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CARNEADES: THE ONE AND ONLY

KILIAN FLEISCHER
*University of Würzburg**

Abstract: The Academic scholarch Carneades of Cyrene withdrew from active lecturing several years before his death. He handed the Academy over – either formally or informally – to a successor, who remained in charge for six years (137/6–131/0 BC) and passed away in Carneades' own lifetime. Philodemus reports this episode three times in the *Index Academicorum*. Since 1869 scholars have never questioned the notion that Carneades' lifetime-successor was a namesake: Carneades, son of Polemarchus (also called Carneades the younger). Now, new readings of several lines in all three passages reveal that the name of Carneades' successor was actually Polemarchus of Nicomedia – a man skilled in dialectical methods. There never was a second Academic named Carneades.

Keywords: Carneades of Cyrene, Carneades (son of Polemarchus), Polemarchus of Nicomedia, Philodemus, *Index Academicorum*

I. Brief introduction to Philodemus' *History of the Academy* (*Index Academicorum*)

The so-called *Index Academicorum* comprising the history of the Academy from Plato until Antiochus' Old Academy is commonly deemed to represent a book of Philodemus' *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*, a work about the history of philosophy in at least ten books.[1] The *Index Academicorum* has come down to us in two papyrus scrolls from Herculaneum. Whereas *P.Herc.* 164 preserves some very scanty remains of the final version, the other scroll, *P.Herc.* 1021 (and *P.Herc.* 1691),[2] represents a preliminary draft and Philodemus' actual working manuscript. There are several marginal notes, additions above and below the columns intended to be inserted in the final version, authorial and transposition signs, doublets, word-by-word excerpts – like the one from Apollodorus' *Chronica* – and corresponding prose paraphrases. Furthermore, several columns were written on the back of the papyrus (opisthograph) and were intended to supplement or replace the text in the final version.[3] The value of the *Index Academicorum* (this means basically *P.Herc.* 1021) for philosophical-historical research can hardly be overestimated, since it contains much otherwise lost information about the Academy and its most prominent figures, in particular about Academic sceptics of the second century BC.

II. The two Carneades(es)

Carneades of Cyrene (*ca.* 214/13–129/8 BC) might be regarded as the most illustrious and renowned of the Academic sceptics.[4] He drew many pupils from all over the Hellenistic world and the Academy flourished under his scholarchate in what is perhaps an unparalleled way.[5] Ancient

* kilian.fleischer@uni-wuerzburg.de. This contribution was written during the course of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded project 'Philodems *Geschichte der Akademie*'.

[1] The last comprehensive edition of the *Index* (or *Historia) Academicorum* is Dorandi (1991). Earlier editions: Bücheler (1869); Mekler (1902). On the structure of the *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*, see Fleischer (forthcoming a).

[2] See Del Mastro (2012). The remains of a few columns nowadays assigned to *P.Herc.* 1691 stem from the same hand as *P.Herc.* 1021. Their content reveals that they belong to the same scroll as *P.Herc.* 1021.

[3] On the columns on the verso and other peculiarities of the papyrus, see Fleischer (2017).

[4] On Carneades, see Görler (1994) 849–97; Dorandi and Queyrel (1994); Dorandi (1999) 33. Collection of fragments by Mette (1985).

[5] 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 Stratonikea and Antipater of Alexandria. Together with several dozen other pupils, they are listed with some

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authors usually mention Clitomachus of Carthage as his successor, as he took over the school when Carneades died in 129/8 BC. However, Carneades seems to have withdrawn from active lecturing several years earlier, in 137/6 BC, when he was already advanced in years and probably suffering from poor health. Apparently, whether formally or informally, he handed the leadership of the Academy over to two Academic philosophers who died after leading the Academy for only a few years. We would know nothing about Carneades' withdrawal and the leadership of these successors – not even their names – had Philodemus not recorded this information three times(!) in the *Index Academicorum (P.Herc.* 1021).[6] Although each passage is fragmentary, it becomes clear that Carneades' first successor remained in charge of the Academy for six years before dying under the archon Epicles (131/0 BC). He was in turn succeeded by Crates of Tarsus, who himself led the Academy for only two years until Carneades' death,[7] when Clitomachus became scholarch under the archon Lyciscus (129/8 BC).

Remarkably, Carneades' first successor, who headed the Academy from 137/6 until 131/0 BC (or at least permanently deputized for Carneades) seems to have been a namesake: Carneades (son of a Polemarchus). The evidence from the papyrus seems to be compelling; the editor princeps, F. Bücheler (1869), was the first to identify this second Carneades.[8] Since then, scholars have never doubted the existence of this second Carneades, son of Polemarchus, and have often referred to him as 'Carneades the younger'.[9] Since Carneades is quite a rare name, there has even been some well-justified speculation that he was a relative of Carneades 'the elder'.[10] This younger Carneades has made it into several lexica (for example, *RE*, *DNP*, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*) as the only other person named Carneades to enjoy such a degree of prominence. To be sure, almost everyone associates Carneades with 'Carneades the elder', but sometimes there is need to point out which Carneades is meant, whether the Academic scholarch from Cyrene or the contemporary (deputy) scholarch, son of Polemarchus.

III. Two Carneades(es) in three passages of the *Index Academicorum* (Dorandi 1991)

The three passages in Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* dealing with the the two philosophers who succeeded Carneades in the latter's own lifetime are presented on the following page. These are taken from the most recent edition (Dorandi 1991) and are accompanied by my own English translation and apparatus slightly modified for the purposes of this study.

Dorandi follows Mekler (1902) closely, only rejecting the boldest conjectures. Given that we are dealing with a draft version (see section I), it is not too surprising that the episode of Carneades' withdrawal occurs three times in the *Index Academicorum.* It is very probable that passage 1 (cols 24.25–25.2) depends directly on passage 3 (cols 29.25–30.12), a faithfully copied excerpt from Apollodorus' *Chronica*, a work that was composed in iambic trimeters. The verses of passage 3 seem to have been transferred into prose in passage 1. Philodemus himself might be the author of this prose version. Column 25 begins with the biography of Clitomachus, which includes a list of his pupils, as new readings – not to be discussed here – have revealed. The source Philodemus

additional information in Phld. *Ind. Acad.* cols 22–24, 29–32. For various new information (new readings) on many of these philosophers, see Fleischer (2014); (2018); (2019); (forthcoming b).

[6] For these passages, see section III.

[7] Cols 24.30, 30.7; for an attempt to harmonize the 'four years' of col. 25.4 with the other passages, see Dorandi (1991) 73–74. In this article I do not dwell on the question of the exact duration of Crates' scholarchate and the date of his death, since that depends on readings and interpretations of other aspects of the texts that deserve a separate, closer discussion.

[8] Bücheler (1869) 15–16, 18 notes *ad loc*.

[9] On Carneades 'the younger', son of Polemarchus, see in particular von Arnim (1919) 1985; Dorandi (1994) 227; Görler (1994) 898–99; Stanzel (1999) 288. Testimonies in Mette (1985) 142.

[10] According to the *LGPN*, the name is mainly attested in Cyrenaica (Fraser and Matthews (1987)). Consequently, Carneades, son of Polemarchus, was supposed to be a relative of Carneades by von Arnim (1919) 1985 ('wahrscheinlich auch Verwandter') and Görler (1994) 898 ('seinem jüngeren (?) Namensvetter und Verwandten (?) Karneades, Sohn des Polemarchus').

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Passage 1
Cols 24.25–25.2

[25]- - -]δ[.
- - -]ικο
- - -]βίω]σας
- - -] κ̣α̣τέστρε-
[ψεν ὁ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου], μεθ᾽ ὃν
[30]Κρ[άτης ὁ Ταρσεὺ]ς δύο μόνον
ἡγ[ησ]άμ[ενος ἔτη ἐ]τελεύτη-
σε[ν· ἐν] ᾧι Κλε[ιτόμα]χος εἰς
Ἀκαδήμειᾳ[ν] ἐπέβαλεν
μετὰ πολλῶν γνωρίμων
[35]– πρότερον γὰ[ρ] ἐσχόλαζον
ἐπὶ Παλλαδ[ίωι] – μετὰ τὴν
Καρν[εά]δου τελευτήν. | |
col. [25][οὗτ]ος ἐπεκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀσ-
δρούβας, κτλ.

… son of Polemarchus died, after whom Crates of Tarsus led (the school) only for two years and died when Clitomachus was invading the Academy with many pupils – for they heard him formerly in the Palladium – after the death of Carneades. He was nicknamed Hasdrubas etc.

Passage 2
Cols 25.37–26.4

- - - ὁ τοῦ] Πολεμάρ-
χο[υ . . . .]ομ̣.δ̣ε̣υσ καὶ πα-
ρα̣.ιτ[. . . . .]νθε̣.ιν
[40]με[μ]ελετηκώς, ζῶντα
δ᾽ [ἔ]τι Καρνεάδην διαδε-
ξάμενος ἡγήσαθ᾽ ἕξ ἔτη.
κατέστρεψε δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους
ἄρχοντ[ο]ς, κατέλιπεν δὲ ||
col. [26]διάδοχον τὸν συσχολαστ-
τὴν Κράτητα Ταρσέα ⟦σ⟧ϲτὸ´⟦.⟧
γένος, ἡγήσατο δ᾽ [ο]ὗτ[ο]ς ἔτη
τέτταρα. κτλ.

son of Polemarchus … exercised … he succeeded Carneades when he was still alive and led (the school) for six years. He died under the archonship of Epicles. He left his school-fellow Crates, of Tarsus by origin, as successor. He led for four years etc.

Passage 3
Cols 29.35–30.12

[35]. . . . .]δεχω[- - -
- - -]ων
- - -]οσ[.
- - -]| τ]οῦ
Κα[ρνε]άδ[ου διὰ γ]ῆρας, ἤδη
[40]†τηνεσει|ποντοσ† παρέλα-
βεν ἐ[ξ]έδραν τε καὶ σχο-
λὴν | ἧ[ς προστάτης ὢν] ||
col. [30]ᾧ[ι]ᾧ[βί]ωσε[ν ἓξ ἔ]τη. |παρὰ Καρ-
νεάδου δὲ τοῦ Πολεμάρ-
χου τὸν βίον ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους
ἄρχοντο[ς] ἐγλελο[ι]πό̣τος |
[Κ]ράτης ὁ Ταρσεὺς τὴν
σχο ⟦δ⟧ϲλ´ὴν δι[ε]δέξατο.| τού-
του δὲ δύ᾽ ἔτη διακατασχόν-
τος μόνον | Κλειτόμα-
χος ἐν τ[ῶι] Παλλαδίωι
[σ]χολὴν ἔ[χων] | εἰς Ἀ-
[καδ]ήμε[ιαν] μετῆλ[θ]ε γνω-
[ρίμων | πολλῶν μεθ᾽,] οι[. .]ου
κτλ.

This is a faithful excerpt from Apollodorus' *Chronica*. The verses (iambic trimeters) are separated by verticals (|) which are not to be found in the papyrus.

… when Carneades because of old age … already … he took over the exedra and the school whose leader he was for six years of his life. From Carneades son of Polemarchus who died under the archonship of Epicles (131/0 BC), Crates of Tarsus took over the school. After he held it only for two years, Clitomachus who had a school in the Palladium entered the Academy with his pupils …

Passage 1: 28 init. Καρνεάδης] Gomperz; 28–30 Gomperz; 31 ἡγ[ησ]άμ[ενος Mette, cetera Gomperz; 32 ἐν] Dorandi: ἐφ᾽] Gomperz; 35–36 distinxit Mette.
Passage 2: 37 ὁ τοῦ] Dorandi: ὁ δὲ] Mekler; col. 26.2 Dorandi.
Passage 3: 39 Gomperz; 40 τὸν βίον λελοιπότος Gomperz: τῆνέσει [δ]όντος Mekler: {ηδητ}ἠνεσ‹χ›ηκό[[ν]]τος Mette; 42 sq. Gomperz: ἥ[τις βραχεῖ᾽ ἦν· τῆς] δ᾽ ὅμως ἓ[ξ ἦν] ἔ̣τη Mette.

relies on for Clitomachus could, at least partly, be traced back to Apollodorus, but seems to have featured additional material. In col. 25.37 a *diple-obelismene* at the beginning of the line indicates a new section, perhaps taken from a different source. This is where our passage 2 begins. The information that Crates of Tarsus led the Academy for four years (col. 26.4) might hint at a different source. Whether passage 1 or passage 2 (or even both) was intended to appear in Philodemus' final version is difficult to say, whereas it is unlikely that the faithfully copied verses of passage 3 were intended to appear in the final version.

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IV. One Carneades and a Polemarchus of Nicomedia in three passages of the *Index Academicorum*: new edition (Fleischer)

I am currently preparing a new comprehensive edition of Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* which will increase the amount of text by up to 20% in comparison with the previous edition. Work on the text is based on a new editorial system, which takes into account evidence from the disegni systematically, and the first use of multispectral images, which Dorandi was unable to exploit. These images reveal letters that are invisible to the naked eye. Furthermore, hyperspectral images of the papyrus, taken in 2018 in the Officina dei papiri in Naples, have proved very fruitful for the passages discussed in this article. The hyperspectral images provide a much better contrast than the multispectral images and reveal ink that is visible neither to the naked eye nor in the the multispectral images.[11] My new (literary) transcripts of the three passages, and translations, read as follows.[12]

Passage 1: Philodemus Index Academicorum *24.30–25.2*

Col. 24.30 [. . . . . .]
. . . . .]⌜δ⌝
. . .Πολέμα]ρχος [N]⌜ικο⌝-
μ]ηδὲ[ὺς εἰσῆλ]θε. β[ίω]⌜σας⌝
δ]὆ὲ λ[οῖφ᾽] ἒξ [ἔτη] ⌜κα⌝τ⌜ἑστρ⌝ε-
ψε̣[ν ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους], ⌜μ⌝εθ᾽ ὃν
⌜Κρ̣⌝ά[τ]η[ς ὁ Τ]ᾳ[ρσε]ὺ⌜ς δύ̣ο μόνον⌝
ἡγ[η]σάμεν[ο]ς [ἐ]τελεύτη-
σεν̣· ἐφ᾽ ᾧι Κλ⌜ε⌝[ιτόμα]χος εἰς
Ἀκαδήμει[αν] ἐπέβαλεν
μετὰ πολλ⌜ῶν⌝ γνωρίμων
– πρότερον γὰ[ρ] ἐσχόλαζ⌜εν⌝
⌜ἐπὶ⌝ Πα⌜λλ⌝αδ[ίωι] – μετὰ ⌜τ⌝ὴν
Καρν[εά]⌜δο⌝υ ⌜τελευτ⌝ήν.
Col. 25.1 ο̣ῦ̣[τ]ος ἐπεκα⌜λ̣⌝εῖτο μ⌜ὲν⌝ Ἀσ-
⌜δρο⌝ύβας κτλ.

… Polemarchus of Nicomedia entered. He lived further six years and died under the archon Epicles (131/0 BC). After him Crates of Tarsus led (the school) for only two (years) and died; wherefore Clitomachus invaded the Academy with many pupils – for he lectured formerly in the Palladium – after the death of Carneades. He was nicknamed Hasdrubas

Col. 24: 32 Πολεμά]ρχος KF; 32–33 [N]⌜ικο⌝|[μ]ηδὲ[ὺς KF; 33 εἰσῆλ]θε. KF (ἐπ- vel προ- vel μετ- (fort. spat. long) cogitaveris) β[ίω]⌜σας⌝ Mekler; 34 δ]὆ὲ λ[οῖφ᾽] ἒξ [ἔτη] KF; 34–35 Κ[αρνεάδης κ]ατ⌜ἑστρ⌝ε|ψε̣[ν ὁ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου] Gomperz; 35 ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους KF; 36–37 Gomperz; 38 ἐφ᾽ Gomperz: ἐφ̣ Dorandi; 41–42 distinx. Mette; 41 ἐσχόλαζ⌜ον⌝ Mekler (N); 42 Spengel; 43 Bücheler; col. 25: 1 Bücheler.

[11] The results and scientific details of these experiments will be published soon in a science journal.

[12] In my new reconstruction of the columns, the numbering of the lines differs from that given by Dorandi (1991). There are also some minor new readings or supplements that are not discussed in detail in this article (as they are of no relevance to its topic). These will be examined in my new edition of the *Index Academicorum*. The upper brackets ⌜ ⌝ mean that the letter is only preserved in one disegno (or both) or that one disegno (or both) gives more information than the original. An asterisk * indicates a change made with respect to the disegno. A full diplomatic transcript will be provided in my forthcoming *editio maior* of the whole *Index Academicorum*. The abbreviation KF in the apparatus = Kilian Fleischer (editor).

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V. Commentary on the three newly reconstructed passages

Let us start with passage 2 (col. 25.36–26.4). The supplement 'Carneades' in line 36 is impossible.[13] Whatever case one assumes for the personal name Πολεμαρ-, there is space for only one letter between the name and the ε in line 37. Accordingly, the particle δὲ seems most likely.[14] The Oxford disegno reads ονεδουσ, the Neapolitan disegno[15] ον[ ]δουσ. The last four letters are more or less confirmed by the original, although the o could also be an ε.[16] I have tested numerous permutations and variations and the only transcription which fits the traces in the original and demands only conservative corrections of the disegni is Ṇ̣ı̣̈ᵣoμ̈ɳδɛ̣ˤὺᵣςˤ or alternatively Ṇ̣ı̣̈ᵣoμ̈ήδoˤὺᵣςˤ .

I would prefer the ethnic over the father's name, not least since we know of five(!) other pupils of Carneades who stem from Nicomedia.[17] Moreover, one would expect (ὁ) τοῦ Νικομήδους rather than the isolated genitive.[18] In the case of a father's name one could explain the missing ethnic with the fact that Polemarchus was from Athens, but father's names, in particular those of relatively unknown philosophers, are normally not mentioned in the *Index Academicorum*, whereas the (local) origin is practically always given.[19] Passage 1, to be discussed further below, will provide an additional, practically compelling, argument for the ethnic.

To reconstruct in what way Polemarchus of Nicomedia was skilled, the placing of some misplaced layers in the papyrus (sottoposti) is essential. The whole phrase κ̣α[ὶ] παᵣράɣˤ[ε]ı̣ᵣγˤ κ̣α[ὶ σ]ώ̣ιζειν θᵣέˤ[σ]ᵣινˤ is very fitting for an Academic sceptic who mastered dialectic and had been trained to speak on both sides (εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπιχειρεῖν/λέγειν ~ *in utramque partem disserere*), meaning that he was able to introduce (or perhaps 'to divert') and to maintain/keep/defend any thesis.[20]

Is it possible to harmonize the new reading in passage 2 with the information in passage 3, the crucial passage from Apollodorus' *Chronica*? First, I should say that I was able to make some progress at the end of column 29, in particular by reassessing the Oxford disegno and exploiting

[13] A detached fragment is drawn in the right-hand margin of the Oxford disegno of col. 24 and must be placed at the beginning of col. 25. Several new readings in the lines before the beginning of passage 2, not to be discussed here for various reasons, other parallels in the *Index Academicorum*, scanty ink traces as well as a probable spatium before 'Polemarchus' suggest the transcription ᵣδ̲ˤı̣[ή]κ̣ǫ̣[υ]σ[ε].ᵀ for the beginning of line 36 (the participle ᵣδ̲ˤı̣[η]κ̣ǫ̣[ύ]σ[ας].ᵀ cannot be entirely ruled out). The verb is used at the end of two other lists of pupils (Phld. *Ind. Acad*. col. 34.18 and col. 35.35 – for the first passage, see the new reading in Fleischer (2017).

[14] In line 37 we can read a tiny ε in the original papyrus which is preceded by a very short horizontal. This horizontal is compatible with the right part of a δ. The subsequent traces show that μὲγ is less likely. The next fragmentary letter is compatible with the left part of a ν. Next, there are tiny traces at the bottom and the top and then ink at the bottom.

[15] The disegni, drawn at a time when the papyrus was still in better condition, are indispensable for reconstructing the line.

[16] The ν is similar to μ in this hand, and the disegnatori occasionally confused these letters. Since we have κα[ὶ] later on in the line, we have to look for a word ending in εδουσ or εδευσ. Yet, there are only very few words with this ending and none is helpful or fitting in this context. Given ομ or ον – which is supported by the traces in the original papyrus and by the disegni – for lexical reasons it is impossible to change the ε of the Oxford disegno into o. Conveniently, the right part of η often has a shape resembling the semicircle of an ε in this papyrus and it is not too daring to suppose that the disegnatore wrote ε instead of η. The letter η is also rather small and we need a smaller letter here (ω, for instance, is not possible).

[17] Phld. *Ind. Acad.* col. 23.40–43 (= col. 32.32–36). Their names are Euclides, Sarapion, Diogenes, Herodotus and Stratippus. The list in the *Index Academicorum* might be a compilation from several sources. Sometimes pupils from the same polis are listed separately. Hence, the absence of Polemarchus among these other pupils from Nicomedia does not speak against his origin. It is even possible that he was very old and not even a proper pupil of Carneades, but more or less a contemporary who attended the lectures of earlier generations of Academics.

[18] Dorandi too transcribes δ̣ευσ against the evidence from the disegni, and I think I can read the faded upper part of an ε in the hyperspectral images as well as in the original.

[19] On the possible absence of the Athenian ethnic and two instances where the use of the fathers' names might be due to the relative prominence of the pupils, see Fleischer (2019).

[20] For the expression σ]ώ̣ιζειν θᵣέˤ[σ]ᵣινˤ, one may compare Arist. *Cael.* 306a30: Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνάγκη μὴ πᾶν σῶμα λέγειν διαιρετόν, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι ταῖς ἀκριβεστάταις ἐπιστήμαις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν λαμβάνουσι διαιρετόν, αἱ μαθηματικαί, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἅπαν συγχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι σ̲ώ̲ι̲ζ̲ειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. There are other examples for a combined usage of compounds of σώιζειν and θέσις with a similar

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Passage 2: Philodemus Index Academicorum *25.36–26.4*

Col. 25.36	δ̲ι̣[ή]κο̣[υ]σ̣[ε]. ⊤ Πολεμάρ-	heard.
	⌜χο̣⌝[ς] δὲ Νι̣κ̣⌜ομηδε̣⌝ὺ⌜ς⌝ κ̣α[ὶ πα-	Polemarchus of Nicomedia, well prac-
	⌜ράγ⌝[ε]ι̣⌜γ̣⌝ κ̣α[ὶ σ]φ̣ιζειν θ⌜έ⌝[σ]⌜ιν⌝	tised at both introducing (diverting) and
	⌜με⌝[μ]⌜ελ⌝ε̣τηκώς, ζῶντα	maintaining a position, succeeded
40	δ᾽ ⌜ξ̣⌝ι̣τι ⌜Κα⌝ρνεάδ⌜η⌝ν διαδε-	Carneades, when he was still alive, and
	ξάμ⌜εν⌝ο̣ς ἡγή⌜σαθ᾽⌝ ⌜ξ⌝ξ̣⌜⌝ ἔτη,	led (the school) for six years; he died
	κατ⌜έστρ⌝εψε ⌜δ᾽ ἐ⟩π⟨⌝᾽ Ἐπ⌜ικ⌝λέους	under the archonship of Epicles (131/0
	ἄρχο⌜ντ⌝[ο]ς· κα⌜τέλ⌝ιπεν δὲ	BC). He left his school-fellow Crates, of
Col. 26.1	διάδο⌜χ⌝ον τὸν συσ⌜χο⌝λασ-	Tarsus by origin, as successor. He led for
	τὴ⌜ν⌝ Κράτητα Ταρσ⌜έ⌝α ⟦ϙ⟧⟩τ⟨ὸ ⟦⌜σ⌝⟧	four years.
	γέν⌜ος⌝, ἡγήσατο δ᾽ ⟦⌜ῤ̃⌝τ[ο]ς⟧ ἔτ⌜η⌝	
	τέ̲τα⌜ρ⌝α. ⊤ κτλ.	

Col. 25: 36 ⌜δ̣⌝ι̣[ή]κο̣[υ]σ̣[ε]. ⊤ KF: ⌜δ̣⌝ι̣[α]κ̣ο̣[ύ]σ̣[ας. ⊤ cogitaveris; 36–37 Πολεμάρ|⌜χο̣⌝[ς] KF: Πολεμάρ|⌜χο̣⌝[υ] Mekler; 37 δὲ Νι̣κ̣⌜ομηδε̣⌝ὺ⌜ς⌝ KF: Νι̣κ̣⌜ομήδο⌝υ⌜ς⌝ cogitaveris (sed in col. 24.33 ethnicon legitur); 37–38 πα|⌜ράγ⌝[ε]ι̣⌜γ̣⌝ KF; 38 κ̣α[ὶ σ]φ̣ιζειν KF: κ̣α[ὶ σ]χίζειν cogitaveris θ⌜έ⌝[σ]⌜ιν⌝ Mekler; col. 26: 2 Dorandi.

Passage 3: Philodemus Index Academicorum *29.36–30.12*

Col. 29.36	[].α.[.....].⌜δε⌝χων [...	
	..]..[..].[...]...[..]⌜ων⌝.	
	.]...[.| τ]ὴ[ν δ᾽ οὐ]κ ἔχ[οντ]⌜ος⌝	
	ἔτ᾽] Ἀ[κα]δ̣ήμ̣[εια]ν τό̣τε	[τ]⌜οῦ⌝	And when Carneades no longer held
	Καρνε̣⌜ά⌝δου [διὰ] γῆρας ⌜ἤδη⌝	the Academy because of old age, he
40	τ⌜ὴν ἐκεῖ	πρ̣⌝ῶτος παρ⌜έλα⌝-	was the first to take over the exedra
	βε⌜ν ἐ⌝ξ⌜έ̣δ̣ραν τ⌝ε ⌜καὶ σχο⌝-	and the school there … he led for
	⌜λ⌝ὴ⌜ν	η⌝...[...]τ ε[.. ἡγήσατο	six years. When Polemarchus died
Col. 30.1	⌜δ̣᾽ ὁμως ἔ⌝ξ ⌜ξ̣τη⌝.	πρὸ ⌜Κ⌝αρ-	before Carneades under the archonship
	νεάδου δὲ τοῦ Πολεμάρ-	of Epicles (131/0 BC), Crates of
	χου τὸν βίο⌜ν⌝	ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους	Tarsus took over the school. After
	⌜ἄρ⌝χ⌜ο⌝ντο⌜ς⌝ ἐγλελοι⌜π⌝ότος	he held it for only two years, Clito-
5	|Κ]ράτης ὁ Τ⌜α⌝ρσεὺς τὴν	machus who had a school in the Palla-
	⌜σ⌝χο⟦δ⟧⟩λ⟨ὴν δ⌜ι⌝εδέξατο.	⌜τ⌝ού-	dium entered the Academy with his
	του δὲ δύ᾽ ἔτ⌜η⌝ διακατασχόν-	pupils …
	τος μόνον	Κλειτόμα-	
	χος ἐν τ̣⌜ῷ⌝[ι] ⌜Π⌝αλλ⌜αδί⌝ωι	
10	σ]χο⌜λ⌝ὴν ἔ[χ]ων	⌜ε⌝ὶς τὴν Ἀ-	
	κ⌜αδήμ⌝ε[ιαν] ⌜μ⌝ε⌜τ⌝ῆλθε γνω-	
	ρίμ..|.....].... ου	

Col. 29: 34–38 KF; 40 ἔτ᾽] Ἀ[κα]δ̣ήμ̣[εια]ν KF, cetera Gomperz; 41 [διὰ] Gomperz; 42 τ⌜ὴν ἐ⌝κ̣⌜εῖ⌝, | ⌜πρ̣⌝ῶτος KF (τ᾽ ⌜ἦν cogitaveris); 44 ἦ⌝ν̣ κ̣α[ὶ τό]τ̣᾽ ἔ[ρις cogitaveris (πό]τ᾽ cogitaveris); col. 30: 1 ⌜δ᾽ ὅμως Mette: ⌜δ᾽ ὁμῶς anon. rev. πρὸ KF: παρὰ perperam Gomperz; 6–7 Mekler; 9–11 Bücheler; 12 γνω|[ρίμων | πολλῶν μέτα] Gomperz.

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the iambic metre, which I am convinced was not violated here.[21] I suggest a reconstruction, which is very close to the Oxford disegno (the | marks the end of verses): τ]ὴ[ν δ᾽ οὐ]κ ἔχ[οντ]ʳοςˡ [ἔτ᾽] Ἀ[κα]δήμ[εια]ν τότε | [τ]ʳοῦˡ Καρνεʳάˡδου [διὰ] γῆρας ʳἤδηˡ tʳὴν ἐκεῖ | πρ̣ˡῶτος παρʳέλαˡβεʳν ἐˡξʳέ̣δραν τˡεʳ καὶ σχολˡὴʳν.[22]

The mentioning of the Academy explains the adverb ἐκεῖ. The πρ̣ˡῶτος makes perfect sense in this context. Polemarchus took over as *the first* successor of Carneades (when the latter had already withdrawn because of old age), Crates as *the second*. The reconstruction of the following two lines (i.e. the following verse) has clearly been hindered by Mekler's almost completely arbitrary correction (δ̣[ι]ε̣[βί]ωσε[ν) of the Oxford disegno which reads δομωσε at the beginning of line 1.[23] His correction has been adopted by Jacoby and Dorandi without any further discussion. Anyway, the sequence of the disegno is sound Greek and fits the end of a Iambic trimeter: ʳδ̣᾽ ὁμως ἔˡξ ʳἔ̣τηˡ.[24] For metrical reasons, we would expect a verb, most probably an aorist middle, meaning something like 'led the school'. With reference to passage 2, we may opt for ἡγήσατο, which fits the space and metre better than any other word. Given ὅμως (with acute) we should not expect a relative clause after σχολˡὴʳν, as previous editors have, but rather a short first clause, which conditions the ὅμως in the second clause.[25] I thought about ἦˡν κ̣α̣[ὶ τό]τ̣᾽ ἔ[ρις, but decided to be careful and to put it only in the apparatus, not least since ὁμῶς (with circumflex) cannot be excluded.[26] Other scholars have already supposed that the issue of the succession of Carneades caused some quarrels and personal conflicts.[27] The whole controversy seems to have had an aftermath – or even reached its climax – with the 'invasion" of the Academy by Clitomachus and his pupils after Carneades' death in 129/8 BC. In any case, the controversy (quarrel) in the first clause would explain the ὅμως: although Polemarchus' leadership was questioned or challenged, he remained in charge for six years.

The restoration of these two verses only confirms, as it were, that nothing unexpected or relevant for our 'Carneades-Polemarchus issue' was dealt with in the passage. Now we come to a crucial word: crucial, that is, for the final death of Carneades, son of Polemarchus, and the birth of Polemarchus from Nicomedia. So far, scholars have all approved – actually, with rather good

meaning. Aelius Herodianus often combines the simplex-forms σώιζειν and θέσις, but the meaning here is 'position'. The entry in LSJ reads: '… Philos., *thesis, position*, assumed and requiring proof, Pl.R.335a, Arist. Top.104b19, APo.72a15; θέσιν διαφυλάττειν to maintain *a thesis*, Id.EN1096a2; κινεῖν to controvert it, Plu.2.687b, cf. 328a, etc.' For this philosophical meaning, one may compare D.L. 4.40 (Arcesilaus): Καί ποτε δὴ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῶι Πειραιεῖ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις λέγων ἐχρόνισεν, οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς Ἡροκλέα.

[21] Dorandi (1991) 250 claims that 'P è corrotto' and consequently prints cruces. Like Crönert (1903) 384 n. 1, Dorandi rejects Mekler's τὴνέσει [δ]όντος. Mette (1985) T 3a offers a completely arbitrary correction. Already Jacoby (1929) states: 'ich finde keine plausible Deutung von τηνεισεποιατοσ(?)'.

[22] The reconstruction of the words before οὐ]κ is uncertain, but the article is expected and hardly matches the space before Ἀ[κα]δήμ[εια]ν, whereas [ἔτ᾽] fits nicely and, while not unavoidable, is at least likely in this clause ('no longer'). ʳἤδηˡ might be linked to τότε ('only then and not before', or maybe 'when already').

[23] This sequence is not contradicted by the hyperspectral images: indeed, it is even confirmed by them to some extent. It should be said that nowadays the first line is no longer really readable with the naked eye.

[24] δ᾽ ὅμως has already been divided by Mette (1985).

[25] The requirements of the verse and space make it difficult to imagine a relative clause.

[26] The traces might allow for γὰ̣[ρ, too, but the causal γάρ does not make sense here. The poetic ὁμῶς might occur in col. 27.33 (supplement not entirely certain). However, the supposed context and syntax might fit ὅμως as well.

[27] Görler (1994) 900, for instance, wrote: 'Die Motive für diesen Schritt [i.e. Clitomachus' foundation of a school of his own in the Palladion in 140/39 BC] lassen sich nur vermuten. Es ist denkbar, dass sich Kleitomachos durch die Autorität des hochangesehenen Scholarchen zunehmend in seiner eigenen Entfaltung behindert fühlte … Die Schulgründung dürfte auch dazu geführt haben, dass Kleitomachos drei Jahre später (137/136 v. Chr.) bei der Bestellung eines Nachfolgers übergangen wurde ... Selbst die teilweise verschleiernde Sprache lässt keinen Zweifel daran, dass es sich um eine gewaltsame Besetzung handelte. Ein Zusammenhang mit dem Tod des "älteren" Karneades ist so gut wie sicher ... Offenbar sah sich Kleitomachos nun durch keine Rücksichtnahme mehr gehindert, das Amt für sich einzufordern, das er längst als das seine betrachtete. Ob es bei dem "Einfall" zu Gewalttätigkeiten gekommen ist, wissen wir nicht.' Also, the different versions of the duration of Crates' scholarchate might hint at a controversy and at conflicts; *cf.* Görler (1994) 898–901.

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reason – Gomperz's correction of the περι of the Oxford disegno into παρα, which was apparently unavoidable, given the expected content.[28] The meaning and translation of col. 30.1–6 was never called into question: 'From Carneades, son of Polemarchus, who died under the archonship of Epicles, Crates of Tarsus took over the school.' Now, however, the hyperspectral images display clearly the sequence προκαρ at the end of line 1. The preposition πρὸ instead of παρὰ changes everything and confirms my reading in passage 2 (col. 25.36–38), namely the existence of Polemarchus and the non-existence of a second Carneades. The sentence or, to be more precise, the three verses πρὸ ⌜K⌝αρ | νεάδου δὲ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου τὸν βίο⌜ν⌝ | ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους ⌜ἄρ⌝χ⌜ο⌝ντο⌜ς⌝ ἐγλελοι⌜π⌝ότος | [K]ράτης ὁ T⌜α⌝ρσεὺς τὴν ⌜σ⌝χο⟦δ⟧λ́ὴν δ⌜ι⌝εδέξατο. | must mean the following: 'When Polemarchus died before Carneades under the archonship of Epicles (131/0 BC), Crates of Tarsus took over the school.' Apollodorus wanted to emphasize that Polemarchus, though he was Carneades' successor, died when Carneades was still alive. The new readings in passage 2 and passage 3 are mutually compatible and confirm one other. The name of Polemarchus was obviously mentioned somewhere earlier on, in the middle or at the end of col. 29.

Now it remains to ascertain whether passage 1 – where the old 'Polemarchus' reconstruction depended entirely on the evidence from the other passages – might also reveal some new text confirming the other passages. For the first time I have placed two sottoposti in their correct positions in col. 24.32 and col. 24.33, which together with the ικο from the Oxford disegno enabled me to supplement Πολέμα]ρχος [N]⌜ικο⌝|[μ]ηδ̣ε[ὺς. There can hardly be any doubt about the name and the ethnic. It is convenient that the ε of [N]⌜ικο⌝|[μ]ηδ̣ε[ὺς is certain (also, the δ is practically certain). This shows that in passage 2 the ethnic and not the father's name must be read. Now I was also able to come up with a reconstruction of the remaining fragmentary lines by closely following the parallel of passage 3. I have assumed some punctuation after εἰσῆλ]θ̣ε (the exact compound is ambiguous). Given that β[ίω]⌜σας⌝ is indeed rather likely, I have embedded the information from the other passages in the lacunae: β[ίω]⌜σας⌝ |[δ]ὲ λ̣[οῖφ᾽] ἓξ [ἔτη] ⌜κα⌝τ⌜ᾴστρ⌝ε|ψε̣[ν ἐπ᾽ Ἐπικλέους]. Even if the phrasing in line 34 were slightly different from my reconstruction, the overall sense must have been this. I assume that in the lines preceding line 32 there was a genitive absolute or a temporal clause containing the information that Carneades had withdrawn or left his school (exedra) because of old age (so that Polemarchus could get in/take his place).[29]

VI. Conclusion: Polemarchus of Nicomedia and Carneades – the one and only

To sum up, new readings in three passages from the *Index Academicorum*, which so far had been reconstructed with reference to one another and regarded as firm evidence that the philosopher who succeeded or deputized for Carneades of Cyrene between 137/6 and 131/0 was also named Carneades (son of Polemarchus), have revealed that Carneades' successor was in fact not a namesake (and relative), but someone called Polemarchus of Nicomedia. He was probably skilled in dialectic (passage 2) and there might have been a controversy about his appointment and the succession of Carneades in general (passages 1 and 3). Yet, given the difference in name between Carneades and his successor, there was probably no question of 'Academic nepotism'. Nicomedia seems to have been a place from which quite a few people set off to pursue Academic studies in Athens in the second century BC. However, a relation between the court of the Bithynian kings (Prusias II or Nicomedes II) and Carneades or the Academy is not attested. I have tried to connect Polemarchus of Nicomedia with evidence from inscriptions or literature, but to little avail. This is not too surprising, considering that very few of the numerous pupils of Carneades mentioned in

[28] The supposed phrasing of passage 3 would have had a close parallel in D.L. 4.60: (sc. Lacydes) καὶ μόνος τῶν ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος ζῶν παρέδωκε τὴν σχολὴν Τηλεκλεῖ καὶ Εὐάνδρωι τοῖς Φωκαεῦσι. παρὰ δ᾽ Εὐάνδρου διεδέξατο Ἡγησίνους Περγαμηνός, ἀφ᾽ οὗ Καρνεάδης.

[29] It is even possible that there was a reference to the controversy ('When Carneades had withdrawn because of old age and there was a controversy as to who should take over the school, Polemarchus of Nicomedia entered/came/went first').

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the *Index Academicorum* are also attested elsewhere. The fact, moreover, that no list of homonyms, in particular in Diogenes Laertius,[30] mentions another philosopher by the name of Carneades as a successor of Carneades – how inviting it would have been for at least some ancient authors to report such a curious fact! – speaks in favour of the non-existence of a second Academic Carneades. To be brief: the first successor of Carneades was Polemarchus of Nicomedia, and not Carneades 'the younger', son of Polemarchus. The unquestioned assumption that the latter was the case, which endured for exactly 150 years (1869!), was based on unfortunate reconstructions and readings or changes of the papyrus and disegni suggesting that there existed another distinguished Academic philosopher and scholarch named Carneades. The most convenient consequence of the new discovery might be that in the future we shall no longer need to distinguish between two renowned homonymous Academic philosophers (and scholarchs). The uniqueness of Carneades has now been re-established: he is the one and only distinguished ancient figure by this name.

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[30] He mentions only an author of poor elegies (D.L. 4.66: Γέγονε μέντοι καὶ ἄλλος Καρνεάδης, ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς ψυχρός). The *Suda* knows of another philosopher named Carneades: <Καρνεάδης> ἕτερος, Ἀθηναῖος, φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς Ἀναξαγόρου. If the entry is not corrupt, he must be dated to the fifth century BC. These two persons named Carneades have no entries in *RE*.

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