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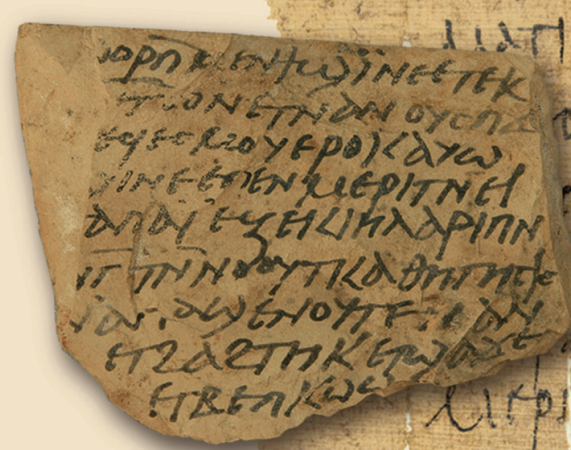
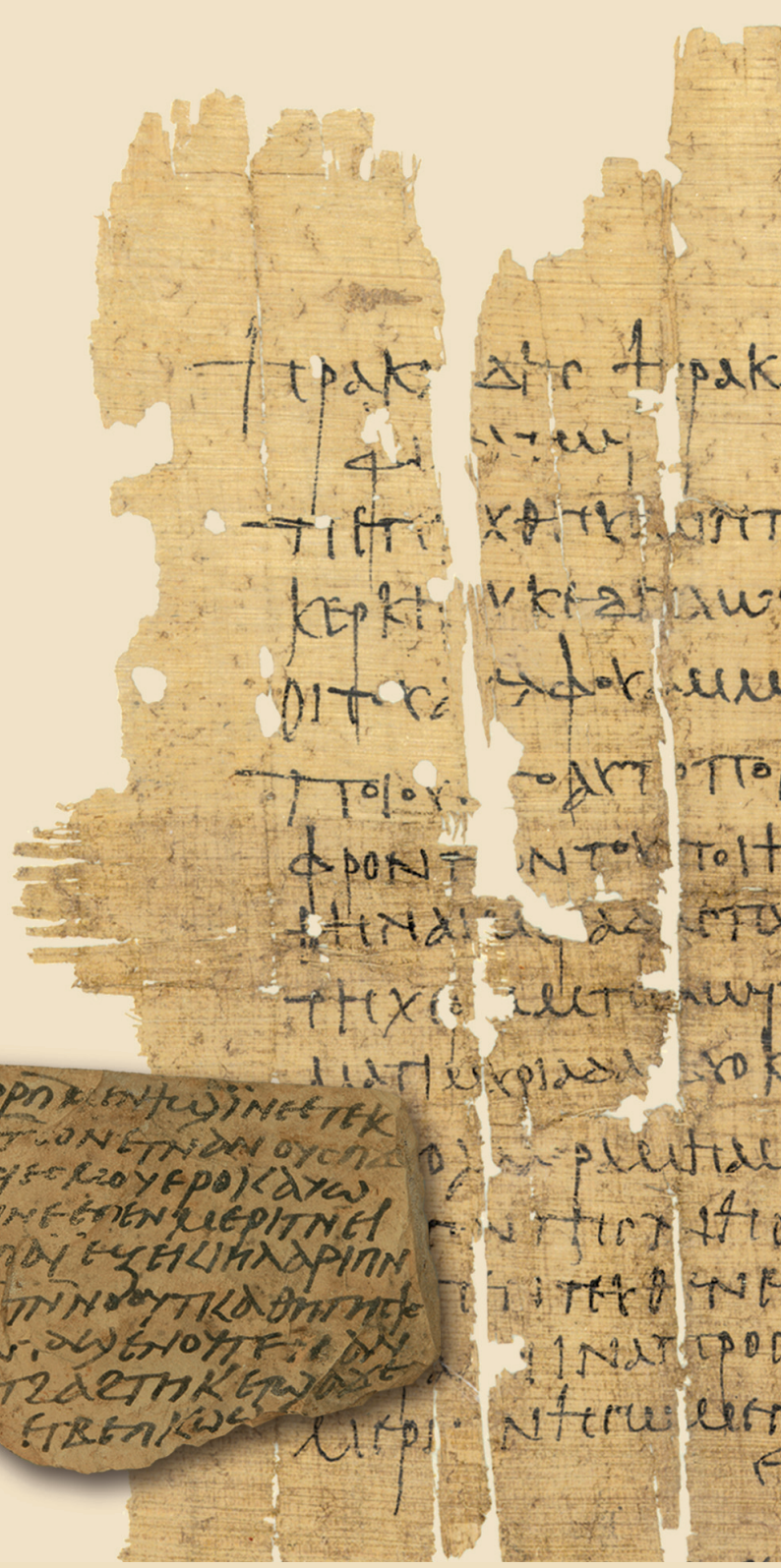
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FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION  
CHAIR OF ROMAN AND ANTIQUE LAW



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Christian Vassallo

**TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE EDITION  
OF THE EVIDENCE FOR PRESOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI\***

*D. M. Hermann Diels et Theodori Gomperz*

THE PROMINENT ROLE OF THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI in the reconstruction of the Presocratic tradition can be easily proved through a numerical comparison between the Herculanean testimonia more or less directly concerned with Presocratic philosophers and those known through Graeco-Egyptian papyri. The *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* (CPF) gives evidence from Graeco-Egyptian papyri concerning about 25 Presocratics.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this argument the name of Leucippus in P. Tura III (= Van Haelst 645; LDAB 773), col. XV, 27 is included. But, as we know, in this case the papyrological context is so full of gaps as

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<sup>1</sup> We should also take into account the papyrological evidence for Pythagoreans and Sophists considered as philosophical schools or movements (cf. *infra*, Appendix).

to make the identification of the Atomist Leucippus, proposed by Gerhard Binder and Leo Liesenborghs, very uncertain.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, as far as the Herculean tradition is concerned, my preliminary work on a *Corpus Praesocraticorum Herculanense* (CPH)<sup>3</sup> has enabled me so far to identify in the Herculean collection references to almost 40 Presocratic philosophers.<sup>4</sup> Of course, one should also consider the total amount of evidence concerning the Presocratics preserved in the Herculean and non-Herculean sources. In this case, if one includes fragments, doxographical information, reminiscences and simple name quotations, the Graeco-Egyptian testimonia for Presocratic philosophers are not too much more numerous than about 180 *Praesocratica Herculanensia* which I have counted so far.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that in this case the difference is due both to the large mass of Graeco-Egyptian papyrological evidence concerning the Orphics<sup>6</sup> and to some sensational discoveries of recent years such as the famous Strasbourg Empedocles (P. Strasb. gr. inv. 1665–1666 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 356.11; LDAB 824)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> G. BINDER, L. LIESENBORGHs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes (Tura-Papyrus)*, I.I., *Kommentar zu Eccl. Kap. 1, 1–2, 14* [= *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 25], Bonn 1979, p. 72 (app.). See CPF I.1\*\*, 65, p. 467, where it is rightly noted that we have nothing on which to base a comparison between this piece of papyrological evidence and the evidence for Leucippus collected in DK. In any case, if we wish to exclude P. Tura III, col. XV, 27 from the Presocratic sources, we could include instead P. Hibeh 13, if this text is really to be attributed to Alcidas (so A. Brancacci) rather than to Hippias (so F. W. Blass and others). See A. BRANCACCI, 'Alcidamante e PHibeh 13 *De musica*. Musica della retorica e retorica della musica', [in:] IDEM, *Musica e filosofia da Damone a Filodemo. Sette studi* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', Studi* 245], Florence 2008, pp. 57–79 (= IDEM *et alii*, *Aristoxenica, Menandrea, fragmenta philosophica* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici greci e latini* 3], Florence 1988, pp. 61–84).

<sup>3</sup> Ch. VASSALLO, *Corpus Praesocraticorum Herculanense. Testimonia to Presocratic Philosophers in the Herculeanum Papyri* (= *Studia Praesocratica*), Berlin – Boston (in preparation).

<sup>4</sup> To be precise, the Presocratics I have counted so far are 39 in number (cf. *infra*, Appendix).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *infra*, Appendix, but in this case too the catalogue still remains open.

<sup>6</sup> For the Derveni Papyrus and the other Orphic sources, cf. *infra*, Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> A. MARTIN, O. PRIMAVESI, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg (P. Strasb. gr. Inv. 1665–1666), Introduction, édition et commentaire. With an English Summary*, Strasbourg – Berlin – New York

In any case, the sheer number of the Herculean testimonia suggests the major impact that they could have on a new comprehensive edition of the fragments of the Presocratics. To understand this better, we need to consider briefly the use of the Herculean texts in the Diels-Kranz collection. In fact, Hermann Diels took the Herculean evidence for the Presocratics into account long before 1903, when the first edition of the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* appeared.<sup>8</sup> The *Doxographi Graeci* of 1879,<sup>9</sup> the famous article *Über ein Fragment des Empedokles*, published in the same year in the *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie*,<sup>10</sup> and later on the *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*<sup>11</sup> represented for the German scholar a sort of philological training in view of the selection of the Herculean texts that he was going to establish while collecting the *Vorsokratiker*. In the *Vorsokratiker* Diels included altogether 60 Herculean sources spread over a list of 24 authors. The passages at issue included only two pieces of

1999. For simple reasons of chronology (the relevant volume came out seven years before the edition of Martin and Primavesi), this papyrus does not appear in *CPF* I.1\*, 49.

<sup>8</sup> A very careful reconstruction of the Herculean studies of Diels, drawing on the publication of his correspondence with Th. and H. Gomperz by M. BRAUN, W. M. CALDER III & D. EHLERS (eds), *Philology and Philosophy. The Letters of Hermann Diels to Theodor and Heinrich Gomperz (1871–1922)*, Hildesheim 1995, has been given by T. DORANDI, 'Gli studi ercolanesi di Hermann Diels', [in:] W. M. CALDER III & J. MANSFELD (eds), *Hermann Diels (1848–1922) et la science de l'antiquité* [= *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 45], Genève 1999, pp. 227–260. From this research it emerges that 'Diels aveva cominciato a occuparsi dei testi ercolanesi già nel 1875 spinto dalla lettura di alcuni scritti del Gomperz con il quale era in corrispondenza almeno fin dagli inizi del 1871' (*ibidem*, p. 229). On this question, see also M. GIGANTE, *La Germania e i Papiri Ercolanesi* [= *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1], Heidelberg 1988, pp. 37–38; 47. For a more general analysis of the editorial work of Diels and of his interest in the Presocratics, I refer to J. MANSFELD, 'Hermann Diels (1848–1922)', [in:] O. PRIMAVESI & K. LUCHNER (eds), *The Presocratics from the Latin Middle Ages to Hermann Diels* [= *Philosophie der Antike* 26], Stuttgart 2011, pp. 389–420.

<sup>9</sup> H. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berolini 1879; 4th ed., Berlin 1965.

<sup>10</sup> H. DIELS, 'Über ein Fragment des Empedokles', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 62 (1897), pp. 1062–1073 (= IDEM, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie*, ed. W. BURKERT, Darmstadt 1969, pp. 147–158).

<sup>11</sup> H. DIELS, *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta* [= *Poetarum graecorum fragmenta* 3.1], Berlin 1901.

evidence for Democritus in Epicurus' masterpiece *Περὶ φύσεως*,<sup>12</sup> three testimonia for Empedocles and one for Democritus in Demetrius Laco's works contained in P. Herc. 1012 (*Opus incertum*)<sup>13</sup> and P. Herc. 1014 (*On Poems*, Book 2)<sup>14</sup> respectively, but above all a very large number of testimonia in several works by Philodemus.<sup>15</sup> As far as this last author is concerned, the extraordinary role of the treatise *On Piety*, which Diels knew through the old edition of Theodor Gomperz,<sup>16</sup> stood out in his selection. From that work he drew very important evidence for several Presocratics (Musaeus, Epimenides, Pherecydes, Acusilaus, Anaximenes, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Diogenes of Apollonia, Democritus and Prodicus). However, the Presocratic thinkers quoted in Philodemus' *On Piety* are much more numerous, as the later partial editions of that work by Adolf Schober,<sup>17</sup> Albert Henrichs<sup>18</sup> and, as far as the first part of the work is concerned, Dirk Obbink<sup>19</sup> have clearly shown. In this paper I present my critical reconstruction of two columns of this text in order to demonstrate how Presocratic doxography could be further enriched by the use

<sup>12</sup> Epic., *Nat.* XXV, P. Herc. 1191 + 1056, pp. 40–41 Laursen (= DK 68 A 69); *Nat., Lib. inc.*, P. Herc. 1413, col. [XXXVII 20] 5–8 Arrighetti<sup>2</sup> (= DK 68 A 72).

<sup>13</sup> Dem. Lac., *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1012, col. XL, 5–10 Puglia (= DK 31 B 142); col. LVII, 1–5 Puglia (= DK 31 B 2, 1); col. LXV, 1–6 Puglia (= DK 31 B 100, 1–2).

<sup>14</sup> Dem. Lac., *Poem. II*, P. Herc. 1014, col. LXIV, 4–10 Romeo (= DK 68 B 298a). Cf. M. GIGANTE, 'Il Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi contributo alla storia della Filologia Classica', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 10 (1980), pp. 5–15, at 13.

<sup>15</sup> For the complete list of the *testimonia Herculanensia* in the Diels-Kranz collection, see T. DORANDI, 'Gli studi ercolanesi di Hermann Diels' (cit. n. 8), pp. 243–248.

<sup>16</sup> Th. GOMPERZ, *Philodem. Über Frömmigkeit* [= *Herkulanische Studien* 2], Leipzig 1866.

<sup>17</sup> A. SCHOBER, 'Philodemi *De pietate* Pars prior', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988), pp. 67–125 (= IDEM, *Philodemi Περὶ εὐσεβείας libelli partem priorem restituit A. Schober*, diss. ined. Königsberg 1923).

<sup>18</sup> A. HENRICHs, 'Towards a new edition of Philodemus' treatise *On Piety*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972), pp. 67–98; IDEM, 'Die Kritik der stoischen Theologie im P. Herc. 1428', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 4 (1974), pp. 5–32; IDEM, 'Two doxographical notes: Democritus and Prodicus on religion', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975), pp. 93–123; IDEM, 'Philodems *De pietate* als mythographische Quelle', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 5 (1975), pp. 5–38; IDEM, 'The Atheism of Prodicus', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 6 (1976), pp. 15–21.

<sup>19</sup> D. OBBINK, *Philodemus. On Piety*, Part 1. *Critical Text with Commentary*, Oxford 1996.

of the recent multispectral images of the Herculaneum papyri (MSI) together with an accurate reading and a scrupulous transcription of the original manuscripts preserved in the *Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi* of the National Library in Naples. Diels relied on editions which were not principally founded on autopsy of the original manuscripts. And this fault caused him, on the one hand, to exclude from his collection some evidence which the progress of Herculanean studies brought to light only many years later, and to include, on the other, some fragments in which there is actually no real trace of the Presocratics. Both of these points apply to two important Presocratic philosophers, viz. Xenophanes and Empedocles, whom I would like now to treat in more detail.

In the *Nachträge* to the first volume of the *Vorsokratiker*, Diels took into account a Herculanean passage which turns out to have no reference to Xenophanes, viz. col. XXV of P. Herc. 1289, containing Book 2 of Philodemus' work *On Epicurus*.<sup>20</sup> In this passage Achille Vogliano<sup>21</sup> wrongly thought that he could restore the dative  $\Xi(\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle o)\varphi[\acute{\alpha}\nu]\epsilon\iota$ . Ettore Bignone,<sup>22</sup> basing himself on Vogliano's edition, considered this Herculanean text to be a proof of the anti-sceptical polemics of Epicurus in the *Letter to the Philosophers of Mitylene*. In fact, in his opinion, the letter was directed against Presocratics, Academics, and Peripatetics in relation to two kinds of problems: firstly, ethics and the denial of any role to liberal studies in philosophical education; secondly, scepticism, and the criticism of all philosophical trends which did not consider the senses as criteria of truth. Xenophanes would have been directly involved in the dispute because of his scepticism, attested to by fr. 34 DK, which I will shortly mention. In the seventies David N. Sedley was the first scholar to throw new light on this topic by restoring the name  $\mathcal{A}]\rho\kappa\epsilon\varphi\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\iota$  in place of the imaginary reading  $\Xi(\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle o)\varphi[\acute{\alpha}\nu]\epsilon\iota$  of Vogliano. The new text

<sup>20</sup> H. DIELS & W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. I–III, Berlin 1903; 6th ed., Berlin – Zürich 1952, I, p. 491.

<sup>21</sup> A. VOGLIANO, *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta in Herculaneis Papyris servata*, Berlin 1928, p. 60 (fr. 6, col. III).

<sup>22</sup> E. BIGNONE, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro*, vol. I–II, 2nd ed., Florence 1973; Milan 2007 (repr.), pp. 441–444.

excluded the possibility that the fragment refers to the question of Pre-socratic scepticism.<sup>23</sup>

Still, I have found so far 5 Herculean testimonia for Xenophanes.<sup>24</sup> The first one represents a very recent acquisition, fr. 23 Janko of P. Herc. 207, a roll containing Book 4 of Philodemus' work *On Poems*. Then there are 3 fragments transmitted by P. Herc. 327, attributed to the *Survey of Philosophers* of Philodemus on the basis of palaeographical considerations.<sup>25</sup> All these texts are extremely significant for Xenophanes' doxography and in general for the history of ancient atheism. A peculiar papyrological case is represented by fr. 16 Sudhaus (I, p. 275) of P. Herc. 1015/832. As far as the papyrological aspects are concerned, a first autopsy of the original manuscript led me to exclude the possibility that the letters *NOΦ* (l. 14) belong to the original layer of the roll, because of the large *sovrapposto* at the end of that column. Consequently I denied that there could be any trace of Xenophanes there or in Philodemus' treatise *On Rhetoric* generally.<sup>26</sup> But thanks to David Blank,<sup>27</sup> who is preparing a new critical edition of P. Herc. 1015/832 (a Herculeanum roll currently assigned to Book 8 of that work<sup>28</sup>),

<sup>23</sup> D. N. SEDLEY, 'Epicurus and the Mathematicians of Cyzicus', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 6 (1976), pp. 23–54, at 27–28. This conclusion has been confirmed by the later edition of A. TEPEDINO GUERRA, 'L'opera filodemea *Su Epicuro* (P. Herc. 1232, 1289β)', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994), pp. 5–53, at 43–44. See M. GIGANTE, *Scetticismo e Epicureismo. Per l'avviamento di un discorso storiografico* [= *Elenchos* 4], Naples 1981, pp. 27–29.

<sup>24</sup> An in-depth report on the presence of Xenophanes in the Herculeanum papyri is now given in Ch. VASSALLO, 'Xenophanes in the Herculeanum Papyri. *Praesocratica Herculanensia* IV', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 60 (2014), pp. 45–66.

<sup>25</sup> On this point, see G. CAVALLI, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano. Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci* [= *Cronache Ercolanesi Suppl.* 1], Naples 1983, p. 31, who associates with the same graphical trend (group D) P. Herc. 327 and P. Herc. 495, 558, 1508 and 1780, the last all belonging to the *Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων*. See also M. C. CAVALIERI, 'La *Rassegna dei filosofi* di Filodemo: Scuola eleatica ed abderita (P. Herc. 327) e Scuola pitagorica (P. Herc. 1508)?', *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 11 (2002), pp. 17–53, at 21–23.

<sup>26</sup> That is what I argued in the paper that I read during the Congress in Warsaw.

<sup>27</sup> A new critical reconstruction of the final section of the roll was already given by D. BLANK, 'Aristotle's 'Academic Course on Rhetoric' and the End of Philodemus, *On Rhetoric* VIII', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 37 (2007), pp. 5–47.

<sup>28</sup> F. LONGO AURICCHIO, 'Nuovi elementi per la ricostruzione della *Retorica* di Filodemo', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26 (1996), pp. 169–171, at 171. But a different and more convincing

I had the opportunity to return to this complex stratigraphical problem. The provisional edition of the fragment (fr. 16a Blank) which Blank has kindly showed me saves the sequence  $\Xi\epsilon\text{N}\text{O}\Phi$  at line 14 of the column and reopens the old debate on the identification of this name: Xenophanes or Xenophon? As is well-known, on the grounds of Gomperz's Oxonian apograph, these letters were taken by Sudhaus to belong to the name of the Presocratic, while in the same passage Gomperz suggested an allusion to Xenophon.<sup>29</sup> I am sure that a new comprehensive edition of this roll will throw new light on the words that can actually be restored in the column at issue and above all on their contextualization in the book of the multi-volume treatise to which they belong. As far as the content is concerned, I would only observe that it would be at least difficult to imagine in that context a plausible connection between the 'good rhetoricians for philosophy' (ll. 1–2 Sudhaus:  $\omicron[\acute{\iota} \acute{\rho}\acute{\eta}\tau]\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$  |  $[\delta\iota\grave{\alpha} \varphi\iota]\lambda\omicron[\varsigma]\omicron\varphi\iota[\alpha\varsigma]$   $\acute{\alpha}[\chi]αθ\omicron\iota$ ) and the name of a Presocratic philosopher like Xenophanes. But on this occasion I will dwell instead on the fifth piece of evidence, which is by far the most important. I refer to fr. 12 of P. Herc. 1428. In this testimonium we can read the following words:<sup>30</sup>

Fr. 12: P. Herc. 1428, cr. 2, pz. 1 = N fr. 12 =  $VH^2$  II 4

*desunt versus fere 23*

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & & & \\ \dots\dots] & . & [ & \dots\dots\dots & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ \dots\dots] & . & [\dots] & . & [ & \dots\dots\dots & \\ & & & & & & \\ \dots\dots] & . & [\dots] & . & \kappa & . & [\dots\dots \\ & & & & & & \\ \dots\dots(\cdot) & ] & \nu\epsilon^{\Gamma}\iota^{\Gamma}\nu & . & [ & \dots\dots\dots & \end{array}$$

24

.....]. [.....  
 .....]. [..]. [.....  
 .....]. [..]. κα[ὶ πάν-  
 τα κει]νεῖν μ[ηδამὼς

hypothesis concerning the number of this book is given now by G. RANOCCHIA, ‘Sui testimoni principali del  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\rho\eta\tau\omicron\rho\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$  di Filodemo’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (forthcoming). I extend many thanks to the author for giving me in advance the manuscript of this article.

<sup>29</sup> See R. JANKO, *Philodemus. On Poems, Books 3 and 4. With the Fragments of Aristotle*, On Poets [= *The Philodemus Translation Project; Philodemus: The Aesthetic Works* 1.3], Oxford 2011, pp. 258–259 and n. 4: ‘To judge by the spacing, Philodemus refers to Xenophon at *Rhet.* 8 *P. Herc.* 1015 fr. 16,13 = i. 275 Sudhaus, where Gomperz suggested  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\phi\omicron\nu[\acute{\omega}\nu] \epsilon\nu\Gamma$ ’.

<sup>30</sup> The *conspectus siglorum et signorum* is below, before the Appendix.

|                                                    |    |                            |
|----------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| .....]εἰσθαιτ[.....]ον                             | 28 | δὲ κειν]εἰσθαι τ[ὸν θε]όν, |
| .....]τω . αλ . [ . ( . ) ]ν . ε                   |    | εἰ περι] τῶν ἀλλ[ω]ν λέ-   |
| ..( . ) ] . ισηπερι . ε . μ η                      |    | γει] τις ἢ περι θεοῦ, μη-  |
| ... ] . αυτασα . . θεισ                            |    | δὲν] ταύτας ἀληθείς        |
| .....]τασ <sup>τ</sup> δο <sup>τ</sup> ξ . . ε . μ | 32 | οὔcas] τὰς δόξας κυμ-      |
| β . β η κεν γινωσκειν                              |    | βέβηκεν γινώσκειν.         |
| παρμενείδηςδε                                      |    | Παρμενείδης δὲ             |

24 ] . [ subter lineam vert., med. vest. || 25 ] . [ . . ] . [ sin. asc. sicut λ, α, inf. vest. || 26 ] . [ . ] . κ . [ inf. vest., inf. vest., inf. apex || 27 <sup>τ</sup> N: . sup. vest. P | ν . [ (μ, κ, ν) || 29 ω . αλ . [ (ν, αι, λι, δδ), (λ, α, χ) | ν . ε (λ, χ, α) || 30 ] . ι (τ, γ, π, ξ, ζ) | ι . ε . . μ sup. vest., inf. vest, dext. sup. uncus || 31 ] . αυτασα . . θ med. vest., inf. vest., sup. vert. cum med. horiz. coniuncta || 32 <sup>τ</sup>δο<sup>τ</sup> N: . . (δ, λ, α), (ο, ε) P | ξ . . ε . μ (α, δ), inf. vest., sup. vest. || 33 β . β inf. vest.

26–28 κα[ί] supplevi, cetera Sedley: μήτε || κει]νεῖν μ[ηδὲν μήτε | κειν]εἰσθαι τ[ὸν θε]όν Philippson: μήτε κει]νεῖν μ[ηδὲν μήτε κειν]εἰσθαι τ[ὸν | θε]όν Schober: μ[ητ’ ἄλλοις κει]νεῖν Janko (cf. DK 21 A 31 = Simpl., in *Phys.* 22, 22 sqq.: οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε ἡρεμούν, A 35 = [Galen.], *Hist. phil.* 7 = *DG*, p. 604, 17: ἀμετάβλητον, B 25 = Simpl., in *Phys.* 23, 10: ἀλλ’ ἀπάνευθε νόον νοον φρενὶ πάντα κραδάνει, B 26 = Simpl., in *Phys.* 23, 10: αἰεὶ δ’ ἐν ταυτῷ μίμνει κινούμενος οὐδὲν / οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαι μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ) || 28 fin. τ[ὸν θε]όν supplevi: τ[ὸν αὐτ]όν Hammerstaedt dubit. || 29 εἰ περι] supplevi (εἰ) Hammerstaedt | ἀλλ[ω]ν supplevi || 29 sq. λέ[γει] suppl. Hammerstaedt et Rashed || 30 θεοῦ legi dubit. || 30–33 cf. DK 21 B 34 = Sext., *Adv. math.* VII 49, 110; Plut., *Aud. poet.* 2, 17e || 30–31 μ[ηδὲν] supplevi: μ[ηδὲ] Philippson || 32 οὔcas] supplevi: λέγων] Philippson || 34 cf. Bücheler, p. 529

(c. 25 lines and 2–3 words missing) *and it turns out that* [he (scil. *Xenophanes*) believes] *that God on the one hand moves all things, and on the other hand is not moved in any way, and* [it turns out] *that, if someone argues about the other things* (scil. *about the other facts/phenomena*) *or about God, he does not recognize these opinions as true. Then Parmenides* (continues on)

The *diple obelismene* placed under the line 33 indicates the transition from a doxographical section to another, in this case to the section specifically devoted to Parmenides, whose name is clearly legible at the end of the column (l. 34). As a matter of fact, in the following column (P. Herc. 1428, fr. 13) Philodemus itemizes the theological conception of Parmenides.<sup>31</sup> The lines

<sup>31</sup> Cf. M. CAPASSO, ‘Epicureismo ed Eleatismo. Secondo contributo alla ricostruzione della

immediately before the *diple* certainly refer to Xenophanes. This is demonstrated by, among other things, the stylistic similarity of the Herculean text to a parallel passage of Book I of Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*:

Tum Xenophanes, qui mente adiuncta omne praeterea, quod esset infinitum, deum voluit esse, de ipsa mente item reprehendetur ut ceteri, de infinitate autem vehementius, in qua nihil neque sentiens neque coniunctum potest esse. Nam Parmenides etc.<sup>32</sup>

*Next, Xenophanes endowed the universe with mind, and held that, as being infinite, it was god. His view of mind is as open to objection as that of the rest; but on the subject of infinity he incurs still severer criticism, for the infinite can have no sensation and no contact with anything outside. As for Parmenides, etc.*<sup>33</sup>

Diels in the *Doxographi Graeci* compared this Latin text in a synoptic way to fr. 12 of P. Herc. 1428,<sup>34</sup> even though he did not believe that Cicero depended on Philodemus in this field.<sup>35</sup> Robert Philippson, less prudent

critica epicurea alla filosofia presocratica', [in:] M. CAPASSO, F. DE MARTINO, P. ROSATI (eds), *Studi di filosofia preplatonica*, Naples 1985, pp. 253–309, at 290–299 (= IDEM, *Comunità senza rivolta. Quattro saggi sull'epicureismo*, Naples 1987, pp. 103–163, at 142–151).

<sup>32</sup> Cic., ND I 11, 28 (= DK 21 A 34).

<sup>33</sup> Transl. by H. Rackham.

<sup>34</sup> H. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci* (cit. n. 9), p. 534. On the synoptic technique adopted in the *Doxographi Graeci*, see J. MANSFELD & D. T. RUNIA, *Aëtiana. The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, Vol. 1. *The Sources* [= *Philosophia Antiqua* 73], Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, pp. 89–97, at 92: 'in the letter to Wilamowitz of January 22 1870, he [*scil.* Diels] speaks of the 'archetypus' of P [= pseudo-Plutarch] and the material in S [= Stobaeus] which as at the time he believed had been used by Philodemus in the *On Piety*, which in its turn would have been used by Cicero in ND 1.10 ff., and by Varro'.

<sup>35</sup> DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci* (cit. n. 9), pp. 121–129, assumed that both Cicero and Philodemus followed the treatise *Περὶ θεῶν* of the Epicurean Phaedrus. As we know, a specific request for the theological work of Phaedrus by Cicero is testified in Cic., *ad Att.* XIII 38, 1 and 39, 2, on which see A. R. DYCK, *Cicero. De natura deorum* I [= *Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics*], Cambridge 2003, p. 7; H. ESSLER, 'Cicero's Use and Abuse of Epicurean Theology', [in:] J. FISH & K. SANDERS (eds), *Epicurus and the Epicurean Tradition*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 129–151, at 151. For the other thesis, viz. the dependence of Cicero on Philodemus, see R. PHILIPPSON, 'Zur epikureischen Götterlehre', *Hermes* 51 (1916), pp. 568–608 (= IDEM, *Stu-*

than Schober with regard to the supplements, considered the final lines of the fragment a clear 'Anspielung auf die vermeintliche Skepsis des Xenophanes'.<sup>36</sup> He was evidently inclined to divide it into two sections, with theological and epistemological content respectively. But his reading τὸ] μὴδὲν γινώσκειν, besides failing to explain what kind of things Xenophanes' scepticism referred to, cannot be reconciled with the evidence of the original manuscript, which categorically excludes the reading μὴδὲν proposed by Philippson and restores instead the perfect συμβέβηκεν at lines 32–33. Thus we can infer that the infinitive γινώσκειν refers still to Xenophanes and not to human knowledge in general. At the same time the new reading does not exclude the possibility that the passage has epistemological implications. This is very important both for the history

*dien zu Epikur und den Epikureern*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1983, pp. 90–130), at 606–608; IDEM, 'Die Quelle der epikureischen Götterlehre in Ciceros erstem Buche *De natura deorum*', *Symbolae Osloenses* 19 (1939), pp. 15–40 (= IDEM, *Studien zu Epikur* [cit. n. 35], pp. 249–274). On this point, see also P. STEINMETZ, 'Eine jungepikureische Sicht der Geschichte der Philosophie', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 48 (1966), pp. 153–162, at 154; HENRICHs, *Die Kritik* (cit. n. 18), p. 9, n. 28; CAPASSO, 'Epicureismo ed Eleatismo' (cit. n. 31), pp. 293–294; M. GIGANTE, *Ricerche filodemee* [= *Bibl. della Parola del Passato* 6], Naples 1969; 2nd ed., 1983, p. 34; IDEM, *Filodemo in Italia* [= *Bibl. del Saggiatore* 49], Florence 1990, p. 52.

<sup>36</sup> R. PHILIPPSON, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit', *Hermes* 55 (1920), pp. 225–278; 364–372, at 367. In general on Xenophanes' epistemology, see M. UNTERSTEINER, *Senofane. Testimonianze e frammenti* [= *Biblioteca di Studi Superiori* 33], Florence 1956; Milan 2008 (repr.), pp. CCXIII–CCXXXVI, at XXX; Th. SCHIRREN, 'Xenophanes', [in:] D. BREMER, H. FLASHAR, G. RECHENAUER (eds), *Frühgriechische Philosophie*, [in:] F. ÜBERWEG (ed.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie der Antike*, I.1–2, Basel 2013, I.1, pp. 339–374, at 362–367. For the specific problem of Xenophanes' scepticism, above all in relation to fr. 34 DK, see H. FRÄNKEL, 'Xenophanesstudien', *Hermes* 60 (1925), pp. 174–192, at 184–192; E. HEITSCH, 'Das Wissen des Xenophanes', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* n.F. 109 (1966), pp. 193–235; F. DECLEVA CAIZZI, 'Senofane e il problema della conoscenza', *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* 102 (1974), pp. 145–164; J. H. LESHAR, 'Xenophanes' Scepticism', *Phronesis* 23 (1978), pp. 1–21; G. TURRINI, 'Il frammento 34 di Senofane e la tradizione dossografica', *Prometheus* 8 (1982), pp. 117–135; A. FINKELBERG, 'Studies in Xenophanes', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93 (1990), pp. 103–167, at 131–146; J. WIESNER, 'Wissen und Skepsis bei Xenophanes', *Hermes* 125 (1997), pp. 17–33; R. IOLI, 'Senofane B 34 DK e il conoscere', *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 55 (2003), pp. 199–219; W. LAPINI, 'Un recente studio sullo scetticismo di Senofane e alcune precisazioni di filologia filosofica', [in:] IDEM, *Studi di filologia filosofica greca* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria'*, *Studi* 211], Florence 2003, pp. 59–72.

of ancient philosophy and for Presocratic doxography, because the Herculean evidence comes many decades before the testimonia of Plutarch and Sextus Empiricus on Xenophanes' scepticism.

In the first lines of the fragment the supplements of Philippson and Schober do not give a completely certain reference to the qualities of God in Xenophanes' thought. But parallel passages<sup>37</sup> give us good grounds for believing that in this doxographical section the active and passive immobility of God was at issue. The philosophical connection of such an important theological problem with the second part of the fragment allows us to formulate a wide range of hypotheses, among which I would mention at least two. a) The first takes the second part of fr. 12 as a proof of Xenophanes' Eleatism in the view of Philodemus or more generally in the Epicurean approach to the history of Presocratic philosophy. According to this approach the image of Xenophanes as a forerunner of the Eleatic school would be confirmed. In this case the fragment would testify not only to Xenophanes' generic scepticism but also to his specific assent to the traditional Eleatic theory of a strong separation between ἀλήθεια and δόξα and of the consequent inability of the senses to reach the truth.<sup>38</sup> If so, the Herculean fragment should be compared, on the one hand, with the radically sceptical evidence of pseudo-Plutarch (DK 21 A 32), which maintains the deceptive nature of the senses and the inadequateness of human reason for knowledge;<sup>39</sup> on the other hand, with the moderately sceptical evidence of the Peripatetic Aristocles (DK 21 A 49), who confirms that the senses give no access to truth and are useless for knowledge, but at the same time does not associate reason with this sceptical approach (on the contrary, in the view of Aristocles the λόγος is the only trustworthy human faculty).<sup>40</sup> b) The other interpretation sets the

<sup>37</sup> See *supra* the evidence quoted in the critical apparatus of my edition.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, DK 28 B 7–8. A good and exhaustive treatment of the role of the senses and the relationship between opinion and truth in Parmenides, with a rich and up-to-date bibliography, can be found now in M. KRAUS, *Parmenides*, [in:] D. BREMER, H. FLASHAR & G. RECHENAUER (eds), *Frühgriechische Philosophie* (cit. n. 36), I.2, pp. 441–530.

<sup>39</sup> Ps.-Plut., *Strom.* 4 (ap. Eus., PE I 8, 4 = DG, p. 580): (...) ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ψευδεῖς καὶ καθόλου σὺν αὐταῖς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει. (...)

<sup>40</sup> Aristocl., *De philos.* VIII (ap. Eus., PE XIV 17, 1): οἴονται γὰρ δεῖν τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ

supposed scepticism of Xenophanes against its theological and ontological background. I think this is the best way to understand the Herculean evidence. If so, it seems reasonable to consider fr. 12 of P. Herc. 1428 as a unity and to associate it with the words of the well-known fr. 34 DK, where Xenophanes says:

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὐτις ἀνὴρ ἵδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται  
εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων·  
εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπών,  
αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται.<sup>41</sup>

No man knows, or ever will know, the truth  
about the gods and about everything I speak of;  
for even if one chanced to say the complete truth,  
yet oneself knows it not; but seeming is wrought over all things  
[or fancy is wrought in the case of all men].<sup>42</sup>

τὰς φαντασίας μεταβάλλειν, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύειν' (...) Among the supporters of this position Aristocles joined Xenophanes directly to the Eleatics (Parmenides, Zeno, Melissus), and he added besides the followers of Stilpon and the Megarics. See also Aët., IV 9, 1 (= DG, p. 396). UNTERSTEINER, *Senofane* (cit. n. 33), pp. XXXIV–XXXV and nn. 54–55; 59, does not see any contradiction between καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει of A 32 (p. 122, 21) and αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύειν of A 49 (p. 126, 7), above all on the grounds of the different value the word λόγος would have in the two testimonia (*ibidem*, p. CCXIV).

<sup>41</sup> DK 21 B 34 (= Sext., *Adv. math.* VII 49; 110; VIII 326; Plut., *Aud. poet.* 2, 17e). As far as the v. 1 is concerned, in place of the reading ἵδεν of Sextus Empiricus (attested in the itacistic form οἶδεν in the Mss. N and A), Plutarch's text has γένετ'. Sextus' reading was preferred already by F. W. A. MÜLLACH, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. I–III, Paris 1860, I, p. 103; defended by FRÄNKEL, 'Xenophanesstudien' (cit. n. 36), p. 185 and U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, 'Lese Früchte', *Hermes* 61 (1926), pp. 277–303, at 280; then accepted, among others, by H. Diels and B. Snell, most recently by G. S. KIRK, J. E. RAVEN & M. SCHOFIELD, *The Presocratic Philosophy. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts*, Cambridge 1957; 2nd ed. 1983, p. 179, and J. H. LESHNER, *Xenophanes of Colophon. Fragments* [= *Phoenix Suppl.* 30; *Phoenix Presocratics* 4], Toronto – Buffalo – London 1992, p. 38. On the other hand, UNTERSTEINER, *Senofane* (cit. n. 36), pp. CCXX–CCXXII and nn. 22–26; DECLEVA CAIZZI, 'Senofane e il problema della conoscenza' (cit. n. 36), p. 160; J.-P. DUMONT, *Les Présocratiques* [= *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*], Paris 1988, pp. 122–123; R. IOLI, 'Senofane B 34 DK e il conoscere' (cit. n. 36), pp. 201–204, opt for the reading of Plutarch.

<sup>42</sup> Transl. by G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven & M. Schofield.

Having illustrated the presence of Xenophanes in the Herculean texts, I will briefly mention as a second example the case of Empedocles. The significant role of this Presocratic in the Herculean papyri, and more generally in Epicurean philosophy, has been highlighted by several studies in the last few decades.<sup>43</sup> In the *Vorsokratiker* Diels took into account the only 3 important fragments quoted in the philological and apologetic work of Demetrius Lacon transmitted by P. Herc. 1012. In addition, he placed among the testimonia P. Herc. 1428, fr. 3 (= DK 31 A 33), which, as Carlo Gallavotti was the first to demonstrate, contains no reference to Empedocles.<sup>44</sup> Luckily this is the only place where a false claim has been made concerning the presence of Empedocles in the Herculean papyri. On the other hand, the considerable progress achieved in editorial work allows us today to add 12 further testimonia to the 3 contained in P. Herc. 1012.<sup>45</sup> I would like to draw particular attention to two of them. The first, recently edited by David Armstrong and Joseph A. Ponczoch, is col. VI of P. Herc. 1570, containing an Epicurean treatise on the effects of poverty and wealth, most probably written by Philodemus.<sup>46</sup> In this pas-

<sup>43</sup> See C. GALLAVOTTI, 'Empedocle nei papiri ercolanesi', [in:] J. BINGEN, G. CAMBIER, G. NACHTERGAEL (eds), *Le monde grec: Pensée littérature histoire documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* [= *Université libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de philosophie et lettres. Sources et instruments* 62], Bruxelles 1975, pp. 153–161; E. PUGLIA, 'Demetrio Lacone e Empedocle', *PapCongr.* XVII, II, pp. 437–446; I. GALLO, 'Ermarco e la polemica epicurea contro Empedocle', [in:] AA.VV., *Esistenza e destino nel pensiero greco arcaico* [= *Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Salerno; Sez. Atti, Convegni, Miscellanea*], Naples 1985, pp. 33–50; D. OBBINK, 'Hermarchus, *Against Empedocles*', *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988), pp. 428–435; A. MARTIN, 'Empédocle, Fr. 142 D.-K. Nouveau regard sur un papyrus d'Herculanum', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 33 (2003), pp. 43–52; O. PRIMAVESI, 'Die Häuser von Zeus und Hades: zu Text und Deutung von Empedokles B 142 D.-K.', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 33 (2003), pp. 53–68; G. LEONE, 'Epicuro ed Empedocle'; G. M. RISPOLI, 'Empedocle nelle testimonianze ermarchee'; E. PUGLIA, 'Demetrio Lacone ed Empedocle'; G. INDELLI, 'Filodemo ed Empedocle', [in:] G. CASERTANO (ed.), *Empedocle tra poesia, medicina, filosofia e politica* [= *Skepsis* 19], Naples, pp. 221–240; 241–269; 270–276; 277–288.

<sup>44</sup> GALLAVOTTI, 'Empedocle nei papiri ercolanesi' (cit. n. 43), p. 161: 'Nel testo non compare neppure il nome di Empedocle, perché non c'è dubbio che sia scritto  $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron$ ], dove un  $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon$  fu immaginato dal Philippson arbitrariamente'. See also D. OBBINK, 'A Quotation of the *Der-veni Papyrus* in Philodemus' *On Piety*', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994), pp. 111–135, at 119–121.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *infra*, Appendix, s.v. 'Empedocles Acragantinus'.

<sup>46</sup> D. ARMSTRONG, J. A. PONCZOCH, '[Philodemus] *On Wealth* (P. Herc. 1570 cols. VI–XX,

sage there is a clear allusion to fr. III DK of Empedocles, which is very interesting not least because Plutarch considered it to be the ending of the *Φυσικά*.<sup>47</sup> The second piece of evidence to which I would like to draw attention is fr. 14 of P. Herc. 1428. This is the other passage of Philodemus' *On Piety* of which I offer here my critical reconstruction. Even though the identification of *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti* in the original manuscript has considerably changed the old editions of Philippson and Schober, the text that I have restored confirms in my opinion the reference to Empedocles which the two German scholars already detected.<sup>48</sup> Here is what we can read today in this Herculeanean fragment:<sup>49</sup>

Fr. 14 : P. Herc. 1428, cr. 2, pz. 2 = N fr. 14 = *VH*<sup>2</sup> II 5

*desunt versus fere 26*

|                                                                                |    |                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| .....]...[.....                                                                |    | .....]...[.....           |
| .....(.)]κ <sup>τ</sup> α <sup>ι</sup> ι <sup>τ</sup> ο <sup>υ</sup> [.....(.) | 28 | .....(.)] καὶ τοῦ[τοις    |
| .....]σαιεπ[.....                                                              |    | .....]σαι επ[.....        |
| .....(.)]σπενδον[.....                                                         |    | .....(.)] σπένδον[τάς     |
| .....(.)]ντασ <sup>τ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> α <sup>τ</sup> . [..                 |    | τε καὶ θύο]ντας κᾶτα [κα- |
| θα. [.....] τ <sup>ε</sup> θα <sup>τ</sup> ι <sup>τ</sup> πολ. [..             | 32 | θαγ[ί]ς{τ}{ε}χθαι. πολλ[ἀ |
| δεσ <sup>τ</sup> ιν <sup>ε</sup> ντοιςμε                                       |    | δ' ἐςτὴν ἐν τοῖς μέ-      |
| ε <sup>σ</sup> ιντουτοιςπε                                                     |    | ρεσιν τοῦτοις πε-         |

pcc. 4–6a): New fragments of Empedocles, Menander, and Epicurus', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 41 (2011), pp. 97–138, at 100–103. The edition is now revised, with some important conjectures of D. N. Sedley, in D. ARMSTRONG, J. A. PONCZACH, 'Empedocles and Philodemus in P. Herc. 1570, col. VI 9–19', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 43 (2013), pp. 113–115.

<sup>47</sup> For a commentary on Empedocles' fr. III DK (= Diog. Laërt., VIII 59; Clem., *Strom.* VI 30 = fr. 98 Gallavotti), see C. GALLAVOTTI, *Empedocle. Poema fisico e lustrale* [= *Fondazione Lorenzo Valla*], Milan 1975, pp. 260–261. On the evidence of Plutarch (*Quaest. symp.* VIII 8, 1) and the philological difficulties raised by it, see C. GALLAVOTTI, 'Qualche frammento di Empedocle', [in:] AA.Vv., *Scritti in onore di C. Carbonara*, Naples 1976, pp. 355–366, at 363–366.

<sup>48</sup> PHILIPPSON, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit' (cit. n. 36), pp. 367–368; A. SCHOBER, 'Philodemi *De pietate* Pars prior' (cit. n. 17), pp. 111; 113.

<sup>49</sup> The *conspectus siglorum et signorum* is below, before the Appendix.

27 ] . [ inf. vest., inf. et sup. vest. || 28 'α' N: . (α, λ) P || 31 'κ' N: . (κ, χ) P | τ . [ (α, λ, χ) || 32 α . [ (γ, π) | ] . τ dext. inf. arcus sicut c, ε | 'ι' N: . sup. vert. P | λ . [ sup. vest. || 34 . ε (ρ, β, φ)

28 τοῦ[τοις supplevi: τοῦ[c ἐκεῖ Philippson: τοῦ[c Schober spatio brevius || 29 init. Με[γαρε]ac perperam rest. Philippson (με . . . . ac Schober) eo quod με[ . . . .]a in subpos. et duobus superpos. in marg. sin. collocatis servatum est | ]cαι επ[ dispexi || 30 init. ἀεὶ c(v)νεχές perperam rest. Philippson eo quod omnes litt. in superpos. servatae sunt | cπένδον[τάς suppl. Philippson || 31 θύο]ντας supplevi (cf. DK 31 B 137.3 = Sext., *Adv. math.* IX 129: λιττόμενον θύοντες, θύοντος corr. Hermann ap. fr. 122.5 Gallavotti): καὶ θύοντας perperam leg. Philippson eo quod καὶ θύο- in superpos. servatum est | κατὰ leg. Janko || 31–32 [κα]||θαχ[ι]ς{τ}{ε}cθαι restitui: [κα]||θαχ[ι]ς{τ}{ε}cθαι Janko: {κατ[α]κα}||θαρ[ι]ς{τ}{ε}cθαι Ranocchia || 32 πολλ[ά] suppl. Gomperz || 33–34 μέρεσιν legi (μέ[ρ]εσιν iam suppl. Gomperz) || 34 π[ρ]ί e.g. suppleverim

(c. 27 lines and 1–2 words missing) *and* {*he* (scil. *Empedocles*) *maintains that*} *in honour of these* (scil. *of the gods/dead people*) (c. 3–4 words missing) *making libations and offering sacrifices, and* {*he maintains*} *that afterwards they will light the funeral pyre: as a matter of fact, there are many things in these parts* (1 word missing) (continues on)

Philippson, unlike Diels, considered Philodemus to be the real source of Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*. For this reason he thought that in *On Piety*, as in the text of Cicero, the treatment of Empedocles in fr. 14 of P. Herc. 1428 followed the doxographical section on Parmenides (fr. 13).<sup>50</sup> In fact, Cicero's criticism of Empedocles concerns the relation between the theology and the four elements, viz. physical topics rather than ritual and religious ones.<sup>51</sup> As for fr. 14, Philippson thought that it was concerned with Empedocles' well-known disapproval of animal sacrifices.<sup>52</sup> Some

<sup>50</sup> R. PHILIPPSON, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit' (cit. n. 36), p. 367: 'Die Kritik des Parmenides beginnt 4<sup>d</sup> 8 und umfaßt noch 1428 BC 22 (5<sup>a</sup> S. 68) = G. Bei Cicero folgt Empedokles. Diesem muß das genannte unveröffentlichte Bruchstück angehören; aber auch noch 5<sup>b</sup> (S. 68)'.

<sup>51</sup> Cic., *ND* I 12, 29: 'Empedocles autem multa alia peccans in deorum opinione turpissime labitur. quattuor enim naturas, ex quibus omnia constare censet, divinas esse vult; quas et nasci et extinguere perspicuum est et sensu omni carere'.

<sup>52</sup> PHILIPPSON, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit' (cit. n. 36), pp. 367–368: 'Daß Empedokles Tieropfer als Sünde betrachtete, ist bekannt'. But he wrongly found in the fragment a reference to the Megarians, which led him to suggest, as an alternative, an improbable reference to Epicharmus ('Doch kann auch an Epicharm gedacht werden, der aus jenem Megara stammte und als Geistesverwandter des Pythagoras auch wohl die

lexical elements, in particular the use of the verb *θύω*, lead us to believe that Philodemus (or his source) is here referring to fr. 137 DK of Empedocles (= fr. 122, 3–8 Gallavotti). In this case the Herculean testimonium would bring up Empedocles' most general criticism of human sacrifices. This may at first sight seem to be in line with Epicurean criticism of superstition, as shown for instance by the use of Iphigenia's sacrifice in the poem of Lucretius,<sup>53</sup> and, in a certain sense, with the Epicurean philosophy of law in regard to the origin of homicide as a crime, according to a famous testimonium of Hermarchus transmitted by Porphyry's *On Abstinence*.<sup>54</sup> But in fact even on this point the Epicureans entirely disagreed with Empedocles' philosophy. The Presocratic founded his condemnation of bloody sacrifices on the law of nature, whereas Epicurus and the Epicureans argued on the basis of a conventional notion of law and justice.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, if Philodemus really built his text on the framework of Hermarchus' *Against Empedocles* in 22 books, there are sufficient grounds: a) to take fr. 14 of P. Herc. 1428 as a reference to (or a paraphrase of) a section of Empedocles' *Purifications*; b) to argue that Philodemus followed a doxographical trend which assigned ritual and

Opfer verwarf'). A thorough analysis of Empedocles' approach to sacrificial violence can be found now in A.G. WERSINGER, 'Empédocle, la Violence sacrificielle et la Grâce', *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 75 (2012), pp. 379–402.

<sup>53</sup> Lucr., RN I 84–101.

<sup>54</sup> Hermarch., fr. 34 Longo Auricchio (= Porph., *Abst.* I 7–12; 26, 4, pp. 46–52, 61 Bouffartigue-Patillon = fr. 24 Krohn), esp. 9, 3–5. Also interesting is another passage of Porph., *Abst.* II 20, a testimonium which comes from Theophrastus and is the source of Empedocles' fr. 128 DK. Cf. *infra*, n. 70, on the subject of *P. Petrie* II 49E (= *P. Lit. Lond.* 159A) and *P. Lit. Lond.* 159B.

<sup>55</sup> On this basic distinction, strictly connected to a good understanding of Epicurean concept of *οἰκειότης*, see RISPOLI, 'Empedocle nelle testimonianze ermarchee' (cit. n. 43), pp. 257–262. GALLO, 'Ermarcho e la polemica epicurea contro Empedocle' (cit. 39), pp. 42; 50; IDEM, 'Empedocle in Epicuro e negli Epicurei', [in:] U. CRISCUOLO (ed.), *Mnemosynon* [= *Pubblicazioni del Dip. di Filologia Classica 'F. Arnaldi' dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II*] 19], Naples, pp. 259–265, at 264, maintains that Porphyry's text addressed only the *Καθαρμοί*. In general, on Epicurean philosophy of law, see R. MÜLLER, *Die epikureische Gesellschafts-Theorie* [= *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike* 5], 2nd ed., Berlin 1974; V. GOLDSCHMIDT, *La doctrine d'Epicure et le droit* [= *Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie*], Paris 1977; IDEM, 'La teoria epicurea del diritto', *Elenchos* 2 (1981), pp. 290–316.

religious topics to the *Καθαρμοί* and considered that poem and the *Φυσικά* to be different works, although this does not exclude a contamination of demonological and cosmological theories in the latter.

The cases of Xenophanes and Empedocles are sufficient to indicate the contribution that an accurate examination of the Herculanean sources could give to the history of Presocratic philosophy and its tradition. New collections of the fragments concerning these two Presocratics have been recently announced, for Xenophanes by Georg Wöhrle (*De Gruyter*, 'Traditio Praesocratica'), and for Empedocles by Marwan Rashed (*Les Belles Lettres*, 'Collection des Universités de France'). From these two works I think it reasonable to expect a serious consideration of the Herculanean evidence, which has been systematically forgotten or quoted in accordance with the outdated standards of Diels-Kranz even in the most recent editions of the Presocratics.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, I hope that a new approach to the Herculanean sources will be taken by André Laks and Glenn W. Most in their forthcoming four-volume collection of the fragments of the Presocratics for *Harvard University Press* ('Loeb Classical Library'). I have not mentioned so far the inestimable contribution of the Herculaneum papyri to the history of ancient Atomism (not only Leucippus and Democritus, but also Anaxarchus, Diotimus, Metrodorus, Nausiphanes) and to the Heraclitean doxography as well.<sup>57</sup> As far as Heraclitus is concerned, the collection of the testimonia edited by Serge N. Mouraviev represents a decisive advance in the history of studies of the Heraclitean tradition, but there is still much work to be carried out on

<sup>56</sup> Among others, see the recent collections edited by M. L. GEMELLI MARCIANO, *Die Vorsokratiker* [= *Sammlung Tusculum*], vol. I–III, Düsseldorf 2007–2010 and J. MANSFELD & O. PRIMAVESI, *Die Vorsokratiker*, Stuttgart 1983; 2nd ed., 2011. This structural fault is indirectly confirmed by the useful survey of A. BRANCACCI, 'Presocratici/Preplatonici. Contributo a un bilancio di cinquant'anni di storiografia filosofica in Italia', [in:] IDEM, *Studi di storiografia filosofica antica* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria'*, Studi 243], Florence 2008, pp. 1–18; and by A. A. LONG, 'Presocratics', *Phronesis* 58 (2013), pp. 98–106, on scholarship and editorial developments relating to the Presocratics in recent years.

<sup>57</sup> Also in this case, cf. *infra*, Appendix, s.vv. 'Anaxarchus Abderites', 'Democritus Abderites (seu Democrates)', 'Diotimus Tyrius', 'Heraclitus Ephesius', 'Leucippus (atomorum doctrinae conditor)', 'Metrodorus Chius', 'Nausiphanes Teius'.

the 'Heraclitus of Herculaneum'.<sup>58</sup> As regards the Atomists, the situation is much less satisfactory. In this field, in spite of the new perspectives in the history of philosophy opened up by recent research (above all in relation to the problem of the relationship between Epicurus and Aristotle), we must not forget the old thesis of Cyril Bailey, according to which 'Epicurus' controversy is with the pre-Socratics, and his debt, unacknowledged and even violently denied, is to Leucippus and Democritus'.<sup>59</sup> With respect to this question the Herculaneum papyri play of course a very important role. For this reason, during the International Congress held in Catania in 1979 on Democritus and ancient Atomism (*Democrito e l'atomismo antico*), Marcello Gigante noted the urgent need for a comprehensive re-edition of the texts of ancient Atomists, from Leucippus to Diogenes of Oenoanda ('da Leucippo, Democrito e la sua scuola a Epicuro e gli epicurei greci e romani fino a Diogene di Enoanda').<sup>60</sup> The recent collection of the evidence for the early Atomists edited by Walter Leszl has taken into account a good part of the Herculanean texts. But so far this project has been limited to an Italian translation of the testimonia concerning Leucippus and Democritus without a Greek text. For this reason it is impossible to understand to what extent the new textual improvements of Herculaneum papyrology have been really appreciated.<sup>61</sup> Besides, this

<sup>58</sup> See the second part of the *Heraclitea* edited by S. N. MOURAVIEV, *Heraclitea*, II. *Traditio*, A. *Témoignages et citations*, vol. I–IV, Sankt Augustin 1999–2003, specifically devoted to the *traditio Heraclitea*. On Heraclitus' presence in the Herculaneum papyri, cf. M. CAPASSO, 'Epicureismo e Eraclito. Contributo alla ricostruzione della critica epicurea alla filosofia presocratica', [in:] L. ROSSETTI (ed.), *Atti del Symposium Heracliteum 1981*, Rome 1983, I, pp. 423–457 (= IDEM, *Comunità senza rivolta* [cit. n. 31], pp. 59–102); and, for a *status quaestionis* on this topic, Ch. VASSALLO, 'Die Überlieferung des Fr. 18 Marcovich Heraklits (= DK 22 B 81) in P. Herc. 1004 (*Philodemi De rhetorica*, Liber VII). *Praesocratica Herculaneusia* II', *Mnemosyne* 68 (2015), pp. 185–209.

<sup>59</sup> C. BAILEY, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus*, Oxford 1928; New York 1964 (repr.), p. 220.

<sup>60</sup> M. GIGANTE, 'Atomisti antichi ad Est', [in:] F. ROMANO (ed.), *Democrito e l'atomismo antico* [= *Siculorum Gymnasium* 33], Catania 1980, pp. 91–124, at 91; 123–124.

<sup>61</sup> See W. LESZL, *I primi atomisti. Raccolta dei testi che riguardano Leucippo e Democrito* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria'*, Studi 246], Florence 2009. In the *Index locorum* of the CD-ROM, apart from some passages of Diogenes of Oenoanda (not updated to take account of the present state of research and of the new fragments discovered every year thanks to the epigraphic and editorial work of J. Hammerstaedt and M. F. Smith), the Epi-

collection, published in 2009, could not take into account the very recent edition of Book 2 of Epicurus' *Περὶ φύσεως* (P. Herc. 1149/993 and P. Herc. 1783/1691/1010) by Giuliana Leone, in which new points, relevant to the comparison of the early Atomists and Epicurus, have come to light in relation to the cosmological question of the infinity of the worlds and the epistemological theory of the *εἰδωλα*.<sup>62</sup> To conclude, in the light of what I have discussed about the Presocratic tradition, it seems evident that a comprehensive edition of the Herculanean evidence for the Presocratics is a requirement for the study of the history of ancient philosophy which must not be put off any longer.

## EDITIONES

### Conspectus siglorum

|            |                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| P          | P. Herc. 1428                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| O          | apographum Oxoniense P. Herc. 1428                                                                                                                                                                   |
| N          | apographum Neapolitanum P. Herc. 1428                                                                                                                                                                |
| Bücheler   | F. Bücheler, 'Philodemos <i>Περὶ ἐνσεβείας</i> ', <i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie</i> 91 (1865), pp. 513–541 (= <i>Kleine Schriften</i> , vol. I–III, Leipzig – Berlin 1915, I, pp. 580–612) |
| DG         | H. Diels, <i>Doxographi Graeci</i> , Berolini 1879; 4th ed., Berlin 1965                                                                                                                             |
| DK         | H. Diels, W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , vol. I–III, Berlin 1903; 6th ed., Berlin – Zürich 1952                                                                                  |
| Gallavotti | C. Gallavotti, <i>Empedocle. Poema fisico e lustrale</i> [= <i>Fondazione Lorenzo Valla</i> ], Milan 1975                                                                                            |

curean sources are represented by a list of Herculanean texts of which unfortunately the reference editions are not indicated. In the index, P. Herc. 1056 and 1148 are quoted for Epicurus, and P. Herc. 182, 1005, 1050, 1428, 1457, 1471 and 1497 for Philodemos.

<sup>62</sup> G. LEONE, *Epicuro. Sulla natura, Libro II* [= *La Scuola di Epicuro* 18], Naples 2012, esp. pp. 53–78.

- Gomperz Th. Gomperz, *Philodem. Über Frömmigkeit* [= *Herkulanische Studien* 2], Leipzig 1866
- Hammerstaedt J. Hammerstaedt *per litteras et per verba*
- Janko R. Janko *per litteras*
- Philippson R. Philippson, 'Zu Philodems Schrift über die Frömmigkeit', *Hermes* 55 (1920), pp. 225–278; 364–372
- Ranocchia G. Ranocchia *per verba*
- Rashed M. Rashed *per verba*
- Schober A. Schober, *Philodemi Περὶ εὐσεβείας libelli partem priorem restituit* A. Schober, Diss. ined. Königsberg 1923 (= idem, 'Philodemi *De pietate* Pars prior', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988), pp. 67–125)
- Sedley D.N. Sedley *per litteras*
- VH<sup>2</sup> II *Herculansium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera*, vol. II, Neapoli 1863

### Conspectus signorum

|        |                                              |
|--------|----------------------------------------------|
| αβγ    | litterae dubiae quae aliter legi possunt     |
| [αβγ]  | litterae ab editore suppletæ                 |
| <...>  | litterae ab editore additæ                   |
| {...}  | litterae ab editore deletæ                   |
| 「...」  | litterae alterutrius vel utriusque apographi |
| ⌈      | spatiolum                                    |
| ⌋      | <i>diple obelismene</i>                      |
| [...]  | litterae deperditæ                           |
| [.(.)] | una vel duae litterae deperditæ              |
| [ ]    | dimidia littera deperdita                    |

## APPENDIX

## TESTIMONIA PRAESOCRATICA IN PAPYRIS REPERTA

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE PAPYROLOGICAL EVIDENCE  
FOR PRESOCRATICS WITH A COMPARATIVE CATALOGUE  
OF THE HERCULANEAN SOURCES

The following catalogue gives a complete list of the evidence for Presocratics discovered so far in the papyri, with one section devoted to the Herculanean sources and another to the Graeco-Egyptian rolls. A more detailed catalogue (*Index Praesocraticorum Philosophorum Herculanensis*) devoted exclusively to the Herculanum papyri will appear shortly.<sup>63</sup> The list gives the Presocratic philosophers in alphabetical order. As far as the Graeco-Egyptian papyri are concerned, the order follows the sequence and the criteria adopted by the *CPF*;<sup>64</sup> while the Herculanean sources are listed in order of inventory numbers. The papyrological testimonia considered spurious are given in square brackets, while uncertain ones are followed by a question mark. Exceptions apart, only the editions of the Herculanum papyri listed in the catalogue are taken into account, even if the works they belong to are spread over several rolls. In some cases I was able to make use of fragments belonging to editions still in preparation which I was kindly allowed to consult in advance. All the editions of Herculanean texts for which my name is given are being published in specialist journals.

<sup>63</sup> Ch. VASSALLO, 'A catalogue of the evidence for Presocratics in the Herculanum Papyri', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 62 (2016), in press, where the Herculanean evidence is divided into *fragments* (passages directly belonging to works of the Presocratics), *witnesses* (indirect witnesses concerning their life and thought), *names* (polemical or doxographical contexts where only the name of a Presocratic is mentioned) and *reminiscences* (papyrological texts where a Presocratic's influence on a certain writer or on the source that he paraphrases can be proved). Here I give instead simply a list of the Herculanean and Graeco-Egyptian evidence without specifying the nature of the source.

<sup>64</sup> As far as the Orphic tradition is concerned, I refer to the *Index fontium* of A. BERNABÉ (ed.), *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta*, II.3 [= *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*], Berlin 2007, pp. 329–373.

*Praesocratica Herculanensia***I. Acusilaus Argivus**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 242, col. 11a + P. Herc. 247, col. 11 Salati; P. Herc. 247, col. 1 Salati; P. Herc. 247, col. 1vb, 5–21 + P. Herc. 242, col. 1vb, 22–26 Salati; P. Herc. 433, col. v Salati; P. Herc. 433, col. vib Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. vi, 21 + P. Herc. 433, col. viii, 12 Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. vii, 12–23 Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. vii, 24–29 Salati; P. Herc. 1610, col. iii, 3–19 + P. Herc. 247, col. via, 1–6 Salati

**II. Alcmaeo Crotoniates**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 9, 1–4 Schober (?)

**III. Anacharsis Scytha**

Philod., *Rhet. I*, P. Herc. 426, fr. 5 Sudhaus

**IV. Anaxagoras Clazomenius**

Philod., *Di I*, P. Herc. 26, col. 1xb Diels; *Rhet. IV*, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo; P. Herc. 224, fr. 15 Vassallo; P. Herc. 245, fr. 7 Vassallo; *Adv. [...] I*, P. Herc. 1005, fr. 109 Angeli; P. Herc. 1005, fr. 116 Angeli; *Mort. IV*, P. Herc. 1050, col. xvii, 3–32 Henry; *Rhet. VIII*, P. Herc. 1015/832, fr. 7 Sudhaus; *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 9 Schober (?)

**V. Anaxarchus Abderites**

Philod., *Mort. IV*, P. Herc. 1050, col. xxxv, 11–34 Henry; *Adulat.*, P. Herc. 1675, coll. iv, 31–v, 9 Capasso

**Vbis. Anaximander Milesius**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 8, 9–19 Vassallo

**VI. Anaximenes Milesius**

Epicur., *Nat. XI*, P. Herc. 1042, coll. 8 1–11 + P. Herc. 154, coll. 22 111–23 1 Arrighetti; *Nat. XIV*, P. Herc. 1148, col. xxvii–xxxii Leone; Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 8, 20–31 Vassallo

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

*deest*

**I. Alcmaeo Crotoniates**

*P. Flor.* 115, B 9–13

*deest*

**II. Anaxagoras Clazomenius**

*P. Oxy.* 1012, fr. 6; *P. Oxy.* 1176, fr. 37, col. 1, 16–30; col. 111, 5–29; P. Duke inv. G 178, col. 1, 7–8; P. Tura V, 222, 27 (?)

**III. Anaxarchus Abderites**

P. Mich. inv. 4912, col. 1, 12–14

**IV. Anaximander Milesius**

P. Duke inv. G 178, col. 1, 4–5

**V. Anaximenes Milesius**

P. Duke inv. G 178, col. 1, 6; P. Berol. inv. 7927 + 9588 + 21179, coll. 1–11

*Praesocratica Herculanensia*

## VII. Antipho Rhamnusius

Philod., *Poem. II*, P. Herc. 994, col. CCXXVII Janko

## VIII. Critias Atheniensis

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1077, col. XIX, 1–23 Obbink; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 15a Schober (?)

## IX. Damon Atheniensis

Philod., *Mus. IV*, P. Herc. 411, col. XXII Delattre; P. Herc. 1497, coll. CXLVII, 34 – CXLVIII, 5 Delattre; P. Herc. 1572, col. XXXIV, 23–45 Delattre; P. Herc. 1578, coll. C, 37 – CI, 1 Delattre

X. Democritus Abderites (seu Democrates)<sup>66</sup>

Philod., *Ir.*, P. Herc. 182, col. XXIX, 17–29 Indelli; *Poem. IV*, P. Herc. 207, fr. 10 Janko; [Philod.], [*Hist. philos.*], P. Herc. 327, fr. 1 Vassallo; P. Herc. 327, fr. 5 Cavalieri; Epicur., *Nat. XXV*, P. Herc. 1191, cr. 9, pz. 2, z. 3 = –6 *inf.*/P. Herc. 1191, cr. 8, pz. 2, z. 6 = –5 *sup.* + P. Herc. 697, cr. 4, pz. 2, z. 1 + P. Herc. 1056, cr. 7, z. 4 Laursen; Philod., [*Zen. schol., lib. inc.*], P. Herc. 1003, O II 427, 18 Crönert (?); Philod., *Adv. [...] I*, P. Herc. 1005, fr. 59 Angeli; P. Herc. 1005, fr. 111 Angeli (?); P. Herc. 1005, fr. 116 Angeli; Dem. Lac., *Poem. II*, P. Herc. 1014, col. LXIV, 4–10 Romeo (?); Epicur., *Nat., Lib. inc.*, P. Herc. 1039, fr. 26

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

## VI. Antipho Rhamnusius

P. Oxy. 1364 + 3647 et P. Oxy. 1797; P. Köln 213; P. Gen. inv. 264bis–267 (?); P. Br. Libr. inv. 2561, 21r n. 736 (?); [P. Oxy. 414]<sup>65</sup>

## VII. Critias Atheniensis

P. Vatic. II, col. XXI, 36; P. Oxy. 2078 + 3531 (?) et P. Köln 2 inv. 263 + PSI inv. 3021 (?)

*deest*

## VIII. Democritus Abderites

P. Flor. 115, B 9–13; P. Gen. inv. 203, B 27–29; P. Hibeh 16, col. 1, 14; P. Oxy. 1609 + P. Princ. inv. AM 11224C, fr. a, col. 11, 4–9; P. Tura IV, 209, 26–210, 1; P. Vin-dob. G 29329 + 26008b, fr. 3 (= P. Rain. I 16); P. Br. Libr. inv. 137, col. xxxvii, 32–46; P. Oxy. 221, col. xiii, 30–31 (?); PSI 849, fr. 2 (?); [P. Lond. 121r, col. v, 1–19]; [P. Leiden J 384v, col. xi, 1–14]; [P. Holm A 12–14]; [P. Lond. 121v, coll. xxiii, 17 – xxiv, 27]

<sup>65</sup> P. Oxy. 414 was attributed to Antipho by S. LURIA, 'Ein Gegner Homers', *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie* 18 (1924), pp. 373–382, and the attribution was accepted by M. UNTERSTEINER, *I Sofisti*, Milan 1949; 2nd ed. 1967, IV, pp. 100–107. But F. DECLEVA CAIZZI (CPF I.1\*, 17, p. 236) considers this attribution insufficiently well-founded.

<sup>66</sup> On the figures of Democritus and Damocrates, which I take to be the same person, see J.-M. FLAMAND, *Démocratès* (= RE 12), [in:] *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques* II (1994), pp. 644–647.

*Praesocratica Herculanensia*

Puglia (?); Philod., *Mort.* IV, P. Herc. 1050, coll. xxix, 27 – xxx, 11 Henry (?); P. Herc. 1050, col. xxxix, 6–25 Henry; Epicur., *Nat.* XIV, P. Herc. 1148, col. xxx Leone; *Nat.* II, P. Herc. 1149, col. xiv Leone (?); P. Herc. 993, col. cix Leone (?); Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 15 Schober (?); P. Herc. 1428, fr. 16 Henrichs; Epicur., *Nat.* XXXIV, P. Herc. 1431, coll. xx–xxi Leone; Philod., *Adulat.*, P. Herc. 1457, col. x, 4–12 Gigante-Indelli; *Lib.*, P. Herc. 1471, fr. 20, 8 Olivieri; *Mus.* IV, P. Herc. 1497, col. cl, 29–39 Delattre; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 1 Crönert; P. Herc. 1788, fr. 2 Crönert

**XI. Diagoras Melius**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1077, col. xix, 1–23 Obbink; P. Herc. 1428, coll. x, 30 – xii, 12 Henrichs; P. Herc. 1428, coll. xiv, 24 – xv Henrichs (?); Anonym., *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1589, fr. 7 Del Mastro (?)

**XII. Diogenes Apolloniates**

Epicur., *Nat.* XIV, P. Herc. 1148, coll. xxvii–xxxiii Leone (?); Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 18, 2–10 Schober

**XIII. Diotimus Tyrius**

Anonym., *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 176, fr. 5, col. xxvi Vogliano (?); Philod., *Tract.*, P. Herc. 1418, col. xx Militello (?)

**XIV. Empedocles Acragantinus**

Philod., *Adv.* [...] I, P. Herc. 1005, fr. 116 Angeli; *Sup.*, P. Herc. 1008, col. x, 11–26 Ranocchia; Dem. Lac., *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1012, col. xl, 7–10 Martin; P. Herc. 1012,

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

*deest*

**IX. Diogenes Apolloniates**

P. Duke inv. G 178, col. 1, 12

*deest*

**X. Empedocles Acragantinus**

P. Berol. inv. 9782, coll. lxx, 43 – lxxxi, 6; P. Ibscher 2, 10–11; *P. Oxy.* 1609<sup>67</sup> + P. Princ. inv. AM 11224 C, fr. a, col. 11, 4–13; *P. Vatic.* 11, col. 1, 23–28; *P. Oxy.* 3318;<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> DK 31 B 109a.

<sup>68</sup> Hermarch., fr. 28 Longo Auricchio (*deest* Krohn).

*Praesocratica Herculanensia*

col. LVII Puglia; P. Herc. 1012, col. LXV Puglia; Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1077 + 1098, coll. XIX, 24 – XX, 6 Obbink; P. Herc. 1077, col. XXXV Obbink; P. Herc. 1077, col. XXXIX Obbink; Epicur., *Nat.* XIV, P. Herc. 1148, col. XXXIV Leone; P. Herc. 1148, col. XL Leone; Philod., *Poem.* V, P. Herc. 1425, coll. I–II Mangoni; *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 14 Vassallo (?); P. Herc. 1428, col. xv Henrichs (?); [Philod.], [*Divit.*], P. Herc. 1570, col. VI Armstrong-Ponczoch; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 3 Crönert

XV. **Epicharmus Cous**

[Philod.], [*Avarit.*], P. Herc. 465, fr. 12, 1–21 Capasso; [*Elect. et fugae*], P. Herc. 1251, col. XXI Indelli-Tsouna-McKirahan; P. Herc. 1251, col. XXI Indelli-Tsouna-McKirahan; Philod., *Oec.*, P. Herc. 1424, col. xxv, 4–23 Capasso

XVI. **Epimenides Cretaeus**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 243, col. iv + P. Herc. 243, col. II, 18–25 Salati; P. Herc. 247, col. vb, 18 + P. Herc. 242, col. vb, 30 Salati; P. Herc. 433, col. vIb Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. VII, 24–29 Salati; P. Herc. 1610, col. III, 3–19 + P. Herc. 247, col. VIa, 1–6 Salati

XVII. **Euryphon Cnidius**

[Philod.], [*Hist. philos.*], P. Herc. 1508, fr. 7 Cavalieri

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

P. Strasb. gr. inv. 1665–1666;<sup>69</sup> *P. Petrie* II 49E (= *P. Lit. Lond.* 159A) (?); *P. Lit. Lond.* 159B (?)<sup>70</sup>

deest

XI. **Epimenides Cretaeus**

*P. Oxy.* 2442

deest

<sup>69</sup> Emped., fr. 66 (= DK 31 B 17; 20; 21; 76) + fr. 87 (= DK 31 B 139) Mansfeld-Primavesi. Cf. O. PRIMAVESI, *Empedokles. Physika*, I. *Eine Rekonstruktion des zentralen Gedankengangs* [= *Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft* 22], Berlin – New York 2008, pp. 64–72; 76–79.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. M. S. FUNGHI, A. ROSELLI, 'Sul Papiro Petrie 49E attribuito al 'De pietate' di Teofrasto. Riedizione di PLitLond 159A–B', [in:] *Papiri Filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi I* [= *Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', Studi* 163], Florence 1997, pp. 49–69, at 59–61; 66–69.

*Praesocratica Herculanensia***XVIII. Gorgias Leontinus**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 15a Schober (?); *Rhet.* II, P. Herc. 1580, fr. 4 Sudhaus; *Rhet.* I, P. Herc. 1612, fr. 4 Sudhaus; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 4, 7 Crönert

**XIX. Heraclitus Ephesius**

Philod., *Ir.*, P. Herc. 182, col. xxvii, 19–39 Indelli; *Rhet.* VII, P. Herc. 1004, col. cxxxv Ranocchia-Vassallo; P. Herc. 1004, col. cxl Ranocchia-Vassallo; *Sup.*, P. Herc. 1008, col. x, 11–26 Ranocchia; *Poem.* I, P. Herc. 1073, col. xciii, 17–24 Janko; Epicur., *Nat.* XIV, P. Herc. 1148, col. xl Leone; Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 17, 3–4; 7–9; 9–11 Henrichs; P. Herc. 1428, coll. vii, 12 – viii, 21 Henrichs

**XX. Hippias Eleus**

Philod., *Sup.*, P. Herc. 1008, col. xviii, 19–26 Ranocchia; P. Herc. 1008, col. xx, 22–27 Ranocchia; [*Di*], P. Herc. 1108, fr. 1 Crönert (?)

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

*deest*

**XII. Heraclitus Ephesius**

P. Derveni, col. 11, 1–11; *P. Flor.* 115, B 1–2; *P. Oxy.* 1808, col. 1, mg. 4; *P. Oxy.* 3710, coll. 11, 33–35; 111, 1–19; O. Berol. inv. 12319, 23–25 (?); [P. Berol. inv. 9782, col. lxiii, 25];<sup>71</sup> P. Berol. inv. 9782, col. lxxi, 12–26 (?);<sup>72</sup> [P. Gen. inv. 271, col. xii, 7];<sup>73</sup> [P. Gen. inv. 271, coll. ix–xv (?)]

**XIII. Hippias Eleus**

*P. Ross. Georg.* I 22, col. 11, 11; [*P. Hibeh* 13]<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> This source appears as a dubious reminiscence (R?) of Heraclitus DK 22 B 13 in M. MARCOVICH, *Heraclitus. Greek Text with a Short Commentary*, Editio maior, Merida, Venezuela 1967, 2nd ed., Sankt Augustin 2001, p. 180 [fr. 36 (b<sup>3</sup>)], but the papyrological text is considered spurious in *CPF* I.1\*\*, 57, p. 244, because of the great popularity of the proverb in antiquity, above all in the sceptical tradition: ‘in questo caso infatti il passo citato (LXIII 20–30) è esplicitamente fatto risalire alla tradizione pirroniana, contrariamente al caso di O. Berol. inv. 12319, 23–25 [→ 57 5T], dove la citazione dello stesso passo eracliteo compare anonimamente in una raccolta di sentenze’.

<sup>72</sup> The reference to Heraclitus identified here by H. DIELS (*BKT* II 1905, dubiously accepted in DK 22 B 126b) is considered to be founded ‘su basi di lettura inconsistenti’ by T. DORANDI (*CPF* I.1\*\*, 57, p. 244).

<sup>73</sup> In the opinion of F. DECLEVA CAZZI (*CPF* I.1\*\*, 57, p. 244), the name of Heraclitus, used in a pseudoepigraphical letter to Hermodorus, has only a rhetorical function.

<sup>74</sup> The attribution to Hippias, proposed for the first time by F. W. Blass and then dubiously accepted by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and by Ch. E. Ruelle, is criticized and refuted by A. Brancacci, who refers *P. Hibeh* 13 to Alcidas (see *supra*, n. 2).

*Praesocratica Herculanensia***XXI. Hippocrates Chius**Philod., *Acad. hist.*, P. Herc. 1021, col Y

Dorandi

*deest***XXII. Leucippus****(atomorum doctrinae conditor)**Philod., *Adv.* [...] I, P. Herc. 1005, fr. 116Angeli; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788,

fr. 1 Crönert

**XXIII. Melissus Samius**Philod., *Rhet. IV*, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo**XXIV. Metrodorus Chius**Philod., *Rhet. IV*, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo**XXV. Metrodorus Lampsacenus**Philod., *Poem. II*, P. Herc. 1767, fr. 2 + N

1081b, fr. 12, coll. XLIX–L Janko

**XXVI. Musaeus Eleusinus**Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 243, col. vi Henrichs;

P. Herc. 433, col. iv, 1–9 Henrichs (?)

P. Herc. 1088, col. 11, 3 + P. Herc. 433,

col. 11, 10–12 Henrichs; P. Herc. 1088, col.

xii Schober; P. Herc. 1428, col. vi, 16–26

Obbink; P. Herc. 1428, col. vii, 18–21

Schober; P. Herc. 1610, col. 111, 3–19

+ P. Herc. 247, col. via, 1–6 Henrichs

**XXVII. Nausiphanes Teius**Philod., *Rhet. IV*, P. Herc. 452 (*olim* 463),fr. 9 Vassallo; *Adv.* [...] I, P. Herc. 1005, fr.116 Angeli; *Rhet. VIII*, P. Herc. 1015/832,

col. xiii Sudhaus; P. Herc. 1015/832, col.

xxiv, 2–20 Blank; P. Herc. 1015/832, coll.

xxx–xlvi Sudhaus; P. Herc. 1015/832,

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri**deest***XIV. Hippo Crotoniates**

P. Br. Libr. inv. 137, col. xi, 22–42; P. Gen.

inv. 203, b 29–31 (?)

**XV. Leucippus****(atomorum doctrinae conditor)**[P. Tura III, 15, 27]<sup>75</sup>*deest**deest**deest***XVI. Musaeus Eleusinus**

P. Berol. 44, 1 ss.; 56; P. Cornell 55, 11;

P. Oxy. 2802, 17 ss.

*deest*

<sup>75</sup> The attribution of the passage to Leucippus of Elea (the atomist) is controversial (see *supra*, n. 2).

*Praesocratica Herculensia*

col. C192, 48a Blank; *Rhet.* III, P. Herc. 1506, col. xxxii Sudhaus; P. Herc. 1506, col. xl, 33 Hammerstaedt

**XXVIII. Orpheus Thracius  
(seu Orphici)**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 242, col. ivb, 26–30 Schober + P. Herc. 247, col. iii Henrichs; P. Herc. 243, col. vi Henrichs; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 3 + P. Herc. 248, col. ii Obbink; P. Herc. 1428, col. vi Vassallo; *Mus.* IV, P. Herc. 1497, col. cxxii, 25–36 Delattre; P. Herc. 1572/225, col. xli, 17–25 Delattre; P. Herc. 1578/1575, coll. lxii, 42 – lxiii, 4 Delattre

**XXIX. Parmenides Eleates**

Philod., *Rhet.* IV, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo (?); [Philod.], [*Hist. philos.*], P. Herc. 327, fr. 2 Crönert; *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 12 Vassallo; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 13 Vassallo; P. Herc. 1428, col. xv Henrichs (?)

**XXX. Pherecydes Syrius**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 242, col. ivb, 22–26 Salati; P. Herc. 242, col. va, 27 + P. Herc. 247, col. vb, 33 Salati; P. Herc. 247, col. i Salati; P. Herc. 247, col. ivb, 5–21 Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. i, 14–29 Salati; P. Herc. 1088, col. vii, 12–23 Salati; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 4 Salati; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 8 Crönert

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

**XVII. Orpheus Thracius  
(seu Orphici)**

P. Argent. 1313; P. Berol. 44, 1 ss.; 44, 15; 44, 33; 44, 34; 44, 45; 44, 52; 44, 60; 44, 69; 44, 75; 44, 81; 44, 117; P. Berol. 13426; P. Bonon.; *P. Cornell* 55, 5; P. Derveni, coll. iii, 3; v, 3; vi, 1; vi, 2; vii, 2; vii, 4; vii, 8; vii, 14; viii, 1; viii, 3; ix, 10; x, 9; x, 11; xi, 1; xi, 9; xii, 1; xii, 7; xiii, 1; xiii, 3; xiii, 5; xiv, 1; xiv, 2; xiv, 5; xiv, 13; xv, 5; xv, 11; xvi, 1; xvi, 12; xvii, 2; xvii, 13; xviii, 1; xviii, 6; xix, 8; xx, 1; xxi, 1; xxii, 1; xxii, 7; xxiii, 1; xxiv, 1; xxv, 12; xxv, 13; xxvi, 1; xxvi, 2; xxvi, 5; *P. Gurob* 1; *P. Mag.* I 305; IV 1709; IV 2333 ss.; VII 450; VII 479; XII 84; XIII 933; XIII 947; LXX 4 ss.; LXX 9 ss.; LXX 12 ss.; ap. *Suppl. Mag.* II 96, 24; *P. Ord. Ptol.* 29 Lenger; *P. Oxy.* 221, 9, 1; 2447, fr. 4b, 8 ss.; 2816, fr. 1, 9 ss.; 3698; vol. IV 1904, p. 261; *PSI* 850; 1162; 1290; 1476; *P. Univ. Mil.* I 20

**XVIII. Parmenides Eleates**

P. Berol. inv. 9782, col. lxx, 33–43; P. Duke inv. G 178, col. 1, 7; *P. Oxy.* 3219, fr. 2, col. 1, 3–9

*deest*

*Praesocratica Herculanensia***XXXI. Philolaus (Pythagoricus)**

Philod., *Acad. hist.*, P. Herc. 1691, col. 11  
Del Mastro (?)

**XXXII. Prodicus Ceus**

Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1077, col. XIX, 1–23  
Obbink; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 15 Schober (?);  
P. Herc. 1428, fr. 19 Henrichs; P. Herc.  
1428, coll. II, 28 – III, 13 Henrichs; P.  
Herc. 1428, coll. III, 24 – IV, 12 Henrichs

**XXXIII. Protagoras Abderites**

Dem. Lac., *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 124, fr. 2 De  
Falco (?); Philod., *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 15  
Schober (?); P. Herc. 1428, col. xv Hen-  
richs (?)

**XXXIV. Pythagoras Samius  
(seu Pythagorei)**

Philod., *Rhet.* IV, P. Herc. 245, fr. 7 Vassal-  
lo; *Rhet.* X, P. Herc. 473, fr. 5 Sudhaus;  
*Rhet.* VII, P. Herc. 1004, col. LX, 3–12

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri***XIX. Philolaus (Pythagoricus)**

P. Br. Libr. inv. 137, coll. XVIII, 8 – XIX, 1;  
XX, 16–24; [Cod. Par. Suppl. Gr. 574]<sup>76</sup>

**XX. Prodicus Ceus**

*P. Cairo Masp.* 67175, col. II, 10–13; *P. Oxy.*  
3543, 4–7; P. Tura III, 16, 9–18 (?);  
P. Berol. inv. 9782;<sup>77</sup> [*P. Oxy.* 1176]<sup>78</sup>  
*P. Oxy.* 2087, 29

**XXI. Protagoras Abderites**

P. Berol. inv. 9782, coll. II, 1–8; LX, 19–38;  
LXIV, 44 – LXV, 13; LXII, 8 – LXIII, 1; LXV,  
39 – LXVI, 3; *P. Oxy.* 221, col. XII, 19–25; P.  
Tura V 222, 18–29; *P. Oxy.* 3219, fr. 2, I 2–  
3 (?); [P. Berol. inv. 9782, coll. I, 1, 3, II,  
19; LXVII, 19–20]<sup>79</sup>

**XXII. Pythagoras Samius  
(seu Pythagorei)**

P. Berol. inv. 9782, col. LXX, 5–9; P. Br.  
Libr. Add Ms 37516, 1; [P. Haun I 8];<sup>80</sup>  
[*P. Lond.* 121v, coll. XXIII, 17 – XXIV, 27];<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> In the opinion of Diels, the Orphic-Pythagorean context of this source (DK 44 B 11) could suggest a reference to Philolaus. See DIELS, KRANZ, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (cit. n. 20), I, p. 411, app. r. 19: ‘ἀρμόζων] vgl. das orphische Bruchstück im Par. Zauberp. V. 1755 Preisendanz (Pap. Gr. Mag. I 128)’.

<sup>77</sup> In this case Prodicus is mentioned in relation to Plat., *Theag.* 127e ff.

<sup>78</sup> G. ARRIGHETTI, *Satiro. Vita di Euripide* [= *Studi Classici e Orientali* 13], Pisa 1964, p. 117 (fr. 38 Arrighetti, coll. II–III), following H. GERSTINGER, ‘Satyros’ Βίος Εὐριπίδου’, *Wiener Studien* 38 (1916), pp. 54–71, considers the reference to Prodicus, immediately followed by the explicit reference to Socrates, to be probable. See now S. SCHORN, *Satyros aus Kallatis. Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentar*, Basel 2004, pp. 105–106 (fr. 6 Schorn = *P. Oxy.* 1176, fr. 39, coll. XIII–XIV); 222–223.

<sup>79</sup> D. N. SEDLEY (*CPF* I.1\*\*\*, 88, p. 676) maintains that in this case ‘la lacunosità del contesto in cui il nome di Protagora compare non consente di stabilire se si tratta di una testimonianza o di un riferimento al personaggio del dialogo’.

<sup>80</sup> In the opinion of F. MALTOMINI (*CPF* I.1\*\*\*, 91, p. 685) the name of Pythagoras is not certainly supplied here, as the context is full of gaps.

<sup>81</sup> See H. DIELS, W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (cit. n. 20), II, p. 221, r. 18

*Praesocratica Herculanensia*

Erbì; P. Herc. 1004, col. CXXXV Ranocchia-Vassallo (?); P. Herc. 1004, col. CXL Ranocchia-Vassallo (?); *Sup.*, P. Herc. 1008, col. x, 11-26 Ranocchia; *Rhet.* VIII, P. Herc. 1015/832, fr. 7 Sudhaus; *Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 10 Schober; P. Herc. 1428, fr. 11 Schober; *Mus.* IV, P. Herc. 1497, col. CXLV, 7-19 Delattre; P. Herc. 1576, col. XLII, 39-45 Delattre; *Acad. hist.*, P. Herc. 1691, col. 11 Del Masstro; [Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 4 Crönert (?)  
*desunt*<sup>82</sup>

XXXV. **Thales Milesius**

[Philod.], *Op. inc.*, P. Herc. 1788, fr. 6 Vassallo; Philod., *Rhet.* IV, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo (?)

XXXVI. **Thrasymachus Calchedonius**

Philod., *Rhet.* II, P. Herc. 1672, coll. XLIX, 27 - L, 29 Longo Auricchio

XXXVII. **Xenophanes Colophonius**

Philod., *Poem.* IV, P. Herc. 207, fr. 23 Jan-ko; *Rhet.* IV, P. Herc. 224, fr. 3 Vassallo (?);

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*

P. Berol. inv. 9782, col. LXXI, 12-18; P. Tura III 79, 26 - 80, 1; 216, 23 - 217, 1; [P. Haun II 13v]

XXIII. **Sophistae**

P. Berol. inv. 9782, coll. VII, 20-25; LIV, 31-38; LVIII, 7-12; P. Oxy. 2606, 1 (?);<sup>83</sup> P. Tebt. 269, 4-7 (?);<sup>84</sup>

XXIV. **Thales Milesius**

P. Mil. Vogliano I 18, col. VI, 10-19; P. Oxy. 1011, f. 3v, 119-138; P. Oxy. 3710, col. 11, 36-43; P. Duke inv. 178, col. 1, 2; PSI 1093, 32 (?)

*deest*

XXV. **Xenophanes Colophonius**

P. Oxy. 1087, col. 11, 40-41; P. Oxy. 221, col. 1X, 1-3 (?)

(‘Derartige Prognostika sind häufig in der magischen, auf Demokrit weisenden Literatur. Horapollon Hier. I 38 erwähnt den Magier Iambres mit derartigen Prognostika, vielleicht eine der Quellen des Bolos. Im cod. Matr. 4616 fol. 82v steht eine Schrift des Πυθαγόρα mit ähnlichen προγνωστικά ζωής και θανάτου. Ein Όνειραιτητόν Πυθαγόρου και Δημοκρίτου steht im Pap. Lond. 121, 833 K.’), in relation to DK 68 B 300.20 (= *deest* Luria), quoted by Diels among the *unechte[n] Fragmente[n]* of Democritus and considered spurious also by F. MALTOMINI (CPF I.1\*\*\*, 91, p. 685).

<sup>82</sup> The Sophists seem not to be quoted in the Herculanum papyri as a Presocratic philosophical movement. But as the catalogue shows, there are several Herculeanean testimonia for philosophers traditionally considered Sophists.

<sup>83</sup> The testimonium is considered only probable by T. DORANDI (CPF I.1\*\*\*, 97, p. 776).

<sup>84</sup> The testimonium is considered only probable by G. MENCII (CPF I.1\*\*\*, 97, p. 776).

*Praesocratica Herculanensia*

[Philod.], [*Hist. philos.*], P. Herc. 327, fr. 1  
 Vassallo (?); P. Herc. 327, fr. 2 Crönert;  
 P. Herc. 327, fr. 4 Vassallo; Philod., *Rhet.*  
 VIII, P. Herc. 1015/832, fr. 16a Blank (?);  
*Piet.*, P. Herc. 1428, fr. 12 Vassallo

XXXVIII. **Zeno Eleates**

Philod., *Mort.* IV, P. Herc. 1050, col. xxxv, 25–34 Henry

*Graeco-Egyptian Papyri*XXVI. **Zeno Eleates**

P. Tura V 217, 33–218, 2 (?)

*Christian Vassallo*


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Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche  
 Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo  
 e Storia delle Idee  
 Villa Mirafiori  
 via C. Fea 2  
 00161 Roma  
 ITALY  
 e-mail: [ch.vassallo@pherc.eu](mailto:ch.vassallo@pherc.eu)