

Antiochus IV Epiphanes was *the son of Antiochus III the Great*, and he "was given elementary instruction by [the Epicurean] Dionysodorus while still a child in age" – but at one point "*Epiphanes had turned away from the choice [sect, i.e. the Epicurean School]*" – but ultimately he "was not alienated from the choice [sect, i.e. the Epicurean School]" and that "Philonides made him [i.e., Epiphanes] one who chooses [i.e., an Epicurean] in thinking."

("The Life of Philonides," section 15, 16)

He is therefore an example of someone *born into Epicurean instruction* – as well as an example of a *politically powerful Epicurean*.

Epiphanes was the maternal great-great-grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes, through Stratonice – and thus is an example of the family's continued interest in philosophy.

*This section begins with King Antiochus VII Sidetes* – but looks back at the history of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

Diodorus Siculus, Book 34, part 1

Negotiation

ὥς Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς, φησὶν, ἐπολιόρκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι μέχρι μὲν τίνος ἀντέσχον – ἐξαναλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων – ἥναγκάσθησαν περὶ διαλύσεως διαπρεσβεύσασθαι

when King Antiochus [VII Sidetes], he says, was besieging Jerusalem: the Jews held out for some time – but when all their provisions had been used up – they were forced to negotiate for a truce

Advice from Friends

οἱ δὲ Πλείους αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν – καὶ τὸ γένος ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων

but more of his friends advised him to take the city by force – and to utterly destroy the race of the Jews

Enemies of All

μόνους γὰρ ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας – καὶ πολεμίους ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας

for they alone of all nations are unsociable toward intermixing with another nation – and regard all people as enemies

From Egypt, From Sickness

ἀπεδείκνυον δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ μισουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου πεφυγαδευμένους.

and [the friends of Antiochus VII Sidetes] also pointed to their ancestors as impious and hated by the gods, having been driven out from all of Egypt

τοὺς γὰρ ἀλφούς ἢ λέπρας ἔχοντας ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, καθαρμοῦ χάριν, ὡς ἐναγεῖς συναθροισθέντας ὑπερορίου ἐκβεβλήσθαι

for those having white spots or leprosy on their bodies were, for the sake of purification, gathered together to be thrown out beyond the borders as polluted

## Cultural Misanthropy

τούς δὲ Ἐξορισθέντας καταλαβέσθαι μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπους – συστησαμένους δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος: παραδόσιμον ποιῆσαι τὸ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους·

but Those who had been exiled settled the regions around Jerusalem – and having formed the Jewish nation: making hatred toward other people their tradition

## Exclusionary Traditions

διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ νόμιμα παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένα καταδείξαι: τὸ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔθνει τραπέζης κοινωνεῖν, μηδ' εὐνοεῖν τὸ παράπαν – Ὑπέμνησαν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ προγενομένου μίσους τοῖς προγόνοις πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος

and for this reason also inventing customs that are completely different: that they shared a table with no other nation, nor were well inclined at all – they also reminded him about the previous hostility from their ancestors toward this nation

## Epiphanes in the Holy of Holies

Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ὁ, προσαγορευθεὶς Ἐπιφανής, καταπολεμήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους – εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἅδυτον τοῦ θεοῦ σηκόν: οἷ νόμιμον εἰσιέναι μόνον τὸν ἱερέα

for Antiochus [IV], called Epiphanes, after warring against the Jews – entered into the innermost sanctuary of the god: into which it is lawful for only the priest to enter

## Moses & His Legacy

εὐρών δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθινον ἄγαλμα ἀνδρὸς βαθυπώγωνος, καθήμενον ἐπ' ὄνου, μετὰ χειρὰς ἔχον βιβλίον – τοῦτο μὲν ὑπέλαβε Μωυσέως εἶναι, τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ συστησαμένου τὸ ἔθνος – πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, νομοθετήσαντος τὰ μισάνθρωπα καὶ παράνομα ἔθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις

and finding within it a stone statue of a long-bearded man, seated on a donkey, holding a document in his hands – he supposed this to be [a statue of] Moses, the one who founded Jerusalem and organized the nation – and in addition to these things, who legislated the misanthropic and lawless customs for the Jews

## Resolution of Antiochus IV

Αὐτὸς δὲ – συγῆσας τὴν μισανθρωπίαν πάντων ἐθνῶν – ἐφιλοτιμήθη καταλῦσαι τὰ νόμιμα

but [Antiochus IV Epiphanes] himself – abhorring their misanthropy for all nations – strove to abolish their laws

## Normalization Efforts

διὸ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ κτίστου καὶ τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ βωμῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλην ὕν θύσας, τό τε αἷμα προσέχεεν αὐτοῖς – καὶ τὰ κρέα σκευάσας: Προσέταξε τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμῷ τὰς ἱερὰς αὐτῶν βίβλους (καὶ περιεχούσας τὰ μισόξενα νόμιμα) καταρρᾶναι

therefore, having sacrificed a large swine to the statue of the founder and to the open-air altar of the god, [Antiochus IV Epiphanes] sprinkled its blood on them – and having prepared the meat: he ordered [his agents] to sprinkle their sacred books (which also contain their nation-hating laws) with the broth from that [swine]

τὸν δὲ ἀθάνατον λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς λύχνον καὶ καίόμενον ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατασβέσαι – τῶν τε κρεῶν ἀναγκάσαι προσενέγκασθαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰουδαίους

[Antiochus IV Epiphanes ordered his agents] to extinguish the lamp called "immortal" among them and burning unceasingly in the temple – and to compel the high priest and the other Jews to offer the meat [from the sacrificed swine]

Indecisiveness of Antiochus VII Sidetes

ταῦτα δὴ διεξιόντες, οἱ Φίλοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον παρεκάλουν μάλιστα μὲν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος – εἰ δὲ μή, καταλῦσαι τὰ νόμιμα – καὶ συναναγκάσαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς μεταθέσθαι

recounting these things in detail, his Friends urged Antiochus [VII Sidetes] especially either to utterly destroy the nation – but if not, to abolish their laws – and to compel their way of life to be changed

ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς, μεγαλόψυχος ὢν καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἡμερος – (λαβὼν ὁμήρους) ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους – φόρους τε τοὺς ὀφειλομένους πραξάμενος, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιελὼν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων

but the King, being magnanimous and mild in character – (after receiving hostages) acquitted the Jews of their offenses – having collected the tribute owed, and dismantled the walls of Jerusalem

Mishneh Torah on 'Epikōrsīm

*The Mishneh Torah is the first full systematic code of Jewish law. It was written by Moses Maimonides (c. 1178<sup>CE</sup>) while he was living in Fustat (Old Cairo), Egypt.*

*The Mishneh Torah is treated as a foundational legal authority, studied as sacred text alongside the Talmud, cited in rabbinic decisions across all Jewish traditions, and used to derive practical law – forming the basis for many later legal systems and influencing broader legal thought.*

Mitzvah to Kill an 'Epikōrōs

*"The term Epicurus, or Apiqoros as it is more often pronounced, is alive and well in contemporary Jewish culture. When used by members of the Orthodox Jewish community, it means simply a heretic... ...an Apiqoros is someone who rejects the Jewish religion for ideological or philosophic reasons."*

– Gabriel Danzig (Chair of Classics, Bar Ilan University, Israel), 'The Oxford Handbook of Epicurus and Epicureanism,' pg. 549

Moses Maimonides (Rambam), Mishneh Torah – Rotzeah uShmirat Nefesh, 4.10 sup.

הָאֶפִּיקוֹרְסִים: וְהֵם עוֹבְדֵי עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה, אוֹ הַעוֹשֵׂה עֲבֵרוֹת לְהַכְעִיס, אֲפָלוּ אָכַל בְּיָלָה אוֹ לָבַשׁ שְׁעִטָּה לְהַכְעִיס – הֲרִי זֶה אֶפִּיקוֹרוֹס – וְשִׁכּוֹפְרִין בְּתוֹרָה וּבִנְבוּאָה, הִיתָה מִצְוָה לְהִרְגֹּן

Hā'Epikōrsīm: vāhēm 'ōvdēi 'avōdā zārā, 'ō hā'ōseh 'avērōt ləhakh'īs, 'āfillū 'ākhal nāvēlā 'ō lāvash sha'aṭnēz ləhakh'īs

– harēi zeh 'Epikōrōs – ušekōfrīn bā-Tōrāh ūvannāvū'āh, hāyṭā mitzvāh ləhargān

The Epicureans [אֶפִּיקוֹרְסִים]: these are idol worshippers, or those who commit transgressions deliberately to provoke [God], even if he ate non-kosher meat or wore a Shatnez [forbidden mixture of wool and linen] to provoke – behold, this is an Epicurean – and those who deny the Torah and prophecy: it is a mitzvah to kill them [לְהִרְגֹּן]

[Rabbi Eliyahu Touger]

It is a mitzvah to kill minim and Apikorsim. The term minim refers to Jewish idolaters or those who perform transgressions for the sake of angering God, even if one eats non-kosher meat for the sake of angering God or wears sha'atnez for the sake of angering God. The term apikorsim refers to Jews who deny the Torah and the concept of prophecy.

*Epicureans (here broadly defined as those who do not follow Jewish customs) are regarded by Jewish law **as deserving** death – with their killing considered **a mitzvah** (a religious commandment).*

## Commandment to Kill Legally – or by Trickery

Moses Maimonides (Rambam), Mishneh Torah – Rotzeah uShmirat Nefesh, 4.10 fin.

אם יֵשׁ בְּיָדוֹ כֹּחַ לְהַרְגֵן בְּסִיף בְּפָרְהֶסְיָא, הוֹרֵג. וְאִם לֹא – הֵיאָ בָּא עָלֵיהֶן בְּעֵלִילוֹת עַד שְׂיָסִיב הָרִיגָתָן. בִּיצֵד? רָאָה אֶחָד מֵהֶן שֶׁנָּפַל לְבֵּאֵר, וְהִסְלֵם בְּבֵּאֵר – הֵיאָ מְסַלְקוֹ וְאוֹמֵר "הֲרִינִי טָרֹד לְהוֹרִיד בְּנִי מִן הַגֵּג, וְאֶחְזִירָנּוּ לָךְ" – וְכִיוֹצֵא בְּדִבְרִים אֵלּוּ.

’Im yēsh bayādō kōah lehargein bəsayif bəfarhesyā, hōrēg. və’im lāv – hāyā bā ‘ālēihen ba’ālilōt ‘ad sheyyəsabbēv harīgātān.

kēyšad? rā’ā ‘ehād mēhen shenāfal liba’ēr, vəhassullām babə’ēr – hāyā məsalleqō və’ōmēr "harēnī ṭārūd ləhōrīd bənī min

haggāg, və’aḥazirēnnū ləkhā" – vəkhayyōšē’ bidəvārīm ‘ēllū

If one has the power to kill them with the sword [סיף] publicly, he should kill. And if not – one should approach them with schemes [עֵלִילוֹת] until he brings about their death. In what manner? If one saw one of them fall into a well, and a ladder was in the well – he may remove it and say "I need it to bring my son down from the roof, and I will return it to you" – similar things like this

[Rabbi Eliyahu Touger]

If there is the possibility, one should kill them with a sword in public view. If that is not possible, one should develop a plan so that one can cause their deaths. What is implied? If one sees such a person descend to a cistern, and there is a ladder in the cistern, one should take the ladder, and excuse oneself, saying: "I must hurry to take my son down from the roof. I shall return the ladder to you soon." Similarly, one should devise other analogous plans to cause the death of such people.

*Here we see that the instruction according to Jewish law is to make killing Epicureans legal.*

*When changing the law is not yet possible, the commandment is to break the existing law and kill Epicureans through plots / contrivances (עֵלִילוֹת, uh-lī-lōt).*



Life of Philonides of Laodicea

Φιλωνίδης Λαοδίκειας

"the Son of the Friendly One" from "the City of Public Justice"

Philonides was active in Seleucid court and friendly with King *Seleucus IV Philopator*. During this time, Philonides also interacted with *Heliodoros*, the king's treasurer.

When *Seleucus IV Philopator* was assassinated (175 <sup>BCE</sup>), *Demetrius I Soter* (*Seleucus' older son*) was in Rome, so *Antiochus* (*Seleucus' younger son*) was proclaimed king – with *Heliodoros* a regent.

*Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (*Seleucus' brother*) soon arrived in Syria, displaced *Heliodoros* and made himself a co-ruler with *Antiochus* (who died a few years later).

Philonides continued to be active in the Seleucid court through the 11 year reign of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (r. 175 <sup>BCE</sup> – ob. 164 <sup>BCE</sup>).

The Jewish revolt saw a key success against the Seleucid monarchy with the rededication of the Temple (164 <sup>BCE</sup>) – but the Seleucids still held power over Judea and conflict continued.

After the natural death of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes*, his son *Antiochus V Eupator* and regent *Lysias* took control for only a few years.

With the help of the historian Polybius (who was also a Roman political detainee) *Demetrius I Soter* escaped from Rome and made his way to the Seleucid capital in Antioch.

*Demetrius*, the reigned as king for 12 years (r. 162 – ob. 150 <sup>BCE</sup>). Philonides lived in the court of *Demetrius I Soter* and educated the king.

*Demetrius* was the great<sup>5</sup>-grandson of Epicurus' contemporary DEMETRIUS I POLIORCETES:

DEMETRIUS I POLIORCETES → Stratonice I → Antiochus II Theos → Seleucus II Callinicus → Antiochus III the Great → *Seleucus IV Philopator* → *Demetrius I Soter*}

Philonides lived for around another twenty years after *Demetrius'* death.

1. The Gift of His Teaching, Rising Schools

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 2

...{[Φιλωνί]δης τοίνυν Λαοδι[κεύς]} ὁ αἰτιολογούμεν[ος κατα] τῇ[v] προγεγενημέ[νην πρὸς α]ὐτὸν δόσιν τῆς [ἐκείνου] θεωρίας ἄσμέν[ω]ς συνηκολούθει. Καὶ γὰρ[ρ]... ...ταῖς γε[γενημέναις σχο]λαῖς περ[ὶ]...

**Φιλωνίδης, τοίνυν, Λαοδικεύς, ὁ αἰτιολογούμενος κατα τὴν προγεγενημένην πρὸς αὐτὸν δόσιν τῆς ἐκείνου θεωρίας – ἄσμένως συνηκολούθει. καὶ γὰρ... ..ταῖς γεγενημέναις σχολαῖς περὶ...**

...Philonides, then, of Laodicea, who was investigating in accordance with the gift previously granted to [the teacher] of that man’s [i.e., Epicurus] theory – followed [this teacher] eagerly. for indeed... ...for the schools that had arisen concerning...

[Assante] So Philonides of Laodicea, who was investigating causes according to the doctrine previously granted to him as a gift, was a most eager follower. And indeed... at the lessons held concerning...

[Gallo] **αἰτιολογέω** is characteristic of Epicurean language and may suggest a specific reference to philosophical training.

[Assante] "to him" **πρὸς αὐτὸν** likely refers to a teacher of Philonides, probably mentioned earlier.

It is plausible to think that this concerned the education of Philonides, in which his zeal and aptitude for research were praised.

2. Affection for Family, Pressure to Marry

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 3 fin.

Λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸ τῇ συμ[βι]ῶσει τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων [εὐ]δοκεῖν τὸν τε πατέρα [φιλεῖν] αὐτὸν οὕτως ὡς καὶ πολλῶν προ[τρεπ]όν[τι]ων εἰς γάμ[ον]...

Λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸ τῇ συμβιώσει τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων εὐδοκεῖν – τὸν τε πατέρα φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὕτως ὡς, καὶ πολλῶν προτρεπόντων εἰς γάμον...

He also says that he favored the cohabitation together – and that he loved his father so much that, even though many urged him toward marriage...

[Assante] He also reports his satisfaction with their mutual life together and his affection for his father in particular, such that, although many urged him to marry...

[Nicolardi] We may here be informed that Philonides did not marry – nor presumably have children; because, as seen below, his brother younger Brother Dicaearchus was his legal heir – and this might also be the reason why Philonides needed him to consent to any alienation of property.

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 50

...[τῆς χο]ρηγίας τῆς... ...[πι]ρὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ὑ[γιοῦς] διαθέσ[ε]ως...

...τῆς χορηγίας τῆς... ...πρὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ὑγιούς διαθέσεως...

...of the support provided of... ...for the recovery of a healthy condition...

[Assante] ...for the recovery of sound condition...

### 3. Freeing his Slaves

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 59, 5

...{[α]ὐτά, τὰ λ[οιπὰ]/ μ[ετὰ] δὲ ταῦτα τᾶλ[λα]} καὶ [α]λεῖ[πι]ων ὑπ[ὲρ] [ἀρ]χοντα κα[ὶ] ἀδελφῶι κοινά. ὅμως πρὸς το[ῖς] ἀπηλευθε[ρω]μένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σῶ[μας]ιν ἤθελέν τι καὶ {τοὺς [λοιποῦς] / τὸ γέ[νος]} ἀπελευθερῶσαι. Καὶ [τὸν] ἀδελφὸν ἐρωτήσας {[εἴ τι] δοκεῖ προσγράψαι, [έβο]ύλεύσατο· καὶ Χρυ...προαπε[λευθερωθεῖς] καὶ Πεισ[τ] [εἰ εὐ]δοκεῖ προσγράψαι, [διεκ]ελεύσατο· καὶ χρη... ...ἀκόλουθον}...

...μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τᾶλλα καταλείπων – ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀδελφῶ κοινά. ὅμως, πρὸς τοῖς ἀπηλευθερωμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σώμασιν, ἤθελέν τι καὶ – τὸ γένος ἀπελευθερῶσαι

...beyond these things, he was leaving behind the other things – which were also shared with his brother. nevertheless, in addition to the slaves [lit. bodies] freed by him, He wanted something else – to free their kin

[Assante] ...for these things; setting aside the other goods, because they were shared also with his brother. Moreover, beyond the slaves he had already freed, he also wanted in some way to free their children

[Nicolardi] after this, leaving the other goods behind, as they were shared with his brother too, nevertheless, in addition to the slaves previously freed by him [scil. his brother Dicaearchus], he somehow wanted to free also their offspring

καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐρωτήσας, εἰ Εὐδοκεῖ προσγράψαι, Διεκελεύσατο· καὶ Χρῆ... ...ἀκόλουθον...

and after asking his brother, if He approves to adding [additions to the manumissions] in writing, He gave instructions; and Chre[us]... ...an attendant...

[Assante] and after consulting his brother about the appropriateness of making additions to the list, he arranged...

[Nicolardi] and after having asked him if he gave his consent, he ordered to add to the list also... ...attendant...



[Assante] It may be that Philonides consulted his brother about the possibility of drawing up an additional list of manumissions.

Or Philonides (after choosing not to involve himself with the slaves jointly owned with his brother so as not to interfere with his relative’s management of property) wished to grant his own previously freed slaves a kind of hereditary right of freedom, so that their descendants (τὸ γένος) too might enjoy a similar privilege.

[Nicolardi] This passage would lead us to presume that the ownership of these slaves was shared between the two of them, just like the ownership of the goods also mentioned.

It seems that, although Philonides did not determine anything specific about the other goods (as they were shared with his brother), he nevertheless wanted to make an addition to the manumissions previously performed by him.

It is probable that the properties that are the object of these lines had been transmitted to the two brothers by inheritance. Collective ownership and collective manumissions of slaves are quite frequently attested.

4. Departure from Family

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 58

...{[καταλ]ιπὼν / [προσε]ιπὼν} καὶ πατέ[ρα καὶ ἀ]δελφόν, ᾧ καὶ [συνακολ]οιῶν οὐδενός... ..μηαι νοήση<ι>. Φιλ[ωνίδης μέ]ν αὐτός ἀκο[λουθεῖν οὐκ ἔ]λεγεν, οὐδ'...

...καταλιπὼν καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἀδελφόν – ᾧ, καὶ συνακολουθῶν, οὐδενός ἄν Νοήσει. Φιλωνίδης, μὲν, αὐτὸς ἀκολουθεῖν οὐκ ἔλεγεν, οὐδ'...

...having left behind {<sup>or</sup>, having addressed} both father and brother – and, with whom, when following alongside, He would conceive of nothing. Philonides himself, however, did not say that he followed [them], nor even...

[Assante] ...having called him father and brother, and following him... ..he himself says [that he follows]...

[Assante] There is an allusion to the Philonides' departure from home, compelled to leave his loved ones in view of an important journey. It is known from other sources (see inscriptions below) that Philonides undertook several journeys and embassies in the company of his father (of the same name) and his younger brother Dicaearchus, but in this case, it is possible that he had decided to depart alone, for reasons not specified.

5. Geometry and Astrology

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 49 | 3 sup.

...γεωμετρίας τε καὶ ἀσ[τρο]λογίας· καὶ ἰδίως πως τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων ἀπεδέδεκτο. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φιλοτεκνίαν [ζήλου] λαλῶν· ἔτι παιδίων – φησὶν – ἡμῶν ὄντων, [προσε[σχομε]ν / προσε[δοῦμε]ν] | μηδὲ [ν] ἀπόκρυφον [πεπο]ῆσθαι π[ρὸς] αὐτούς, [ἀλλὰ π]άντα κ[αί] λόγον καὶ [πρᾶ]γμα ἐν μέ[σ]ω<ι> θεθεικέ[ναι].

...Γεωμετρίας τε καὶ Ἀστρολογίας – καὶ ἰδίως πως, τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων Ἀπεδέδεκτο. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φιλοτεκνίαν ζήλου λαλῶν:

...Geometries and Astrologies – and in particular, [Philonides] had adopted those [teachings of Epicurus] in this [topic] dealing with meteorological phenomena. and speaking of zeal regarding the fondness of children:

[Assante] ...To geometry and astrology. And in particular, [Philonides] had in some way accepted the opinions [of Epicurus] in this [discipline] relative to celestial phenomena. Speaking then of... in relation to love for children:

[Gallo] αἰτιολογέω is characteristic of Epicurean language and may suggest a specific reference to the philosophical training.

[Assante] "*in particular*" (**ἰδίως**) could serve to introduce a clarification, in relation to a rather generic title mentioned in the previous lines: perhaps it was stated that the Epicurean doctrine of celestial phenomena was taken up within a broader treatment of astronomy.

These lines probably referred generally to the scientific field, perhaps in connection with the topic of a teacher's lessons.

It seems, moreover, that the philosopher adopted Epicurus' theory on the meteōra, discussed in several passages of the *On Nature* and in the *Letter to Pythocles*; all the more reason to think of a **Dionysodorus [of Kaunos the Younger]** as Philonides' teacher, inclined toward the Epicurean creed and particularly devoted to scientific studies.

[Assante] It seems possible to discern a reference to a work of ethical content. We know from the testimony of Demetrius Lacon (*P.Herc. 1012, col. LXVI 5 ff. Puglia*) and other sources that the Epicurus likely considered love for offspring to be natural.

**"ἔτι παιδίων" Φησὶν " ἡμῶν ὄντων Προσεδοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀπόκρυφον πεποιῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς – ἀλλὰ πάντα – καὶ λόγον καὶ πρᾶγμα – ἐν μέσῳ τεθεικέναι."**

"while we were still children" [Philonides] says "We felt the need to do nothing hidden from them – but [to place] everything – both word and deed, out in the open."

[Assante] He says: "When we were still children, it never occurred to us (προσέσχομεν) / we never felt the need (προσεδοῦμεν) to do anything in secret toward them, but rather to reveal every word or action..."

[Assante] We recover an explicit reference to Philonides' clear and upright behavior toward his family from an early age.

## 6. Teachers of Philonides, Commentaries On Epicurus Works

[Assante] The papyrus merely mentions a "sixth book," without indicating the title of the work or the name of the author; nevertheless, no scholar has questioned that in these opening lines is a reference to Epicurus' principal work. At first, the absence of the title in this passage might suggest that Epicurus' work had already been cited earlier in this biography – but *On Nature* (**Περὶ Φύσεως**) is mentioned explicitly later on in this biography (along with the reference to the 8<sup>th</sup> book).

Based on the division of *On Nature* (**Περὶ Φύσεως**) into three distinct sections – physics, logic, and ethics – it is likely that the commentary on the sixth book of the famous treatise concerned Epicurean physics. It is also probable that in the sixth book Epicurus dealt with questions of physics somehow connected to geometry and mathematics – whose traditional foundations we know Epicurus rejected.

---

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, *P.Herc. 1044, fr. 7*

...[Φιλωνί]δης τοίνυν Λαοδιφει διακηκοένα[ι· ἐν μέν]τοι βυβλίους ὑπ[ο]μν[ήμα]τα φέρει {δύ' ἀρχαῖοι / δύ' ἀρχαῖα} τῶν παρ' Εὐδήμῳ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἕκτον, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν δι[α]ανοήσεων καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀρτέμωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον μέχρι πρὸς τὸ τρίτ[ον] καὶ <τρι>[α]κοστόν, ἐκλ[ι]πόν[των τινῶν], καὶ σ[χολ]ῶν τῶν [π]αρὰ Διονυ[σοδ]ώρῳ. φέρε[ι δὲ] καὶ σύντ[αγμα] π[ρὸς τὸ]ν Παταρέ[α]...

**...Φιλωνίδης, τοίνυν, Λαοδίκεια φησὶ διακηκοένα· ἐν, μέντοι, βυβλίους ὑπομνήματα φέρει: δύ' ἀρχαῖα, τῶν παρ' Εὐδήμῳ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἕκτον – καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν διανοήσεων – καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀρτέμωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον μέχρι πρὸς τὸ τρίτον καὶ τριακοστόν, ἐκλιπόντων τινῶν (καὶ σχολῶν τῶν παρὰ Διονυσόδωρῳ). Φέρει δὲ καὶ σύνταγμα πρὸς τὸν Παταρέα...**

...Philonides, then, says he become a disciple in Laodicea. indeed, in his books, he includes commentaries: two ancient [sources], those from Eudemos [of Pergamon] indeed those <sup>[1]</sup> up to the sixth [book of Epicurus on Nature] and concerning epistemological perceptions – and those of Artemon ["of Laodicea"] <sup>[2]</sup> from the first up to the thirty-third [book of Epicurus on Nature], with some missing (as well as lectures from Dionysodorus). He also includes a treatise addressed to the man from Patara...



[Assante] ...he writes that he had listened to. Among the books, he mentions two ancient commentaries: that of Eudemos – both the **one on the sixth book [On Nature by Epicurus]** and the one concerning scientific representations –and that of Artemon, from the first book up to the thirty-third [book], with the exception of some [books]. Among the lectures, he refers to those **of Dionysiodorus**. He also mentions a work against the Patarean...

[Assante] *There appears to be a general reference to certain writings and teachings of mentors who must have been particularly significant for Philonides. This passage also sheds light on the history of the exegesis of Epicurus’ work in antiquity, attested by an active intellectual life even in distant Syria.*

*It is reasonable to presume that Philonides’ initiation into Epicureanism had already occurred under the guidance of Artemon "of Laodicea." In my view, it is clear that we are not dealing here with commentaries by Philonides on those already written by others, but rather with the commentaries of his teachers.*

*From this passage, it seems both Eudemos [of Pergamon] and Artemon "of Laodicea" were Epicureans that wrote commentaries on Epicurus' work On Nature. We also learn below that Philonides was educated by Eudemos and Dionysodorus [of Kaunos the Younger].*

<b>ἡ ἐπιστήμη</b> <b>αἱ ἐπιστήμαι</b>	understanding	<b>ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ</b> <i>standing upon</i>
<b>ἐπιστημονικός</b> <i>(ή, όν)</i>	epistemological	<b>ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ</b> <i>characteristic of standing upon</i>
<b>τò διανόημα</b> <b>τά διανοήματα</b>	[mental] perception	<b>ΔΙΑΝΟΗΜΑ</b> <i>seeing through</i>

7. First Study with Mathematicians: Eudemos and Dionysodorus

---

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 25 sup.

...όμολογεῖν αὐτοῖς. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὰ σημειώματα ποιήσας ταῦτ' ἐπισεσήμανται· Φιλωνίδης ἤκουσε μὲν Εὐδήμου πρώτου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διον[υσό]δωρου τοῦ Διον[υσοδώρ]ου Καυνίο[υ]...

**...όμολογεῖν αὐτοῖς. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὰ σημειώματα ποιήσας ταῦτα ἐπισεσήμανται: Φιλωνίδης ἤκουσε μὲν Εὐδήμου πρώτου – μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Διονυσοδώρου, τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου Καυνίου...**

...to agree with them. now He who composed these notes has especially marked: Philonides first studied under Eudemos [of Pergamon] – and after that, under Dionysodorus, the son of Dionysodorus of Kaunos [in Caria]...

[Assante] ...to be in agreement with them. So the one who made the annotations highlighted these facts: Philonides first listened to Eudemos [of Pergamon], then to Dionysiodorus [of Amisus], son of Dionysiodorus of Caunos...

[Assante] *Eudemos of Pergamon* was the dedicatee of Book 2 of Apollonius of Perga's *Conics*.

I believe *Dionysodorus [of Kaunos the Younger]* was a significant figure aligned with Epicurean doctrine and not unfamiliar with scientific interests.

(1) the *Dionysodorus* mentioned here was from Caunos

(2) he had a father of the same name, who is also mentioned – unusual, since patronymics do not appear for other figures in this biography

(3) Philonides probably published his lectures

Rather than claiming that *Eudemos* was definitively Philonides' "first teacher" (though I do not rule out that he attended his lectures), I think the passage simply says that among *Eudemos* and *Dionysodorus*, (likely grouped together because both were mathematicians), Philonides happened to listen first to the one and then the other, without specifying when exactly his "apprenticeship" took place.

[Philippson] The biographer was providing an additional detail about the nature of his source, probably a set of written notes (perhaps by a student of Philonides), already reviewed by others.

The philological work done on the text (i.e., the source from which our biographer draws his information) is attributed to another hand – "Ο μὲν οὖν τὰ σημειώματα ποιήσας" – who, within a larger body of data, performed a selection, highlighting (ἐπισεσήμανται) the most relevant points.

8. Study with Epicureans: Timasagoras – Basileides & Thespis – Old Iolaus

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 11

...{φιλοσόφων... ...καὶ Τιμασαγ[όρ]ου} Β[ασιλείδ]ου κα[ὶ] Θέσπιδος, {[οἷς συγγέγο]νε μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, [ἀπολυπὼν δ]ὲ πάλιν βασιλέ[α συνῆ]ν / [ῶν ἀκουστ]ῆς μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, [ἐσχόλασε δ]ὲ πάλιν βασιλε[ίδη κ]αὶ} Θ[έσ]πιδι μῆνας ἕξ. Σ[υνέτ]υχεν δὲ καὶ Ἰολάωι [μέχρι εἰ]ς ποσὸν [χρό]νον καὶ [πολλοῖ]ς ἄλλοις [φιλ]οσόφοις...

...φιλοσόφων... ...καὶ Τιμασαγόρου – Βασιλείδου καὶ Θέσπιδος, ῶν Ἀκουστῆς μὲν ἐνιαυτόν – Ἐσχόλασε δὲ πάλιν βασιλείδῃ καὶ Θέσπιδι μῆνας ἕξ.

...of the philosophers... ...and of Timasagoras – of Basileides and of Thespis, [he was] a Student of them for a year – and He studied again with Basileides and Thespis for six months.

[Assante] ...among the philosophers... and Timasagoras, Basileides, and Thespis: having listened to them for a year, he was then again a pupil of Basileides and Thespis for six months.

Συνέτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἰολάω μέχρι εἰς ποσὸν χρόνον καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις...

He also met with Iolaus [grandfather of the Antiphanes] for some time and with many other philosophers...

[Assante] He later also met Iolaus for a certain period and many other philosophers...

[Assante] Timasagoras is associated with Nikasikrates of Rhodes and is mentioned only by Philodemus – and always in a polemical tone. It is therefore plausible (as Philippson argued) that he was a dissident Epicurean, at odds with the official line represented in Athens by Basileides and Thespis.

The mention of Timasagoras immediately before Basileides and Thespis does not necessarily reflect complete ideological association, but rather a "geographical" and "occasional" one – that is, tied to the period of education Philonides spent in Athens, during which he had the opportunity to encounter and engage with various schools of thought, even those opposed to one another.

Such an observation by the biographer is certainly in keeping with his encomiastic intent: the aim is to emphasize how Philonides ultimately arrived at Epicurean belief.

[Assante] Nothing certain can be said about Iolaus, besides the fact that he was the grandfather of the Antiphanes, also mentioned in this biography. It is not to be ruled out that Iolaus was himself an Epicurean philosopher.

The overall sense of this section would be as follows: just as, after hearing first Eudemos and then Dionysodorus among the 'mathematicians,' Philonides chose to adopt the principles of the latter (presumably in the scientific sphere), openly declaring himself his disciple – so too, in the same way, only after interacting over the span of a year with various philosophers (who, though belonging to different currents of thought, must have circulated in Athens at the same time), did he incline toward the official line of the Epicurean school, deciding to attend the lectures of Basileides and Thespis as a student (no longer merely as a listener) for another six months.

In both the case of the mathematicians and the philosophers, it seems the intention is to allude to a kind of preliminary survey of the different schools by Philonides before making a more deliberate and conscious choice.

9. Joined the School, Multitude of Philologists

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 12

...ἀνέβαιν' ἔτου[ς τοῦ] αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέβαιν' ἐς [σχο]λὴν ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυ[του] φιλο[λόγ]ων πλῆθος, ὧ[ν προσ]ώπω<ι> [μό]νον διαλλάσσει. Ὁ δὲ ἐ[ξ]ῆς τῆς σχολῆς περ[ιέχ]εσ[θαι] ἤδη καὶ. προσ[κοπ]ήν [μεγίστ]ην ποι[εῖσθαι]...

...Ἀνέβαιν' ἔτους τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀνέβαιν' εἰς σχολήν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ φιλολόγων πλῆθος – ὧν προσώπω μόνον Διαλλάσσει.

...[Philonides] advanced in that same year and advanced into the school [of Basileides and Thespis], having with him a multitude of philologists [i.e., lovers of reasoning] – from whom He differed only in appearance.

[Assante] ...[Philonides] ascended in the same year and went up to the residence with a retinue of knowledge-lovers, from whom he differed only in manner.

Ὁ δὲ, ἐξῆς, τῆς σχολῆς περιέχεσθαι ἤδη καὶ προσκοπήν μεγίστην ποιεῖσθαι...

but He, from that point on, [said that he] was enthralled with the school already and was making it his greatest consideration... [sc. f. with the Epicureans Basileides and Thespis]

[Assante] He then [sought] regularly to stay in contact with the school and to make very great progress...

[Assante] It seems to me that the subject remains Philonides, and that this still concerns Philonides’ period of training in Athens.

I have preferred to translate [αὐλ]ήν (correction for [σχο]λήν) generically as "residence," though I believe it referred to an open space – some kind of courtyard within a building, used as the location of a philosophical school (perhaps specifically the Athenian school of Basileides and Thespis).

Rather than "philosophers" (φιλοσοφοῖ), the reference seems to be to "philologists" (φιλόλογοι), in the positive sense of the term. I believe the reference is to the other students who, like Philonides, regularly came to attend the lectures in large numbers.

The term σχολή here clearly means "philosophical school," while elsewhere it appears in the plural to refer to "lessons."

10. Eighth Book On Nature, Geometry of the Minima

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 13, 14 (29)

...διαστικ[ά]... ...[ποι]κίλα. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ[ς τοὺς δο]ξάζοντας διεν[έγ]κα[ι ποι]κίλως γεωμετρίας δι[ια]λεκτικ[ήν] ῥήτορας δι[υσφ]η[μέτ]ι... ...[φιλ]ονικοῦν[τι]ες... ...[λ]ελυκέναι ὑπέρ... ...[δὲ τοῦ ὄγ]δόου περὶ φύσεως καὶ ἄλλας παντοδα[π]ὰς εἰς τὰ

δόγματ' α[ύτου] γεωμετρικάς περι ἑλα[χίσ]του πολλὰς. Πεπόηκεν δὲ νέοις ἀργοῖς ὠφελίμους καὶ [τ]ὰς ἐπιτομὰς τ[ῶν] ἐπιστολῶν τῶν Ἐπικούρου[ου,] Μητροδώρου, Πολυαίνου, Ἑρμάρχου καὶ τῶν σ[υνηγ]μέ[νων] κατὰ γένος ἐπ[ι]στο[λῶν]...

...διαστικά... ...ποίκιλα. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς δοξάζοντας διενέγκαι ποικίλως: γεωμετρίας, διαλεκτικὴν, ῥήτορας Δυσφημεῖ· ...Φιλόνικούντες... ...Λελυκέναι ὑπὲρ... ...δὲ τοῦ ὀγδόου *Περὶ Φύσεως* καὶ ἄλλας παντοδαπὰς εἰς τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ – γεωμετρικὰς, περὶ ἐλαχίστου πολλὰς.

...punctuated... ...diverse things. for indeed, to respond to those who holding opinions in various ways: [Philonides] is disparaging of geometry, dialectic, rhetors... ...Quarrelers... ...He had refuted on behalf of... ...and of [Epicurus'] eighth *On Nature* and many other assorted ones among his doctrines – many of them related to geometry, concerning the minimum.

[Assante] ...various kinds. And in fact, he debated with the rhetoricians who believe that dialectic... in various respects... geometry... then to [Epicurus'] eighth book *On Nature* and many other works of various kinds according to his geometrical principles concerning the minimum.

Πεπόηκεν δὲ νέοις ἀργοῖς ὠφελίμους – καὶ τὰς ἐπιτομὰς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν Ἐπικούρου, Μητροδώρου, Πολυαίνου, Ἑρμάρχου, καὶ τῶν συνηγμένων κατὰ γένος ἐπιστολῶν...

He produced useful works for idle youths – including abridgments of the letters of Epicurus, Metrodorus, Polyaenus, Hermarchus, and [abridgments] of those letters collected by type...

[Assante] He also composed epitomes – useful for lazy youths – of the letters of Epicurus, Metrodorus, Polyaenus, Hermarchus, and the letters... by type...

[Sedley] Philonides is said by his anonymous biographer in PHerc. 1044 to have solved [difficulties] concerning [Epicurus'] *On Nature* Book VIII, and various others relating to his doctrines, and many geometrical ones concerning the minimal unit.

[Assante] Overall it seems that the biographer repeatedly refers to his activity as a writer. I would connect this textual section to the contribution Philonides made to the exegesis and dissemination of the work of Epicurus and his disciples, always with particular attention to the scientific field.

It seems reasonable to me that the biographer was referring generically to Philonides' writings, which were useful for communicative purposes and varied in content.

[Assante] Reference is made to Philonides' exegetical work on the canonical text of Epicurus and more generally to scientific topics – notably, the doctrine of "minima."

This also confirms an interesting reference to Book 8 of Epicurus' *On Nature*, a book not attested elsewhere – but likely (like Book 6) to have dealt with physics, assuming the work was divided into the usual three sections: physics, logic, and ethics.

This is followed by the biographer alluding to the epitomes composed by Philonides of the letters of the Καθηγεμόνες (Epicurean Scholarchs).

The main issue concerns the meaning of the term ἐπιτομή (epitomē) in this specific context. In the Epicurean school, the epistle was already considered a kind of didactic-compendious form, designed to transmit key doctrines concisely and accessibly. It is therefore strange that Philonides would feel the need to create summaries of texts already so 'condensed,' unless we interpret the ἐπιτομαί as "excerpts from letters" or "selections"

We also have here the use of the adjective ὠφέλιμος (useful) again in reference to the writings of Philonides, whose usefulness for future generations is emphasized above all – once again within a eulogistic framework aimed at highlighting the profound and lasting contribution made by the philosopher to the dissemination of the Epicurean creed.

...{προστίθισ[ιν] ὅτι} ἡχαρίστησεν Ἀρτέμ[ω]νι τῷ καθηγητῇ κα[ί] σ[υνεσ]τήσατο ἐ[ν] τ[ῇ] αὐτῇ[ι] πόλ[ει σ]χολήν [ἐ]πί  
κ[α]ταλύσει τοῦ κ[αθηγητοῦ]... ...Καὶ Φιλωνί[δης]... ...δ' ὅλου βυ[βλίου]...

...Προστίθουσιν ὅτι Ἐχαρίστησεν Ἀρτέμωνι, τῷ καθηγητῇ, καὶ Συνεστήσατο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει σχολήν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ καθηγητοῦ... ...καὶ Φιλωνίδης... ...δ' ὅλου βιβλίου...

...He adds that He 'expressed gratitude' to [the Epicurean] Artemon, his teacher, and He established in the same city a school for the [forced] retirement of the teacher... ...and Philonides... ...of an entire book...

[Assante] ...he adds that he was ungrateful toward his teacher Artemon and established a school in the same city to the ruin of the teacher...

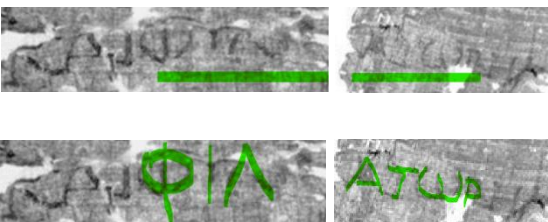
[Assante] This concerns the relationship between Philonides one of his earliest teachers, the Epicurean Artemon "of Laodicea." From the text, it appears that Philonides may not have shown gratitude to his former teacher – instead founding a rival school in the same city.

## 12. Seleucus IV Philopator friendly with Philonides

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 6 | 6a

...περιπλεκῆναι δι[α]ν[α]στάντα(\*) καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλ[ω]ν προσεκτίθεται φιλοφροσύνας. γέγονε δὲ φανερόν ὅτι καὶ Φιλοπ[ά]τωρ ἦν εὐν[ο]ύστατος Φιλωνίδ[ης]...

[Gallo] ...π[ι]ς ἐκτιθέ[ναι]... ...μνη]μο[σύνας]... ..."Ἔστιν δὲ] φανερόν ὅτ[ι] ἐπεὶ ὁ Φιλοπ[ά]τωρ ἦν εὐ[ν]ούστατος Φιλωνίδ[ης]...



...περιπλεκῆναι διαστάντα, καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων Προσεκτίθεται φιλοφροσύνας. Γέγονε δὲ φανερόν ὅτι καὶ Φιλοπάτωρ ἦν εὐνούστατος Φιλωνίδει...

...to have become entangled after parting ways, and He extended mutual courtesies. so It has become clearly evident that even [Seleucus IV] Philopator was very well-disposed toward Philonides...

[Nicolardi] ...to read the memorandae [μνημοσύνας] publicly. It is clear that since [Seleucus] Philopator was most friendly towards Philonides...

[Assante] ...reciprocally... to express... ...it is evident that Philonides was also justly affectionate toward his father.

[Nicolardi] Gera's new interpretation was essentially based on the adjective φιλοπάτωρ, which he did not read as a reference to Philonides and his relationship with his father, with Crönert and Gallo, but which he rather capitalized and understood as the epithet of the king Seleucus IV.

## 13. Letter of Recommendation to Heliodorus of Antioch

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 20 fin., 21

...{κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐσχάτης} τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἔμ[εινε]. Καὶ τῶν [συμ]βιούντων [παρα]γενόμεν[ος]... ...Ἡλιόδωρε, ὡς ἀπὸ τύχης, γενναῖον καὶ ἄπλαστον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἦθος [καί] ἰλαρότητος τῆς πρὸς πάντας <μετα>ποι<ού>μενον...

...[δε]λ[φ]ῶν... ...ἀκριβοῦ[ς]... ...[δικαι]άρχου τραχύ[τητα]... ...βασιλέω[ς]... ...βασιλεῖ... ...[χρησιμώ]τατος δ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν, [οὐκ ἐ]πινοητὴν ἔχω[ν τὴν φύσιν]...

"...κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐσχάτης τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην" Ἐμεινε. καὶ τῶν συμβιούντων παραγενόμενος... ...Ἡλιόδωρε, ὡς ἀπὸ τύχης, γενναῖον καὶ ἄπλαστον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἦθος – καὶ ἰλαρότητος τῆς πρὸς πάντας μεταποιούμενο...  
...ἀκριβοῦς... ...Δικαιάρχου τραχύτητα... ...βασιλέως... ...βασιλεῖ...  
...χρησιμώτατος δ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν – οὐκ ἐπινοητὴν ἔχων τὴν φύσιν..."



"...as concerns the last day, He stayed the whole day. and being present among those living with him.... ...Oh Heliodorus, as if by chance, his Disposition toward his friends was noble and unfeigned – being transformed with cheerfulness toward everyone... ...to make precise... ...the harshness of Dicaearchus... ...of the king... ...to the king... ...and that Man [i.e., Philonides] was most useful – having a nature not contrived [lit. 'overthought']..."

[Assante] "...during the events of the last day... ...the whole day... ...and of those who lived with him... {Heliodorus, as it happened, [had] a generous and sincere character toward his friends...} ...harshness of Dicaearchus... ...of the king... ...to the king... ...this man was extremely useful, not having a speculative nature..."

*Heliodorus of Antioch (fl.c. 175 BCE) was a treasurer of Seleucus IV Philopator. Due to his efforts related to the 2<sup>nd</sup> temple, he is mentioned as a villain in 2 Maccabees and (alluded to) in the Book of Daniel.*

[Assante] *We are informed by Appian (Syr. VIII 45) of the episode in which Seleucus IV Philopator was assassinated by Heliodorus of Antioch, who had vainly attempted to seize power on behalf of Seleucus IV’s young son, the future Demetrius I Soter – a plan that failed due to the ascension of the king’s brother, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Heliodorus would later be readmitted to the Syrian court and was eventually reintegrated politically.*

*Possibly the biographer is quoting a letter addressed to Heliodorus of Antioch, in which the amiable character of Philonides was praised. I would think the author of the letter must have been a political figure of some importance – perhaps even a king.*

[Assante] *It seems plausible that this section alludes to the practical character of Philonides’ younger brother, Dicaearchus, who was not at all inclined toward speculative activity, but was undoubtedly of great help in other affairs – especially if, as suggested, a comparison between the two brothers follows shortly after, highlighting their contrasting traits: the gentleness of one and the harshness of the other.*

14. Heliodorus removed from Seleucid Court

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 28.1,

...αὐτοῦ Ἡλιόδωρον ἀποξε[vo]λογήσαντα καὶ συναπά[ραντα]...

...αὐτοῦ Ἡλιόδωρον, ἀποξενολογήσαντα καὶ συναπάραντα...

...with him Heliodorus [of Antioch], having been denounced as a stranger and carried off along...

[Assante] ...of him... Heliodorus, who completed the enlistment and departed together...

[Assante] *The minister of Seleucus IV Philopator already mentioned in the biography. Here, his identification with the political figure known from historical sources seems secure, since the passage alludes to a military action, presumably in some way involving Philonides himself.*

[Philippson] *Philonides may have dissuaded Seleucus IV Philopator’s military commander (to whom αὐτοῦ above would refer) from recruiting Carian mercenaries near Kaunos.*

15. Antiochus IV Epiphanes the Epicurean, 125 Brief Synopses of Philonides

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 30

...τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς ἡλλοτριωμένου πρὸς τῇ[v] αἵρεσιν, Φιλωνίδης αὐτὸ[v] αἰρετιστὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπόησεν, συντάγματα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε ἐκδεδω[κώς, καὶ ἐνί]ους ὑπομνημ[ατισμ]οὺς [τοῦ]ς γνωρίμο[ις ἀπέλι]πε. Διὰ <δὲ> τὴν ἑαυτο[ῦ χρηστ]ότητα θράσει...

...τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς ἡλλοτριωμένου πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν – Φιλωνίδης αὐτὸν αἵρετιστὴν τῶν λόγων ἐποίησεν – συντάγματα ἑκατὸν-εἴκοσι-πέντε ἐκδεδωκώς, καὶ ἐνίους ὑπομνηματισμοὺς τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἀπέλιπε. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα θράσει...

...when [Antiochus IV] Epiphanes had turned away from the choice [sect, i.e. the Epicurean School] – Philonides made him [i.e., Epiphanes] one who chooses [i.e., an Epicurean] in thinking – having published 125 treatises, and left behind some commentaries for his acquaintances. and because of his own goodness, with boldness...

[Assante] ...while [Antiochus IV] Epiphanes had been hostile to the school, Philonides persuaded him to embrace the doctrine, having published one hundred twenty-five works, and he also left some note-books for his students out of his benevolence... with courage...

[Assante] These lines mention King Antiochus IV’s early reluctance toward Epicurean doctrine – an attitude he later overcame thanks to the philosopher’s persuasive efforts and the many writings Philonides produced, which had already been referenced several times in earlier columns.

[Assante] As for the philosopher’s 125 works – since this statement is independent within the larger list of the philosopher’s merits, there’s no need to assume the unlikely claim that his entire corpus was completed by the end of Antiochus IV’s reign (164 BCE).

These student notebooks may be connected in some way to Philonides’ epitomes of the letters of the masters – both aimed at a fast, condensed learning style suited to the intellectual demands of the era.

16. Philonides writes about Epiphanes

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 29 | 32

...{[Av]τιφάνη[ς] / Ἐπιφανῇ} βασι|λέα Φιλωνίδου γράψαντος ἐν οἷς παρεθέμεθα πρότερον ὑπὸ... | {...καὶ πέπερι μόνον} Δ[ι]ονυσοδώρου, παῖδα ὄντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐστοιχειῶσθαι, ὃν πιστεύω μὴ ἡλλοτριῶσθαι πρ[ὸς] τὴν αἵρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Φιλωνίδου παρη[τ]ημέ[vo]ν ὅπως μὴ διαφ[θείροι τὴν] Λαοδ[ι]κειαν...

...Ἐπιφανῇ βασιλέα, Φιλωνίδου γράψαντος, ἐν οἷς Παρεθέμεθα πρότερον – ὑπὸ Διονυσοδώρου παῖδα ὄντα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐστοιχειῶσθαι – ὃν Πιστεύω μὴ ἡλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν.

...King [Antiochus IV] Epiphanes, as written by Philonides, in the [passages] We previously set forth – was given elementary instruction by [the Epicurean] Dionysodorus while still a child in age – [and] whom I believe was not alienated from the choice [sect, i.e. the Epicurean School].

[Assante] ...the King [Antiochus IV] Epiphanes, as Philonides wrote, in the passages we cited earlier, had learned the basic teachings from Dionysodorus when he was still a boy – whom [i.e., Epiphanes] I am convinced was not hostile to the school...

εἰ δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Φιλωνίδου παρητημένον, ὅπως μὴ Διαφθείροι τὴν Λαοδίκειαν...

but if the one who was advised by Philonides, so that He [f. Demetrius I Soter] might not fully ruin Laodicea...

[Assante] If he was the one who was implored by Philonides not to destroy Laodicea...

Assante] The information about Antiochus IV is presented by the biographer as a direct testimony of Philonides – confirming that many details in the biography were supported by direct quotes (mostly epistolary excerpts, it seems) or indirect references to his writings.

[Assante] King **Antiochus IV** may not have been so hostile to the Epicurean school after all. As the biographer himself remarks, **Antiochus**, in his youth, had been a student of **Dionysodorus**, as attested by Philonides, thus by the most credible source the author could cite. **Dionysodorus** son of **Dionysodorus**, of Caunus is also mentioned in this biography.

Though the chronology of Philonides remains quite uncertain, it seems plausible that he was significantly younger than **Antiochus IV** – especially if his peak is placed under **Demetrius I**.

Therefore, rather than positing a shared teacher (considering that the king is said to have been "a child in age"), I would suggest that **Antiochus IV** had studied under "**Dionysiodorus the Elder**" (likely the one from Caunus) – while Philonides studied under "**Dionysiodorus the Younger**" (possibly the mathematician mentioned in other sources)

In any case, whether it refers to one **Dionysiodorus** or the other, this passage confirms that his teaching aligned with Epicurean doctrine, which also explains his frequent appearance in the biography.

This passage confirms that **Antiochus IV** was once a pupil of **Dionysiodorus** (likely the elder of Caunus), and this fact is used by the biographer to support the idea that the king was not truly hostile toward the Epicurean school.

[Assante] Another issue arises the "**one who was advised** by Philonides" which refers to a king being implored by Philonides not to destroy Laodicea. According to Gallo, this was almost certainly **Demetrius I**.

## 17. Demetrius I Soter & The Romans

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 9

...Δημ[ήτριον]... ...Ρωμα[ίους], Ἀντιόχου [Σε]λεύκου δ[ὲ] θέλοντος αὐτὴν ἀνάστ[α]τον ποιεῖν, ὑπουργ[ί]ας ἐξαισίου...

...**Δημήτριον**... ...**Ρωμαίους**, **Ἀντιόχου Σελεύκου δὲ θέλοντος αὐτὴν ἀνάστατον ποιεῖν, ὑπουργίας ἐξαισίας**...

..**Demetrius [I Soter]**... ...**the Romans**, while **Antiochus [son]** of **Seleucus [IV Philopator]** wished to render her [*i.e., Laodicea*] **destroyed**, through extraordinary assistance...

[Assante] ...Romans... Antiochus... Seleucus... wanting to destroy it... ...of an extraordinary service...

When **Seleucus IV Philopator** was assassinated (175 <sup>BCE</sup>), **Demetrius I Soter (Seleucus' older son)** was a political prisoner in Rome, so **Antiochus (Seleucus' younger son)** was proclaimed king – with **Heliodorus a regent**.

**Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Seleucus' brother)** soon arrived in Syria and proclaimed himself a co-ruler with **Antiochus**. Therefore, the "wishes of **Antiochus [son]** of **Seleucus**" probably refers to the policy of **Heliodorus** or [more likely] **Antiochus IV** which were in effect before the policies of **Demetrius I Soter**.

[Assante] The reference to a destruction of a city may align with events following the assassination of **Gnaeus Octavius** (c. 163 <sup>BCE</sup>).

Octavius was sent (with two colleagues, Spurius Lucretius and Lucius Aurelius) as both an ambassador to uphold the Peace of Apamea and as an enforcer of Roman dominance on the weakened Seleucid regime. In this capacity, Octavius had the Syrian war elephants hamstrung and the Seleucid fleet set on fire, actions carried out under the pretext of enforcing the treaty.

Octavius' destruction of the war elephants and fleet – allowed by **Lysias, then regent for the young Antiochus V Eupator** (son of **Antiochus IV Epiphanes**) to keep his peace with Rome – sparked outrage in Syria and prompted Octavius' assassination (by a man named Leptines) in Laodicea.

The attempt by *Lysias* to promptly offer *the king’s apologies* in hope of a painless reconciliation proved futile.

Soon after (162 <sup>BCE</sup>), *Demetrius I Soter* ascended the throne; after eliminating both *his cousin Antiochus V and Lysias*, he sought to win Roman favor by handing over Octavius’ murderer and ordering the destruction of Laodicea.

It can be most confidently hypothesized is that Philonides had interceded with the king to prevent the destruction of his native city – a mission undertaken by the philosopher in that emergency situation.

18. Ambassadors of Demetrius I Soter

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 56.1

...ὁμῖν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέ[ως] {Δημητρίο[υ]}...

**...ὁμῖν οἱ Πρέσβεις οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Βασιλέως Δημητρίου...**

...the Ambassadors **sent off to you all** by King Demetrius [*I Soter*]...

[Assante] ...to you, the ambassadors sent by King Demetrius...

[Assante] *Philonides lived under the reign of five or six different kings of Syria: from Antiochus III the Great (r. 223 – ob. 187 <sup>BCE</sup>) to Demetrius I Soter (r. 162 – ob. 150 <sup>BCE</sup>), and perhaps even under one of his two successors (Alexander Balas and Demetrius II).*

*Philonides seems to have carried out political and diplomatic activity on behalf of Antiochus IV – activity which certainly continued under Demetrius I Soter.*

19. Diplomacy. Diogenes of Babylon, Embassy

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 53

...ὁμοδόξ[ο]ις τε καὶ ἀ[π'] ἄλλων ἀ[νδρ]ῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀποδοχῆς [ἔ]τυχε πάντω[ν], ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτευόν[των μάλιστα τιμᾶ]σθαι, καθάπερ φασὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Διογένους τοῦ Βα[βυλωνίου]...

**...ὁμοδόξοις τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, ὑφ’ ὧν ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε πάντων: ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτευόντων μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι – καθάπερ Φασὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Διογένους τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου...**

...with those of the same opinion and also from other men, by all of whom He was received with approval: so as to be especially honored even by the magistrates – just as They say [*he was also honored*] also by [*the Stoic Scholar*] Diogenes of Babylon...

[Assante] ...[among the] companions in doctrine and also from other people, from all of whom he is said to have received a warm welcome – so much so that he was exceptionally honored even by political men, as they say, even by Diogenes of Babylon...

*We learn here that Philonides enjoyed excellent reputation among fellow Epicureans, political figures, and even intellectuals opposed to Epicureanism. We know from inscriptions that he was also given Athenian citizenship and honors.*

[Assante] There is no doubt that this refers to the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon (fl. c. 190 BCE), mentioned here more for his political activity than his philosophical one. Diogenes of Babylon was scholarch of the Stoic school in Athens and part of the embassy to Rome (155 BCE).

This biography also mentions Carneades (fl. 174 BCE), the scholarch of the Academy, and another one of three philosophers sent to Rome.

The Peripatetic Critolaus was the final member. The Epicureans were excluded from the embassy. The association of the Epicurean Philonides with thinkers from rival schools is not without significance.

Alongside the clear diplomatic and negotiating talents of Philonides, which must have earned him widespread respect and admiration, it is possible there was some "transformation of the original attitude of hostility and polemic between competing and rival philosophical schools." [Gallo]

## 20. Mission, Counsel, and Difficulty

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 62, 16

...μη πε[ρ]ὶ ὧν δεησόμε[ν]ος ὑπὸ Λαοδικέων ἐξαπέσταλται, περὶ ὧ[ν] αὐ[τ]ὸς συμβουλευῶν παραγέγονεν· μηδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γεγονέναι λυπερότερον τοῦ τοιοῦτον εὐρῆσθαι πρὸς ἔντευξιν πρόσωπ[ον, δ]ιὰ τὸ τιμᾶν μέν, ἀ[λλὰ] μηδὲν ἴσσον πατρ[ὸς\ώως]...

**...μὴ περὶ ὧν δεησόμενος ὑπὸ Λαοδικέων ἔξαπέσταλται – ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς συμβουλευῶν παραγέγονεν·**

...not concerning those [issues] which He was sent by the Laodiceans after a request – but about those [issues] which He had come intending to give advice.

[Assante] ...not [matters] about which he was sent by the Laodiceans to make requests, [but] about which he himself took the initiative to offer advice.

[Assante] A contrast between being prompted by the Laodiceans, who – as in past cases – must have "brought forward" Philonides, as if playing their winning card (hence the figurative sense of (ἐξαποστέλλω) vs. being promoted on his own initiative.

**Μηδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γεγονέναι λυπερότερον τοῦ τοιοῦτον εὐρῆσθαι πρὸς ἔντευξιν πρόσωπον – διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν μέν – ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἴσσον πατρῴως...**

for Nothing had happened to him more grievous than to have found such a person for an audience – because he respected [him] – yet who nonetheless in a fatherly [way]...

[Assante] In fact, nothing had been more painful for him than finding himself face to face with such a person for the meeting, since he honored him no less than a father...

[Assante] In continuity with being sent by his fellow citizens on a diplomatic mission, this passage alludes to the active involvement of Philonides in resolving the issue at hand (which remains unknown to us), as well as to a very painful – or at least embarrassing – episode: an unexpected encounter with a rather prominent figure, very dear to Philonides, who happened to be there as a "negotiator" himself.

## 21. "They Struggle Against, We Examine Together"

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 63, 52a

...ἀγωνίζονται. Ἀνάπαλιν μὲν συζητῶ... αὐτοῦ τῇ[ς] Λαοδικείας ἐπιστα<τ>ευθεῖς, ἧς κ[αὶ]...

**"...Ἀγωνίζονται – ἀνάπαλιν, μὲν Συζητῶ... αὐτοῦ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐπιστατευθεῖς, ἧς καὶ..."**

"...They contend – on the contrary, I am examining with... having been called into service in Laodicea itself, of which also..."



[Assante] *It is plausible to think that even in this brief surviving fragment, the biographer, fully in line with the encomiastic aim of his work, once again included an autobiographical insert (as suggested by the use of the first-person singular: **Συζητῶ**) to highlight the philosopher’s balance and wisdom in knowing how to assess the best behaviors to adopt in difficult circumstances:*

*While others were likely busy quarreling (**Ἀγωνίζεσθαι**) to impose one opinion or another, without leaving room for constructive dialogue, Philonides himself proposed an alternative path – the only one universally valid – that of seeking together (**συζητεῖν**) the solution, in line with a practice already well-tested in Epicurus’ time.*

*His political activity, far from being an expression of impatience with the genuine teachings of the master, should be understood as consistent with the same lifestyle, appearing as a natural continuation of philosophical practice.*

*In this sense, it is easy to suppose that, alongside the inevitable diachronic evolution of any philosophical thought, Epicurean doctrine reached its fullest development in political realms thanks to the efforts of exceptional adherents like Philonides – undoubtedly a prominent figure, deemed worthy of being the sole protagonist of an encomiastic biography.*

## 22. Full Collection of Epicurus’ Books

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 65, 66

..αὐτὰς **[ἔοι]**κεν ὁ πεποηκῶς παρε**[ι]**λῆφθαι χάριν τοῦ κοσ**[μίου]**... ...σπουδ**[ῆν ἔχων τῆς]** συ**[να]**γωγῆς τῶν Ἐπ**[ι]**κού**[ρο]**υ  
βυβλίων, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ...

**...αὐτὰς ἔοικεν Ὁ πεποιηκῶς παρελῆφθαι χάριν τοῦ κοσμίου... ...ἔχων τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἐπικούρου βιβλίων – ὑπὲρ ἧς, καὶ...**

...He who made **them** seems to have received them **for the sake of decorum**... ...with possession **of the collection** of Epicurus’ books – on account of which, also...

[Assante] ...he persuaded... ...even if... ...the author seems to have undertaken them for... ...having care for the collection of the books of Epicurus, for which also...

[Assante] *The small portion of text preserved in this column contains an interesting reference to the collection of Epicurus’ books – which, according to Diogenes Laertius X 26, must have exceeded 300 scrolls.*

## 23. Epicurean Community at the Seleucid Palace in Antioch

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 19 fin. part 1

...φιλοσοφίας **[ἔ]**νεκα συ**[νε]**ζητηκῶτων εὐδοκητῶς. Ἡ διατριβὴ δ' ἦν ἐν **[ταύτῃ]** ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλείων οἰκίαν κατὰ...  
...**[βα]**σιλείας...

**...φιλοσοφίας ἔνεκα συνεζητηκῶτων εὐδοκητῶς. ἡ δὲ Διατριβὴ ἦν ἐν ταύτῃ, ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλείων – οἰκίαν κατὰ...**

...with them having discussed together **for the sake of philosophy with goodwill**. the Time spent [*i.e., their residence*] was **in the same [building]**, across from the palace – **a house** according to...

[Assante] ...of those who, out of love for philosophy, carried out shared investigations in a manner worthy of approval. The discussion took place in... a house located across from the royal residence...

[Assante] The biographer returns to the idea of shared practiced by Philonides and his disciples – among whom, it seems, *King Demetrius I Soter* stood out for his natural inclination toward philosophical practice. The notion of a school, organized with the king’s support right near the royal residence, appears confirmed by what is written later, where the author seems to deliberately return to what must have been one of the central themes of the biography, namely the relationship between philosophy and power.

24. Success with King Demetrius I Soter

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 19 fin. part 2 | 20 sup

...[βα]σιλέως... ...κατὰ φιλο[σοφίαν]... διαρθρώσας... ...δ' εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ] ἡθους χρηστότητα παραινέσας καὶ τὸ | πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτενὲς ἀποδεξ[ά]μενος... ...κατὰ τὰ [τῆς ἡμέ]ρας ἐσχά[της]... ...ὥς ἂν ἐνὸς τῶ[v] μάλιστα ἐμπαθέστατα [π]αρεστηκότων πρὸς φιλο[σοφίαν]· καὶ ἑαυτὸν νεανικῶν ἀπελύετο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν οὔτ[ε] συγεδρείας ἥστινος οὔν οὔ[τε συ]μβουλῆς <ένδεής> ἦν, τῆς [δ' αὐτῇ]ς ἡμερότ[ητος], κα[ὶ] ἅ[τιν]α γίνοιτ' α[ὐτ]ῶι συνεργῶ[ι ἐχρήτο]...

...**βασιλέως...** ...**κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διαρθρώσας...**

...of the king... ...having structured it according to philosophy...

...ἔπειτα δὲ, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἡθους χρηστότητα παραινέσας – καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτενὲς ἀποδεξάμενος... ...ὥς ἂν Ἐνὸς τῶν μάλιστα ἐμπαθέστατα παρεστηκότων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν·

...then, having urged [him] into kindness of disposition – and having welcomed his eagerness and friendly [character]... ...as though [he was] One of those who had stood most passionately near to philosophy.

[Assante] ...to encourage other things toward kindness of character, welcoming both his eagerness and his zeal, as one of those who had turned to philosophy with extreme passion.

καὶ ἑαυτὸν νεανικῶν Ἀπελύετο – καὶ Αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν· οὔτε συνεδρείας ἥστινος οὔν οὔτε συμβουλῆς ἐνδεής ἦν – τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμερότητος, καὶ ἅτινα γίνοιτο αὐτῷ συνεργῶ Ἐχρήτο...

He released himself from youthful concerns – and He himself [turned] to the care of the body. He was lacking neither a gathering of any kind nor in advice – but [sharing] in that same gentleness, He also employed whatever could be of use for him...

[Assante] and he freed himself from youthful impulses and, as for bodily care, he himself had no need of any kind of consultation nor ever of advice, but of... gentleness... collaborator...

[Assante] Here, the biographer likely shifts focus to the personality of *Demetrius I Soter*, one of the central figures of the work, who appears repeatedly to testify to the philosopher's success in attracting new adherents to the school, even of considerable importance. It is therefore possible to suppose a change of subject, where the one "freeing himself from youthful impulses (**ἑαυτὸν νεανικῶν Ἀπελύετο**)" would be none other than *Demetrius I Soter*, to whom the "his eagerness (**τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ**)" and "he himself" (**Αὐτὸς**)" all refer.

25. "Preservation of A Free Man Zealous for Philosophy"

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 23

...[τ]αῖς ἀρεταῖς προστίθη[σιν, ἅλ]λ' ὑποστέλλεται μᾶλλον τότε, εἰ διαμένει...

"...**ταῖς ἀρεταῖς Προστίθῃσιν – ἄλλ' Ὑποστέλλεται μᾶλλον τότε, εἰ Διαμένει...**"

"...He adds to his virtues – but He withdraws more at such times, if He remains..."

...ἐλε[υθ]έρου καὶ φι[λ]οσοφίαν ζηλοῦντος ἐπὶ σωτη[το]...ρίαν τ[οιούτων κακ]ῶν πο[λ]λῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἀποστ[τρ]αφείη[ι], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν δέη< > καὶ πάσχειν τι δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν... ...συπενος τοῦ μάλιστ' ἀγαπωμένου τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ τῶν φίλων παραβάλοι ἂν ἐτοίμως τὸν τράχηλον. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν ἦν ἐμοὶ καθήκον, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἁ[γ]γαν[κ]α[ίου] μέλλω[ω];... ...[Δι]καίαρχον ἔχω τ[ὸν ἀδελφ]όν· οὐ μάλα γὰρ...

"...ἐλευθέρου καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ζηλοῦντος: ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν, τοιούτων κακῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων Ἀποστραφεῖν – ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν Δέη καὶ πάσχειν τι δι' ἑαυτοῦ... ...τοῦ μάλιστ' ἀγαπωμένου τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ τῶν φίλων Παραβάλοι ἂν ἐτοίμως τὸν τράχηλον."

"...of a free man and of one zealous for philosophy: for the sake of preservation, He would turn away from such great evils and nearly from all the others – but It would not be fitting also to suffer something on one's own behalf... [because] ...He would readily risk his neck for that which is most dearly loved among obligations or among friends"

[Assante] "[in a manner worthy] of a free man and one who ardently seeks philosophy for the sake of salvation, from many such evils and from nearly all others he would keep himself away but not (do so) if it were also necessary for him to suffer willingly, since (even) for a single relative or friend to whom he was deeply attached he would readily offer his neck."

"εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Ἀποθανεῖν ἦν ἐμοὶ καθήκον – πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαίου μέλλω; ...Δικαίαρχον ἔχω τὸν ἀδελφόν – οὐ μάλα γὰρ..."

"for if to Die for the fatherland was a duty for me – how should I not also be ready [to die] for the sake of obligation? ...I have Dicaearchus as my brother – for not greatly..."

[Assante] "If indeed it was my duty to die for my country, how could I not (die) for a relative?"

[Assante] I understood the overall meaning of the entire passage as follows: the good philosopher (or anyone aspiring to become one), for the sake of preservation, would avoid nearly every kind of harm – unless it became necessary to sacrifice himself voluntarily for the good of someone very dear to him. Indeed, for such a person, he would be willing even to give his life.

After all, asks Philonides – and here we certainly have another excerpt from a letter – if in other cases he deems it a duty to die for his homeland (a clear reference to his political-diplomatic activity on behalf of Laodicea, repeatedly recalled in earlier columns), how could he then shirk a moral obligation toward a relative?

26. Antiphanes

[unknown biographer], Life of Philonides, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 24 sup.

...{εἰ γὰρ} ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγραπ[ται πίστ[εως]} ἄξια τυγχάνει[ι, ὥς] οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην [ἐκ]τεθήκασι, πιστότερα νομ[ί]σειεν ἂν τις εἶναι τὰ γε π[λεί]στα τῶν περὶ ὅτου δήποτ' εἰ[ρή]μένων. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀντιφάνην αὐτὸν [εἰ]κὸς ἦν καὶ πάππον ἔχοντα ἴο[λ]αον κατὰ φιλ[ο]σοφίαν καὶ θαυ[μα]σ[τ]ῶς ἀποδεδεγμένον καὶ...

...εἰ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Γέγραπται, πίστεως ἄξια τυγχάνει – ὥς Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην ἐκτεθήκασι: πιστότερα νομίσειεν ἂν Τίς εἶναι τὰ γε πλείστα τῶν περὶ ὅτου δήποτ' εἰρημένων. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντιφάνην αὐτὸν, εἰκὸς ἦν – καὶ πάππον ἔχοντα Ἰόλαον, κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεδεγμένον, καὶ...

...for if It is written by him, it is worthy of trust – as Those around Antiphanes have recorded: One would consider most of the things said about whatever [subject] whatsoever more trustworthy. for Antiphanes himself, It was fitting – he, too, having Iolaus as a grandfather, in accordance with philosophy and wonderfully approved and...

[Assante] ...[if indeed] it was written by him that these are trustworthy things, as the followers of Antiphanes have maintained, one might think that most of what is said on any subject is more believable. And in fact, it was natural that Antiphanes himself, also because he had Iolaus as a grandfather, who had been received according to philosophy and with full honors...

[Assante] The first twelve lines of the column are largely preserved, providing a portion of text that is quite significant from an exegetical perspective, especially because the name "*Antiphanes*" appears twice.

Philodemus, in his works, also polemicized against an "*Antiphanes*," along with Timasagoras, and Nikasikrates. these were dissident Epicureans, at odds with the mainstream school.

The official, more open-minded and public direction of the school – initiated in Athens by *Basileides* and *Thespis* (both confirmed to be among Philonides’ teachers in this biography) – was later continued by *Demetrius Lacon* and *Zeno of Sidon*.

[Assante] It is possible that this mentioned an encounter between *Philonides* and *Antiphanes* in positive terms, within the eulogistic tone of the biography – that is, aiming to highlight the philosopher’s qualities of affability and diplomacy, *being capable of maintaining cordial relations and exerting a certain charm* even on unorthodox Epicureans (like *Iolaus*, *Antiphanes*, *Timasagoras*, and *Nikasikrates*) and on philosophers of other schools (like *Diogenes of Babylon* and *Carneades*).

27. Friendly Community

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 25 fin.

...οἰκίας... ...τῷ γυμνασίῳ, εἰ νῆ Δί[α] νῦν πάντες οἰκουμένων φίλοι καὶ κτήματος ἀξίου...

**...οἰκίας... ...τῷ γυμνασίῳ – εἰ, νῆ Δία! νῦν Πάντες οἰκουμένων φίλοι καὶ κτήματος ἀξίου...**

...of a house... ...at the gymnasium – yes, indeed by Zeus! now All of those inhabiting [there] are friends and [it is] of something worthy of possession...

[Assante] {...of the household... ...at the gymnasium... in which... ...all living together as friends and of a worthy good... ...he adds to the virtues, but yields especially then, if he persists...}

[Assante] A house (*οἰκία*) and a gymnasium (*γυμνάσιον*) are mentioned, followed shortly by a reference to those who dwell there, likely in a communal context. It is plausible to think this concerns the location of Philonides’ school and its members – topics that appear elsewhere in this biography.

28. Living in the Court of Demetrius I Soter, Carneades

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 27

...ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος ἐχαρίσατο Φιλωνίδει, ἐφ' ᾧ συνδιατρίψει αὐτοῦ καὶ συ[σ]χολάσει. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις καλῶς καὶ φιλοσόφως καὶ ἐνδόξως ἀνεστράφη. Εἰς μὲν γὰρ συμβούλιον καὶ πρεσβείαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦθ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν...  
...πάντων, Καρνεάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πα[τρ]ίδι χρήσιμος ἐγένετο...

**...ὁ Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος ἐχαρίσατο Φιλωνίδη – ἐφ’ ᾧ συνδιατρίψει αὐτοῦ καὶ σχολάσει. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις καλῶς καὶ φιλοσόφως καὶ ἐνδόξως ἀνεστράφη. εἰς μὲν γὰρ συμβούλιον καὶ πρεσβείαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπλῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν...**

...King Demetrius [*I Soter*] granted [*favor*] to *Philonides* – so that [*Philonides*] would spend much time together with him and study – but under these circumstances as well, [*Philonides*] conducted himself nobly, philosophically, and with distinction. He did not simply give himself over to council, embassy, and such matters...

[Assante] ...[a house that] King Demetrius offered to Philonides in his own interest, with the aim of attending his lessons there and becoming his disciple. But even in these circumstances, he conducted himself well – as a philosopher and with honor. In fact, he did not devote himself merely to duties as a counselor and ambassador and such things, but...

**...πάντων – Καρνεάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων – πατρίδι χρήσιμος Ἐγένετο...**

...among all – Carneades and among the others – He proved useful to his fatherland...

[Assante] ...of all, of Carneades and the others, he was useful to the fatherland...

[Assante] This passage sees the biographer return to the positive relationship between Philonides and Demetrius I Soter. It appears the king offered Philonides a venue to conduct his teaching, and the philosopher – far from limiting himself to a diplomatic career – consistently demonstrated deep loyalty to Epicurean doctrine.

The "fatherland" here is probably Laodicea.

[Assante] I do not rule out that the preceding lacuna may have alluded to the good relationship between Carneades and Philonides – in keeping with the biographer’s encomiastic tone, which had already emphasized how Philonides’ natural affability and skill as a negotiator earned him prestige and fame at court.

These traits helped him win the favor of many prominent figures, including philosophers from other schools.

Carneades (fl. 174 BCE) was the *scholarch of the Academy*, and one of three philosophers sent to Rome in 155 BCE.

This biography also mentions *Diogenes of Babylon* (fl.c. 190 BCE), the *scholarch of the Stoic* school (who was another one of three philosophers sent with the same embassy).

29. Zenodorus, Athenian Aspiration

Zenodorus (fl. 160 BCE) was an astronomer, geometer, and engineer. He is known to have written a book *On Isoperimetric Figures*. He and Philonides were about the same age.

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 31

...γ' ἐλπιδεῖν [τῆς ἀπο]δοχῆς εἰς Ἀθη[νᾶς ἐν]εγκεῖν ἀδυσκό[λως, ὥ]ς καὶ τὸν Ζηνόδω[ρο]ν αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς ἄστυ. Καὶ ἀπέθανεν δὲ [γ]ενναίως. Δήμ[η]τρος γὰρ ἐορτῆς οὖς[η]ς... ...ἐπεύχεσθαι ἐ[θέλ]ων μ[ἐ]ν [κ]ατ' οἶκον...

...γ' ἐλπιδεῖν τῆς ἀποδοχῆς εἰς Ἀθῆνας ἐνέγκεῖν ἀδυσκόλως, ὥς καὶ τὸν Ζηνόδωρον αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς ἄστυ. καὶ Ἀπέθανεν δὲ γενναίως: Δήμητρος γὰρ ἐορτῆς οὔσης... ...ἐπεύχεσθαι ἐθέλων μὲν κατ' οἶκον...

...at least to expect to carry the reception into Athens without difficulty, just as even Zenodorus himself, having arrived in the city [had done] – and He died nobly: for while the festival of Demeter was going on... ...wishing to pray at home...

[Assante] ...to raise hope... of a welcome in Athens... he endured it willingly... even Zenodorus himself, having arrived in the city. And he died nobly. For it was the festival of Demeter...

[Assante] Although the fragmentary context of this list does not allow confirmation, I would hypothesize that this final event was deliberately placed at the end – as if to say that not only did the philosopher distinguish himself in many varied moments of his life (hence the recall of seemingly unrelated events), but that his very death proved equally worthy.

The mention of the festival of Demeter and the reference to a final prayer are unsurprising, as they fit well within the ritual practices typical of the Epicurean school. (cf. Gallo, p. 158 = Studi, p. 197)

30. Zenodoros, Timasagoras, & Philologists

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 34.1



...ἔδωκε καὶ Ζ[ην]όδωρον [αὐ]τῷ παράγειν ἐν... ...τι μνᾶν, καὶ διότι παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸν [ὕπ]εταξε Τιμασαγόρ[αι  
κ]αὶ [πα]ρέβαλε... ...[ἐ]νιαυτόν... ...φ[ι]λόλογους ἔχων παραπ[λησίου]...

...Ἔδωκε καὶ **Ζηνόδωρον αὐτῷ** παραγεῖν **ἐν...** ...**τι μνᾶν**, καὶ **διότι**, παραγενόμενος **εἰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸν ὕπεταξε Τιμασαγόρα** καὶ **Παρέβαλε...** ...**ἐνιαυτόν...**  
**...φιλόλογους ἔχων παραπλησίους...**

...He also instructed **Zenodoros** to come along **with him in...** ...**a certain mina [i.e., for some price]**, and **because**, upon arriving **in Athens**, He placed **himself under Timasagoras** and He brought with him... ...**for a year...**  
...**philologists [i.e., lovers of reasoning]** he had **of a similar sort...**

[Assante] ...he also granted to Zenodorus himself to take with him... for one mina, and because, having arrived in Athens, he submitted himself to Timasagoras and turned... for a year... .....having near him people who loved knowledge...

[Assante] *Zenodorus and Timasagoras, both previously cited but in similarly fragmentary and uncertain contexts. The only point I could establish with some certainty is that both are connected to the city of Athens.*

31. Quotation of Philonides: Return to Laodicea

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 57

...αὐτοῦ [μετὰ τ]ῶν φίλω[ν ἐ]τη πλείονα. Καὶ τήν ἐκ τῆς [Ἀτθί]δος ἀνακομιδὴν [ἔμεν]ον, ἀκροτε[λ]εῦτιον ἑμαυτῷ τοῦ γήρωσ ὑποστησάμενος π[ρο]ν[ο]υμένός τε ἐν Λ[αοδ]ικείαι διατρίψειν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ...

**"αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἔτη πλείονα. καὶ τήν ἐκ τῆς Ἀτθίδος ἀνακομιδὴν ἔμενον: ἀκροτελεῦτιον ἑμαυτῷ τοῦ γήρωσ ὑποστησάμενος – προνοοῦμένος τε ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ διατρίψειν – οὐκ ἐν τῇ..."**

"...[I was] **there** with friends **for many years**. and I awaited **the return** from **{Attica}**: reserving **for myself the conclusion of old age** – and intending to pass the time **in Laodicea** – not **in the...**"

[Assante] "[I stayed] there with friends for several years. And [I was waiting] for the return from { }... promising myself and planning to spend the final part of my old age in Laodicea, not in the [foreign land]..."

[Assante] *It is clear that these must have contained an autobiographical quotation from Philonides, as shown by the use of the first person. It refers to a long stay of the philosopher with friends in a previously mentioned place, as suggested by "there" (αὐτοῦ), and to his intention to return to Laodicea to spend his final years there.*

32. Voyage Back to Syria, Detour to Home

[unknown biographer], *Life of Philonides*, P.Herc. 1044, fr. 45

...[κατ]ὰ τὸν εἰς Συρίαν Φιλωνίδου πλοῦν, εἰς Καρίαν[ν ἐνοεῖτο] οὐκ ἀπελθεῖν, ὅπως ἂν μηδὲ [ἔξ]ω τῶν γονέων ἀπέχη[ι, μηδ'] ἐν...

**...κατὰ τὸν εἰς Συρίαν Φιλωνίδου πλοῦν – εἰς Καρίαν ἔνοεῖτο περιστὰς οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν – ὅπως ἂν μηδὲ ἔξω τῶν γονέων Ἀπέχη, μηδ' ἐν...**

...[after leaving Athens] during Philonides’ voyage to Syria – **having detoured homeward**, He was planning to return **into Caria** – **so that** he might not be away from his parents, nor in...

[Assante] ...During Philonides’ sea voyage to Syria, having passed through Caria, he was thinking of returning home, so that he would not remain away from his parents...

[Gallo] During the sea voyage bound for Syria, perhaps departing from Athens (where we know he had been several times), or perhaps from Ephesus, on the coast of Lydia (where it is recorded that he met Eudemos), Philonides passed through Caria (περιστάς can have no other meaning; with εἰς it is mostly used figuratively), probably to Caunus (the hometown of Dionysiodorus), which lay on the maritime route leading south from the north into Syria. He then decided to continue on to Syria, that is, to his native city, so as not to remain far from his parents.

Inscription from Athens

Athenian Citizenship and Honors for the Family

Philonides of Laodicea the Elder and his sons, our Philonides and his younger brother Dicaearchus, helped Athens in some way. They were granted Athenian citizenship, crowned with wreaths, given a statue, welcomed to a public meal, and praised for their piety.

Attica, IG II2 1236 = I.Eleusis 221, part 1

...[καὶ τοῖς παραγενομένοις π]αρά τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς πρεσβευταῖς συνήργει μετὰ σπουδῆς] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας εὐεργεσίας ἃς πο[ιῶν διατετέλεκε τὸν δῆμον ἐτίμη]σεν ὁ δῆμος πολιτεῖαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐ[τοῦ Φιλωνίδην καὶ Δικαίαρχ]ον καὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν θαλλοῦ [στεφάνω] καὶ πάλιν χρυσῶι [στεφάνω] καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων βουλευθέντο[ς καὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἔ]σωισεν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν υἱῶν Φιλωνίδου προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς οἱ πρυτάνεις πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ διαλεγέντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχουσι πρὸς πάντας Ἀθηναίους φιλανθρώπως προσεδέξατο ὁ δῆμος ἀξιῶν καλέσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν τοῦ δήμου·

...[because Philonides the Elder] eagerly assisted the envoys [sent] by the people to the [Seleucid] Kings. And because of this – and because of the other benefactions which he has continually performed – the people honored him: both Philonides himself and his sons Philonides and Dicaearchus – with citizenship, and crowned them with a wreath of laurel and again with a golden wreath, and set up [a statue of Philonides the Elder] in the precinct of the Dēmos and of the Charites, with his consent. And furthermore, he rescued [his son Philonides] from captivity, making every effort on his behalf. And when he entered the city with his elder son Philonides, the Prytaneis [i.e., the executive committee of the Athenian Boule] brought them before the people in the temples, and when he had spoken about the goodwill they have toward all Athenians, the people received him kindly, deeming it proper to invite them to the Prytaneion [i.e., the official building in Athens where the Prytaneis worked and dined] for the common meal of the people [i.e., a state-sponsored civic meal]

Spondophoroi: the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes

Attica, IG II2 1236 = I.Eleusis 221, part 2

It appears that this inscription was issued by the Eumolpidae and Kerykes, two hereditary priestly families of Athens central to the Eleusinian Mysteries.

ἵνα οὖν καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι καὶ Κήρυκες αὐτόν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ... [εὐσεβοῦντας] τὰ περὶ τῷ [ι] θεῷ [ι] {τῷ θεῷ} φαίνωνται τιμῶντ[ες καὶ] φιλοτιμούμενοι περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τοὺς ἐκπεμπομένους ἐξ ἑαυτῶ[ν ἀγαθούς]. νννν ἀγα[θεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τοῖς γένε]σιν ἐξ ὧν οἱ σπονδοφόροι ἐκπέμποντ[αι, ἐπαι]νέσα[ι Φιλ]ωνίδην Λαοδικέα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Φιλωνίδην καὶ Δικαίαρχον καὶ στεφανῶσα[ι ἑκαστον αὐτῶν μυρρίνης στεφά]νωι ὧι πατριόν ἐστιν στεφανῶσαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ε[ὐεργέτας· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ τ]οῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ διατηροῦσιν τὴν αὐτὴν [εὖνοι]αν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐρέσθ[αι] καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτου ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιο[ι εἶναι]. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ἄρ]χοντα τῶν γενῶν ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ [τὸ δὲ] ἀν[άλ]ωμ[α λ]ογίσασθαι [τοῖς γένε]σι...

Therefore, so that both the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes [i.e., the two hereditary priestly families in charge of the Eleusinian Mysteries] may see that he and his descendants honor the things concerning the goddesses, behaving reverently and showing ambition toward those men sent from among themselves as noble [for dispatch, i.e., as envoys or officials]— it has been decreed, with good fortune, by the gene from which the Spondophoroi [i.e., official truce-bearers for sacred festivals] are sent out, to praise Philonides of Laodicea and his sons Philonides and Dicaearchus, and to crown each of them with a wreath of myrtle, which it is customary to use when crowning their own benefactors. And that he and his descendants, so long as they continue in the same goodwill toward the people, shall obtain whatever other good thing they may seem to deserve. The archon of the gene shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele... and the expense shall be accounted among the gene [i.e., the clans of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes]...

Inscription from Delphi

Praise from Delphians for Philonides' younger Brother Dicaearchus

Delphi, SGDI II 2677 = OGIS 241, part 1

ἀγαθὰ τύχα. ἄρχοντος <Ξέν>ων[ος]· ἐπειδὴ Δαμοκράτης καὶ ΤΙΜΑΣΝΙ κα<ἰ' Ἀ>θαμβο<ς> ὁ ἱε<ρε>ὺς ἐξαποσταλέντες θεωροὶ ποτὶ τὸν <β>ασ<ιλη> Ἀν<τι><ιο>χ<ον> ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνάγγελαι[v] περὶ Δικαιάρχου τοῦ Φιλωνίδα Λαοδικέος, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς <δια>τε[λεῖ ὧν ποτὶ τε] τὸ <ιερ>ὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιείμενος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εὐ<χρ>η<στον> α<ύ>σω<τὸ>ν παρασκευάζει ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ κοινᾷ τᾷ πόλει καὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς ἐ<ν>τυγχάνοντις, <εἰς ᾗ> κα τὶς αὐ<τ>ὸν παρακαλῇ, καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις Δελφῶν ποτὶ τὸν βασιλῇ {Α} Ἀντίοχος συνεργεῖ μετὰ πάσ<α>ς προθυμίας, <έν οἷς> κα {ι} τυγχάνων<τι> χρεῖ<α>ν ἔχοντες, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράσσει <τὰ συμφέροντα> διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν, ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι,

Good fortune. In the archonship of [Xen]on:

Since Damocrates, Timasni, and Athambos the priest, having been sent as Theoroi to King Antiochus [IV Epiphanes], reported to the assembly concerning Dicaearchus, son of Philonides of Laodicea [i.e., and younger brother of Philonides the Epicurean], that he is a good man, continually acting for both the Sanctuary [of Delphi] and the city of the Delphians, and regarding piety toward the gods as of the highest importance, he makes himself useful in every circumstance, both for the public good of the city and privately for those he meets, in whatever way anyone may call upon him.

And for those arriving at Delphi to see King Antiochus [IV Epiphanes], he assists with all eagerness, in whatever matters those in need happen to require. He both speaks and acts helpfully at all times before King Antiochus [IV Epiphanes] regarding the sanctuary and the city of the Delphians.

With good fortune.

Privileges for Dicaearchus from Laodicea by-the-sea

Delphi, SGDI II 2677 = OGIS 241, part 2

δεδοχθαι <τ>ᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν <έν> ἀγορᾷ <τελείῳι σύμ ψ>άφοις ταῖς ἐνόμοις ἐπαινέσαι Δικαίαρχον Φιλ<ω>νίδα Λαοδικέα τῶν ποτὶ θαλάσσαι ἐ<π>ὶ τᾷ εὐσ<εβε>ταί καὶ ἐπ<ι> τᾷ λοιπᾷ προ<α>ιρέσει ἄ<ι> ἔχων τυγχάνει ποτὶ τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν <Δελφῶν καὶ ὑπάρχειν> αὐτῷ <κ>[αἱ ἐγγόνους παρὰ τὰς πόλιος] θεωροδοκίαν τῶν <τ>ε Πυθίων καὶ Σωτηρίων. εἴμεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν {ιον} τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν, καὶ ὑπάρ<χε>ιν αὐτῷ προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάν<των>, προεδρ<ι>αν ἐμ π<άντο>ις τοῖς ἀγώνοις, <οῖς> ἂ π{ρ}όλις {πόλις} <τιθητι> καὶ τᾶλλα τ<ίμ>ι<α> ὅ<σ>α καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ ε<ύ>ερ<γέτα>ις <ύπ>ά<ρχ>ει παρὰ τᾷς πόλιος.

It has been resolved by the city of Delphi, in the full assembly with lawful vote, to praise Dicaearchus, son of Philonides, a Laodicean of those [dwelling] by the sea, for his piety and his other commitments, which he is seen to possess both toward the Sanctuary [of Delphi] and the City of Delphi.

And that there be granted to him and to his descendants by the city the right of Theorodokia [i.e., hosting sacred envoys] for the Pythian and Soteria festivals.

Let him also be Proxenos [*i.e., host of ambassadors*] and Benefactor of the Sanctuary [*of Delphi*] and the City of Delphi, and let the following privileges belong to him:

- Promanteia [*i.e., right of first consultation of the oracle*]
- Prodikia [*i.e., priority in legal matters*]
- Asyia [*i.e., right of sanctuary*]
- Ateleia [*i.e., exemption from all taxes*]
- Prohedria [*i.e., front-row seating*] in all the contests which the city sponsors
- and all other honors which are granted to other proxenoi and benefactors by the city.

