reading of the nominative *ἐπιδραμῶν* in col. 34, 1.¹⁴ Yet, there is no clear *ω* and the dative *ἐπιδραμόντι* is perfectly compatible with the traces.¹⁵ It is justified by the accusative I have read/supplemented in col. 33,45 and col. 34, 1: *ἐν τῷ τὴν οἰκ[κ]ομένην*.¹⁶

¹¹ These brackets were functioning as a kind of deletion mark, cf. my discussion in Fleischer (forthcoming).

¹² The first three letters are rather damaged, but the reading is fairly secure. Remnants of the left part of the *π* are identifiable; the lower loop and the middle stroke of *ε* are visible; parts of the bottom and of the upper loop of *ρ* have survived. Though the mention of Italy in this context is very likely indeed, Puglia's restoration *Ἰταλίαν* at the beginning of line 45 is much too short for the space, whereas the new reading/supplement *τ[ῆ]ν Ἰταλίαν* fits in very well. Indistinct traces at the bottom and top of the line might be compatible with *τ*. The *ν* is quite faded, but parts of both verticals and the oblique are visible. The following traces on the bottom of the line should belong to the foot of the expected *ι*. The foot of the *τ* might be represented by ink traces.

¹³ This statement is based on a TLG search.

¹⁴ Mekler (1902) 108; Dorandi (1991a) 170; Puglia (2000) 20.

¹⁵ The left and right upper part of *ο* are preserved. Scarce traces of the oblique and of the upper part of the right vertical of *ν*, probably touching the horizontal of the following *τ*, are visible. Scattered traces of the horizontal and the foot of *τ* are recognizable.

¹⁶ The ink traces at the end of line 45 do not represent an *ω*, as hitherto believed, but two separate letters, *ο* and *ι*. Concerning the article *τὴν* it should be noted that the traces hint at the right part of an *η* and that the *ν* is quite

The personal name in col. 34, 2 might be Polus (Πῶλος), but the traces are difficult to discern and it is often dubious whether we are dealing with tiny *sovrapposti* (misplaced layers of the papyrus), ink or just dark fibres. Regardless of the uncertainty of the personal name, I find attractive Puglia's proposal to resolve the letters at the end of the line into οἰ[ι]μαί, Κῖος, an issue that will be discussed below.¹⁷

At the beginning of line 4 the letter cancelled seems to have been a *v* and not an *α*.¹⁸ In lines 4-5 I transcribe the participle προ[σ]βαλόντων. Traces and space are hardly compatible with the word παραβαλόντων to be found in all previous editions.¹⁹ In line 6 the transcription ἤδη is possible and fits the syntax much better than καί.²⁰

Before offering a closer analysis and interpretation of the new readings, I present below a new transcription and translation of the whole passage:

Philodemus, Index Academicorum (PHerc. 1021), col. 33,42 - col. 34,7:

βιώσα[ς] [[. . | . . ω . (.)]] δ' ἔξήκοντ' ἔτη `καὶ τρία' κατέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Νικήτου περι⁴⁵ τ[η]ν
 Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ τῆν οἰ¹ [κ]ουμένην ἐπιδραμόντ[ι] | [κα]τάρρωι καὶ τὴν σχολή[ν] | αὐτοῦ π. . [.]οσο[
]μαικίος ἐφ' ἠ[[ν]]ᾶμων' Ἀθήνησιν προ[σ]βαλόντων⁵ ἐξ Ἀ[λ]εξανδρείας, ἤδη διακατεῖχεν. ἦσαν⁷ δ'
 αὐτοῦ μαθη[η]ταὶ κτλ.

col. 33: 43 `καὶ τρία' Fleischer 44 περι legi; κατὰ Puglia 45 legi et supplevi 44-45 supplementum quattuor linearum dextra margine scriptum: ¹ marg. 44 δε. (.) . ² marg. 44 . . . [. (.)] ³ marg. 45 (.) ⁴ marg. 45 ν] id

broad. The former supplement/reading ἐν τῷ τ[ρ]ίτωι is not possible. The subsequent ink belongs to the insertion discussed above. The obliques of the two *v* in line 1 nearly became horizontals, a phenomenon that can also be observed in other *v* in the papyri (there are several examples for such broad *v*'s, e.g. col. 19,5; 31,2; 34,44; 34,5). Occasionally the scribe gave the letters of the first lines of each column a form slightly different from the letters in the following lines. The "traces" before ἐπιδραμόντ[ι] are just dark fibres or do not belong to this layer. Further, the space between οἰ[κ]ουμένην and ἐπιδραμόντ[ι] seems a bit broader in the images than it actually is. Hence, the transcription οἰ[κ]ουμένην ἐπιδραμόντ[ι] is perfectly possible. Already Crönert had suggested a similar transcription for line 45, which has been reported in Mekler's apparatus, but was ignored/rejected by Mekler and later editors: τωι. ἴνοι (cf. note 7).

¹⁷ Concerning the *μ* it should be stated that it is only conservatively dotted. The right vertical and parts of the right horizontal are preserved. Further, the upper and lower parts of a left vertical are identifiable.

¹⁸ Despite the quite unambiguous traces, the sequence of letters in this line suggests a mistakenly written *v*, not *α*.

¹⁹ Right after the *π*, there are remains of the foot and the top of a *ρ* identifiable; the subsequent traces on the bottom are from another layer (sottoposto – belonging to the deleted *v* of ἠ[[ν]]ᾶμων'), whereas the traces of ink on the top of the line preceding the clear *β* seem to represent a *sovrapposto* (belonging to the top of the first *α* of col. 34, 4). Some faded traces of the left part of *ο* are visible. Basically, the space between *π* and *β* hardly allows the supplement *οα*.

²⁰ Faded traces of the lower left part as well as of the oblique and the right vertical of *η* are visible; the traces fit better to *η* than *κ*. Already Blank (2007) 87, n. 5 had suggested this reading tentatively.

supplementum primum cognovi et legi **col. 34**: 1 legi et supplevi 2 [κα]τάρρῳι supplevi 3 initio lineae fortasse Πῶλος; ο[ἴ]μαι, Κῆος conieci, iam Puglia de ea divisione dubitanter cogitavit; Μαΐκιος Dorandi 4 ἡ[[v]]μῶν legi; ἡ[[α]]μῶν Dorandi/Puglia; Ἀθήνησιν Puglia 4,5 προ[σ]βαλόντων legi/supplevi sequens Blank; π[αρ]αβαλόντων omnes editores 6 ἤδη legi; κα[i] Dorandi/Puglia

“Having lived for 63 years, he (*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. His (*sc. Philo*’s) pupils were...”

3. Philo’s death during a catarrh (influenza) wave

The catarrh was a common illness in antiquity and the newly read passage obviously says that Philo died in the course of a catarrh wave spreading over the entire world. Since Philodemus (Apollodorus) reports in the *Index Academicorum* on other occasions that certain philosophers died from illness (or withdrew because of it),²¹ a statement about the exact circumstances of Philo’s death is not unexpected at all. The term κατάρρῳς (lat. *destillatio*) embraces a range of symptoms or illnesses, among them what in modern times would be typically called a cold or flu.²² Philostratus gives us some evidence that the term catarrh was not only used to describe a chronic and, as it were, individual illness, but also an influenza-like epidemic:

Philostr. *Vita Apollonii* 4,44: ἐμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νοσήματος, ὃ κατάρρῳν οἱ ἰατροὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀνίστανται δὲ ἄρα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ βῆχες καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοῖς λαλοῦσι πονήρως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πλέα ἦν ἰκετευόντων τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐπεὶ διωδῆκει τὴν φάρυγγα Νέρων καὶ μελαίνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἐχρῆτο, ...

²¹ Col. 27, 7,38; col 28, 17,18.

²² Already Plato mentioned the catarrh (Pl. *Crat.* 440C: οἱ κατάρρῳ νοσοῦντες, cf. *Resp.* 3.405D) and Seneca was probably the most prominent person suffering from a (chronic) catarrh (Sen. *Ep.* 75,12;78,1 (catarrh=*destillatio*), cf. Thorsteinsson (2010) 24, in particular note 14).

“Rome had an attack of the illness called by the doctors catarrh. It causes a cough and talking makes the voice hoarse. The sanctuaries were full of people praying to the gods, since Nero’s throat was swollen and his voice was thick...”²³

No doubt, Philostratus uses the term *κατάρρουν* for a viral disease associated with cough and hoarseness and affecting a lot of people at the same time. Consequently, there is good reason to identify this ancient *κατάρρους* with what we would nowadays call an influenza.²⁴ The (possible) endemic character of the *κατάρρους*, as attested by Philostratus (*ἐμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νοσήματος*), has a parallel in Philodemus’ phrasing *τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιδραμόντι*. The participle must mean something like “to spread over” or even more dramatic: “to rage over”.²⁵ The localization *οἰκουμένην* should not be taken too literally. Philodemus might only wish to indicate that this catarrh (influenza) wave affected some major cities in the Mediterranean area (e.g. Rome, Athens, Alexandria), not the “entire (Mediterranean) world” in a strict sense.²⁶ Maybe Philo’s health had already weakened when he was affected with the catarrh and/or the influenza virus was very aggressive.

It is true that the information *τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιδραμόντι* could simply emphasize that it was not a chronic catarrh of which Philo died, however the explicit mention of the worldwide character of this catarrh would not be strictly necessary in such a case.²⁷ Hence, the information could imply that Philodemus or his source (or both) were directly or indirectly affected by the influenza wave and therefore remembered it as a shocking experience (the definite article: *ἐν τῷ ...κατάρρῳ* - “during the (well-known) worldwide catarrh”). The possible *οἶμαι* in col. 34,2 and the self-reference in col. 34, 3,4

²³ The translation is taken from Jones (2005).

²⁴ Analysing the catarrh described by Philostratus from a medical point of view Cordruwisch/Sobottka (2014) 109 state: “... In unserem heutigen medizinischen Verständnis scheint es sich bei der beschriebenen Krankheit um eine einfache Infektion der oberen Atemwege zu handeln, die sich endemisch ausbreitete, da viele Menschen zur gleichen Zeit oder dicht aufeinander folgend erkrankten. Es ist von einer infektiösen Krankheit auszugehen. Vor allem Viren, wie z.B. das Influenza Virus, könnten hierfür verantwortlich gewesen sein.“ The authors plausibly date this influenza wave to AD59 (p. 110). Galen mentions “catarrh“ or “catarrhs” in different contexts, but always refers to processes going on in the individual person (e.g. Gal. *In Hipp. lib. VI eped. comm.* 17b (344); *De locis aff.* 8,37). He does not discuss the possible epidemic character of the catarrh, though from the Philostratus passage becomes clear that there were also catarrh (influenza) waves.

²⁵ See the possible meanings in LSJ embracing basically an (aggressive) attack, assault or spread.

²⁶ Philodemus uses the word *οἰκουμένην* in *De rhetorica* I, 33,26 (Longo Auricchio) and I, p. 357, 6 (Sudhaus) in the sense of “entire world”, which basically means in these contexts the Greek speaking world. In our context the word may easily encompass Rome. For sure, this influenza-like catarrh may not have resulted in death for the majority of people, but it might have claimed some victims, as it is still the case nowadays when an influenza breaks out.

²⁷ One may argue that it would have been sufficient to state that Philo died of a catarrh, which without further specification could also be understood as a kind of influenza.

may hint at the direction that Philodemus had not copied the (whole) account of Philo's death from another work, but embedded information based on his own experience (oral tradition). Although Philodemus' biography of Philo primarily depends on a written source, he may have relied on an oral source for the information about the catarrh or may have added the information on the worldwide spread of the disease.²⁸ Philodemus was most probably in Athens (84/83 BC) when this catarrh or influenza spread over the world. The outbreak could be related to Sulla's military campaigns, inasmuch as we know of plagues in Rome during Marius' and Cinna's attack on the city in 87 BC and of plagues in Athens at the same time as Sulla's siege.²⁹ The otherwise missing attestation of this particular catarrh (influenza) wave referred to by Philodemus should not be seen as problematic or as calling the new reading into question. So, for instance, Philostratus is our only source for the Neronian catarrh (influenza) wave and epidemics were quite common in antiquity, so that often no (or just one) source reports them, in particular when the number of victims was not extraordinarily high. Accordingly, it should not surprise us that the catarrh wave leading to Philo's death is not mentioned by any other author, especially if we consider that the overall number of victims, notwithstanding a possibly high rate of infection, might not have been remarkable and Philodemus' (or his source's) reference could have only been motivated by its relatively recent occurrence and/or personal affection.

There is some touch of tragic irony in the fact that Philo, seeking to escape war and distress, had left Athens for Italy and then died in this country just a few years later from an influenza epidemic. The new reading reveals that his death was to some extent premature and not directly due to old age.³⁰

²⁸ This oral source might have been Antiochus or his pupils. In columns 34 and 35 Philodemus claims that Antiochus and some of his pupils were his acquaintances. However, the information about Philo's quite tragic death during the catarrh epidemic might have circulated in Athens' philosophical circles and could have reached Philodemus in many possible ways. Most likely Philodemus had a written source for the biography of Philo, cf. Fleischer (2015) 421-2.

²⁹ Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo probably died in the course of one of these plagues in Rome. For these plagues in Athens und Rome see Letzner (2000) 170.

³⁰ I would like to bring on two loosely related matters, since our subject is an Epicurean (Philodemus) mentioning a serious epidemic. First, being a teenager, Lucretius might theoretically have witnessed the worldwide catarrh/influenza of PHerc. 1021 in Italy what might be of some interest in the context of his extensive account of the epidemic/plague in Athens (Luc. 6, 1138-1286). Second, the Suda gives us some evidence that Philodemus was expelled from Himera (Sicily) charged with having caused an epidemic (<Ίμεραία:> γραῦς τις. καὶ πόλις· ἐκ δὴ τούτων νόσοι καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίαί τὴν Ίμεραίαν κατέσχον. <Συκοφαντεῖν:> ... Αἰλιανός· ὁ δὲ ἐσυκοφάντει τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγορίας. ἐκ δὴ τούτων νόσοι καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίαί τὴν Ίμεραίων κατέσχον. <Τιμώνται:> ζημιούσι, καταδικάζουσιν. οἴγε μὴν Ίμεραῖοι τὸν Φιλόδημον τιμώνται πρὸς τῇ δημεύσει καὶ φυγῆς {ζημία}. The last word was deleted by Holford-Strevens as a gloss, cf. D. Sider, The

4. Some remarks on Philo's "successor(s)"

Both Mekler and Dorandi transcribe Μαίκιος in col. 34, 3, assuming the rare Roman name Maecius, but the sequence of the preceding readable letters practically rules out this possibility, apart from the general improbability that a philosopher with a Roman name led the Academy in the first century BC.³¹ As already remarked above, the name of the person in charge of the Academy after Philo had left Athens or passed away might be Polus (Πῶλος), but this is far from certain.³² Puglia suggested the sophisticated transcription οἶμαι, Κῖος which I approve, not least because of the absence of alternatives, but the fragmentary status of the surrounding context prevents me from putting this attractive division/supplement in the text. Yet Puglia seems to be mistaken about associating the ethnicon with the Bithynian city of Cius.³³ By Philodemus' time Cius (Κίος) had already been renamed as Prusias on the Sea. For that reason the ethnicon Κῖος probably derives from the Cycladic island Κέως (lat. Ceos, modern: Kea, ethnicon: Κεῖος, but occasionally also Κίος); the spelling in the papyrus might be due to iotacism.³⁴

Assuming "οἶμαι, Κῖος", Philodemus' restrictive ο[ἶ]μαι in col. 34, 3 might be interpreted to the effect that the philosopher mentioned here was not a distinguished successor of Philo, but merely a "leftover" of the formerly glorious sceptical Academy, whose geographic origin Philodemus could barely tell.³⁵ In any case, the otherwise missing attestation of this person may suggest that he was more a kind of mediocre administrator than a renowned leader of the school. The site of the Academy

Epigrams of Philodemus, Oxford, 1997, 213). For the assessment of the story see Sider (1997), 9 and Fleischer (2017), note 25. However, the identity of the catarrh in PHerc. 1021 and the νόσοι of the Suda is hardly arguable, not least because I regard it as rather likely that Philodemus was in Athens in 84/83 BC.

³¹ Cf. Mekler (1902), ad locum and Dorandi (1991a), ad locum et 252. Some doubts concerning the reading had already been raised by Glucker (1978) 99, n. 10 and Barnes (1989) 59, n. 35. If we assumed Μαίκιος, what traces would basically allow, the sequence of letters before the gentile name would be σο[], so that the a name ending σο[σ] would become unavoidable. The very few (exotic) names having this ending are not compatible with the traces preceding σο[σ].

³² Concerning the name Polus it might be worth stating that the supplement of this name for the philosopher from Agrigento, suggested by Mekler/Mette in col. 34,12, is practically ruled out by the space, cf. Fleischer (2017).

³³ Puglia (2000) 21. Despite the fact that the city Cius was not called Cius anymore, but Prusias, when Philodemus wrote, the ethnicon Κῖος was only occasionally used for the inhabitants of Bithynian Cius, whereas other ethnicons were more common (cf. Pape (1911), ad locum).

³⁴ Cf. Pape (1911) and Ruge (1921). Two famous philosophers come from that island: Prodicus of Ceos and the Peripatetic Aristo of Ceos (not to be confused with the Stoic Aristo of Chios). Since the ethnicon Κ(ε)ῖος is not a very common Greek word, the scribe's iotacism Κῖος for Κεῖος is explicable. The spelling with ι occurs for instance in the Suida (several occasions), Athen. 2,2,150 and schol. ad Aristoph. Ranas 541.

³⁵ The reading of ο[ἶ]μαι might be justified by the plausible hypothesis that Philodemus, referring to himself in lines 3,4, did not copy the name from a written source, but knew it through oral sources which should have skipped the ethnicon in the most cases.

may have suffered serious damage during Sulla's siege of Athens³⁶ and from the fact that Philo never returned to Athens we might draw the conclusion that the sceptical Academy in Athens virtually ceased to exist, although some less distinguished followers may have tried to rescue Philo's heritage without great success and could claim to be his "successors". To be sure, Philodemus uses the verb (δια)κατεῖχεν for leading a philosophical school,³⁷ but it is doubtful whether the philosopher mentioned in line 3 really continued teaching Academic scepticism in a way that had any strong impact on the philosophical life in Athens. The assumption of mediocre and unimportant institutional successor of Philo would be in accordance with Sedley's (1981) understanding of Cic. *De finibus* 5,6 which, he thinks, might imply still ongoing sceptical lectures in 79 BC, and at the same time in accordance with Polito's (2012) rejection of this possibility, inasmuch as these lectures hardly attracted many people or were considered as a good alternative to Antiochus.³⁸ The last remaining "Academic" (in a broader sense) of high reputation in Athens seems to have been Antiochus, who taught in the Ptolemaion. Cicero heard him as he was apparently the most famous "Academic" philosopher in Athens after Philo had left/died. It is telling that Philodemus himself was a personal friend of Antiochus and of some of his pupils, but not of Philonian Academics who obviously lost any significance and virtually died out. One could say that Antiochus became Philo's de facto (not institutional) successor in Athens, insofar as he was the last remaining philosopher of some reputation in Athens who claimed to be an "Academic"³⁹ and taught Old Academic, non-sceptical philosophy - but still "Academic" philosophy - in his own school. Brittain (2001) regards Philo as the last of the Academic Sceptics and thinks of Antiochus as his institutional successor,⁴⁰ while taking account of the controversy about this question.⁴¹ However, the passage in the papyrus seems to imply that Antiochus was not Philo's officially elected successor in a strictly institutional sense. Philo's actual institutional

³⁶ Erler (2007) 524, however questioned by Brittain (2001) 68.

³⁷ Glucker (1978) 99, n. 8.

³⁸ Sedley (1981) 74 n.3. Polito (2012) 34-37 argues for the opposite case (37: "by the time we find our man (i.e. Antiochus) lecturing in Athens in 79, he appears to be the only Academic lecturer available").

³⁹ Glucker (1978) 103-4 points out that Cicero always refers to "New" Academics as *Academici*. This implies that Antiochus' followers were not regarded as "real" Academics by Cicero.

⁴⁰ Brittain (2001) 1 ("...was broken by his successor, Antiochus of Ascalon...After Philo's death there were self-identified sceptical 'Academics' of considerable influence..., but no enduring institution") with reference to Glucker (1978) 98-120 who denies an institutional succession (in particular 106). One should point out that several new readings in PHerc. 1021 col. 33-35 make some of Glucker's arguments in the above mentioned section obsolete.

⁴¹ Brittain (2001), 1 n. 1.

successor was hardly a famous philosopher, but a negligible figure whose activities were completely overshadowed by the fame of Antiochus and his Old Academy, so that Antiochus, being a former pupil of Philo and lecturing successfully, was commonly regarded as the “real” successor of Philo and (in later times) mistakenly or imprecisely also believed to be his institutional successor.⁴²

5. Towards Philodemus’ landing in Athens

I have argued in more detail that lines 4-5 contain the information that Philodemus went from Alexandria to Athens. This view is also shared by the majority of scholars.⁴³ I thought about the reading of the participle προσβαλόντων earlier which is now confirmed by a fresh look at the papyrus and the digital images.⁴⁴ Already Blank (2007) had considered the participle προσβαλόντων in a note, but stated resignedly: ⁴⁵ “...though I cannot make any more sense of πρ[οσ]βαλόντων here”. For reasons of content the former παραβαλόντων was supposed to express a movement (“had gone”) or a teaching activity⁴⁶, but the lexicography was somewhat problematic. The new reading smooths over the former lexicographic roughness, since the TLG lists under προσβάλλω (with dative) the nautical meaning “to put in with a ship”.⁴⁷ I think that a landing by ship in Athens fits the context very well and προσβάλλω might also explain the genitive construction ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας to some extent. The newly read participle should dispel any remaining concerns about the sense of the passage, and should confirm that Philodemus refers to his arrival (landing by ship) in Athens, coming from Alexandria.

Apparently Philodemus uses ἤδη in order to indicate that, arriving in Athens, it was not possible to meet Philo in person anymore. The καὶ of previous editions hardly fit the syntax and would have required another verb.⁴⁸ The passage refers to a time when Philo had already gone to Rome, but had not necessarily passed away yet. Philodemus probably arrived around 86 BC or not much later in

⁴² Furthermore, the fact that Antiochus did not teach in the Academy, but in the Ptolemaion suggests that he was not an institutional successor, cf. Sedley (1981) 74 n.3.

⁴³ Fleischer (2016) 81-104.

⁴⁴ Fleischer (2016) 92.

⁴⁵ Blank (2007) 87, n. 5.

⁴⁶ For the last interpretation see Glucker (1978) 102 (based on an old reading); Hatzimichali (2011) 51, n. 65.

⁴⁷ Among the references given in the TLG are Th. 6,4 ὕστερον δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελία, ...; 8,12: καὶ αὐτὸς ὅταν προσβάλη Ἰωνία, ῥαδίως πείσειν τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι... The common locative instead of the dative is expected in our context.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hatzimichali (2011) 51, note 66.

Athens⁴⁹ when Philo was possibly still alive, but the sceptical Academy or, what had remained of it, was already run or administered by the insignificant “successor” mentioned in PHerc. 1021.

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⁴⁹ Fleischer (2016) 95-8.

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