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***Delendae memorandae: A New Reading of P.Herc.
1044, fr. 6+6b Gallo***

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- §1 **P.Herc. 1044** preserves the first and main part of a carbonized 1st-century BCE roll containing a work on the geometer and Epicurean philosopher Philonides of Laodiceia by the Sea.¹ In addition to offering invaluable information on the spread of Epicureanism outside Athens, the so-called *Vita Philonidis* provides precious historical evidence on 2nd century BCE Syria, especially concerning the Seleucid court, which has aroused the interest of historians of the ancient world in this Herculaneum text.
- §2 In 1999, Dov Gera published a stimulating paper which argued that Philonides was already active during the reign of Seleucus IV, whereas both Crönert, the editor princeps of P.Herc. 1044, and Gallo, who re-edited the text in 1980 together with an Italian translation and extensive commentary, «adhered to a view which denies any ties of Philonides with the Seleucid court before 175».² Gera's thesis was supported by a tentative and partial re-edition of three independent fragments of the *Vita* (fr. 28, 6b and 9 Gallo), in two of which he identified a reference to Seleucus IV Philopator.
- §3 More specifically, in fr. 6b, on which this paper will focus,³ Gera recognized a strong proof of Seleucus' remarkable good will towards Philonides. While Gallo's first version of this fragment⁴ did not deviate much from the editio princeps, in his revised edition, which appeared in 2002, he partly accepted Gera's newly published interpretation, printing the following text:⁵

[-ca.?-]σθῆναι
 [-ca.?-]κενου[...]
 [-ca.?- ἀ]λλα ρ[...]
 [-ca.?-]αρε[]ιενον
 5 [-ca.?-]ε περιπλεκη
 [-ca.?-]στάντα κα[ἰ τ]ᾶς
 [-ca.?-]γ π[ω]ς ἐκτιθέ[ναι]
 [-ca.?- μνη]μο[σύνας] *vac.*
 [ῚΕστιν δῆ] φανερόν ὅτ[ι ἐ-]
 10 [πεὶ ὁ Φιλοπ]άτωρ ἦν ε[ῶ-]
 [γούστατος Φι]λωνίδ[ει]
 -- -- -- --

- §4 Lines 7-11 were translated by Gera as follows:

1 The title of this work is lost and the name of its author is unknown, but its attribution to Philodemus of Gadara, the author of most of the works from the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum, although still debated, tends to be generally accepted. See: Crönert 1900: 957-958, with arguments both in favor of and against Philodemus' authorship; Crönert 1903: 134 n. 4, cautiously suggesting that Demetrius Laco could be the author of the *Life*; and Crönert 1906: 182, in favor of Philodemus. The attribution to Demetrius was also advanced by Philippson 1941: 63, and Philippson 1943: 158 n. 57. The attribution to Philodemus has been sustained or at least considered highly plausible by Diels 1917: p. 46, Capasso et alii 1976: 58, Gallo 2002: 79-83, De Sanctis 2009: 108 n. 8; contra McOsker 2017: 153 and n. 41. The last part of the volumen is preserved, in a worse condition, in P.Herc. 1746 (upper portion) and P.Herc. 1715 (lower portion), as noticed by Del Mastro 2013. None of the editions published so far include these last portions of the roll. I am currently working on a new edition of the whole volumen within Brill's New Jacoby project.

2 See Gera 1999: 78, referring to Crönert 1900 and Gallo 1980.

3 I am deeply grateful to all those who took part in the online seminar organized by the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante' in which I discussed this text. Naturally, the responsibility for any failings in this paper remains entirely and exclusively mine.

4 Gallo 1980.

5 At present (October 2021), the text recorded in papyri.info reproduces Gallo 1980.

- §5 «... to read the memorandae publicly. It is clear that since (Seleucus) Philopator was most friendly towards Philonides ...».
- §6 Gallo, not being persuaded by the meaning proposed by Gera for μνημοσύναι, translates more cautiously as follows:
- §7 «... e mettere fuori, per così dire, i ricordi ... (dei beni goduti). È chiaro che, siccome il Filopatore era molto amico di Filonide ...».
- §8 Gera's new interpretation was essentially based on the adjective φιλοπάτωρ, which he did not read as a reference to Philonides and his relationship with his father, with Crönert and Gallo, but which he rather capitalized and understood as the epithet of the king Seleucus IV. Moreover, an important role was played by the alleged presence of the rare and poetic word μνημοσύνη, which is conjectured at l. 8 on the basis of only two extant letters (μνη]μο[σύνας). In 1980, Gallo⁶ had assumed a metaphorical meaning of the expression ἐκτιθέ[ναι - - μνη]μο[σύνας, observing that two topics could be identified in fr. 6b, that of memories to be revived and Philonides' devotion to his father ("quello dei ricordi da ridestare e la considerazione della pietas di Filonide verso il padre"), although he had not speculated much on the connection between them. Conversely, according to Gera, the term μνημοσύναι refers to a set of historical records – *memorandae* in his translation –, whose author would be Philonides himself; these *memorandae* would be read publicly (ἐκτιθέ[ναι) at the behest of the sovereign, which demonstrated his benevolence towards the court philosopher.
- §9 The text of fr. 6b now benefits from the excellent reconstruction by Assante and from some further refinements. In her PhD dissertation,⁷ she has convincingly established the join of fr. 6b (right part of the column) with fr. 6 (left part of the column), both of which are preserved in the same frame (*cornice* 1). However, her estimation of the distance between the two fragments was incorrect, which hindered the reconstruction of text continuity between the left and right parts of the column. Although she did not accept Gera's interpretation and was the first to exclude the reading of the term μνημοσύνη, she did not propose an alternative.
- §10 The establishment of the correct distance between fr. 6 and fr. 6b, on the basis of the bibliological data of the roll and the three lines in which no letters have been lost, has led to the recovery, though still partial, of a text which appears quite far from what was proposed by Gera.⁸ Specifically, it definitively rules out any reference to memories/*memorandae*/μνημοσύναι and re-establishes a family context for the column.

⁶ Gallo 1980: 105.

⁷ Assante 2011-2012. Despite its massive improvements, especially in the highly valuable reconstruction of the order of the fragments, which are confusingly scattered across thirteen frames stored under number 1044, Assante's dissertation has not appeared in the form of a new critical edition and, although available online, is unfortunately often overlooked. Gallo 2002 still remains the standard reference edition.

⁸ Sovrapposti and sottoposti, papyrus fragments pertaining to a different papyrus layer and to a following (sovrapposti) or preceding (sottoposti) circumference of the roll, are reported in the commentary to specific lines. On this common phenomenon in Herculaneum papyri, see Nardelli 1973, Essler 2008: 281-285, Janko 2016: 146-147 and Nicolardi 2019a.

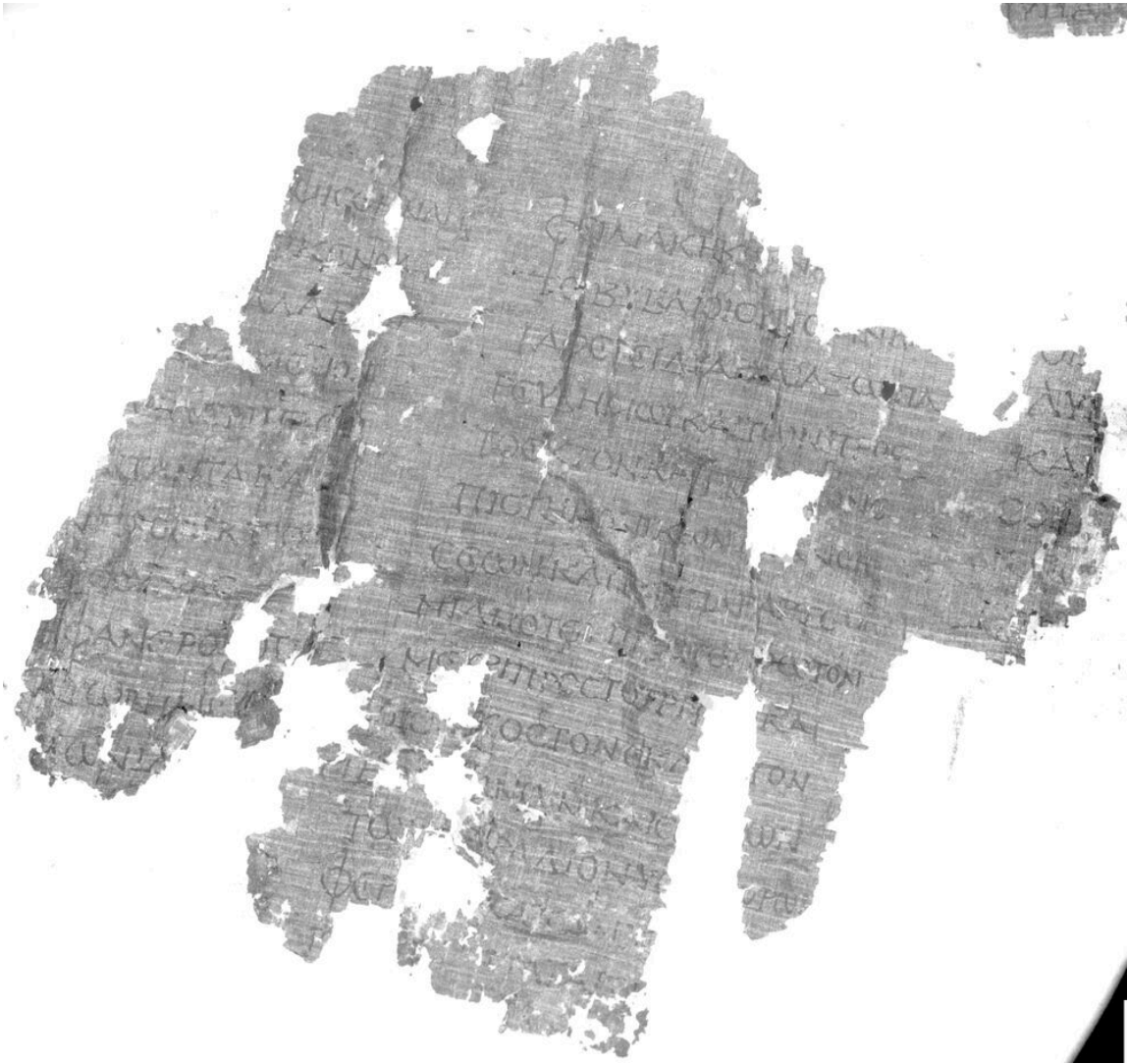


Fig. 2: P.Herc. 1044 fr. 6 is reproduced by courtesy of the Ministero Italiano della Cultura (photos by Steven W. Booras ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli - Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); all rights are reserved.

6

εμφ[-ca.8-]μισθῆναι

με^τα^τ[-ca.8-] ικενου

με[-ca.8-]αλαβ[εῖ]ν

ε[-ca.5- π]αρε[ι]μένον

5 δηδη[-3-4-]ς περιπλεκη-
ναι δι^τα^τ[να]στάντα καὶ τὰς
ἀλλήλ[ω]ν προσεκτίθε-
ται φιλοφροσύνας. *vac.* 2

γέγονε δὴ φανερόν ὅτι

10 καὶ φιλοπάτωρ ἦν εὐ
[-ca.5- Φι]λωνίδ[ης]

3 με Assante : μελ Gallo]αλαβ[εῖ]ν potius quam]αλαβ[ώ]ν Nicolardi 4 επ[-ca.5-] vel ετ[-ca.5-] dubitanter Nicolardi π]αρε[ι]μένον dubitanter Nicolardi : [-ca.?-]αρε[]μένον Assante : [-ca.?-]αρε[], ιενον Gallo 5 δ' ἤδη, [ὄμω]ς dubitanter Nicolardi]σ potius quam]ε papyrus 6 περιπλεκη]ναι Assante : om. prev. ed. δι' α' [να]στάντα Nicolardi : δη[-ca.?-]σταντα Assante 7 ἀλλήλ[ω]ν Assante : om. prev. ed. 8 προσεκτίθεται Nicolardi : πως ἐκτιθέ[ναι] Crönert : π... ἐκτιθεται Assante φιλοφροσύνας Nicolardi : [μν]ημοσύνας Crönert 9 γέγονε Nicolardi : τει ονο[-ca.?-] Gallo : γειον, Assante 10 καὶ φιλοπάτωρ Assante : [φιλο]πάτωρ iam Diels ap. Crönert : [ὁ Φιλοπ]άτωρ Gera 11 εὐ[σε]βέσταθ' ὁ Diels ap. Crönert : ε[ὐ]νούστατος Gera : εὐ Assante : εὐ[δ]ήλως Hammerstaedt per litt. [Φι]λωνίδης Diels ap. Crönert : [Φι]λωνίδ[ει] Gera

weakened [...] to embrace while standing, and he sets out in addition their acts of kindness to one another. So, it has become evident that Philonides [...] also loved his father [...]

- §11 3 με[. The ink trace that can be identified in the papyrus after με[(which is presumably what Gallo transcribed as λ) is part of an underlying layer (*sottoposto*).
- §12]αλαβ[.]ν. Although the two alternatives are equivalent in terms of space, the presence of two infinitives in the prior and following lines (ll. 1 and 5-6) may lead one to supplement [εῖ] rather than [ω] and imagine an infinitive form, e.g. ἀν]αλαβ[εῖ]ν or κατ]αλαβ[εῖ]ν, rather than a participle.
- §13 4 π]αρε[ι]μένον. In view of the narrow lacuna between the epsilon and the my a plausible supplement for the sequence]αρε[]μένον is π]αρε[ι]μένον, “weakened”. The use of this participle by Philodemus in Acad. Hist., P.Herc. 1021 Col. 34.42-43 Dorandi, to describe the death of Antiochos of Askalon, was part of Bücheler’s conjecture [ἐ]τ[ε]λεῦτησεν παρ]ε[ι]μένον[ς] ὑπὸ πολλῶν κακμάτων, which was accepted by Mekler and Dorandi, but which has been ruled out by a new inspection of the papyrus by Blank 2007: 91-92.
- §14 5 In l. 5, the reading of the second eta seems highly plausible; the only alternative may be alpha, since a tiny trace of a middle stroke is visible under the microscope. The trace which immediately precedes the fracture between the left and right portions of the column, i.e. the lower part of an oblique stroke or an upright, pertains to a sottoposto; as for what follows in the line, after the lacuna, the visible trace (λ or χ) is part of a sovrapposto. While Gallo and Assante recorded an epsilon without underdot right before περιπλεκη, I cannot make out any middle stroke within the open round letter, which may therefore be more easily sigma. A solution to the lacuna may be to supplement π]αρε[ι]μένον | δ' ἤδη, [ὄμω]ς, “although weakened, nevertheless ...” (a very similar construction can be found, e.g., in App., Syr. 2, 10, δακνόμενον δ' ἤδη τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὄμως ἐπανερέσθαι ἔτι ...).
- §15 5-6 περιπλεκη]ναι. The infinitive was recovered by Assante thanks to the join of the left- and right-hand portions of the column. The form is somewhat surprising, since one would expect the more common zero-grade form περιπλακῆναι. Nevertheless, the aorist passive of πλέκω (and its compounds) with the present tense vowel epsilon is frequently attested, and, as was maintained by Mayser 1906: 19, 381, should not be regarded as an Ionism. On the occurrences of πλέκω in Herculaneum texts, which, to my knowledge, have not been known to include this form of passive aorist, see Crönert 1903: 230, 275. It should be noted, however, that the discussed form occurs here within a series of infinitives (ll. 1 and perhaps 3) governed by φη|[σὶν in the previous column (according to Assante’s reconstruction, which I agree with), which may easily form part of some kind of extract. There seems to be no doubt that περιπλέκω here is to be understood in its literal meaning, as already suggested in the commentary by Assante (2011-2012: 199, “per quanto il contesto sia molto frammentario, direi che qui il verbo può anche essere inteso in senso letterale, in relazione a un’immediata manifestazione di affetto tra congiunti”).

- §16 6 δι'α¹[να]στάντα. Neither of the two previous editors of this passage, Gallo and Assante, took into account the testimony of the most ancient apograph of fr. 6, the Neapolitan disegno drawn by Carlo Malesci (*carta* 4), which records a trace of alpha after the sequence δι. The meaning “surgo cubitu” of the middle διανίσταμαι is recorded by [Voojjs 1934](#): s.v., διανίσταμαι, who refers to Phld., Oec., [P.Herc. 1424](#) Col. 11.37-38 Jensen (the same verb is also supplemented in Col. 92.7-8 of the same papyrus).
- §17 7-8 προσεκτίθε|ται. The new inspection of the papyrus led me to read this verb in the present tense, which seems to me to refer to the source and time of the narration, unlike the aorist infinitives (ll. 1, 3, 5) which refer to the time of the events. Another present verb (φη|[σίν]), as mentioned, is found not much earlier in the text, in the previous column, which governs the infinitives here at l. 1, perhaps l. 3, and ll. 5-6. προσεκτίθημι is also attested in official documentation with a more technical meaning, “exhibit or post up publicly in addition” (see e.g. a royal letter on stone, containing a prostagma, [I.Prose 45.35](#) = SB IV 7337.35). A more general meaning is proper of the middle diathesis, “set forth besides” (see LSJ, s.v.; this same meaning is already used to introduce a narration of events in [P.Tor.Choach. 11bis](#) 50, 119 BCE). An interesting parallel may be found in the expression ἐκτίθεσθαι καθόλου (“sketch in outline”, “set out in general form”), which occurs in [Arist., Po 1455b](#). In Herculaneum texts, the verb also occurs in a fragmentary context in Phld., opus incertum, [P.Herc. 1389](#), O V 1072.9 Crönert.
- §18 8 φιλοφροσύνας. Whereas Assante refrained from supplementing and transcribed φιλω[±2]... συνα, establishing the correct distance between the left- and right-hand portions of the column has allowed me to ascertain that no words are lost in l. 8. The term is followed by a small *vacuum*, as was already identified by Gallo, which marks the end of the sentence. Whereas the singular φιλοφροσύνη usually indicates more generally kindness or friendliness, in its plural form the term usually refers to displays of affections and affectionate greetings. It occurs with a negative connotation, referring to flattering attention, as opposed to the admonitory attitude of the good teacher, in Phld., Lib. dic., [P.Herc. 1471](#) fr. 60.11-12 Olivieri. The new reading φιλοφροσύνας has definitively excluded the problematic possibility that the passage deals with μνημοσύναι (memories in Gallo’s first interpretation, *memorandae* according to Gera).
- §19 9-11 The new reading γέγονε (l. 9) turns out to be not far, in terms of meaning, from Diels’ supplement (apud Crönert, in the edition of fr. 6b) ἔστιν, which has been ruled out by the reconstruction, for it of course did not take into account the left part of the column. Of fr. 6, the *editor princeps* separately published only l. 10, where he supplemented Philonides’ name (καὶ Φιλω[νίδης]); however, this possibility has also been ruled out by the reconstitution of the column. The name, at any rate, occurs in the following line (l. 11). At the end of l. 10, the papyrus surface following εἰς is covered by a tiny wandering fragment; for this reason, it is not possible to exclude that one or two further letters were written in the same line (e.g. εἰ[σε]βῶς ὁ).
- §20 According to my virtual reconstruction, the text discussed here belongs to Col. XIX of the text.⁹ The recovered references to hugging (ll. 5-6, περιπλεξή|ναι) and affectionate greetings (l. 8, φιλοφροσύνας) clearly show that the scene – perhaps a farewell scene – describes displays of affection between two people. We may try to locate this short fragment within a wider context to understand something more. Of particular interest are the previous two columns. Coll. XVII-XVIII deal with Philonides’ dis-

⁹ With some rare and minor exceptions, I agree with the order of the fragments which was established by Assante. By combining material and bibliographical data, namely the width of circumferences (volute), the identification of recurring damages and sections, and the width of columns and intercolumns, I have quantified the lacunae between different fragments in terms of the lost columns, in order to achieve a plausible absolute numbering, starting from the initial agraphon that I have identified (see [Nicolardi 2019b](#)). In Assante’s relative numbering, fr. 6+6b are part of Col. XIII.

positions on the subjects of individual properties, goods shared with his brother Dicaearchus,¹⁰ and the manumission of slaves.¹¹ In the lower portion of Col. XVIII, we find a reference to a person who calls his brother “father” and follows him (presumably with a figurative meaning of the verb *κατακολουθέω*, denoting a significant authority of the person followed over the follower). Both these contexts, also for reasons which I will not dwell on here, appear to refer to Philonides and his brother Dicaearchus and to a time in their lives when their father had already died. It is conceivable that the one who called the other “father” was the younger brother, Dicaearchus. These scenes may describe a moment that is very close to the death or an imminent departure of Philonides. The first hypothesis would fit well with the plausible presence of the participle *παρε[ι]μένον*, “weakened” or “sick”, at l. 4: perhaps the dying Philonides, although weakened and presumably bedridden, wishes to embrace Dicaearchus while standing (ll. 5-6, *περιπλεκη[ναι] δι[α] [να]στάντα*). Nevertheless, it would be impossible to ignore that a reference to the death of the protagonist in the still early columns of a ‘biographical’ work may seem perplexing, to say the least.

- §21 On the other hand, the fact that at l. 10 Philonides is referred to as *φιλοπάτωρ* may lead one to try and rule out the possibility of a reference to his relationship with his brother and to think rather that his father was already mentioned in the previous lost lines. However, the presence of *καί* before *φιλοπάτωρ* at l. 10 makes it more probable that the author is now talking about something different than the relationship discussed right before.¹² Assuming that an explanation for the use of the perfect *γέγονε* is necessary, this may be found in the idea that the subsequent (lost) lines – if not the lost lines which originally preceded the section about the relationship with Dicaearchus – included extracts from which the sentiment here highlighted by the author had already been made very clear. This would be supported by the fact that the presence of extracts is also possible in ll. 1-8, as suggested by the infinitives governed by a *verbum dicendi* in the present tense.
- §22 The *pars destruens* in this paper has unfortunately led to the loss of a historical reference in the work as well as to the loss of a suggestive precedent for a meaning, which is unattested elsewhere, of the term *μνημοσύνη*. Nevertheless, new reflections on the text, especially considering the materiality of the papyrus, have led to a *pars construens*, albeit with some obscurity still, which frames fr. 6+6b in the context of a familiar setting, which appears not to be isolated in the Vita, especially in its first part,¹³ but which is presumably dedicated to an exhibition of Philonides’ qualities and values.

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10 Philonides’ brother is not mentioned by name in these columns; he is explicitly mentioned in fr. 22 (cornice 3) and perhaps in fr. 21 (cornice), as well as in the three inscriptions related to Philonides and his family (IG II2 1236, OGIS 241 = SGDI II 2677 and BCH 45 (1921), 24, col. IV ll. 78-80 = SGDI II 2580). On the three inscriptions see Köhler 1900, who first reconnected them to the philosopher; on the identification of the people mentioned in these inscriptions, see also Netz 2015, 312-315.

11 For some reflections on the legal aspects of these texts, see Nicolardi 2021.

12 I thank Prof. Jürgen Hammerstaedt for pointing this out to me.

13 See e.g. fr. 3 Gallo (now Nicolardi 2020).

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