

Plato's Academy and the "Roman Market": A Case Study in "Humanities Education" During Times of Crisis or Recession

By David Philip Wick*

The innovative (and sometimes painful) story of Athens' self-transformation from a self-defined and self-confident independent city-state to a culture-market and service economy that discovered it could thrive best by selling its heritage to others is one I have written on in the past from a number of angles. To the elite of Athens, both community leaders and leaders in the city's culture, the most poignant stories may have been those of the city's schools, in particular the school that defined (for traditionalists who were not themselves philosophers) what "Athenian philosophy" meant: the Academy, the school of Plato. I should like in this short study to follow the leaders, the 'scholarchs' of that school – all of them 'working philosophers' as well as what we would call administrators – who successfully adapted it to survive through, and draw on the clientele of, the last three generations or so of the Roman Republic. I should like to see if these behaviors and characters – and they, while they do not always fit what we expect from a classical philosopher, make more sense if understood by the school's 'driving clientele,' and finally what sort of story this adds up to.

The "Academy" to which Romans flocked, as students or intellectual tourists in the last generations of the Republic, was a place pictured in the mind and heart as much as an institution. They expected as they landed in the Piraeus and took the roads that skirted the rubble of the old Long Walls toward urban Athens a grove from the dialogues, full of immemorial *auctoritas* because Plato and even Socrates had once spoken there. It came as a melancholy shock to Cicero to find in 79 that he and his friends would have to make do with visiting the old site one afternoon—a special hike out toward the little hill of Colonus by themselves.¹ The place was deserted. The very ground was bare. All the lovely, shady, stream-watered trees one could almost *feel* in Plato's later dialogues had been ripped out by Sulla to make artillery for the siege of Athens.² Later in the *de Finibus* Cicero recalled the almost heartbreaking quietness of the scene, and how afterward in Athens he and his friends spoke of what really mattered to them in the city: Quintus Cicero of the little town of Colonus haunted by the ghosts of Sophocles and the *Oedipus* set there; Lucius Cicero of the beach where Demosthenes worked

*Professor (Retired), Gordon College, USA.

1. Cicero, *De Finibus* v, 1 and 2. Cf. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic* (London, 2002), 11.

2. Plutarch, *Sulla*, xii; Pausanias I, xxix, 2. In Levi's edtn., (Harmondsworth, 1981), vol. 1, p. 83 and esp. Levi's note 172.

at his oratory, and of the tomb of Pericles.³

"Plato's Academy" – The definitive school of schools in Athens, was by the generation or two before Julius Caesar a foreigners' school. As the eastern Mediterranean fractured and the Roman Republic spread toward it in the generations leading up to Julius Caesar's, the arrival of young, toga'd Romans looking among the groves and colonnaded porches of the legendary town for both learning they could use in political and legal careers, and as they grew older, take refuge from the world of power politics, became the norm in Athens. By Cicero's student years, outsiders looking for and dominating the educational subculture of Athens (and one of its most important economic sectors) were no longer 'aliens.' Not only the bulk of students there, but most of the prominent teachers as well had been, even since the Hellenistic changes of the Fourth Century, outsiders. The men who *made* Athens a university town in the first generation after the classical world fell – Plato, Isocrates, perhaps Polycrates – had been natives. The following generation – Aristotle, Theophrastus, Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus – were all new in the town.⁴ Epicurus had indeed been an Athenian, though of colonial birth, and that (coupled with his un-Athenian gentleness, his extremely easy health, and his remarkable age) must have set him apart.⁵

But as the age of Epicurus passed, the close alignment we are used to between famous teacher and a distinct choice among the Athenians schools (whether for that teacher's career, for as an expectation in students coming to Athens to learn) began to blur. Principal philosophers rotated through the various schools, including the Academy, in an almost casual fashion, almost as though the governing of knowledge in each was to be done by serial democracy, in the old manner of the Athenian council. *Scholarch* (the school administrator of the era) passed wisdom and a library on to *scholarch* like civic Athenians passing through the chair of the *archon basileus*, the difference being that non - Athenians almost monopolized the academic chair.⁶

3. Cicero, *De Finibus* v, 1 and 2. Cf. Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus," *Athenaeum* 63 (1985): 26 f.

4. This philosophical "second generation" was a thorough, fundamental shock to the intellectual self-sufficiency of the archetypal Greek polis just as the fourth century series of brushfire wars was a shock to its political self-sufficiency. For a very sensitive discussion of this unsettlingly wide new world to which Athens lay exposed, its spiritual walls in shambles, see Dodds, "The Fear of Freedom," in his *Greeks and the Irrational*, (Berkeley, 1951), esp. 237-243.

5. Lucretius V, 8 has a genuinely religious (and Hellenistic) fervor to it, however sophisticated its exact meaning, and so also Cicero, *Tusculans*, I, 48. Both were (Hellenized) Romans.

6. It is the very *fact* that cultured outsiders make up by scholastic rotation the intellectual culture of Athens that commends the place to Cicero (*de Orat.* III, 43); it is responsible for the unusually elegant, cosmopolitan Greek spoken there. It should not be too quickly dismissed, either, that something like the evolution of the 'career college

Outsiders now occupied a great many student seats as well: that constellation of Hellenistic cities which now ran all-round the rim of the eastern Mediterranean sent the youth of its elite families to study – or at least to be initiated into the old heritage and flavor of Greek culture – in the university towns round the Aegean. Athens was the favorite, if one's family could afford it.⁷ A proper initiation included registration in the city's ephebic corps (the course of political and religious training by which Athens had in the classical era made fully committed *Athenians* of her male children). It was open by the first century B.C. to outsiders who could pay, allowing them to carry a sort of spiritual diploma in "authentic" Greekness back to the scattered and wistfully Hellenic cities of the east. An outsider could even, if he wished, use graduation from the *ephebeia* as a door to Athenian citizenship.⁸ Future kings like Antiochus Epiphanes jostled side by side with the children of Attica who themselves begin to appear in the ephebic lists bearing names like Ptolemy, Seleucus, Ariarathes, Parmenio, and Pyrrhus. The *Index Stoicorum Herculaneensis*, with its lists of principal students attached to the great teachers of the Stoa, reads like an international sampler.⁹ An extreme example might perhaps be a young Carthaginian named Hasdrubal who so hellenized and distinguished himself in the Academy under Carneades that he eventually (under the Greek name Cleitomachus) opened his own school in the Palladion.¹⁰

Actually, it is with the Carneades just mentioned that we can mostly easily pick up a thread to follow this story. Newcomers had to deal with discovering that many of the most admired old schools in the city were rather dilapidated, improvising philosophically to make ends meet. Before Carneades, Romans came to Athens with a more old-fashioned set of tastes and a simpler idea of "Greekness" than anyone in the real Greek world had admitted to for generations.¹¹ Romans thus resembled the classicists of the Middle Ages rather as the Hellenistic scholars resembled those of the Renaissance. Carneades' moment of fame in Italy

administrator' with a point of view increasingly unconnected with the teaching ethos of the institution may also be emerging here.

7. H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London, 1956), 284 ff; Mossé, *Athens in Decline* (London, 1973), 146-147; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: an Historical Essay* (London, 1911), 316; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure* (London, 1969), 233-234.

8. John K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: the Descent Group and the Alternatives," *Classical Journal* 73 (1975): 119. Cf. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels, 1982), 205.

9. Rawson, *Intellectual Life* (London, 1985, 2002), 55; Jean-Louie Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et Impérialisme: Aspects Idéologiques de la Conquête Romaine du Monde Hellénistique, de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine à la Guerre Contre Mithridate* (Rome, 1988), 453.

10. Diogenes Laertius, iv, 67; Ferguson, 337 f; Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 120 f.

11. Though one can be forgiven for ignoring the urban legends that grew about Romans asking if Plato (or even Socrates) were still actively teaching somewhere in town; those are just the usual in-town stories told to celebrate the gullibility of tourists.

went far to change this.

The stage setting was a court case that carried Greeks to Rome. A few years before 157 B.C., an Athenian expedition seized a stretch of land including the small port town Oropus just north of the mountains and eastern coast of Attica, where the Attic coast met Boeotia and bent northward to enter the Euripus straits. Oropus and areas near it were "granted" or "recognized" to have Athenian citizenship and had the full portfolio of Attic road tolls levied.¹² When a raid from Athens attempted to collect these by force, Oropus (which stood no chance in an Athenian court) appealed a lawsuit directly to the Roman Senate – which also had a lawsuit filed by Delos against the Athenians hanging fire. The Senate's instinctive first reaction initially (before the contending parties showed up in Italy to contest the case) went wrong for the city – damages were levied at a shocking 500 talents. Athens (while refusing to pay) responded by playing to its strength as an educational and cultural, rather than a political power; in fact an argument could be made that Athens had strategized this. A mission of Athens' most authoritative experts in philosophy and oratory left for Rome to press their case.¹³ Carneades (a brilliant orator in the classic style of sophistic expertise, especially in 'live social media,' and head of Academy as well) led this historic embassy in 155; his colleagues Diogenes and Critolaus were heads of the Stoa and the Lyceum. They intended to mix courtroom skill with a little cultural advertising. The result was first coup and then commotion – Carneades attracted initially a cadre of interested students and then a crowd to demonstrations that applied oratorical and dialect skill not to a pursuit of inner or higher truth, but of votes, and managed to sway the same crowd toward opposite sides of the same issue on successive days before the public tumbled to the way they were being played, and the horrified elder Cato had them voted out of the city.¹⁴

Carneades was as aware as anyone that in the Italy of this era there was a growing sense of cultural "inferiority" in portions of the Roman upper class, a feeling that grew more conscious (however it was denied) as Rome's empire began to become truly international. But a sense of inferiority does not by itself answer very much. Romans were beginning to hire Greek *grammatici* to teach their children (or, surreptitiously, the adults) a few fine points of Hellenic culture. These could be contracted easily for a little money in Rome.¹⁵ Historians should not underestimate the tendency of such feelings to produce antagonism at least as often as they spur curiosity. The Elder Cato who expelled Carneades had himself

12. Polybius XXXII, ii, 5. Cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957-79), 531-536.

13. Polybius XXXII, ii.

14. Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Cato*. See also C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (London, 1997), 266f, though the passage misses most of the cultural relevance.

15. On *grammatici* see Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 117-131. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*, 43-58. For Varro's definition of the discipline, frags. 234, 236, and perhaps 237 (doubtfully genuine).

learned the language of the Greeks, and was not above adapting and taking credit for the more homespun of their aphorisms,¹⁶ but he rounded back upon the culture and its works with ferocity when advising his son.

"I shall speak in the proper place of those damned Greeks; I shall say what I saw in Athens, and how it may be good to glance at their literature, but not to go into it deeply. I shall prove how detestable and worthless is their race. Believe me, Marcus my son, this is an oracular saying: 'if ever that race comes to pass its literature to us, all is lost.'"¹⁷

If so, of course, the cause was already lost. "Greek literature is read in nearly every country under heaven," Cicero confessed before a Roman court, "while the vogue of Latin is confined to its own boundaries, and they are, we must admit, narrow."¹⁸ The coup Carneades managed was built upon it; Cato could only add flavor to his success.

Students flocked from Italy toward Athens; skills of such wizardry as the Greek professors had shown – and literally on the steps of the Senate – were at a premium in an over-stressed electoral culture like Rome's. Carneades returned to Athens, waited for the Academy, under his leadership, to reap the benefits. Yet, despite the excitement Carneades caused in Rome when he demonstrated what a really trained (and morally unfettered) use of oral persuasion might do, Romans found it difficult to imagine him as head of the Academy. Was the Academy not *Plato's* school? Was Plato not a master in Greek thought, source of all the Academy's intellectual *auctoritas*? Carneades' skepticism about beliefs and universals was perhaps very interesting (if a little dangerous to a typically Roman parental mind) and the skepticism being balanced by a disturbingly powerful skill that could be used to sway voters and jurors worried the more thoughtful.

Who in Athens, on the other hand, taught *Plato's* wisdom? The idea of a "New" Academy did not go down well, nor did the fact that Carneades' prodigy Cleitomachus of Carthage, despairing of a prominent place under his master's shadow, seemed to have casually gone off across the Ilyssos and opened his own "Platonist" school in the Palladion.¹⁹ One Academy that taught practical politics instead of Plato was difficult enough, but two Academies?

The arrival of Carneades' successor Philo of Larissa in Rome during the years of the Mithridatic crisis brought this issue to a head. Philo was also something of a skeptic: he wished to discover far more about the world by means of

16. Albert Grenier, *The Roman Spirit* (New York, 1926), 148 f. Cf. Chester Starr, *The Emergence of Rome* (Cornell, 1960), 49.

17. Frag. transl. by M. R. Dobie, in Grenier, *ibid*, 149.

18. Cicero, *Pro Archia* x, 23.

19. *Acad. Ind. Herc.* xxiv, 32-37; xxv, 8-11. Cicero, *Academica*, ii, 98. Cf. Ferrary, 448. Ferguson, 337 f.

investigative sense perception than Plato would have cared for.²⁰ Philo seems to have complained in Rome that he was struggling for headship of the Academy with Antiochus of Ascalon, *not* because Antiochus claimed to be more Platonist than he, but because Antiochus wished to carry the Academy in yet another direction (toward Stoicism). The resulting unease helped spur Philo (who by now had begun to tutor the young Cicero) toward an *apologia*. We do not know the title of this work, but it argued – apparently rather desperately – that nothing had ever fundamentally changed in Academic teaching, that Plato was a skeptic in the vein of Carneades and Philo, that political ‘wisdom’ and altruism had *never* been a part of the Academy, and good riddance to them.²¹ Antiochus replied bitterly, and an academic brushfire war developed, in which Antiochus probably accused Philo of being a Peripatetic (an ‘empirical-only’ political thinker)²², and Philo probably accused Antiochus of being a Stoic (with a sense of ‘useless mystic’ to the accusation).

Neither Roman intellect nor patience was ready for this; Q. Lutatius Catulus the elder accused Philo of lying – amoral political skills were not what Romans should be sending their children to master.²³ And then, there were those disastrous rumors that the terrorists who had taken over the Acropolis for Mithridates were graduates of the Academy.²⁴ All that Carneadic moral skepticism had a sting in it.

That Philo was anxious to retain his position of scholar after the war was over mattered not at all to the Romans, of course. Everyone from Rome wanted to attend the "actual" Academy, and at the actual site of which they had heard so much. They often arrived with highly romantic or outdated ideas about who might still be in residence there.²⁵ The name of Carneades had worked a sort of advertising magic for a very long time even after the old sophist retired due to blindness and old age, in the early 130's. After sliding into decay under a series of his cronies, the Academy passed to Cleitomachus around 129,²⁶ and finally into the hands of Philo around 110.²⁷ Philo himself, almost before the echoes of his

20. J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen, 1978), cap. 1. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 289. Cf. J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London, 1977), 105.

21. Cicero, *Academica* ii: 5, 11, 102, 135.

22. For the developing connotation of this around the ‘Aristotelian’ school see D. P. Wick, “The Lyceum in Twilight: Athens’ ‘Second School’ and its Struggle to Re-Invent Itself and Survive in the Last Years of the Roman Republic,” *Athens Journal of History* 8, no. 2 (2022): 99-108.

23. Cicero, *Academica* ii, 11. Cf. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 57-58.

24. For the story (and alleged, but unlikely, *Akademe* connection) see D. P. Wick, “Students in the (Ancient) Streets, or Agent(s) Provocateur? The Liberal Arts Schools of Athens and the Hostage Crisis of 88,” *Athens Journal of History* 6, no. 4 (2020): 299-312.

25. D. Sedley, “The End of the Academy,” *Phronesis* (1981), 67. Cf. Cicero, *de Finibus*, v, 6.

26. Ferguson, 337-338.

27. Ferrary, 447.

controversy with Antiochus had finished thundering, died in 84/83. If he had returned to Athens at all, it was likely only to the official position of Academic representative in the Ptolemaeum.²⁸ Antiochus of Ascalon was thus in control of the Academy soon after the Mithridatic War, and began its slow turn toward Stoicism. It was returning, he said, to the original principles of Plato and was christened the "Old Academy," while followers of Carneades' and Philo's skeptical turn of mind were derisively called the "New" Academy. In fact it began the journey (as Dodds pointed out) that would reach culmination with Plotinus.²⁹

And finally, if all the rest were not confusing or fragmented enough, the old splinter academy begun by Cleitomachus also continued, now under Charmadas.³⁰ Here Charmadas seems to have fostered for a while the only Attic "school" in which one can really find an anti-Roman tendency, perhaps a last echo of Carneadic disdain for the western barbarians who fell so easily to verbal expertise, but who seemed likely to conquer the world anyway. Like Philo, and following an example plainly set by the talents if not the practice of Carneades, he taught both philosophy and rhetoric (that is, the practice of verbal politics) in his classes.³¹ His students – most notably Diodorus of Adramyttium, who functioned for Mithridates in Caria very much as Athenion (the leader of the pro-Mithridatic hostage crisis on the Acropolis in the 80's) had in Athens – seem to have formed a sort of "Bythinian" or at least anti-Roman column in Asia during times of crisis.³²

So we come back to Cicero's sad visit, to the picnic in the ruined Academy grounds, on a tour made in the first place to by an idealistic group of foreign students to find some feeling of intellectual home in the Athens they had come to for skill and wisdom, but producing instead in the scrub-brush of that hillside west of Athens what must have been another layer to that feeling of exile students so often experience. Cicero returned to the city, plunged into his studies and chose as his 'master' Antiochus. Antiochus now **was** *scholarch* of what the

28. Glucker, *Antiochus*, 98-120. Ferrary, 448. The Ptolemaeum had by this point begun to house and formalize the Athenian *ephebeia*, which had evolved from a kind of 'civic prep' for Athenian boys in the Classical era to something much more like a citizenship-prepping civic high school, and which recruited students from the non-Athenian immigrant families (esp. those of the business class) who were now settling in Athens from Italy, the Mediterranean west, and some Hellenistic eastern cultures. See D. P. Wick, *Lyceum in Twilight* (op cit.), and on the Stoic angle, Wick, "Stoics and Epicureans for the 'Modern Market': How Athenian Educators Re-Tooled the Old City's 'Modernist Schools' for Republican Rome," *The Athens Journal of History* 3, no. 4 (2017): 265-274. See also, for academics and this citizenship – even when they traveled Habicht, *Athens Alexander to Antony*, 108-109.

29. Glucker, *ibid.* Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 11.

30. Glucker, *Antiochus*, 109. Ferrary, 448, n. 45.

31. Cf. Ferrary, 483.

32. Strabo XIII, i, 66.

"Academy" had become. He was even by now popular enough at Rome to eclipse the reputation of Staseas of Naples. Cicero attended lectures or tutorials among what had become a crowd; even Sicilian students (who would once have belonged properly to the educational sphere of Magna Graecia) had begun to disembark at the Piraeus and ask where the Academics were.³³ Clearly, however strange the Academy had become to a Platonic purist, it had begun to answer a cultural need.

The causes of this new interest were two: Antiochus continued Philo's practice of teaching rhetoric – the Carneadic 'live social media' wizardry – right alongside philosophy, and he now 'bundled' the two by offering a new twist on "Platonism" typical of Athens' evolving role as a place of refuge. Varro (later to become the final authority and *eminence grise* of Augustan scholars), preserved much of his teaching, and much of that has been preserved by St. Augustine. Antiochus, Varro said, offered philosophy rather as the Stoics did, as a salvation from or harmonization of the stresses and dangers of the empirical world, stresses the former student might themselves have made sharper by practice of the 'live social media' skills they learned in the 'rhetoric' courses. Philosophy's principal object, for the mature student, lay no longer in any idea about the world, but in inner peace and self-forgiveness.³⁴

Cicero liked Antiochus, and believed he even meant honestly to restore the old school to a shade of its former self, but somehow it wasn't the same, and Cicero found himself attending Epicurean lectures with his friend Atticus as well.³⁵ It will not have chafed too much. Atticus, as Rawson noticed, wore his Epicureanism very lightly; he never lectured Cicero even indirectly on the subject, though Cicero's life gave him many openings.

Then, Antiochus left Athens during the 70's to serve as political advisor to Lucullus in the East.³⁶ His brother Aristus continued his doctrine in the Academy, but apparently without either the creativity or the charisma (vital to those who propound doctrines of inner harmony) that Antiochus had been known for. Some Romans, especially those particularly drawn toward refuges of the mind, remained loyal to the school: Brutus studied with him in the house on the

33. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 36, n. 90.

34. The first Roman philosophical monument to this belief (or preference, perhaps) may have been the *De Virtute* of Brutus, which we know only indirectly. This was dedicated to Cicero, and is an interesting sidelight on the "stoicizing" of Antiochus. The title is very "Stoic," as is the apparent thrust of the argument (Cicero, *Tusculans* V, i, 1), but Cicero himself knew Brutus was an Academic and had studied under both Antiochus and Aristus. Cf. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 285 f. On the sea-change in philosophy, and the audience or market for philosophy, indicated by this mood, see Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 239 ff.

35. Plutarch, *Cicero* iv, 1. Cicero, *Brutus* 315; *De Finibus* VI, i, 3. Rawson, *Cicero*, 27.

36. Plutarch, *Lucullus* xl, 2.

acropolis during this time.³⁷ He would one day believe he had learned here that virtue was by itself sufficient to give life meaning.³⁸ The doctrine might have startled Plato – Socrates would have torn into it questioning like a dog into a bone – but it sold very well in these troubled times.

As for the rest, most of those who had studied under Philo as well as Antiochus defected to the Peripatetics, and very often left Athens.³⁹ Cratippus built himself a new reputation as an Aristotelian. Another, whom Caesar may have had dealings with, was named Ariston and resurfaced in Egypt as so thoroughly "empiricized" a Peripatetic that he had become an expert on the hydraulics of the Nile's flooding.⁴⁰

Aristus, and possibly his brother Antiochus before him, maintained their large house somewhere on (or in the precinct of) the Acropolis, and taught at the Ptolemaeum, that donated gymnasium with its modest library, *inside* the walls of the city.⁴¹ When Cicero returned from Cilicia in 50 B.C. Aristus seems still to have been there: stability of a sort, but not a very lively sort for the head of "Plato's" school. It was perhaps worst of all for Brutus, who returned to Athens (like Cassius returned to Rhodes) in search of refuge after the Ides of March. Even Aristus was at last gone; in his place remained only Theomnestus, an Academician known only for rhetoric so overblown it had become a joke.⁴² Though the honor of neo-Platonism lay in the Academy's future, the immediate irony had come home to roost. Philo, Plato's "successor," had begun teaching oratory to the public. This was an art of which Plato had been very suspicious. At first Philo's improvisation could perhaps be justified; it certainly seemed to be good business sense. Now, however, there was nothing but rhetoric left, hollow (even if dangerously effective) words booming in the halls where once words had been tools by which one unlocked the world. The very feel of the place must have seemed wrong to Cicero's generation.

And the story has another curiously, bitterly, modern ring to it, as does the alternative of making the philosophical disciplines attractive as emotional refuges from such a world. The fracturing of modern academic disciplines may obscure

37. Cicero, *Ad Att.* V, x, 5; *Brutus* 332. Plutarch, *Brutus* 24.

38. See above, note 65.

39. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 82.

40. Pliny, *Natural History* xviii, 211.

41. Cicero, *ad Att.*, V, x, 5. Pausanias I, xvii, 1. It lay not far from the Agora (which was itself a kind of campus now (see discussions in the earlier installments of this study series on the Stoa and Lyceum) and featured a bust of Ptolemy, along with some stone hermae, and portraits of the scholarly foreign monarch Juba II, and the (non-Athenian) Stoic popularizer Chrysippus. That the philosophical descendant of Plato should, in the ancestral city of Platonism, be teaching in a Ptolemaeum, or cross-cultural 'high school' was itself significant. Athens crept under the shadow not only of Rome, but of Alexandria as well, to survive in the years after Sulla.

42. Plutarch, *Brutus*, 24.

the fact that these issues again trouble higher education, but what the last generations of the Roman Republic called 'philosophy' when they arrived in Athens, curious but confused by hucksters touting improvisational and 'tangible result' mutations in the intellectual marketplace, we now typically call the 'liberal arts.'

Bibliography

Classical sources, unless otherwise noted, are – or can be usefully pursued for this paper's purposes – as editions in the Loeb translated series. Useful more recent editions of some books indicated, but first versions also marked. (Ancient references may mark the most appropriate section given the topic – for precision see notes).

- Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. London, 1969 – reprint 2002.
- Cicero. *Academica, ad Atticus, de Finibus, pro Archia, Tusculans*.
- Davies, John K. "Athenian Citizenship: the Descent Group and the Alternatives." *Classical Journal* 73 (1975).
- Dillon, J. *The Middle Platonists – 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*. London, 1977; Cornell, 1996.
- Diogenes Laertius. *Lives*, iv.
- Dodds, E. R. *Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley, 1981; Martino edtn. 2019.
- Ferguson, W. S. *Hellenistic Athens: a Historical Essay*. London, 1911; Palaia Press edtn. 2016.
- Ferrary, Jean-Louie. *Philhellénisme et Impérialisme: Aspects Idéologiques de la Conquête Romaine du Monde Hellénistique, de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine à la Guerre Contre Mithridate*. (Philhellenism and Imperialism: Ideological Aspects of the Roman Conquest of the Hellenistic World, from the Second Macedonian War to the War Against Mithridates.) Rome, 1988, 2014.
- Glucker, J. *Antiochus and the Late Academy*. Göttingen, 1978.
- Grenier, Albert. *The Roman Spirit – in Religion, Thought and Art*. Translated by M. R. Dobie. New York, 1926; Routledge edtn. 1997.
- Habicht, C. *Athens from Alexander to Antony*. London, 1997.
- Marrou, H. I. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. Translated by G. Lamb. London, 1956; Wisconsin, 1982.
- Mossé, C. *Athens in Decline*. London, 1973; Routledge edtn. 2013.
- Osborne, M. J. *Naturalization in Athens*. 2 vols. Brussels, 1982.
- Pausanias. *Description of Greece*, xvii, xix.
- Pliny. *Natural History*, xviii.
- Plutarch. *Lives of Brutus, Cicero, Lucullus, Marcus Cato, Sulla*.
- Polybius. *Histories*, xxxii.
- Rawson, Elizabeth. "Cicero and the Areopagus." *Athenaeum* 63 (1985).
- _____. "Intellectual Life in the Late Republic." London, 2002; Bristol, 2013.
- Sedley, D. "The End of the Academy." *Phronesis* (1981).
- Starr, Chester. *The Emergence of Rome*. Cornell, 1953-60; Praeger edtn. 1982.
- Strabo. *Geography* i, xviii.
- Wallbank, F. W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. Oxford, 1957-79; Clarendon reprint 1999.
- Wick, D. P. "Stoics and Epicureans for the 'Modern Market': How Athenian Educators Re-Tooled the Old City's 'Modernist Schools' for Republican Rome." *Athens Journal of History* 3, no. 4 (2017): 265-274.
- _____. "Students in the (Ancient) Streets, or Agent(s) Provocateur? The Liberal Arts Schools

of Athens and the Hostage Crisis of 88." *Athens Journal of History* 6, no. 4 (2020): 299-312.

_____. The Lyceum in Twilight: Athens' 'Second School' and its Struggle to Re-Invent Itself and Survive in the Last Years of the Roman Republic." *Athens Journal of History* 8, no. 2 (2022): 99-108.

