

New Readings in Philodemus' Third Book *On Rhetoric*

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Abstract

This paper offers some new readings and suggestions on Philodemus' *Rh.* 3. The focus will be on the second column (Sudhaus' numbering). In addition, two new readings in the third and fourth columns will be presented.¹

Keywords

Philodemus, *Rh.* 3, new readings

Philodemus' *Rh.* 3 is mainly preserved in the final parts of two papyrus rolls: P.Herc. 1506 and P.Herc. 1426. There are also so-called scorze of the initial part of the roll, which ends in P.Herc. 1426. These scorze are helpful for the reconstruction of the text. Especially important for the reconstruction of the first continuously preserved columns in P.Herc. 1506 are P.Herc. 240, 1633, and 1646, which belong to the same papyrus roll as P.Herc. 1426, as Sudhaus had already observed.² Since Sudhaus' first edition of the third book in 1896 only a few parts of the book have been re-edited mainly by Hans von Arnim in 1903, Dirk Obbink and Paul Vander Waerdt in 1991, Jürgen Hammerstaedt in 1992 and Dirk Obbink in 1999.³ Thanks to multi-spectral and RTI images, I have been able to achieve further improvements to the Philodemian text.⁴ Here, I would like to present some new readings in Philodemus' *Rh.* 3, obtained during my doctoral studies at the University of Cologne.

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² Sudhaus 1896, VIII-IX. Cf. Hammerstaedt 1994. For the papyri ascribed to *Rh.* 3 see Dorandi 1990, 79-82. The appendix of my paper offers the text of the fragments P.Herc. 240 and 1633, which are mentioned throughout this paper.

³ Philodemus' *Rh.* 3 is to be found in Sudhaus 1896, 196-303.

⁴ I visited the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi at the end of July 2019 just before the International Congress at Lecce, in order to check my new readings against the papyrus. I would like to thank Mr. Fabrizio Diozzi, the director, who provided me with all the materials I needed.

In the first columns of the third book Philodemus attacks the views of the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon. The latter held an important position in the history of the Stoa and is credited with considerable developments in Stoic theory. Regarding the Stoic views on the political domain, Philodemus' *Rh.* constitutes important evidence for the changes Diogenes imposed on the scope of the Stoic political philosophy in order to adjust it to the practical needs of politics.⁵ The main focus of this paper will be on the second column (according to Sudhaus' numbering) of the third book (P.Herc. 1506, cornice 18). At the end, two new readings in the third and fourth columns are presented and commented on.

The first passage under discussion is the following: καθ'ἀ|περ ἐν τῇ Σκ[υθ]ῶν ἐρημία | διαφερόμενος^ϛ οὕτως γρά|φει (col. II 8-11, with my new line-numbers). To begin with, in line 10, Sudhaus read and complemented the participle δι[αλ]εγόμενος. The drawings of the second column of P.Herc. 1506 offer us the following readings: δια[. . .]ιομενος in the drawing of the elder series of the disegni of this papyrus made in 1803 and stored at Oxford (*O*) and [. . .]ερομενος is written in the later Neapolitan drawing made before 1811 (*N*).⁶ In the multi-spectral image of the papyrus we cannot tell with certainty which letter we see before the ο. However, inspection of the RTI image has enabled me to ascertain that the letter before ο is most likely a ρ and not a γ.⁷ Moreover, there are ink traces of a letter before ε. This letter is, in my view, more likely to be identified with a φ than with a λ. If, then, the word διαφερόμενος is to be read here, which meaning does the participle have in its context?⁸ In the LSJ, s.v. διαφέρω IV, we read that the meaning of the verb διαφέρω + τινί in the middle and passive voices is «quarrel with someone» (cf. s.v. I.1.). However, there are some passages where διαφέρομαι has the meaning «drift/toss about». For example, in Plut., *Arat.* 41. 2 we read ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσοῦτῳ σάλῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ διαφερόμενος (transl. «he was like one drifting about in great surge and peril on the wreck of his native city») and in Plut., *Pomp.* 32. 4 ἄφνω δὲ ἀναφανῆναι πάντων ἔρημος ἐπὶ λεπτοῦ ναυαγίου διαφερόμενος (transl. «but suddenly he saw himself bereft of all his companions and tossed about on a small piece of wreckage»).⁹ Moreover, in Plut., *Cam.* 23. 7 the participle of the same verb appears, and this time not in the context of a shipwreck, with the meaning «scatter», «disperse»: τούτους μεθ' ἡμέραν σποράδας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διαφερομένους ἐπελαύνοντες ἵππεις διέφθειρον. I propose that the participle διαφερόμενος bears a similar meaning here and we can thereby understand that the participle refers to a subject being tossed

⁵ For Diogenes and Stoic political philosophy see e.g. Vander Waerdt 1991; Obbink 1999.

⁶ The signs ϛ ϛ indicate letters only preserved in the disegni (drawings) and the signs ϛ ϛ letters supplied from P.Herc. 240 or 1633.

⁷ I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Backhuys for taking the RTI images of P.Herc. 1506 during September 2018 in the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi.

⁸ Also of interest is that Salvatore Cirillo here wrote συμφερ- in his unpublished commented edition of the third book. See A.O.P. B^a XXI fasc. IV. For Cirillo and his work on P.Herc. 1506 see Tepedino Guerra 1986, 56-57.

⁹ I have taken the translations from the Loeb edition of Plutarch's *Lives* (of 1926 and 1917 respectively, transl. by B. Perrin).

about in the Scythian desert. The phrase Σκυθῶν ἐρημία, which is relatively often attested in ancient Greek literature, is proverbially used to denote an abandoned, isolated place like a desert.¹⁰ Philodemus perhaps implies that the subject of the participle, which is likely to be Diogenes of Babylon, appears to have lost contact with normal life with regard to what he states in his writings.

In lines 12-14 of the second column, Sudhaus wrote: [Τ]ὰ μὲν [γ]ὰρ ἄλλα π[α]ρείσθω, [ἐ]πεὶ τὸν γε σ[υναρ]μότηντα λόγον ἐ[ξηγη]σάμεθα πρότερον, δι[ό]τι. At the beginning of this period I read in P.Herc. 1506 περὶ ὧν τόν. The word ὧν is to be found in P.Herc. 240 as well. Sudhaus' supplement (γε σ[υναρ]μότηντα) is too long. I prefer to supplement the lacuna with ἀρμότηντα. At the end of the same period I read in the papyrus ἀλλ instead of Sudhaus' δι, which (ἀλλ') is moreover supported by the drawings (αλ O, αι N). My construction of the text is as follows: Τὰ μὲν [γ]ὰρ ἄλλα π[α]ρείσθω, περὶ ὧν τινὸν, [ἀρ]μότηντα λόγον ἐ[ξηγη]σάμεθα πρότερον· ἀλλ'.¹¹ Therefore, we should understand the meaning of the sentence in its wider context in this way: «The other things about which we had spoken appropriately earlier can be dismissed, but ...».

In line 20 of the same column, Sudhaus reconstructed the text as follows: ὁ νο[ο]ούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς. However, after ουμενο in the papyrus one reads an υ and not a σ. A possible solution could be to place a full stop before the letters ουμενου and to construct the sentence as follows: . . .]. Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς | [Στο]ῖας οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε | [ἔσ]τιν οὔτ' [ἔ]σται ποτὲ [πολιτ]ικὸς ἀν[ή]ρ οὐδὲ τοι[οῦτο]ς ἀνθ[ρωπος] ἔνδοξ[ος].¹² Alternatively, we could assume that a verb in first person plural (e.g. καλ[ο]ούμεν δ' or πο[ι]ο[ύ]μεν δ'), syntactically belonging to the preceding, heavily destroyed lines, has been lost at the beginning of the line.¹³ Thanks to this new reconstruction we can understand Philodemus' claim: no-one who was educated by the Stoics has become a politician or a person who has achieved public recognition in this regard. Contrarily, the Stoics had argued that only a Stoic was capable of being a politician and accomplishing all civic duties in general. As we read in *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 1506, col. VIII 12 ff., the Stoic philosopher claims to be a dialectician, grammarian, poet, orator and master of all arts. Philodemus expresses his disagreement with this Stoic view towards the end of the first column by pointing out the inflexibility of Diogenes' position. There, he states that Diogenes acknowledges no-one as an excellent politician, although other Stoics admit that some politicians at least are virtuous. Perhaps Diogenes would not acknowledge Phocion, who was admired even by his important enemy, Demosthenes.¹⁴ Another new reading in the second column is the word παράκοπον in line 25 (24 in Sudhaus), which means «frenzied», «distraught». It is possible that with

¹⁰ See LSJ, s.v. ἐρημία I.

¹¹ Ἐ[δηλω]σάμεθα instead of ἐ[ξηγη]σάμεθα is suggested by Jürgen Hammerstaedt.

¹² The letters ανη of the word ἀνὴρ can also be read in P.Herc. 240, pz 1, str. 3, col. II 9.

¹³ The letters πο of the verb ποιοῦμεν appear in P.Herc. 240, pz 1, str. 3, col. II 5.

¹⁴ It is not certain that Diogenes had specifically expressed his opinion about the politician Phocion and more likely the reference to Phocion here is Philodemus' choice.

this adjective Philodemus introduces a further attack against his Stoic opponent. The expression παράκοπόν (ἐστίν) is, I guess, used to characterize negatively the positions of Philodemus' philosophical enemies. Marcello Gigante has pointed out Philodemus' use of the verb γελάω and its compounds, with the aim to ridicule his opponents' views, as a feature of the Philodemian style.¹⁵ Philodemus exploited the association of laughter with contempt as a vehicle for his philosophical polemic. In Phld., *Po.* V, P.Herc. 1425, col. XXXV 27-28 the expression παράκοπόν ἐστίν is found in the same wider context with οὐδὲν γελοιότερόν ἔσται in XXXIV 28-29 and τελείω[ς] δὲ μανικόν (sc. ἐστίν) in XXXV 16-17.

I proceed to the last part of the second column, where I offer a new reconstruction of the text. Firstly, in line 29 I read the letter ι before τὰς οὐσίας. Moreover, in the corresponding place in P.Herc. 240, pz 1, str. 3, col. II 16 I read the letters λ and ο. These letters must come before the ι of P.Herc. 1506, col. II 29. Considering that the verb in line 31 is in the third person plural, it is possible that in line 29 the word πολλοί (or perhaps πάμπολλοι) is missing from the text. In lines 30-32 I have made the following new readings: τὰς οὐσίας [καὶ] ιτ[ι] [οὐ]ς βί[ου]ς χάριν τού[των π]ροήκα[ν]το, χωρὶς τοῦ | [μὴ] δύνασθαι καὶ δι' ἄλλας || [- - -].¹⁶ This might be translated: «many people have sacrificed their fortunes and their lives for the sake of these things, let alone the fact that one can also by other [methods become a politician (?)]». At the beginning of the lines 30-32 we see some letters in the papyrus which have been recognized by Jürgen Hammerstaedt as being *sovrapposti* (see Pl.1). Firstly, in line 30 we read Μιλ, then in line 31 Περι and in line 32 τον. These letters belong to the next column. The reading Μιλ must be placed at the end of col. III 32, where it supplements the name of the Athenian general, Miltiades. The reading Περι belongs to col. III 33 and restores the name of the Athenian politician Pericles. Regarding the reading τον I am not sure where it must be placed, since the last line of the third column is very incompletely preserved.

In the third column, lines 17-22, Sudhaus edited the text as follows: Καὶ γὰρ πόν]ον καὶ πολλὰς | ἀσχολίας [καὶ κ]ακοπαθία[ς] | ὑπομεμενήκασιν οἱ γε[ν]ναῖοι τ[ῶ]ν ρητόρων ἐγ δι[α]δοχῆ[ς] ἐσχηκότες τὸ [δι]απρέ[πει]ν ἐν ταῖς [πατρ]ίσι. Firstly, in the papyrus and in both drawings we find κακοπαθία[ς], although the syntax demands an accusative here. However, in P.Herc. 1633, which belongs to the other roll of *Rh.* 3, we read the accusative κακοπαθίας, which is, of course, the correct form. The correct reading in P.Herc. 1633 could be evidence that this roll contains a polished version of *Rh.* 3 and that P.Herc. 1506 presents a provisional and rough version of the same book.¹⁷ Secondly,

¹⁵ Gigante 2007.

¹⁶ One can supplement τού[των] or τού[του]. In the phrase χωρὶς τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι the preposition χωρὶς has already a negative meaning. I suppose that μὴ is redundant in this position. See Kühner-Gerth 1904³, 219-220; Smyth 1956, 626.

¹⁷ To reach such a conclusion, however, one must examine thoroughly all the discrepancies between the two versions. Cf. Hammerstaedt 1992, 12-13. For a discussion about the relationship between the two copies of the third book see e.g. Blank 1998; Dorandi 2017, 65-81.

Sudhaus' reading ἐγ δὲ[α][δοχῆ[ς]] has to be corrected. Sudhaus himself had assumed in the apparatus criticus that perhaps the word ἐπιβολή is missing in the text. Inspection of the papyrus and the RTI image helped me to confirm Sudhaus' conjecture. After ε we read a part of the π and ι and in the next line traces of a β. The word ἐπιβολή has a special meaning in the Epicurean texts and is often accompanied by the genitive τῆς διανοίας.¹⁸ How should we understand the use of this term in our passage? Here, most probably, we are not dealing specifically with the Epicurean ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας. The word is not used here in a context relating to perception, as ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας always is. Philodemus implies only, that the good orators are mentally much focused on their goal, which is to be distinguished and to gain fame in their city. Furthermore, Sudhaus wrote τὸ διαπρέπειν, but I assume that we need a genitive here, so I have supplemented the text with τοῦ instead of τό (ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ διαπρέπειν). Finally, at the end of the sentence I read in the papyrus the letters π and ο. Thus, the word missing here is the noun πόλεσι and not πατρίσι.

In the fourth column of the third book Philodemus presents some examples of famous Athenians (Pericles, Demosthenes) in order to show that, on the one hand, all of these men had a philosophical education and on the other hand they studied and practised extensively, in order to achieve prominence in their city. Philodemus mentions firstly that Demosthenes is reported to have been in contact with the philosophers Plato and Eubulides and then he refers to the various efforts made by this disciplined orator with the aim to improve his gesture and voice. I propose to read in lines 12-19: καὶ τὰν[δρο]μήκη κάτο[π]τρα κατεσι[κε]υακέναι καὶ φιλοπονοῦν[τα] καὶ [τὰς] ἐγέρσεις τῶν χεῖρ[ων] [κο]τύπων [ὀ]νειδείζον[θ]· [ἐ]ραυ[τὸν] ἀκούσαντα καὶ τὸ ψ[ελλὸ]ν | εἰς[τὸ] [εὐ]στ[ο]μ[ί]αν μετ[α]στῆσαν[τα]. At the beginning of these lines there is a reference to a famous anecdote about Demosthenes, according to which the orator used to utter his speeches in front of a mirror, in order to ameliorate his body language and voice.¹⁹ After this, the word coming next in the papyrus is difficult to read. Sudhaus supplemented the passage with the noun τ[ὴν] σ[π]ι[λ]υ[γα] (= «cave»), perhaps having another anecdote concerning the Athenian orator in mind: in Ps.-Plu., *Vit. Xorat.* 844D we are informed that the young orator used to go and study in a cave with his head half-shaved so that, ashamed of this fact, he would not leave the cave. However, Sudhaus mentioned in the apparatus criticus that he read οπου in the papyrus, a reading similar to that of the drawings: [.]c[.]οπου O, [.]οπου N.²⁰ In an article in *CErc*, Erbi 2008, 198, suggested the following

¹⁸ The Epicurean ἐπιβολή appears in other Philodemian works, e.g. at the end of *Phld., Mort.*, P.Herc. 1050, col. XXXIX 23-25: οὕτως ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐκπνέο[υσι]ν ὡς εἰ μηδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόν[ο]ν ἐγλείπουσαν ἔσχον τὴν ἐπιβολήν. 'Ἐπιβολή means, as Asmis 1984, 352 writes, «application; an act by which the senses or the mind apprehend an object, either by obtaining a perceptual impression or by making an interpretation that is verified by the phenomena». In the book *The Ethics of Philodemus*, Tsouna 2007, 309 interpreted the word ἐπιβολή as «an intense and comprehensive mental act» and «not a mere focusing of attention».

¹⁹ Cf. Plut., *Dem.* 11. 2; Luc., *Dem. Enc.* 14.

²⁰ See Pl. 2.

reconstruction of this passage: καὶ ψιλοποιεῖν | [κα]ῖ κατ[ὰ τὰς] ἐγέρσεις. The infinitive ψιλοποιεῖν, which was translated by Erbì as «have a non-aspirated pronunciation», does not convince me for paleographical, philological and content-related reasons: a) it refers to a change in the voice of the orator, while only three lines later there is a reference to the language defect of Demosthenes and his successful confrontation of it (καὶ τὸ ψελλὸν εἰς εὐστομίαν μεταστήσαντα); b) ψιλοποιέω is only found in a Byzantine source based on the grammarian Herodian's *Καθολικὴ προσφῶδια*; its meaning in this place is evidently different from that postulated by Erbì; incidentally, Philodemus himself only uses the verb ψιλόω (though in a different context) in *Rh.* 4, P.Herc. 1423, col. XI 16 (I 155 Sudhaus); c) the word missing, in my view, should not be an infinitive, but a participle, which would be linked with the following participles of our passage (ὄνειδείζονθ', ἀκούσαντα, μεταστήσαντα).²¹ In the papyrus only a few letters can be read with certainty. Of the first letter we see only a part of the long line, which could correspond not necessarily only to a ψ, but also to a φ. The second letter seems to be an ι. Of the third letter, which is perhaps a λ, we see only the ink traces of the right part. The next letter is with certainty an ο. Then, a π and ο are to be read in the papyrus. The following letter is not clear: it could be an ι, ν or τ. Next, I read in the multi-spectral image an ο and an υ. The last letter is with certainty a ν. I propose that the word missing here is the participle φιλοπονούντα. In ancient Greek literature the adjective φιλόπονος twice describes the famous orator. Firstly, we read in *Plut., Dem.* 7. 2: ὀδυρομένου δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι πάντων φιλοπονώτατος ὢν τῶν λεγόντων κτλ. and secondly, in *Lib., Decl.* 19. 20 we read: ὑμεῖς Δημοσθένην, ῥήτορα ἄπνον καὶ φιλόπονον [...], ἐξέδοτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ θεοὺς δείσαντες.

²¹ LSJ, s.v. ψιλοποιέω. It is attested in the (only partially published) *Ἐκλογή περὶ πνευμάτων* of the Byzantine writer Theodoretus where book XX of Herodian's *Καθολικὴ προσφῶδια* is abridged. See Egenolff 1887, 15 (cod. Baroccianus 68): τοῦτο δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ Ὀμηρικῇ προσφῶδια δασύνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ καθόλου αὐτὸ ψιλοποιούσι.

Appendix²²A. *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 240, pezzo 1, strato 3,
coll. I 26-II 20

(~ P.Herc. 1506 II 9-32)

Σκ[υθ]ῶν ἐρημίαι δια-
φερόμενος οὕτως γρά-
φει. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα
π[α]ρείσθω, περὶ ὧν τὸν

30 [ἀρ]ιμόττοντα λόγιον ἐ-
ξηγη[σάμεθα] περιότε-
ρον· ἀλλ' [εἰ] τοῦ κιαλιου χά-
ριν προσέρχεσθαι ||

5 πο[±6] οὐδ' ὑπὸ
τῆς [Στο]ῆς οὔτε γέγο-
νεν οὔτε [ἔσ]τιν οὔτ' [ἔ]σι-
ται ποτὲ [πολιτ]ικὸς
ἀν[ρ]ὸς οὐδὲ τοι[οῦτο]ς

10 ἄνθ[ρωπος] ἐνδο[ξος],
παράκ[οπ]ιον τὸ λέγειν

15 πο[λ]ιτείας [πάμπολ]-
λοι τὰς οὐσίας [καὶ]
τιοὺς βί[ου]ς χάριν
τού[του π]ιροήκωντο, χω-
ρὶς τοῦ [μὴ] δύνασθαι καὶ δι'

20 ἄλλας [— —]

B. *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 1633, fr. VI 6-8
supra (N)

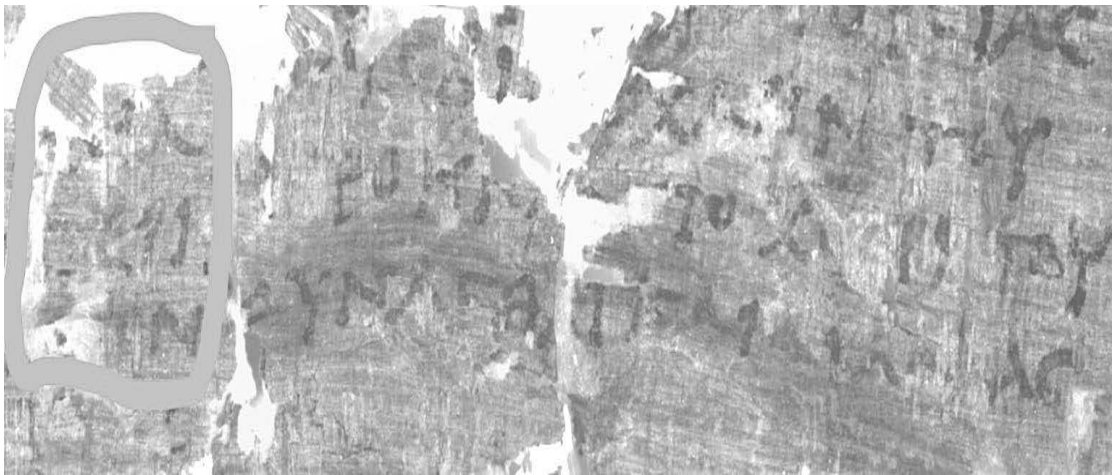
(~ P.Herc. 1506 III 18-19)

6 [Κ]τὰ γὰρ ἰπόνον
καὶ πολλὰς ἄσχολίας [κα]ὶ
κακοπαθίας [±9]

7 πολλὰς scripsi, sed τομας legi in

P.Herc. 1633

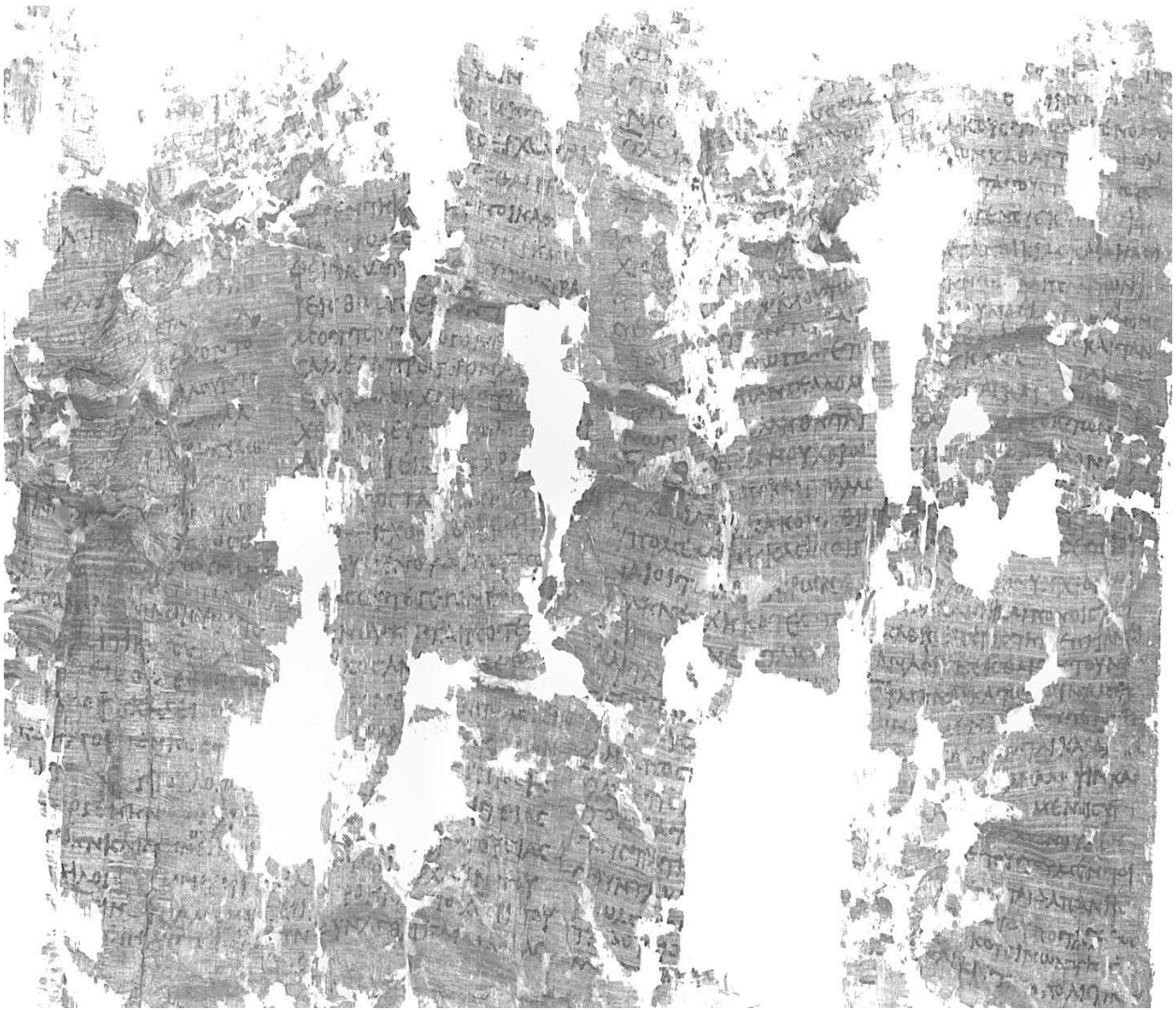
²² I present here a provisional edition of a part of *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 240, pezzo 1, strato 3, coll. I-II. There are many new suggestions, which are, however, still under examination.



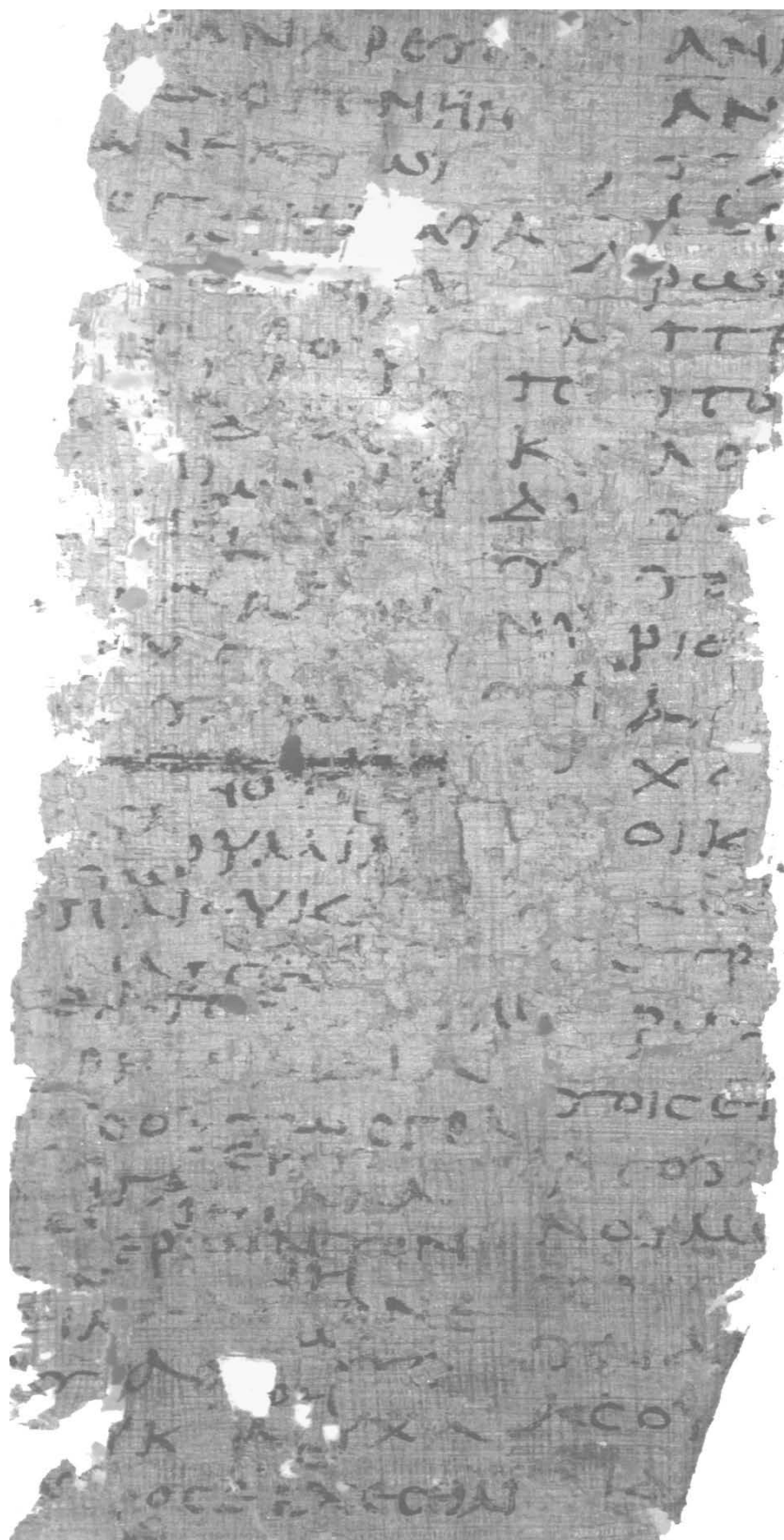
Pl. 1. *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 1506, col. II 30-32 (in my edition). The letters inside the lines on the right part are overlapping, which were originally placed at col. III 32-34 (in my edition).



Pl. 2. *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 1506, col. IV 14 (in my edition). I proposed here the reading καὶ φιλοπονοῦν[τα].



Pl. 3. *Rh. 3*, P.Herc. 1506, cornice 18 (coll. I-IV).



Pl. 4. A part of *Rh.* 3, P.Herc. 240, pz 1, str. 2, coll. I-II.

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