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## 1805. Apollonides of Nikaia

(early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD)

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### Text edition

### Testimonia

#### Testimonia vitae

1 Diog. Laert. 9,109: <sup>1</sup> Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς<sup>2</sup>, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν<sup>3</sup>, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν<sup>4</sup> Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ<sup>5</sup> προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησί ... (cf. F 1)

2

a) St.Byz. τ 97 BILLERBECK: Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς (cf. F 1)

b) Diog. Laert. 9,109: Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς (cf. T 1 and F 2)

c) Ammon. 366 NICKAU (≈ Ph.Bybl. 137 PALMIERI): Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς (cf. F 3)

d) Ph.Bybl. 107 PALMIERI (≈ Ammon. 253 NICKAU): Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς (cf. F 4)

e) Harpocr. ι 27 KEANEY (= I 164,5-14 DINDORF): Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς (cf. F 6)

3 *Vita Arati* 1,10,13 MARTIN Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς (cf. F 5)

#### Testimonia operum

4 St.Byz. τ 97: <sup>6</sup> ὡς Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παροιμιῶν. (cf. F 1)

5 Diog. Laert. 9,109-112: <sup>7</sup> Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς<sup>8</sup> ... ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν<sup>9</sup> εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι ... φησί κτλ. (cf. F 2)

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<sup>1</sup> Ω = BPF(DQ); ed. DORANDI (2003).

<sup>2</sup> νικαεύς PF: νικεύς BD

<sup>3</sup> ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν codd.: ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν MÉNAGE: ὁ παροιμιώ<sup>70</sup> NIETZSCHE

<sup>4</sup> τῶν om. F

<sup>5</sup> ὑπομνήματι ἃ F: ὑπομνήματι P(Q): ι supra α in rasura B<sup>2</sup>: ὑπομνηματῶν B' legit MARCOVICH: ὑπομνήματα D

<sup>6</sup> Ω = NPQR; ed. BILLERBECK (2006-2017).

<sup>7</sup> Ω = BPF(DQ); ed. DORANDI (2003).

<sup>8</sup> νικαεύς PF: νικεύς BD

<sup>9</sup> τῶν BP: om. F

6 Ammon. 366 (≈ Ph.Bybl. 137 PALMIERI):<sup>10</sup> ... Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ὑπομνήματι <τοῦ> Περὶ <τῆς> παραπρεσβείας<sup>11</sup> Δημοσθένους ... φησὶν κτλ. (cf. F 3)

7 Ph.Bybl. 107 (≈ κ 253 NICKAU):<sup>12</sup> ... ὡς φησὶν Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ κατεψευσμένων ἱστοριῶν. (cf. F 4)

8 *Vita Arati* 1,10,13-19:<sup>13</sup> ... μόνος Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς<sup>14</sup> ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας ... φησὶν κτλ. (cf. F. 5)

## Incerta

9 *Suda* α 3422:<sup>15</sup> Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ κληθεὶς Δύσκολος, πατὴρ Ἡρωδιανοῦ τοῦ τεχνογράφου, γραμματικός<sup>16</sup>. δς ἔγραψε τάδε. Περὶ μερισμοῦ τῶν<sup>17</sup> τοῦ λόγου μερῶν βιβλία δ', Περὶ συντάξεως<sup>18</sup> τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν δ'<sup>19</sup>, Περὶ ῥήματος ἦτοι Ῥηματικὸν ἐν βιβλίοις<sup>20</sup> ε', Περὶ τῶν εἰς μι ληγόντων ῥημάτων<sup>21</sup> παραγωγῶν βιβλίον α', Περὶ ὀνομάτων ἦτοι Ὀνοματικὸν<sup>22</sup> α', Περὶ ὀνομάτων κατὰ διάλεκτον, Περὶ τῆς ἐν θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὐθείας α', Περὶ παρωνύμων α', Περὶ συγκριτικῶν, καὶ Περὶ διαλέκτων, Δωρίδος, Ἰάδος, Αἰολίδος, Ἀθίδος, Περὶ σχημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν, Περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας, Περὶ παθῶν, Περὶ τόνων κατηναγκασμένων βιβλία β', Περὶ τόνων<sup>23</sup> σκολιῶν βιβλίον α', Περὶ προσφιδίων ε', Περὶ στοιχείων, Περὶ προθέσεων, Περὶ τῶν Διδύμου πιθανῶν, Περὶ συνθέσεως, Περὶ διαφορουμένων<sup>24</sup>, Περὶ τοῦ τίς, Περὶ γενῶν, Περὶ πνευμάτων, Περὶ κτητικῶν, Περὶ συζυγίας<sup>25</sup>.

## Fragmenta

### 1. Περὶ παροιμιῶν

1 St.Byz. τ 97:<sup>26</sup> Τέρινα· πόλις Ἰταλίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὁμώνυμος, κτίσμα Κροτωνιατῶν, ὡς Φλέγων (*FGrHist* / *BNJ* 257 F 31). ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, ὡς Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παροιμιῶν. τινὲς δὲ νῆσον αὐτήν, εἰς ἣν ἐξεβράσθη Λίγεια ἢ Σειρήν, ὡς Λυκόφρων (726) «λίγεια δ' εἰς Τέριναν<sup>27</sup> ἐκναυσθλώσεται». ὁ πολίτης Τεριναῖος.

<sup>10</sup> Ω = *AldBCDEGMNOP*; ed. NICKAU (1966).

<sup>11</sup> suppl. NICKAU : περὶ παραπρεσβείας *AldBCDEG* : περὶ πρεσβείας *MNOP*

<sup>12</sup> *Cod.* = *P*; ed. PALMIERI (1988).

<sup>13</sup> *Cod.* = *Vat*; ed. MARTIN (1974).

<sup>14</sup> Κηφεύς *Vat* : Νικαεὺς BENTLEY (1697, 133 = DYCE 1836, 221)

<sup>15</sup> Ω = *AFGIST* ed. ADLER (1928-1938).

<sup>16</sup> γραμματικός DAUB : γραμματικῶς I : γραμματικοῦ *rell.*

<sup>17</sup> τῶν *rell.* : ἦ τῶν DAUB

<sup>18</sup> συντάξεως *rell.* : συντάξεων A

<sup>19</sup> δ' *rell.* : βιβλία δ' S

<sup>20</sup> ἦτοι-βιβλίοις *rell.* : ἦτοι-βιβλίοις om. T : ἦτοι Ῥηματικὸν om. S

<sup>21</sup> ῥημάτων omnes : ὀνομάτων KÜSTER

<sup>22</sup> περὶ τῶν εἰς μι—ἦτοι Ὀνοματικὸν *rell.* : περὶ τῶν εἰς μι—ἦτοι Ὀνοματικὸν om. T

<sup>23</sup> τόνων *rell.* : τῶν GIF

<sup>24</sup> διαφορουμένων *rell.* : διαφορουμένων GI

<sup>25</sup> περὶ τῶν εἰς μι—περὶ συζυγίας *rell.* : καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν S

<sup>26</sup> Ω = *NPQR*; ed. BILLERBECK (2006-2017).

<sup>27</sup> τέριναν *QPN* : τέρινον R : τέρειναν *Lyc. codd.*

## 2. Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπόμνημα

α'

2 Diog. Laert. 9,109-112: <sup>28</sup> Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς<sup>29</sup>, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν<sup>30</sup>, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν<sup>31</sup> εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ<sup>32</sup> προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι πατὴρ μὲν Τιμάρχου, Φλιάσιον δὲ τὸ γένος· νέον δὲ καταλειφθέντα<sup>33</sup> χορεύειν, ἔπειτα καταγνόντα ἀποδημῆσαι<sup>34</sup> εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Στίλπωνα· κάκεινῳ συνδιατρίψαντα αὐθις ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε καὶ<sup>35</sup> γῆμαι. εἶτα πρὸς Πύρρωνα εἰς Ἡλιν ἀποδημῆσαι μετὰ <τῆς><sup>36</sup> γυναικὸς κάκει διατρίβειν ἕως αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ξάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν<sup>37</sup> ἐδίδαξε καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ βίου κατέλιπεν<sup>38</sup>. (110) ὁ δ' ἐλλόγιμος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σωτίων (F 31 WEHRLI) ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ<sup>39</sup> φησίν. ἀπορῶν μέντοι τροφῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα· ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τε σοφιστεύων ἐπὶ πλεόν ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιώθη· ἐντεῦθεν τε πορισάμενος ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κάκει διέτριβε μέχρι καὶ τελευτῆς, ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Θήβας διαδραμῶν. ἐγνώσθη<sup>40</sup> δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις<sup>41</sup> αὐτῷ<sup>42</sup> μαρτυρεῖ. ἦν δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος<sup>43</sup>, καὶ φιλοπότης<sup>44</sup> καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰς σχολάζου<sup>45</sup> ποιήματα συνέγραφε· καὶ γὰρ<sup>46</sup> καὶ ἔπη καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ σατύρους (καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ<sup>47</sup> ἑξήκοντα) σίλλους<sup>48</sup> τε καὶ κιναίδους. (111) φέρεται δ'<sup>49</sup> αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία εἰς<sup>50</sup> ἐπῶν τείνοντα μυριάδας δύο, ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος μέμνηται (F 5 DORANDI), ἀναγεγραφῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ Σίλλων τρία ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἂν σκεπτικὸς ὢν πάντας λοιδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικούς ἐν παρωδίᾳ εἶδει. ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοδιήγητον ἔχει τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων Ξενοφάνην<sup>51</sup> τὸν Κολοφώνιον<sup>52</sup> περὶ ἐκάστων, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ διηγουμένους ἐστὶ· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων· ὅθεν δὴ<sup>53</sup> αὐτῷ<sup>54</sup> τινες καὶ Ἐπίλογον ἐπέγραψαν.

<sup>28</sup> Ω = BPF(DQ); ed. DORANDI (2003).

<sup>29</sup> νικαεύς PF: νικεὺς BD

<sup>30</sup> ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν codd.: ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν MÉNAGE: ὁ παροιμιώ<sup>79</sup> NIETZSCHE

<sup>31</sup> τῶν BP: om. F

<sup>32</sup> ὑπομνήματι ἃ F: ὑπομνήματι P(Q): ι supra α in rasura B<sup>2</sup>: ὑπομνήματα D: ὑπομνηματῶν B' legit MARCOVICH

<sup>33</sup> καταλειφθέντα PF: καταληφθέντα B

<sup>34</sup> ἀποδημῆσαι PF: ἐπιδημῆσαι B

<sup>35</sup> καὶ BP: om. F

<sup>36</sup> τῆς add. COBET

<sup>37</sup> ὧν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ξάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν BPD: ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ξάνθος ὄν καὶ ἰατρικὴν F

<sup>38</sup> κατέλιπεν PF: κατέλειπεν B

<sup>39</sup> ἐνδεκάτῳ PB: δεκάτῳ F

<sup>40</sup> ἐγνώσθη Ω: ἐγνωρίσθη in mg. cum γρ P'

<sup>41</sup> ἰάμβοις Ω: Ἰνδαλμοῖς WILAMOWITZ

<sup>42</sup> αὐτῷ rec.: αὐτῷ BP: αὐτὸ F

<sup>43</sup> ὁ Ἀντίγονος rell.: ὁ om. F

<sup>44</sup> φιλοπότης Ω: -πο<ιη>τῆς WACHSMUTH

<sup>45</sup> εἰς σχολάζου DIELS: ἐσχόλαζε Ω: <ῶτε> ἐσχόλαζε MARCOVICH: εἰ ἐσχόλαζε TARÁN (2003, 47-50)

<sup>46</sup> ποιήματα συνέγραφε· καὶ γὰρ BP(Q): καὶ γὰρ ποιήματα συνέγραφε FP'

<sup>47</sup> τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ P(Q): δὲ τραγικὰ B: τραγικὰ δὲ F

<sup>48</sup> σίλλους PF: σιάλους B

<sup>49</sup> δ' BP: δὲ F

<sup>50</sup> εἰς BP: ὡς F

<sup>51</sup> Ξενοφάνην F: Ξενοφάνη B: comp. P

<sup>52</sup> κολοφώνιον PB: κολοφώνιον F

<sup>53</sup> δὴ FP': δὲ B: de P non constat (om. Q)

<sup>54</sup> αὐτῷ P': αὐτὸν BP(Q): αὐτὸ F

(112) τὸ δὲ πρῶτον<sup>55</sup> ταῦτά<sup>56</sup> περιέχει πράγματα, πλὴν ὅτι μονοπρόσωπός ἐστιν ἢ ποιήσις· ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῶ<sup>57</sup> ἦδε (F 1 DI MARCO), «ἔσπετε<sup>58</sup> νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονές ἐστε σοφισταί». ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν ἐνενηκοντα, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος (F 6 DORANDI) καὶ Σωτίων (F 32 WEHRLI) ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ<sup>59</sup>.

### 3. Ὑπόμνημα <τοῦ> Περὶ τῆς παραπροσβείας Δημοσθένους

3 Ammon. 366 (≈ Ph.Bybl. 137 PALMIERI): <sup>60</sup> ὄφλειν καὶ ὀφείλειν διαφέρει. Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ὑπομνήματι <τοῦ> Περὶ <τῆς> παραπροσβείας<sup>61</sup> Δημοσθένους «ὄφλει μὲν τις», φησὶν, «ἐπὶ<sup>62</sup> καταδίκη, ὀφείλει δὲ τις ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα<sup>63</sup>».

### 4. Περὶ κατεψευσμένων ἱστοριῶν

α'

4 Ph.Bybl. 107 (≈ κ 253 NICKAU): <sup>64</sup> κατοίκισις καὶ κατοίκησις<sup>65</sup> διαφέρει, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ κατεψευσμένων ἱστοριῶν. καὶ λέγει· «κατοίκισις<sup>66</sup> μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐφ'<sup>67</sup> ἑτέρων γινομένη ἴδρυσις· κατοίκησις δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τινες οἰκήσουσι πόλεις ἢ τόπον καταλαβόντες τινά. οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι κατώκησαν μὲν περὶ τὴν νῦν ἀκρόπολιν, κατώκησαν δὲ Ἴωνας. καὶ ἔστι παρὰ μὲν τὸ κατοικεῖν ἢ κατοίκησις, παρὰ δὲ τὸ κατοικίζειν ἢ κατοίκισις».

η'

5 *Vita Arati* 1,10,13-19: <sup>68</sup> τὰς δὲ Ἀράτου ἐπιστολάς, ὧν ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθημεν, πάντων σχεδὸν συμφωνούντων τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ ὁμολογούντων γνησίας αὐτάς, μόνος Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς<sup>69</sup> ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας οὐκ εἶναι αὐτάς Ἀράτου φησὶν, ἀλλὰ Σαβιρίου<sup>70</sup> Πόλλωνος<sup>71</sup>. τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ τούτου φησὶν εἶναι <τὰς> ἐπιγεγραμμένας Εὐριπίδου ἐπιστολάς.

### 5. Fragments without a book title

<sup>55</sup> ἐπέγραψαν τὸ δὲ πρῶτον *PF*: ἐπεγράψαντο δὲ πρῶτον *B*

<sup>56</sup> ταῦτά *FP*: ταῦτα *BP*(*Q*)

<sup>57</sup> αὐτῶ *PF*: αὐτῶν *B*

<sup>58</sup> ἔσπετε *P*: ἔσπεται\* *B*: ἔπετε *F*

<sup>59</sup> ἐτελεύτησε ... ἐνδεκάτω om. *F* (in mg. super. *F*<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>60</sup> *Ω* = *AldBCDEGMNOP*; ed. NICKAU (1966).

<sup>61</sup> suppl. NICKAU: περὶ παραπροσβείας *AldBCDEG*: περὶ προσβείας *MNOP*

<sup>62</sup> φησὶν ἐπὶ *Ω*: ἐπὶ τῇ Ph.Bybl. 137 PALMIERI et *Et.Gud.* ο 444,14-16 STURZ

<sup>63</sup> ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα *Ω*: ἡμεῖς φαμέν Ph.Bybl.: ἡμεῖς φαμέν ἐκδεχόμενοι *Et.Gud.*: ἢ κοινὴ λέγει συνθήθεια *Eust. Od.* 1751,13-14

<sup>64</sup> *Cod.* = *P*; ed. PALMIERI (1988).

<sup>65</sup> κατοίκισις καὶ κατοίκησις *Amm.* κ 253 NICKAU: κατοίκησις καὶ κατοίκισις *P*

<sup>66</sup> κατοίκισις *Amm.* κ 253 NICKAU: κατοίκησις *P*

<sup>67</sup> ἐφ' *P*: ὑφ' *Amm.* κ 253 NICKAU et alii, fort. recte

<sup>68</sup> *Cod.* = *Vat*; ed. MARTIN (1974).

<sup>69</sup> Κηφεύς *Vat*: Νικαεὺς BENTLEY (1697, 133) = DYCE (1836, 221)

<sup>70</sup> Σαβιρίου *Vat*: Σαβιδίου BENTLEY: Ἀσινίου BERGK

<sup>71</sup> Πόλλωνος *Vat*: Πολλίωνος SCALIGER et BENTLEY

6 Harpocr. ι 27 (= I 164,5-14 DINDORF = Ion Chius T 3 VALERIO): <sup>72</sup> "Ἴων· Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως (15,268). "Ἴωνος τοῦ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητοῦ μνημονεῦοι ἀν νῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἦν Χίος μὲν γένος, υἱὸς δὲ Ὀρθομένους, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ Ξούθου (VS 36 B 1). ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ μέλη<sup>73</sup> πολλὰ καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ φιλόσοφόν τι σύγγραμμα τὸν Τριαγμὸν<sup>74</sup> ἐπιγραφόμενον, ὅπερ Καλλίμαχος (F 449 PFEIFFER) ἀντιλέγεσθαί φησιν τῶς Ἐπιγένους† (F 2 DETTORI)<sup>75</sup>. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράφεται Τριαγμοί, καθὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος (F 69 GAEDE) καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς. ἀναγράφουσι<sup>76</sup> δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τάδε· «ἀρχή μοι τοῦ λόγου. πάντα τρία καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον<sup>77</sup> τούτων τριῶν<sup>78</sup>. ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἀρετὴ τριάς, σύνεσις καὶ κράτος καὶ τύχη».

7 Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, 406-407: <sup>79</sup> hos igitur Latini quoque in plerisque imitati sunt. nam per I unum notant<sup>80</sup> illos secuti, quinque per V, quia quinta est vocalis (a e i o u), decem per X, quia decima est consonans apud Graecos (β γ δ ζ θ κ λ μ ν ξ) vel quod post V apud Latinos X sequitur, quinquaginta per L, quia apud antiquos Graecos L pro N, quae nota est quinquaginta, ponebatur teste et Apollonide et Lucio Tarrhaeo (F 15 LINNENKUGEL), unde Latini quoque lympha<sup>81</sup> dicunt pro nympha aquam vel fontem volentes monstrare<sup>82</sup>.

## Translation

## Testimonia

1 In the first book of his commentary on *Silloi*, which he dedicates to Caesar Tiberius, our Apollonides of Nikaia says that...

2 Apollonides from Nikaia

- a) Apollonides of Nikaia
- b) Apollonides of Nikaia
- c) Apollonides of Nikaia
- d) Apollonides of Nikaia
- e) Apollonides of Nikaia

3 Apollonides the Kepheus (of Nikaia?)

4 ... as Apollonides of Nikaia says in his *On Proverbs*.

<sup>72</sup> Ω = *ep.pl.BCxAld*; ed. KEANEY (1991).

<sup>73</sup> δὲ καὶ μέλη BC : δὲ μέλη *rell.*

<sup>74</sup> τριαγμὸν *rell.* : τραγικὸν BC

<sup>75</sup> ὡς Ἐπιγένους *rell.* : ὡς ἐπὶ γένους B : ὑπὸ Ἐπιγένους BERGK : ὡς καὶ Ἐπιγένους BENTLEY : καὶ Ἐπιγένους JACOBY : ὡς καὶ Ἐπιγένης DIELS

<sup>76</sup> *post ἀναγράφουσι dist. et lac. statuit* VON BLUMENTHAL, *qui γράφει suppl. (possis περιέχεται)*

<sup>77</sup> πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον DIELS : πλέον τοῦδε πλέον ἔλασσον (ἔλασσων *Ald*) Ω

<sup>78</sup> τούτων τριῶν *rell.* : τούτων τῶν τριῶν x

<sup>79</sup> Ω = *ABCDEKMRSV*; ed. PASSALACQUA (1987).

<sup>80</sup> notant *ABCDEKMRSV* : notent P

<sup>81</sup> lympha *ABDEKMRSV* : lympham PC

<sup>82</sup> monstrare *ABCDEKMRSV* : significare P

5 In the first book of his commentary on *Silloi*, Apollonides of Nikaia says ... etc.

6 In the treatise on *On the False Embassy of Demosthenes*, Apollonides of Nikaia ... says etc.

7 ... as Apollonides of Nikaia says in the first book of *On False Histories*.

8 ... only Apollonides the Kepheus (of Nikaia?) says, in the 8th book of the treatise *On False Histories*, etc.

### Uncertain testimonies

9 Apollonios, from Alexandria, called Dyskolos, father of Herodianos the writer on the art of rhetoric, grammarian: he wrote these following works: *On Classification of the Parts of Speech* in 4 books, *On Syntax of the Parts of Speech* in 4 books, *On the Verb or Rhematikon* in 5 books, *On the Formation of the Verbs ending in -mi* in 1 book, *On Nouns or Onomatikon* in 1 book, *On Nouns According to the Dialect*, *On the Nominative of Female Nouns* in 1 book, *On Derivatives* in 1 book, *On Comparatives*, *On Dialects (Doric, Ionic, Aeolic, Attic)*, *On Homeric Figures*, *On False Histories*, *On Modifications in form (of word)*, *On Forced Accents* in 2 books, *On Crooked Accents* in 1 book, *On Prosodic Markings* in 5 books, *On Letters*, *On Prepositions*, *On Didymus' Persuasive Points*, *On Composition*, *On Words with Two Spellings*, *On the Word "tis"*, *On Genders*, *On Breathings*, *On Possessives*, *On Conjugation*.

### Fragments

#### 1. *On Proverbs*

1 Terina: name of a city of Italy and of a homonymous river, a foundation of the Krotoniates, as Phlegon (*FGrHist* / *BNJ* 257 F 31) says. It was called Great Hellas too, as Apollonides of Nikaia says in his *On Proverbs*. Some people call it an island on the shore of which the Siren Ligeia (i.e. with a clear voice) was cast, as Lycophron (726) says: "Ligeia will be cast on the shore of Terina". The citizen of this city is called Terinaios.

#### 2. *On Silloi*

##### Book 1

2 (9,109) In the first book of his commentary on *Silloi*, which he dedicates to Caesar Tiberius, our Apollonides of Nikaia says that Timon was the son of Timarchos and born in Phleius: he lost his parents when he was young and took part in the choruses (of his city); when he began to despise this activity, he went abroad to Megara to Stilpon. After having spent time with him, he returned home and married. Afterward he went abroad to Elis to visit Pyrrhon along with his wife and lived there until he had children. The oldest of his children he called Xanthos, taught him medicine and made him heir of his way of life: (110) this son was in high repute, as also Sotion (F 31 WEHRLI) says in the eleventh book (of his *Successions*). However, being without means, Timon sailed to the Hellespont and the Propontis: he practised the profession of sophist in Chalcedon and so had always more acceptance: after making a fortune he went to Athens and he lived there until his death, except a few times that he spent in Thebes.

He met the king Antigonos and Ptolemy the Philadelphos too, as he testifies for himself in his poems in iambic metre. As Antigonos says, he was fond of wine and, when he had rest from philosophical activities,

composed poems: he wrote epic poetry, tragedies, satyric dramas – 30 comedies and 60 tragedies – satirical and obscene poems. (111) There are also reputed prose works of his, which extend up to 20000 lines and Antigonos of Karystos (F 5 DORANDI), who also wrote his life, records.

The books of *Silloi* are 3, in which he abuses everyone, as a Sceptic, and mocks the dogmatic philosophers in a parodic way. In the first book of these, Timon speaks in the first person; the second and the third ones take the form of a dialogue. Here he appears questioning Xenophanes of Colophon about each philosopher, who Xenophanes sets out in detail to him. In the second book, he deals with the archaic philosophers; in the third, with the later: for this reason, some have entitled this book the *Epilogue*. (112) The first book contains the same subjects as the others, but his speech takes the form of a monologue. The *incipit* of this book is the following: “You, who are meddling sophists, tell (me) now” (F 1 DIMARCO).

He died at the age of nearly ninety, as Antigonos (F 6 DORANDI) says along with Sotion (F 32 WEHRLI) in the eleventh book (of his *Successions*).

### 3. *Hypomnema on On the False Embassy of Demosthenes*

3 *ophlein* differs from *opheilein*. In the treatise on *On the False Embassy of Demosthenes*, Apollonides of Nikaia says: “One has to pay a fine (*ophlein*) because of a judgment, but one is in debt (*opheilein*) when we have to receive money”.

### 4. *On False Histories*

#### Book 1

4 *katoikisis* differs from *katoikesis*, as Apollonides of Nikaia says in the first book of *On False Histories*. He says: “In fact, *katoikisis* is a settlement built on the remains of other structures; however, *katoikesis* is when some people colonize cities or a place, after they have occupied it (= the place). For instance, the Athenians settled (*katoikein*) around the place that is now the acropolis, but they colonized (*katoikizein*) the Ionians. The noun *katoikesis* stems from the verb *katoikein*, *katoikisis* from *katoikizein*”.

#### Book 8

5 Almost everyone agrees that the letters attributed to Aratos, which we mentioned above, were written by him and admits that they are not spurious; only Apollonides the Kepheus (of Nikaia?) says, in the 8th book of the treatise *On False Histories*, that these letters are not by Aratos, but by Sabirios Pollon: he says that the same person wrote the letters ascribed to Euripides.

### 5. Fragments without a book title

6 Ion: Isocrates in *On the Exchange* (15,268). The rhetorician probably speaks here of the tragic poet Ion, who stemmed from Chios, was the son of Orthomenes and was called Xuthos. He wrote many songs, tragedies and a philosophical work entitled *The Triad*, whose authorship Kallimachos (F 449 PFEIFFER) questioned the authorship, †as of Epigenes† (F 2 DETTORI). In some authors like Demetrios of Skepsis (F 69 GAEDE) and Apollonides of Nikaia, the title is also written in the plural, i.e. *Triads*. They record these words in this work: “My discourse starts from the following premise.



Everything is three and nothing is more or less than this three. The triad is the excellence of each thing: sagacity, strength and fortune”.

7 The Latins emulated these (i.e. the Greeks) in many things too. In fact, following them, they note down the number one with the sign “I”; the number five with “V”, because it is the fifth vowel (a, e, i, o, u); the number ten with “X”, because this sign is the tenth consonant for the Greeks (β, γ, δ, ζ, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ) or since “X” follows “V” in the Latin alphabet; fifty is noted down with the sign “L”, because the ancient Greeks used the sign “L” instead of “N”, which is their symbol for fifty, as Apollonides and Lukios of Tarrhas (F 15 LINNENKUGEL) testify: so, the Latin authors also say *lympa* instead of *nympha*, when they would like to refer to “water” or a “source”.

## Introduction

Apollonides was a grammarian from Nikaia in Bithynia, on the Northern part of the Roman province of Asia<sup>83</sup>: he lived under the reign of Tiberius, to whom he dedicated a commentary on Timon’s *Silloi* (T 1). Almost nothing beyond the title is known of his *On Proverbs* (F 1): the indirect tradition only tells us that, in this book, Apollonides dealt with an alternative name of the city of Terina, i.e. Great Greece (but see commentary on F 1). More information is available about his commentary on *Silloi*: in fact, Diogenes Laertius used Apollonides’ work – whose sources were Antigonos of Karystos and Sotion – for biographical information on Timon; Diogenes would have used his commentary for a summary of Timon’s work too (F 2). Apollonides also wrote a book on Demosthenes’ oration *On the False Embassy* (F 3): here, he discusses the difference between the verbs ὀφλεῖν and ὀφείλειν. Apollonides’ linguistic interests are not only evident in F 1 and F 3, but also in the treatise – in at least 8 books – *On False Histories* (F 4 and maybe T 8), where he distinguishes between the meaning of κατοίκισις and κατοίκησις. In this treatise (F 5), he also dealt with the authorship of the letters attributed to Aratos, which he ascribes to an otherwise unknown Sabirios Pollon (about this name and his identity, see the commentary to F 5). The sources hand down two other elements that stem from Apollonides’ interests: in F 6 he argues that the title of a work by Ion of Chios, the *Triad*, was plural, i.e. *Triads*; in F 7 he investigates the relationship between the Greek and Latin signs of the numbers, trying to explain that 50 is “N” in Greek and “L” in Latin because of the ancient equivalence between these two letters in the two languages.

Apollonides the grammarian has been identified by some scholars with the author of about thirty poems in *Greek and Planudean Anthology*<sup>84</sup>. This identification is problematic, because no ethnicity is added to the name Apollonides in these anthologies. However, some elements may suggest the identification of the poet and the grammarian. In fact, Gow and Page notice that “the dialect of the epigrams is consistently non-Doric” and in *AP* 9,281 the poet “speaks as though he lived in the province of Asia”<sup>85</sup>. This place of origin is consistent with the origins of the addresses in two Apollonides’ poems: *AP* 7,631, that is an epitaph to Diphilos from Miletos, drowned and buried at Andros; *AP* 7,642, that is an epitaph to Menoites, drowned between Syros and Delos. Moreover, Asia Minor seems to be the region where the poet Apollonides lived, certainly during the Roman rule, as *AP* 7,233 shows<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> See IPPOLITO (2006).

<sup>84</sup> *AP* VI 105, 238, 239, 8,180, 233, 378, 389, 631, 642, 693, 702, 742; 9,228, 243, 244, 257, 264, 265, 271, 280, 281 (ascribed also to Philippos), 287, 296, 408 (ascribed also to Antipater), 422, 791; 10,19; 11,25, *A.Pl.* 49, 50, 239.

<sup>85</sup> See GOW-PAGE (1968, 148): I. 1 ξυὸν ὀπηνίκα θαύμα κατείδομεν Ἄσις ἅπασα.

<sup>86</sup> The poem talks about a Roman soldier named Aelius: I. 1 Αἴλιος, Ἀysonίης στρατιῆς πρόμος.

If the geographical references in Apollonides the poet are congruent with the fact that Apollonides the grammarian was from Nikaia in Bithynia, the chronological setting of Apollonides' epigrams is consistent with the fact that the grammarian was a contemporary of Tiberius. In this regard, *AP* 9,287 – where the poet talks about the dwelling of Tiberius in Rhodes – plays a central role: in this poem, Apollonides describes the first appearance of an eagle on the island during the residence of Tiberius, an episode that is known by Suetonius too<sup>87</sup>. The future in οὐ φεύγων Ζῆνα τὸν ἐσσόμενον (l. 6) seems to imply that, when Apollonides wrote, Tiberius Claudius Nero had been already adopted by Augustus with the name of Tiberius Iulius Caesar; Tiberius lived in Rhodes between 6 B.C. and 2 A.D., but he was adopted in 4 A.D.: so, the poem seems to have been written after this date. The fact that this poem probably dates to after the residence of Tiberius in Rhodes may be also suggested by the past tense τότε ... / ἦλυθον, Ἡελίου νῆσον ὅτ' εἶχε Νέρων in ll. 3-4. The reference to Rhodes is not isolated in Apollonides' work: in fact, *APL* 49 and 50 refer to this island too.

However, other identifications have been suggested for Apollonides the poet: Kaibel proposes that he may be identified with the friend of Cato the Younger, but this assumption is impossible from a chronological point of view<sup>88</sup>. Dramatic verses are ascribed to an Apollonides in Stob. IV 22a,3 (= Apollonid.Trag., *TGF* 1 p. 825 NAUCK = *TrGF* 152 F1 SNELL), but Snell identifies this Apollonides with Apollonides son of Ardon, who is said to be συναγωνιστῆς τραγικός in *OGI* 51b,57, i.e. in an inscription founded in Ptolemais Hermiou in Egypt. If these identifications are controversial, some epigrams are important for the chronology and the geographical setting of life of Apollonides the poet. Firstly, *AP* 10,19 deals with an initiatory ritual performed by Gaius, son of Lucius: Cichorius<sup>89</sup> identifies Lucius with Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who “held office in Asia ... not earlier than 10-8 B.C.”<sup>90</sup>; however, Hillscher is more prudent about this conclusion<sup>91</sup>. Secondly, Laelius in *AP* 9,280 may be Decimus Laelius Balbus, consul in 6 B.C.: Laelius is an uncommon *nomen* and the expression Ἀysonίων ὑπατον κλέος in l. 1 seems to be consistent with a consular rank; nevertheless, Reitzenstein thinks that this element hardly suggests the identification between Apollonides the grammarian and the poet<sup>92</sup>. Lastly, *AP* 9,791 refers to the building of Aphrodite's temple by Postumus, perhaps Caius Vibius Postumus, who was proconsul of Asia in 13-15 A.D.<sup>93</sup>. In short, the identification between Apollonides the poet and Apollonides the grammarian is suggested by Reiske, by Hillscher, and more prudently by Gow-Page<sup>94</sup>; if Bowersock argues that Apollonides of Nikaia and the poet are the same person, to be placed among “the intimate adherents of the Emperor Tiberius”, Reitzenstein is extremely sceptical about this identification<sup>95</sup>.

In conclusion, it is impossible to find evidence for the identification of Apollonides the grammarian with Apollonides the poet, but it is tenable that they are the same person: in fact, not only did both the Apollonides come from the same region, but it also has to be considered that it is likely that a grammarian was a poet too.

<sup>87</sup> See *Tib.* 14,4 *ante paucos vero quam revocaretur dies aquila num quam antea Rhodi conspecta in culmine domus eius assedit.*

<sup>88</sup> See KAIBEL (1885, XIV).

<sup>89</sup> See CICHORIUS (1922, 337-341).

<sup>90</sup> See GOW-PAGE (1968, 163).

<sup>91</sup> See HILLSCHER (1892, 419).

<sup>92</sup> See REITZENSTEIN (1895, 119-120) and HILLSCHER (1892, 419-420).

<sup>93</sup> See CICHORIUS (1922, 336).

<sup>94</sup> See REISKE (1754, 194), HILLSCHER (1892, 418 with n. 4) and GOW - PAGE (1968, 148). [passim like this with 2 authors]

<sup>95</sup> See BOWERSOCK (1965, 133-134) and REITZENSTEIN (1895, 120). GOW-PAGE (1968, 147) claim that “it is long been customary to include *A.Pl.* 235 among” Apollonides' “epigrams ... but we see no reason to doubt Pl's ascription to an author otherwise unknown, Apollonios of Smyrna. The name is plainly written Ἀπολλωνίου, with the ethnic Σμυρναίου; no ethnic is ever added to Ἀπολλωνίδου”.

## Commentary

### T

(1) According to Gilles Ménage<sup>96</sup>, the expression ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν is corrupted and has to be read ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν: its meaning would be “qui ante tempora nostra vixit”. This reading was originally accepted by Nietzsche<sup>97</sup>, who then held ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν inadequate, because of the lack of a word like ὀλίγου<sup>98</sup>: according to him, the expression ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν is possibly a corruption for ὁ παροικιο<sup>99</sup>, which would fit with Apollonides' F 1. If we accept the transmitted text, as the scholars now do, two problems arise: primarily, the meaning of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν is not easy to understand; then, it would be worth knowing whether the first plural person of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν is to be attributed to Diogenes or to his source<sup>99</sup>. This expression may be understood in three different ways<sup>100</sup>: firstly, “member of our philosophical school”; then, “from our country”; finally, “who belongs to our family”<sup>101</sup>.

Wilamowitz and Wachsmuth preferred the doctrinal meaning, i.e. the sceptical Pyrrhonism<sup>102</sup>; however, Barnes does not find any reason to think that Apollonides was a follower of this philosophical school<sup>103</sup> and it is actually difficult to establish the philosophical affiliation of Diogenes<sup>104</sup>. On the contrary, Reiske opted for the geographical interpretation<sup>105</sup>: in this regard, Mansfeld compares the expression ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν with a passage from Plato's *Sophist* (242d), where “the Visitor from Elea refers to τὸ ... παρ' ἡμῶν Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος”<sup>106</sup>; since παρ' ἡμῶν here implies a geographical meaning, Mansfeld suggests that this expression has the same meaning in Diogenes: so, the latter and Apollonides may be actually from the same place, i.e. Nikaia.

If we accept the geographical interpretation of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, its interpretation is connected with the issue of the hometown of Diogenes. The sole real evidence about Diogenes' origin is in Stephanus of Byzanzus. In fact, this scholar quotes Diogenes as ὁ Λαερτιεύς in χ 50 BILLERBECK with regard to the name of the members of the deme of Χολλεῖδαι (see Χολλειδεύς in Diog. Laert. 3,41); then, he calls Diogenes as Λαέρτιος in δ 133 Billerbeck about a Celtic ἔθνος, quoted in Diog. Laert. 1,1; finally, Stephanus talks about Diogenes – without epithet – in ε 80 Billerbeck in regard to the city of Ἐνετός, which was the homeland of Myrmex, as Diogenes Laertios says in 2,113. Given that situation, it is worth noting that Stephanus (λ 15 BILLERBECK) holds Λαέρτιος the ethnic of Λαέρτης, a town in Kilikia mentioned by Strabo (14,5,3) and Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrHist* / *BNJ* 273 F 123)<sup>107</sup>. Even if Stephanus seems to attest that Diogenes was from Laertes, from Wilamowitz onwards modern scholarship tends to think that Λαέρτιος is a nickname of a type familiar in post-classical times, invented to distinguish this Diogenes from the many others and based upon the Homeric formula διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη. Wilamowitz says that “ratio ... docet, nomen Graeci hominis

<sup>96</sup> MÉNAGE (1663), see CASAUBON (1833, II 490).

<sup>97</sup> NIETZSCHE (1869, 206).

<sup>98</sup> NIETZSCHE (1870, 6-7).

<sup>99</sup> See DIELS (1889, 324-325).

<sup>100</sup> DIELS (1889, 324), DECLEVA CAZZI (1981, 208-209), GOULET (*DPHA* 257), BRUNSCHWIG (1999, 1139 n. 2) and GOULET-CAZÉ (1999, 12-13).

<sup>101</sup> The fact that Apollonides and Diogenes were related is suggested by MEJER (1978, 46 n. 95), who quotes *Ev.Marc.* 3,21.

<sup>102</sup> WILAMOWITZ (1881: [passim like this] 32) and WACHSMUTH (1885, 31-34); see BERGK (1886, 300). But see also USENER (1914, 167-168), GIGANTE (1962<sup>1</sup>, 474 n. 1) and (1983<sup>3</sup>, XII-XV)

<sup>103</sup> BARNES (1986, 386-387 n. 4), see DI MARCO (1989, 54).

<sup>104</sup> RAMELLI (2005, XXXIX-XL)

<sup>105</sup> REISKE *apud* DIELS (1889, 324). See DI MARCO (1989, 54-55)

<sup>106</sup> MANSFELD (1986, 300-301), see USENER (1914, 167-168).

<sup>107</sup> St.Byz. λ 15 BILLERBECK Λαέρτης. Κιλικίας χωρίον. Στράβων ιδ'. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ «καὶ ὄρος καὶ πόλις» φησί. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λαερτίνος. ἄμεινον δὲ Λαέρτιος. See MÉNAGE (1663, 1).

fuisse Diogenem, sed signum Laertium, formatum a Laerta Homérico ut Nestorios Heraclios Platonios innumeraque alia signa, quae aut historia offert aut lapides, qui hisce signis certum tribuunt locum (mox ex. gr. in foro Traiano multa videbis), aut nostra consuetudo: nam Eugenii Georgii Gregorii Stephaniae Hilariae Macariae ex illis saeculis proveniunt sed potius Claudii quam Caracallae aetatem, nisi fallor, signum indicat<sup>108</sup>. Despite Wilamowitz' hypothesis, there is an imperial coniage from Cilicia that may support Stephanus' evidence: in fact, this coniage is characterized by the inscription Λαερτειτών, as Masson advises, quoting Levante<sup>109</sup>. Furthermore, Bean and Mitford seem to have identified the site of Laertes during their surveys in Rough Cilicia in sixties of 20th century:<sup>110</sup> the plausible site would be north-east of Alanya, the old Korakesion, high along the river Dimçayi. However, this location is not unanimously accepted, as Radt notes in his commentary on Strabon<sup>111</sup>.

In conclusion, it very difficult to understand the meaning of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν. The first problem is whether this expression is from Diogenes or from the secondary source that quotes Apollonides: in this latter case, the familial, geographical or philosophical meaning of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν would be impossible to understand, given that we ignore what source Diogenes used. In the first case, the meaning of ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν remains unclear, because of the lack of evidence about Apollonides.

(2) see commentary to T 1 and F 5.

(3) see commentary to F 5.

(4) see commentary to F 1.

(5) see commentary to T 1.

(6) see commentary to F 3.

(7) see commentary to F 4.

(8) see commentary to F 5.

(9) This evidence is very uncertain. The title *On False History*, attested by Apollonides' F 4 and 5, appears in the entry α 3422 (s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος) of *Suda*, which ascribes it to Apollonios Dyskolos among 26 books<sup>112</sup>: it is for this reason that in 1620 Meurs ascribed to Apollonios Dyskolos the Ἱστορίαι θαυμασῆαι – a paradoxographical work, transmitted by codex Palatinus gr. 398<sup>113</sup> (= *FGrHist* 1672) – which scholars now assign to an otherwise unknown Apollonios Paradoxographos<sup>114</sup>, whose identification is an open question to this day<sup>115</sup>. In 1839 Westermann distinguished Apollonios the author of *Historiae mirabiles* from that of *On False Histories*, which would be a book “de erroribus in historiam illatis, cuius generis scripta

<sup>108</sup> WILAMOWITZ (1880, 163). About this problem, see also RUNIA (1997, 601) and RAMELLI (2005, XXXVII-XXXVIII): GOULET-CAZÉ (1999b, 11-12) accepts that Laertes in Cilicia is the hometown of Diogenes.

<sup>109</sup> MASSON (1995, 225-229) and LEVANTE (1986 and 1994).

<sup>110</sup> BEAN-MITFORD (1962, 194-196) and (1970, 94).

<sup>111</sup> RADT (2009, 113).

<sup>112</sup> On Apollonios, see UHLIG (1910, IX-XIII) and LALLOT (1997, 10-29).

<sup>113</sup> MEURS-XYLANDER (1792).

<sup>114</sup> See GIANNINI (1966, 119-143).

<sup>115</sup> SPITTLER (2016)

grammaticorum alia multa passim commemorantur<sup>116</sup>: with regard to grammatical works like *On False History*, Westermann quoted Harpokration's Περὶ τοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν (see *Suda* α 4013 ADLER), Ptolemaios' Τὰ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ξένως ἱστορημένα (see *Suda* π 3034 ADLER), Longinos' Τίνα παρὰ τὰς ἱστορίας οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς ἱστορικοὶ ἐξηγοῦνται (see *Suda* λ 645 ADLER), Kekilius' περὶ τῶν καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ παρ' ἱστορίαν εἰρημένων τοῖς ῥήτορσι (see *Suda* κ 1165 ADLER). Besides, false or true history was at the centre of the discussions of ancient grammarians, as Sextus Empiricus (*M.* I 252-253) shows, quoting Asclepiades' *On Grammar*<sup>117</sup>: "he (i.e. Asclepiades) says that under history one type is true, one is false, and one is as if true, where the actual history on type is true, that about myths is false, and that about fictions and such genres as comedy and mime is as if true"<sup>118</sup>.

The ascription of *On False History* to Apollonios Dyskolos is unclear, anyway. In fact, this attribution can be misleading, because no other evidence exists about this Apollonios' treatise; so, it is possible to suppose that there would be a mix-up with the names of Apollonios Dyskolos and Apollonides of Nikaia, whose F 4 (= Ph.Bybl. 107 PALMIERI) and 5 (= *Vita Arati* 1,10,13-19 MARTIN) attest that he has written a treatise with this title<sup>119</sup>. It may be possible that both Apollonios may have written an essay *On False Histories*, if we consider that the bibliography of Apollonios Dyskolos deserved by *Suda* builds "up a systematic treatment of the materials covered in [...] Asclepiades' technical part of grammar" and that the work on false history would represent the second part of an Asclepiadean τέχνη, i.e. the ἱστορικόν<sup>120</sup>. However, it is difficult to know the true meaning of ἱστορία in title attested by Apollonides' F 4 and 5. In conclusion, for these reasons it is probably wise to hold this *testimonium* among the *dubia*.

## F

(1) Nothing is known about the treatise *On the Proverbs* by Apollonides and there is no evidence that the expression (Τέρρινα) Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς is actually a proverb. This idea was suggested by Pais: following him, Cazzaniga argues that in this proverb there would be an identification between Terina and Magna Graecia<sup>121</sup>. With this regard, Terina – destroyed by Hannibal in 203 B.C. and close to the modern city of Lamezia Terme – is mentioned first among the πόλεις of this region in Scymn. 306<sup>122</sup>, i.e. it was the first border town between the Greeks and the barbarians. Because no other trace of this proverb can be found elsewhere, Cazzaniga believes that it is ironic: it hints at persons that pretend to be who are not, like the inhabitants of Terina, who act as if they are part of Great Greece, even if they are at the border of it. After Spadea, who analyses the adverbial meaning of πρότερον in Scymn. 307<sup>123</sup>, Ameruoso's reading is radically different from Gazzaniga's one<sup>124</sup>: Terina may be the prototype of the Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς in Apollonides' proverb. In fact, Pseudo-Scymnos may claim that this colony of Croton was founded in 6th century B.C. before the Locrian Hipponion (Vibo Valentia) and Medma: Terina was great, because Croton was great.

<sup>116</sup> WESTERMANN (1839, XX-XXII).

<sup>117</sup> See BLANK (1998, 266-270 and 2000, 407-415) and PAGANI (2007, 31-34).

<sup>118</sup> Transl. BLANK: φημί δὲ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ τοῦ τεχνικοῦ, τριχῆ ὑποδιαίρεται τὸ ἱστορικόν· τῆς γὰρ ἱστορίας τὴν μὲν τινα ἀληθῆ εἶναι φησι τὴν δὲ ψευδῆ τὴν δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἀληθῆ μὲν τὴν πρακτικὴν, ψευδῆ δὲ τὴν περὶ πλάσματα καὶ μύθους, ὡς ἀληθῆ δὲ οἶά ἐστιν ἢ κωμῳδία καὶ οἱ μίμοι.

<sup>119</sup> The title is in the plural in F 4 and in the singular in F 5.

<sup>120</sup> See BLANK (2000, 414).

<sup>121</sup> CAZZANIGA (1971, 31-34): see PAIS (1894, 526).

<sup>122</sup> Scymn. 300-308 ἢ δ' Ἰταλία προσεχῆς μὲν ἐστ' Οἰνωτρία, μιγάδας τὸ πρότερον ἦτις ἔσχε βαρβάρους, ἀπὸ τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος Ἰταλοῦ τοῦνομα λαβοῦσα, μεγάλη δ' ὕστερον πρὸς ἐσπέραν Ἑλλάς προσαγορευθεῖσα ταῖς ἀποικίαις. Ἑλληνικὰς γοῦν παραθαλαττίους ἔχει πόλεις· Τέρριναν πρῶτον, ἣν ἀπόκισαν Κροτωνιάται πρότερον, ἃς θ' οἱ πλησίον Ἰπώνιον καὶ Μέδμαν ὤκισαν Λοκροί.

<sup>123</sup> SPADEA (1974).

<sup>124</sup> AMERUOSO (1996, 121-133).

However, Marcotte notices that “l’adverbe πρότερον ... n’établie pas l’antériorité de la ville sur les autres colonies crotoniates; s’il faut lui reconnaître un signification particulière, on y verra une allusion au fait que Térina, rasée par Hannibal en 203 (Strab. VI 1,5), appartenait sans doute au passé”<sup>125</sup>. Be that as it may, the supposed proverb may make a real or ironic identification between Terina and the region called Great Greece.

(2) According to Wachsmuth and Wilamowitz<sup>126</sup>, Diogenes Laertius (9,109-116) used different sources to write the *Life of Timon of Phleius*: both of them agree that the first part of this *bios* (109-112 until the death of Timon) stems from Apollonides’ commentary on Timon’s *Silloi*<sup>127</sup>. As for the second part of this *bios*, i.e. from 9,112 τούτον ἐγὼ καί), Wilamowitz assumes that it depends on Antigonos of Karystos, except three sections that are possibly from sceptical sources (112 τούτον ἐγὼ ... ὁ μισάνθρωπος, 114 συνεχές τε ... ὁ πρὸς ὃν ἔλεγεν ὑγιῆς and 115 τούτου διάδοχος until the end of the life). On the other hand, Wachsmuth believes that this section stems from Antigonos (112 ὁ δ’ οὖν φιλόσοφος ... συνήλθεν Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ νομηῆνιος; cf. *ibid.* 9-10 n. 5) and another source, perhaps Sotion (114 εἰώθει δὲ καὶ παίζειν τοιαῦτα κτλ.)<sup>128</sup>. This hypothesis is congruent with Wehrli’s view<sup>129</sup>, according to which Apollonides used for his *Silloi* Sotion’s *Diadochai*, which had as source Antigonos of Karystos: in fact, in 9,112 “Apollonides ... wird Sotion nicht für eine Einzelheit, sondern für den ganzen Bericht über Timon Aufenthalt in Elis zitiert haben.”

Recent scholarship has reduced the role of Antigonos as source of *Timon’s Life*. Dorandi (1999, LII-LIII) is prudent<sup>130</sup>: in fact, it is not easy to understand when Diogenes or his sources uses Antigonos, unless he explicitly quotes the biographer (see Diog. Laert. 9,110-111 ἦν δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ... τὸν βίον = F 5 DORANDI, Diog. Laert. 9,112 ἐτελεύτησε ... Ἀντίγονος = F 6 DORANDI, Diog. Laert. 9,112 ὁ δ’ οὖν φιλόσοφος ... ὡς καὶ Ἀντίγονος φησι = F 7 DORANDI). Nevertheless, this methodological caution does not rule out that Apollonides is the main source of the first part of *Timon’s Life*. Regardless of the fact that Antigonos was one of the primary sources of this section, Diog. Laert. 9,109-112 is a coherent and connected text, whose first and evident addition is τούτον ἐγὼ καὶ ἑτερόφθαλμον ἦκουσα, ἐπεὶ κτλ. So, it is likely that it stems from a single source, i.e. Apollonides. After Wilamowitz, this is the opinion of Susemihl and, more recently, of Di Marco<sup>131</sup>: this interpretation is not contradictory to the fact that Antigonos and Sotion are quoted as sources in 109-112, because Apollonides possibly used their works as sources<sup>132</sup>. This understanding risks committing an error, i.e. a sort of “radicalismo ingenuo,” as Barnes describes this attitude in the *Quellenforschung*<sup>133</sup>: with this expression, the scholar indicates who supposes that Diogenes – or somebody else – could simply copy down from a single source, with minor modifications. Nevertheless, as we have pointed out, the coherence of the 109-112 is an argument in favour of the fact that this section stems from a single source, which has resumed the past scholarship on Timon and his *Silloi*. Given this situation, it is prudent to consider the text of 109-112 as a fragment of Apollonides: even if it is not assured that all the material that is in this section is by him, it is likely that the principal source is his commentary on *Silloi*; we do not write any part of the text in small letters, as *BNJ* does with *incerta*, because it is impossible to

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<sup>125</sup> MARCOTTE (2000, 185-186).

<sup>126</sup> WACHSMUTH (1859, 9 and 1885, 8-10) and WILAMOWITZ (1881, 31-33).

<sup>127</sup> See CLAYMAN (2009, 6-7).

<sup>128</sup> About this question, see SUSEMIHL (1891, I 109 n. 505) and DI MARCO (1989, 2 n. 1). According to WEHRLI (1978, 63), there would be an intermediate source between Antigonos and Sotion.

<sup>129</sup> WEHRLI (1978, 8 and 63).

<sup>130</sup> DORANDI (1999, LII-LIII).

<sup>131</sup> SUSEMIHL (1891, 109 n. 505) and DI MARCO (1989, 1 n. 1).

<sup>132</sup> WILAMOWITZ (1881, 32-33) and DI MARCO (1989, 1 n. 1). See also DAL PRA (1989, 86).

<sup>133</sup> BARNES (1986, 397-398).

distinguish Apollonides' text from other sources: Antigonos was possibly the informant of Apollonides himself, not a different source.

If this assumption is correct, it is worth noting that Apollonides is the authority that attests the *incipit* of the *Silloi* (F 1 Di Marcoa = Diog. Laert. 9,112).

Ἀπολλωνίδης ... φησί (109). See the commentary on T 1.

πρὸς Στίλπωνα. The influence of Stilpon' thought (c. 360-280 B.C.) on Timon's one is controversial in modern scholarship<sup>134</sup>.

ιατρικὴν ἐδίδαξε. Gilles Ménage holds that Timon was a doctor and taught this profession, to his son<sup>135</sup>: the same is suggested by Wachsmuth<sup>136</sup>; besides, many among the sceptics were doctors<sup>137</sup>.

σοφιστεύων (110). Timon was an itinerant rhetorician like the contemporaneous Bion of Borysthenes<sup>138</sup>.

Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ. The fact that Timon made Antigonos (277-239 B.C.) and Ptolemy II's (285-244 B.C.) acquaintance is congruent with the assumption that he was born c. in 325 and died in 235 B.C. As Di Marco suggested, this chronology is consistent with Timon's relationship with Stilpon (who died before the end of 3rd century) and Pyrrhon (who died between 275 and 270 B.C.)<sup>139</sup>. In this regard, it must be noted that Timon wrote an Ἀρκεσιλάου περιδαιπνον for the funeral of Arkesilaos, who died in 241 B.C.<sup>140</sup>: this text may be an obituary or a funeral encomium like Speusippos' Πλάτωνος περιδαιπνον (see *FGrHist* 1009 F 1a-b) that composed for the death of Plato.

φιλοπότης. Wachsmuth suggests reading here φιλοποιητής instead of φιλοπότης, which is the text transmitted by the manuscripts<sup>141</sup>. According to Wachsmuth, this correction is congruent with the development of the discourse: after a short description of Timon's life and his philosophical studies, Apollonides goes on to describe his scripts, showing that his interest was not only in philosophy, but also in poetry. This correction was accepted by Koepke<sup>142</sup>, who picked it up from Wachsmuth<sup>143</sup>. With regard to Wachsmuth's arguments, it is worth noting that the connection between wine (i.e. symposion) and poetical activity is topical in ancient Greece.

φιλοσόφων. Given that the expression σχολάζειν ἀπό τινος means "have rest or respite from" a thing<sup>144</sup>, this word is necessarily in the neuter: so, it indicates the philosophical activities.

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<sup>134</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 2 n. 4).

<sup>135</sup> MÉNAGE (1663), see CASAUBON (1833, II 490-491).

<sup>136</sup> WACHSMUTH (1885, 12 and 31-34).

<sup>137</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 3 n. 9).

<sup>138</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 3 n. 10).

<sup>139</sup> DI MARCO (1989, 4).

<sup>140</sup> About the philosophical rivalry between Arkesilaos and Timon, see DI MARCO (1989, 114-115).

<sup>141</sup> WACHSMUTH (1885, 19-20).

<sup>142</sup> KOEPKE (1862, 46).

<sup>143</sup> WACHSMUTH (1859, 8).

<sup>144</sup> See LSJ<sup>9</sup> 1747.

ποιήματα συνέγραφε. Diogenes Laertius and possibly Apollonides yield a sort of *hypothesis* of Timon's works<sup>145</sup>, in which the *iamboi*, mentioned just before, are absent: however, they may hint at them when they talk about scoptic poems.

καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἔπη κτλ. Wachsmuth suggests that different sources converge here: συνέγραφε ... ἔπη καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ σατύρους ..., σίλλους τε καὶ κιναιίδους ... φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία would come from a pinacographical source (Sotion?), while the rest from a previous informant (Antigonos?). In fact, Diogenes' – and Apollonides' – text is inconsistent: the famous Timon's work, the *Indalmoi*, is absent here, and the *Silloi* are badly placed in this list because they appear not after ἔπη (the *Silloi* were in hexameter)<sup>146</sup> but after the dramatic *oeuvres*. Wachsmuth believes that both these sources follow the grammatical convention that divides *poesis* into 3 genres, i.e. epic, drama and melic. If the *Indalmoi* are epic, the *Obscene poems* (κίναϊδοι) and the *Silloi* are melic (Didymus classified the *Silloi* in this way, as well as Proclus – *apud* Phot. *Bibl.* 320a 2, 321a 28-30 – and *EM* 713,15 GAISFORD testify)<sup>147</sup>.

καταλογάδην βιβλία (111). Timon wrote the *Python* in prose, in which he dealt with his meeting with Pyrrhon in Amphiaraios' temple in Phleius: cf. Aristocl. F 6,96-111 HEILAND = 4,14-15 CHIESARA<sup>148</sup>. In addition to this, he wrote *On Sensations*, *Against the Natural Philosophers* and *Arkesilaos' Funeral Feast*, which was his last work<sup>149</sup>.

τῶν δὲ Σίλλων. As it was noticed before, Antigonos used the *Silloi* for his biography of Timon<sup>150</sup>; later on, Sotion (F 31-33 WEHRLI), who would have known Antigonos, used them in a commentary mentioned by Athenaeus (8,336d).

τοὺς δογματικούς. Despite Timon's critique of the *dogmatikoi* philosophers, the first scepticism was dogmatic too, since it included some dogmatic elements: firstly, Pyrrhon was divinized; secondly, the speech of Timon (*SH* 842 ἐγὼν ἐρέω ... μῦθον, ἀληθείης ὀρθὸν ἔχων κανόνα), where he states that the nature of the god and the good is eternal (the fact that the life of men is perfectly balanced would stem from this circumstance), seems to be dogmatic. This aspect of Pyrrhonism was shown by Aristokles<sup>151</sup>.

Ἐενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον. Meineke suspects that a section of *Silloi* "ad Homericæ Νεκυίας formam institutam fuisse" and Di Marco stresses that the meeting between Timon and Xenophanes, who lived many generations before him, is likely to have taken place in Hades<sup>152</sup>.

ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ ἦδε «ἔσπετε κτλ.» (112). The fact that this line was the *incipit* of *Silloi* (F 1 DI MARCO = *SH* 775) is confirmed by the authority of his source, i.e. Apollonides. If the word νῦν seems to imply something previous, Timon's line sounds like a parody of *Il.* 2,484 ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι<sup>153</sup>, which is also the alternative *incipit* of *Iliad* (Aristox. F 91,1 WEHRLI). The meaning of πολυπράγμονες is very

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<sup>145</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 22).

<sup>146</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 6).

<sup>147</sup> See WACHSMUTH (1885, 7).

<sup>148</sup> See CHIESARA (2001, 126-127) and DI MARCO (1989, 10-12).

<sup>149</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 12-14).

<sup>150</sup> See MOMIGLIANO (1971) = (1974, 84 e 125-126).

<sup>151</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 9)

<sup>152</sup> MEINEKE (1843, 6) and DI MARCO (1989, 22).

<sup>153</sup> See DIELS (*PPF* 184).



derogatory: on the contrary, Timon was ἰδιωπράγμων and indifferent, if he actually called himself “Cyclops”, joking about his blindness in one eye<sup>154</sup>.

(3) Apollonides’ F 3 and 4 pertain to the ancient scholarly tradition that concerns the “synonymic” distinctions: it deals not only with synonymity, but also with antonymity, the different meanings of words and cognate lexica; this tradition was based on stronger foundations than etymological studies<sup>155</sup>. In order to understand the *criteria* that lead to print the text of a source or of another, it is worth sketching what we know about this tradition. The moderns know the following “synonymic” *lexica*: that by Herennios Philon, that by Ptolemaios and that by Ammonios.<sup>156</sup> According to Nickau<sup>157</sup>, there was only one “synonymical” *thesaurus* in ancient world that was compiled by Philon, which then takes the name of Ptolemaios and finally was ascribed to Ammonios. However, this reconstruction is unconvincing, as Palmieri claims: the “synonymical” works collect previous works, abbreviating or expanding; even if they are not original works, it would be wrong that the authorship of each *lexicon* is attributed to Herennios Philon, Ptolemaios and Ammonios respectively<sup>158</sup>: be that as it may, the tradition of Ammonios’ lexicon has the merit of being less damaged. This situation justifies why F 3 and 4 stem from different *lexica*: this choice depends on the fact the “synonymic” tradition may be best preserved in a lexicon in one case, in another lexicon in the other. As to F 3, the text of Ammonios is longer than Philon’s one, where Apollonides’ name is absent.

Apollonides made a linguistic notation about the difference between ὀφλεῖν and ὀφείλειν in F 3 which stems from his commentary on Demosthenes’ *De falsa legatione*. The verb ὀφλισκάνω is used in § 180 and in § 280 of this speech. In the first passage, Demosthenes reminds the Athenians of the charges against Aischines and the fact that some people had to pay a fine because of similar charges (ὅσοι διὰ ταύτ’ ἀπολώλασι παρ’ ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ’ ὠφλήκασιν, οὐ χαλεπὸν δεῖξαι). In § 280, Demosthenes tries to persuade the Athenians to sentence Aeschines: in fact, they have already sentenced who were mistaken about the city, although they were good citizens like Epikrates, Thasybulos son of the more famous Thrasybulos and a descendant of Harmodios. So, he states that “Thrasybulos, a son of Thrasybulos the great democrat, who restored free government from Phyle, should have paid a fine (ὠφληκέναι) of ten talents”<sup>159</sup>. Apollonides’ annotation is correct: in fact, ὀφλισκάνω means “become a debtor, prop. of one condemned to pay a fine, become liable to pay”<sup>160</sup>, while ὠφελέω “owe, have to pay or account for”<sup>161</sup>. In order to understand why Apollonides made this annotation, it is maybe interesting that in 280 the pf. inf. of ὀφλισκάνω (ὠφληκέναι) is near to the pf. inf. of ὠφελέω (§ 281 ὠφεληκέναι), which are very similar to the pf. inf. of ὀφείλω (ὠφείληκέναι): this latter verb, which is more frequent than ὀφλισκάνω in Demosthenes, is absent in *De falsa legatione*. Be that as it may, Apollonides may have felt the need to distinguish ὀφλεῖν and ὀφείλειν because the meanings of these verbs are close: in fact, they share the same etymology, because ὀφλεῖν is simply the zero grade thematic aorist of ὀφείλω but separated from this latter semantically<sup>162</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> See DI MARCO (1989, 5). With regard to this line, see DI MARCO (1989, 112-116) and SIDER (2017, 556).

<sup>155</sup> See PALMIERI (1988, 11-12). According to DETTORI (2019, 305-307), the word συνωνυμία in Greek grammatical tradition implied three kind of relationships: two different words with different meaning but with a common hyperonym; two different words with a common meaning (this is the common meaning of συνωνυμία in Greek grammatical tradition); a word that has two different referents, so different meanings.

<sup>156</sup> See PALMIERI (1988, 49-51).

<sup>157</sup> NICKAU (1966, LXVI-LVII)

<sup>158</sup> PALMIERI (1988, 52). NICKAU (1966, LXVII) claims that the name of Philon was replaced with that of Ammonios because most people do not know the former, while Palmieri replays that Ammonios was actually less famous than Philon.

<sup>159</sup> Transl. VINCE (1926).

<sup>160</sup> LSJ<sup>9</sup> 1279.

<sup>161</sup> LSJ<sup>9</sup> 1277.

<sup>162</sup> See CHANTRAINE (*DELG* 841) and BEEKES (*EDG* 1132).

Regarding the grammatical tradition to which Apollonides may make reference, the *scholia* on Demosthenes do not discuss this question *ad loc.*, while a single IV-V A.D. papyrological commentary, MPER n.s. I 25, is transmitted for *De falsa legatione* (40-51 and 99-158): according to Stroppa<sup>163</sup>, this latter text “non si tratterebbe di uno *hypomnema* in senso stretto”, but “la struttura dell’opera non è del tutto riconoscibile: ci sono espressioni di Demostene, seguite dalla parafrasi e semplici chiarificazioni del contesto. Forse i lemmi sono scelti in base a un interesse specifico, ma non è chiaro quale”. Given this situation, it is very difficult to know whether Apollonides’ commentary was a standard commentary with the normal alternation between lemma and commentary according to the order of passages in the commented work or a more systematic work.

(4) Concerning the context of this fragment, see the first part of the commentary on F 3: because the text of Philon is longer than Ammonios’ one, we follow Philon’s text for F 4. The explanation of Apollonides seems to be correct<sup>164</sup>: *κατοίκισις* is from *κατοικίζω*, which means “to found, settle”, while *κατοίκησις* is from *κατοικέω*, which means “to live, reside”, also “to be located, occupy, manage”. In the present state of documentation, it is impossible to say what passage in classical literature Apollonides’ commentary and, consequently, Philon’s entry had in mind, providing that they actually refer to a specific excerpt.

(5) *Aratos’ vita* 1 (6-10 MARTIN) is connected to a commentary of Aratos, whose relics are preserved by its source, i.e. the *Vaticanus Gr.* 191<sup>165</sup>: this *Vita* mentions Apollonides at its end, after the list of Aratos’ works (9,17-10,7) and the indication of homonyms (10,8-12). This passage may give two pieces of information about the treatise *On False Histories* (see T 7, 8, maybe 9 and F 4, 5): it attests that it was in at least 8 books and dealt with the authorship of Aratos’ letters in the 8th book. However, caution is necessary. On the one hand, there is incertitude about the title of this work, because it is in singular in T 9 and F 5 (= T 8), while it is in plural in F 4 (= T 7), even if this fact is maybe not relevant (see e.g. the commentary on F 6 about Ion’s *Triagmos*); on the other hand, we have already seen about T 9 that the title *On False History* was perhaps in current use in Greek scholarship: given that fact, it is worth noting that the *Vaticanus Gr.* 191 reads Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς, not ὁ Νικαεύς, which is a correction by Bentley; this scholar emended the transmitted text, because Apollonides Kepheus “was never heard of but here”, while the Nikaios “is mentioned by Laërtius, Harpokration, and others”<sup>166</sup>. This correction is not necessary: in fact, a corruption in ὁ Κηφεύς from an original ὁ Νικαεύς is hardly conceivable<sup>167</sup>. If we would maintain the transmitted text, what does Κηφεύς mean? Even if Κηφεύς sounds like Apollonides’ provenance, it is impossible to find a city or a region from whose name this adjective may be derived. Certainly, Κηφεύς is a person’s name or the name of a constellation, with which Aratos dealt (e.g. in 1,179-186). According to Herodotus (7,61,2-3), Kepheus son of Belos was a king of the Persians, who took this name, when Perseus married Kepheus’ daughter and his son Perses inherited the kingdom of his grandfather. The Persians were called Κηφῆνες by the Greeks before this Perses. This story is interesting, if we notice that Κηφεύς and, consequently, Κηφῆνες are etymologically linked to *κηφήν*, the “drone”: so, the Persians were originally “lazy people”<sup>168</sup>. Given that fact, the presence of ὁ Κηφεύς in our fragment may be explained in different ways: 1) the scholiast confuses ὁ Κηφεύς with ὁ Νικαεύς, because Aratos deals with Kepheus’ constellation; 2) ὁ Κηφεύς is simply a mistake instead of ὁ Νικαεύς; Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς is not Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς, even if the latter was probably a

<sup>163</sup> STROPPA (2008, 56-57).

<sup>164</sup> See CHANTRAINE (*DELG* 782) and BEEKES (*EDG* 1056).

<sup>165</sup> See MARTIN (1998, XII).

<sup>166</sup> BENTLEY (1697, 133) = DYCE (1836, 221); see GÖSSWEIN (1975, 10 with footnote n. 37).

<sup>167</sup> See MARKS (1883, 5-6).

<sup>168</sup> See CHANTRAINE (*DELG* 528) and BEEKES (*EDG* 691).

grammarian and wrote a work *On False History*, as Apollonides of Nikaia did<sup>169</sup>; 3) Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς may be the same person than Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Κηφεύς, but with a different nickname<sup>170</sup>. In this latter case, ὁ Κηφεύς may refer to the Asiatic origin of Apollonides – indeed, he was from Bythnia – or could be a not-complimentary nickname. In conclusion, the evidence about Apollonides Kepheus is not certain, but the fact that this Apollonides wrote a treatise *On False Histories* makes the identification between them likely: it is likely that Κηφεύς is a mistake.

There is also incertitude on the name of the forger of Euripides' and Aratos' letters according Apollonides, as Bentley noted<sup>171</sup>: because it is impossible to find evidence about the family of Sabirii and the surname Pollon<sup>172</sup>, Bentley suggested to correct the transmitted text in Σαβιδίου Πολλίωνος<sup>173</sup>, who he conjecturally identified with the Sabidius quoted in Mart. Ep. 1,33,1 (*non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare*)<sup>174</sup>. If we accept Πολλίωνος, there is also a possibility – following Maass<sup>175</sup> – that this Pollion was the grammarian – quoted by Porphyrios (F 409 SMITH, *apud Eus. PE 10,3,23*)<sup>176</sup> – who dealt with the plagiarisms of the historians, e.g. in *On the Plagiarism of Ctesias*, in *On the Plagiarism of Herodotus* and in *The Trackers* about Theopompos<sup>177</sup>. With regard to Aratos' letters, they were generally considered genuine in Antiquity<sup>178</sup>: we may distinguish between the poetic letters, perhaps genuine, from those in prose, possibly spurious like Euripides' one, which, according to Gösswein, date back to the end of 1st or the beginning of 2nd century A.D.<sup>179</sup>.

(6) In § 268 of *On the Exchange* (15) Isocrates explains that the subtleties of the Megarian school of philosophy, along with astrology and geometry, could be useful for the young, even if they have not a practical utility: in fact, these subjects sharpen their wits. However, Isocrates advises the young “not to allow their minds to be dried up by these barren subtleties, nor to be stranded on the speculations of the ancient sophists, who maintain, some of them, that the sum of things is made up of infinite elements; Empedocles that it is made up of four, with strife and love operating among them; Ion, of not more than three; etc.”<sup>180</sup>. Isocrates seems to hint at cosmological-philosophical works, which Harpokration identifies with the *Triagmos*. However, the overtone of the *incipit* of this work, attested by Harpokration, is more ethical than cosmological, as Valerio observes<sup>181</sup>: Isocrates thus probably refers to Ion's *Kosmologikos*, not to the *Triagmos*<sup>182</sup>.

About Ion Harpokration probably uses Kallimachos' *Pinakes* (F 449 PFEIFFER)<sup>183</sup>, where the scholar maybe noted that the authorship of *Triagmos* was disputed<sup>184</sup>: this fact may be attested by *Suda* too, even

<sup>169</sup> MARTIN (1956, 174) thinks that it is arbitrary to believe that Apollonides Kepheus is the same person as Nikaios.

<sup>170</sup> See MARKS (1883, 6): “quam saepe talia occurrunt in antiquis litteris!”

<sup>171</sup> BENTLEY (1697, 133) = DYCE (1836, 221).

<sup>172</sup> See GÖSSWEIN (1975, 6-7).

<sup>173</sup> See GERTH (1920, 2551-2552).

<sup>174</sup> About the *Vita*, its author and chronology, see MARTIN (1956, 130-132).

<sup>175</sup> MAASS (1892, 236). However, WILAMOWITZ (1894, 198-199) is unconvinced of this identification, because Pollion was an usual name: furthermore, the Pollion, to whom Porphyrios refers, is hardly the a forger like Sabirios (or Sabidius) Pollon (Pollion), but is similar to Apollonides Kepheus, who reveals Sabirios' deception.

<sup>176</sup> Πολλίωνος in *O* (= Bononiensis 3643) and Πολλίωνος in *B* (= Parisinus Gr. 465) *I* (= Marcianus Gr. 341) *N* (= Neapolitanus II AA 16): about this problem, see GERTH (1920, 2551).

<sup>177</sup> See GÖSSWEIN (1975, 6-9).

<sup>178</sup> See DI GREGORIO (2016, 120-122).

<sup>179</sup> GÖSSWEIN (1975, 29-30).

<sup>180</sup> Transl. NORLIN (1929, 333). About Ion, his works and his biography, see FEDERICO-VALERIO (2015, 1-78).

<sup>181</sup> VALERIO (2010, 173-175): see FLORES (1991, 23-54).

<sup>182</sup> See FEDERICO-VALERIO (2015, 31).

<sup>183</sup> See HENDERSON (2007, 30-31).

<sup>184</sup> According to *Suda* ο 654 ADLER. *Triasmoi* was a work known under the name of Orpheus, even if it was ascribed to Ion the

if this lexicon calls Ion's work *Triasmoi*, not *Triagmos*. If Dettori considers that Kallimachos simply reported the dispute about the authorship of *Triagmos* without being involved in it<sup>185</sup>, it is very difficult to believe that Kallimachos ascribed the *Triagmos* to Epigenes<sup>186</sup>: in fact, there is no evidence that this scholar from an unknown period wrote a philosophical work, but it is known that he wrote an essay on the poems ascribed to Orpheus<sup>187</sup> and a commentary on Ion's *Agamemnon* (*TrGF* 1 SNELL)<sup>188</sup>. Given that it seems necessary to correct the transmitted text, two possibilities arise: firstly, Kallimachos has noticed in the *Pinakes* that Epigenes questioned Ion's authorship of *Triagmos*; secondly, that Kallimachos and Epigenes agreed about this question. Blum<sup>189</sup> regards Bergk's suggestion – Καλλιμάχος (F 449 PFEIFFER) ἀντιλέγεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Ἐπιγένους – preferable “not only because it is the simplest one, but also and above all because it is in accord with the facts<sup>190</sup>”. Kallimachos reported, as was his custom, that Epigenes denied, contrary to other scholars, that Ion had been the real author of the *Triagmos* (*Triagmoi*) ascribed to Orpheus. Epigenes did not report that this had been denied, but he denied it himself. It is not known who he thought to be the author of the work”. As we have seen, not only was the authorship of the *Triagmos* disputed but also the name of this work: *Suda* ο 654 ADLER calls it *Triasmoi* in plural, while Kallimachos *Triagmos* in singular. Apollonides and, before him, Demetrios of Skepsis contributes to this discussion, arguing about the number of the title of Ion's work: they suggested the plural. There is no indication about the work in which Apollonides discussed this question, perhaps picking up a previous treatment of Demetrios: it is possible that Apollonides found the *incipit* of the *Triagmos* or *Triagmoi* in Demetrios and quoted it like him<sup>191</sup>.

(7) The reference to Apollonides is found in the *incipit* of *De figuris numerorum* of Priscianus. Firstly, Priscianus explains that the Romans use only 7 *figurae* to write down the numbers; then, he clarifies that the Romans employ the *figura* “I” for the number 1 like the Greeks: the latter are used to write down the numbers according to the first letter of the name of number, e.g. (μ)ία I, πέντε Π, δέκα Δ, ἑκατόν Η, etc. After a quotation of lines by an *incertus auctor*, Priscianus carries on explaining that the Latins imitated the Greek in the other numbers too, even if his explanations seem to be tortuous. When he tries to clarify why 50 is written down “L”, the Latin grammarian says that the ancient Greeks used “L” instead “N”, i.e. the letter that indicates the number 50 in Greek: to corroborate this claim, Priscianus quotes the *Aeneid* 1,701, in which Virgil – like the ancient Greeks – writes *lymphas*, not *nymphas*, as we could expect. About the replacement of “L” by “N”, Priscianus acknowledges as his sources Apollonides and Lukios (or Lukillos) of Tarrhas, a grammarian who lived in the 1st century A.D. and came from Crete<sup>192</sup>: according to Usener and

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tragedian too: Ὀρφεύς, Λειβήθρων τῶν ἐν Θράκη (πόλις δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῇ Πιερίᾳ), υἱὸς Οἰάγρου καὶ Καλλιόπης ... ἔγραψε Τριασμούς· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἴωνος τοῦ τραγικοῦ· κτλ.

<sup>185</sup> DETTORI (2019, 59).

<sup>186</sup> Given that Epigenes wrote a commentary on Ion's work, it is likely that their names were associated, so perhaps confused: see DETTORI (2019, 59) with bibliography.

<sup>187</sup> See BLUM (1991, 180) and DETTORI (2019, 59-60): Clem.Al., *Strom.* 1,131,5 Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χίος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς καὶ Πυθαγόραν εἰς Ὀρφέα ἀνενεγκεῖν τινα ἱστορεῖ. Ἐπιγένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀρφέα ποιήσεως Κέρκωπος εἶναι λέγει τοῦ Πυθαγορείου τὴν εἰς Ἄιδου κατάβασιν καὶ τὸν Ἰερὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ Πέπλον καὶ τὰ Φυσικὰ Βροντίνου, “Ion of Chios in his *Triads* records that Pythagoras attributed some of his work to Orpheus. Epigenes in his work *On Poetry* attributed to Orpheus says that the *Descent to Hades* and the *Sacred Doctrine* are works of the Pythagorean Cercops and the *Robe* and the *Works of Nature*, writings of Brontinus” transl. FERGUSON (1991).

<sup>188</sup> Ath. 11,468c Ἐπιγένης μὲν οὖν ἀκούει (scil. δακτυλωτὸν in *TrGF* 19 F1,2) τὸ ἄμφωτον ποτήριον, εἰς ὃ οἶόν τε τοὺς δακτύλους διείρειν ἑκατέρωθεν.

<sup>189</sup> See BLUM (1991, 180).

<sup>190</sup> See FEDERICO-VALERIO (2015, 84), who prefers Bergk's text in Harp. 1 27 KEANEY = Ion Chius T 3 FEDERICO-VALERIO.

<sup>191</sup> About Ion's *Triagmos*, see Baltussen (2007, 296-300) with bibliography.

<sup>192</sup> Lukillos (or Lukios) wrote a *Περὶ γραμμάτων*, a *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* and a *Περὶ Θεσσαλονίκης*; he was a commentator of Apollonios Rhodios. See LINNENKUGEL (1926) and BAUMBACH (1999, 503).

Passalacqua<sup>193</sup>, the source of Priscianus' *De figuris numerorum* is Lukios, who maybe quoted Apollonides. As to the assimilation between Greek "N" and Latin "L" with regard to the sign of 50, Dragotto notes that it may stem from the fact that the ionic "N" looks like the Latin "L"<sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>193</sup> USENER (1892, 645) and PASSALACQUA (1987, XVI).

<sup>194</sup> DRAGOTTO (2010, 170).

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## Metadata

### T 1

Source	Diogenes Laertios, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers
Work mentioned	Commentary on Silloi by Timon of Phlius
Source date	3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Biography

### T 2a

Subject: provenance

Source Date: VI A.D.

Historian's Date: I B.C. / I A.D.

Source	Stephanos of Byzantion, Ethnika
Work mentioned	On Proverbs
Source date	6th century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Geography
Fragment subject	Geography

### T 2b

Subject: provenance

Source Date: II/III A.D.

Historian's Date: I B.C. / I A.D.

Source	Diogenes Laertios, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers
Work mentioned	Commentary on Silloi by Timon of Phlius
Source date	3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Biography

### T 2c

Subject: provenance

Source Date: unknown

Historian's Date: I B.C. / I A.D.

Source	Pseudo-Ammonios, On the Difference of Similar Words
Work mentioned	Commentary On the False Embassy by Demosthenes
Source date	2nd - 3rd century AD
Source language	Greek

Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

### T 2d

Subject: provenance

Source Date: d) I A.D.

Historian's Date: I B.C. / I A.D.

Source	Herennios Philon of Byblos, On Synonims
Work mentioned	On False History
Source date	1st century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

### T 2e

Subject: provenance, name

Source Date: II A.D.

Historian's Date: I B.C. / I A.D.

Source	Harpokration, Lexicon on Ten Attic Orators
Work mentioned	Fragments without a book title
Source date	2nd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Lexicography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

### T 3

Source	Life of Aratos
Work mentioned	On False History
Source date	unknown (3rd AD?)
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

### T 4

Source	Stephanos of Byzantion, Ethnika
Work mentioned	On Proverbs
Source date	6th century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Geography

Fragment subject	Geography
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#### T 5

Source	Diogenes Laertios, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers
Work mentioned	Commentary on Silloi by Timon of Phlius
Source date	3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Biography

#### T 6

Source	Pseudo-Ammonios, On the Difference of Similar Words
Work mentioned	Commentary On the False Embassy by Demosthenes
Source date	2nd - 3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

#### T 7

Source	Herennios Philon of Byblos, On Synonims
Work mentioned	On False Histories
Source date	1st century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

#### T 8

Source	Life of Aratos
Work mentioned	On False History
Source date	unknown (3rd AD?)
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

#### T 9

Source	Suda
Work mentioned	On the False History
Source date	10th century AD

Source language	Greek
Source genre	Lexicography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

**F 1**

Source	Stephanos of Byzantion, Ethnika
Work mentioned	On Proverbs
Source date	6th century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Geography
Fragment subject	Geography

**F 2**

Source	Diogenes Laertios, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers
Work mentioned	Commentary on Silloi by Timon of Phlius
Source date	3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Biography

**F 3**

Source	Pseudo-Ammonios, On the Difference of Similar Words
Work mentioned	Commentary On the False Embassy by Demosthenes
Source date	2nd - 3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

**F 4**

Source	Herennios Philon of Byblos, On Synonims
Work mentioned	On False Histories
Source date	1st century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics

**F 5**

Source	Life of Aratos
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Work mentioned	On False History
Source date	unknown (3rd AD?)
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Biography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

**F 6**

Source	Harpokration, Lexicon on Ten Attic Orators
Work mentioned	Fragments without a book title
Source date	2nd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Lexicography
Fragment subject	Linguistics

**F 7**

Source	Priscian (Priscianus of Caesarea),
Work mentioned	On the signs of numbers
Source date	5th century AD
Source language	Latin
Source genre	Linguistics
Fragment subject	Linguistics