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ALESSIA LAVORANTE <i>Rileggendo Epicuro, Ep. Hrdt. 72, 1-6</i>	5
FEDERICO GIULIO CORSI <i>Studio sul lessico epistemologico epicureo: ἀναλογίζεσθαι, ἐκλογίζεσθαι, ἐπιλογίζεσθαι, συλλογίζεσθαι da Epicuro a Diogene di Enoanda</i>	15
FEDERICA NICOLARDI <i>Some notes on the Patarean in the Herculaneum papyri, Zenodorus, and a shipwreck episode in PHerc. 1044, fr. 31 inf.</i>	65
MARIA CHIARA ROBUSTELLI <i>Per una nuova edizione del De Stoicis di Filodemo: considerazioni sulla col. 22 (= col. XX Dorandi 1982)</i>	81
MINA FARELLA <i>Il PHerc. 223: una nuova scorza da attribuire alla copia definitiva del terzo libro del De rhetorica?</i>	89
MARIACRISTINA FIMIANI <i>Il λόγος come la bella verga d'oro di Hermes. N 1096, fr. 13: un nuovo frammento della copia provvisoria del IV libro della Retorica di Filodemo</i>	101
MARCO PELUCCHI <i>Hieronymus of Rhodes' Critique of Isocrates' style according to Philodemus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus</i>	109
GIOVANNI INDELLI FRANCESCA LONGO AURICCHIO <i>Hapax legomena in Filodemo (6)</i>	123
GIOVANNI INDELLI FRANCESCA LONGO AURICCHIO GIULIANA LEONE GIANLUCA DEL MASTRO FEDERICA NICOLARDI <i>Seconda Scuola estiva di Papirologia ercolanese 'Graziano Arrighetti' Mauro Castiello, PHerc. 128 (crr 1, 2) Elena Urso, PHerc. 128 (crr 3, 4, 5)</i>	135

Marco Pelucchi, *PHerc.* 209
Pedro García-Baró, *PHerc.* 465
Ignacio González Guevara, *PHerc.* 868
Francesco Paolo De Vita, *PHerc.* 999 (crr 1, 2)
Carlo Delle Donne, *PHerc.* 999 (cr 3)
Ania Crouzet, *PHerc.* 1017 (crr 1, 2)
Serena Emilia Di Salvatore, *PHerc.* 1017 (crr 3, 4)
Francesca Ditillo, *PHerc.* 1017 (crr 5, 6)
Francesca Parisi, *PHerc.* 1017 (crr 7, 8)
Daria Kohler, *PHerc.* 1017 (crr 9, 10, 11)

MARIACRISTINA FIMIANI
*Supplemento al Catalogo delle
Illustrazioni e degli Interpreti* 179

GIROLAMO FERDINANDO DE SIMONE
JOSEF SOUČEK
*The Roman road network around Vesuvius:
models, muddles, and the archaeological
evidence* 195

Notiziario 229

This paper examines references to individuals identified by the ethnic designation Παταρεύς in the Herculaneum papyri. It focuses on a passage from Philodemus' epistemological work transmitted by *PHerc.* 1003 and two columns of *PHerc.* 1044 (*Vita Philonidis*), where I identify the adjective Patarean referring to a man named Zenodorus. This discovery has implications for previous identifications of this person. Additionally, further new readings contribute to a more precise contextualization of the episodes described in these texts of the *Vita*.

Keywords: Patarean, Zenodorus, *Vita Philonidis*, *PHerc.* 1044, *PHerc.* 1003

Introduction and the opportunity for this paper: Philonides' σύνταγμα Πρὸς τὸν Παταρέα

In the biographical work on the Epicurean philosopher Philonides of Laodicea by the Sea, preserved in *PHerc.* 1044, a σύνταγμα Πρὸς τὸν Παταρέα is mentioned among his writings (cr 1, pz 4, fr. 7). Unfortunately, the text becomes heavily fragmentary after the mention of this title, making it impossible to determine the content of this work, the identity of the philosopher who is referred to only by his association with the Lycian city of Patara,¹ or the specific topics addressed in this presumably polemical treatise.

The text of fr. 7, ll. 1-14, reads as follows:

ἐν μέν|τοι βυβλίοις ὑπομνήμ[α]|τα φέρει δὲ ἄρχαία, τῶ<ν> πα|ρ' Εὐδήμωι,
καὶ τῶν πρὸς |⁵ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ περ[ὶ τ]ῶν ἐ|πικτημονικῶν διανοή|σεων, καὶ
τῶν παρ' Ἀρτέμωνι, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον | μέχρι πρὸς τὸ τρίτ[ον]
καὶ |¹⁰ [τρι]ακοστόν, ἐκλ[ε]ιπὸν|[των τ]ινῶν – καὶ σε[μ]νῶν – | τῶν παρὰ
Διονυσ[οδ]ώρωι. | φέρει| δὲ καὶ σύντ[αγμα] | π[ρὸς τὸ]ν Παταρέ[α] ...

«Among his books he mentions, of course, two old commentaries, on the [writings?] in Eudemus' production – both those in reply to the sixth book [*sc.* of Epicurus' *De natura*] and *On scientific reasonings* – and on the [writings?] in Artemon's production – starting from the one in reply to the first book [*sc.* of Epicurus' *De natura*] to the [one in reply to the] thirty-third –, whereas some [*sc.* commentaries] – also notable – on the [*sc.* writings?] in Dionysodorus' production are missing. He then also mentions a treatise addressed to the Patarean ...».²

This text provides an opportunity to focus on other attestations of this philosopher

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Campania 'L. Vanvitelli'; L. Calvelli (previously H. Essler), Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

¹ For a recent contribution on the city of Patara and its history, see S. PODESTÀ, *Lykiaka. Frammenti* (Besançon 2022), 255-267.

² For my interpretation of this passage, I refer to NICOLARDI 2022, with discussion of previous interpretations.

SOME NOTES ON THE PATAREAN IN THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI, ZENODORUS, AND A SHIPWRECK EPISODE IN *PHERC.* 1044, FR. 31 INF.

FEDERICA NICOLARDI

known as «the Patarean». Given the current state of the evidence, any attempt to identify this philosopher precisely or clarify his views remains speculative. This paper aims to collect references to figures identified by this ethnic designation in the Herculaneum papyri, contextualize them more broadly, and present new readings from a fragment from *PHerc.* 1044, which allows us to recover the personal name of the (or a) Patarean and to reflect on its possible implications.

The Patarean in Philodemus' epistemological works

Crönert believed that the Patarean also appeared in Philodemus' epistemological work based on Zeno of Sidon' lectures (ἐκ τῶν Ζήνωνος σχολῶν)³ preserved in *PHerc.* 1389, V 1075, 16 f.⁴ He suggested that the name might also occur in a fragmentary context: περι[πε]ρόντες γὰρ Ἄκτωι τῷ Π[ατ]αρεῖ. Upon re-examination of the passage, Angeli rejected Crönert's reading in favor of a more accurate αὐτῷ τῷ πε . . .⁵ Rejecting Crönert's reading necessarily entails dismissing a highly conjectural hypothesis proposed by Philippson,⁶ who, not without considerable speculation, tried to identify Ἄκτος ὁ Παταρεύς with the Epicurean Ἄλκιος or Ἀλκαῖος, mentioned respectively by Ath. XII 68 and Ael., *v.h.* IX 12.

A passage that warrants particular attention comes from another book of the same epistemological work based on Zeno's lectures, this time preserved in *PHerc.* 1003 (*O* II 431, 3 f.), published by Crönert in 1901.⁷ In this passage, Philodemus criticizes a philosopher referred to as ὁ Παταρεύς. Later Crönert tentatively suggested that the Patarean in *PHerc.* 1003 could be identified with a certain Democrates mentioned a few columns before,⁸ but there is no specific argument to support this identification, particularly since the state of the papyrus did not allow Crönert to provide a continuous text in his edition. In light of the new tools, resources, and methodologies for reconstruction, a renewed study of this papyrus is a *desideratum* and seems highly likely to yield new results and provide a more continuous text.⁹

The reference to the Patarean appears in cr 13, fr. 17 (= *O* II 431), which Crönert published as follows:

τ εἰκίν. ἐκείνας δ' ὁ Πατα-
 5 ρεύς ἐπῆγγεν μόνος οὔτε τὸν
 ἀναλογικτὸν τρόπον τίνα
 λέγει μνήμης κατηξίωσεν
 ποικίλως “ὑπὸ τῶν” “ἐκ τῆς” “ἀπὸ
 τῆς” “κα[τὰ τ]ῶν” [cὺν] ἀλλήλαις
 10 ἐκδεδυα[μέν]ων [οὔτε] τὸ ἀμε-
 ταπείτω[ς καὶ ἀμετ]αδοξά-
 τως καὶ [τὸ κοινὸν τ]οῦ χρόνου
 τοῖς ἀνα ιως

In a brief half-page comment on the ten fragmentary columns included in his edition of this papyrus, the German philologist emphasized the central role of Philodemus' Patarean rival, wondering whether some passages contain quotations from him or instead represent Philodemus' own statements, and if the Patarean should be regarded as the subject of third-person-singular verbs

³ On the expression ἐκ τῶν Ζήνωνος σχολῶν, see G. DEL MASTRO, *Titoli e annotazioni bibliologiche nei papiri greci di Ercolano*, V Supplemento a «CErc» (Napoli 2014), 34 f.

⁴ CRÖNERT 1901, 570.

⁵ A. ANGELI, *Compendi, eklogai, tetrapharmakos: due capitoli di dissenso nell'Epicureismo*, «CErc» 16/1986, 53-66, esp. 55 f.

⁶ R. PHILIPPSON, *Philodemos*, in *RE* XIX 2/1938, 2444-2482, esp. 2452.

⁷ CRÖNERT 1901, 574.

⁸ *O* II 427, 18; see CRÖNERT 1906, 103.

⁹ Id. 1901, 572, already observed that the Oxford *facsimiles* (which he considers pretty good in contrast to the «sehr dürftig» Neapolitan copy) and his edition included only the better-preserved portions of the papyrus. However, he admitted that, given the clarity of the writing, it is very likely that, even in the other *pezzi*, many passages remain legible.

in other columns.¹⁰ Crönert also questions whether this philosopher should be regarded as an Epicurean. Returning briefly back to the same papyrus in his crucial 1906 volume *Kolotes und Menedemos*, he argues that Philodemus, in this passage, is discussing the interpretation given by the philosopher from Patara of certain words of Epicurus, which he reconstructs as follows: *μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἀμετάπειστον καὶ ἀμεταδόξαστον καὶ ἄσκεπτον χρόνου ἔχει τὸ ἀναλογιστικὸν πείσμα τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀταράχως συντεινόντων καὶ πάντα γινώσκει τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐδόως πάντα.*¹¹

The syntax of fr. 17, as reconstructed by Crönert, is difficult and problematic, especially due to the sequence of expressions in quotation marks in the *editio princeps*, «πὸ τῶν», «ἐκ τῆς», «ἀπὸ τῆς», «κα[τὰ τ]ῶν». A re-examination of the original papyrus, aided by infrared images, led me to a revised reading of the text, particularly in the first nine lines. The lower part of the fragment is still highly fragmentary and requires further revision, holding promise for achieving a more definitive result as part of a re-edition project.

For much of the left portion of this column, we must rely exclusively on the Oxonian apograph (*O* II 431), which records two fragments that are no longer extant in the *cornice*.

Below, I present a revised text of ll. 1-11 of this column.

1 ἄ[.]οστη[.]κ[.] ἔκαζτον
 2 ἀναλο]γιστικαὶ του-
 3]εισιν. ἑκείνας δ' ὁ Πατα-
 4 ρεὺς ἐξ]ηγοῦμενος οὔτε τὸν
 5 ἀν]αλογιστικὸν τρόπον τίνα
 6 λ'έγει μνήμης κατηξίωσεν
 7 ποικίλως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγω-
 8 γῆς κ'α[.]φων[.] ἀλλήλαις
 9 ἐκ'δεδυσ]α[μέν]ον [.]ατο ἀμε-
 10 ταπείστω]ς καὶ ἀμεταδοξά-
 11 τως κα[±8] ς χρόνου

PHerc. 1003, cr 13, fr. 17; *O* II 431.

1 ἄ[ρ]ῶς τῆ[ν vel τῆ[ρ]ῶς τῆ[ι dubitanter fin. lin. primum legi (fort. κ[α]θ' ἔκαζτον) 2 ἀναλο]γιστικαὶ του| primum legi et supplevi 4 ἐξ]ηγοῦμενος legi, ἐπῆγεν ὁ Crönert 7 sq. ἀγω]γῆς legi, “ἀπὸ τῆς” Crönert 8 κ'α[.]φων[.] ἀλλήλαις P, “κα[τὰ τ]ῶν” [cὺν] ἀλλήλαις Crönert, κ'α[.]φών[ω]ς ἀλλήλαις dubitanter proposui 9 ἐκ'δεδυσ]α[μέν]ον legi et supplevi, ἐκδεδυσ]α[μέν]ων Crönert [κατ]ὰ τὸ dubitanter, [οὔτε] τὸ Crönert 11] ς P : καὶ [τὸ κοινὸν τ]οῦ Crönert

«... each ... analogical [means of knowing?]. And in explaining those, the Patarean neither deemed it worthy of mention which (method) he calls the “analogical method”, which has been distinguished in two forms in various ways by the philosophers of the school ... inexorably and in a way that cannot be moved by persuasion ... of time ...».

¹⁰ Ivi, 576. In particular, Crönert refers to *O* II 428, ll. 1-4, which shows lexical connections with *O* II 431: [ἀμετάπειστον καὶ ἀμεταδόξαστον ἔχει| ἀναλογισ]τικὸν πείσμα τῶν | πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀταράχως συντε[ι]νόντων, as well as to the verbal form ἐξέθηκε in *O* II 433 (l. 6), where we again find ἀ]μετα]πε]ί]στω]ς καὶ ἀ]μεταδοξά]στω]ς τὸν ἀναλογιστικ[ὸν] τρόπον ἔχοντα.

¹¹ Id. 1906, 103 n.: «ich schäme mich nun, den wichtigen Gegenstand der Verhandlung verkannt zu haben. Sie dreht sich nämlich um einen bis dahin nur halb bekannten, aber ehemals vielbesprochenen Epikurspruch, der etwa diesen Wortlaut gehabt hat: *μόνος ὁ σοφός*» etc.

¹² CRÖNERT 1901, 573. Crönert's text goes on as follows: τινὲς μὲν γὰρ [αὐ]τὴν ἐκλογικ[τικὴν] (which I believe should rather be read as ἐπιλογικ[τικὴν]) ἔφασαν, τινὲς δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν] κοινῶν γινομένην [γνώσει]γ μετὰ περιωδευμένω[ν ἀναλο]γικτικῶς | κ[αί] ἐπιλογικτικ[ῶς, τινὲς] δὲ τὴν | [κ]ατὰ λόγου ...

¹³ See e. g. ἄλλοι τῶν ἡμ[ετέρω]ν in O 428, 7 (*ibid.*).

¹⁴ As argued by D. SEDLEY, *Epicurus, On Nature*, Book XXVIII, «CERC» 3/1973, 5-83, esp. 27, while ἐπιλογικμός is «the kind of reasoning that provides an understanding of the data supplied by the sensations», ἀναλογικμός is «the kind of reasoning that uses this understanding as a basis for speculation about that which is beyond perception». See at least D. SEDLEY, *Epicurean Theories of Knowledge from Hermarchus to Lucretius and Philodemus*, «Lexicon Philosophicum» 2018, 105-121, esp. 115-120; ALLEN 2001. See also *Lucr. II 112-141*. On these terms, see now also F.G. CORSI, in this issue.

¹⁵ Similarly, the upper part showing]φω[cannot be a *sovrapposto*, as the corresponding area of the following circumference preserves the main layer. For an overview of stratigraphy and repositioning of misplaced layers, see M.L. NARDELLI, *Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi*, «CERC» 3/1973, 104-115, and F. NICOLARDI, *Aspetti e problemi della stratigrafia nei papiri ercolanesi: lo spostamento a catena di sovrapposti e sottoposti*, «CERC» 49/2019, 191-216. The renewed autopsy of this passage of *PHerc. 1003* was supported by the use of *Maque-IT*, a software tool currently being developed within the framework of the project *RECREATE - REConstructing papyrus scrolls and REcovering Ancient Texts with the aid of a new digital tool*, funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung. On *Maque-IT*, see now M.

2. The feminine plural γνώσεις may be implied here, modified by ἀναλογικτικά. The expression ἀναλογικτικὴ γνώσις occurs three columns earlier in the text, in O 428, ll. 5-8 (= Crönert 1901, 573), where we read about disagreement within the Epicurean school: ἀναλογικτικὴν δὲ γνώσιν ἄλλως | ἄλλοι τῶν ἡμ[ετέρω]ν ἐξεδέξαντο λέγεσθαι.¹²

7 f. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς. A re-examination of the papyrus enabled the recovery of a reference to a philosophical school, likely the *Kepos*. This book appears to focus primarily on misinterpretations within the Epicurean school rather than attacks from rival philosophical schools.¹³ Moreover, analogy as an inference method seems to be unique to Epicureanism.¹⁴ Also, given the absence of further specification or explicit references to other schools – and despite the fragmentary nature of the passage requiring caution – the phrase ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς very likely refers to Epicureans. For a similar use of the partitive ἐκ + genitive referred to a philosophical school, see also Chrysipp., *SVF* III, p. 3, fr. 3 (= Stob., *ecl.* II 76, 16 W.), ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης.

8. κ^τα¹[...]φων[...] ἀλλήλαις. The letters]φων[are on a protruding portion of the papyrus, a «peninsula», whose lower part (showing]φων[- - - | - - -]ον[) appears to be separated from its upper part (Fig. 1a). At first glance, this lower part might seem to belong to a *sottoposto*, but a closer examination of the previous circumference immediately rules this out, as the main layer is preserved in the corresponding area of the subsequent volute.¹⁵ Thus, what appears to be the edge of a stratigraphic misalignment is simply the edge of a fracture. The lower part of the «peninsula» must be virtually shifted to the right, thereby recovering an *omega* (Fig. 1b).¹⁶

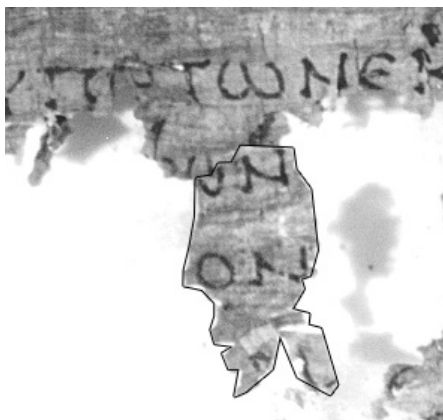


Fig. 1a. Current state

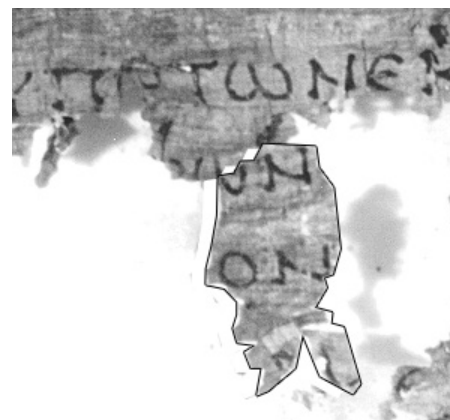


Fig. 1b. After virtual repositioning

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D'ANGELO-F. NICOLARDI, *Addressing Material Issues through Digital Solutions: Maque-IT and the Virtual Reconstruction of the Herculaneum Papyri*, in N. REGGIANI (ed.), *Digital Papyrology III: The Digital Critical Edition of Greek Papyri: Issues, Projects, and Perspec-*

tives (Berlin-Boston 2025), 303-316.

¹⁶ Moving it to the left to recover]φων[would result in an unusually elongated *omicron*. I am grateful to Claudio Vergara for discussing this situation with me and suggesting that the fragment be moved slightly to the right.

The feminine reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλαια is somewhat confusing, as its corresponding noun is not immediately evident. While the most straightforward interpretation is to link it to ἐκείνας (γνώσεις), this still leaves the expression obscure.¹⁷

9. ἐκδέδουα[μέν]ον. The certain reading of]ον[in the papyrus is incompatible with Crönert's ἐκδέδουα[μέν]ων, which he connects with ὑπὸ τῶν. The verb ἐκδύαζω is not attested elsewhere, unlike the simple form δύαζω and the compound form with συν-. According to Crönert, ἐκδύαζεσθαι would be «ein neues Wort, dem Sinne nach = συνδύαζεσθαι». However, rather than interpreting it as conveying a «coupling» sense, as in συνδύαζεσθαι, I would instead understand ἐκδύαζεσθαι as meaning «to separate in two». This interpretation would align with the two modes of ὁ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τρόπος, the Epicurean similarity method to be used for unperceived objects, which was rejected by the Stoics and defended by Philodemus in his work *On Signs* (especially col. XXXVII 24-29 and fr. 3). There are two types of inference from similarity: inductive inference (from simple resemblance), and analogical inference (from resemblance *mutatis mutandis*).¹⁸

9-11. If the recurring expression ἀμεταπίετως καὶ ἀμεταδοξάτως is indeed part of a quote from Epicurus, as Crönert thought, then [κατ]ὰ τὸ («according to the principle that ...») may be considered. However, this would push the second necessary οὔτε (the first is at l. 4) further down in the text.

Who is the Patorean criticized in this passage? The reference to the similarity method and, specifically, to analogical inference strongly suggests that he was an Epicurean philosopher. While it is not entirely impossible that he belonged to another school (in which case, the Stoa would be the most plausible alternative), the fact that he is said to «explain in full» (ἐξηγούμενος) the ἀναλογικαὶ γνώσεις (if that is the word to be understood there), supports the idea that he was a member of the *Kepos*, likely the ἀγωγή mentioned at ll. 7 f.

Another polemical mention of a philosopher referred to as ὁ νεώτερος Παταρεὺς has recently been identified by Marzia D'Angelo in another epistemological work by Philodemus, preserved in *PHerc.* 634.¹⁹ While the occurrence in another epistemological context is suggestive, the specification «the younger» and the fragmentary nature of the text currently prevent us from identifying with certainty this philosopher with the one under discussion, at least to my knowledge.

A new attestation: Ζηνόδορος ὁ Παταρεὺς in *PHerc.* 1044 (*Vita Philonidis*)

In 2011-2012, Assante recovered for the first time the continuity between two fragments of *PHerc.* 1044 (*Vita Philonidis*), both stored in cr 6, fr. 31 inf. and 34 sup., corresponding, in her reconstruction, to the lower part of col. LVII and the upper part of column LVIII. In particular, the beginning of col. LVIII Assante is especially relevant as it preserves mentions of two names, Zenodorus and Timasagoras. As I will recall below, both names also occur in other passages of the *Vita*. While Zenodorus' name had already been identified by Crönert,²⁰ the name of the philosopher Timasagoras was read for the first time in 1976 by a Neapolitan group of scholars who were at that time attending Marcello Gigante's lectures in Herculaneum Papyrology.²¹ Even in Assante's most recent

¹⁷ A more conjectural and uncertain solution would be to supplement and correct κτ'α[ἰ]σ[υμ]-φόν[ως] ἀλλήλοις, meaning «and in agreement with each other». In this case, Philodemus may be emphasizing that the Epicurean philosophers who addressed the division of the ἀναλογικὸς τρόπος approached it in different ways (perhaps using different examples or different names), while still agreeing on the core issue. Interestingly, as ALLEN 2001, 239, observes, although the «distinction between inference by elimination and by similarity may have had some basis in Epicurus' own teaching», the Epicurean «contention that all inferences to the non-evident were at bottom grounded in inferences by similarity was very likely new; their elaborate defence of it certainly was». This might have easily sparked disagreement within the school.

¹⁸ See D. SEDLEY, *On signs*, in J. BARNES ET AL. (ed.), *Science and Speculation: Studies in Hellenistic Theory and Practice* (Cambridge 1982), 239-272. See also G. MANETTI-D. FAUSTI, *Filodemo, De signis, Sui fenomeni e sulle inferenze semiotiche* (Pisa 2022), *passim*, esp. 227-231, 237 f.; *Id.*, *La sezione di Bromio del De signis: il dibattito sulla vaghezza del concetto di similarità*, «CERC» 41/2011, 161-188, esp. 169.

¹⁹ I am grateful to M. D'Angelo for wanting to share the new reading with me and for discussing this interesting yet fragmentary passage during a textual seminar at the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante'. For further detail, I refer to her ongoing study of this passage.

²⁰ CRÖNERT 1900.

²¹ CAPASSO ET ALII 1976.

edition of this text, reproduced below, the context remains unclear due to the state of the two fragments.

coll. LVII inf.-LVIII sup. Assante²²

<p>]ιλοις ου . . []φαν τῶι δ . γαυνα] . ιον καὶ χ[ιτ]ω [.] . κον καὶ πέπερι μόνον ἔδωκε καὶ Ζηγοδώρωι [αὐ-] τῶι παράγειν ἐν . ὑλγ . . . τι μνᾶν, καὶ διότι παρρα- γενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας 5 αὐτὸν ὑ[π]έταξε Τιμασαγό- ρ[α]ι καὶ [πα]ρέβαλε [.] . λο . [ἐ]νιαυτόν.]α . . . ρο[] . . . [</p>	<p> «... and pepper only he granted also to Zenodoros himself to take with him ... for a mina, and because, having arrived in Athens, he submitted himself to Timasagoras and turned ... for a year ...». </p>
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In her commentary on this passage, Assante emphasized the difficulties in interpreting the text and understanding the role of Zenodorus and Timasagoras, observing that the only fact that could be determined with greater certainty was their connection with the city of Athens. More recently, Anna Angeli has also noted that the poor condition of the papyrus has deprived us of any clues regarding the argumentative core of the section in which this column falls.²³

During the re-examination of *PHerc.* 1044, aimed at producing a new edition of this biographical work, I could recover some additional context for this – still fragmentary – text and, most importantly for the focus of this paper, the ethnic referring to Zenodorus, namely Παταρεύς. To extract as much information as possible from fr. 34 sup., it is helpful to examine the text of the previous column as well, not only by reading its lower part in cr 6, fr. 31 inf. but also its upper part, which, as Assante had already noted, is preserved in cr 6, fr. 33 sup.²⁴

Reading the revised text of these passages makes it immediately clear that the mention of Zenodorus of Patara does not occur here in a context related to philosophical doctrines or teachings, nor in reference to polemical treatises, but rather within the narration of an episode involving a shipwreck.

²² The English translation provided here is based on Assante's Italian translation.

²³ ANGELI 2024, 286: «Nella *Vita Philonidis* Timasagora è ricordato una seconda volta in col. 48, 5-6 (= fr. 34 Gallo), in un contesto che la frammentarietà del papiro rende impossibile recuperare. (...) Come è stato già rilevato, il pessimo stato di conservazione dell'originale ci ha privati di qualsiasi indizio sul nucleo argomentativo della sezione in cui cade la col. 48». I became aware of this helpful and up-to-date overview of our knowledge about Timasagoras at the end of December 2024, when this paper was already at an advanced stage of

preparation. Angeli includes in her discussion the fragments of the *Vita Philonidis* where the philosopher is mentioned. See also below for specific notations.

²⁴ I refer to the fragments using the *cornice* number and the fragment numbers still visible on the cardboards to which the papyrus pieces are affixed. In my re-edition work, I have benefited greatly from Assante's meticulous reconstruction efforts, with which I largely

agree. The application of the latest methodologies for the virtual reconstruction of Herculaneum papyri has, in very rare cases, allowed me to propose alternative repositioning and, in several cases, to determine more precisely the distance between columns. As a result, the column numbering in my ongoing edition often differs from Assante's. The columns presented here – coll. XLVII-XLVIII in Assante's PhD dissertation – are numbered coll. LXIII-LXIV in my draft edition.

PHerc. 1044, cr 6, fr. 33 sup. + fr. 31 inf. (= col. XLVII Assante = LXIII Nicolardi)²⁵

<p>[±6] . ἴξασαν ἀπο [±4 πεπ]όηκεν οὗτος [±7]κεν μὲν ἀλ- [±6] δ' ἐπειρά- 5 θη. τ[αὐτ]α δ' ἐστὶν ἃ προκτί- θης[ιν]· ὅτι ἠχαρίστησεν Ἄρ- τέμ[ω]νι τῶι καθηγητῆι κα[ἰ] σ[υνεσ]τήσατο ἐν τ[ῆ]ι αὐτῆι πόλ[ε]ι σ[χολ]ήν ἐπ[ὶ] κ[. . .] αλ . 10 [. . .] [±6]ουκ . . [. . . .] τ[. . .]τα[±12] δι[±16]</p> <p><i>desunt lineae XI</i> <i>vestigia in dubiis foliis</i> 25 <i>vestigia in dubiis foliis</i> [±7]λοις οὐ . . [. . .] [±6]φαντωὶ δὲ γαυνά- [κην καὶ ἰ]μάτιον καὶ χιτω- [νί]σκον καὶ πέπερι μόνον </p>	<p>«... this (man) has done ... he tried. These are the things he adds: that he showed ingratitude to his teacher Artemon and set up a school in the same city ...</p> <p>... He gave [<i>name?</i>] only a thick cloak, a cloak, a short frock, and some pepper, »</p>
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PHerc. 1044, cr 6, fr. 33 sup.; *N*, cc. 19, 81 (CRÖNERT 1900, 954; USENER 1901, 146, partim; BIDEZ 1901, 325, partim; PHILIPPSON 1941, 65, partim; GALLO 2002, 128) + **PHerc. 1044, cr 6, fr. 31 inf.;** *N*, c. 77 (CRÖNERT 1900, 954, partim; PHILIPPSON 1941, 69, partim; GALLO 2002, 127). Partem sup. cum parte inf. iunxit et edidit ASSANTE 2011-2012, 176 sq. Omnia quae non notantur iam legit vel supplevit Crönert.

1 in. lin. νη^[+]P]εἴξασαν fort. P : δ]εἴξασαν dubitanter Crönert ἀπὸ scrips. Crönert
 2 in. lin. κα^[+]P 3 in. lin. τα^[+]P 5 τ[αὐτ]α δ' ἐστὶν ἃ legi et supplevi : μ[. . .]
 αδεστινα Crönert : σ[]α δ' ἐσ τίνα Gallo : .[]αδεστι . α Assante 5 sq. προκτί[θησ]ς[ιν]
 dubitanter in app. Gallo : προσ[θήσ]ς[ιν] dubitanter Crönert 6 vacuum dispexi 7 lege
 καθηγητῆι (cf. Crönert, *MGH*, 36) 8 ἐν [τῆ]ι α]ὐτ[ῆ]ι Usener et Bidez : ἐν αὐτῆι τῆι in
 app. dubitanter Crönert : ἐν [τῆ]ι Κα]ύ[νω]ι dubitanter Philippson 9 sq. ἐπ[ὶ] κ[. . .] αλ
 . [. . .] . [±6]ουκ . . P : [ἐ]πὶ κ[α]τ[α]λύ[σει] τοῦ καθηγητοῦ supplevit Crönert : [ἐ]πὶ κ[α]-
 τ[α]λύ[σει] τοῦ κ[α]θηγητοῦ Gallo : ἐπὶ κ[α]τ[α]λύ[σει] τ[οῦ] καθηγητ[οῦ] . . . Assante 10
 fin. lin.,]ηκ^[+]P 11 τ[α]^[+] a cr. 6 fr. 30 restitui]τα^[+] a cr. 6 fr. 31 restitui 12 δι^[+]
 a cr. 6 fr. 30 restitui 26 ante]λοις,] . . [^[+]P]λοιςου . . [primum legit Assante:
 φ]λοις ουθε dubitanter 27]φάντωι (Διο]φάντωι vel Ξενο]φάντωι ex. gr.) δὲ dubitan-
 ter proposui :]φαν των . . primum legit Gallo :]φαν τῶι δ. Assante 27 sq. γαυνά[κην
 supplevi : γαυνά[Assante : tantum vestigia Gallo 28 καὶ ἰ]μάτιον legi et supplevi :
]ην Gallo :] . .]ον Assante 28 sq. καὶ χιτω[νί]σκον (fort. τ ε δ correctum)
 legi et supplevi :]κον Crönert : [άλ]κον dubitanter Philippson : . . πω]κον Gallo : καὶ
 χ[ι]τ[ω]ν[ί]σκον Assante

²⁵ The text and some of the observations presented here were first discussed at the University of Oxford *Research Seminar on Greek Fragmentary Texts* on October 10th, 2022. I am grateful to the organizers, Lucia Prauscello and Daniela Colomo, as well as to all participants, for the productive discussion.

cr 6, fr. 34 sup. (= col. XLVIII Assante = LXIV Nicolardi)

<p>ἔδωκε καὶ Ζηνοδώρῳ τῷ Παταρεῖ νεναυαγηκό- τι μνᾶν. ^v καὶ διότι παρα- γενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας 5 αὐτὸν ὑ[π]έταξε Τιμασαγό- ρ[α]ι καὶ [πα]ρέβαλεν ὄλον [ἐ]νιαυτόν. ^{vvvvvvvv} [±5]αδ . . ρο[±7] [±7] . . . [±7]]</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>desunt lineae XV</i></p>	<p>«and to Zenodoros of Patara who had suffered shipwreck he gave a mina. And (<i>sc.</i> the source adds) that, once he arrived in Athens, he became subject to Timasagoras and was his disciple for a whole year».</p>
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²⁶ For a similar shift in tenses in the *Vita*, see e.g. *PHerc.* 1044, fr. 6+6b = col. XIII ASSANTE (discussed in F. NICOLARDI, *Delendae memorandae: A New Reading of P.Herc. 1044, fr. 6+6b Gallo*, «Pylon» 1/2022, <https://doi.org/10.48631/pylon.2022.1.89337>, esp. §17). See also R. KOCH PIETTRE, *Philonides de Laodicee et le canon épicurien*, «CCG» 21/2010, 385-408, esp. 394 f., on present tenses (λέγει/γράφει) in the *Vita*, which should be interpreted as referring to the *témoin-source*.

²⁷ Although I consider very likely that Philodemus composed this biographical work on Philonides of Laodicea, for reasons of space and scope, I will not elaborate here on the evidence supporting this now widely accepted authorship. Consequently, I refer generically to the «author» of the *Vita Philonidis*. See CRÖNERT 1900, 957 f., with arguments both in favor of and against Philodemus' authorship; ID. 1903, 134 n. 4, cautiously suggests that Demetrius Laco could be the author of the *Vita*, whereas ID. 1906, 182, ultimately favors Philodemus. PHILIPPSON 1941, 63 and ID. 1943, 158, n. 57 supports the attribution to Demetrius, while H. DIELS, *Philodemos über die Götter. Drittes Buch* (Berlin 1917), 46, CAPASSO ET ALII 1976, 58, GALLO 2002, 79-83, and D. DE SANCTIS, *Il filosofo e il re: osservazioni sulla Vita Philonidis (PHerc. 1044)*, «CERC» 39/2009, 107-118, esp. 108 n. 8, consider Philodemus' authorship highly plausible. *Contra*, see MCSKER 2017, 153 and n. 41, who challenges this attribution based on occurrences of hiatus in the text. However, my new readings have led me to rule out most of these instances; I will reassess this issue in my forthcoming complete edition of the text.

²⁸ CRÖNERT 1900, 957 f., n. 4, and PHILIPPSON 1941, 73, believed that Philonides' main accuser was Antiphanes, attributing to him a greater role in the *Vita* than the text itself justifies, as demonstrated by ASSANTE 2011-2012, 48 f.

PHerc. 1044, cr 6, fr. 34 sup.; *N*, c. 83 (CRÖNERT 1900, 954; PHILIPPSON 1941, 67; CAPASSO et alii 1976, 57, partim; GALLO 2002, 129; ASSANTE 2011-2012, 177). Columnam cum antecedente iunxit Assante. Omnia quae non notantur iam legit vel supplevit Crönert.

1 Ζηνοδώρῳ Assante : [Ζη]νόδωρον Crönert : Ζ[η]νόδωρον Gallo 2 sq. τῷ Παταρεῖ νεναυαγηκό|τι legi : [αὐ]τῷ παράγειν εναξαπλο|τι Crönert : παράγειν εν | τι Gallo : παράγειν εν . υλγ . . . | τι Assante 3 spatium iam dispexit Assante 5 αὐτὸν Crönert : αὐτὸν Capasso et alii 5 sq. [ὑπ]έταξε Τιμασαγό|ρ[α]ι καὶ Assante : [ὑπ]έταξε Τιμασαγό|ρ[α]ι καὶ iam Capasso et alii : [ὑπ]έταξε Τιμασαγό|ρ[α]ι καὶ Gallo : ὑπέταξεν μασαρχ|ρ . . Crönert : Μνησάρχ[ω] Philippson 6 [πα]ρέβαλεν ὄλον legi et supplevi, etiam Angeli 2024, 286 : παρέβαλε . . . ου Crönert : [πα]ρέβαλε [.] λο . Assante 7 ante]v, vestigia¹⁺ ἐ]νιαυτόν Assante :]αὐτο[Gallo spatium iam dispexit Assante

fr. 33 sup., 1-10. In the first lines of this column, there is a clear combination of primary (perfect: πεπ]ήκειν at l. 2,]κεν at l. 3; present: ἐστίν at l. 5, προετί|θης[iv] at ll. 5 f.) and secondary (aorist: ἐπειρά|θη at ll. 4 f., ἠχαρίστηκεν at l. 6, c[υ]νεσ]-τήσατο at l. 8) tenses. I believe this alternation should be understood within the framework of the temporal relationship between a source of the *Vita* or of specific passages of it (reflected in the primary tenses) and the narrated events (expressed in the secondary tenses).²⁶

In light of the reference to Philonides' ingratitude toward Ἀρτέμων ὁ καθηγητής, it is immediately evident that the witness/source cited here by the author of the *Vita*²⁷ is unfavorable to the philosopher from Laodicea. Gallo suggested that this passage marks the beginning of a section compiling slander and accusations against Philonides,²⁸ to which fr. 34 sup. would also belong. In contrast, Assante, acknowledging the lack of context, was more cautious and refrained from identifying a similar distinct thematic section in these passages. My rereading of ll. 5 f. (τ[αὐ]τα δ' ἐστίν ἂ προετί|θης[iv]) enabled me to recover what appears to be the introduction to a list of additional facts – beyond those mentioned in the preceding, now lost lines – reported by this critical source on Philonides. The verb προετί|θης[iv] was already read by Gallo and accepted by Assante, who wondered whether its subject was a non-identified detractor or rather the biographer's source. In the latter case, she observed, it would be unusual for the source to contain such explicitly unflattering information about

the philosopher.²⁹ While I consider it likely that the author of the *Vita* relied on a primary reference source, I also believe that he may have incorporated – and in specific cases discussed – multiple witnesses or sources for specific passages or themes.

Beyond the *Vita Philonidis*, no further information on Artemon is available, nor does his theophoric and thus Panhellenic name offer any indication of his origins.³⁰ In the above mentioned cr 1, pz 4, fr. 7, he is introduced as the author of a work on at least the first thirty-three books of Epicurus' *De natura*.³¹

8 f. ἐν τ[ῆ] ἀντῆ | πόλε[ι]. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine with certainty which city the text refers to. Since the *Vita* mentions Dionysodorus of Caunus as Philonides' second teacher (fr. 25 = col. XXXV Assante) and describes Philonides' journey to Syria passing through Caria (fr. 45 = 3 Assante), Philippson proposed Caunus as a likely candidate.³² However, there is no substantial evidence supporting this hypothesis. The *Vita* does not specify the location of Philonides' school, apart from mentioning that the διατριβή took place in a house situated in front of the royal residence (*PHerc.* 1044, cr 3, fr. 19 = col. XXVII Assante).³³ Additionally, another passage states that king Demetrius I donated something – likely that very house – to Philonides so that he could attend the philosopher's lectures (*PHerc.* 1044, cr 5, fr. 27 = col. XLI Assante).³⁴

9 f. I chose not to include Crönert's supplement ἐπι κ[α]ταλύ[σει τοῦ καθηγητοῦ] in the text, despite its appeal, as it remains highly conjectural and is not fully supported by the visible traces in the papyrus. Specifically, it appears to me that there are more likely three letters, rather than two, between κ and αλ. Moreover, the trace at the end of the line – a curved bottom stroke – does not seem compatible with *ypsilon*.

26-fr. 34, 3. In the text published by the previous editors, the reference to pepper was entirely isolated. Philippson believed that the fragment concerned Philonides' «einfache Lebensweise» and hypothesized that it referred to his practice of allowing only salt and pepper as seasonings, [άλυ]κόν (?) καὶ πέπερι μόνον (ὡς ἀρτύματα) [παρίει]. Gallo (---)φαν των[---]ην πω|κον καὶ πέπερι μόνον), who also lacked the correct context due to reading these lines as the lower part of fr. 31 rather than 33, interpreted the passage as shifting «dall'atmosfera religiosa avvolgente la morte del nostro eroe (...) all'argomento prosaico del cibo». Assante, who rejected Gallo's interpretation in light of her repositioning of the fragments, nonetheless noted that «la lettura delle ultime quattro linee della colonna è davvero molto incerta» (---)λυ|σου . . . [---|---] φαν τῶι δ. γαννα|---.ιον καὶ χ[ι]τ[ω]|. κον καὶ πέπερι μόνον) and hypothesized that the text refers to the only low-value goods Philonides permitted Zenodorus to bring to Athens. My reexamination of the last lines of this column and the first three lines of the subsequent one allowed me to recover an interesting list of objects, along with additional details regarding the circumstances under which Philonides donated them. I believe that the sentence in these lines should still be linked to the section introduced by the phrase τ[αὐ]τ[α] δ' ἐστὶν ἃ προκτί|θη[ι]ν at ll. 5-6. Since δέ at l. 27 is most likely the second element in the sentence, we might imagine an implied ὅτι (or a similar construction).

The first term of the sentence starting at l. 27, preceding δέ, is probably a name ending in -φάντωι rather than the simple τῶι (which would require punctuation

²⁹ ASSANTE 2011-2012, 267.

³⁰ CRÖNERT 1900, 956 n. 3, found it difficult to believe that he was the Pergamene philologist and a younger contemporary of Crates.

³¹ For more on this text, in addition to earlier editions, see NICOLARDI 2022. On the indirect transmission of *On Nature* in the Herculanean Papyri, see most recently G. LEONE, *Orthodoxy and Auctoritas: On Nature in the Tradition of the School of Epicurus*, in M. ERLER-J.E. HESSLER-F.M. PETRUCCI (edd.), *Authority and Authoritative Texts in the Epicurean Tradition* (Basel 2023), 95-117, esp. 104-112.

³² PHILIPPSON 1941, 65.

³³ For my revised text of this fragment see NICOLARDI forthcoming, in the Proceedings of the International Conference *Networking through biography. Doctrinal and literary strategies in biographical literature for constructing intellectual networks from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (KU Leuven, 7-9 December 2022).

³⁴ While I initially believed that this school was located in Laodicea by the Sea – where a royal residence may also have existed, given the itinerant nature of the Seleucid court – a rereading of a passage from the *Vita* led me to recover more details of an excerpt from Philonides' own words. This passage suggests that he spent most of his time, until the very final part of his old age, with the king in a city – perhaps Antioch – other than his birthplace. See cr 12, pz 3, fr. 56; cr 1, pz 4, fr. 10 and cr 12, pz 3, fr. 57, and the new readings presented in NICOLARDI forthcoming.

as]φαν. τῶι δέ). If this is correct, and two individuals are mentioned, then the sequence]ίλοις at l. 26 might belong to a preceding sentence that introduces these anecdotes and refers to Philonides' φίλοις. However, there are no sufficient elements to reconstruct the first part of the name in the lacuna.

27 f. γαννά[κην. The first item in the list of garments is particularly interesting, not only because this represents the earliest known literary occurrence of the form γαννάκης – rather than the more common καυνάκης³⁵ but also due to the peculiar characteristics of this garment. Originally, the term likely referred to a sheepskin cloak. However, as Cherblanc argues, it later came to denote a wool bouclé fabric – and the cloak made from it – possibly designed to imitate sheepskin.³⁶ This thick cloak, widely regarded as Persian in Athens, is introduced in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, where Bdelycleon dresses his father, Philocleon, in one to make him appear more elegant. In this context, the term καυνάκης is equated with Περγίς (sc. χλαῖνα), a Persian cloak, while Philocleon – likely displaying evident ignorance – mistakes it for a κισύρα, an Attic goat- or sheepskin cloak (1136-1138: Φι. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν τί ἐστὶ, πρὸς πάντων θεῶν; | Βδ. οἱ μὲν καλοῦσι Περγίδ', οἱ δὲ καυνάκην. | Φι. ἐγὼ δὲ κισύραν ὄμην Θυμαίτιδα). Shortly afterward in the comedy, this garment is said to come directly from Ecbatana, the capital of Media. According to Pollux,³⁷ however, the καυνάκης/γαννάκης was not Persian but Babylonian. The occurrence of γαννάκης in this passage of the *Vita Philonidis* is particularly interesting given that this garment – now generally believed to have been originally Sumerian – appears to have had considerable value. In *SB XXIV 16295* (199 BCE), a petition concerning an unpaid loan, a γαννάκης is mentioned as collateral to extend a loan of 1.264 drachms and 1 1/2 artabas of wheat, although it is explicitly stated that the garment did not cover the full amount (including interest). As noted by the *editores principes* of this petition, Sosin and Oates, «a *gaunakes* is a valuable, heavy and somewhat uncommon garment»; its value appears to have fluctuated significantly: in the mid-third century, it ranged from 18 3/4 drachms of silver (*PCairZen. III 59319*, 249 BCE) to 4 drachms of silver (*P Hib. I 121*, 251-250 BCE); by 193-192 it could reach 1.200 drachms (*PMich. XVIII 778*),³⁸ assuming that the fragmentary context of the document refers to the garment's value alone. A γαννάκης also appears as a pledged deposit in *PDiosk. 12* (mid-2nd century BCE). While it is difficult to determine the precise value of a γαννάκης in the second century BCE – especially considering potential variations in quality – these sources suggest that it was a valuable item.

28 f. χιτω|[νί]κκον. The presence of a correction complicates the reading of the sequence χιτω. Assante suggested that the *tau* and *omega* were deleted by the scribe; however, a closer examination of the papyrus reveals that the scribe was probably writing a *delta* instead of the *tau* and then corrected himself *in scribendo*.

vol. 8 (Oxford 2010), 110-145, esp. 124 f., and, more recently, C. BRENIQUET, *Que savons-nous exactement du kaunakès mésopotamien?*, «Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale», 110/2016, 1-22. On the dual meaning of the term γαννάκης/καυνάκης – referring both to the cloak and to the fabric, which was also

used for blankets and coverings – see MESSERI SAVORELLI-PINTAUDI 1993, 131 f.

³⁷ See VII 59 f.

³⁸ J.D. SOSIN-J.F. OATES, *P.Duk.inv. 314: Agathis, Strategos and Hipparches of the Arsinoite Nome*, «ZPE» 118/1997, 251-258, esp. 258.

³⁵ I am grateful to Giuseppe Ucciardello for drawing my attention to this point. The form with *gamma* is already well attested from the Hellenistic period in documentary papyri (e. g. *PCairZen. IV 59539*, 258 BCE). See also, regarding the orthographic variant γονάχιον, P. MAYERSON, *The Words γονάχιον and γονάχιον in the Egyptian Papyri*, «ZPE» 83/1990, 241 f. The feminine form καυνάκη appears in *PSI IV 371 b + PSI VI 605*, see MESSERI SAVORELLI-PINTAUDI 1993, 131 f. For discussions on this garment and its attestation in papyri, see F. MORELLI, *Gonachia e kaunakai nei papiri con due documenti inediti (P.Vindob. G 1620 e P.Vindob. G 18884) e uno riedito (P.Brook. 25)*, «JJP» 32/2002, 55-81 (on the origin of the term, 55 n. 1, with referenced bibliography).

³⁶ E. CHERBLANC, *Le kaunakès. Étude critique d'après les textes, les monuments figurés et les survivances supposées du tissu* (Paris 1937), 45 f.; see also E. WIPSYCYKA, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1965), 114 f. The precise identification of this garment in archeology and iconography remains uncertain. The first attempt to reconstruct the manufacture of the γαννάκης/καυνάκης was made by L. HEUZEY, *Une étoffe chaldéenne (le kaunakès)*, in *Les origines orientales de l'art. Recueil de missions archéologiques et de monuments figurés* (Paris 1892), 120-136 (= Id., *Une étoffe chaldéenne (le kaunakès)*, «RA» 9/1887, 257-272). See also B.R. FOSTER, *Clothing in Sargonic Mesopotamia: Visual and Written Evidence*, in C. MICHEL-M.-L. NOSCH (edd.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*,

29. *πέπερι μόνον*: By the 2nd century BCE, both long and black pepper were known and imported from India.³⁹ Long pepper, in particular, was used not only in culinary context but also – and primarily – as a medicinal remedy (see e. g. the Hellenistic medical recipes in *SB VIII 9860*, 270-258 BCE; *PSI Congr. XXI 3 v*, 1st BCE). Given the long distances involved, pepper was most likely not cheap⁴⁰ – though it may have been less expensive in Syria than it was in Greece. Given that neither the *γαννάκης* nor pepper were of low value, the use of *μόνον* is puzzling. It likely refers to the entire set of objects given by Philonides to (?-)phantos and seems to dismiss any association of exotic goods like a *γαννάκης* and pepper with luxury. Instead, the source being cited here by the author – presumably critical of Philonides as in the previous and following lines – may suggest that the gift was insufficient. The lack of context regarding the circumstances and event that prompted this offering, unlike the slightly more detailed case of Zenodorus in the following lines, further complicates interpretation. It is also possible that the disapproving source here is comparing Philonides' gift to (?-)phantos with his gift to Zenodorus, perhaps taking also into account the personalities of the recipients (see *infra*, commentary on fr. 34 sup., 1-4).

fr. 34 sup., 1-4. The reading of the dative *Παταρεῖ* instead of the verb *παράγειν*, as proposed by the previous editors, along with the participle *νεναυαγηκότι*, provides additional context for this fragment. While the preceding lines do not clarify, as mentioned, the circumstances under which Philonides gave someone «only a thick cloak, a cloak, a short frock, and some pepper», these lines reveal the name and provenance of the second recipient, Zenodorus of Patara, as well as the reason for Philonides' gift – a shipwreck. A man named Zenodorus is also mentioned a few columns earlier in the text, in a passage that remains somewhat obscure, particularly regarding his role.⁴¹ It was likely not rare for shipwreck survivors to rely on their family and friends for immediate assistance, including clothing and money. In *POxy. IV 839 descr.* (= «ZPE» 215, 277-284),⁴² a letter attributed to the early Roman period, for instance, the sender writes to his mother about his brother's shipwreck. He mentions his brother's ingratitude after receiving a *στολή* from him and his request of wages (*ὀψώνια*) and perhaps firewood for a year. Comparing the sum donated by Philonides – one mina (= 100 drachms) – with contemporary daily wages can provide a quantitative idea, albeit vague. According to Maresch,⁴³ between 200 and 168 BCE, a wage labourer (*ἐργάτης*) in Egypt was paid between 10 and 20 drachms per day. The sum was probably not particularly high – if one were to attempt an anachronistic comparison, it might equate to an amount not much higher than 500-600 euros – and may have helped Zenodorus meet his immediate needs.

As mentioned, Philonides' monetary gift to Zenodorus following his shipwreck appears to fit within a relatively ordinary practice. The preceding gift of clothing – though the inclusion of pepper remains somewhat surprising – could also align with this context. However, there is no evidence to suggest that (?-)phantos had also suffered a shipwreck. That being said, Philonides' gifts may be interpreted as a sign of his generosity. This, however, conflicts with the fact that these events are reported by a critical source, as suggested by the upper part of the preceding column and the subsequent lines of this passage. What, then, might be the reason for this disapproval? The adverb *μόνον* may be significant in this

³⁹ See A. DALBY, *Dangerous Tastes. The Story of Spices* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2000), 89-94, and J. SIMMONS, *Pepper Consumption and the Importance of Taste in Roman Medicine*, «AncSoc» 50/2020, 277-324, esp. 281-289 on pepper in Greek culture. As noted by Simmons (286), documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt refer to aromatics but none specifically to pepper. I am very grateful to Jeremy Simmons, whose book *Sea of Treasures: A Cultural History of Ancient Indian Ocean Trade* is forthcoming, for advising me on pepper in Antiquity.

⁴⁰ Prices for pepper in the Hellenistic age are not attested. On Pliny's testimony regarding the prices of various spices and aromatics (*Nat. Hist.* XII 14) around the early Flavian era, see M. COBB, *Black Pepper Consumption in the Roman Empire*, «JESHO» 61.4/2018, 519-599, esp. 528 f.

⁴¹ Here, I limit myself to reproducing the text established by Assante for fr. 31 sup., 2-6 (col. XLV in her reconstruction): . . . ἀποδοχῆς εἰς Ἀθήν[ων] . . . ἤ]γεγκεν ἀδυσκό[λων] . . . [. . .] καὶ τὸν Ζηνόδο[ρον] αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος [εἰς] ἄττυ («... accoglienza in Atene ... sopportò di buon grado ... anche Zenodoro stesso, giunto in città», transl. Assante). On possible identifications of the Zenodorus mentioned in the *Vita Philonidis*, see *infra* (How many Patareans?).

⁴² N. VEGA NAVARRETE, *P. Oxy. IV 839 Descr.: Brief Des Eutyches an Seine Mutter*, «ZPE» 215/2020, 277-284.

⁴³ K. MARESCH, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, *Papyrologica Coloniensia XXV* (Köln 1996), 192 f.

regard, potentially implying a comparison between what Philonides donated to (?-)phantos – which likely did not amount to a mina – and the sum given to Zenodorus. Alternatively, the criticism may stem from a comparison between the gift of goods and that of money, or from a broader disapproval of both donations if they were perceived as insufficiently generous, particularly coming from a member of high society like Philonides. Another possibility is that the contrast lies in the differing statuses of the two recipients: perhaps Philonides gave «only» goods to a figure esteemed by the source, while offering money to Zenodorus, who was regarded less favorably. Unfortunately, the precise context remains uncertain, and the key to its interpretation may have been contained in the now-lost sentence that likely introduced these two episodes.

3. καὶ διότι. I believe the sequence καὶ διότι, preceded by a space in the papyrus, is equivalent to the ὅτι, also preceded by a space, found at fr. 33 sup., 6. This correspondence clarifies the value of διότι,⁴⁴ which does not convey a causal meaning, but rather introduces a dependent statement still governed by the expression «these are the things he adds» (τ[αὐτ]α δ' ἐκτὶν ἃ προκτ[ίθη]ς[ι]ν). διότι may have been used here instead of ὅτι to avoid an easily preventable hiatus.⁴⁵ The identification of the correct meaning of διότι, while confirming Gallo's suggestion⁴⁶ that the episodes were all part of the same section discussing attacks against Philonides, also mitigates the connection between the episodes preceding the *vacuum* and the one that follows, ruling out any evidence of a potential link between Zenodorus and Timasagoras, as well as between Zenodorus and the city of Athens.

It is reasonable to assume that the missing lines between fr. 33 sup. and 31 inf. contained additional negative episodes drawn from the negative source, each separated by a *vacuum*. The episode introduced by καὶ διότι is most likely the final episode of this section, whose end is marked by the wide blank space intentionally left by the scribe at l. 7, already noticed by Assante. A similar use of an extended *vacuum* to demarcate two sections of the *Vita* can be observed in cr 11, pz I, fr. 49 sin.⁴⁷

5. αὐτὸν ὑ[π]έταξε Τιμασαγόρ[α]ι. The identification and philosophical affiliation of Timasagoras have been subjects of debate. However, it is now widely accepted that he was an Epicurean.⁴⁸ A detailed discussion of this philosopher would fall outside the scope of this paper; for present purposes, it suffices to note that Philodemus criticizes Timasagoras' views in his *De ira* and in the *opus incertum de sensu* preserved in *PHerc.* 19/698. Another passage in the *Vita* states that Philonides attended the lectures of Timasagoras, Basilides, and Thespis for one year, after which he continued attending only those of Basilides and Thespis for an additional six months.⁴⁹ The Neapolitan *équipe* who first identified Timasagoras' name in this passage also proposed writing αὐτὸν instead of Crönert's αὐτὸν, interpreting the pronoun as a reference to Zenodorus (καὶ διότι παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας | αὐτὸν [ὑ]πέταξε Τιμασαγόρ[α]ι, which they translated «... e che Timasagora, venuto ad Atene, lo sottomise»). Alternatively, they considered a second hypothesis: καὶ διότι παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας | αὐτὸν [ὑ]πέταξε Τιμασαγόρ[α]ν («... e che (Filonide), venuto ad Atene, sottomise perfino Timasagora»). Assante's identification of a certain *iota* in the papyrus, recognizable by its characteristic moderate serif at the top, confirmed the dative Τιμασαγόρ[α]ι, as first supplemented by Gallo.

⁴⁴ See most recently, ANGELI 2024, 286: «Inoltre, il recupero della sola parte conclusiva del periodo impedisce persino di intuire il contenuto dell'enunciato principale, lasciando indeterminata la funzione sintattica di διότι, sospesa tra valore dichiarativo e circostanziale-causale».

⁴⁵ In any case, the sequence καί + word starting with a vowel is among the cases tolerated by Philodemus (see McOSKER 2017, 150). On the use of διότι instead of ὅτι to avoid hiatus, see G. STRATHMANN, *De hiatus fuga, quam invenimus apud Philodemum Epicureum*, Jahres-Bericht (Nr. 16) über das Real-Progymnasium der Stadt Viersen für das Schuljahr 1891-1892 (Viersen 1892), 12.

⁴⁶ GALLO 2002, 198 f.

⁴⁷ On this *vacuum*, see ASSANTE 2011-2012, 185, and F. NICOLARDI, *Nuovi elementi sulla sezione iniziale del rotolo ercolanese della Vita Philonidis*, «Polygraphia» 1/2019, 145-155, esp. 149.

⁴⁸ For a very recent overview of our knowledge about Timasagoras, see now ANGELI 2024, with referenced bibliography.

⁴⁹ Fr. 51d+11 (coll. XXXV-XXXVI ASSANTE and commentary). For some new readings in this passage and the hypothesis that the disagreement between Timasagoras and the *Kepon* arose during the years when Philonides was attending their lectures, see NICOLARDI forthcoming. On this passage, see now also ANGELI 2024, 284-286.

If my proposed structure for this section is correct, αὐτόν cannot refer to Zenodorus, as he belongs to a different episode. Consequently, we must retain Crönert's reflexive pronoun referring to Philonides, as Assante and Gallo do. This interpretation aligns with the *Vita*'s account, which already states that Philonides attended Timasagoras' lectures. I believe this information is presented here as it was originally conveyed by the negative source.

6. [πα]ρέβαλεν. Gallo translates it «mise da parte» («set aside»), while Assante translates it «si volse» («turned to»). Actually, παραβάλλω can have a rather specific meaning, which is also not uncommon in Herculaneum texts and is already recorded in van Krevelen's *Lexicon Philodemum*, where several passages from Philodemus' work *On rhetoric* are recorded under the meaning *magistrum sequor*. See also, e. g., Plut., *Antiphon* 846 f.⁵⁰

6 f. ὄλον | [ἐ]νιαυτόν. This expression introduces a noteworthy temporal specification. As I have suggested elsewhere, the author of the *Vita* employs similar temporal markers in other passages, particularly when discussing Philonides' relationships with controversial or problematic Epicurean philosophers, namely Timasagoras and – possibly – Nicasicrates.⁵¹ These temporal qualifications appear to serve a framing function, portraying Philonides' engagement with Epicureans criticized by Philodemus as brief or isolated. This is evident in both the passage describing Philonides' attendance at the lectures of Timasagoras, Basilides, and Thespis for one year,⁵² followed by an additional six months with only Basilides and Thespis, and in the passage probably recording his attendance of Nicasicrates' lectures ἐνα¹ [μό]νον ἐν¹ιαυτόν, «for only one year».⁵³ It is particularly striking that in the present case, a similar temporal qualification is used with the opposite intent – to emphasize that Philonides' did not last merely «for *only* one year», but rather «for an *entire* year».

Despite the new readings, these three fragments remain somewhat obscure. In particular, the source reported and presumably criticized here remains unidentified. The source is favorable to Artemon – probably an Epicurean, given that he commented on at least thirty-three books of Epicurus' *On nature* – but appears to be critical of Timasagoras, as Philonides is seemingly criticized for attending his lectures, and perhaps also critical of Zenodorus of Patara, as the monetary donation to him is a reason for disapproval. Hypothetically, this negative source may be an Epicurean who regarded himself purely orthodox while rejecting the views of other philosophers, including those of Timasagoras and Philonides. If this is the case, the defense of Philonides against these accusations may have been one of the reasons the biography was conceived in the first place.

How many Patareans?

Listing and analyzing all the passages known so far where a Patarean is mentioned is insufficient to determine the identity of this philosopher, or even to confirm that we are dealing with a single individual. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that the references to a philosopher identified solely by his ethnic designation in *PHerc.* 1003 and in the title of Philonides' work, as mentioned in his biography, likely point to the same philosopher. This philosopher appears to have been an Epicurean whose views on logic and epistemology were not approved by Philodemus. Philonides wrote a polemical treatise against him, though it remains

⁵⁰ See now also *ivi*, 286, who translates «ne fu discepolo».

⁵¹ NICOLARDI forthcoming.

⁵² Another philosopher is also mentioned in the passage; see NICOLARDI forthcoming, n. 41, and ANGELI 2024 for hypotheses regarding his name.

⁵³ This expression results from my new reading of *PHerc.* 1746, fr. I (= CRÖNERT 1906, 92). For details on this reading and – more broadly – consequences of the occurrence of Nicasicrates in the *Vita Philonidis* for the philosopher's dating, see NICOLARDI forthcoming; see also ANGELI 2024, 284. This is not the place to address the complex and subjective categories of «dissidence» and «orthodoxy»; in addition to the bibliography referenced by ANGELI 2024, 287 n. 6, I also point to the recent volume of M. ERLER-J.E. HESSLER-F.M. PETRUCCI (ed.), *Authority and Authoritative Texts in the Epicurean Tradition* (Basel 2023).

unclear whether it focused on the same issues that made him the target of polemic in Philodemus' epistemological book based on Zeno's lectures.

The identification of Zenodorus of Patara presents even greater challenges. In the *editio princeps*, where the ethnic had not been deciphered, Crönert proposed identifying the Zenodorus mentioned twice in the *Vita* with the mathematician who authored a treatise *περὶ ἰσομέτρων σχημάτων*.⁵⁴ Since then, *PHerc.* 1044 has been considered key evidence for dating Zenodorus, and he has often been regarded as one of Philonides' teachers,⁵⁵ despite Crönert not having provided a structured argument for this identification. In 1972, Toomer examined occurrences of the name Zenodorus to «establish the pattern of its appearance» and support Crönert's identification of the mathematician with the Zenodorus mentioned in *PHerc.* 1044.⁵⁶ While noting that the name was predominantly found in Palestine, Syria, and adjacent areas (from the second century BCE up to the third CE), he inferred from Crönert's edition of the *Vita* that Zenodorus had ties to the city of Athens. Based on this assumption, he proposed that the mathematician belonged to a well-documented Athenian family in Lamprai, particularly relying on an inscription (*IG II²* 2332) from 183/182 BCE.⁵⁷

While accepting the identification with the mathematician, Gallo⁵⁸ emphasized that the *Vita* provides no evidence that Zenodorus was Philonides' teacher. Based on fr. 34, which he interpreted as indicating that Philonides allowed Zenodorus to bring only some of his belongings to Athens, Gallo suggested that the mathematician was younger than the protagonist of the *Vita* and may have been influenced by him to some extent. However, the newly reconstructed text of fr. 31 inf. and 34 sup. weakens the case for Zenodorus' connection to Athens, which now relies solely on the fragmentary and obscure text of fr. 31 sup., 2-6 (= col. XLV Assante).⁵⁹ Even if his presence in Athens were confirmed, it may well have been incidental. More importantly, the reading of the ethnic Παταρεός definitively excludes any link between the Zenodorus associated with Philonides and the one from Lamprai.

Can Zenodorus of Patara still plausibly be identified as the mathematician concerned with isoperimetric problems? As Assante has already noted, this identification rests solely on Philonides' general interest in geometry and a mere onomastic coincidence.⁶⁰ It is crucial to emphasize that the references to Zenodorus are not only fragmentary but also lack any doctrinary content that could support his identification with the mathematician. If the Zenodorus of Patara associated with Philonides – and to whom a mina was granted after a shipwreck – must be identified with someone, a more plausible candidate is the Παταρεός against whom Philonides wrote a treatise and who is also mentioned in Philodemus' epistemological book, preserved in *PHerc.* 1003. This identification, while conjectural, is the most economical hypothesis and would provide an intriguing intellectual context. If Zenodorus of Patara was an Epicurean philosopher criticized by both Philonides and Philodemus, the negative framing of Philonides' monetary donation to him could be related to his contested role within the Epicurean school. However, caution is necessary, also given that in fr. 31 sup., 2-6 (= col. XLV Assante) he is referred to simply as Zenodorus, whereas the doctrinal references suggest that he was more widely recognized as «the Patarean».

⁵⁴ CRÖNERT 1900, 956. PHILIPPSON 1941, 67, also proposes a possible link between Philonides and Zenodorus in fr. 13, referencing Quint. I 10, 39-45, who would have used Zenodorus' thoughts on dialectic and geometry. On this fragment and Philippson's proposal, see also F. VERDE, *Ancora sulla matematica epicurea*, «CErc» 46/2016, 21-37, esp. 31 n. 51.

⁵⁵ G. LORIA, *Le Scienze esatte nell'antica Grecia* (Milano 1914²), 418 f. W. SCHMIDT, *Zur Geschichte der Isoperimetrie im Altertume*, «Bibliotheca Mathematica» 2.3/1901, 5-8, esp. 8, did not oppose this identification and used the *Vita* to confirm the proposed date for Zenodorus. See also TOOMER 1972, 178 f., who regarded *PHerc.* 1044 as the «first solid evidence for Zenodorus' date».

⁵⁶ TOMMER 1972.

⁵⁷ *Contra*, R. NETZ, *Greek Mathematicians: A Group Picture*, in C.J. TUPLIN-T.E. RIHLL, *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture* (Oxford 2002), 196-216, esp. 199 n. 18, is more favorable to the hypothesis of a Semitic Zenodorus (the mathematician). For a helpful overview, see M. HAAKE, *Der Philosoph in der Stadt* (München 2007), 297-299, who observes that neither of the identifications of the Zenodorus known from the *Vita* – as the mathematician and as the donor recalled in the inscription – is completely compelling.

⁵⁸ GALLO 2002, 196.

⁵⁹ See *supra*, n. 41.

⁶⁰ See already F. ACERBI, *Il silenzio delle sirene. La matematica greca antica* (Roma 2007), 84.

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