MAX J. LEE

Moral Transformation in Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe
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Mapping the Moral Milieu of the Apostle Paul and his Diaspora Jewish Contemporaries

Mohr Siebeck

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To our parents

John and Esther Lee

and Nam Soon Kwon

for their love, prayers, and unfailing support

Institue adulescentem iuxta viam suam,

etiam cum senuerit, non recedet ab ea.

Proverbs 22:6

Preface

This project has undergone several changes since its first inception as a doctoral dissertation accepted by Fuller Theological Seminary in 2002 under the title "Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind and Paul." When the dissertation was first accepted into the WUNT II series, Professor Jörg Frey, then and current editor, suggested saving the material on Paul for another book and expanding the remainder on Greco-Roman philosophy of mind in two ways by: 1) adding a section on the role of the divine in moral progress for each philosophy, and 2) enlarging the analysis on Diaspora Judaism into separate chapters. Little did I know that these revisions would evolve into an almost two-decades long project where sections expanded into chapters, and major parts of the book expanded into separate works.

This present book, *Moral Transformation in Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind*, is a stand-alone and foundational work which maps out the moral milieu of the Apostle Paul and his Diaspora Jewish contemporaries by describing the ethical systems of, and reconstructing models of moral transformation for, Platonism and Stoicism. It ends with a Retrospect and Prospect that compares the two systems as theoretical poles and outlines the spectrum they create along which other systems can be assessed. A separate companion work under a new title will be published later that reconstructs the moral transformation systems of Epicureanism and Diaspora Judaism. This second book will end with a scheme for mapping a common ancient ethical tradition across Platonism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism to which Judaism and Pauline Christianity also make conceptual contributions.

These two books are the beginning segment of a career-long research agenda where I seek to publish additional works on how the Apostle Paul appropriates the language of philosophical discourse in his moral exhortations to his Gentile churches. These books also set the stage for exploring how Paul engages with competing philosophical systems that informed the ethics and behavior of his letter recipients. It is my hope that this present book on Platonism and Stoicism (along with the ensuing book on Epicureanism and Diaspora Judaism) can provide encyclopedic knowledge for the New Testament scholar unfamiliar with Greco-Roman philosophies of mind and propose ways for the expert to systematize their content into coherent models of moral transformation.

I am grateful not only for the patience and support of Professor Frey over these many years to see the project to completion but also his willingness to publish a contracted single book into two separate individual works. Thanks also to the past and current staff of Mohr Siebeck for their excellent editorial help, especially Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and Ms. Elena Müller.

I stand indebted to many (Rom 13:8) who have helped me directly in the writing of this book and indirectly by contributing to my life's journey. I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my dissertation supervisor Professor Judith Gundry who, despite her move from Fuller to Yale Divinity School in 1998, kept me as her student and since then has been an invaluable source of counsel and support throughout my vocation as a theological educator. Words cannot express my thankfulness for Professor Seyoon Kim who has been a second *Doktorvater* to me and whose mentorship has formed my identity as a scholar, teacher, and minister of the church. In Dr. Kim and Dr. Gundry I could not find better mentors. Their sage advice and friendship has been, and continues to be, a gracious gift.

Over the years at various conferences and universities where I conducted and presented my research, I have enjoyed both discussion and debate with leading scholars in the field of classical studies and early Christianity. I wish to thank Professor Troels Engberg-Pedersen, Professor David Sedley, Professor James Warren, and the late Professor Abraham Malherbe for their interest in my work on Stoicism and Epicureanism.

Part of my research was supported by the Lilly Theological Scholars Grant administered by the Association of Theological Schools. The grant funded my post-doctoral study at Durham University, England, in October–November 2010. I wish to thank my sponsor Professor John Barclay, as well as Professor Francis Watson and Professor Walter Moberly, for their warm welcome and for inviting me to give a paper on "Ancient Ethical Theory and Paul" at the New Testament Research Seminar. Professor George Boys-Stones also attended the seminar and during my stay at Durham provided direction in my work on Middle Platonism.

In my career, I have been blessed to teach at fantastic institutions of higher learning. Many thanks to the deans, faculty, and staff at Westmont College (2002–2003), Wheaton College (2003–2006), and North Park Theological Seminary (2006–present). Special thanks to Professor Klyne Snodgrass, Professor Robert Hubbard, Professor James Bruckner, and Professor Stephen Chester, all of whom during my time at North Park supported my scholarship and whose friendship I treasure to this day. At these institutions, several research assistants helped me with the book and while I cannot name them all, I thank them, and especially Ms. Megan Herrold who took on the lion's share of the work to proof-read various

drafts of the manuscript and compile the indices. I am grateful for the sabbatical leave supported by North Park, the leadership of my current deans Dr. David Kersten and Professor Dwight Perry, and for the help of the staff at Brandel Library, especially Dr. Stephen Spencer.

My wife, Sukyung Lee, has carried the largest burden, spiritually, emotionally, and financially. Her prayers, love, and fortitude have seen us through some very tough years, and I could not have made it this far without her. My love and appreciation for her only grows each day. Thanks also to my sons Zachary and Jonathan who grew up with "the book," are now in college, and whose presence in my life is a constant reminder of God's grace. My younger brother Eugene Lee, his wife Sarah, and their daughters Ava and Alex have also waited eagerly with us for the day of the book's completion. So have Su's aunts Ms. Ok Soon Kwon and Ms. Kwang Ja Kwon. Thank you for standing by us.

Both Su and I want to express our indebtedness to our pastors and Christian brothers and sisters from whom we received much love and prayers. While we wish we could name every person whom God has used to encourage us in our life's journey, we instead thank our spiritual families by church name and name individually only a few. Thank you Berkland Baptist Church, Life Baptist Church, and Park Community Church for all that we received from you and the formative influence you have had in shaping our and our children's walk with Christ. We especially thank Pastor Paul and Rebekah Kim, Pastor Andy and Grace Pak, Pastor Daniel and Sue Im, Pastor Peter and Eunice Lee, Pastor James and Soomi Suh, Pastor Stephen and Ellen Jung, Pastor Daniel and Mona Lee, Pastor Ed and Kelly Kang, Pastor Chris and Sally Pak, Pastor Brian and Brittany Park, Pastor Steve and Rachael Kim, Mr. John and Professor Loan Kim, Mr. Bert and Mrs. Anne Han, Pastor Scott and Linda Clifton, Pastor Joel and Aliza Settecase, Pastor Dan and Courtney Osborn, and Dr. Valerie Landfair.

This work is dedicated to my parents: Mr. John J. Lee and Mrs. Esther Lee, and to Su's mother, Mrs. Nam Soon Kwon. From cradle to today, they have never stopped praying, encouraging, supporting, and loving us. They have believed in my work and walked with us through every valley moment. Mom, Dad, and Omonim, we rejoice that we can also share this mountaintop experience with you. You have taught us that in all things, good and bad, to give thanks to the Lord and live according to his purpose (Rom. 8:28). We love you.

Ad Dei gloriam et laudem

Chicago, Illinois, Advent 2019 Max J. Lee

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Abbreviations and Text Editions for Greek and Latin Primary Sources

Primary sources are listed here by the ancient author's name and generally follow the style, conventions, and abbreviations used in *The SBL Handbook of Style for Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (2nd ed.; ed. by Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko; Atlanta: SBL, 2014), and *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.; ed. by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). At times alternative abbreviations are used for lesser known works. Texts taken from the Loeb Classical Library series are noted as LCL. A list of primary sources by the editor's or translator's last name is provided in the bibliography. Abbreviations for secondary literature are also taken from *The SBL Handbook of Style*, and the reader is asked to refer there for the abbreviations of modern sources and series used in this book.

Achilles Tatius	Achilles Tatius
Leuc. Clit.	*Leucippe et Clitophon*. Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Stephen Gaselee; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1917; 2nd ed., 1969; repr. 1984).
Aëtius	Aëtius
Plac.	*Placita*. Hermann Diels, ed., *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1879; repr. 1958). Corrected text for Book 2 and Eng. trans. by Jaaps Mansfeld and David T. Runia, *Aëtiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer* (vol. 2: *The Compendium*, Pt. 2; Philosophia Antiqua 114; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 663–715.
Albinus	Albinus
Prologos	Ἀλβίνου πρόλογος *(*= Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τοῦ Πλάτωνος βίβλον = *Introductio in Platonem)*. Karl Friedrich Hermann, ed., *Platonis Dialogi secundum Thrasylli tetralogias dispositi* (vol. 6; Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), 147–51; and more recently, Burkhard Reis, ed. and trans., *Der Platoniker Albinos und sein sogenannter Prologos: Prologomena, Überlieferungsgeschichte, kritische Edition und Übersetzung* (Serta Graeca 7; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1999), 310–19.
Alcinous	Alcinous
Didask.	*Didaskalikos*. John Whittaker, ed., *Alcinoos: Enseignement des doctrines de Platon* (Introduction, texte établi et commenté par John Whittaker; traduit par by Pierre Louis; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990). Eng. trans. by John Dillon, *Alcinous: The Handbook on Platonism: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Citations from Alcinous, *Didask.* are given by *chapter no.: paragraph no.* following Dillon (with page nos. and line

	nos. from the Greek text of the Whittaker edition in parenthetical notes as necessary).
Alexander	Alexander of Aphrodisias
De Anima	*De Anima (= On the Soul)*. Ivo Bruns, ed. *Supplementum Aristotelicum* (vol. 2/1: *Alexandri de Anima cum Mantissa*; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1897), 1–100. Eng. trans. by Victor Caston, *Alexander of Aphrodisias: On the Soul, Part 1: Soul as Form of the Body, Parts of the Soul, Nourishment and Perception* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).
Fat.	*De fato (= On Fate)*. Robert W. Sharples, ed. and trans., *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Fate: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (London: Duckworth, 1983).
Mantissa	*Mantissa (= Supplement to On the Soul)*. Robert W. Sharples, ed., *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*, De anima libri mantissa: *A New Edition of the Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 37–142. Eng. trans. by Robert W. Sharples, *Alexander of Aphrodisias: Supplement to* On the Soul (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).
Andronicus	Andronicus of Rhodes. See Ps.-Andr. below.
Apuleius	Apuleius
De Platone	*De Platone et eius Dogmate*. Jean Beaujeu, ed. and trans., *Apulée: Opuscules Philosophiques et Fragments: Texte établi, traduit et commenté* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1973).
Aristotle	Aristotle
EE	*Ethica Eudemia.* Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution, Eudemian Ethics, Virtues and Vices* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1935).
EN	*Ethica Nicomachea*. Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1926; 2nd ed., 1934; repr. 1956).
Gen. an.	*De generatione animalium (= On the Generation of Animals)*. Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Arthur L. Peck; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1942).
Phys.	*Physics.* Aristotle, *The Physics* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by Philip H. Wicksteed and Francis M. Cornford; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1929–34; repr. 1980).
Pol.	*Politics.* Aristotle, *Politics* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; 2nd ed., 1944).
Metaph.	*Metaphysics.* Aristotle, *The Metaphysics I–IX* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Hugh Tredennick; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1933; repr. 1989); idem, *The Metaphysics X–XIV*, *Oeconomica, Magna Moralia* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Hugh Tredennick and G. Cyril Armstrong; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1935; repr. 1990), 1–320.

Rhet. *Rhetorica.* Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric* (LCL; ed. and trans. by John H. Freese; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1926).

Arius Didymus — Arius Didymus

ESE *Epitome of Stoic Ethics* (= Stobaeus, *Anth*. 2.57.13–2.116.18). Arthur J. Pomeroy, ed. and trans., *Arius Didymus: Epitome of Stoic Ethics* (SBLTT 44; Graeco-Roman 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999). Citations for Arius Didymus is by *section no.* with *page nos.* and *line nos.* from the Greek text of the Pomeroy edition in parenthetical notes as necessary, e.g., Arius Didymus *ESE* 5b1 (Pomeroy 12.13–33) = Arius Didymus, *Epitome of Stoic Ethics*, section 5b1 (Pomeroy edition, p. 12, lines 13–33).

Aulus Gellius — Aulus Gellius

Noct. att. *Noctes Atticae*. *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* (LCL; 3 vols.; ed. and trans. by John C. Rolfe; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 1967–70).

Calcidius — Calcidius

In Tim. *In Timaeus (= Commentary on Plato's Timaeus)*. Calcidius, *On Plato's Timaeus* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library; ed. and trans. by John Magee; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2016).

Cicero — Cicero

Acad. post. *Academica posteriora = Academica I*. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* [et] *Academica* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1933; repr. 1951), 464–659. [Fragments of the *Acad. post.* are found in ibid., pp. 456–63 and cited by frag. no.]

Div. *De divinatione = On Divination.* Cicero, *On Old Age, On Friendship, On Divination* (LCL; ed. and trans. by William A. Falconer; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1923), 222–539.

Fat. *De fato.* Cicero, *De Oratore III, De Fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De Partitione Oratoria* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1942; repr. 1948), 192–249.

Fin. *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1914; 2nd ed., 1931; repr. 1951).

Leg. *De legibus (= On the Laws)*. Cicero, *On the Republic, On the Laws* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Clinton W. Keyes; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 2000), 296–519.

Luc. *Academica priora (Lucullus) = Academica II*. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* [et] *Academica* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1933; repr. 1951), 410–55.

Nat. d. *De natura deorum.* Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* [et] *Academica* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard

	University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1933; repr. 1951), 1–396.
Off.	*De officiis*. Cicero, *De Officiis* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Walter Miller; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1913; repr. 1990).
Parad.	*Paradoxa Stoicorum.* Cicero, *De Oratore III, De Fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De Partitione Oratoria* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Harris Rackham; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1942; repr. 1948), 251–303.
Tusc.	*Tusculanae disputationes*. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* (LCL; ed. and trans. by John E. King; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 1950).
Cleanthes	Cleanthes of Assos
Hymn	*Hymn to Zeus.* Johan C. Thom, ed. and trans., *Cleanthes'* Hymn to Zeus: *Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
Damascius	Damascius
In Phaed.	*Commentary on Plato's* Phaedo. Leendert G. Westerlink, ed. and trans., *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's* Phaedo (vol. 2: *Damascius*; Amsterdam: North Holland, 1977).
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Lives	Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by Robert D. Hicks; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1925; repr. 1991).
Diog. Oin.	Diogenes of Oinoanda
fr.	fragments. For fr. 1–181, see Martin Ferguson Smith, ed. and trans., *Diogenes of Oinoanda: The Epicurean Inscription* (La Scuola di Epicuro, Supplemento 1; with introduction, Eng. translation, and notes; Naples: Bibliopolis, 1993). Citations for Diog. Oin. is by *fragment no.: column no.: line no*., e.g., Diog. Oin., fr. 34.VII.1–14 = fragment 34, column 7, lines 1–14 (Smith 1993, 210).
Epictetus	Epictetus
Diss.	*Dissertationes*. Epictetus, *The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, The Manual, and Fragments* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by William A. Oldfather; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1925–28; repr. and reset 1996–98).
Ench.	*Encheiridion*. Ibid., 2.479–537.
fr.	fragments. Ibid., 2.440–77.
Epicurus	Epicurus
Ep. Hdt.	*Epistula ad Herodotum (= Letter to Herodotus)*. Graziano Arrighetti, ed. and trans., *Epicuro: Opere* (Biblioteca di cultura filosofica 41; Torino: Guilio Einaudi, 2nd ed., 1973), 33–73. Citations are by *letter name: paragraph no*.; e.g., Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 35 = *Epistle to Herodotus*, paragraph no. 35.
Ep. Men.	*Epistula ad Menoeceum (= Letter to Menoeceus)*. Ibid., 105–17. Citations are by *letter name: paragraph no*.; e.g., Epicurus, *Ep. Men.* 127 = *Epistle to Menoceus*, paragraph no. 127.

KD — *ΚΥΡΙΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΙ (= Ratae Sententiae = Principal Doctrines)*. Ibid., 119–37. Citations are by *collection name: saying no.*; e.g., Epicurus, *KD* 29 = *Principal Doctrines*, saying no. 29.

VS — *Vaticanae Sententiae (= Vatican Sayings)*. Ibid., 139–57. Citations are by *collection name: saying no.*; e.g., Epicurus, *VS* 77 = *Vatican Sayings*, saying no. 29.

Arr. — Graziano Arrighetti, ed. and trans., *Epicuro: Opere* (Biblioteca di cultura filosofica 41; Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 2nd ed., 1973). Fragments from Arrighetti are cited by *editor: treatise no: fragment no.*, with the corresponding citation in parentheses; e.g., Arr. 22.1, 22.4 (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.546E–F) = Arrighetti, treatise no. 22, fragment nos. 1 and 4.

Us. — Hermann Usener, ed., *Epicurea* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), 84–358. Citations of fragments from Usener are by *editor: fragment no.*, with the corresponding citation in parenthesis; e.g., Us. 67 (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.546E–F) = Usener, fragment no. 67.

Euripides — Euripides

Andr. — *Andromache*. Euripides, *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by David Kovacs; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 267–389.

Herc. fur. — *Hercules furens (= The Madness of Hercules)*. Euripides, *Suppliant Women, Electra, Hercules* (LCL; vol. 3; ed. and trans. by David Kovacs; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 303–455.

Hipp. — *Hippolytus*. Euripides, *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by David Kovacs; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 117–261.

Med. — *Medea*. Euripides, *Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by David Kovacs; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1994; 2nd ed., 2001), 275–413.

Eusebius — Eusebius of Caesarea

Praep. ev. — *Praeparatio evangelica (= Preparation for the Gospel)*. Karl Mras, ed., *Eusebius Werke 8: Die Praeparatio Evangelica* (2 vols.; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954–56; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2nd ed., 1982–83); Eng. trans. by Edwin H. Gifford, ed. and trans., *Preparation for the Gospel* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1903; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

Galen — Galen of Pergamum

Aff. Dig. — *De Affectuum Dignotione (= Περὶ ψυχῆς παθημάτων = On the passions of the soul)*. Ioannes Marquardt et al., eds., *Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora* (vol. 1; Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–93; repr. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), 1–44. Eng. trans. in *Galen on the Passions and Errors of the Soul* (ed. and trans. by Paul W. Harkins; introduction and commentary by Walther Riese; Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1963), 23–69; and more recently Peter N. Singer, "The Diagnosis and Treatment of the Affections and Errors Peculiar to Each Person's Soul," in *Galen: Psychological Writings* (Cambridge Galen Translations; Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 203–282. Citations from Galen, *Aff. Dig.* is based on the Greek text and given by *chapter no.: page no.: line no*. (Marquardt edition).

Capt. *De Captionibus penes Dictionem (*= Περὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν λέξιν σοφισμάτων = *On Fallacies due to Language).* Robert B. Edlow, *Galen on Language and Ambiguity: An English Translation of Galen's 'De Captionibus (On Fallacies)' with Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Philosophia Antiqua 31; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Ind. *De Indolentia (*= Περὶ ἀλυπίας = *On the Avoidance of Distress)*. Véronique Boudon-Millot and Jacques Jouanna with Antoine Pietrobelli, eds. and trans., *Galien* (vol. 4: *Ne pas se chagriner*; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010 (hence BJP). Eng. trans. by Vivian Nutton, "Avoiding Distress," in *Galen: Psychological Writings* (Cambridge Galen Translations; ed. by Peter N. Singer; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 43–106. Corrections, textual variants, and updated Eng. trans. by Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, "Galen: 'On the Avoidance of Distress,'" in *Galen's* De indolentia*: Essays on a Newly Discovered Letter* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 88; ed. by Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 21–36. Citations from Galen, *Ind.* is based on the Greek text and given by *section no.* (BJP edition, *page no.: line no*.).

Pecc. Dig. *De Peccatorum Dignotione (*= Περὶ ψυχῆς ἁμαρτημάτων = *On the errors of the soul)*. Ioannes Marquardt et al., eds., *Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora* (vol. 1; Leipzig: Teubner, 1884; repr. by Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), 45–81. English translation in *Galen on the Passions and Errors of the Soul* (ed. and trans. by Paul W. Harkins; intro. and commentary by Walther Riese; Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1963), 71–107; and more recently Peter N. Singer, "The Diagnosis and Treatment of the Affections and Errors Peculiar to Each Person's Soul," in *Galen: Psychological Writings* (Cambridge Galen Translations; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 283–314. Citations from Galen, *Pecc. Dig.* is based on the Greek text and given by *chapter no.: page no.: line no*. (Marquardt edition).

PHP *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*. Phillip de Lacy, ed. and trans., *Galen on the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* (3 vols.; Corpus Medicorum Graecorum 5.4.1.2; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1978–84).

Prop. Plac. *De Propriis Placitis (= On My Own Opinions)*. Vivian Nutton, ed. and trans., *Galen on My Own Opinions* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum 5.3.2; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999).

QAM *Quod Animi Mores Corporis Temperamenta Sequantur (= Psychological Faculties Depend on Bodily Mixtures).* Ioannes Marquardt et al., eds., *Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora* (vol. 2; Leipzig: Teubner, 1891; repr. by Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), 32–79. Eng trans. by Peter Singer, *Galen: Selected Works* (Oxford World Classics; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

UP	*De Usu Partium (= On the Function of the Parts)*. Georgius Helmreich, ed., *Galeni: De Usu Partium* (2 vols; Leipzig: Teubner, 1907–9). Eng. trans. by Margaret T. May, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (2 vols.; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968).
Heraclides	Heraclides
fr.	fragments. Fritz Wehrli, ed., *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar* (vol. 7: *Herakleides Pontiko*; Basel/Stuttgart: B. Schwabe, 1953; 2nd ed., 1969).
Herodotus	Herodotus
Hist.	*Historiae.* Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (LCL; 4 vols.; ed. and trans. by Alfred D. Godley; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1920–25).
Hierocles	Hierocles the Stoic
AA	*On Appropriate Acts* (= Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων). Ilaria Ramelli, ed., and David Konstan, trans., *Hierocles the Stoic: Elements of Ethics, Fragments, and Excerpts* (WGRW 28; Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 63–95.
EE	*Elements of Ethics* (= ʾΗθικὴ στοιχείωσις). Ibid., 2–33.
Iamblichus	Iamblichus
Myst.	*De mysteriis Aegyptiorum (= On the Mysteries of the Egyptians)*. Édouard Des Places, ed. and trans., *Jamblique: Les mystères d'Égypte* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966). Repr. with Eng. trans by Emma C. Clarke et al., eds. and trans., *Iamblichus: On the Mysteries* (WGRW 4; Atlanta: SBL, 2003).
De Anima	*De Anima (= On the Soul)*. John Finamore and John Dillon, eds. and trans., *Iamblichus: De Anima: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Philosophia Antiqua 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002).
Lactantius	Lactantius
Inst.	*Institutiones Divinae (= The Divine Institutes)*. Eberhard Heck and Antonie Wlosok, eds. and trans., *L. Caelius Firmianus Lactantius: Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem* (BSGRT; Fasc. 1–4; Books 1–7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011–14).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*	Anthony A. Long and David N. Sedley, eds. and trans., *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (vol. 1: *Translation of the Principal Sources and Philosophical Commentary*; New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Eng. trans. and commentary are cited as Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, *vol. no.: page. no*.; e.g., Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 1.420–21.
LS	Anthony A. Long and David N. Sedley, eds. and trans., *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (vol. 2: *Greek and Latin Texts with Notes and Bibliography*; New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For primary Greek or Latin sources, citations are given by LS, *section no.: section letter*; e.g., LS 39A.
Lucretius	Lucretius
DRN	Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Martin Ferguson Smith and William H.D. Rouse; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1975; 2nd ed., 1982; repr. 1997).

Malherbe, *CE*	*The Cynic Epistles.* Abraham J. Malherbe, ed., *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition* (SBLSBS 12; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977). Citations from *CE*. are given by *author: epistle no.: section no.* along with the corresponding page and line nos. in the Malherbe edition; e.g., Crates, *Ep*. 34.4 (= Malherbe, *CE*, p. 86, line 3).
Manilius	Marcus Manilius
Astron.	*Astronomica*. Manilius, *Astronomica* (LCL; ed. and trans. by George P. Goold; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1977).
Marc. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius Antonius
Med.	*Meditations*. Marcus Aurelius Antonius, *The Communings with Himself* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Charles R. Haines; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1916; repr. 1953).
Muson.	Musonius Rufus
fr.	fragments. Cora E. Lutz, ed. and trans., "Musonius Rufus: 'The Roman Socrates,'" in *Yale Classical Studies* 10 (ed. by Alfred R. Bellinger; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 3–147.
Origen	Origen
Cels.	*Contra Celsum (= Against Celsus)*. Miroslav Marcovich, ed., *Origenes: Contra Celsum: Libri VIII* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 54; Leiden: Brill, 2001). Eng. trans. by Henry Chadwick, *Origin: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1953; repr. 1980).
Ovid	Ovid
Metam.	*Metamorphoses*. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (vol. 1: *Books I–VIII*; LCL; ed. and trans. by George P. Goold and Frank Justus Miller; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1916; 3rd ed., 1977; vol. 2: *Books IX–XV*, 1916; 2nd ed., 1984).
Nemesius	Nemesius of Emesa
Nat. Hom.	*De natura hominis (= On Human Nature)*. Moreno Morani, ed., *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1987). Eng. trans. by Robert W. Sharples and Philip J. van der Eijk, *Nemesius: On the Nature of Man* (Translated Texts for Historians 49; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008). Citations from Nemesius will be by *section no.: page no.: line no.* from the Morani edition; e.g., Nemesius, *Nat. Hom*. 2.21.6–10 = Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, section 2, page 21, lines 6–10.
Numenius	Numenius of Apamea
fr.	fragment. Édouard des Places, ed. and trans., *Numénius: Fragments* (Text établi et traduit; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1973). Eng. trans. by Robert Dale Petty, "The Fragments of Numenius: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1993). Citations from Numenius will be by *fragment no.: line no.* from the des Places edition; e.g., Numenius, fr. 24.19–25 = Numenius, fragment 24, lines 19–25 (de Places).

Panaetius	Panaetius of Rhodes
fr.	fragment. Modestus Van Straaten, ed., *Panaetii Rhodii Fragmenta* (Philosophia Antiqua 5; Leiden: Brill, 1962). Citations from Panaetius will be by fragment no. with corresponding page and line nos. from Van Straaten's edition in parentheses; e.g., Panaetius, fr. 110 (Van Straaten, p. 42, lns. 21–24) = Diog. Laert., *Lives* 7.128.
Pausanias	Pausanias
Descript. Gr.	*Description of Greece.* Pausanias, *Description of Greece* (LCL; 5 vols.; ed. and trans. by William H.S. Jones et al.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1918–35; repr. 1980).
PGM	*Papyri graecae magicae (= The Greek Magical Papyri)*. Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs, eds., *Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–41; 2nd ed., 1973–74). Eng. trans. by Hans Dieter Betz, ed. and trans., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986; 2nd ed., 1992).
Philo	Philo of Alexandria. All texts taken from *Philo* (LCL; 10 vols.; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson et al.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1929–62); and *Philo: Supplement I–II* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by Ralph Marcus; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1953).
Abr.	*De Abrahamo (= On [the Life of] Abraham)*. Philo, *On Abraham, On Joseph, On Moses* (LCL; vol. 6; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1935; repr. 1959), 2–135.
Contempl.	*De vita contemplativa (= On the Contemplative Life)*. Philo, *Every Good Man Is Free, On the Contemplative Life, On the Eternity of the World, Against Flaccus, Apology for the Jews, On Providence* (LCL; vol. 9; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1941; repr., 1954), 104–70.
Deus	*Quod Deus sit immutabilis (= On the Unchangeableness of God)*. Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God, On Husbandry, On Noah's Work as a Planter, On Drunkenness, On Sobriety* (LCL; vol. 3; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson and George H. Whitaker; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1930; repr. 1954), 10–101.
Her.	*Quis rerum divinarum heres sit (= Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?)*. Philo, *On the Confusion of Tongues, On the Migration of Abraham, Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?, On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* (LCL; vol. 4; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson and George H. Whitaker; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1985), 269–447.
Leg. All.	*Legum allegoriae I–III (= Allegorical Interterpretation I–III).* Philo, *On the Creation* [and] *Allegorical Interpretation* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Colson and George H. Whitaker;

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1929; repr. 2004), 140–473.

Philodemus — Philodemus of Gadara

Ira — *De ira (*= Περὶ ὀργῆς = *On Anger* = *PHerc*. 182*)*. Giovanni Indelli, ed. and trans., *Filodemo: L'Ira* (La Scuola di Epicuro 5; Naples: Bibliopolis, 1988). Citations for Philodemus, *Ira* are given by *column no.* [or *fragment no*.]: *line no.*; e.g., Philodemus, *Ira* col. 32.17–36 = Philodemus, *De Ira*, column 32, lines 17–36.

Mus. — *De musica (*= Περὶ μουσικῆς = *On Music)*, Book 4 *(= PHerc*. 1497 + 225; 411; 424; 1094; 1572; 1575; 1576; 1578; 1583*)*. Daniel Delattre, ed. and trans., *Philodème de Gadare: Sur la Musique, Livre IV* (2 vols.; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007). Citations for Philodemus, *Mus*., are given by *book no.: PHerc no.: column no [or fragment no.]: line no*. plus edition in parentheses; Philodemus, *Mus*., Bk. 4, *PHerc*. 1497/XXVI, col. 140.14–25 (Delattre, 2.288–89) = Philodemus, *De musica*, Book 4, *PHerc*. 1497/XXVI, column 140, lines 14–25 (of the Delattre edition, vol. 2, pp. 288–89). See also the edition by Annemarie J. Neubecker, ed. and trans., *Philodemus: Über di Musik IV Buch* (La Scuola di Epicuro 5; Naples: Bibliopolis, 1986).

PHerc. — *Herculaneum Papyrus* (currently housed in the Bibliotheca Nazionale in Naples, Italy).

Piet. — *De pietate (*= Περὶ εὐσεβείας = *On Piety* = *PHerc*. 1077; 1098; 229/437; 452/242; 1610; 1788; etc.*)*. For Part 1, see Dirk Obbink, ed. and trans., *Philodemus: On Piety, Part 1: Critical Text with Commentary* (vol. 1 of 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). For Part 2, see the following: (a) Adolf Schober, "Philodemi περὶ εὐσεβείας libelli partem priorem restituit Adolf Schober," Ph.D. diss., Königsberg, 1923; published by *CErc* 18 (1988), 67–125; with revisions by Albert Henrichs, "Philodems *De Pietate* als mytholgraphische Quelle," *CErc* 5 (1975), 5–38; (b) Theodor Gomperz, ed., *Philodem über Frömmigkeit* (Herculanische Studien 2; Leipzig: Teubner, 1866), 63–76; and (c) Albert Henrichs, "Die Kritik der stoischen Theologie im *PHerc*. 1428)," *CErc* 4 (1974), 5–32. Citations for Philodemus, *Piet.* are given by *PHerc. no.: column no.*[or *fragment no*.]*: line no*. with the editor name/edition in parentheses; e.g., Philodemus, *Piet.*, *PHerc*. 1098, col. 31.1–28 (Obbink, 166) = Philodemus, *De pietate*, *PHerc*. 1098, column 31, lines 1–28 (of the Obbink edition, p. 166).

Rhet. — *De rhetoricis (*= Περὶ ῥητωρικῆς = *On Rhetoric*; multiple *PHerc*. fragments*)*. The main Greek text is by Siegfried Sudhaus, ed., *Philodemi volumina rhetorica* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1892–96), but the sequence of the books follows the revision by Tiziano Dorandi, "Per una ricomposizione dello scritto Filodemeo *Sulla retorica*," *ZPE* 82 (1990), 59–87. Summary of this reordering of the fragments can be found in Appendix 2 of *Philodemus and Poetry: Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus, and Horace* (ed. by Dirk Obbink; New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 276–78. The text by Sudhaus has undergone several revisions by other scholars; see below for details. A partial Eng-

lish translation for *Rhet*. was done by Harry M. Hubbell, "The Rhetoric of Philodemus," *Transactions of the Continental Academy of Arts and Sciences* 23 (Sept. 1920), 243–382.

Rhet., Bk. 6 — *De rhetoricis*, Book 6 = *PHerc*. 1004 (formerly Sudhaus Bk. 7). *PHerc*. 1004, fr. 5–12 and col. 3–112 = Sudhaus, *Philodemi volumina rhetorica*, 1.326–85, with several corrections by Maria G. Cappelluzzo, "Per una nuova edizione di un libro della Retorica filodemea (*P.Herc*. 1004)," *CErc* 6 (1976), 69–76. Citations for Philodemus, *Rhet.* are are given by *book no.: PHerc. no.: column no.* [or *fragment no*.]: *line no* and the *editor name/edition* in parentheses; e.g., Philodemus, *Rhet*., Bk. 6, *PHerc*. 1004, col. 3.1–18 (Sudhaus, 1.329) = Philodemus, *De Rhetoricis*, Book 6, *PHerc*. 1004, column 3, lines 1–18 (in the Sudhaus edition, p. 1.329).

Sign. — *De signis (*= Περὶ σημειώσεων = *On Signs* = *PHerc.* 1065*)*. Phillip H. de Lacy and Estelle A. De Lacy, eds. and trans., *On Methods of Inference* (2nd ed.; La Scuola di Epicuro 1; Naples: Bibliopolis, 1978). Citations for Philodemus, *Sign.* are given by *column no*.[or *fragment no.*]*: line no*.; e.g., Philodemus, *Sign.* col. 36.18–25 = Philodemus, *De signis*, column 36, lines 18–25.

Stoic. — *De Stoicis (*= Περὶ τῶν Στωκικῶν = *On the Stoics* = *PHerc*. 155/339*)*. Tiziano Dorandi, "Filodemo. Gli stoici (*PHerc*. 155 e 339)," *CErc* 12 (1982), 91–133. Citations for Philodemus, *Stoic*. are primarily from *PHerc*. 339 and are given by *column no.: line no*.; e.g., Philodemus, *Stoic.* col. 4.1–17 = Philodemus, *De Stoicis*, *PHerc*. 339, column 4, lines 1–17. Miscellaneous fragments from *PHerc*. 155 are given simply by the *fragment no*.; e.g., Philodemus, *Stoic.*, fr. 9 = Philodemus, *De Stoicis*, *PHerc*. 155, fragment no. 9.

Stoic. Ind. — *Index Stoicorum (= PHerc*. 1018*)*. Tiziano Dorandi, ed. and trans., *Filodemo: Storia dei filosofi: La Stoa da Zenone e Panezio, PHerc. 1018* (Philosophia Antiqua 60; Leiden: Brill, 1994). Citations for Philodemus, *Stoic. Ind*. are given by *column no.: line no*.; e.g., Philodemus, *Stoic. Ind.* col. 1.1–12 = Philodemus, *Index Stoicorum* (= *PHerc*. 1018), column 1, lines 1–12.

Philostratus — Philostratus of Athens

Vit. Apoll. — *Vita Apollonii (= The Life of Apollonius)*. Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by Christopher P. Jones; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2005; 2nd ed., 2012).

Vit. soph. — *Vitae sophistarum (= The Lives of the Sophists)*. Philostratus, *The Lives of the Sophists* [and] Eunapius, *The Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Wilmer C. Wright; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1925), 2–315.

Pindar — Pindar

Pyth. — *Carmina Pythius oraclum (*= Πυθιονῖκαι= *Pythian Odes)*. Pindar, *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes* (LCL; ed. and trans. by William H. Race; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1997; 2nd ed., 2012), 215–395.

Plato — Plato. All texts taken from *Plato* (LCL; 12 vols.; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler, Walter R.M. Lamb et al.; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1914–35) with the previ-

ous two volumes on the *Republic* ed. by Paul Shorey now replaced by Chris Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy (2013).

Alc. I *Alcibiades I.* Plato, *Charmides, Alcibiades I and II, Hipparchus, The Lovers, Theages, Minos, Epinomis* (LCL; vol. 12; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1927), 93–223.

Apol. *Apology.* Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 84–193. This volume replaces the older LCL vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Fowler (1914; repr. 1990).

Charm. *Charmides.* Plato, *Charmides, Alcibiades I and II, Hipparchus, The Lovers, Theages, Minos, Epinomis* (LCL; vol. 12; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1–91.

Crat. *Cratylus.* Plato, *Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias* (LCL; vol. 4; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1977), 3–191.

Crito *Crito.* Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 194–263. This volume replaces the older LCL vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Fowler (1914; repr. 1990).

Gorg. *Gorgias.* Plato, *Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias* (LCL; vol. 3; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1925; repr. 1991), 249–533.

Hipp. maj. *Hippias major (= Greater Hippias).* Plato, *Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias* (LCL; vol. 4; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1977), 334–423.

Leg. *Leges (= Laws).* Plato, *Laws* (LCL; vol. 10–11; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1926; repr. 1984).

Meno *Meno.* Plato, *Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1924; repr. 1990), 260–371.

Parm. *Parmenides.* Plato, *Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias* (LCL; vol. 4; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1977), 195–331.

Phaedo *Phaedo.* Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1914; repr. 1990), 193–403.

Phaedr. *Phaedrus*. Ibid., 405–579.

Phileb. *Philebus.* Plato, *The Statesman, Philebus, Ion* (LCL; vol. 8; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler and Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1925; repr. 1962), 197–400.

Pol.	*Politicus (= The Statesman)*. Plato, *The Statesman, Philebus, Ion* (LCL; vol. 8; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler and Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1925; repr. 1962), 1–195.
Prot.	*Protogoras.* Plato, *Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1924; repr. 1990), 85–257.
Resp.	*Respublica (= Republic)*. Plato, *The Republic* (LCL; vol. 5–6; 2nd ed; ed. and trans. by Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 2013). These volumes replace the older LCL vol. 5–6; ed. and trans. by Paul Shorey (1930–87).
Soph.	*Sophista.* Plato, *Theaetetus, Sophist* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1921; repr. 1987), 259–459.
Symp.	*Symposium.* Plato, *Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias* (LCL; vol. 3; ed. and trans. by Walter R.M. Lamb; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1925; repr. 1991), 74–245.
Theaet.	*Theaetetus.* Plato, *Theaetetus, Sophist* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1921; repr. 1987), 3–257.
Tim.	*Timaeus*. Plato, *Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles* (LCL; vol. 9; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. 1989), 1–253.
Plotinus	Plotinus
Enn.	*Enneads*. Plotinus, *Enneads I–VI* (LCL; 7 vols.; ed. and trans. by Arthur H. Armstrong; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1966–88).
Plutarch	Plutarch
Lives	*Lives*. Plutarch, *Lives* (LCL; 11 vols.; ed. and trans. by Bernadotte Perrin; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1914–88).
Ages.	*Agesilaus*. Plutarch, *Lives* (LCL; vol. 5: *Agesilaus and Pompey, Pelopidas and Marcellus*; ed. and trans. by Bernadotte Perrin; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1955), 1–113.
Dem.	*Demosthenes*. Plutarch, *Lives* (LCL; vol. 7: *Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar*; ed. and trans. by Bernadotte Perrin; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1967), 1–79.
Mor.	*Moralia*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; 16 vols.; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbit et al.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927–2004.
Ad princ. iner.	*Ad principem ineruditum (= To an Uneducated Ruler)*. Plutarch, Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 10; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936; repr. 1960), 49–71.
Adol. poet. aud.	*Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat (= How Youth Should Study Poetry)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by

Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 2005), 71–198.

Adul. amic. *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* (*= How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 2005), 263–395.

Adv. Col. *Adversus Colotem (= A Reply to Colotes)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 14; ed. and trans. by Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1967), 151–315.

Amat. *Amatorius (= The Dialogue on Love)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 9; ed. and trans. by Edwin L. Minar, Jr. et al.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1961), 301–441.

An. procr. *De animae procreatione in Timaeo (= On the generation of the soul in Timaeus)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 13, pt. 1; ed. and trans. by Harold Cherniss; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1976), 131–345.

Cohib. ira *De Cohibenda ira (= On the Control of Anger)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 6; ed. and trans. by William C. Helmbold; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1939; repr. 2000), 89–159.

Comm. not. *De communibus notitiis contra stoicos (= Against the Stoics on Common Conceptions)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 13, pt. 2; ed. and trans. by Harold Cherniss; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1976), 621–873.

Conj. praec. *Conjugalia Praecepta (= Advice on Marriage)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 2002), 295–343.

Cons. Apoll. *Consolatio ad Apollonium (= A Letter of Condolence to Apollonius)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbit; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1962), 103–211.

Cons. ux. *Consolatio ad uxorem (= Consolation to My Wife)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Phillip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1959; repr. 2000), 573–605.

Def. orac. *De defectu oraculorum (= On the Obsolescence of Oracles)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 5; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936), 347–501.

E Delph. *De E apud Delphos (= The E at Delphi)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 5; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936), 193–253.

Fac. *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet (= Concerning the Face Which Appears in the Orb of the Moon)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 12; ed. and trans. by Harold Chernis and William C. Helm-

bold; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1957; repr. 1984), 1–223.

Garr. *De garrulitate (= Concerning Talkativeness)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 6; ed. and trans. by William C. Helmbold; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1939; repr. 2000), 393–468.

Gen. Socr. *De genio Socratis (= On the Sign of Socrates)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Phillip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1959; repr. 2000), 362–510.

Inst. Lac. *Instituta Laconica (= The Ancient Customs of the Spartans)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 3; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1931; repr. 1989), 425–49.

Inv. od. *De invidia et odio (= On Envy and Hate).* Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Phillip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1959; repr. 2000), 91–107.

Is. Os. *De Iside et Osiride (= Isis and Osiris).* Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 5; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936), 1–191.

Lat. viv. *De latenter vivendo (= Is "Living Unknown" a Wise Precept?)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 14; ed. and trans. by Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1967; repr. 1996), 317–41.

Lib. aegr. *De libidine et aegritudine (= On Desire and Grief)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 15; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Sandbach; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1969), 31–59.

Max. princ. *Maxime cum principibus philosophiam esse disserendum (= That a Philosopher Should Converse with Rulers)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 10; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936; repr. 1969), 25–47.

Quaest. conv. *Quaestiones convivales (= Table-Talk)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 8; ed. and trans. by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1969); Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 9; ed. and trans. by Edwin L. Minar, Jr. et al.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1961), 1–299.

Quaest. plat. *Quaestiones platonicae (= Platonic Questions)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 13, pt. 1; ed. and trans. by Harold Chernis; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1976), 1–129.

Rect. rat. aud. *De recta ratione audiendi (= On Listening to Lectures)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 2005), 204–59.

Sera	*De sera numinis vindicta (= On God's Slowness to Punish)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 7; ed. and trans. by Phillip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1958; repr. 2000), 169–299.
Stoic. abs.	*Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere (= Stoics speak more paradoxically than the poets)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 13, pt. 2; ed. and trans. by Harold Cherniss; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1976), 605–19.
Stoic. rep.	*De Stoicorum repugnantiis (= On Stoic Self-Contradictions)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 13, pt. 2; ed. and trans. by Harold Cherniss; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1976), 367–603.
Suav. viv.	*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum (= That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 14; ed. and trans. by Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1967; repr. 1996), 1–149.
Superst.	*De superstitione (= On Superstition)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 1962), 452–95.
Tu. san.	*De tuenda sanitate praecepta (= Advice about Keeping Well)*. utarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 2; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 1962), 213–93.
Un. rep. dom.	*De unius in republica dominatione (= On Monarchy, Democracy, and Oligarchy)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 10; ed. and trans. by Harold N. Fowler; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936; repr. 1969), 301–11.
Virt. mor.	*De virtute morali (= On Moral Virtue)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 6; ed. and trans. by William C. Helmbold; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1939; repr. 2000), 15–87.
Virt. prof.	*Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus (= How One May Become Aware of His Moral Progress)*. Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 1; ed. and trans. by Frank C. Babbitt; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1927; repr. 2005), 397–457.
fr. *Erot.*	fragments 134–38 (= ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΩΤΟΣ). Plutarch, *Moralia* (LCL; vol. 15; ed. and trans. by Francis H. Sandbach; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1969), 248–60.
fr. *Kall.*	fragments 144–46 (= ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ). Ibid., 268–73.
Porphyry	Porphyry
Sent.	*Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes (= Sentences to the Intelligibles)*. Luc Brisson et al., ed. and trans., *Porphyre: Sentences* (2 vols.; Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classique 33; Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2005).

Posidonius	Posidonius
fr.	Ludwig Edeilstein and Ian G. Kidd, eds., *Posidonius*, vol. 1: *The Fragments* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 13; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 1989). Eng. trans. by Ian G. Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 3: *The Translation of the Fragments* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 36; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
Proclus	Proclus
In Alc.	*In Alcibiadem Commentarius (= Commentary on Plato's Alcibiades)*. Alain Philippe Segonds, ed. and trans., *Proclus: Sur le premier Alcibiade de Platon* (2 vols.; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985–86). Eng. trans. by William O'Neill, *Proclus:* Alcibaides I*: A Translation and Commentary* (2nd ed.; The Hague: Springer Science+Business Media, 1971).
Ps.-Andr.	Pseudo-Andronicus of Rhodes
Pass.	*De passionibus (= On the passions)*. Anne Glibert-Thirry, ed., *Pseudo-Andronicus de Rhodes "Περὶ παθῶν": Edition critique du texte grec et de la traduction latine médiévale* (Corpus latinum commentariorum in Aristotelem graecorum. Sup. 2. Leiden: Brill, 1977).
Ps.-Pyth.	Pseudo-Pythagoras
Carm. Aur.	*Carmen Aureum (= Golden Verses)*. Johan C. Thom, ed. and trans., *The Pythagorean Golden Verses: With Introduction and Commentary* (RGRW 123; Leiden: Brill, 1995). See also the Eng. trans. by Kenneth S. Guthrie and David Fideler, eds. and trans., *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library* (Grand Rapids: Phane Press, 1987), 163–65.
Seneca	Seneca
Ben.	*De Beneficiis (= On Benefits)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 3 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1935; repr. 1975), 2–525.
Brev. vit.	*De Brevitate Vitae (= On the Shortness of Life)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 98–179.
Const.	*De Constantia Sapientis (= On the Firmness of the Sage)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 1 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 1958–85), 48–105.
Ep.	*Epistulae.* Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (LCL; 3 vols.; ed. and trans. by Richard M. Gummere; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1917–25).
Helv.	*De Consolatione ad Helviam Matrem (= To Helvia His Mother on Consolation).* Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 416–89.

Herc. fur. *Hercules Furens (= The Madness of Hercules)*. Seneca, *Tragedies I: Hercules, Trojan Women, Phoenician Women, Medea, Phaedra* (vol. 1 of 2; ed. and trans. by John G. Fitch; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 2002), 36–159.

Ira *De Ira (= On Anger)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 1 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1928; repr. 1958–85), 106–355.

Marc. *De Consolatione ad Marciam (= To Marcia on Consolation)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 3–97.

Med. *Medea*. Seneca, *Tragedies I: Hercules, Trojan Women, Phoenician Women, Medea, Phaedra* (vol. 1 of 2; ed. and trans. by John G. Fitch; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 2002), 334–433.

Nat. *Naturales Quaestiones (= Natural Questions)*. Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. and trans. by Thomas H. Corcoran; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1971–72).

Otio *De Otio (= On Leisure)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 180–201.

Phaed. *Phaedra*. Seneca, *Tragedies I: Hercules, Trojan Women, Phoenician Women, Medea, Phaedra* (vol. 1 of 2; ed. and trans. by John G. Fitch; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 2002), 437-551.

Polyb. *De Consolatione ad Polybium (= To Polybius on Consolation)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 356–415.

Tranq. an. *De Tranquillitate Animi (= On Tranquility of Mind)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 202–85.

Vit. beat. *De Vita Beata (= On the Good Life)*. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (LCL; vol. 2 of 3; ed. and trans. by John W. Basore; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1932; repr. 1935–90), 98–179.

Sext. Emp. Sextus Empiricus

Math. *Adversus mathematicos I–VI (= Against the Professors 1–6)*. Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors* (LCL; vol. 4 of 4; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1949).

Adversus mathematicos VII–VIII (= Against the Logicians 1–2). Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians* (LCL; vol. 2 of 4; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1935; repr. 1957).

*Adversus mathematicos IX–XI (*Books IX–X = *Against the Physicists 1–2;* Book XI = *Against the Ethicists)*. Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Physicists* [and] *Against the Ethicists* (LCL; vol. 3 of 4; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1936; repr. 1953).

Pyr. Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις *(= Outlines of Pyrrhonism)*. Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (LCL; vol. 1 of 4; ed. and trans. by Robert G. Bury; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1933; repr. 1955).

Simplicius — Simplicius of Cilicia

In Arist. Cat. *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium.* Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 8; ed. by Karl Kalbfleisch; Berlin: Reimer, 1907). Citations for Simplicius, *In Arist. Cat*. is by *chapter no.: page no.: line no*.; e.g., Simplicius*, In. Arist. Cat*. 10.401.25 = Kalbfleisch, chapter 10, p. 401, line 25.

Stobaeus — Stobaeus

Anth. Stobaeus, *Anthologium* (5 vols.; ed. by Curtius Wachsmuth and Otto Hense; Berlin: Weidmann, 1884–1912; repr. by Berlin: August Raabe, 1958). Citations for Stobaeus, *Anth*. is by *vol. no.*: *page no.: line no*.; e.g., Stobaeus, *Anth*. 2.89.4 = Wachsmuth / Hense, vol. 2, p. 89, line 4.

Suetonius — Suetonius

Claud. *Claudius.* Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars: Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; Lives of Illustrious Men: Grammarians and Rhetoricians, Poets, Pliny the Elder, Passienus Crispus* (vol. 2; LCL; ed. and trans. by John C. Rolfe; Cambridge / London: Harvard University Press, 1914; 2nd ed., 1997), 2–81.

Nero *Nero.* Ibid., 82–181.

Vit. *Vitellius.* Ibid., 236–65.

SVF *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (4 vols.; ed. by Hans von Arnim; Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–24; repr. 1921–24). Citations for *SVF* is by *vol. no.*: *fragment no*.; e.g., *SVF* 3.421 (von Arnim 3.102–103) = *SVF*, vol. 3, fragment 421 (von Arnim edition, vol. 3, pp. 102–103).

Theophrastus — Theophrastus

Char. *Characters.* Theophastus, *Characters*; Herodas, *Mimes*; Cercidas and the Poets (LCL; ed and trans. by Jeffrey Rusten et al.; Cambridge / London: Harvard University Press, 2nd ed., 1993), 50–165.

Xenophon — Xenophon

Mem. *Memorabilia.* Xenophon, *Memorabilia and Oeconomicus* (LCL; ed. and trans. by Edgar C. Marchant; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1953), 1–359.

Part I

Mapping the Apostle Paul's Moral Milieu

Chapter 1

An Introduction to Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind

1. What Is Ancient Philosophy of Mind?

Ancient philosophy of mind is not the same as *modern* philosophy of mind. Modern philosophy of mind, for the most part, focuses on a specific area of metaphysics concerning the nature of mental phenomena.[1] Its research areas include such topics as conceptualization, memory, perception, knowledge, sensation, consciousness, belief, desire, intentions, reasoning, and action.[2] Currently, much of modern philosophy of mind has focused upon the central metaphysical problem of how to relate the mind with the body. In other words, it asks such questions as: *How does a person explain the relationship between the mind and the physiological workings of the brain? Are they the same? Is the mind a separate thing altogether from the physical processes of the brain, or is one the function of the other?*[3] The problem becomes more complex when asking questions about the relationship between mind and machines and whether the latter could ever proximate true human intelligence.[4]

Ancient philosophy of mind is the study of the soul (ψυχή/*animus*).[5] While issues such as how the soul relates to the body are also important for the ancient philosopher, unlike modern philosophy of mind, ancient philosophy of mind focuses on the *ethical* implications of what the soul is and how it functions. This ethical emphasis is especially true of the philosophical schools during the Greco-Roman period when the importance of ethics began

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[1] Brian P. McLaughlin, "Philosophy of Mind," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (ed. by Robert Audi; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 597.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 597–606; see also John Searle, *The Rediscovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 5–10; 33–52.

[4] Rebecca Copenhaver and Christopher Shields, "General Introduction," in *Philosophy of Mind in Antiquity* (vol. 1 of *The History of the Philosophy of Mind*; ed. by John E. Sisko; London/New York: Routledge, 2019), xi–xii [x–xvii].

[5] Julia E. Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 1.

to eclipse prior attention paid to physics and logic.[6] Taking, for example, the matter of emotions, desires, or the passions of the soul, ancient philosophers inquired into the structure of the passions not as an intellectual pursuit of its own, but because they believed that the passions affected the moral actions of a person. *How much of sexual passion is non-cognitive* (that is, how much does lust consist of purely physiological urges), and *how much of it is cognitive* (that is, to what degree is lust based upon false beliefs in romance and courtly love), were questions that ancient philosophers raised time and time again for the following reason: if desire was partly or wholly cognitive, then the mind with its cognitive faculties was capable of partly or wholly controlling desire.[7]

Ancient philosophers tended to ask an altogether different set of questions from their modern counterparts, including: *Are the passions controllable? Can a person ever really change? Besides the passions, are there other forces at work which impede moral transformation? Is character or human nature pre-determined at birth, or forged over time through training and education? What are the power sources for moral progress if the transformation of one's character is indeed possible?* In the 1st-century C.E. world of the Apostle Paul and his letter recipients, three major philosophical movements – the Platonists, the Stoics, and the Epicureans – rose to the forefront of Roman intelligentsia and articulated competing answers to the above questions. Each philosophy of mind offered an alternative ethical system on how the sage could shape the human soul. Each claimed to possess the wisdom that would help transform the common barbarian, sick with vice, into a leading citizen of the

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[6] Giovanni Reale, *The Schools of the Imperial Age* (vol. 4 of *A History of Ancient Philosophy*; ed. and trans. by John R. Catan; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 37–43; 53–55; 229–34; idem, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age* (vol. 3 of *A History of Ancient Philosophy*; ed. and trans. by John R. Catan; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 118–19. Among the Stoics in the Roman period, Reale names Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius as having an "almost exclusive interest in ethics" (*The Schools of the Imperial Age*, p. 75). For the Epicureans, as early as the Hellenistic period, the Garden "maintained the superiority of ethics over physics" (*The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, p. 118). Even Trapp acknowledges that "the first and second centuries CE do indeed provide us with a striking array of thinkers whose surviving or attested output is predominantly ethical, and firmly slanted towards the practical application of ethical principle: Seneca, Demetrius, Musonius Rufus, Arrian's Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Hierocles, Marcus Aurelius" (p. 11), although Trapp also correctly warns against the mistaken view that Roman philosophers were so consumed with the topic of ethics as to neglect logic, physics, cosmology, natural history, and other subjects of philosophical inquiry; see Michael Trapp, *Philosophy in the Roman Empire: Ethics, Politics and Society* (Ashgate Ancient Philosophy; Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 10–13.

[7] Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind*, 103–120; 189–99.

Roman Empire, capable of virtue. Each, perhaps to the surprise of the modern reader, was seriously religious in its ethical program. Moral transformation was not possible unless human action and divine agency corresponded in some way.

2. Which Moral Transformation Systems and Why

This stand-alone book is the first and foundational work of a two-book project. The combined purpose of these two books is to describe the moral transformation systems of Middle Platonism and Greco-Roman Stoicism (this present volume), and Greco-Roman Epicureanism and Diaspora Judaism (a subsequent book), during the early imperial period of the Roman Empire from the 1st century B.C.E. through 2nd century C.E.[8] An attempt was made to treat each individual philosophy of mind as an independent study for its particular expression in a time contemporary to the Apostle Paul and the early Christian church. Studying Platonism and Stoicism first, and then Epicureanism and Diaspora Judaism, while somewhat artificial in its division, is nevertheless not without a logical rationale.

For this present book, setting the scope of this study within the framework of Platonic and Stoic ethical discourse provides the reader with the broadest and most comprehensive range of philosophical views on the structure of the passions and the moral transformation of the soul. The Stoic *cognitive* theory on the passions and moral action, together with the Platonic *non-cognitive* theory, provide the dialectical endpoints between which other philosophical

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[8] Why begin with the 1st century B.C.E. and end with the close of the 2nd century C.E.? Why these "bookend" dates? Since this work is an attempt to map the moral milieu to which the Apostle Paul and his Diaspora Jewish contemporaries belong, it makes sense to focus on the time frame when Diaspora Judaism and Pauline Christianity were interacting with Greco-Roman philosophical traditions. Moreover, this period, which is alternatively called the "Early and High Empires," demarcates a definable phase of development in the history of Greek and Roman philosophy. Trapp notes that the 1st century B.C.E. marks the break in the succession of scholarchs for the Academy, Peripatos, and the Stoa and the loss of Athens' pre-eminence as the intellectual center of the world. From the *polis* to the *cosmos*, philosophy and its various schools were beginning to have a much more cosmopolitan and international identity as they won followers across the Mediterranean world. By 176 C.E. (or end of the 2nd century C.E.), we have the re-establishment of four public chairs at Athens by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius for the Academy, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Epicureans as evidence that these philosophies had become culturally dominant traditions in the Roman Empire. The end of the 2nd century C.E. (or the beginning of the 3rd) also stops short of the ascendancy of Neo-Platonism (begun by Plotinus; 205–268/70 C.E.) which transformed the intellectual landscape of the Empire entirely from that time forward. See the discussion by Trapp, *Philosophy in the Roman Empire*, ix–xi.

systems like Epicureanism can be compared. In other words, as we study the Platonist and Stoic positions first, we can then place other moral transformation systems along the spectrum they create. Epicureanism, for example, will emerge as an intermediate theory that asserts a *componential* – that is, a partially cognitive and partially non-cognitive – viewpoint on human desires and their self-mastery. We will see that certain Diaspora Jewish moralists also stood within this spectrum as they adapted both Stoic and Platonic tenets in their articulation of Judaism as a form of philosophy. We will also examine how certain eclectic members of the (Middle) Stoa like Posidonius and Panaetius were attracted to Platonic concepts but nevertheless retained an essentially Stoic orthodoxy.

My reasons for limiting the scope of the entire project to the Academy, the Stoa, and the Garden – while omitting any major examination of Neo-Pythagorean, Peripatetic, Cynic, Skeptic, and other philosophical schools – lie in the relative importance and influence of the former group of schools during this specific period of Roman history. A brief account of their rivalry will help explain my decision to focus upon these particular philosophies of mind.

In the late 3rd century B.C.E., Athens became the home of four major philosophical movements which later came to dominate Hellenistic Greek culture. Within the city and surrounding suburbs of Athens, these four philosophies were taught in four separate but proximate locations: at the *Academy* of Plato, along the Περίπατος (or Walkway) in the Lyceum of Aristotle, in the *Garden* of Epicurus, and lastly at the Στοὰ Ποικίλη (or Painted Porch) where Zeno of Citium and his followers gathered.[9] Eventually, these four respective locations became the metonymic designations for the Platonic, Peri-patetic, Epicurean, and Stoic schools. The Platonic and Peripatetic schools, in a sense, represented the old guard of philosophy in ancient Greece, while the Epicurean and Stoic schools stood for a new Hellenistic wave of philosophical inquiry which challenged their earlier counterparts.[10] In short, when Epicureanism and Stoicism began in Athens, their schools marked a

[9] Anthony A. Long and David N. Sedley, eds. and trans., *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (vol. 1: *Translation of the Principal Sources and Philosophical Commentary*; New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3–5; Paul O. Kristeller, *Greek Philosophers of the Hellenistic Age* (trans. by Gregory Woods; New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 4.

[10] For a discussion on how Epicureanism (whose official beginning is 306 B.C.E.) and Stoicism (beginning around 313 B.C.E.) engaged with the teachings of the Academy (ca. 347 B.C.E.) and Peripatos (ca. 335 B.C.E.), see Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 113–22 [Epicureanism]; 210–14 [Stoicism].

revolution to the previous Platonic and Peripatetic dominance which had colored Greek intellectual life for the past century.[11]

So, on the one hand, the Garden and the Stoa stood together against both the Academy and the Peripatos in the area of metaphysics, cosmology,[12] and anthropology.[13] As rightly noted by DeWitt, at the time of its emergence, Epicureanism's chief contention was against the teachings of Plato, and not against those of Zeno (of Citium).[14] Yet, on the other hand, as the dominance of the Platonic and Peripatetic schools waned, and as the influence of Epicureanism and Stoicism grew, it became inevitable that the Garden and Stoa would also become rival philosophies with respect to each other.[15] In due

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[11] Ibid. See also Norman W. DeWitt, *Epicurus and His Philosophy* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954; repr. by Cleveland/New York: The World Publishing Co., 1967), 8–11.

[12] On Epicurean reactions against Platonic metaphysics and cosmology, see the discussions by Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 114–17; Anthony A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, and Skeptics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 42–43. On Stoic reaction against Platonic metaphysics and cosmology, see Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 152–60; Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 210–14; Kristeller, *Greek Philosophers of the Hellenistic Age*, 24–30.

[13] The Epicurean and Stoic schools together denied Platonic soul–body dualism, although they did so by offering their own separate and differing theories for the monistic structure of the soul. For a discussion on how Epicurean anthropology critiques both Platonic and Peripatetic anthropologies, see John M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (London/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 74–79; Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 151–53. For a discussion on how Stoic anthropology critiques Platonic and Peripatetic anthropologies, see Brad Inwood, *Ethics and Human Action in Early Stoicism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 18–41; Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 170–75; Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 210–14.

[14] DeWitt, *Epicurus and His Philosophy*, 6–7, 11, 16–18, 21–22, 23–24. Chronologically, Epicurus precedes Zeno by a few years. However, Zeno – upon the founding of his Stoic school – certainly argued against Epicurean teachings, and consequentially Epicurus' followers would later have to answer the criticisms waged against them by the Stoa; see Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 214–15. Thus, the rivalry between the Epicurean and Stoic schools began much earlier than DeWitt cares to admit.

[15] Among their chief contentions, the Epicureans and Stoics argued heavily against each other in the area of physics and cosmology, divine providence and free will, and ethics (specifically concerning the τέλος of life; Cicero, *Fin*. 2.43–44); see Reale, *The Systems of the Hellenistic Age*, 214–15; Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 60–61. In fact, Cicero, in his *De Finibus*, sets up a virtual debate over the goal (τέλος / *finis*) of living between Epicureanism (Books 1–2) and Stoicism (Book 3), while also presenting his own Skeptical Academic views (Books 4–5). Cicero has been criticized for exaggerating the hostility between the Epicurean and Stoic schools "as if [they were] rival schools of gladiators" (DeWitt, *Epicurus and His Philosophy*, p. 11); nevertheless, the opposition is real, and any discussion of ethics in the Greco-Roman era would have to contend with the theories of these two competing schools; see the discussion by Howard Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition* (London/New York: Routledge, 1989), 78–93. Cf. Acts 17:18. Those Greco-Roman Stoic writers who critique

time, the Garden and the Stoa superseded their Platonic and Peripatetic predecessors to become *the* two main competing schools which commanded the philosophical and cultural milieu of the Greco-Roman era.[16] The Stoa and the Garden were indeed "the great Schools born in the Hellenistic Age which in the succeeding Imperial Age demonstrated the greatest vitality and greatest spiritual hold over the hearts of men."[17]

Yet despite the dominance of Stoicism and Epicureanism, one cannot ignore the enduring influence that Plato and his followers exercised during the early imperial period. Although there existed no official Academy itself in Athens,[18] there were certainly many well-known and influential Platonists (e.g., Eudorus of Alexandria, Plutarch, Alcinous, Apuleius of Madaura, Albinus, Theon of Smyrna, Galen of Pergamum, Numenius of Apamea, Maximus of Tyre, to name just a few) who continued to debate with both their Stoic and Epicurean contemporaries.[19] These figures represent a resurgeance of interest in Plato and of his influence in the wider Greco-Roman world until Middle Platonism itself became the dominent philosophical movement towards the end of the 2nd century C.E.[20] The eminence and impact of Plato's

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Epicurean doctrines include: Persius, Silius, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Cleonides, and, to a lesser extent, Seneca, who was more favorably disposed toward Epicurean ideas; see the discussion of these Stoics by John Ferguson, "Epicureanism under the Roman Empire," rev. and supplemented by Jackson P. Hershbell, in *ANRW* 2.36.4 (ed. by Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1990), 2280–83, 2284, 2294–95 [2257–327]. For an Epicurean critique of Stoic doctrines in the Greco-Roman era, see the following treatises by Philodemus: *Rhet*., Bk. 6 (*PHerc*. 1004) [against Stoic political rhetoric]; *Mus*., Bk. 4 [against Stoic musical theory]; *Sign*. (*PHerc.* 1065) [against Stoic logic]; and *Stoic.* (*PHerc* 339/155), *Stoic. Ind.* (*PHerc*. 1018), and *Piet*., Part 2 (*PHerc.* 1428) [against Stoic theology].

[16] Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition*, 78–93; Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 232–37; Reale, *The Schools of the Imperial Age*, 37–43 [Greco-Roman Epicureanism]; 53–55 [Greco-Roman Stoicism or what he labels as "Neo-Stoicism"].

[17] Reale, *The Schools of the Imperial Age*, 53. Reale's quotation was made in reference to Stoicism, but here I have taken the liberty of applying this same quotation to the Epicureans as well, noting his previous comments to this effect (see ibid., 39).

[18] See the remarks by Cicero (*Fin*. 5.1–2) and Seneca (*Nat*. 7.32.2) on the Academy being *sine successore*; also Reale, *The Schools of the Imperial Age*, 208–209.

[19] John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977; 2nd ed. with postscript, 1996), vi–xi; Reale, *The Schools of the Imperial Age*, 212–13.

[20] See the description of the 1st century B.C.E. to the 2nd century C.E. as a "Transitional Period" in the Roman world from the philosophical dominance of Stoicism to Platonism by Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Setting the Scene: Stoicism and Platonism in the Transitional Period of Ancient Philosophy," in *Stoicism in Early Christianity* (ed. by Tuomas Rasimus et al.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 1–14; idem, "Introduction: A Historiographical Essay," in *From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE–100 CE* (ed. by Troels Engberg-Pedersen; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press,

thought loomed over western society like a shadow. Although Stoicism and Epicureanism were the chief rival philosophies during this period, every sage still had to contend with Plato's ideas and the reinterpretations of Plato's doctrines by his Middle Platonic proponents. For if there were indeed many popular poets in the Greco-Roman period but *the* poet above them all was Homer (τὸν ῞Ομηρον ποιητήν), it can be said that while there were many renowned philosophers in the Apostle Paul's day, *the* philosopher was still Plato (τὸν Πλάτωνα φιλόσοφον).[21]

Therefore, the serious historian attempting to grasp the overall contours of Roman intellectual life around the 1st century C.E. must engage in some way with the philosophical discourses of the Middle Platonists, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. As for the other philosophies and their adherents, I offer the following rationale for their limited treatment. Any discussion on moral transformation must take into account how the passions can be controlled;[22] however, the (Neo-)Pythagoreans and the Cynics (i.e., the Cynics apart from Cynicizing Stoics such as Epictetus) lack just such a detailed account. There exists no detailed treatise concerning the passions by either the Pythagoreans or the Cynics such as we find with the other philosophical schools, and the

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2017), 1–26; Malcolm Schofield, "Introduction," in *Aristotle, Plato and Pythagoreanism in the First Century BC: New Directions for Philosophy* (ed. by Malcolm Schofield; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), xiv–xxiv. These above works and others will be addressed in further detail in Chapter 11, Section 3.1 (The Importance of Platonism and Stoicism in the Transitional Period).

[21] See the remarks by Byzantine commentator John Doxapatres on Aphthonius' *progymnasmata* in Christian Walz, ed., *Rhetores Graeci* (vol. 2; Stuttgart/Tübingen: J.G. Cottae / London: Black, Young & Young, 1835), p. 253, lines 22–28 (= Dox 2.253.22–28), which reads: "Because the χρεία is more useful (χρειωδεστέρα) for a speech than the other *progymnasmata*, that is why it is said to be 'the useful' (i.e., ἡ χρεία) par excellence; likewise we say Demosthenes is *the* rhetorician (τὸν Δημοσθένην ῥήτορα λέγομεν) although there are many rhetoricians, and Homer is *the* poet (τὸν ῞Ομηρον ποιητήν), and Thucydides is *the* historian (τὸν θουκυδίδην συγγραφέα), and Plato is *the* philosopher (τὸν Πλάτωνα φιλόσοφον)." I wish to thank Prof. Ronald Hock for not only drawing my attention to the above text in John Doxapatre's commentary on Aphthonius' *progymnasmata* but also providing the exact references and an English translation to the Greek text in Walz's *Rhetores Graeci*. See also the following comments from Theon of Alexandria, Περὶ Χρείας, in *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric* (vol. 1: *The Progymnasmata*; SBLTT 27; Graeco-Roman Religion 9; ed. and trans. by Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 84–85; 92. Theon comments: "As it is also with the case of Homer, although there exist many poets, because of his excellence, we customarily call him alone *the* Poet (πολλῶν ὄντων ποιημτῶν κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν τοῦτον μόνον καλεῖν εἰώθαμεν Ποιητήν; p. 84, lines 27–28; Eng. trans. modified from Hock and O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric*, p. 1.85)." Likewise, Theon calls Plato "*the* philosopher (Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος; p. 1.92, lines 162–63)."

[22] Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3–12.

Pythagoreans and Cynics were simply not as important to the debate on the self-mastery of the passions as the Stoics, Epicureans, and Middle Platonists were.[23]

Nevertheless, since many Middle Platonists critically accepted some ideas from the Peripatetics and the Pythagoreans (but only as they appeared to support Plato),[24] and since certain Stoics such as Epictetus were attracted to the Cynic ideal of freedom,[25] I will partially discuss Peripatetic, Pythagorean, and Cynic ethics, but only as they illuminate the moral tenets of certain *eclectic* members of the Academy and Stoa.[26]

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[23] Ibid.; Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 1–13. Concerning Cynicism, David E. Aune gives the closest account of a Cynic "theory" on the passions but himself admits that such a reconstruction is difficult because Cynicism is more an ethical lifestyle (ξένστασις βίου; Diog. Laert. *Lives* 6.103) than a philosophical system of thought, was not a formal school, and did not have a central body of doctrine; see his essay "The Problem of the Passions in Cynicism," in *Passions and Moral Progress in Greco-Roman Thought* (ed. by John T. Fitzgerald; New York/London: Routledge, 2008), 48–51 [48–66]. On Neopythagoreanism, from a study of the pseudepigraphic treatises or the *Pseudopythagorica ethica*, Johan Thom concludes that wsea Neopythagorean theory of the passions essentially follows the Platonic–Peripatetic doctrine of *metriopatheia*, or the moderation of emotions. A Neopythagorean account therefore adds relatively few new insights which would not already have been covered in a study of Middle Platonic moral psychology; see Thom's essay "The Passions in Neopythagorean Writings," in *Passions and Moral Progress in Greco-Roman Thought* (ed. by John T. Fitzgerald; New York/London: Routledge, 2008), 68–70, 74 [67–78].

[24] John Whittaker, "Platonic Philosophy in the Early Centuries of the Empire," in *ANRW* 2.36.1 (ed. by Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1987), 110–14; 117–21.

[25] Adolf Bonhöffer, *The Ethics of the Stoic Epictetus* (Revisioning Philosophy 2; trans. by William O. Stephens; New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 4–5.

[26] *Eclecticism* is not to be taken as a negative or pejorative term, as the following volume of essays indicates: see John Dillon and Anthony A. Long, eds., *The Question of "Eclecticism": Studies in Later Greek Philosophy* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988). Among classicists, *the* eclectic period of ancient philosophy is roughly the Greco-Roman era, or the period of the 1st century B.C.E. to the 2nd century C.E. (see the introduction, p. 1). In the essay, "The History of the Concept of Eclecticism" (*The Question of "Eclecticism"*, pp. 15–33), Pierluigi Donini explains how the term *eclectic* has wrongfully been understood as implying syncretistic or compromising practices that involve the uncritical acceptance of teachings foreign to a particular school's philosophical doctrines (pp. 28–31). Rather, eclecticism should be redefined with a greater appreciation for the individual philosopher's positive contribution to his or her own school's teachings (p. 29) and his or her critical acceptance of external ideas that appear to support the school's original philosophical outlook. Though Donini gives six different definitions for eclecticism as it pertains to the practices of Greco-Roman philosophers and their doctrinal affiliations (see his summary of the 6 senses of the term *eclecticism* on p. 31), he discounts one definition (sense 1; p. 31) as too inaccurate and negative, another as too idiosyncratic to the particular author (sense 6), and two more definitions as arguably rare or non-existent traditions (senses 4–5; pp. 32–33), leaving only two workable definitions for eclecticism (senses 2 and 3; p. 33). One of the workable definitions is a very general description as follows: "the term

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