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Orpheus in the Herculaneum Papyri *Praesocratica Herculanensia VI*

Christian Vassallo*

Abstract: This paper¹ deals with the pieces of evidence for Orphism from Herculaneum in which the name of Orpheus is mentioned, of which four belong to Philodemus' treatise *On Piety*, and three to Book 4 of Philodemus' *On Music*. As far as the treatise *On Piety* is concerned, these testimonia have mainly a mythological and theological content, offering important parallels to some passages of the Derveni Papyrus and to the allegorical methodology adopted by the Stoics (in particular Chrysippus). On the other hand, the treatise *On Music* tackles above all the problems concerning the relationship between Orpheus and the power of music against the backdrop of a more general discourse on the influence of music on human ethics.

Keywords: Chrysippus, Cosmology, Epicureanism, Herculaneum Papyri, Mythology, Orpheus, Philodemus, Presocratics, Stoicism, Theology

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¹ Unless otherwise specified, the translations of the Greek texts quoted below are my own. A shorter version of this paper was presented at the fourth Biennial Conference of the *International Association for Presocratic Studies* (Thessaloniki, Greece, 30 June – 4 July 2014). The multispectral images (MSI) of *P.Herc.* 247 and *P.Herc.* 1428 (National Library 'Vittorio Emanuele III' in Naples) are reproduced with the permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Cultural Activities (General Direction for Library Heritage and Cultural Institutes) of the Italian Republic (photos by Steven W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli/Brigham Young University, Provo, USA); duplication by any means is forbidden. *P.Derveni* col. 22's image reproduces Kouremenos/Parássoglou/Tsantsanoglou (2006), plate 22. The abbreviation *IPPH* refers to *Index Praesocraticorum Philosophorum Herculanensis*, edited by Ch. Vassallo, *A Catalogue of the Evidence for Presocratics in the Herculaneum Papyri*, «ZPE», forthcoming. I wish to thank W. Benjamin Henry for kindly revising the English version of my manuscript.

The Herculaneum papyri are now known to contain roughly 180 testimonia to the Presocratics, many more than Hermann Diels was able to use in the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*.² A significant proportion of these testimonia concerns some Orphic figures that Diels collected in the first section of the *Vorsokratiker*, devoted to the earliest cosmological poetry. In this paper I will deal with the pieces of evidence for Orphism from Herculaneum in which the name of Orpheus is mentioned. These are seven pieces found in Philodemus' writings, of which the first four appear in the large treatise *On Piety*,³ undoubtedly the most important source for Herculanean doxography concerning Presocratic philosophy, the others in Book 4 of the treatise *On Music*. Before dealing with these pieces of evidence, we should remember that for the Orphic tradition as a whole the Herculaneum papyri make possible improvements to both the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* of Otto Kern⁴ and, sometimes, the very recent collection of Alberto Bernabé.⁵ Apart from the testimonia to Orpheus, we must take into account also 9 pieces of evidence from Herculaneum for Acusilaus, 5 for Epimenides, 7 for Musaeus, and 8 for Pherecydes. All these texts are preserved by Philodemus' *On Piety*. As far as Pherecydes is concerned, one of them is transmitted by the unknown work preserved in *P.Herc.* 1788.⁶

The treatise *On Piety* quotes Orpheus with regard to two kinds of problems: a) the use he made of Greek mythology, and b) his approach to theology as a key for interpreting the main cosmological questions. Both these aspects allow us to throw new light both on the figure of Orpheus and, above all, on his reception in Hellenistic philosophy, mainly in the Stoic tradition, as I will shortly stress. The first two testimonia to which we should direct our attention present mythological features. They are found in *P.Herc.* 247 and 243 respectively.

² See Vassallo (2015).

³ I do not take into account the supplement τὰ [Ὀρφε]ικά of Bernardo Quaranta, not accepted in Obbink's edition of *P.Herc.* 1098 (N), fr. 12, 27–28 (*De pietate, pars prior*). In this piece of evidence Epicurus is said to have taken part in all the traditional festivals, mysteries and sacrifices. Cf. Obbink (1996) 416–418.

⁴ Kern (1922).

⁵ Bernabé (2004–2007). One of the pieces of evidence for Orpheus belonging to the treatise *On Music* is not taken into account in Bernabé's collection (see *infra*).

⁶ Cf. Ch. Vassallo, *A Catalogue of the Evidence for Presocratics in the Herculaneum Papyri*, cit.

Philod., *Piet. (pars altera)*, *P.Herc.* 247, col. 3, 1–13 Henrichs (p. 35 = p. 81 Schober = 44, p. 16 Gomperz)⁷ [*IPPH XXIX 131*]

πρώτην τού]-
των τὴν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς,
ἑτέραν δὲ τῆν ἐκ
τοῦ μηροῦ, [τρί-
την δὲ τῆ[ν ὅτε δι-
5 ἀσπασθεῖς ὑ[πὸ τῶν
Τιτάνων ῥέα[ε τὰ
μέλη συνθε[ίσης
ἀνεβίω {ι}. καὶ [ἐν τῇ
Μοσσοπία δ' Εὐ[φορί-
10 ων [ό]μολογεῖ [τού-
τοις, [ό] δ' Ὀρ[φεὺς κάτω
καὶ πάντα [χρόνον
13 ἐνδιατρε[ίβειν φησί.
(...)

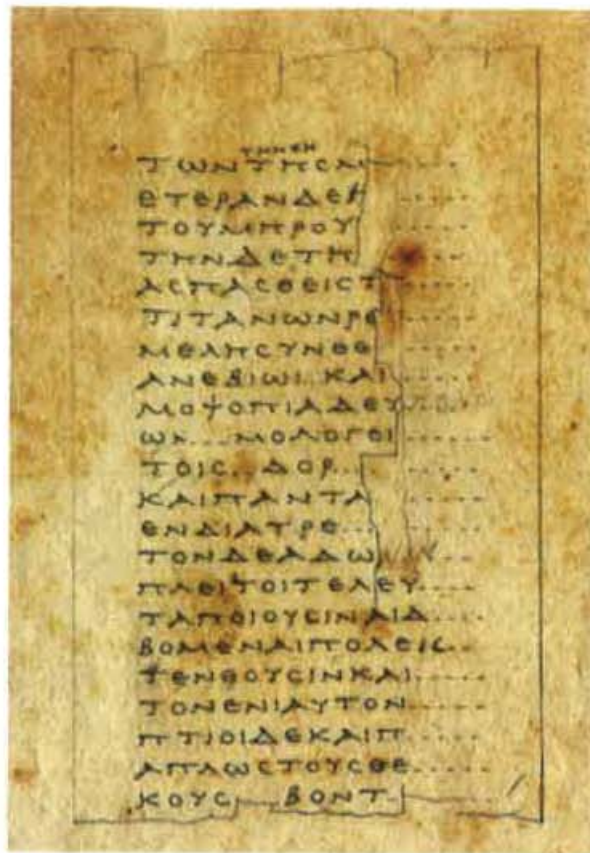
[And some say that Dionysos had three deaths and births, the first] of these from his mother (*scil.* Semele), a second from (Zeus') thigh, and a third after he was torn apart by the Titans and came back to life when Rhea reassembled his limbs. And Euphorion in his *Mopsopia* agrees with these myths. And Orpheus adds that [he (*scil.* Dionysos)⁸] spent all the time down (*scil.* in Hades?) (...) ⁹

1 πρώτην τού]των suppl. Gomperz (app.), deinde Schober 1 fin.–7 suppl. Gomperz, deinde Schober 8–10 suppl. Wilamowitz 11 [ό] δ' Ὀρ[φεὺς suppl. Schober secutus Wilamowitz: [οί] δ' Ὀρ[φικοὶ Henrichs [κάτω suppl. Schober: [ἐν Ἄιδου Wilamowitz 12 πάντα [χρόνον suppl. Wilamowitz: παντά[πειν Schober: παντ' αἰῶνα Gomperz dub. 13 ἐνδιατρε[ίβειν suppl. Schober secutus Gomperz: ἐνδιατρε[ίβουσι Henrichs [φησί suppl. Schober

⁷ = Orph. (*Carm. theog.*), fr. 59 Bernabé = fr. 36 Kern.

⁸ A reference to Dionysos was found here by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (followed by R. Philippson). See the critical apparatus.

⁹ Transl. by D. Obbink, with a few changes.

P.Herc. 247, col. 3 (N)

In the first testimonium I accept the supplement Ὀρ[φεύς suggested by Wilamowitz, who was followed by Schober in his edition of 1923. Albert Henrichs proposed instead the plural nominative Ὀρ[φικοί.¹⁰ The previous lines refer to Dionysos and are concerned with the myth of his triple death and birth.¹¹ For this reason I consider it very likely that Orpheus was cited at ll. 11–13 as a source for Dionysos' stay in the underworld.¹² An authori-

¹⁰ Cf. Henrichs (1975) 36, n. 162, where he admits nevertheless that «Ὀρφικοί kommen bei Philodem sonst nicht vor, usw.». Henrichs' supplement is accepted by Obbink (1994) 132.

¹¹ Henrichs (1975) 35 considers there to be one Epicurean source for both Philodemus' evidence and that of the Christian writers Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* II 17, 2–18, 2 = Orph., fr. 306 [I–II]; 312 [III]; 318 [VII]; 588; 592 Bernabé; 312 [I]; 315 [I]; 318 [I]; 322 [I] Bernabé = fr. 34–35 Kern) and Firmicus Maternus (*De err.* 6 = Orph., fr. 299 [VIII]; 302 [II]; 304 [III]; 306 [III]; 309 [VII]; 312; 313 [III]; 314 [IV]; 318 [V–VI]; 324 [III]; 325; 332 Bernabé = fr. 214 Kern).

¹² On this and other aspects of the god, see now Bernabé *et alii* (2013). This piece of evidence for Dionysos follows the account of Orion's myth and precedes a reference to

tative tradition confirms the legend of a νέκυια by Orpheus himself.¹³ Something more can be said about col. 6 of *P.Herc.* 243.

Philod., *Piet.*, *P.Herc.* 243, col. 6, 3–6 Henrichs (p. 12 = p. 103 Schober = 41^a, p. 13 Gomperz)¹⁴ [*IPPH* XXIX 132]

	καὶ Μουσα[ῖ]-	(...) and Orpheus says that Musaeus
	[ο]ν μὲν Ὀρφεὺς υ[ῖ]-	was her (<i>scil.</i> Selene's) son (con-
5	[ὸν] αὐτῆς γενέε-	tinues on)
6	[θ]αί φησίν, κτλ.	

3–6 suppl. Henrichs

This piece of evidence is found in the section of *On Piety* devoted to the loves of the goddesses. Obviously, Philodemus looks with a critical eye on the authors, especially poets, who spoke about imaginary divine passions. Such stories, apart from their impiety, would be incompatible with the inner beatitude of the gods. Hence some scholars maintain that the early part of this Herculanean material is about Selene's love for Endymion and her pity for women who, like her, hide a secret love.¹⁵ Philodemus, or most probably his source, says that, according to Orpheus, Musaeus is the son of Selene.¹⁶ Henrichs thinks that all the mythographic information in

Adonis (whose story is indirectly connected to the end of Orpheus). Cf. *P.Herc.* 247, col. 3, 14–23 Obbink: τὸν δὲ Ἄδωνιν οἶ | πλεῖν τοῖς τελευτῶν]τα ποιοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐ-
ε]βόμηναι πόλειε [καὶ] | πενθοῦσιν καθ' [ἕκασ]τον ἐνιαυτόν. [οἱ Αἰγύ]πτιοι δὲ καὶ
π[άντα] | ἀπλῶς τοὺς θε[οὺς] | ἴσουσ [ε]βοντ[αι θνη]τοῖς.

¹³ For instance, Plat., *Ap.* 41 a (= fr. 1076 [I] Bernabé = test. 138 Kern); *Resp.* X 620 a (= fr. 1037 [II]; 1077 [I] Bernabé = test. 139 Kern); *Symp.* 179 d (= fr. 983; 1037 [I] Bernabé = test. 60 Kern); Paus. X 30, 6; Ps.-Eratosth., *Catast.* 24, p. 138 Robert (= test. 975 [I] Bernabé = test. 57 Kern; on which see *infra*). On the problem of the afterlife in Orphism, with reference to the so-called Orphic gold tablets, cf. Tortorelli Ghidini (2000); Pugliese Carratelli (2001); Riedweg (2011).

¹⁴ = Mus., test. 14 and fr. 95 Bernabé (= Ion Ch., fr. 11 Gentili-Prato² = fr. 95 Leurini).

¹⁵ Henrichs (1975) 13, who refers also to the fragment handed down by *P.Herc.* 243 (N), col. 4.

¹⁶ According to the following lines of the Herculanean fragment, Musaeus himself stated that he was descended from Selene: (...) Μουσαῖ[ο]ς οὐδ[α] [. . .] αὐτὸν | [Π]α[ῖ]ν-
δίαε τῆς Διὸς | [καὶ] Ἑλλήνης καὶ¹⁰[τι]φήμου ελληνο[. . .] η δ' Ἴων αὐτὸν | [λέγ]ει. (...) On this text, cf. Henrichs (1975) 13. Musaeus' descent from Selene is widely attested in other sources, but we know also testimonia in which Musaeus is said instead to be the son

Philodemus' *On Piety* depends on the 24-book treatise *On the Gods* of the Greek grammarian and historian of the 2nd century BC Apollodorus of Athens.¹⁷ Although questioned by some scholars, this thesis can still be partially accepted. Obviously, we ought to take into account the fact that the information given by Apollodorus was greatly enriched by Philodemus thanks to the contribution of the Stoic theology that he knew through some books that he could read in the Herculanean library. Philodemus paraphrased and, at the same time, criticized these works. In doing so, he had Chrysippus as one of his main targets.

As a whole, col. 6 of *P.Herc.* 243, where the name of Orpheus appears in relation to Musaeus, represents a 'Catalogue of the Muses' and, more precisely, a list of their descendants (a kind of family tree). It is no accident that the fragment breaks off with the descent of Linus from Urania,¹⁸ the Muse of astronomy and geometry, and with the name of Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy. The similarity of this Herculanean evidence to the scholium to line 346 of Euripides' *Rhesus* has already been noted. There Orpheus is said to be the son of Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry.¹⁹ For the same reasons this passage is very close to one of the testimonia to Orpheus of Philodemus' *On Music*. I am referring to cols. 62–63 Delattre of *P.Herc.* 1578/1575, where the Muses, among other things, are said to have given birth to renowned figures such as Orpheus, Rhesus, and the Sirens. But for this and the other testimonia to Orpheus in *De musica* I refer to the second part of this paper. For now I turn to the third testimonium to Orpheus in Philodemus' *On Piety*.

of Orpheus. See, for instance, Serv., Verg. *Aen.* VI 667 (= DK 2 A 7 = test. 13 [IV] Bernabé); Diod. IV 25, 1 (= DK 2 A 9 = test. 10 [I]; 39 Bernabé).

¹⁷ Cf. Scarpi (2013¹¹) IX–XXI, and the useful bibliographical survey of Huys (1997).

¹⁸ Cf. Hyg., *Fab.* 161 (Schober in app.).

¹⁹ Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 346 Schwartz: οἷε καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος ἐπικολούθησε γράφων οὕτως: "τὰς μὲν Μούσας οἱ μὲν πλείστοι παρθένους παραδεδώκασι", ἱγράφει† (ἀναγράφει Schwartz et Jacoby) δὲ Οὐρανίας μὲν Λίνον, Καλλιόπης (δὲ) Ὀρφέα, Μελπομένης δὲ Θάμυριν, Εὐτέρπης δὲ Ῥήσον, Τερψιχόρη δὲ Χειρήνας, Κλειοῦς δὲ Ὑμέναιον· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Θαλείας Παλαίφατον, ἐκ δὲ Πολυμνίας Τριπτόλεμον. Ἐρατῶ δὲ ἐρασθῆναι μὲν Ὑακίνθου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδενός, μηδ' υἱὸν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. Cf. Henrichs (1975) 14.

Philod., *Piet. (pars altera)*, *P.Herc.* 1428, fr. 3, 8 (inf. pars col.) + *P.Herc.* 248, col. 2 (sup. pars col.) Obbink (pp. 114–115 = pp. 18–19 Henrichs = p. 109 Schober = 51, p. 23 et 2^c, A 3, p. 63 Gomperz)²⁰ [*IPPH* XXIX 133]

λέ-
 10 γουει καὶ Δι[ώνην
 τ]ὴν αὐτὴν [ταῖς νόμ-
 φ]αιε, καὶ τῆ[ι] Ἥραι
 τ]ὸν ἄερα τα[ῦτὸν ὑπάρ-
 χ]ειν ἐμ πολλοῖς· κὰν
 15 τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς δ' Ὀρφ[εὺς
 π]αρά Φιλοχόρῳ Γῆν
 κ]αὶ Δήμητρα τὴν ||
 1 αὐτὴν Ἑστία, [καθὸ
 καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐ[ν] Ἰνά-
 χῳι τὴν Γῆν Μη[τέ-
 ρα τῶν θεῶν φη[ειν,
 5 ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ] δὲ
 καὶ Ἑστίαν εἰν[αι·
 Κλείδημος δὲ [Ῥέαν
 Μητέρα θεῶν ὄ]περ
 κὰν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς Λ[ό-
 10 γοῖς τινὲς ἐξεν]ηνό-
 χαειν, Μελανι[πί-
 δης δὲ Δήμητρ]α καὶ
 Μητέρα θεῶν φη-
 15 ειν μίαν ὑπάρχ]ειν
 καὶ Τελέε[της ἐν Δι-
 ὀ]ς Γονα[ί]ς τα[ῦτὸ
 17 κ]αὶ Ῥέαν εἶ[.

(...) [The poets (?) say] that Dione too is the same as the Nymphs, and that Aer (*scil.* air) is the same as Hera in many [places]; moreover in the *Hymns* Orpheus in Philochorus [says] that Earth/Ge and Demeter are the same as Hestia, just as Sophocles in his *Inachus* says that Earth/Ge is the Mother of the gods, but in his *Triptolemus* that she (*scil.* Earth/Ge) is Hestia. And Cleidemus says that Rhea is the Mother of the gods, as some have proclaimed in the *Sacred Discourses*. And Melanippides says that Demeter is even the one single Mother of the gods, and Telestes in his *Births of Zeus* says that Rhea too is the same thing (*scil.* Mother of the gods) (...) ²¹

9 Δι[ώνην] suppl. Philippson 10 init. τ]ὴν suppl. Gomperz 10–11 [ταῖς νόμ|φ]αιε
 suppl. Henrichs 11 τῆ[ι] Ἥραι suppl. Henrichs: τα[ῦτὸν] Ἥραι Luppe 12 init. τ]ὸν
 suppl. Gomperz 12–13 τα[ῦτὸν ὑπάρχ]ειν suppl. Henrichs: τί[θη]ειν ὑπάρχ]ειν Luppe
 spatio longius: τα[ῦθ' ὑπάρχ]ειν Janko privatim ap. Obbink 13 ἐμ πολλοῖς leg. ac
 suppl. Henrichs: Ἐμπε[δοκλῆς] perp. Philippson (sic et Luppe), unde DK 31 A 33
 (delendum) [κὰν] suppl. Obbink: [ἐν] Philippson (sic et Schober et Luppe): [δὲ] Henrichs

²⁰ Orph. (*Carm. theog.*), fr. 29 Bernabé = p. 143 (n. 12) Kern; fr. 398 [II] Bernabé (deest in Kern) = *FGrHist* 328 F 185.

²¹ Transl. by D. Obbink.

14 Ὀρρ[εὺς leg. ac suppl. Obbink: δέ, [ῶς Luppe spatio brevis ([ῶς καὶ Schober);
 δοθ[εῖται vel ἀεθ[εῖται Henrichs e.g. dub. 15–16 suppl. Gomperz || 1 [καθὸ suppl.
 Schober 2–6 suppl. Nauck 7 [Ῥέαν suppl. Bücheler 8 ὄ[περ suppl. Schober
 9–11 suppl. Gomperz 12 Δήμητρ[α καὶ suppl. Bergk: Δημήτε[ρι Nauck 13–14
 suppl. Nauck 15–16 suppl. Wilamowitz 16 fin. τα[ῦτόν suppl. Salati: τα[ῦτόν
 Obbink, secutus Wilamowitz 17 κ[αὶ suppl. Schober

P.Herc. 1428, fr. 3



The name of Orpheus in fr. 3 of *P.Herc.* 1428 was read for the first time by Dirk Obbink.²² This piece of evidence falls in the concluding part of the large section of *De pietate* in which Philodemus strongly criticizes traditional theology and, in particular, the habit of making identifications among the gods, as mentioned in fr. 3, or assimilating them to natural forces or abstract entities. Ancient Greek poems teemed with such identifications or allegories. This fact prompted the Stoics to describe poetry as 'imitation' of divine and human things.²³ In the view of the Epicureans, the allegorical methodology, known as *ενοικείωσις*, was wrong first of all for linguistic reasons. In his work *On Rhetoric*, Epicurus recommended above all clearness of speech (*σαφήνεια*).²⁴ Furthermore, such allegories were dangerous for a very theological reason, as substantially denying the individual nature of the gods and leading in fact to a kind of atheism. In the opinion of Philodemus (or of his teacher Zeno of Sidon), this practice was adopted both by poets and by philosophers. As far as the latter are concerned, in another passage of *On Piety*²⁵ Philodemus remarks that in Book 12 of *Περὶ φύσεως* Epicurus criticized Prodicus, Diagoras, Critias and other ancient 'atheists' because of their habit of playing with the gods' names and changing their letters (as Antisthenes was wont to do), substituting the most common divine names and explaining their etymology on the basis of human convention or by deception. In the same passage Philodemus quotes also the concluding book (i.e. Book 22) of Hermarchus' *Πρὸς Ἐμπεδοκλέα*, where he argued against Empedocles for abusing the linguistic instrument of the metaphor in order to establish a connection between the divine names and natural events and, at the same time, to explain the relationship between divinity and worship. As far as the poets are concerned, the problem is that Philodemus seems to quote them not at first hand, but mainly relying on the Stoics whom he was able

²² Obbink (1994) 114. Cf. Salati (2012) 246, n. 134. Following the important study of Gallavotti (1975) 161, this piece of evidence was shown to have no relationship with Empedocles (DK 31 A 33 delendum).

²³ Cf. Posid., fr. 44 Edelstein-Kidd (= fr. 458 Theiler = Diog. Laert. VII 60 Dorandi): *ποίησις δὲ ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν ποίημα, μίμησιν περιέχον θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπείων.*

²⁴ Epic., *Rhet.* ap. Diog. Laert. X 13 Dorandi (= fr. 54 Usener). This advice occurs often polemically throughout the whole Epicurean tradition. See, for instance, Lucretius I 641-644; II 655-660. Cf. Milanese (1989) 34-65; 143-150.

²⁵ Cf. Philod., *Piet.* (*P.Herc.* 1077 + 1098), col. 19, 5-20, 11 Obbink (= Epic., *Nat.* XII, fr. 87 Usener; 27.2 Arrighetti²; *KD* 1 = Prodic., deest in DK = Diag., test. 39 Winiarczyk = Crit., *TrGF* 43 F 19 = Antisth., fr. 39a Deleva Caizzi; *SSR* V A 79 = Hermarch., fr. 29 Longo Auricchio).

to read in the Herculanean library and consequently to paraphrase in his writings.²⁶ In this context Chrysippus plays a prominent role as someone who quotes poets and philosophers of the past in order to support his thought. The case of Heraclitus is exemplary, as we can see in cols. 7–8 of *P.Herc.* 1428 (cf. *infra*). But in relation to εὐνοικέτοια, Philodemus' discourse targets also Apollodorus of Athens, who was a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon, another Stoic attacked by Philodemus for both his theological and his aesthetic ideas.²⁷ As already remarked, in the opinion of Henrichs, Apollodorus is Philodemus' mythographic source.²⁸ But Obbink has now suggested that this thesis is over-simplistic, arguing that the real source of both Apollodorus and Zeno of Sidon (and consequently of his pupil Philodemus) is the work of Diogenes of Babylon, «which Galen describes as having been as filled as that of Chrysippus with references to the poets».²⁹ At any rate, in fr. 5 of *P.Herc.* 1428, Apollodorus is said by Philodemus to have attacked only occasionally the εὐνοικειοῦντες and to have made the same (or similar) errors in his writings.³⁰ In the absence of a comprehensive edition of the so-called 'second part' of Philodemus' *On Piety*, we cannot ascertain whether the quotation of Apollodorus in fr. 5 of *P.Herc.* 1428 really respects the sequence of the original pieces preserved in the 'Officina dei Papiri' in Naples. If the sequence is confirmed by a correct reconstruction of the roll, we can speak of frs. 3–5 of *P.Herc.* 1428 as joined by the same arguments against the allegorical approach to theology. In this criticism, the quotation of Apollodorus would be not only a reference to a source but also, as Obbink supposes, the transition from criticism of the poets to criticism of the philosophers.³¹ But if we consider the Presocratics as philosophers as well, I think we have to give up such a hypothesis. If in fr. 4 the criticism of the εὐνοικειοῦντες poets is con-

²⁶ Obbink (1994) 113 and n. 13.

²⁷ See the strong criticism of Diogenes in Philodemus' treatises *On Rhetoric* and *On Music* (and especially *infra* the testimonia to Orpheus in the latter work).

²⁸ Henrichs (1975) 7, following Dietze (1896).

²⁹ Obbink (1994) 117. See, for example, Gal., *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* III 4, 15–16 De Lacy (= Chrysipp., *SVF* II 907).

³⁰ Apollod., *FGHist* 244 F 103. To be sure, the fragment is interrupted by a lacuna. Henrichs maintains that we could also argue that Apollodorus used allegorical comparison in his works. So also Jacoby; *contra* Wilamowitz. Cf. Henrichs (1975) 16 and n. 61. More prudently, Obbink (1994) 116–117, maintains that «it is not clear whether he attacked poets, other mythographers, or philosophers for this. The text almost certainly went on to condemn him for some other aspect of his treatment of the gods».

³¹ Obbink (1994) 116.

firmed,³² in fr. 3 the reading of the name of Orpheus opens up new perspectives for the history of ancient philosophy. As far as I know, Adolf Schober was the first editor of this section of *On Piety* to be aware of the fact that fr. 3 is a column bottom that has to be joined to the top of *P.Herc.* 248, col. 2.³³ This discovery makes it possible to give a complete interpretation of the presence of Orpheus in this passage. The historian Philochorus, quoted only here in the treatise,³⁴ affirmed that Orpheus, in his *Hymns*, identified Earth/Ge and Demeter with Hestia,³⁵ just as Sophocles, after saying in the tragedy *Inachus* that Earth/Ge is the Mother of the gods, affirms in his *Triptolemus* that Earth/Ge is the same as Hestia. In relation to vv. 275–276 of Euripides' *Bacchae* (Δημήτηρ θεά, / Γῆ δ' ἔστιν, ὄνομα δ' ὀπότερον βούλη κάλει), Henrichs was the first scholar to observe that the new reconstruction of this Herculanean text makes it possible to establish a parallel between *P.Herc.* 1428 and the Derveni Papyrus.³⁶ In particular, in col. 22 of the Derveni Papyrus there is a quotation of a passage of Orpheus' *Hymns* where Demeter, Rhea, Mother Earth (Ge Meter), Hestia, and Deio are mentioned in succession and therefore plainly identified.³⁷ While the Herculaneum papyri date from the 1st

³² Simmias of Rhodes (fr. 18 Fränkel = fr. 9 Powell) is here said to have considered Hestia and Maia as the same god: cf. Luppe (1991) 287; Proxenus (*FGrHist* 425 F 1) is said to have identified Chalkis, Kymindis, and Kombe: cf. Henrichs (1975) 17 and n. 75.

³³ Schober (1988) 109. On this point, see the observations of Obbink (1994) 117–118.

³⁴ In the Herculaneum papyri there are two other pieces of evidence for Philochorus: Philod., *Acad. hist.*, *P.Herc.* 1021, col. 2, 5–29 Dorandi (= *FGrHist* 328 F 59); col. 6, 30–40 Dorandi (= *FGrHist* 328 F 224). Cf. Jacoby (1923–1958), III ^b *Suppl.*, 220ff.; Salati (2012) 246–247, who suggests that the quotation could derive from Philochorus' four-book work *Περὶ μαντικῆς* (*FGrHist* 328 F 77) or from his book *Περὶ θεσιῶν* (*FGrHist* 328 T 1), while not excluding the possibility that the historian «accennasse alla teoria orfica nella sua opera più celebre, l'Ἀποίε, per spiegare l'origine di qualche culto o rito locale». See also Costa (2007) 15, n. 38.

³⁵ Philoc., *FGrHist* 328 F 185.

³⁶ Henrichs (1968).

³⁷ *P.Derveni*, col. 22, 11–12 Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις εἰρημένον· | “Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μήτηρ Ἐστία Δηϊώ”. West (1983) 81 considered this verse imperfect for metrical reasons. Obbink (1994) 123 emended it by adding a <τε καὶ> between Μήτηρ and Ἐστία. So also Janko (2002) 44. On the hymns attributed to Orpheus by Plato (*Lg.* VIII 829 e 1) and others, cf. Kouremenos/Parássoglou/Tsantsanoglou (2006) 254. See, in particular, Orph., frs. 680–706 Bernabé. Salati (2012) 246 refers also to Paus. I 22, 7; IV 1, 5, where a Hymn by Musaeus for the Lycomidae, in honour of Demeter, is quoted. Cf. Ricciardelli (2008) 325–331. On the Orphic hymns as ‘scientific’ hymns, cf. Men. Rhet. 333, 12–15; 336, 25–337, 32 Russell/Wilson. But according to Cicero (*ND* I 107), *Orpheum poetam docet Aristoteles numquam fuisse* (=

century BC, the Derveni Papyrus dates from the 4th century BC. For this reason, Obbink supposes that the quotation of Orpheus in fr. 3 of *P.Herc.* 1428 depends on Philochorus' reading of the Derveni author.³⁸ I personally consider this suggestive thesis to be improbable. As Philochorus was extremely familiar with Greek poetry, it is reasonable to assume that he had direct knowledge of Orpheus' poems.³⁹ And even if he drew on another text for his knowledge of Orpheus, we cannot identify it with certainty with that of the Derveni Papyrus, which we can read today only thanks to a fortuitous discovery. It is possible, for example, that in ancient Greece there were other Orphic texts or commentaries unknown to us, but preserving very similar examples of *ενοικείωσις*.⁴⁰

P.Derveni, col. 22



Aristot., *De philosoph.*, fr. 7 Rose; *De poet.* III, *fr. 68 Janko = Orph., test. 889 Bernabé). On this disputed testimonium, cf. Janko (2011) 533–534. See also *P.Derveni*, col. 21, 5–7 Kouremenos/Parássoglou/Tsantsanoglou: Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία | καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ ἀφροδιτιάειν καὶ θόρνυθαι καὶ Πειθῶ | καὶ Ἄρμονία τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν ὄνομα κεῖται.

³⁸ Obbink (1994) 122–125 (for the alternative solution according to which both the Derveni author and Philochorus depend on an unknown commentator on Orpheus, cf. *ibid.*, p. 125, n. 53); Obbink (1997) 49, n. 16. So also Burkert (1997) 174, n. 32; Burkert (1999) 79.

³⁹ See also *FGrHist* 328 F 77, where Philochorus is said to have quoted Orphic poems (αὐτοῦ [*scil.* τοῦ Ὀρφέως] ποιήματα) in his treatise *On the Art of Divination*.

⁴⁰ Objections to Obbink's hypothesis can be found in Betegh (2004) 98–99, n. 20; 190.

The fourth testimonium continues the criticism of *ευνουκεία* and precedes a major piece of evidence for Heraclitus' theology and cosmology concerned with the same argument.⁴¹ In both cases Philodemus paraphrases the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus.

Philod., *Piet. (pars altera)*, *P.Herc.* 1428, coll. 6–8, 13 Vassallo (= p. 113 Obbink = pp. 16–18 Henrichs = pp. 119–120 Schober = 13–15, pp. 80–82 Gomperz)⁴² [*IPPH* XIX 103 + XXIX 134]

Col. 6 *P.Herc.* 1428, cr. 6 = *O* (MS. Gr. class. e. 5.5, fol. 1231) col. 3 = *N* col. 6 (*olim* col. 28) = *VH*² II 13⁴³

	πά-	(...) passions. He (<i>scil.</i> Chrysippus)
1	θ[η·] καὶ Δία με[ν εἶ]ναι τὸν περὶ τὴν [γ]ῆν ἄ- έρα τὸν δὲ ἐκο[τ]εινὸν Ἄϊδηγ τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς	also [maintains that] Zeus is the air surrounding the Earth, Hades the dark air, and Poseidon that which goes through the Earth and sea; and just
5	γῆς καὶ θαλάττης Πο- · εε[ι]δῶ· καὶ τοὺς ἄλ- λουε δὲ θεοὺς ἀψύχοις ὡς καὶ τοῦτους ευν- οικειοῖ. καὶ τὸν ἥλι- 10 ὄν [τ]ε καὶ τὴν ἐελή- νην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀετέρας θεοὺς οἶε- ται καὶ τὸν νόμον· καὶ [ἀ]γθρώπους εἰς 15 θεοὺς φησι με[τ]αβάλλ- λει[ν.] ἐν δὲ τῷ δευ-	like these, he identifies allegorically also the other gods with inanimate entities. He considers the Sun, the Moon, the other stars, [even] the law as gods; and he says that men change into gods. Moreover, in the second [book], he tries, like Cleanthes, to combine with their (<i>scil.</i> the Stoics') opinions the theories ascribed to Orpheus and Mu- saeus and those we can find in Homer, Hesiod, Euripides and other

⁴¹ = Heraclit., fr. 29 (e) Marcovich = test. 262; 307 Mouraviev (= Chrysipp., *SVF* II, fr. 636). Cf. *D.G.*, pp. 547–549 (deest in DK); Heraclit., DK 22 B 53 (= fr. 29 Marcovich = fr. 53 Mouraviev). On this point, I refer to Ch. Vassallo, *Is the Logos a Kind of World Soul? On the Relationship between Cosmology and Psychology in Heraclitus* (App.: World Soul in a Testimonium to Heraclitus in Philodemus' On Piety), in: Ch. Helmig/ Ch.J. Marschies (eds.), *The World Soul and Cosmic Space. New Readings on the Relation of Ancient Cosmology and Psychology*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, forthcoming.

⁴² = Orph. (*Carm. theolog.*), fr. 28 Bernabé = fr. 30 Kern (= Mus., DK 2 B 14; cf. *D.G.*, pp. 546–547).

⁴³ = Orph. (*Carm. theolog.*), test. 509; 1133 [I–VI]; fr. 28 Bernabé = test. 233; fr. 30 Kern = Mus., DK 2 B 14 [II] = *D.G.*, pp. 546–547 = Cleanthes., *SVF* I 539; Chrysipp., *SVF* II 1078.

1 τέρωι τά τε εἰς Ὀρφέ-
 α κ[αὶ Μ]ουσαῖον ἀνα-
 φερ[όμ]εγα καὶ τὰ
 20 παρ' Ὀμήρωι καὶ Ἡ-
 εἰδό[ωι] καὶ Ἐυριπί-
 δηῶ καὶ ποιηταῖς ἄλ-
 λοις ὅς κ[αὶ] Κλεάν-
 θης [π]ειρά[ι]ται [εὐ]νοι-
 25 κειοῦ[ν] ταῖς δόξαις
 αὐτῶ[ν]· ἅπαντά [τ'] ἐε-
 τὴν αἰθῆρ, ὁ αὐτὸς
 ὢν καὶ πατήρ καὶ
 υἱός. κ[αὶ] ὅς κἀν τῶι
 30 πρώτῳ μὴ μά-
 31 χεσθαι τὸ τὴν Ῥε-

poets: [that] all things are aether,
 which is both father and son. Just as
 in the first [book] too[, where he
 maintains that] there is no contra-
 diction in Rhea's (*continues on*)

1 π[α]θ[η] suppl. Sauppe μέ[ν] εἶναι legi ac supplevi (μέ[ν] εἶναι iam Hayter)
 2 [γ]ῆν suppl. Henrichs ([γῆν] iam Hayter) 3 τῶν add. Gomperz (τὸν Sauppe)
 εκο[τ]εινόν suppl. Henrichs (εκο[τ]εινόν) iam Sauppe 5-6 Πο[ε]ι[δῶ] legi ac supplevi
 (Πο[ε]ι[δῶ] iam Sauppe) 10 [τ]ε leg. ac suppl. Henrichs ([τε] iam Spengel)
 14 [ἀ]νθρώπου legi ac supplevi ([ἀν]θρώπου iam Sauppe) 15-16 με[τ]αβάλλει[ν]
 suppl. Sauppe (sic etiam Gomperz: μεταβάλλει[ν] perp. leg. Henrichs) 18 κ[αὶ]
 Μουσαῖον legi ac supplevi ([καὶ] Μουσαῖον iam Sauppe: [καὶ] Μουσαῖον perp. leg.
 Henrichs) 18-19 ἀναφερ[όμ]εγα leg. ac suppl. Schober (ἀναφε[ρόμ]ε[ν]α iam
 Petersen) 21 Ἡεἰδό[ωι] suppl. Sauppe et cett. 21-22 Ἐυριπίδηῶ add. Schober
 23 κ[αὶ] suppl. Sauppe (καὶ perp. leg. Henrichs) 24-25 [π]ειρά[ι]ται [εὐ]νοι[κ]ειοῦ[ν]
 restitui ([π]ειρά[ι]ται [εὐ]νο[ι]κ[ε]ιοῦ[ν] iam Sauppe et sim. cett.) 26 αὐτῶ[ν] suppl.
 Elmsley ap. Gomperz [τ'] suppl. Gomperz 29 κ[αὶ] ὅς legi ac supplevi: [ὅς]
 Spengel et cett.

Col. 7 *P.Herc.* 1428, cr. 6 = *O* (MS. Gr. class. c. 5, 5, fol. 1232) col. 4 =
N col. 7 (*olim* col. 29) = *VH*² II 14⁴⁴

5 ἀν καὶ μητέρα τ[ῆ]οῦ
 Διὸς εἶναι καὶ θυγα-
 τέρα. τὰς δ' αὐτὰς
 πο[ι]εῖται κυνοικει-
 ὄσσει κἀν τῶι Περὶ

being both mother and daughter of
 Zeus.

And he makes the same combi-
 nations (*or* allegorical identifications)
 in *On the Graces*, where he says that

⁴⁴ = Orph. (*Carm. theolog.*), fr. 20 [V] (et app.) et 28 Bernabé = fr. 28a et 30 Kern =
 Mus., DK 2 B 14 [III] = *DG*, pp. 547-548 = Chrysipp., *SVF* II 636; 1081. See also
 Heraclit., fr. 29 (e) Marcovich; test. 262; 307 Mouraviev.

Χ]αρίτων κ[α]ὶ τὸν
 Δία νόμον φησὶν εἶ-
 ναι καὶ τὰς Χάριτας
 τὰς ἡμετέρας κα-
 10 τάρχαι καὶ τὰς ἀν-
 ταποδόσεις τῶν
 εὐεργειῶν. τὰ πα-
 ραπλήσια δὲ κἀν
 τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως
 15 Β' γράφει μεθ' ὧν εἶπα-
 μεν καὶ τοῖς Ἡρα-
 κλ[εῖ]του συνοικειῶν.
 κ[αὶ δ]ὲ κἀν τῷ πρώ-
 20 τ[ε]τ[ε]ρω τὴν Νύκτα
 θεάν φησιν [εἰ]γα[ι]
 πρωτίτην· ἐν δὲ
 τῷ τρίτῳ τὸν κ[ό]-
 25 μον ἕνα τῶν φρο-
 νίμ[ω]ν, συνπολει-
 τευόμενον θεοῖς
 καὶ ἀνθρώποις, καὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
 τὸν Δία τὸν αὐτὸν
 30 εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ
 τὸν Ἡράκλειτον λέ-
 γειν· ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμ-
 32 πτω καὶ λόγους ε-

Zeus is the law and the Graces our sacrificial offerings and the rewards for our good deeds.

He writes similar things also in the treatise *On Nature*, bringing (*scil.* Stoic philosophy) into relation with Heraclitus' thought too, together with the people we spoke about (*scil.* the poets). As a matter of fact, in the first book he (*scil.* Chrysippus) maintains that Night is the very first god; in the third book that the Universe is one of the wise beings, having as fellow-citizens gods and men, and that war and Zeus are the same, as also Heraclitus says;⁴⁵ in the fifth book he inquires (*continues on*)

1 τ[ε]τ[ε]ρω suppl. Schober ([τοῦ iam Sauppe) 4 πο[ι]εῖται suppl. Spengel, Gomperz,
 Schober ([π]οιεῖται perp. leg. Henrichs): [πεποί]ηται Sauppe vestigiis minime congruenter
 6 Χ]αρίτων suppl. Spengel κ[α]ὶ disp. Crönert ap. Henrichs 7 φησὶν add. Anon. I
 ap. Henrichs 16–17 Ἡρα]κλ[εῖ]του suppl. Gomperz 18 κ[αὶ δ]ὲ suppl. Sauppe
 18–19 πρώ[τ]ετ[ε]ρω rest. Schober (sic etiam Henrichs et Capasso): πρ[ώ]τ[ε]ρω Petersen et
 cett. 20 [ε]γ[α]ι legi ac supplevi ([εἰ]γα[ι] iam Henrichs: εἶναι Hayter, Sauppe,
 Gomperz, Schober) 22–23 κ[ό]μ[ω]ν suppl. Sauppe 23–24 φρο]νίμ[ω]ν suppl.
 Sauppe

⁴⁵ Cf. Obbink (2004).

Col. 8, 1–13 *P.Herc.* 1428, cr. 7 = *O C*, c (MS. Gr. class. c. 5, fol. 1233)
col. 5 = *N* col. 8 (*olim* 30) = *VH*² II 15⁴⁶

ρωτάι περὶ τοῦ [τ]ὸν
κόσμον ζῶδιον εἶναι
καὶ λογικὸν καὶ φρο-
νοῦν καὶ θεόν. κἀν
5 τοῖς Περιπρονοίας
μέντοι τὰς αὐτὰς
ἐκτίθειν εὐνοι-
κειώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ
τοῦ παντός καὶ τὰ
10 τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμα-
τα ἐφαρμόττει τῆς
δρεμύτητος ἀπο-
13 λαύων ἀκοπιάτως.

into the subject of whether the Uni-
verse is a living being, rational,
intelligent, and divine. Furthermore,
in the books of *On Providence* he
gives the same combinations (or
allegorical identifications) with the
World Soul and fits to it the names of
the gods, having tireless enjoyment of
[his] keenness. (*continues on*)

1 [τ]ὸν suppl. Spengel 4 θεόν ex *O* rest. Sauppe (sic etiam Gomperz et Schober);
θ[ε]όν Henrichs; θ[ε]ῖον propos. Gigante ap. Capasso

Col. 6 of *P.Herc.* 1428 is by far the most important piece of evidence concerning Orpheus in the Herculaneum papyri. In particular, the passage deals with one of the major theological topics of Stoicism and can be suitably compared with Velleius' account of Chrysippus in Cicero's dialogue *On the Nature of the Gods*:⁴⁷

*Iam vero Chrysippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrimus habetur
interpres, magnam turbam congregat ignotorum deorum, atque ita
ignotorum ut eos ne coniectura quidem informare possimus, cum mens
nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse dipingere, ait enim vim
divinam in ratione esse positam et in universae naturae animo atque
mente, ipsumque mundum deum dicit esse et eius animi fusionem
universam, tum eius ipsius principatum qui in mente et ratione versetur,
communemque rerum naturam [universam] atque omnia continentem,*

⁴⁶ = *DG*, p. 548 = Chrysipp., *SVF* II 1023.

⁴⁷ Cic., *ND* I 15, 39–41 (= Chrysipp., *SVF* II 1077).

p.Herc. 1428, col. 6



tum fatalem vim et necessitatem rerum futurarum, ignem praeterea [et] eum quem ante dixi aethera, tum ea quae natura fluerent atque manarent, ut et aquam et terram et aëra, solem lunam sidera unitatemque rerum qua omnia continerentur, atque etiam homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti. Idemque disputat aethera esse eum quem homines Iovem appellarent, quique aër per maria manaret eum

esse Neptunum, terramque eam esse quae Ceres diceretur, similique ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum deorum. Idemque etiam legis perpetuae et aeternae vim, quae quasi dux vitae et magistra officiorum sit, Iovem dicit esse, eandemque fatalem necessitatem appellat (et) sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem; quorum nihil tale est ut in eo vis divina inesse videatur. Et haec quidem in primo libro de natura deorum; in secundo autem volt Orphei Musaei Hesiodi Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea quae ipse primo libro de deis immortalibus dixerat, ut etiam veterrimi poetae, qui haec ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur. Quem Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro qui inscribitur de Minerva partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens diiungit a fabula.

«Chrysippus, who is deemed to be the most skillful interpreter of the Stoic dreams, musters an enormous mob of unknown gods – so utterly unknown that even imagination cannot guess at their form and nature, although our mind appears capable of visualizing anything; for he says that divine power resides in reason, and in the soul and mind of the universe; he calls the world itself a god, and also the all-pervading world-soul, and again the guiding principle of that soul, which operates in the intellect and reason, and the common and all-embracing nature of things; and also the power of Fate, and the Necessity that governs future events; beside this, the fire that I previously termed aether; and also all fluid and soluble substances, such as water, earth, air, the sun, moon and stars, and the all-embracing unity of things; and even those human beings who have attained immortality. He also argues that the god whom men call Jupiter is the aether, and that Neptune is the air which permeates the sea, and the goddess called Ceres the earth; and he deals in the same way with the whole series of the names of the other gods. He also identifies Jupiter with the mighty Law, everlasting and eternal, which is our guide of life and instructress in duty, and which he entitles Necessity or Fate, and the Everlasting Truth of future events; none of which conceptions is of such a nature as to be deemed to possess divinity. This is what is contained in his *Nature of the Gods*, Book 1. In Book 2 he aims at reconciling the myths of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer with his own theology as enunciated in Book 1, and so makes out that even the earliest poets of antiquity, who had no notion of these doctrines, were really Stoics. In this he is followed by Diogenes of Babylon, who in his book entitled *Minerva* rationalizes the myth of

the birth of the virgin goddess from Jove by explaining it as an allegory of the processes of nature».⁴⁸

Like Cicero, Philodemus describes Book 1 of Chrysippus' *Περὶ Θεῶν* as a long sequence of allegorical identifications of the gods with inanimate entities and, at the same time, as a kind of 'divinization' of the physical and cosmological phenomena. According to the philosophical criteria of his master Cleanthes,⁴⁹ in Book 2 of his theological treatise Chrysippus tried to apply the allegorical Stoic method ([εὐ]νοί[κειοῦ[ν]) to Presocratic philosophers like Orpheus and Musaeus,⁵⁰ maintaining that they reduced all things to aether, without making any distinction between the mythological figures of father and son in the process of theogony.

* * *

In the remnants of Book 4 of Philodemus' *On Music* we find three other references to Orpheus. As in the case of *On Piety*, the interpretation of each passage is made more difficult by the polemical context. In this treatise, the main target is the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon. The treatise of Diogenes paraphrased by Philodemus (probably another *Περὶ μουσικῆς*) is focused on the close relationship between music and ethics. Even if Philodemus showed himself to be a broad-minded thinker in relation to aesthetic subjects (at least in comparison to the narrow-mindedness of Epicurus), his conception of music was totally different from that of his opponent.⁵¹ Diogenes, in accordance with an old tradition going back to Damon and Plato,⁵² thought of music as something influencing human behaviour, while Philodemus paved the way for a 'utilitarian' conception of music.⁵³ He considered it a pleasure that is absolutely not necessary for reaching

⁴⁸ Transl. by H. Rackham.

⁴⁹ Cleanthes., *SVF* I 539 (= *DG*, p. 547b). The reference to Cleanthes is absent in Cicero. On the differences between Cicero's and Philodemus' accounts, cf. Bréhier (1910) 36–40; Goulet (2005) 108–112 and n. 108; Bernabé (2008) 100–101. On Stoic theology and cosmology, I refer to Hahn (1977); Frede (2005); Pohlenz (2005) 183–193; Salles (2009).

⁵⁰ Besides Orpheus and Musaeus, the poets Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides are quoted. Cicero omits Euripides. The same sequence (Homer/Hesiod/Euripides) appears in the *Cursory Examination of the Traditions of Greek Theology* by Cornutus, on which cf. Ramelli (2003) 524; Most (1989); Most (2010).

⁵¹ See, among others, Brancacci (2008) 125–133.

⁵² Cf. Vassallo (2012) 194–199.

⁵³ Tatarkiewicz (1979) 213–215; 258–261.

happiness and (good or bad) moral qualities. The three testimonia to Orpheus in Philodemus' *On Music* are to be read against the backdrop of this philosophical polemic. They deal a) with properly aesthetic themes, viz. Philodemus' criticism of the magical power of music and its effects on the soul, and b) with mythological themes, viz. the demystification of Orpheus as a mythological figure and, consequently, of the musical skills traditionally ascribed to him.

Philod., *Mus.* IV, *P.Herc.* 1572/225, col. 41, 17-25 Delattre (I, pp. 66-67)⁵⁴ | *IPPH XXIX 136* |

<p style="text-align: center;">Ἄνωθεν</p> <p>δ'] ἔχειν, φύσει τὸ μέλος κιν, η- ιτικό, γ τι, καὶ παραστα τι- 20 ικόν, [κ]αὶ πρὸς τὰς πρά, ξεις, ὄν, τῶι] μι, εμυθεῦσθαί τε ἼΟ, ρφέα θέλξ]αι τὰς πέτρας κ αμπ[αῖς καὶ ο]ὐκ ἐκείνας, ἀλλὰ Ἀμφί- 25 ονα πο]νοῦντας παρίστα- [⊛ εθαι· κτλ.</p>	<p>(...) [Diogenes of Babylon main- tains that,] from the beginning, melody has by nature a kinetic force, and [a force] which disposes one also to actions, since it is granted that, according to legend, Orpheus enchanted the stones with vocal inflections and that it is not those (<i>scil.</i> the stones), but workers whom Amphion brought over to his side. (<i>continues on</i>)</p>
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18-20 e col. 121, 25-27 rest. Delattre 21 τῶι] suppl. Delattre: καὶ] Kemke, cetera e
 col. 122, 26 et 28 rest. Delattre 22 θέλξ]αι suppl. Delattre ([θέ]λξ]αι iam Kemke)
 κ|αμπ[αῖς leg. ac suppl. Delattre: κ|ινεῖν | τε Kemke (τ' Rispoli) 23 καὶ ο]ὐκ suppl.
 Delattre 23-24 Ἀμφί|[ονα] suppl. Delattre 24 πο]νοῦνταε suppl. Delattre secutus
 Kemke

In this first piece of evidence, the adverb ἄνωθεν indicates that, in the opinion of Diogenes of Babylon,⁵⁵ the enchanting power of music had its roots in the most ancient period of Greek culture. In order to demonstrate this, the Stoic philosopher takes as an example the case of Orpheus, Amphion, the rowers of Ptolemy, and, at the end of the paraphrase, also Pythagoras. Orpheus was famous for his magical skills. According to the

⁵⁴ = test. 966 [I] Bernabé.

⁵⁵ Diog. Bab., *SVF* III 68 [I].

testimonia of Agatharchus⁵⁶ and Ps.-Eratosthenes,⁵⁷ mountains and stones followed him because of his musical performances. To these testimonia we can add now this text of Philodemus' *On Music*, in which Diogenes of Babylon seems to refer to the same tradition highlighting the *kinetic* (κινητικόν) and *practical* (πρὸς τὰς πράξεις) power of Orpheus' musical virtuosity.⁵⁸ The example of the stones is here amplified with the famous myth of Amphion, who was one of the twin children of Zeus and Antiope and received a golden lyre from Hermes. When he and his brother Zethus built Thebes, Zethus worked very hard, while Amphion merely played his lyre and the stones followed him and glided gently into place.⁵⁹ According to Ps.-Eratosthenes, the lyre was constructed for the first time by Hermes, who took the materials from a tortoise and from Apollo's oxen. Later on, Apollo gave it to Orpheus. Pausanias tells us how this musical instrument was passed on from Hermes to Amphion.⁶⁰ As Martin L. West observes, there is some connection between lyre and pipe because, in the Pythagorean tradition, the pipe was the instrument which had the greatest power in producing magical effects.⁶¹

Philod., *Mus.* IV, *P.Herc.* 1497, col. 122, 25-36 Delattre (II, pp. 227-228)⁶² [IPPH XXIX 135]

25	Κἄν	And if in refusing to accept
	τὸν Ὀρφέ[α] μ[ὴ] διὰ τῆ[ν] ἐξ[ο]-	the legend according to
	χὴν τῆς ἐμμελείας [ὕ]πακού-	which Orpheus used the ex-
	ωμεν μεμυθευθε[α] κα[ὶ]	cellence of his harmony to
	τοὺς λίθους καὶ [τὰ] δ[έ]νδρα θέλ-	charm both stones and trees,
30	[θ]᾽ ἄγειν, ὡς καὶ ν[ῦν] ἡμεῖς γ' εἰ-	as we are now accustomed to
	ώθαμεν ὑπερβολικῶς λέ- *	say hyperbolically, we con-
	γειν *, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τριηράλαις,	sider him instead, by analogy
	ὥπερ ὁ Στωικός, ἀναλ[ό]γως	with the auletes on triremes,
	ἐφ[ε]τῶτα ποιῶμεν οἰκο-	as the Stoic (<i>scil.</i> Diogenes

⁵⁶ Agatharch., *De mari rubro* 7 (GGM I 115 = test. 974 [II] Bernabé = test. 56 Kern). See also Hygin., *Fab.* 273, p. 193 Marshall (= test. 1012 Bernabé [II] = test. 81 Kern).

⁵⁷ Ps.-Eratosth., *Catast.* 24, p. 138 Robert (= test. 975 [I] Bernabé = test. 57 Kern).

⁵⁸ Cf. Riedweg (2004).

⁵⁹ Paus. IX 17, 3.

⁶⁰ Paus. IX 5, 8.

⁶¹ West (1992) 33.

⁶² = test. 966 [II] Bernabé.

- 35 δόμοις, διὰ ταῦτα φήσομεν.
ο[ὐ δ]ιὰ τὰ τούτου ληρήματα. of Babylon) does, as standing at the head of a team of house-builders, we shall say it for these reasons, not because of his (*scil.* Diogenes') ravings.

26 Ὀρφεί[α] μ[ὴ δ]ιὰ leg. ac suppl. Delattre (Ὀρφεία [μὴ δ]ιὰ iam Bücheler ap. Kemke)
 26–27 τῆ[ν ἐξ]ο[χ]ήν leg. ac suppl. Delattre ([τ]ῆ[ν ἐξο]χ[ήν iam Kemke) 27–28 ἐμμε-
 λείας [ὕ]πακού[ω]μεν leg. ac suppl. Delattre (ἐμ[μ]ελείας ὑ[π]ακ[ού]ωμεν iam Kemke)
 28 μεμυθεῖσθα[ι] κα[ὶ] leg. ac suppl. Delattre (μεμυθ[ε]ῖσθα[ι] iam Kemke) 29 [τὰ
 δ]έγδρα leg. ac suppl. Delattre ([δένδ]ρα iam Kemke) 30 ν[ὸν] suppl. Delattre ἡμεῖς
 γ['] suppl. Janko (ἡμεῖς) iam Kemke spatio brevius) 33 ἀναλ[ό]γως leg. ac suppl.
 Delattre (ἀνα[λό]γως iam Kemke) 36 ο[ὐ δ]ιὰ leg. ac suppl. Delattre (οὐ διὰ iam
 Kemke)

This piece of evidence comes in the second part of col. 122 Delattre of this treatise and represents the conclusion of a section (cols. 121, 22–122, 25 Delattre) where Philodemus tries to demolish the arguments of his Stoic opponent about the kinetic power of music.⁶³ His aim is not only to criticize the idea according to which music has *by nature* the power of moving things or disposing men to certain actions, but also to ridicule Diogenes' claim that this power comes from Providence.⁶⁴ Thus Philodemus' argument against Diogenes has both aesthetic and theological aspects,⁶⁵ especially as in the following testimonium to Orpheus, Philodemus demolishes the mythological tradition that ascribed to Orpheus the power of enchanting stones, trees and nature and human beings in general.⁶⁶

⁶³ Diog. Bab., *SVF* III 68 [II]. The quotation from Diogenes which we can read in col. 121, 24–27 Delattre (“ἄνωθεν φύσει τὸ μέλος ἔχειν τι κινήτικόν καὶ παραστατικὸν | πρὸς τὰς πράξεις”) coincides with the paraphrase of the previous testimonium (col. 41, 17–20 Delattre).

⁶⁴ The first scholar to restore the word πρόνοια in this passage was von Arnim, followed now by Delattre (Kemke thought of διάνοια).

⁶⁵ Cf. Delattre (2007) II, 225, n. 2.

⁶⁶ For the pedagogical aspects of the musical power ascribed to Orpheus by the mythological tradition, I refer, among other sources, to Aristoph., *Ran.* 1032; Hor., *Ars poet.* 391–393 (= test. 90 + 111 Kern = test. 626 Bernabé). See also Ps.-Callisth., *Hist. Alex. Magn.*, rec. β 1, 42, p. 71, 14 Bergson (= test. 144 Kern = test. 1084 [III] Bernabé).

Philod., *Mus.* IV, *P.Herc.* 1578/1575, coll. 62, 42–63, 4 Delattre (II, pp. 124–125)⁶⁷ | *IPPH XXIX 137* |

<p style="text-align: center;">Ἄλ[λὰ * μῆ]ν τ[ά]ς γε Μούσας οὐ[χ ὅτι κυ]νοίδαμεν ὁμο[λογου- * 45 μ]ένας ὡς παρθένοι δ[ιέ]μει- 1 ναν, ἀλλ' Ὀρφέα κα[ὶ Ῥ]ῆσον καὶ Κεῖρηνας καὶ τινὰς ἄλ[λ]οις ἐ- ξ αὐτῶν ἔνιοι γεγόνεσθαι πα- 4 ραδεδώκασι *· κτλ.</p>	<p>(...) But as for the Muses, we know that, so far from being considered by all to have remained virgins, some have reported that Orpheus, Rhesus, the Sirens and some others were born from them; (<i>continues on</i>)</p>
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42–43 Ἄλ[λὰ * | μῆ]ν τ[ά]ς suppl. Delattre (Ἄλ[λὰ | μῆ]ν iam Kemke) 43–44 οὐ[χ ὅτι |
κυ]νοίδαμεν suppl. Delattre: οὐ [πᾶ]σι οἶδαμεν Kemke spatio brevius 44–45 ὁμο-
|λογου- * | μ]ένας suppl. Delattre (ὁμο[λογου- iam Kemke) || 1 κα[ὶ Ῥ]ῆσον leg. ac
suppl. Delattre (Ῥῆσον iam Kemke) 2 ἄλ[λ]οις suppl. Delattre

Before dealing with the problems of this piece of evidence, we should locate it in its context in Philodemus' *On Music*. The Stoic Diogenes of Babylon, whom Philodemus paraphrases, hopes to demonstrate that music does not help men to obtain temperance (σωφροσύνη). In particular, in this case Philodemus is criticizing the idea that there is a parallel between the assumed virginity of the Muses and temperance as a proper quality of music. This idea is absurd: it is like saying that weaving and hunting lead to temperance just because Athena and Artemis made a vow of chastity.⁶⁸ The myth of the virginity of the Muses was a well-established tradition.⁶⁹ But the Herculanean text underlines the existence of another (minority) tradition which makes Orpheus, Rhesus,⁷⁰ the Sirens⁷¹ and other mytho-

⁶⁷ Deest in Bernabé.

⁶⁸ Philod., *Mus.* IV, col. 63, 4–11 Delattre.

⁶⁹ Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 346 Schwartz (= Apollod., *FGrHist* 244 F 146), quoted above; Diod. IV 7.3; Dion. Chrys., *Or.* XXXII 56. On these sources, cf. Delattre 2007, II, p. 383, who also refers to Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 895 Schwartz. See also Philod., *Mus.* IV, cols. 125, 26; 129, 23–44 Delattre.

⁷⁰ In Heraclid. Pont., fr. 111 Schütrumpf (= fr. 159 Wehrli = Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 346 Schwartz) Rhesus is considered the son of the Muse Euterpe: ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν (scil. Ῥῆσον) γενεαλογοῦσιν, καθάπερ Ἡρακλείδης. φησὶ δὲ ἑβδόμη δὲ Καλλιόπη, ἥ ποίησιν εὖρε ἐπῶν καὶ συνοικήσασα Οἰάγρῳ γεννᾷ Ὀρφέα τὸν πάντων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδικῇ τέχνῃ γενόμενον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μαθήσεως † συγκεματικώτερον † ὀγδόη δ' Εὐτέρπη, ἥ τὴν κατ' αὐλοῦ εὖρεν εὐπέειαν, συνοικήσασα Στρυμόνι τεκνοῖ Ῥῆσον, ὃς ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσεύος καὶ Διομήδους ἀναιρεῖται. But in Euripides' tragedy the

logical figures children of the Muses. As far as Orpheus is concerned, according to some sources, he was the son of the Thracian king Oeagrus and Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry.⁷² It is not easy to identify all the sources that Philodemus took into account in this passage. As Henrichs supposes, it seems probable that in compiling this section of *On Music* he used not only Diogenes of Babylon and his Stoic allegorical approach to mythology, but also direct mythographic sources such as some catalogues of Muses that were most likely at his disposal in the renowned Herculanean library.⁷³

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mother, although never named, seems to be Terpsichore. On the grounds of the scholium, Rispoli (1974) 66, supposed Heraclides Ponticus to be Philodemus' source. In the opinion of Delattre (2007) II, 384, «la chose est d'autant plus vraisemblable que Diogène lui-même citait Héraclide en d'autres occasions, dans le résumé que nous en a conservé Philodème (cf. col. 49, II et suiv. et 137, II et suiv.)».

⁷¹ There are several sources concerning the Sirens' parentage. The Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 346 Schwartz, quoted above, considers Terpsichore to be their mother. On the relationship between Muses and Sirens, see also Aleman, *PMG* 1, 96–99.

⁷² See again Schol. ad Eur., *Rhes.* 346 Schwartz.

⁷³ Cf. Henrichs (1975) 15, who adds (n. 55): «Ob *De Pietate* bereits geschrieben war oder nicht, ist unwesentlich und nicht zu entscheiden».

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