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Blackwell Companions to Philosophy A Companion to Ancient Philosophy

Edited by Mary Louise Gill and Pierre Pellegrin



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M. L. G. and P. P.

Abbreviations

Modern Works and Editions

ANRW	Haase, W. (ed.). (1972–). Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Berlin:
	de Gruyter.
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca. (1882–1909). (23 vols.). Berlin: Reimer.
DK	Diels, H. (1951–2). Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. (3 vols.). 6th edn.,
	revised by W. Kranz and often reprinted. Berlin: Weidmann. (Original work
	published 1903.)
EK	Edelstein, L. and Kidd, I. G. (eds). (1988-99). Posidonius: The Fragments.
	(3 vols.). 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Κ	Kühn, K. G. (ed.). (1821-33). Galen. Opera omnia. Medicorum Graecorum
	opera quae exstant. (20 vols.) Leipzig: Cnobloch. Repr. Hildesheim: Olms,
	1964–5.
KRS	Kirk, G. S., Raven, J. E., and Schofield, M. (1983). The Presocratic Philoso-
	phers. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
LS	Long, A. A. and Sedley, D. N. (1987). The Hellenistic Philosophers. (2 vols.).
	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
SVF	von Arnim, J. (1903–24). Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta. (3 vols.). vol. 4:
	indexes by M. Adler. Leipzig: Teubner.

Abbreviations for Ancient Authors and Texts can be found in the Index Locorum.

Chronology

History	Philosophy	Sciences, Arts, Religion
776–490 все: Archaic Period		776 BCE: First celebration of the Olympic games
753 BCE: Traditional founding of Rome		c. 750–725 BCE?: Homeric poems fl. c. 700 BCE: Hesiod
		Early or mid 7th century BCE: Archilochus (poet) Mid to late 7th century: Alcman (poet) b. 630 BCE: Sappho (poet)
594/3 BCE: Solon, chief archon in Athens	 fl. 600–550 BCE: Thales of Miletus d. 547+ BCE: Anaximander of Miletus fl. 546–525 BCE: Anaximenes of Miletus 	585 BCE: eclipse predicted by Thales fl. 544 BCE: Pherecydes of Syros
561/0–556/5; 550/49; 540/39–528/7 BCE: 3 periods of Peisistratus' rule in Athens	c. 570–478 BCE: Xenophanes of Colophon c. 570–490 BCE: Pythagoras of Samos (migrated to Croton c. 530 BCE).	560–480 BCE: Hecataeus of Miletus (made map of the world; participated in Ionian Revolt 499 BCE)
c. 524–459 BCE: Themistocles (statesman) 521–486 BCE: Darius king of Persia 508/7 BCE: Cleisthenes' political reforms in Athens	fl. c. 490 BCE: Heraclitus of Ephesus *515–440s BCE: Parmenides of Elea	525/4–456/5 BCE: Aeschylus (tragic poet) 518–446+ BCE: Pindar (poet)

499 BCE: Ionian Revolt *495–429 BCE: Pericles (statesman)

490–323 BCE: Classical Period 490–479 BCE: Persian Wars

490 BCE: Battle of Marathon

480 BCE: Battle of Salamis 478 BCE: Delian League established (Athenian alliance against the Persians)

*460–403 BCE: Critias (poet, associate of Socrates and leader of the Thirty)

451/0-404/3 BCE: Alcibiades

443–429 BCE: Pericles general of Athens

431–404 BCE: Peloponnesian War

500-428 BCE: Anaxagoras с. 492–432 все: Empedocles 5th century BCE: Zeno of Elea 5th century BCE: Melissus of Samos (Eleatic: participated in Samian defeat over Athens 441 BCE) c. 490-420 BCE: Protagoras (sophist) c. 485-380 BCE: Gorgias (sophist) 5th century BCE: Hippias (sophist) c. 470–390 BCE: Philolaus (Pythagorean) fl. 440–430 BCE: Diogenes of Apollonia 469–399 BCE: Socrates fl. late 5th century BCE: Antiphon (sophist) 5th century BCE: Leucippus (atomist) с. 460-370 все: Democritus of Abdera (atomist) c. 450-380 or early 360s BCE: Euclides (Socratic/ Megarian) *445–365 BCE: Antisthenes (Socratic/Cynic) c. 430–355 BCE: Aristippus (Socratic/Cyrenaic) 429-347 BCE: Plato

Early 5th century BCE: Hippasus of Metapontum (Pythagorean, mathematician, music theory) *496–406 BCE: Sophocles (tragic poet)

*485–420s BCE: Herodotus (historian) 480s–406 BCE: Euripides (tragic poet)

465–425 BCE: Phidias active (sculptor)

c. 469–399 BCE: Hippocrates of Chios (mathematician) 460s–399+ BCE: Theodorus of Cyrene (mathematician) c. 460–370 BCE?: Hippocrates of Cos (medicine) 460/55–400 BCE: Thucydides (historian)

459/8-*380 BCE: Lysias (orator) *450-386 BCE: Aristophanes (comic poet) 2nd half 5th century BCE: Oinipides of Chios (mathematician)

447–432 BCE: Construction of Parthenon 438 BCE: Statue of Athena Parthenos by Phidias

436–338 BCE: Isocrates (orator, teacher) *430–355+ BCE: Xenophon (historian)

411-410 BCE: Rule of Four
Hundred in Athens
404–403 BCE: Rule of
Thirty Tyrants in Athens

399 BCE: Trial and execution of Socrates

367–357 BCE: Dionysius II tyrant of Syracuse (in exile 357–344, retired 344 BCE)

359–336 все: Philip II king of Macedon

338 BCE: Defeat of Athens by Philip at Chaeronea

336–323 BCE: Alexander the Great, king of Macedon

412/03–324/21 BCE: Diogenes of Sinope (the Cynic)

fl. c. 400–350 bce: Archytus (Pythagorian) 400/380 bce?: Anonymous Dissoi Logoi

387/6 BCE: Foundation of the Academy 384–322 BCE: Aristotle

372/70–288/86 BCE: Theophrastus (Peripatetic)

с. 365–275 все: Руггһо

347–339/8 все: Speusippus head of Academy 341–270 все: Epicurus

339/8–314 BCE: Xenocrates head of Academy 335 BCE: Foundation of the Lyceum

2nd half 4th century BCE: Eudemus of Rhodes (Peripatetic, student of Aristotle)

2nd half 4th–early 3rd century BCE: Stilpo (Megarian)

4th–3rd century BCE: Diodorus Cronus and Philo of Megara (Megarians) 420s BCE?: Treatise contained in Derveni Papyrus (Orphic)

*415–369 BCE: Theaetetus (mathematician)

391/0-*340 BCE: Eudoxus (mathematician, astronomer) c. 397–322 BCE: Aeschines (orator)

384–322 BCE: Demosthenes (orator) c. 384–322 BCE: Diocles of Carystus (medicine)

*370–?300 BCE: Aristoxenus (music)

344/3–292/1 BCE: Menander (comic poet)

fl. 330 BCE: Callippus (mathematician, astronomer) Athenian calendar reform on basis of Callippus' astronomical theory

331 BCE: Foundation of Alexandria	334/3–262/1 BCE: Zeno of Citium (founder of Stoicism; arrival in Athens 313 BCE) 331/0–230/29 BCE: Cleanthes (Stoic) c. 331–278 BCE: Metrodorus of Lampsacus (Epicurean)	c. 330–300 BCE: Derveni Papyrus c. 330–260 BCE?: Herophilus (medicine) in Alexandria
323–31 BCE: Hellenistic Period 323 BCE: Alexander's death followed by warfare among his generals and their successors	c. 325–235 BCE: Timon (student of Pyrrho) 322/1–288/86 BCE: Theophrastus head of Lyceum fl. c. 320–300 BCE: Dicaearchus (Peripatetic)	c. 325–250 все: Euclid (mathematician)
317–307 все: Demetrius of Phaleron (student of Theophrastus) governs Athens	316/15–241/0 BCE: Arcesilaus (Academic) 314/13–270/69 BCE: Polemo head of the Academy 307/6 or 305/4 BCE: Foundation of the	c. 315–240 BCE?: Erasistratus (medicine) in Alexandria
	Epicurean school (the Garden)	
301 BCE: "Battle of the kings" at Ipsus Kingdoms of the successors: Antigonids in Macedonia Seleucids in Syria and Babylonia Ptolemies in Egypt	c. 300 bce: Foundation of the Stoa	Early 3rd century BCE: Foundation of the Museum and Library at Alexandria
	288/86–270/68 BCE: Strato head of Lyceum 280/76–208/4 BCE: Chrysippus (Stoic)	First half 3rd century BCE: Aristarchus of Samos (astronomer) *287–212/11 BCE: Archimedes (mathematician) c. 276 BCE: <i>Phaenomena</i> by Aratus
	270/69–268/64 BCE: Crates head of Academy 270/68–226/24 BCE: Lyco head of Lyceum for 44 years	275/73–*194 все: Eratosthenes (scholar and head of Library in Alexandria)

264–241 BCE: First Punic War 247–183/2 BCE: Hannibal (Carthaginian general)

236–183 BCE: Scipio Africanus, poltician and conqueror of Spain

218–201 все: Second Punic War

149–146 BCE: Third Punic War 146 BCE: Destruction of Carthage 146 BCE: Greece becomes a Roman Province

133 BCE: Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people

123 and 122 BCE: Gaius Gracchus, tribune of the people 268/64–241/0 BCE: Arcesilaus head of Academy Mid 3rd century BCE: Aristo of Chios (Stoic)

*230–140s BCE: Diogenes of Seleucia/Babylon (Stoic)

214/13–130/29 BCE: Carneades the Elder of Cyrene (Academic)

2nd century BCE: Antipater of Tarsus (Stoic) 185/80–110/9 BCE: Panaetius of Rhodes (Stoic) 2nd century BCE: Critolaus head of Lyceum

167/6–137/6 BCE: Carneades head of Academy 155 BCE: Carneades, Diogenes of Babylon, and Critolaus' embassy from Athens to Rome (bringing philosophy to Rome for the first time)

137/6–131/0 BCE: Carneades the Younger head of Academy c. 135–51 BCE: Posidonius (Stoic) c. 130–68 BCE: Antiochus of Ascalon (Platonist)

127/6–110/9 BCE: Clitomachus head of Academy fl. c. 205–184 BCE: Plautus (comic poet) 239–169 BCE: Ennius (comic poet)

fl. 200 BCE: Apollonius of Perge (mathematician), author of *Conics*

c. 200/170 BCE: Successions by Sotion of Alexandria c. 200–118 BCE: Polybius (historian) 185–*159 BCE: Terence (comic poet)

147–127 BCE: Recorded observations of Hipparchus (astronomer)

		emereleer
	Late 2nd century BCE: Metrodorus of Stratonica (Academic)	
106–43 BCE: Cicero (orator, statesman, and philosopher) 100–44 BCE: Julius Caesar	110/9–84/3 BCE: Philo of Larissa last head of Academy *110–40/35 BCE: Philodemus (Epicurean)	
	*94–50s BCE: Lucretius (poet, Epicurean)	
86 BCE: Sulla conquers Athens	Before 88 BCE?: Antiochus of Ascalon (Platonist) sets up his own Academy in Athens	c. 86–35 bce: Sallust (historian) c. 84–54 bce: Catullus (poet)
	c. 70–50 BCE: Andronicus of Rhodes head of Peripatetic school	70–19 BCE: Virgil (poet)
63 BCE–14 CE: Octavian (later Augustus)	1st century BCE?: Andronicus' publication of Aristotle's works 1st century BCE: Aenesidemus (Pyrrhonist) 1st century BCE?: Agrippa (Pyrrhonist)	65–8 BCE: Horace (poet) *64 BCE–21+ CE: Strabo (geographer and historian)
		59 BCE–17 CE: Livy (historian) 48 BCE: First fire in library of Alexandria
31 BCE: Battle of Actium: Egypt becomes a Roman Province 27 BCE: End of the Roman Republic	1st century BCE: Arius Didymus (doxographer) fl. c. 25 BCE: Eudorus of Alexandia (Platonist)	1st century BCE–early 1st century CE: Vitruvius (architect)
27 BCE– 476 CE Imperial Rome 27 BCE–14 CE: Augustus	c. 20 BCE–45 CE: Philo of Alexandria (Judaeus) (philosopher/theologian)	*8/4 все: birth of Jesus
emperor 14–37 ce: Tiberius emperor	4 BCE/1 CE-65 CE: Seneca (poet and Stoic)	fl. 14–37 ce?: Celsus (Roman encyclopedist; medicine) d. 36 ce: Thrasyllus (editor of Plato and Democritus)

41–54 ce: Claudius emperor	c. 40/50–110+ cE: Dio Chrysostom (orator and Cynic philosopher) c. 45–125 cE: Plutarch of Chaeronea (Platonist, biographer, essayist)	*35–90s ce: Quintillian (orator)
54–68 cE: Nero emperor 69–79 cE: Vespasian emperor 70 cE: Titus takes Jerusalem 79 cE: Eruption of Mt. Vesuvius 79–81 cE: Titus emperor	50/60-*135 ce: Epictetus (Stoic) c. 50-100 ce: Moderatus (Platonist) Late 1st century ce?: Aëtius (doxographer)	fl. 62 cE: Heron of Alexandria (mathematician), author of <i>Mechanica</i> *56–118+ cE: Tacitus (historian)
81–96 CE: Domitian emperor 95 CE: Domitian expels philosophers from Rome, including Epictetus		fl. c. 100 ce: Nicomachus of Gerasa (mathematician and neo-Pythagorean)
117–138 ce: Hadrian emperor	fl. c. 120 CE: Hierocles (Stoic philosopher), author of <i>Elements of Ethics</i> *125–170+ CE: Apuleius (author and philosopher)	115/25–late 180s/early 190s ce: Lucian (satirist) 129–?199/216 ce: Galen (medicine)
138–161 cE: Antoninus Pius emperor	2nd century CE: Numenius (Platonist) 2nd century CE?: Alcinous (Platonist) c. 150–200 CE: Atticus (Platonist)	fl. 146–*170 CE: Ptolemy (mathematician, astronomer) *150–211/16 CE: Clement of Alexandria (Christian theologian) 2nd century CE?: <i>Chaldaean</i> <i>Oracles</i> edited or composed by Julian (the sacred text of middle and late Platonists)
161–180 ce: Marcus Aurelius emperor	176 cE: Marcus Aurelius founds four chairs of philosophy in Athens	c. 170–236 CE: Bishop Hippolytus (Christian theologian) 175/81 CE: <i>True Doctrine</i> by Celsus (anti-Christian) c. 180 CE: <i>Attic Nights</i> by Aulus Gellius
193–211 ce: Septimius Severus emperor	fl. late 2nd century cE: Sextus Empiricus (Pyrrhonist) 198/209 cE: Alexander of Aphrodisias (commentator	c. 185–254 ce: Origen of Alexandria (Christian philosopher and exegete)

	on Aristotle) appointed public teacher, probably in Athens	
222–235 cE: Alexander Severus emperor	First half 3rd century CE: Diogenes Laertius, author of <i>Lives of Philosophers</i> 3rd century CE: Ammonius Saccas (Platonist in Alexandria, teacher of Plotinus, Origen, and Longinus)	
	205–270 cE: Plotinus (inaugurates Neoplatonism) c. 213–273 cE: Longinus (rhetorician and philosopher)	
	234–*305 ce: Porphyry (Neoplatonist) 3rd century ce: Amelius (Platonist) c. 245–325 ce: Iamblichus (founded a Neoplatonic school in Syria at Apamea)	fl. 250 ce: Diophantus, author of <i>Arithmetics</i>
	273 ce: Longinus executed by the Romans	c. 260–339 ce: Eusebius of Caesarea (theologian and historian)
284–305 ce: Diocletian emperor of Eastern empire 286–305 ce: Maximian rules West	c. 300 ce: Porphyry publishes Plotinus' <i>Enneads</i>	
306–337 ce: Constantine the Great emperor (converts to Christianity) 313 ce: Edict of Milan (toleration of Christianity)	c. 317–388 cE: Themistius (commentator on Aristotle)	fl. 320 ce: Pappus of Alexandria (mathematician)
	fl. c. 350 ce: Calcidius (Christian translator and commentator on Plato's <i>Timaeus</i>)	c. 328–373 ce: Athanasius bishop of Alexandria 329–389 ce: Gregory of Nazianz (theologian)

361–363 CE: Reign of Julian (the Apostate), restoration of paganism

379–395 cE: Reign of Theodosius 391 cE: Paganism outlawed

411 ce: Alaric, king of the Visigoths, sacks Rome

455 ce: Rome sacked by Gaiseric, king of the Vandals

476 CE: Fall of the Western Empire

Romulus Augustulus deposed by Odoacer, king of the Heruli

493–526 cE: Theodoric Ostrogothic king of Italy 354–430 CE: Augustine, author of *Confessions* (c. 397–400 CE) and *City of God* (c. 413–426 CE)

After 400 CE: Neoplatonic schools in Athens and Alexandria 415 CE: Hypatia (mathematician and philosopher) murdered by Christians in Alexandria d. 432 CE (at a great age): Plutarch of Athens (Neoplatonist) d. c. 437 CE: Syrianus (Neoplatonist) 412–485 CE: Proclus (Neoplatonist)

*440–517+ cE: Ammonius (Alexandria, teacher of Damascius, Philoponus, and Simplicius) 5th century cE: Hierocles of Alexandria (Neoplatonist)

c. 480–524 cE: Boethius (commentator and author of *Consolation of Philosophy*)

c. 490–560 ce: Simplicius (Neoplatonist) c. 490–570s ce: Philoponus (Christianized school in Alexandria) 495/505–565+ ce: Olympiodorus (Platonist) c. 330–379 cE: Basil of Caesarea (theologian) c. 330–395 cE: Gregory of Nyssa (theologian)

374–397 CE: Ambrose bishop of Milan 398–403 CE: John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople

fl. early 5th century CE: Stobaeus (anthologist) 527–565 ce: Justinian emperor in Constantinople 529 ce: Justinian closes the Neoplatonic school in Athens

570?–632 ce: Muhammad, prophet of Islam

7th century CE: Arab conquest of Syria, Jerusalem, Egypt, and elsewhere

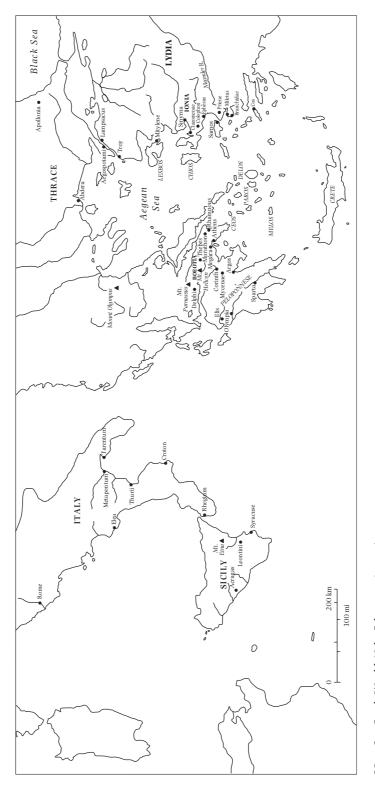
- c. circa: around this/these date(s)
- * date approximate
- ? date(s) uncertain or disputed
- + sometime after date listed
- s decade of
- / sometime within dates listed
- fl. floruit: date(s) when person was active

529 CE: Neoplatonists in Athens, including Damascius, Simplicius, and Priscian, flee to Persia (Ctesiphon) 532 CE: Simplicius' commentaries on Aristotle probably all written after this date

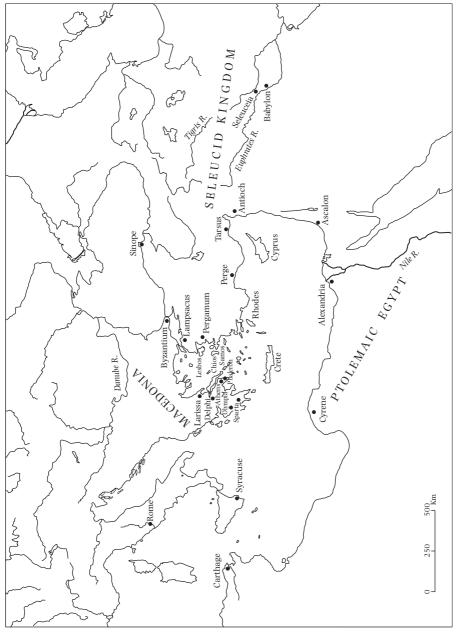
6th century CE: David and Elias (Alexandria) 2nd half 6th century CE: Anonymous Introduction to Philosophy of Plato

c. 580–662 ce: Maximus the Confessor (theologian)

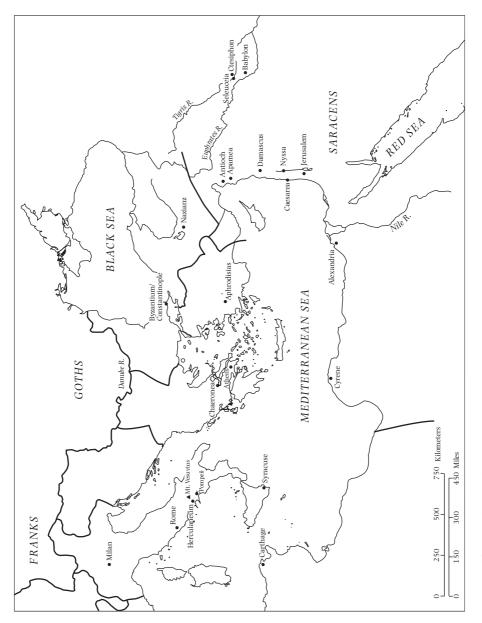
c. 640 ce: Destruction of library at Alexandria



 $Map \ 1 \quad Greek \ World \ (6th-5th \ centuries \ BCE)$









Introduction

Our aim as editors of A Companion to Ancient Philosophy is to show how specialists today read the texts of the Greek and Roman philosophers. To indicate the range of work in this field, we have solicited contributors from the United States and Canada, from numerous European countries (Denmark, England, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy) and from Japan. In addition to senior scholars, we have also invited a number of younger specialists in the history of ancient philosophy, who are destined, in the near future, not only to continue the work of their predecessors, but also to revise their approaches, methods, and results. We want to demonstrate, in a general way, that it is *philosophically* important to do the history of philosophy, and especially the history of ancient philosophy. The need to justify this enterprise is not as longstanding as one might think, since the idea that it is philosophically important to do the history of philosophy and even, quite simply, that "doing the history of philosophy" has a meaning, are not very old claims but date back at most to the end of the eighteenth century. Even if one admits the importance of the history of philosophy in philosophical activity, one might ask more particularly: Why is a work like ours useful, given that since the second half of the nineteenth century at least, histories of ancient philosophy have been written according to "scientific" criteria that are still roughly ours? In answering the particular question, we will make some remarks about the more general question.

Ancient Philosophy is defined as the group of philosophical works written in the Greek and Roman world from the beginning of philosophy in the sixth century BCE in the Greek colony of Miletus on the coast of Asia Minor to the end of antiquity, some 50 years after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. In 529 cE Justinian, the Christian ruler of the Eastern Empire in Constantinople, closed the Neoplatonic (pagan) school in Athens, and the philosophers fled to Ctesiphon (in modern Iraq). Later a lively Arabic philosophical and scientific tradition developed in the region, which had deep roots in Greek and Roman thought. The 1,200 years to which our volume is devoted, from the sixth century BCE to the sixth century CE (see CHRONOLOGY) is a period full of noise and passion, but the philosophers took part in one and the same drama, a drama that makes sense and that lasted until Christianity, after engulfing political power, was imposed as the only permissible thought. The last fires of ancient thought were set by Neoplatonists of the sixth century CE, by individuals like Simplicius and Philoponus, but were then quenched. Between the moment of its birth and the moment of its disappearance, however, ancient philosophy had its own dynamic and logic, which the chapters in this volume explore.

INTRODUCTION

The vast majority of philosophical texts from antiquity have been lost, many of them already in antiquity (see Mejer, ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY AND THE DOXOGRAPHICAL TRADI-TION). Of important philosophers, we are fortunate to have the complete or relatively complete works in Greek of Plato, Aristotle (his school treatises but not his published works), Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Sextus Empiricus, and Plotinus; and in Latin of Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca. We owe a tremendous debt to the commentary tradition of late antiquity for preserving much of what has come down to us, and especially the works of Plato and Aristotle (see Mejer's paper on the preservation of fragments of pre-Socratic philosophy; see Hoffmann, WHAT WAS COMMENTARY IN LATE ANTIQUITY? THE EXAMPLE OF THE NEOPLATONIC COMMENTATORS, on the commentary tradition more generally).

Different historical periods have had different conceptions about the relationship between their own philosophical practice and that of their philosophical predecessors. Aristotle, for example, who was perhaps the first philosopher to take seriously the history of philosophy, famously represented his predecessors in the first book of the *Metaphysics* as taking important but stumbling steps toward his own theory of the four causes. This approach to the history of philosophy, which is sometimes called "Whig history" and which we will call the "teleological" approach, takes as the culmination or "end" of philosophy the current and/or preferred philosophical theory, and interprets earlier thinkers as contributing in one way or another to the development of that theory (see Hussey, THE BEGINNINGS OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY IN ARCHAIC GREECE, pp. 7–8). Hegel adopted a similar approach in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* in the early nineteenth century. The attitude can be found even in a philosopher as modern as Heidegger, who thought that Plato and Aristotle opened a chapter in the history of being ("the forgetting of being") which Heidegger himself intended to close.

The history of science is often interpreted in a similar way. Earlier scientific achievements are understood from the perspective of the current "correct" theory. Newton's Laws are often considered a special case of Relativity Theory (for bodies moving at slow speeds). Such an approach to the history of both philosophy and science risks anachronism, because the earlier thinkers were quite probably not working in the same conceptual framework as their descendants, using some vaguely articulated conception of a much later goal, and developing theories in light of that goal. On the contrary, they were asking questions that seemed pressing at the time and in response to their own predecessors. As Thomas Kuhn points out in the case of Newton, the later theory has to reinterpret the concepts of the earlier theory to make it a special case of its own.¹ Thus the teleological approach tends to distort the earlier theory. It also tends to marginalize figures whose views, from a later perspective, appear to be false starts.

There has always been an interest in the ancient philosophers as the source of views that are currently in fashion. In the second half of the twentieth century, for example, Oxford ordinary language philosophers in the 1950s and 1960s found that Aristotle, too, was engaged in their project of conceptual analysis. Metaphysicians have looked to Aristotle for insight into the notion of essence. Philosophers interested in functionalism

^{1.} Thomas Kuhn (1970). *The Structure of Scienctific Revolutions*. 2nd edn. (ch. 9). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.