

OXFORD STUDIES
IN ANCIENT
PHILOSOPHY

EDITOR: VICTOR CASTON

VOLUME LIX

WINTER 2020

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© the several contributors 2021

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2021

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021942461

ISBN 978-0-19-885900-0 (hbk.)

ISBN 978-0-19-885902-4 (pbk.)

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198859000.001.0001

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

NEW EVIDENCE ON CARNEADES: REASONS FOR HIS AVOIDANCE OF WRITING AND AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL PUN

KILIAN FLEISCHER

1. Introduction

THERE CAN HARDLY BE any reasonable doubt that Carneades of Cyrene (ca. 214/13–129/28 BCE) figures among the most prominent representatives of the so-called New Academy, which pursued a sceptical direction from Arcesilaus onwards.¹ But even more, Carneades might be regarded as the most extraordinary and influential Academic Sceptic in its history. He attracted a huge number of pupils from all over the Hellenistic world during his scholar-chate (ca. 160–135 BCE)² and was no less famous for his rhetoric

¹ For Carneades, see W. Görler, 'Karneades' ['Karneades'], in H. Flashar (ed.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* 4. 2 (Basel, 1994), 849–97; T. Dorandi and F. Queyrel, 'Carnéade de Cyrène', in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (Paris, 1994), ii. 224–7; M. Schofield, 'Academic Epistemology' ['Epistemology'], in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), 323–51. The fragments (testimonia) of Carneades were collected by H.-J. Mette, 'Weitere Akademiker heute: Von Lakydes bis zu Kleitomachos' ['Karneades'], *Lustrum*, 27 (1985), 39–148. Quite a few fragments missed by Mette were added by K. A. Neuhausen, 'De Carneadis aliquot adhuc incognitis fontibus', *Acta classica universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis*, 38/39 (2003/2004), 289–302.

² As Carneades' most famous pupils, one might mention Clitomachus of Carthage, Charmadas of Alexandria, Melanthius of Rhodes, Zeno of Alexandria, Zenodorus of Tyros, Hagnon of Tarsus, Metrodorus of Stratonicea, and Antipater of Alexandria. Together with several dozen other pupils, they are listed with some additional information in Philod. *Index Acad.*, col. 22–4; 29–32. For new information (new readings) on many of these philosophers, see K. Fleischer, 'Der Akademiker Charmadas in Apollodors *Chronik* (PHerc. 1021, Kol. 31–2)' ['Charmadas'], *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 44 (2014), 65–75; id., 'Melanthios von Rhodos in Apollodors *Chronik* (PHerc. 1021, XXXI)', *Philologus*, 162/1 (2018), 15–24; id., 'The Academic Philosopher Charmadas of Alexandria: Uncovering His Origins', *Quaderni del Museo del Papiro*, 16 (2019), 153–64; id., 'Zur Abstammung der akademischen Philosophen Melanthios von Rhodos und Metrodor von Stratonikeia (PHerc. 1021, Kol. 23,10–20)', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 65/1 (2019), 124–32.

and dialectic than for his philosophical skills. Like his predecessor Arcesilaus,³ Carneades left practically no writings behind. Nevertheless, several sources, Greek as well as Latin, give us a fair insight into his philosophical activity, life, and character. For sure, some details or aspects of his philosophical activity are bound to remain obscure or confused owing to contradictions or insufficient evidence and are debated among modern scholars; but it emerges from the fragments that at the basis of Carneades' scepticism, or at any rate its justification, there lay a refined and highly developed dialectical method, which he is said to have learned from the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon (Seleucia). Like Carneades, the Stoic philosopher participated in the almost legendary Athenian embassy to Rome (155 BCE).⁴ Carneades developed probabilism as a means for assessing human actions in everyday life⁵ and he seems to have argued as well that gaining certain knowledge is impossible, since there are no cognitive impressions. There is also the possibility of a 'dialectical reading' of the evidence to the effect that Carneades deployed probabilism and epistemological scepticism only for dialectical purposes and did not really endorse it.⁶ In the present contribution, about fifteen lines revealing new information on the biography of Carneades are restored and discussed (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 1–17). To the best of my knowledge, this is the only new discovery of significant biographical and philosophical information about Carneades in modern times.

2. Carneades and Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* (Dorandi 1991)

While many papyri provide new information about various philosophers, the situation concerning Carneades is rather regrettable.

³ For Arcesilaus and a new collection of testimonies, see S. Vezzoli, *Arcesilao di Pitane: L'origine del Platonismo neoaccademico. Analisi e fonti* (Turnhout, 2016).

⁴ On Carneades' instruction under Diogenes, see Cic. *Acad.* 2. 98 = Mette F 5, 87–91; on Diogenes in Rome, see *SVF* iii. 6–10.

⁵ J. Allen, 'Academic Probabilism and Stoic Epistemology', *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 44 (1994), 85–113.

⁶ For this view, see for instance G. Striker, 'Über den Unterschied zwischen den Pyrrhoneern und den Akademikern', *Phronesis*, 26 (1981), 153–71.

He is only mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus dating from late antiquity, where he is included in a rather careless and superficial list of scholars.⁷ However, there seems to be some information about him in Philodemus' *Index Academicorum*.⁸

This treatise has come down to us in a papyrus from Herculaneum. The papyrus containing the work represents a draft for Philodemus' book on the Academy, which was part of his philosophical-historical work *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*.⁹ Several other Herculanean papyri can be assigned with varying degrees of probability to different books of this work.¹⁰ Being a preliminary draft, the *Index Academicorum* (PHerc. 1691/1021) has writing on the front and back (forty columns on the front, twelve columns on the back—it is an opisthograph) and is Philodemus' actual working manuscript.¹¹ It is unique among the Herculanean papyri inasmuch as it presents several marginal notes, a certain disarray, additions written above and below the columns that were intended to be inserted into the final version, authorial and transpositional signs, doublets, excerpts literally copied and corresponding prose paraphrases. PHerc. 164 preserves some scanty remains of the final version of Philodemus' book on the Academy, and a comparison with the draft version

⁷ *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* (= CPF) 27 1 T (= part of CPF 1) = PDuke inv. G 178, col. II. 6–7: Καρνεάδης [Κυρηναῖος] | Ἀκαδημ[ίας μέσης] (vel δευτέρα, Willis).

⁸ Outside the *Index Academicorum* Carneades is mentioned only in the *Vita Philonidis* (PHerc. 1044), frg. 27, l. 24–5 Gallo. The fragmentary passage may imply that Philonides attended his lessons or was in touch with him while in Athens.

⁹ The latest edition was provided by T. Dorandi, *Filodemo*. Storia dei filosofi. Platone e l'Academia (PHerc. 1021 e 164). Edizione, traduzione e commento [*Index Academicorum*] (Naples, 1991). Prior editions: F. Bücheler, *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculaneensis* (Greifswald, 1869); S. Mekler, *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculaneensis* [*Index Academicorum*] (Berlin, 1902). Some fragments belonging to columns prior to PHerc. 1021 have been identified by G. del Mastro, 'Altri frammenti dal PHerc. 1691: Historia Academicorum e Di III', *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 42 (2012), 277–92.

¹⁰ Other papyri (books) assigned to this work are PHerc. 1018 (*Index Stoicorum*); PHerc. 1780 (*Index Epicureorum*); PHerc. 495/558 (*Vita Socratis*); PHerc. 327/1508 (Eleats/Pythagoras-uncertain).

¹¹ Cf. K. Fleischer, 'Die Lokalisierung der Verso-Kolumnen von PHerc. 1021 (Philodem, *Index Academicorum*)' ['Verso-Kolumnen'], *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 204 (2017), 27–39.

offers further insight into the process of composing an ancient book.¹²

The name of Carneades occurs several times in the *Index Academicorum*, mostly in connection with his pupils.¹³ An extended list of his pupils is to be found in the papyrus,¹⁴ but one wonders where his actual biography was presented. Parts of Apollodorus' *Chronica*, excerpted literally by Philodemus, seem to have been devoted to Carneades, but are rather fragmentary and puzzling.¹⁵ In another article I have considered the possibility that the verso column P dealt with Carneades.¹⁶ This column could have been directly continued by col. 22 on the front, as the new reconstruction in this contribution suggests. The sentence at the end of col. 21, dealing with Lacydes, might have been continued in col. M (or elsewhere) and it is likely that the beginning of col. 22 was no longer about Lacydes.¹⁷ In any case, at the end of col. 22 (col. 22. 35) a long list of Carneades' pupils begins; it has been reasonably inferred that the preceding, very fragmentary lines were devoted to the life of Carneades.

3. The Athenian embassy to Rome in the *Index Academicorum* (col. 22, middle)

The text is so fragmentary that Dorandi does not even provide a translation for the few isolated Greek words he transcribes in lines 3–10. It is somewhat surprising that Dorandi's otherwise carefully

¹² Cf. T. Dorandi, 'Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 87 (1991), 11–33 and id., *Nell'officina dei classici. Come lavoravano gli autori antichi* (Rome, 2007), 40–2.

¹³ His name appears in Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 42; 24. 15+37; 25. 6+11–12+40; 26. 8–9+41; 28. 38; 29. 14+39; 31. 12+38; 33. 9 (cf. Fleischer, 'Charmadas', ad loc.); 36. 6–7.

¹⁴ Col. 22. 35–col. 24.mid (part of it copied again in col. 32. 32–42).

¹⁵ Col. 28.mid – 38. I could make several improvements to these verses, but since there seems to be no direct connection with col. 22, I will deal with them separately.

¹⁶ Fleischer, 'Verso-Kolumnen', 38. Already W. Crönert, 'Die Überlieferung des *Index Academicorum*', *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 357–405 at 365 supposed that Carneades was the subject of col. T (however, with what are now obsolete reasons); on Arcesilaus in col. T, cf. Dorandi, *Index Academicorum*, 61.

¹⁷ See Fleischer, 'Verso-Kolumnen', 38–9 for the possibility that col. M–P were a continuous excerpt.

arranged apparatus does not include several readings or supplements of Mekler's edition for lines 1–35.¹⁸ If this is not a mere blunder, it might be explained by the fact that today the surface of the original papyrus for some relevant parts of the first ten lines looks rather mouldy or glossy which makes it difficult or almost impossible to detect letters with the naked eye. In other places the ink might have further faded since Mekler's time. Perhaps Dorandi was unable to confirm Mekler's readings and excluded them for this reason. Although this contribution is primarily concerned with the reconstruction of the first part of column 22 (l. 1–17), it is useful to state that Mekler's restoration of the second half of the column, to the extent that it deals with Carneades' participation in the embassy to Rome, has proven valid, despite the fact that Mekler's supplements are either clearly wrong or unacceptably daring. My transcription of lines 32–7 reads:¹⁹

Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 32–7 (Fleischer):

32 μετ[ὰ] τῶν [.....].ε[..
 .ων εἰς Ῥώ[μην].....
 .τ' ἐξ ἐρήμου [...]περιθέντων
 35 Ὠ]ρωπίους ε..[. τάλα]γῆτα
 πεντακ[όσια]α ..[.].α[.(.)] εἰς
 37 ἔκκατόν. ὧ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ κτλ.

32 μετ[ὰ] τῶν KF 32–3 εἰς Ῥω[μὴν] KF 34 KF 35 Ὠ]ρωπίους Mekler
 τάλα]γῆτα KF 36 Mekler 37 Bücheler

'with the... to Rome.....the Oropians...500 talents... to 100 (talents)'.
 18 Mekler, *Index Academicorum*, col. 22. 3–11: νοντο [ἀποσ]πασθήσασθαι | συντασ[σόμε]νον ἀπὸ τῆς | ⁵ τασ[ούτου] ἔργου? | παμδ[εῖ] | α[ς] ἐν αἰ ζῶ[σιν] καὶ τὸ πᾶν
 [ἀ] | πείρητ[ο τοῖς ἀ]ρχαίοις, τοὺς δὲ | ἰδιώτας? ...π. . s τὰς σχολὰς | ἀνέγγ[ωσ]α[ν] ?
 δι]ετέλει{ν} | ¹⁰ δὲ καὶ Χ[ρυσίππ]ωι μαχό[με] | νος καὶ ἐ[φ]ησ[ω]λόγ[ε]ι... 21–35: δὲ [εἰς
 Ῥώμην Ἀθην]αῖ[οι] | τ[ὸν Καρνεάδην] πρε[σ]β[ε]υ | τ[ὴν μετὰ Κριτολάου] τ[ε] [καὶ] | Διο[γέ]νους
 ἔπεμψαν ὡς εἰξ Ὠ[ρω] ²⁵π[ί]λων π[ό]λεως τέλ]η σπά[γ]ια | καὶ [φόρ]ους [ὀλίγους]
 ἐν[ε]γ[] | κόν[τες] οὐ[δὲ] βιασάμενοι· ὁ | δ] ἐ [διη]γησά[μενος] ὅσα πολέ[μ]οις ἀ[ει]μ[ν]ήσοις ἢ
 πόλις ἔκα[] ³⁰μ[ε]?, τ[ὸ] τῶ[ν] βουλευτῶν πάθος | οὕτως] ἐκίνησεν ὥστε | καί]πε[ρ] ? ἐρή[μην]
 ὠφληκό]των | [Ὠ]ρωπίους [ἐμείωσαν] τ[ὰ] | πεντα[κόσια] τάλα]τα εἰς | ³⁵ ἔκκατόν.
 μα[θη]ταὶ δ' [α]ὐτοῦ κτλ.

¹⁹ The line numbers differ from Dorandi's edition. On the diacritical signs and editorial method, see below. My preliminary edition of col. 22. 17–31 has no entire Greek words and the few letters are not really helpful for coming up with a possible rendering or structuring of the embassy episode by Philodemus.

One may compare the following passage from Pausanias on the embassy (7. 11. 5):²⁰

Σικυώνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀφικομένοις ἐς καιρὸν τῆς κρίσεως Ἀθηναίους ζημίαν πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἐπιβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλή δεηθείσιν Ἀθηναίους ἀφήσιν πλὴν τάλαντων ἑκατὸν τὴν ἄλλην ζημίαν·

When the Athenians did not appear in time for the trial, the Sicyonians inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents, which the Roman senate on the appeal of the Athenians remitted with the exception of one hundred talents.²¹

My new restoration of lines 32–7 shows that they deal with the embassy. This confirms that column 22 was indeed devoted to Carneades, which is what Dorandi seems to have conjectured with some doubts, even though he rejects or ignores Mekler's readings in the apparatus. Concerning the overall subject of the column Dorandi remarks:

The poor condition of col. 22 makes it impossible to determine its content with certainty. The paragraphus below line 15 indicates the transition to another topic; Mekler, who in lines 8 ff. had seen traces of an argument between Carneades and Chrysippus, restores the central part of the column (ll. 16–35), to the effect that the text dealt with Carneades' participation in the embassy to Rome (155 BCE). He travelled there together with Critolaus and Diogenes of Babylon in order to make a plea for the Athenians in the case regarding the city of Oropus. The persuasive power of Carneades' dialectic was so great that the Roman senate decided to annul the huge fine (500 talents) imposed on the Athenians.²²

²⁰ This passage was already referred to by Mekler, *Index Academicorum*, ad loc. Mette, 'Carneades' did not include the passage in his collection, since Carneades is not explicitly mentioned.

²¹ Translation and edition: W. H. S. Jones, H. A. Ormerod, and R. E. Wycherley, *Pausanias: Description of Greece with an English Translation* (Cambridge, 1918).

²² My own translation of Dorandi, *Index Academicorum*, 69: 'Le disastrose condizioni della col. XXII impediscono di definire con sicurezza il contenuto. La paragraphos sotto la l. 15 indica il passaggio a un altro argomento; il Mekler, che aveva intravisto nelle ll. 8 ss. un accenno alle dispute di Carneade con Crisippo, ricostruisce la parte centrale della colonna (ll. 16–35) in relazione all'ambasceria di Carneade a Roma nel 155 a.C., dove si era recato insieme con Critolao e Diogene di Babilonia per perorare la causa ateniese nell'affare della città di Oropo: tanta fu l'abilità di persuasione della dialettica di Carneade che il Senato romano decretò l'annullamento della forte ammenda pecuniaria (centocinquanta talenti) che aveva inflitta agli Ateniesi.' Dorandi is slightly imprecise in writing 'annullamento' concerning the fine.

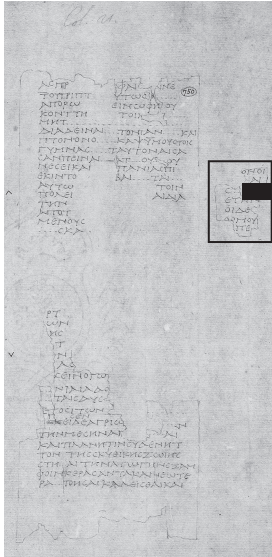
It is a reasonable hypothesis that the paragraphus marks the beginning of the embassy episode, perhaps with some introductory information about Carneades' political or rhetorical skills, somehow leading up to the episode. Philodemus is obviously our earliest witness to the episode and it is difficult to say whether the fragmentary lines 17–31 included a reference to the alleged two contrasting speeches on justice in Rome. My guess would be that Philodemus did not touch upon Carneades' behaviour or his speeches there.²³ In any case, it is worth pointing out that none of the seven testimonies listed by Mette for the embassy provides the exact details of the reduction of the fine from 500 to 100 talents, as Pausanias does. Hence, one may speculate that a common (original) source used by Philodemus and Pausanias had the figure '500 to 100'.²⁴

4. Carneades in the *Index Academicorum*—A New Edition (col. 22. 1–17)

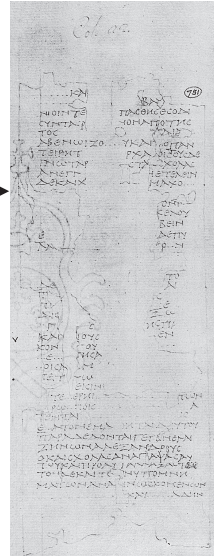
After these introductory remarks, let us now shift our attention to lines 1–17, for which a new reconstruction based on a new editorial method and on new technical means shall be provided. After the publication of Dorandi's edition (1991), Multispectral Images (MSI) of the papyrus were taken (1999), which revealed letters that are invisible or barely readable to the naked eye. Letters or traces that could only be imagined when Dorandi was working on his edition have become clearly readable or discernible through the MSI. Over the course of my ongoing work on a new edition of the *Index Academicorum*, which should increase or improve the text by about 20 per cent, Hyperspectral Images (HSI) of the papyrus were taken for the first time with an innovative

²³ G. Powell, 'The Embassy of the Three Philosophers to Rome in 155 BC' ['Embassy'], in C. Kremmydas and K. Tempest (eds.), *Hellenistic Oratory: Change and Continuity* (Oxford, 2013), 219–47 doubts the historical truth of Carneades' Roman lectures on justice.

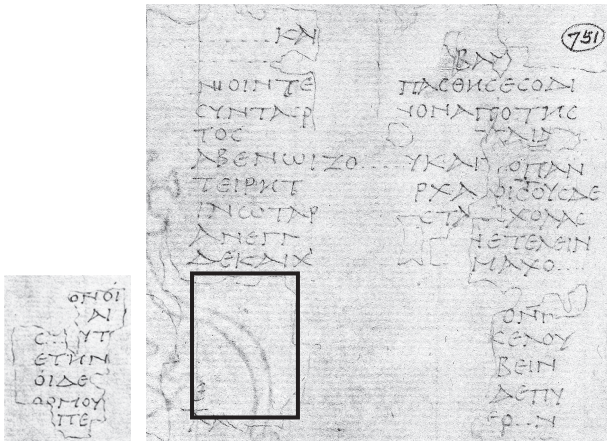
²⁴ = Mette T 7a–k. Powell, 'Embassy', 230 suggests Polybius as Pausanias' source for the episode. Yet there is no evidence that Philodemus used Polybius directly.



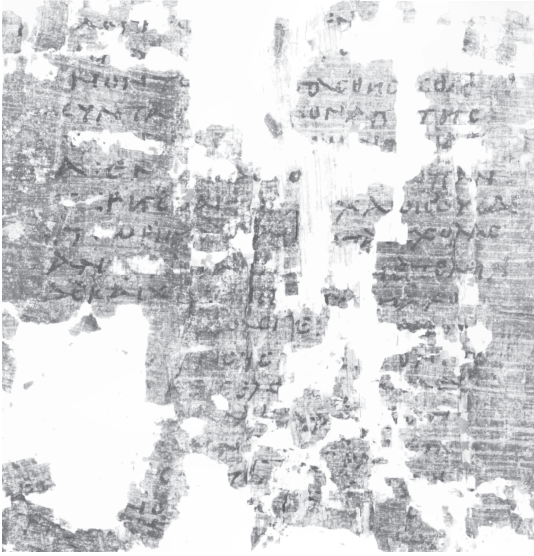
Oxford disegno: col. 21
with detached fragment
(sovrapposto)



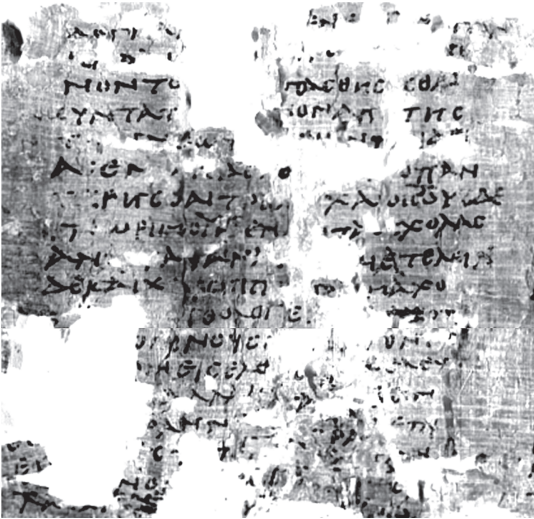
Oxford disegno: col. 22



Oxford disegno: detached fragment (taken from col. 21) + col. 22. 1-17



Multispectral Image (MSI) PHerc. 1021, col. 22. 1-17



Hyperspectral Image (HSI)

new imaging technique (2018).²⁵ These HSI provide a much better contrast than the MSI and even display letters that cannot be detected either by the naked eye or by looking at the MSI. However, the HSI are not superior to the MSI in every respect. Both imaging techniques complement each other and when combined give us a much better basis for reconstructing the text than the MSI alone. Besides the new imaging techniques, it was crucial to place correctly a detached fragment drawn at the right-hand margin of the Oxford disegno (drawing) of col. 21. In addition, a new kind of editorial system²⁶ and careful autopsy of the papyrus,²⁷ along with a new ‘alignment’ (counting and combining of lines), were crucial for ensuring progress on the text. In what follows, several images of the papyrus,²⁸ my diplomatic transcription—including a description of the traces—and my literary transcription with a translation and apparatus criticus²⁹ are provided.

²⁵ For the technique and experiments, see A. Tournié, K. Fleischer, I. Bukreeva, F. Palermo, M. Perino, A. Cedola, C. Andraud, and G. Ranocchia, ‘Ancient Greek Text Concealed on the Back of Unrolled Papyrus Revealed through Shortwave-Infrared Hyperspectral Imaging’, *Science Advances*, 5. 10 (2019), <https://advances.sciencemag.org/content/5/10/eaav8936>.

²⁶ As for my complete edition of the *Index Academicorum*, I first produced a diplomatic transcript with a detailed description of the traces resembling the Oxyrhynchus volume style. The letters from the disegno were placed in the transcript or text (without indicating symbols in the transcript, but explanation in the diplomatic transcript), when they provided more information than the original. Corrections and deletions are only indicated in the diplomatic transcript and in the apparatus. Where the drawing (in the diplomatic transcript) has been changed an * is placed below the letter. Misplaced layers (sovrapposti and sottoposti) which have been rearranged are indicated in **bold** in the diplomatic transcript.

²⁷ Conducted between 2016 and 2018 at different times during my stay in Naples.

²⁸ The Multispectral Image (MSI) and Hyperspectral Images (HSI) of PHerc. 1021 are reproduced by courtesy of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo (© Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli—Brigham Young University, Provo, USA—Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche), the Oxford disegni by courtesy of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. All rights are reserved.

²⁹ Impossible readings are no longer recorded. The abbreviation KF stands for Kilian Fleischer, the author.

Diplomatic transcript (PHerc. 1021, col. 22. 1–18)

- 1 ...κα[...].[...]εγ[...].[...].
 ...[...].[...].β[...].
 νοντε[...].π[...].σθησεσθαι
 συντατρ[...].γ[...].ναποτησ
 5 τος..ε..[...].ν λιδ..
 αβενωιδ[...].[...]υκαι..παν
 τειρησθαιτοις[...].ρ[...].χαιοισ`τ`ουσδε
 γνωριμο[ι]υ\`υ..ε[...].ν.στασχολασ
 αν[ε]υ\`..γ[...].α.α\`..ν..[...].δ[ε]ι[ε]υ\`α\`τελει\`υ\`
 10 δεκαιχ..σιπ[...].[...].μαχο
 .]ονοι[...].υθολογε[...].[...].[...].
 ..[...].αι..νουσ[...].[...].α.ον.[
 σ[...].υτ..εισελ[...].[...].ελευ
 ετην[...].λλ[...].τα[...].βειν
 15 οιδε[...].ανν[.....].δεπυ
 ..μου[...].σ[...].[...].[...].[...].ε[...].ρ. ν
 ε,πενο[.....]
 λα...ε[...].[...].[...].[...].

PHerc. 1021, cr. 5, col. 22 = IV 751 O = col. 22 NI = I 183 VH²

1 α,δ,λ || curve (ο likely) || vert. and then ink at top || κα O: vert. (with joint on top?), desc. P || vertical O: ink at bottom P || ink at bottom || faded ink at top || faded ink at top || faded traces (ν?) 2 ink at top || curve at bottom || vert. || ink at mid (two letters?) || ink at bottom || vert./ris. obl. at bottom (ρ likely) || curve at mid || βα O || α,δ,λ,ν,χ O || vert. || ink (ε possible) 3 ε O: ε,ο,ω P || ε ON || ι ON: ink at top P 4 ρ O || ο ON 5 τ O: ink P || σ O || hook at top || μ or ν || curve (ω possible) || π or τ || ink at top || curve || parts of horiz. at top O: vertical with joint at top P || λ O || ι O: upper part of vert. P || ink (curve?) at top || parts of vert. 6 β ON: ink at bottom/top (tiny letter) P || ν ON: μ or ν P || ωι O: ink at bottom, ink at bottom P || ο O: ink (curve?) at bottom P || curve (ο likely) || υ O || κα ON || ι O || left part of horiz. at top O || ο or ω 7 τε O: parts of horiz. at top and ink at bottom, ink at bottom/top P || ι O || ρ ON || ι N 8 ν O: vert. and then ink P || ink (curve?) || part of vert. and then ink || ink at bottom || σ O: ink (vert.?) at top P 9 ε O: ink at top P || faded traces (α possible, confer the correction later in the line, nothing in O) || γν ink at bottom, vert. at bottom P || φ or ψ || ink (vert.? correction not certain) || α,κ,λ || ink at bottom || ink at bottom (concerning `α': α was directly written over ε) 10 ink at top || ink at mid and top || ink at top || π or τ || ο or ρ || ink 11–17: The beginning of the lines is partly reconstructed from a detached fragment only preserved in O (right-hand margin of

col. 21) 11 ονοι O || ink at bottom || ink at top (vert.?) || curve || ink at top (π or τ likely) 12 αι O || ο or ω || vert. || ε,ο,σ || ink at bottom || **ink (horiz.?) at top** ⁻¹ || α⁻¹ || faded ink at bottom (vert.?) || vert. O: ink at top P || ink bottom 13 σ O || υτ O || ink at top || μ or ν || ε or θ || ink at bottom || κ or χ O: ink (part of curve?) at mid P || ελ O: ε or σ, desc. P || υ O: ink P 14 ετην O || α,δ,λ || α,δ,λ || vert. || ink at mid || βε O: ink at bottom, curve at bottom P || ι O 15 οιδε O || loop at top (ρ likely) δ O 16 ε,θ,ο,σ (upper part) O: ε,θ,ο,σ (lower part P) || ε,θ,ο,σ (upper part) O: curve at bottom P || μου O || curve at top and ink at bottom || ink (horiz.?) at top || ink (rising obl. ?) at bottom || ink || ερ O: ink at mid (same layer?), ink (same layer?) P || ink at mid || ν O: ink (vert.?) P 17 ink || πε O || ink (part of vert. or ris. obl.?) 18 ink at bottom || ink at bottom || ink || ink at top || ψ +1 || η or κ || ο or ω

Philod, *Index Acad.* (PHerc. 1021), col. 22. 1–18 (Fleischer)

.ον κα [...].[.]εν.[.].[...].
 ...[.].[....ο] προβαλλ[λό]με-
 νον τὸ [ἀποσ]πασθήσεσθαι
 συντατ[τό]με|νον ἀπὸ τῆς
 5 τῶν νεωτ[ά]των παιδεί-
 ας, ἐν ᾧ δο[κ]ο[ί]η, καὶ τὸ πάν-
 τ' εἰρησθαι τοῖς [ἀ]ρχαίοις· τοὺς δὲ
 γνωρίμους μὲν δὴ τὰς σχολὰς
 ἀναγράψαι αὐ[τοῦ] διατελεῖν
 10 δὲ καὶ Χρυσίππ[ω] πρ[ο]σμαχό-
 μ]ενον. [μ]υθολογεῖ[ται δ']·[
 ὑπὸ] Διογένους μ[ε]τ[ά]γοντο[ς]
 ε[ἰ]ς αὐτὸν 'εἰσελθ[εῖν] οἷον κελευ-
 σθῆν[αι], ἀλλὰ 'κατα[λα]βεῖν',
 15 οἱ δὲ ' [κε]ράνν[υ]σθαι'. ὁ δὲ πω-
 θόμεγ[ο]ς [.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...
 εἶπεν ο[.]...
 λα...ε[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...

... putting forward the excuse that if he wrote treatises he would be drawn away from the education of the youngest students at the time that seemed right; and that everything had already been said by the ancients. His pupils, of course, wrote up his lectures. He was also continuously arguing with Chrysippus. The legend goes that he was not told by Diogenes, who tried to seduce him (to the Stoa), to 'come' to him, but to 'meet' (grasp) him, or some say to 'blend' (with him). He (Carneades)... said (argued)...

2–3 προβαλλ[λό]με |νον KF (βαλλ[λό]με|νον iam Ranocchia) 3 Bücheler
 4 συντατ[τό]με|νον Hatzimichali 5 τῶν νεωτ[ά]των KF (νεωτ[έ]ρων fort.
 spat. brev. conieceteris) 5–6 παιδεί[τί]ας Bücheler 6 ἐν ᾧ Bücheler
 δο[κ]ο[ί]η, KF 6–7 τὸ πάντ' εἰρησθαι τοῖς KF 8 γνωρίμους KF
 9 ἀν[ε]ῖ\`α\`γράψαι\`{ν} (fort. ἀν{ε}α\`γράψαι{ν}α) αὐ[τοῦ] KF δι[ε]ῖ\`α\`τελεῖν
 KF 10 Χρυσίππ[ω] Mekler 10–11 πρ[ο]σμαχό[μ]ενον KF 11–14 legit
 et supplevit KF (11–12 [...]) | vel δ' ὑ[π]...π[ρ]ὸ | [τοῦ] conieceteris)
 15 [κε]ράνν[υ]σθαι Sedley 15–16 ὁ | δὲ πωθόμεγ[ο]ς KF 16 ε[ἰ] κ[α]ί
 εἰς ἐκ[ά]τ[τε]ρον conieceteris 17 εἶπεν KF ὁμ[ο]ίως ἔπαισεν vel ὁμιλ- vel ὅτι
 conieceteris 17–18 ἀλλά καὶ conieceteris

As was already stated, it was crucial to embed the detached fragment preserved only by the Oxford disegno (right-hand margin of col. 21) in the right place. Previous editors had not succeeded in placing this fragment and its position remained an unsolved puzzle.³⁰ The alignment of previous editions has also now proven to be quite wrong. We have two more lines before the paragraphus (seventeen instead of fifteen lines). Furthermore, it was pivotal to identify and move a *sovrapposto* which belongs to another column, and to replace a *sottoposto* from col. 23 (which allowed, in particular, the reconstruction $\mu[\epsilon]\tau\acute{\alpha}[\gamma]ov\tau\theta[s$ in l. 12). The new HSI were essential for a few readings, but a good deal of proper philological reconstruction work remained to be done. What proved helpful here was the systematic embedding and use of letters from the Oxford disegno,³¹ checked against the remaining evidence from the original (i.e. in the images).

For readers' convenience, and to bring into focus the proper content of the lines, I give the text again without papyrological marks (though I would not encourage quoting this for scholarly purposes), along with a translation. The last sentence of the translation (in italics) is only one possible way of restoring the text.

³⁰ It is now clear that the fragment was a *sovrapposto* which stuck at the beginning of col. 21 and was then scratched away during the unrolling/drawing process (my bibliometrical reconstruction of the papyrus showed that it was originally around 6.6 cm to the left to its now reconstructed position). A left-hand margin on the fragment is clearly visible. Mekler, *Index Academicorum*, 76 ad loc. (col. 21!) failed to place it: 'The placement of the little fragment attached to this column cannot be made either in this column or in the neighbouring columns' (*frustuli columnae adhaerentis conligatio neque hic successit neque in proximis columnis*). Similarly Dorandi, *Index Academicorum*, 245 stated in the commentary to col. 21,10–16: 'In the right margin beside these lines the Oxford disegno preserves a fragment that apparently cannot be placed either in this or in the neighbouring columns. The fragment (*sovrapposto*) was detached during the unrolling process from a left column margin. One could shift the fragment slightly downwards in the lacuna, but this is only a guess without any confirmation.' (Nel margine destra, in corrispondenza di queste linee, O conserva un frustulo che apparentemente non trova una collocazione né in questa né nelle colonne vicine... Si tratta di un frammentino *sovrapposto* staccatosi al momento dello svolgimento dalla parte sinistra di una colonna... Si potrebbe suggerire di spostare il frustulo leggermente più in basso nella lacuna, ma è un tentativo privo di riscontro.)

³¹ The Neapolitan disegno, drawn later, is much inferior to the Oxford one and was of practically of no use for the reconstruction of the text.

Philod, *Index Acad.* (PHerc. 1021), col. 22. 1–18 (Fleischer): From the biography of Carneades

...προβαλλόμενον τὸ ἀποσπασθήσεσθαι συνταττόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν νεωτάτων παιδείας, ἐν ᾧ δοκοίη, καὶ τὸ πάντ' εἰρήσθαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· τοὺς δὲ γνωρίμους μὲν δὴ τὰς σχολὰς ἀναγράψαι αὐτοῦ· διατελεῖν δὲ καὶ Χρυσίππῳ προσμαχόμενον. μυθολογείται δ' ὑπὸ Διογένοῦς μεταγόντος εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν οὐ κελευσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καταλαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ κεράννυσθαι. ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος εἰς ἑκάτερον εἶπεν ο

... putting forward the excuse that if he wrote treatises he would be drawn away from the education of the youngest students at the time that seemed right; and that everything had already been said by the ancients. His pupils, of course, wrote up his lectures. He was also continuously arguing with Chrysippus. The legend goes that he was not told by Diogenes, who tried to seduce him (to the Stoa), to 'come' to him, but to 'meet' (grasp) him, or, some say, to 'blend' (with him). He (Carneades), *asking, whether he (Diogenes) had also argued for each point (punned similarly)*.

5. Carneades' reasons for not composing treatises (col. 22. 3–7)

As stated above, the beginning of col. 22 does not continue the end of col. 21, but probably the verso-column P. The lower part of column P has been completely destroyed or is very fragmentary so that it cannot contribute to the reconstruction of the phrase or argument continued in col 22. In this 'draft-papyrus' it is not unusual for the beginning of a recto-column not to represent the continuation of the preceding column. Since ll. 2–10 obviously report Carneades' reason or excuse for not writing, the beginning of the sentence might have had the following sense: '*They say (or: X (source) says) that he (Carneades) did not write anything/left no writings behind, putting forward the excuse etc.*' Of course, it cannot entirely be excluded that the phrasing was more complex ('*When someone wondered/complained why he did not write anything, they say he replied by putting forward the excuse . . .*' or the like), but the basic sense is very likely as suggested above. Perhaps the papyrus preserves Carneades' response to an opponent (a Stoic?) or to an Academic school colleague in a particular situation. However, the flow of the sentence and the following 'neutral' information suggests to me that Carneades here was merely explaining himself in general terms and not replying to someone, who had complained for example about the Academics being only

dialectical and not advancing theories of their own. The various corrections in lines 8–10 (τοὺς, γνωρίμους, ἀναγράψαι, and διατελεῖν) could hint at a different phrasing (nominatives + definite verbs) in Philodemus' source which he felt compelled to convert into an accusative and infinitive construction for reasons of smoothness or grammar. If the anecdote in ll. 11–17 does not stem from another source, Philodemus might still have preferred to keep the phraseological [μ]υθολογεῖται as a definite verb, maybe in order to avoid confusion with the following dependent infinitives.³²

For the first time, we learn from the new papyrus readings the reasons why Carneades did not publish or write anything. It seems that Carneades was explicit on the matter. This could imply that he responded to critics or other Academics who had complained about his 'orality', which links Carneades to Socrates and Arcesilaus. Some people may have found it difficult to make out Carneades' exact views, without any written works to refer to, or might even have accused him, in the absence of writings, of changing or blurring his views. Be that as it may, Carneades offers a twofold explanation for his choice not to write, while the verb (participle) προβαλ[λό]μενον could connote an excuse or justification. His remark is relevant to our understanding of his character and views, since until now one might have hypothesized that his orality was related to his scepticism, for example, or Plato's criticism of literacy.

Assuming that Carneades' reply was in earnest and not an ironic or defensive reaction to a question or rebuke,³³ the first argument or excuse he puts forward is almost touching and shows his philanthropic side. He feared that by composing treatises (συντατ[ό]μενον) he would be drawn away from teaching the youngest students (νεωτ[ά]των)³⁴ at a time when it seemed good or necessary to do so.³⁵

³² [μ]υθολογεῖσθαι is not to be ruled out entirely.

³³ The close connection with the second element ('and everything has already been said by the ancients') and the introduction of the argument make it rather unlikely that the statement was an (ironic) reply in a given situation.

³⁴ The superlative is somewhat unexpected, but acceptable. One would rather expect the comparative νεωτέρων which seems to be too short for the space (unless there was a correction).

³⁵ The optative might be due to a past tense in the main clause or somehow connote the (in this case hypothetical) iteration of an action in the past, as seen from a future perspective. There might be the remote possibility that ἐν ᾧ is not temporal and means 'in the subject matter (that seemed right)'.

Accordingly, he regarded lecturing as more important than publishing books—if one had to make a decision between the two. The impressive number of pupils mentioned in the long list beginning at the end of col. 22 almost appears to mirror this statement, which characterizes Carneades first and foremost as a busy and popular teacher of Academic philosophy.³⁶ With regard to the popularity of his lectures and their impact on the young, consider for instance the following testimony on the embassy to Rome:

μάλιστα δ' ἡ Καρνεάδου χάρις, ἧς δύναμίς τ' <ἦν> πλείστη καὶ δόξα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσα, μεγάλων ἐπιλαμβανομένη καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἀκροατηρίων ὡς πνεῦμα τὴν πόλιν ἡχῆς ἐνέπλησε, καὶ λόγος κατείχευεν, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν εἰς ἔκπληξιν ὑπερφύης πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρούμενος ἔρωτα δεινὸν ἐμβέβληκε τοῖς νέοις, ὅφ' οὗ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθουσιῶσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. (Plutarch, *Cato* 22. 2–3 Ziegler = Mette T 7a¹)

The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremendous passion into the youth of the city, in consequence of which they forsook their other pleasures and pursuits and were 'possessed' about philosophy.³⁷

He might have been mindful of the fact that many of his pupils would write down his teachings and transmit them for later generations, thereby counterbalancing in a way his choice not to write. Some of these lectures taken by his pupils were even commented on (verbatim) by their master.³⁸ Obviously, Carneades did

³⁶ Col. 22. 35–24. 32. Other lists of pupils in the *Index Academicorum* are less extensive. His popularity is also attested by the fact that the Epicurean philosopher Zeno of Sidon attended his lectures (= Mette T 4b) and that Carneades was the only Academic to ever win an Epicurean over to the Academy, namely Metrodorus of Stratonicea (D.L. 10. 9 Dorandi and Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 24.mid).

³⁷ Plutarch, *Lives*, vol. ii: Themistocles and Camillus, Aristides and Cato Major, Cimon and Lucullus, trans. by B. Perrin (Cambridge, Mass., 1914).

³⁸ '...Zeno of Alexandria, who also wrote out his lectures and died before him—in fact, they say that, while the lecture notes were being read, Carneades refuted him most sharply in front of the others—Zenodorus of Tyre, who was the leader of the school in Alexandria, Hagnon of Tarsus, who also wrote out favourably most of the school lectures and received praise (for it)...' (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 37–23. 6 Dorandi: Ζήνων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | ὁ καὶ σχολὰς ἀναγράφας αὐ[τοῦ] καὶ προσαπλάξας—τ[.] οὐδ' | τον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπομνη[μ]άτων ἀναγνωσκομένων | [ἐλέγξει] φασί] | Καρνε[α]δην || ἐπὶ τῶ[v] ἄλλων ὀξ[ύ]τα|τα—Ζηνόδωρος Τύριος κα[τ]'] | Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡγησά[μενος, | Ἄγων Ταρσεὺς ὁ καὶ εὐνόως | | [ἀν]αγρά[ψ]ας ἐκ τῶν

not reject writing *in itself* or on principle; rather, he seems to have been simply too busy with lecturing on philosophy. Carneades' refusal to write is by no means a unique and unprecedented case in philosophy. Some prominent and obvious philosophers we can compare him with in this regard, already mentioned, are Socrates and Arcesilaus.³⁹ Socrates' motivation for not writing, as can be inferred from Plato, was his disavowal of knowledge, along with his concern for the youth around him. He did not profess anything and his teaching consisted entirely in questioning others' beliefs. Both reasons may also have played a certain role for Carneades. He rejected all dogmatic statements and even seems to have questioned his own scepticism,⁴⁰ which might be an adaption or even evolution of the Socratic 'I know that I know nothing'.⁴¹ His care for students might find a parallel in Socrates' concern for youths, whom he may have thought it best to instruct orally. One could further think of a relation with Plato's criticism of writing in general, which the dialectic genius Carneades may have taken literally.⁴² He may have wished to maintain a flexible approach, as it were, so as to be able to respond adequately and exhaustively to his opponents in live debates and to avoid the kind of misunderstandings or misinterpretations that are likely to occur in the realm of 'dead letters', viz. written books. However, Plato's criticism was hardly the main reason for Carneades' choice not to write, as the second part of the statement implies.⁴³ Moreover, as mentioned above, he commented on some of his pupils' lecture notes. Arcesilaus' motivations for not writing are not explicitly stated

σχ[ο]λῶν | πλείω{ι} καὶ ἐπαινούμενος. Trans. by P. Kalligas and V. Tsouna, 'Appendix (Philodemus' *History of the Philosophers*)', in P. Kalligas, C. Balla, E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, and V. Karasmanis (eds.), *Plato's Academy. Its Workings and its History* (Cambridge, 2020), 272–383 at 347.

³⁹ Pythagoras' refusal to write certainly had a different motivation. He intended to impart his doctrines only to initiated members of his community. Some other philosophers may also have refused to write (e.g. Diogenes of Sinope, though this is not certain).

⁴⁰ Cic. *Acad.* 2. 28–9.

⁴¹ Already Arcesilaus criticized Socrates for this dogmatic statement (*Acad.* 1. 45), cf. C. Brittain, *Cicero: On Academic Sceptics [Academic Sceptics]* (Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2006), xxxvi.

⁴² For this criticism, see esp. Plato *Phdr.* 274 c—278 d and *Ep.* 7, 341 b–342 a.

⁴³ The statement 'everything has already been written' and implies that Carneades must somehow have 'acknowledged' written texts.

anywhere, but may well be rooted in his scepticism and in a certain reading of Plato/Socrates. The superlative $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau[\acute{\alpha}]\tau\omega\nu$, which is not a very natural synonym for pupils, gives Carneades' excuse a particularly warm and charming note, inasmuch as it suggests that he would gladly have skipped some 'post-graduate' or scholarly discussions in order to write books, but would never have let his younger pupils down as they needed to be led on the right Academic philosophical path, that is, opposition to any dogma and especially of the notion that there can be certain knowledge and cognitive impressions. Perhaps Carneades was convinced that students 'hearing' him or others only through the medium of a book could easily be misled, if no living teacher was present to clarify certain statements. Like Carneades' biography as a whole, this first reason he gives for not writing suggests that he was a committed promoter of Academic philosophy and chose to 'live' philosophy rather than merely 'write' it. In a rather Socratic manner, he was seeking to establish personal contact with his contemporaries, where he could fully display and develop his dialectic, while always having the possibility of reacting directly to objections or questions and to explain his point very thoroughly in response to the audience's interjections—something that 'silent and passive' writings would not allow. By hearing Carneades, the students could experience scepticism and the dialectic method as a way of life and thinking. Nevertheless, one doubts whether Carneades' possible critics were satisfied with this first excuse he gave for not writing, given that some of them might have had similarly demanding teaching obligations.

From a philosophical point of view the second reason may be more interesting. Carneades claims that 'everything had already been said by the ancients'—wherefore it did not make much sense to compile further writings. A question arises as to who is meant by the 'ancients' ($\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ [$\acute{\alpha}$] $\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$). Is Carneades referring only to his immediate predecessors in the New Academy, meaning the Academic Sceptics from Arcesilaus onwards, or is he embracing all Academics from Plato onwards? Or is he even (exclusively) referring to (several) Presocratics to whom the New Academics appealed for their scepticism and who in Hellenistic times were often referred to as 'the ancients'?⁴⁴ I am inclined to understand

⁴⁴ On the New Academy's appeal to the Presocratics, see C. Brittain and J. Palmer, 'The New Academy's Appeals to the Presocratics', *Phronesis*, 46 (2001), 38–72.

this statement in the broadest sense, as encompassing all of Academic literature, including both the New Academics and Presocratics to whom they appealed. Carneades' statement that there was 'nothing more to say' demonstrates that he did not regard himself as an innovator of the (Sceptic) Academy, at least not as regards the core argument of Academic scepticism, namely: that it is impossible to attain certain knowledge, since there are no cataleptic impressions. The phenomenal content of any true impression is potentially indiscriminable from that of a false impression.⁴⁵ There is some debate among modern scholars, ignited by certain remarks by Metrodorus and Clitomachus, as to whether this Academic core argument was really *adopted* by Carneades (and others) or only used in dialectical debate (against Stoic opponents), as well as whether the Sceptic Academics held any views at all and should be regarded less as a school than as a group of philosophers arguing against other philosophical schools. At least Metrodorus of Stratonicea claimed (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 26. 8–12) that everybody had misunderstood Carneades and that the philosopher in fact did not believe that all things were inapprehensible (*ἀκατάληπτα*). Clitomachus of Carthage stated that one could never make out what Carneades approved of (Cic. *Acad.* 2. 139). It is reasonable to infer that the lack of written works contributed to the (later) ambiguity as to what Carneades really thought.

Let us first evaluate the statement in the papyrus based on the premise of a 'non-dialectical' reading of the evidence pertaining to Carneades. In any case, Carneades seems to have developed innovative dialectical tools or examples to argue against the dogmatists, but he did not establish any dogmas and never doubted the core argument of Academic scepticism. As a scholarch he continued questioning the possibility of apprehension (*κατάληψις*) and only used refined arguments to defend what had 'already been said by the ancients' (his predecessors) concerning the core sceptical argument. So, according to his statement, taken at face value, he only imparted to his pupils already established Academic-sceptical arguments—certainly with new methods or innovative aspects—which had

I would like to thank David Sedley for comments and suggestions on the term *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* in this passage.

⁴⁵ For this core argument of the Academic Sceptics, see Brittain, *Academic Sceptics*, xxii.

already been written down or at least sketched out in books by former philosophers.⁴⁶ At best he offered an (oral) refinement or explanation of his predecessors, by proposing that there was no longer anything of substance to add to the core sceptical argument. This view that all had already been said by former (Academic) philosophers, and that the core epistemological argument of Academic philosophy (scepticism) could not (and maybe should not) be developed further, except as far as basically secondary details are concerned, shows a certain conservatism or modesty, which may have been counterbalanced, as it were, by Carneades' sagacious and innovative way of arguing against the dogmatists or in support of the core sceptical argument. Brittain calls Carneades' position (Clitomachus' interpretation of him) 'radical scepticism';⁴⁷ ultimately, its core or basis had not been altered since Arcesilaus. Some of Carneades' pupils or successors interpreted (or misinterpreted) him differently and believed they could identify certain innovations in his views or even statements affecting the core message of scepticism/of his/the philosophy.⁴⁸ However, the passage in the papyrus suggests that Carneades believed that the core of his philosophical activities coincided with the core approach of his philosophical predecessors—the ἀρχαῖοι (a term not restricted to Academic Sceptics, but probably including them).⁴⁹ Such modest and humble conduct is not really astonishing, since all Academics regarded themselves as just following in the tradition of earlier Academics, rather than as innovators, even when they pursued a completely new direction. However, no one seems to have phrased this point as radically as Carneades: 'everything had already been said by the ancients' (πάντ' εἰρησθαι τοῖς [ἀ]ρχαίοις). Consequently, why write any new books? By εἰρησθαι ('said') in this context he

⁴⁶ The divergent interpretation of his views among his students does not speak against this understanding.

⁴⁷ Brittain, *Academic Sceptics*, xxv–xxvii.

⁴⁸ Brittain, *Academic Sceptics*, xxviii–xxx1.

⁴⁹ There is some evidence that Lacydes wrote some philosophical works (cf. Görler, 'Karneades', 833). Several of the many pupils of his mentioned in the *Index Academicorum* may have written treatises as well. A certain Apollonius, a pupil of 'Telecles', who in turn was a pupil of Lacydes', wrote lecture notes, but he was hardly much older than Carneades. Other lecture notes on Telecles or Evander may have been provided by a certain Socrates (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. O. 32 ff.; col. N. 20 ff.). There is no hint that all Academics between Arcesilaus and Carneades refused to write.

clearly means written in books, though contributions from oral tradition need not be excluded either.

An alternative interpretation of Carneades' statement is conceivable, especially if we assume a 'dialectical reading': he may have thought that all possible positions had already been held by philosophers and that the only task left was to investigate them and decide between conflicting ones. Sextus Empiricus explains the meaning of *skeptikos* on this basis and argues that true sceptics do not make any assumptions or take theoretical positions.⁵⁰ On a 'dialectical reading', Carneades may not have needed to write anything, because he did not hold any view of his own. If someone really wished to learn more about certain doctrines, he could consult the works of the (ancient) dogmatists, who had already exhaustively (*πάντ*) covered the entire field. However, the first reason, 'time for pupils', gives the statement an 'Academic' perspective and might imply the second reason: 'everything has already been said by the ancients that I [*sc.* Carneades] would say for scepticism'. Provided that the statement simply refers to earlier literature in favour of Carneades' arguments—not necessarily written by Academics—as I think is more likely, Carneades' avoidance of writing might even reflect a certain frustration or protest. Everything of relevance had already been said against the dogmatists in books. Why could people not accept the superior core sceptical argument(s)? Carneades may have seen oral interaction as fundamental to his philosophical mission, namely to propagate, defend and explain these (core) sceptical arguments to his pupils or philosophical opponents, who were always ready to respond or push back in oral conversation.

Did Carneades really mean what he said? Was there really nothing more to say? Indeed, Carneades seems to have argued for the Academic position with the help of dialectic—assuming, of course, that he had a 'position' at all and that his arguments were not purely dialectical. What modern scholars believe to be the Carneadean contribution to Academic philosophy was not regarded by Carneades himself as a (substantially) new contribution. Unless the statement in the papyrus was merely a convenient excuse or stubborn response to his critics, I assume that it more or less reflected Carneades' honest opinion that everything had already

⁵⁰ Sext. Emp. *PH* 1. 7.

been said. With Carneades Academic scepticism reached its peak: he refined and invented arguments and examples for the rejection of dogmatist ideas and especially of the Stoic concept of apprehension to such a degree that he thought that not much more could be added—if not by mitigating or questioning the core argument. It is hardly a surprise that the view that the ancients had already said everything (of substance) was challenged some time after Carneades by a younger generation of Academic Sceptics, most notably by Philo. Ironically, the ‘ambiguity’ of some of Carneades’ views—or, better, statements—may have promoted this development, an ambiguity which was largely due to his avoidance of writing.

6. Carneades’ pupils and his persistent argument with Chrysippus (col. 22. 7–11)

The information that Carneades’ pupils recorded his lectures in writing is confirmed by two references in the list of pupils in the papyrus, as well as by Diogenes Laertius.⁵¹ The possibility that this phrase and the following one may still be part of Carneades’ excuse cannot entirely be ruled out,⁵² but the change of syntax and the history of corrections to the papyrus may not favour this assumption. The double nominalization of the infinitives (*accusativus cum infinitivo*) with *τό* in lines 2–7 hints at Philodemian phrasing, since Philodemus applies this kind of nominalization rather often in this works. The corrections in lines 8–11 could be due to the fact that at a first stage a more faithful excerpt of the original source had been made.

Carneades’ continuous argument with Chrysippus (*διατελείν | δὲ καὶ Χρ[υ]σίππ[ω] | πρ[ο]σμαχό[μ]ενον**) is also mentioned by Philodemus.⁵³ A more lively and elaborate version of this is found

⁵¹ Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 38–23. 7 (= Mette 3b); D. L. 4. 65 (= Mette T 1a): ‘The rest of the writings [ascribed] to him his students wrote; but he himself left nothing’ (*τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ συνέγραψαν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλιπεν οὐδέν*, trans. by P. Mensch, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. by J. Miller (Oxford, 2018)).

⁵² David Sedley suggested this possibility to me.

⁵³ The verb does not occur elsewhere in Philodemus, but the traces in the papyrus may support it against *διαμάχεσθαι*, which is slightly more to be expected here.

at the beginning of Diogenes Laertius' life of Carneades: 'After carefully studying the writing of the Stoics <particularly those of> Chrysippus, he challenged them reasonably and with such success that he would often say, "Had Chrysippus not existed, I would not have existed."⁵⁴ Needless to say, Carneades argued with Chrysippus 'post mortem'—the Stoic had died when Carneades was still a boy. If nothing else, the papyrus proves that the criticism of Chrysippus' works is not a later (imperial) anecdote, but was already known to Philodemus. There should be no doubt about its historical accuracy.

7. The Stoic Diogenes' puns with Carneades about philosophical terms (col. 22. 11–17)

The next lines preserve a particularly appealing *bon mot* with a philosophical background: a pun about the epistemological and physical dispute between Academics and Stoics. The Stoic Diogenes addresses Carneades with a quip and the Academic might have reacted with equal wit to it. Carneades owed a good deal of his dialectic method and expertise to Diogenes. This emerges from a passage in Cicero's *Lucullus*: 'On occasions like this Carneades used to joke: "If my conclusion is valid, I stick to it; but if it's invalid, Diogenes should pay me back my mina." (He had learned dialectic from Diogenes the Stoic, you see, and this was the fee charged by the dialecticians).⁵⁵

The Stoic scholarch Diogenes of Babylon was about twenty years older than Carneades. We know no more about Carneades' learning dialectic under Diogenes or his relationship with him than what the passage of Cicero above provides. It is a reasonable guess that Carneades arrived in Athens to pursue advanced Academic

⁵⁴ D. L. 4. 62 (= Mette T 1a), trans. Miller: *οδτος τὰ τῶν Στωϊκῶν βιβλία ἀναγνοὺς ἐπιμελῶς <καὶ μάλιστα> τὰ Χρυσίππου, ἐπεικῶς αὐτοῖς ἀντέλεγε καὶ εὐήμερι τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἐκείνο ἐπιλέγειν 'εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρυσίππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ'.* For Carneades' use of Chrysippus, see also D.L. 10. 26 (= Mette T 1a); Val. Max. 8. 7 ext. 5 (= Mette T 1c²); Cic. *Acad.* 2. 87 (= Mette F 5).

⁵⁵ Cic. *Acad.* 2. 98 (= Mette F 5) = *SVF* iii. 13, p. 212: *cum aliquid huius modi inciderat, sic ludere Carneades solebat: 'si recte conclusi, teneo; sin vitiose, minam Diogenes reddet'. ab eo enim Stoico dialecticam didicerat; haec autem merces erat dialecticorum* (trans. Brittain, *Academic Sceptics*).

studies in his early twenties,⁵⁶ and for a few years at first attended exclusively Academic lectures. Hence Carneades (born 214/13 BCE or a bit later) might have heard Diogenes sometime between 185 and 180 (or a bit earlier) when Diogenes had just succeeded Zeno of Tarsus as scholarch.⁵⁷ Apart from this tutelage, the only known relation or interaction between Carneades and Diogenes is their joint participation in the Athenian embassy to Rome.⁵⁸

We learn from the newly restored lines that Carneades was told by Diogenes not to ‘come’ to him (ἐ[ἰ]ς α]ὐτὸν εἰσελθ[εῖν]), but to ‘meet’ him (κατα[λα]βεῖν) or to ‘blend’ (himself) ([κε]ράνν[υσθαι]) with him.⁵⁹ A reader not familiar with technical terms in Hellenistic philosophy might be surprised about the ἀλλά in this context and wonder what the difference between the approximately synonymous words might be. Obviously, the pun is about the Academic–Stoic epistemological controversy over whether things can be apprehended (καταλαβεῖν) or not, i.e. whether there is an apprehension (κατάληψις) or whether all things are inapprehensible (ἀκατάληπτα). The Academic Sceptics—not least Carneades, who used dialectic to argue for epistemological scepticism—would never concede that something could be apprehended, i.e. that there could be a true cognitive impression without a false impression indistinguishable from it.⁶⁰ The pun is based on the double meaning of καταλαβεῖν, on the one hand a synonym (to some extent) for εἰσελθ[εῖν] (‘coming

⁵⁶ Non-Athenians normally arrived in Athens in their early or mid-twenties to pursue their (Academic) studies. On the age at arrival of second-century foreigners studying in Athens, see K. Fleischer, ‘Dating Philodemus’ Birth and Early Studies’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 55 (2018), 119–27 at 125. Clitomachus was aged twenty-four, Charmadas twenty-two, Philo about twenty-four (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 25. 4–5; 31. 37–8; 33. 6–7).

⁵⁷ The beginning of Diogenes’ scholarchate is unknown. Between Chrysippus (who died in 208/04) and Diogenes (who died before 151) there was just one other scholarch, Zeno of Tarsus, of whom we know almost nothing. It is quite possible that Diogenes was already scholarch as early as 185 BCE, when he was in his late forties. Alternatively Carneades might have been his pupil in later years.

⁵⁸ See = Mette T 7a–k and = *SVF* iii. 7–10, p. 210–11.

⁵⁹ There is clearly a correction at the end of line 11. Perhaps the entire final part was erased or ὑπό had already been written in this line. A possible τοῦ could imply that Diogenes was already mentioned earlier in connection with Carneades, maybe as his teacher.

⁶⁰ Only the Academic Metrodorus of Stratonicea claimed that everybody had misinterpreted Carneades, insofar as he did not in fact really believe that all things were inapprehensible (see main text above). However, all other surviving evidence suggests that Carneades was an ‘orthodox’ sceptic, meaning, on a non-dialectical reading, that he denied the possibility of any knowledge (apprehension). cf.

to someone') and on the other hand a philosophical-epistemological term from the lively debate between (Sceptic) Academics and Stoics. In order for Carneades to convert to Stoicism, he needed to concede that something can be apprehended. Diogenes invited Carneades to join him (and the Stoa) by alluding to the most debated epistemological question of their time, namely apprehension. Carneades' acknowledgement that something can be apprehended (*καταλαβείν*) would be the precondition to switch alliance over to the Stoa, and to 'meet' Diogenes.

The pun seems to have been extended or modified by the alternative [*κε*]ράνν[υσθαι in place of *καταλαβείν*. The verb seems to refer to Stoic physical theory, namely the theory of the blending (mixture) of elements. The Stoics distinguished three kinds of mixtures.⁶¹ In a Stoic context, the word *κρᾶσις* normally describes one of the three types of mixture (blending), possibly the most controversial and paradoxical kind of mixture, which coincides with the presence of different materials in the same place: (some) material bodies 'permeate one another through and through'.⁶² The noun *κρᾶσις* and the verb *κεράννυσθαι* occur in several Stoic fragments on the subject, in particular in a Plutarch passage.⁶³ Hence, the verb seems to be a kind of *terminus technicus* of Stoic physical theory. If this alternative of the pun is thought to be consistent, the verb should also be a possible synonym for (*εἰς αὐτὸν*) *εἰσελθεῖν*. The verb *κεράννυσθαι* could mean here something like 'blend with' (Diogenes or the Stoa) or 'mix oneself with the Stoa' (i.e. become a member). Although LSJ do not report this special meaning, the lexical range of the verb could easily encompass it. I will only refer here to the middle form of the compound *συγκεράννυσθαι* for which LSJ gives, among other meanings, 'to be closely attached to; to be close friends with; to become closely acquainted with'. The verb *κεράννυσθαι* might not be the most natural synonym for (*εἰς αὐτὸν*) *εἰσελθεῖν*, but

Schofield, 'Epistemology', 334–5 and Section 6 ('Carneades on the impossibility of knowledge').

⁶¹ D. Sedley, 'Hellenistic Physics and Metaphysics' ['Hellenistic Physics'], in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), 355–411 at 390–4.

⁶² D.L. 7. 151.

⁶³ Plut. *Comm. not.* 1077 E–1078 E Bernardakis. On the Stoic 'continuum' and the concept of mixtures in general, see Sedley, 'Hellenistic Physics'. For testimony, see *SVF* ii. 463–91.

it is suitable enough for creating a pun. Probably the pun works better with *καταλαβείν* which parallels (*εἰς αὐτόν*) *εἰσελθεῖν* more closely. Since the Stoic term (*κεράννυσθαι*) also more or less corresponds to (*εἰς αὐτόν*) *εἰσελθεῖν*, it was of course attractive to extend or alternate the pun which also ensured that no one would miss the joke. If not a mere pun on terminology, this second alternative could be interpreted to the effect that Carneades explicitly and sharply criticized this Stoic concept, following the tradition of Arcesilaus, who had attacked or even ridiculed Chrysippus for holding this view.⁶⁴

Now, the paragraphus and the remaining letters in the papyrus may suggest that lines 15–17 transmit a shrewd and witty response by Carneades. Unfortunately, there are too many variables and *caveats* for a complete restoration. In particular the participle *πυθόμεν[ο]ς* is ambiguous ('learned' or 'inquired'). These uncertainties notwithstanding, the sentence does not seem to end after *εἶπεν*⁶⁵ and, for instance, the restoration *εἰς ἑκ[ά]τ[ε]ρον εἶπεν* is quite plausible. If rightly restored, the expression would refer to the Academic dialectical-methodological concept of *εἰς ἑκάτερον λέγειν*, 'speaking on both sides' (*in utramque partem disserere*),⁶⁶ which Carneades masterfully and skilfully applied in his lectures and discussions. To be sure, the fragmentary state of the passage does not completely rule out an independent statement about Carneades no longer related to the anecdote about Diogenes, but what remains may hint at Carneades' funny and sharp-minded backlash, maybe equally making use of a philosophical *terminus technicus*.⁶⁷ Carneades might have asked Diogenes whether he 'had also argued for each point (both sides)' as the Academics were doing. In this case Diogenes' original wording must have been 'Do not come to me, but meet (apprehend) me'. Perhaps lines 11–14 imply this kind of underlying quotation, but a different underlying quotation remains possible and the phrase *εἰς ἑκάτερον λέγειν* might have been embedded differently in the response. In any case the

⁶⁴ Plut. *Comm. not.* 1078C–D. For Carneades' possible dealing with the concept, see R. Todd, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics* (Leiden, 1976), 73 n. 200 (with reference to Sext. Emp. *PH* 3. 56–62).

⁶⁵ The paragraphus strongly suggests a spatium between *εἶπεν* and *ο*, as if the passage ended with *εἶπεν*. Yet there is no spatium.

⁶⁶ See for instance his two diverging speeches on his embassy to Rome (155 BCE). For *εἰς ἑκάτερον λέγειν* cf. Euseb. *PE* 14. 7.15 Mras (= Mette T 2).

⁶⁷ In particular, the possibility of a response was suggested by David Sedley, whose suggestion I am inclined to share.

odds that Carneades reacted to Diogenes' word play with another one are quite good. Moreover, the answer might also be somehow connected to Diogenes' dialectical skills and method, in which case Carneades would have linked the Academic concept with Diogenes' method and perhaps had his instruction under the Stoic master in mind. Yet the fragmentary state of the papyrus should prevent us from embracing too far-reaching or daring conclusions. I have decided to err on the side of caution and to put [. εἰς ἔκ]α[τ]ερον only in the apparatus.

The restoration of the participle μ[ε]τὰ[γ]οντ[ο]s was made possible by moving a sottoposto to the right place. Taken literally, the verb means that Diogenes tried to win Carneades over to the Stoa. However, it is doubtful whether Diogenes ever made any serious attempt to entice Carneades and get him to join the Stoa. The participle is just somehow needed to frame or introduce the anecdote and does not necessarily imply that Diogenes really expected Carneades to convert to Stoicism.

Concerning the historical truth of this anecdote, some short remarks are in order. Philodemus seems sceptical about the credibility of this anecdote and regards it more as a kind of legend or myth, almost too good to be true ([μ]υθολογεῖ[ται]). The verb seems to have been consciously inserted by Philodemus to express concern about the trustworthiness of the statement(s). Indeed, these lines have an undeniable anecdotal quality, but I would not exclude the possibility that these two masters of dialectic who knew how to debate wittily and ingeniously really had an exchange of this kind. Their pupils may have recalled this entertaining conversation as an episode highly revealing of the two philosophers' standpoints and sharpness—either that or, as is certainly possible, they simply came up with the story. If it ever took place, the episode may have occurred either when Carneades was still a pupil of Diogenes (in the 180s) or when he was already in charge of the Academy and perhaps prominent enough to be addressed by Diogenes with such a witty remark.

The passage attests an interaction between Diogenes of Babylon and Carneades which may have endured after Carneades being instructed in dialectic by the Stoic. More generally, the pun reflects the Academic-Stoic controversy and polarization concerning epistemology, physics, and method in the first half and middle of the second century BCE. It was only the generation after Clitomachus, in particular Antiochus of Ascalon, who redefined the Academic

attitude towards Stoic epistemology. What is most interesting, perhaps, is the occurrence of the word *κεράννυσθαι* as an alternative. So far, this verb, while basically an ordinary word, was used by the Stoics as a *terminus technicus*. Its occurrence in the episode shows that in the mid-second century BCE or a bit later (when the anecdote was invented) even the verb could immediately be recognized as a typical Stoic term with which educated readers would have been familiar. This is by no means a trivial implication. The *κρᾶσις*-theory was mainly developed by Chrysippus, and this part of Stoic physics must still have been very popular, viz. heavily debated and attacked by philosophical opponents, in the generations after Chrysippus. We are still able to spot this debate in several much later testimonies.⁶⁸ The occurrence of the verb in the anecdote shows that the discussion about this physical concept must have been still ongoing in the days of Diogenes and Carneades so that the verb *κεράννυσθαι*, perhaps not even a Stoic *terminus technicus* in the strictest sense, could be integrated within such a pun, as everybody would immediately understand what it alluded to.

8. Philodemus' source(s) for Carneades' biography

Finally, I wish to touch upon the question of Philodemus' sources for this passage on Carneades. It is rather unlikely that Philodemus found all this information, and in particular the somewhat extended anecdote, in Apollodorus' *Chronica*. Carneades' biography might have begun in col. T on the verso of the papyrus and ended with the embassy to Rome (col. 22. 37—see above). The source that Philodemus uses in col. 22 may have drawn upon Apollodorus for some facts, but must have had access to additional information. Carneades' death was probably not reported in col. 22. 17–32, but only after the list of pupils.⁶⁹ Interestingly, the third book of Apollodorus' *Chronica* ends at around 144 BCE and probably already contained some information about Carneades, but his death was first dealt with in the fourth book (a supplement, published later).⁷⁰ Perhaps this fact has some relation to the structure

⁶⁸ Cf. *SVF* ii. 463–81.

⁶⁹ Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 24 end + 25 end.

⁷⁰ Cf. F. Jacoby, *Apollodoros Chronik* (Berlin, 1902), 10–19 and K. Fleischer, *The Original Verses of Apollodorus' Chronica* [*Original Verses*], Berlin, 2020, 32–3.

of Philodemus' passage on Carneades. The *Index Academicorum* was probably written around 60 BCE. Philodemus could have used one or more sources dating from 150–60 BCE for Carneades' biography (some might even have been written when Carneades was still alive or shortly after his death).⁷¹ The paragraphus in col. 22. 17 after the anecdote does not necessarily indicate a change of sources. It is difficult to tell who Philodemus' source(s) was (were). The exact report of the reduction of the Athenian fine that he shares with Pausanias (see Section 3) is of little help. Even the provenance of the source or sources (Academic, Stoic, Epicurean, or 'neutral') is hardly identifiable. There was plenty of Academic and other Hellenistic philosophical literature in the second and first centuries BCE. The Epicurean scholar Apollodorus Kepotyranus (app. 150–110) alone is said to have written about 400 books—one preserved title reads *Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἱρέσεων*.⁷² He might be a candidate, but if the extended list of pupils (col. 22. 37–col. 24.mid) and biography of Carneades stem from the same source, an 'Academic insider' might be a more likely candidate. Also the knowledge about Carneades' exact reasons for not writing may hint at someone from the Academy (maybe even Clitomachus), but this is all speculative. To shed some light on the possible source(s) of col. 22 one has to take into consideration the whole structure of the draft-version PHerc. 1021 and Philodemus' sources for other books of his *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*. For instance, one must inquire whether col. 33 (Philo) can, at least partly, be traced back to the same source. The complex problem of the sources in this papyrus is closely connected with several still unsolved questions. Further and thorough 'Quellenforschung' is needed (and will be conducted for my new edition of Philodemus' *Index Academicorum*).

9. Conclusion—New evidence on Carneades (Philod. *Index Acad.* col. 22. 1–17)

To sum up, in this contribution I have shown that about fifteen new lines in Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* (col. 22. 3–17) could

⁷¹ It seems that the second part of col. 28, a faithfully excerpted passage from Apollodorus, was devoted to Carneades; cf. K. Fleischer, *Original Verses*, 36–9.

⁷² D.L. 1. 60; cf. M. Erler, '§ 22. Weitere Epikureer', in H. Flashar (ed.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd 4. 1 (Basel, 1994), 280–1.

be restored which had been practically absent so far. The progress made with the text was based on new imaging techniques, the placement of a detached fragment and of misplaced layers, a new editorial system that systematically integrates the *disegni* (drawings) and some patient philological piecing together of fragments and supplementation of lacunae. From a papyrological perspective, the overall reconstruction of the text is not really a daring one. We learn from the passage that Carneades put forward two reasons or excuses for not writing anything: on the one hand, he felt obliged to teach his young students properly, which was time-consuming; on the other hand, he believed that everything had already been said by the ancients. The term ‘ancients’ seems to refer in particular to Academic sceptics, but also to other Academics including other Presocratic philosophers. Consequently, Carneades regarded himself primarily as a teacher, promoter, and defender of Academic scepticism, not as innovator or progressive exegete. Philodemus continues his report by stating that Carneades’ students wrote down his lectures, before briefly mentioning Carneades’ constant arguing with Chrysippus. These facts were already known from other sources. Finally, a hitherto completely unknown pun or anecdote occurs in the papyrus. The Stoic scholar Diogenes of Babylon, who taught Carneades dialectic, is said to have tried to seduce him (to the Stoa) by telling the Academic not just to come to him, but to apprehend (meet) him or to blend with him. Diogenes is playing on the double meaning of *καταλαβεῖν* and *κεράννυσθαι*, which are also lively debated (Stoic) *termini technici* in the field of epistemology and physics. Possibly Carneades replied with a double-meaning reference to dialectic (*εἰς ἑκάτερον λέγειν*), but this is not certain. The pun(s), by no means poor ones, take up the debate between the two philosophical schools and prove the popularity of some crucial terms or concepts in the second century BCE. Regardless of the question of whether the conversation ever took place or whether it is only a later anecdotic invention, the episode may imply an interaction between Diogenes and Carneades that lasted longer than Carneades’ instruction under the Stoic or their common participation in the embassy. The philosophically inspired pun almost certainly has literary value. The lines following the anecdote (col. 22. 17–37) are at least partly, perhaps completely, devoted to Carneades’ participation in the Athenian embassy to Rome (155 BCE). Philodemus’ source(s) for the passage must remain obscure at present.

The restoration of so many lines in the papyrus ‘out of nothing’ is only one example of what can be expected from new editions of already published Herculanean papyri, in particular from a new edition of the *Index Academicorum*, and that is to say: intriguing new information about the history of Hellenistic philosophy and its most prominent figures.⁷³

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, J., ‘Academic Probabilism and Stoic Epistemology’, *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 44 (1994), 85–113.
- Brittain, C., *Cicero: On Academic Sceptics* [*Academic Sceptics*] (Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2006).
- Brittain, C. and Palmer, J., ‘The New Academy’s Appeals to the Presocratics’, *Phronesis*, 46 (2001), 38–72.
- Bücheler, F., *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculaneensis* (Greifswald, 1869).
- Crönert, W., ‘Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum’, *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 357–405.
- Del Mastro, G., ‘Altri frammenti dal PHerc. 1691: *Historia Academicorum* e di III’, *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 42 (2012), 277–92.
- Dorandi, T., ‘Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 87 (1991), 11–33.
- Dorandi, T., *Filodemo. Storia dei filosofi. Platone e l’Academia* (PHerc. 1021 e 164). Edizione, traduzione e commento [*Index Academicorum*] (Naples, 1991).
- Dorandi, T., *Nell’officina dei classici. Come lavoravano gli autori antichi* (Rome, 2007).
- Dorandi, T. and Queyrel, F., ‘Carnéade de Cyrène’, in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (Paris, 1994), ii. 224–7.
- Erler, M., ‘§ 22. Weitere Epikureer’, in H. Flashar (ed.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd 4.1 (Basel, 1994), 280–1.
- Fleischer, K., ‘The Academic Philosopher Charmadas of Alexandria: Uncovering His Origins’, *Quaderni del Museo del Papiro*, 16 (2019), 153–64.

⁷³ I would like to express my gratitude to David Sedley and Holger Essler for several valuable suggestions. Furthermore, the two anonymous reviewers for *OSAP* as well as the editor Victor Caston deserve credit for their thorough comments and suggestions. This contribution was written during the course of the EU-funded Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 703798—AcadHist and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded project ‘Philodems *Geschichte der Akademie*’.

- Fleischer, K., 'Der Akademiker Charmadas in Apollodors *Chronik* (PHerc. 1021, Kol. 31–2)' ['Charmadas'], *Cronache Ercolanesi*, 44 (2014), 65–75.
- Fleischer, K., 'Dating Philodemus' Birth and Early Studies', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 55 (2018), 119–27.
- Fleischer, K., 'Die Lokalisierung der Verso-Kolumnen von PHerc. 1021 (Philodem, *Index Academicorum*)' ['Verso-Kolumnen'], *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 204 (2017), 27–39.
- Fleischer, K., 'Melanthios von Rhodos in Apollodors *Chronik* (PHerc. 1021, XXXI)', *Philologus*, 162/1 (2018), 15–24.
- Fleischer, K., *The Original Verses of Apollodorus' Chronica* [*Original Verses*], Berlin, 2020.
- Fleischer, K., 'Zur Abstammung der akademischen Philosophen Melanthios von Rhodos und Metrodor von Stratonikeia (PHerc. 1021, Kol. 23,10–20)', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 65/1 (2019), 124–32.
- Görler, W., 'Karneades' ['Karneades'], in H. Flashar (ed.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* Bd 4.2 (Basel, 1994), 849–97.
- Jacoby, F., *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin, 1902).
- Jones, W. H. S., Ormerod, H. A., and Wycherley, R. E., *Pausanias: Description of Greece with an English Translation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918).
- Kalligas, P. and Tsouna, V., 'Appendix (Philodemus' *History of the Philosophers*)', in P. Kalligas, C. Balla, E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, and V. Karasmanis (eds.), *Plato's Academy: Its Workings and its History* (Cambridge, 2020), 272–383.
- Mekler, S., *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculaniensis* [*Index Academicorum*] (Berlin, 1902).
- Mette, H.-J., 'Weitere Akademiker heute: Von Lakydes bis zu Kleitomachos' ['Karneades'], *Lustrum*, 27 (1985), 39–148.
- Mensch, P. (trans.), *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. by J. Miller (Oxford, 2018).
- Neuhausen, K. A., 'De Carneadis aliquot adhuc incognitis fontibus', *Acta Classica universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis*, 38/39 (2003/2004), 289–302.
- Perrin, B. (trans.), Plutarch, *Lives*, vol. 2: Themistocles and Camillus, Aristides and Cato Major, Cimon and Lucullus (Cambridge, Mass., 1914).
- Powell, G., 'The Embassy of the Three Philosophers to Rome in 155 BC' ['Embassy'], in C. Kremmydas and K. Tempest (eds.), *Hellenistic Oratory: Change and Continuity* (Oxford, 2013), 219–47.
- Schofield, M., 'Academic Epistemology' ['Epistemology'], in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), 323–51.

- Sedley, D., 'Hellenistic Physics and Metaphysics' ['Hellenistic Physics'], in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2005), 355–411.
- Striker, G., 'Über den Unterschied zwischen den Pyrrhoneern und den Akademikern', *Phronesis*, 26 (1981), 153–71.
- Todd, R., *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics* (Leiden, 1976).
- Tournié, A., Fleischer, K., Bukreeva, I., Palermo, F., Perino, M., Cedola, A., Andraud, C. and Ranocchia, G., 'Ancient Greek Text Concealed on the Back of Unrolled Papyrus Revealed through Shortwave-Infrared Hyperspectral Imaging', *Science Advances*, 5/10 (2019), <https://advances.sciencemag.org/content/5/10/eaav8936>.
- Vezzoli, S., *Arcesilao di Pitane: L'origine del Platonismo neoaccademico. Analisi e fonti* (Turnhout, 2016).