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[Zurück zur Liste / Back to the List](#)

Apellikon of Teos

1. Central Biographical Dates and Family Relations

Apellikon was born at Teos (Ionia) in the mid-2nd century BC. No information survives about his family and descendants. He was a wealthy man, a bibliophile and a follower of the Peripatos (Strab. Geogr. 13.1.54; 14.1.30; Poseid. in Athen. 5.214), although, according to Strabo, he was a book collector rather than a philosopher (φιλόβιβλος μάλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος). According to Poseidonios (F253.149-154 Kidd =FGrH 87 F 36 =Athen. 5.214 d), Strabon (13.1.54), and Plutarch (Sull. 26), he bought the library of Aristotle, which had been bequeathed to Theophrastos and was said to have been left to Koriskos of Skepsis, his son Neleus, and their descendants. Gottschalk (1972, 339-342) has reasonably questioned the possibility that Apellikon bought Aristotle's library in Skepsis, as suggested by Strabon and Plutarch (on the wills of Aristotle and Theophrastos, also see Diog. Laert. 5.11-16, 51-57). In stressing the damage suffered by the manuscripts during their stay in Skepsis, Apellikon was perhaps trying to embellish the story of their acquisition and suggesting, without much success, a justification for having restored and published those texts, leaving the early Peripatetics little to speculate about (Strab. 13.1.54; also see Pos. F253.149-154 Kidd).

At the end of the 2nd century BC, Apellikon moved to Athens and gained citizenship through his adoption into the distinguished family of Apolexis of Oion (Kirchner 1901, 94, no. 1361). Along with Aristotle's library, he collected (and possibly even stole) some ancient documents from Athens: most notably, some original copies of the decrees outside the Metroon. As a consequence, he had to flee the city and spend a significant amount of money in order to be granted the possibility of return (Pos. F253.154 Kidd). After 88 BC, Apellikon became an associate of the Peripatetic philosopher Athenion, who had been sent as an ambassador to Mithradates VI Eupator and come back as a *philos* of the King, bringing Athens to Mithradates' side in the oncoming war. In 88-87 BC, possibly thanks to his Peripatetic connection with Athenion, Apellikon was awarded the post of *epimeletes* in charge of the mint (Lewis 1962, 278; Badian 1976, 117-119). In addition to this, during the early stages of the war, he was sent to Delos in charge of a military force to secure control of the island. That Apellikon was sent there as a commander points to the role he played in Athens under Athenion's hoplite-generalship. His death should be dated shortly after the fall of Athens in 86 BC.

2. Relations with Rome and Career

Even if Apellikon was born in Teos and grew up in Asia Minor under Attalid and Roman rule, there is no evidence for any dealings with Roman authorities before his stay in Athens.

As mentioned above, Apellikon was sent as a commander to Delos. According to Poseidonios, he deployed his soldiers carelessly, as if arranging a spectacle in order to impress the Romans (F253.157-164 Kidd = Athen. 214f). Eventually, the Roman commander **Orbius** or **Orobius** seized the Athenian camp, killing 600 men, taking 400 prisoners and burning all the siege engines, including a *helepolis* (see Baslez 1982). Apellikon escaped from Delos and fled to Athens, but his army was completely lost (Pos. F253.164-179 Kidd = Athen. 215a-b). The

reference Poseidonios made to siege engines, and especially to a *helepolis*, supports the idea that Apellikon had been tasked with the mission to gain (or re-gain) control over Delos, which had refused to side with Mithradates (Santangelo 2007, 38). According to Appian, the Pontic general Archelaos led an expedition against the island, seized the treasure of the sanctuary and sent it to Athens under the escort of Aristion. Eventually, thanks to the Delian treasure and 2000 Pontic soldiers, Aristion laid the foundations of his tyranny at Athens (App. Mithr. 28). Archelaos' expedition was probably caused by Apellikon's blow in Delos: his defeat provoked the complete loss of the island; without providing additional information, Strabo (10.5.4) mentions a revolt of the Delians caused by an unnamed tyrant. The same event most probably also led to the demise of Athenion's support in Athens.

Apellikon's death should be dated shortly after the fall of Athens (86 BC – *pace* Jones 1960, 111 who dates it to 84 BC). Apellikon's library was seized by **Sulla** and brought to Rome. It became the core of the Roman 'edition' of the Aristotelian *corpus* (Plut. Sull. 26.1f.; the whole story of Aristotle and Theophrastos' libraries has been discussed at length in Richardson 1994, 9-17; Barnes 1997; Lindsay 1997; Sedley 1997, 112). According to Gray (2018, 172-176), the collection of those books, the theft of ancient documents from the Metroon, and the making of Apellikon's library as a whole may suggest the existence of a conscious cultural operation centered on Athenian political independence, developed by Apellikon and possibly by Athenion himself (on this, see Athenion's speech in Pos. F253.64-103 Kidd; cf. Santangelo 2007, 37f.). Nothing of this kind has been reported for Aristion, whose power was mainly based on the treasure of Delos and the Pontic soldiers rather than a political programme (App. Mithr. 28).

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[Zurück zur Liste / Back to the List](#)

Apollonios Malakos

0. Onomastic Issues

The nickname *Malakos* (the “Smooth”) distinguishes Apollonios from the contemporary Alabandian rhetorician *Apollonios Molon*: as Molon did some years later, Malakos was a pupil of the Asian-style rhetorician Menekles in Alabanda (Hanslik RE XV 1, no. 3, 797), and then moved to Rhodes (Strabo 14.2.13; 14.2.26). It is not clear if the nickname was connected with Apollonios' rhetorical style.

1. Central Biographical Dates and Family Relations

Apollonios Malakos was born in Alabanda (Caria), in the mid-2nd c. BC. A biting pun about his hometown was attributed to Apollonios: Ἀλάβανδα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπόκειται λόφοις δυσὶ συγκεκριμένοις οὕτως ὥστ' ὄψιν παρέχεσθαι κανθηλίου κατεστρωμένου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ μαλακὸς Ἀπολλώνιος σκώπτων τὴν πόλιν εἰς τε ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν σκορπίων πλῆθος, ἔφη αὐτὴν εἶναι σκορπίων κανθήλιον κατεστρωμένον (Strabo 14.2.26). Nonetheless, he studied rhetoric in Alabanda under the supervision of Menekles, and then settled in Rhodes, where he started teaching rhetoric, slightly before Apollonios Molon came to the island (Strabo 14.2.13: ἐπεδήμησε δὲ πρότερον Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅψε δ' ἤκεν ὁ Μόλων, καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ὅψε μολῶν ἄντι τοῦ ἔλθῶν).

According to Cicero, a proverb about the use of pity in oratory could be ascribed to a rhetorician named Apollonios (De inv. 1.109): *quemadmodum enim dixit rhetor Apollonius, "lacrima nihil citius arescit"*. The same passage is quoted in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (2.31.50 Loeb). According to Kellogg 1907, followed by Caplan 1954 in his commentary on the *Rhetorica*, this Apollonios should be identified with Malakos, even if the actual evidence is scarce. According to Münzer 1934, another quotation in the *Rhetorica* could be ascribed to Apollonios Molon or Apollonios Malakos (4.54.68). The passage, quoted as an example of conciseness, has been related by Münzer to the campaigns of Philip V and the subsequent Roman intervention in the East. As is well known, Rhodes and Rhodian politics played a central (yet tricky) role in that context. All in all, the evidence is still elusive. Except for this, nothing relevant of his teachings or works has been preserved.

2. Relations with Rome and Career

According to Cicero's De or. (1.75), **Q. Mucius Scaevola** (cos. 117 BC) as governor of *Asia* (in 120 BC, see Ferrary 2000, 191) sailed to Rhodes and spoke about Panaetius with a *summus doctor* of rhetoric named Apollonios, who dismissively mocked the famous philosopher. Even if nothing else is known about this *summus doctor*, Malakos stands as a viable candidate (the