

**The ‘Pre–Socratic Section’ of Philodemus’ *On Piety*:
A New Reconstruction
Praesocratica Herculansia X (Part II)**

Christian Vassallo *

Abstract: This paper is divided into two parts: the first presents all the papyrological and bibliographical observations necessary for a new edition of *P.Herc.* 1428 (= *LDAB* 3563; *TM* 62400) which comes from the large Herculanean roll that contains Philodemus’ treatise *On Piety*. The second part provides a new critical reconstruction, along with translation and notes, of the ‘pre–Socratic section’ of *P.Herc.* 1428, in which Philodemus, via his harsh polemics against previous theological thought, critically lays out the Presocratic opinions on the gods, from Thales to the Sophists.

Keywords: Doxography, Epicureanism, Herculaneum papyri, Philodemus, Theology, Presocratics

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In the first part of this essay, I attempted to examine the ‘pre–Socratic section’ of *P.Herc.* 1428 from a papyrological perspective within the complex structure of Philodemus’ *On Piety*. As I have shown, this work has been transmitted in a roll of extraordinary length, in respect to the average length of the Herculaneum papyri. In the following pages I will provide, on the grounds of the bibliographical reconstruction presented in the first part of this article, a new text of the columns of *P.Herc.* 1428 that hand down testimonia to the theology of some of the most significant pre–Socratic philosophers.

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2. Philodemus' criticism of pre-Socratic theology in *P.Herc.* 1428, cols. 318–333 (*olim frs.* 7–19)

As can be inferred from **scheme II** (cf. §.1), the 'pre-Socratic section' of *P.Herc.* 1428 represents the initial part of Philodemus' criticism of the theologies of previous philosophers. Before this part, an extended section of the work, as well as an (unfortunately) almost entirely lost part of *P.Herc.* 1428, were devoted instead to the theology and mythology of the poets. The doxographical importance of *P.Herc.* 1428's 'pre-Socratic section' did not escape the notice of Hermann Diels, who — as is well known — devoted an entire chapter of his *Doxographi Graeci* to the *Ciceronis (ex libro I de deorum natura) et Philodemi (ex libro I de pietate) philosophorum de deis opiniones comparatae*.¹ Taking advantage of the synoptical technique that he used for the *Placita*,² Diels laid out the two texts in two columns on the same page: the Ciceronian text on the left, the Philodemean on the right. Relying on Theodor Gomperz's edition of *De pietate*, Diels came to the conclusion that the doxographical section of Velleius' speech in Book 1 of *De natura deorum* (I 10, 25–15, 41) depended on the same source used by Philodemus in the first part of *P.Herc.* 1428 (cols. 319 [*olim fr.* 8]–362 [*olim col.* 10], 8). In particular, he identified the treatise *Περὶ θεῶν* of the Epicurean Phaedrus,³ a theological work for which Cicero clearly showed his interest in his correspondence, as a likely common source.⁴ Arguing against this hypothesis and in favour of Cicero's dependence on Philodemus, Robert Philippson posited that the Epicurean philosopher abridged his theological works (*On Gods* and *On Piety*) for Cicero.⁵ Still today, the question cannot be considered quite settled.⁶ However, I am sure — as I have recently pointed out — that a

¹ Diels (1965⁴) 529–550. He agreed with Gomperz's thesis, according to which Philodemus' *On Piety* was divided into two books (in this regard, within the *incipit* of his *Supplementum de Philodemo*, Diels printed the content of a long letter of Gomperz).

² On this point, see Mansfeld/Runia (1997) 92.

³ Diels (1965⁴) 126–127.

⁴ As a matter of fact, the Roman orator explicitly required that work in the epistle *ad Att.* XIII 38, 1 and 39, 2. Cf. Summers (1997); Dyck (2003) 7; Essler (2011) 151.

⁵ Philippson (1916) 606–608 and (1939) 36–37.

⁶ For a *status quaestionis* I refer to Schmid (1961) 706; Steinmetz (1966) 154; Henrichs (1974) 9, n. 28; Capasso (1987) 145–146; Gigante (1983²) 34 and (1990) 52; Obbink (1996) 96–99; Dorandi (1999) 232–236; Obbink (2001) 204–205. On the sources of *De natura deorum*, especially of Book 1, cf. Pease (1955–1958) I, 39–45; McKirahan (1996); Dyck (2003) 7–11; Essler (2011) 129–151.

comparison between Cicero and Philodemus grounded on a more reliable edition of *De pietate* can introduce new elements in this field: more precisely, doxographical analogies and, above all, differences that rule out both Cicero's dependence on Philodemus and the existence of *only one* source for both authors. Such a source, if it ever existed, was necessarily mediated by other sources, by the personal selection that the two authors made, and by their efforts to fit them into the different contexts of the two works.⁷ Anyway, the comparison of the text of *De natura deorum* with the new edition of the 'pre-Socratic section' of *De pietate* draws attention to — as Diels already noticed — the clear absence in Philodemus of the unmistakable *perpetua maledicentia* of the doxographical *excursus* staged by Cicero within Velleius' speech.⁸

Before presenting the new text of *P.Herc.* 1428's cols. 318–333 (*olim* frs. 7–19), I would like to briefly explain the criteria of this edition. Firstly, each column is provided with a diplomatic transcription along with its respective apparatus. From this apparatus, it is possible to determine the papyrological sources of the passage, the correspondences with other collections (if they exist), the role played by 'sovrapposti' and 'sottoposti' in the *constitutio textus* and their provenance, and the palaeographical description of uncertain letters in order to suggest alternative readings. According to convention, this edition is preceded by a Latin title that summarizes its certain or presumed content (*viz.* the authors the testimonium is dealing with) and is provided with a critical apparatus and an English translation. Each testimonium is followed by a *conspectus locorum similium*, where, for the reasons explained above, priority is given to Cicero and particularly to the parallel passages of *De natura deorum*. The work is concluded with an index of the words and names that appear in the new edition of *P.Herc.* 1428, cols. 318–333. According to the initial project, this edition should have been followed by a series of notes that did not make up a systematic commentary, but rather a handy guide for the historians of ancient philosophy. Due to constraints of space, I decided not to publish these notes in this article and they will appear together in an ex-

⁷ Cf. Vassallo (2015) 181. Obviously, I limit this remark to the 'pre-Socratic section' of the two doxographical accounts.

⁸ Diels (1965⁴) 123–129 traced the extremely polemical features of Cicero's report back to the rearrangement of other sources (in particular, of a Stoic abridgement of Theophrastus' *Φυσικαὶ δόξαι*) by the Latin author. On this last question, see Dorandi (1999) 233–234; on the relationships between Cicero and Theophrastus, see Mansfeld (1989).

tended and updated version within the *Corpus* of the Herculanean pre-Socratic testimonia.⁹

Philodemi De Pietate
[Praesocraticorum philosophorum de deis opiniones]
P.Herc. 1428, coll. 318–333 (olim fr. 7–19)

recognovit
 Christian Vassallo

Conspectus siglorum

P	<i>P.Herc. 1428</i>
[P]	<i>deest P</i>
N	apographum Neapolitanum <i>P.Herc. 1428</i>
[N]	<i>deest N</i>
N ^{ac}	apographum Neapolitanum <i>P.Herc. 1428</i> ante correctionem
N ^{pc}	apographum Neapolitanum <i>P.Herc. 1428</i> post correctionem
N ^{Arman}	apographum Neapolitanum <i>P.Herc. 1428</i> a M. Arman delineatum vel emendatum
O	apographum Oxoniense <i>P.Herc. 1428</i>
[O]	<i>deest O</i>
O ^{ac}	apographum Oxoniense <i>P.Herc. 1428</i> ante correctionem
O ^{pc}	apographum Oxoniense <i>P.Herc. 1428</i> post correctionem
cr.	'cornice' <i>P.Herc. 1428</i>
pz.	'pezzo' <i>P.Herc. 1428</i>
VH ²	<i>Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera</i> , tom. II, Neapoli: e Museo publico, 1863, 1–22: 3–6
[VH ²]	<i>deest VH²</i>
Bücheler	F. Bücheler, <i>Philodemos</i> Περὶ εὐσεβείας, 3 Bde., Leipzig/Berlin: Teubner, 1915, I, 580–612]: 529
Capasso ^a	M. Capasso, <i>Epicureismo e Eraclito. Contributo alla ricostruzione della critica epicurea alla filosofia presocratica</i> , in: Id., <i>Comunità senza rivolta. Quattro saggi sull'epicureismo</i> , Naples: Bibliopolis, 1987, 59–102 [= L. Rossetti (ed.), <i>Atti del Symposium Heracliteum 1981</i> , 2 voll., Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1983, I, 423–457]: 91–94
Capasso ^b	M. Capasso, <i>Epicureismo ed Eleatismo. Secondo contributo alla ricostruzione della critica epicurea alla filosofia presocratica</i> , in: Id., <i>Comunità senza rivolta. Quattro saggi sull'epicureismo</i> , Naples: Bibliopolis, 1987, 103–163 [= M. Capasso/F. De Martino/P. Rosati

⁹ Vassallo (forthcoming).

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Conspectus signorum

...	litterarum vestigia
αβγ	litterae dubiae quae aliter legi possunt
αβγ	litterae superpositae vel subpositae ab editore recognitae et loco suo collocatae
αβγ	litterae dubiae superpositae vel subpositae ab editore recognitae et loco suo collocatae
...	litterarum superposita vel subposita vestigia ab editore recognita et loco suo collocata
[αβγ]	litterae ab editore suppletatae
{αβγ}	litterae ab editore deletatae
<αβγ>	litterae ad editore additae
[αβγ]	litterae a librario deletatae
˘αβγ˘	litterae supra lineam scriptae a librario additae
ˆαβγˆ	litterae alterutrius vel utriusque apographi
ˆαβγˆ	litterae a fonte gemino ab editore suppletatae
αβγ	litterae apographi ab editore mutatae

[...]	litterae deperditae
[...]	una vel duae litterae deperditae
[]	dimidia littera deperdita
	finis columnae
—	<i>paragraphos</i>
·—	<i>paragraphos</i> haud integra
>	<i>diple obelismene</i>
†...†	locus corruptus (cruces desperationis)
>	signum quo librarius spatium explevit
⊥	spatium vacuum
—	signum spatii vacui supra lineam a librario additum
·	spatiolum
•	signum stichometricum

Col. 318 (*olim fr. 7*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 1, pz. 5, col. 318 (*olim fr. 7*) = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1217 (B,c^{inf.}; 27 [*olim* 26]^{dext.}; S^{sup.}) = *N* fr. 7 (*N.I.*^{inf.}) = *VH*² II 3 (= *deest IPPH, DG et DK*)

desunt versus fere 12

π. [.....]

ψ. [.....]

15 φ. [.....]

desunt versus 4

20 πυ[.....]

21 τοι[.....(.)]

desunt versus 2

24 ρεν᾿α[...]. α[...]

25 τε...[...]. νεκε[.....(.)]

• ἀντηαδικ[...]

γιασανειργες[.....(.)]

ανθρωπους[⊥]α[...]

δειμενεπιθ[⊥]υ[⊥][.....]ου[⊥]ν[⊥]

30 τεεκεφερειν ας[⊥]γ[⊥]

31 τηνκαληνφ[⊥]υ[⊥]ειν

13 π. [inf. vest. 14 ψ. [sin. sup. uncus vel desc., (χ, κ, c) 15 φ. [inf. horiz., sup. horiz. 24 ρεν᾿ *N*: . . (ε, c), desc. P: [O] . . α (ρ, π, τ, γ, ξ, ζ) 25 τε...[...]. ν (c, ε, θ, o), inf. apex, (ψ, φ, ρ), (o, ω) ε. [vert. apicata 26 ἀντηαδικ [(c, θ, ε, o, ω), (o, ω)

29 $\Gamma\upsilon^1$ ON^{Arman} : . (υ, η) P: [N] $\Gamma\upsilon^1$ N: [PO] 30 v. α (π, γ) $\Gamma\upsilon^1$ O: . vert. P: [N] 31 $\Gamma\upsilon^1$ ON: . dext. sup. ramus P

[Praefatio]

desunt versus fere 12

π. [.]

ψυχ[.]

15 φ. [.]

desunt versus 4

20 πυ[.]

21 τοι[.(.)]

desunt versus 2

24 ενα[. . . π]ρά[ττον-

25 τεσ ὑψ[ηλ]όν, †εκε[.)

. αν† τῆς ἀδικο[πρα-

γίας ἀν εἴργεσ[θαι τοὺς

ἀνθρώπους. α[. . .

δ' εἰ μὲν ἐπιθυ[μ]οῦν-

30 τεσ ἐκφέρειν πᾶσι

31 τὴν καλὴν φύσιν ||

[τῶν θεῶν

13–21 primum dispexi 14 ψυχ[legi dub. 24–25 π]ρά[ττον]|τεσ ὑψ[ηλ]όν legi ac supplevi: οὔ]τε [θεῶν Philippson 25–26 ἔ<νε>κεν [τού]||[σαν] <του> restituerim: ἔ]νεκε[ν νομί]ζει]ν Philippson: ἔ]νεκε[ν ἐκεί]νω]ν Schober 26–27 ἀδικο[πρα]γίας legi ac supplevi (ἀδικ[οπρα]γίας iam Schober): ἀδικ[ίας κάλο]γίας Philippson (ἀδικ[ίας iam Gomperz) 27 εἴργεσ[θαι τοὺς Schober, Philippson sec. (εἴργεσ[θαι iam Gomperz dub.) 28 fin. ἄ]λλῃ (vel ἄ]μα vel α[ῖθις vel ἄ]λλως) prop. Sedley dub.: ἀ]λλὰ cogitavi dub. 28–29 α[. . .] | δεῖ μὲν legi: ἔ]τι δ' [ἐθέ]λομεν Philippson: ἀ]λλ' ἐθέ]λομεν Schober 29–30 ἐπιθυ[μ]οῦν|τεσ suppl. Schober: ἐπι[τατ]οῦν|τεσ perp. Philippson 31 sq. τὴν καλὴν φύσιν || [τῶν θεῶν legi et supplevi e.g. (τὴν καλὴ[ν] . . φύσι[ν iam Gomperz): τῶν καλο]υμένων] φύσι||[κῶν δόξας Philippson: τὴν καλὴν φύσι||[κὴν τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομιζομένων | θεῶν διά]θεσιν πρότερον τὰς τῶν | ἄλλων φιλοσόφων περὶ τούτων δόξας διεξιέναι vix cred. Schober e.g.

(c. 13 lines missing) soul/animated (?) (c. 9 lines and 1–2 words missing) behaving (*scil.* the gods) haughtily, [and for this reason] men would refrain from committing injustice. (1 word missing) then if they (*scil.* the philosophers), wishing to make known to all men the beautiful nature [of the gods], (*continues on*)

Loci similes:¹⁰ Cic., *ND I* [10] 25 Dyck: *Atque haec quidem vestra, Lucili; qualia vero alia sint, ab ultimo repetam superiorum.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II (Luc.)*, XXXVI 117, 16–18 Plasberg: (...) *Non persequor quaestiones infinitas: tantum de principiis rerum e quibus omnia constant videamus quem probet; est enim inter magnos homines summa dissensio.* (...)

Col. 319 (*olim fr. 8*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 1, pz. 5, col. 319 (*olim fr. 8*) et duo superp. *ibid.*, pz. 5, sin. sup. et med. inter coll. 317 (*olim fr. 6*) et 318 (*olim fr. 7*) collocata = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1227 (*B,d^{inf.}*; 26^{sin.}) = *N fr. 8 (N.I.^{inf.})* = *VH² II 3* (= *IPPH Vbis 22bis*; VI 24 = *DG*, pp. 531–532 = test. 8 et 11 Vassallo^c = *Ar^{ed. in fieri} Wöhrle^c* = *Ax^{ed. in fieri} Wöhrle^c* = *deest DK*, Wöhrle^a et Wöhrle^b)

desunt versus fere 8

...]... [.....
 10 ...]θαιτη[.....(.)
 ...]σειπρ[.....(.)
 ... (.)]παντων[.....
 ...]... [.....]το... [.....(.)
 ...]κα μεν... [.....(.)
 15 ...]φθα[...]ις[.....(.)]στ.
 ...]αι [.....]αλλαξ[.
 ...]... [.....] cv av .
 ...]πα [.....]αν ι .
 ...]φ[.....]ς [.....
 20 ... (.)]ξιμ[...]ς [.....(.)
 ...]ρατε... [.....]... [.

¹⁰ As previously stated, here and elsewhere at the end of each column, the most relevant passages that contain clear doxographical links with the Herculanean testimonium in question are indicated. Only the correspondence with the Diels/Kranz edition is given in the brackets, except for the cases in which the evidence is lacking in that collection. But when the testimonia concern the Milesians, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, the correspondence with the Diels/Kranz edition is preceded by that of the collections of Georg Wöhrle, Miroslav Marcovich, and Carlo Gallavotti. As for the quotations from Aëtius, I heartily thank Jaap Mansfeld and David Th. Runia for allowing me to see in advance a part of their forthcoming edition of the Book 1 of the *Placita* (however, also in this case, I indicate the correspondence with Hermann Diels' *Doxographi Graeci*).

...]ιβο...[...][...][...].
 ...].
 ...]γοιετε[...]
 25 ...]ναεραθεο[...]
 ...]ωσθεωρειτ[...]
 ...]. εεστερη[...]
 ...]. θησεως[...]
 ...]. αταγενομ...α
 30 ...]ταγνομενακαι
 31 ...]εξομεν[...]και

9]...[inf. apex vel arcus, (π, τ, γ) 11 ρ...[(ο, ε) 13]...[sup. vest. ο...[(υ, κ), (c, ο)
 14 α...μεγ...[inf. vest., (α, λ), (ν, κ), inf. vest. 15]ιε[⁺]ετ...⁺ inf. et sup. vest.
 16 ι...[(κ, c)]αλλ...αε[⁺ 17]...[(π, τ, γ)]...ευ...αν...⁺ dext. sup. vest., sin. sup.
 vest., inf. vest. vel arcus, inf. vest. vel arcus 18]...ια...[(τ, γ, π), inf. vert.]αν...ι...⁺
 (τ, υ), (γ, τ), (α, λ), (ρ, ν, κ) 19]ε...[⁺ (υ, τ, π) 20]ε...[⁺ (φ, ο)
 21 ε...[inf. vest., inf. vest.]...[⁺ inf. vest., (κ, ν) 22 ο...[(λ, α, δ), (η, ν, ι)]...[
 desc., inf. vest.]...[⁺ (ξ, ζ), inf. horiz. 23]...[sup. vest., sup. vest., (κ, γ), inf.
 vest., (τ, γ, π, η, ρ) 25]...[inf. arcus ο...[sin. inf. vest. 27]...c dext. sup. vel med.
 horiz., fort. iunctura η...[(μ, ν) 28]...θ (c, ε) 29]...α sin. sup. vest. μ...α (ε, ο), duo
 inf. vest. 30]...τα P: οκα perp. leg. O, eo quod οκ in subposito servatum est

[De Milesiis: (Thales,) Anaximander et Anaximenes]

desunt versus fere 8

...]. π[...]
 10 ...]θαιτη[...]
 ...]σει προ[...]
 τῶν] πάντων [...]
 ...]. [...].]τους[...]
 ...]κα...μεναγ[...]
 15 ...] φθα[ρτο]ις [θεοῖ]ς ε τε
 κ]αὶ κ[όμοις], ἀλλὰ ε [...]
 ...]. [...]. ευ...αν...
 ...]. ια...[...].]αντι γὰρ
 ...]. φ[...].]ε[...]
 20 καὶ Ἄνα]ξιμ[ένη]ς ε φ [ηεὶν
 τὸν ἀέ]ρα τε...[...]. [...]
 ...]ιβο...[...][...][...].
 ...]. κ...τ[...]. ἄ-
 πειρο]ν οἶετ' ε[ῖναι λέ-

- 25 γ]ων ἀέρα θεόν· [οὐδὲ
καλ]ῶς θεωρεῖ τ[ὸν θε-
ὸν] ὥς ἐκτερημ[ένον
τῆς αἰ]σθήσεως, [φὰς
δ' ἅπαν]τα τὰ γενόμενα
30 καὶ] τὰ γινόμενα καὶ
31 . . . τὰ] ἐκόμην[α] καὶ ||
θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα γίνεσθαι,
[ἔξ ἀέρο]ς

9–23 primum dispechi 11 πρὸ[ς] proposuerim 12 legi ac supplevi 13 τ[ο]ιοῦ[το]υς vel
[. . .] τοὺς suppleverim e.g. 15–16 legi ac supplevi (cf. DK 12 A 17) 18 legi ac
supplevi 20 legi ac supplevi 21 τὸν ἀέ]ρα suppl. Sedley 22]ic βολῆν vel βοᾶν
cogitaverim 23–24 ἄ]πειρο]ν suppleverim e.g. (cf. DK 13 A 1; A 5–7; A 9–10; [B 3])
24 οἴετ' εἶ]ναι καὶ supplevi (οἴετ' [εἶναι iam Philippson): οἴετ[αι] perp. Diels et Schober,
Bücheler et Gomperz sec. 24–25 λέ]γ]ων suppl. Sedley (et καλῶν] vel ποτῶν] e.g.): τὸ]ν
Bücheler, Gomperz, Diels, Philippson: . . . γ Schober (cf. DK 13 A 10) 25–26 οὐδὲ |
καλ]ῶς suppl. Sedley (et οὐδ' ὕ]γι]ῶς vel οὐχ | ὕγι]ῶς e.g.): μοχ]θηρ]ῶς cogitavi: ἀλλὰ |
π]ῶς Philippson spat. brev.: εἶναι. | ἀλλ'] ὅς Schober (εἶνα[ι,?] ὅς iam Diels)
26–27 θεωρεῖ τ[ὸν θε]ῶν] supplevi: θεωρεῖ τ[οιοῦ]το]ς Philippson: θεωρεῖτ[αι φα]νερῶ]ς
Schober (θεωρεῖτ[αι iam Diels, Gomperz dub. sec.) 27 ἐκτερημ[ένον] legi ac supplevi:
ἐκτερημ[ένος] Diels et al., Gomperz dub. sec. 28 τῆς αἰ]σθήσεως legi ac supplevi (τῆς
αἰσ]θήσεως sic iam Diels: τῆς αἰσ]θήσεως Schober: πά]σης αἰσ]θήσεως Philippson) [φὰς
suppl. Sedley [ἔξ οὗ] suppl. Diels dub.: [πὸ]θεν Philippson: [πῶς] Schober 29 δ'
ἅπαν]τα legi ac supplevi (ἅπαν]τα iam Schober): πάν]τα Diels (πάντα] Philippson)
30 καὶ] suppl. Diels et al. 31 {καὶ} τὰ] ἐκόμην[α] restituerim (τὰ ἐκ]όμεν[α] iam Diels:
τὰ ἐκ]όμενα sic Philippson): τὰ γενησ]όμενα Schober 31 sq. θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα γίνεσθαι,
conl. DK 13 A 7 [ἔξ ἀέρο]ς suppl. Sedley e.g.: [πάνθ' ἄ]λλως τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ δύνα]ται ἔξ
αὐτοῦ γεννη]σαι, ὧν γε πολλὰ αἰσθητικὰ καταλαμβάνομεν· | καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
γεννηθέντας εἰσάγων παντελῶς ἀφ[α]μαρτῶν δῆλός ἐστιν τῆς ἀληθείας vix credib. Schober
e.g.

(c. 10 lines and 1 word missing) [he (*scil.* Anaximander) maintains that
(...)] to/towards/against (c. 1–2 words missing) of all [the things (?)] (c. 3–
4 words missing) [such] (1 line and c. 2–3 words missing) [to the/with
the/because of] destroyable gods and worlds, but (1 line and c. 2–3 words
missing) in fact, to all (1 line missing). And Anaximenes says [that the] air
(2 lines and c. 2–3 words missing) is [infinite, maintaining that] God is
air; he wrongly conceives of God [as] devoid of sensibility, [saying that]
all beings which were, are and will be and [the gods and the divine things
are generated from air] (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND* I [10] 25–26 Dyck (= Th 72 = DK 11 A 23^{II}; Ar 29 = DK 12 A 17^{IV}; As 17 = DK 13 A 10^I): (...) *Thales enim Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quaesivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum, deum autem eam mentem quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret – si dei possunt esse sine sensu; et mentem cur aquae adiunxit, si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore? Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabiles esse mundos. sed nos deum nisi sempiternum intellegere qui possumus? post Anaximenes aera deum statuit, eumque gigni esseque immensum et infinitum et semper in motu: quasi aut aer sine ulla forma deus esse possit, cum praesertim deum non modo aliqua sed pulcherrima specie deceat esse, aut non omne quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr.* II (*Luc.*), XXXVII 118, 19–20//1–4 Plasberg (= Th 71 = *deest* DK; Ar 28 = DK 12 A 13; As 16 = DK 13 A 9): (...) *Princeps Thales unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit constare omnia. At hoc Anaximandro, populari et sodali suo non persuasit; is enim infinitatem naturae dixit esse e qua omnia gignerentur. Post eius auditor Anaximenes infinitum aera, sed ea quae ex eo orerentur definita; gigni autem terram aquam ignem, tum ex iis omnia.* (...) || Aët., I 7, 3 Mansfeld/Runia (= *DG*, p. 302 = Ar 142 = DK 12 A 17^{III}): Ἀναξίμανδρος ἀπεφίηατο τοὺς ἀπείρουσ οὐρανοὺς θεοὺς. || *Simpl.*, in *Cael.* 615, 13 Heiberg (= Ar 192 = DK 12 A 17^{II}): Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ Θαλοῦ πολίτης καὶ ἑταῖρος (...) ἀπειρον δὲ πρῶτος ὑπέθετο, ἵνα ἔχη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις ἀφθόνως· καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους οὗτος καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπειρου τοῦ τοιοῦτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο ὡς δοκεῖ. || Aug., *De civ. Dei* VIII 2 Dombart/Kalb (= Ar 128 = DK 12 A 17^I): *non enim ex una re sicut Thales ex umore, sed ex suis propriis principiis quasque res nasci putavit. quae rerum principia singularum esse credidit infinita, et innumerabiles mundos gignere et quaecumque in eis oriuntur; eosque mundos modo dissolvi modo iterum gigni existimavit, quanta quisque aetate sua manere potuerit, nec ipse aliquid divinae menti in his rerum operibus tribuens.* || Cf. DK 12 A 17^V; A 17^{VI}. || Aët., I 7, 4 Mansfeld/Runia (= *DG*, p. 302 = As 119 = DK 13 A 10^{III}): Ἀναξίμενης τὸν ἀέρα· δεῖ δ' ὑπακούειν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτως λεγομένων τὰς ἐνδηκούσας τοῖς στοιχείοις ἢ τοῖς σώματι δυνάμει. || Hippol., *Ref.* I 7 Marcovich (= As 56 = DK 13 A 7): Ἀναξίμενης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄν Μιλήσιος, υἱὸς δ' Εὐρυεστράτου, ἀέρα ἀπειρον ἔφη τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῶν τούτου ἀπογόνων. (...) || Aug., *De civ. Dei* VIII 2 Dombart/Kalb (= As 104 = DK 13 A 10^{II}): *iste [scil. Anaximander] Anaximenen discipulum et successorem reliquit, qui omnes rerum causas aëri infinito dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit; non tamen ab ipsis aërem factum, sed ipsos ex aëre ortos credidit.* || Cf. DK 13 A 1; A 5–7; A 9; [B 3].

Col. 320 (*olim fr. 9*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 1, pz. 5, col. 320 (*olim fr. 9*) et superp. *ibid.*, med. col. 318 (*olim fr. 7*) collocatum = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1227 (*B*, c^{inf.}; 25^{dext.}) = *N* fr. 9 (4^{dext.}) = *VH*² II 4 (= *IPPH* IV 20 = *DG*, p. 532 = DK 59 A 48^{IV} = Lanza, pp. 96–97 = Curd, p. 102 = *deest* Sider)

desunt versus fere 19

- 20 . . . (.)]ενδε[. (.)
 .] . ς . ο . ς [. (.)
 .]ενειρ[. (.)
 . .] . . ικ . . [.] . [. (.)
 .] . . δι . κρο[. . . (.)] . ςαν
 25 **το**ςαινγεγονε^ναιτε
καιεινακα[. . . (.)]ες
 .] . ικαιπαντ[. . . (.)] . αρ
 . .] . νκαικρατ . . νκαι
 . .]υναπειραοντα
 30 . . (.)]μειγμεναταςυμ
 31 πανταδιακομη

21] . ς . ο . ς [(ο, ω), (μ, λλ), (υ, γ, τ, π) **23**] . . ικ . [(κ, χ), (α, λ), inf. apex et med. vest., sup. vest.] . [(ς, ο, ε, ω, θ) **24**] . ⁺¹ (ο, ς, ε, θ, ω)] . δι . κ inf. apex, (α, λ, δ)] . ς (η, γ, τ) **25** **το**ς⁺¹ ς^ν N: [PO] **26** **κ**⁺¹ **27**] . ι (α, λ)] . α dext. sup. vest. **28**] . γ inf. apex τ . . ν sup. et inf. vest., inf. vert. || subter columnam TK legitur

[De Anaxagora]

desunt versus fere 19

- 20 . . . (.)]ενδε[. (.)
 κ]ορμους[. (.)
 .]ενειρ[. (.)
 . .] . , και κίν[η]ς[ιν, τοῦ
 ν]οῦ διακο[ςμ]ήσαν-
 25 **το**ς, ἀεὶ {ν} γεγονέναι τε
καὶ εἶναι κα[ὶ ἔ]ςες-
 θ]αι· καὶ πάντ[ω]ν ἄρ-
 χε]ιν καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ
 νο]ῦν ἄπειρα ὄντα
 30 με]μειγμένα τὰ σύμ-
 31 παντα διακομη- ||
 [και

20–24 primum dispexi **20–21** τοῦς | κ]ορμους [ἀπίρους legerim ac suppleverim e.g. (cf. DK 59 B 4): διακ]ορμους[- Sedley e.g. **23** και κίν[η]ς[ιν suppl. Sedley [τοῦ supplevi **24–25** suppl. Sedley **25** ἀεὶ {ν} rest. Sedley: διακο[ςμ]ησαν]των leg. ac suppl. Fleischer: πᾶ{ι}ν<τως> cogitavi: νο]ῦν Gomperz dub. in app. (cf. Lanza, p. 97, n.) **26** suppl. Gomperz **26–27** ἔςες[θ]αι leg. ac supplevi (ἔςες[θ]αι iam Gomperz) **27** πάντ[ω]ν

leg. ac supplevi (πάντ[ων] iam Gomperz et Schober) 27–28 ἄρ[χε]ιν leg. ac supplevi (ἄρ[χε]ιν iam Gomperz) 29 suppl. Gomperz: ἄ ν]ῶν prop. Messeri e.g. ἄπειρα ὄντα P (ἄπειρον ὄντα corr. Diels in app.) 30 με]μειγμένα suppl. Schober: τὰ μείγμ[εν]ατα Gomperz 31 sq. διακοσμη[σ]αι suppl. Gomperz (cf. DK 59 B 12)

(c. 20 lines missing) [the infinite worlds/giving an order] (1 line and 1 word missing), and [he (scil. Anaxagoras) maintains that] it was because of the Mind imposing order [to the universe] that motion always has been and is and will be. And [he further says that] the Mind rules and governs all things, and [that] it ordered the sum total of all things, mixed together (continues on)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND I* [11] 26–27a Dyck (= DK 59 A 48^{VI}): (...) *inde Anaxagoras, qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, primus omnium rerum discriptionem et motum mentis infinitae vi ac ratione designari et confici voluit. in quo non vidit neque motum sensu iunctum et continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino quo non ipsa natura pulsa sentiret. deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod voluit esse, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur; quid autem interius mente? cingatur igitur corpore externo; quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adiuncta, qua sentire possit, fugere intellegentiae nostrae vim et notionem videtur.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II (Luc.)*, XXXVII 118, 5–7 Plasberg (= DK 59 A 49): (...) *Anaxagoras materiam infinitam, sed ex ea particulas similes inter se minutas, eas primum confusas postea in ordinem adductas mente divina.* (...) || *Aët., I 7, 1, 33–35 Mansfeld/Runia* (= *DG*, p. 299 = DK 59 A 48^b): ὁ δ' Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἰσέθηκε κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε θεοῦ καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὄλων ἐποίησεν. || *Aët., I 7, 6 Mansfeld/Runia* (= *DG*, p. 302 = DK 59 A 48^{II}): Ἀναξαγόρας νοῦν κοσμοποιὸν τὸν θεόν. || *Simpl., in Phys.*, p. 34, 28 Diels (= DK 59 B 4): τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων χρῆ δοκεῖν ἐνεῖναι πολλά τε καὶ παντοῖα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς συγκρινομένοις καὶ σπέρματα πάντων χρημάτων καὶ ιδέας παντοίας ἔχοντα καὶ χροῖας καὶ ἡδονάς. καὶ ἀνθρώπους τε συμπαγῆναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶια ὅσα ψυχὴν ἔχει. καὶ τοῖς γε ἀνθρώποις εἶναι καὶ πόλεις συνωικημένας καὶ ἔργα κατεσκευασμένα, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡέλιόν τε αὐτοῖσιν εἶναι καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖσι φέειν πολλά τε καὶ παντοῖα, ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ὀνήϊστα συνενεγκάμενοι εἰς τὴν οἴκησιν χρώνται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι λέλεκται περὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν παρ' ἡμῖν μόνον ἀποκριθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλῃ. (...) || *Simpl., in Phys.*, p. 164, 24 Diels (= DK 59 B 12): (...) καὶ ὅσα γε ψυχὴν ἔχει καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω, πάντων νοῦς κρατεῖ. καὶ τῆς περιχωρήσεως τῆς συμπάσης νοῦς ἐκράτησεν, ὥστε περιχωρῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν. καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ἤρξαστο περιχωρεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ πλέον περιχωρεῖ, καὶ περιχωρῆσει ἐπὶ πλέον. καὶ τὰ συμμειγόμενά τε καὶ ἀποκρινόμενα καὶ διακρινόμενα πάντα ἔγνω νοῦς. καὶ ὅποια ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὅποια ἦν, ἅσκα νῦν μὴ ἔστι, καὶ ὅσα νῦν ἔστι καὶ ὅποια ἔσται, πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς, καὶ τὴν περιχώρησιν ταύτην, ἣν νῦν περιχωρεῖ τὰ τε ἄστρα καὶ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ ὁ αἰθήρ οἱ ἀποκρινόμενοι. (...) || *Cf. Eurip., fr. 1018 Nauck*² (= DK 59 A 48^{III}); *Iamb., Protr.* 8 Pistelli (= DK 59 A^{IV}).

Col. 321 (*olim fr. 10*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 1, pz. 5, col. 321 (*olim fr. 10*) et bis superp. in ibid., sin. sup. col. 318 (*olim fr. 7*) collocatum = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1227 (*B*, f^{inf.}; 24 [*olim 23*]^{sin.}) = *N* fr. 10 (6^{dext.}) = *VH*² II 4 (= *IPPH* II 10; XXXV 168 = *DG*, p. 533 = *DK* 14 A 17¹ = test. 17 Timpanaro Cardini)

desunt versus fere 11

....]. [.....

. **iv**. [.....(.)

14 .]. **βη**[.....

desunt versus 9

24 λ. κ. . [.....

25 θεωρεῖται[.....

ταῦτ' οὖντο [.....

νακκευάζ[.....(.)

>

θαγορουδαῦτ' οὐτ' γ'

οὐδενφασιτιν' εἶ[.

30 εἶναιτωνανατ' εἶ[.

31 .ομενωνπαρὰ[...]

12], [+2 (ζ, ξ, δ, φ) **13** . **iv** . [+2 (κ, λ, α), (η, ν, γ) **14**], **βη** [+2 inf. et med. vest.

24 λ. κ. . [(α, λ), (α, λ), inf. vest. **26** τ' ο: [PN] ο. [sin. med. vert. vel arcus **28** τ' οτ'

N^{pc}: . . inf. et sup. vest., (τ, π, γ) P:], sup. horiz. O:]τ *N*^{ac} τ' γ' *N*: . inf. vert. apicata P:

[O]: . (λ, μ, α) *N*^{Arman} **29** τ' ε' ON: [P] **30** τ' ε' *N*: [PO] **31** . ο (ρ, β)

[De Anaxagora (vel Alcmaeone) et Pythagora]

desunt versus fere 11

....]. [.....

κινη[.....(.) ἀ-

14 **ς]** **εβή**[c.....

desunt versus 9

λ. κ. . [.....

25 θεωρεῖται[τ' φαίνε-

ται οὖν τοῦ]c θεοὺς ἀ-

νακκευάζ[εἶν. Πυ-

>

θαγόρου δ' αὐτοῦ γ'
 οὐδέν φασί τινε[ε]
 30 εἶναι τῶν ἀναφ[ε]-
 31 ρομένων παρὰ [. . .]

12–14; 24 primum dispexi 12–13 ἀ||κίνη[τ vel κίνη[τ vel κίνη[ε supplere possis
 13–14 supplevi 25–26 θεωρεῖται[τ φαίνε]ται suppl. Schober, Philippson sec. (θεωρεῖτ[αι
 iam Gomperz) 26–27 τοῦ[ε θεοῦς ἀ]νακευάζ[ειν legi ac supplevi (ἀ]νακευάζ[ειν iam
 Philippson): τὸ [θεῖον ἀ]νακευάζ[ων Schober ([θεῖον iam Philippson): ἀ]νακευάζ-
 Gomperz: ἀνακευάζ[ει Sauppe 27–28 Πυ]θαγόρου suppl. Sauppe et al. 28 fin. γ'
 leg. Schober: γ[ε Gomperz dub.: [μεν Sauppe 29 τινε[ε suppl. Sauppe et al.
 30–31 ἀναφ[ε]ρομένων restitui (ἀνα[φειρ]ομένων Sauppe, Gomperz, Schober)
 31 sq. παρὰ [τῶν || μαθητῶν εἰς αὐτόν suppl. Schober: παρὰ «τὰ τρία ἐκείνα βιβλία» Diels
 (DK 14 A 17^l) dub. (cf. etiam DK 14 A 17^{ll}–19)

(c. 12 lines missing) [devoid of/in] motion (*scil.* the God?) (c. 1–2 words
 missing) [he (*scil.* Anaxagoras/Alcmaeon?) is] impious (c. 2–3 words and
 10 lines missing) is considered/observed. Therefore, he (*scil.* Anaxa-
 goras/Alcmaeon?) gives the impression of eliminating the gods. Then, as
 for Pythagoras, some people say that he himself is not the author of any of
 the works ascribed to him by (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND* I [11] 27b Dyck (= DK 24 A 12^{ll}): (...) *Crotoniates autem Alcmaeo, qui soli et lunae reliquisque sideribus animoque praeterea divinitatem dedit, non sensit sese mortalibus rebus immortalitatem dare. nam Pythagoras, (...)* || Arist., *An.* A 2, 405a29 Ross (= DK 24 A 12^l): παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ἔοικεν ὑπολαβεῖν περὶ ψυχῆς· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι διὰ τὸ εοικέναι τοῖς ἀθανάτοις· τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτῇ ὡς αἰεὶ κινουμένη· κινεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντα συνεχῶς αἰεὶ, ἐελήνην, ἥλιον, τοὺς ἀτέρας καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον. || Clem., *Protr.* 66, I 50, 20 Stählin (= DK 24 A 12^{lll}): ὁ γὰρ τοι Κροτωνιάτης Ἀλκμαίων θεοὺς ᾤετο τοὺς ἀτέρας εἶναι ἐμψύχους ὄντας. || Aët., IV 2, 2, Mansfeld/Runia, ap. Mansfeld (2014) 6 (= *DG*, p. 386 = DK 24 A 12^{lv}): Ἀλκμαίων φύσει αὐτοκίνητον κατὰ αἰδίον κίνησθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν καὶ προσεφερῆ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπολαμβάνει. || Iambl., *V.P.* 199 Deubner (= DK 14 A 17^{ll}): θαυμάζεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀκρίβεια· ἐν γὰρ τοσαύταις γενεαῖς ἐτῶν οὐθεὶς οὐδενὶ φαίνεται τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὑπομνημάτων περιτετευχῶς πρὸ τῆς Φιλολόου ἡλικίας, ἀλλ' οὗτος πρῶτος ἐξήνεγκε τὰ θρυλούμενα ταῦτα τρία βιβλία, ἃ λέγεται Δίον ὁ Συρακούσιος ἕκατον μῶν πρίασθαι Πλάτωνος κελεύσαντος, εἰς πενίαν τινὰ μεγάλην τε καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φιλολόου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀπὸ συγγενείας τῶν Πυθαγορείων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετέλαβε τῶν βιβλίων. || Cf. DK 14 A 18–19; DK 44 A 1; Philod., *Acad. hist.*, *P.Herc.* 1691, col. 2 Del Mastro (= *IPPH XXXII* 152).

Col. 322 (*olim fr. 11*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 2, col. 322 (*olim fr. 11*) = *O Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c.* 5, fol. 1228 (C,b^{inf.}; 23^{dext.}; 7^{sup.}) = *N^{pc}* fr. 11: *N^{ac}* fr. 9 (*N.I.*^{inf.}) = *VH²* II 4 (= *IPPH XXXV* 169 = *deest DG*, DK et Timpanaro Cardini)

desunt versus fere 24

25(.)]. αιϰ . [.
(.)]ιουδεϰ . [.(.)
 . . .]νεινουδ[. . . .
 . . .(.)]ιν^τουδεμεγ[. . . .
 . .]εκαλλοϰου^ρδ^ι[. .] . [.
 30 . .]νεχειν^ιουδεϰυν
 31 . . .(.)] . νουδεφιλονου

25] . αιϰ . [(χ, κ, υ), (c, ε, ο, θ, ω) 26 c . [sin. sup. uncus vel vest. 28] . ι (α, λ, κ)
 29] . ε (δ, λ, α, υ) ρδ^ι ON^{pc} : . sin. inf. vest. P: [N^{ac}]] . [inf. apex 31] . υ (ο, ω)

[De Pythagora]

desunt versus fere 24

25(.)]. αιϰ . [.
(.)]ι ουδὲ c . [.(.)
 . . .]νειν ουδ[. . . .
 . . .(.)]ειν ουδὲ μέγ[εθοϰ
 ουδ]δὲ κάλλοϰ ουδ[ἐ] τ[ύ-
 30 πο]ν ἔχειν ουδὲ σύν-
 31 βι]ον ουδὲ φίλον ου- ||
 [δὲ

23–24 φησὶ (scil. Πυθαγόρας) δὲ θεὸν τὸ | ἐν τῇ φύσει (vel τοῦ κόσμου) ψυχικὸν] suppleverim e.g. 25 ταῖς ψυ|χαῖς ε[υνεχὲς suppleverim e.g. 26 εἶνα]ι suppleverim e.g. 26–27 c . [.(.) | φω]νεῖν (et λαμβά]νειν vel ἀνα|πνεῖν) Sedley prop. e.g.: συ[νέει | φρο]νεῖν cogitavi: c[ύνεειν ἢ | φρόν]ησι Schober (c[ύνεειν | ἢ φρόν]ησι iam Philippson) 27–28 οὐδ' [ἀκού]ειν prop. Sedley e.g.: οὐδ[ὲ πάϰ]χ]ειν cogitavi: οὐδ[ὲ αἰϰ]θηϰ]ιν Philippson et Schober 28 μέγ[εθοϰ suppl. Schober, Philippson (μέγ[εθοϰ] sec. (μέγ[εθο]c iam Gomperz) 29 init. οὐδ]δὲ legi ac supplevi (οὐδ]δὲ iam Gomperz et al.) 29–30 οὐδ[ἐ] τ[ύ]πο]ν suppl. Sedley conl. Iambl., *Protr.* 120, 3–18 Pistelli (cf. etiam DK 58 C 6^{III-IV}): οὐδ[ἐ] τ[ό]πο]ν cogitavi: οὐδ' [ἡδο]νῆ]ν Philippson 30–31 σύν|[βι]ον legi ac supplevi: σύν|[ουκ]ον vel συν|[εργ]ον prop. Sedley e.g.: c[ο]φία]ν perp. Philippson 31 sq. οὐ||δὲ suppl. Philippson et Schober

(c. 24 lines and 3–4 words missing) [furthermore he (*scil.* Pythagoras) maintains] that [the God] neither [speaks (?)] nor [listens to (?)]; that he has no size, no beauty, no form; that he [has] neither a partner nor a friend nor (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND I* [11] 27b–28 Dyck (= *deest* DK): (...) *qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur, non vidit distractione humanorum animorum discerpi et lacerari deum; et cum miseri animi essent, quod plerisque contingeret, tum dei partem esse miseram, quod fieri non potest. cur autem quicquam ignoraret animus hominis, si esset deus? quomodo porro deus iste, si nihil esset nisi animus, aut infixus aut infusus esset in mundo?* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II* (*Luc.*), XXXVII 118, 14–19 Plasberg (= *deest* DK): (...) *Plato ex materia in se omnia recipientem mundum factum esse censet a deo sempiternum. Pythagorei e numeris et mathematicorum initiis proficisci volunt omnia. Ex iis eligit vester sapiens unum aliquem, credo, quem sequatur, ceteri tot viri et tanti repudiati ab eo condemnatique discedent.* (...) || Iamb., *Protr.* 120, 3–15 Pistelli (= *deest* DK): τὸ δὲ 'θεοῦ τύπον μὴ ἐπίγλυφε δακτυλίῳ' κατὰ τὴν προλεχθεῖσαν ἔννοιαν προτροπῇ χρῆται τοιῶδε: φιλοσόφει καὶ ἀσωμάτους πρὸ παντὸς ἡγοῦ θεοῦς ὑπάρχειν· τὸ γὰρ κυριώτατον ρίζωμα τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δογμάτων τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα χρεδὸν ἤρτηται καὶ ὑφ' οὗ μέχρι τέλους κρατύνεται· μὴ νόμιζε δὲ μορφαῖς αὐτοῦς κεχρηθεῖσαι ὅσαι εἰς σωματικαῖ, μηδὲ προσδεδέσθαι ὑποστάσει ὑλικῇ καὶ οἷον δεσμῶ ὑλικῶ σώματι, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα. αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ δακτυλίοις γλυφαὶ τὸν τε δεσμὸν δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δακτυλίου ἐμφαίνουσι καὶ τὴν σωματότητα τὸ τε αἰσθητὸν εἶδος καὶ ὡσανεὶ τινος τῶν ἐπὶ μέρουσιν ζῶων διὰ τῆς γλυπτῆς προσόψεως, ἥς χωριτεῖον μάλιστα τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ὡς αἰδιὸν τε καὶ νοητὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ ἔχον, ὡς ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεοῦ ἰδίως καὶ πληρέστατα τεχνολογεῖται.

Col. 323 (*olim fr. 12*)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 2, col. 323 (*olim fr. 12*) = [O] = *N^{pc}* fr. 12: [[*N^{ac}*]] (*N.I.^{inf.}*) = *VH²* II 4 (= *IPPH* XXX 141; XXXVIII 183 = *DG*, p. 534 = *Xen* 39 Strobel/Wöhrle = *deest* DK, Untersteiner^a et Lesher)

desunt versus fere 20

.....].....
].].].].
].].].κ.].
]νετ'ινμ[.....
 25]εισθαιτ[.....]ον
]τω. αλ.].].]νε
].ισπερι.ε.μη
]αυτακα.θεις
]τασ'δοξ.ε.μ

30 β. βηκενγινωσκειν

>

31 παρμενειδηςδε

21], .[subter lineam vert., med. vest. 22], .[.] sin. asc. sicut λ, α, inf. vest.
 23], .[], κ. [inf. vest., inf. vest., inf. apex 24 ρϛ N: sup. vest. P ρμ N^{Arman}: (μ, κ, ν)
 PN 26 φ. αλ. [(ν, αι, λι, δι), (λ, α, χ) ν. ε (λ, χ, α) 27], .[(τ, γ, π, ξ, ζ) ι. ε. . μ sup.
 vest., inf. vest, dext. sup. uncus 28], αυτακα. . θ med. vest., inf. vest., sup. vert. cum
 med. horiz. coniuncta 29 ρδοϛ N: . . (δ, λ, α), (ο, c) P ξ. . c. μ (α, δ), inf. vest., sup.
 vest. 30 β. β inf. vest.

[De Xenophane et Parmenide]

desunt versus fere 20

.....]. .[.....
]. [.] .[.....
]. [.] κα[ὶ πάν-

25 δὲ κειν]εῖσθαι τ[ὸν θε]όν,
 εἰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ω]ν λέ-
 γει] τις ἢ περὶ θεοῦ, μη-
 δὲν] ταύτας ἀληθεῖς
 οὔσας] τὰς δόξας κυμ-
 30 βέβηκεν γινώσκειν.

>

31 Παρμενείδης δὲ

23–25 κα[ὶ] supplevi, cetera Sedley: μήτε || κειν]εῖν μ[ηδὲν μήτε | κειν]εῖσθαι τ[ὸν θε]όν
 Philippson: μή||τε κειν]εῖν μ[ηδὲν μήτε κειν]εῖσθαι τ[ὸν | θε]όν Schober: μή|τ' ἄλλο|ce
 κειν]εῖν Janko (cf. DK 21 A 31; A 35^{III}; B 25; B 26) 25 fin. τ[ὸν θε]όν supplevi: τ[ὸν
 αὐτ]όν Hammerstaedt dub. 26 εἰ περὶ] supplevi (εἰ) Hammerstaedt) ἄλλ[ω]ν supplevi
 26–30 cf. DK 21 B 34, de cuius fontibus vd. Vassallo^a et Vassallo^b 26–27 λέ[γ]ει suppl.
 Hammerstaedt et Rashed 27–28 μη|[δὲν] supplevi: μηδὲ] Philippson 29 οὔσας]
 supplevi: λέγων] Philippson 31 sq. δέ|[φη]ci suppleverim e.g.

(c. 22 lines and 2–3 words missing) and it turns out that [he (*scil.* Xenophanes) believes] that God [on the one hand] moves all things (*scil.* the universe), and [on the other hand] is not moved in any way, and [it turns out] that, if someone argues about the other things (*scil.* facts/phenomena) or about God, he does not recognize these opinions as true. Then Parmenides (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND I* [11] 28 Dyck (= DK 21 A 34¹¹): (...) *tum Xenophanes, qui mente adiuncta omne praeterea, quod esset unum et infinitum, deum voluit esse, de ipsa mente item reprehendetur ut ceteri, de infinitate autem vehementius, in qua nihil neque sentiens neque coniunctum potest esse.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II (Luc.)*, XXXVII 118, 7–9 Plasberg (= DK 21 A 34¹): (...) *Xenophanes paulo etiam antiquior unum esse omnia, neque id esse mutabile, et id esse deum neque natum umquam et sempiternum, conglobata figura. Parmenides* (...) || *Simpl., in Phys.* 23, 19 Diels (= DK 21 B 25): ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει. || *Simpl., in Phys.* 23, 10 Diels (= DK 21 B 26): αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταυτῷ μῖμνει κινούμενος οὐδέν / οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαι μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ. || *Simpl., in Phys.* 22, 22 Diels (= DK 21 A 31): (...) [2] μίαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦτοι ἐν τῷ ὄν καὶ πᾶν (καὶ οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἄπειρον οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε ἡμεροῦν) Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον τὸν Παρμενίδου διδάσκαλον ὑποτίθεσθαι φησιν ὁ Θεόφρατος ὁμολογῶν ἑτέρας εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίας τὴν μνήμην τῆς τούτου δόξης. (...) || *Sext., PH I* 223 Mutschmann (= DK 21 A 35¹¹): (...) ἐδογματίζει δὲ ὁ Ξενοφάνης παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων προλήψεις ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν κυμωρῆ τοῖς πάσιν, εἶναι δὲ σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ λογικόν. (...) || *Varia testimonia* (= DK 21 B 34):¹¹ καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται / εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσκα λέγω περὶ πάντων / εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπῶν, / αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πάσι τέτυκται. || *Ps.-Galen., Hist. phil.* 7, *DG*, p. 604, 17 (= DK 21 A 35¹): (...) Ξενοφάνην μὲν περὶ πάντων ἡπορηκότα, δογματίσαντα δὲ μόνον τὸ εἶναι πάντα ἐν καὶ τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν θεὸν πεπερασμένον, λογικόν, ἀμετάβλητον. || *Tim.*, fr. 59 Di Marco ap. *Sext., PH I* 223 Mutschmann (= DK 21 A 35¹¹): ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Κύλλους αὐτῷ ἀναθεῖναι, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ὀδυρόμενον καὶ λέγοντα· “ὡς καὶ ἐγὼν ὄφελον πυκνοῦ νόου ἀντιβολῆσαι / ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος· δολίῃ δ' ὁδῶι ἐξαπατήθην / πρεσβυγενῆς ἔτ' ἐὼν καὶ ἀμενθήριτος ἀπάσης / σκεπτοσύνης· ὄππῃ γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον εἰρύσκαμι, / εἰς ἐν ταυτῷ τε πᾶν ἀνελύετο· πᾶν δ' ἐὼν αἰεὶ / πάντῃ ἀνελκόμενον μίαν εἰς φύσιν ἴσταθ' ὁμοίην.” || *Aristocle., De philosoph.* 8 ap. *Eus., PE XIV* 17, 1 *Des Places* (= DK 21 A 49¹): οἴονται γὰρ δεῖν τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς φαντασίας καταβάλλειν, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύειν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τινα πρότερον μὲν Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Μέλιστος ἔλεγον, ὕστερον δ' οἱ περὶ Στίλωνα καὶ τοὺς Μεγαρικούς. ὅθεν ἠξίουσιν οὗτοί γε τὸ ὄν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἕτερον μὴ εἶναι μηδὲ γεννάσθαι τι μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι μηδὲ κινεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. || *Aët., IV* 9, 1, *DG*, p. 369 (= DK 21 A 49¹¹): Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ξενοφάνης (...) ψευδεῖς εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

Col. 324 (*olim* fr. 13)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 2, col. 324 (*olim* fr. 13) et superp. *ibid.*, med. col. 322 (*olim* fr. 11) collocatum = *O Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5*, fol. 1217 (C,^{inf.}; 22^{dext.}) = *N^{pc}* fr. 13; *N^{rac}* fr. 11 (3^{inf.}) = *VH²* II 5 (= *IPPH XXX* 142 = *DG*, pp. 534–535 = test. 47 Coxon = *deest* DK)

¹¹ The sources of this fragment (of which I accept Sextus Empiricus' version) are more numerous than those indicated in DK (viz. *Sext., M VII* 49 Mutschmann; *Plut., Aud. poet.* 2, 17e Philippon). On this point, see Turrini (1982) 117–118; Vassallo (2015) *passim*.

desunt versus fere 6

-]ρω.ο.[.(.)
]υστ.[.(.)
]ρωτα.[.(.)
 10]αια.υς.[.(.)
]δετω.[.(.)
].ε.κ[.(.)
]και.ο.α[.(.)
]και[.]τη.
 15]αρετ.δ[.(.)
].[.]νατοις[.].
]ω.α.[.(.)
]νκαθ[.(.)
]κατη.θ.
 20]ρα.α.[.]
]κατας[.].
]θρωπιω.ν.
]καιτινω[.].
 25 **ο υ** ινα[.].υ
 των^τειοικ[.]ητον
 τεπρωτο^τυ^τ[.]εονα
 ψυχονποι.υ^τυ^τ[.].
 τεγεννωμενου^τυ^τ
 ποταυτουταμεν
 30 αυτατοιςπαθεσιν
 31 τοιςπεριανθρω[ι]

7 ω.ο.[inf. arcus, inf. vest. et sup. desc. sicut υ, κ, χ 8 τ.[(α, λ) 9 α.[inf. vest.
 10 α.υς.[inf. apex, (δ, α) 11 ω.[sup. vest., (ι, γ, τ), (ε, θ, ο, c) 12–24 a sin. plura
 superposita ac subposita dispiciuntur 12].ε.κ (κ, c, ε), sin. inf. asc. et sup. vest.
 sicut α, λ, sup. vert., inf. apex, sup. vest., (ε, θ) 13].και.ο.α (α, λ, χ), (λ, δ, α), (λ, α)
 14].κ (ο, θ), vert. apicata, inf. vest., inf. arcus sicut ο, θ, (ν, κ, η) η inf. arcus 15
].αρετ.δ (ρ, β), inf. apex et sup. vest. 16].[inf. vest. 17].ω.α.[sup. vest., (ξ, ζ,
 χ, κ), (ε, c), sup. vest., sup. horiz. vel arcus 18].υ sup. duo ramorum vest. sicut υ, κ, χ,
 sup. desc. 19].κατη.θ.[inf. vert., inf. et sup. vest., med. vest., sup. vest., inf. arcus,
 inf. vert. 20].ρα.α.[.].[(π, γ, τ), (ξ, ζ, χ, κ), inf. arcus, sup. vest.
 21 ε.[(η, τ, π), dext. inf. desc., (α, λ, δ) 22 ω.[.υ. (c, ε, θ, ο), inf. vert. apicata, inf.
 vest., (α, δ), inf. et sup. vest. 23 .[⁺¹ med. vest., inf. horiz. ω.[.]. inf. et sup. vest.,
 desc., inf. apex 24 **ο υ**⁺¹].ινα.[(κ, λ), sup. vest., med. et sup. vest.].υ inf. et
 med. vest., inf. vest., (ε, c), sin. inf. apex et dext. inf. vest. sicut α, λ, κ 26 ρυ^τ N: . vert.
 PO 27 ι.ρ (ε, c) ρυ^τ N: . inf. vert. apicata P: [O] 28 ρυ^τ ON: . sup. vert. P

[De Parmenide]

desunt versus fere 6
]ρωος οὐ[.(.)
]υς τα[.(.)
 τὸν Ἐ]ρωτα .[.(.)
 10]αια υς .[.(.)
]δε τῶι .[.(.)
] καὶ ε . . κ[.(.)
 . .] και ο . α[.(.)
] καὶ [αὐ]τῆς
 15] ας· ἔτι δ[ε] καὶ
 τοῖς] ἀ[θα]νάτοισ [θε-
 οῖς . . .] ω . . α . . [.(.)
] ν καθ[.(.)
] καὶ ἡλιθίως
 20] πράξας[.] . [.(.)
] κατὰ σήμα[τα
 ἀν]θρωπίως . . . ν .
 . . [.]ς καὶ τινῶν [] . .
 25 οὐ . ινα . [. .] . . ἔαν-
 τῶν· ἔοικ[ε δ]ῆ τόν
 τε πρῶτον [θ]εὸν ἄ-
 ψυχον ποιεῖν, τ[οὺς
 τε γεννωμένους ὑ-
 πὸ τ{α} <ο>ύτου τὰ μὲν
 30 αὐτὰ τοῖς πάθεσιν
 31 τοῖς περὶ ἀνθρώ[ι]- ||
 [πους πάσχοντας

7–24 primum disperi 7 διαφό]ρωος suppleverim e.g. 9 supplevi (cf. DK 28 B 12, praes. B 13; etiam DK 28 A 37¹¹) 16–17 τοῖς] ἀ[θα]νάτοισ [θε]οῖς supplevi (cf. Hes., *Theog.* 120 Most) 19 ἡλιθίως legerim dub. 25 suppl. Diels, Gomperz in app. dub. sec. 26 [θ]εὸν suppl. Gomperz, Bücheler sec. (θεὸν iam Sauppe) 27 suppl. Sauppe 29 τ{α}<ο>ύτου corr. Hammerstaedt (sim. Sauppe et al.); ταῦτοῦ Capasso, ut in P dispicitur (cf. Bücheler) 31 sq. ἀνθρώ[ι]||[πους suppl. Sauppe (ἀνθρώ[ι]||[πους Capasso, Gomperz in app. dub. sec.): ἄνθρω[ι]||[πον Gomperz dub. [πάσχοντας Janko et Ranocchia e.g.: [πάσχειν Schober e.g.

(c. 6 lines missing) [in a different way not (?)] (c. 1 word, 1 line and 1 word missing) Eros (c. 1–2 words, 1 line and 1–2 words missing) to/to the

(c. 2–3 words missing) and/also (1–2 words, 1 line and 1–2 words missing) and/also of her/herself/that (c. 1–2 words missing); and besides for/to [the] immortal [gods] (c. 2 words, 1 line and 1 word missing) and foolish doing/having done [God (?)] (c. 2–3 words missing) according to [the] signs [interpreted] in a human way (c. 1–2 words missing) and of some things/someone (c. 3–4 words missing) of/by themselves; in fact, it seems that [he (*scil.* Parmenides)] makes the first God inanimate and those (*scil.* gods) who are generated by the same entity (*scil.* the first God) as [subjected to], on the one hand, the same things as the passions concerning human beings (*continues on*)

Locī similes: Cic., *ND I* [11] 28 Dyck (= DK 28 A 37¹¹): (...) *nam Parmenides quidem commenticium quiddam coronae simile efficit (στεφάνην appellat), continentem ardorum orbem, qui cingit caelum, quem appellat deum; in quo neque figuram divinam neque sensum quisquam suspicari potest. multaque eiusdem monstra, quippe qui Bellum qui Discordiam qui Cupiditatem ceteraque generis eiusdem ad deum revocat, quae vel morbo vel somno vel oblivione vel vetustate delentur; eademque de sideribus, quae reprehensa in alio iam in hoc omittantur.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II (Luc.)*, XXXVII 118, 9–10 Plasberg (= DK 28 A 35¹¹): (...) *ignem qui moveat, terram quae ab eo formetur.* (...) || Aët., *II* 7, 1 Mansfeld/Runia (= *DG*, pp. 335–336 = DK 28 A 37): Παρμενίδης στεφάνας εἶναι περιπελεγμένεας ἐπαλλήλους, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ, μικτὰς δ' ἄλλας ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους μεταξύ τούτων· καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τεύχους δίκην στερρὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὅφ' ᾧ πυρώδης στεφάνη· καὶ τὸ μεσαιτάτον πασῶν περὶ δὲ πάλιν πυρώδης· τῶν δε συμμιγῶν τὴν μεσαιτάτην ἀπάσαις ἀρχῆν· τε καὶ αἰτίαν· πάσης κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν, ἥντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληδοῦχον ἐπονομάζει, δίκην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἀπόκριειν εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, διὰ τὴν βιαιοτέραν αὐτῆς ἐξατμιθέντα πύλην, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἀναπνοῆν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν κύκλον· συμμιγῆ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶναι τὴν εὐλήνην, τοῦ τ' ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς. περιετάντος δ' ἀνωτάτω πάντων τοῦ αἰθέρος ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ πυρῶδες ὑποταγῆναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ κεκλήκαμεν οὐρανόν, ὅφ' ᾧ ἦδη τὰ περύγεια. || *Simpl., in Phys.* 31, 10; 34, 14; 39, 12 Diels (= DK 28 B 12): αἰ γὰρ στεινότεραι πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτσιο, / αἰ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἵεται αἶσα / ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ· / πάντα γὰρ ᾗ εὐγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξις ἄρχει / πέμπουσ' ἄρσειν θῆλυ μιγῆν τό τ' ἐναντίον αὐτῆς / ἄρσειν θηλυτέρῳ. *Varia testimonia* (= DK 28 B 13):¹² πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίετο πάντων. || *Plat., Symp.* 195 c 1–6 (cit. in DK 28 B 13): τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ πράγματα περὶ θεοῦ, ᾧ Ἡείδοος καὶ Παρμενίδης λέγουσιν, Ἀνάγκη καὶ οὐκ Ἔρωτι γεγενῆσθαι, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀληθῆ ἔλεγον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκτομαὶ οὐδὲ δεσμοὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ βίαια, εἰ Ἔρωσ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἀλλὰ φιλία καὶ εἰρήνη, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐξ οὗ Ἔρωσ τῶν θεῶν βασιλεύει. || *Cf. Lucr., I* 19–23; *Cacl. Aurel., Morb. chron.* IV 9, 134–135 Bendz (= DK 28 B 18).

¹² The subject of this Parmenidean hexameter remains uncertain. On this point, see Vassallo (2016) 42–43, n. 44.

Col. 325¹³

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 2, col. 325 = [O] = *N^{Arman}* fr. incertum = [VH² II] (= *deest IPPH, DG et DK*)

desunt versus fere 28

θ.[.....
 30 στ.ι[.....(.)
 31 • ρετ.[.....

29 θ.[(ε, ο, ω), ξ perp. legit *N*, eo quod ε in superposito servatum est **30** τ.ι (ο, ω)
31 τ.[(α, λ)

[De philosopho praesocratico incerto]

desunt versus fere 28

θε[.....
 30 στοι[.....(.)
 31 • ρετα[.....

primum edidi **29** θε[το- vel θε[ο- vel θε[ολ- supplere possis

(c. 28 lines missing) divine/God/gods/theology/theologians/impious (?)
 (2 lines missing) (*continues on*)

¹³ Between cols. 324 (*olim* fr. 13) and 327 (*olim* fr. 14) it is possible to detect the concluding lines and the writing margins of at least other two columns, both placed in the cr. 2, pz. 2 of the papyrus. Of these last columns no apograph is preserved, except the Neapolitan 'disegno' drawn by Mario Arman in May 1915 and "visto," as one can read in the original, by Domenico Bassi. Arman does not assign any additional numbering to these fragments. He only notes: "Tra i frammenti 13 e 14." This is clearly due to the extremely complicated stratigraphy of these columns, a fact that discouraged the first 'disegnatori' of the nineteenth century as well. Col. 325's reading is partly hampered by the presence of a large 'sovrapposto' on the right side, which makes its remnants very thin (one could probably only guess at l. 29 a reference to the divine, the gods, the theology or the atheists, viz. to the impious philosophers). Col. 326, on the other hand, is entirely illegible. Under its original position (practically in the inferior margin), traces of writing belonging to a 'sovrapposto' or a 'bisovrapposto' (from which one can infer very little) are identifiable. However, what is important to underline is that between the testimonium to Parmenides (col. 324) and that most likely devoted to Empedocles (col. 327) there were other two columns. This means that in Philodemus, unlike Cicero, there is a discontinuous succession between the two doxographical sections concerning Parmenides and Empedocles.

«ὡ»νεχῆς perp. rest. Philippson, eo quod omnia litt. vest. in superpositis servata sunt <σ>πένδο[ταc suppl. Philippson 28 θύο]νταc supplevi conl. DK 31 B 137, 3: λισκόμενον θύοντες (fr. 124, 3 Wright = fr. 35, 3 Mansfeld/Primavesi = fr. 175, 19 Gemelli Marciano, codd. sec.: θύοντος corr. Hermann, acc. fr. 122, 5 Gallavotti^a et fr. 415, 3 Kirk/Raven/Schofield de quo vd. Vassallo^d: καὶ θύονταc perp. leg. Philippson, eo quod prima litt. vest. in superposito servata sunt κᾶτα leg. Janko 28–29 [κα]||θαγ[ί]ε{τ}<ε>σθαι restitui: [κα]||θαγ[ι]ε{τ}<ε>ύεσθαι Janko: {κατ[α]κα}||θαγ[ί]ε{τ}<ε>σθαι Ranocchia 29 fin. suppl. Gomperz 31 sq. πει||ρὶ suppleverim e.g.

(c. 24 lines and 1–2 words missing) and [he (*scil.* Empedocles?) maintains that] in honour of these (*scil.* of the gods/dead people?) (c. 1 lines and 1–2 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 [around] (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND I* [12] 29 Dyck (= *deest* DK): (...) *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.* (...) || Cic., *Ac. pr. II (Luc.)*, XXXVII 118, 12 Plasberg (= *deest* DK): (...) *Empedocles haec pervolgata et nota quattuor.* (...) || Sext., *M IX* 127; 129 Mutschmann; Orig., *c. Cels.* V 49 Borret (= fr. 122 Gallavotti = DK 31 B 136–137): οὐ πάύεσθε φόνουτο δυσηχέος; οὐκ ἔσρατε / ἀλλήλους δάπτοντες ἀκηδείηι νόοιο; / (...) / μορφήν δ' ἀλλάξαντα πατήρ φίλον υἷον αἰείρας / σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος· οἱ δ' ἐπορεύνται ⁵ λισκόμενον θύοντος, ὁ δὲ νήκουτος ὁμοκλέων / σφάζας ἐν μεγάροις κακὴν ἀλεγύνατο δαῖτα. / ὡς δ' αὐτὸς πατέρ' υἷος ἔλων καὶ μητέρα παῖδες / θυμὸν ἀπορραΐσαντε φίλας κατὰ σάρκας ἔδουσιν.

Col. 328 (*olim* fr. 15)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 3, col. 328 (*olim* fr. 15) et ter subpos. *ibid.*, dext. sup. et med. col. 330 (*olim* fr. 17) collocata = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1221 (*D*, a^{inf.}) = *N^{pc}* fr. 15: *N^{ac}* fr. 13 (*N.I.*^{inf.}) = *VH²* II 5 (= *IPPH* X 50; XXXIII 154; XXXIV 159 = *DG*, p. 535 = *deest* DK et Untersteiner^b)

μ ε [. . . (.)] . α σ θ ε [. . . (.)]
 . α [. . . (.)] ν ι κ α [. .] π ρ ο σ
 .] [.] . [] τ ο ν μ ε ν
] μ η κ α [.
 5] ν [.
] . α σ [. .] . .
] . . . α

servata sunt 28 init. τοτεγωνοιαι perp. leg. O, vest. min. congr.: ενοικυ[]ναι perp. leg. N, eo quod υ in superposito servatum est ραντ¹ O: [.] . (α, λ), inf. apex P:]ν[N^{ac}: [sup. vest. N^{pc} 29 init. συντελεσαιτοσε perp. leg. O, vest. min. congr.: N = P, sed med. η perp. leg. N, eo quod η in superposito servatum est υ, [. . . .] , c sup. vest., dext. sup. horiz. 30 ρθ¹ O: . dext. inf. arcus P: [N] ρκα¹ O:] . (α, λ) P: [N] || subter columnam K legitur

[De Protagora (vel Prodico) (?) et Democrito (?)]

με[.] . ας θε[.]
 . α[.] νικα[. . .] πρὸς
 .] . [.] . [] τὸν μὲν
] μηκα[.
 5] ν [.
] . ας [. . .] .
] . . . α
 καὶ [.] . . . ι
 . ε[.] ε[.]
 10] . η[.]
] πρ[.]
] η[.]
] εἰ[.]
] . ν . [.]
 15] θε[.]
] . τω . . [.]
 17] . λ . [.]
desunt versus 2
 20 χα[.]
 κα[λ] τοῖς μ[.]
 το[.] πε-
 ρὶ γὰρ κα[.]
 κατὰ δόξα[ν]
 25 ευνης καὶ [.] . [.] τ[.]
 μο ν πάντα [.]
 λαετωνας[.]
 ἐν οἷς [εἶ]ναι κὰν τ[.]
 πυ[.] φ]ήσαι τις, εἰς
 30 θε<δ>ν. καὶ τὸ ἐρμηνευ-
 31 και τοῦτο Διὸς δὲ

1–29 primum dispexi (in his versibus plura verba, quae in P non sunt, perp. leg. ac suppl. Gomperz, Philippson et Schober, errata *O* sec.) 1 θε[ο- vel θε[ι- suppleverim e.g. 8 Π[ρωταγόρας φησι] restituerim e.g. 16 τῶν θε[ῶν] suppleverim e.g. 21 κα[τὰ] τοῖς μ[υθ]οῖς restituerim e.g. 22–23 suppl. Gomperz dub. in app. (κα[ρπῶν] cogit. Schober dub. in app.) 24 supplevi 23–25 κα[τ’ ἀλήθειαν <καὶ>] | κατὰ δόξαν [εὐφρο]σύνης temptaverim (εὐφρο]σύνης iam cogit. Schober dub. in app.) 28 supplevi 28–29 τ[αῖς] | πῦρ[αῖς] suppleverim e.g. 29 supplevi 30 θε[ῶν] addidi || [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν πάντα | ταῦτ’ εἶναι νομιζόντων] suppl. Schober e.g.

(1–2 words missing) God/divine (?) (3–4 words missing) towards/against (c. 1–2 words missing) the (4 lines missing). And [he (*scil.* Protagoras/Prodicus?) says that] (7 lines and 1–2 words missing) [of the gods] (5 lines missing) and/also to/with the [myths] (c. 2–3 words missing) in fact, about [the common sense (on the existence or non–existence of the gods?)] according to [the truth (?)] and the opinion and (c. 2–3 words missing) all the things (c. 1 line and 1 word missing) in which [it (*scil.* the divine?)] is and in the (1 word missing), you may say, for/in honour of the God. And [he (*scil.* Democritus?) maintains that] explaining that [as something] of Zeus [*vel* of another God (?)] (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND* I [12] 29 Dyck (= DK 80 A 23^{II}): (...) *nec vero Protagoras, qui sese negat omnino de deis habere quod liqueat, sint non sint qualesve sint, quicquam videtur de natura deorum suspicari.* (...) || Eus., *PE* XIV 3, 7 Des Places (= DK 80 B 4^I): περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι, οὐθ’ ὡς εἰσὶν οὐθ’ ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐθ’ ὅποιοί τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἢ τ’ ἀδηλόγηται καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. || Diog. Laërt., IX 51 Dorandi (= DK 80 B 4^{II}): περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὐθ’ ὡς εἰσὶν, οὐθ’ ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἢ τε ἀδηλόγηται καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. || Sext., *M* IX 55, 56 Mutschmann (= DK 80 A 12): συμφέρεται δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι [*scil.* Euhemerus, Diagoras, Prodicus, and Critias] καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος καὶ κατὰ τινὰ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης (...) ῥητῶς ποιεῖ γράμας· “περὶ δὲ θεῶν οὔτε εἰ εἰσὶν οὐθ’ ὅποιοί τινες εἰσι” δύναμαι λέγειν· “πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ κωλύοντά με.” παρ’ ἣν αἰτίαν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαφυγὼν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν πταίνας ἀπέθανεν. μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Σύλλων [Tim. fr. 5 Di Marco] ταῦτα διεξερχόμενος· “† ὥστε καὶ μετέπειτα σοφιστῶν / οὐτ’ ἀλιγγλώσῃ οὐτ’ ἀκόπῃ οὐτ’ ἀκυλίῃ / Πρωταγόρῃ. ἔθελον δὲ τέφρην συγγράμματα θεῖναι, / ὅτι θεοὺς κατέγραψ’ οὐτ’ εἰδέναι οὔτε δύνασθαι / ὅποιοί τινες εἰσι καὶ εἴ τινες ἀθρήσασθαι, / πᾶσαν ἔχον φυλακὴν ἐπιεικείης. τὰ μὲν οὐ οἱ / χραίμεν’, ἀλλὰ φυγῆς ἐπεμαίετο, ὄφρα μὴ οὕτως / Cωκρατικὸν πίνων ψυχρὸν ποτὸν Ἄϊδα δῆν.” || Cf. etiam DK 80 A 2–3.

1] . . . α . ε . . . `δι´ . [+1 med. vest., inf. apex vel asc., (γ, τ), duo sup. vest., (φ, ρ), (α, λ), (ο, c)] εινα . +1 sup. vest. 2] . [+1 (α, λ, δ)] ατηντροφην . [+1 sin. sup. arcus
3 ωνα . θρωπω . [+1 (τ, π, γ, ξ, ζ), dext. sup. vert. apicata sicut v, η, inf. et sup. vest.
4] . . . εγεταιδ . [+1 inf. arcus vel horiz. et med. vest., desc. sicut λ, α, δ, inf. apex
5] . ζευκ[] π . [+1 sup. arcus, (α, λ) 6] . . [+1 vert. apicata, (c, ο, ω)] . ι . [+1 sin. inf. vest.] . ι . [+1 inf. arcus vel asc. 7] ωμ . . . [] φ . [+1 inf. vest., inf. vest., (α, λ, δ), asc. sicut α, λ 8] . . . κα . . . ι . [+1 sup. horiz. sicut τ, π, γ, ξ, ζ, dext. sup. vest., inf. parva vert. apicata, med. desc. sicut v, κ, (ε, θ, ο, c) 9] . . [(χ, κ), med. horiz. vel asc.] τ ο ν . ε . . [+1 sup. arcus vel ramus, inf. vest., inf. apex 10 . . . [(v, κ), sup. vest., inf. arcus sicut ο, ω, θ, φ, ψ] . [+1 asc. vel sup. ramus 11 . [+1 (α, λ, μ)] . . [+1 inf. vest., (ρ, φ, β) 12 . [+1 inf. ramus vel arcus 14 τ . . . [(ο, ε, c), inf. arcus vel apex, inf. arcus vel apex 15 ο (φ, γ, υ)] . α sup. vest. vel horiz., inf. vest. vel apex α . (v, κ)
16 ς . τ . [(c, ε), (α, λ) 17] . [(ε, ξ, ζ)] . αιπ . [sup. ramus vel horiz., inf. apex vel asc.
18 δ . [(ε, ο, ω) ο . τ (υ, ι) 19 α . [] α [] . [inf. arcus vel basis, med. vest. vel desc.
20] . αν . ρω . [(ω, β), sin. med. et dext. sup. vest., dext. sup. vest., (π, γ, ι) 21] α . ο (τ, γ), (φ, ψ), (ρ, φ) ι . . . [(v, η), inf. et sup. vest., inf. vest. vel apex 22 ρθι N: . (θ, ε) P: [O] τ . [.] . [(η, ρ), inf. apex cum hastae parva parte coniuncta, dext. inf. apex, inf. vest. 24 π . [(α, λ) 25 οι P O N^{ac}: ω N^{pc} 26 ρηι O: . (η, ι, υ, κ) P: [N]

[De Democrito]

. . . α . ε . . Διὸ [c] εἶναι·
κ[α][τ]ὰ τὴν τροφήν ἐ[κ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων [. . .)
. . . λέγεται δ . [.)
5] Ζεὺς { [] } “πά[ντων
βασιλε]ύς”, [. . .] ι [. . .] ι [. .
ε[.] ωμ . . . [] φ . [. . .)
ε[.] . . κα . . . ι [.)
. . [.] τὸν θεὸν [. . .
10 . . [.] . [. οὐ
γὰρ] κα[τα]φρ[ονεῖν
τὸν Δία [.)
τῶ[ν π]ερὶ [.)
τὸ θε[ῖ]ον [.)
15 . ον [.] ac [. . .] ρεῖα .
. . .] ρασ . τ . [.)
. . [.) . αιπ . [.)
δ . [.) οὔτος κ[.)
ειν, καὶ α . [] α [] . [.)
20 τ]ῶν ἀνθρώπων κα-
ταφρονεῖν . . [.)

θέρος ἐν τῇ [γ]ῆι [καὶ
 χει[ι]μῶν καὶ ἔ[α]ρ καὶ
 με{τ} <θ>όπων [κ]αὶ π[ά]ν-
 25 τα ταῦτα ἄν{οι} <ω>θεν δι-
 ειπετῆ γέ[γ]ινεται δι-
 ὀ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐξεργα-
 ζόμενον γνόντας
 κέβεσθαι. οὐ φαίνε-
 >
 30 ται δ' ἐμοὶ Δημόκρι-
 31 τος ὡς περ ἔνιοι τὸν

1–20 primum dispexi 1–2 supplevi 5–6 cf. DK 68 B 30 10 οὐ] Sedley, et καὶ possis
 11 legi ac supplevi 13–14 legi ac supplevi 17–18] καὶ π[ά]ντα τ[ά]δε [legerim ac
 suppleverim e.g. 18 οὗτος (fort. [τοι]οῦτος) legerim 18–19 κ[ατὰ φύ]σιν suppleverim
 e.g. 21 fin. [πιστεύειν ὅτι suppl. Crönert^b spat. long. 22 θέρος ἐν τῇ [γ]ῆι [καὶ legi ac
 supplevi ([τῇ] γῆι καὶ iam Schober, Crönert^b sec.): Μ[ητρ]οδώρο- perp. prop. Gomperz in
 app. dub.: ἐνταῦθα perp. Marcovich^b: ἐνταῦθεν perp. Gigante/Indelli e.g. 23 χει[ι]μῶν
 καὶ ἔ[α]ρ καὶ suppl. Henrichs (χει[ι]μῶν καὶ ἔ[α]ρ καὶ iam Schober) 24 με{τ} <θ>όπων rest.
 Henrichs (cf. Crönert^a, p. 152, adn. 5) 24–25 κ]αὶ suppl. Schober π[ά]ν[τ]α leg. ac
 suppl. Henrichs (π[ά]ν[τ]α iam Gomperz in app.) 25 ἄν{οι} <ω>θεν rest. Henrichs (iam
 N^{pe}) 25–26 διειπετῆ P, cf. Crönert^a, p. 27 et adn. 6 (διεῖπε perp. leg. Gomperz in app.
 dub.) 26 γέ[γ]ινεται add. Henrichs: γέ[γ]ινεται suppl. Schober spat. long. 30 δ' ἐμοὶ
 Gomperz et al.: δ[έ] μοι Sauppe et Bücheler 31 sq. τὸν || [...] θεῖον suppleverim e.g.:
 [κόσμον θεὸν δοξάζειν Crönert^b e.g. (cf. DK 68 A 75^{1 et III})

(c. 1–2 words missing) to be of Zeus: according to the care [they believe
 to receive from him,] by men (1 word missing) Zeus (c. 1–2 words
 missing) is said “king of the universe,” (2 lines and c. 2–3 words missing)
 the god (c. 2–3 words missing) in fact [he (scil. Democritus)] says that
 according to ancient people (?) Zeus does [not] treat with contempt
 [humans (?) and] things concerning [their life (?)] (1–2 words missing) the
 divine (3 lines and 1–2 words missing) [and all these things (he says)], and
 (1–2 words missing) to not despise men, [but they think that the annual
 return of] summer on the earth, and winter and spring and autumn, and all
 those things, come into being from heaven (scil. from Zeus). That was
 why, having acknowledged the cause, they worshipped it. But it does not
 seem to me that Democritus, as some [do, has maintained that] the
 [God/Zeus does not exist (?)] (continues on)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND I* [12] 29 Dyck (= DK 68 A 74^{III}): (...) *quid Democritus, qui tum
 imagines earumque circumitus in deorum numero refert, tum illam naturam quae imagines*

fundat ac mittat, tum sententiam intellegentiamque nostram, nonne in maximo errore versatur? cum idem omnino, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget esse quicquam sempiternum, nonne deum omnino ita tollit, ut nullam opinionem eius reliquam faciat? (...) || Cic., *ND I* [43] 120–121a Dyck (= DK 68 A 74^V): (...) *mihī quidem etiam Democritus vir magnus in primis, cuius fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos irrigavit, nutare videtur in natura deorum. tum enim censet imagines divinitate praeditas inesse in universitate rerum, tum principia mentis quae sunt in eodem universo deos esse dicit, tum animantes imagines quae vel prodesse nobis solent vel nocere, tum ingentes quasdam imagines tantasque ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus. quae quidem omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora; quis enim istas imagines comprehendere animo potest, quis admirari, quis aut cultu aut religione dignas iudicare? (...)* || Cic., *Ac. pr. II* (*Luc.*), XXXVII 118, 10–12 Plasberg (= DK 67 A 8^{II}): (...) *Leucippus plenum et inane. Democritus huic in hoc similis, uberior in ceteris.* (...) || Clem., *Protr.* 68, I 52, 16 Stählin; *Strom.* V 103, II 394, 21 Stählin (= DK 68 B 30): τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγοι ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, ὃν νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἕλληνας: “πάντα, εἶπαν, Ζεὺς μυθέεται καὶ πάνθ’ οὗτος οἶδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρέεται καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων.” || Sext., *M IX* 24 Mutschmann (= DK 68 A 75^I): εἰς δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν κόσμον παραδόξων ὑπονοήσαντες εἰς ἔννοιαν ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι θεῶν, ἀφ’ ἧς φαίνεται εἶναι δόξης καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος· ὀρώντες γάρ, φησί, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετέωροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ βροντὰς καὶ ἄετραπὰς κεραννοῦς τε καὶ ἄετρων συνόδου ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψει εἰδεματοῦντο θεοὺς οἰόμενοι τούτων αἰτίους εἶναι. || Lucr., V 1186–1193 (= DK 68 A 75^{III}): (...) *ergo perfugium sibi habebant omnia divis / tradere et illorum nutu facere omnia flecti. / in caeloque deum sedes et templa locarunt, / per caelum volvi quia sol et luna videtur, / luna dies et nox et noctis signa severa, / noctivagaeque faces caeli, flammaeque volantes, / nubila ros imbres nix venti fulmina grando / et rapidi fremitus et murmura magna minarum.* (...) || Cf. etiam *Oracula et Hymni sacri*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Henrichs (1975) 106, n. 55: “With the notable exception of I *Clem.* 20, 9 (καιροὶ ἐαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεταπαραδιδόσιν ἀλλήλοις, in a Stoicizing teleological context) and Dio Chrys., *Or.* 3, 80 (συνεθίζων μὲν ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ἡρος ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸ θέρος, προγυμνάζων δὲ διὰ τοῦ μετοπόρου χειμῶνα ἀνέχεσθαι ..., of the sun god), the principal parallels belong to the second half of the 2d or to the 3d century AD: (1) Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, in Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 18, 19ff. (ultimately derived from Cornelius Labeo’s collection *De oraculo Apollinis Clarii*), lines 3ff.: φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὑπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν’ Ἰαῶ, / χεῖματι μέντ’ Αἰδὼν, Δία δ’ εἶαρος ἀρχομένονο, / Ἥλιον δὲ θέρεος, μετόπωρον δ’ ἄβρον Ἰαῶ (...). (2) Oracle of the Didymean Apollo (...), lines 5–6: χεῖμα, θέρος, φθινόπωρον, ἔαρ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμείβων / εἰς φάος ἦγεν ἅπαντα καὶ ἀρμονίαις πόρε μέτροις. (3) Cf. *I. Pergamon* 324, 21–25, an elaborate description of all four seasons in a hymn to Zeus, who is praised as their cause. Occasionally one finds only three seasons listed (Aesch., *Prom.* 454ff.: ἦν δ’ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χειματος τέκμαρ / οὔτ’ ἀνθεμώδου ἡρος οὔτε καρπίμου / θέρου βέβαιον; *Hymn. Orph.* 34, 21–23 [from Asia Minor]: μίξας χειμῶνος θερέος τ’ ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν, / ταῖς ὑπάταις χειμῶνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας, / Δώριον εἰς ἔαρος πολυηράτου ὄριον ἄνθος).”

Col. 330 (*olim* fr. 17)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 3, col. 330 (*olim* fr. 17), bisuperp. *ibid.*, med. sin. col. 328 (*olim* fr. 15), ter superpos. *ibid.*, inter col. 328 (*olim* fr. 15) et 329 (*olim* fr. 16), et superpos. *ibid.*, med. sup. col. 329 (*olim* fr. 16) collocata = [O] = *N^{pc}* fr. 17: *N^{ac}* fr. 16 (*N.I.^{inf.}*) = *VH²* II 6 (= *IPPH* XIX 102 = Heraclit., fr. 77^(c) Marcovich^a = fr. 67 Mouraviev app. = *deest DG et DK* + fr. 79^(b) Marcovich^a = fr. 64–65 Mouraviev app. = *deest DG et DK*)

...]θε[.....]ερ[.....
]δεχρ[.].[.....
]εου[.....
]ι[.....]ο... **μ[.]τ ο c**
 5]ματ.α[.....] **ουδε**
]των[.] **τι.ξις**
]ντος[.] **θε.**
 ..]ι[.....].[.....(.)
 ..]ειο[.....].[.....].[.....].
 10 ..]ν[.]ε.δ[.....]αιε[.].[.
 ..].[.].υ[.....].[.....] **και**
]νομ[.].[.].
].[.....] **τα**
].α[.....] **ην**
 15]ε[.....
].[.].ρο`ς`κο[.] **ν**
].[.].οιουδ[.
]εναςπ[.
]ανες[.....
 20]του[.....
].φαινε[.....
]εν[.]υc
]ου.ουc[.....]ρα
 ..].[.]. **κ[.]ε[.]τε**
 25 ε[.] **τ[.]**.....]ει. και
 το. **υρ**[.....]νενοικη
 οιν**οτι**[.....]κεραυνος
 π[.].....]κιζικαι
 ζ[.....]αινειδε
 30 κτ**α**[.....]ναντια
 31 θε[.].....]ναινυκτα

2 ρ . [.] . [(ο, ω, ε), sup. arcus vel vert. 4] , ι (α, λ) ο . . . dext. inf. vest., inf. vert. apicata
 . μ [.] τ ο ς ⁺¹ (ρ, ο) 5] . ματ . c dext. sup. vest., sin. sup. vest.] . ο υ δ ε ⁺¹ sup. vest. vel
 uncus 6 γ . [vert.] τ ι . ξ ι ς ⁺¹ inf. vest. vel arcus 7] . θ ε . ⁺¹ (ο, ω), sup. vest. 8] ι ⁺¹
] . . [med. et sup. vest., med. vest. 9] ε ι ο ⁺¹] . [. . .] . [desc., sup. vest.] . . ⁺¹ inf.
 arcus, inf. arcus 10] γ ⁺¹ ε . δ inf. vert. ε . [sin. inf. arcus] . ⁺¹ (ο, ω) 11] . ⁺¹
 (α, λ, δ)] . υ [. . .] . [dext. sup. arcus, sup. vest.] και ⁺¹ 12 μ . [(ο, ω, ε)] . ⁺¹ inf.
 vest.] . ⁺¹ inf. vest. 13] . . [(ο, θ), (c, ε)] τα ⁺¹ 14] . α sup. horiz.] η ⁺¹ ν ⁺²
 15 ε . [(λ, α, δ) 16] . [(α, λ, δ), inf. vert.] . ρ ο ^ ς ^ κ ο . [(α, λ), sin. sup. vest.] ν ⁺²
 17] . [. .] . ο (ε, θ, ο, c), (c, ε), med. vest. 18 π . [(ο, ε, ω) 20] . . . τ inf. vest., sup.
 vest., inf. horiz. 21] . ι (π, τ, γ) 22] . . ε γ . . [inf. horiz., inf. apex, inf. vest., (ρ, φ, c, ε)
] . υ (κ, χ, υ) 23 υ . ο sup. arcus 24] . ⁺¹ desc.] . κ ⁺¹ inf. vest. ε . [. .] . τ sin. sup.
 vert. vel arcus, (c, ε) 25] τ ⁺¹ ι . κ (c, ε), (ι, γ, τ) 26 . υ ρ . ⁺¹ (π, τ, γ), inf. vest.
] . υ inf. vest. 27 ο τ ι . ⁺¹ sin. inf. horiz. vel basis sicut ζ, ξ 28] . . ⁺¹ dext. sup. vert.,
 sup. horiz. 30 τ α ¹ N: . (α, λ) P N ^{Arman} 31] . [.] . υ (ο, ε, c, θ), inf. apex, (ι, γ, τ)

[De Heraclito]

. . .] θ ε [.] ε ρ [.
 οὐ] δὲ χρό[ν] . [. (c)
] ε ο υ [.
] ι c [. .] ο . . . μ [.] τ ο ς
 5] ματ . c α [. . . .] οὐδὲ
 (c)] τ ο ν . [] τ ι ς ε ι ς
 (c)] ν τ ο ς [. .] θ ε .
 . .] ι [.] . [. (c)
 θ] ε ι ο [. . . .] [.] [.] .
 10 . .] ν [. .] ε . δ [. . . .] α ι ε [. .] [. .
 . .] [. .] υ [. . . .] [. . . .] καὶ
] ν ο μ [. . . .] [. .] .
] [. (c)] τ α
] α [. (c)] η ν
 15 (c)] ε [.
 (c)] [. .] ρ ο ς κ ο [. . . .
] [. .] ο ι c ὕ δ [.
] ε ν ἄ π ρ ο [ν -
 δ] α ν ε ς [. (c)
 20 (c)] τ ο υ [. (c)
] ἔ] π ι φ α ί ν ε [. (c)
] ε ν [. .] κ υ ς
] ο υ . ο υ ς [. (c)] ρ α
] [. .] κ [. . . .] ε [. . . .] τ ε

- 25 ε[.]τ[.] εἰςί: καὶ
 τὸ πῦρ θ[ε]όν, ἐν οἷς φη-
 σὶν ὄτι Ζ[εὺ]ς Κεραυνὸς
 “π[ά]γτ[α οἶα]κίζει”, κά<ε>ί-
 ζ[ωον·]χημαίνει δὲ
 30 κα[ὶ] πάντ’ ἐ]ναντία
 31 θε[ῶ]ν [ε]ἶναι, νύκτα ||
 [ἡμέραν

1–24 primum dispexi 2 suppleverim e.g. 9 suppleverim e.g. 10 τὸ εἰδ[έν]αι fort. supplere possis 12] νόμω[- vel] νόμω[- legerim e.g. 18 -]εν ἀπο[ν- legi ac supplevi e.g. (et -μ]ενα απο[- possis) 21 ἐ]πιφαίνε[- supplevi (ἐ]πιφαίνε[ιν vel ἐ]πιφαίνε[σθαι vel ἐ]πιφαίνε[ται e.g.] 24 ὥ]στε suppleverim e.g. 25 ἐ[ν] τ[ῶ]ι κόμωι suppleverim e.g.: θεοὺς Ἐρινύας θ’ ὡς ἐπικούρους εἶπε τῆς Δίκης Diels/Crönert vest. min. congr. 26 πῦρ legi (π[ύ]ρ suppl. iam Sedley) θ[ε]όν suppl. Sedley: θ[ε]ῶν Janko: τὸν [κόμω]ον Diels/Crönert 27 Ζ[εὺ]ς supplevi (cf. *IG* V 2, 288, de quo Usener et Kirk, pp. 354–357); *PEG*, fr. 228; 243; 269; etiam Cleanth., fr. 536, *SVF* I, p. 222 = Heraclit., fr. 79^(c) Marcovich^a; DK 22 B 32 = fr. 84 Marcovich^a; DK 22 B 120 = fr. 62 Marcovich^a): θ[ε]ῶν (et τ[ῆ]ς) Sedley: [δ]ιχῶ]ς Diels/Crönert 28 π[ά]γτ[α οἶα]κίζει legi ac supplevi (π[άν]τα οἶα]κίζει iam Gomperz): π[άν]τα οἶη]κίζει West (cf. DK 22 B 64 = fr. 79 Marcovich^a) 28–29 κά<ε>ί]ζ[ωον rest. Sedley: καὶ | Ζ[εὺ]ς West et Henrichs, Diels coniect. sec. (cf. Kirk, p. 354): ζ[υγοῖ] Crönert ap. Schober χημαίνει suppl. Sedley, Schober (in app. dub.) sec.: ἀποφ]αίνει West et Henrichs, Schober (in app. dub.) sec.: συμ]αίνει Diels/Crönert: παρ]αίνει Crönert ap. Schober: ἐμ]αίνει Jensen ap. Schober 30 κα[ὶ] πάντ’ ἐ]ναντία supplevi, sic et Fleischer (κα[ὶ] πόλλ’ ἐ]ναντία iam Sedley): κα[ί] τινα ἐ]ναντία Schober (τιν’ ἐ]ναντία Sedley fort. spat. brev.): κα[ὶ] τὸ τά]ναντία Henrichs (κα[ὶ] τά]ναντία West spat. brev., Diels/Crönert sec.) 31 θε[ῶ]ν [ε]ἶναι restitui (θε[ῶ]ν iam Crönert ap. Schober, Capasso dub.): θε[ῶ]ν ε]ἶναι West, Diels ap. Schober sec.: θεοῦ]ς ε]ἶναι Henrichs (θε[ῶ]ν ε]ἶναι iam Schober): θε[ῶ]ν ε]ἶναι Diels/Crönert 31 sq. [ἡμέραν suppl. Schober (qui etiam πόλεμον εἰρήνην adiec.), West, Henrichs: [ἡμέραν, θέρος χειμῶνα, εἰρήνην πόλεμον, λιμὸν κόρον coniecerim e.g. (cf. DK 22 B 67 = fr. 77 Marcovich^a)

(1 line missing) neither time/temporal (2 lines and c. 4–5 words missing) neither (c. 1–2 words missing) someone towards/against (2 lines missing) the/of the divine (c. 2–3 words missing) [the knowledge (?)] (c. 3–4 words missing) [law/laws (?)] (5 lines and c. 3–4 words missing) merciless/mercilessly (1 line and c. 4–5 words missing) to appear (2 lines missing) they are (c. 2–3 words missing). And [he (*scil.* Heraclitus) maintains that] God is fire in the words in which he says that Zeus Thunderbolt “governs everything,” and [that it (*scil.* the fire) is] everlasting; then he shows how also all [the] opposites coincide with [the] divine: night || [and day, summer and winter, peace and war, hunger and satiety] (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *Ac. pr.* II (*Luc.*), XXXVII 118, 12–14 Plasberg (= *deest* DK): (...) *Heraclitus ignem. Melissus hoc quod esset infinitum et immutabile et fuisse semper et fore.* (...) || Hipp., *Ref.* IX 10, 7 Marcovich (= fr. 79 Marcovich^a = DK 22 B 64): λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου κρίειν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ πυρὸς γίνεσθαι λέγων οὕτως: “τάδε πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός,” τουτέστι κατευθύνει, κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον. || Stob., *Ecl.* I 1, 12, p. 52, 3 Wachsmuth/Hense (= fr. 79^(c) Marcovich^a; Cleanth., fr. 537, *SVF* I, pp. 121–122): Κύδιςτ’ ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ, / Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν, / χαίρε· εὐ γὰρ πάντεσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαιδᾶν. / ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος εἰς’ ἤχου μίμημα λαχόντες /^ς μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει θνήτ’ ἐπὶ γαίαν· / τῷ εὐ καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν αἰέσω. / σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὄδε κόσμος, ἐλιεσόμενος περὶ γαίαν, / πείθεται, ἧ κεν ἄγης, καὶ ἐκὼν ὑπὸ σείῳ κρατεῖται· / τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποερῶν ἀνικήτοιο ὑπὸ χερσὶν /¹⁰ ἀμφήκη, πυρόντα, αἰεζῶντα κεραυνόν· / τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆς φύσεως πάντ’ ἔργα <τελείται>· / ᾧ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων / φοιτᾶ, μιγνύμενος μεγάλοιο μικροῖο τε φάεσσι / ᾧ σὺ τόκος γεγαῶς ὑπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός. / (...) || Hipp., *Ref.* IX 10, 8 Marcovich (= fr. 77 Marcovich^a = DK 22 B 67): τὸν γὰρ ποιητὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ ποιητὴν ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενον οὕτω λέγει: “ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμὸν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κόρος λιμός,” τάναντία ἅπαντα· οὗτος ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ “ὄκωσπερ <πῦρ>, ὅποταν συμμιγῆ θυώμασιν, ὀνομάζεται καθ’ ἡδονὴν ἐκάστου.” || Hipp., *Ref.* IX 9, 4 Marcovich (= fr. 29 Marcovich^a = DK 22 B 53): πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλος ἐποίησε τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

Col. 331 (*olim* fr. 18)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 3, col. 331 (*olim* fr. 18), bisuperpos., *ibid.*, med. sin. col. 328 (*olim* fr. 15), et duo superpos. *ibid.*, med. sup. col. 330 (*olim* fr. 17) collocata = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1223 (*D,d*) = *N* fr. 18 (8^{inf}) = *VH*² II 6 (= *IPPH* XII 62 = *DG*, p. 536 = DK 64 A 8 = test. 6 Laks = test. 10 Gemelli Marciano)

desunt versus 2

3]ηκ. [. . .

4]α. [.

desunt versus 3

8]κα. [.

. . ν. [.]ιναι

10 . . μ. [.] . ε[. .

desunt versus 2

13 ον. [.

αληθ. [.

15 τη. [.

. α[.

- εν[.....
 χυ[.....
 19 ..η[.....
deest versus 1
 21]ει
]. [.]>
 γε. . α. [.]δ'ι'ο. .
 νηεπα'ιν'ι[. . .]τονο
 25 μηρονωο[.]μυθικ[.]
 αλλαληθως περτ. ρ'ι'
 θειουδιειλε μενον
 τοναεραγαραυτον
 διανομιζεινφησιν
 30 επειδηπανειδε
 31 ναιτονδιαλεγεικαι

3]ηκ. [+1 (ο, ω, ε) 4]α. [+1 sup. horiz. sicut π, τ, γ 8]κα. [+1 inf. vest. vel apex
 9 . . ν. [+2 (η, κ), sup. vest., med. vest.]ινα⁺¹ 10]. μ. . [+2 inf. apex, (ε, ο, ω), inf.
 vest.]. ε [+1 sup. vest. 13 ον. [+2 sup. vest. 14 αληθ. . [+2 (ε, ο, ω), sin. inf. arcus
 vel apex 15 τη. . [+2 sup. vest., sup. vest. 16 . α [+2 (κ, ξ, ζ) 17 εν [+2 18 χυ [+2
 19 . . η [+2 inf. vest., sup. vest. 21 ε. inf. vest. 22 init. γενο perp. leg. N (τενο ^{N^{Arman}}),
 eo quod litt. vest. in subposito servata sunt: [PO]] . . [inf. vert. vel sin. inf. arcus, (α, δ,
 ξ, ζ) 23 ε. . α. [(c, ε), (τ, π), sup. horiz. vel apex ρ'ι' O: . inf. et sup. vest. P: [M] ο. .
 (γ, τ), (ε, ο) 24 ριν'ι ^{N^{Arman}} (et N sed litt. perp. collocatae): . [med. vest. P:]ν O
 26 c. περτ. ρ' inf. et sup. vest., (ο, ω) ρ'ι' ^{N^{Arman}}: [PON] 27 ε. μ (γ, π)

[De Diogene Apolloniatae]

- desunt versus 2*
 3]ηκ. [.
 4]α. [.]
desunt versus 3
 8]κα. [.
 . . ν. [. ε]ι'ναι
 10 .]. μ. . [.]. ε[.
desunt versus 2
 13 ον. [.
 ἀληθε'ς [.
 15 τη. . [.
 . α[.
 εν[.

19 χυ[.....
 .. η[.....
deest versus 1
 21]ει
 ἐ]να[ρ-] >
 γέτατ[α] Διογέ-
 νης ἐπαιν[εῖ] τὸν Ὀ-
 25 μηρον ὡς ο[ὐ] μυθικ[ῶς
 ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 θείου διειλεγμένον·
 τὸν ἀέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν
 Δία νομίζειν φησὶν
 30 ἐπειδὴ πᾶν εἶδέ-
 31 ναι τὸν Δία λέγει καὶ

3–10; 11–22 primum dispexi **9** supplevi **14** ἀληθῆς legerim (etiam ἀληθει[α-]
22–23 legi ac supplevi e.g. **24** ἐπαιν[εῖ] suppl. Gomperz, Nauck sec.: ἐπιν[οεῖ] Bücheler
 et Sauppe **25** ο[ὐ] μυθικ[ῶς] suppl. Gomperz, Nauck et Sauppe sec. (ο[ὐ] μυθικ[ῶ]c
 Bücheler) **28–29** cf. DK 64 A 8^{II–IV} **30–31** cf. DK 64 B 8; DK 68 B 30; de Homero et
 epicis carminibus, *DG*, p. 536, app.; Schober, p. 114, app.; Laks, pp. 129–130

(c. 8 lines and 2–3 words missing) to be (4 lines missing) truth (7 lines
 and c. 3–4 words missing) in the clearest way (1 word missing) Diogenes
 [of Apollonia] praises Homer for having spoken about the divine without
 using mythology but according to the truth. As a matter of fact, he main-
 tains that he (*scil.* Homer) thought Zeus to be the air, for saying that Zeus
 knows everything and (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND* I [12] 29 Dyck (= DK 64 A 8^{II}): (...) *quid aer, quo Diogenes
 Apolloniates utitur deo, quem sensum habere potest aut quam formam dei?* (...) || *Aët.*, I
 7, 8 Mansfeld/Runia (= *DG*, p. 302 = DK 64 A 8^{III}): Διογένης καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Οἰνοπίδης
 τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν [*scil.* θεόν φασιν]. || *Aug.*, *De civ. dei* VIII 2 Dombart/Kalb (= DK
 64 A 8^V): *Diogenes quoque Anaximenis alter auditor aerem quidem dixit rerum esse
 materiam, de qua omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem divinae rationis, sine qua nihil ex
 eo fieri posset.* || *Simpl.*, in *Phys.* 151, 28 Diels (= DK 64 B 5): καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν
 νόησιν ἔχον εἶναι ὁ ἀῆρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πάντας καὶ
 κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων κρατεῖν· αὐτὸ γὰρ μοι τοῦτο θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφίχθαι
 καὶ πάντα διατιθέναι καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἐνεῖναι. (...) || *Simpl.*, in *Phys.* 153, 17 Diels (= DK 64
 B 7): καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο καὶ αἰδίων καὶ ἀθάνατον σώμα, τῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν γίνεται, τὰ δὲ
 ἀπολείπει. || *Simpl.*, in *Phys.* 153, 20 Diels (= DK 64 B 8): ἀλλὰ τοῦτό μοι δηλὸν δοκεῖ
 εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ αἰδίων τε καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ πολλὰ εἶδος ἔστι.

[Col. 332]

Col. 333 (*olim* fr. 19)

P.Herc. 1428, cr. 4, col. 333 (*olim* fr. 19) = *O* Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. Class. c. 5, fol. 1224 (*E,a*) = *N^{pc}* fr. 19: *N^{ac}* fr. 17 (*9^{inf.}*) = *VH²* II 6 (= *IPPH* VIII 28 bis; XI 57bis; XXXIII 155 = test. 72 Mayhew = *deest DG*, DK, Untersteiner^b et Winiarczyk)

desunt versus fere 13

15 . . [. . .] . ϰε . [.
 . αγ [. .] ουσθ [. (.)
 να [] . ε . [.
 δ [] α . ορ . ϰφ [.
 κ . [] τ [] α [. .] ε . νφ [. (.)
 . . .] . νη . [. .] . [. (.)
 20 .] θ [.] . [. (.)
 . .] νυ [.] . . . [.
 . . .] υ . ρω [.] . [.
 . . .] . οφ [.] . [. (.)
 . αι . [.] ν . ο [. .] ον
 25 • ανθρωπωννρομιζο
 μενουθεουσαι
 ναιφεινουτειδε
 ναιτουςδεκαρπους
 καιανθογλωσταχρη
 30 σιμαπ [. . .] . βιον
 31 τουςαρ [.] . ϰαγα

14 . [inf. arcus, subter lineam vest.] . ϰε [(α, λ), (β, c, ε, θ, ο, ω) 15 . α (κ, δ, λ, α)
 θ [P: νε perp. leg. *ON^{Arman}*, etiam eo quod ε in superposito servatum est 16] . ε . [sup. et
 dext. inf. vest. sicut α, λ, sup. vert., inf. apex et sup. vest sicut π, γ, τ post [υπο perp.
 leg. *ON^{Arman}*, eo quod litt. vest. in superposito servata sunt 17 α, ορ, ϰ (γ, τ), (α, λ)
 18 κ . [] τ [] α [. .] ε . ν sup. inf. pars ocelli sicut ρ, β, (ο, ω) 19] . νη . [. .] . [dext. sup. vest.
 vel vert., inf. arcus vel apex, inf. vest. 20 θ [.] . [(α, λ, δ), inf. arcus vel apex
 21] . . . [(c, ε, θ, ο, ω), (ο, θ), sup. vert sicut ι, γ 22 υ . ρ (c, θ) ρω N: [inf. vest. P: [O]
 ρ . [.] . [inf. vest., inf. vest. 23] . ο (κ, c) . . . [inf. vert. apicata, inf. vest., inf. vest.
 24] αι . [inf. vest., (τ, π), inf. arcus in prima lacuna cιτογ perp. leg. *N^{Arman}* (cιτοι O:
 cιτοι N), eo quod litt. vest. partim in superposito servata sunt ν . ο inf. vest. (π, τ)

25 ρπ¹ N: . (π, γ) PO ρο¹ O: . (ο, ε) P: [N] 29 ρλ¹ O: . desc. P: [N] 30 π.[. . .]. β
(ρ, ι, γ), (ο, π, γι), sup. duo vest. 31] . ς inf. apex

[De Diagora, Critia et Prodicus]

desunt versus fere 13

..[. . .] ἄσεβ[.]
15 κἀγ[αθ]οὺς θε[οὺς εἰ-
να[ι] ἄε[ι] .[.]
Δ[ι]αγόρας φ[αcίν]· καὶ
Κρ[ι]τ[ί]α[ς] εὐφ[ηcίν]·
..[. . .] νη[. . .] .[.]
20]θ[.] .[.]
..]νυ[. . .] .[.]
..]υ[. . .] .[.] Πρ[ό-
δι]κος [. . .] .[.]
καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν
25 • ἀνθρώπων νομιζο-
μένους θεοὺς οὐτ' εἰ-
ναί φηcίν οὐτ' εἰδέ-
ναι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς
καὶ πάνθ' ὅλωc τὰ χρή-
30 cιμα πρ[ὸς τ]ὸν βίον
31 τοὺς ἀρ[χαί]ο[υ]c ἀγα-

14; 16–22 primum dispexi ἄσεβ[ε- vel ἄσεβ[ῶc] suplere possis 15 κἀγ[αθ]οὺς legi ac supplevi (ἀγ[αθ]οὺς iam Schober) 15–18 legi ac supplevi 16 fin. Π[ρόδικος] καὶ suppleverim e.g. (cf. DK 84 B 2 et Philod., *Piet.*, *P.Herc.* 1077, *N.*, col. 19 Obbink; Scriptor inc., *Op. inc.*, *P.Herc.* 1589, fr. 7 Del Mastro) 17 et φ[ηcίν] possis 22–23 Πρ[όδι]κος supplevi e.g. (Πρόδικος [δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ] | φύσεώς φηcι iam Philippson) 24 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν legi ac supplevi (τοῖς μὲν ὑπ' iam Gomperz dub.: τοῖς μὲν ὑπ[ὸ] π[ρὸ] Philippson): τ[ο]ῖς πα[ρ]· Sauppe: τοὺς ὑπ[ὸ] Bücheler: τοῖς ὑπ[ὸ] [τῶν] Schober: τοὺς ὑπ[ὸ] [τ]ῶν Henrichs^c (ὑπ[ὸ] [τ]ῶν Henrichs^b) 30 suppl. Sauppe et al. 31 ἀρ[χαί]ο[υ]c leg. ac suppl. Henrichs^b (ἀρ[χαί]ο[υ]c Henrichs^c: ἀρ[χαί]ο[υ]c iam Schober, Gomperz sec.): δρῶνταc p[er]p. leg. Sauppe 31 sq. ἀγα[[c]θένταc ἐκθειάcαι suppl. Schober e.g., acc. Henrichs^c (ἀγα[[c]θένταc iam Gomperz dub in app.): ἀγα[[θ]ὰ κρίνονταc εἶναι Sedley e.g. (ἀγα[[θ]ὰ iam Sauppe), cf. Philod., *Piet.*, *P.Herc.* 1428, coll. II 28–III 13 Henrichs^a (= DK 84 B 5¹), de quo Henrichs^b, pp. 115–123; etiam DK 84 B 5^{II-IV}

(c. 13 lines and 1–2 words missing) impious/to be impious/impiously (c. 1 word missing). And [Prodicus and (?)] Diagoras maintain that [the] gods are always good; Critias as well says that the god (c. 3 lines and 2–3

words missing) and besides Prodicus (c. 2–3 words missing), on the one hand, says that the gods in which men believe neither exist nor are known by them, on the other hand [he proclaims himself convinced that] the ancients, as a sign of admiration, [worshiped as gods] the fruits of the earth and, in general, all the things useful for their life (*continues on*)

Loci similes: Cic., *ND* I [42] 117–119 Dyck (= DK 84 B 5^{1a}): (...) *Nam superstitione, quod gloriari soletis, facile est liberari, cum sustuleris omnem vim deorum. nisi forte Diagoram aut Theodorum, qui omnino deos esse negabant, censes supersticiosos esse potuisse; ego ne Protagoram quidem, cui neutrum licuerit, nec esse deos nec non esse. horum enim sententiae omnium non modo superstitionem tollunt, in qua inest timor inanis deorum, sed etiam religionem, quae deorum cultu pio continetur. quid? ii qui dixerunt totam de dis immortalibus opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus rei publicae causa, ut quos ratio non posset eos ad officium religio duceret, nonne omnem religionem funditus sustulerunt? quid? Prodicus Cius, qui ea quae prodessent hominum vitae deorum in numero habita esse dixit, quam tandem religionem reliquit? (...)* || Cic., *ND* I [15] 38 Dyck (= DK 84 B 5^{1b}): (...) *At Persaeus eiusdem Zenonis auditor eos dicit esse habitos deos a quibus aliqua magna utilitas ad vitae altum esset inventa, ipsasque res utiles et salutare deorum esse vocabulis nuncupatas, ut ne hoc quidem diceret, illa inventa esse deorum, sed ipsa divina; quo quid absurdius quam aut res sordidas atque deformes deorum honore afficere aut homines iam morte deletos reponere in deos, quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu? (...)* || Sext., *M* IX 18 Mutschmann (= DK 84 B 5¹¹): Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ Κεῖος “ἥλιον,” φησί, “καὶ ἐελήνην καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ κρήνας καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ ὠφελοῦντα τὸν βίον ἡμῶν οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοὺς ἐνόμειαν διὰ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον,” καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Δήμητραν νομισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οἶνον Διόνυσον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον καὶ ἥδη τῶν εὐχρηστοῦντων ἕκαστον. μὴ εἶναι δὲ [scil. θεόν] οἱ ἐπικληθέντες ἄθεοι, καθάπερ Εὐήμερος (...) καὶ Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Θεόδωρος (...) Πρόδικος δὲ τὸ ὠφελοῦν τὸν βίον ὑπειλῆφθαι θεόν, ὡς ἥλιον καὶ ἐελήνην καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας καὶ λειμῶνας καὶ καρποὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτῶδες. || Themist., *Or.* 30, p. 422 Dindorf (= DK 84 B 5^{1V}): πλησιάζομεν ἤδη ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τὴν Προδίκου σοφίαν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγκαταμιζόμεν, δεῖ ἱερουργίαν πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπου καὶ μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς τῶν γεωργίας καλῶν ἐξάπτει, νομίζων καὶ θεῶν ἔνοιαν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν εὐεβείαν ἐγγνώμενος. || Xen., *Mem.* II 1, 21–34 Hude (= DK 84 B 2): [28] τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας οἱ θεοὶ διδόναι ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ’ εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως εἶναι σοὶ βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴτε ὑπὸ φίλων ἐθέλεις ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετητέον, εἴτε ὑπὸ τινος πόλεως ἐπιθυμεῖς τιμᾶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν ὠφελιτέον, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ἀξιοῖς ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ θαυμάζεσθαι, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πειρατέον εὖ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γῆν βούλει σοὶ καρποὺς ἀφθόνους φέρειν, τὴν γῆν θεραπευτέον, εἴτε ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων οἶτι δεινὸν πλουτίζεσθαι, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμελητέον, εἴτε διὰ πολέμου ὁρμαῖς αὐξέσθαι καὶ βούλει δύνασθαι τοὺς τε φίλους ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειροῦσθαι, τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας αὐτὰς τε παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μαθητέον καὶ ὅπως δεῖ αὐταῖς χρῆσθαι ἀσχητέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βούλει δυνατὸς εἶναι, τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπερετεῖν ἐθικτέον τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμναστέον ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἰδρώτι.

Indices

All the legible words in the text are registered except particles, conjunctions, articles, and prepositions. The passages that contain entirely supplemented words or that preserve in the remnants of the papyrus only an uncertain (*viz.* dotted) letter are printed in square brackets. For each headword, the orthography follows the use of the Greek lexicons rather than that of the papyri.

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