THE DERVENI PAPYRUS (DIAGORAS OF MELOS, APOPYRGIZONTES LOGOI?):
A NEW TRANSLATION

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I. THE AIM AND OUTLOOK OF THE DERVENI AUTHOR

The Derveni Papyrus, our oldest surviving Greek manuscript, was discovered in the remains of a funeral pyre almost forty years ago, in January 1962. Along with other bizarre and astounding material, it offers an allegorical interpretation of a cosmogonic poem ascribed to Orpheus. It is a text of capital importance for understanding the religious and philosophical crisis of the late fifth century B.C.E., when polytheism was challenged by monotheism and pantheism. The papyrus' final publication is still awaited, although the difficult and painstaking work of putting together the over 200 carbonized fragments, recovered by the use of static electricity, appears, according to what has been published, to be largely complete. Meanwhile, considerably more can be done to interpret what is already known of the papyrus, especially since the recent publication of a greatly improved text of its opening. The excellent supplements there offered prove that this text is a work of the sophist enlightenment, by clarifying its attitude to mystery cult and traditional Greek religion in general. In offering a translation based on my own restorations of the original Greek, I shall argue three propositions, which are wholly independent of each other:

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2. In a notice by K. Tsantzasoglou and G. M. Parássoglou (with E. Turner), its editors predicted that their work would be completed by mid-1984 (Ginemon 54 [1982]: 855–56).


4. On this topic see Most, "Fire Next Time" and Laks, "Between Religion and Philosophy" (n. 1 above), esp. pp. 125–26, 134–40 of the latter.

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(1) Its author wrote his treatise in order to argue that conventional religious belief and practice, which may seem shocking or bizarre if taken literally, need to be interpreted allegorically in order to reconcile them with the latest science of his day.

(2) Its outlook matches exactly what has been reconstructed, on the basis of other considerations, as the attitude of the thinker who, in my view, wrote it, the notorious “atheist” Diagoras of Melos, who was not in fact an “atheist” in any modern sense, but a sophist like Critias or Prodicus.

(3) The condemnation of Diagoras by the Athenians in 415 B.C.E. for defaming the Eleusinian mysteries was part of the fierce religious reaction against contemporary philosophy and science, which included accusations against Anaxagoras and would culminate in those against Socrates; this reaction affected the thought of followers of Anaxagoras, like Diogenes of Apollonia, and even more that of later philosophers, from Plato and Isocrates onwards.

Let us first consider its author’s aim. It is my contention that he sets out to criticize most of his contemporaries on the ground that they believed too literally in the rites and holy texts of traditional religion. According to him, both Orpheus (in col. VII) and Heraclitus (in col. IV) compose allegories about the secrets of nature and of God; his term for this is ἤρωλογείσθαι (see below). In the Orphic cosmogony, the allegory runs “from the first word to the last”; it was fully intended by the poet, as is proved by his opening verse, where he declared that he was writing only for the “pure in hearing” (col. VII). The chosen are few indeed, since not even the priests can explain the rites and sacred texts to those whom they initiate (col. XX): this is because they do not explain them as allegories. To prove his point, the author (very plausibly) interprets the sacrifices to the Erinys and the Eumenides allegorically, as attempts to appease the souls of the angry dead (in cols. I–III, VI), claims that Heraclitus was allegorizing when he spoke of the Erinys (col. IV), and (totally implausibly) offers a lengthy allegorical explanation of Orpheus’ cosmogonic poem (in cols. VII–XIX, XXI–XXVI), pausing in col. XX to remind us of his purpose. Since people lack so credible an explanation, they risk losing their faith, because they do not understand such apparently bizarre rites and texts. This is why, he argues, they do not believe in the terrors of Hades, because they take visions and oracles literally (col. V); the author, of course, can explain them allegorically. His methods of exegesis, namely etymology and allegory, are those of the sophist enlightenment, so mocked by Aristophanes. During his epideixis he pauses from time to time to remind the audience of his main thesis (in cols. IV–V, VII, and XX). These columns, far from being digressions, as they have always been understood, are in fact the kernel of the treatise; the rest of it consists of the proofs that he offers to support his argument. His claim that material that presents difficulties for conventional piety must be interpreted allegorically puts him in a tradition that goes back as far as Theagenes of Rhegium (c. 525 B.C.E.), who advanced an allegorical interpretation in terms of the physical elements to defend Homer’s Battle of the Gods; this

5. This is wrongly doubted by L. Brisson (Sauver les mythes [Paris, 1996], 55), since he misdates Theagenes to earlier in the century.
was probably in response to Xenophanes' critique (DK 21 B 1). Like Xenophanes, the author also adopts a monotheistic viewpoint, as K. Tsantsanoglou has noted, since he refers to gods in the plural only when discussing popular belief.

The crucial verb ἱερολογεῖσθαι and noun ἱερολόγος appear in columns IV and VII, describing Heraclitus and Orpheus respectively. Both D. Sider and K. Tsantsanoglou have suggested that these words mean "speak in allegories" and "allegorist," citing parallels in Herennius Philo (first century C.E.), Lucian, and Damascius. In columns IX and XIII our author alleges that Orpheus speaks "in riddles" to reveal the nature of reality, and in column XXV he claims that Orpheus composed some verses "as an obstacle, since he does not want everyone to understand." One may compare the commentator on Alcman, who claims that Alcman φυσιολογεῖ or is a φυσικός, an "allegorist"; Alcman tells a myth that the commentator deems an allegory of creation, as G. W. Most saw, showing that φυσικός has this sense. Lastly, Alan Griffiths reminds me that Herodotus uses ἴρος ὁ λόγος to refer to an explanation of religious practices that, as he once states, is revealed only to initiates (2.51.4, 62.2, 81.2); Plato's Seventh Letter applies the phrase to ancient doctrines about rewards and punishments after death (335a).

What kind of person could have written such a treatise? W. Burkert was the first to argue that the system of physics found in the Derveni papyrus depends on the thought of Anaxagoras and of Diogenes of Apollonia, and that it uses expressions reminiscent of the atomists; he recognized in the author a late representative of Pythagoreanism, with doctrines resembling those of Ephantus (DK 51). Burkert dated the text to the period 420–400, and ascribed it to one of the intellectuals of the time. More precisely, I have shown, with arguments that cannot be repeated here, that the physical doctrines in this treatise are extremely close to those of Diogenes of Apollonia. Diogenes was a follower of Anaxagoras. He blended his master's doctrine of Nous with terms and theories from the systems of Heraclitus and the atomist Leucippus to form a system combining teleological pantheism and material monism: all things are pervaded by Air, which is Zeus, which is Mind, and this deity has arranged all things for the best. The very same doctrines are presented in the papyrus; they tally almost exactly with those of Diogenes, down to the eclectic mixture of the views of the same three predecessors. Diogenes also employed the methods of allegory and etymology that are so prominent in the papyrus.
However, it is not, I concluded, by Diogenes. Writing at the same time, A. Laks, who knows the thought of Diogenes better than anyone, pointed out an important divergence between Diogenes’ system and that of the papyrus. Its author follows the pluralism of Anaxagoras in thinking that the things that are exist independently of Mind, whereas Diogenes is a monist who holds that they are all modifications of a single primary substance, Air/Mind: “Air becomes the place where things evolve, rather than their ‘substance’. Diogenes denies the absolute separation of Anaxagoras’ intelligence in order to explain its capacity to act upon the other things: Intelligence is air’s intelligence. But since all things are but modifications of air, this amounts to endorsing total immanence and hence sacrificing the transcendence of the first principle. . . . The acceptance of an Anaxagorean-like pluralism by the Derveni author goes together with a conception of divine air that makes it the place of everything (including, in some special sense, of intelligence), thus paradoxically preserving its transcendent status.”

I shall return to these questions after considering the author’s attitude to mystery cult and its sacred texts. Its author probably pursued a purpose very similar to that of Heraclitus of Ephesus, while of course modernizing the philosophical doctrines by which he offered a “scientific” interpretation of rituals and sacred texts. Heraclitus derides traditional worship and mystery religion as mere ignorance. In both style and content, Heraclitus is profoundly influenced by the mysteries, and yet scorns both ordinary people and the religious establishment, and is ready to equate gods with each other in the case of Hades and Dionysus. Both moves are paralleled in our text. Consider the following fragments of Heraclitus’ book (the second in a citation by Clement): “They are purified by being polluted with alien blood, just as if one washed by stepping into mud . . . They pray to statues, as if someone were to converse with houses, not understanding what gods or heroes are.” “For whom does Heraclitus prophesy? ‘For night-rangers: ma-goai, bacchoi, maenads, initiates.’ For these he threatens what happens after death, for these he prophesies the fire; for ‘the mysteries that are customarily performed among men are practiced in an unholy manner.’” “Were they not making a procession for Dionysus and singing a hymn to reverend things (aidōia, i.e., phalloi), they would be acting with utter irreverence. Hades and Dionysus, for whom they rave in madness, are the same.” It is no coincidence that the Derveni papyrus cites Heraclitus, I believe, twice: not only at column IV 8–10, but also at XI 8–9, an otherwise unattested fragment where his name is not given.

As W. K. C. Guthrie wrote, “Heraclitus was not hostile to initiations and Dionysiac orgia as such, but deplored the fact that they were carried out without any understanding of their true significance.” In just the same way

15. DK 22 B 5, 14, 15. For the punctuation of B 14 see F. Graf, Magic in the Ancient World (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 21.
the papyrus claims that the ordinary person, even when initiated, does not understand; he does not know, for instance, that all the different gods who are worshipped are one, namely Zeus, who is also Air and permeates all creation (cols. XVI–XIX); or, again, that evil spirits and the Furies are vengeful souls (cols. II, VI). The Derveni author is certain that he can decode all the riddles, whether those of ritual in the opening columns or those in the poem of Orpheus, who, he insists, conceals in his verses not “unbelievable riddles, but important truths in riddles,” which are aimed at only the few, not the many (col. VII); on the other hand, people undergoing initiation cannot even hear and understand at the same time (col. XX). Heraclitus presents even his own logos as hard and riddling for ordinary people to understand, demanding a similar decoding: “people always fail to understand this discourse, both before they hear it and when they first hear it” (DK 22 B 1).

M. L. West has noted the oddity that the Derveni text combines a physical system of Ionian type with a “less rationalistic kind of concern with religious enlightenment.”17 He boldly drew from this several deductions, which are, I believe, all correct: (1) “it was these religious interests that led to his acquaintance with the Orphic poem”; (2) “he was himself one of the initiates whose ritual acts he knows and interprets”; (3) “the Orphic poem may have been a sacred text of theirs, and likewise ‘the Hymns’ from which he quotes at one point”;18 and (4) “perhaps he was writing for them, to introduce them to a Diogenean cosmology in which he had been instructed elsewhere.” Thus the author was no ordinary follower of the Orphic movement, but a highly sophisticated one and a schismatic as well.19 Indeed, Orphics, religious experts, and sophists were overlapping categories at this date: the author appears to be at once a sophistical Orphic and an Orphic sophist. What is most remarkable about him is the extraordinary mixture of piety and science; as Guthrie concluded, allegorical interpretation was an important part of the Orphic approach from an early date, even before Plato’s dismissive reference to the allegorical interpretation of improper myths about the gods, such as are fit to be revealed only during the mysteries (Resp. 3 378a–d).20

Scholars have rarely considered the likely effect on public opinion of such an interpretation, which sought to reconcile traditional religious belief and practice with the latest scientific progress.21 Listeners receptive to the

18. D. Obbink has shown that, since the quotation of the “Hymns” of Orpheus in col. XXII recurs in Philochorus (FGrH 328 F 185), the Derveni papyrus was known to that writer (perhaps in his Παράλογοι ή Παραλογισμοί), who in his turn quoted by Philodemus in his *De Pietate* (P. Herc. 1428 frag. 3); see “A Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus in Philodemus’ On Piety,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994): 111–35; Burkert, *Da Omero ai magi* (n. 11 above), 79.
19. Cf. Laks and Most’s introduction (Laks and Most, 5).
20. *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1952), pp. 161–63 with n. 4: “we have seen enough now to say that what may be called allegorical philology was a feature of Orphic speculation.” Guthrie cites the Orphic allegorizer in Pl. *Org. 493a–c*, who says that he μονάδοις (493d). Elsewhere (p. 63) he notes that, in the passage where Plato compares the true philosopher with the initiate (*Phd. 69e*), when those who conduct the *σέλερα* “say that the uninitiated will have an unpleasant lot in the next world, the religious teachers are speaking in riddles. In truth they are not such worthless teachers as men who try to force a literal meaning on their doctrines.” The Derveni author offers a similar argument (col. V).
author's undertaking might well wonder whether they needed to go to all the trouble and expense of becoming initiated. The more literal-minded (or, we might say, "fundamentalist") among them may not have appreciated such "enlightened" views at all; and the priests, who had a real financial interest in the maintenance of a numerous clientele, might take a very dim view indeed. Two generations earlier, Heraclitus could apparently express such opinions without fear, but later in the fifth century hostility to the new religious enlightenment was profound and widespread in Athens, despite modern attempts to minimize the evidence. This hostility is depicted by Plutarch in his Life of Nicias (23.2–3):

The first man to put in writing the clearest and boldest of all doctrines about the changing phases of the moon was Anaxagoras. But he was no ancient authority, nor was his doctrine in high repute. It was still under seal of secrecy (διόρθητος), and made its way among a few only. . . . Men could not abide the natural philosophers (φιλόσοφοι) and "visionaries" (μεταφοραλέσχαι), as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile, Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles, and Socrates, although he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life because of philosophy. (trans. B. Perrin)

It was not this religious crisis but rather Tsantsanoglou's excellent restorations of the opening columns that led me to conclude that the Derveni papyrus is the work, not of a seer (as Tsantsanoglou inclines to believe), but of a sophist, and among sophists not of Diogenes, but of Diagoras.22 We shall see that the career of Diagoras closely resembles the portrait of the author that West painted, that of someone who was familiar with the mysteries and with the Orphic poems, yet who gave them an interpretation based on Ionian physics and thus provoked the Athenians' anger. He departed so far from conventional faith in the gods that, during the great religious crisis of 415 B.C.E., they tried to have him executed for publishing the mysteries and deterring people from getting initiated.

**Diagoras as Poet and Sophist**

A passage in the eleventh-century Life of Zeno the Eleatic by the Arab scholar Al-Mubaššir ibn Fatik, neglected until very recently, has greatly clarified the biography of Diagoras of Melos. He is likely to have been born in 469/8 B.C.E., since Al-Mubaššir's report that he spent 54 years at Pellene (T 10 Winiarczyk) is surely a mistake for a statement that he was aged 54 when he fled thither in 415/4. This is supported by the fact that his "floruit" is given as either 483/2 or 469/8, in the latter case by a synchronism with Bacchylides' greatest success (T 1–5, 9A Winiarczyk). Younger than Bac-

chylides and Pindar, he was older than Melanippides of Melos, the lyric poet (T 9A Winiancyk). If he was born in 469/8, he was Socrates' exact contemporary. Should he be the same as the Diagoras mocked for his height by Hermippus in his Moirai (frag. 43 Kassel-Austin), under the guise of “Diagoras the Quibbler” (Διαγόρας τοῦ Τερθρεύως), he was already an object of comment in Athens before 430; the name is an extremely common one, but the verb τερθρεύω is used of both philosophers and religious “experts.” He was an associate of Nicodemus, leader of the ruling democratic party in Mantinea circa 426–418, where he drew up the democratic constitution (T 11–12 Winiancyk). Our sources describe him as both a lyric poet and a philosopher (or “natural philosopher” [φυσικός], T 1–3); Al-Mubaššir lists him with Presocratics who left written works, like Zeno of Elea, Leucippus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Melissus, Protagoras, Anaxagoras, and Democritus, as well as Socrates himself (T 10 Winiancyk). Diagoras wrote a prose work obscurely entitled Ἀποσυνοικίσοντες λόγοι (T 9, 67 Winiancyk), which he presumably composed before 423 or at the latest circa 418, the date of the revised Clouds. This title resembles those of two prose works by sophists, namely Protagoras’ Καταβάλλοντες λόγοι, “Knock-down Arguments” (DK 80 B 1),23 and Thrasymachus’ Υπερβάλλοντες [λόγοι], “Winning Arguments” (DK 85 B 7). The same sense is given by the title of Ion of Chios’ cosmological prose work Τραγμοί, in which Ion, who died shortly before 421, claimed that Pythagoras composed the ἱερὸς λόγος ascribed to Orpheus (Orph. frag. T 248 Kern); this title derives from τραγῳδο “throw down thrice, win,” because in wrestling, the fighter who was thrown to the ground three times lost. It is possible that all these works were named after throws in that sport, although ὑπερβάλλατιον is unattested in this sense, and ἀποσυνοικίζειν is wholly unknown; perhaps it meant “throw from a great height as from a tower,” a hold in which the victim is lifted high up before being tossed to the ground. However, it might signify “Fortifying arguments” or “Wallington arguments,” in a metaphor from the siegecraft so prevalent during the Peloponnesian War; or, since the Suda cites the title under its entry πυργίσκοι, the name for a piece of furniture like a “chest,” it is also possible that it denotes a work that had to be kept in a metaphorical “casket” and that circulated only in secret, just as Plutarch claims that works on natural science became ἀπόθητοι (Nic. 23.2).

Whatever this title means, we are told that in his book Diagoras explained his lapse from traditional religious faith.24 After being very superstitious, he

23. This may be the work in which Protagoras expressed his famous agnosticism about matters divine, for which, the story goes, the Athenians exiled him and burned his books in the agora (Diog. Laert. 9.52, with L. Piccirilli, “Il primo autodafè letterario: il rogo di libri di Protagora,” SIFC 15 [1997]: 17–23). Cf. the allusion in Euripides’ Bacchae, where Tiresias, after claiming that οὐδὲν σωφρονεῖσθα τοῖς δαίμοσιν, says of the ancestral beliefs as old as time, οὐδέποτε ἀτρίτα καταβαλλέλλοι λόγος (200–202, wrongly deleted by J. Diggle, Euripidis Fabulae, vol. 3 [Oxford, 1994]), before the seer offers “sophistic” arguments based on changing the names of the gods and identifying them with physical principles, just like the methodology of the papyrus. Elsewhere (Tatianus Ad. Gr. 27 = T 68 Winiancyk; and Al-Mubaššir [n. 29 below]) Diagoras is said to have written the Φιλόσοφοι λόγοι, but this is clearly a later work, because it allegorized the names of Greek and Egyptian gods, including Sarapis (see T 93–98 Winiancyk).

24. Suda, s.v. πυργίσκοι καὶ τραγῳδοφαλίκας: σκεπή κατ’ οἶκον, καὶ ἀποσυνοικίζω: Διαγόρας ἔγραψε τοῦς καλομένους Ἀποσυνοικίσοντας λόγος, ἀναγράφοντας σάτο καὶ ἔκτισαν ἔχοντας τής περὶ τὸ θεὸν δόξης ἀθέους γάρ (οἶκος, supplevni) ἢ τὸ πρότερον (π 3200 Adler = T 67B Winiancyk).
lost his faith when he saw a rival poet who had harmed him through perjury go unpunished by the gods.  

We have further indications of the content of his work. Epicurus  

25.  

calls all three δῆθεοι, thus bracketing Diagoras with well-known sophists, just as he is associated elsewhere with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Critias (T 14, 19–20, 23, 56–57 Winianczyc). The reports that Diagoras was concerned with perjury and that he etymologized the names of the gods are in accord with Aristophanes' jab at Diagoras via Socrates “the Melian,” who claims that one can no longer swear oaths by Zeus, since his rule has been supplanted by that of “Dinos.” The Christian apologist Athenagoras, well-informed about the seamier side of paganism, says that Diagoras revealed the Orphic logos, the Eleusinian mysteries, and those of the Cabiri.  

28.  

Thanks to the testimony of Al-Mubaṣṣir, it is now certain that it was not in the 430s, as Jacoby imagined, but in the archonship of Charias (415/4 B.C.E.),  

29.  

the year of the religious witch hunt in which the priests of Eleu-

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25. Sext. Emp. Math. 9.53, in a catalogue of δῆθεοi resembling that in Epicurus (below): Διαγόρας δὲ ὁ Μῆλιος, διθεραμβοτάκει, ὡς φασί, τὸ πρῶτον γενόμενον ὡς ἐν τῇ καὶ ἄλλος δεισιδαιμόνες ὡς γε καὶ τῆς ποιήματος κατήρατο τὸν τρόπον τούτον, “κατὰ δομίνα καὶ τύχαν (άντις βροτοτύπῳ ἐκτελεῖται).” Διακρίνει δὲ ὡς τόν τινα ἐπικήρυσσαν καὶ μηδὲν ἕνεκα τούτου παθόντος μεθημοσύνας ἢ τὸ λέγειν μή ἐίναι θεόν. The verses quoted are the same as in Aristoxenus given below. Sextus' list of δῆθεοι resembles that of Epicurus (see next note); perhaps both are from Eudemus of Rhodes' Τῆν περὶ τοῦ θείου ἱστορία (cf. Obbink, "On Piety" [n. 22 above], 352). Cf. the list in Cic. Nat. D. 1.117–19, where a list of “atheists,” ending with Euhemerus, is at once followed by a reference to the Eleusinian mysteries and those of Samothrace and Lemnos, “whose interpretation and rationalization has more to do with natural science than with theology” (quibus explicatī ad rationemque revocatī rerum magis natura cognosciur quam deorum, 119). Evidence in Philodemus (see next n.) proves that such lists were current by the late fourth century B.C.E.  

26. In Philodemus, On Piety Part 1 col. 19, lines 518–41, in Obbink, “On Piety.” The passage runs: αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ πέντε μενείναν Ἐπίκουρος (frag. 87 Usener) ἐμμένουσα τὸ τῆς θείου ἔκ τῶν ὅντων [ἀναβοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ταῖς διδακτικαῖς Προβίκοις καὶ Διαγόρας] καὶ Κριτίας καiß̄̄λος] μέμησαι ταῖς παρακολούθει καὶ μενείναν ἐμμένουσα τῆς [τίς δὲ ἐκ μηδὲν, καὶ βακχεύουσιν αὐτοῖς [ἐκάκαι, χεισσαπάθες] μή πραγμαθεῖ (correxii post Gomperz) ἡμὶ[ν] παρὰ Ῥμαίοις μή [οὔς N. corythi] ἐνοχεῦσιν καὶ ἐκ γὰρ παραγραμμάτωσι τὰ τιαίθ θεῶν [οὐνοματα], i.e., “Epicurus criticized those who eliminate the divine from existing things for their total insanity, as in Book 12 of On Nature he criticizes Prodicus, Diagoras, and Critias among others, saying that they rave like lunatics, and he likens them to Bacchant revellers, admonishing them not to trouble or disturb us. For they explain the names of the gods by changing letters.” My translation adapts Obbink's, the crucial supplements are his. This is also the first evidence that Prodicus and Critias practiced etymology to support their unique interpretations of the gods. Epicurus continues by criticizing Antisthenes' belief that a plurality of gods exists only by convention. The latter held that there is in fact only one god (cf. frag. 39A Decleva Caizzi; Cic. Nat. D. 1.13.32); Antisthenes was, of course, Socrates' pupil. The Derveni papyrus repeatedly implies a similar belief.  

27. Clouds 828–30 (= T 38 Winianczyc):  

Στ. Δίνος βασιλεύει τοῦ Δ'. ἐξελευθερακός. . . .  

Φε. τὰς φιλιάς τάτα;  

Στ. Σώκρατης ὁ Μῆλιος . . .  

28. Diagoras µὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἐπεκάλεσεν Ἀθηναίοις, ἡ μόνον τὸν Ὀρακλιαίον εἰς μέσον κατατιθέντα λόγον καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ τὰ τῶν Κερέων δημιουργοῦσιν μυστήρια καὶ τὸ τῷ Ποσείδον οἷος τῆς γοητείας ἔχει κατακόπτετο ξυλῦν, ἀντικείμενο δὲ ἐπιφανεμένον μὴ δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἐχεῖν θεόν (Pro Christianis 4 = T 27 Winianczyc); on Athenagoras' sources see W. R. Schoedel, Athenagoras: "Legatio" and "De Resurrectione" (Oxford, 1972), xix–xxiii. Diagoras is linked with Samothrace in other sources (T 36–37, 59, 101), which contain serious inaccuracies and confusions.  

29. The serious given by Diod. Sic. 13.6 (T 17 Winianczyc) and Al-Mubaṣṣir (T 10). The latter gives the archon's name as Khārīyās al-arkān, i.e., Ḫarpāq ὁ ἄργος (translation of G. J. van Gelder in J. N. Bremmer, "Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece," in Secrecy and Concealment, ed. H. G.kippenberg and G. G. Stroumsa [Leiden, 1995], 61–78, at 74–75). I thank Patricia Crone for confirming that the Arabic form of the name contains a letter that can be read as yod, although previous translations render it Ḥārūs. Al-Mubaṣṣir used Porphyry's Φιλοσοφος ιστορία, which gave many dates, relying on Apollodoros
Birds, irotov Higbie, were Aristophanes' (witz) died kou 326 1995], opened information that Impiety, (as of Pellene and Achaea; both events inspire jokes in Aristophanes' Birds of spring 414. We know three further details. The Athenians offered a bounty of one talent of silver if Diogoras the Melian were brought to them dead, and two if he were arrested alive; they sought him on the ground that he was making the Mysteries public, belittling them, and deterring many from becoming initiated; and he fled to Pellene when the other Peloponnexitians had agreed to hand him over. We learn these details from two sources. The first is the On the Mysteries at Eleusis of the Atthidographer Melanthius (perhaps c. 350–270 B.C.E.), who adds that the Athenians also issued a proclamation against the people of Pellene who had refused to extradite him. The other source, Craterus (third century), likewise quotes the decree from the bronze tablet on which it was inscribed, but supplies the Athenians' motives, which closely match what we have learned above about the content of Diogoras' book.

Because Diogoras' exile has been generally misdated, and he is not included among the lists of those who parodied the Mysteries in 415, his condemnation has never been connected with that affair. But it was no

(as Porphyry's name is absent, the fragment is omitted in A. Smith's Teubner). F. E. Roman, "Atheism, Impiety, and the limos Melios in Aristophanes' Birds," AJP 115 (1994): 351–65, at p. 354, n. 11, holds that the decree must have been issued a year or two previously, since Aristophanes shows that the proclamation made at the Dionysia against Diogoras and the tyrants had been made before (παναγορόεσθαι, Av. 1072), and the Dionysia happened only once a year. But curses against the tyrants opened each meeting of the Assembly also (cf. Ar. Thesm. 331–51), and we should instead deduce that the same ἐπικήρυγμα opened both the Assembly and the Dionysia, just as they opened both the Assembly and the Boule (P. J. Rhodes, The Athenian Boule [Oxford, 1972], 36–37). By late in Charias' archship the Athenians could have heard this often.

In a second article ("Diogoras the Melian [Diod. Sic. 13.6.7]", CW 89 [1995–96]: 393–401, at 397), Roman suggests that Craterus (FGrH 342 F 16) is the source of Schol. Av. 1073c, which says that this happened roughly around the time of the capture of Melos, but could have been earlier (ἐκκεκτηρίζεται δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Μήλου, διὰ γάρ καυλίει πρότερον). Craterus is quoted immediately before, but nothing proves that this suggestion derives from him. Conversely, Schol. 1073a says that Diogoras lived in Athens after the capture of Melos and used to disparage the Mysteries so as to deter many from the rites—hence the Athenians' proclamation; Melanthius is then cited (οὖν ἀμφοῖν τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Μήλου ἄκιν ἐν Ἀθήναις, τὰ τοῦτο ἐμπόρευσε τὰ πολλὰς ἐκτρέφετο τῆς τιθεντὶς τοῦτο ὧν ἐκτρέφουν κατ’ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἐν γαλαξίᾳ στήθη ἐγγραφαὶ, ὡς φασὶ Μελανθίνος ἐν τῷ Παρι μυστηρίῳ, i.e., FGrH 326 F 3). R. Parker thinks the date 415 is an inference from the Birds (Athenian Religion: A History [Oxford, 1995], p. 208, n. 37).


31. 1073 (= T 15) and 1421 (= T 84); μᾶν ἐνδὸ πελλήνης πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ; On this latter joke as a reference to Diogoras see Roman, "Atheism" (n. 29 above), 355–56; this is wrongly doubted by N. Dunbar, Aristophanes' "Birds" (Oxford, 1995), ad loc. (that the scholiasts failed to understand it proves nothing). Diogoras' escape to Pellene is reported by Melanthius and Al-Muṭāṣṣir (T 7A, 10); the Suda's claim that he died in Corinth (T 9A) is owed to a confusion with Diogoras of Eretria (T 89–90).

32. Schol. Av. 1073a, citing FGrH 342 F 3, where we should read ἐπικήρυγμα (codd.: ζήξ, Wilamowitz) καὶ οὖν τοῖς (οὐκ) (inserted: μη add. Wilamowitz, Fritzschke) ἐκτέθοντος Πέλλαντος. The supplement μη would imply that the decree would only take effect if the Pellenians did not extradite him; οὖκ is also palaeographically superior. The scholia to Ran. 320 (T 8 Winiewicz) say that "the other Peloponnexitians" were persuaded to extradite him; this confirms that some Peloponnexitians refused to do so. Differently C. Higbie, "Craterus and the Use of Inscriptions in Ancient Scholarship," TAPA 129 (1999): 43–53, at 51–52.


34. Thus Furley, Andokides (n. 30 above), omits all mention of it, even though it fits well into his reconstruction of events; he also misses the importance of Cleonymus and Pisander, who proposed the huge rewards for those who informed on profaners of the Mysteries (Andoc. 1.27), and are major targets in the Birds, where Pisander is directly linked with Socrates (1553–64, with T. K. Hubbard, The Mask of Comedy [Ithaca and London, 1991], 177).
isolated incident. Diodorus states simply that he was driven out “while these things were going on,” that is, the religious turmoil of 415/4 generally. But he adds that Diagoras “the so-called ἄθεος was slandered for impiety and feared the people,” thus evincing skepticism about the accusation that he was actually impious.\(^{35}\) His doubt is in itself significant, since it implies that Diodorus, or his source, had information about Diagoras’ beliefs, and that these were not therefore particularly hard to ascertain. He does not place him among those who performed parodies of the Mysteries. Diagoras was never tried, but was condemned by a vote of the Assembly—an action redolent of the hysteria of 415, which even led to a lifting of the ban on torturing citizens (Andoc. \textit{De mysteriis} 43). He could not have been included in the proceedings against the “profaners” of the Mysteries, because, as a metic, he could not have owned real property that could be confiscated like that of Athenians accused of this offense. One of the latter, Andocides, is explicitly compared with Diagoras by his prosecutor in 400/399, but with the difference that, whereas the latter profaned the Mysteries “in word,” Andocides did so “in deed.”\(^{36}\) Since the speaker continues by arguing that the accused showed the Greeks that he “does not believe in gods,” he clearly expects the jury to accept that Diagoras was an ἄθεος.

T. K. Hubbard's detailed and attractive interpretation of Aristophanes’ \textit{Birds} as a necessarily veiled commentary on the religious crisis of 415/4 hardly refers to Diagoras, because Hubbard accepted Jacoby’s erroneous dating of Diagoras’ condemnation to 433/2.\(^{37}\) But B. Katz had already proposed that \textit{Birds} 1576, ὁ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποτεταγμένους, and the play’s main idea of blockading the gods, were inspired by Diagoras’ book title Ἀποποργίζοντες λόγοι,\(^{38}\) and F. E. Romer has now argued that the whole plot of this drama was inspired by the writings and condemnation of Diagoras as well as by the fate of his fellow Melians.\(^{39}\) This approach to an otherwise most puzzling play deserves to be taken further.\(^{40}\)

Diagoras’ offense against the Eleusinian Mysteries, as well as the fact that he was a dithyrambic poet, was still recalled in 405 in Aristophanes’

\(^{35}\) τοῦτοιν δὲ πραπτομένων Διαγόρας ὁ κληθεὶς ἄθεος, διαβολὴς τυχῶν ἐπ’ ἀσβεσία καὶ φοβητικὴς τῶν δῆμων, ἐφογενέν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς; οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι τῷ ἀνελόντι Διαγόραν ἄργοριον τάλαντον ἑπεκήρυξαν (Diod. Sic. 13.6.7).

\(^{36}\) τοσοῦτο δ’ οὗτος [sc. Andocides] Διαγόρου τοῦ Μηλίου ἄσβεστορος γεγένηται: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ περὶ τὰ ἄλλοιρα τινὰ καὶ ἐφίλην ἄφθασκε, οὗτος δὲ ἐγὼ περὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πῶλοι. ὀργίζεσθαι οὖν χρὴ, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τοῦτοι οὖν ἀδίκουσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ξένοις περὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἴκρα: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅσπερ ἄλλοιραν ἔστιν ἀμάρτημα, τὸ δ’ ἱκέτευον. καὶ μὴ οὗ μὲν ἔχετε ἀδίκουσιν ἀφίετε, τοῖς δὲ φανεροῖς ἐξηγεῖτε συλλαμβάνειν, ἐπικράτοιτο τάλαντον ἄργοριον δέσιν τὰ ἀργόν τί ἀποκτείνατε ἢ ἀποκείματι (Lysias) 6.17–18 = T 16 Win iarczyk). The speaker is either Epichares or Socrates’ accuser Meletus (see n. 42 below).

\(^{37}\) \textit{Mask of Comedy} (n. 34 above), 158–82 and esp. p. 175, n. 48, relying on Jacoby, “Diagoras” (n. 22 above).

\(^{38}\) “The \textit{Birds} of Aristophanes and Politics,” \textit{Athenaeum} 54 (1976): 353–81, at 372–73. This need not conflict with other suggestions about what the title means; once coined, it would be open to comic reinterpretation.

\(^{39}\) “Atheism.” J. N. Bremmer similarly suggests that, angered by the “First Fruits decree,” which compelled the allies to send first fruits to Eleusis during the Mysteries, and by the recent sack of Melos, Diagoras revealed the Mysteries as a political protest (“Religious Secrets” [n. 29 above], 74–75). However, the evidence of \textit{Clouds} 830 (cited above, n. 27) suggests that he had already done so years earlier.

\(^{40}\) The objections to Hubbard’s approach advanced by D. M. MacDowell (\textit{Aristophanes and Athens} [Oxford, 1995], 223–24) are far from decisive, given Furley’s new insights into the crisis of 415 (n. 30 above).
**Frogs.**\(^{41}\) In 399 a certain Meletus, surely the same person who brought Socrates to trial the same year, took part in a prosecution of Andocides for impiety. In his speech, which survives in the Lysianic corpus, he assumes that his audience is still familiar with Diagoras’ case, and takes it for granted that Diagoras was an ἄθεος who οὐ νοµίζει θεούς, like Andocides.\(^{42}\) It does not of course follow from this that Diagoras was an atheist in the modern sense, since the Athenians designated by the same term ἄθεος those who believed in new gods, only one god, or no god at all;\(^ {43}\) Socrates, I believe, fell victim to this same confusion, or rather obfuscation, on his enemies’ part. Hubbard has convincingly argued that, in the *Birds*, Aristophanes associates Socrates closely with both the novel religious movement and the repression that were targeted by the play.\(^ {44}\) We can rely on neither the judgment of the Athenian jury, nor the statements of philosophers like Epi-curus, who alleged that Diagoras denied the existence of any god: later philosophers who wished to teach in Athens had much to fear from the suggestion that their theology resembled his in any way, even if it did—and I suspect that it often did. The author of the Derveni papyrus could easily have penned Epicurus’ celebrated formulation that “gods such as the many believe in do not exist. . . . The impious person is not he who abolishes the gods of the many, but he who applies the beliefs of the many to gods.”\(^ {45}\) It is not for nothing that Penteus, at *Bacchae* 995, is called ἄθεος for opposing the new god Dionysus; Euripides’ play exposes the ruthless intolerance of the religious fundamentalism that the poet had seen for himself in the Athens of 415.

As R. Parker has written, the Athenians rarely acted against verbal impiety against the gods, but had one main fear: “that of the ‘atheist’ scientist, who

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41. Line 320 (= T 8 Winiarczyk): ἔδουσα γονὸν τὸν Ἰακχὸν ὄντερ Διαγόρας. The ironic reference to both aspects of Diagoras’ activity, poetry and the mysteries, was correctly explained by Aristarchus in the scholia ad loc. The joke is missed by K. J. Dover in his edition (Aristophanes: “Frogs” [Oxford, 1993], ad loc.). For Diagoras’ poetry (*PMG* 738) see Aristophenus cited by Philodemus *On Piety Part II* in *Philol. Perga. 1428* col. 11.7–15 = p. 85 Gomperz = p. 122 Schober (= Diagoras T 69 Winiarczyk). Aristophenus (frag. 127a Wehrli), finding in his poetry nothing impious but only endorsements of divine providence like “it is god, god who wields his highest wisdom for every mortal act” or “by god and τύχη all things come to pass for mortals,” denies that Diagoras wrote the prose work ascribed to him. But there is no reason to accept this, since the passages are compatible with Diagoras’ having been a teleological monotheist, his change in attitude is attested elsewhere, and as a philosopher Aristophenus would have had good reason to wish that Diagoras had not been condemned (see Janko, “Physicist as Hierophant,” 90–94).

42. [Lysias] 6.17–18 = T 16 Winiarczyk (cited above, n. 36). In favor of this identification of the speaker, who must be either Meletus or Epichares (*Andoc. De mysteriis* 92–94), see K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiaccum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 78–80. The author of this speech was a grandson of an Eleusinian hierophant ([Lys.] 6.54), and the trial was conducted before a jury consisting entirely of initiates (*Andoc. De Myst.*, 29).

43. On the sense of ἄθεος see Obbink, “On Piety,” 1–2, 12–15; M. L. McPherran, *The Religion of Sociates* (University Park, Pa., 1996), p. 88, n. 13 and p. 130. Cf. the protest of Clement of Alexandria that those who perform the mysteries are the true ἁθεοί, whereas Diagoras and others who rejected the traditional religion were called ἄθεοι (Protr. 2, pp. 20–21 F). Glen Bowersock reminds me that the Emperor Julian, who certainly knew that the Christians were not atheists, still calls them ἁθεοί.


45. *Ep. Men.* 123: [θεοί] οὐκείν αὐτοίς (οί) πολλαὶ νοµίζοντον, οὐκ εἰσείν . . . ἄσβησθε ὡς ὁ τοίς τῶν πολλῶν θεῶν [ἀναρράχων], ἀλλ’ ὁ τάς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεούς προσσάτων. Cf. the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, which argues that it is not the rationalizing doctors who are ἄσβεστοι but the magoi, since the latter claim to have power to control the gods and in so doing deny their existence (3); in using purifications and incantations they do an ἀνοσίασαν καὶ ἄθεασατον πρήγμα (4).
substitutes chance and necessity for the gods as an explanation of celestial phenomena.46 Anaxagoras was certainly regarded as such a scientist. His successors, cowed by the Athenians’ hostility as evinced by the decree that Diopeithes proposed, adopted a less overt approach, seeking to explain the latest science in terms of an elevated form of religion, as does the Derveni treatise. Even this was not acceptable, and may well have inflamed public passions further, if indeed we have before us Diagoras’ effort to reconcile science and religion by means of allegory and etymology, and thereby to explain morally unacceptable myths like those in the Orphic cosmogony.

The hostile reaction to such efforts led the next generation of sophists and philosophers to become both more circumspect and more bold. It was no good explaining away the bizarre myths in Homer and other poets by using the allegorical and etymological method favored by the Derveni author and similar characters claiming special knowledge of the divine intent, as Ethphro does;47 instead, the traditional poetic canon needed to be rejected altogether. This process was probably begun, following the precedent of Xenophanes, by the historical Socrates with that skeptical questioning of the poets to which he refers in the Apology (22a–c). It continues not only in Plato, who notoriously proposes to censor traditional poetry in his ideal state (Resp. 2–3), but also in Isocrates. The latter, replying in 391/0 B.C.E. to Polycrates’ pamphlet endorsing the condemnation of Socrates, protects himself by throwing the charge of impiety back at the poets, and especially at Orpheus, for saying it shameful things about the gods; he notes that many poets were horribly punished for what they said by poverty, blindness, exile, or, in Orpheus’ case, being torn apart, and insists that he would have nothing to do with such teachings or those who promulgate them.48 Now that we know that this poem of Orpheus told of Zeus swallowing a penis, fighting his father, swallowing Metis, and raping his mother and his sister, Isocrates’ vehemence seems fully apt. Another reply to Polycrates’ pamphlet, the Apology of Socrates by Libanius, defends Socrates at length for criticizing the poets, showing that they had themselves advocated out-

46 Athenian Religion (n. 29 above), 210–11.
47 See McPherran, Religion of Socrates (n. 43 above), 29–82.
48 Bus. 38–40. The passage is so apposite that it is worth quoting: ταῖς τῶν ποιητῶν βλασφήμίαις . . . οὐ . . . τοιούτους λόγους περί αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν εἰρήκασιν ούκα οὐδεὶς ἐν περί τῶν ἐγχώριων εἰπεν τολμήσαντι οὐ γὰρ μόνον κλόπας καὶ μονεῖας καὶ παρ’ ἄρθροσις θητείας αὐτοῖς ἁπαντές, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάθων βραβείων καὶ πατέρων ἐκτομῆς καὶ μητέρων δεσμών καὶ πόλεως ἀνόμιας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεγοποιήσαν. Ἕπερ ἄν τὴν μὲν ἀξίαν δίκην οὐκ ἔδωσαν· οὐ μὴν δημιουργὸς γε δέουσαν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐνδείξεις κατέστησαν, οἱ δ’ ἐτυφλώθησαν, ἀλλος δ’ ἐφεύρων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς αἰκειοτάτους πολέμους ἄπαντα τῶν ὁχιῶν διετέλεσα, Ὀρφεὺς δ’ οἱ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρόνον διετέλεσα. Ὅρφευς δ’ ὁ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρόνον διετέλεσεν. Ὅρφευς δ’ ὁ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρόνον διετέλεσα. Ὅρφευς δ’ ὁ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρόνον διετέλεσα. Ὅρφευς δ’ ὁ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρόνον διετέλεσεν. Ὅρφευς δ’ ὁ μέλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἄφθινοις διασπάσαν τὸν θρό

48. Plato, Euthyph. 6a–b, with n. 49 below. Isocrates’ earlier praise of Pythagoras as a pupil of the pious Egyptians, and as one who educated the young with the full approval of their relatives (28–29), is also notable, since Herodotus claims that the practices called Orphic and Bacchic were actually Egyptian and Pythagorean (2.81); Isocrates is surely offering a covert defense of Socrates as someone not only condemned for corrupting the young, but also suspected of Pythagorean beliefs. For similar praise of Pythagor-
rageous behavior (Decl. 1.62–126). Moreover, Libanius indicates that Poly-
crates’ “Anytus” accused Socrates of resembling the “sophists” (Libanius’
term) Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Diagoras, with whom the Athenians were
angry (Decl. 1.153 = T 23 Winiarczyk): “Anaxagoras was justly imprisoned
for his impiety regarding the sun and moon; you banished Protagoras fairly
and appropriately for asking whether the gods exist or not; you were wise
to promise a reward for the person who would kill Diagoras, since he
mocked Eleusis and the ineffable mysteries; but who is able to say that there
is a book or an argument about the gods by Socrates that is contrary to
law?” (Decl. 1.154–55 = T 19 Winiarczyk). Thus it is not “merely” a joke
when Socrates moots the possibility that a critic of certain myths of divine
conflict might be prosecuted for impiety (Euthphr. 6a);49 jokes are often an
outlet for truths that cannot openly be stated. Neither Isocrates nor Plato
leaves open the possibility that allegorical explanations could render the
poetry acceptable, and Plato explicitly rejects this move (Resp. 3.378d–e,
Phdr. 229c–230a).

The Diogenean “heresy” was peculiarly liable to be understood as “athe-
ism,” since Diogenes equated God with a material principle, Air, as does the
papyrus. So did Diagoras of Melos, since Aristophanes quips that Socrates
“the Melian” thought Zeus had been deposed by “Dinos” (Mr. Vortex).50
Indeed, the Socrates of the Clouds presents his novel doctrines as a great
mystery into which his pupils must be initiated. On this evidence, and that
of Plato’s Phaedo 97b–98b, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, at some
time before or during the late 420s, Socrates too accepted a teleological
adaptation of the doctrines of Anaxagoras, and that this former belief
played a part in his condemnation.51 K. J. Dover has argued against the
Athenians’ persecution of other intellectuals, holding that the condemnation

49. So Parker, Athenian Religion, p. 211 with n. 48; but he is right to note that the issue is raised “to
stress the division between true Socratic piety and the traditional version, in fact impious, that has pres-
sumed to arraign him . . . The truly dangerous innovators in religion . . . are soi-disant experts such as Eu-
thropho.” Numenius already took the passage to mean that Plato, wishing to criticize scandalous stories
about the gods but afraid of being executed like Socrates, ridiculed them by making the laughable theolo-
gian (we might say “religious fanatic”) Euthropho accept them (frag. 23 Des Places). Euthropho was, of
course, an exponent of etymology, as we learn in the Cratylus (396d, 399a, 399e). In the Euthyphro Plato
seems keen to distance Socrates from such figures; however, if D. Sedley is right to argue that his intent in
the Cratylus is in fact serious, then it follows, as he suggests, that Plato may have taken Euthrophy’s etyo-
For the counterargument that Plato sought to discredit the etymological method of the Derveni treatise see
F. Casadesús Bordoy, “Nueva interpretación del Crátilo platónico a partir de las aportaciones del papiro de

50. Clouds 828–30, cited above, n. 27. Similarly Diagoras’ contemporary Hippon of Samos or Rhegium
was accused of impiety by Cratinus in his Panoptae (PCG F 167 Kassel-Austin = DK 38 A 2); other sources
say that he was called “atheist” because he made water the first principle of the universe and acknowledged
nothing other than what we can perceive (A 4, 8, 9). In his very important attack on true atheism in Laws 10
Plato equates it with scientific materialism; he links it with early theogonies that posit a material principle
prior to the existence of god and speak of conflict among the gods (886b–e)—these are a source of “igno-
rance” (αγνώστη). The Derveni treatise makes the same point about the tales of Hades (e.g., col. IV).

51. McPherran argues (Religion of Socrates, 105–8), following the important work of P. A. Vander
86), that Socrates had an early interest in such views and held the Diogenean teleological argument for the
existence of god that Xenophon ascribes to him (Religion of Socrates, 272–91, cf. A. E. Taylor, Socrates
[London, 1951], 51–74); his conclusions on Socrates’ religious outlook, very similar to my own, were un-
known to me when I first assigned the Derveni papyrus to Diagoras (Janko, “Physicist as Hierophant,” 92–
94). However, although McPherran regards Diagoras as a sophist and compares him with Socrates (114),
he does not doubt that he was a complete atheist (130, 285).
of Socrates was an isolated event. However, even if some of the tales of court cases are contradictory and unreliable, there remains enough evidence to show that an anti-intellectual climate existed and was focused on “atheism”; any reader of the Clouds with a sense of humor will find it difficult not to take its ending very seriously.

The reasons why certain intellectuals felt the cold winds of popular hostility were varied, of course, but fear of “atheism” will have been a paramount factor. Some of Socrates’ jury certainly condemned him for political motives; thus the moderate politician Anytus probably prosecuted him as a Laconizing pro-oligarch and menace to the restored democracy, whose sophistical teachings corrupted the youth (cf. Pl. Meno 91c–92b); Aeschines says flatly that he was condemned because he had educated Critias (1.173). However, others certainly felt threatened for religious reasons; the poet Meletus attacked him as one who had introduced new gods that had not been approved by the city, although, according to Plato, he modified his accusation in court into one of outright atheism. Perhaps, too, attack from behind the screen of religion was a convenient form of defense for some who had been involved in the misdeeds of the Thirty: thus Andocides (De mysteriis 94) could claim that Meletus was involved in the murder of Leon of Salamis under their régime, a crime in which Plato’s Socrates states that he quietly refused to share (Ap. 32c–d), even though he too had remained in the city with the oligarchic party. Another of Andocides’ accusers, Epichares, was an agent of the Thirty (Andoc. De mysteriis 95). We should not expect any one explanation to suffice: Socrates was challenged by a formidable combination of adversaries with different motives, and even so he might not have been condemned had he not offered so uncom-

52. “The Freedom of the Intellectual in Greek Society,” Talanta 7 (1976): 25–54 (= Collected Papers, Vol. 2 [Oxford, 1988], 135–58). G. Kerferd (The Sophistic Movement [Cambridge, 1981], p. 21, n. 7) rightly calls Dover’s argument “excessively sceptical.” Much of the confusion over what actually happened, on which Dover bases his argument, is likely to go back to Athenian law-court speeches, which are notoriously inaccurate about historical details. Moreover, Polycrates’ pamphlet probably mentioned the charges against Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Diagoras, and Damon, since these are cited in Libanius’ rebuttal of it (Apology = Decl. 1.153–57). Intellectuals who have never experienced persecution seem to find it hard to believe that it can occur even in a democracy, if the society offers no legal protection for freedom of thought and expression like the Bill of Rights. For an invaluable corrective see M. Ostwald, From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law (Berkeley, 1986), 275–90. H. Yunis believes that we must accept that Anaxagoras was attacked on religious grounds, even if he was never condemned, and that Diopeithes offered a proposal outlawing his type of teaching, even if it was not enacted (A New Creed: Fundamental Religious Beliefs in the Athenian Polis and Euripidean Drama [Göttingen, 1988], 66–72); see also McPherran, Religion of Socrates, p. 270, n. 246. R. Wallace supports Dover’s arguments, denying the trial of Anaxagoras, but concedes that Protagoras did leave Athens under a cloud soon after 421, at a time of the popular suspicion of intellectuals that is documented by the Clouds, Ameipias’ Connus of 423, and Eupolis’ Flatterers of 421, frag. 157 Kassel-Austin (“Private Lives and Public Enemies: Freedom of Thought in Classical Athens,” in Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology, ed. A. L. Boegehold and A. Scafiuro [Baltimore, 1994], 127–55, at 134–35). R. Parker (Athenian Religion, 199–217) seeks a middle course.

53. See I. F. Stone (The Trial of Socrates [London, 1988]). The fact that Libanius’ Apology deals with Socrates’ association with Alcibiades and Critias (Decl. 1.136–52) confirms that Polycrates, if not Anytus, had raised the question at his trial (cf. T. C. Brickhouse and N. D. Smith, Socrates on Trial [Princeton, 1989], 77–87).


55. So McPherran, Religion of Socrates, 119–44, who rightly argues that Socrates had not failed to observe civic cult (77–78); contra Garland, New Gods (n. 54 above).

56. See Ostwald, Popular Sovereignty (n. 52 above), 494–95.
promising a defense. In any case, the Derveni papyrus has the power to reveal to us a largely unsuspected Greek equivalent to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, with its own share of inquisitors, exiles, and martyrs.

ON THIS TRANSLATION

The Derveni papyrus has left the scholarly community almost completely baffled. As Most has observed, “reading and supplementing it require a rare combination of ingenuity, erudition and foolhardiness.” Armed with a definite hypothesis as to its purpose, school, and author, I offer below a new translation of it. The lack of such a hypothesis, the style of the original, and its incomplete publication, have all seriously hindered previous efforts to follow its argument. By later standards it is very ill written indeed, and seems to antedate the influence of Antiphon, Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and even Herodotus (this means only that its author developed his style without their influence, and does not suffice to date him to the mid-fifth century). The use of Ionic dialect with an admixture of Attic and a few Doric forms well fits my theory that Diagoras wrote it. Moreover, no fourth-century author could have composed a work like this. There is much asyndeton; the lack of systematic connection between sentences by the use of particles is typical of early prose down to the last decade or two of the fifth century. Thus it has often seemed unclear when to render δε as “but” and when to ignore it. The author does not follow the usual later forms of constructions like “not only . . . but also.” He also appears to be writing in an unfamiliar genre; not only the commentary, but prose itself, seems to come to him only with difficulty. He often omits the definite article where later prose would employ it, and rarely uses it to mark words that we would put between quotation marks; this has caused confusion. So has a failure always to recognize when he is using λέγω with the sense “mean” rather than “say,” and ὁποίας as “that,” as in Herodotus, rather than “how.” For the English to read intelligibly, we also need on occasion to translate as pluperfects not only aorists in subordinate clauses but even the past tense of εἰμί, and to supply punctuation and quotation marks freely and skillfully. My hypothesis that there is only one god in this system has sometimes led me to translate verbs describing deity with a masculine pronoun even when a feminine seems called for (e.g., in col. XVIII); similar problems confront translators of Gnostic texts. I have attempted to render the sense of participles (i.e., causal, conditional, or whatever), rather than leave their nuances indeterminate as the text so often does. The use of singular verbs with neuter plural subjects has led to mistranslations, and some counter-to-fact conditionals

59. See, e.g., D. A. Russell, An Anthology of Greek Prose (Oxford, 1991), 2–4, for the style of such writers as Pherecydes, Acusilaus, and Hecataeus; L. R. Palmer, The Greek Language (London and Boston, 1980), 143–44, for passages that make a similar impression in the Hippocratic corpus, e.g., Airs, Waters, and Places 24.41–52 (or De victu 5–24, whose author imitates Heraclitus); and J. D. Denniston, Greek Prose Style (Oxford, 1952), 1–4, on the styles of Heraclitus and Anaxagoras. Our author seems less practiced as a prose writer than Herodotus or Antiphon; his awkwardness may be compared with that of the “Old Oligarch.” For further thoughts on the style see Janko, “Physicist as Hierophant,” 62–63, 84–85.
have not been correctly rendered. The text is also corrupt in more places than have been recognized.

Working on the book-rolls from Herculaneum, where the papyri themselves have often perished, has made me realize how much progress can be made even on materials where the original is not accessible for study. Photographs of carbonized papyri can be misleading, but this one photographed well. Further image enhancement, new techniques for placing sottotopsti and sovrapposti (scraps of one layer of papyrus that have become stuck to another), the use of a Nikon binocular microscope with a fluorescent ring-light around the lens, and the new technique of multi-spectral digital imaging might all be of help in improving the text further.\textsuperscript{60} I am doubtless in error about the placing of some paragraphoi, and may often be wrong about the exact status of doubtful letters; part of the uncertainty may be owed to whether, in different published transcripts, subliteral dots are employed to denote letters that are actually doubtful, or merely incomplete. I have not hesitated to offer further supplements and suggestions that will be open to refutation when the original is properly published; I am not in a position to know which of these have already been advanced by others. My intention is merely to contribute to our understanding of what the papyrus says, which has been so signally advanced by the new material.

The text, which I reconstructed from published sources to serve as a basis for my translation, and which is not reproduced here, relies entirely on published sources, including photographs studied using image enhancement.\textsuperscript{61} My present sources are: (a) the anonymous text of cols. III–XXVI in \textit{ZPE} 47 (1982), after p. 300 (here “ed.”); (b) the complete translation by A. Laks and G. W. Most, in their edited volume \textit{Studies on the Derveni Papyrus} (Oxford, 1997), 9–22, made with the help of unpublished translations by R. Lambert, D. Obbink, and J. Bollack, and checked against his transcript of the original by K. Tsantsanoglou (here “Ts.”); (c) the first seven columns published by K. Tsantsanoglou in the same volume, pp. 93–95 (here “Ts.”); (d) L. Brisson’s text of col. XII in Laks and Most, 151–52, checked by Tsantsanoglou; (e) D. Obbink’s text of cols. XX and XXII in Laks and Most, 42–43, 48–49, checked by Tsantsanoglou; (f) W. Burkert’s text of col. XXV in Laks and Most, 167–68, checked by Tsantsanoglou (but the text is printed without dots indicating uncertain letters); (g) the photograph of cols. XXI–XXII on the dust jacket of Laks and Most, which adds pieces at the bottom to plate 51 in E. G. Turner, \textit{Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World}, rev. and ed. P. J. Parsons (London, 1987); (h) the plates of cols. V and XXII in \textit{BCH} 86 (1962): 794; (i) those of cols. XI–XII, XVII–XIX, XXI–XXIII, and XXVI in \textit{AD} 19 A (1964): Plates 12–15; (j) S. G. Kapsomenos’ transcript of cols. XVII–XIX, XXI–XXIV, and XXVI in the same journal, pp. 23–25, which appears, to judge from the photographs, to be in places more accurate than (a), since it does not dot letters that are damaged

\textsuperscript{60} The Philodemus Translation Project has found these techniques invaluable for studying the carbonized papyri from Herculaneum. For the digital imaging, introduced by Dr. Steven W. Booras of the Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts at Brigham Young University, see \textit{Cronache Ercolanesi} 29 (1999): 95–100.

\textsuperscript{61} I have neither obtained nor sought access to the original papyrus.

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In the notes, which serve as an apparatus criticus, when I suggest that the reading in all the published transcripts is wrong, I have underlined letters that I have altered, for example, λαμπρόταρα where previous editors read

62. Several of the illustrations in (b), (i), and (k) are reproduced in R. Seider, Paläographie der griechischen Papyri, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1970), pl. 1.
λαμπρό[τ]ήτα (col. XXV 1). α indicates, at least where I could refer to an image, a letter that is damaged in such a way that it could be read as another, 'α' an insertion above the line, [[α]] a deletion by the scribe, [α] a letter lost in a lacuna, [α] a letter restored from a quotation elsewhere, {α} a deletion by an editor, and (α) a letter added by an editor. Suggestions of my own that I have not seen in other sources are indicated with an asterisk. I have repunctuated freely. Since no text is printed, I have not been able to indicate all my changes to the punctuation, but these can be reconstructed from the English version. In the translation, round brackets mark material supplied to complete the sense or lost in a lacuna; I have not indicated supplements where there is general agreement, or the length of lacunae. A gap of undetermined length follows each column.

* * *

I . . . each one . . . of Erinyes

* * *

II . . . Eriny(e)s . . . of Erinyes . . . they honor . . . are souls . . . drink-offerings in droplets . . . (when) . . . brings . . . honors . . . (offer) to each (of them) some sort of bird . . . harmonized to the music . . .

* * *

III . . . Erinyes . . . But (a) daimon comes into existence for each one . . . persons who are wiped out . . . but those below (are called?) daimons . . . and do not have (?) . . . of (the?) gods, but are called servants . . . they are, like wicked men who are punished with death, and they are responsible . . . such (persons) as . . . initiate . . .

63. In the opening columns the author reveals the nature of the Furies, which continue to be discussed in cols. II-IV and VI. They are merely daimons, which are souls of the angry dead (col. VI). Col. V, like cols. VII and XX, reveals that his argument seeks to dispel the ignorance of ordinary seekers after faith. On these cols. see S. J. Johnston, Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999), 273-79.

64. The scrap published in 1982 as frag. A 13-15 seems now to be unplaced, and is not included in this translation.

65. A two-termination adjective describing the honors is lost.


67. I have placed here a fragment containing the ends of three lines, printed as frag. B 4-6 in the 1982 text. It could alternatively be placed in col. IV 10-12. But for all I know there may be physical evidence to contradict either placing.

68. I.e., by the effects of a curse, which "wipes out" themselves and their descendants: cf., e.g., εξωλει-αν κοτών και τοις παιδιν (παραφιμους) (Lys. 12.10). A reference to the effects of a curse would be pertinent to Diogoras' book, which revealed his lapse from faith after being cheated by a perjuror (see the Suda, as cited above, n. 24). The author soon argues that the Eumenides are in fact angry souls (col. VI); they traditionally enforced curses.

69. Ts. τολοδε χοι ["this mound"] is unlikely, as it would require τολοδε (τοδε). The difficulty is noted by Johnston, Restless Dead (n. 63 above), p. 275, n. 54.

70. Or "they are accused."

71. Or "mysteries," or "later" (δεσκα-.)
... he who changes established (penalties) ... to give, rather than causes harm ... did not let (the world) accept the vicissitudes of destiny. Is not (the) world ordered as a result of these? Likewise Heraclitus, deeming the shared (sensations) important, overturns those that are individual. Speaking like an allegorist, he said.

"the sun, in accord with its own nature, is in breadth the size of a human foot, and does not surpass its limits; for, if it surpasses its own breadth at all, (the) Erinyes, (the) allies of Justice, will discover it."77

... surpassing ... they sacrifice ... of justice ... by the moon (?)80 ... and terrors (?)82 ... ask an oracle ... they ask an oracle ... for them we will enter83 the prophetic shrine to inquire, with regard to what is proph-

72. Apparatus to col. IV: 3 τῇ ... ἰδὲ Bremmer per litt. ... τῇ ... τῇ p. 107 (ι vel κ, η) τάσσεσται διά ... τῶν εὐχῶν κατὰ Τσ. 5 μεγάλη νομικῶν ... μετασκευασάων Τσ. 6 ἱκελίας vel ἱκέλια Τσ. et Parássoglou: ἱκέλιας Τσ. ἰκελίον ... Sider ap. Laks et Most p. 135: ὁδολόγων Τσ. et Parássoglou: μεθοδὸλογων Τσ. ἱππ. Τσ. et Parássoglou: δῶκε Τσ. 11 δήρων Λεβεδεβ ap. Τσ. et Parássoglou.

73. τύχη must mean "destiny" rather than "random chance," reflecting the outcome of the divine plan.

74. ἐκὸς was a term favored by the sophists; those who discussed its nature were widely suspected of impiety ( Xen. Mem. 1.1.11).

75. The sequence of thought (which depends on the ambiguity of παθη) seems to be that, just as the world is ordered by the πάθη τις τύχης, so our shared πάθη order our lives. As Sider showed ("Heraclitus in the Derveni Papyrus," 134–35), this passage reflects Heraclitus' doctrine of the opposition between τὰ κόσμων καὶ τὰ θεῖα. Sextus Empiricus (Math. 7.127–34 = DK 22 A 16) explains that Heraclitus rejected τὰ θεῖα, i.e., an individual's sensations (notably when dreaming), in favor of τὰ κόσμων, i.e., phenomena that we all perceive; these alone are trustworthy (πιστά), according to the shared divine λόγος that encompasses us when we are awake and breathing. Note especially B 89: τοῖς ἔγγραφοιν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν κόσμον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοινωμένων ἐκάστοτε εἰς θείον ἀναπτερεθεῖναι (cf. the reference to the κόσμος that precedes in IV); B 2; and Sext. Emph. Math. 7.129: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θείον λόγον καθ ἶδρακλείον δὲ ἀνάπνοης σπάσαντες νοοῦν γνωρίζει. The idea that Air seems essential to intelligence goes far to explain why Heraclitus' thought appealed to our author, since it resembles Diogenes' equation of Air with Mind. Johnston, Restless Dead, 265–67, follows Laks and Most.

76. I take ἱερολόγος and ἱερολογέωμαι ( col. VII), literally "one who tells a holy tale," to denote "one who deliberately conveys hidden truths through a story about the gods" (see above, n. 7). Τσ.'s ἱκελίοι entails a rare and late verb; ἱκέλια (Τσ. and Parássoglou) will not do, as it is Heraclitus himself who must be compared to an allegorist, not Heraclitus' words.

77. DK 22 B 3 + B 94. Col. XXV refers back to this discussion of the size of the sun.

78. This sense of ἵπποντον is unattested; contrast col. VIII 6.

79. Perhaps another reference to sacrifices to the Erinyes like those in cols. II and VI.

80. Or, perhaps, μητρινή, "things which occasion divine wrath"? This form is unattested, however.

81. Apparatus to col. V: Ι καὶ δευτέρας ... ἱππολόγων τα ... 7 μαθημάτων Τσ.: παραδείγματον coni. A. H. Griffiths per litteras 10 τὸ αὐτό ... ταύτον Τσ. 11 γνωρίζεσθαι ... γνώρισθαι Τσ. 12 ἐνίκην ἡ Τσ.

82. The author reverts (as he will again at col. XX) to attacking the ignorance of conventional believers. Such folk faithfully visit oracles, yet disbelief experiences like dreams of the terrors of Hades. They disbelieve because they do not understand them rightly, i.e., as allegories. The connection between understanding and belief is crucial for this writer; he thinks that taking such things literally is an obstacle to faith. Dreams are the most important type of Heraclitus' ἰδία (see on col. IV), things that only individuals perceive and that are therefore unreliable (ἀπίστα); cf. Sext. Emph. Math. 7.131 = DK 22 A 16: τὸ μὲν κοινῷ πᾶσι φανόμενον, τοῖς δὲ εἶναι πιστῶν (τῷ κοινῷ γὰρ καὶ δείκτη λόγῳ λαμβάνεται), τὸ δὲ τῶν μόνω προσπίπτοντων ἀπόστολοι ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἑναντίαν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀπρόσφερεν. Without interpretation, such things are unbelievable; if, as the author sarcastically remarks, he got an oracle to vouch for their truth, this would still not make them believable. For a scandalous question put to an oracle compare Chærephon's question to Delphic Apollo about Socrates (Pl. Ap. 21a; Xen. Ap. 14). Socrates saw the oracular response as a riddle in need of interpretation (αἰνίτεται, Pl. Ap. 21b).

83. πάρομεν must have a future meaning.
esied,\textsuperscript{84} whether it is permissible to disbelieve in the terrors of Hades.\textsuperscript{85} Why do they disbelieve (in them)? Since they do not understand dream-visions or any of the other occurrences,\textsuperscript{86} what sort of proofs would induce them to believe? For, since they are overcome by both error and pleasure as well,\textsuperscript{87} they do not learn or believe. Disbelief and ignorance are the same thing. For if they do not learn or comprehend, it is impossible for them to believe even when they see dream-visions . . . disbelief . . . appears . . . .

\* \* \*

VI\textsuperscript{88} . . . prayers and sacrifices placate souls. An incantation by magoi can dis-lodge daimons that become a hindrance; daimons that are\textsuperscript{90} a hindrance are vengeful\textsuperscript{90} souls. For this reason the magoi perform the sacrifice, as if\textsuperscript{91} they are paying a blood-price. Onto the\textsuperscript{92} offerings they make libations of water and milk, with both of which they also make the drink-offerings. They sacrifice cakes that are countless and many-humped,\textsuperscript{93} because the souls too are countless.\textsuperscript{94} Initiates make a first sacrifice to (the) Eumenides in the same way as magoi do; for (the) Eumenides are souls. Hence a person who

\textsuperscript{84} Not "on behalf of those seeking oracular answers," since \textit{ἔνεκεν} does not mean όπερ, and \textit{αὐτῶς} would be redundant.

\textsuperscript{85} Perhaps the author depends here and in col. VI on Protagoras' book \textit{Περὶ τῶν ἐν "Αίδων} (Diog. Laert. 9.55), which, I suspect, is the ultimate origin of the opposing arguments at Sext. Emp. \textit{Math.} 9.66 ("since everyone believes in the terrors of Hades, which are obviously false, we cannot accept that gods exist simply because everyone believes in them") and 9.74 ("if souls persist, they are the same as daimons, but if daimons exist, then gods too exist, since their existence is in no way hindered by the preconception of what is said to go on in Hades"). The argument is perhaps that images of Hades in dreams do not reflect reality, as in Heraclitus' distinction between dreaming and waking sensations cited in col. IV. Note that Socrates accepted the importance of dreams but held that they need interpretation (Pl. \textit{Phd.} 60d–61b), yet ignored unpleasant notions of Hades (Pl. \textit{Ap.} 40c–41d).

\textsuperscript{86} παρατεταίραν must mean "occurrences" (LSJ s.v. II), not "physical realities." A. H. Griffiths' appealing conjecture \textit{παράτεταίραν} "proofs," the early sense of \textit{παράδειγμα} (e.g., Thuc. 1.2.6), entails repeating the same word in the next clause, a common early idiom.

\textsuperscript{87} Their "pleasure" is their wish, as sinners, not to believe so disagreeable a doctrine as the punishment of the sinful soul after death. I follow Laks and Most's translation of τῆς ἀλλᾶς ἡμῶν; for the idiom cf. \textit{Eur. Hipp.} 382–83 and Pl. \textit{Gr.} 473c τῶν συνών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔνανν, with LSJ, s.v. ἄλλος II.8. Alan Griffiths (\textit{per litteras}) well compares Pl. \textit{Prt.} 321e, (Prometheus) κλέας τῆς τοῦ ἑμέραν τήν τοῦ Ἡρακλῆου καὶ τῆς ἄλλην τήν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, translated by Guthrie as "carrying off Hephaestus' art of working with fire, and the art of Athena as well."

\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Apparatus} to col. VI: 3 ἕπιοκρίνων ὄντες εἰρόν; ἕπιοκρίνων εἰρόν \textit{Ts}. 4 ψυχαί τιμώρου \textit{Ts}. p. 113: ψ[ψ]υχαί ἔγχροι \textit{Ts}. \textit{θεοσ[η]ν ὑπερ} *: \textit{θεο[ϊα]γ ed.}. 5 τοῖς * (i.e., τοῖς δὲ); τοῖς ed.: τοῖς δὲ \textit{Ts}. 12 δ[ι]σ[αι]ρ * 13 ψ[ψ]υχαί * 14 ἄλλα * 148.

\textsuperscript{89} It is grammatically indispensable to supply ὄντες.

\textsuperscript{90} I accept ψ[ψ]υχαί τιμώρου, suggested by Ts. in Laks and Most, 113, but also thought of ἄνωλ[λ]οι. \textit{Ts.} prints ψ[ψ]υχαί ἔγχροι, which is accepted by Johnston, \textit{Restless Dead}, 275, but the point is that the daimons are souls who are owed a penalty, as the sequel shows. For discussion of this column see A. Henrichs, "Dromena und Legomena," in \textit{Ansichten griechischer Rituale, Geburtsstag-Symposium für Walter Burkert}, ed. F. Graf (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 33–71, at 33–35; W. Burkert, \textit{Da Omero ai magi}, 105–7.

\textsuperscript{91} Or "as," "since;" ὀνοματικὸς may mean either, and certainly means "as" in col. IX 2 (where see n. 112).

\textsuperscript{92} The omission of the sigma in τοῖς is explicable if the MS, or its ancestor, had τοῖς, with ζ for σ as in Ἀθηνᾶς.

\textsuperscript{93} Clement of Alexandria says that σπάνια παλιώμορφα were in mystic chests (\textit{Protr.} 2.2, 19 P); these were used in the rites of the Cabiri and Eleusinian Demeter (\textit{Protr.} 16 P, 18 P).

\textsuperscript{94} For this view of the world as full of souls cf. Thales (DK 11 A 22–23) and the Pythagorean \textit{Memoirs} excerpted by Alexander Polyhistor (apud Diog. Laert. 8.31–32); although these date from the third century B.C.E. (W. Burkert, \textit{Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism} [Cambridge, Mass, 1972], 53, 57–59), Aristotle (\textit{De an.} 1.2.404a1–16) reports that the Pythagoreans (DK 58 B 40) and Democritus (DK 67 A 28) regarded the mores in a sunbeam as souls (W. Burkert, \textit{Da Omero ai magi}, 108).
intends to sacrifice to (the) gods first (sacrifices) a bird . . . , so that even the . . . , but they are souls . . . this, but as many (souls) as . . . of . . . , but they wear . . .

*  *  *

(I shall also prove that Orpheus composed a)\textsuperscript{95} hymn that says wholesome and permissible things. For he was speaking allegorically\textsuperscript{97} with his composition, and it was\textsuperscript{98} impossible (for him) to state the application\textsuperscript{99} of his words and what was meant. His composition is a strange one, riddling for human beings. But Orpheus did not wish to state with it unbelievable\textsuperscript{100} riddles, but important things in riddles. In fact he is speaking allegorically from his very first word right through to his\textsuperscript{101} last, as he reveals even in his well-known\textsuperscript{102} verse: for when he tells them to “shut the doors” on their ears, he means that he is not making laws for most people, (but that he is addressing only)\textsuperscript{103} those who are pure in the next verse . . .

*  *  *

. . . , as has been revealed in the following verse:

“those who were born of Zeus the almighty king.”

That (the world) is ruled\textsuperscript{105} (Orpheus) reveals in the following verses:

“When Zeus took from his father the predicted rule and strength in his arms and the illustrious daimon.”

\textsuperscript{95} My restoration of the missing sense.


\textsuperscript{97} I read ισρολογίτητο because Orpheus’ actions are not in question; the poet deliberately presented an allegory throughout his poem. ἤτοι[ζε]το would convey the same sense, but is too short.

\textsuperscript{98} ἤτοι is essential because the author, confident that he can interpret the poem, would not say that it is inexplicable. It was Orpheus who did not wish to render the sense transparent, as the treatise goes on to argue; “for him” is my explanatory parenthesis to make this clear.

\textsuperscript{99} The desired meaning is “the sense of the words.” This is given exactly by ἤτοι ὅν ὁματος θέσις (Pl. Cra. 390d), where νομοθετὶς is derived from ὅν ὁματα θήκωθαι.

\textsuperscript{100} I supply δέπσα because the author reverts to the topic of belief (as in col. V), to which a literal reading of Orpheus’ hymn, with its deeds of violence between gods, is a serious obstacle. Orpheus offers “important” truths, like those shared perceptions valued as “important” by Heraclitus in col. IV.

\textsuperscript{101} The error in τοίς arose because of the idiom μέχρι οὖ.

\textsuperscript{102} The famous verse that ended θέρας δέ ἐπιθετθεὶς βεβήλιος (Orph. frag. [OF] 13/247 or 334 Kern) began Orpheus’ poem: it was perhaps already well known even among noninitiates. My conjecture εὐθυμαλιθη]ταὶ posits that ΥΛ has been misread as IN (easy enough in this hand); this word is found only in Vettius Valens, but πολιθαριστὸς is attested from Plato onwards (Phdr. 100b). Ts.’s supplement εὐκρανῆται is attested only as a probable falsa lectio in Areataeus (LSI s.s.); διακριθη]τος is used to describe “undifferentiated” matter by the first-century-writer Heracleitus (Homer. Allegories 48).

\textsuperscript{103} My supplement for the sense.


\textsuperscript{105} ἤρτεται means “is ruled,” not “he begins;” pace Rusten, 126.
It has not been noticed that these verses are in an altered order. They (in fact) run as follows: “When Zeus took strength from his father and the illustrious daimon.” Since they run this way, one must understand\(^{106}\) them not (as) “Zeus takes his father’s power,” but (as) “he (takes) strength\(^{107}\) from him,” having it\(^{108}\) “contrary to predictions”\(^{109}\) . . . For to this . . . necessity being considered . . . and having learned . . .

* * *

IX\(^{110}\) to be. So (Orpheus) made the rule belong to\(^{111}\) the strongest, as\(^{112}\) a son (belongs) to its father. But those who do not comprehend what is meant suppose that Zeus takes the strength and the daimon from his own father. So, understanding that, when fire has been mingled with the other (elements), it agitates the things that exist and stops them from coming together because of heat, (Zeus) alters (it) so that it is unable, once altered, to stop the things that exist from coalescing. Those (elements) that are ignited are dominated, and once they are dominated\(^{113}\) they mingle with the other (elements). But (we understand) that (Orpheus) put a riddle in the words “he took in his arms,” just as the other (elements) . . . the firmest (elements) are intended . . . strongly, he stated that Zeus strongly (seized) . . . the daimon, as if . . . (belong to) a strong one . . .

* * *

(The next verse is:)

“Night, the gods’ immortal nurse, who voices all things, said.”

(“Voicing all things” means “teaching all things.” For “voice” and “utterance” are the same thing, to “voice” means the same as to “utter,” and to “utter” means the same)\(^{114}\) as to “say.” For it is impossible to “say” if one does not “utter,” and (Orpheus) deemed “say” and “utter” the same thing. “Say” and “teach” have the same sense; for it is impossible to “teach” without saying whatever is

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106. For this sense of ἄκοιςεν see LSJ, s.v. IV.
107. I do not accept Ts.’s speculative reconstruction, especially ἔπικρατεῖν in the sense “the predominant meaning is.”
108. Probably not “as (the words) run thus” (ὦθ’ ἑ[ξοντα] or “being in another order” (ἀλλ’ ἑ[ξοντα), as Ts. suggests.
109. A gloss on the verse above, “the predicted rule.”
110. Apparatus to col. IX: 1 εἴσης Ts. τῇ[ην] ἀργάθην Ts. 5 τῷ [σωμα] Ts. 7 suppl. Rusten 9 ἐπικρατέθενται: *: ἐπικρατεῖν ed. 11 τῇ in fine versus * 12 νοε[ται * 13 ἵσχυράς Ts.: ἰν[ος Ts. 14 τον *
111. Not “come from,” pace Laks and Most, but a possessive genitive.
112. ὀποσεπεικ followed by a noun means “as” here (LSJ, s.v.; cf. Soph. OT 264; Ar. Vesp. 129), as perhaps at col. VI 5, rather than “as if.”
113. My correction ἐπικρατεῖθενται yields the construction, common in Herodotus, where a finite verb that ends a clause is picked up by a participle formed from the same verb. The mistake is easy, because the neuter plural subject governs a singular verb.
114. All this is my supplement for the sense.
taught by means of words, and “teaching” is deemed to be a kind of “saying.” So “teach” was not distinguished from “say,” and “say” (was not distinguished) from “utter,” but “utter,” “say,” and “teach” have the same sense. Thus there is nothing to stop “voicing all things” from meaning the same as “teaching all things.”

When Orpheus terms (Night) “nurse” he is hinting that, whatever (elements) the sun warms and dissolves, night cools and solidifies them . . . whatever (elements) the sun warmed . . .

* * *

of Night. (Orpheus) says that (Night) “prophesied from the adyton” because he makes the judgment that the depth of night is “adyton”: for it does not set (dynei) like the light, but the daylight overtakes it as it stays at the same point. “Prophesy” means the same as “suffice.” One must reflect that “prophesy” is used under the same conditions as “suffice,” (for example):

“As they consider that this god prophesies, they go to ascertain what they should do.”

In the next verse (Orpheus) says:

“She prophesied all that it was permitted him to hear.”

In these words (Orpheus) revealed that . . . beside the things that exist . . . able to . . .

* * *

and to take (his rule) away.

The next verse runs as follows:

“So that on snowy Olympus’ lovely seat he rules.”

“Olympus” is the same thing as “time.” But those who suppose that “Olympus” is the same thing as “sky” are quite mistaken, as they do not comprehend that it is impossible for “sky” to be “longer” (rather) than “broader.” But if someone termed time “long,” he would not be at all mistaken. Wherever (Orpheus) intended to say “sky,” he added the epithet “broad,” but wherever (he meant) “time” (he did) the opposite, since he never (added the epithet) “broad,” but “long.” By saying that (Olympus) is “snowy,” he used the

116. I accept ἐξποῆσθι hesitantly, since it is attested with ἀπό but not with ἐκ.
117. The rest of this col. follows Ts. The author runs on the two senses of τρέφω, “nurture” and “thicken, curdle.”
118. Apparatus to col. XI: 8–9 frag. Heracliti aliunde ignotum agnovi 9 ἐν ἐξομένοις * 10 Ἴ ὁ West ἠπέν West ἐκοίλοια * ἐκοίλοια West 11 ἐν τοῖς * 119. This sentence, marked with parenthesis as a quotation, was recognized as such by Rusten, “Interim Notes,” 132; I think it is a new fragment of Heraclitus. The claim that “prophesy” (χρησάω) means the same as “suffice” (ἀδύκεσα) is typically implausible.
120. Or “despite.”
121. Apparatus to col. XII: ante 1 τὴν ἀφγέν ἔ * 1 ἄφητε * 2 ἀφγεία * ἀπέσα West p. 86 9 χρόνων * Ὀλυμποκόον ed. 11 ἐξχρησάω * 12–14 Ts.
meaning . . . snow-covered . . . snow-covered . . . white . . . bright . . . grey . . .
and . . .

* * *

(Orphic Organs.

124. Since "sun"

125. OF The

126. "procreated" the brightest and whitest (element),

127. once it had been separated from itself. So (Orpheus) states that this "Kronos" was born to Earth by the sun, because he caused (the elements) to be "thrust" (krouesthai) against each other on account of the sun. This is why (Orpheus) says "he who did a great deed."

The next verse:

"Sky son of Night, he who first was king."

123. Apparatus to col. XIII: 2 τόξε non τόξε supplendum 11 γεγένηθα Τσ. και γενομένων *

124. West holds that the commentator misinterprets αἰδοῖον "reverend one," as "penis" (Orphic Poems, 85–86); the same pun appears in Heraclitus (DK 22 F 15). However, Burkert, Da Omero at magi, 81–83, has proved that this is wrong, and the poem did entail this obscene episode. First, it parallels the Hittite tale of Kumbari, who bites off the penis of the Sky-god Anu, and thus becomes pregnant with the Storm-god and two River-gods (cf. Zeus at col. XVI 3–6). Secondly, Burkert adduces a neglected passage where Diogenes Laerterius 1.5) denies that Orpheus was a philosopher, since he attributes shameful acts to the gods, including oral sex: ἔγγο δέ, εἰ τόν περὶ θεῶν ἐξαγορεύσαντα τοιαύτα χρή φιλοσοφοῦν καλεῖν οὐκ οἶδα, (οὐδὲ) τίνα δει προσαγορεύειν τόν πάν τὸ αναφέρειν πάθος ἀφαιδοῦντα τοῖς θεοῖς πορεύσαται, καὶ τό σπανιός ἕν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσχροφυλοῦμεν τῷ τῆς φανῆς ὀργάνῳ.

125. For this interpretation of ἐκθρόσκων with an object in the accusative ("ejaculate, procreate") I follow Burkert (Da Omero at magi, 82), who compares Aesch. frag. 15 Radt, ἡράκλης κνύσσα, which Hesychius (s.v.) glosses ἐκθρόσκων καὶ στερσάτων: cf. τοὺς "semen" and Aesch. Eum. 660. Lambertson had suggested (in Laks and Most) that, although the papyrus has αἰθέρος ἔχωρος, the Orphic logos originally read αἰθέρος ἔχωρος, "sprang from the ether"; but cf. Rusten, "Interim Notes," p. 125, n. 9.


127. i.e., the ether. The neuter τό{v} λαμπρότατον agrees with χαρισθεὶς ἀφ’ ἐκατον. If we kept τόν, "sun" would have preceded, which makes the syntax impossible. For ἐκθρόσκων "ejaculate, procreate," see n. 125 above.
After he has named Mind (Nous) “Kronos” because he thrust (krouonta) (the elements) against one another, (Orpheus) states that he “did a great deed” to Sky: for he states that (Sky) had his kingship taken away. (Orpheus) named him “Kronos” after his action, and (named) the other (elements) in accord with the same principle. For of all the things that exist . . . as he sees the nature . . . (Orpheus) states that (Sky) had his kingship taken away (when) the things that exist (were thrust together).  

* * *

( . . . when Mind caused) 

them to thrust against each other, and made the things that exist, once they had been separated, stand apart from each other. For as the sun was being separated and cut off in the middle, (Mind) fixed both the (elements) above the sun and those below, and holds them fast.

Next verse:

“From him in turn (came) Kronos, and next was crafty Zeus.”

(Orpheus) means that his rule has existed since he became king. But his rule is explained because, by thrusting the things that exist against each other, he caused them to stand apart and created the present transmutation, not (creating) different things from different ones, but different ones from the same.

The phrase “and next was crafty Zeus” reveals that he is not a different (god), but the same one. (Orpheus) states the following:

“Seizing kingly honor, he swallowed Metis too.”

* * *

It has been revealed that (Orpheus) stated that the sun is a genital organ. He says that the things which now are arise from existent things:

“of the penis of the first-born king, and on him grew all the immortals, blessed gods and goddesses,

128. Laks and Most (p. 16, n. 34) report further proposals of Ts. after this, the cogency of which cannot be judged.

129. My suggestion for the sense; the aorist subjunctive shows that ήταν preceded, and the verbs cannot not refer to the present.

130. Apparatus to col. XV: 1 κρητέτειν Rusten πρώτους Τσ.: λοιπον Burkert ap. Rusten. 7 τούδε δὴ ἢ

*: τοῦδε ed. δὴ Burkert: ἦδε ed. 8 ἔτι τὸ Rusten 9 ἔμοικος *: ἔμοικος Burkert 10 ἐπετρέρε ἐκ τῶν

αὐτῶν *: ἐπετρέρε ἐκ τῶν Burkert 12 δῆλοι *: δῆλον Τσ. λέγειν *: δηλοῖν Ts. κοιπὶ West κατέχειν

ἐλ. ἔλοι *: μακάρων κατέχειν West

131. I.e., the elements.

132. κροῦεν is a mistake for κροῖεν(τι)ν, not just “equivalent” to it (Ts.).

133. I take δηλοῖα as passive with Merkelbach, Burkert, Rusten, and Ts. rather than middle with Laks and Most.

134. Zeus was called μητέρα in the previous verse (col. XV 6) to make a pun with Μήτης (such a pun is implicit at Hymn. Hom. Ap. 322, 345).

135. Apparatus to col. XVI: ante 1 καὶ δὲ μὲν] * 3 τῶν δ' West: τοῦ δ' ed. 10 post αὐτῶν suppl. opp (τῶν) per haplographiam omissum 12 ἐπάργυρον *: 14 νῦν δ' ἐστιν Burkert 15 Πάντων καὶ τ' ἐσται ἐπείκετα West post 15 "Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὤν τότε ἄργυραινος" suppl. West e OF 21a.1
the rivers, lovely springs and all the rest,
all that had then been born; he himself alone became.”

In these words he hints\(^{136}\) that the things which exist have always existed,
and those which now are arise from existent things.
The phrase: “he himself alone became.” By saying this he reveals that
Mind itself,\(^{137}\) existing on its own, is equal to everything else, as if the rest
were nothing. For it is impossible for these things that exist to exist without
Mind. . . . (Mind) equal to everything . . . “king of all”\(^{138}\) . . . Mind and . . .

* * *

(The next verse):

“Zeus was born first, Zeus of the shining bolt was last.”\(^{139}\)

XVII\(^{140}\) existed before he was named; then he was named. For Air was pre-existent\(^{141}\)
even before those things which now exist were put together, and he\(^{142}\) will always exist; for he did not come to be, but existed. Why (Zeus)
was called “Air” has been revealed earlier (in this treatise). But he was
believed to have come to be because he was named “Zeus,” as if he had not
existed before. (Orpheus) said that (Air) would be “last” because he was
named “Zeus,” and this will continue to be his name so long as\(^{143}\) the things
which now exist have been put together in the same element in which they
were suspended when they were pre-existent. (Orpheus) is stating that
the things which exist became such as they are on account of (Air), and, having
come to be, are all in (Air). He (only) gives hints in these verses:

“Zeus is head, Zeus is center, all things are from Zeus.”\(^{144}\)

(By saying) “head” he says in a riddling way that those things which exist
(have Air as their) “head”\(^{145}\) . . . his rule comes about . . . to have been put
together . . .

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136. For this sense of σημαίνειν cf. Heraclitus' description of the lord whose oracle is at Delphi: οὔτε
λέγει οὔτε κρίπτει ἄλλα σημαίνει (DK 22 B 93).
137. The article must have been lost here by a haplography.
138. West (Orphic Poems, 114) supplies a complete verse “now he is king of all, and will be in future.”
For Ts.'s suggestions about the sequel see Laks and Most, p. 17, n. 40.
139. Supplied by West from OF 21a.1.
140. Apparatus to col. XVII: ante 1 ὧν (Zeus) 7 διεξελεῖ ed.: διετέλει Laks et Most 9
δ’ ἔσται *: ἐδ ἔστα ed. ϕηνι * in fine versus: δηλοὶ Ts. 10 ἐλαία * in fine versus: μέτειν Ts. u.v. 11
πάντα *: πάλιν Ts. u.v. 13 τά ἐδύντ’ Ts.
141. The word written above line 2 and ending in ἵον was, I suggest, [ἐ]ἷον, which could easily have
been omitted after πρόσθεθεν and restored when the copying was verified; cf. πρόσθεθεν ἐλοτα in line 9.
142. “He” is Air, who is also Mind and Zeus. The translator's dilemma in choosing between “he” and
“it” well illustrates how the writer's account of the universe is at once theist and materialist.
143. μέχρι must mean “so long as.” Understanding it as “until,” Laks and Most translate “this contin-
ued to be its name until the things that are now were set together into the same form in which they were
floating as they were before.” This requires that ἄρατες be emended to a preterite. I take it as future,
a form well known in both Attic and Ionic. Since Air is the place in which everything exists, ἐλοτα needs to
be taken as “element” and ἐλε as a latively expression for the place where the elements coalesced, i.e., in the
Air, where they had floated before they coalesced.
144. OF 21a.2 Kern.
145. This sentence follows Ts., whose suggestion for the last line (Laks and Most, p. 17, n. 45) I cannot
accept.
(the verse)

"... Fate...

(In saying this Orpheus meant not that)

. . . and the (elements) that are borne downwards, which he meant in stating this, but that the earth and all the other (elements) are in the Air, as he is breath. So Orpheus named this breath "Fate." But the rest of mankind say "Fate spun" for them, as the saying goes, and "what Fate spun will be," speaking rightly but not knowing what either "Fate" or "spin" (epiklosai) is. For Orpheus called Wisdom "Fate"; for this appeared to him to be the most apt of the names that all mankind has given him. For before being called "Zeus," Fate was (the) wisdom of God forever and always. But because (Fate) was called "Zeus," they suppose that he came to be, although he had existed even before, but was not yet named. (This is why Orpheus says) "Zeus first (was born)," being first . . . then . . . those people who do not grasp what is meant (suppose that) . . . Zeus . . .

(Since)

each individual thing has been called after the dominant (element) in it, all things were called "Zeus" by the same principle; for Air dominates all things to the extent that he wants. When (people) say Fate "spun" (epiklosai), they mean that the Wisdom of Zeus "sanctioned" (epikurosai) that what exists, has come to be, and will come to be, must have come to be, exist, and cease to be. (Orpheus) likens him to a king—for this, among the names that were current, appeared to him to be apt,—when he says as follows:

"Zeus the king, Zeus ruler of all, he of the shining bolt."

(Orpheus) said that he is king because, although there are many rulerships, one rule dominates and brings everything about . . . for not one . . . to bring about . . . "ruler" . . . (the world) is ruled . . .

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146. A verse in which Fate (Moira) appeared must have been quoted here.

147. **Apparatus** to col. XVIII: 1 ζερομέναι suppl. Ts. u.v. ά φάμενος [επικυρία] * (antea nihil deesse crediderim) διά γήν * 12 οὐ * οὐνάμι Ts. 13 γένεται in initio versus Ts. κράτος γε. γ' ήόναι *: γάρ Ts. u.v.

148. Contrast this interpretation of Moira with that of Epigenes, the fourth-century author of a work entitled *Περὶ τῆς Ἰος Ὀρφέας ποίησεις*, which ascribed other works of Orpheus to Cercops the Pythagorean and Brontinus (*OF* T 222); he interpreted Moirai as "parts of the moon" (*OF* 33).

149. **Apparatus** to col. XIX: 3 πάντας Ts.: πάντας ed. 6 γενόμενα coni. Burkert ("Orpheus" [n. 9], p. 93): γενόμενα ed. 11 έδυναμα δραχμι Ts.

150. Ts. suggests "Since the things that are, individually,..."

151. The author runs untranslatable on ἐπικλάσια and ἐπικυρόσαι.

152. This translates Burkert's essential emendation. Without it, the text would say "what exists, comes to be and will come to be must come to be, exist, and cease to be."

153. For Ts.'s translation of the rest of the col., which I do not follow, see Laks and Most, p. 18, n. 52.
I am less amazed that (those) persons who have performed the rites and been initiated in the cities do not comprehend them; for it is impossible to hear what is said and to learn it simultaneously. But those who (have been initiated) by someone who makes a profession of the rites are worthy of amazement and pity: amazement because, although they suppose, before they perform the rite, that they will have knowledge, after they have performed it they go away without gaining knowledge, and make no further inquiries, as if they knew something about what they saw, heard, or learned; and pity because it does not suffice them that they have wasted the fee that they paid beforehand, but they also go away bereft of their judgment too. Before performing the rites, they expect to have knowledge; after they have performed them, they go away bereft even of their expectation.

To one who hears the verses (?), the story appears (to say) that Zeus (had intercourse) with his own daughter (?). . . .[[. . ., with his mother . . ., but with (his) sister . . ., when he saw]] . . .

(As for the initiates), XX

(not the verses)

("when Zeus first mounted heavenly Aphrodite and begat from her Persuasion and Harmony . . .")

(nor the cold with the cold. By saying "(when Zeus) mounted" (Orpheus)

154. The author returns to his attack on the lack of understanding among those who undergo religious instruction, as in cols. V and VII; their error is to take sacred stories literally.


157. For this contrast between public rites, e.g., at Eleusis, and private initiation, notably that into the mysteries of Dionysus offered by Orphic priests, cf. Plato (Resp. 2.364e), who mentions the Orphertelestai.

158. Rusten ("Notes," 138–40) deems the whole column to this point a quotation, and the following sentence a feeble paraphrase of the last point, marked by a paragraphus. But this is not convincing (cf. Obbink in Laks and Most, 43–46).

159. I emend to ἐλπιζόντως; the paradigm ἐλπιζόντες, defended by Rusten ("Notes," p. 139, n. 41), would be an easy mistake in a context with so many participles.

160. For the missing feminine noun I suggest "daughter." The author turns his attention to the scandal that, in Orphus' poem, which was used for initiations into the Orphic mysteries of Dionysus, the poet makes Zeus commit polygamy and incest. For Zeus rapes his own mother Rhea (who bears Demeter), and then his sister-daughter Demeter (with Persephone as the result), and then perhaps his daughter Persephone (to beget Dionysus). Zeus' rape of his mother was narrated later in the poem, as col. XXVI shows; the birth of Demeter, the fruit of this union, evidently followed, according to a forward-reference at col. XXII 12–14, a passage that may also indicate that her subsequent rape was described in it.

161. Or "Demeter?" The placing of μὲν would permit one to supply Ἐλπιζόντα.

162. The words within double brackets are apparently deleted in the papyrus.

163. To explain the next col., West invents three verses: "Zeus first created golden heavenly Aphrodite; with her were born Harmony and Persuasion."


165. I.e., has sexual intercourse, like a male animal. θρησκεύατι entails an unattested active of θρησκεύομαι, which appears soon after; the fact that it scans as a cretic can be explained if -τι was shortened by epic
reveals that (the elements), divided into little bits, moved and “mounted” in the Air, and by “mounting” were put together with each other. They kept “mounting” until the point when each had come to its like. “Heavenly Aphrodite,” “Zeus,” “aphrodize,” “mount,” “Persuasion,” and “Harmony” are conventional names for the same God. A man uniting sexually with a woman is said to “aphrodize,” as the saying goes. For when the things that now exist were united with each other, (God) was named “Aphrodite.” (He was named) “Persuasion” because the things that exist “gave way” to each other; “to give way” is the same thing as “to persuade.” (He was named) “Harmony” because he fitted together (hermose) many (elements) to each of the things that exist; for they had existed even before, but were named as “coming to be” after they had been separated. The fact of their separation reveals that... they governs, so that... now...

* * *

So (Orpheus) named everything likewise as best he was able, since he understood that people do not all have a similar nature and do not all desire the same things: when they have the most power they say whatever comes into their minds—whatever they may happen to desire, not at all the same things—driven by greed, but on occasion by ignorance as well. “Earth,” “Mother,” “Rhea,” and “Hera” are the same. She was called “Earth” by convention, “Mother” because everything comes to be from her, “Ge” and “Gaia” in accord with individuals’ dialect. She was called “Demeter” like “Ge Meter,” a single name from both; for it was the same (name). There is a statement in his Hymns too:

“Demeter Rhea Ge Meter Hestia Deio.”

For she is also called “Deio” because she was “injured” (edeiothe) in sexual union. (Orpheus) will reveal (this) when, according to his verses, she comes to be. (She was called) “Rhea” because many animals (of all sorts) were XXII

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correction in the verse where it occurred. Ts.'s θαρ[ν]ῃ is equally possible. West implausibly posits an unknown noun θερνη.

166. Apparatus to col. XXII: 9 Ἡ Τ. ed.: Γης> perperam Obbink 13 διέ, διῶν * 14 Ἔνη Τ. γεύνηγεω. * ποιητοι vel ποιητα Ts. u.v. 15 post ἐπι supplevi ἱππαιος ἡσα ut adverbium intellexi: 'Ῥέα ed. 16 Ἡ Ἡ Τ. ζηλήθης Τ. διν * in fine versus

167. The use of the feminine pronoun in this column may be purely grammatical, and should not be taken to imply that this author believed in a separate feminine deity: I think that, for him, all deities are the same one, i.e., Air/Zeus/Mind/Wisdom/Fate/Aphrodite etc., which has no gender at all.

168. Or “when... it (sc. sexual union) takes place.” The reference is either to Zeus’ rape of Rhea, which appears in col. XXXVI and leads to the birth of Demeter, or to Demeter’s subsequent union with Zeus (see on col. XX). The author wishes Rhea to be the same as Demeter, citing the Hymn in support; but she was different in Orphic poet. The same identification of Demeter with Zeus’ mother shocked the pious author of a commentary on a Hymn to Demeter that he ascribed to Orpheus (OF 45 = DK 1 B 154a = P Beral. 13044 lines 15–19 = col. ii 1–5): ὁ Ορφέως φίλος (conipic) Διὸς ἄλεξην παραδέξατος, οἱ δὲ μητέρα, δὲν οὐκέν τοῖν εὐθηὺντοιν εἰς ἐξημνήτων ἐπεμνήγατον Διὸς καὶ Δημητήρας Ὑμνητο[ὺς] ἄρην θεοερίνης Τα πλευροσοφίς... “Orpheus has handed it down that (Demeter) is Zeus’ sister, others that she is his mother, none of which has been composed for mention by those who are pious; for (the poem) begins with Persephone, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, weaving a chain of violets...” Since this author claims in col. i 4–5 that the hymns of Orpheus were written down by Musaeus, this Hymn to Demeter may thus be the same as the Hymn to Demeter for the Lycomidae which, according to Pausianias (1.22.7), was the only genuine work of Musaeus.
born (easily)\textsuperscript{169} from her; rhea (means "easily" among the poets). She was called "Hera" because . . .

* * *

(Next verse:

"He contrived the great strength of wide-flowing Ocean.")

**XXIII\textsuperscript{170}**

This verse has been composed in a misleading way, and is obscure to most people, but to those who comprehend it aright it is obvious that "Ocean" is Air, and that Air is Zeus. Hence one Zeus did not "contrive" another Zeus, but he himself (contrived) "great strength" for himself. But those who do not comprehend it suppose that "Ocean" is (the) river, because (Orpheus) added the epithet "wide-flowing." But (Orpheus) hints at his own judgment in everyday and colloquial words. For people say that those who have great power among mankind have "wide influence."\textsuperscript{171}

The next verse:

"He put in it the might of silver-swirling Acheloüs."

(Orpheus) gives water (generally)\textsuperscript{172} the name "Acheloüs." The phrase "put in it the might" means\textsuperscript{173} that (Zeus') rule arises in . . . each . . . but wanted\textsuperscript{174} . . .

* * *

(the phrase

"equal-limbed Moon"

* * *)

**XXIV\textsuperscript{175}**

are equal when measured from the middle, but it is impossible for such (things) as (are) not round to be "equal-limbed." The following verse reveals it:

"(Moon) who shows for many mortals across the endless Earth."

One might suppose that this verse was intended differently, because, if (the moon) surpasses (its limits),\textsuperscript{176} the things that exist show more clearly than

\textsuperscript{169} "Easily" (ῥαῖσιος, which is ῥέα in poetry) puns with "Rhea."


\textsuperscript{171} For this sense of ῥαῖα cf. Hippoc. Nat. Hom. 1.1, ὡς ἀν τοῦχη μᾶλλον ἡ γλῶσσα ἐπηρρεύσα πρὸς τὸν ἄχον, ἦν ἐπικρατεῖν οὕτω near by. (Ths. 11, ἄχον is Ths.' suggestion, but I have not divined the Greek."

\textsuperscript{172} "In general" is Ths. Suggestion, but I have not divined the Greek."

\textsuperscript{173} Literally "it."

\textsuperscript{174} Or "plan" (ἐπιλογή).

\textsuperscript{175} Apparatus to col. XXIV: ante 1 διὰ μὲν γὰρ * κυκλοείδεα Burkert ἔστι * 4 εἰ(λης[θ])αν nesioquis 6 (φέας) ante φαίνειν per homoearchon omission supplevi 8 ἀμα Kapsomenos: ὄνα Merkelbach

\textsuperscript{176} Cf. Heracleitus on the sun in col. IV above. Laks and Most suggest that the reference is to the full moon.
before it surpasses them. But (Orpheus) does not mean this when he states that it “shows”; for had he meant this, he would not have stated that it “shows for many” but “for all” at once, both for those who farm the land and for sailors, (showing) when one must sail, and the season for the former. For had the moon not come into existence, people would not have found out the number of either the seasons or the winds . . . and all the other (things) . . .

*  *  *

(The elements of which the sun consists are hot) and very bright, but those of which the moon consists are whitest of all and divided up in accord with the same principle, but are not hot. There are other (elements) too now suspended in the Air far away from each other, but by day they are invisible, as they are dominated by the sun, whereas by night they visibly exist, but are dominated (by the moon) on account of their smallness. Each of them is suspended by Necessity, so that they cannot join up with each other; for were it otherwise, all those (elements) that have the same power as those from which the sun was put together would join up in a lump. Had not God desired the existence of those things that now exist, he would not have created (the) sun; but he created it, and it became of such a kind and dimension as is explained at the start of my treatise.

The (verses) after these are composed as an obstacle, since (Orpheus) does not want everyone to comprehend them. In the following (passage) he (only) gives hints:

“But when the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus had all (contrived, . . . Zeus wished to unite with his (h)eas mother in love.”)

*  *  *

(Orpheus says) “mother” because Mind is the “mother” of the other (elements), and [h]eas because she is “good.” He reveals that it ([h]eas) signifies “good” in the following words too:

177. My supplement φίλακτος, which I believe to have fallen out by a haplography, is essential.
178. I recognize a chiasmus, with τούτοις referring back to the farmers. Laks and Most miss this, translating “when they must sail at the right time.” There is a further chiasmus in the next sentence, since the “seasons” relate to farmers and the “winds” to sailors.
180. ἄλεξα, punning untranslatably on “sun” (ἡλιός).
181. See col. V above.
183. This refers to Zeus’ rape of his mother, Rhea, to beget Demeter, he will then in turn rape his sister Demeter to beget Persephone. The author refers to both rapes at the end of col. XX, and to the birth of Demeter and Zeus’ rape of her in col. XXII.
185. The author perversely reads ἡς “his own” as ἡς, supposedly a genitive of ἡς “good.”
“Hermes, Maia’s son, guide and giver of goods” (eaon).\textsuperscript{186}

It is clear\textsuperscript{187} in the following (passage) too:

“For double jars are placed on Zeus’s floor
of gifts of evil, but the other full of goods” (eaon).\textsuperscript{188}

Those who do not understand the phrase (\textit{metros [h]eas}) suppose that it means “his own mother.” But had (Orpheus) wanted to present the god as “wanting to unite with his own mother in love,” he could have said “his own (\textit{heoio}) mother,” by changing\textsuperscript{189} some letters. For in this way it would become “his own” . . . of her . . . obvious that . . . in the . . . both . . . good (mother) . . .

* * *

\textit{a blank sheet of papyrus follows}\textsuperscript{190}

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\textsuperscript{186} This verse must be by Orpheus too. It resembles Hom. \textit{Od.} 8.335, which however begins ‘Ερμης Διός υἱός.

\textsuperscript{187} Or “(Orpheus) reveals it,” if these Homeric verses were reused in an Orphic poem, just as the Homeric Hymn to Demeter was reused in the Orphic poem in \textit{P Berol.} 13044 (OF 49, cited above, n. 168).

\textsuperscript{188} Cf. Hom. \textit{Il.} 24.527–28 (but Homer has διὸδος for διδόθη and δὲ έλεων for δὲ τ’ έλεον).

\textsuperscript{189} My correction παρακλίναντα is essential; παρακλίναντα is an easy error after γράμματα.

\textsuperscript{190} The book ended here; after the closing \textit{agraphon} there ought to be a \textit{scriptorio} giving the author and title, but perhaps it has yet to be unrolled. West doubted whether either the poem or the commentary could have ended so suddenly (Orphic Poems 76, 94–98); was there a further roll? The poem certainly included the birth of Zeus’ daughter-sister Demeter as a result of this rape (cf. the forward reference in col. XXII), and perhaps the rape of Demeter herself, if it is mentioned in col. XXII. Col. XX may also refer to Zeus’ rapes of his mother and sister, and perhaps even to that of his daughter Persephone, unless Aphrodite is meant.