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Peripatetic Philosophers as Wandering Scholars: Some Remarks on the Socio-Political Conditions of Philosophizing in the Third Century BCE*

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1.

When a historian examines the social and political conditions of philosophizing (as distinct from philosophy) in the third century BCE, the reader may ask: From the viewpoint of social and cultural history is it really justifiable to separate the fourth from the third century, and to treat the third as an autonomous and distinct period? The question can be formulated in another way: In what respect does the third century differ from the fourth and second centuries? What do they have in common, what are the connecting features and traditions? What are the differences, and where are discontinuity and changes which initially developed below the surface and did not come to light until the end of the process?

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In my opinion, there are good reasons for viewing the third century as an age of its own, and the year 307 BCE is a suitable starting point. This date is important for the social history of philosophy, because this was when Athenian philosophers were for the last time forced to go into exile. Some left for only a short while, others for longer, driven out by external factors, above all in connection with political crises.[1] It is notable that Aristotle had to leave Athens twice in his life: first in the summer of 348, when as a result of the anti-Macedonian propaganda of Demosthenes, he was suspected of collaboration and espionage because of his personal contacts with the Macedonian court;[2] and again in the summer of 323, when after the news of the death of Alexander, the anti-Macedonian movement, gaining strength again, brought a series of actions against prominent "friends of Macedonia." Among those charged were the oligarchical politician Callimedon, the orators Pytheas (PA 12342) and Demades, and the philosopher Aristotle.[3]

[1] Charges against philosophers occurred in Athens only as a side effect of either constitutional changes (in 411, 404, and 307 BCE) or political crises caused by foreign policy. Cf. Scholz (1998) 62–8. On legal actions against philosophers, see also E. Derenne (1930), which is still intriguing.

[2] It is remarkable that Aristotle, who spent twenty years at the Academy, left just before Plato's death (under the archon Theophilus 348/7 BCE: D.L. 5.9). This suggests that his departure is to be interpreted as the result of anti-Macedonian propaganda after the destruction of Olynthus. The suspicions (Dem. 4.18: εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) were mainly caused by the position of Aristotle's father as a personal physician at the Macedonian court, which was surely known to numerous Athenians, as well as his correspondence with Philip II and Olympias. For the circumstances, see Scholz (1998) 171–3, cf. Chroust (1966) 186–96, Chroust (1967) 39–43, and the summary of these two studies in Chroust (1973) 117–224. That Aristotle was accused of cooperating with the Macedonians (μακεδονισμός) remains probable but speculative, as pointed out recently by Trampedach (1994) 50–1.

[3] Only two months after the announcement of Alexander's death, the leading Athenian politicians of the time, the general Leosthenes and the orator Hypereides, declared war against the Macedonian Kingdom; see Gehrke (1976) 77–87. It is curious that Aristotle, just before his friend and patron Lycurgus died, was charged with impiety (Ath. 15 696A–B = T 1b Plezia). This prompted Aristotle to take refuge at his mother's home in Chalcis (*Vit. Marc.* 41–2 = F 667 Rose = T 44 Düring = F 11a Plezia). Cf. Scholz (1998) 176–9, Derenne (1930) 188–98, Wormell (1935) 83–7, Chroust (1973) 145–54. On the flight of the other "friends of Macedon": Gehrke (1976) 85, Berve (1926) 190 no. 404 Callimedon, Marzi (1991) 70–83, Blass (1898) 266–78 (Demades), 286–8, Develin no. 2655 Pytheas.

Four years later, in 318/317, his successor Theophrastus faced similiar difficulties, when Hagnonides (PA 107455), a leading figure in anti-Macedonian circles who had pushed through the execution of Phocion, took legal action against the new head of the Peripatos for impiety (ἀσέβεια).[4] Once again the real reason was surely his personal ties to the Macedonian court and his friendship with Demetrius of Phalerum, who was known for his support of Phocion's policy. However, this time the anti-Macedonian attack was not successful, as it would be in 307, when the philosophers were forced to go into exile for a short time.[5] At that time, following the fall of Demetrius of Phalerum, a former student of Aristotle's who had donated an estate to the Peripatetic school during his rule of Athens, the democratic constitution was reestablished, and the Athenians tried to reverse his generous donation. Demochares (PA 321970), as passionate an orator and patriot as his uncle Demosthenes, initiated the prosecution. His indictment repeated the charges of collaboration with the Macedonians which had already been made in 348. By this he intended to prove the extraordinary political danger presented by the philosophers.[6] Sophocles proposed the accusation of the philosophers, and the following law was passed by the Athenian people: "No one may lead a school of philosophy if it is not decided by the council and the people; otherwise he will be sentenced to death." But in the following year, Philon (PA 14806), a former student of Aristotle's, had the law repealed so that the philosophers could return.[7]

That was the last time politicians tried to persecute philosophers by legal and political means. Thereafter, the legal status of the philosophical schools (as associations of the Muses)[8] was never again questioned

[4] D.L. 5.37. Cf. Habicht (1995) 58–9.

[5] Cf. Derenne (1930) 199–201, 213–16, Habicht (1988) 7–8, Sonnabend (1996) 118–23.

[6] Euseb. *PE* 15.2.6 (from Aristocles) = T 58g Döring = F 1 Plezia = F 2 Marasco. For the circumstances of the proposal, see Marasco (1984) 113–20, 171–5.

[7] D.L. 5.38. Sophocles' law obviously contravened the right to freedom of assembly and to autonomy of association (Gaius *Dig*. 47.22.4 = Solon F 75 Ruschenbusch). Cf. Whitehead (1993) 13–14.

[8] Against Lynch and the *opinio communis*, including Habicht (1995) 112, I here follow Wilamowitz (1881) 264, 279; cf. Ziebarth (1914) 72–3. The foundation and practice of the cult of the Muses was imperative for learning and living in a philosophical community, which held daily assemblies for an indefinite period in a gymnasium on public land. But I disagree with Wilamowitz's view that the Academy was organized

by politicians, apart from the Areopagus' formal examinations of how they earned their living.[9] Thereafter, the philosophers who lived in Athens were at least tolerated, and were no longer judged as "eccentrics."[10] Thus, since 307/6 saw the establishment of philosophy as an autonomous way of life and a part of higher intellectual education, it seems an appropriate date to begin a new chapter of the social history of this form of education.

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in the form of a *thiasos* and hence had the legal status of a religious association. In the gymnasia, the philosophers and other teachers were used to sacrificing to the Muses, as is well documented by Boyancé (1937). By sacrificing, philosophers proved both their recognition of the Athenian cults and their respect for the Athenian community. For further arguments, see Scholz (1998) 17 n. 17.

[9] According to the biographical tradition, the philosophers Menedemus of Eretria, Asclepiades of Phlius, and Cleanthes of Assos were summoned by the Areopagus and questioned on how they earned their living (Ath. 4 168A–B = *SSR* 3 F 9; D.L. 7.168–9). Their questioning was based on Solon's law on "being unemployed or idle" (Plut. *Sol.* 22.3 = F 148e Ruschenbusch). It was required not because the Areopagus considered the three young philosophers excessive gluttons (ἀσώτους), but because philosophers were considered persons without any regular income or inheritance (μὴ ἔκ τινος περιουσίας ζῶντας: Ath. 4 168A = *FGrH* 325 F 10, 328 F 196). The Areopagus supervised citizens who risked becoming impoverished, and their questioning was supposed to function not as a deterrent but as a cautionary and solicitous measure. It is hard to believe that the Areopagus was willing to support these philosophers financially out of concern for the difficulties they faced in their daily philosophical lessons together (συσχολάζοντες), for there is no other evidence for the Areopagus making such donations; see Wallace (1989) 120–1, 205, cf. de Bruyn (1995) 135, 168–9. The Hellenistic tradition of philosophical biography probably gave rise to this version of the event, which probably did take place. The *topoi* of the genre require that the choice of a philosophical life of perfect virtue should be made as early as possible, at best in youth, and later described as the result of significant efforts.

[10] See Scholz (1998) 11–71, esp. 11–14, 68–71, 372–5. My study was prompted by the observation that philosophers in the fourth century had an extremely precarious status as social outsiders, since they began in "geistesaristokratischer" manner to dissociate themselves from political life in both theory and practice and to create a new way of life for themselves. This emancipatory act, which on the institutional level was accompanied by the founding of different philosophical schools, must have disturbed the citizenry. Philosophical instruction and knowledge gradually entered general intellectual education during the third century. This process of establishing philosophical *paideia*, completed by the beginning of the second century, is reflected in literary tradition by the decreasing number of references in comedy, biographical anecdotes, and epigraphical and archaeological evidence for philosophers' lives in the fourth, third, and second centuries. The literary and monumental traditions, both of which declined from the fourth to the second century, presumably indicate changes in the social conditions of philosophizing during this time.

Philosophy was established as an accepted part of general higher education during the third century, and the process was completed around 200 BCE. During this time, for example, numerous citizens from different cities in the Greek world began to celebrate their intellectual prowess by depicting themselves on their gravestones with the attributes of their philosophical and rhetorical education.[11] Further confirmation of the new role of philosophy at the end of the third century is provided by an honorary decree from Samos (*IG* XII.6.1 128), the outstanding relevance of which for the history of higher education has not been fully appreciated. In this inscription, the Peripatetic philosopher Epicrates is awarded citizenship by the Samians in recognition of his efforts for the local youth (νέοι). This honorary decree, which I shall discuss further in Sec. 4 below, is the earliest inscription dedicated to a philosopher by a Greek political community specifically for his philosophical and didactic achievements, and not for political services, as often earlier.

Naturally, from the perspective of educational history, the third century is a period of transition. In many respects, both institutional and theoretical factors undergo gradual change and political and social consolidation.[12] But what is of special relevance for the present volume is that philosophy was able during this century to establish itself as part of general higher education alongside rhetoric, which had until then played the dominant role. In the long run, philosophy was even able to compete with rhetoric.[13] Here, then, I shall first describe the main features of the social and political conditions of philosophizing, with particular emphasis on continuity with the fourth century. I shall then explain the importance of the honorary decree bestowed on Epicrates, before concluding with a brief look ahead at the second century.

[11] As Marrou (1938) first pointed out. But Marrou did not draw any conclusions for the social history of philosophizing, nor did he differentate further the stages of development of higher intellectual education in Hellenistic times. On the archaeological monuments, see Schmidt (1991) 127–9, Zanker (1993) 218, Zanker (1995) 260–1. The gradual establishment of philosophical instruction can also be observed in some funeral epigrams and honorary decrees; see Wörrle (1995) 248–50, *GVI* 764 = *GG* 134.

[12] Schmitt and Vogt (1988) 534–5. See also von den Hoff (1994) 35–41, Dihle (1987), Christes (1975) 23.

[13] See the classic summary in von Arnim (1898) 4–114 ("Sophistik, Philosophie und Rhetorik in ihrem Kampf um die Jugendbildung"), esp. 76–87.

2.

As mentioned above, the political persecution of philosophers in Athens came to an end in 307 BCE. Yet the absence of reports about indictments for impiety (ἀσέβεια) or trials against philosophers does not mean the end of repressive actions. Furthermore, and this is a point to be stressed, it did not mark the end of their reputation as "eccentrics."[14] Even in Hellenistic times, education at home and in the gymnasium was basic and essential for preparing the young for their future tasks as citizens: for the roles of warrior, politician, and benefactor so far as their talents and resources would permit.[15] The Greek ideal of the union of politician and citizen required a commitment to work for the welfare of one's native town, as can be inferred from Aeschines (1.11) and many Hellenistic decrees. In the military sphere, the good citizen had to be able, for example, to help defend his town against the raids of robbers and pirates, as well as help in other military emergencies. Second, the good citizen had to be active in political and legal bodies, and also, if necessary, to carry out delicate diplomatic missions. Third, he had to make large financial contributions to his community when holding civic office, including the organization of feasts (ἀγωνοθεσία) and the supervision of local gymnasia (γυμνασιαρχία). Finally, he had to support his city by donations of grain or money if a shortage occurred.[16]

Accordingly, the urban elites still showed mixed feelings toward intellectual education. Most tolerated philosophy and rhetoric, and they held in high esteem the classes (σχολαί) and public lectures (ἐπιδείξεις), which provided the intellectual training necessary for political life. But fathers were unwilling to lose their sons to these arts, since they themselves had rejected the professional practice of philoso-

[14] Cf. particularly the topos of philosophers' ἀτοπία in comedy, proverbial at least since Aristophanes; see Weiher (1913) 5–37, Helm (1906) 371–86, Webster (1970) 50–6, 110–13, Gallo (1976) 206–42. The public perception of philosophers as "odd persons" corresponds with their characterisation as ἄδοξοι; see Scholz (1998) 45 and n. 125.

[15] Cf. Gauthier (1995) 8. As the examination of funeral inscriptions has shown, no fundamental change in the hierarchy of social values took place in the third century. Instead of referring to a citizen's main virtues, third-century inscriptions list his personal merits and contributions to his city; see Schmidt (1991) 132–9, Zanker (1995) 261.

[16] The Hellenistic citizen, at least in theory, was anxious "to sap himself" by permanently serving his city; see Wörrle (1995). Against the view of a decline in civic spirit in the Hellenistic period, see Gruen (1993) 339–54.

phizing. Even in the third century, the famous words which Callicles speaks in Plato's *Gorgias* were still valid: "Philosophy is a delightful thing, if someone touches it in moderation at the right time of life; but if he persists in it longer than he should, it is the ruin of men. For even if someone has an altogether good nature, but philosophizes beyond the right age, he is bound to end up inexperienced in all these things in which anyone who is to be a fine and good and respected man ought to have experience. . . . When I see an older man still philosophizing and not giving it up, I think he needs a beating. . . . For that person is bound to end up being unmanly."[17]

Instruction in rhetoric introduced young men to the formal techniques of speaking persuasively in political and legal settings, and it taught them the agonistic means of promoting their own interests. In schools of philosophy, on the other hand, they usually acquired dialectical skills and developed informed opinions on ethical problems.[18] But the philosophical instruction established by Plato and Isocrates was limited to educating the young, and those who were seen spending too much time in the philosophers' gardens were considered completely inexperienced in practical matters. They acquired a reputation for not being useful to their friends (χρεία, ἑταιρία: Plat. *Rep.* 494E), and for lacking the kind of experience considered crucial for the male socialization that occupied the leisure of most wealthy younths. The kinds and extent of knowledge required for that was determined by social practice. Philosophizing was not allowed to keep young citizens from the demands of political and social life, from the social practice of the symposia, from athletic contests with friends at the gymnasia, from military training, or simply from fishing, riding, and hunting. If someone did decide to lead a philosophical life and closely followed a particular philosopher, he had to face mockery from his contemporaries

[17] Plat. *Gorg.* 484C5–D2, 485D1–4 (trans. Irwin); cf. *Theaet.* 172D–177B, Isoc. *Panath.* 27–8, *Antid.* 265–8. For further evidence on this widespread attitude, see Dodds (1955) 272–3. *Gorg.* 485D4–E2 goes on to describe the unmanly seclusion of the philosopher: "unmanly, even if he has an altogether good nature; for he shuns the city center and the public squares where the poet says men win good reputations. He is sunk away out of sight for the rest of his life, and lives whispering with three or four boys in a corner, and never gives voice to anything fit for a free man, great and powerful." Plato contrasts the study of philosophy, which means having no other interest than educating a layman, with the practice of professional philosophizing; cf. Plat. *Prot.* 312B. Isoc. *Antid.* 261–9, *Panath.* 26–32, *Soph.* 7–8, Guthrie (1979) 309.

[18] Cf. Marrou (1977) 375–400.

and the explicit or tacit contempt of his family.[19] It is precisely this social context, the social rejection of professional philosophizing, that is taken for granted when Cleanthes (c. 310–230/29, scholarch from 261) admonishes his pupils: "Do not attach any importance to your reputation, if you really strive to become a wise man, and do not be afraid of the talk of the people, which is usually without any judgment and impudent!"[20] He implies that the route to philosophical virtue is a long and stony path which requires great strength and effort, for the simple reason that philosophizing meant committing oneself to principles other than traditional political values and the demands of social practice, and because the price of "being an inglorious outsider" (ἀδοξία) was high.

Unfortunately, the only examples of the philosophical way of life we can investigate involve the philosophical scene in Athens. There it mainly manifested itself in voluntary isolation, in a physical and theoretical separation from politics that resulted from the decision to live an independent life according to philosophical principles. Thus, the leader of a school and his circle of closest students could spend nearly their entire life in a stable scholarly community. The leaders of the Academy in particular, Plato, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Arcesilaos, are said to have done just that.[21]

The decision to devote oneself to philosophy had far-reaching consequences for the conduct of one's life. Most people found such a life peculiar, and the "strangeness" of philosophers — their ἀτοπία — became a popular cliché. Among the stereotypes were rigorous sexual abstinence but also sexual excess, ascetic exercises both physical and mental, admission of social inferiors like slaves and women into philosophical communities, a very slow and dignified gait, a serious facial expression with raised eyebrows, extravagant dress and appearance, ostentatious rejection of sensual pleasures, and renunciation of marriage and family.[22] None of this was compatible with the conventional

[19] Lloyd (1991) 136–7: "Greeks were careful to distinguish between learning an art for the sake of general education, and learning it in order to practise as a professional."

[20] Clem. *Strom.* 5.3.17 = *SVF* 1.559: μὴ πρὸς δόξαν ὅρα, ἐθέλων σοφὸς αἶψα γενέσθαι, μηδὲ φοβοῦ πολλῶν ἄκριτον καὶ ἀναιδέα βάξιν. Cf. *SVF* 1.560–1, Plat. *Ap.* 31D–32A (Socrates justifies ἰδιωτεύειν, the retreat from political life).

[21] D.L. 3.41 (Plato), 4.6, 11 (Xenocrates), 19 (Polemon), 39 (Arcesilaus). On this characteristic feature of theoretical life, see Scholz (1998) 21–5, esp. 21–2 n. 35.

[22] Of the six Peripatetic scholarchs mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, only Aristotle

forms and manners of a citizen's life. Since philosophers cared little for honor (τιμή) and fame (δόξα), they did not participate in the usual military and athletic activities in gymnasia, for example, or in symposia and feasts, and they avoided politics and civic administration. This avoidance of ordinary social and political affairs is the main reason why many Athenians even in the Hellenistic period viewed philosophers as outsiders (ἄδοξοι).[23]

The philosophical way of life developed autonomously, and it was organized in a distinctly individualistic and almost "anti-political" way. Their βίος distinguished philosophers both in theory and in practice from the sophists and rhetors who were their rivals in higher intellectual education. They fully accepted that their independence made them outsiders. Moreover, most of them were formally excluded from political activities since they lacked citizenship in the cities where they lived, and this was a further reason for their low social status. The Cynic Teles, whose diatribes attack and repudiate popular standards of social conduct, provides a telling example. The popular values he disparages are enumerated in his argumentation. Residence abroad (ξενία), for example, was considered a great social loss, whether it was voluntary or imposed as exile.[24]

The idea of making a fortune abroad was no doubt unfamiliar to most citizens of the Hellenistic cities. Despite some famous exceptions, which became more frequent after 300 BCE, the hope of starting a new life successfully after exile and resettlement was restricted to a small social stratum, the ruling class of the urban elite and their families.[25] But this group was too small to produce any lasting change in popular attitudes toward foreigners and life abroad. The traditional ideal of

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clearly had a wife and children (Nicomachus from his *pallake*, Pythias from his wife of the same name); see Sollenberger (1992) 3829.

[23] Cf. the similiar views of Christes (1975) 39, 42, von den Hoff (1994) 26, 33, 39, Long (1993) 150, 163. For ordinary people's resentments of philosophers, see the anonymous *Life of Aesop*, usually not cited in scholarship; cf. Hägg (1997) 192–3.

[24] Teles 21 Hense, from the treatise Περὶ φυγῆς. On this passage, see Fuentes González (1998) 284–8; cf. O'Neil (1977) 78–84, Seibert (1979) 360–3, 600. On Teles, see Habicht (1992) 248–50, Goulet-Cazé (1981) 166–72. See also Teles 23 Hense, which reflects public opinion about exiles and refugees (φυγάδες): οὐκ ἄρχουσιν, φασίν, οὐ πιστεύονται, οὐ παρρησίαν ἔχουσιν. For further references, see Fuentes González (1998) 298–9.

[25] Cf. Habicht (1958) 1–16, esp. 8–9.

spending all of one's life in one's ancestral homeland was still alive in Hellenistic times. Most who had this privilege gladly exercised it, and it was considered a "disgrace" (ὄνειδος) to be buried in foreign soil.[26]

Athenian citizens expected foreign visitors to leave Athens soon after completing the education which had brought them there: students after finishing their study of rhetoric or philosophy in the gymnasia, and scholars after giving their courses or public lectures. That at least was the normal practice. It should be remembered that Plato and Epicurus were able to purchase private property only because of their citizen status. The Peripatos, which did not have an Athenian citizen as director initially, was indebted to Demetrius of Phalerum for its property. As a former student of Aristotle's, he made a generous donation to his follower, Theophrastus, so that the estate would thereafter remain part of the school's property.[27]

Given our relatively detailed information about the philosophical schools in Athens, we tend to forget that the philosophical way of life there may not reflect the normal conditions of philosophizing. Many philosophers traveled around the Greek world as wandering scholars.[28] Their way of life became conspicous and scandalous only when some of them settled down as resident foreigners and began to gather students around them. It is not surprising, therefore, that philosophers, whether as founders of schools of their own or as wandering scholars, generally preferred to stay in large cities. Surely they learned by experience that the smaller the city they visited, the more closely their conduct and way of life would be scrutinized.[29]

[26] Teles 29–30 Hense; cf. Fuentes González (1998) 345–50 (on this passage), D.L. 2.11. The label "metic" never appears in Attic honorary decrees, even when an honorand is readily identified as one by his *ethnikon* and the kind of his benefactions; see Whitehead (1977) 30.

[27] Scholz (1998) 15–24.

[28] For this phenomenon, see Wilamowitz (1881) 312–13, Ziebarth (1914) 60, 122–3, Guarducci (1927/9) 629–55, Schneider (1967–69) vol. 1 142, Bouvier (1995) 119–35, Marek (1984) 210–13 (Delphi), 265–7 (Delos), Chaniotis (1988) 365–72, Wacker (1996) 134–7. This contrasts with the members of philosophical schools in Megara, Elis, and Eretria, whose scholarchs evidently taught almost exclusively in one place. The social status of Hellenistic scholars has been disputed by Christes (1975) 57–71.

[29] Teles 50 Hense mentions the strict supervision of the gymnasiarch. Although his point is surely somewhat exaggerated, it seems a correct description of the gymnasiarch's responsibilities; cf. Plat. *Ax.* 366D–367A. The strictness of gymnasiarchs (αὐστηρότης, αὐστηρία) is sometimes emphasized in honorary decrees: Hepding (1907) 273–8 no. 10, 278–84 no. 11, Jacobsthal (1908) 379–81 no. 2, all from Pergamon.

As a result, Athens and Rhodes were almost ideal places for philosophical life and work. As well established centers of trade and commerce, they were rich and powerful, and they offered a range of favourable conditions which wandering scholars could not find in smaller cities. In each, many foreign traders had settled with their families and founded businesses as well as new cults and associations. In so doing, they made significant contributions both to the prosperity and to the social and religious diversity of each city, which in turn led to the establishment of special legal and political forms for foreigners. Their prosperity and social success also enabled them to build and maintain several large and splendid gymnasia. Furthermore, each city's role as a center of maritime trade in the Eastern Mediterranean made it possible both for the theories taught there to spread more readily throughout the Greek world, and for philosophers to meet other itinerant scholars. Thanks to numerous travelers and tourists, it was also easier to recruit students there.[30]

Nevertheless, it was rare for a city in the third century to actively support intellectual education, even in primary schools. For understandable reasons, Athens and Rhodes made no effort in this area. They simply did not need any special incentives to attract teachers, rhetors, or scholars of any kind. Public support was evidently left to smaller cities like Lampsacus, whose citizens decreed, at an unknown date in the third century, an exemption from all taxes for all "teachers" (διδάσκαλοι) and "students" (μαθηταί) who stayed in the city for educational purposes.[31] But this measure can hardly be interpreted as an act of

Cf. also an interesting fragment of Philodemus (from Book 2 of Περὶ Ἐπικούρου) F 6 col. 2.9–12 (p. 59 Vogliano), which claims that Epicurus, neither "through the power of the mob nor of a monarch nor of a gymnasiarch" (ὑπ' ἐξουσίας ὄχλων ἢ μοναρχοῦντος ἢ γυμνασιαρχοῦντος ἀνδρός) let himself be carried away into taking revenge; however the passage is to be interpreted on other points, it clearly testifies that this magistrate's task was to supervise the gymnasium strictly. See also De Witt (1954) 71: "The Greek city-states assumed very limited responsibility for furnishing education, but they took somewhat seriously the responsibility for supervising it"; Lynch (1972) 131 provides a similiar view and cites Aeschin. *Tim.* 12: "The philosophers had to avoid conflict with the functions which were supervised by the gymnasiarchs or officially sponsored by the city."

[30] On the origins and itineraries of wandering historians, see Chaniotis (1988) 365–89, esp. 377–82; cf. Schneider (1967–69) vol. 2 206–7. Athens, Pergamon, and Rhodes were the cultural metropoles of the Greek world, whereas cities like Cyzicus, Samos, and Lampsacus must be considered local educational centres; see Gauthier (1995) 5.

[31] See the exemption from salt tax for all διδάσκαλοι τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς

"Kulturpolitik" intended to enhance the image of the city, given what we know about similiar privileges granted later. Rather, we must infer that the purpose of such measures was to increase the number of teachers available for private education paid for by families.[32]

We know of no city that actively supported any kind of intellectual education in the third century. Other resources were also missing. There were still no public libraries, not even small collections of book-scrolls for philosophers or rhetors to use for their lessons in the gymnasia. As a result, they probably had to use scrolls from their own or other private collections.[33] This clearly shows that intellectual training, including both rhetoric and philosophy, was still seen as an exclusive and private pleasure of the wealthy leisure-class, as it had always been.

παιδοτρίβας and their descendants by order of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in *P. Hal.* 1.260–1. Cf. *IvLampsakos* 8.1–4: [? τῶν] ἄλλων ξένων τελούντων τὴν σύνταξιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς [πόλε]ως ἀτελεῖς εἶναι τ[οὺς μαθητὰς καὶ | δι]δασκάλο⟨υ⟩ς οἳ ἐνδημοῦσιν ἢ ἐνδημήσουσιν εἰς τὴ[ν πό]λιν] παιδεύοντες ἢ παιδευθησόμενοι. Here, the general term "teacher" is employed, which refers to all kinds of teachers (διδάσκαλοι), including philosophers as well as "teachers of fencing." This is shown (for example) by a Thespian decree from the mid-third century honoring the Athenian Sostratus, a professional instructor in arms: Roesch (1982) 307.9–15. Cf. Aen. Tact. 10.10, advising readers in the event of war, τοὺς κατὰ παίδευσιν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ χρείαν ἐπιδημοῦντας ἀπογράφεσθαι; even this early text takes it for granted that foreign teachers and scholars staying for educational purposes were resident in most cities of any size which had a gymnasium.

[32] On the question of state encouragement of intellectual education in the Greek cities, see Ziebarth (1914) 30–6. The existence of a *paidonomos* in some cities is not equivalent to public support of elementary schools. That intellectual instruction was privately financed is suggested by the so-called funeral monument of a Rhodian teacher who γράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔτεα πεν[τήκ]ον[θ' ὅδε] | δύο (*GVI* 1916.1–2). It is remarkable that the tomb or *temenos* was financed not publicly but by former students who remembered their boyhood and felt indebted to him. Here I take issue with Ziebarth (1914) 39–40, who does not clearly distinguish between general and intellectual *paideia*.

[33] The first attested and securely dated public libraries accessible for everyone and financed from public funds are those of Pergamon (Strabo 13.4.2). Strabo mentions not only one but several βιβλιοθῆκαι, which were clearly administrated as a unit. The epigraphic evidence seems to confirm this: for Pergamon, Jacobsthal (1908) 383 no. 4.7–10, 409 no. 41, Plut. *Ant.* 58.9; for Rhodes, *I.Rhod.* 11 (Maiuri), Segre (1935) 214–22, Papachristodoulou (1988–90) 500–1. Other references to public libraries, both literary (Maron's in Antioch, c. 150 BCE; one in Smyrna, second century?) and epigraphic (within the Ptolemaeum gymnasium in Athens, attested since 117/6 BCE; Taormina, second century; Teos, second/first century; Mylasa, Nysa, and Delphi, first century) first appeared in the second century BCE. For details, see Scholz (2004) 125–8.

A brief look at the donations to schools confirms this. The earliest documents are mostly from the second century. I need only mention the famous donations of Eudemus in Miletus (200/199), Polythrus in Teos (around 200), Eumenes II of Pergamon in Rhodes (161/160), and his brother Attalos II in Delphi (160/159).[34] But when all the relevant documents are taken together, they still support the hypothesis that these donations funded only the foundation of a public system of elementary schools, or the system of education found in nearly every Hellenistic city in the Greek world. In my opinion, they are nothing more than especially impressive examples of private euergetism, since they occurred only rarely and sporadically, and evidently not after the Mithradatic wars.[35] This impression is further confirmed by the fact that rhetors, historians, philosophers, and other scholars rarely visited a local gymnasium, and usually at the initiative of its supervisors who themselves had a special interest in intellectual education (φιλομαθία). Lectures in this context were mainly the result of special invitation, and I would be reluctant to interpret such events as indicating a need for education articulated and supported by citizens more broadly.[36]

To sum up briefly, since cities did not attempt to promote intellectual education effectively on a personal or institutional level, we may infer that the popularization of philosophical and rhetorical education was limited, and supported almost solely by the urban elites alone. This is not surprising if we look at the sophisticated sepulchral epigrams and grave monuments decorated with sculptural work. From the fourth century on, we have sporadic examples which praise the deceased as "educated" (πεπαιδευμένος) by depicting him with the distinctive attributes of higher education. It is clear that the exclusivity of an education in philosophy or rhetoric, and the financial effort it required, led elite society to distinguish the "educated" from the "uneducated" (ἀπαίδευτοι

[34] *Syll.*[3] 577 (Eudemus of Miletus) = Ziebarth (1914); *Syll.*[3] 578 (Polythrus of Teos); Polyb. 31.31.1–3 = Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) no. 212 [L] (Eumenes II); *Syll.*[3] 672 = Bringmann and von Steuben (1995) no. 94 [E] (Delphi).

[35] Harris (1989) 146; cf. Weber (1993) 154–64. On the various burdens on Eastern Greek cities caused by local wars, piracy, encroachments by *proconsules* and *publicani*, and finally through the Roman civil war in the second and first centuries, see Quass (1993) 124–32, 135–7, 203–4, 234, 251–2. Cf. Cicero's description of the cities in the province Asia as *urbes complures dirutas ac paene desertas* (*Ep. Q. fr.* 1.25).

[36] See n. 48–50 below.

or ἄγροικοι).[37] Clearly, intellectual *paideia* became an important criterion of social differentiation for the ruling elite and others alike.[38]

3.

In the third century, philosophical *paideia* became increasingly important for the education of the ruling elite. This was due not only to its methods of subtle argument but also to its impact on social cultivation. In particular, its ability to shape a student's ethos or character contrasted with the role of rhetoric, which lost its dominant role because it failed to meet to such needs.[39] The urban elites had new expectations for philosophical teaching. Ideally, the study of philosophy should be general and equip young men with rhetorical techniques as well as skill in dialectic, historical knowledge, and ethical standards. Plutarch reports that the Achaean general Philopoemen (253–183) "listened even to lectures by philosophers and read their works, not all but only those which could have a lasting effect on ethical conduct" (*Philop.* 4.6–8).[40]

Even our limited evidence for the education and intellectual background of leading politicians in the third century shows a clear increase in the philosophical component in higher intellectual education. For example, Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon 264–252, was not afraid to display his intellectual education in public. He did this by "attending" the public discourses of the otherwise unknown teacher Deinias and the dialectician Aristotle "in the marketplace and he used to argue with them."[41] Ecdemus and Demophanes, two leading politicians in Megalopolis, had no doubt enjoyed a similiar education; they took the opportunity offered by several years in exile to deepen their knowledge of

[37] Cf. for example Diod. 1.2.5–6.

[38] Kleijwegt (1991) 84–6, Schmidt (1991) 128–9, cf. Habicht (1958) 7–8.

[39] Not one conflict between rhetors and philosophers is attested in the third century, which suggests that the importance of rhetoric in intellectual education was in decline. For this view, see von Arnim (1898) 81, cf. P. Steinmetz in Schmitt and Vogt (1988) 534–6, F. Kühnert in 597–604.

[40] Plut. *Philop.* 4.6: ἠκροᾶτο δὲ λόγων καὶ συγγράμμασι φιλοσόφων ἐνετύγχανεν, οὐ πᾶσι ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὧν ἐδόκει πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελεῖσθαι. On Philopoemen's youth, see Errington (1969) 13–26.

[41] Plut. *Arat.* 3.4: εἰωθότα τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν σχολάζοντων ἑκάστοτε παρεῖναι καὶ συμφιλονικεῖν. On the tyranny of Abantidas, who was murdered at just such a meeting (διατριβή) in 252, see Skalet (1928) 83, Berve (1967) vol. 1 394. The Deinias mentioned above could be the local historian of the same name from Argos; see Jacoby, *Kommentar* on *FGrH* 306, 25–6 with notes.

philosophy by joining the circle of Arcesilaus (268/4–244/3).[42] We should also remember the well-known fact that many sons of Hellenistic kings attended lessons by various philosophers.[43]

As these examples show, those who sought to belong to the ruling classes of the Hellenistic world had to have an education in keeping with his social status. To acquire this education, the sons of affluent citizens typically went to the nearest city that had both a gymnasium and an adequate number of teachers, such as Samos, Lampsacus, Colophon, or Miletus. These cities, in contrast to Athens and Rhodes, I would call local centers of intellectual education. Families which had more financial resources available for education sent their sons to one of the metropolitan centers of higher intellectual education, where they found not only multiple gymnasia but also rhetors, philosophers, and scholars of many kinds.[44] In a travelogue written sometime after 230 BCE, Heracleides describes the gymnasia of Athens as attractive places for study, "planted with trees and provided with lawns"; these and many other cultural attractions — "the manifold feasts, seductions of the soul, and relaxation with philosophers of every kind, an abundance of lectures, dramas without interruption" — made Athens a place suitable for all rich and educated to develop their intellectual abilites and increase their knowledge in all fields of learning.[45]

Rhodes, with its concentration of many educational attractions and entertainments, was also a cultural center of the third-century Greek world.[46] Elisabetta Matelli, in ch. 4, shows in detail the importance of

[42] Plut. *Philop.* 1.3–4. On these two educated politicians, see Berve (1967) vol. 1 394–5, Sonnabend (1996) 264–71.

[43] D.L. 2.141 on Menedemus and Antigonus II Gonatas (ἠγάπα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ μαθητὴν ἀνεκήρυττεν), 5.58 on Strato of Lampsacus teaching Ptolemy II Philadelphus (καθηγήσατο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου καὶ ἔλαβε . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ὀγδοήκοντα), 7.13 on Zeno, Persaeus, and Antigonus II Gonatas, 7.169 on Cleanthes receiving a huge gift of money, and Plut. *Cleom.* 2 on Cleomenes attending lectures by Sphaerus.

[44] The classic case is the Lyceum, where rhapsodes, sophists, and rhetors could usually be found: D.L. 9.54, Isoc. *Panath.* 18–20, 33 (from 340 BCE).

[45] Heracl. Cret. 1.1 Pfister. On this treatise, see most recently Fittschen (1995) 55–60, 89, Perrin (1994) 192–202. For the four Athenian *gymnasia* (Academia, Cynosarges, Lyceum, Ptolemaeum), see the recent archeological-historical study by Wacker (1996) 145–78.

[46] Numerous poets and scholars came from Rhodes (see the lists in van Gelder [1900] 409–22 and now Mygind [1999]), but also many Olympic victors (Schneider [1967–9] vol. 2 191–2). See the general remarks in Fabricius (1999) 222–4, Bringmann

Rhodes for philosophy and other studies. I would only add to her account two anecdotes in which Aristippus of Cyrene and Bion of Borysthenes appear as wandering scholars.[47] To the best of my knowledge, these are the only cases in the literary tradition that deal with the phenomenon of wandering philosophers in Hellenistic times. Significantly, both take place in the gymnasium of Rhodes, and in my opinion that is no coincidence.

The role of intellectual education as an instrument of social distinction for the upper classes (which marked them off from the mass of "uneducated" citizens and barbarians) was only one factor that ensured that philosophy and other intellectual training was first integrated into general education and then spread during the third and second centuries from the center to the periphery of the Greek *oikoumene*. On an institutional level, the gymnasiarchs in small and medium-sized cities also made a major contribution to this development.[48] As representatives of the social elite in their cities, these magistrates initiated, organized, and supported both brief visits and longer stays by philosophers and other scholars in the local gymnasia. This entailed using their own funds to reimburse the lecturers, taking care of them in every respect, ensuring a warm reception from the public at the gymnasia, and introducing them to the city's leading families.[49]

But again, caution is necessary. It is striking that the merits of supervisors of gymnasia in the intellectual fields are usually recorded in a mere sentence or two in decrees preserved from the second century.

(2002). Two reports on Bion's visit (or visits?) to the island (D.L. 4.49 = F 4 Kindstrand, D.L. 4.53 = T 3 Kindstrand) and a report that the rhetor Aeschines opened a rhetorical school during his Rhodian exile ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 6 840D: ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν, cf. Kunst [1917]) indicate that Rhodes must have been a center for intellectual education already in the third century.

[47] D.L. 4.53 = Bion T 3 Kindstrand (πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἤμειβεν); Vitr. 6 praef. 1 = Aristippus *SSR* 4 A 50. Like the sophists, Bion's travels and lecturing was reportedly for financial gain (πολυτέλεια); cf. Plat. *Soph.* 224B (οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν μαθήματα ξυνωνούμενον πόλιν τε ἐκ πόλεως νομίσματος ἀμείβοντα ταὐτὸν προσερεῖς ὄνομα), *Pol.* 289E (οἱ δὲ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀλλάττοντες).

[48] In this context it should be pointed out that Lycurgus was probably able to persuade Aristotle and Theophrastus to return to Athens in 335 BCE by his generous offer to put at their disposal part of the Lyceum gymnasium, recently built at his own expense; Scholz (1998) 175–6.

[49] The warm reception accorded to lecturers by gymnasiarchs is stressed several times; see, for example, a decree from Pergamon honoring the gymnasiarch Agias (before 133 BCE): Jacobsthal (1908) 380 no. 2.13–17.

This seems to me typical for the general estimation of philosophy and other studies. In an honorary decree bestowed on Menas of Sestos (between 133 and 122 BCE), for example, there is only a brief reference to his accomplishments on behalf of the intellectual *paideia* of his fellow citizens. As the decree points out, the foreigners who enjoyed his generosity included some wandering scholars: "He showed his generosity also towards all those who held lectures since he intended to help make his father-city famous also in these ways for its cultivated and educated men [διὰ τῶν πεπαιδευμένοι]."[50]

4.

The honorary decree for Epicrates of Heraclea is an impressive document which shows a philosopher as a wandering scholar at work.[51] The great importance of this inscription for the history of intellectual education only becomes apparent when we take into account all currently known evidence for honors conferred on philosophers. Since my space is limited, I shall offer only some general conclusions based on the epigraphical evidence for honors bestowed on Peripatetics during the fourth and third centuries. Aristotle, Callisthenes, Clearchus, Praxiphanes, Lyco, and Prytanis were honored by the citizens of Delphi,

[50] *OGIS* 339.74–6 = *IK* 19 Sestos 1.74–6: προσηνέχθη δὲ φιλανθρώπως καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάσει[ς] | ποιησαμένοις πᾶσιν, βουλόμενος καὶ ἐν τούτοις διὰ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων τὸ ἔνδοξον π[ε]|ριτιθέναι τῆι πατρίδι. Cf. Jacobsthal (1908) 380 no. 2.19–21: the gymnasiarch Agias is praised by the people of Pergamon because he raised the teachers' salaries ὅπως φιλοτιμότερον πρὸς τῆι παιδείαι γινομένων αὐτῶν τῆς μεγίστης ὠφελίας οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες τυγχάνωσιν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔνδοξον διαφυλάσσηται.

[51] *IG* XII.6.1 128 = Schede (1919) no. 14 = *SEG* 1.368. Guarducci (1927/9) lists only five decrees from the third century honoring historians, teachers of grammar or literature, or philosophers for their educational activities in the cities' gymnasia: the earliest is for the rhetor and historian Neanthes of Cyzicus, granted the proxeny by Delphi in 287 (*FD* 1.429 = *FGrH* 84 T 2); for the Peripatetic Praxiphanes c. 260–50 (*IG* XI.4 613); for the scholarch of the Peripatos, Lyco of Troas in 240s (*Syll.*[3] 461 = **6** SFOD); for the historian Mnesiptolemos of Cyme, honored c. 200 on Delos with the proxeny for his historical work (*IG* XI.4 697 = *FGrH* 164 T 3); and for the Peripatetic Epicrates on Samos c. 200 (*IG* XII.6.1 128). Chaniotis (1988) lists a few more wandering scholars honored by the cities during the third century: an anonymous historian in Amphipolis (E 6 Chaniotis = *SEG* 28.534) and his colleague Themistocles, son of Aeschylus, of Ilion, who was granted the proxeny in Xanthos in 196 (E 12 Chaniotis = Robert and Robert [1983] 154–5). Three examples from the second and first centuries (E 17–19 Chaniotis) provide a more detailed view of the circumstances of their visits and lectures.

Ai-Khanoum, Delos, and Athens. But none was honored specifically for their philosophical activities.[52] All except Prytanis were honored abroad, by neither their native cities nor their new homes (Athens or Rhodes) where they spent their lives. Their honors were bestowed for specific acts, mostly in politics or diplomacy. Yet their political deeds were not important enough to make philosophers popular.[53]

This impression based on evidence for the Peripatetics is confirmed by a thorough examination of the sources recording public honors conferred on members of other philosophical schools in the third century.[54] The Samian decree honoring Epicrates deserves closer examination against this background. In commenting on it and especially the crucial passage in lines 11–28 (with supplements in brackets), I shall point out some of the typical conditions of philosophizing in the third century.

Epicrates, son of Demetrius, of Heracle-
[a], a Peripatetic, has for a long time
[stay]ed in our city
[and through] his intellectual education in many respects
15 he has much benefited [the] young men; for, he

[52] Aristotle and Callisthenes: *Syll.*[3] 252.42 (327/6 in Delphi), cf. Scholz (1998) 178-9; Clearchus (c. 300 in Ai-Khanoum): Robert (1973) 211, 225–30; Praxiphanes (c. 260–50 in Delos): *IG* XI.4 613 = F 4 Wehrli, cf. Scholz (1998) 190 n. 19; Lyco (between 249–39 in Delphi): *Syll.*[3] 461 = **6** SFOD, cf. Scholz (1998) 191–2; Prytanis (226/5 in Athens): Merritt (1935) 525–9 = Moretti (1967) no. 28, cf. Sonnabend (1996) 247–9, 280–3. See the works cited in n. 28 above.

[53] The popularity Theophrastus reportedly enjoyed in Athens (D.L. 5.37) is in my opinion an invention of D.L. or a Hellenistic biographical writer; the report reaches its climax in a section that describes a large crowd at his funeral; cf. Regenbogen (1940) 1360. D.L. 5.66 = Lyco **1**.26–7 SFOD, on Lyco's political services to the city, is also formulated in very general terms, which raises doubts about its credibility; the claim seems to be a defense of the Peripatetic scholarch against accusations of political inactivity. The purported popularity of the two Academic scholarchs Arcesilaus (D.L. 4.44 = T 1a Mette) and Lacydes (Euseb. *PE* 14.7.1 = T 3 Mette) points in the same direction; no significant services to Athens which might establish such an extraordinary public reputation are attested for them, nor is there any such evidence for Lyco or Theophrastus. Cf. the far-fetched story in D.L. 10.19 claiming that Epicurus was honored with twenty statues in his lifetime.

[54] On the circumstances of the decree honoring Zeno the Stoic, which was probably initiated by Antigonus Gonatas, see Scholz (1998) 320–2, following Ferguson (1911) 187. The Macedonian king seems to have engaged his Athenian confidant, Thrason of Anakaia, to put forward the proposal; hence, the decision to honor Zeno should not be interpreted as reflecting the attitude of the Athenian people toward the founder of the Stoa.

[wan]ted to help in private life all
colleagues in study who ca[me to him], and
[in pub]lic all people. He gave them both generous
access to his (philosophical) education by
teaching every citizen who [wan]ted to join, and even
those f[e]llows who were [not] able to pay
[the] fee fixed by him, free of charge.
So that we also are making clear that
[we] honour the good and worthy men
who are able to be of use to all young men
eager for knowledge, both to those who have wealt[h]
as well as to those who are lacking livelihood,
[it is decreed] by the people: . . .

The inscription is dated to around 200 BCE on the basis of the lettering style. If this is correct, Epicrates of Heraclea, who is otherwise unknown, must have been a student of Lyco (who died in 226/5 or 225/4) and probably a contemporary of Aristo of Ceos, who succeeded Lyco as head of the Peripatos.[55] He was probably born about 250. After his name, patronym, and demotic, he is referred to in the inscription as a "Peripatetic" (περιπατητικός), and not, as Lyco is in the list of donators for an *epidosis* from 229, as a "philosopher" (φιλόσοφος).[56] It is remarkable that his membership in the Peripatos is stressed here, and we can probably exclude the possibility that he is to be identified with one of the philologists from the Alexandrian "mouseion", who are also called "Peripatetics." The term "colleagues in study" (συσχολάζοντες) used here in line 17 also appears in the last wills of the heads of the Peripatos preserved by Diogenes Laertius, where it refers specifically to the inner circle of the head of the school and his associates. In other words, the term here indicates a close-knit group of students — an αἵρεσις — who accompanied Epicrates.[57]

[55] On the chronology of the scholarchs, see Dorandi (1991) 68–9, cf. Zumpt (1843) 65–6. For the political history of Samos at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century, see Transier (1985) 29–35, Shipley (1987) 190–201. Throughout the third century, Samos apparently enjoyed a golden age in higher culture, as the many famous artists, poets, historians, and scholars from there suggests; see Shipley 226–7.

[56] *IG* II^2 791 = Lyco **5** SFOD. On the reasons for this *epidosis*, see Habicht (1982) 26–8. The members of Aristotle's school were known either as οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου or περιπατητικοί; see Busse (1926).

[57] Cf. D.L. 5.52, from Theophrastus' will: τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς

The literary evidence makes it clear that a wandering philosopher normally traveled not on his own but together with his followers, as the anecdote about Bion of Borysthenes mentioned above vividly testifies.[58] Bion lacked a tight circle of students escorting him which he could proudly present to the public audience in the gymnasium in Rhodes. He solved this problem by persuading some sailors to wear "school clothes" (σχολαστικὰς ἐσθῆτας) and then passed them off as his students. Whether or not this story is true, it shows that the curiosity and interest of those in the gymnasia would increase considerably when a philosopher marched into the palaestra accompanied by a group of students.

In the private sphere, Epicrates appears as a teacher, or rather as a charismatic leader of a group of Peripatetics. As such he is expected to care for his companions like a father, "to oblige or help them" (χαρίζεσθαι, 15–16).[59] He had to ensure their physical and mental welfare, perhaps in the way reported of Aristippus. After he was shipwrecked, he went to the gymnasium in Rhodes and impressed the audience there so much with his philosophical discussions that they showered him with gifts of money. As a result, he could afford not only

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βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς. D.L. 5.2 (from Hermippus' *Lives*) reports that Aristotle ἐλέσθαι περίπατον τὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ . . . τοῖς μαθηταῖς συμφιλοσοφεῖν. Epicurus also called the members of his garden community συμφιλοσοφοῦντες (in his will: D.L. 10.16–21), as distinct from οἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν (*PHerc.* 1232 F 8 col. 1.7–9). See also the anonymous *Life of Aesop* 22–4, where the philosopher Xanthus, who had studied in Athens under philosophers, rhetors, and philologists (36), is accompanied by rich students (σχολαστικοί) coming from Greece and the islands (20): Ξάνθος . . . ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐκεῖ οἰκεῖ καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν νήσων πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶσιν ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ὄντες. On this story, see Hägg (1997).

[58] D.L. 4.53 = Bion T 3 Kindstrand. The sailors probably wore only a chiton (χιτών), which they exchanged for an old cloak (τρίβων). The Cynics wore these cloaks in a distinctive way, leaving one shoulder bare: Kindstrand (1976) 137, 162. The anecdote is not meant to show that Bion managed to get even sailors to study philosophy. Rather, his provocative entry was intended to attract the attention of the audience at the Rhodian gymnasium, as Kindstrand (1976) 138–9 rightly notes. On this episode, see also Radermacher (1947) 120–1. In this context, it is important to note that Bion could have been invited by Hieronymus or Arideices in order to τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα διδάσκειν, as stated in D.L. 4.49 = F 4 Kindstrand. The three philosophers not only were contemporaries but also must have studied in Athens in the same schools at the same time. On the influence of Peripatetic teaching on Bion's thought, see Kindstrand (1976) 70–8.

[59] Cf. the practice of Epicurean communities, which supported one other and shared all the necessities of life within their circle of friends; see Scholz (1998) 302–3.

"to provide himself with clothes, but also his companions, and even to pay them their living costs" (Vitr. 6 praef. 1).[60]

The vague phrasing makes it hard to tell how long Epicrates and his συσχολάζοντες stayed in Samos. It must have been at least several months, if not a full year or more; otherwise there would have been too little time for an intensive philosophical education. Besides holding discussions with his inner circle of close students (σχολαί), he was also active in public education as a teacher of *paideia* in the philosophical sense, as stated in line 19: ἡ παιδεία καθ' αὑτόν.[61] This expression is a clear reference to the distinctive Academic and Peripatetic conception of philosophy as a complement to the normal physical, musical, or rhetorical training, which it sought to complete rather than oppose.[62] According to this view, philosophical instruction was the capstone of the program of higher education for free-born men. That implies that the young citizens of Samos who were Epicrates' audience had finished the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία based on rhetoric and sophistics, and that the technical, literary, and historical knowledge they had already acquired —

[60] Vitr. 6 praef.1 = Aristippus 1 A 43 Giannantoni. On Aristippus, who visited Athens, Megara, Asia Minor, Rhodes, Scillus, Aegina, and Syracuse during his life of wandering, see Antoniadis (1916) 15–18. On his teachings, see Döring (1988).

[61] Cf. the Peripatetic account of the effect of philosophical *paideia*: δοκεῖ ... ἡ παιδεία ... ἡμεροῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ... τὰ ἤθη καινότερα καὶ ὑγρότερα γίνεται (Stob. 2.31.124); τῆν παιδείαν εἶναι ἱερὸν ἄσυλον (Stob. 2.13.140 = Lyco **16** SFOD). The Peripatos tried to clarify for its external audience the difference between educated and uneducated conduct (παιδεία and ἀπαιδευσία) by compiling collections of definitions, sayings, maxims, and anecdotes, all designed to show what kinds of ethical orientation should be considered good or bad. Cf. the Epicurean Metrodorus' view limiting the task of philosophy to discussing the right form of life (which helps people overcome fear) and how to live a happy life (Plut. *Adv. Col.* 34 1127C = F 32 Körte). Cf. the Stoic Sphaerus teaching in Sparta: λέγεται δὲ καὶ λόγων φιλοσόφων τὸν Κλεομένη μετασχεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, Σφαίρου τοῦ Βορυσθενίτου παραλαβόντος εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ περὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους οὐκ ἀμελῶς διατρίβοντος (Plut. *Cleom.* 2).

[62] The Academy required completion of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία before starting the study of philosophy (Xenocrates in D.L. 4.10, Crantor in Stob. 2.31.27 = F 14a Mette). The Peripatos also approved of this propaedeutic study, and convinced of the ennobling effect of philosophical *paideia*, it sought to transform the traditional form of "Polis-Moral" into cosmopolitan humanistic ethics; see Scholz (1998) 212–21, 246–9. Many philosophers of the third century (including Aristippus, Zeno, Aristo of Chios, Epicurus, Sceptics) refused to accept the conventional form of education; see Kühnert (1961) 99–105. Chrysippus was the first Stoic to approve τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα (D.L. 7.129 = *SVF* 3.738).

known as πολυμαθία — was then broadened and polished with the art of knowing how to lead one's life, which is often referred to as τέχνη περὶ τὸν βίον.[63]

Philosophical *paideia* required substantial financial resources to cover travel overseas, fees for multiple teachers, and expenses for food, service, bed, clothes, and other equipment. Such resources were available only to a small minority of citizens.[64] Most could not afford even the relatively inexpensive intellectual education available in the local gymnasia, as the Epicrates decree clearly shows. Accordingly, Epicrates' private and public activities are singled out in the decree for high praise as an extraordinary act of euergetism; and the decree even emphasizes that during his stay the philosopher cancelled his fees for those young men who were eager for instruction but unable to pay for such an exclusive education. In this respect, the honorary decree for Epicrates also reveals how much the need for higher intellectual education and for cultivated speech and conversation had grown among the Greek middle classes by the beginning of the second century. The main reason, in my view, is that the Greeks felt that cultural identity was closely connected with a philosophical-rhetorical education, and that this was one of the main distinctions between them and uneducated barbarian peoples.[65]

The only pictorial evidence from Hellenistic times of philosophical *paideia in actu* is a Rhodian marble relief, and it refers at least implicitly to the use of philosophical knowledge and education.[66] Two short

[63] Cf. Christes (1975) 23, Dihle (1987) 194, Hahn (1989) 39.

[64] Stob. 2.31.124 (Theophrastus F 465 FHS&G) names two material preconditions for philosophical study: both a βίος ἐλευθέριος and a sufficient fortune. Cf. Teles 40 and 46 Hense. The two references clearly show that financial independence was indispensable for study in Athens, which lasted at least two years. The Peripatetics in particular led a lavish life of luxury; their fashionable, even flamboyant, and expensive clothing, as well as their opulent *syssitia*, were well known in Athens (Ath. 12.547D–548B = Lyco **8** SFOD).

[65] Cf. the praise of the Greek tradition of rhetorical-philosophical persuasiveness in Diod. 1.2.5–6.

[66] Thanks to Mr. PD Dr. Andreas Scholl (SMPK Berlin), I had the opportunity, in January 2001, to examine closely the original, which was long considered lost (still by Scholl [1994] 247). I wish to express my gratitude for his patience and valuable advice. The stone is a rectangular block of marble (c. 100 cm. long, 30 cm. tall, 19 cm. thick), purchased in Alexandria but originally found in the Rhodian village of Trianda (ancient Ialysos) and now in the magazine of the Pergamonmuseums in Berlin (SMPK Berlin inventory no. Sk 1888). Different dimensions (105.5 by 31 by 9 cm.)

inscriptions identify the deceased as Hieronymus of the Rhodian demos of Tlos, and the sculptor as the otherwise unknown Damatrius (**2** White; see p. 476).[67] The relief, which originally stood over the doorway of the tomb,[68] is divided into two scenes separated by a stone wall.[69] On the right is a scene from the Underworld with several gods, among which Hermes Psychopompos, Persephone, Hades, and Psyche can be securely identified. On the left are some men seated on a bench and disputing.[70]

I will confine myself to a short description of the left-hand scene (see p. 477), which is apparently of great relevance for this volume. Five fig-

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are reported in Pfuhl-Möbius (1977–79) vol. 2 500. The upper register is a large framed inscriptional field, decorated with floral motifs on either side, which contains the text Ἱερωνύμου | τοῦ Σιμυλίνου Τλωίου in large capitals; below this is a frieze of figures divided into two segments; below this, in another inscriptional field, is the artist's name Δαμάτριος ἐποίησε in smaller capitals. The relief was first published with a reproduction by Hiller and Robert (1902); cf. Fraser (1977) 34–36, 130, Hiller (1912) 229–39 (with fig. 2), Bauer (2000) 227–8 (with pl. 242–4), Scholl (1994) 247–9 (with pl. 7, an enlarged detail of the philosophical scene). For earlier work, see Pfuhl-Möbius (1977–9) vol. 2 501 no. 2085 with pl. 300. See also Matelli in this volume.

[67] If the relief is in fact from the tomb of the Peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes, the hypothesis of Hiller (1912) 236–9 and (1919) 105–7, supported by Fraser (1977) 34 and n. 198, seems most plausible, that Damatrios was the son of the Academic Arideices, son of Eumoireas and disciple of Arcesilaus. See *IG* XII.1 766.288 (= *SGDI* 4159 = *ILind* 88): Δαμάτριος Ἀριδείκευς, ματρὸ[δ]ε ξένας. Hieronymus made his fortune primarily by receiving generous gifts of money from king Antigonus (D.L. 4.41 = **4** White). The lettering of the funeral inscription for Arideices and that on the Hieronymus-relief are very similiar, which dates the latter to the end of the third century, since Arideices must have died around 220–200 BCE; see Hiller (1912).

[68] On the technical aspects of the relief, which formed part of a marble doorway to a large grave monument, see Hiller and Robert (1902) 122–7. For a rough idea of the original appearance of the monument, see the funerary monument for Charmylus and his family in Pyli (Cos) in Scholl (1994) 261–6 with pls. 15–17 (reconstructions). Here too only the two richly decorated doorframes have been preserved; see Simpson and Lazenby (1970) 61–2 and pl. 22a.

[69] Many scholars, including Curtius (1951) 22, Fraser (1977) 35, Arrighetti (1954) 124, consider this to be not the outer wall of a gymnasium but the doorway of Hades.

[70] On the left-hand philosophical scene, see Hiller and Robert (1902) 127–9, Pfuhl-Möbius (1977–79) 2.500–1 (the most accurate description), Scholl (1994) 247, Bauer (2000) 248. For the difficult interpretation of the right scene in the underworld, which probably picks up elements of the *Nekuia* by Polygnotus (Paus. 10.30.5), see Hiller and Robert (1902) 129–40, cf. Nilsson (1974) 234 and pl. 4.1, Fraser (1977) 35–6, who concludes, "Whatever may be the correct detailed interpretation of this relief, it stands alone, not only in Rhodian, but in Greek art before the Roman period, as a highly imaginative and symbolic treatment of a funerary theme."

ures are visible, three of whom are seated on an exedra, as can be recognized by its lion's feet decoration. This scene stands out from the rest of the relief at a slight angle so that the semicircle of the stone bench is emphasized in perspective, although this is not apparent in photographs.[71] Behind the three seated men stands a taller and younger man; all wear a cloak draped over the left shoulder, and the older age of the three seated men is indicated by the larger size of their bodies. The young man has his right arm around the older man sitting beside him, and in his left hand he holds a barely visible citizen's rod at a diagonal to the folds of his cloak, which hang straight down in allusion to his youth (νέος). A fifth figure, who is seen from his left, is characterised as an adolescent (παῖς) by his slightly smaller proportions and nude torso. He has laid his left arm on the back of the older man, who must be the father of the two younger figures standing on either side of him. That both young men have placed an arm on the back or shoulder of the elder person signifies their family ties. The "father," who is probably the philosopher Hieronymus, leans forward, indicating that he is listening to his contemporary sitting opposite him. He is also dressed in a cloak, which he has thrown over his left shoulder, and like his elder son, he holds in his right hand a citizen's rod which rests at an angle on the ground.[72] The middle figure represents an older man who (to judge from the size of his face) probably has a beard and wears a tunic beneath the cloak thrown over his shoulders. His arms are resting on his thighs, and he holds the ends of an unrolled bookscroll in his hands.[73] He appears to be discussing with the other men what he has just read. Unfortunately, little of the figure seated on the left has survived, only

[71] The discussants are not sitting on chairs as in some Attic reliefs (for parallels, see Scholl [1994] 252 with pl. 3–6), but on a solid semicircular marble exedra, such as were found in gymnasia, *palaestrae*, and marketplaces. On the architectural form of the exedra, see von Thüngen (1994) 16 pl. 1, cf. von Hesberg (1995) 19. On the small number of συμφιλοσοφοῦντες, cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 200: ἐπηνώρθουν μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν μέχρι τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων γεγραμμένον μετὰ μειρακίων τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων τῶν εἰθισμένων μοι συνδιατρίβειν.

[72] Scholars still incorrectly interpret the rod held by the "father-figure" as a "pointer"; thus Scholl (1994) 247. But this identification must be ruled out because the stick can clearly be seen to be standing behind and not in front of the feet of the "father-figure." If Damatrios, the artist, had intended to depict one of the philosophers as drawing geometrical figures on a sandy floor, he would surely have left more space between the two central figures, who are sitting very close to one another.

[73] Arrighetti (1954) 124 mistakenly identifies this person as the "maestro."

his right leg and right arm, which lies relaxed on his thigh. He wears a similiar cloak and is sitting in a posture similiar to the figure of the "father."

This scene clearly does not depict a *paidagogos* or a *grammatistes* teaching, since the main figures who are conversing are characterized as having equal status.[74] Rather, it must represent a discussion among philosophers or rhetors about the bookscroll held by the central figure. The deceased was not only very prosperous, but must have been also an outstandingly cultivated and educated man. In particular, the scene of philosophers in discussion is so starkly set beside the scene of the underworld that I would identify the deceased as Hieronymus, not least because an essential feature of a philosopher's activity is reflection on death and continual preparation for it. The scene of the underworld refers directly to the philosopher's professional concern for life and death, a typical philosophical topic. If we take this into account, the scene on the left tells us more even than the earliest preserved illustration of philosophical instruction (σχολή). Not only does it depict the sons taking leave of their father,[75] but also his fellow philosophers (συσχολάζοντες), who are presumably discussing death for the last time, and even the soul's final journey through Hades to eternal life in the Elysian Fields.[76] Significantly, the scene of the different stages in the soul's journey to Elysium occupies more space than the scene of the living. Even that may be interpreted as a self-confident gesture demarcating philosophy from rhetoric and an indirect allusion to the conventional defect of sophistic rhetoric which "knows all and nothing."

[74] Against the assumption of Hiller and Robert (1902) 141–2 that the Hieronymus of the relief is to be identified with the teacher (γράμματα ἐδίδαξε) who is praised in another Rhodian inscription of the same time, see Arrighetti (1954) 124–7, Fraser (1977) 36 and n. 203.

[75] Thus Bauer (2000) 248, Scholl (1994) 247, Fraser (1977) 35, who interpret the relief as depicting only a philosophical discussion. On that interpretation, the two youths are simply "young students," and nothing is made of their obvious affection for the "father-figure," which is indicated by the gesture of their left and right arms. It also ignores the fact that both the "father-figure" and the standing "young student" hold in their hands not a pointer but a citizen's rod. These points show that, contrary to claims by Hiller and Robert (1902) 128–9 and many since, the relief is unlike Roman mosaics which seem to depict similiar scenes, most notably the alleged depiction of the Platonic Academy on a mosaic from Torre Annuziata; see Gaiser (1980) 2, 9, 15–17, 22, 31, 92–3, 101 pl. 4.

[76] Curtius (1951) 21–2, Fraser (1977) 35–6.

5.

In conclusion, I would like to take a brief look at the second century. Then it became customary, even fashionable, for a substantial part of the urban elites to study abroad in the cultural centers of the Hellenistic world. That meant in Athens or Rhodes, "with the best professors" (τοῖς ἀρίστοις καθηγηταῖς συνδιατρίβειν), as stated in honorary decrees for Menippus and Polemaeus of Colophon.[77] In Athens, the increasing admiration for philosophy is attested even earlier. An extreme example of this new enthusiasm for intellectual education is provided by an Athenian who about 230 BCE decided to name his two sons Plato and Speusippus, although it can be proven that he was unrelated to Plato.[78] This extraordinary choice could not have been intended to do anything other than publicize, even beyond his own life time, his personal interest in philosophy, as well as a general claim to having enjoyed higher intellectual education.

This change in attitude accords well with the fact that Chrysippus, after many years as head of the Stoics, in 208 or 204 became the first philosopher to be granted a statue and citizenship by the Athenians.[79] With only two known exceptions (statues of Socrates and Zeno), all earlier statues of philosophers had been private donations financed by a few admirers or grateful students. It seems to be no coincidence that henceforth both the teachings of the Athenian philosophers and also their portraits and statues became popular, as statues were set up in cities around the Greek world.[80] In the cities of Asia Minor especially, statues of Athenian thinkers served as models for public representations of the cities and their elites. The grave reliefs of Smyrna provide striking examples. Their iconography adopted the formulas of Athenian works and developed them further. Many prosperous citizens were now styled as thinkers or scholars through attributes that proclaim their intellectual or philosophical interests, such as bookscrolls, chests of books, or globes.[81]

[77] Robert and Robert (1989) 11.23–4 (Polemaeus), 63.2–4 (Menippus); see also the text (Polemaeus col. 1.20–1, Menippus col. 1.13–14) and comments by Lehmann (1998) 12–13.

[78] Habicht (1982) 187–8.

[79] In an Appendix below, I list all attested private and public dedications of statues of philosophers from the fourth to the second century, in order to support my argument.

[80] Zanker (1995) 260–1, Zanker (1996) 91–133, Smith (1993) 202–11.

[81] Zanker (1993) 117. For examples, see Pfuhl-Möbius no. 70, 855, 861.

Both literary and epigraphic evidence shows that it was only around the middle of the second century that esteem for knowledge and intellectual education became widespread, along with an interest in making it available for a wider public.[82] The demand for intellectual education, hitherto confined to the social elite, now spread to citizens of the middle class, as numerous documents illustrate, not only grave reliefs and funerary statues but also honorary statues, public decrees, epigrams, and even stone and gems. This was accompanied by a further proliferation of technical and scientific treatises;[83] and growing interest in local history generated a new awareness of the past.[84] This fundamental change was also a crucial precondition for the first public libraries in gymnasia, which began to be established in the mid-second century. Financed by public resources, these libraries were the first to grant access to all citizens.[85] The change also led to the foundation of public elementary schools in many cities in Asia Minor around the same time.[86] These measures show that the goal was now for as many citizens as possible, not only the elites, to share as much as feasible in the education of a cultured citizen. This ideal of an educated citizen (πεπαιδευμένος), still an exclusive privilege of the social elite in the

[82] See again the honorary decree for the Peripatetic Epicrates: *IG* XII.6.1 128.18–23. Most of our literary and epigraphic evidence for νέοι at Hellenistic *gymnasia* (for physical and intellectual education) in the Hellenistic world (see the list in Forbes [1933] 6-10) comes from the second century. On intellectual activities in this institution, see the works cited in n. 28 above, and Delorme (1960) 316–36, Tod (1957), Scholz (2004).

[83] On the enormous expansion of philosophical and technical literature, see Susemihl (1891–92) 532–883, Christ and Schmid (1920) 205–308, 425–55. For the "Gelehrtenschwemme," which flooded Greece and Asia Minor after Ptolemy VII Physcon expelled scholars from Alexandria in 146 BCE, see Ath. 4 184B–C (Andron of Alexandria *FGrH* 246 F 1, Menecles of Barca *FGrH* 270 F 9); cf. Marrou (1977) 316–17, Pfeiffer (1968) 307.

[84] Chaniotis (1988) 368–9. For Rhodian "local" history in the second century, see Wiemer (2001) 251–62. Given this development, it comes as no surprise that cults and monuments for poets and wise men were founded during the third century: Homereia in Alexandria, Smyrna, Argos; Archilocheion in Paros; Heroon of Bias in Priene. In the second century, several cities decorated coins with portraits of popular heroes from their own cultural tradition: Archilochus of Paros, Bias of Priene, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Stesichorus of Himera, Homer of Ios, Smyrna and Chios; see Zanker (1996) 154–60.

[85] See n. 33 above.

[86] See n. 34 above. On the expansion of the functions of the *gymnasia* in Hellenistic times, see Forbes (1945) 32–42, von Hesberg (1995) 13–23, esp. 18–19.

third century, in the following century finally became part of every Greek citizen's shared heritage and identity.[87]

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[87] Cf. Scholz (2000) 110–18 with examples for the most common terms of intellectual education, including πεπαιδευμένος, φιλομαθία, παιδεία. An honorary decree from the first century praises Heraclitus of Priene not only as an ideal virtuous citizen but also as highly educated in every intellectual respect (*IvPriene* 117.56–8).

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Appendix

STATUES OF PHILOSOPHERS, SOPHISTS, AND RHETORICIANS (4th–2d century BCE)

A. Private Dedications

about 380	Socrates (type A) at the Academy, dedicated to the Muses by Plato and his students (Richter 1.112)
about 400	Gorgias I: a gold-plated statue on column, dedicated by himself at Delphi (Plin. *NH* 33.83; Paus. 10.18.7; Richter 1.120)
about 370	Gorgias II: dedicated by Eumolpus, great-nephew of the sophist, at Olympia (Paus. 6.17.7; Richter 1.120)
370–356	Isocrates I: dedicated by Timotheus at Eleusis ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 838D; Richter 2.209)
about 360	Aristippus: dedicated by his students in Cyrene or Athens ? (Richter 2.175–6)
about 355	Eudoxus: sculpted relief, dedicated by his students ? (Richter 2.244)
after 347	Plato: work of Silanion, dedicated by Plato's Persian student Mithradates to the Muses of the Academy (D.L. 3.25–6)
after 338	Isocrates II: statue on column, dedicated by his adopted son Aphaereus at the Olympieion in Athens (Paus. 1.18.8; [Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 839B; Richter 2.209)
334	Theodectes of Phaselis: grave monument at the road to Eleusis with other statues (?) depicting poets (Richter 2.224)

after 322	Aristotle: dedicated by Theophrastus and other students at the Lyceum (D.L. 5.51; Richter 2.171)
314	Xenocrates ? (Richter 2.179)
4th cent.	Aeschines ? (Richter 2.213)
288/285	Theophrastus: dedicated by his students at the Lyceum ? (Richter 2.177)
about 280	Protagoras: seated statue within the exedra in the Sarapeion at Memphis
about 280 ?	Philosopher Dion of Ephesus: work of Sthennis, dedicated by students (?) (Richter 2.244)
after 278/277	Seated statue of Metrodorus, dedicated by the members of the Kepos (Richter 2.200)
about 270	Strato ?: grave monument (D.L. 5.64; Richter 2.178)
after 271/270	Seated statue of Epicurus at the Kepos (Richter 2.198)
after 270	Seated statue of Hermarchos at the Kepos (Richter 2.205)
250-200	Epicurus: statue in ancient Paphos (*BSA* 56 [1961] 7 no. 10; Richter 2.195)
225	Lyco: statue, dedicated at the Lyceum (D.L. 5.69; Richter 2.178)
after 208/204	Chrysippus I: seated statue, dedicated by his nephew Aristocreon of Soloi (Plut. *De Sto. rep.* 1033E; Richter 2.190)
after 155:	Carneades: statue, dedicated by his students Attalus and Ariarathes (*Syll.*[3] 666)

B. Posthumous Honorary Statues and Honouring Depictions on Coins

about 380	Lysias (Richter 2.207)
about 330	Socrates (Typus B): honorary statue, work of Lysippus, initiated by Lycurgus and dedicated at the Pompeium (Richter 1.116)
324/323	Lycurgus I: honorary statue in the Cerameicus ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 843C–E; Richter 2.212)
307/306	Lycurgus II: honorary statue in the Agora ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 847D; Richter 2.212)
307/306	Hypereides: honorary statue for his efforts in freeing Athens from the rule of Demetrius (Richter 2.210)
about 280	Menedemus of Eretria: small statue in the stadium of his home town (D.L. 2.132; Richter 2.244)
280	Demosthenes: bronze honorary statue in the Athenian

	Agora ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 847A; Richter 2.216)
271	Democharès: bronze honorary statue in the Athenian Agora ([Plut.] *Vit. X or.* 847DE; Richter 2.224)
264/261	Honorary decree in favour of Zeno of Citium, initiated by Antigonus Gonatas: bronze statue and golden crown (D.L. 7.6, 10–12)
	Zeno: honorary statue in Citium (D.L. 7.6)
208/204	Chrysippus II: honorary statue at the Cerameicus (Richter 2.194)
about 200	Balacrus son of Meleagrus, author of *Makedonika*, at Pergamon: statue (*IvPergamon* 201; Richter 2.247)
	Apollonius, son of Philotas, author of *Karika* ?, at Pergamon: statue (*IvPergamon* 202; Richter 2.247)
2th cent.	Antisthenes: honorary statue at Cynosarges ? (Richter 2.179)
	Cleanthes: honorary statue ? (Richter 2.189)
	Diogenes: honorary statue in Corinth (Richter 2.182)
	Crates of Thebes ? (Richter 2.185–86)
	Menippus of Gadara ? (Richter 2.185)
	Epicurus III: honorary statue at Samos ? (D.L. 10.9; Richter 2.195)
	Aratus of Soloi/Cilicia: grave monument ? (Pomp. Mel. *Chorogr.* 1.71; Richter 2.239)
150-120	Polybius: honorary statue, dedicated by the Eleans at Olympia (*IvOlympia* 243; Richter 2.248)
	Honorary statue at Pallantion (Paus. 8.44.5; Richter 2.248)
about 100	Anaxagoras (on coins of Clazomenae)

Funerary inscription and relief for Hieronymus, son Simylinus of Tlos

Detail (far left) of the Hieronymus relief

Detail (left middle) of the Hieronymus relief

Detail (right middle) of the Hieronymus relief

Detail (far right) of the Hieronymus relief