Footnotes to Chapter 1.

Introduction:


Notes to 1.1.


4. D.L.V.3, VI.13; Athen.508c-d; Lynch, pp.50-1.


6. D.L.II.105; Zeller, (SSS), ch. XII.


9. See below 1.2.a. n.3. The Academy.


11. See 1.3 n.11 The Lyceum.


Notes to 1.2.


4. Chroust, A.H, "Plato's Academy: The First Organized School of Political Science in Antiquity", Review of
Another such myth which has been very hard to dislodge has to do with the view in scholarship of the schools as religious cult associations (thiasoi) recognised and sanctioned by the state in law. Thus Festugiere writes:

A foundation of a philosophic school could not be established in Athens unless it was made a religious guild - a thiasos, and a religious koinon could not exist without koina hiera with regular sacrifices followed by a ritual meal...

Festugiere, A.-J., Epicurus and His Gods, Chilton, C.W. (trs), Russell and Russell, New York, 1955, p.25 n.15. Other examples abound. Capes, p.37; Zeller, (OHP), pp.82, 119, 156-7; Walden, pp.27-8; Jackson, H. "Aristotle's Lecture Room and Classes", J.P. 35 (20) 191-200, p.191; Marrou, pp.67, 76-7, 106, 156-7, 271, 373 ns.8-9; De Vogel, (GP), II, pp.268-9; Clarke, pp.59, 62; Grayeff, F., Aristotle and His School, Duckworth, London, 1974, pp.16-17; Frischer, B., The Sculpted Word: Epicureanism and philosophical recruitment in ancient Greece, California U.P., Los Angelis, 1982, pp.27, 42, 43 no.80. The list goes on. I think that Lynch, J.P., Aristotle and His School, California U.P., Berkely, 1972, ch.4 passim, has now refuted this conception of the schools. I would, however, endorse Gotschalk's observations on the issue that even though the schools were not thiasoi in the strictly religious and legal sense, they did, nevertheless, have points of contact and shared in practice similar characteristics. Thus like a thiasos, the Academy had a shrine and altar dedicated to a deity/ies, in this case to the Muses, and in their social life, notably the symposium, the schools were not in practice all that dissimilar to any other cult association. That is to say, there was common ground where each could stand on, but at the same time operate autonomously. The Academy, like the other schools, identified itself both in theory and practice not as a thiasos but as a schola and/or diatribe. See Gotschalk, H.B., Review of Lynch, C.R. 26 (76) 70-72, pp.71-2. ......., "Notes on the Wills of the Peripatetic Scholars", Hermes, 100 (72) 314-42, pp.328-35; See also Parsons, A.W., "A Family of Philosophers in Athens and Alexandria", Hesperia, Suppl.8. (48) 268-72, p.271 n.13.

Marrou, p.283. Thus in respect to the Academy, statements like: "The Academy continued as a school of philosophy until closed by Justinian in A.D. 529", Nash, R. et al, The Educated Man: Studies in the
history of educational thought, J. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1965, p.27., are all too common and "the facts" taken for granted.

7. For Succession in the Academy, see App.II.


10. Ibid., V.2. Piso is the speaker.


12. D.L.I.14-15, IV.28 names 3 Academies; Cic.Acad.II.16-17 On Successors to the Sceptical Academy; Plut.Cic.3 for Cicero as pupil of Philo of Larissa; Cic.N.D.I.2.6 on his own teachers.


15. Cic.Brut.306. "At this time Philo, then head of the Academy, along with a group of loyal Athenians, had fled from Athens because of the Mithridatic war and had come to Rome". For a thorough discussion of Philo's time in Rome see: Glucker, ch.1; cf. Sedley, D, "The End of the Academy", Phronesis, 26 no.1. (1981) 67-75 which is a review of Glucker; De Vogel, (GP), III pp.275-6 that Philo lived for a time in the house of Lucullus.

16. See 1.3. n.6 below.

17. Glucker, p.100 n.11 argues that Philo died in Rome c.84/3 b.c and not 86/5 b.c. but quotes no evidence for this. cf. Sedley, Phronesis, p.70ff; Lynch, pp.180-1; Acad. Index. XXXIV.39-44.

18. This is the main thesis of Glucker's book and argued throughout, and refuting, for example, Oliver, J.H, "The Diadoche at Athens Under the Humanistic Emperors", A.J.P. 98 (77) 160-78, pp.165, 166 n.10, 178 and passim

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on the diadoche of the schools in the Flavian period.

19. Acad. Index. XXXI.32 Charmadas, XXXIX.9. ff Metrodorus of Stratonic; Glucker, p. 110 that Charmadas most probably died by 79 b.c. and p. 113. ff, that Metrodorus was either too old or dead by the early 70s b.c.; S. E. F.H.I.220 on the fourth Academy; Cic. De Orat.I.45; D.I.V.9 on Metrodorus of Stratonic.

20. Ibid., pp. 15. ff, 113.


22. Acad. Index. XXXV.1-10 Aristus.


25. Cic. N.D.I.V.11; Acad. II.VII.17.


28. Clarke, p. 60.


32. Glucker, pp. 256-96 for an excellent discussion of Ammonius and Plutarch.


37. Such as Nigrinus, Demonax, Peregrinus Proteus, Alexander the False Prophet.

38. On the Middle Platonists, see Add.II.; Zeller, (OHGP), pp.284-9; Witt, p.114.ff; Armstrong, (CHLGE), pp.64-83; De Vogel, (GP), III. pp.397-406; Marrou, p.285 calls Gaius of Pergamum head of the Athenian Academy c.140s b.c. This is not true. Dillon, ch.5. pp.231-340, passim, doubts as to whether they were even a proper scholae.

39. Aulus Gellius never calls Taurus scholarchos, nor is he shown to have had his school in the Academy. Attic Nights. II.2.1-10 Taurus is teaching in his own house when visited by the governor of Crete. VII.13 and XVII.8 where symposia are held again in Taurus' house, and XVII.20.4 Aulus Gellius himself becomes Taurus' pupil. Until Lynch, p.183 and Glucker, pp.142-3 refuted the so called scholarachy of Taurus it was taken for granted that he was indeed scholarach. eg. De Vogel, (GP), III. p.397 claims that Taurus was succeeded by Atticus; De Witt, N.D, Epicurus and His Philosophy, Minneapolis, 1954. p.25 calls Taurus and Atticus (?) heads.

40. See ns.38, 39 above.

41. See Philostratus, (V.S.), Lives of the Sophists, Wright, W.C. (trs), Loeb Classical Library, London, 1922; Phil.V.S.526 Lolianus, holder of the first Municipal chair of rhetoric at Athens which predates Marcus' endowment and Phil.V.S.566 Theodotus, holder of the first Imperial chair, c. a.d.174; Marrou, p.408.


44. Clarke, p.78; also Langerback, J.H.S. p.70 that the chairs designate the schools proper.

45. Walden, p.93 but on p.102 assumes their continuity well into the late third century a.d. as does Oliver, A.J.P. pp.165-7.

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46. The theorisation of the chairs of philosophy and rhetoric in the form of the establishment of a University of Athens is certainly a myth, the Cambridge-Oxford-Eton nineteenth century English model being projected onto the past as it was theorised by Capes-Mahaffy-Walden and company. Thus Monroe, P., *A Brief Course in the History of Education*, Macmillan, London, 1921, pp.76-7 talks of the University of Athens, comprising the Academy, Lyceum and Stoa and which was later closed by Justinian, and Greaves, F.P., *A Student's History of Education*, Macmillan, New York, 1920, p.29 sees a myriad of Hellenic Universities in Athens, Rhodes, Alexandria, Pergamum as if they were modern day American institutions of higher learning; Tod. M.N., "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers", *J.H.S.* 77 (57) 132-141 also talks of an Athenian university. This myth has now been refuted. See Lynch, pp.169-177; Glucker, pp.147-8.

47. See ch.1.4 *The Garden*.


49. Lynch, p.173.


52. As did Sosipatra in Eunap.V.P&S.469; Phil.V.S. 604, 485, Proclus of Naucratis and Prohairesius.


54. See n.46 above.

55. *Acad. Index*. VI.28-42. For a discussion and analysis of the evidence see Glucker, pp.230-32.


58. D.L.IV.59-60; *Acad. Index*. I.20., XXVII.1-30; Cic. *Acad.II.VI.16*.

59. Hegesinus in *Acad. Index*. I.257, 357; D.L.IV.60.

60. D.L.IV.63; Cic.*Fin.V.4*; *Acad.I.VII.6*; Plut.*De Garr.*513c.

62. Acad. Index. XXIV.35-37, XXV.8-11; Cic. Acad. II.VI.16-7.


64. Glucker, pp.237-52 suggests that Charmadas may have been caretaker scholar in Philo's absence. Lynch, p.200; cf. Clarke, pp.60-1, 77.


71. See below 1.4 n.19.

72. On the idea of the Golden Chain see 1.2.b.


74. Glucker, p.252.

75. On the Neoplatonic schools see 1.2.b and Appendix II.

76. Ibid., App.II. The Syrian Schools.

77. Ibid., App.II. Neoplatonist Schools of Athens and Alexandria; Glucker, pp.155-6 n.122 on the Succession of the Athenian school of Neoplatonists.

78. Homer. Iliad VIII.18.ff for the Golden Chain metaphor; Plato. Laws I.645a-c for the logos as a divine golden link; Julian. Hist. fr.24; Eunap. V. P&S. 456-457 for Porphyry on the Hermetic chain; Mar. V. Proc. 11, 29 (Proclus), 27, "Hegias was one of that golden chain of philosophers"; Damascius. V. Isid. 151 (Proclus). For a
discussion see Lynch, p.178; Glucker, pp.306-13; Thus Gorman, p.94 attempts to reformulate Pythagoras - Plato - Aristotle - Plotinus - Iamblichus - Proclus into a single school of thought, representing the Golden chain.

79. Clarke, p.79; Marrou, p.207.


81. Ibid., p.313 Proclus represents the diadoche of Platonic logos, p.307.

82/83. See n.78 above.

84. And ultimately to the One which through its emanation is the source of all inspiration.


87. Cameron, p.9.

88. Ibid., p.9.ff and passim.


91. Cameron, P.C.P.S. pp.11, 13, 18.

92. Ibid., passim.

93. Ibid., pp.11-12. where diadochika was still being confiscated c. a.d.560s.

94. Glucker, p.325.


Notes to 1.3.

2. D.L.V.14-16 for the will of Aristotle and his wealth; Grayeff, pp.37-8; Zeller, (OHGP), p.156; Athen.398e where some 800 Macedonian talents were supposed to have been at the disposal of Aristotle along with "research" personnel (ie. hunters, fishermen, sailors etc.) during his conquest of Asia. Later, Antipater, Cassander and Demetrius were particularly helpful to the school.


7. In contradiction to Grayeff, Vogel, (GP), II pp.4-5 says that it might have been Hermias who "could have recommended Aristotle to Phillip II". The dispute over exactly when and for what reasons Aristotle left the Academy is not as clear cut as we might like. There are two positions. (1) He left before Plato died as a result of severe anti-Macedonian feelings after the fall of the Chalcidice and Olynthus to Phillip II in 348 b.c.. (2) He left after Plato's death, having failed to succeed to the Academy and also to escape possible anti-Macedonian reactions. For a discussion see: Chroust, A.-H, "Aristotle Leaves the Academy," G & R, 14 (67) 39-43. Chroust endorses position (1) though his reasons for it are not particularly compelling; During, (AABT), 272.ff says that Hermias probably invited Aristotle to visit him.


9. D.L.V.10; Plut. Alex.7.7; De Exilo.12; Quint. Inst. Orat.
I.1.23; Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I Epistola ad Ammaeum.5; Chroust, A.-H., "Was Aristotle Actually the Chief Preceptor of Alexander the Great?", Classical Folia, 18 (64) 26–33, rejects the tradition that Aristotle was Alexander's principal tutor, at best an occasional one, arguing in favour of one or two of his other regular tutors: Onesicritus the Cynic or Leonidas; see also Grayeff, pp.32–3; cf. Lynch, p.72 and n.7; During, (AABT), pp.284–99; Merlan, P., "Isocrates, Aristotle and Alexander the Great", Historia, 3 (54) 60–81, p.61. n.1.


16. Plut.Sulla.12.1–3, 14 "Sulla took over the sacred groves and ravaged the Academy, the most wooded place outside the city, as well as the Lyceum". Appian.R.H.XII.5.30, 6.38–41; Day, J, An Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination, Columbia U.P., New York,1942. pp.113–25; Lynch, pp.197.ff, 207 passim; Grayeff, pp.49–50. There are also internal reasons for the school's later decline. For instance, the intellectual labour in which it engaged was appropriated and done better elsewhere, namely, Alexandria. Later the school's lack of funds and personnel to continue original work added to its dilemma of whether to pursue such work or reformulate in the fashion of the Stoa, Academy and Garden by engaging in logomachies rather than scientific work. While losing ground in the latter it also found it hard going in the former. Cic. Fin.V.5.13–4.

18. Cic. Acad. I.4.17 refers to the Academy as one school with two heads, De Orat. 28.109, but this is a conflicting tradition in contrast to D.L.V.2 for example where the Lyceum is viewed as an educational rival to the Academy. See Lynch, p.73.


22. See n.21 above. Cicero nowhere mentions a scholar of the Lyceum for the first century b.c. Fin. V.5.13-14. The list ends with Diodorus of Tyre and Fin.V.1 and V.5.13 indicates the Lyceum as either moribund or dead.


24. Clarke, p.82.


26. Grayeff, pp.54-5, 70. "Finally, when after the fall of Macedonia, the school was closed..." [c. after 200 b.c.] (emphasis mine).


28. See App.II. Lyceum; Strabo.XII.2.24 was himself a student of Boethus in Rome. Andronicus was also based in Rome. Cic. Tim.1, Brutus. 71.250, Pompey. 75, Ad Fam. XII.16, XVI.21; During, (AABT), pp.417-20.


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30. D.L.V.61.ff for the will of Strato; Cic.Acad.I.9.34.


32. D.L.V.67, 70-74; Athen.XX.547d.


34. Strabo.XIII.1.54.

35. D.L.IV.5 "Aristotle purchased the works of Speusippus for three talents". The massive output of the various senior members added greatly to its size. De Vogel, (GP), II p.230.ff on the writings of the Peripatetics.


38. Lynch, p.148 n.22


40. Tod, J.H.S. pp.139-40 on the Rhodian library; Grayeff, pp.71-3 on the Pergamum library; C.A.H. VII. ch.VIII. pp.249-90 on Alexandrian studies in literature, criticism etc. See also ch.2.3 and notes.

41. Grayeff, p.75ff; Gotschalk, Hermes, pp.336-42, however, portrays Apellicon as an obsessive bibliophile and a shady character whose book collecting methods were not entirely above board, and thinks that Apellicon probably stole the books from the Peripatos' library itself and invented the story of buying them from Neleus' descendants to cover his tracks.

42. Lynch, pp.148 n.22, 149 ns.25, 26.

43. Ibid., pp.200-2, 206.

44. For a discussion see Keaney, J.J, "Two Notes on the Tradition of Aristotle's Writings", A.J.P. 84 (63) 52-63. Keaney argues that the catalogue in Diogenes Laertius originated in the Peripatos; Grayeff, pp.78-80 that the lists are based on library catalogues. De Vogel, (GP), II p.7 opts for Hermippus as does During, I, "Ariston or Hermippus?", Classica et Mediaevalia,
17 (1956) 11-21.

45. Lynch, pp.147 ns.20-1, 148 ns.22-3, 149 argues for Ariston of Ceos.

46. Whichever source Diogenes used, both Ariston and Hermippus certainly had lists of the Peripatets' library.

47. Grayeff, pp.80-5.

48. Ibid., p.70.

49. Eudemus of Rhodes. fr.6 Wehrli; Athen.509b; De Witt, p.60.


52. D.L.V.68.

53. D.L.IV.42 speaks of "the circle of Hieronymus the Peripatetic" who had subjected Arcesilaus to vicious criticism, and no doubt Lyco as well and sundry.


55. Brink, C.Q. p.11.ff; also Lynch, pp.136-9 for a further discussion and bibliographical references.

56. Ibid., p.12 n.1.

57. It was no doubt Peripatetics such as these that contested the chairs of Marcus Aurelius at Athens and elsewhere. Lucian. Eun.3 passim.

57. For Alexander of Aphrodisias, See Armstrong, (CHLGEMP), pp.118-23.

58. See Porph.V.Plot.20.ff.


60. Many of the representatives of the Alexandrian school were Christian and the later ones are mostly so. See App.II. The Neoplatonist schools of Athens-Alexandria.

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Notes to 1.4.


2. See D.L.X.3-9 for a summary of the ancient tradition hostile to Epicurus. Also Sedley, D, "Epicurus and his Professional Rivals", Cahiers de philologie I (76) 119-159. Cicero is a major culprit by reproducing the tradition. eg. T.D.II.XX.46 "As I have often said, the question at issue is his intelligence, not his morality", see also Books II, III, V passim. A statement echoing Timocrates in: D.L.X.6 "Epicurus' acquaintance with philosophy was small and his acquaintance with life even smaller".


5. Cic.N.D.I.72; D.L.X.14; Sedley, Cahiers de philologie, pp.121-2; de Witt, pp.49-51, 55-62 for Epicurus' teachers. It is not likely that Praxiphanes was old enough to have been Epicurus' teacher. Farrington, pp.6-7.

6. D.L.X.7; fr.21 To the Philosophers in Mytilene, (C) Baily, pp.125-6 ; De Witt, pp.68-9, 72-3.

7. D.L.X.15ff for Lampsacus; fr.1.seq. (B&C) Baily, pp.121-33; De Witt, ch.IV.


12. Wycherley, Pheoenix, "The Garden...", pp.76-7


17. Cic.Fin.I.16, V.3, 16-21, Ad Fam.XIII.1, XIII.1.2, Ad Att.5.2.6, N.D.I.59, De Leg.I.53; Festugiere, p.38 & n.18 Leonition being appointed temporary head while Epicurus was away.

18. Glucker, pp.103 n.19, 132; Raubitschek, A.E., "Phaidrus and his Roman Pupils", Hesperia, 18 (49) 96-103 argues that Phaedrus succeeded Zeno as head of the Garden, but this is nowhere stated in either Cicero or the restored inscription. If ever Phaedrus was head, it had to be between the death of Zeno c.75 b.c. and Phaedrus' own death in 70 b.c. The evidence suggests however that during his last years he was in Rome, where he died. Cic.N.D.I.59, Fin.V.3, De Leg.I.53.

19. Cic.Ad Fam.63. (XIII.1), Ad Att.104 (V.II) 6 July 51 b.c. and V.19. Patro could have succeeded Zeno, provided there was no intervening scholar other than the unlikely Phaedrus.


21. See the comments in Chilton, p.XXII; De Witt, pp.347-8.


23. Seneca.Nat.Quest.32.2 and Glucker's discussion pp.332-42. The Garden is not mentioned by Seneca as being dead.


25. Glucker, pp.365-6 n.95 thinks that this may not have applied to the other schools but only to the Garden.

26. Ibid., p.369.

27. As put forward by Clarke, pp.78-82; Chilton, p.XXIII; Lynch, pp.190-91 accepts them as legitimate diadochoi.

29. Ibid., p.369.


32. Ibid., p.369.

33. Clarke, p.79.ff; Capes, p.52; Mahafy, pp.135-6; Walden, p.27; De Witt, p.337.

34. Clarke, p.78.

35. Ibid., p.79.

36. Chilton, p.XXII-XXVII.


38. D.L.X.9 The translation of Hicks, R.D, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1926. reads: "The school itself which, while nearly all the others have died out continues forever without interruption through numberless reigns of one scholarch after another". But the words schole (school) and scholarchos or diadochos (scholarch) do not appear in the original Greek of D.L.X.9. The words are diadoche (succession), archas (reigns) and gnorimos (student, learner or any person having to do with the study or possession of knowledge). Committed to the idea of institutional continuity, however, translators of this passage have consistently reproduced X.9 by inserting the words school and scholarch for/and or in addition to succession, reign and disciple. This gives the meaning of the passage a different sense altogether: from one of succession in general to succession in particular -the succession of a scholarchos to a schole. Thus Baily (p.147) translates X.9: "There is also the permanent continuance of the school after almost all the others had come to an end and that it had a countless succession of heads from among the disciples". Oates, W.J. (ed), (The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers: the complete extant writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius and Marcus Aurelius, Random House, New York, 1940, p.55), and Strodach, G.K, (The Philosophy of Epicurus, Northwestern U.P. 1963, p.103) follow suit as does Arrighetti, G, (Epicuro: Opere, 2nd ed. Turin, 1973, p.8) translating X.9 : "... and his school which, while almost all the others are extinct, still remains and produces innumerable scholarchs, one after the other, out of the number of his disciples". Rodis-Lewis, G, (Epicure et son ecole,

An argument could be made out for this strict interpretation on the ground that when Diogenes talks of "reigns within a succession" what else could he have had in mind but a classic succession?. But as Glucker (pp.150-2) has shown, this meaning became blurred in the second century a.d. and following and was no longer the dominant sense; that in fact it had given way to new forms of expression; that is, to succession in general (see ch.1.4.a, 1.5). Furthermore, given that the Garden most probably did not carry far into the third century a.d., if it did at all, as an educational institution, then Diogenes would have certainly known this, and the claim that "succession in the Garden continues unbroken", might be a deliberate attempt, given Diogenes' Epicurean sympathies, to cover up the sad truth that the Garden, too, had lately come to end. Now this could have taken place any time after the Hadrianic inscriptions of a.d.121 and 125. If the sense of the passage is taken to mean succession in general, then all that Diogenes might be claiming is continued representation of the school by the new breed of Professors of Philosophy; a breed which he did not clearly distinguish from, but fused with, the classical diadochos. Lynch (p.191) cites two passages in Eusebius (Praep.Evang.IVX.5.3 Numenius and IVX.21.1 Aristocles) as evidence for the Garden's institutional continuity in the second half of the second century a.d.. Numenius says: "the school (diatribe) of Epicurus seems to be a true association (politeia alethei), united, of a common mind; it has one doctrine (gnosis) which they have willingly followed (philakolouthoi) and they still are following, thus it seems, they will continue to follow". Aristocles on the other hand does not talk of a school as such and his discussion revolves around the doctrinal problem of the criterion. His comments are a criticism of the Epicurean position, where he mentions "the followers of Epicurus as certain people who even now still say these things", namely, that to pathos (impression) was the criterion of good and evil in relation to pleasure and work; that he aisthesis (sense perception) discriminates and logos (reason) informs us whether to choose or avoid it (XIV.21.1.3). This second passage cannot be construed to refer to the Garden school at Athens. It is referring to Epicureans in general and Epicurean doctrine in particular. [I am obliged to Dr. Harold Tarrant of the Greek Department, University of Sydney, for his comments on D.L.X.9].


40. Ibid., p.79 n.143; Seneca.Nat.Quest.IVII.32.2.


42. Ibid., pp.369-70.

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43. Ibid., p.342.


48. Discussed in Glucker, pp.135-6, 206.

49. Notably the schools of the Middle Platonists in Asia Minor and Alexandria that catered for a large number of students for whom there was no need to go to Athens.

50. As Cicero was quick to point out. T.D.II.2.7-9 "What followers of this school say and what they think is not unknown to anyone of even moderate learning", and IV.3.6-7 "After Affamianus again there came a number of imitators of the same system and by their writings took all Italy by storm".

51. See n.46 above.

52. Glucker, pp.342-3 n.26, 370-3.


54. Clarke, p.83; De Witt, pp.328-58 for a discussion of this thesis based on the assumption that the school spanned the years 306 b.c. to a.d. c.400; Wallace, pp.258-9.


57. See n.6 above.

58. fr.26. Letter to Idomenus. (C) Baily, pp. 126-7, fr.39-42, Letters to Unknown Recipients. (C) Baily,
pp.130-33 for subscriptions, donations and gifts. fr.41 reads: "The only contribution which I require is that which... ordered the disciples to send me, even if they are among the Hypoboreans. I wish to receive from the two of you two a hundred and twenty drachmae a year each and no more. Ctesippus has brought me the annual contribution..."; Plut.Non Posse.1097c; Farrington, p.10; Chilton, p.112.


60. Ibid., p.334 on Antioch; Athen.64 on the death of Leontion's daughter Danae at the hands of Laodice, queen, and murderer of Antiochus II; Zeller, (OHGP), p.231.

61. Strabo.IV.15; De Witt, pp.29-30; In his review of De Witt, Elder, J.P., A.J.P. 77 (56) 75-84, p.76 notes that Tarsus was a "hotbed of Stoicism, not Epicureanism". The fourth and sixth Stoic heads came from there.


64. De Witt, p.338.


68. This is what De Witt, p.334 argues.

69. See n.63 above.

70. Chilton, p.XXIV.


73. Ibid., pp.342-3; Zeller, (SES), p.411 Alcinus and Philiscus banished from Rome 173 or 155? B.C.; Momigliano, A. "Review of Farrington", J.R.S. 31 (41) 142-57. pp.155-6 ns.20, 21 citing Athen.547. Expulsions from Rome, Messene and Syria. Athen.211, Antiochus VI killing the Epicurean Diogenes of Seleucia, Athen.215b, Lysias tyrant of Thasos, Athen.568; Aelian.Var.Hist.IX.12; Aulus Gellius.A.N.15.11 on the 161 B.C. decree of the banishment of teachers from Rome which was enforced again in 92 B.C.

74. Wallace, pp.245-6.

75. Plut.Cato Major.22.1, 4; 23.1.

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76. Frischer, passim.

77. See ns.50, 71.

78. For Roman Epicureans see Momigliano, J.R.S. pp.151-157; De Witt, pp.340-5.

79. Cic.Fin.II.15.49 "For my part, I hold that what is popular is often positively base", referring to the appeal of Epicureanism to the populace.

80. Phil. Vit. Apoll. Tyana.I.VII.


82. Porph.V.Plot.20.5, 20.ff.


84. Julian. Letter to a Priest.301c; St. Augustine.Ep.118; Cont.Acad.III.19-42 "Today we scarcely see any philosophers except Cynics, Platonists and Peripatetics". This was not an idle claim on the part of St. Augustine.

Notes to 1.5.


2. Perhaps with the exception of the Garden.


6. D.L.VII.177, 185 Sphaerus went to Ptolemy. Sphaerus was also at one stage tutor to Cleomenes of Sparta. Dudley, p.82; D.L.VII.6, 9 Persaeus and Philonides went to the court of Antigonus. For the philosophic-literary court of Antigonus, see C.A.H. VII ch.VII pp.203-4.

7. D.L.VII.184 where he is reputed to have said "If there was no Chrysippus there would have been no Stoa".

8. On Stoic succession see App.II. The Stoa; Stoic Index. LI.2-7 passim; Glucker, p.19 ns.17, 18, 19; Zeller, (OHGP), pp.209-10, 247-50.

9. D.L.VII.34 an earlier Athenodorus of Tarsus in charge of the Pergamene library.

10. For a general discussion of the inscriptions see Lynch, pp.190-1; Glucker, pp.366-8; Parsons, Hesperia, Suppl.8. p.272 accepts Menander as a genuine scholarch
as does Lynch. Glucker rejects him, p.368; Tod, J.H.S. p.136 n.59; Oliver, A.J.P. p.163, 171 n.23 rejects Parsons' conjecture regarding the identification of Menander, his son and grandson as Stoic diadochoi.

11. Lynch, pp.190-1; Oliver, A.J.P. p.64. suggests that Zozimianus may predate Marcus Aurelius, though he does not press his claim.

12. Dio Cassius. Hist. LXV.1 "Vespasian afterwards established in Rome teachers of both Latin and Greek learning, who drew their pay from the imperial treasury", Seut. Vesp. 18. Quintillian was the first to hold the Latin chair of Rhetoric in a.d.72; Tod, J.H.S. p.138 Vespasian's edict of 27 Dec. a.d.74. regarding immunities and privileges of teachers and doctors; see also: Hist. Aug: Hadr. 16.8; Digest. I.4.18.30 privileges for teachers; Athen.621 at Alexandria, Phil.V.S.524, 532, 533.

13. Hist. Aug: Ant. Pius. 11.3; Digest. XXVII.1.6, 2.6. Antonius Pius; see Walden, pp. 87-90.


15. For examples see Glucker, pp.150-2.


17. Glucker, pp.368, 373.
Footnotes to Chapter 2.

Notes to 2.1.

1. For the theorisation of the schools as institutions, (scholē, diatribe) and as schools of thought, (haeresis, secta, disciplina) see the excellent discussion by Glucker, ch.4. pp.159-224.


4. Herodt.Hist.III.129-32 on the Crotonian and Cyrenaic schools of medicine in the fifth century b.c..


6. Isoc.Demon.3. See also Against the Sophists, passim.; Antid.181.ff, Helen.1.2-7, Paneg.47-9, Nicocles.8-9.

7. Isoc. Antid.184-7, 270.ff; Ag.Soph.293.11.

8. Gorgias, Phaedrus. passim.


12. See above 2.3 Lyceum and notes 26.ff.

13. See Ch.1.3. Lyceum and ns 26-31.


15. See D.L.X.13 and passim, for titles of works and lists of their writings. e.g. D.L.X.24, Metrodorus' pros tous

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16. De Witt, p.47 suggests that this may have taken place during Epicurus' Colophon stay.


18. D.L.VII.41-2. Cic.Fin.II.6, 17; De Orat.XVIII.65 says that the Stoics were the only school that have "pronounced eloquence to be a virtue and a form of wisdom".; Strabo.XII.2.13; S.E. M.II.6-7;


21. It was no accident that with the advent of professionalism in athletics, for example, Spartan names disappeared from the list of Olympic victors.


23. Seut.De Gramm.10. As an all-rounder, he was also called Beta, being second only to the best specialist in any given area.


25. Pfeiffer, (HCS), ch.7 passim.; Sandys, ch.IX. passim.


Notes to 2.2.


2. D.L.I.2 in another but mistaken version says the meeting took place at Sycion; Chroust, A.-H, "Some


4. Iamb.V.Pyth.VII (44) lines 19-26, Protreptikos. p.53.11, 15.ff (ed) Pistelli, for the festival analogy; Athen.463d-e.

5. See 2.2 n.1 above.

6. Jaeger, Aristotle, App.II. pp.428.ff; and more recently Göttschalk, ch.2. pp.15.ff; Chroust, New Schol., passim; also in: .........., Aristotle, Vol.II. Ch.X. pp.128-9, and notes 11, 13-17 for the view that rather than philosopher, it would have been more appropriate given the spectacle-viewer analogy for Pythagoras to call himself theoretkos, philotheon or philotheoros, that is if we can accept the festival analogy as Pythagorean. Chroust doubts this, p.128 and n.14. However, the terms philosophos and philosophia are themselves independent from the analogy, and if Pythagoras did use it, it was to describe the novel terms themselves. There is no need to reject, as does Chroust (ibid., p.128), the terms as Pythagorian on the ground that "so 'technical' or 'sophisticated' a term as that of 'philosopher' should have been in use as early as the latter part of the sixth century b.c." This is true, but it is not a condition for the Pythagorean invention of the terms. It would be an anachronism to credit Pythagoras with a 'sophisticated' conception of the terms that properly belong to Plato (Phaedrus.278d), and others after him. The most that one could expect at this early stage was theorisation of a general sort. The fact that in Chroust's view, the festival analogy may not have been particularly apt, illustrates this.


10. Cic Fin.IV.13, 88; D.L.IX.6; Heracl.fr.86.


13. D.L.VIII.6 = fr.129d, 176 IX.1 = fr.40, 16b, where Heraclitus is criticising the polymathia of Pythagoras, from which he "made himself a wisdom of his own". It is possible that Pythagoras did this by calling it
philosophia.


15. For a discussion on this, see Chroust, Phil. Rev. pp.427-8 and n.17, 429, 432-3; De Vogel, (PEP), p.101.


20. D.L. I.12 offers the same justification.


Notes to 2.3.

1. Chroust, Phil. Rev. p.23.ff, 27, on sophos-sophistes, philosophos-philosophia, episteme-technē, historie, etc.

2. Isoc. Antid. 258.ff calls them professors of disputations, and their work: mental gymnastics. See also Ag. Soph. 20.f.


4. Especially in the Republic. 475-97 passim; 475e, 480a-b, 484d, 485b-c; Phaedo. 61a, 91a; Sophist. 254a, etc.

5. Plato. Theat. 155d.

6. The term is applied to Socrates and his students by Aristophanes in Clouds. line 81.

7. D.L. V. 86-8 for a list of his works; Aetius. iii. 215; De Vogel, (GP), II. pp.282-6; Gottschalk, pp.2-8, chs.3-6 passim. Wehrli (Heracleides.fr. 1.) is mistaken in designating him a Peripatetic.


10. Witt, p.14 that Xenocrates was the first systemiser and formulator of Academic doctrine; Dillon, p.22.ff.


14. D.L.VII.42. The Stoic wording of the definition is the same, but according to Sextus Empiricus (M.II.6), while Xenocrates took it in the sense of techne or art, which has no access to truth, the Stoics viewed it as a science informed by their theory of knowledge which guaranteed certainty: the kataleptike phantasia.


17. Arist. Met. 982b 12, 17, 980a; also Sen. Ep. 89.1.

18. Arist. Met. 1005a 1, 1026a 31, 1060b 31, 1061b 26, and passim.


21. See D.L.V.22-7 for a list of his works.

22. D.L.IV.42-5 lists his works.


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31. Ariston fr.1-8 life and school, fr.9-32 works, Wehrli; De Vogel, (GP), II. pp.262-4


33. Cic.Fin.II.2; T.D.I.26, 64

34. See 2.1. and notes 9-14.

35. Sen.Ep.89.11 notes a two-fold division: Natural (physics) and Moral (ethics).

36. Happiness, which is freedom from disturbance; quietude or peace of mind.

37. D.L.X.122.ff; Diogenes of Oeonanda.fr.I.3, II. passim, XVI.1 offered the same message five centuries later.


40. Ep.89; also D.L.VIII.39.ff.


42. Sen.Ep.89.5; 90.3; Cic.T.D.V.3.7, Off.II.2; D.L.VII.92; cf. Plut. De Plac. Phil.874e.

43. Sen.Ep.89.6-9; D.L.VII.89-93 on Stoic definitions of Virtue; of the virtues corresponding to the three divisions of philosophy; the primary and particular virtues and their interrelations. See 6.5 n.9.


45. D.L.VII.40, S.E M.VII.22-3 Zeno and Chrysippus followed this order, (cf. S.E. P.H.II.1, M.VII.20-1), while
Sen.Ep.89.9, 14-18 follows a reverse order of exposition: ethics, physics, logic. cf. Ep.88.24; Plut.Stoic.Rep.1035a-b criticises this order. During, (AABT), p.70 notes that the Stoics introduced the term "Logic" in its technical sense. Thus their interest in language.

46. D.L.VII.84-131 on ethics, 132-60 on physics.

47. For the telos formulation of homologoumenos tei physei zen, see D.L.VII.87-8; Sen.Ep.5.1.

48. See the satirical account of Lucian's Hermotimus where the Stoic process of paideia in the acquisition of wisdom is subjected to systematic criticism as ridicule.


51. Sen.Ep.20.2; 89.13; 117.33.


Notes to 2.4.


2. Cicero's Academica is a good example of the debate between the Stoics and Academic sceptics. See also Cic. N.D. passim; Plut. Ad. Col. passim. S.E. P.H., M. passim reproduces the rivalry and its permutations in all its minute details.

4. Treatments are many. For the more recent see: Dillon, passim; Glucke, ch.3 pp.120.ff; Sedley, D, "The End of the Academy", Review of Glucker, Phoenix, 26 no.1. (81) 67-75; Tarrant, (SP), ch.3 and passim.


6. Tarrant, (SP), pp.3-6 and passim.

7. Tuscan Disputations, De Finibus, Academica, De Natura Deorum. For example in De Orat.III.XV.56. ff Cicero traces the separation of philosophy (brain) and rhetoric (tongue) to Socrates (60-1) and notes the dissolution of the unity of knowledge in the rise of competing schools (62. ff) and finally pleads for a renewed synthesis (67. ff).

8. The Philostrati for example were a distinguished family of Sophists. Herodes Atticus, one of the richest men of his time prided himself on being a sophist, as did other persons of the propertied classes, including senators, consuls, etc. See Phil. V. § 368. ff. Antiochus of Aegae, a sophist, was of consular family. V. § 568.4. A Verus of Perga is reported to have been the pupil of Quadratus the consul, himself a sophist. Bowersock, G.W, Greek Sophist in the Roman Empire, Oxford Clarendon Press, London, 1969, pp.24. ff, ch.4, 6 passim. See Anderson, G, Philostratus: Biography and belles-lettres in the fourth century a.d., Croom Helm, London, 1986, ch.1 and passim. See also Walden, passim, which is still one of the best accounts of the Second Sophistic; Groningen, B.A. von, "General Tendencies in the Second Century A.D.", Mnemosyne, 18 (65) 41-56. pp.46. ff; Bowie, E.L, "Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic", Past and Present, 46 (70) 3-41.

9. Phil. V. § passim.

10. Phil. V. § 367.3 Aristocles who became a pupil of Herodes and was converted from philosophy to Sophistic. V. § 567.3 Antiochus of Pergamum, of consular family, began as a Peripatetic but defected to Sophistic.


12. Lib. Or. 48.22. see also: Or. 39.17, 19; Or. 40.5. ff; Or. 43.3. ff; Or. 48.22-26; Or. 49.27, 32-3; Or. 62.21. Eunap. V. § 490. ff on the growing influence of legal studies.


14. Chroust, Phil.Rev. p.55. See the Anon. Proleg. to 337
Plat. Phil. pp.XXVIII-XXX Westerink, 1962, for the various definitions of philosophy current under Neoplatonism.

15. Epicurus, when not attacked, was mostly ignored by non-Epicureans. eg. Clem. Alex. Exhortations to the Greeks. V.58.

16. Plato's Symposium, Phaedrus, Phaedo, Timaeus, etc., were taken as precedents.

17. For the iatrosophist, see Eunap. V.P&S.497-500 for the account of the medical "school" of Zeno of Cyprus, the iatrosophist and his followers who claimed to be at the same time physicians, sophists, scholars and philosophers. Ionicus of Sardis is presented as one such amalgam of the various professions. V.P&S.499; Westerink, Janus, p.170.ff on the growing identification of philosophy and medicine in the philosopher-physician: ho iatrophilosophos. Bowersock, pp.66-71; Tod, J.H.S. pp.138-9.


Notes to Conclusion to Chapter 2.

Footnotes to Chapter 3.

Notes to 3.1.


3. Paus. D.G.I.2.4-17.1; Athenian Agora, p.28 fig.6 = Travlos, p.25, fig.34; Camp, chs.5, 6 passim, figs.152-

4. Cic.T.D.I.4.8, II.4.10, Rep.I.11.17. I.12.18 the preliminary discussion begins inside where some are on couches and a little later on, near a portico and the discussion moves outdoors on the lawn. In the Laws (II.1.1) the discussion is in the open air, as the participants, after their walk and talk, set off for a nearby island to sit down and complete their discussion.

5. Athenian Agora, ch.5 passim; Travlos, pp.3, 365; Camp, ch.6 passim.


8. D.L.VII.30 the Ptolemaion had a library as did other gymnasia. Forbes, pp.36-7, ns.46-54 notes some examples. For private lecture theatres see: Eunap.V.P&S.604 Proclus of Naucratis, 485 Prohairesius.

9. We have no evidence of Stoics teaching regularly in private settings, though there are, a priori, no reasons against occasional and informal gatherings for the purpose of teaching. Zeno and his disciples did not follow the Cynic practice of living as well as teaching in public places and we can well infer from the practice of others, Stoics occasionally holding class and conversing in the privacy of their houses.


13. The philosophic symposium was an important feature of the schools and a regular event. Plut.Quest.Con.I.1seq; Athen.X.419d, XII.545a on Academy; D.L.II.129, 133, 138-40 Elian-Eretrian school; IV.41; V.4 Aristotle following the Academy's model of arranging and administering symposia; VI.96-7 Hipparchia at symposia, VII.24, Zeno attending them; X.18 the Epicureans held annual (20th) monthly symposia and also celebrated Epicurus' birthdate on the tenth of Gamelion each year; Athen.186a Theophrastus setting aside funds for symposia in his will. Athen.547d = fr.7 Wehrli, for Lyco's extravagant banquets; Lucian. The Lapiths. passim, for a satire of philosophers at a banquet. Porph.V.Plot.2.40-5, 15, for symposia and celebrations of Plato's and Socrates' birthdates. Most of the school philosophers wrote on and theorised it. See the lists of their works in Diogenes Laertius for examples. On the symposium and Hellenistic poetry, see Garrison, D.H, "Mild Frenzy: A Reading of the Hellenistic Love Epigram". Hermes. Suppl. 41 (78) 1-97 see ch.2 and passim. On the architecture of the andron, see Travlos, p.398-9, figs.512-15.

14. Ael.Var.Hist.III.19; D.L.V.52 The peripatos mentioned in Theophrastus' will was a private one; Forbes, pp.33-7; Wycherly, G & R, Peripatos II, passim; Lynch, ch.1; Gotschalk, Hermes, pp.334-35 that a peripatos was a park or garden walk rather than a structure or building; During, (AABT) pp.404-5 on the term peripatos = school, teaching, discussion.


17. See ch.5.2 n.4 on this.


22. Cherniss, (REA), pp.12, 27 and passim; During, (AABT),


24. For example, when Crantor visited the temple of Asclepius for a cure, students went to join him, thinking he was starting a school. D.L.IV.24.


27. Wycherly, G & R, Peripatos I, p.158, II p.17; Camp, pp.100-07, 122-6, 172-7 seq. for the various Stoas in the Agora.


31. I.G.II.2.1006, lines 19-20. Quoted in Wycherly, G & R, Peripatos II, p.20; Tod, J.H.S. p.137 dates it 133/2 b.c. For an earlier case where a philosopher arrived in Athens, acquired citizenship, and started a school (or to teach on a regular basis) in the Ptolemaion, see Acad. Index. Col.XXXII.


33. Glucker, p.126.

34. A.G. A.N.II.2.1-10.

35. ibid., VII.13, XVII.8.1-2.

36. Phil.V.S.530 and passim. eg. 539, privileges bestowed on Adrian; See Walden, ch.IX on this.


38. Porph.V.Plot.3.25-30.


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40. The theme dominates his Orations, Satires and Letters and he constantly harps on it.


Notes to 3.2.1.


2. Cherniss, (REA), passim represents the orthodox position. cf. Findley, 19. ff, 79-80, App. II pp. 455-72 for his attempted refutation of Cherniss which I don’t think is convincing; cf. Gaiser, Phronesis, passim. on the oral-unwritten doctrines of Plato.

3. Gaiser, Phronesis, pp. 20-5 and n. 61; cf. Cherniss, (REA), pp. 61-2, 81-3 clearly shows that the Academy was neither a modern day university nor a closed religious ancient cult association with an orthodox, but secret dogma; Lynch, pp. 56-62, 78-80; Findley, pp. 24-5.


5. Shaffrey, H.D., “Ageometretos medei eisito, Une inscription legendaire”, Revue des etudes grecques, 81 (68) 67-87; Chroust, Review of Politics, p. 36 n. 48; Lynch, pp. 60-61 n. 35 for further references; Cherniss, (REA), pp. 67-8 geometry was the main subject taught in the Academy. Plato. Ep. V. 321 seq. Euphraeas making the study of mathematics a condition of association and membership of the court of Perdicas III of Macadeon; Ep. III. 319c, Plato teaching Dionysius II geometry; Acad. Index. Col. Y. 2 seq.; Sen. Ep. 9. 17, Aristotle teaching Alexander geometry and surveying. The story in D. L. IV. 10 of Xenocrates refusing a student entry because he was ignorant of music, astronomy and geometry is not to be taken at face value, although the story was probably given currency by Xenocrates' view of mathematics as being propaideutic to philosophy. Then there is the equally suspect account of Lacydes who had not been versed in geometry and took it up, as scholararch, late in life. By his own admission, he was not the worse for it. D. L. IV.60; Aristotle in Met. 992a 32b criticises the overly mathematical emphasis in Academic teaching. For the view of the Academy as a
school of geometry see Plut. Dion. 14, and Quest. Con. VIII.1-2. for Plato's claim that "God is always doing geometry"; Athen. 508e.


8. Arist. N. E. X.1 on the debate. See ch. 2.1 n. 9-11 for Aristotle and rhetoric.

9. Anon. Proleg. to Plat. Philosophy. 16. 35-40 Westerinck. On festival days; Findley, p. 13; Gaiser, Phronesis, p. 25. He read them in public as propaganda and as a public relations exercise. The author, or an anagnostes (a reader) - a trained slave or member of the school, would often recite an author's work in class or in public and this would officially give it the status of published material. During, (AABT), p. 108.

10. D.L. III. 37 reports that when Plato read his dialogue On the Soul (Phaedo) in the school, only Aristotle stayed to the end. During, (AABT), p. 461. Aristotle himself started publishing after c. 360 and also wrote specialist lectures and papers.

11. See ch. 2.3 Academy; For Isocrates' criticism of the Academy's curriculum, see Antidosis, Panathenaicus, Against the Sophists, passim; Merlan, P., "Isocrates, Aristotle and Alexander the Great", Historia, 3 (1954) 60-81, p. 64 ff. For Epicurus' criticism, Cic. Fin. I. 19. 72; See D.L. IV. 4-5 for the lists of the works of Speusippus, and Taran, pp. 209 passim for the testimonia, fragments and discussion. D.L. IV. 11-14 on Xenocrates, V. 86-8 on Heracleides. For the latter see also Heracleides fragments. Wehrli, and Göttschalk, (HP), passim.

12. D.L. IV. 2 Plato did not charge fees and Speusippus may have started the practice in the Academy. The issue of fees and the Stoics is a recurrent and favourite theme in Lucian's satires. e.g. Lapiths. 33, 36, Zeus Rants. 27, Icaromenippus. 16, Phil. for Sale. 23-4, Menippus. 5, Hermot. 5, 9-10, 18, 59, 80; Plut. Stoic. Rep. 1043e-1044, 1047f-1048 on fees, Chrysippus and his philonumisma; D.L. VII. 170 Zeno appropriating a portion of Cleanthes' wages. For the Epicureans see ch. 1.5 n. 58.


14. As reported by Aristoxenus. Elements of Harmony.
II.30-1.

15. For a discussion see: Cherniss, (REA), pp.1-30 and passim; Lynch, pp.90-1; cf. During, (AABT), pp.357-61 postulates a series of lectures; Beck, p.235; Gaiser, Phronesis, pp.11, 15-16, 22 and ns.41-3 and passim; Findley, pp.19-80, 467, argues for a series of lectures as part of Plato's general oral teaching programme in the school dealing with his unwritten doctrines. As Cherniss has shown and his main argument is still to be refuted, there is no evidence that Plato did this, that he delivered systematic lectures on an oral doctrine. Aristotle's reference to "en tois legomenous agrapsai dogmata" in Physics. 209b 15, which has often been interpreted as either oral lectures or secret doctrine delivered by Plato in the Academy, need mean no more than views which Plato expressed in talk, conversation or debate in the school with associates and students. This may have been discussions of problems arising out of the dialogues themselves, and/or problems and issues raised by the works and discussions of other Academic members. Thus although I think Cherniss is basically right in his characterisation of the early Academy, I also think that he is far too severe on Aristotle as interpreter of Plato's philosophy on the one hand, and too restrictive in his depiction of Plato as a minimalist teacher on the other in that he allows little for him to do in his role as an active educator. Despite his strictures in the Phaedrus and Seventh Epistle about communicating his doctrine to others, if Plato was willing to write down his views and read his works in class and in public, why should he have then been unwilling to discuss and talk about them? Leaving the question of the "unwritten doctrines" aside, I see no reason why he should not have discussed his written work in the school as a matter of course. Concerned to refute the notion that Plato systematically taught an oral doctrine in the school, Cherniss is thus not willing to have Plato talk about his written doctrine either. See Boas, G, "Ancient Testimony to Secret Doctrine", P.R. 62 (63) 79-92, pp.86-8, on Plato and the myth of secret doctrine.


18. The Anon. Prleg. to Plat. Phil. XI. ch.27.1-65 Westerink, lists fifteen teaching methods used by Plato, as derived form his dialogues.


20. The term diatriben, which is also in the singular, in D.L. V.37, this time in reference to Theophrastus, is again translated by Hicks as "lectures".

21. On the various meanings of the term diatriben

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associated with schools, philosophy, teaching, etc. see Glucker, pp.162-66; Lynch, p.44 citing the Diogenes passage, translates diatriben as "instruction".

22. Acad. Index. Col Y. 2-17; Cic. De Orat.I.5.217; Plut. Quest.Conv.718e-f; Simpl.De Caelo.488.16-24; Cherniss, (REA), pp. 64-6. Plato suggesting mathematical, astronomical, and other research programmes and offering methodological advice and criticism to associates; D.L.III.23 Plato teaching Leodamas how to solve problems by analysis.


25. D.L.IV.16; Val.Max.VI.9. ext.1; In the list of Xenocrates' works, Diogenes (IV.13) records: physical lectures, six books.

26. See ch.4.2 Academy, passim.

27. Clarke, p.67.


29. The most famous instance was Carneades' speeches pro and con justice during the 156/5 b.c. embassy of philosophers to Rome. Plut.Cato Major.22.1, 23.1; See Lucian. The Double Indictment.15-25 where the Academic sceptic speaks both for the defense and prosecution in turn.

30. D.L.IV.62, 67 Cleitomachus was especially versed in the philosophy of the Academy, Lyceum and Stoa.; Cic.T.D. II.3.9 "Philo,... for we often heard him lecture, made the practice of teaching the rules of the rhetoricians at one time, and those of the philosophers at another".

31. Cic.Acad.II.60, 72.ff; D.L.IV.62-3; Glucker, pp.48-64.


34. Boas, P.R. pp. 86-8 and passim; Glucker, pp. 35-52, 219-305, 316-22; Burnyeat and Striker in Schofield, (DD), chs. 2-3; Tarrant, (SP), ch. 1 and passim. Academic sceptics were thoroughgoing sceptics through and through. Colotes treats them as such. Plut. **Ad. Col.** 1124b, as does Cicero **Acad.** passim and Sextus Empiricus **P.H.I.** 232-3.

35. Under Polemo, Crantor, Crates and associates, Arcesilaus was educated in the philosophy of the Academy and its works. Diogenes notes that he admired Plato and possessed a copy of his works. D.L. IV. 32. Teachers and pupils studied Plato's as well as others' written works as a matter of course, as part of the normal educational activities and curriculum of the school. Crantor wrote the first commentary on **Timaeus**. In 110 b.c., Crassus read **The Gorgias** with Charmadas. Cic. **De Orat.** I. 47; Tarrant, (SP), pp. 36-9.

36. S.E. **P.H.I.** 221, 234; Tarrant, (SP), pp. 36-47; Burnyeat, (ST), p. 16.


38. The Ancient Sceptics were acutely aware of this dilemma and their opponents never stopped reminding them of it. Thus Carneades would not endorse any view as his own. As a last resort, Sextus advocates cheerful self-refutation. S.E. **P.H.I.** 206; See Burnyeat in Schofield, (DD), ch. 2; Tarrant, (SP), chs. 3-4 on the character of the fourth Academy; Long and Sedley, (THP), pp. 438-467.

39. Aenesidemus defected to Pyrrhonism and reformulated Scepticism, schematising its arguments into a powerful methodology whose aim was the induce *epoche*, its telos. S.E. **P.H.I.** 5-6, 35 seq. For the tropes of Scepticism see S.E. **P.H.I.** 35-164, 202-5, M. VIII. 345; DL. IX. 78-88. **P.H.I.** 164-9 the five modes of Agrippa, later reduced to two **P.H.I.** 178-9. For a discussion of the modes of Scepticism, see Anna and Barnes, (MS), passim. For Aenesidemus' systematic polemic against theories of truth, cause and sign, see S.E. M. VIII. 40 seq., **P.H.I.** 180-85 eight tropes against cause. M. VIII. 215 seq. D.L. IX. 96-7 on sign and for Sextus' own elaborations, M. VIII. 143-158.

### Notes on 3.2.2.

1. **Acad. Index.** Col. V. 8; During, (AABT), p. 276 argues that the term *peripatos* in the **Acad. Index** refers not at a physical setting but of an activity, namely, discussion and teaching.

2. D.L. V. 3, 17, 24. Diogenes further records *hypomnemata* or lecture notes (no. 33), eight lectures on politics
collections of handbooks (no.77), a handbook on art (no.79), a compendium (no.82), pragmateia (no.83), a handbook of poetry (no.88), iatrika (no.109), an encyclion (no.121), miscellaneous (lecture) notes, 12 books (no.126), and a multitude of collections (sunagogo) on a variety of subjects.


4. Arist. Met. III.1, 995a 23.ff; Top. 100a 18-25; Cic. Fin. II.2.3-4 likens it to the procedure followed in law.

5. Arist. On Coming into Being and Passing Away. 316a. 5-13 MaCeon (trs). See also An. Post. 186.19-23; N. E. 1140b 31-41a 8, 1172a 20.ff; Parts of Anim. 639a 1.ff.


7. During, (AABT), p.360 calls it "scientific prose".

8. D. L. V. 42-8 Theophrastus and his epitomes, lectures, compendiums, introductions, essays, records of conversations, etc. on a wide range of issues. VI.59-60 Strato: introduction, lecture notes; VI.81 Demetrius' historical introductions. For other Peripatetics see Wehrli, Peripatos; For a discussion: Bloch, HSCP, passim; Lynch, pp.89-90 and ns.29-32.


10. A. G. A.N.XX.5.2-4. See also Cic. Fin. V.4.9-12, Ad Att. IV.16.2 (54 b.c.); Strabo. XII.1.54; Plut. Alex. 7.3; Clem. Strom. I.28 on secret doctrine, V. IX. 58 seq. attributes secret doctrines to the classical schools and other individual Pre- and Post-Socratic philosophers; Lucian. Phil. for Sale. 26 'esoteric'. The word exoteric appears in Aristotle's own writings, but with no specific definition. See Boas, E. R. pp.79-80 and During, (AABT) pp.426-43 for testimonia and discussion.

11. Gluckler, pp.300-5 on the undergraduate (new students) - postgraduate (advanced students) distinction regarding different types of classes and teaching in the Academy.


13. D. L. VI. 95 Metrocles setting fire to his lecture notes (akroсеis) of Theophrastus after he defected to Cynicism.
14. Grayeuff, p.82.

15. Note the comments by Cic. Fin. V.5.12-13. See also ch.1.4 and ch.2.3 Lyceum.

Note to 3.2.3.


2. Cic. Fin. I.27.72 Epicurus rejecting popular culture and the rival school cultures of the Academy and Lyceum. (B) Fr.33, Bailey, pp.128-9 = D.L.X.6; During, (AABT), pp.197, 202 Epicurus criticising the polymathia of Aristotle (Al Mubashir. Vita Aristotle.5) and the enklycos paideia of the Politics, book VIII; S.E. M.1.1.4 for Epicurus' hostility to mathematikoi.


4. Sen. Ep. 25.5 for the pledge of loyalty; Hibler, p.45 calls the school "a brotherhood reminiscent of Medieval monasticism", which is a distortion of Epicurus' school.

5. D.L.X.10 Epicurus was visited by friends and the school was open to all. D.L.X.11 Epicurus rejected Pythagorean doctrine.


9. D.L.X.35, 83, and 120 where he notes the epitome on the ethical doctrines; Lucret. R.N. I.50-61 exhorting Memmius to study the epitomes; Sen. Ep. 33.6, 52.3 Epicurus and self-teaching.

10. See ch.1.4 ns.71, 77-79, 81.


13. ibid., 6.4, 7.3, 11.7-9 for the advice to students to follow a good living model. 25.5 "Do everything as if Epicurus was watching you". 52.8 seq. The lives of philosophers were educative models. That is why a lot of stress was placed on how one lived, not just on what one said, for they were considered as living moral and
therefore educative examples. In the school of Epicurus this went hand in hand with the practice of emulation of and reverence for teachers. Sen. Ep. 64.9

14. ibid., 18.7; D.L.X.18.

15. See Frischer, chs. 3-5 and passim.

16. D.L.X.120 "The wise man is grateful to anyone when corrected"; De Witt, ch. 6 and ... ... ... , "Organisation and Procedure in Epicurean Groups", C.P. 35 (36) 205-11. pp. 209-11, and on the uncertain text of Philodemus' Peri Parrhesia. De Witt is somewhat overimaginative and constructs much too elaborate and hierarchical a system of teaching and organisational practices in the Epicurean school. See Elder's review of De Witt, in C.P. pp. 76-7, 84, for other instances of "special pleading" on the part of De Witt. In the mainstream of the hostile tradition, Cic. Fin. I.6.20, reports that Epicurus made Polyeanus, not a novice but a senior member of the school, unlearn geometry. On the four-fold art of healing as a teaching device, see fr. 221 Usner; Frischer, pp. 72-3; Farrington, p. 123; Avotins, I. "Training in Frugality in Epicurus and Seneca", Phoenix, 31 (77) 214-217 on the simple-life style of the Epicureans as a model for education. Sen. Ep. 18.9.

17. See the lists of D.L.X. for the works of Epicureans which contain a lot of refutative writings; De Witt, pp. 115-18; See During, (AA BT), pp. 299-311, 376-7, 385-8 for testimonia and discussion regarding Epicurus' and his school's attack on Aristotle and on the Peripatos which was both professional and personal.


19. For Epicurus' hostile attitude to professional rivals see: Sedley, Cahiers de philologie, passim; ... ... ..., Cronache ercolanesi, passim.

20. Cic. Fin. I.7.22. ch. 2.3 Garden.

21. De Lacy, Ph, "Lucretius and the History of Epicureanism", TAPA, 79 (48) 12-23, pp. 13, 19-23; Lucretius' De Rerum Natura is written in verse form and is protreptic in character; Frischer, chs. 3-5 passim.

Notes to 3.2.4.

1. On Cynics and public teaching see D.L.VI. passim; Epict. Disc. III.22-3; Julian Or. VII; Wycherly, G & R, Peripatos II, pp. 15-16, ... ... ..., Phoenix, "The Painted Stoa", p. 32.

2. D.L.VII.1, 16, 24, 167 for the Stoics as students of the Megarian school.


6. D.L.VII.39.ff; Lucian. Phil. for Sale.21-25 where the Stoic system of logic, especially its fallacies, provides the material for a running parody of the teaching of Stoic logic.


9. Lucian. Hermot.13 on didactic (dogmatic) methods used to induct and instruct new students into Stoicism.

Notes to 3.2.5.

1. See Jocelyn, Bulletin..., passim; Clarke, pp.72-7.

2. Plut. On List. to Lect.4, 9-10, 18; See Sen.Ep.40 passim, on lecturing styles and Ep.108.3-13 on Attalus' teaching methods, Seneca's own teacher. Epictetus' and Taurus' methods were similar.

3. A.G. A.N.I.IX.8-12, VII.X.


7. e.g. Musonius. "When someone asked him if women too should study philosophy, he began to discourse on the theme... (III. Lutz). "Another time the problem arose..." (V. Lutz). See also the beginnings of IV, XIV, XVI, XVII Lutz, for discussions of topics raised by students.


10. Musonius.I Lutz, for a discussion on logical issues, and XLIV for logical exercises in class.
12. A.G. A.N.II.XXVI.
15. Epict/Disc.II.14.1 To Nasso.
20. Epict/Disc.I.10.8, esp. I.17.13-17, and II.16.33, II.17.1.ff, II.19.3.ff; Seneca endorsed the systematic reading and study of the philosophers as opposed to the taking of short cuts by resort to summaries, cramming or maxims. Sen.Ep.39.1 seq., 40.3-4.
23. Epict/Disc.II.6.23, II.13.21, II.17.27, 34, II.19.1.ff, III.6.18; Like Epictetus, Seneca, too, was a severe critic of the overelaborate Stoic logic, especially its fallacies and logical mental gymnastics. Ep.48.5-11.ff, 85.1 seq., 111. On the Varieties of Mental Gymnastics, 82.20-4, 83.18, 108.23, 109.17, 117.1, 25, ethics (virtue) is declared as superior to logical subtleties. See Cic.T.D.I.9.31 for his criticism of philosophers' overelaborate theoretical discussions and verbosity in their teachings.
27. Porph/V.Plot.4.8-10, 5.61-2.
29. Porph/V.Plot.1.14, 3.46, 5.6, 13.1 passim, 14.11. Armstrong, (PCS), Plotinian and Christian Studies, ch.XI pp.13-22. Plotinus was ever ready to engage in teaching and discussion. His stay with Ammonius Saccas is described by Porphyry (3.34) as one of sunousia, study in intimate association. In V.Plot.3.1-2, the
term *homiliais* (homilies) is used to characterise his talks and classroom conversations.


33. See *V.Plot.* 16, *Plot.Enn.* I.5, II.8, III.1, III.2, III.3, III.7 as examples of typical treatises dealing with school problemata.


37. Porph. *V.Plot.* 15.18-21 with the Athenian Neoplatonist Eubolus, and (19-21) with Longinus, Porphyry's former teacher.


40. Julian constantly trades on the distinction between public and private (secret) doctrine, corresponding to his distinction between the many and the privileged few where myth, falsehood, etc. is served to the former, while the mysteries, and true philosophy is reserved for the cultured and initiated and privileged few. See also Eunap.*V.P&S.* 456, 458-61; Mar.*V.Proc.* 28 and Boas, E.R. pp.90-2 for a discussion.

41. Eunap.*V.P&S.* 469 Sosipatra expounding the literary, sophistic and philosophic tradition.


44. See the Anon. Proleg. to Plat. Phil. passim, Westerink, for the teaching of Platonic philosophy in Alexandria. Westerink, L.G., Janus, passim, for the teaching of Platonic, and Aristotelian philosophy, and other disciplines; See the Neoplatonic Vitae of Aristotle in During, (AAFT), Part I. chs.2, 3, 4, and Part III. ch.20 for the Prolegomena to Aristotle; Clarke, pp.103, 105-6 and ns.306-12 for a discussion of their teaching methods and content; Armstrong, (CHLTEMP), pp.473.ff; See Baynes, N.H. and Moss, H. St L.B. (eds), Byzantium: An introduction to east Roman civilisation, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1949, 1969. ch.VII, and Runciman, ch.IX on Byzantine education.

45. Mar. V. Proc. 13, 14, 26-7; Dam. V. Isid. 36.


48. A detailed discussion of the teaching practices of late Neoplatonism is outside the scope of this chapter.

Notes to 4.1.


354
2. Plato's Symposium and Phaedrus focus on the fusion of eros and paideia into paiderastia.

3. Plato. Symp. 184d-e, 185a-b.

4. This is the setting of Plato's 'erotic' dialogues and Xenophon's Symposium; Cic. T. D. IV. 33. 70 seq. "For my part I think this practice had its origin in the Greek gymnasia..." Plut. Eroticus, passim; Athen. 601a, passim. Paiderastia is a craze (mania) in Greece, 602a on its origins and examples; Lucian, Amores, passim.

5. Philostratus, Imagines 14 where the erotic liaison between Apollo and the youth Hyacinthus is considered the ideal educational relationship.


7. Plato's Lysis and Charmides clearly illustrate the contest system working on a sexual level. Murray, pp. 204, 205.ff where the competition was as intense as on the political or military level. The nexus between paiderastia and philosophia as pedagogy becomes tighter in Plato's theorisation of it as early as the Lysis, his first philosophical treatment of the nature of friendship. Thus note the dialogue, Lovers, alternatively titled: On Philosophy.


9. Agathon, the tragedian, was also a notorious effeminate who had many lovers, including Euripides. Xen. Symp. VII.32; Plut. Eroticus 770c.

10. In his attempt to vindicate Socrates' chastity, Plato in the Symposium confirms the erotic basis of the paiderastic relationship, 217a-b, even in the case of Socrates, 216d; Charmides 155e, and discussion by Dover, p.156 and n.7; Gouldner, A.W., Enter Plato, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965, p.193.

11. Aristoexenus, fr. 52a, 52b Wehrli = Suda. s.v. Socrates. See McDaidmond, H.S.C.P. p.148 n.143 for a discussion. Aristoexenus, it appears, was the originator of the story in his less than sympathetic biography of Socrates.

12. Demosth. Aischines vs Timarchus. passim, and discussion by Dover, p.19.ff; Plutarch, Erot. 752a seq. for a debate between proponents and opponents of paiderastia.

13. On this see de Ste Croix, G.E.M., (CSAGW), The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, Duckworth, London,
1981, chs.3-4 and passim on the propertied classes and on class exploitation.

Notes to 4.2.

* Erotic Succession in the early Academy: D.L.III, IV.passim.

Plato

Alexis Phaedrus Xenocrates Aster Dion

Polemo

Lysicles Crates Crantor

Bion Arcesilaus Eugamus

numerous Demetrius Cleochares Menodorus intimates

Diogenes Laertius (VIII.86) notes a tradition making Eudoxus the paidika of Theomedon the physician. The story is suspect and probably comes from a hostile tradition, for Diogenes quotes it as "some people even say that he was Theomedon's paidika". In IX.25 Zeno of Elea is represented as the paidika of Parmenides.

1. For example Field, pp.28-9.


4. Mysogyny appears to have been well entrenched in the leisured class. Plato and Aristotle give it an epistemological justification in the biological theory of the moral and intellectual inequality of humans. This attitude towards women also explains mysopaths, being a direct application of mysogyny to the male who acted the woman and liked it. It hardly needs mention that such an attitude is based on ignorance and therefore on an unfounded fear of women and female sexuality.
5. He is credited with a mistress, one Archeanassa of Colophon, a hetaira. D.L.III.31; Athen.589c; Pal.Anth. VII.217.


10. See Taran, p.7 and passim.

11. D.L.IV.1-5; Athen.279e.

12. See Taran, ch.4. pp.78-84, 177, 192-3, fr.80a-81b and commentary, pp.438-44 for the Speusippian view that hedone is an evil.


15. D.L.IV.7-8 or Lais in an alternative version.

16. D.L.IV.16 This became a philosophical and literary topos in subsequent tradition. e.g. Lucian. The Double Indictment. passim.


19. D.L.VI.91 where Cates figures in an anecdote involving a charge of paiderastia levelled against Menedemus of Eretria who is portrayed as the paidika of Asclepiades, his associate. See D.L.II.126 seq. and II.138 where a beloved-student (eromenos) of Asclepiades is mentioned; Lucian. Lapiths.26, 29; Libanius. Or.I.44-5, 79, Eunap. V.Pag.495 regarding a charge of paiderastia against Libanius. This charge was part of a larger cluster of charges that rival philosophers and sophists regularly accused each other of. Love of money, pleasure, power, ego, were other such charges; in short, of not practising what they preached. Black magic was another charge. See Bonner, C, "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius", T.A.P.A. 63 (32) 34-44.

20. D.L.IV.34-5 for Arcesilaus; IV.47 Bion; VII.18,21 Zeno, etc.

22. D.L.IV.46, 53. This may go back to Bion's own life when as a youth in slavery he was probably the (abused?) paidika of his master, a rhetorician. But note IV.49 where he supports a paradoxical view, namely, that the role of the beloved is preferred to that of the lover. This can, however, be explained as an attempt by Bion to justify why students should submit to him.


24. D.L.V.87; Heracleides. fr.64-6 Wehrli = Athen.602a passim.

Notes to 4.3.

1. Arist.N.E.4.1-2 for an example of an association based on pleasure between lover - beloved as an inferior form of friendship and in VIII.7.1 where sexual friendships between older and younger persons involve superiority of the older over the younger and as such are unequal.

2. Koinonia: Arist.N.E.IX.1.4, IX.4.5-6, IX.12.3.


4. D.L.V.3-4, 12-13; Athen.589c.


6. Aristippus in D.L.V.39, and V.52 where Theophrastus in his will provides for the erection of a life size statue of him.

7. Arist.N.E. Books VIII, IX; D.L.V.22, 24 includes in the list of his works the titles: Erotikos, Symposium, On Friendship, Theses Erotikai, Theses Philikai.

8. D.L.V.43 two works Peri Erotikos = Athen.606c; D.L.V.45 PeriPhilias, three books, V.47 Problems... in Erotica.

9. See 4.1 n.11 supra.

10. Dichaearchus. fr.23, 25 W.


13. Clearchus. fr.17-18, 21-35 W. = Athen.255b, 564a, 606c
and passim, 619c, 639a, 669.


15. Frischer, pp.56-7.

16. Eg. Athen.607f Polystratus of Athens, a pupil of Theophrastus, liked to dress in flutegirls' clothing.

Notes to 4.4.


3. Plut.Ad Col.1117a; fr.31. (C) Baily, pp.128-9; Cic.Fin.I.5.16 reports that Atticus had "a positive affection for his teacher Phaedrus", just as he was, with Zeno and Phaedrus, devoted to the Epicurean system.


5. fr.32 (C) Baily, pp.128-9 = D.L.X.5. Note Philostratus. Letters of Courtesans.1.17 (i.2) where in this fictitious letter Leontion is made to accuse Epicurus of being in love with Pythocles in addition to making continuous unwanted advances towards herself.


Notes to 4.5.

1. Plut. On Common Conceptions.1073b. See also Cic.Fin. III.68; T.D.IV.34.72.


4. D.L.VII.34 Stoics rejecting Cynic elements of their system. See ch.6.5 on the social philosophy of the Stoa.


7. D.L.VII.166 Zeno may very well have been jealous and resentful of the attentions his student was receiving. See Pal.Anth.VII.100 = D.L.III.31 where Plato rebukes a favourite for responding to the attentions of rival admirers.

8. D.L.VII.21 = IV.34 where Arcesilaus answers: "What, not with one so handsome as you, and so handsomely dressed".

9. Ath.564 seq. The speaker is Myrtilus. Sen.Ep.73.12 also discusses the question of up to what age it is appropriate to love youths. For Seneca on the Stoics regarding friendship, philosophy, paiderastia, intellectual community and interpersonal social relations among the wise, see for example: Ep.3, 5-7, 38, 48, 123. passim.

10. D.L.VII.34 Erotike Technē. Diogenes the Cynic also wrote an Erotikos; Garrison, Hermes, p.4.


12. For the fragments and a discussion see Dudley, pp.83, 94-5, Powell/Knox fr.8.lines 8-15, fr.9.lines 11-16.


14. Zeno was a wealthy person D.L.VII.13, but Cleanthes was poor as a student and had to support himself by manual labour. D.L.VII.168-70, 174.


Notes to 4.6.
1. Dillon, pp.303, 334.

2. Lucian. *Philosophies for Sale*, passim; *Lapiths*, 15, 26-9; *Fugitives*, 18; *Amores*, passim; *Hermotimus*, passim.


8. Mar.*V.Proc.*13, 30 where his teachers are also referred to as grandfather and father respectively.

9. Mar.*V.Proc.*18; cf. Iamb.*V.Pyth.*XXXIII.229.ff on the importance of friendship among the Pythagoreans, and of which Damon and Pythias were the model.

Notes to 4.7.


4. de Ste Croix, (*CSAGW*), pp.111-203 and passim.

5. Plato. *Lysis*, *Symposium*, where the lover courts his favourite in a manner very much similar to courtly love; one that is legitimated by an educational ideology. See Murray, p.204.

6. de Ste Croix, (*CSAGW*), pp.98-111. See ch.6.4.


9. See infra ch.6.4 and notes.
10. The term *hetaira* is mostly pejorative, although Liddel and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p.770 translate: (i) companion in distinction to (ii) porne (prostitute). Boswell, pp.336-7 points out that it is virtually impossible to define terms for prostitute, whore, courtesan, etc. The term liberated is itself loaded. See ch.6.1. passim.


12. That the process of liberation of X from Y itself involves a form of domination on the part of the liberator and is therefore self-refuting is self evident to any Anarchist. Thus it may not vindicate Socrates after all. Nietzsche, F, *Twilight of the Gods, The Antichrist*, Hollingdale, R.J. (trs.), Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1968, 1978, Aphorism 10, thinks that Socrates played the tyrant of reason, his legacy to western civilisation.

13. One could be an *erastes* and an *eromenos* at the same time, but theoretically never in relation to the same person. This, however, was not always adhered to in practice. Boswell, pp.27-30.

14. Most started at around sixteen-plus. Epicurus was fourteen, and philosophers like Arcesilaus (D.L.IV.36) preferred to have their students start early.

15. Dover, pp.51-2, 97.

16. Alcibiades takes it for granted that "thinking myself free at any time by gratifying his desires to hear all that our Socrates knew". *Symp.*217a, and Pausanius, *Symp.* 184c-185d, "the younger in his paucity acquiring education and all learned arts... it is right to bestow this favour for the sake of virtue". The rhetorician Diophanes (Porph. *V Plot.*15) reiterates this in a speech delivered in Plotinus' school. See Buffiere, pp.56-7 on the idea of "Initiation par injection de sperme".


19. See ch.6.1 and notes.

Posidippus' epigram: "Let Zeno, the leisured swan and Cleanthes' Muse be quiet and let us think about bittersweet eros". This is a clear attack on Stoic apantheia.

21. Boswell in his book traces the development of intolerance well into the Medieval period. See de Ste Croix, ch.4 and passim on the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the majority by the few in the later Roman empire.
Footnotes to Chapter 5.

Notes to 5.1.

1. Reading Sappho's poetry was a sign of a cultivated woman in Athens.


14. Wender, D, "Plato: Misogynist, Paedophile and Feminist", *Arethusa*, 6. no.1 (Spring, 73) 75-90, p.84.


22. Gorman, p.120 emphasis mine.


25. Lloyd fuses two separate statements; one from a letter to Leontion: "O Lord Apollo, my dear little Leontion, with what applause we were inspired as we read your letter". (D.L.X.5 = fr.32 (C) Bailly, pp.128/9) and the other to Themista: "I am quite ready, if you do not come to see me, to spin thrice on my own axis and be propelled to any place that you, including Themista, agree upon." (D.L.X.5 = fr.25 (C) Bailly, pp.126/7); see also D.L.X.6, 25-6; Cic.Fin.25.68 on Themista. Note also that Epicurus is addressing Idomenus, the husband of Themista, when he says "that you [Idomenus], including Themista agree upon". Emphasis mine.


28. Porph.V.Pyth.18 emphasis mine.

29. Iamb.V.Pyth.54-5; see De Vogel, (PEP), pp.130-8 for a discussion.

Notes to 5.2.


2. Cic.Fato.5.381; Athen.596e; D.L.II.14.

3. Dudley, p.14 identifies a certain Nicion, nicknamed: flea, as a woman Cynic philosopher, but that is the extent of our knowledge of her.

the marriage as a unique case and a one-off affair. Plut. Non Posse. 1086e Hipparchia is on the hit list of philosophers abused by Epicurus.


7. Taran, pp.177, 180, Testimonia. 39a-b.


9. Dichaearchus. fr.44-5, Wehrli; D.L.IV.46; Apul. De Plat. 1.4; Athen.546b; Themistius. Or.XXIII.295c-d. She was apparently converted to the school after reading parts of Plato's Republic, probably Book V. Nerinthus. fr.64 Rose. The Anon. Vita of Plato. 4.25-6 (Westerink) calls her Dexithea and also mentions Lastrheneia.


13. Pomeroy, A.J.A.H. p.59. In Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae, the women tople the male government by passing a motion in the assembly giving power to women. They do this by disguising themselves as men; by putting on male clothing and fake beards.


15. Stob.16.30.

16. D.L.VII.175 On the Thesis that Virtue is the Same in Man as in Woman.


18. Lucretius D.R.N.IV.1155.ff, V.1356.ff on the sexual relations between the sexes.

20. D.L.X.6; Alciph. L.C.[ii.2]; Athen.588a; Pliny. N.H. XXV.99 for a portrait of Leontion.

21. Athen.593b-e for the death of Leontion's daughter, Dannaë.


24. Athen.588c-f; D.L.II.74-5.

25. See n.15 above. Alciph. L.C.I.17 [ii.1]; Athen.590-2f for hetairai and artists.

26. The letters are not genuine, but nevertheless they reflect later perceptions of the fourth century b.c. schools and their relations with hetairai.

27. Tod, J.H.S. p.140.

Notes to 5.3.

1. Livy.III.44-9. for the anachronistic story of Virginia going to school; see Finley, M.I, "The Silent Women of Rome", Horizon, 7 (65) 57-64; cf: Warren, L.W, "The Women of Etruria", Arethusa, 6 no.1. (Spring, 73) 91-101 for the cultured lifestyle of Etruscan well to do women. Their intellectual and cultural life is comparable to 6th century b.c. women of Lesbos; both resting on a solid base of material prosperity enabling a leisureed life for its ruling classes.


6. Juvenal.6.434-56; Stob.3.6.58 Women carrying around with them copies of Plato's Republic; Balsdon, J.P.V.D, "Women in Imperial Rome", History Today, 10 (60) 24-31; Marshal, A.J, "Ladies in Waiting: Thr Role of Women in Tacitus' History", Ancient Society, 15-17 (84-86) 167-84.

8. Dio Cassius.75.15.6-7; Phil. Vit. Apoll. Tyana.I.3; Phil. Ep.73; Phil. V.S.622.


10. Menage, p.599.

11. See Phil. V.S. passim.

12. The emphasis on initiation into the Mysteries and self-teaching came from the stess on the acquisition of knowledge not so much by prolonged study which was philosophy, but by contemplation, purification and ritual; magic, which was theurgy - a short cut to wisdom.


16. Synesius of Cyrene. Ep.10, 15-6, 33, 81, 124, 154; Rist, Phoenix, p.218

17. Mar. V.Proc.13, 15.ff, 28 and passim; Suda. s.v. Aedesia, wife of Hermeias, took her two sons to Athens to be educated by Proclus.

Notes to 5.4.

1. The Cynics, Epicureans and Plato in the Republic. See the article by Annas, J, "Plato's Republic and Feminism", Philosophy, 51 (76) 307-21 for the convincing argument that Plato was no feminist. See also Pomeroy. S.B, "Feminism in Book V of Plato's Republic", Apeiron, 8. no.1. (74) 33-35; Jacobs, W, "Plato on Female Emancipation and the Traditional Family", Apeiron, 12. no.1. (78) 29-31.


5. Schaps, passim.


8. See 5.4. n.1 above.
Footnotes to Ch.6.

* Philosophers consistently used the masculine gender to refer to a wise person, whether male or female. Although in principle most schools accepted that a woman could be wise, not all schools meant this in the same sense that a man could be wise, and only the Garden put it in regular practice. See Ch.5 supra. I will use the masculine gender when referring to the philosopher as wise person so as not to give the impression that the Greeks wrote in non-sexist language, which they did not. When they talked of ho sophos aner they mostly meant wise man in the non-generic sense. I doubt that the problem ever came up for discussion.

Notes to 6.1.

* The word politeia has a wide range of meaning. In my use of the term in this chapter I refer to the more narrow sense of public political office or participation in aspects of government, rather than social life in general.

9. Plut. Ad.Col.1126c-d; For Menedemus of Eretria's, a one time pupil of the Academy, political activities see D.L.II.128-29, 131, 140-44.
10. Plut. Ad. Col.1126c-d; for a good discussion see Dusanic, Chiron, pp.131-44; Chroust, Review of Politics, p.34; Merlan, (SEA), p.98.ff; Lynch, p.59.
12. Athen.508f-509b comments on the Academy's penchant for tyrannicide.


16. *Acad.Index*.Col.XI.28-30; Paus.VII.27.3, 7; Athen.508-9.


23. The Academy was competing with Isocrates for influence in Cyprus. Aristotle dedicated his *Protrepticus* to Themison, ruler of Cyprus.


27. Clem.Strom.II.22.133.

28. Cic.Fin.II.11.3-4; Clem.Strom.VII.6.32.9.

Notes to 6.2.

1. Cic.Acad.II.59-60, 66-7 on the dangers of *epoche*. For a discussion see Glucker, pp.60-3.

2. S.E. M.VII.158.

3. See ch.3.2.2 n.32.


5. D.L.IV.38-40, 42 on the political activities of Arcesilaus and his relations with Antigonus Gonatas, Eumenes, and other rulers. Demetrius the Fair was his
pupil at 16, c.270 b.c., C.A.H.VII.p.212.


7. D.L.IV.38 Arcesilaus dedicated works to Eumenes.


9. Such as fees of wealthy students and the labour of slaves and non-propertied classes. The ruling class could not only afford them but they could also participate, while the latter could neither participate nor afford them.

Notes to 6.3.


2. Ibid., I.2.5seq.

3. Ibid., VI.5.1seq.

4. Ibid., I.8.15seq, IX.17 passim, on externals. Cic.T.D.V.9.24 Theophrastus on the value of goods. There was a running debate on their relevance and application to the good life with the Stoic opposed to the rest of the schools.

5. Arist.N.E.I.9.10. The Stoics also accepted this argument.

6. Ibid., VI.5seq, where phronesis is downgraded in contrast to Book I where it is declared self-sufficient for happiness.

7. Ibid., VI.12.7-8 where sophia is considered superior to phronesis.


10. Ibid., X.6.8-9, X.8.13.

11. Antipater, ruler of Macedon and Greece was his close friend and executor of his will. D.L.V.11-12.

12. See ch.1.3 Lyceum.

13. Dichaearchus rejected the bios theoretikos in favour of the bios praktikos, and like Demetrius of Phalerum or Duris of Samos, he was not the only one. De Vogel, (GP), Vol.II. p.242; Demetrius. fr.25, 31, 67, 69, Wehrli.

II. pp.248-52.

15. See the C.A.H.VII. pp.203-4 ff., 220, for the philosophic-literary-scholarly circle of Antigonus Gonatas. See Jocelyn, p.351 for examples of Peripatetics and rulers.


17. Lyco. fr.20 Wehrli where the telos is defined as: "true joy of the soul", and not the life of the intellect in contemplation.

Notes to 6.4.

1. Frischer, p.36.

2. See Sen.Ep.20.10 on the alleged motto of the Garden, namely hedone. D.L.X.128-9 passim, Maxims.8-10, 18, 25, 30, and Vatican Saying.17, 21, 25; Cic.Fin.I.10.29seq., T.D.III.41-2; Athen.546e. Modern scholarship has dealt with Epicurus' doctrine of hedone and there is no need to enter into details here. See for example De Witt, (EP), ch.12; Farrington, pp.129-33; Konstan, ch.1; Rist, ch.6; Merlan, (SEA), ch.1, pp.1-37, Long and Sedley, (THP), Vol.I. pp.111-24, etc.


10. D.L.X.131-32 The Epicureans were not vulgar hedonists, contra Cicero's accusations Fin.II-III passim. D.L.X.136-37 Epicurus distinguished his philosophy from the Cyrenaic. Maxims 3, 5, 18, 21. Bodily needs are limited by nature and easily satisfied. See Konstan, ch.1 on Epicurus' psychology and his analysis of the
desires and emotions. Merlan, (SEA), ch.1 passim.

11. D.L.X124, 135, the study of philosophy is a divine state of existence. X.124-24 Epicurus on the gods. Long and Sedley, (THP), Vol.I. pp.139-49; Merlan, (SEA), pp.38-54; Plut.Ad.Col.1117b Colotes venerated Epicurus as if he were a God; Sen.Ep.6.4, 9.2 seq. on Epicurus as wise man. For a discussion of Epicurus as wise man and God in sculpture, see Frischer, pp.77-8, 246-7; Konstan, pp.62-9 on epistemology and the wise man.


13. Frischer, p.49.


15. Cic.Brutus.35.131 on a certain Titus Albucius, a hellenophile, who as a student in Athens was converted to the philosophy of the Garden and "turned out a complete Epicurean". Wisdom is perfected through education. See the beginning of Epicurus' letters in D.L.X.122 and 135.

Notes to 6.5.

1. Sen.Ep.95.5 seq.; Plut.Quest.Conv.613b; S.V.F.II.35, III.202, 598; Epict.Disc.III.2.10, 15.8-13, etc.


9. D.L.VII.89, 98, 125-6 on the individual virtues and their ultimate unity into a monad. S.E. P.H.I.68; S.V.F.III.557; Cic.Fin.V.9.27; Sen.Ep.87.19 Virtue, which is a disposition of the soul, is the supreme good. Cleanthes' definition of virtue was: "a force and a tension of the soul". Plut.Stoic.Rep.1034d. The Stoics considered the virtues and vices as existent and therefore material entities, in line with their strict materialism where there was no room for non-corporeal


18. Stoics did not usually refer to themselves as wise men. S.V.F. III. p.156, 1-3, 23-5, III. p.167.24-6, III. p.216, 39 on the rarity of the wise man. Sen. *Ep.* 42.1 says that, like the phoenix, the wise man occurs only once every five hundred years. Epictetus, however, who does not even refer to himself as a philosopher, does call Zeno, Crysippus, and other Stoics wise; a posthumous title.

19. Sen. *Ep.* 53.6, 72.6, 74.35 seq., 75.8-18, 94.45, 95.36, 120.1 seq, 123.16 seq, statements regarding virtue, learning and moral progress. *Ep.* 124.7-12 passim. Because virtue is taught, the young lack it and have to be educated. Plut. *Stoic.Rep.* 1063a-b on the paradox of virtue and learning.


22. For examples see De Vogel, (GP), III. p.231.


27. D.L.VII.6-11, 13, 170 relations with Antigonus.

28. D.L.VII.6, 9; Athen. 562d; He sent Persaeus and Philonides to Macedon. D.L.VII.36. Persaeus was also royal-tutor. Antigonus made Persaeus epistates of Corinth. Plut. Arat. 18.1. An admirer of Sparta, at one stage of his career he was advisor to Cleomenes. D.L.VII.177, 185; Athen. 354e. Sphaerus was sent by Chrysippus to Ptolemy II (or III). Some served on embassies. Thus Diogenes of Babylon in 156/5 b.c. and Posidonius 87/6 b.c. Plut. Mar. 45.4, and others were guests of wealthy Romans. Thus Panaetius with Scipio Aemelianus, Cic. Rep. I.10-15 Diodotus with Cicero, Antipater and Athenodorus with Cato, Cic. Pro Mum. 66, and others. See Jocelyn, p.336 and n.6 for other examples.


34. Sen.17; Epict. Disc. III.26 passim; Dio Cryost. Or. 7.82;

35. Cic. *Fin.* III.9.32; Plut. *Stoic Rep.* 1055-156a-b on the Stoic view that one can neither do, nor suffer injury. S. V. F. II.132. III.554-5; Lucian. *Hermot.* 80-2. For the view that the teacher has no moral responsibility to the pupil and how he turns out as long as as his intentions are virtuous.


37. The Stoic view was that the masses don't benefit from teaching and the wise man will use falsehoods in his dealings with the mob.

Notes to 6.6.


3. Plot. *Enn.* I.2 true virtue is in the second hypostasis, the Intelligible principle or Dyad.

4. Happiness is lived in the soul which is in eternity and outside time. Plot. *Enn.* I.1-23, I.4.4, III.7.3, VI.8.5. There is perfect happiness only in the One.


7. Plot. *Enn.* II.9.9 distinguishes between the wise man and the rest. III.2 "One must not demand equal gifts in things which are unequal". III.3 The masses have no free will. III.8 For the justification of inequality in social life and where the distinction between mental and manual labour is upheld in that the many work for the good of the few so that the latter may engage in contemplation. II.9.9.

