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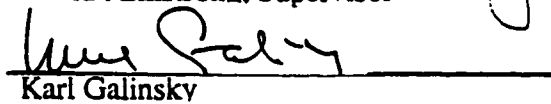
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**Philodemus, *De bono rege secundum Homerum*:
a critical text with commentary (cols. 21-39)**

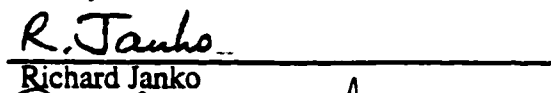
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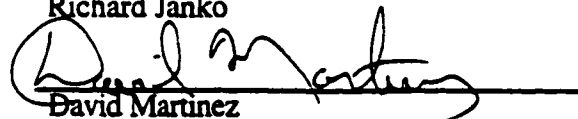
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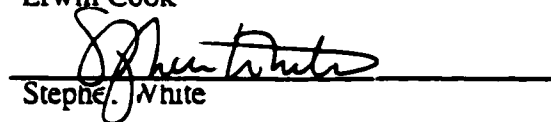
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**Philodemus, *De bono rege secundum Homerum*:
a critical text with commentary (cols. 21-39)**

by

Jeffrey Brian Fish, B. A., M. A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

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Dedication

To my parents, and to David, my *doktorvater*

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my director, David Armstrong. It is largely because of his instruction and conversation and care that these years have been so rich and rewarding. This dissertation has been enriched by countless hours of his criticism. I also thank the rest of the committee for their generous help, which has improved this work immensely. I am indebted to Francis Cairns for scores of improvements to the text, and to Dirk Obbink for help at critical points along the way. I thank professors Marcello Gigante and Francesca Longo-Auricchio for their support. Of my Italian friends, I am especially grateful for Sergio Castagnetti, who showed me what hospitality is. Finally, I wish to thank my loving parents for their unfailing support and encouragement.

**Philodemus, *De bono rege secundum Homerum*:
a critical text with commentary (cols. 21-39)**

Publication No. _____

Jeffrey Brian Fish, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 1999

Supervisor: David Armstrong

The dissertation consists of an edition and commentary, with translation and brief prolegomena, of Philodemus' treatise *On the Good King according to Homer*, columns 21-39. The goal is to present a much improved text on the basis of accurate reading and reporting of both the papyrus and the original apographs, both preserved in Naples among the Herculaneum Papyri, in addition to detailed a commentary. Placement of numerous previously unplaced fragments provides coherent sense to several parts of the treatise which were previously unclear. The treatise, addressed to Calpurnius Piso (consul 58 B.C.), the father-in-law of Julius Caesar, examines Homer's conception of a good ruler. Among other topics, Philodemus treats a king's behavior at symposia, his fatherly character, the importance of good counsel, the

utility of a king's personal beauty, and self-praise. Of particular interest are a newly restored section which treats Telemachus' journey in *Odyssey* 1-4 in terms of an educational experience similar to travelled young Roman aristocrats in Philodemus' time, and a reconstructed column concerning the morally correct response of the good king to acts of hubris. Odysseus' incorrect response to Polyphemus' arrogance resulted in his chastisement and moral improvement. Philodemus cites Homer frequently, including an important so-called spurious verse, *Odyssey* 3.130a which was overlooked by previous editors. Throughout the dissertation, comparison is made to ancient Homeric scholarship, and periodically to Vergil, who may well have drawn from Philodemus' discussion for his portrait of Aeneas as a philosophically idealized "Good King according to Homer."

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Introduction

THE PAPYRUS AND NEAPOLITAN APOGRAPH (N)

P. Herc. 1507, περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὁμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως, was unrolled in 1808 by Luigi Corazza, who made a pencil drawing of most of the papyrus in 1811, referred to in this dissertation as *N*.¹ At some point, the papyrus was cut into sections containing 4-5 columns each, and pasted onto green paper, acceptable by the conservation standards of that era, and later installed in metal, glass-covered trays (*cornici*). Its 43 columns fill ten of these trays, of which the first, second and fourth contain sections that came apart into two pieces and the others single sections. We can be certain they are in correct order, which is not always the case with these texts. The treatise was probably a little more than eighty columns long originally, if Murray's handling of the stichometric notation at the end of the roll is correct.² As Herculaneum papyri go, *P. Herc. 1507* is in a rather good state of conservation, though the upper part of the roll was damaged to the extent that the top margin is not visible. The hand of the papyrus is catalogued by G. Cavallo in his Group Q, and written in the same hand as *P. Herc. 1275*, a very fragmentary unedited papyrus of Philodemus

¹ Bassi 1908, 460.

² Murray, 163; Dorandi, 209-11. I have found traces of two stichometric letters which may, however, change this number.

which also concerns Homer, and *P. Herc.* 207, Book IV of *On Poems*.³ Group Q has been dated to the second half of the 1st century B.C.⁴ As Dorandi's description of the papyrus suffices in most respects⁵, I will now turn to two fundamental matters where he and the other preceding editors were insufficient, the fragments of the papyrus and the priority of hands in *N*.

A characteristic feature of *P. Herc.* 1507 is its high number of *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti*, fragments which adhered to the layer above or below their original location in the process of the unrolling of the carbonized papyrus. Dorandi catalogued and numbered these fragments, but placed none of them in their correct location.⁶ By placing numerous fragments in their proper location, I was able to make new supplements, confirm or reject supplements of earlier editors, and find several citations of Homer which had gone unnoticed by others. I consequently use Dorandi's enumeration of these fragments only for his fragment 80, a large *sovrapposto* which I have placed at the top of col. 36.⁷ The technique itself of placing *sottoposti* and

³ Cavallo 1983, 42-3. Cavallo notes that *P. Herc.* 1275 has the same hand as *P. Herc.* 1507, but does not observe that *P. Herc.* 207 is also in the same hand as well.

⁴ Dorandi 53; Cf. Cavallo 1974, 34-7. Consequently if the treatise was written in the 80's B.C., in Piso's youth, as some have argued (but see my commentary on col. 23), our copy would have been made somewhat later.

⁵ Dorandi, 51-5.

⁶ Dorandi ,110-20. Olivieri edited many of them in the apparatus of his text.

⁷ When it became clear that my readings differed from his in several places, I decided simply to refer to the location of the fragment by column and line number. For the location of the unplaced fragments according to Dorandi, see Dorandi, 64-1.

sovrapposti is not new⁸, and the principle behind it is not complicated. If the diameter of the roll can be determined at a particular point in the roll, nearby fragments which are one layer higher than their original location (*sovrapposti*) belong later in the roll by precisely the length of the diameter of the roll. Fragments one layer lower (*sottoposti*) belong earlier in the roll by the length of that same measurement. Fragments which are two or more layers higher or lower than their original placement can also be transposed by the same method. Using digital calipers to measure the folds in the papyrus was my contribution to the science of moving the fragments. By using the two edges of the calipers, I was able to trace the parallel folds of the papyrus where I would have been otherwise unable to find them. I was thus able to obtain a more accurate diameter-measurement and to place the fragments with a higher degree of precision than was formerly possible. Often I was able to join together various parts of single letters, which would have

⁸ Several of the modern editors of Herculaneum papyri practice the technique, with varying degrees of success. The fundamental article describing the process is Nardelli 1973. As she notes, Crönert understood the technique, as he shows in Croenert 1906. What seems not to have been pointed out is that the academics or *interpreti*--possibly--and the humbler, more practically oriented artist-artisans or *disegnatori*--quite certainly--who were involved in the processes of unrolling of the papyri and making pencil drawings of them also understood the technique. Corazza certainly did, for I have discovered that in *P.Herc.* 1507, portions of the fragments drawn in the margins of the *disegni* (on which see below) still in fact survive as *sovrapposti*. This explains why the marginal fragments Corazza drew do not survive. They probably never were *loose* fragments at all. They were *sovrapposti* which the *disegnatori*, knowing where the misplaced text belonged because of understanding the process of the unrolling, drew into the margins of the appropriate column, and then removed in order to record the text below the *sovrapposti*, probably destroying most of the *sovrapposti* in the process. David Blank informs me that the same phenomenon occurs in some papyri of the *Rhetoric*. I am grateful to him for explaining to me the technique of transposing the fragments.

otherwise been illegible. In all, I was able to restore more than one hundred fragments to their original locations. More remain to be placed. In the text of the columns, I have represented these fragments in bold-faced print, since using the double slash (//) would have resulted in lines of text complicated to the point of illegibility, and since I already use the double slash to represent another kind of fragment, namely fragments drawn by *N* into the margin of his drawing, but integrated into the body of the drawing by *N*¹.

Much of the text I have edited of *On the Good King* survives only in *N*, the pencil drawing of the papyrus made by L. Corazza in 1811. The largest part of this material which no longer survives in *P* derives from fragments which Corazza drew in the margins of his drawings. These fragments were later integrated into the body of the disegno by an unidentified *interprete*, whom I refer to as *N*¹.⁹ *N*¹ writes with a much less elegant hand, with a lighter pencil, and erased poorly in comparison with *N*. I have found the meagre remains of some of these fragments in *P* as *sovrapposti*, which suggests that the fragments were *sovrapposti* in their entirety, which Corazza copied into the margin of his drawing, and then proceeded to remove in order to draw the text underneath. Presumably the fragments were destroyed in the process of this removal. Unless *N*¹ worked with Corazza as he made his

⁹In most cases the artist-artisans who drew *N*, the *disegnatori*, were intentionally chosen for their ignorance of Greek, so their first vision of the letters would not be prejudiced in any way; and their work was (sometimes, as here, but not always) reviewed by scholars (*interpreti*) after it was drawn.

drawings, N^1 integrated the fragments into the body of the *disegno* basing his drawing on Corazza's fragment drawn in the margin and not on his own autopsy of the fragment of the papyrus. My predecessors either thought that N^1 was derivative of N or else that both were witnesses to the papyrus.¹⁰ But there are several cases where it seems obvious that N^1 has merely corrected N or supplemented N rather than consult the papyrus.¹¹ N^1 seems to have known just enough Greek to harm his integrations on occasion.¹² For these reasons I have come to the conclusion that N^1 is simply derivative of N . The relationship between N^1 and N will no doubt become clearer when I read the earlier columns of the treatise, for among the manuscripts recently discovered by Prof. Janko was a transcript of some of the earlier columns of *On the Good King* made by the *interpreti*.¹³

¹⁰ Dorandi notes that the *disegni* bear traces of "una revisione" (p. 52 n. 4), but he does not distinguish between N^1 and N (or typically P and N for that matter) but gives priority to N^1 over N . Olivieri does on occasion distinguish between the two hands, but also gives priority to N^1 , as I show in my apparatus.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. col. 31, 20 where I have shown that N^1 corrected N and argue that N^1 's reading]τακησιω[ε] is part of a conjecture rather than a reading of the papyrus.

¹² He seems not to know, for instance, that two *iotas* can be paired together in a word like Διι (col. 26, 37). If this seems paradoxical, it should be remembered that even the Greek scholars who directed and presided over the *Officina dei Papiri* in the days of the old Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were men of only mediocre professional standing compared to their contemporaries in England and Germany.

¹³ Janko and Blank 1998.

A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF IMPORTANT SCHOLARSHIP

Salvatore Cirillo published the first edition of the treatise in 1844.¹⁴ He based his edition entirely, or almost entirely, on the engravings of *N* which accompanied his edition of the *Herculanensium voluminum*.¹⁵ His text was accompanied by a Latin translation and commentary. Cirillo's edition is a strange combination of brilliance and incompetency, but he had a fine eye for Homeric quotations, and some of his supplements are as good as any in the treatise.¹⁶

On the basis of Cirillo's text and the accompanying engravings, Bücheler was able to discover several more Homeric citations, and made a number of fine supplements and suggestions, accompanied also by a host of impossible supplements, since he based his text on Cirillo's edition, which was two steps removed from the papyrus.¹⁷

A. Olivieri's edition of 1909 marks the first critical edition of our text. He examined both the papyrus and the Neapolitan apographs at first hand. Olivieri edited several columns which Cirillo had omitted, and made substantial improvements to all the remaining columns. The papyrus has deteriorated since Olivieri's time, and therefore both his text and apparatus contain important information about the state of

¹⁴ Cirillo 1844. Cirillo read the title of the treatise incorrectly, on which see below, p. 63. The correct title was independently restored by Comparetti 1870 and Diels 1878.

¹⁵ In places, the engravings, made by F. Casanova, are unfortunately based upon his text. At col. 21, 20-1, ἀπρούνικος is the reading of the papyrus (*P*) and *N*, but Cirillo's text reads ἀπερ ουκ εικος. The engraving of the disegno (*VH*¹) reads αλπερουκεικος.

¹⁶ E.g. col. 27, 15-18.

¹⁷ Bücheler 1887.

the papyrus in his day. Olivieri's edition also included an apparatus containing parallels with authors such as Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Dio Chrysostom. R. Philippson's review of Olivieri's text, while of practically no importance textually, as it attempted to be, noted some important similarities between Epicurean doctrine and Philodemus' treatise.¹⁸

As has often been the case in Philodemian scholarship, Olivieri's text, though far more readable and reliable than anything that had preceded it, generated little scholarly reaction--Philippson's review, in its own day, and nearly nothing else. Forty-five years later, M. Paolucci advanced the thesis that *De bono rege* is a compilation of materials from various philosophical schools and other sources, attempting to prove this in part by the text of Philodemus' Homer.¹⁹ Much of the treatise was to have originated from a gnomological collection of kingship sayings.

O. Murray, in a fundamental article, which opened a period of more serious scholarly interest in *De bono rege*, refuted Paolucci's thesis, arguing instead for a high degree of originality in Philodemus'

¹⁸Philippson 1910. Philippson, the author of the *RE* article on Philodemus (1938), the first available full and scholarly survey of Philodemus' life and writings as a whole, and--as a Jewish scholar working in Germany--a martyr to Hitler at the end of his long life, was unfortunately both over-ambitious and consistently unlucky as an emender of the Herculaneum papyri. His supplements, as my own apparatus shows, are always to be taken with great care. Van Krevelen 1942, another review of Olivieri, is worth even less.

¹⁹Paolucci 1955.

treatise.²⁰ Philodemus wrote the treatise for the *principes viri* of the Late Republic, the *basileis* in Homer being analogous to them. Part of Murray's discussion rests upon Olivieri's misreading of an important phrase of the text in which Philodemus talks about the purpose of his treatise. I present the new text with an apparatus and translation:

17 . ν[.]ιν [.] τῶν ἀφο[ρ]μῶν ὧ Πεί[-
 ρων ἅς ἐστι παρ' Ὀμήρου λα-
 βεῖν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν δυ-
 20 νατό[ν]

17 τῶν Olivieri: τω, vert. P today ὧ Πείκων Sudhaus 19-20 Obbink: δυ|να(ς)τε[ιῶν
 Olivieri: δ, υ(perhaps bit of left arm) | να[P: |]νατε N

". . . of the points of departure, Piso, which it is possible to take from Homer for (moral) correction . . .".

Olivieri's δυ|να(ς)τε[ιῶν had led Murray into speculation that this passage could be particularly relevant to Piso as an ally of a dynast, Julius Caesar.²¹ δυ|νατό[ν is a superior reading, however, as the apparatus shows.²² Still, much of Murray's basic thesis is a sound:

²⁰ Murray 1965.

²¹ Murray, 180-1.

²² Dirk Obbink had suggested to me that behind Olivieri's δ[υ]|να(ς)τε[ιῶν] might actually lurk δυ|νατόν, and he turned out to be correct. On ἀφορμαί, "points of departure" in philosophical discussion, see Obbink 1995, 191; Blank 1998, 295. On ἐπανόρθωσις, see Asmis, 22; Obbink 1995, 191.

"The work is a description of the duties and moral behaviour of a *princeps* in private and public life, not a political pamphlet."²³ He argued, however, that the work is incompatible with Epicureanism²⁴, a thesis refuted by Asmis (see below). Murray's article includes a commentary and paraphrase of legible passages as well as a few supplements made on the basis of autopsy of the papyrus. One great contribution of the article was to connect the work convincingly with the Roman aristocracy, a thesis strengthened by new readings of the papyrus.²⁵

T. Dorandi's edition and commentary of *De bono rege*, based on a reading of the papyrus with binocular microscopes, appeared in 1982, representing a significant advance over Olivieri's text.²⁶ Dorandi included informative sections in his introduction discussing Epicureanism and poetry, and Epicurean views of government.

²³ Murray, 178. Various scholars have tried unsuccessfully to explain *De bono rege* as a kind of political pamphlet, beginning with Momigliano 1941, who placed the pamphlet in the years of Caesar's dictatorship as an appeal to moderation. Grimal 1966 dated the treatise to 45 B.C., with the good king representing Caesar, the bad king Anthony, and Odysseus representing Cicero.

²⁴ Murray, 173, 175.

²⁵ Murray argued that Philodemus' emphasis on the importance of deliberation (cols. 31-33) was more suited for a Roman background than Hellenistic monarchy. To this may now be added several passages where it appears that Philodemus may be referring to Roman customs. He warns against the king being a lover of laughter, which seems not to be a paralleled feature in kingship literature, but more probably a compliment to Roman *gravitas* (col. 21). His reference to the kings in Homer standing in honor of their superiors (col. 26, 35-8) was probably more common in Rome than in Greece in the 1st century B.C. (on which see commentary). There may also be a reference to the Roman aristocratic custom of rising early in the morning to receive and greet clients (col. 31, 29 ff.). On the equation of Roman nobility with kings, see Rawson 1975.

²⁶ Dorandi 1982.

Unfortunately he made it possible for the reader to distinguish between readings of the *disegno* and the papyrus only in a few places, which has frustrated attempts to emend or supplement his text.

In *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, F. Cairns, building on Murray's work, showed that Vergil made use of kingship theory in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas, despite occasional lapses, is modeled as a good king, and, conversely, Turnus as a bad one.²⁷ Cairns includes an excellent summary and discussion of the virtues extolled in kingship literature and the most complete bibliography on the subject to date.

In an important article, E. Asmis demonstrated that the contradiction between Philodemus' *De bono rege* and Epicurus' dictum that the exegesis of poetry is useless is only apparent.²⁸ From Philodemus' *On Poems V*, she shows that, while utility is not the *definiens* of poetry, a poem may nevertheless teach incidentally (indeed, it will hardly interest a reader unless it at least seems to convey information of some kind, accurate or not). While Philodemus found Homeric theology reprehensible, as his treatise *On Piety* shows us, he believed that there were morally correct opinions to be found in Homer which a philosopher could distinguish from morally incorrect opinions. Asmis accompanies her article with a translation of the text and brief commentary.

²⁷ Cairns 1989. See esp. chs. 1-3 and 8.

²⁸ Asmis 1991.

THE PRESENT EDITION

I have based my text on a complete re-reading of the papyrus with a microscope both slightly more powerful than Dorandi's, but more importantly, illuminated by a fluorescent ring-lamp. It is conjectured, though not certainly known, that the *disegnatori* and *interpreti*, and also later editors like Olivieri, read with magnifying glasses, but they certainly did not use microscopes, which were introduced in the 1970's into the Officina dei Papiri, where the papyri are conserved. Since then they have proved essential to every reader of the papyri. But the advantage of the ring-light microscope is that one is no longer dependent on the natural light the Officina receives through its great skylights above the reading room, which made it necessary for earlier editors to wait for the bright light of spring and summers days to read to best advantage. Consequently I can legitimately claim to have had means to see the text itself more clearly than Dorandi could.

As the size of letters is exceptionally consistent, I determined the average length of a letter (2.65 mm), and in the process of reading the papyrus, measured lacunae with digital calipers. While even a precisely spaced text like this one is not perfectly consistent and a margin of error must be allowed for, this method enabled me to judge the length of my own supplements and those of other scholars with much greater accuracy. Certain sections of the papyrus are immediately

legible even to the unaided eye. Other portions, for instance the end of col. 23, had to be read at a rate as slow as a line per day in order to read the traces carefully and determine to what layer of papyrus the ink belonged.

STYLE

Philodemus' style could be characterized in general as avoiding style and rhetorical artifice.²⁹ Interestingly, even in his most informal and improvisatory-sounding writing, he avoids hiatus with a determination hardly exceeded by Attic writers of the fourth century. Except for the most exceptional passages, such as the end of *De morte*, and a sentence in praise of Epicurus (*De Epic.* fr. 8 col. 1), a topic on which every Epicurean was prepared to wax Lucretian in his eloquence³⁰, Philodemus seems to avoid high style as much as much as he avoids hiatus. I suggest that this avoidance of high rhetoric is explained in Philodemus' own description of the best life, in *De oec.* col. 23, 23-36:

πρῶτον δὲ | καὶ κάλλιστον (sc. way of life) ἀπὸ λόγων | φιλο[σό]φων ἀνδράσιν
δεκτικοῖς μεταδιδομέν[ων] ἀντιμεταλαμβάνειν εὐχάριστο[ν ἄμ]α μετὰ
σεβασμοῦ | παντ[ός], ὡς ἐγένετ' Ἐπικο[ύ]ρωι, λο[ιπὸ]ν δὲ ἀληθινῶν καὶ |
ἀφιλο[ν]ε[ί]κων καὶ [c]υ[λ]λήβδη[ν] | εἰπεῖν [ἀτ]αράχων, ὡς τό γε διὰ

²⁹ On the style of Philodemus, see Obbink 1996, 86-8.

³⁰ Philippson 1938, col. 2476.

σοφ[ις]τικῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστικῶν οὐδέν] ἐστι βέλτιον τοῦ | διὰ δη[μοκ]οπικῶν
καὶ κυκλοφαντικῶν].

"The first-ranking and best (way of life) comes from philosophical reasonings shared with people who are capable of taking part in them on the same level, a way both beneficent and utterly venerable, as happened to Epicurus, that is to say, of reasonings aimed at truth and without love of victory for its own sake, and to put it in a word, producing tranquillity; while a life devoted to sophistic and quarrelsome argument is no better than one devoted to demagogic oratory and legal pettifogging."

While some of Philodemus' lectures are arguably full of the very quarrelsomeness he says should be avoided, his praise of *logoi* free from *eristic* rhetoric helps explain the lack of rhetorical artifice in his treatises. Friends do not speak to each other with rhetorical artifice, but with directness and candor (παρρησία). Although there are too few complete sentences to comment in depth on the style of this treatise, one can see traces of this improvisatory style in *De bono rege* which are reminiscent of his other treatises. Cf. col. 20, 8-11 δοκῶ [δ]ὲ μοι | καὶ τῆς αἰχρολογίας τῶ[ν] | μεταγενῶν μνημονε[ύ]κειν "But I think I shall make mention also of the vulgar speech of the succeeding (kings)." Here it genuinely seems as if he has been recorded by a short-hand transcriber, talking to himself for a moment about what to say next. At col. 21, 11-18 after listing several courts in Homer to prove his point that base jesters do

not have a place at the courts of Homer's monarchs, in a note of apparent spontaneity, he adds that this is the case even with the court of the swineherd's father. Sometimes it seems that he begins a sentence not knowing precisely how he will finish it.³¹ Such improvisatory features are characteristic of the lecture-style we find elsewhere in Philodemus. What is therefore surprising about the style of *On the Good King*, however, is that one also finds traces of a high rhetorical style, the very kind of style he seems to have avoided elsewhere. Compare the parallelism of clauses in col. 29, 32-6 (noted also in commentary):

οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε
ὁ μὲν τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶι βασιλεὺς
τὸν Ἄρη τῶν θεῶν
ὁ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων (sc. βασιλεὺς)
τὸν Ἀχιλλ[λ]έα τῶν μονάρχων
[ἔχθις]τον ἔλει[γε

In col. 38, 31-6 the rhetoric is almost Gorgianic (also noted in commentary):

τοῖς μὲν ἀνικτορήτοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξει,
τοὺς δ' ἐπιλανθανομένους ἀναμνή[σ]ει,
τοὺς δὲ ἀχαριστοῦντας ὀφθαλμωρυχίσει,

³¹ E.g. col. 21, 18 ff.

τούς δὲ παραλείποντας [

Such rhetorical adornment may suggest that *De bono rege* was written for an occasion different than that of many of Philodemus' other treatises, which often sound more like classroom lectures. He has an audience that accepts his ordinary offhand style of writing and speaking, yet can also be appealed to (given that the subject is one that belonged to the epideictic realm of oratory, by ordinary conventions, and involves continual poetic quotation and paraphrase) by an occasional display of the epideictic manner that an ordinary speaker on this subject would normally have used throughout.

A NOTE ON ODYSSEY 3.130A

As I show in my commentary on col. 34, 29-31, Philodemus' text of Homer contained the plus-verse *Od.* 3.130a, a variant overlooked by former scholarship on the treatise and on Homer. Philodemus' text seems to have read as follows:

130 ἦ γὰρ καὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέρσαμεν αἰπὴν,

130a βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνη

130 ἦ γὰρ καὶ Philod. et Strabo: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ mss. 130a Philod., Strabo, etc.: mss om.

“For surely we captured the steep citadel of Troy by a stratagem and tales and by deceitful art.”

This plus verse, as I show below, is also found in Strabo, Polyaeus, and Stobaeus, but none of the medieval MSS of the *Odyssey*. There is no mention of the variant in the *Odyssey* scholia. We have no other papyri for these verses. Van der Valk argued that the line was authentic and probably deleted by Aristarchus who may not have liked the unequivocal manner in which Troy is said to have been taken by deception rather than strength or perseverance.³² This view must be modified, but is still, I think, tenable in its broader form. It is now believed (perhaps demonstrated) that Aristarchus did not delete lines such as this one.³³ It is still possible, however, that the line was eliminated from part of the the textual tradition before the time of Aristarchus, and that some of the MSS he consulted had the variant and some did not.³⁴ Van der Valk's explanation for the deletion of the line can be improved upon, as well. If the the purpose of the Telemachy was seen in antiquity as the education of Telemachus,³⁵ this verse would indeed have scandalized certain critics. What kind of way would this be for Nestor to educate Telemachus, to instruct him that

³² Van der Valk 1963, *ii*. 525 ff.

³³ So, for instance, Apthorp 1980.

³⁴ As Janko 1992, 28 notes, ". . . a very few genuine verses may have vanished entirely through the unscholarly habits of prudish schoolmasters and critics from Xenophanes' era down to Zenodotus' . . .". Further, on *Il.* 9.458-61, lines found only in Plutarch and have been hotly debated, he notes, "The charge that Aristarchus 'removed' 9.458-61 means only that he left these lines out because they were absent in MSS whose authority he valued, probably the unreliable emended texts which he preferred. These sources surely deleted some recalcitrant verses, and formed the model for Zenodotus' practice." On that passage cf. most recently Apthorp 1998.

³⁵ See below on col. 23.

trickery and deception won the day?³⁶ Moreover, it may be that the verse was removed because of an over-literal reading of *Od.* 11.363 ff. where Alcinous affirms that Odysseus is *not* an ἡπεροπέυς:

"ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ, τὸ μὲν οὐ τί σ' εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ἡπεροπῆά τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, οἷά τε πολλοὺς
βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους
ψεύδεά τ' ἀρτύνοντας, ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο (11.363-66).

The fact that there is no record of the verse in the *Odyssey* scholia is insignificant, as they are much scantier than the *Iliad* scholia and could easily have passed over the verse and any problems associated with it. On the basis of these fact, the verse should at least be included in the apparatus of future texts of the *Odyssey*.³⁷ In any case, we can be almost certain that Vergil's Homer contained these lines. He may even allude to them in *Aen.* 2.195 ff.:

Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis
quos neque Tydides nec Larissaeus Achilles,
non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.

³⁶ Zenodotus athetized *Il.* 1.225-33 probably under the influence of a fourth-century copy which omitted these lines because of Plato's criticism in the *Republic* (389 E), on which see Pfeiffer 1968, 113. In general, the Alexandrians seem sensitive to moral criticism of Homer, especially by Plato.

³⁷ The variant is not included in the apparatus of Van Thiel 1991.

Editorial Sigla

- P* *P.Herc.* 1507
- N* Neapolitan apograph of *P*
- N*¹ second hand in *N*, largely (or entirely) derivative from *N*
- VH*¹ *Herculanensium voluminum* vol. viii, (Naples 1844) 1-62
- α letter read in *P*
- α letter read only in *N* (printed in italics only in text, not commentary or apparatus)
- α letter situated on another layer of the papyrus (i.e. a *sovrapposto* or *sottoposto*), placed here by the editor (printed in bold in text only, not commentary or apparatus)
- α, crossbar = α followed by crossbar
- α̇ letter which can also be read as at least one other letter
- α̂ letter which exists only in *N* which has been altered by the editor
- α̃ letter in *P* which has been altered by the editor
- [.(.)] 1-2 lost letters
- [] 0-1 lost letters
- ␣ indicates a space left by the scribe, not a lacuna
- α/δ̇ α or δ̇
- α/(δ̇) α or δ̇ but α̇ paleographically superior
- {α} letter deleted by the editor
- <α> letter inserted by the editor
- [α] letter deleted by the scribe
- `α' letter inserted by the scribe
- [α] letter supplied by the editor
- ια| letter supplied by the editor from a parallel source

|| end of column, with visible bottom margin following
// two parts of the same verse joined from different fragments
> mark used by the scribe to fill the space at the end of the line

* the editor

*N.B. If a source is not given in the apparatus for a reading, it is to be understood that the reading is from *P* (the papyrus). I have generally reported the conjectures of previous scholars as they would have reported them if they had used the conventions I have used and had access to the information which I have had at my disposal. I have not recorded supplements of earlier scholars which are impossible in light of new information from the papyrus, except when I think it instructive to do so. Given the constraints of space, I have usually not credited supplements which would be immediately obvious to almost any reader of Greek. The space saved doing so I have used to describe various traces in the papyrus. I thought this method most suited to this papyrus. The numerous supplements of Professors Armstrong, Cairns, and Janko in my apparatus were all communicated to me privately. Other individual supplements which were communicated to me I have marked as such in the apparatus. Supplements of my own I have marked with an asterisk (*). Readers should be aware that the top of the papyrus roll was damaged to the extent that the top margin is nowhere visible. Even in the best preserved columns, probably one to three lines are lost at the top.

21 ὁμοια[- *]: μ (legs), ο/ς [P:] [c] ια N: c [.] ι V H¹ 2
 c πουδ[- ?]:] που [N: c (top of curved let.), π, ο (top
 left), υ (base?) P 3 τ/υ, ο/ς κ[α]τ' * : κ (specks of vert.
 and perhaps lower leg) 5 κυ[.] τα N: ο/ς, speck
 (space prob. too long for ι), τα P:]νε [.] ο [/ from 22.6:
 ἀλαζο]νευομένοι * (prob. too long): τα[ραττο]μενοι
 Olivieri: τα[.], μ (diag.), ενοις P 6 το//ῖς
 cπερμ//ολογωτάτοις * : ἀλογωτάτοις Dorandi after
 Olivieri 7 ο, [], κ P: ο[ύ]κ * παντοδ[α]//ποῖς Janko:
 παντος [from fr. in left marg. N:]π/ν/let. (not τ) + ι.
 οις P: π(right vert. lost), οις N π (some of horiz. and
 rt. vert.), peaked let. (α/λ, etc.): πᾶ[.]ι * 8 ἤθεειν * :
 δι//αθέειν Janko: δι//ἀθεειν Olivieri: μετ|ἀθεειν:
]|cύ//νθεειν Armstrong δέ Olivieri: δ/α, ε/θ P: α [N
 τοῦ[.] * : τ[ινα] Dorandi: τ(horiz.), negligible traces
 of two lett. 9 ἡ]δυ[λό]//γους μέ//ν Cairns:
 ἀ]δυ[νά]//τους μέ//ν * :]δύ[.]τηνο]ν Dorandi:
 'Ο]δύ[.]εῖα // μέ//ν Olivieri ἐπὶ Oliveiri 10 τῶν
 Cirillo 11 π[αν]τὸς Cirillo: vert. close to preceding
 let., [.]τος P 12 δέ Dorandi τοῦς Dorandi:
 τ(speck of base and horiz.), ο(left half), υ(hook of
 base), c P γ[νώ]μη Dorandi:]μ(rightmost stroke), η
 P today: cπ[ου]δῆι Olivieri 13 Olivieri 14
 'Αγ[αμέ]νον//α Olivieri τοῦ//το Olivieri 15 πρ[ο]ς
 Olivieri ((πρὸς)):]ο(left half of curved let.), c(left
 half of curved let.) P 'Α[λκ]ίνο//ον * : 'Α[λκ]ίνο//ον
 Olivieri: α[.]iv, left half of circ. let. [N: ink in
 left bot. corner, [.], top of vert. stroke, v, top left of
 curved let. [P: //ον frag. of N τοῦτ//ο Olivieri: του,
 crossbar [N frag.:]ο P 16 [οὔ]τεως * : ὤς Dorandi
 (short) 17 κα]ι Olivieri:]ι (speck at top and bot.) P
 17-18 Cirillo 18 τὰ 'επ 20 κᾶν * : κᾶν Olivieri
 αὐτὸς * : αὐτοῖς Olivieri: 20-1 Croenert (in
 Philippson) 21 τᾶλλα Cairns: ἦ * : γένηται Cook
 (priv.): ὁ ποιητής ? Dorandi 22 ἀγα[πᾶν] Olivieri: αγ
 N: αγ, α/ρ P μῆ τι Dorandi 23 γ[ᾶ]ρ / κ[α]ι * : οὐ
 μ[όνο]ν / π[α]ρ]έχει Janko: κα]τέχει Olivieri who
 read]τ (horiz.), έχει: horiz. midline, [.], έχει P today
 24 Cirillo κακο]υς * :]τ/(υ), ε/ο/ς P:]ε/ο/ς N: γε
 Olivieri (too short): [γε] Cirillo ἀλλα N: α, λλ/μ, α P
 25 c[που]δην Olivieri 26 τῶι Janko 27 ποιητεῖ: Janko:
 π, ο(upper left), [ι], ηται N: π, [.]ηται P 28 νη[.]ον
 29 γελ[.]ιστ N end κω[υ] N 29-30 ἀδι]κώτ[α]στον
 Cirillo 30 ἀποδε]χ- / ἀποδε]ικ- Janko: ἀπόδε]ξιν
 ποιου]ντας Cook (priv.) 31 Olivieri 35 τογελ[ο]ιον
 N

21] .]μοια[
 cπου[δ]ναν . . . ν κα [.
]το[.]κ[.]α κ[α]τ' εὐ-
 φουε[.]εις αθ[.]λ . [.]η
 5 ουτα[. . .]νε [.] ο]μενοις [.]
 [το//ῖς cπερμ//ολογωτάτοις
 [ο]κ //παντος // [.]ποις τε και πα[
 [.]ι . [.] // θεειν // . ["Ο]μηρος δέ τοῦ[.]
 ἡ]δυ[λό]//γους μέ//ν οὐδέποτ' ἐπὶ
 10 τὰς τῶν μονάρχων ἐκτί-
 ας παράγει, διὰ π[αν]τὸς
 δέ] τοῦς ἀρίστους γ[νώ]μη
 και] πράξει· το[ύ]//το μ[έ]ν [έν] πρὸς
 'Αγ[αμέ]νον//α, τοῦ//το δέ
 15 πρ[ο]ς 'Α[λκ]ίνο//ον, τοῦτ//ο δέ
 πρὸς ἅπαντα[.] // ἀπλῶς // [οὔ]τεως,
 κα]ι πρὸς τὸν τῆς Σύρου δυ-
 > νας[τ]εύοντα. ἐπεὶ και τὸ
 φιλογέλοιοι ὄλωσ εἶναι
 20 τὸν βασιλέα, κᾶν αὐτὸς ἀ-
 προύνικος [τά]λλα ἦι, οὐ-
 κ ἔοικεν, αγ [.]ητι κα-
 θαρεύων οἰμ[α]ι [.]χει
 τοὺς τοιούτ[ο]ς [.] ἀλλὰ
 25 κ[α]ι τῆν c[.] ν
 προτιμᾶι [.] [.] τῶι
 ποιητεῖ προ[.] οὐδὲ
 νῆ[φ]οντα [.]
 γελωστ [.] . . . υ
 30 τον ἀποδε[.]ντας
 ἐπὶ τῶι γε[λω]τοποεῖν]. ὡς-
 τε και τὸν Θ[ε]ρσίτην ἐπὶ
 τούτωι ψέγει δεινῶς, ἐπὶ
 τῶι πᾶν λέγειν "ὄ τι οἱ εἰσαι-
 35 το γελοῖον 'Αργείοισιν ἔμ-
 μεν", και πᾶσιν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς-
 ἀγει cτυγητόν· "ἔχθιστον δ' 'Α-
 χιλλεῖ μάλιcτα και 'Οδυσεῖ",
 περὶ ὧν cγγράφει. τοὺς δ' "Ελλι-
 [ληνας

22 2 *ec*, foot [τ]οε N: τ, bot. of curved let., *ς/θ/ε* 4
 τω, *χ* / apex (*δ/α*/etc.): τῶν Olivieri τ]όν * τ]ήν
 Olivieri ἄλυν Olivieri 5 π/(γ) π[α]ρ' / ὑπ[ε]ρ *:
 π[.]υ N: detached horiz. at top, [.] ρ/(υ) P οἰκείο[ι]κ /
 οἰκείω[ν] *: οἰκειο N: οἰκει, perhaps bot. of curved
 let. P 6 ἄ[μ]α τ]ῆ / ἄ[λλ]ἄ * : α[.]] P: α[.]] λ/α/μ N
 ν[ό]μον * 7 κακίςτους Armstrong: ι[.] κα[.]] τους N:
 ι[.]] κ (vert. and right arm), ις (top left), τους P:
 το]ῦς ἀρίςτους * :]κα[ι] αὐ]τοῦς Olivieri 7-8 βο,
 speck, λ, ε/ο/θ P: βουλ[N 7-8 βουλε[υ]ι τήριον
 Philippson: βουλ[ε]ύειν Olivieri: βουλε[ύ]εσθαι * 8
 καί Janko ἄ[γ]ειν / κ]α[λειν] * αἰςχρὸν * : αἰςχίον
 Janko: α, [.] , *ς*, perhaps left tips of *χ*[.] , ο/(ι), *ν* P:
 αἰςγαρο[.]] σιν N εφα, trace at bot. close to α P: εφατ
 N: ἐφάε[κε] * : φά[σκει Philippson: ἔφαει[νε /
 ἐφαίνει[το / ἐφαίνοντο / ἐφ' αἰ[ς / ἐφ' αὐ]τοῦς / ἐφ'
 αὐ]τοῖς * 9 τῶ]ς * : horiz. at top / top of curved
 let., *ε/ς*, *ς* 10 η/π/γ P πολλους N: horiz. at top / top
 of curved let., [.] , μ / λλ, ους P [ἐ]ρωτικούς Olivieri:
]ρωτικ, bot. of curv. let., *υ*, ink at bot., bot of curved
 let.? P: ρ[.] [ω]τικου] η N 11 και τὰς σὺν κ]ακ[ο]ῖς
 * : διοσυκ]ακ[ο]ῖς Dorandi [τε]χνίταις Cirillo:
]χνίταις N: εχνι[.] αἰς P 13 κ/χ, traces of two lett.:
 καί / χρή * : [εἰ] Dorandi 13-4 αὐ]τ[Janko 14 ἴ]σως
 Armstrong ν/η 14-15 * 15 ἄ δεῖ * τὸ Cirillo: τ[P:
 τ, specks compat. with ο/ι N προς N: προς P 16
 'τα[ῦ]τα καί' Dorandi ποτε N: ποτε P: {ποτε}
 Dorandi 22 ἀ[γ]ωνίαν Cirillo: α[.]] νιαν N: α[.]]
]αν P ουχ N: ο[.] χ P 23 Bücheler end.]λα N: λα P
 24 Cirillo 27 πρὸ / δε]ῦρο? * 28 τη, *ς* (prob. top of
 curved let.), horiz. at top? stroke incl. to left, αἰδ
 29 *χ/κ* 30 πυ[.]] , *ε/ς*, και P: πυ[.] ρ[.] και N:
 Πύ]ρ[ο]ς / πυρ]ῶς * α/λ/(ο) P: ο N ικα N: ι, *ς* / ο, κ.
 α/λ P: κα[ι] * 30-1 κατὰ * 31 end eno. β (vert. and
 lower loop) P: ἐνοχ]ο]λουντες Olivieri

22

.] . [.
 . [.] *ec* . [.] . το . [.
 φα[.]] ιδε[.]] παντ[.]]
 τω] ε . [.] . [τ]ὸν ἄλυν [.]
 5 κοπ[.]] ου π[α]ρ' οἰκειο[.]]
 ποιεῖν α[.]] α μὴ κατὰ ν[ό]μον
] κακίςτους εἰς τὸ βουλε[υ]τι-
 ριον] α[.]] α[ς]χ[.]] ἰον εφα . [.]
]] τ[.] καιροῦς εἰς κύβους κ[αἰ
 10] η[.] πολλοὺς [ἐ]ρωτικούς . [.]
 καὶ τὰς σὺν κ]ακ[ο]ῖς [τε]χνίταις
 συνδιατριβάς καὶ τὴν ἄλ-
 λην ῥαθυμίαν.] γοῦν αὐ
 . [.]] σως . ε] ν ἐπη-
 15 ρεάζων ἄ [] δεῖ τὸ πρὸς αὐρίον
 ἐπ' ἄνδρα· καὶ τὰ . τα] ἰ
 ποτε πεττοῖς
 ἔνιοι παίζουσι, τὰ δὲ πολ-
 λὰ πάντες ἢ πράττουσι τῶν
 προὔργου τι καὶ χρησίμων
 ἢ βουλεύουσιν ἢ μελετῶσι
 20 τι τῶν πρὸς ἄθλησιν ἢ τὴν
 ἐνόπλιον ἀ[γ]ωνίαν. οὐχ οἱ
 ἀρετ[η]φόρο[ι] μ[ό]νον, [ἀλ]λὰ
 καὶ [οἱ φα]υλό[τεροι]· καὶ γ[ὰρ]
 25 οἱ μ[νη]στῆρες "διίκοικιν
 τέρποντο [καὶ αἰγ]α[ν]ήνι-
 > κιν [ι]μέντες" [.]] ρο δὲ τῆς αὐ-
 τῆς [.]] αιδ[.]] η[.]]
 πε[.]] χοντ[.]] χη
 30 πυ[.] ρ[.] και τὰ[.] . θ . εἰς κα[]
 τα[.] ε[.] με]] . ενοβο[]-
 λοῦντες τ[ὴν] ἀλλοτρί-
 αν, ἀπολιπόντες δὲ τὴν
 οἰκεί[α]ν, ὥςπερ ὁ τοῦ τελευ-
 35 ταιῦ Ν[ι]κομήδους πα[τ]ήρ.
 παράδ[ει]γμα δ' ἡμῖν ὁ Τη-
 λέμαχος γενέσθω· τοῦτον
 γὰρ καὶ νέον ὑπ[α]ρχοντα καὶ ἱ

23 2 end]νοπαι N:]τροπ[Olivieri 3 α, τ vel υ ἐπιτευ[κτικὸς Olivieri, perhaps against traces in P:]τευ N 3]τευ N 4 χρονίζ[ει]ν/χρονίζ[ει] * ἄ]νδρα / ἄ]νδρα: *: v, horiz. base (δ/ξ), ρ/(ι), α[P:][α[] N 6 -7 αυ[.]ο[P acc. to Dorandi and Olivieri: αυ[P today 7 καὶ Cirillo 8 π P 9 ε[ι] δ' Cairns: ε[ι]τ' Armstrong: ε/(θ), [., speck ἐπὶ τῆς Cairns: ἐπιτηδ[ευμ]αί[των Dorandi: ἐξεπιτηδ[εα Cirillo οἰκία[ε * πατριδ[ος Cairns (too long?): 10 see com. 11-12 με[τά * μ.ε/ο[12 τι]νων * ξέ]νων 13 τὸ Cirillo: τ(speck), ο 13-14 Olivieri: ε[ι].]νου N: ε[ι].]νου P 14-15 Cirillo: αἰθεατο[N: αἰθ(bot. rt. of curve), [.(.)]τ(horiz.), ο.v(tips) P 15-16 Dorandi: αυκτερητον N: αυκ[P 17 και N:]α[P παρρησίας confirms Olivieri ἄπειρον Cirillo 17-18 Olivieri: ι|χηγορο,υ(bit of base and rt. arm) P:]κ[.]γορος N δὲ κ[αί] *: δ(peaked let.), ε(circ. let.), κ(only speck at top line): λέγ[ει D. Blank (priv.): λέγ[ων / λέγ[ειν Armstrong 18-19 ἀπαιδευτον *: α(α/λ/δ) τ(speck): [έξ]επαιδευ[ε]ν Cirillo 19 τον ὄθεν end]ο N 20 beg. ο (first half of curv. let.), ε (good) P see com. for rest 21 εἰ[κά]ζων Armstrong 22 [ι [.]κ/(ν)] N 23 σου[χ] N τ/υ 24 ντος N: ντος P μ/λ 24-5 ἀν]δρα- *:]δρα P:]δρα[ε] N 25 prob. curved stroke (ο possible), υ/(ι), κα, vert. and indistinguishable traces (ν not impossible) P]καν N: οὐκ ἀν[ήρ]/ἀν[δρ]- Cairns: οὐκ ἄν *: ἰκαν[ος * 25-6 δυνηκόμεν[ο]ε *: ν/(θ) P: δυνηκόμε[θ], ὠ[ε Olivieri 27 perhaps spat. bef. καὶ καὶ τὸ [Olivieri: καίτο[ι] Dorandi το[ύ]τω[ν Cairns: τ/υ ἔνε]κεν Cairns:]κ(good), ε(rightmost tips)/(ι), ν P 28 ποι[η]τῆς Olivieri: ποι, traces of let. from lower layer, τ(base only), η(left bar but not ι), ε 28 υπο, vert. 29 κ/(ε)/(ε) P: κ/α/λ N ἀγάγειν *: ἀπάγειν Dorandi: ἀπαιτεῖν Olivieri 30 εἰς * Π]ύλον [καὶ Σ]πάρτην * 31 τ[η]λικο[ύ]τοις * 32 συ[μ]μειξε[ι]ν * 33-4 Cirillo: πλε[.]ον N: πλε[.]ο[P γ' ἔτι fere Olivieri: γε τι G. Ranocchia (priv.): γ' ἔ(ε)τι * after Cirillo: γε[ι] N: γ (horiz.), ε, horiz. top, speck at bottom of line 34 πατρὸς Armstrong (confirmed by P): π(horiz.), α, τ(horiz.), ρος P ἐπι *:]πι N: π(horiz.), ι P 35 ἡδ[η Cirillo καὶ Cirillo Ἀθηνᾶν Cirillo 36 ποιῶν *: ποιω, ν/η P: ὁποιῶν Olivieri λέ[γο]υσαν *: δε[ι].]υσα[N: ι[.]ε[ι]. [.(.)]υσαν P 37 f. ἀγαλλ[θ]- Janko

23]... [.
]... [.
 νπο . . α . . ε . . [.
 χρονίζ[ει]ν δια[ε] . [.
 5] "μὴ πατέρ"
 ἀντίθεον διζήμιενος αὐ-
 τὸς ὄλωμαι" καὶ] "χρήματά
 τε προλιπῶν ἄνδρα τ' ἐνι
 δόμοικιν" ε[ι] δ' ἐπὶ τῆς . . α[.
 10 . .]ε . . [.] η̄ ε πάλιν [] ανεπ[ι-
 . .]ητον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ με[-
 τὰ τι]νων ἀνεστραμμένον
 τῶν μὴ] πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τὸ ἐ-
 κε]ίνου ζώντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄ-
 15 θέατο[ν] ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀνι-
 τώρητον εἶναι πολλῶν
 καὶ παρρησίας ἄπειρον ἰ-
 χηγόρου, πολλακίς δὲ κ[αί] ἀ-
 παιδευτον ὄθεν ε[ι]
 20 ος καὶ μάλιστα . ωνπ[.]ις
 ωνει[.(.)]ζων[.] να
 ποτ[.] υ[.] ο[ι[.]κ[.]
 ους . . φα τ] τ
 . .] ντος [. .] ν μ[.] ἀν-
 25 δρα[.] καν[.] δυνη-
 κόμεν[ο]ε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφι-
 — κέσθαι· καὶ το[ύ]τω[ν ἔνε]κεν [.
 ὁ ποι[η]τῆς ὑποι[.] ε[ε] . [.
 30 κωκ ἀγαγεῖν τ[ὸ]ν Τηλέμα-
 χον εἰς [Π]ύλον [καὶ Σ]πάρτην
 ὅπου τ[η]λικο[ύ]τοις ἔμε' λ' ἄλε
 συ[μ]μειξε[ι]ν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πλε[ι]-
 ον γ' ἔτι ποιῆσειν περὶ τοῦ
 πατρὸς [ἐ]πὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης ὄν-
 35 τος ἡδ[η]· καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν
 λέ[γο]υσαν ποιῶν ὅτι, τῶν
 εἰρημένων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἀγαλλ-

- 24 2 τ/υ 4]ρο[.]α[N only 5 ταυτό[ν * ο]ὔτ' Olivieri:]υτN:]τ P 6 οἰκε[ῖον] Armstrong: οἰκέ[την] Olivieri 8 πάλι Murray: γ/π τ[ό] *: τ[ά] Dorandi σπουδαῖον*: σπουδαῖα Murray βασιλεῖ Olivieri 9 Olivieri αὐτ[ηρὸν]: αυ, ζ(top left), τ(horiz.), [. . .]υ(almost certain): αυζ[N 10 Olivieri: ἦθος Janko κα[ῖ] τραχύ: τ/(β), ραχυ P 11 Dorandi ρ deleted with large supralin. dot 11-12 Dorandi 12-13 ἐπιείκειαν Cirillo: επιεν N 14-15 Fowler: ε, υ(specks),[.]γ/(τ) P: ε[.]γ[ε] N: ευδαιμονικον Caterino: ε[χέ]ε[εως ἀρ]μονικον Dorandi 15 π[λ]//εἶστον Caterino 16 Cirillo φοροῦ[ν]τα: φορο[.]τα P: φορο[τ .]τα N 16-17 Olivieri 17 [καῖ] Olivieri δεσ[ποτικῶ] *: δεσ[ποτικὴν Olivieri: 18 Olivieri δυνα[ε]τει[αν]: δυν, α(diags.) P:]γ/τ, ει[.] N 18-19 Olivieri 19 ὑπ[ὸ] Olivieri: υ,π/γ P:]ο N εωσα N: [εωσα] N¹: ἐ(ε)ώθη ? Janko 20 ἀλλ'] Dorandi τ[ῶν Olivieri (τω]ν) 21 των, vert.(κ/ν good) P ω,λλ/μ,η N: ωλλη N¹ 22 προσαγο[ρε]ῦντε / προσαγο[ρε]υ(θ)ῆ * K[ῦ]ρογ[* 23 τῶι Olivieri 23 βο[υλεύειν Bücheler: βο[υλήματι * 24 [καῖ * 24-5 Dorandi 25 οὔτωκ / οὔτωκ *: οὔτ[Olivieri: οὔτε Dorandi:]υτ[P today δ]ι' Dorandi 26 συμπα[θ]ι[αν] *: συμπα, θ(bottom left), ι(top of vert.)[.]ν: συμπα[θ]ει[αν Olivieri 27 τ/π ε/ο end [τε] N 28 θε, bot. of curved let. (φ/ε/ο) τ/π υ/ρ ε/ε 29 νῦν / καῖ] * 31 Cirillo 32 δ[ε] δ[ι]α[ι]ρεῖν Janko: δ[ε] φ[ι]αλεῖν ? *: [ἀ]νά[γ]ειν Dorandi: πα[ρ]ά[γ]ειν Olivieri 34 ε/(ε), [], horiz. at top, [.]υ[P: ἐξοκέλειν Cirillo
- 24] υπο[
.....] ο . τ[
...]αρ[.]ει . ην πο . [.]... [. [.]ο[.]...]α [.]ροτο [.]α[.]θητ .
5 ταυτό[ν ο]ὔτ' ἐμφαίνειν
> οἰκε[ῖον]. ἀπὸ δὴ τῶν τοι-
ούτων [ἀ]ναχωρήσαντες,
πάλι τ[ὸ] σπουδαῖον βασιλεῖ
παραι[νῶ]μεν· αὐτ[ηρὸν]
10 μὲν κα[ῖ] τραχύ [τι ἦθος καὶ
πικρὸν ἐχθ[ρ]αίρει[ν καὶ] // π[α]ραό-
τητα διασκεῖν κ[αῖ] // ἐπιεί-
κειαν καὶ τὸ βα[σιλεῖ]//ωκ ἡ-
μερον καὶ κυ[γ]γυ[ω]μονι-
15 κόν, ἐφ' ὅσον π[λ]//εἶστον, ἄκ
φοροῦ[ν]τα π[ρ]//ὸς εὐσταθῆ μο-
ναρχ[ί]αν [καὶ] // μὴ δεσ[ποτικῶ]
φόβωι δυνα[ε]τει[αν]. ὁ δὲ Κα[μ]-
β[ι]ο' ὑψης ὑπ[ὸ] Περσῶν ἔεωσατ' "πα-
20 τήρ ὦ[ε]" ...] // οὐχ ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν γονε[.]
των . [.]... [.]//ωμη[.]α οὐκ [.]...
προσαγο[ρε]υη κ[.]...]οι[.]...
ται γὰρ βο[] c. 7-9 "πατήρ
ὦκ ἦπιοις ἦεν" [.]... βα[σι]λευ-
25 ὄμενον οὔτωκ δ]ι' ἡμερότη-
τα καὶ συμπα[θ]ι[αν] [.]...
[.]ν ε... τρος[.]...]... υ .
...]ρο[.]...]νθε . [.]...]τις ἄχρι
...]το β[λ]ακευε[.]...]ε ὑπο-
30 λάβη π[ρ]ὸς ἀνθρ[ώ]πους ἐλ-
λ[ι]πέστεραν γε[γον]έναι. τε-
κμήριον δ[.]...]ια . εἰν ἔστι
καὶ τοῦ μέχρ[ι] καὶ τῶν ἐ[ε]-
'ε'χατωτάτων ε[.] [.]...]υ[.]...] .
35 συγγνώμην με[.]...]νοσ
κάν τῆι τελευτ[.]...] ταυ ||

25 5 Olivieri 6 οὐδ[εν]ός * 7 [καὶ] 25
 ὄ[ντ]ινα Cook (priv.) 7-8 α[|][.], vert.,
 μ[.]νον P: α[|][ιειμ[.]νον N: ἀινείμ[ε]νον
 Janko 8 τ/υ: ζτ[έργ]οντα Janko 9 ουποτε
 N: ζ/(ο), υ, π, ζι/ο, horiz. at top, top of
 curved let. P εν, εθ[P:]νεις N 10 τι|να
 Janko μ perhaps from different layer 11
 ο (top of curved let.) μ/λλ [ί]να μῆ *:
 speck at top right, α, μ/(λλ), η P: vert.,
 α[μη]λλη N ἔκλυιν Olivieri: εκ, λ (lower
 tips), υ/τ, ιν 12 ἀλλὰ* 12-13 Olivieri
 13 Cirillo 13-14 Cirillo 15 {τήν} dub.
 Fowler 17 τιμω{ι}ρίαι Olivieri: τ/υ,
 ι[.]ωριαι P: τια[|][ω]ιναι N 18 πατρός * π,
 α (speck), τ/(π), ρο, ζ (bot. left) 18-19
 Armstrong: τ/υ 19 ἐ[ζ]χηκέναι *:
 ε[ύ]ρηκέναι Armstrong εθ[.], χ (right
 tips)/ρ (possible), η, κ/ι, εναι P: ε[.]ηκεναι
 N ῥηθεις * : θ/ε 20 φ[ι]λοσόφωι:
 φ[.]λοσοφω, τ/(ι) P πρέπει Cirillo κα[ι]
 *(see com.): [τὰ] Olivieri 21 εὐπ[ειθ]ίαι
 *(see com.): εὐπ[ρεπεί]αι Murray, too
 long: εὐτ[ελεεί]αι Gigante 24 με, γ/(π): μεγ
 N αφελ P: αλ[.]ελ N ἐν|αντία Janko 25
 υ/ψ 26 γ/τ/π 27 ἐς[τι * κ]αὶ * : αι N:
 perhaps peaked let., ι P ἰ[όντας] Bücheler
 κατ]ὰ 28 κόσμ[ον] Bücheler ["Ἑλληνας
 Bücheler κ]αὶ * 29-31 Bücheler 32
 διδ[άκ]κ[ε]ι Olivieri 33 λ (peak only) 37
 δ' [ο]ὐ τὰ Olivieri: δ' [α]ὐτὰ Cirillo

25
 .]δ[
 .]ε[
 .]τεν[
 εικε [.]α[...]νε[
 5 διατεθ[. . . τ]ῶν γεγονότ[ων
 περὶ οὐδ[εν]ός μνησικακοῦν-
 τα [.]ο[.]ινα κέντρον καὶ α[|]-
 [ιειμ[.]νον καὶ ζτ[. . .]οντα
 (.) οὐποτε [.]εν εις
 10 (.)να[. . . .]ονα [.] (.)μ[
 . . .]ορον [ί]να μῆ δι' ἔκλυιν
 ἀλλὰ διὰ κρίειν φ[α]ίνηται πρᾶ-
 ο[ς, δ[ι]ὰ μὲν τὴν ἠπιότη(ι)-
 [κ]τα φιλήται, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπί-
 15]ταειν, τὴν ὅτε χρή, μὴ κατα-
 φρονῆται· θεωρεῖται δὲ τοι-
 οὔτο[ς] οὐ τῆι τιμω(ι)ρίαι τῶν
 ἐπιβουλῶν ὁ πατρός εὐ[νο]ι-
 αν ἐ[ζ]χηκέναι ῥηθεις. εἰ δὲ
 > τῶι φ[ι]λοσόφωι πρέπει κα[ι] πε-
 20 ρὶ ζτ[ρ]ατεύματος εὐπ[ειθ]ίαι
 καὶ ἀκομίας τ[. . .]α[
 φαι[. . .]ωνοι[c. 9]τα[
 μεγ[.](α)[.] ἀφελ[. . . .]α []
 25 τιαβ[.]αι[.]υει[. . . .]νειςθ[αι
 — και του[. . . .] νιρς[.]λε[.]γ[. . .]ν-
 νεις ες[. . .]αι ἐ[πίο]ν[τας] "εὐ κατ]ὰ []
 κόσμ[ον]" τοὺς ["Ἑλληνας κ]αὶ "σι-
 30 γῆι" καὶ "δειδιότας σημάντο-
 ρας", τοὺς δὲ β[α]ρβάρους, "κλαγ-
 γῆι καὶ ἐνοπιῆι δίικην ὀρ-
 νέων." καὶ διδ[άκ]κει μ[έν] ὡς
 δεῖ τὰς ἀπειλ[άς] κα[ι] ἀκομί-
 35 ας τοῦ πλήθους [κ]ατατέλλειν
 δι' Ὀδυσσεῶς κα[τ]ὰ τὴν γενο-
 μένην ὑπὸ τάγαμέμ[νονο]ς
 διάπειραν. ἀμέλει δ' [.]υτα ||

<p>26 5-6 Janko 11 ἐπιτ[ι]μάτ[αι] * 13-14 λοιπ- * λ/μ, ο, ι/γ/π/π, speck P: [τὸ] λοιπό[ν] *: [τὰ] λοιπά Cook (priv.) 14 λαμβάνει * 15 beg. γ/τ P: τ N 23 διὰ [τ]ῆς *: δι' ἀ[δρᾶ]ς Olivieri 24 ρ/υ[κ]αὶ *:]αι N 24- 25 ἀ]νατελλ[ε]ται / ἀ]νατελλ[ον]ται *: να[.]αι P:]τελλ[N:]τελ[λ][N: [ὁ] Τελ[αμωνιά]//δη[ς ποτε] Olivieri Διομήδης / Ἀχιλλεύς * 26 τ (horiz. only) N fin.]ε N: [δ]έ *: δ' Olivieri 27 γ (horiz. only) 28 Olivieri 29 τοι[γ]αροῦν Dorandi ε (good), top of curved letter (ς/ο) ἄλ[λου β]α[ς]ιλ[έ]ως Olivieri 29-30 τ[ο]ύτων * 30 ἀξ//ίω//[ν Olivieri: αξ[P:]ιο[N:]ι, ω (first loop)[N¹ 30-1 θ]εματ[ί]ζειν τῶν Janko: θ]εματ[ί]ζόν των Olivieri 31 ε[P today: Oliv. read ε, upper part of vert. []κει, γ/π[N: [ς][N¹: ἔπ[α]ινον Olivieri 33 [ἀ]λλὰ Cirillo: [ω]λλα N:]λα P 35 δεπάεσσ//[ιν: δεππαεω N: δεπαεω[.] N¹ 36 καθάτ N: καθαπ N¹ 37 δι N: δ[.] [ι] N¹: Δ[ι] Cirillo, Olivieri, Dorandi 38 υ (perhaps part of left arm) 39 μεγίτο[υ] Armstrong: μέγιστο[ν] Dorandi: μεγίτω[ι Olivieri: μεγιστο N: μεγιστ[ο/ω] N¹ N¹ 40 τωναλων N: τωναλων N¹</p>	<p>26 ον ]co[. //]cto//[.]νο[. //αραλ//[.]cat[. και 5]τη[. να[.] [. ἔ- νοχλῶ[ν . ουσα[.] . ο[. ζει τετ[10 ης[.]ρκα[αῶσα[.] ἐπιτ[ι]μάτ[αι παρ . ι[.]νοσο[τε και[.] . ναρ . [.] [.]ε[.]λοι[- π . [.] λαμβάνει δ[.] . [.]κα . [. 15 το[.] ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς λείας. ἐπιτιμάται δὲ Μενεσθεὺς δόξας κατοκνεῖν ὑπ' Ἀγα- μεμνονος, ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεῶς δὲ κ//αὶ // κατὰ πλήθος οἱ πλημ- 20 μελ//οὔ[ν]//τες τῆι διάπει- (ρ)αι. λ/ηφθεῖς δ[έ]// τις τῶν εὐ- θέ//των εἰς πα//[ρ]άδειγμα καὶ κο//λάζεται κ//αὶ διὰ [τ]ῆς ἀ- π//ειλης μ//[.] [.]τι [.] κ]αὶ [ἀ- 25 να//τελλ[ε]ται [.] . [.] . [.] μὲν ὑ//πὸ Νεκτ//[ο]ρο[ς] [.]τα . [δ]έ ὑ//π' Ἀγαμ//[έ]μνονος]γ[δ'//ὑπό τ//[ι]νος] ἄλ[λου β]α[ς]ιλ[έ]ως. > το[ιγ]αροῦν ε . [.] . νθ[.] τ[ο]ύ- 30 τῶν ἀξ//ίω//[ν θ]εματ[. των ε[//]κειγ//[.] [υ] καὶ τὸ [τὰ δῶ-]ρα τῶ//ν βασιλ//έων μὴ κέρ-]δεσι//ν ὀρίζειν // [ἀ]λλὰ τιμαῖς [· 'ἔδρ[ηι]' // γὰρ 'κρεα//κί]ν τε ἰδὲ πλε[ί- 35 //οις δεπάεσσ//[ι]ν' καὶ ὑπανα- //στάσει, καθάπ//ερ ἐπιόντι //τῶι Διὶ πάντ//[ων] τῶν θε[- //ῶν καὶ μέρος//[ι]ν ἀπὸ θυ[- //κιῶν, μεγίτο//[υ] δὲ μετὰ 40 //τῶν ἄλλων // [έ]γκωμ[ίου τυχεῖν //</p>
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27 3 end]α[P:]αινον N 4 τ N: π/τ P 6 ς 27
 (top left of curved let.) 7 υ (base and rt.
 arm) 8 ρ (top loop), ψ/(υ), on: τέ]ρψον /
 δάκ]ρϋον /: ὄψον * 9 Dorandi: Τηλέ]μαχος
 Olivieri 14 π/γ 15-18 Cirillo 18 prob.
 spat. after χον 19 ἀγα]πῆ[σαι δέ Janko:
 ἀγα]πῆ[νορα Cirillo 20 ἀ[νδ]ρὸς * end ιν
 N 21 ἴν' ῆ̄ Cirillo π]ανταχ[οῦ / π]ανταχ[ῆ̄
 * 21-22 ἀ]τα]ραξία / ἀ]τα]ραξίαν *: π/τ/γ,
 α]ραξία[N:]ραξία, vert. (υ/π/ν/ etc.) P: πα]ρ'
 ἀξίαν Cirillo 22 ρ/(β): π]ρ]ι[ν / π]ε]ρ]ι[* 23
 very small paragraphos 24 perhaps dot
 under ν or over ι in following line 26-7
 -]τέον ἴνα *: τε, ο/ς, ιν, α/δ P -τες νιν
 Bücheler 27 μῆ Janko: μηδ]α]μῶς Cairns
 28 ἐπ]άκτο[υς Janko: ἀτ]άκτο[υς Bücheler:
 ἀτάκτο]υς Olivieri (ἀτάκτο[υς in app.) 28-
 9 προς]ιάγωσι Armstrong: προ]ιάγωσι *:
 ἐπ]ιάγωσι Bücheler (impossible division)
 31 την' ἴου 35 Caterino 36 [ἔχθις]τον *: τ
 (part of vert. only) ο (left and rt. parts of
 circ. let.) P:]αν N ἔλλει]γεν Bücheler

[.....(.)]ε[
(.)]α]κειμεν . [..]ε[
]ωπ[]... []κειαι[.]α]ινον[
]ις[.] . [..(.)]οτ[
 5]εται τιματ[.]κ[
]ύστερ[.]ι ουχι ς[
]ια]ις[.]υ]ιν
]αιαν[.]ρ]ψον αι
 ε[..... φιλό]μαχος
 10 λ [.....]νυ ... [
]ων
]αρω
 δ[.....]κη[.]α]και
 > οπ[.....]εται ** χρη̄ τοι-
 15 γαροῦ[ν φιλό]νικον εἶναι
 τὸν ἀ[γαθὸ]ν δυνατήν
 ἀλλ[ὰ μὴ φιλ]οπόλεμον
 μη[δὲ φιλόμ]αχον. ἀγα-
 πη[.....]τη[
 20 α[.]ροσ[c. 7]ιν
 ἴν' ῆ̄ [.(.)]ανταχ[.....]ἀ]τα-
 ραξία[.]ρι[c. 7] παρα-
 — πλῆςιος [.....]
 ον τε τοῖς λ[.....]
 25 τιας ἔθνο[.]... [
 ς . την π[.....]
 τέον ἴνα [.....]... [τοῖς ἀ-
 ναγκαίοις ἐπακτο]ύς προσ-
 — άγωσι θορύβους. οἶμαι
 30 δὲ καὶ τούτοις προσβεβλη-
 κέναι τὸν ποιητὴν· οὐ { }
 γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὁ μὲν τῶν θε-
 ῶν αὐτῶι βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἄ [-
 ρη τῶν θεῶν ὁ δὲ τῶν βα-
 35 ςιλεων τὸν Ἀχιλ[.]έα τῶν [
 μονάρχων [ἔχθις]τον ἔλλει]γε

- 28 3 χ/υ 6-8 Olivieri 8 τουςδι N:]δ/λ/α,
ι, ς/ο P]τα P: σεπιτα VH¹: [. .]μτα NP 8-9
Bücheler 10 μ]έντο[ι Bücheler νο]μιχτέον
Olivieri: φη]μιχτέον Cirillo 11 ἀρ[χ]ήν
Cirillo 12 ε left part of curved let. P 18-
19 Cirillo 19 Cirillo 21 ἐπιφέρ[ε]ι /
ἐπιφέρ[ο]γτ' / ἐπιφορῶτερ- * 22 end of N:
rt. half of curved let., ς P 23 λέγων]
Cirillo 29 κά[ν Hawthorne (priv.) τ]οῖς *
33 Dorandi: καὶ τ[ὸν Janko 33-4 Dorandi
34 υ/τ 34-5 ὑπερικεύδ[ουσαν ἄμ]α τὴν
Ἄ[θηνᾶν Olivieri
- 28 ἐπ[.]ιχια[.]η[.]εκ[.]
[.]ν[.]λ[.]λεις[.]
που[.]ιστραχ[
> του[.]τα[
5 τους εξ[.]ον επα[.]τ[
πολεμ[.]τ[οῖς ὑπο]τετα-
γμέν[οις (.)] . α καὶ πρὸς αὐ-
τοὺς δις[.]τα· παμ-
πονηρέυεσθ[αι κ]αὶ βλακεύ-
10 ειν [μ]έντο[ι νο]μιχτέον
εἰ νομίζει τὴν ἀρ[χ]ήν οὐ-
τως ἀφαιεστέραν ἔξειν,
ὡς καὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν τι-
νες εὐκταῖον ὑπονοοῦσιν
15 — "οἰκετῶν εἶναι στάειν," >
κακῶς εἰδότες ἐκότεροι
διότι καὶ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν
τῶν οἴκων καὶ τῶν δυ-
να[ς]τειῶν κ[α]τα[ς]τροφῆ]ν
20 των[.]υπερο[.] [.] [.]
— ἐπιφερ [.] τ[.]ει[.]ε
κ[.] "Ὀμηρ[ο]ς
"ἀφρήτωρι" [λέγων] "ἀθιέμις-
25 τος ἀνέστιμος ἐστίν ἐκεῖ-
νος ὅς πολέμιοι ἔραται ἐ
πιδημίου ὀκρυόμεντος"
καὶ τὸν Νέστορα παρεια[ά-
γων κπε[ύδ]οντα λύειν τὴν
30 στάειν [] κά[ν τ]οῖς πρὸς Ἄγ[α]μέ-
μονα κὰν ταῖς τῶν πρέσ-
βων ἐν[τ]ολαῖς κὰν τῆι
— Πα[τρ]όκλου παρακλήσει.
καὶ τ[ὸν Ὀδ]υσσεά δὲ καὶ κα-
τά υ[.]ρε[.]ε[.]νυπε[
35 κπευδ[.]ατηναῖ

<p>29 3 Olivieri 3-4 Olivieri 4 Cirillo 4-5 29 εἰς ὃ αὐτὸ Olivieri 5 βλ[α]´έΨ//´α´c Olivieri:]oc fr. of N 6 Cirillo 7 Cirillo 13 Cirillo 14 εσθαί´ και 15 [δη] Cirillo: [πᾶν] Olivieri (prob. too long): [δὲ] Janko: [δ´] Dorandi (too short) 16 βαρ[υνό]μενον Armstrong: βα[ρκα]ινόμενον Cirillo 17 μέτετ[ιν] ὦν Armstrong 18 καλὸν Dorandi δὲ [] δ[ε]διῶχθαι Olivieri end κα, perhaps speck: καὶ * 19 τὸ ὄφελος *: φ/ψ, ε, λ/χ, ο (good) 19-20 * 20 τεύ[ξε]σθαι * εἰ και (half space) 21 ε/ε: αἰ ρεῖ Cirillo: ἀνα ιρεῖ Olivieri: φέ(ι)ρει Janko 22 εἰ Olivieri: οἱ Dorandi 23 τῶν [Μυ]κην[αίω]ν Cairns: Ἐλλ[λή]νων Olivieri (impossible): ., κ/(ς), ην[. . .] ρ 24-5 τοσοῦτ[ω]ι καὶ ἀφη]στήκεσαν Olivieri (prob. too long) 26 Olivieri</p>	<p>..]θαι δε[. . .]//πο//[.ω . . [.] μ[. . .]//[Ν]ροψ//[καὶ ταχέως ἐ//κ[φέρειν ἀνηκε- 5 `ς τους δυομεν//εἶα//c εἰς ὃ {α}[αὐτὸ βλ[α]´έΨ//´α´c "Ομη//[ρ]oc συν- ἐχθαίρει το//ύς πολ//[έμο]υ και τοὺς ἔρι[δ]ο//c φίλο[υ]ς καὶ φησιν "ὀλίγην ἰμὲν τὰ πρῶ- τα κορύσσει" αὐτὴν αὐ- 10 τὰρ ἔπειτα οὐρανῶι στη- ρί]ζειν κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνειν", καὶ ἐπαρᾶται τις "ἔκ τε ἰθιῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώ[π]- >-πων" ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ τὸ 15 ζηλότυπον [.] ἀπειναί δεῖ καὶ βαρ[υνό]μενον, εἰ —τινι μέτετ[ιν] ὦν ἔχ[ο]υσιν. καλὸν δὲ [] δ[ε]διῶχθαι κα]φελος[.] .] καὶ γὰρ ἀ- 20 ξ[ι]ῶ τευ[.] .] εἰ καὶ με- —γ[ά]λας . ε . ρει διαφορὰς ὡς- τ' εἰκότως οἱ φρονιμ[ώ]τα- [οι (.)]των[.] κην[. . .]ν Ὀ[δ]υσ- σε[ύ]ς τε καὶ Ν[έ]στωρ τοσοῦ- 25 τ[ω]ι ἀφη]στήκεσαν τ[ῶ]ν παθ[ῶ]ν τούτων ὡς τε "ἰοῦτέ ποτ' ἐν πλοῦσσι δίχια βιάζε- τον οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇι ἀλλ' ἔ- να θυμὸν ἔχουσιν νόωι 30 φριάζονται" Ἀργείοισιν ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστια γένοιτο"[. .]διο . . .]νυν [.] .] ρν </p>
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30 2 χῶ[ρα]ν Cirillo: χ, left circle of curved let. (ω/ο)[P: χο(. . .)] [v] N 3 ἀπέδειξ[εν Cirillo απει(bottom of curved let.), δ(horiz. at bottom line) [P: απελ[.]ιξ[N 3-4 οἰ]κείαν Janko: γλυ]κείαν Dorandi: κ / let. + ζ 4 δοκ[ῶν Janko: δόκ[ιμον Cook (priv.) 5 [γῆν Olivieri 6 horiz. at top, [.,], vert. (probably ι), κην P:]horiz. at top, [ηκη]ν N 7 α[.(.)], diag. (λ/μ good), οἰ: ᾗ[λ]λοῖς * (perhaps too short) 7-8 κατακ[ε]υ[ά]μα[ι]ν *: κατακ[c. 6]ε, υ/υ, ν P: κατακο[.(.)]α[VH¹: κατακο[.(.)]] [top right of curved let.] μ N: κατακ[ε]υ[α] [ic Olivieri 8 ἐκό[ε]μησεν * [ούτω Janko 9 οἰ N: bot. of curved let., foot of let. P 9-10 Cirillo 10 [οἰ Dorandi 11 κατα[N: κατ[P: καὶ α- * 12 δόμοι / βῶμοι / οὐδᾶμοῖ παρεταντα[P today: Olivieri read παρετανται [δὲ δι' Olivieri (perhaps too long): [δῖ' Dorandi 13 ἔτους Olivieri: ε/ε, τ/π, ου P today: Olivieri read]τους 13-14 Olivieri 15 ὀρεινάς * τ[ε καὶ Janko 16 μοχ[θη]ρ[ά]ς Janko 25 γ[ε]ωργ[ί]ας * ὁ ποι[η]τή[ε] * 26-7 εὐ[ε]β[ε]ία[ε]: ἐπιει[κ]εία[ε Cirillo 28 οἴεται Cirillo: [.]εται N: ο(speck), ι(vert), ε (horiz) [P 30 ποι[η]τή[ε] *: ποι[.(.)]τ(vert. only) η(specks of perhaps first vert.) [P: πο[.]ητ[N

.....]. οτι τ[χρον[....
.....]τὴν χῶ[ρα]ν [....
.....(.)]ν ἀπεδ[ε]ιξ[....
. εἰαν εἶναι δοκ[....
5 καὶ τὸ ἄκτυ καὶ τὴν [γῆν
.] . [.]ικην ἱεροῖς κ[....(.)
α[.(.)] . οἰς κατακ[ε]υ[ά]μα-
εἰν ἐκό[ε]μησεν [....
καὶ παρὰ Φαίαξιν οἱ [λιμέ-
νες καὶ τὰ τεῖχη[ι] καὶ [οἱ
ναοὶ καὶ ἀγοραὶ κατα[.
. . μοι παρέτανται [δι'
ἔτους τὰ δένδρα καρπ[οφο-
ροῦντα. καὶ παρ' Ἴ[θακσί-
15 οἰς δὲ τοῖς ὀρεινάς τ[ε καὶ
μοχ[θη]ρ[ά]ς
. . [
. . . [
[
. . [
20 ρ . [
. . ω . [
—καλ . [
. . ιτ[.]ιολ[
τὴν ε[.]οικ[.
25 —γ[ε]ωργ[ί]ας ὁ ποι[η]τή[ε] . . .
με . ν κ . . εἰ. καὶ τ[ῶ]ι μετ' εὐ[ε]-
βεία[ε] καὶ μετ' εὐδ[ι]κίας βα-
σιλεύοντι φέρειν οἴεται
τὴν γῆν "πυροῦς καὶ κριθᾶς
30 > καὶ βριθῆιν δένδρα καρπιῶι." ||

31 πολέμων Philippson:]ολεμων P: π/το[N:]μεμων N:]μελλων N¹: πολεμ[]ν V^H: πόλεμον Cirillo 3]ει[]σε . [] ρ/(θ) P:]ειμε[N: παρα[κ]ειμένης Cirillo: παρα[κ]ειμένους Olivieri 4 π]α^ςη^ς Cirillo άσκή^ςεω^ς Olivieri: ακη[^ςι] N end τηαιδ N4-5 Olivieri 5 end [] τοτοντε[N:]κτον[] N¹:]ε followed by trace of vert.[P: έρωμένοις ? Janko: έκπ/ονου[μ]ένοις Olivieri 6-7 * : τυρα^ς[]ειν N: τ, trace top of line, ρα[P: horiz. at top, υρα[]]ειν V^H: τυρα[N¹ 7 όντ[ω^ς Janko: <τῶ> όντι Olivieri ού] πολύν * 8 Cirillo 9 έγ//[λ]υθέντα^ς Olivieri: επ[N:][α]υθει[]τα^ς N:]θ (good), [](.), high vert. close to next let. (ν good), τα^ς P 10 η] (ά)φυλάκτου^ς * : <καί ά>φυλάκτου^ς Olivieri: φυλακ[]του^ς Dorandi 11 π//ολλού^ς: π] N:][^ς]λλου^ς N:]λ[](.), ο/ω, υ^ς P 12 θέλοντα^ς Olivieri: θελοντα^ς N: άν[α]//περε[]ί]ν * 13 έπ[]ι τ]ήν * / όπ[ό^ς]ην * 14 προέλκου^ςιν * []λυ]π//ηρω^ς Olivieri: π: ο N 15 άνέκε^ςι//[]ν] Cirillo άκε[]ται * : άκε[](θ]α[]ι] Cirillo: άκε[](ν] Dorandi 16 Cirillo 18 έγχειρ[]ι//δ[]ωι * : έγχειρ[](α[]ι] // δε//[]ινός Cirillo: //δε//[] N 18-19 έ[[]]κτιν * , confirming Cirillo ([]έ^ςτι) 19 πρ]ο//έχ[]ου^ςι / πρ]ο//έχ[]ει * : πρ]ο//έχ[]ων Kuiper (in Voogs): πρ]ο//εχ[]όμενος Olivieri 20 ε]ί^ς * : π]ρό^ς []των Janko:]foot of vert. ?, speck at top 21 άν/ηκόν[]των Cirillo 21-2 * (after Cirillo) 22 πάλι//[]ν και Cirillo 23]κ]οπούμενοι *] . . . κ]οπούμενος Dorandi:]οπουμενο, ^ς (upper half) N:]ο, horiz., ουμενο[] N¹: ο, horiz. at top, ουμενο[V^H: π]ερί * τῶν * : τ[]]ν N: τ, speck, ν (bar rather high) P: τ[N¹ 24 φ]ό//νω^ς (?) * το, ν/η/(γ/π), ink at bot.: τοι^ς N: τοι[N¹ 25 ^ςχολ]άζοντα^ς Armstrong: η]κυ]άζοντα^ς * π]ραγμα^{των} * 26 vert. (?), ^ς: ε]ί^ς / ό^ς * και * 26 π]ε[]ρι//[]ε^ςτώτων Armstrong ώ^ς * : vert./rt. side of ω/ο και * : υ] (speck but little room) τ[]ά Armstrong: τ[](crossbar) [27 τῶ[]ν ει]//ρηνικῶ[]ν * : ει]//ρηνικῶ^ς Olivieri αύ]τοί^ς Janko end τοι^ς. β/η/θ/κ/μ/ρ/υ 29 έφοδ[]ον * : έφοδ[](ι]ον Janko: έφ' όδ[](ω]ν Olivieri εφοδ[] N:]ο(top of curved let.), ν[N 28 άξ[]ιοῦ^ςι Armstrong: άξ[]ια Jankio 29-30 Armstrong: κ/μ/ι, etc. 30 'Αλκί]νο[]υ^ς * (cf. col. 21, 15): 'Αλκί]νο[]ο^ς: αλκ^η N: //νο[P 31 ει^ς: ει[]^ς] N 34-5 Cirillo]ακη^ςιω^ς N:]α, vert., η^ςι[P: τακη^ςιω[]^ς] N¹ 35 Olivieri

31]ο . [.....]α[](.) πολέμων]ιν ευθύ παρα[]ειμ^ςε . ρ [..... π]α^ςη^ς άσκή^ςεω^ς ά[φ]ί[]- 5 στα^ς//θαι, τοί^ς γάρ ε]τοτοντε[] νοι^ς // ού[κ] ειώθαι^ςιν // τυρα^ςν- ν]ειν, ώ^ςτε όντ[ω^ς // πολύν χρόνον άπολα[]ύειν τῆ^ς η]κυ[](χ]εία^ς. ` τ' οῦ^ς δ' έγ//[λ]υθέντα^ς 10 η] (ά)φυλάκτου^ς άν//αγκά^ςζ[ου- ci πολεμεί^ςθαι, π//ολλού^ς τε και θέλοντα^ς άν[α]//περε[]ί]ν, έπ[]ι τ]ήν προειρη[](.)ενα . ν προέλκου^ςιν []λυ]π//ηρω^ς. [15 κάν ταί^ς άνέκε^ςι//[]ν] άκε[]ται τα^ς []ώματα και π//[]ρό^ς []ι^ςχ[](υ]ν] και πρ[]ο^ς τ[]ο κινδ[](υ]ν]νεύει[]ν, και π[]α^ς εν έγχειρ[](ι]//δ[]ωι έ[[]]κ- ' ^ςτιν άει και []πρ]ο//έχ[]ου^ςι 20 τα^ς [](υ]πο]//θήκα^ς π//ῶν []ει^ς τ]όν // πόλεμον άν/ηκόν[]- τω]//ν, και συνεδρ[](ε]ύου[]^ς] []κ]οπούμενοι []π]ερί τῶν]ω . []//νω^ς ούδεν[](.) //το . . [](.) //άζοντα^ς []των π]ραγμα^{των} 25 π]ε[]ρι//[]ε^ςτώτων // ώ^ς και τ[](α τῶ[]ν ει]//ρηνικῶ[]ν (.)//τοι^ς . [] αξ[](.) //δε πάν//υ δυ[](.) τοί^ς έφοδ[](ι]ον // πρα^ςδόκ[](ου- 30 ^ςιν έωθ^ςεν ό 'Αλκί]νο[]υ^ς εξ- ει^ςιν " ει^ς βουλήν, ί]να μιν κά- λεον Φαίακε^ς άγαυοί" και συν- []α]χθεί^ςη^ς εκκλη^ςια^ς υπό το[](υ] Τηλεμάχου τῶν []θ]ακη^ςι- 35 ω[]ν πρ[]ώτον πυν[](θάν]ονται μη[]

32 4 κ[α[ι] * 6-7 Olivieri 7 μήποτ[ε Olivieri: μη[. .]π/τ P today: μη, horiz at top (π/etc.), peaked let N 7-8 π|ροφοίρας Cirillo 8 τὸν Ἀ[μφίονα Armstrong κάλλιο]ν Armstrong 9 ν, prob. left top of horiz. (τ/π/etc.): τ[ὸ μ]ῆ δειν * κ[ι]λάς / βίλας *: bot. of curved let., κ/(β), ιλας 14 πρ//άγματα: πρ, diag. [P:]αγματα N 15 κ//αι: κ, diag. [P:]αι N 16 δυνάμεωκ: δυ, ink in top left and rt., αμ, bot. of curved let. [P: δυναμ[N:]μεωκ N 19 οὔρο//ν: ου[P: ο[υ]ρο[N:]ν[N Ἀ[χα]ιῶ[ν: α[. .]ι[ι] N: α[ι] N¹ ck. spacing and hand 20 ὄ τε Armstrong: ο(good), τ (perhaps base), ε(speck): [. . , curved let. N: ὄ[τι] Olivieri αυ, trace at top of line P αυ//τῶι Cirillo: αὐτῶν Olivieri 22-3 Armstrong: τρι N: τρ[ι] N¹: φρ[VH1: φρο[νοῦ]ντι Cirillo 24 χ/ν(pt. of diag) ε(α) 24-5 Armstrong 25 κ/β/ρ N 27 Π[ρι]άμου (confirms Cirillo) {μόνος Armstrong 27-8 ἀ]ει * 28 εἰ * τ, ι, prob. curv. let. P today: Olivieri read τιο Olivieri: βουλεται το marginal notation in N τῆ Ἀθη[ν]ᾱ Janko: γηαθη N end]α perhaps. diff. layer P 29 29-30 οὐκ Ἀϊαν]τος "ἐσπομέν[ο]//υ" Olivieri 30 εἰ[κ * : εἰ[κ] Olivieri 33 περ(ί)οιδε Bücheler αἰ' και N end τῶ[ν * : το[N: τ[VH1: πο[υ Olivieri 34 και Φ]αιάκω[ν] Olivieri, Dorandi 34-5 λ[έ]γεται Cirillo: first vert. and diag. of ν. [c. 1-3][.]εται N:]γεται P

32 . . .]ν ὅπερ περι[.]μα[. . . .]μενουπ[.]ρα .]ιτ[. .]ωδα[λειν κ[α[ι] το[5 των και λα . [.] [.] [.]ης κατέχουσι [τὴν δυνα]κτεί- αν μη . . . τ[. . .]ροφο- ρας τὸν α[.]ν ν[ο]μίζει ν [.] //αδειν // κ[ι]- 10 ας ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκατέρ//αι τῶν // πε- ριτάσεων "ἐν σοφῶν] // βούλευ- μα τὰς πολλὰς χ//έρας [νικ]ᾶν" και τὸ πολὺ το//ύτωι κατορ- 15 θοῦσθαι τὰ πρ//άγματα και χωρὶς ὄπλων κ//αι μετὰ συμ- μέτρου δυνά//μεωκ. ὁ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐ λέλη//θεν αἰ[λ- λ' αὐτός τε τὸν Νέστο//ρα προ[ο]- ηγόρευεν "οὔρο//ν Ἀιχα]ιῶν". 20 ὄ τε μάλιτ' αυ//τῶι πείραν εἰληφῶς τῶ//ν εἰδῶν ἀμ- φ[ο]τέρων εἰ δ//έκα τῶι τρι- γέρο]ντι παρα//πλησίους εἶ[ν]- χ[εν . .]εσθαι δ//εκα πα[. . . .] 25 . . .] τῆν Τροίαν κ . . // κ[. . .] ἐα- λωκ]έναι φησιν ου//και[. . . .] Π[ρι]άμου πόλιν οὔ//τος [. . .] , εἰ δὲ βούλ[ε]ταί τις // τῆ Ἀθη[ν]ᾱ και ὁ Διομή[δ]ης // και [οὐκ Ἀϊαν- 30 []τος "ἐσπομέν]ο//υ", φησί, "και ἄκ []πυρὸς αἰθρομέν]ο//οιο ἄμφω νο- ατή]σειν," ἀλλ' Ὀ//δυσσεύς "ἐπαὶ περ(ί)οιδε νο]//ῆσαι." και τῶ[ν Φαιάκω[ν] ἢ ν//αὺς "ἄνδρα" λ[έ]- 35 γεται "φέρειν θεοῖς ἐ//ναλίγ- κια μῆδ(ε) ἔχοντα." και ἰ ὑπ[ὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μὴ προλείπεσθαι ||

33 1 ο, ζ/δ 3 τ, ω/(ο): P: το N: ἐκ]άκτω[v * 7-8 βα]λ[ι]ε[ί]α[v / βα]λ[ι]έα * (see com.) 9 γε: γ followed by top of curved let. P: [γε] N δυ, lower left of curved let. (ο/ε) P: δύο [/ δυο[iv * : δυv N 10 ἐ]π[ιδει]ξηι / δό]ξηι * τ]ηι [δό]ξηι Janko 10-11 πρώ]την (?) * : πρώ]τε[ύον]τας van Krevelen 11 end λ(δ), ε, horiz. or slightly arched stroke at top (γ/φ possible), stroke at the top (curved or straight): λέγε[ι / λει]φθ[- * : λε]γω[v Janko: δειν Olivieri 15-16 Olivieri 16 Ὁμ[ηρο]ς * οπε[.] [v]ε N 16-17 εἶ]πτε 10 Janko 17 τ]π/γ: τ' [ἐ]π[ιδος]ιν / εἰ]δεσιν Armstrong: π[αρά]δοςιν Olivieri 18 τ[οῖς] βασιλ[εῦ]σι Olivieri: τ (base only), [. (.)]βασιλε, υ, ς/ε[P today end πο N: π, left of curv. let. P 20 αὐ]τή[v * 21 beg. Olivieri read]ην: ,]traces of two verts. P today: τ[οῖς] βασιλ[εῖ]ς also possible λ, α/(λ): ἀλλ[ὰ] δ]ή τότε Olivieri: ἀλλ[ὰ] δ]ή τοὺς νέ[ους] δι]δάσκειν Philippi: υ/τ 22 ἐ]πασκεῖν * : φάσκειν Janko 22-3 σπουδ[αι]α * (perhaps too short) 24 πρ[ώ]τη * :]τ, η/ρ, rt. and bot. of large circ. let. (ω/ο/θ) 26 α/λ, etc. 27 ς/ο P: ο N ε, vert. 28 δρει, trace P:]ρειv N: ἀνδ]ρει[- * [] ὄδ 29 Olivieri 29-30 νυκτη]γρεσί]αν 30 βουλε]υόμενοι Cirillo: βουλοιο]μενοι P 30-1 [περὶ τῶ]ν ὄλ[ω]ν Olivieri 31 Olivieri 32 Olivieri 32 τῶν: [τοη] N: τῶ[P 38 Murray

33 33 ση[. .]οζ[
 ης[.]v[]το[
 . [.]ακτω[
 . [.]ι σο[.(.)]κ[
 5 χ[.] . εσθαι την[
 κ[.]ακει . [.] . [
 τ[.] . νοιπε . [.(.)] . [
 ς[.(.)]ε[]α[.] τ[η]ν ἀκφάλειαν [
 μ[.(.)]γε . . . τοις δυς[. .
 10 ε . [. .]ι[. (.)]ξηι τινας πρω[
 τ . [.]ε]ύβουλιαν λέγε[ι
 "οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλη]ι Δαναῶν
 π[ε]ρὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα" κ[αὶ
 "βουλά]ς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθῶν
 15 πόλεμόν τε κ[ε] ὁ ρύσων." [πα-
 > καν οὖν ομ . [.(.)]ς περιαις . [. .
 πειτο [. .]τ . .]δοςιν εὐ[βου-
 λίας τ[οῖς] βασιλεῦσι πο . []
 20 ον δεῖν, μὴ μ[ό]νον τοῖς π[ε-
 ρι]πεποιημ[έν]οις αὐτήν [. .
 . ηναλα . . ητους . ε[. . . (.)
 [] . ακκειν . [.] και σπουδ[. . .
 α[. .] . [.(.)] πει[ρ]ᾶσθαι κα[. . . (.)
 χ[. . .]υ πρ[.]τη . . [. . (.)]κι
 25 α[. . . (.)]ητω[.
 κα[.]ητακα[.]εσιν
 ει . αςυπε . [.] . . [.]ς[. .]ων
 — φ[. .]δρει . [.] . οδ[]η[]πι[. (.)]οι[. (.)]v
 οἱ [κ]ατὰ τή[v] νυκτη]γρεσί[-
 30 αν βουλε]υόμενοι [περὶ τῶ]ν
 ὄλ[ω]ν ἀριστεῖς τῶ[v M]ηρι-
 ὄν[ην] καὶ τῶν Ἄντ[ί]λοχον
 οὐδέπω κατατεταγμέ-
 35 νους εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἀπά-
 γοντες ὡς ἂν ἑωρακότες
 αὐτῶν τὴν φρόνησιν [έ]v
 τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῆι περὶ ἡ
 [τῆς φυλακῆς

35 10 β/ρ μ/λ 11 τ[.]α[P:]αρ[N 12 πε, horiz. at top, α N: π(horiz.)[P 13 beg. φακκ N: []π[P 13-14 Olivieri 15 διδ, curved let. (ω,ο), perhaps followed by υ though this trace may be from diff. layer 16 see com. 17 γ/π N: vert. only P 18 τοῖς μ[ονάρχ]οις (?) *: τοῖς[...]οις N: τοι, ζ/θ, μο[... (.)], left of curv. let, ι, bot. of curved let. P 19 ὁ πολύμητις Olivieri 20 ι (read by Olivieri), α(any peaked let.), κ 21 στ N: ο, γ/π/(υ)/(τ) P 22 τι[.(.)]ρεις N: τ followed by vert. only (η good), followed by fissure of indeterminable length, ρειτ P 23 ε from rt. margin in sott. 24 θ[άνα]τος Cairns: θ[νη]τάς *: θ from rt. margin in sott.:]τος N:]ο/ω, c P today: Olivieri read τοσ τους * 24-5 κ[α[υ]χω[μέ]ινου[ε / κ[α[υ]χω[μέ]ινου *: κ[α[υ]χω[.(.)]ινου(part of base and left arm)[25-6 καθικόμεν[ος] Cirillo: καθικόμεν[ος τὸν * (see on col. 36, 23-4 28 [κ]αῖ Cirillo: α(any peaked let.) ω(second loop) from *sovrapposto* above the previous ω in this same line 30 ων' ἄμ (2 spaces) 31 τοσ' ἔτι 34 υτῶ' ὁ

35

10 βημ[
τ[.]αρ[
πε . α[
[]π[.] καλοκα-
γαθίας υ[
15 τα διδο[]
> μοσ θαλ[.] τοι-
γαροῦν [.]ο[. . .]η[.]η[. . .
τοις μο[... (.)]οις[
αὸ πολύμητις α[. . .] . η[
20 κει σφ[ό]δρα [.]ιακ[.
οτ[.]ιει[.]με[.
.]τ . ρειτ[
ε[.]νοῖ[.]
θ[.]τος[.] κ[α[υ]χω[μέ]-
25 _νου[ε]α[.]ε καθικο-
μεν[.] "πρωτίστω δι-
δοιμεν εὔτ' ἄν πτολίεθρον
ἔλωιμεν" [κ]αῖ "ὄν κεν ἐγὼ
δήσιας ἀγάγω[ι] ἢ ἄλλος Ἄ-
30 χαιῶν" ἄμ μὴ παρωδῆ [
λάθη φλυαροῦντος. ἔτι
δ' "ἀνδράσιν τοῖς πρότερον
οὐ θέλων ἐρίζειν οὔθ' Ἑρια-
_κλήϊ' οὔτ' Εὐρύτω." ὁ δ' "Ἐκτωρ ||

36 1-2 "Εκ|τορα / Νέ|τορα Olivieri 2 ενο N: θεο V^H 3 παν[τό]ς or sim. * 5 [φάσκο]ν[το]ς / [φάσκο]ν[τα] / λέγο[ν]τα / λέγει[ν] Wigodski 6 ὁρᾶται Olivieri from P(fr. 80) πρίν confirms Olivieri (πρί[ν]): κρι[N: π(speck only)] P: |ν from sott. in 37.3 καλῶς confirms Olivieri ([κ]αλῶς): pt. of stroke midline (ε/κ). αλω P: κ(vert. and probably pt. of arm)[from sott. in 37.3 P 7 ι|δ[εῖ]ν * φεύγω[|ν] confirms Olivieri: φ[fr. 80 P: |ευγω[|ν N:] bot. of curved let., bottoms of two verts., [], v P 8 τείχος *: τειχ[fr. 80: [. . .]ς(tips of ε/ς) 8-9 confirms Olivieri (τείχος): τει P: |χος P(fr. 80) 9 rt. pt. of curved let. before initial π in παρατρεπείας (ο/ω/φ/θ) παρ' ἀτροπείας / ἀτρεμείας S. White (priv.) παρατρέχει (ἀ) Cook (priv.): παρ' ἀπρεπείας / προπετείας *: παρατρέπεται Olivieri: π[γ, αλ, ρ, α/λ/δ, τρε, π[γ, ειας ειας' πο 9-10 κολλῶ [] δὲ confirms Olivieri (πολλὸν δὲ): λυ(perhaps pt. of left arm) δε/ε/α/θ, ε(top left of circ. let.) fr. 80 10 [μ]ᾶλλον Cirillo 10-11 εὐ[τυχία]ις Cirillo: εὐ[ήμερία]ις *: εὐ[πραγία]ις Olivieri 11 ἀνθρώπο[ι]ς possible (οὐκ) * 11-12 εἰ[γίνω]σκεν *: εἰ[πέφα]σκεν Cairns: εἰ[δίδα]σκεν Cirillo 12 (οὐκ) *: κ(perhaps speck of top of vert. and top arm): οὐ[κ] Bücheler: οὐν Cairns ἴσα Bücheler ([ί]σα): ι(vert. or rt. stroke of ω), κά P today: Olivieri read ἴσα 12-13 θε[οί]ς Cirillo 13 ἐφρόνει: εφρονε[N:]φρονε, ι(speck at bot. line) P after ἐφρόνει Olivieri adds μὴ τι δὴ 14 οὐκ ἤριζεν Cirillo (too long): ἤριζεν Olivieri: [. .]ζεν N: [. .]ν P τοίς' και 15 φησι τῶν *: νομίζω[ν] Cairns: φάσκω[ν] *: και δοκῶν / φήσας τῶν Armstrong: δοκῶν τῶν Olivieri: αὐτὸς τῶν Cirillo κρειττόνων: κρ. ε/θ ι(bot. of vert.), [], τ(horiz.), των P: κρ[.]των N 16 εἶ[ναι]: Olivieri: ν(vert. only) κα[ι] Olivieri: κα[P: κα[ο] N γ[έ]νος Olivieri: γ[ξ, [], νος P: |νος N 17 ἐφ[ρενοῦ]το: ρενουτ N: |ενουτ P today: Dorandi read ρενουτ: θεό[θεν] *: Διό[θεν] Olivieri δὲ Armstrong 17-18 ἐνι[οι] *: ἐν | Π[θά]κη[ι] Olivieri: ἐνι P: ἐνι[. .]χη N 18 καὶ Armstrong: χη N: P lost [τῶ]ν * 18 ᾶ[ν] Cirillo ὑπερ[ο]ν Bücheler: ὑπέρω[ν] *: υτε[ι], εἰ(top pt. of curved let. and trace of horiz.), ρ/υ, [], ν: Olivieri read υτε[ι]: ὑτε[ρεῖν] Cirillo 18-19 μοναρχ[η]κάν[των] / μοναρχ[ί]ων / μοναρχ[ικω]τά[των] *: μοναρ, χ (good), [] | [. .], τ, ω(much better than ο), ν: μοναρχ[ικώ]τα[των] Olivieri 19 ἐ[τῶ]ν / ὄ[των] *: ὦ(good) ὀ[/ ο]ύ * τυφλώσας Olivieri 20 λ (speck) 21-4 see com. 23-4 Cairns 25 τοιαύ[τη] (see com.) 27 εἰρηκέναι / εσχ[η]κέναι Janko ναι, left half of curved let. (ς/ο/ω), lower pt. of diag. incl. to left ὁ δὲ ? 28 οὐκ ἐ[ῶ]ν *: δοκῶν Olivieri ἐπολολύζειν Dorandi 29 τοί[ς] Olivieri 29-30 Cirillo 31 ω(bot. of second loop) 33 Cirillo 35-6 Bücheler

36 .|ον[c. 17 "Εκ-
τορα[.]θεο[. . . .]ει[
καὶ παν[c. 1-3]ce[. . . .]εα"εἰ πυ-
ρι χειρῶς ἔοικεν, εἰ πυρὶ χει-
ριας ἔοικει" [. . . .(.)]ντ[. . .]ι . . [
5 ὁρᾶται πρίν καλῶς αὐτὸν
ι|δ[εῖ]ν φεύγω[|ν] οὐδ' εἰς τὸ
τείχος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ τεῖ-
>- χο[ς] [υ] [. .]ο † παρατρεπείας †, πο-
10 λὺ δὲ [μ]ᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς εὐ-
τυχία[ι]ς ἀνθρωπος ὢν (οὐκ) ἐ-
γίνω]σκεν, ἀλλ' οὐν ἴσα θε-
οίς ἐφρόνει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς
ἤριζεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ πού
15 φησι τῶν κρειττόνων τις
εἶ[ναι] τε κα[ι] γ[έ]νος ἔλκειν.
ἐφ[ρενοῦ]το δὲ καθατέρ ἐνι-
οι] καὶ [τῶ]ν ὑπερ[ο]ν μοναρχ[η]-
κάν[των] ὁ [τυφλώσας τὸν
20 "οὐ γὰρ Κύκλιωπες Διὸς αἰ-
γιόχου ἀλέγουσιν οὐδὲ
θεῶν ἀλλ[ω]ν ἐπεῖ ἢ πο-
λὺ φέρτεροί ἐμεν" φλυαρη-
κα]ντα κ[.]τωι μεν[
25 τοιαύ[τη] [.(.)]ενη[. .]ιν
. .]ιτ[.]νε[.
. . . .]ηκεναι. []λε . [
οὐκ ἐ[ῶ]ν ἐπολολύζειν [
τοί]ς ἐνδίκως τετιμω[ι]-
ρη]μένοις, καὶ ἐπιφωνῶν
30 ὡς "οὐχ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν
ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι."
καταμην[ύει] δὲ τὸν "Ομη-
ρον ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν
35 φρονημάτων δυ(ς)ω[π]οῦ-
μενος αὐτόν τε τοιοῦτον ||

37 1-2 φα|νερός * 2 αὐτός Dorandi: α/(ο), ψ(τ), ο, ς
 (left of curv. let.): οὐτός Cirillo: ουτο N: ουτο VH¹ γε
 / γε *: [δ]è Cirillo kân: κα, ν (first vert. and perhaps
 bit of diag.)/(ι) P: καλ Olivieri: και N 2-3 Cirillo
 3-8 Cirillo 7 νον^ν ει ει γε Dorandi 9 10 τ(part of
 vert.) ν .. bottom of vert. 13 τής Olivieri: τ(base
 only) η(two feet) ς (speck) P today 17 φ (speck
 below line) P 18 μη N: λ/μ[P: κέ]λη Cairns 19 beg.
 [τ/π/etc. (horiz), ω] N (ω perhaps from other layer)
 20 ἐ[θαύμα]ζε Olivieri: ἐ[τίμα]ζε Cirillo: ἐφ[ύβρι]ζε
 Dorandi 20-1 Εὐ[ρύα]λον *: Εὐ[μη]λον Cirillo 21
 λον, tip of serif (from τ/π/η/etc.) P 21 η N (perhaps
 from other layer) κ/η α/δ P: δ N 23 τ/π/γ (perhaps
 incorrect layer) διότ[ι / ι]διος[η]τ- 22 22 ἔφη Cirillo
 23-4 see com. 24 μη[δ]έν Cirillo (too short) ἦττο[νο
 Cirillo 25 θε, diag. incl. to right P (acc. to
 Olivieri): θε[P today bot. of curv. let., α ?(bot. tips
 ?), νω 26 Cirillo

37 — . [φα-]
 νερός αὐτός γε kân // μυκ[α-
 χθεις τὸν και ἐπὶ τῶι // κάλλ [ει
 θρυπτόμενον Δημ//ήτρ[ι-
 5 ον τὸν Πολιορκητὴν // ο/ύ-
 χ ὅτι ταῖς πράξει χ[α]//υνοῦ-
 μενον, εἰ γε "τῶι Πά//ριδι" κ//α-
 τέγραφεν "οὐ βοηθήσει
 κίθαριν τὰ τε δῶρ' Ἀφριο-
 10 δίτης τήν τε κόμην πρό-
 τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐγ κονίη' ἴσι μι-
 γείη", καθάπερ ἐκείνῳι συν-
 ἔβηι ληφθέντι μετὰ τῆς
 ὄλης στρατίας αἰχμαλώ-
 15 τωι, καὶ τὸν καλὸν Ἄρην
 καὶ αὐτῆς ἐρώμενον τῆς
 Ἀφ[ρο]δίτης ὑπὸ χλωῦ τα
]μη συνδούμενον
(.) τὸν Νειρέα μὲν
 20 ο]ύτακ ε[. . . .] . ζε, τὸν δ' Εὐ-
 ρύα]λον . [. . .]η[.(.)]κα θεοῦ
 πλάσμα [. . . .(.)] ἔφη μὴ λεί-
 πεσθαι [. . .]τ[. .]διος[. .] . [. .(.)] . ει
 > . καιμη[. . .]εν ἦττο[ν . .(.)]· και-
 25 ται θε[. . . .] . . νω[. θεο]ει-
 δεῖς πο[ιείν] τοὺς βασιλείς
 ἀρεστῶς ἐμοί γε, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ-
 το πρὸς τὸν χυδαῖον ἔχει
 τι καταπληκτικὸν καὶ
 30 τοῖς κρατίστοις, οὐς χρή μι-
 μείσθαι, παραπλήσιον, δι-
 ὀ καὶ θεοειδεῖς καὶ θεοει-
 κέλους αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύ-
 [ει

38 1 λα|ερτ(ιάδης ? 3 π/τ ζ (any curved let.) νϛ
 1 και 4 ηρωεcci N: τ/ηρωεcci P 5 ζ(middle diag. and
 bits of lower and upper) χ(specks only) 6 end. κ|α|ι
 *: |α| N only 11 τ(ούτ|ον Dorandi: τ(ωι|ον N: τ[.],
 speck near bottom of line, ov P ν[.]|τικο] N: ν[.], τ/υ,
 ικ, ι (perhaps), top of curved let., perhaps top of
 horiz. P 13 ϛι' 1 και 14 Olivieri 15 ἐς θ̄η|κι
 Armstrong: ε̄|γ|χ|ε|κι Olivieri: ϛώμα|κι Bücheler:
 φύ|κι Cirillo 16 ζ(left of curved let.) 18 δ[ε|ιν
 Olivieri: δ N only 19 beg. λ N(perhaps dif.
 hand): ε/θ̄ (?), perhaps another let., ov P: τ|όν
 Cirillo δια|αφ[ε|ιν Dorandi 20 [ού] Murray: [ε|ι]
 Cirillo 20-1 Olivieri: ϛ only in N 21 κ//αθαρούς
 *: ρ(speck) ο(right of curv. let.): κ//αθ' α(ύτο|ύς
 Cirillo 22 ϛ|τέ|ρ|η|ς|ι| ϛ|τέ|ρ|η|ς|ι|ν *: η/(π) 25 οὐ *:
 ο/ω, vert. γάρ: horiz. (γ/π/etc.), αρ P today:
 Olivieri read γαρ: ταρ N: παρῆν Bücheler πᾶ|ντων
 * 26 ὑπερέχειν Gigante (in Dorandi) 27 πᾶ|ϛ|ιν
 Olivieri (who read π, diag.): π/τι, speck close in
 bot. left (α compatible)[P today 27-8 Olivieri 32
 ξει' 1 τους (1/2 space)

38]ερτ[.....
 . [.....] νην ϛ[.....
 π[.....(.)]νι και [.....]
 ε . [.....]ιενπ . . . [.....]
 5 "ἔξοχιονι ἠρώεcci," [τὸν δ' Ἄ-
 χιλλέα καὶ κάλλιτον [.]α[
 πα . δρωα . "παμφαίνει" γ[ἄρ
 — "ὡς ἀκτῆρ" καὶ πάλιν "ἀκτέ-
 ρι ὀπωρινῶι ἐναλίγκιος [ᾠς]
 10 τει μάλις τα λαμπρόν [παμ-
 φαίνη]ς" και τ[.] . ον . . ικ . . [.....]
 . . [.] . . . "πυρετόν [δειλοῖ-
 — ϛι βροτοῖ]ςι." καὶ καλλωπί[-
 ζει Δα[ναο]ύς εἰς εὐπρέπει[-
 15 αν καταπληκτικῆν ε . . .
 ϛι καὶ κόσμωι καὶ ταῖς πρὸς
 τὴν μάχην παντευχίαις
 [.]οὔτω δ[. . .]ν πο . [.] τ[. . .] ν πο[.]λ-
 . [.]ον // "Ὀμ/ηρον δια νωα
 20 [δ[. . .]//, καθά/περ ἔφην, ἀλαζο-
 νεία)//ϛ κ//αθαροῦς εἰς[. . . .] .
 . . . //τε//[.]ηϛι . . . [. . .]ηϛχ[
] . ε[. . . .]εἰν
] . [κ[. . . .]ε[
 25 . .]· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἂν τὸ πᾶ|ντων
 ὑπερέχειν, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγ-
 κ|εχωρημένου πᾶ|ϛ|ιν ἀ|πε-
 ϛτέρει τῆς ἐπισημασίας
 ᾧν ἔχει προτερημάτων [·
 30 δι' ἦν, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων,
 τοῖς μὲν ἀνικτορήτοις
 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξει, τοὺς
 δ' ἐπιλανθανομένους ἀ-
 ναμνή[ϛ]ει, τοὺς δὲ ἀχαρι-
 35 ϛτοῦντας ὀφθαλμωρυχή-
 ϛει, τοὺς δὲ παραλείποντας ||

39 1-2 καὶ τὸν ἵππον Dorandi 4 πυνθα//νομένων
 Olivieri 5 δ' Olivieri 9 πάλιν Cirillo λέγει *:
 αὐτὸς Cirillo 12-13 πρεβευ[- *: πρεβεί[α Bücheler
 13 ἄλλ[ο]υς Olivieri (incorrectly written as
 ἄλλ[ο]υς: πολλ[ο]ύς / Ἀχιλλ[ε]ύς / etc. * 15
 ἐκκλ]ησίαν Olivieri 16 διε, two verts, ζ/ε 19 γ'
 αὐτο- Olivieri 21 ε, tops of two verts., τ/π/υ ἄν|ευ
 * 22 ἀνδραγαθίας *: α (good), tips of let. (v
 possible), δ, ρ, α (peak), γ (speck), α, ξ/θ, ια, ζ/ο/ω P
 today: Olivieri read]αθίας: αοιας N 23 ν[ῦ]ν
 Olivieri: vertical (not visible today), [.]ν ὥ//c
 Olivieri (probably too short) 27 νυν' 'και 31 αφε,
 γ (vert. with diag. erased) N: αφ, stroke at top
 line compatible with top of curved stroke, speck at
 top line P 32 τ[ο]ιο//ύτων Dorandi [οὐ]δ' Olivieri
 ω/(ο): ἐκείνω [v Janko: ἐκείνο Cirillo, Olivieri 33
 πα[ρα]πεμπ[τ]έον Olivieri 34 ἀπ//ὸ τῆς ἐμπειρία[ς
 Cirillo

39 //ιτον
 "ὄν ποτ' ἐς ἄκρόπο-
 λιν δόλον ἤγαγε // δῖος Ὀ-
 δυσεύς"· [πυνθα]//νομένων
 5 δ'] "εἶμ' Ὀδυσεύς" // λέγων
 "Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶν//σι δόλοι-
 κιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλλω, καί
 μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν//ν ἵκει" καὶ
 πάλιν λέγει π//ρὸς τὸν
 10 Ἀχιλλέα]· "ἐγὼ // δέ κε σεῖ-
 ο νοήματί γε προβι//αλοίμην
 //πρεβε .
 //λλ[.]υς
]κατα
 15 c. 7 //καιτη//[c. 2 //ησιαν
 c. 6 //διε[.] ο//[c. 7 //ε
 //ν
]ετο[//ε
 κε[...]. αὐτο .[c. 6 //α
 20 ... [..]π[.(.)]πα[c. 7 //πα
 ...] . [.....(.)]ε ... [c. 3 //ε
 ἀνδραγαθίας[...]ιτ[c. 2 δι-]
 αρρήδην ἔφη ι[.]νω[c. 2-3]//c "οὐ
 25 τις νόον ἄλλος ἰάμεινοινα
 τοῦδε νοήσει, οἷον ἐγὼ (ι) [
 νοέω ἡμὲν πάλαι ἦδ' εἶ-
 τι καὶ νῦν". καὶ πάντες οὐ[-
 τοι δι' ἅς εἶπον αἰτίας χρῶν-
 ται τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκωμί//οις,
 30 ἀλλ' οὐχ ἵνα περιουτολογ[ή-
 > σωσιν [αφεν[.] . [.(.)]δη
 τῶν τ[ο]ιο//ύτων // [οὐ]δ' ἐκείνω [v
 τοῦ ποητοῦ // τα [.(.)]πεμ[...]. εν
 ὅτι τὴν απ//οτι // [.....]ρια[]

Translation

21 . . . talented . . . the vulgarest people . . . character (?) . . . But Homer never brings base jesters to the hearths of monarchs, but always the best in thought and action. This is always the case with Agamemnon, and with Alcinous, and so generally with all (of them), even with the dynast of Syrus. And since for a king to be altogether a lover of laughter, even if he is free from lewdness in other matters (?), would not seem appropriate . . . being pure in . . ., I suppose, he includes (?) such base (?) men, but . . . he prefers . . . the poet . . . nor sober . . . for raising laughter. So that he also vehemently reproaches Thersites for this, for saying everything "which seemed laughable to the Argives" (*Il.* 2.215-16), and he introduces him as being loathed by all, "and especially despicable to Achilles and Odysseus" (*Il.* 2.220) about whom he writes his works; but the Greeks . . .

22 . . . *ennui* . . . the worst men into the council hall not according to custom . . . shameful, . . . their time on dicing and many erotic . . . and time wasted with base (?) craftsmen and other idleness . . . making threats against a man about what must happen for the morrow and . . . at times some of them play at draughts, but for the most part they all either do something beneficial and useful or deliberate or practice

something to do with athletic exercise or contests at arms, not only those who lay claim to virtue, but also the baser ones. For even the suitors "amuse themselves with discs and with light spears" (*Od.* 4.626/17.168) another's (property), but having left their own behind, like the father of the last Nikomedes. But let Telemachus serve as an example for us. For . . . him, though he was both young and . . .

23 . . . linger . . . "while searching for my godlike father may I not perish" (*Od.* 15.90) and "having left possessions behind and men behind in the halls" (*Od.* 3.314/15.11). But if . . . at home (?) . . . again . . . and to be one who has constantly lived among people not living according to his will, since it is necessary for him to be one who has neither seen nor heard of many things and has had no experience of free speech with equals, and for the most part uneducated, for which reason . . . and especially (*several lines fragmentary*) will be able to come to him, and on account of these things the poet (contrived to have Athena ?) lead Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta where he was to have dealings with such great men, for he was certainly not going to do anything profitable concerning his father, who was by then already on Ithaca. And making¹ Athena say that it was on account of the things which have been said, that also . . .

¹ The subject is Homer.

24 . . . the same thing, nor indicate (that it is) suitable.

Departing therefore from such topics, let us again praise that which is good for a king, to be averse from a harsh, austere and bitter character, and to practice gentleness, goodness and a king's mildness and forbearance as much as possible, since these lead to a sound monarchy and not arbitrary rule based on fear of a despot. But Cambyses . . . by the Persians "like a father" (*Od.* 2.47, etc.) . . . by . . . not by the . . . not . . . call . . . for . . . "he was kind like a father" (*Od.* 15.152) . . . being ruled in this way with gentleness and sympathy . . . as far as . . . slackness . . . suppose . . . to have become somewhat negligent towards men. It is possible to . . . evidence as far as even the very uttermost . . . forbearance . . . and in the final . . .

25 . . . holding a grudge over nothing . . . goad (provocation?) both relaxed (?) and . . . in order that he may seem gentle not on account of laxity, but rather on account of a sense of discernment, (so that), on account of his gentleness, he might be loved, but, on account of his firmness, when necessary, he might not be despised. One said to have had the goodwill of a father is not seen as such by virtue of his punishment of plotters.

But if it is fitting for the philosopher <to discourse> also about the orderliness and disorderliness of an army (*c. 5 lines fragmentary*) the Greeks "advance in order" and "in silence" and "in fear of their commanders" (*Il.* 4.431) but the foreigners "with clamor and a cry like

birds" (Il. 3.2) And through Odysseus he teaches how one must check the threats and manifestations of disorder of the multitude in the test brought about by Agamemnon. But of course . . .

26 . . . is rebuked . . . each receives . . . from the plunder. But Menestheus, for having seemed to shrink back, is rebuked by Agamemnon, and by Odysseus those who err in the test are rebuked *en masse*. Someone of those well suited to serve as an example is taken and both punished and . . . through the threat . . . as . . . is corrected by Nestor. . . (and this man) by Agamemnon . . . (and that man) by some other king. Accordingly . . . of the worthy . . . to define the gifts of kings not by real profits but rather by honors; for "with a seat of honor, the choice meats and filled wine-cups" and by rising from one's seat, just like (the rising up) of all the Gods for Zeus when he enters, and by portions from sacrifices, and to enjoy the greatest praise among others. .

27 . . . It is necessary therefore that the good (?) dynast be a lover of victory, but not a lover of war nor of battle . . . freedom from disturbance (?) . . . near to . . . must be done in order that . . . (they not ?) introduce unnecessary troubles and add them to the unavoidable ones. I suppose that the poet looked to these things as well, or the king of gods would not ever have said that among gods Ares was hateful to him, nor

would the (king) of kings have ever said that among monarchs Achilles was hateful to him.

28 . . . war . . . and to the subjects . . . also to themselves ?) . . . However, he² must be thought to be thoroughly depraved and slothful if he thinks that in this way he will have his realm more secure as also some laymen suppose that "discord among the slaves" is a thing to be desired, each failing to understand that (it leads) both to the destruction of households and the overturning of monarchies. . . . saying (?) "friendless, lawless, homeless is the one who loves terrible civil strife" (*Il.* 9.63-4). And introducing Nestor as eager to resolve discord in the disputes with Agamemnon, and in the instructions for the emissaries and in the calling aside and talking to Patroclus and Odysseus . . . eager (?) . . .

29 . . . and (strife ?) quickly produces unbearable enmities. It is with reference to this (?) that Homer detests the lovers of war and the lovers of strife as much as his heroes, and he says that "she³ is only a little thing at first, and then she strides on the earth with her head striking heaven" (*Il.* 4.442-3). And one character⁴ prays that she will perish "from gods and men" (*Il.* 18.107). And jealousy must also be absent, and

²I.e. the king.

³I.e. Eris.

⁴I.e. Achilles.

being irritated by anyone's having a share in what they (themselves) have. But it is good that . . . be pursued (?) . . . for in fact, I deem . . . and . . . great disputes, so that fittingly the most sensible of . . . Odysseus and Nestor were so far removed from these passions that . . . "neither in war nor in counsel did they walk apart, but worked out how things would go best for the Argives" (*Od.* 3.127-9).

30 . . . the region ... showed (?). . . both the city and the . . . he⁵ adorned with temples (?) and with other (?) structures, and in the land of the Phaeacians, the harbors and the walls and ships and marketplaces. . . trees bearing fruit year round. But among the Ithacans (who inhabit) . . . mountainous and poor (places) (*several lines fragmentary*) farms . . . and to the one ruling with piety and righteousness he⁶ thinks that the earth yields "barley and wheat for him" (*Od.* 19.112).

31 . . . wars (?) . . . straightway . . . (can seldom?) abstain from all exercise, for they are not accustomed to rule tyrannically . . . so that, in truth (?), they enjoy tranquility for a long time. Those who have become severely fatigued or who are off their guard they compel to do battle, and many, though wanting to give up, for the reason already mentioned, they painfully drag forward; and even in their times of relaxation their bodies are exercised both for strength and for

⁵ Homer ?

⁶ I.e. the poet.

undergoing peril. And everyone is always equipped with a dagger and directs his attention to the instructions on the things pertaining to the war at hand, and they deliberate in council, examining . . . concerning the . . . in nothing (?) (being at leisure??) when (troublesome) circumstances obtain, as also in (what concerns?) peaceful circumstances . . . to those expecting right of access Alcinous goes out at dawn "to the council where the proud Phaeacians used to summon him" (*Od.* 6.55). When the council of the Ithacans had been summoned by Telemachos, they inquire first not (?) . . .

32 . . . (of which ?) they possess the rule . . . rebukes . . . (to) consider . . . but that in both situations⁷, "one piece of wise counsel conquers many hands" (*Eur. Antiope* fr. 200) and, that for the most part by this (wise counsel), affairs succeed both without weapons and with moderate force, a fact which did not escape the poet, but rather he himself calls Nestor "protector of the Achaeans" (*Il.* 8.80; etc.) and the one⁸ who had gotten for himself (?) the most experience of both kinds⁹, (says ?) if he had possessed ten men similar to the venerable old man . . . Trojan (or Troy) . . . to have . . . he says . . . city of Priam (*Il.* 2.371-4) . . . was taken . . . but, if one wants <to say so>, by Athena. And Diomedes says not with Ajax "following" but rather with Odysseus, that "we both would return

⁷ I.e. in war and in peace.

⁸ I.e. Agamemnon.

⁹ I.e. experience in war and peace.

even from the blazing fire, since he excels in thinking," (*Il.* 10.247) and the ship of the Phaeacians is said "to bear a man with counsels like the gods" (*Od.* 13.89) and for (Odysseus) not to be forsaken by Athena . . .

33 . . . safety . . . first . . . good counsel . . . he says "you are preeminent among the Greeks in counsel and in fighting" (*Il.* 1.258) and "both initiating good counsels and marshalling war" (*Il.* 2.273) . . . two (?) . . . he first says "good counsel" . . . of good counsel for the kings . . . is necessary not only for those who have acquired it . . . to practice (?) . . . and be zealous (?) . . . to attempt . . . the nobles in the night gathering who were deliberating on the whole situation summoning Meriones and Antilochus, who had not yet been given a place in the council, as though they had seen their prudence especially in the (episode) concerning the watch (cf. *Il.* 9.79-81).

34 . . . Agamemnon . . . bring in . . . Hector, in single combat . . . fabrications . . . he has made the narrative more pleasant, as the one diverting (someone) from the ambush . . . wearing a single garment (cf. *Od.* 14.462 ff.). . . concerning these things he says (?) . . . they should . . . (one ought not ?) to give oneself credit for successes and (labors ?), but also what was done by someone else (?) . . . for (this is surely what he meant ?) who said "for surely we sacked the steep citadel of Priam by a stratagem" (*Od.* 3.130-130a) and "I shall give seven blameless women,

skilled in handicrafts, women of Lesbos, whom, when *he* took well-built Lesbos" (Il. 9.128-130). But whenever . . . shared successes . . .

35 . . . nobleness . . . therefore . . . the one of many counsels . . . exceedingly . . . boasting . . . having struck (?) . . . "[whom] we give to you first of all whenever we capture some stronghold" (Il. 2.228) and "one that I, or some other Achaian, capture and bring in?"(Il. 2.231) if a babblers' parody does not escape us. And moreover, "not willing to contend with with men of former times, neither Heracles nor Eurytus." (Od. 8.223-4) But Hector . . .

36 . . . Hector . . . "if his hands are like flame, if his hands are like flame" (Il. 20. 371-2). . . . is seen . . . before he¹⁰ saw him¹¹ well is seen fleeing not even to the wall, but rather around the wall in consequence of his rashness. And much more, in favorable times, he did not understand that he was just a human being, but in fact vied with gods and strove with the gods themselves. And suppose someone claims to be a child of the Great Ones and to draw his lineage from them; and yet even the one who blinded the one who foolishly said "for the Cyclopes are not heedful of Zeus nor the other gods, since we are far better" (Od. 9.275-6) was corrected, just as some also of those who ruled later (were corrected)

¹⁰ I.e. Hector.

¹¹ I.e. Achilles.

. . . such . . . not allowing (her¹²) to cry out in triumph even over those justly punished, and exclaiming that "it is not piety to glory over slain men" (*Od.* 22.412). This reveals that Homer, in his disdain for thoughts of this kind, both (shows) himself such . . .

37 . . . (Homer) himself obviously . . . and would quite have loathed Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was conceited even over his own beauty, not just for his¹³ accomplishments, if, as he did, he¹⁴ wrote that "the lyre and the gifts of Aphrodite would not help Paris, nor his hair nor his beauty," (*Il.* 3.54-55) just as in fact happened to Demetrius when he was taken captive with his whole army. And the beautiful Ares, lover even of Aphrodite herself, bound by lame (Hephaistus) . . . Nireus thus . . . but Euryalus . . . <although he had the> (?) image of a god . . . he said that . . . was not inferior . . . less . . . and yet (Homer's) his making the kings godlike in form is pleasing to me, at any rate, for in fact, to the ordinary un-philosophical person it has something startling and intimidating about it, and akin to the most powerful of beings,¹⁵ whom one must imitate; for which reason he calls them both godlike and god-resembling¹⁶.

¹² I.e. Eurykleia.

¹³ Demetrius'.

¹⁴ Homer.

¹⁵ I.e. the gods.

¹⁶ I borrow this rendering of θεοεικέλους from Asmis (33).

38 . . . "preeminent among heroes" (*Il.* 2.483) and Achilles both most beautiful and . . . (?) for "he shines like a star" (*Il.* 22.26) and again "like the autumn star which shines most bright" (*Il.* 5.5-6) . . . "fever to wretched mortals" (*Il.* 22.31). And he makes the Greeks beautiful for their fine appearance, impressive with their . . . and their dress and their full array for battle; thus . . . Homer . . . just as I said . . . (makes them) free from boastfulness . . . for there would be no "excelling all" if even when everyone agreed it were so he¹⁷ were to deprive (himself) of the recognition of the superior qualities he actually has, through which recognition, apart from the other considerations, he will display himself (as he is) to those who don't know him, he will remind those who do know him but are becoming unmindful, will stab out the envious eyes of those who are ungrateful to him, and those who fail in their duty to him he will . . .

39 . . . "the ruse which divine Odysseus once brought into the acropolis" (*Od.* 8.494) saying, when they inquired, "I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, known before all men for the study of crafty designs, and my fame goes up to the heavens" (*Od.* 9.19-20). And again he¹⁸ (said) to Achilles, "But I in turn might surpass you in wisdom by far . . . older (?)" (*Il.* 19.218-219 ?) . . . manly excellence . . . he explicitly said . . . "no one will have a better plan than this which I now plan, both of old and now also" (*Il.*

¹⁷ I.e. Odysseus.

¹⁸ I.e. Odysseus.

9.104-5). And all these men, for the reasons I have said, make their own encomium, but not in order that they may talk about themselves gratuitously . . . such . . . of the poet . . .

Short Titles and Abbreviations

- Asmis Asmis, E., "Philodemus's Poetic Theory and *On the Good King According to Homer*" *CA* 10 (1991) 1-45.
- Bücheler Bücheler, F., "Philodem über das homerische Fürstenideal" *RhM* 42 (1887) 198-208.
- Cirillo Cirillo, S., *Herculanensium voluminum (=VH¹) viii*, (Naples 1844) 1-62.
- Dorandi Dorandi, T., *Philodemo: Il buon re secondo Omero* (Naples 1982).
- Fowler Fowler, D., "Homer and Philodemus," Review of Dorandi (1982), *CR* 36 (1986) 81-5.
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COMMENTARY

Col. 21

This column is from a portion of the treatise (cols. 16-21) concerning the behavior of kings at royal symposia. In the preceding column Philodemus noted that Homer, while not being prudish, is free from the vulgarity found in the entertainment of the courts of post-Homeric kings. Here he notes the absence of vulgar and coarse characters from the courts of Homer's kings. While it is true that the base, laughter-mongering Thersites appears in Homer, the poet makes his own low opinion of him clear in making him detestable to Achilles and Odysseus. Asmis (37) suggests that this column defends Homer from Plato's charge that he made his kings lovers of laughter (*Rep.* 383e-89a). It is worthy of note that Vergil's Drances, who is in part borrowed from Thersites, shares nothing of the base, *scurra*-like qualities of Thersites. This may be completely explainable in terms of the difference in Vergil's technique of characterization (on which see Heinze and Heinze 1993 and Otis 1964). On the other hand, Philodemus' precept of the decorum appropriate to Homeric heroes may have influenced Vergil as well. If Drances is to be at the court of a king, he must not have any of the qualities of a base jester.

4 αθ[], peaked letter (λ good), possibly another peaked lett. We may, unless we have two peaked letters in succession, have some form of ἄθλιος, a common term in Philodemus which could be contrasted here with εὐφυνε- in 5.

5 Dorandi's τα[ραττο]μένοις is obviated by the placement of a *sottoposto* from 22.6. After νε there is what seems to be the top of a curved letter, though the right bar of a χ or a υ are also possible. There may have been another letter before this one. ο is almost certain, followed by a diagonal inclined to the right. I am almost certain that this diagonal was originally the left diagonal of the rightmost part of μ in this column. ἀ[λαζο]νευομένοις is probably too long for the space. ἀ]νεχομένοις would fit.

6-11 Here I have succeeded in integrating a fragment drawn in the margin of *N*. Unlike all such fragments which *N* drew in the margins of his drawings for this papyrus, this fragment, and another at 13-16, were not copied from the margin into the body of the *disegno* in order to represent their original position in the papyrus. Next to the first fragment, one of the *academici* has written "pare che non appartenga". Olivieri attempted to integrate the the first fragment, but unsuccessfully, except perhaps for one word in 7; Dorandi was persuaded by the marginal notation, but mistakenly, since the fragment belongs without question to the text of these lines. In 9 the first half of the ν of μὲν/ν is in the *disegno*, the second half in the papyrus. In 13, the top of μ is situated on the fragment while the bottom part is in the papyrus.

6 το/ῥις σπερμ//ολογωτάτοις: |[]το[.]λογωτατοις P:]ιοςπερμ, short stroke slightly slanted to left (α/λ/μ/ right stroke of ο)[N. Dorandi should have dotted the α of his reading ἀλογωτάτοις, which can just as well be the right part of ο. The various forms of σπερμόλογος and σπερμολογία are frequently mistranslated as "gossiping" and "gossip" in contexts where they clearly refer to vulgar speech or a person who speaks coarsely, or simply to a crass person. So, too, the substantive forms of the stem. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 65 B l. 6 διαμιλλώμενος ὑπερβαλέσθαι βωμολογία καὶ σπερμολογία. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 853 C l. 19 σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία ναυτιώδης "vulgarity and sickening nonsense"; Plut. *Mor.* 456 C l. 12 ἀκόλαστα καὶ πικρὰ καὶ σπερμολόγα ῥήματα. In Dionysius of Halicarnasus an obscene Tarentine man who defecated upon a Roman ambassador is described both by the author and by the ambassador as being σπερμολόγος (19.5.2-3), which is hardly to be translated "frivolous" (Loeb) or "chiacchierone, pettegolo" (Montanari)! "[A]s a term in social slang it connotes absolute vulgarity and inability to rise above the most contemptible standard of life and conduct" (Ramsay 1896, 242). A σπερμόλογος person is unfit company for a king, and not the sort of person to be found in the courts of Homeric kings (8-13). The term looks back to the discussion of shameful speech in the previous column, and forward to the point that base people are not to be found at the courts of Homer's kings.

7-8 The line may begin with ο[ὐ]κ. There may have been, however, a letter before ο. τ[ο]ις (Janko) is perhaps possible, although the traces seem more like the top of the

vertical and upper arm of κ rather than ι. τ|οις would accord better with παντοδ[α]//ποις (Janko), which, if correct, suggests that a dative plural follows in 8 rather than an accusative singular (διάθεειν, etc.). Very near the beginning of 8 there is a vertical, followed by the top of a curved letter. Before θεειν, there is in N the bottom portion of a diagonal inclined to the left. This is at bottom touching an erased vertical, meaning that making γ best fits the traces, though α and η also good candidates. ἤθεειν is thus a good possibility.

8-9 τὸ[ς | ἡ]δυ[λό]//χου: δυ[.(.)]ν P:]τουςμεν[fr. in marg. N.

It is impossible to tell whether δ falls at the beginning of the line or is the second letter. The fact that this δ is smaller than letters like δ typically are at the beginning of a line suggests that it was the second letter. Although N places the letter at the beginning of the line, I am confident that he had no more information about its position than I. We could also read τὸ[ς ἡ]ιδυ[λό]//χου, though the papyrus seems in fair condition where we should expect to find traces of α but instead find no sign of ink. Cairns' correction of N's τ to γ is plausible, since the error occurs frequently in the *disegni*. For ἡδυλόγος as "jester" cf. Ath. 4.165b Φρύνιχος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν τῷ Ἐφιάλτη μνημονεύει τοῦ ἡδυλόγου (A: ἡδυλογεῖν Kaibel) διὰ τούτων (I 370 K)· ἐστὶν δ' αὐτοῦ γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον. We could understand the term to mean "flatterer," which would suit a sympotic context in which excessive praise and blame were both to be avoided. As an alternative to ἡδυλόγος (primarily a poetic word), ἀ]δυ[νά]//τους "ineffectual," "week" would provide a word more unambiguously opposed to τοὺς ἀρίστους γ[νώ]μηι |

[καὶ] πράξει (8-9), as the sense demands. Dorandi's attempt, δύ[κτηνο]ν is *spatio brevius* and ignores the fragment.

11 π[αν]τὸς: the supplement is actually a little short for the space. The αν must have been large.

12 γ[νώ]μη: today the papyrus is destroyed where Dorandi read γ (though he printed γνώμη in his apparatus) and Olivieri read π, though I have no doubt that Dorandi's supplement is correct. For the pairing of γνώμη and πρᾶξις cf. A. Av. καινὸς γνώμην | καινῶν ἔργων τ' ἐχειρητής; D.C. Fr. 3.4.4 πρὸς γὰρ τὰς γνώμας τὰς τε πράξεις τῶν ἡγουμένων; *Isoc.* 1.4.6 νῦν δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν με πείσειεν ὡς οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν τοσοῦτον καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν διενεγκεῖν. Philodemus, however, is giving a prose paraphrase for the Homeric polarity between ἄριτος βούλη, ἔπεσιν, etc., and ἄριτος μάχη. Cf. Peleus' charge to Phoenix concerning Achilles (*Il.* 9.443): μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

15 'Α[λκ]ίνο//ον: former editors incorrectly changed N to maintain the Homeric spelling.

14 'Αγ[αμέμ]νον//α confirms Olivieri ([Ἄγαμέμ]νον//α): α(diag. incl. to rt.), γ(vert. and bit of horiz.) from *sovrapposto* in col. 21, 14:]νον P: }α frg. of N

16 ἀπλῶς [οὐτ]ῶς: stronger than ἀπλῶς alone. See *LSJ* s.v. Π. 2. The expression is mostly patristic, but found also in Plato, Galen, Dio Chrysostom, and Cassius Dio. Dorandi's ὡς is too short for the space.

17-18 καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς Σύρου δουλᾶς[τ]εύοντα: a rather *recherché* allusion to the father of the swineherd Eumaeus, king of the island of Syrus, as Philippson 1910, 766 suggested. Other possibilities are

canvassed in Dorandi (156-7). Strabo 10.5.8 identifies the island Σύρος with the island Συρίη in Homer. A reference to an obscure king follows well after the unqualified statement that this is true for all Homeric kings. Moreover, *Od.* 15.465-6, quoted by Dorandi, mentions men who were guests at the court of the swineherd's father. Equally important is the following verse (457), which speaks of their imminent participation in the assembly, implying that they are capable men: εὔρε δ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ ἡμὲν δέπα ἠδὲ τραπέζας / ἀνδρῶν δαιτυμόνων, οἳ μὲν πατέρ' ἀμφεπένοντο. / οἳ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς θῶκον πρόμολον δήμοιό τε φῆμιν (15.466-8).

18-30 The precise structure of the argument is unclear, but can now perhaps be plausibly reconstructed. Philodemus may be making the point that the court of a good king should be free of base and lewd characters, since, even if the king himself is not given to base talk, it seems inappropriate for him to have such people in his company (18-22). Homer may have such characters in his poem, but his opinion about them is clear.

20 κᾶν αὐτοῖς: Olivieri and Dorandi claim to have seen αὐτοῖς, and accordingly read κᾶν αὐτοῖς. Of ο there remains the left top, after which the papyrus is frayed. It seems quite clear that there is not room for ι before the c. They may have mistaken the right part of ο for ι. More probably, αὐτοῖς was inherited uncritically from Cirillo. I understand this to refer to the king rather than to Homer.

20-1 ἀπρόνικος: a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον and *addendum lexicis*. πρόνικος, as a term of abuse, means "a base person". As an adjective it appears to mean "lewd". Cf. *LSJ* s.v. πρόνικος; Dorandi (157-8).

22 αγ . [. . .]ητι: α is followed by γ or perhaps π. The horizontal and first vertical are clear. These are followed closely by another vertical stroke, slightly inclined to the right. Rather than being the final stroke of π it seems to slant somewhat to the right (α/ρ). We may have a dative ending in ητι. The dative with καθαρεύω can denote the sphere in which something is pure. Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 355 ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμη μὴ καθαρεύει on which Dover 1993, 239 comments "γνώμην (M Vb3) is grammatically preferable but γνώμη (R V al.) cannot be rejected as wrong." Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that a single word ending in -ητι did not fill the gap, after having examined several such possibilities. We should try μῆ τι (Dorandi), ἦ τι, etc.

23 Olivieri claims to have seen a crossbar at the top of the line before εχει. I see one midline, two spaces before εχει, which would work well with α for Janko's supplement, as well as my own.

24 κακο]ύς is a possible reading. Cf. κακίςτους col. 22, 7-8.. I am doubtful about Olivieri's γε, since it would still leave space for approximately three letters after τοιούτ[ους.

29 Previous editors wanted to read γελων[θ]', which is impossible, given the traces. After ω there appears to be the left half of a rather small curved letter (o good, ζ/ε possible), then τ. Perhaps the word ends in -γελωσ.

29-30 Cirillo's ἀδικώτ[α]|τὸν, retained by subsequent editors, is incorrect, since 29 ends with υ. What precedes must be read in better lighting. The disegno reads κω[υ], κ and ω being impossible given traces in P.

31 γε[λωτοκοεῖν]. Olivieri saw the bottom left part of a curved letter after γ.

34-8 On the text of these citations see [Dorandi, 1978 #10],41.

39 περὶ ὧν συγγράφει: not an inane remark that Homer is writing about Odysseus and Achilles in this passage, but that the hero of both epics found Thersites detestable. See *LSJ* s.v. συγγράφω II. For Philodemus, it follows that this is indicative of Homer's own opinion about Thersites. Asmis (37) notes that Philodemus answers Plato's claim that the portrayal of a subject's insubordination to a ruler should not be represented in poetry (*Rep.* 3.390a).

Col. 22

On the use of the king's leisure time. Even the φαυλότεροι in Homer, like the suitors, are not idlers. Major problems remain, however. The suitors are clearly the topic of discussion in 16-27, but what of the previous lines? With the exception of a mention of [τ]εχνίταις (11), much of what precedes seems applicable to the suitors. More probably the lines are part of a discussion of the sorts of things which occupy the leisure of bad kings, to whom the suitors are then favorably compared in 16-27. The suitors are at least not characterized by inactivity. A recurring motif in the treatise is that even the worst behavior of *basileis* in Homer is often better than that of later *basileis*. Cf. col. 17, 14-17 where Philodemus notes that not even the suitors are given to drunkenness. But in col. 3 he refers to their sexual affairs with the

servant women and cites Homer's judgment of them as being ὑβρισταί and ἀτάκθαλοι (*Od.* 24.282). In the same column he mentions their taking away another's property and plotting another's death. Hillgruber 1999, ii. 411 noted an important parallel in [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 207 ὅπως δὲ καὶ γυμνασίοις χρῆσθαι παραγγέλλει φανερόν ἐκ πολλῶν. αἰεὶ γὰρ πονοῦντας ποιεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἔργοις, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ὁπότε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα τῇ ἡδυσπαθείᾳ κεχρημένους Φαίακας καὶ τοὺς ἀώτους μνηστῆρας γυμναζομένους εἰσάγει.

"It is clear in many passages that Homer prescribes gymnastic exercise, for he shows the heroes constantly in action, both in their regular activities and also for exercise. He even shows both the Phaeacians, whose lives are largely given over to pleasure, and the profligate suitors exercising." (tr. Keaney 1996).

2 Unfortunately traces revealed by the microscope render impossible Ὀ]δυσεὺ[ς, Olivieri's supplement, which was retained by Dorandi.

4 ἄλυν: "ennui, boredom"; not found in other texts of Philodemus, though I suspect that what is printed in *De morte* col. 11, 20 (fragmentary context) as ἀλύη, "a socket for ἐχέτλη, a plough handle" is an incorrect reading for ἄλυν. The word occurs numerous times in Plutarch where it is related to idleness and bad use of one's leisure, cf. *Plut. Mor.* 274 D Ῥωμαῖοι σφόδρα, καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἴονται μηδὲν οὕτως αἴτιον δουλείας γεγονέναι καὶ μαλακίας, ὡς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας, πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ σχολήν ἐντεκούσας ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κακοςχολίαν "For the Romans firmly believe even in the case of the Greeks that nothing has been so much to blame for the enslavement and softness of the Greeks

as their gymnasia and wrestling schools, which engender much listless idleness and waste of time in their cities" (tr. adapted from Loeb); *Mor.* 78 D ὅταν οὖν οἱ τοιοῦτοι κατασπασμοὶ γίνωνται μὴ πολλάκις, αἴ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνακρούσεις τοῦ φρονήματος ὥσπερ ἐκ τροπῆς ταχεῖαι παρῶσι καὶ διαλύωσι ῥαδίως τὸν ἄλυν καὶ τὴν ἀδημονίαν, ἐν τινι βεβαίῳ τὴν προκοπὴν εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν.

"When therefore such fits of dejection become of infrequent occurrence and the objections and protests made by sound sense against them quickly come to our help, as though rallying after a temporary rout, and easily dissipate our idleness and dismay, we may well believe that our progress rests on a firm foundation" (tr. adapted from Loeb).

5 κοπ-: perhaps from a word which has to do with toil or work (κόπος, etc.) as opposed to ἄλυν mentioned above.

οἰκειο[- : cf. οἰκεί[α]ν 34, where the discussion is the misuse of others' goods and the neglect of one's own.

6-8 The details are not clear, but the discussion may relate to base persons wrongly being included in the process of deliberation. Cf. the discussion of Thersites in the previous column. But it is troubling that there is not room for the article before κακίτους. το]ὺς ἀρίτους is a possibility, and could be taken with κατὰ νόμον perhaps as a reference to the *aristoi* not being summoned for deliberation as had been the custom in Ithaca.

8 P reads as I have printed. | [. . .] αἰγαρο[.] κινεφατ N. N appears to have drawn more letters than the space would allow.

εφατ[*N*, although α is followed by a stroke perhaps too close to α to be the base of τ in *P*. Perhaps ἔφαϛ[κε should be considered, which is Philodemean, and could give us something like the following text:

α[. (.)]α μὴ κατὰ νόμον
 . .]κακίςτους εἰς τὸ βουλευτή-
 ριον] ἄ[γειν] αἰσχρὸν ἔφαϛ[κε

"He asserted that their summoning base men into the council chamber not in accordance with custom was shameful." ἔφα.ι[νε is also possible, though φαίνω in the active voice is extremely rare in prose (but cf. Xen. *Anab.* 4.3.13; *Cyrop.* 6.4.13)

9 τῶ[ς] καιροῦς is possible (and what we would expect), though the ο appears more like ς/ε and the υ appears more like a τ. See app. for other possibilities.

κύβους: cf. 16-17 below.

10 -μοῦς or -λλοῦς is clear in the papyrus, though only exiguous traces precede. *N* reads πολλοῦς. The bottom of μ has been erased in order to read λλ. If the suitors were being discussed, we could think of their relations with the female servants of Odysseus' household, noted by Philodemus in col. 3. Philodemus may have discussed the sexual morality of the good king in col. 1, where the names Bellerophon and Anteia appear. But it may be that ἐρωτικός is used here in the weaker sense of "fondly disposed," "fond of," on which see Obbink 1996, 525. In that case, supplements in the first part of the following line would have to be altered.

11 Dorandi suggested διονυκ[ακ[ο]ϊς, on which see his note. The fact that there is space for two or three letters at the end of the previous line (unnoticed by previous editors) makes his supplement possible: πολλοὺς [ἐ]ρωτικούς κ[αὶ | τὰς εὐν διονυκ[ακ[ο]ϊς. Given the presence of [τ]εχνίταις (or διονυκ[ακ[ο]ϊς) can we assume that the first part of the column is *not* about Homer, but a general discussion on bad uses of leisure by kings in general?

12 πάντες: to whom does this refer? To *basileis* in Homer? To the suitors?

15-16 ἐπηρεάζων ἃ [] δεῖ τὸ πρὸς αὔριον ἐπ' ἄνδρα: να derives from a *sottoposto* in the following column. For ἐπηρεάζω controlling a relative clause, cf. Hdt. 6.9.20-1 τάδε ἤδη εἰπέτε λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τά περ εἴεα κατέξει "threatening things which will actually overtake them." ἐπ' ἄνδρα is used commonly of coming against a man (more often *men ἐπ' ἄνδρα*) with some hostile intent (Herodotus, Plutarch, etc.). πρὸς αὔριον appears only in Hesychius (s.v.) where it is glossed by εἰς αὔριον. I suggest that this newly reconstructed line refers to Antinous' threatening words to his fellow suitors at *Od.* 4.774-7:

δαιμόνιοι, μύθους μὲν ὑπερφιάλους ἀλέασθε
 πάντες ὁμῶς, μή πού τις ἀπαγγείλησι καὶ εἴσω.
 ἀλλ' ἄγε σιγῇ τοῖον ἀναστάντες τελέωμεν
 μῦθον, ὃ δὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἤραρον ἤμιν.

Book 4 ends with the suitors waiting in a cove in ambush; Book 5 begins with the rising of the dawn. In col. 3, Philodemus mentions

those "who not only take away another's belongings, but also consider it the best advice for a tyrant to kill and murder." This refers, according to Asmis (34), "to the suitors' approval of Antinous's plan to ambush Telemachus at Od. 4.673 (cf. 20.241-6)."

16 καὶ `τα . τα . . . ι': Dorandi read `ταῦτα καὶ' of which I am somewhat dubious. For υ there is only a vertical, and I see no room for the right arm. For his κ there is only a vertical followed by a blob of ink about midline. This is followed by a peaked letter and then a vertical.

17 The suitors are playing at dice when we first encounter them (*Od.* 1.106-7). Aristodemus of Nysa is said to have argued that Homer was a Roman because of customs found in Homer which were paralleled (he claimed) only among the Romans, namely the playing of περκοί and their rising up of their own accord for superiors (*Vit. Hom.* VI 18-23). It is interesting that Philodemus mentions both of these customs in this treatise, περκοί here, and rising as a sign of honor in col. 26.35-8. On Aristodemus, see Heath 1998, *esp.* 34. On the Roman love for περκοί, see Austin 1934/5. Only the suitors are represented as playing this game in Homer; but Philodemus may be remembering such things as the well-known black-figure vase type of Ajax and Achilles at draughts in implying, as he seems to, that "sometimes some of the heroes" in general also play at περκοί.

27 Not many words end in -πο. Even allowing for a *spatium* to accompany the *diple*, πρὸ may be too short.

30 πυ[.]ρ[.]ϛ: was *N* correct to read ρ where he did? (See app.). If so, this may be a reference to Pyrrhus.

31-2] . ενοβο[.]λοῦντες: the β is virtually certain, though I have found no compound of -βολεω with this pattern. R. Janko suggests to me that it may be part of a compound of -βολεω which may mean something like "dice away," given the fact that several βολεω formations (e.g. πλεικτοβολέω, εὐβολέω, πρωτοβολέω) relate to dice throws. The trace before ε is difficult. There is part of a vertical rather close to ε, above which (at about the level of the horizontal of ε) there is visible a short stroke inclined to the left. At the top of the a line there is a rather short horizontal. π may be possible, and perhaps φ, the top horizontal being the top ornament. This would give Cairn's ἀ]φενοβοίλοῦντες, an unparalleled word which would mean "to squander wealth."

32-3 τ[.]ῆν] ἀλλοτρίαν: cf. col. 4, 10-11 (on the suitors) μὴ μόνον ἀιφ[αιρ]οῦμένων τάλλ[λ]ότρια; *Od.* 1.160 ἐπεὶ ἀλλότριον βίστον νήποινον ἔδουσι; *Od.* 18.280.

34-5 ὥςπερ ὁ τοῦ τελευταίου Ν[.]κομήδου πα[.]τήρ: the "last Nicomedes" will have been Nicomedes IV, king of Bithynia (c.94 B.C.-74 B.C.), and hence his father, to whom Philodemus is referring here, Nicomedes III, under whose reign (127-95 B.C.) Bithynia declined markedly. With Mithradates Eupator he took control of and partitioned Paphlagonia. Already overextended, he then invaded Cappadocia and married its regent Laodice, the widow of Ariarathes VI

(125-111 B.C.) and the sister of Mithradates. Mithradates subsequently drove his own sister and Nicomedes from Cappadocia, but kept his nephew on the throne. After several years of dynastic confusion, the Cappodocians began a new dynasty. Financial debt to the Romans, and the expense of his efforts in Paphlagonia and Cappodocia left his kingdom all the weaker. After the death of his successor, Nicomedes IV (95-74 B.C.), Bithynia became the territory of the Romans. The youthful Julius Caesar, the father-in-law of Philodemus' addressee, Calpurnius Piso, visited the court of Nicomedes IV in 81/80 and was satirized for the rest of his life for his allegedly too close friendship with the effeminate king. On the reign of these kings, see Sullivan 1990, 30-5; Magie 1975, 311ff. For the history of the question of identification, see Dorandi (160). This reference to "the last Nicomedes" insures that *De bono rege* must postdate 74 B.C.

Philodemus' periodic comparison of post-Homeric kings to Homer's kings is a unique feature of the treatise. Besides this reference to Nicomedes III and IV, he discusses Cambyses (col. 24), Demetrius Poliorcetes (col. 37), and in general kings subsequent to Homer (col. 21). Statues of numerous Hellenistic monarchs, including Demetrius Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus, were found in the villa which has been identified as belonging to Philodemus' patron, Calpurnius Piso. If Philodemus read this treatise to his patron, he may have been surrounded by the statues of some (or all) of the post-Homeric kings to

whom he referred in his treatise. On the statuary of the villa, see Pandermalis 1983, 19-50; Comparetti 1883; Gigante 1990.

36-8 See below, at the end of the introduction of the next column.

Col. 23

This column appears to be devoted entirely to Telemachus, mostly to his character, and its development. Unlike the suitors, who neglected their property to damage another's, Telemachus, as revealed by the Homeric quotations (5-9), is concerned about his patrimony. This is followed (how the transition is made is unclear) by a discussion of Telemachus in his uneducated state (11-19). Lines 28ff. mention the "real" purpose of the Telemachy, Telemachus' exposure to great men.

This passage, with the new readings, comprises the earliest securely datable reading of the Telemachy as the *παίδευσις* of Telemachus, Porphyry previously being the earliest (schol. *Od.* 1.93; 1.284). Undoubtedly this reading goes back earlier than Philodemus, perhaps much earlier. Herter 1934, col. 351, suggested that Antisthenes may have seen the Telemachy in this light in his treatise *Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου*. This interpretation is now the standard interpretation of the Telemachy. See most recently Cook 1998 for a reading of the Telemachy in terms of initiation, and Scheid-Tissinier 1993, pp. 2-22; Beck 1998/99, 121-39. For an earlier exposition of the Telemachy as a *Bildungsroman* see Jaeger 1939, 27ff. and bibliography in Herter 1934, col.

351. Analysts, of course, resisted the possibility of the development of character on the part of Telemachus. Cf. for instance, Wilamowitz 1927, 106. Although modern discussions of the Telemachy frequently note that Porphyry read the Telemachy in this manner, they do not, to my knowledge, point out the sophistication of his reading. Porphyry responded to critics, now unknown, who claimed that the departure of Telemachus was ἄτοπος because it subjected him to peril, promised an uprising on the part of the suitors, and did not benefit the search for his father (schol. *Od.* 1.93). The following forms part of Porphyry's response: ἀλλ' ἔδει τὸν ἐν γυναιξὶ τεθραμμένον, λύπαις τεταπεινωμένον, ῥητορειῶν οὐ πεπειραμένον οὐδεπώποτε, πολύτροπον γενέσθαι παραπλησίως τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τοῦτο κερδᾶναι τῇ πλάνῃ, καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐν τῇ μνηστηροκτονίᾳ. "But it was necessary that one who was raised among women, humbled by griefs, and who never had experience in rhetoric, should become *polytropos* very much like his father, and to gain this by his wandering, and to share with his father in his successes in the slaughter of the suitors." Cf. also the scholia at *Od.* 1.284, where a lengthy quotation from Porphyry develops the idea of the Telemachy as the *παίδευσις* of Telemachus. Ancient discussion of the Telemachy, therefore, in some ways prophesied discussions over several generations of recent scholarship. To Philodemus' and Porphyry's view of the Telemachy, we might compare a quotation of (Scott 1917/18, 428) in his unitarian defense of the Telemachy made at the beginning of this century against analytic views: "Ithaca, with the

nurse who had watched over his own and his father's infancy and with Penelope hesitating whom she should choose a husband from all that rabble was no proper place to make a man and a hero out of Telemachus, but a trip abroad where he might converse with such Trojan heroes Hector and Menelaus was just the thing needed to bring about those strong and manly qualities which were by right of birth the possession of the son of Odysseus" (cf. also Scott 1925, p. 57). Unlike the analyst viewpoint represented by Kirchoff, who claimed that "Die reise des Jünglings hat keinen rechten Grund und bleibt ohne Folgen, ohne allen Einfluss auf die Haupthandlung" (in Bekker 1858, i. 105), both Philodemus and Porphyry believed that the Telemachy was well motivated, had important consequences, and was integral to the plot of the poem.

Why does Philodemus discuss the uneducated state of Telemachus and offer a reason for his departure? I suggest that, in an age in which young aristocratic Romans "began to flock to the East" to study rhetoric and philosophy with the intellectual heroes of their day, Telemachus would be an ideal model. He goes abroad, is awakened and transformed by new experiences, discoveries and relationships, and returns to perform great exploits. See Rawson 1985, 9 whose phrase I quoted, and who also notes Cicero's statement that those with Epicurean leanings would travel abroad "for the sake of studying or seeing the sights" (*De rep.* 1.3.6). If the experience for Romans of the late Republic going to Greece was at all akin to A. Gellius' some two hundred years later, as

Rawson suggests (11), then dining clubs and conversations in the houses of learned Greeks would certainly have been part of the experience, which might make it easier for a Roman of Piso's generation to associate his own experience abroad with Telemachus'. Going abroad to be educated by great men is certainly something to which Philodemus himself could have related, being from Gadara but having studied with Zeno in Athens.

Telemachus is introduced in the previous column as one who contrasts with the suitors in his concern for his patrimony. Philodemus introduces him with the phrase παράδειγμα δ' ἡμῖν ὁ Τηλέμαχος γενέσθω· τοῦτον ἰγάρ καὶ νέον ὑπ[ά]ρχοντα καὶ ἰ (37-8). I think it almost certain that Philodemus intends Telemachus to be a paradigm for his Roman audience, not only in the concern for his patrimony which he displays, but also in the pattern of his education and development now revealed in the newly-reconstructed column. We might imagine that those yet to go abroad, listening to or reading this treatise, would have seen themselves in the description of Telemachus in lines 14-19 who lacks authority and respect in Ithaca since he is "one who has neither seen nor heard of many things, inexperienced in free speech between equals" -- a phrase which would likely be understood as "unlearned in forensic rhetoric" (see below) -- "and in many respects uneducated."

This new material might be seen as lending support to an early dating of the treatise and therefore a young Piso, a position already

defended by Asmis (23-4) on the basis of Dorandi's text. One might add that Philodemus also seems concerned with the passage from boyhood to manhood in the single legible phrase of col. 14: οὐ [γ]ὰρ | τοῖς ἐναντίοις [. . .]ντα δεῖ | ἄνδρα γίνεσθαι πρὶν ἢ καὶ | κατεγχειρεῖν τῶν ἀ[ύ]τῶν (9-12) II. Philodemus ends this discussion on Telemachus near the beginning of the following column (24.5-6) with the phrase ταὐτὸν οἴωτ' ἐμφαίνειν | οἴκε[ῖον] "the same thing, nor indicate that it is suitable," which suggests (though we cannot be sure since the previous lines are missing) that he ended the section by saying that he did not want to repeat what he had already said earlier in the treatise (perhaps col. 14) about young nobility. It seems probable, then, that Philodemus devoted another earlier section of *On the Good King* to youths, in addition to this treatment of Telemachus which itself stretches for more than a column.

But this more probably *cannot* help us determine the date of the treatise. It may have been the young sons of Piso who inspired Philodemus' treatment of Telemachus' character and its formation. Or, as Armstrong suggests, this treatise may have been delivered as a lecture to a group of young Roman noblemen studying with Philodemus (like many of Philodemus' discourses). In any case, the education of the prince would be a topic suitable for any treatise on the good king. On Piso's children, see Armstrong 1993. For a summary of views on the date of the treatise, see Asmis (1 n. 1).

Asmis explains the introduction of Telemachus at the end of col. 22 and the purpose of the quotations at the top of 23: "Still the suitors badly misuse their time. Philodemus returns to this theme by proposing Telemachus as a contrasting example: whereas the suitors left their homes to waste another's property, Telemachus went away from home, then returned, to save his property As the quotations show, Telemachus gives up a pleasant stay with Menelaus, as well as the prospect of further travel and gifts, in order to assume his duties at home. His sense of duty is in strong contrast with the injustice of the suitors, who ravage the home of their hostess, Penelope" (38).

Armstrong suggests to me an alternative version of what was in the gap, which I can best present here by a translation of col. 22, 36–col. 23, 19, filling in the supplemented areas with brackets: "But let Telemachus serve as an example for us. For [the poet has Athena lead] him, since he was both young and [inexperienced, away from home, but (unlike the suitors of the father of Nicomedes) for a noble reason, namely his development and education. But if it seems inconceivable that he should make such a short trip and change so much, we must take into account the poet's making it impossible for Telemachus to spend all that much time on the trip, saying as he does] 'while searching for my godlike father I must not perish' and 'having left possessions behind and men behind in the halls' [and then has to go back to his home], and that he has been brought up among people who do nothing he wants them to, precisely because he has neither seen

anything nor asked for instruction or talked to anyone as an equal and in several ways is totally uneducated."

2 Traces in *P* seem neither to conform to Olivieri's reading, nor *N*'s.

4 $\chi\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta[\epsilon\iota]\nu$: $\chi\rho\nu\iota\zeta[$ is certain (from a *sottoposto* in the following column), but $\chi\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta[\epsilon\iota]\nu$ may be incorrect. The stroke following δ seems more like ρ than ι , which could give the reading $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\iota$. In any case, $\chi\rho\nu\iota\zeta[$ probably refers to the fact that Telemachus should not linger too long away from his home. It may be part of a paraphrase of *Od.* 15.10, "Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι καλὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησαι," or 3.313, "καὶ κύ, φίλος, μὴ δηθὰ δόμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάλησο," since Philodemus, in 7-9, quotes either *Od.* 15.11 or 3.314.

5-7 *Od.* 15.90. Telemachus, having been encouraged by Athena (with the verse quoted by Philodemus in 7-9), tells Menelaus why he must return home in order not to jeopardize his patrimony.

7-9 A shortened form of a line which occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, first in 3.314 where Nestor, after relating the story of the murder of Agamemnon and the vengeance of Orestes, warns Telemachus not to tarry long lest the suitors consume his property, and secondly, in 15.11, where Athena reminds him of precisely the same thing: κτήματά τε προλιπὼν ἄνδρα ς τ' ἐν κοῖτι δόμοισιν. Homer uses these lines to spur Telemachus from Pylus to Sparta, and then from Sparta back to Ithaca. Presumably, Philodemus has the second occurrence in mind, which falls nearer the line he has just quoted (15.90), but he may recall that

the line is used twice to spur on Telemachus to the next point of his journey. Olivieri and Dorandi incorrectly supposed it possible to read $\text{co}\tilde{\iota}\kappa\iota$ after $\epsilon[v$, which would conform to the *Odyssey* text. After $\epsilon[$ there is a lacuna of one space, and then blank papyrus. Philodemus may have just forgotten, or else he intentionally adapted the line to make it seem as if it were said by Telemachus. I think it more probable that Philodemus, who often quotes from memory, was trying to quote two successive verses, *Od.* 15.90-1, rather than *Od.* 15.90 + *Od.* 3.314/15.11. *Od.* 15.91 ($\eta\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\theta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \omicron\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$) is, in fact, spoken by Telemachus, and it expresses almost the same thought as the line Philodemus quotes and perhaps inadvertently alters. If this is correct, we should assume that Philodemus made his quotation of 3.314/15.11 in some way scan. He may have written $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}$] rather than just $\kappa\alpha\iota$], or perhaps $\eta\ \tau\grave{\alpha}$], either of which would make the line almost scan correctly.

On the variant $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ for $\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ see Dorandi 1978, 42.

9-11 What followed between the quotations and where the text becomes clear in 11 is difficult to establish. If Asmis is correct to suppose that Philodemus is illustrating a laudable quality of Telemachus in these quotations (his concern for his patrimony), since 11ff. speak of Telemachus' deprived upbringing and uneducated state, what follows in the lacuna in 9-10 might be something like, "and this concern of his is remarkable considering his deprived upbringing." Cairns suggests something something like "But if he remained at

home, it would have been necessary for him to be (without help ?) again." I discuss his specific supplements below. This would give us something similar to what is found in Porphyry (schol. *Od.* 1.284), quoted below in my note on 31.

9-10 ε (good) is followed by a lacuna of one or two spaces with a speck of ink at the bottom of the line. Cairn's ε[i] δ' is possible. τη is followed by the left part of a curved letter, which obviates all the proposed forms of ἐπιτηδ-. After της there are exiguous traces for about three letters and then a peaked letter (α/λ/δ). Olivieri read επιτηδ[.], vert., α. N read επιτη[.(.)][ραι]. In line 10, after a lacuna of three spaces I read ε(fair), foot of a vertical (π/ν, etc.), bottom of a curved letter, [. . .], crossbar, ε. N records η before the crossbar. After πάλιν (secure), there is perhaps space for a letter, then κ/α, base of stroke probably vertical but perhaps slightly inclined to right followed rather closely by ink at bottom line (ν/κ ?), ε, π/γ. N (for 10) records [η̄ εκαι υ[.]καε̄]. From this, using some suggestions of Francis Cairns, we could read ε[i] δ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίᾳ[ε | ἔ][μεν]εν ἔ[δε] γε πάλιν . . . "But if he remained at home, it would have been necessary again [to be without help] . . .". The difficulty with this is that we would need an infinitive before the clause beginning εἶναι δὲ καὶ, and πάλιν seems somewhat strange in such a context. Nevertheless, the beginning of the supplement is plausible.

10-11 If a single word spans the end of 10 and beginning of 11, and if it begins with α, it may be another *alpha*-privative which describes Telemachus, since there are several such words describe him in the following lines. At the beginning of 11, P reads]τον, N reads]ητον. Some possibilities are ἀνεπ[ικούρ]ητον "without help,"

ἀνεπ[ίβλ]ητον "heedless; unheeded" (the word is Philodemian but probably too short), ἀνεπ[ιςκόπ]ητον "unregarded" (mostly late).

11-19 These lines describe Telemachus in his uneducated state, before his passage to adulthood. Dorandi greatly improved the text here, but he attempted (161-2), as did Fowler (83), to explain the lines as though they were about Odysseus. Asmis (38) is right to suggest that the passage is about Telemachus, and the new readings have confirmed her view.

12 ἀνεστραμμένον: in this context the term must mean something like "one who has constantly lived," though this is poorly documented in *LSJ* (better in Montanari). This nicely suits the context and allows for supplementation better than Asmis' "alienated" (38). Cf. Epict. 1.2.26, where Dobbin 1998 renders the term "at home": ἐν τοιαύτῃ τινὶ χώρᾳ ἀνεστραμμένος, οὐχὶ παρὰ τῷ Βάτω(ν)ι ἀλειφόμενος. Philodemus uses the term in this sense in *Rhet.* 2 col. 35, 35 ἐν ἐκκλη[σί]αις καὶ δικαστηρίοις [ἀν]ατραφέντας "those at home in the assemblies and law courts".

13 πρὸς τὸ βούλημα: see *LSJ* s.v. Π. for the sense of βούλημα here as "express will" or "consent". For πρὸς τὸ βούλημα cf. Chrys. *Fr. mor.* 336.1-3 τοῦ νομίμου ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ὄντος κοσμοπολίτου, πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος and Epict. 2.2.26 ἀνάγκη σε ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυλίεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τοῦ κυρίου.

14-19 This section (beginning with ἐπεὶ καὶ) tells why the household of Odysseus' palace does not live according to Telemachus' princely will, namely because he is by necessity (see below on 15) a person of inexperience and lack of education.

13-14 ἐί[κε]ίνου: must refer to Telemachus rather than Odysseus.

14-16 ἀθέατο[v]: the term, like ἀνι|τόρητον, should be understood to have an active rather than a passive sense, as Fowler suggested (83) and Asmis (38) confirmed. The two terms are paired (both active in sense) in D. Chr. 12.59.3.

15 ἀνάγκη: it is necessary that Telemachus be such a person as is described in 15-19, Philodemus appears to be saying, for the purposes of the plot of the poem. In l. 28 of the column (quoted above), Philodemus mentions "the poet," evidently referring to Homer's decisions about the plot of the poem and the need for his departure. Alternatively, Philodemus may be saying that it is necessary that Telemachus be such an inexperienced person given his insulated and deprived upbringing.

17-18 παρρησία ἀπειρον ἰληγόρου: Philodemus may be using the term παρρησία in a general sense that would cover both the older meaning (the right to an equal voice in assembly, etc.) and the later meaning (frank speech). Telemachus was inexperienced of παρρησία in the older sense, because an assembly had never been called in his lifetime, and when he called an assembly, he remained, in part, inexperienced of παρρησία on account of his treatment by the suitors. At the same time, he is also inexperienced of personal frankness of speech, and when he attempts it, his listeners respond with shock and disbelief, and some of them with contempt (2.200, etc.). He does not truly enjoy this type of παρρησία until he goes abroad, where he meets

someone his age (Nestor's son Pisistratus) and is treated with dignity and respect by Nestor and Menelaus and Helen, with whom he is able to speak freely. When encouraged by Athena to speak with Nestor, Telemachus, in a reference noted by Asmis (38), admits that he is inexperienced in speaking: οὐδέ τί πω μύθοισι πεπείρημαι πυκνοῖσιν (*Od.* 3.23). But the fact that Philodemus qualifies *παρρησία* with *ἰσηγόρου* may suggest that he is referring to his lack of experience in the assembly. When Polybius uses *παρρησία* in the older sense (having an equal voice in assembly) he invariably joins it with *ἰσηγορία* or a similar expression (e.g. 6.8.4.4). When unqualified, it appears to always refer to frank speech. Philodemus' qualifying the term with *ἰσηγόρου* may indicate that he thought the reader would incorrectly construe the term to mean frank speech if he left it unqualified. This might suggest that the older use was at least not common in Philodemus' day.

In fact the idea of "free speech between equals" is a central concept in Epicurean education as Philodemus conceives it, the subject of one of his key surviving treatises, *De libertate dicendi*, on which see Konstan 1998; Glad 1995. Philodemus may be stealing a sly glance at his student audience as he brings in the concept of *παρρησία*, a major element, as they would all know, in the education he is giving them--psychological consultation on a basis of equality in everything but philosophical knowledge, continual one-on-one and group discussion of intellectual and ethical progress, on which see Nussbaum 1994. Just the word itself, in the school context at Herculaneum, would be enough to remind

them that they are modern versions of Telemachus and that Philodemus and his fellow philosophers in the school play the role of Athena and Nestor.

18 πολλάκις: see *LSJ* s.v. Π 2 for what must be the meaning here, "for the most part," "altogether" though only poetic usages are exemplified. Alternatively, as Stephen White suggests to me, *πολλάκις* may be generalizing, i.e. people like Telemachus (typical princes) are often thus. . . Armstrong suggests that it may perhaps (uniquely) mean "in many respects" here.

18-19 ἀπαίδευτον: cf. Porphyry at *Od.* 284 (quoted in full below on 31) μένων δ' ἐν Ἰθάκῃ ἀπαίδευτος.

17-18 ἰσθηγόρου: apparently found only here and at Pollux 6.174. The noun ἰσθηγορία is common. The flavor is as so often in this treatise of rhetorical elevation.

20 It should be possible to supplement the end of this line: μάλιτα, γ/π/τ/ξ, ων, γ/π, [.,]vert., ζ/ε: μάλιτα τῶν (Janko) / μάλιτα γ' ὧν π[α]ίς / μάλιτ' ἄγων should be considered.

21 ωνει[.(.)]ων *N*: ωνε, speck at top line (ι possible), [.,]ζων *P*.

25-27 δυνηκόμεν[ο]ς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι: probably part of a sentence which speaks of the reuniting of Telemachus and Odysseus being able to occur with Telemachus now a mature man who has enjoyed the society of "such great people" (31-2). One or the other of the two men is probably the subject, although, as Armstrong points out to me, this could be a reference to Athena coming to Telemachus, in which case we should supplement δυνηκομέν[η]ς rather than δυνηκόμεν[ο]ς.

28-35 Here I have reconstructed parts of a sentence which was incoherent in previous editions of the text. In the sentence, Philodemus gives a motivation for Telemachus' journey to Pylus and Sparta. I understand the sentence in the following way. The first part, up to the negative in 32, explains the motivation for Telemachus' journeying to Pylus and Sparta, namely "to have dealings with such great people." Proceeding from the negative in 32, the possibility is ruled out that Telemachus would do more good concerning his father. He would not, since his father was already on Ithaca. It is for another reason, therefore, that Athena leads Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta: exposure to great people.

27 το[ύ]τω[v: presumably refers to Telemachus' uneducated state and need for experience abroad.

28-9 A verb meaning something like "contrived" or "planned" is needed. υπ, probably vert. (υ etc.) but perhaps a stroke slightly inclined to the right (μ etc.), [. . (.)]ε (good), ς/(θ), speck at bottom and curve at top line. It is possible that the material at the end (εϛ .) is not on the correct layer. Some adverb probably ending in -κωϛ or -ϛωϛ must bridge 28-9. If a φ could be read (the papyrus must be checked again), we could read colφωϛ (Cairns).

30 εἰϛ: ε/ο[P: ιϛ from *sottoposto* in col. 22, 29. We may thus rule out ἐ[κ Π]ύλου [καὶ Σ]πάρτη[ϛ which would otherwise have been paleographically possible.

31 τ[η]λικο[ύ]τοις: τ (vert. and pt. of horiz.), [ι], λ/α, ικ, ο/(ω), [ι], τ (perhaps vert.), ο/(ρ), ικ. τηλικοῦτος in the sense "so great" occurs fairly frequently in Philodemus. Cf. col. 12, 6 τηλικούτωι θυμῶι and also *De vit.* 10 col. 23, 13-14 ὀρθῶς μου καταφρονεῖς τηλικ[ο]ῦτος ὦν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑμαυτοῦ "Being such a great person yourself, you are perfectly right to despise me, for in fact, I despise myself." The citation is from a section adapted from Ariston (of Chios?). Presumably here τ[η]λικο[ύ]τοις was prepared for in some way in 19-27, perhaps with 24-5. Philodemus argues here that Telemachus, as a part of his development, needed the experience of associating with the great comrades of his father, Nestor and Menelaus. Porphyry (schol. *Od.* 1.284) claims that such experience is part of his becoming worthy of his father, specifically learning about his father from them: μένων δ' ἐν Ἰθάκῃ ἀπαίδευτος ἢ τῶν μνηστήρων εἶχετο καὶ προὔδωκεν ἂν τὸν οἶκον, ἢ ἐπιτιθέμενος αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο ἂν, μόλις τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς δι' ὑπερβολὴν φρονήσεως καὶ ἐμπειρίας δυνηθέντος αὐτοῖς δολίως ἐπιθέσθαι, ἄξιός τε οὐκ ἂν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγένετο, μή τοι γε παρὰ τῶν συστρατευσάντων πυθόμενος περὶ τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων.

"But if he had remained in Ithaca uneducated, either he would have been loyal to the suitors and betrayed his house, or tried to attack them and been destroyed, since even Odysseus, with his superior intelligence and experience was only with difficulty able to set on them, and that by trickery; and he would not have become worthy of his father had he not learned from his fellow soldiers about his father's doings."

Philodemus may have also had in mind Helen when he thought of the great individuals with whom Telemachus was to have dealings. He

learns much about the character and exploits of his father from her, and, as Scheid-Tissinier 1993, 9 notes, her gift of a cloak to Telemachus (*Od.* 15.125-8) shows him that he is now an adult who can begin to think about marriage. It was also educative, at any rate, to associate with a heroic woman quite unlike his mother. In a passage important for this column, Porphyry (schol. *Od.* 1.284) mentions Telemachus' exposure to Helen: φαίνεται τοίνυν Ὅμηρος ἀδύνατον νομίαι ἄνδρα ὑπὸ γυναικὶ τεθραμμένον, εἰ καὶ κωφρονεστάτη εἴη, καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ κατακεκλειμένον πλήθει ὑβριστῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν θεραπαίνοις τε ἀσελγέσιν ἐναυξόμενον καὶ νήσῳ μικροπρεπεῖ καὶ ἀβασιλεύτῳ πολὺν χρόνον, κινδύνων τε ξενικῶν μὴ εἰληφότα πεῖραν, μηδὲ μετασχόντα ἀηδιῶν καὶ ἀγωνιάσαντα ἐν ὅσαις ἀδημονίαις γέγονε Τηλέμαχος προσιέναι μέλλων Νέστορι καὶ Μενελάῳ καὶ Ἑλένῃ· φαίνεται οὖν μὴ τοι ἂν δυνηθῆναι νομίαι ἀρετῆς ἄλλως τί πως μετασχεῖν. διὸ πρόφασιν μὲν ἔχει ἡ ἀποδημία περὶ ἐξετάσεως τοῦ πατρός, σκοπὸς δὲ ἐστὶ τῆ συμβουλευούσῃ Ἀθηνᾶ παιδευσίς, ἀφ' ἧς ἤμελλον ἔσεσθαι, ὃ προὔθετο μάλιστα ἡ θεός.

"Homer appears to have considered it impossible for a man brought up by a woman, even the most virtuous, and shut up in his house by a mob of men full of hubris, and growing up among shameless serving maids, and in a unimpressive island that had been for a long time without a king, and having no experience of danger abroad, and having dealt with no unpleasantnesses, and having struggled with the evil circumstances that Telemachus found himself in when he was about to approach Nestor and Menelaus and Helen -- at any rate, it seems, he thought, one could get a share of excellence in no other way, for which reason, Telemachus's trip abroad has its excuse in the search

for his father, but the purpose Athena has in counseling it, is education from which he was going to become what the goddess most preferred him to be."

It seems that Porphyry, like Philodemus, and probably most of the ancient commentators who highlighted the educational value of Telemachus' travels, differed from modern commentators in using the passage to encourage their younger auditors to imitate Telemachus and acquire a liberal education, *παίδευσις*, for themselves.

32-33 οὐ γὰρ δὴ πλε[ῖ]λον γ' ἔτι: The combination οὐ γὰρ δὴ, particularly when followed by γε, is used "for clearing the ground by ruling out at least one possibility," Denniston 1954². 243 (2). Here the possibility ruled out is that Telemachus would do still more for his father, who was already near Ithaca. I have preferred γ' ἔτι to γε τι since, with ἥδ[η] following (l. 35), it appears to be the temporal nexus which is in the fore here. Cf. *Rhet.* 2 col. 13, 8 οὐ γὰρ [δ]ὴ τοιοῦτός ἐστ[ι]ν, καθάπερ οὗτός φησιν.

33 ποιήσειν: like *ῥυ[μ]μείξε[ι]ν*, this infinitive is controlled by ἔμελλε (l. 31).

34 [ἐ]πι: since Odysseus was not on Ithaca when Telemachus was led away to Pylus and Sparta perhaps we should translate this as "near," for which see *LSJ* I.2. More probably, Philodemus' eye is on Telemachus' return, by which time Odysseus was indeed on Ithaca.

35 καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν | λέ[γο]υσαν ποιῶν: a new reading. For this use of ποιέω + part. (*LSJ* s.v. I.4.b.), cf. *Athen.* 5.56.11-12 πάλιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποιεῖ τὸν Σωκράτην λέγοντα ἐν τῷ συμπόσιῳ ταυτί.

36-7 τῶν | εἰρημένων: i.e., on account of the things Philodemus has previously mentioned. What does Philodemus go on to say? That, in making Athena say these things, it is clear what Homer thinks about them, namely that he approves of Telemachus' concern for his patrimony and also of his exposure to the great compatriots of his father?

Col. 24

On the *clementia* of the good king. This part of the treatise (col. 24, 6–25, 19) involves relatively little exegesis of Homer, but instead discusses the qualities of gentleness and forbearance which must characterize the king and bind his people to him rather than fear. See Asmis (39) for a discussion of these virtues in Epicureanism and Stoicism; also Paolucci 1955, 498. Philodemus treated this theme in col. 5, where he mentions the love of the Trojans for Hector, and quotes the lines from *Iliad* 22 where his death is said to seem to them like the fall of their city itself:

5 .]ον· ὁ γὰρ οἰόμε[νος
 . . .] φόβωι μόνον [---
 πλ]ήθους γὰρ ἐκτω[---
 τ]ὸ κυριεύ[σ]ειν [---
 . .]ται καὶ τοῖς ο[---

.]μεγ[ι[ετ---
 10 πα]ρὰ Τρώ[εcci ---
 .]ων [. .]cc[---
 .] τούτων [--- ἀλ-
 λὰ τῶι πρὸς [---
 τας αὐτῶν [---
 15 αρχον καὶ [---
 .]αν[.]οι[ι] [---
 προ[---
 καιν[. .]ο[--- "τῶι
 δὲ μά[λι]τ' ἄ[ρ] ἔ]ην ἔνα[λίγ]κι-
 20 ον, ὡς εἰ ἅπα[σα] Ἴλιος ὄφρυ-
 ὄεσσα πυρὶ c[μ]ύχο[ι]το κατ' ἄ-
 κ[ρ]ηc"· καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοστορ-
 γ[ί]αν οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶι τὸν Ἔκτολλα (Dorandi's text)

"For the person who thinks that by fear alone . . . that he will be lord . . . of the multitude . . . among the Trojans . . . 'It was very much as if all of beetling Troy smoldered with fire from the top down' (*Il.* 22.410-11). And because of their love, the Trojans . . . Hector for him . . ." [tr. Asmis].

5 ἐμφαίνειν: *LSJ* does not document the word in this sense, but see Montanari ("dichiarare") and *LSJ* s.v. ἔμφασις II. "setting forth, exposition, narration"; Plb. 6.5.3.

6 δὴ: the particle can have a logical sense when used connectively, on which see Denniston 1954², 238.

10 κα[ι]: the arms of κ and diagonals of α are found in a *sottoposto* in 25.9. Traces of the rest are found here in their original location.

11-21 All the text to the right of the double slashes, save for two letters in 20, were drawn by *N* in the right margin of his drawing. They were later integrated by an interpreter (*N*¹) into the body of the disegno. In cases such as $\pi\{\alpha\}\rho\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\iota\tau\eta\tau\alpha$ (11-12) I intend the reader to suppose that $\tau\eta\tau\alpha$, found in the left portion of the column, was read from *P* unless I say otherwise.

11-12 $\pi\{\alpha\}\rho\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\iota\tau\eta\tau\alpha$: *παια* *N*: *N*¹ copied *N*'s text into the body of the disegno, where an interpreter subsequently cancelled out the first π and made the second α into a ρ .

11-13 $\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha$ are also joined in Plut. *Pers.* and NT II Cor. 10.1 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\iota\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (note that $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is a kingly title). I owe this note to David Martinez.

14 Fowler (83) suggested $\varsigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\mu\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, regretting that it was too short for the space. It would indeed make for a short line (about 46 mm), but certainly not too short. His supplement requires a correction of the disegno, Dorandi's a correction of the papyrus.

15 $\pi\lambda\prime\prime\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$: $\pi[.]'\acute{\lambda}'\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ *I*: π, λ (bot. of first diag.) [*P*: ς, η (first vert. and horiz), $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ *N*: π (crossbar) [.] $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ *N*¹. *I*'s supplement is certainly correct, but the letters $\varsigma\eta$ on the fragment of *N* need to be explained. They may be from another layer.

17-18 $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\delta\epsilon\varsigma[\rho\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}]$ | $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\omega\iota$ $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha[\varsigma]//\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}[\alpha\nu$: my $\delta\epsilon\varsigma[\rho\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}]$ would seem to be an improvement over Olivieri's $\delta\epsilon\varsigma[\rho\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\eta\nu]$, of which Fowler was dubious. $\delta\epsilon\varsigma\rho\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is paired with $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ three times

in Philo, where it means "fear of the master" (*De spec.* 1.128.3, *De mut.* 24.3, *De virt.* 114.4).

δυνα[ς]//τει[αν]:]γει[is also a possible reading of the fragment. The term is securely restored at 28.18-19. On the use of the term in this treatise see Dorandi 1978, 34.

18-26 Cambyses is apparently used here as a negative *exemplum*. It is impossible to tell how far discussion about him continues. Murray notes an important parallel in Eustathiu (1.81.45-7, van der Valk) on *Od.* 2.46-9: Σημειῶσαι δὲ εἰς τὸ, πατὴρ ὡς ἥπιος ἦν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡροδότου, τὸ, Καμβύσης μὲν δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατήρ. ὁ μὲν, ὅτι χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος. ὁ δὲ, ὅτι ἥπιος καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφίσι ἐμηχανίσατο, ἥτοι τοῖς Πέρσαις.

"Note on 'he was gentle as a father,' Herodotus who calls Cambyses a 'despot' and Cyrus a 'father,' the former because he was harsh and insulting, the latter, because he was gentle and 'contrived good things for them,' i.e. for the Persians."

Eustathius' comment on *Il.* 2.669 (ἐκ Διός, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει) is equally relevant: ἐφερμηνευτικόν ἐστὶ τοῦ "Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε," ὡς ταῦτόν ὄν τρόπον τινὰ βασιλέα τε καὶ πατέρα εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ χρῆναι τὸν ἄρχοντα πατρὸς δίκην τῶν ὑπηκόων κήδεσθαι, ὃ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα φανερώς δηλοῦται, ὅπου λέγει· "πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν." διὸ καὶ παρ' Ἡροδότῳ Καμβύσης μὲν δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατὴρ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἦν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀγρίως ἦρχεν, ὁ δὲ ἥπιως 1.493.16-21 van der Valk).

"This is a paraphrase of 'Zeus father both of gods and men' since it is in a way the same thing to call someone both king and father, because the

ruler must take care of his subjects in the manner of a father, as is made quite clear in the *Odyssey* also where he says, 'he was gentle like a father,' which is what in Herodotus also makes Cambyses a despot to the Persians and Cyrus a father to them, for the one ruled cruelly, and the other gently."

The tradition of comment on the Homeric phrase πατήρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν must therefore have made use of the contrasting examples of Cambyses and Cyrus. Relevant also is schol. b *Od.* 2.47, noted by Murray (168): οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμέριζον εἰς τρία ἐπίθετα. τὸν μὲν πρῶον βασιλέα ὠνόμαζον πατέρα, τὸν ἀπηνῆ καὶ θυμώδη, δεσπότην, τὸν φειδωλὸν καὶ φιλόχρυσον κάπηλον.

"The ancients divided up royalty under three epithets, calling the mild king 'father' the harsh and angry one 'despot' and the stingy and money-loving one 'innkeeper'."

According to tradition, Cambyses was completely devoid of the qualities mentioned in this column. Among the crimes mentioned in *Hdt.* 3.31, he murdered his brother when he had a dream that he would be overthrown by him, and then his sister/wife when she betrayed knowledge of the crime. He also mortally wounded the Apis bull.

It is notable that Philodemus chooses an exemplum from outside Homer. It is true, as Asmis notes (39), that Homer does not depict a "paradigmatic despotic monarchy." But despotic monarchs are at least referred to in passing, for instance Echetus and Aegisthus, both of whom are referred to as exempla of tyrants in [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 183.

20 Dorandi's supplement ἀλλ' must be incorrect. Cambyses was no better loved "by the Persians" than anybody else he knew. ἥπιος is probably too long. See below on 24-5.

τ]ῶν: ων derives from a *sottoposto* in col. 25, 20 confirming Olivieri's supplement.

20-1 γονε[.(.)]τῶν: there appears to be room for one letter, or perhaps two, after γονε on the fragment, so Dorandi's suggestion γονέ(ων) | τῶν could actually be read as γονέ[ων] | τῶν. But what do Cambyses' parents or ancestors have to do with any of this?

22 προαγο[ρε]υη: apparently a subjunctive form. Perhaps the iota adscript (frequently present in this text) was misread for the vertical of κ.

κ[.]οι[: judging from the parallels in Eustathius, there may be a contrast in these lines between Cambyses and Cyrus. We should consider reading Κ[ῦρ]ον .

23-4 "πατήρ | ὥς ἥπιος] ἦεν": the phrase is used three times of Odysseus (*Od.* 2.47; 2.234; 5.12) once of Nestor (*Od.* 15.152) and once of Hector (*Il.* 24.770). Plut. [*Vit. Hom.*] 182 cites the phrase, with the preface καὶ ὁποῖον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, σαφῶς δηλοῖ "and what kind of man the king ought to be, he clearly shows." The same paragraph notes that Homer was familiar with various forms of rule, and "mentions monarchy throughout all his poetry with praise" (τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν δι' ὅλης τῆς ποιήσεως ὀνομάζων καὶ ἐγκωμιάζων). Hillgruber 1999, 381

observes that Stobaeus incorporated the phrase in his ὑποθήκαι περὶ βασιλείας (IV 7,8).

24-5 βασιλευόμενον: this must be passive, rather than middle, as Dorandi and Asmis translate it ("regnando / ruling").

25 οὐτ[ωc: Olivieri and Dorandi read οὐτ[ε here, but keeping in mind the possibility that Cambyses is being compared to Cyrus in these lines, we may not want to read a negative.

δι: διά + acc. sometimes has a sense similar to the genitive. *LSJ* s.v. διά omits this, but see the article διά (esp. at end) in Bekker's *Lexicon Aristotelicum* (v. 5 of the Berlin edn., 1870). I thank Armstrong for informing me of this distinction.

26 συμπάθι[α]ν: Olivieri and Dorandi read συμπάθει[αν], which is impossible on account of the size of the lacuna and the presence of a stroke at the top of the line which is more likely the top of a vertical stroke than ε. In *De morte* col. 8, 6-7, the word is spelled as here in our text: col. 38, 14-15: φήκομέν γε τὴν συμπάθιαν πρὸ[ς τὸ] | σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς. On the spelling see Crönert 1903, 32.

28-31 These lines may make the point that the gentleness and kindness of a king must not go so far (ἄχρι) as to appear to be rooted in slackness (β[λ]ακρυε[-]). Philodemus makes such a point in col. 25, 11-16, where he advises a king is advised not to seem gentle (πρᾶ[ο]c) on account of laxity (ἔκλυσιν) but rather on account of his capacity to discern well (κρίσιν). We should be able to find some feminine noun

upon which ἐλι[λ]ιπέτεραν might be predicated. Janko suggests τὴν ἀρχήν.

29 ε (left part of curved let. ζ/ε/ω/ο) from *sottoposto* at col. 25, 30. τὸ β[λ]ακεύειν? Cf. col. 28, 9-10.

32 δ[.(.)]ια . ειν: the ι is certain, which precludes earlier supplements. Midway between α and ε, about midline, there is visible part of a stroke inclined to the left (λ/δ/(υ)).

33-4 ἐ[ς] ἰσχυρωτάτων: a second hand has deleted the sigma at the end of 33 with a large supralinear dot and added another just to the left of the beginning of the following line. See 29.4 and 31.19 for the same phenomenon. The superlative is found in the MSS (all but V and D) of Xen. *HG* 2.3.49 and is censured by Phrynichus (51), but is otherwise unexampled. Philodemus, who elsewhere uses the base form of ἔσχατος (*De ira* col. 14, 21), probably intends hyperbole here, and I have accordingly translated "the very uttermost."

34 Cirillo's supplement ἐξοκέλλειν, which the other editors maintained, is incompatible with what the papyrus reads. The passage upon which he based it (*On anger* col. 14, 21-2) may nevertheless be useful in supplementing the lower part of this column: τὸ κακόν (i.e. anger) καὶ καταρχόμενον ἀπ' ἐλαχίστου μέχρι ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ.

36 Cf. *De morte* col. 23, 5-6: ἀπὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἄχρι καὶ ἢ νῦν.

Col. 25

This column continues the discussion of the previous one. Notable here is the unabashed concentration upon the importance of the ruler's *appearing* kind. The qualities of kindness and gentleness are to be pursued because they lead to a stable monarchy.

6-7 οὐδ[εν]ῶς: ο (left and bot. of curved let.), υ (perhaps speck of base and rt. arm), [. .]οc P:]ο (top of curved let.) υ (part of vert. and rt. arm) [from *sottoposto* in col. 26, 8. The reading is almost certain. *μνησικακεῖν περὶ* is fairly common. Cf. Isoc. *Plat.* 14.4 *μνησικακεῖν περὶ τῶν τότε γεγενημένων.*

11 ἔκλυον: *pace* Dorandi, the traces conform to Olivieri's reading.

11-15 The rhetoric here is grandiose and formal and does much to justify the convoluted expression of the next sentence (16-19) as intentional.

12 ἀλλ'ἄ: former editors underestimated the distance to the left margin by reading ἦ]. *λα* as well as the *δ* of *διὰ* derive from a *sottoposto* in col. 26, 15.

κρίειν: not "a judgment" (Asmis) but rather "power of judgment" (*LSJ* I.3), "capacità di giudizio, discernimento" (Montanari s.v. C.). *LSJ* cites Plb. 6.11.8 *κατὰ κρίειν* "with judgment, advisedly"; Isoc. 15.32 *πιστεύειν τοῖς μήτε μετ' ἐλέγχου μήτε μετὰ κρίειος εἰρημένοις.* The kindness of a ruler must seem to have its basis not in a slack disposition, but in the deliberate exercise of a good sense of judgment.

12-13 $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota[\sigma]\zeta$: the stroke for ζ could just as well be the lower part of a stroke inclined to the left (λ , etc.).

13 $\delta[\iota]\acute{\alpha}$: after the bottom part of a stroke inclined to the right ($\delta/\alpha/\lambda/(\mu)$) there is room for two letters before α . The space may be too large for ι alone, though the δ may have been exceptionally large.

14-15 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\nu$: apparently used to describe a person's character or actions only here. Cf. *On Poems* I col. 94 where the term is used in opposition to $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ to describe accent. In *Rhet.* 1.198 Sudhaus the term refers to intensity of style.

15 $\tau\eta\nu \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$: parallels are late for this construction. Cf. Chrys. *hom. in Jo.* (Migne PG 59.436 l. 56f.). $\text{Καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ἐρώτησον τοὺς γεγηρακότας ποῖον μακαρίζουσι βίον, τὸν ὅτε ἐκρατοῦντο μάτην ἢ τὸν ὅτε αὐτῶν κρατοῦσι νῦν.}$

16-19 The section of the treatise on the gentleness of a king (col. 24, 6–25, 19) is concluded here with a remark on how a king is *not* remembered to have had the good will of a father, namely by vengeance against plotters. Although $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ seems not to have been previously mentioned in the section, it is not out of place with the other kingly virtues featured in the section. On a king's $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ see Cairns 1989, 20 s.v. K5 iii; Farber 1979, 509 f. The reference to a king having fatherly qualities harks back to the section in col. 24, 19ff. where Philodemus seems to be remarking that the Persians remembered Cyrus to have had the "gentleness of a father" in contrast to his harsh

successor Cambyses. It may be Philodemus' prose rendering of Homer's phrase.

The postponement of the nominal phrase in 18-19, every word of which in my text differs from previous editions, seems rather strange stylistically, but was probably intended for emphasis. (See on 14-15).

18-19 πατρός εὐ[νο]ϊαν: cf. Diod. 4.4.8 εὐνὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένη Ῥωμαίων ἐμοῦ καὶ εἰς τοῦτό σοι συναγωνισαμένης, πατρός εὐνοϊαν τοῖς παιδίοις τοῖςδε παρασχέθαι.

19 ῥηθεις: emphasis falls once again on the perception and opinion of the people.

There is apparently a *diple* in the left margin immediately below this line, though of a different form than the rest. Whereas the others are tapered, this one has wide, angular arms. Unlike the other *diple* it is unaccompanied by a *spatium vacuum*.

20 πρέπει κα: [i: crossbar, ρε, vert. [P:]ρεγ/π[]ε[N. ικα derives from a *sottoposto* at col. 26, 23. κα[ι rules out Olivieri's [τὰ].

21 εὐπ[ειθ]ίας: ια comes from a *sottoposto* in 26.24. On the spelling ι for ει cf. συμπάθι[α]ν 24.26. The length of the lacuna rules out the spelling εὐπ[ειθε]ίας. I have preferred εὐπ[ειθ]ίας to εὐπ[ρεπ]ίας (how Murray's εὐπ[ρεπεία]ς would have to be spelled) on account of the Homeric quotation below ("δειδιότας κημάντορας") in 29-30 and since the various forms of εὐπείθης are commonly used to describe the orderliness of an army, while the forms of εὐπρέπης are found more rarely in such contexts: D.C. 250.5 στρατεύμα γὰρ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ

Σογκρῶνα χειμάζον ἐκινήθη, καὶ πρῶην οὐκ εὐπειθὲς ὄν, οὐ μὴν φανεράν ἀποστασίαν ἐπιδειξάμενον; Diod. 15.16.2.12 διὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ἀθλήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων παρακλήσεως καὶ γυμνασίας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εὐπειθῆ καὶ δυνατὴν ἐποίησε τὴν στρατιάν; App. *Pun.* 547.3 ἐγώ, μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τασσόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν; D.H 2.14.4.4 ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα σώφρονας ἐλάμβανε καὶ τεταγμένας τὰς διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ταχείας καὶ εὐπειθεῖς. That εὐπειθία may be the opposite of ἀκοσμία may be seen by its use as a synonym of εὐκοσμία in Gal. *De san.* Kuehn 6.60.16 μέγιστον ἐφόδιόν ἐστίν ἡ εὐκοσμία τε καὶ εὐπείθεια. In favor of εὐπ[ρεπ]ίας is the fact that whereas εὐπείθια and related forms are not found elsewhere in Philodemus, he uses εὐπρεπεία at col. 38, 14-15 to describe Homer's embellishment of the Greek army. Cf. also *Paus.* 1.6.3.9: Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἄριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου. Moreover, Philodemus may be playing upon the πρεπ sound in πρέπει and εὐπ[ρεπ]ίας.

23-8 The letters in bold print derive mostly from *sottoposti* in col. 26, 28-32.

24 α, curved let. / diag. from *sottoposto* in col. 26, 28.

26 ν/(η/ι) comes from a *sovrapposto* at the end of col. 24, 26 and probably belongs here.

27-32 The orderliness of the Greek army is contrasted with the disarray of the Trojan force. See Hillgruber 1999, 333 for ancient parallels. The assumption behind this, as well as Philodemus' discussion of Homer's enhancing the Greek army in 38.13-18 is that

Homer was φιλέλλην, a view shared by numerous ancient sources (including the Homeric bT scholia) on which see Valk 1963-1964, i. 494-9.

27 Olivieri and Dorandi had wished to confirm Bücheler's supplement by reading ἰό[ντασ where the papyrus clearly reads ιε[. It is nevertheless possible to maintain the supplement, but later in the line immediately preceding κατ]ᾶ.

27-28 κατ]ᾶ | κόμ[ον]: the α, from a *sottoposto* in col. 26, 31, supports Bücheler's supplement [κατᾶ].

28 κ]αὶ "κιγῆι": The placement of the fragment is sure, the left part of κ being on the *sottoposto* in col. 26, 32, the right part in its proper location. The κ]αὶ was needed since Bücheler's supplement "Ἐλληνας would be too short to fill the lacuna alone.

32 διδ[άσ]κει μ[ὲν] ὅσ: Cirillo and Olivieri were fond of making supplements to the effect that Homer teaches, most of which a closer reading of the papyrus has proven false. This reading seems to fit the traces fairly well, however (see app.).

32-7 Cf. col. 26, 21-3 where Odysseus' rebuke of Thersites' is considered a παράδειγμα; col. 22, 36ff. Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.18 *utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen.*; Vir. *Aen.* 1.148-54:

*ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
seditio, saevitque animis ignobile volgus,
iamque faces et saxa volant--furor arma ministrat;
tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;*

ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. . .

33 ἀκομίας: the plural is rare, but here perhaps indicates the more concrete expression of a noun abstract in its singular form, on which see Kühner-Gerth I p. 17.

34 [κ]ατατέλλειν cf. NT *Act. Ap.* 19.35 κατατείλας δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸν ὄχλον; J. *BJ* 2.281.3 ὅ γε μὴν Κέστιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους κατατείλας.

37 διάπειραν: cf. col. 26, 20-21. This is a technical term for the scene in *Iliad* Book 2 where Agamemnon tells his men to return home. Cf. D.H. *Rh.* 9.5.10; Str. 1.2.5.3.

Col. 26

The first part of the column presents a series of people being corrected by Homeric *basileis*. Some of those corrected are themselves *basileis*. The good king must be capable of correcting others and (the column would seem to imply) of being corrected himself. The next part argues that it is an attractive aspect of Homeric kingship to find its privileges reside not so much in wealth and power as in "honor," purely formal tributes, such as seats of honor, rising from one's seat to honor someone, choice portions of sacrifices, etc. This is appropriate advice to the acquisitive Romans, who were at the same time very fond of ceremony and the honors due to rank.

10-13 I have placed *sovrapposti* from the previous column here.

11 ἐ]πιτ[ι]ματ[-: cf. 16 below.

14]κα . [: possibly from another layer.

16-18 Cf. *Il.* 4.336ff.

16-21 Chiasmus seems to occur more frequently in this treatise than Philodemus' other writings.

18-21 Cf. *Il.* 2.198ff. See above on 25.37.

20 διαπεί[κ]ραι: see on 25.37.

20-4 Presumably these lines refer to Thersites and the rebuke he receives from Odysseus (*Il.* 2.225-71), a scene Philodemus also refers to in cols. 2.225-71; 21, 31-39; 35.25-31.

21-2 εὐ|θέ//των: to be construed with εἰς, not as Asmis translates: "Someone of the conveniently placed is taken as an example and punished." Cf. *De ira* 20.28-9 εὐθέτους ὄντας εἰς ἰφιλίαν.

23 διὰ [τ]ῆς: Olivieri had read δι' ἀ[δρᾶ]ς, of which Fowler (83) was rightly skeptical. The right arm of η is visible, slightly inclined to the right as usual.

24-5 ἀ]ἰνα//τέλλ[ε]ται: cf. [κ]ατατέλλειν col. 25, 34; *Diod.* 7.35.5.4 ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων βιασαμένων εἰς μέρους καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἀνατέλλειν κελευσάντων τοὺς ὄχλους; *schol. Hes. Op.* 123 Ἄδικος γὰρ ὦν ὁ Πέρσης καὶ πλεονέκτης, διὰ τούτων ὥσπερ ἀνατέλλεται καὶ παιδαγωγεῖται δικαιοσύνη προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

26 {τα . } : possibly from another layer, which will make a supplement easy, perhaps Ἀχιλλεύς.

29 ἄλ[λου β]α[ιλ]έωσ: there may not be space for this supplement, and]α[may be from another layer. That leaves us to supplement τ//[. .]αλ[. . . .(.)]εωσ.

30 θ]εματ[-: θέμα and its various forms (θεματικός, etc.) are important in Philodemus' theory of aesthetics, but it is difficult to discern its function here.

35 δεπάεζζ//[ι]ν: the ν, which Olivieri and Dorandi read in *P*, is no longer visible.

36-8 Cirillo noted *Il.* 1.533-535, in which the Olympians rise before Zeus, on which cf. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 176 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπανίστασθαι τοῖς ἀμείνοσι παρὰ πᾶσι νενόμισται, ὃ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Διός. Rising for another also occurs in Homer at *Il.* 9.191; 11.777; *Od.* 2.14; 16.12; 16.42. Aristodemus of Nysa, arguing that Homer was a Roman, claimed that rising out of respect for another was a Roman custom, on which see Heath 1998, 36, who documents the offense Julius Caesar gave by remaining seated when the senate came to him (Suet. *Jul.* 78; Plut. *Caes.* 60.5; D.C. 44.8.1-2). See Hillgruber 1999, ii. 378-9 and Heath for abundant parallels for this custom in Greece and Rome.

37 Διῖ: it is a mystery why the former editors all read Δ[ιῖ], following *N*¹ rather than *N*. It seems that *N*¹, an *interprete*, from his elementary knowledge of Greek, thought that so short a Greek word cannot have had two consecutive *iotas*.

Col. 27

The good king should be a lover of victory, but not a lover of war or battle. It is clear to Philodemus that Homer thought so because of his detesting both Ares and Achilles, who were both the kinds of rulers who "add unnecessary troubles to necessary ones" by their love of battle. Cf. Gigante 1990, 92ff. On Vergil's use of this theme in the contrast of Aeneas as a lover of peace and Turnus a lover of strife, see Cairns 1989, 71.

1-8 I have placed several fragments from *souvrapposti* located at the top of col. 26 here.

3 It may be that *N*, who unrolled the papyrus and understood the nature of *sottoposti* and *souvrapposti*, was drawing part of the *souvrapposto* which I placed, in which case we should read κειαινον[. Otherwise the line appears too long.

5 τματ[: the topic is still apparently related to rewards and honor.

7]ιαι[. .]υςιν: possibly from *Od.* 10.495 οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοῖ δὲ κιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν, an often quoted tag line (Diodorus, Plutarch, Galen, Polybius, and others).

8]ρψον: before ψ (good) there is a loop near the top of the line, which seems too high to be from ο, but something must be wrong, unless the form is τέ]ρψον, which seems unlikely.

14 -18 cf. schol. bT *Il.* 9.63-4 διδάσκει δὲ ὡς εἶναι μὲν πολεμικὸν δεῖ, δι' ὧν φησιν "οἷς οὔτι μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα" (B 338), οὐ μὴν φιλοπόλεμον.

φιλό]νικον: may be used in a negative sense, but is typically used in a positive sense, as here, on which see *LSJ*. But, for an Epicurean, such rivalry was considered inimical to one's progress in wisdom (on which see the important parallels below in the headnote to col. 30). Cf. *De Ira* col. 28, 15-17 καὶ φιλονικεῖν καὶ λυπεῖν | καὶ διακύρειν καὶ πάν[π]ολλὰ ποιεῖν ἕτερα δυσχερῆ "to strive for victory and give pain and disparage people and do a great many other unpleasant things." That passage is from a section of the treatise which speaks of the destructiveness of anger, and φιλονικεῖν cannot have been used in a positive or even neutral sense. We must view this passage here as a kind of concession by Epicureans to kingship. It may be that Philodemus means here that the king should love to be victorious in battle over the enemies of his nation, rather than a lover of victory (in any sense) over his fellow citizens in the political arena.

φιλόμ]αχον: normally found in poetry (Aeschylus and Pindar), but found also in *De pietate* p. 84 Schober, where the adjective is also used to modify Ares (see 29-36 below).

21 If *N*'s reading of the previous line is correct, υν must begin a new word.

]αχ[: from *sottoposto* in col. 28, 21-22.

22]ρι[: from *sottoposto* in col. 28, 22.

21-22 ἀ]ταραξία: the critical letter, τ, found only in *N*, could be read equally well as π, to give, for instance, Cirillo's παρ' ἀξίαν. Ἀταραξία is not a word we would expect to find in a treatise on kingship, and, if

correct, would be one of only a few points in the treatise where Epicurean technical terminology is found. It was precisely for the avoidance of disturbances that Epicureanism discouraged participation in politics, and thus the word seems out of place; but cf. 27-9 below which probably refer people who add unnecessary θόρυβοι to those which are unavoidable. We can assume that some Epicureans thought kingship might be possible to the wise man (and *a fortiori* the position of a Roman nobleman, a *rex et patronus* like Piso), because if well handled, the benefits of the position might compensate for the "necessary" evils it entailed. See below on the headnote to col. 29 where I note that Philodemus considers Odysseus and Nestor to be above political jealousy.

27-9 These lines, previously read incorrectly, seem to speak (as Armstrong suggests) of unnecessary disturbances being added to necessary ones. For θόρυβοι as mental disturbances, cf. Epic. *Epist. ad Men.* 132.6 ἐξ ὧν πλείστοι τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος. If my interpretation of 21-9 is correct, we may infer that ἀταραξία is not the total absence of θόρυβοι, but just the unnecessary ones. Epicurus taught that even the wise man, when on the rack, will "moan and wail aloud" (μύζει καὶ οἰμώζει) D.L. 10.118. Epicureans allowed a broader scope for the emotions than has traditionally been assumed (on which see Fish 1994, 101-4; Armstrong 1999).

29 There is slanted bar beginning slightly above the line, between the c of θορύβου and the o of οἴομαι. This seems to have been added by the scribe (or someone else) in lieu

of a spatium, which would seem to fall naturally here. The mark is accompanied by the remains of a paragraphos unnoticed by former editors. Prof. Janko informs me that this mark, a *στιγμή* occurs abundantly in P.Herc. 994 and 1676. Dorandi (53) considered this mark in conjunction with a stroke at the end of l. 31, saying that "il periodo è racchiuso tra due apici." The final mark, however, is the upper arm of a *κ* which the scribe began to write, but then seeing that it was superfluous (the next word begins with a consonant), did not finish the letter. Moreover, this group of words included in this supposed parenthesis do not comprise a period.

31-36 Philodemus notes the parallelism between Zeus' contempt of Ares (*Il.* 5.890) ἔχθικτος δέ μοί ἐστι θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν and Agamemnon's contempt of Achilles (1.176) ἔχθικτος δέ μοί ἐστι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων, and reflected it nicely in this carefully crafted sentence. Both lines are followed by the same line αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε. Philodemus has already noted Odysseus' and Agamemnon's disdain for Thersites (col. 21, 36-9), which, as here, he assumes indicative of Homer's opinion.

The artfulness of the sentences (like many touches in this treatise, on which see intro.) is in marked contrast with Philodemus' usual rather improvisatory style. This is especially apparent now that I have found the correct place for [ἔχθικ]τον:

ὁ μὲν τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶι βασιλεὺς
τὸν Ἄϊρη τῶν θεῶν
ὁ δὲ τῶν βασιλεῶν (sc. βασιλεὺς)
τὸν Ἀχιλ[λ]έα τῶν μονάρχων

[ἔχθικ]τον

36 [ἔχθικ]τον: former editors were misled by *N*'s incorrect reading]αν, though Bücheler nevertheless correctly supposed that the word must have been nearby (ἔλλει[γεν ἔχθικτον)

Col. 28

The theme passes from the good king not being φιλοπόλεμος or φιλόμαχος to his not being one who stirs up civil strife. Far from ensuring stability of rule, cultivating discord among subordinates results in the downfall of houses and dynasties alike. Homer shows his hatred of civil strife in Nestor's condemnation of the lover of civil strife at *Il.* 6.63-4, and by certain actions of Nestor in which he reveals an eagerness to quell civil discord. On the importance of the themes of this column and the previous one in the Late Republic, see Galinsky 1996, 118.

1-6 The problem of *sottoposti* and *sovraposti* is especially severe in the upper portion of this column. I have not printed letters which I am confident are from other layers. Several fragments are yet to be placed.

5-8 Francis Cairns makes the following proposal, which must be checked against the papyrus.

5 τους ἐμ[φύλι]ον ἐπά[γον]τ[α]
 πόλεμ[ον ἐν τ]οῖς ὑπο[τετα-
 γμέν[οις κα]κὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς δις [ἄγουσι τοσαῦ]τα· τοσαῦ]τα Armstrong: ταῦτα Cairns

"Those who introduce civil war among the subjects bring on themselves the same troubles doubly." In this interpretation, ἐκάτεροι (16) would refer to rulers introducing civil war and laymen who encourage division in their households. Such division leads to the destruction of monarchies and households alike. This supplement

would represent an enormous improvement in the text if traces in the papyrus support it.

6-7 τ]οῖς ὑπο[τετα]λγμέν[οις: in Epicureanism, ὑποτεταγμένα are "underlying" sounds of speech, etc. ὑποτεταγμένοι in Polybius (and others) are (human) subjects of a king.

9-10 βλακεύειν: cf. β[λ]ακευε[24.29.

8-19 The love of strife is like the forbidden pleasures of anger, as Philodemus describes them in *De ira* cols. 7-30; it is a false pleasure that frustrates its own ends.

10 νο]μιτέον I would prefer Cirillo's φη]μιτέον to avoid the what seems to me clumsy repetition of νομίζειν. νομιτέον, on the other hand is very common in Philodemus and elsewhere.

15 Menander fr. 784 Körte. This fragment is quoted at schol. T *Il.* 21.389 and paraphrased there by schol. b. Murray (175) suggests the possibility that Philodemus consulted a Homeric commentary, a thesis expanded by D'Angelo 1997, 139-40.

18 τ from *sottoposto* in col. 29, 11.

23-6 When Diomedes opposes the orders of Agamemnon to sail home (*Il.* 9.32-49), Nestor steps in to resolve the dispute, these words forming part of his speech (9.50-78). Philodemus quotes this verse also in *De piet.* 95, 22 and *De ira* col. 44, 22. It was frequently quoted in antiquity. For a list of authors, see Dorandi (175) to which should be added Plut. [*Vit. Hom.*] 186 which prefaces the quotation by καὶ πάλιν ὅπως τοὺς τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦντας φιλίας ἔχειν δεῖ.

29-30 κά[ν τ]οῖς πρὸς Ἀγ[α]μέμνονα: Former editors mistakenly read Ἀχιλλέω]ς where Kevin Hawthorne and I have read κά[ν τ]οῖς. κά[ν] construes τὴν στάσιν as controlling the three parallel κὰν clauses. Philodemus can use the article alone since he has just quoted from one of the scenes where there is a dispute of Diomedes with Agamemnon which Nestor helps resolve (*Il.* 9.32-78). Nestor also helps resolve division among the Argives in the confusion which breaks out over Agamemnon's command to leave in Book 2. After Odysseus reproaches the troops, Nestor (2.337-68) brings a close to the division and confusion. He attempts to resolve discord between Achilles and Agamemnon in *Il.* 1.247-84.

30-1 κὰν ταῖς τῶν πρέσβων ἐν[τ]ολαῖς: cf. *Il.* 9.162-81.

31-2 κὰν τῆι | Πα[τρ]όκλου παρακλήσει cf. *Il.* 9.640ff.

33 The paragraphos in 32 would seem to indicate that we begin a new sentence in 33, though it is difficult to supplement the first part of the line. The subject has probably changed from Nestor as resolver of stasis to Odysseus as a resolver of stasis.

Col. 29

This column continues the theme of the destructiveness of strife and Homer's abhorrence of it. It was precisely to avoid strife and jealousy that Epicureans advised against participation in politics. Cf. *Rhet.* 2.159 Sudhaus, εἰ γὰρ θελήσειέ τις ἅπαντ' ἐπεξιών διασκοπεῖν, τί φιλίας ἐστὶν

πολεμιώτατον καὶ δυσμενείας (cf. col. 29, 4) ἀπεργασί[τι]κώτατον, πολιτείαν ἄν εὔροι διὰ τε τὸν φθόινον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλειφομένους ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν cύντροφον τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλοπρωτίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκάστοτε διαφωινίαν ἐν τοῖς εἰσηγουμένοις καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιοθετοῦντας οὐ μόνον ἰ[δι]ώτας ἀλ[λὰ] καὶ δήμο[υς] | καὶ δι[καστήρι]α πλήθ[ους; Cf. Lucr. 5.1120ff.

*at claros homines voluerunt se atque potentes,
ut fundamento stabili fortuna maneret
et placidam possent opulenti degere vitam—
nequiquam, quoniam ad summum succedere honorem
certantes iter infestum fecere viai,
et tamen e summo, quasi fulmen, deicit ictos
invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant
plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cumque;
ut satius multo iam sit parere quietum
quam regere imperio res velle et regna tenere.*

"Yet men desired to be famous and powerful, that their fortune might stand fast upon a firm foundation, and that being wealthy they might be able to pass a quiet life: all in vain, since in the struggle to climb to the summit of honour, they made their path full of danger; and even down from the summit, nevertheless, envy strikes them sometimes like a thunderbolt and casts them with scorn into loathy Tartarus; since envy, like the thunderbolt, usually scorches the summits and all those that are elevated above others; so that it is indeed much better to obey in peace than to desire to hold the world in fee and to rule kingdoms."
(tr. Loeb)

The standard line of Epicureanism, then, is that politics inevitably leads to envy (φθόνος). In this column, Philodemus affirms that it can be otherwise, as in the case of Nestor and Odysseus, who were so free from passions such as jealousy that they always harmoniously planned the wisest course for the Greeks.

8-12 A free citation of *Il.* 4.442-3 ἢ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / οὐρανῷ ἐκτίριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

12-14 A quotation of *Il.* 18.107 ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο. The verse is spoken by Achilles in conversation with his mother Thetis. According to Murray (169) Philodemus refers to Achilles with τῆς because he has momentarily forgotten who said the line. On the other hand, it may be that who said the line was unimportant to Philodemus, but simply that a sentiment was expressed which was (to him) obviously Homeric.

16-17: These lines Armstrong was able to fill in (his supplements fit perfectly with the traces) by comparing D.L. 7.110 (=SVF 2. 412): καὶ τὴν μὲν λύπην εἶναι κυκτολὴν ἄλογον, εἶδη δὲ αὐτῆς ἔλεον, φθόνον, ζῆλον, ζηλοτυπίαν, ἄχθος, ἐνόχλησιν, ἀνίαν, ὀδύνην, κύγχυσιν. ἔλεον μὲν οὖν εἶναι λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, φθόνον δὲ λύπην ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς, ζῆλον δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ζηλοτυπίαν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι, ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει, ἄχθος δὲ λύπην βαρύνουσαν; SVF 2. 414 ζηλοτυπία δὲ λύπη ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλοις ὑπάρχειν, ἃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει; Φθόνος παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς

λύπη, ἥτοι ἡ ζηλοτυπία; Cic. *Tusc.* 4.18 *obtrectatio autem est ea quam intellegi ζηλοτυπίαν volo, aegritudo ex eo, quod alter quoque potiatur eo, quod ipse concupiverit*; schol. *Ar. Plut.* 87, φθόνος παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἡ ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς λύπη, ἥτοι ἡ ζηλοτυπία; *Simpl. com. in Epic. ench.* 56.39-43; ποίαν οὖν χώραν ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους φθόνος, ἡ ζηλοτυπία; καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν φθόνος, λύπη ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίῳ ἀγαθῷ· ὁ δὲ ζῆλος, ζέουσα θέλησις τοῦ παρισωθῆναι τῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀγαθῷ. For ζηλοτυπία and βαρύνομαι in combination cf. also *Plut. Mor.* 782a8-b2, of Alexander envying Diogenes, τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν εὐτυχίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν ὡς κώλυειν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀσχολίαν βαρυνόμενος καὶ ζηλοτυπῶν τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πύραν.

18 **δ[ε]διώχθαι**: δ (right corner), ιωχθ, α (diag.), ι. This appears to be the first appearance of the perfect passive of διώκω in Greek literature, but the sense is difficult to determine here. On διώκω, cf. *Rhet.* 4d, col. 27, 35 φασι τὴν ἀρετὴν διώκειν; *NT Ep. Rom.* 9.30 ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην. Or perhaps "hasten" (*LSJ* s.v. Π. 5).

21 Some word meaning "resolve" is probably needed, but earlier attempts contradict the traces. It may be that the verb was in the previous line (perhaps ending with] .ει) and that some other word is needed here.

23 Olivieri's 'Ελ]λή[νων is impossible (see app.).

26-31 Given the lack of clarity of the previous few lines, Philodemus' precise point of introducing this quotation is unclear. It must be either to illustrate that Nestor and Odysseus were not jealous of each other's

intelligence, or that their intelligence manifested itself by never quarrelling.

Cirillo noted the confusion between *Od.* 3.127 οὔτε ποτ' εἰν ἀγορῇ δίχ' ἐβάζομεν οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ and *Il.* 2.202 οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ. On the text of the citation see Dorandi 1978, 47. Cf. schol. HMQT *Od.* 3.128 παιδεύει ὁ ποιητῆς ὅτι ἡ ὁμόνοια τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ πόλει ὅλας χειροῦσθαι πέφυκεν, ἐκ δὲ διχονοίας καὶ ὄλος ὁ στρατὸς διαφθείρεται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ὁμονοίας καὶ συμφωνίας Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Νέστορος πάντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀγαθὰ γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ διχονοίας τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπολέσθαι περὶ τοὺς νόστους φησὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

"The poet teaches that the concord of the princes is enough to defeat whole cities but that their strife can destroy their whole army. For from the concord and agreement of Odysseus and Nestor all good things came to the Achaeans, but from the discord of their leaders the Greeks were ruined in their returns."

Col. 30

The subject evidently progresses from peaceful conduct to its reward. Philodemus describes the topography of Phaeacia, and perhaps also of Troy and Ithaca. The column ends with a quotation from *Od.* 19.112, where a good king's piety and justice are linked with the prosperity of his kingdom. "Philodemus now exemplifies the rewards of political harmony and peace by the economy of the Phaeacians" (Asmis 41).

1-8 In 9 there is a clear transition to a discussion of Phaeacia, which means that this section must discuss another land. Perhaps Troy, where a temple of Athena is mentioned (*Il.* 6.88). On the other hand, it is possible that *ἱεροῖς* does not refer to temples.

6 There seems not to be enough space at the beginning of the line for *πατρικὴν*. Nor does *τρῳικὴν* appear feasible.

7 *κατασκευ[υ]ά[γμα]ιν*: "that which is prepared or made, work or art . . . esp. building, structure," according to *LSJ*, whose citations include D. 23.207, Plb. 10.27.9, H.H. 3.27, D.S. 1.50. It may also, they note, refer to the furniture of a temple (*SIG* 330.4 [Ilium, iv B.C.]).

9-11 The presence of *ναοί* 11 is surprising, given that the text reads *θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἷσας, / αὐτῶν θ' ἠρώων ἀγορὰς καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ* 43-5. It may be that *ναοί* is a confusion for *νῆας* (ships). We should keep in mind *ἱεροῖς* in 6, however.

12 *β/δ,[.]μοι* P today: Olivieri read *diag inc. to left, μοι*. The slanted stroke he saw may have been the right side of *ο*, which can sometimes

look like a diagonal, in which case we could have δόμοι. βόμοι may also be possible, though though the ω would have to be smaller than usual. Cf. 7.100-2: χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι εὐδιμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν / ἔτασαν αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες, / φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι. But it seems that none of this could construe with κατὰ in the previous line. Perhaps *P* mistakenly wrote κατ instead of καί, or, as Prof. Janko suggests, κατ for κα(ι) τ[ά].

12-14 Cf. *Od.* 7.114: ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθάοντα .

14-15 'Ι[θακησί]οις: the ι which Olivieri apparently saw is no longer visible, but the supplement is plausible. Dorandi (179-80) suggests that the geography of Ithaca was used to make it an example of a land under bad government. Given the parallel way in which the two realms are introduced (καὶ παρὰ Φαίαξιν / καὶ παρ' Ἰθακησίοις) I find this highly improbable. Fowler (84) points out that "Odysseus did not make them [the mountains and sterile land] disappear on his return!" It is more likely that the reference to the mountainous land is part of a statement to the effect that *in spite of* such mountainous and confined land, there were (before Odysseus departed) signs of prosperity and wealth.

ὄρεινὰς: Ithaca is typically described as κραναή and τραχεῖα in Homer, but cf. *Od.* 9.21-2 ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῆ, / Νήριτον εἰνόςφυλλον, ἀριπρεπέε.

26-7 εὐς[ε]βεία[ς]: εὑ, curved let. from *sottoposto* above col. 31, 30: ἰβ(vert. and perhaps bits of curves)/(ς). This is indisputably the correct

reading, confirming, Labarbe 1949, 138, n. 2, who suggested εὐε]βείας as against Cirillo's ἐπιει]κεία[c, which has been maintained by subsequent editors. In introducing the passage Philodemus quotes, Homer refers to the good king who is godfearing (θεουδῆς 108) and who upholds justice (εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι 111). The entire passage reads:

ἦ γάρ γε κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει,

ὥς τέ τευ ἦ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς τε θεουδῆς

[ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσει]

εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι, φέρησι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα

πυροῦς καὶ κριθᾶς, βρίθησι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,

τίκτη δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχη ἰχθῦς

ἐξ εὐηγεσίης, ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (19.108-114).

"Your fame goes up into the wide heaven as of some blameless king who, as a blameless man and god-fearing, and [ruling as lord over many powerful people], upholds the way of good government, and the black earth yields him barley and wheat, his trees are heavy with fruit, his sheepflocks continue to bear young, the sea gives him fish, because of his good leadership, and his people prosper under him." (tr. Lattimore)

This is the only place where εὐεβεία has been found in this work, though it may, of course, have appeared elsewhere, especially given the fact that it figured importantly in other literature on kingship, on which see Murray 1967, 367 and Cairns 1989, 20 with further references. On the ideal king's being just, see Cairns 1989, 19. If the ideal king's piety leads to a flourishing kingdom, his impiety should lead to a

languishing one. Cairns (ch. 2) interprets the Dido episode in terms of royal *pietas*, noting the deterioration in Dido's *pietas* and the corresponding effects on her realm, an interpretation strengthened by the new reading in this passage.

Philodemus quotes these Homeric verses twice, once more briefly here, and in col. 4 he quotes 19.109-13 in their entirety. As an Epicurean, Philodemus does not believe in the sympathetic relationship between the prosperity of the land (and sea) and the piety and justice of a king (on which see Stanford 1959 *ad loc.*). With οἶεται, he distances himself from Homer's opinion in a way that he rarely does in this treatise. Typically, Philodemus says that Homer "shows" something to be true. Yet, in a treatise on Homer's view of kingship, the lines are an obvious choice, since they specifically refer to the good king (βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος) and his prospering realm, and we may be sure that Philodemus, in a more rational way, believed that a king's piety and justice did affect a land's prosperity. It is conceivable that this passage inspired Philodemus' choice of a title, or perhaps even gave him the idea of the treatise. In any case, we can be sure that this was the source of Cirillo's mistaken reading of the title of the treatise, περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὀμηρον ἀγαθοῦ λαῶι, which he translates in somewhat more convincing Latin as *De eo quod iuxta Homerum est bonum populo*. VH¹ Murray (161) unjustly ridiculed him for this "Freudian error," but, in fact, Cirillo was thinking of the end of the Homeric passage, where the prosperity of the people is mentioned (ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 114).

On the one hand, then, the passage is an obvious choice in a treatise on Homeric kingship. But perhaps there was another reason why Philodemus has quoted this passage on the prosperity of a land under a good ruler. Campania was famous throughout the ancient world for its incomparable fertility and beauty, on which see Gigante 1982 for a catalogue of ancient references. If Calpurnius Piso was a man of great importance and authority in Campania when this work was written, and if these words were read to him there, they would indeed have taken on a special significance and would have been a superlative compliment. Philodemus thus may have quoted these words with Calpurnius Piso in mind. Even if he did not, Piso can easily have read them with himself in mind.

Col. 31

This column on the activity of the Homeric heroes presented more technical challenges than any other column in the treatise. Only the rightmost portion of the column survives in *P*, and that in a state of poor preservation. These line-ends I measured in relation to a fixed point in order to determine how much relative space lay before each one. Most of the column (all the italicized letters) survives in *N* only; the large fragments drawn into the margins of *N* have been integrated by *N*¹ into the body of the *disegno*. My placement of ten *sottoposti* at the

leftmost portion of the column provided not only several new words, but also a precise measurement for the width of the column.

Asmis (38 n. 149; 41) made the reasonable hypothesis on the basis of Dorandi's text that this column concerns the Phaeacians, their program of exercise and the contests which occur there during Odysseus visit, and their "forcing the participation of the weary Odysseus, who wants only to rest." Murray suggested that the upper part of the column is about the necessity for "constant ἄσκησις for war, even in peacetime," a philosophical commonplace (170). New readings show the column to be about a) the activity and rigor of the Homeric kings in battle (1-14) b) their activity and preparedness when they are not not fighting (15ff.), in which time they exercise and also deliberate. Now we can see that Philodemus in the lower part of the column discusses their dutifulness in attending to councils in both war and peace.

Murray (169) plausibly suggested that the transition from col. 30 to 31 may have been a statement to the effect that prosperity can easily produce decadence, and that "even in time of relaxation it is essential to be constantly exercising for war."

5-6 Whatever dative was here was probably a dative of means, since τυράννειν may not control the dative. Part of what N copied on the fragment was conceivably from the incorrect layer. R. Janko suggests ἐρωμέλοισι, but the dative of person seems hard to explain or translate.

9 ἐγ//[λ]υθέντας: Dorandi mistakenly Olivieri's supplement, which, in such contexts, refers to being in a state of sheer exhaustion or incapacitation, but not death. Cf. Athen. 12.31.12 οὕτω δ' ἐξελύθησαν διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον μέθην ὥστε τινὲς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὔτε δυόμενον ἐωράκασι; Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 43.1.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κάτων εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεστάλη, παντάπασι ἐξελύθη; Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 15.7.3 οὐκέτ' ἀντείχεν ἢ τοῦ σώματος δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἐξελύθη καὶ κατεμαραίνετο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλυσούσης διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν; Plb. 20.4.7 ἀλλ' ὀρμήσαντες πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ μέθας οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασι ἐξελύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς; Polyae. *Strat.* 6.13.1 Κιρραῖοι πίνοντες διαφθείρονται τὰς γαστέρας καὶ πάντες ἐκλυθέντες ἔκειντο.

10 <ά>φυλακτους *N* originally began writing φυλακτους approximately one space to the right. *N*¹ erased φυλακτ and rewrote it with wider spacing so that it began from the start of the line. Notwithstanding the fact that *N*¹'s φ is large here, which is typical of letters that begin the line, I am inclined to trust *N* in this case. Since Philodemus seems not to be citing another's words, I find Dorandi's Ionic/epic spelling of φυλακ(τ)οὺς most improbable. More compelling is Olivieri's <ά>φυλάκτους, especially given the fact that a space or two is available. I have written ἦ] <ά>φυλάκτου rather than ἦ ἀ]φυλάκτου, even though the latter could perhaps be justified. I understand <ά>φυλάκτους here to mean not literally without the presence of guards (as Murray took it [170]), but rather "off one's guard" or "at unawares," a meaning attested frequently enough, for which cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.37,

where both φυλακὰς and ἀφυλάκτους are used this more general way: ἐν τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἰσχυρὰς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες ὅτι δέονται. οἱ δ' ἐξαπατῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους δύνανται καὶ θαρρήσαι ποιήσαντες ἀφυλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξαι παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀτάκτους ποιῆσαι καὶ εἰς δυσχωρίαν φυγῆ ὑπαγαγόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι; Arist. *Rhet.* 1372a 19 οἱ μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ἀφύλακτοί τε πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι "for friends are off their guard against, (i.e. unvigilant towards) being wronged." Cf. Philodemus' use of the adverb in *De ira* col. 11.13-16 ὅτ[α]ν βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ἰτυράννοισ [ἐγ]κυρήσωσιν ὁμοιο[τρόποι]ς ἀφυλάκτως ὁμ[ι]λήσαντες "when they come up against and associate unguardedly with princes or tyrants with characters like their own."

11 πολεμεῖσθαι: the middle (cf. Plb. 11.31.6), perhaps meaning here "fight for themselves" or "make them fight for them" is evidently rare.

12 ἀν[α]//πέξε[ι]ν: αν[N:]π (vert. and crossbar), ε, curv. let. + let. / φ, [.] υ/(η) P. Cf. *LSJ* ἀναπίπτειν 2 "fall back, give ground" Thuc. 1.70; "flag, lose heart," Dem. 19.224; D.H. 5.53.

13 ἐπ[ί: ε/ς/θ/ο, π from *sottoposto* in the *intercolumnium* of cols. 31 and 32. It is difficult to know what to do with the rest of the line. R. Janko suggests we read προειρη//[μ]ένην (*sc.* αἰτίαν or ἄσκησιν), which may be slightly short, but is the best suggestion so far.

14 προέλκουσιν: προ[derives from a *sottoposto* in the *intercolumnium* of cols. 31 and 32, as do all the letters in this column printed in boldface. προέλκω "drag forth" (cf. Ael. 4.15) is uncommon but obvious enough. προ[ε]έλκουσιν "wrest

unto" is also possible, and is commoner, for which cf. Arist. *De cael.* 293 a 27.

18 ἐν ἐγχειρ[ι]δίωι: "ready with a dagger." Previous editors had read ἐν ἐνχειρ[ίαι] //δε//[ινός ἐκτιν] on account of N's //δε//, which Asmis translates "skillful in handling weapons," but the point is rather that they live always ready to fight. On the construction, see *LSJ* s.v. ἐν A. I. 3; NT 1 Cor. 4.21 τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδω ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς; PTeb. 16.14 ἐν μαχαιρῇ; Hdt. 1.13 οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὄπλοισι ἦσαν.

18-19 ἐ[[c]]|cτιν: once again we find c added in the margin, as as cols. 29, 4 and col. 31, 19. No doubt another c was deleted at the end of the preceding line. As in the other cases, it is difficult to tell if the letter was added by another scribe. They could possibly be the rather hurried additions of the same scribe.

19 πρ]ο//έχ[ουσι: see *LSJ* s.v. 4a *sub fin.* for πρόεχω + *acc. rei* (fairly rare).

20-9 All that survives, besides the *sottoposti* I have placed, is a large fragment in the margin of N which N¹ copied into the column. According to my reconstruction, N¹ copied the fragment too far to the right.

20 τὰς [ὑπο]//θήκας:]θηκας N:]θεκας N¹. Cirillo's κα]θ' ἐκάστ//ων, maintained by Olivieri and Dorandi, must be incorrect. καθ' ἐκάστου is common (though not in Philodemus), but with the genitive plural is virtually unexampled. Moreover, N¹, in which this reading is found,

has probably corrected *N*, supposing the papyrus to have read καθ' ἐκάτων. More probable is a substantive ending in -θηκας followed by τῶν, especially with the new placement of τας[at the beginning of the line.

22ff. Cirillo's reading πάλι]//ν καὶ led Murray to suppose that there was a change of topic here. One could argue on the basis of the new readings that the deliberation to which Philodemus refers in the column (and the fact of its occurring in the morning) continues the topic of Homer's kings always being actively engaged.

24 The ω from the *sottoposto* is probably followed by the foot of a vertical, possibly the foot of the ν on the fragment of *N*, since the first vertical of that ν is missing in the drawing.

24 οὐδεν[: this is probably to be construed with -άζοντες somehow.

26ff. The *sottoposto* I have placed at the beginning of the line begins with a vertical, followed (probably) by another vertical, then (possibly) the bottom of a curved letter. Armstrong's π[ρι]//ετώτων fits the traces well. Cf. col. 32, 10-11 ἐν ἐκατέρ//αι τῶν // περιετώτων "in both circumstances." The phrase is usually negative in connotation, as a few examples from many such in Polybius will show: διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν περιετώτων κακῶν "through his inexperience of the evil circumstances surrounding him" (1.45.1). Cf. 15.22.4, 21.25.11, 21.29.2; 8.15.6 μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι κοθῆναι τὸν Ἀχαιοὺν ἐκ τῶν περιετώτων "that it was impossible to extract Achaeus from his adversities." Philodemus' point may be that the Homeric kings assembled for deliberation both in adverse

circumstances (i.e. war), but also in peaceful circumstances (cf. τῶ[ν εἰ]//ρηνικῶ[ν 27]).

27 τ/(ζ/ξ), ω(good)/ο (possible) from *sottoposto* in col. 34, 26.

29 ἔφοδ//ον: Cf. Plb. 4.34.5 οἰόμενοι δεῖν τῶ τε Μαχατᾶ δίδοσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς "thinking it necessary that Manches should be granted (the right of) access to the general assembly." The term is part of a common inscriptional formula granting a person the privilege of access to an assembly, council, etc. (typically ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν). Cf. SIG 278.12. In the following lines, Alcinous rises early when the Phaeacians were summoning him to a council. The good king must be devoted to hearing his clients. For his Roman audience, Philodemus may have had in mind the Roman aristocratic custom of receiving and greeting clients early in the morning.

30-5 Philodemus mentions two occasions of deliberation in the *Odyssey*, a council which Alcinous calls (6.35-5) and an assembly summoned by Telemachus (2.1 ff). I do not think that the discussion has yet switched to συνέδρια *per se* or the importance of good counsel, as Murray thought (170). I would suggest that the point being made is that these council meetings occur *at dawn*, which illustrates something of the discipline and rigor of the Homeric kings when holding councils, even in peacetime. Philodemus notes that Alcinous departs home for a council which met at dawn ἔωθεν 30 (cf. *Od.* 6.48). Telemachus' assembly also occurs at dawn (*Od.* 2.1), as Murray noted but did not think pertinent to the discussion. In the text of the *Odyssey*, Aegyptius

first asks τίς ὧδ' ἤγειρε, and then series of other questions (2.28-32). Why does μη- follow πυν[θάν]ονται here, rather than τίς? I would suggest that Philodemus goes on to refer not to anything that Aegyptius asks Telemachus, but to what he does *not* ask Telemachus, namely, "Why do you call a council at such an early hour?" If this is correct, the last sentence may have run something like, "they inquire first thing [not *why* they were meeting at the break of dawn, but rather who had called the gathering and then other similar questions, which shows that it had always been customary in Ithaca for the assembly to meet at dawn before Odysseus departed.]"

30 $\zeta/\epsilon/\theta/\sigma$, $\iota/\upsilon/\eta$ (perhaps too large), ν from *sottoposto* in col. 34, 29: οὐν possible.

34-5 Ἰθ]ακησίω[ν:]τακησιω[ς] N¹:]ακησιω N. N¹'s reading must have been a restoration by an Italian *interprete* rather than a reading of the papyrus and is therefore incorrectly categorized by Dorandi under orthographic peculiarities (54). Cf. the frequent Italian error of *t* for English *th*.

Col. 32

In war and peace alike, wise counsel is more effective than strength and ignorance. Philodemus cites the much quoted lines from Euripides' *Antiope*, "one piece of wise counsel conquers many hands." Both Homer himself and Agamemnon realize this, as is evidenced by

their praise of Nestor. Diomedes' selection of Odysseus as a fellow spy and Athena's commitment to Odysseus also show that Homer privileges good counsel over military courage and excellence.

7-8 None of the meanings of π]ροφο]ρά seems immediately applicable here. In Plb. 9.33.12 the term means "rebuke," but by means of hendiadys: ἄξιόν γε τὸ γεγονὸς ὀνειδους καὶ προφορᾶς. The word occurs elsewhere in Philodemus with other meanings that can be excluded here on the basis of context.

8 τὸν Ἄ[μφίονα (Armstrong). Somebody in acc. is probably the subject of νομίζειν (if that and not νομίζει) and that in turn, whichever it is, probably governs the infinitives νικᾶν 12 and κατορθοῦσθαι 13-14.

9-10 βίλας may be a possible reading, which would fit the context well. The papyrus must be checked again. There seems not to be room for τ[ὸ μ]ἢ δεῖν [τῆ]ς βίλας, which could be part of a supplement like κάλλιον | ν[ο]μίζειν τ[ὸ μ]ἢ δεῖν [τῆ]ς βίλας "considering their being no need of violence nobler," which would continue nicely into what follows.

10-11 ἐν ἐκατέρ//αι τῶν // περὶστάσεων: i.e. in war and peace, as Bücheler noted (199). Cf. col. 31, 25-6 π]//ραγμάτων | πε[ρι]//ετώτων.

11-12 The citation is from Euripides' *Antiope* fr. 200 3-4 Nauck². The entire fragment reads:

γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,

εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·
σοφὸν γὰρ ἔν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
νικᾶ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλείστον κακόν.

Remarkably, the fragment is found both at schol. bT Hom. *Il.* 2.372, a verse which Philodemus adapts below in 22-6, and in Eustathius' comment on the same verse (vol. 1 p. 366 van der Valk). Despite the profusion of the verse in antiquity (for which see Nauck 1964, 420), it seems safe to assume that the the Alexandrian commentaries on Homer associated the verse of Euripides with the Iliadic verse. Paolucci 1955, 489 postulated that Philodemus was using a Homeric commentary here, a thesis which Dorandi (186) may have dismissed too quickly. On the relationship of the bT commentary and Eustathius, see van der Valk 1963, *i.* 86-106.

13-16 I suggest that these lines may well be a paraphrase of what follows this quotation in the *Antiope*. I quote fr. 199 and 200:

τὸ δ' ἀσθενές μου καὶ τὸ θήλυ σώματος
κακῶς ἐμέμφθης· εἰ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖν ἔχω,
κρεῖσσον τόδ' ἐστὶ καρτεροῦ βραχίονος (fr. 199).

γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἷς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·
σοφὸν γὰρ ἔν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
νικᾶ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλείστον κακόν (fr. 200).

Both fragments of Amphion's reply to his brother Zethus, praising wisdom over brut strength, were much quoted in antiquity.

16-22 Both the poet (αὐτός τε 17), and Agamemnon (ὃ τε), who has the most experience in peace and in war, prefer the resolution of conflicts by deliberation rather than by force, as their own words indicate. The structure of this passage is much improved by Armstrong's ὃ τε in 20.

19 "οὐρο//ν 'Α[χα]ιῶ[ν]": Nestor is called οὐρος 'Αχαιῶν by the narrative voice in *Il.* 8.80, 15.370, 15.659, *Od.* 3.411, and by Patroklos in *Il.* 11.840. This isn't exactly a quotation, because it's invariably in the nominative in Homer (οὐρος 'Αχαιῶν).

20 αὐ//τῶι: the space in *N* between ω and the π in the following word is very small, which makes me doubt Olivieri's αὐτῶν, which also puts too much emphasis on Agamemnon's experience in both peace and war. I would like to read αὐτῶι, but in that case we would need to correct *P* to read μάλιθ'.

21-2 ἀμιφ[οτ]έρων: again, war and peace. See 10-11. Or are the two things resolving conflicts by deliberation and resolving them by force?

22-6 A paraphrase of *Il.* 2.371-4, where Agamemnon praised a speech of Nestor's which had helped to remedy the confusion brought about by Agamemnon's proposal to return home:

αἱ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον
τοιούτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν·

τώ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος
χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησιν ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε.

The following supplement, largely David Armstrong's, while there are some problems with the spacing of the some of the supplements, marks a significant advance in the text:

εἰ δ//έκα τῶι τρι-
γέρο]ντι παρα//πλησίους εἶ{ν}-
χ[εν ἄν ἐλ]έχθαι δ//ἐ κα(ί) πᾶ[σαν
25 .(.) τ]ῆν Τροίαν καὶ // κα[θη-
ρηκ]έναι φησιν ου//και[. . .(.)

"If he could pick ten like the thrice-aged one, he claims he would have taken all . . . Troy, even, and pillaged it completely (or: razed it completely)

ἐλ]έχθαι . . . καὶ //κα[θη|ρηκ]έναι is fairly compelling, because it translates ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε (2. 374); and so also τρι|γέρο]ντι is the more compelling because Agamemnon says in 370 ἦ μὰν αὐτ' ἀγορῆ νικᾶς γέρον υἱᾶς Ἀχαιῶν, seeming to emphasize the paradox in γέρον, "though an old man" or so Philodemus translates it. Line 25 may still be slightly short. From δ//ἐ κα(ί) to τ]ῆν Τροίαν is probably not yet right, and πᾶ[σαν is troubling, because just τ]ῆν Τροίαν will do. Further suggestions of Armstrong there are better: πα[ντελῶς or πα[νταλχοῦ or πα[νταλχῶς, but

the same problem of overemphasis unsupported by the Homeric lines is here as with $\pi\hat{\alpha}[\zeta\alpha\nu]$ itself. I can not yet discern why Philodemus writes $\text{Τροίαν and Π[ρι]άμου πόλιν}$. The only word that starts δεκαπα- is δεκάπαλαι (comic) "ten times long ago," but Agamemnon says he would "quickly" take Troy (τάχα) and that would not paraphrase it even if Philodemus would use such a word. τάχα itself is not available for prose paraphrase, as it means "probably" not "quickly" in prose. Nothing that starts καπα- works (καπάριον "caper" and the like).

22-3 τρι[γέρο]ντι (Armstrong): The term is common in the Palatine Anthology where it is used to describe Nestor: $\text{Νέκτωρ . . . τριγέρων AP 7.144.2; τριγέρων Πύλιος AP 7.157.4; cf. also 7.295; 7.421.6 (Meleager); 9.409}$. In prose it is used of Nestor in *Athen.* 10.42; *Eust.* vol. 3 p. 265.5 van der Valk (on *Il.* 11.624); vol. 3 p. 281.25 (on *Il.* 11.637); vol. 3 p. 282.7 (interpolated?) (on *Il.* 11.637); cf. also *Suda* s.v. γενεά et τριγέρων . Cf. also Marcus Aurelius 4.50 where he calls Nestor τριγέρηνιος , a pun on τριγέρων and γερήνιος , Nestor's other running epithet.

24 Armstrong's supplement reads $\delta//\acute{\epsilon} \text{ κα(ί)}$. Apodotic $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is common after hypothetical clauses (as here) from Homer onwards. In Philodemus $\delta\grave{\epsilon} \text{ καί}$ seems to have separate force for the two particles: thus the problem is that καί will emphasize something. Or perhaps it might connect another infinitive meaning "sack," but what word meaning "take" or "sack" begins $\pi\alpha$ -?

25-9 Here I have placed letters from sottoposti found in the *intercolumnium* of cols. 32 and 33. Of the correctness of their placement

there can be little doubt. The π and the ϵ of 27 and 28 are larger than the usual letter size, which is a characteristic of the first letters in a line. In 28 the left half of δ is found in the *sottoposto*, the right half in its proper place.

28-9 εἰ δὲ βούλ[ε]ταί τις: Olivieri read τιο where I print τις. Barely part of a curved letter survives where he read ο. τις is very likely, but then what to do with the end of the line? Usually an infinitive is expected in such constructions. Cf. Gal. 12.260.17 εἰ δέ τις βούλεται πειραθῆναι. Indeed, if we could only read ναι at the beginning of the first line, we could read πει(ρ)αθη|ναι: "But if anyone wants to make trial (sc. of these matters), Diomedes says . . .". But the κ on the *sottoposto* seems rather secure (see below). Very plausible is Janko's suggestion τη Ἄθη|ναι.

29 καί: κ(upper arm good and pt. of lower arm)/(ζν), α[from *sottoposto* in margin of col. 33. Dorandi's text reads καὶ at the beginning of the line. Presumably he meant to print κα|ι. If he had placed this fragment, there is no reason why he would not also have placed the ones near it at the line-beginnings of 27 and 28.

29-33 Philodemus has adapted *Il.* 10.241-247. When Nestor had called for a volunteer to spy on the Trojan camp, Diomedes volunteered but wanted another to accompany him. Several *basileis*, including the Ajaxes and Odysseus volunteered, but Diomedes selected Odysseus:

τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειπε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
εἰ μὲν δὴ ἕταρόν γε κελεύετε μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι,

πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,
οὐδ' ἐπεὶ μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
τούτου γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
ἄμφω νοστήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι (10.241-247).

On the adaptation of the text, see Dorandi 1978, 42. As Gigante 1998, 63 points out, a portion of this *Il.* 10.246-7 is also found in *De lib. dicendi* fr. 40.

33-6 The quotation (*Od.* 13.89) is from a passage in the narrative voice relating Odysseus' journey from Phaeacia to Ithaca. On the text of the citation see Dorandi 1978, 42.

36-7 κα/ἂ ὑπ[ὸ] ἰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μὴ προλείπεσθαι: Cf. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 117 ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, ἀεὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ. Several ancient authors commented on Athena's commitment to Odysseus (on which see Hillgruber 1999, 258), including Apuleius (*De deo Socr.* 24 p. 177) *nec aliud te in eodem Ulixē Homerus docet, qui semper ei comitem voluit esse prudentiam, quam poetico ritu Minervam nuncupavit.*

Col. 33

This column continues with the theme of Homer privileging good counsel to military might. Two Homeric quotations praising both counsel and excellence in battle mention counsel first. The prudence

of Meriones and Antilochus was noted by the Argive leaders, who accordingly included them in their council.

5 την: τ(left arm only)[P: τ(vert. and rt. arm), ην from *sottoposto* in col. 34, 5.

8 ε[α derives from a *sottoposto* in col. 34, 7. We could read βα]ζ[ιλ]ε[ί]α[ν or βα]ζ[ιλ]έα.

9-11 The passage is too fragmentary to be sure, but Philodemus could be saying that Homer mentions excellence in counsel first in the quotations that follow, implying that Homer privileges excellence in counsel over military excellence.

10]ιι[: two verticals rather close together (π possible). ἐ]π[ιδεί]ξι is possible, or δό]ξι, etc.

11 It is possible that a *sottoposto* from col. 34, 10 belongs here, vert., ν, which could give us πρῶ]την, which would interfere with van Krevelen's otherwise fine supplement, πρῶ]τε[ύοντες. Now we can read πρῶ]την [τὴν ε]ύβουλίαν λέγε[ι, stressing that in both quotations excellence in counsel is put before excellence in war. It is possible that the supplement is slightly short, however.

12-13 The quotation (*Il.* 2.158) is from Nestor's rebuke of Agamemnon and Achilles, where he laments that the two greatest among the Achaeans "both in counsel and war" should quarrel.

13 π[ερὶ δ':]ριδ[derives from a *sottoposto* in the left margin of col. 34, 13.

13-14 After Odysseus puts Thersites in his place, the soldiers note his great skills "in counsel and in battle," but say that his greatest

accomplishment was his expulsion of Thersites (*Il.* 2.272-7). Philodemus seems to assume his audience knows this verse was preceded by a statement that Odysseus "had done ten thousand good things," for the grammar of "both initiating good counsels and marshalling war" is incomplete.

17 Olivieri's π[αρά]δοξιν would be possible, except that before δ there is a trace of a vertical. It may be part of a superfluous ι. Armstrong's τ' [ἐπ]ίδοξιν or even εἰδέξιν is also paleographically possible.

20 αὐτήν: η[derives from a *sottoposto* in col. 34, 19.

21-2 Philippson's δι]δάκειν is impossible, since there is a foot of a letter and ink directly above that at the top of the line, perhaps from a vertical or ρ, etc. Ἀκεῖν or one of its compound forms is a good candidate.

22 After μὴ μ[ό]νον we would expect ἀλλὰ καὶ, but the αλ is followed apparently by α, though λ is perhaps not impossible. In any case, there is not room for ἀλλὰ καὶ.

25-9 The bold letters derive from *sottoposti* in col. 34, 24-8.

28 N's φ at the beginning may have been from another layer, since N recorded τ at the beginning of 27 where the papyrus originally read εἰ.

30-7 After the failure of the embassy to Achilles, the Greek leaders met in council, and summoned Meriones and Antilochus from their posts as sentinels to join them in deliberation (*Il.* 10.196-7). The two of them had served as leaders of the sentinels who guarded the ditch and

the rampart (*Il.* 9.79-87), whence the supplement of Murray in 38. Both had been successful warriors as well (cf. *Il.* 4.254, 5.59, etc.).

29-30 νυκτηγερεΐ[αν:]κτ, η (specks only and ε possible), γ(base and speck of horiz.), ε/(ο), ρσ, ι (good)[from *sottoposto* in col. 34, 28. This reading confirms (apart from the spelling) Olivieri's brilliant supplement νυ[κτεγερεΐ]αν. This spelling is used to refer to *Il.* Book 10 in schol. Hippon. 118 b 6 West (νυκτ[ηγρ]εΐαι). Νυκτεγερεΐα is used of the council in Book 10 in the Iliadic scholia, in [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.*, Porphyry, and in Eustathius, among other places. Bücheler supplemented the word in col. 12, 8.

30-1 For the phrase βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, cf. D.H. 10.27.1; Aesch. *In Ctes.* 133.4.

Col. 34

This column has seen numerous, markedly different interpretations and requires detailed introduction. The recognizable, though seemingly disparate elements of the column are as follows. In 7 we find the name Agamemnon (7), in 13-14 $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda\chi\epsilon$ - and the name Hector, clearly a reference to one of the duels in the *Iliad*. In 16-19 there is a reference to a story which the disguised Odysseus tells to the swineherd, Eumaeus, about how Odysseus had tricked a man into leaving behind his cloak, sending him away from a planned ambush to the ships (*Od.* 14.462ff.). At the bottom of the column are two quotations, one from *Od.* 3.130-130a, where Nestor says "For surely we captured the steep citadel of Priam by a strategem," and another from *Il.* 9.128-9, where Agamemnon speaks of the gifts he will offer Achilles: "I shall give seven blameless women, skilled in handicrafts, women of Lesbos, whom, when *he* took well-built Lesbos. . .". The reason for the collocation of the two quotations has not been successfully explained. The column ends with a phrase about common successes.

Murray (171) remarked candidly that "despite the number of clues, the meaning of the whole of this column is obscure." Subsequently, Grimal 1966, 265 saw Nestor as the key to the lower part of the column, the single thing which, according to him, united the two quotations. Nestor is the speaker of the first quotation (29-31). As for the second

quotation, Nestor was involved in the embassy to Achilles. This interpretation must be wrong. He is only tenuously connected with the last quotation. Why *these* lines if an allusion to Nestor is meant? His attempt to connect the embassy to the phrase in the column after the quotation, ὅταν δὲ δῆ καὶ κοινῶν τῶν κατορθωμάτων, is misguided. The embassy was as much a common failure as a common success. Dorandi (189) followed Grimal's interpretation, adding that, in the column, Philodemus continues to exalt wisdom as opposed to force, as he did in the previous columns. But what does wisdom have to do with the last quotation? Similarly, Asmis (45) saw the first part of the column to be about the superiority of cunning over force, with the anecdote about Odysseus and the garment as well as the first quotation (*Od.* 3.130). The next quotation, Agamemnon offering the women to Achilles (*Il.* 9.128-29), and the last phrase of the column, are, she claims, about the value of cooperation (45). This still fails, however, to explain the collocation of the two quotations. If they were about two such different things as cooperation and cunning, Philodemus surely would have introduced the second quotation with some explanation, according to his constant practice in this treatise.

I do not think this column is about wisdom, or cunning, or cooperation, or Nestor. It is about taking credit and giving credit to others, at least in its lower third. Philodemus appears to be making the point that, in spite of their boasting, the Homeric *basileis* do, in fact, compliment each other. This would explain the otherwise apparently

illogical collocation of verses at the end of this column. In the first quotation, *Od.* 3.130 and (what previous scholarship has missed) 3.130a (see notes on 29-31), Nestor attributes the fall of Troy to the design of Odysseus. In the second (*Il.* 9.128-30), Agamemnon, in the midst of his conciliatory offer to Achilles (largely a series of boasts about his own possessions) acknowledges an accomplishment of his rival Achilles, the capture of Lesbos. The reference to the anecdote about Odysseus in 16-19 may be a justification of an instance of his boasting, or, alternatively, a reference to his cleverness and wisdom, since wisdom and planning seem to have been the subject of columns 32 and 33.

Philodemus may also be pointing out in this column that compliments to others and self-effacing remarks can help a ruler achieve his ends. He claims in col. 39, 26-30 to have shown that self-praise in many instances in Homer is not gratuitous, and he may be showing here that modest statements can be advantageous as well. *Il.* 18.105-6 and the accompanying scholia serve as a good point of comparison. Achilles claims to be peerless in battle, but then admits that there are others better in council: τοῖος ἐὼν οἶος οὔ τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων / ἐν πολέμῳ· ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι "I, who am such as no other of the bronze-armored Achaeans in battle, though there are others also better in council." Schol. T comments that Achilles displays himself as an orator in this portion of the poem, and that by qualifying the self-praise he makes it less invidious. Achilles' self-praise is justified in various ways and his compliment to others is

interpreted as a rhetorical strategy. Plutarch, who praises Achilles' concession in *De tranquillitate animi* 471 F, in his treatise *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* speaks of deflecting the envy of others by praising another (in this case by praising fortune). In any case, ancient criticism displays an acute awareness of statements in Homer in which the heroes credit themselves or credit others, and Philodemus shares this awareness. One further example would be the b schol. on *Il.* 1.368. In the passage, Achilles mentions the sacking of Thebe and the division of the spoils: τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα· / καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάccαντο μετὰ φίλων ὕϊες Ἀχαιῶν. Schol. b comment κοινωνὸν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς κατορθώμασι φησιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ (δάccαντο) χωρίζει, "he makes himself a sharer in their successes, but by δάccαντο separates himself (from them)."

The other elements in the column, the reference to the duel and the presence of Agamemnon's name in 7 have not yet been successfully explained, but can perhaps now be illuminated with the hermeneutic of self-praise and modesty. I explain the reference in 16-19 to the story of Odysseus and the cloak below.

6 εἰκάγων: cf. l. 10 below and 21.36-7, where the word refers to the poet's introducing Thersites as a hateful person.

13 πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν is a possible reading, ρ being good, but the traces for ο are dubious in P:]ον N

13-14 μονομ[α]λχει[-: *pace* Dornadi, Olivieri read the papyrus correctly, since λχει is on the same level as the series of letters below (λκα,

ιγη, ιπι, etc.). Oliveri, followed by Dorandi, read Αἴ]αντο[ς πεπλασμέ]νου, thinking of the duel between Ajax and Hector Book 6. But rather than Αἴ]αντο[ς], we could just as easily read various forms of π]αντ- since the trace after τ could even be from a vertical rather than a curved stroke.

14 πεπλασμε]ν-: ι (top of vert. not υ), κ from a frag. in col. 35, 13 may have originally belonged here. Placing them according to the length of the sezione puts the κ immediately before αν: ι κὰν τῶ[ι] πεπλασμέ]νω / ι κὰν τῆ[ι] πεπλασμέ]νη are then both possible. If the fragment does not belong here, perhaps we should read π]αντο[ς] πεπλασμέν]ου, i.e. everything (in the duel) being made up.

cf. 37.21-2 θεοῦ | πλασμα[. Megaclides, a critic whose work was known by Philodemus, is said to have believed that Achilles' pursuit of Hector, and ensuing duel between them with all the Trojans looking on but not intervening, was a πλάσμα. See Janko 2000 (forthcoming) whose numeration of the fragments I use: F 4, = schol. T on *Il.* 22. 225 Μεγακλείδης πλαστὴν εἶναι τὴν μονομαχίαν φησίν· †πῶς γὰρ τὰ Ἕφαιστότευκτα ὅπλα εἰσίν; F 5a, schol. b on *Il.* 22. 36 Μεγακλείδης δέ φησι ταῦτα πάντα πλάσματα εἶναι; and F 5b, schol. b on 22. 225 Μεγακλείδης πλάσμα εἶναί φησι τοῦτο τὸ μονομάχιον. πῶς γὰρ τοσαύτας μυριάδας νεύματι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπέστρεφεν; Prof. Janko also notes that Aristotle criticizes the pursuit of Hector at *Poet.* 24, 1460^a14-17.

15-19 As others have noted, this is an indubitable reference to *Od.* 14.462ff. The disguised Odysseus tells a story to Eumaeus about how Odysseus tricked someone into leaving a cloak behind for him.

Odysseus, who has led the swineherd Eumaeus to believe that he is actually a Cretan nobleman, talks about how he saw Odysseus trick Thoas into going to the ships. Thoas promptly left, leaving behind his cloak for Odysseus. But how should the passage be construed? Clearly, something is made ἡδίω, more pleasant. Possibly this adjective goes in some way with what precedes, some form of διήγη[-], a new reading. There is room, however, for only one or two letters before ἡδίω, which rules out any possible verbal forms except διήγηῃ which is surely undesirable here. διήγη[ciν], upon which ἡδίω could be predicated, is almost certainly too long. This would seem to leave only the option of διήγη[μ'], "narrative." Conceivably διήγη[μ'] was paired with another word, and the two together are modified by ἡδίω which would accordingly be neuter plural. This scenario assumes πεποίη[κ'], followed by a ὡς clause. Otherwise we could see ἡδίω as a predicate for what follows (whatever τὸν 16 refers to) and read the participle πεποίη[κ]ῶς. Then we are then faced with the decision of whether or not to read ἐκτρέπ[ο]ντα or ἐκτρέπ[όμενον]. ντα may be from another stratum, though this is not certain, and for ν only a vertical is visible. If we do read ἐκτρέπ[ο]ντα, we should not, however, translate it intransitively as Asmis (32): "the person who turned around from the ambush to the ships . . .". We should translate, "the one (i.e. Odysseus) diverting (someone) from the ambush to the ships . . . (who was) wearing only a cloak," or something like "the *logos* diverting (someone) to the ships, *etc.*" If ντα is from another layer, we are free to

supplement ἐκτρεπ[όμενον] which could be translated as Asmis saw that the sense probably demands. We may assume a partial stop after ἠδῖω and (reading πεποιη[κ]ῶς) understand μονοχίτωνα as predicate to τὸν . . . ἐκτρεπ[όμενον]: "having made the one turning to the ships from the ambush half-clothed." But perhaps μονοχίτωνα went somehow with what followed.

But what is the purpose of mentioning this anecdote about Odysseus? Dorandi (189) and Asmis (42) saw the anecdote as a reference to the cleverness of Odysseus. The topic at the end of the previous column was, after all, wisdom, and, moreover, a *diple* intervenes in line 20 of the column, perhaps indicating that this passage should not be interpreted as being directly related to the material at the bottom of the column. On the other hand, this passage may well be related to the material at the bottom of the column, about the giving and taking of credit. Odysseus, in disguise, begins the narrative (14.462ff.) by saying that he is going to boast a little, compelled by wine: εὐξάμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω· οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει. Does the wine make him betray his disguise? Perhaps, if Eumaeus had been listening that closely, for he really does not boast about the Cretan persona he has taken on, except to say that he was chosen by Odysseus and Menelaus to be a leader of the ambush. The anecdote is mostly his boasting about the intelligence of Odysseus. Odysseus is boasting about Odysseus, and I suspect that Philodemus is justifying his boasting by saying that it makes something more pleasant, perhaps the narrative itself, or his

self-disclosure. Odysseus' story was a clever way to test Eumaeus' loyalty, and an effective way to obtain a garment from him. Eumaeus, in his reply, says that the old man has said a "blameless fable" and no "unprofitable speech": ὦ γέρον, αἴνος μὲν τοι ἀμόμων, ὃν κατέλεξας, / οὐδέ τί πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες. As I noted above, Philodemus claims at col. 39, 26-30 to have referred earlier in the text to heroes who "make their own encomium, but not in order that they may talk about themselves gratuitously" καὶ πάντες οὗτοι δι' ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας χρῶνται τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκωμίοις, ἢ ἀλλ' οὐχ ἵνα περιαυτολογ[ή]σωσιν. Odysseus' boasting in this case is not gratuitous, but has a justifiable purpose. In col. 38, 25ff., Philodemus defends Odysseus' desire for notoriety.

18-19 μονοχίτωνα: equivalent to the Homeric οἰοχίτων' in 14.489 which the persona Odysseus has taken on in his Cretan tale uses to refer to himself. I suggested above that the term is applied to Thoas, whom Odysseus tricks into leaving his cloak behind. But if μονοχίτωνα is a direct reference to οἰοχίτων' in 14.489, we should expect that the point is to be that Odysseus was able to acquire a cloak for someone who was μονοχίτων rather than that he rendered someone who did have a cloak μονοχίτων. Hesychius includes μονοχίτων among his glosses for οἰοχίτων (s.v. οἰοχίτων).

22 ὀφείλον: they (kings ?) should do something? Mention the accomplishments of others when they praise themselves?

25-9 The text here differs radically from previous editions. I have placed letters from a large *sottoposto* found here in the previous

column, col. 33. In turn, letters from a *sottoposto* in the subsequent column, 35, actually belong here. The bold-faced letters are all physically present in col. 35, but were originally located as I have represented them. Now we can read the reflexive pronoun in 26, some form of γράφειν, almost certainly a compound form, some form of φεύγω in 28. The topic seems to be giving and taking credit, but the details are still unclear.

25 εὐη]μερία[ι]c:]μερ[., α(diag. only)[from *sottoposto* in 35.23: Olivieri read μερ, vert. εὐη]μερίαc is also viable. Reading some form of the word here is appealing since the context seems to be the giving and taking of credit for successes (cf. κατορθω[[μάτων below at 36-7). The term is fairly common in the scholia. At *Il.* 8.175-6, where Hector has said of his success γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων / νίκην καὶ μέγα κῦδος the bT scholia comments στρατηγικῶς μὲν τὴν εὐημερίαν αὐτοῖς δηλοῖ, οἰκειοῦται δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπερόπτως "In the manner of a general he points out the success to them, but he arrogantly appropriates it to himself." It was clearly seen as the mark of a good general's rhetoric to point out success to his troops, and not to claim it for himself alone.

26 εαυ[τὸν ἐπι]γράφειν:]γρα[from *sottoposto* in col. 35, 24. A compound of γράφω is surely required, since a reference to writing is unlikely (though cf. κατέγραφεν at col. 37, 7-8) which must refer to Homer). ἐπι]γράφειν is appealing, which can be used with the reflexive to mean "claim credit for" something (see *LSJ* s.v. IV and V.2). Cf. *Ael. DN* 8.2.7 τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἑαυτὸν πόνοις οὐκ ἐπιγράφων "not claiming credit for

others' toils." Cf. Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 31 οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαι Σερτωρίῳ, Λεπίδῳ, τοῖς Σπαρτακείοις. The b schol. at *Il.* 2.228 faults Thersites for having claimed credit for capturing the enemy (οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγράφει τοὺς πολεμίους) in saying "whenever we capture a citadel" εὐτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν in contrast to Achilles' ἐκπέρωσι "when they sack" (*Il.* 1.164). Here the construction is different (dative of person and acc. of thing claimed for him).

At the beginning of the line, we might expect a dative plural (the thing for which he takes credit, perhaps a term related to εὐνη]μερ[ί]α] or an aorist passive participle to control ἐπι]γράφειν. The traces are as follows: β/γ/ζ/η/ι/κ/ν/ξ/π/ρ/χ, [], peaked let., ζ/ε, [·], short stroke at top of line (either horiz. or slightly curved—maybe top serif of ι) P: π/η,ε[.]ccα N. In N the first two letters πε are circled, which suggests that someone suspected that they were mistakenly copied from the line below which also begins with πε. The rest of N's reading obviously reflects P's σεα. πᾶς[α]ις fits the traces well, but would be difficult to construe. We need a word to be paired with εὐνη]μερ[ί]α]ις, a word meaning something like toil or success, e.g. μόχθοις, which does not quite fit the traces I describe above.

27]ν(ver. only), ονδεκα] from a *sottoposto* in col. 35, 25.

πεπραγ[μέ]νον: a difficult reading. There may be too much space between π and ρ, for which there are in addition only minimal traces, perhaps part of a crossbar for the π and perhaps the top of ρ.

28]φευ[: from *sottoposto* in 35.26 likely from some form of φεύγω, perhaps a reference to someone avoiding something (other's envy ?) in their

boasts by acknowledging a good accomplishment or noble quality in another. Cf. Scholiast T on *Il.* 18.105-6, where Achilles credits others for being better in council: ἀλλὰ τῷ διελεῖν τὸν ἔπαινον ἀπελύσατο τὸν φθόνον. A form of ἐφευρίσκω is possible as well.

28ff. We could read ἐ]λαυτ[ὸν ἐπ]ίγ[ραψ]εν (cf. the note on line 26) ". . . the one saying 'surely we sacked the steep citadel of Priam by a strategem' has claimed credit himself," but perhaps we would need a prepositional phrase or another accusative in addition to ἐ]λαυτ[ὸν for ἐπ]ίγ[ραψ]εν (see *LSJ* s.v. IV.). The purpose of the quotation would then seem to be to point out that Nestor craftily takes a share of the credit by saying "*we* sacked." But if this is correct, how does it go with the following verse? Agamemnon seems to be *giving* credit rather than taking it, unless we are to assume that somehow his saying "*I* will give . . ." was interpreted by Philodemus as somehow being a cunning way of claiming authority or credit not rightfully his. I much prefer the interpretation outlined in the introduction to the column and developed in full below.

29]ενολ[from a *sottoposto* in col. 35, 27: λ N: diag. only P.

29-31 *Od.* 3.130-130a. Previous scholarship has supposed incorrectly that the quotation begins with Πριάμο[ι]ο in l. 30 and ends immediately after [αίπ]ῆν in l. 31. It rather begins with {c} ἦ {ι} γὰρ καὶ and ends after βουλή. For the mistake {c}, presumably the scribe began to write ε, but upon finishing the curved part of the letter realized that he was to have written η. The superfluous ι is a common mistake. ἦ is a new

reading; γὰρ καὶ is not. ἦ γὰρ καὶ would then parallel Strabo's text of Homer. The *mss.* of the *Odyssey* read αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ rather than ἦ γὰρ καὶ. The presence of βουλῆ in line 31 has presented needless trouble. Murray (171), for instance, professes to find it (in addition to all of 30ff.) "very odd." In fact, it is the first word from the beginning of a spurious verse of the *Odyssey* used by Strabo, Polyaeus (in the *Strategemata*), and Stobaeus (4.13.48.4). Analysis of the quotations in Strabo and Polyaeus illuminates the use of the verse in our text. Strabo quotes the verse twice, once fully, once partially. He quotes *Od.* 3.130 and the accompanying spurious verse in 13.1.40-1: ἦ γὰρ καὶ Πριάμοιο πόλιν διεπέραμεν αἰπὴν / βουλῆ καὶ μύθοις "For surely we captured the steep citadel of Troy by a stragegem and tales." Also, speaking of Odysseus in 1.2.4: οὗτος δ' ὁ πτολίπορθος ἀεὶ λεγόμενος καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐλὼν / βουλῆ καὶ μύθοις καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνη "he is always called the sacker of cities and the one who captured Troy 'by a stragegem, by tales, and by deceitful art.'"

In the *Strategemata*, Polyaeus devotes a section to Odysseus, from which I excerpt this part (1.8.5-9):

οἱ δ' ἥρωες καὶ τὴν νίκην αὐτῷ ἀνήψαν·

εἴη δ' ἦλω βουλῆ Πριάμου πόλις εὐρυάγυια. *Od.* 22.230

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἄλλοι πάλιν αὐτὸ μαρτυροῦσιν ἀλῶναι τὸ Ἴλιον Ὀδυσσεῶς

βουλῆ καὶ μύθοις καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνη.

"The heroes even ascribed the victory to him: 'and by your strategem the wide-wayed city of Priam was taken'. And elsewhere others in turn

testify that Troy was taken by a strategem, tales, and the deceitful art of Odysseus." Why does Polyaeus write ἀλλαχοῦ ἄλλοι? We have no testimony of others using this spurious line in the Odyssey. Do others besides Nestor use the line in his text of the Odyssey? He may have been thinking of *Od.* 13.297-8, where Athena says to Odysseus ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν ἐσσι βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων / βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι. . . "since you are far the best of all mortal men for counsel and tales." It is clear that the line was thought to refer to Odysseus, and this, I believe, is precisely what Philodemus is illustrating by quoting the verse. Nestor, one of the consummate boasters of Homeric epic, gives credit to his fellow hero.

32-35 *Il.* 9.128-29. Agamemnon, in the midst of listing the gifts he is willing to give Achilles, in the midst of boasting about his possessions and power, concedes an accomplishment of Achilles, the capture of Lesbos. He gives credit where credit is due. Capturing cities serves as the subject of Achilles' boast in *Il.* 9.328-30. Olivieri continues the Homeric quotation by adding ἐξελόμην, which was maintained by Dorandi. He was mistaken to do so, I believe. Once Philodemus has finished ἔλεν αὐτόσ, he has made his point, and to continue on with ἐξελόμην is not only unnecessary but would blunt the edge of his argument. Achilles' role is emphasized by the emphatic αὐτόσ in emphatic final position. The effect of not continuing the quotation is difficult to capture in an English translation. I have tried by italicizing "he." It is normal for Philodemus to end a Homeric quotation at the

end of the line, where the sense unit normally ends, but his not continuing the quotation here is surely emphatic.

35-36 If I am correct in proposing that the preceding quotations relate to giving credit to other heroes, we can reasonably conjecture how the text continued. I expect the idea went something like, "But whenever [the heroes enjoyed] shared successes, [and someone boasted to have done more than he actually did, or fails to give credit where credit is due, Homer shows his disapproval]." Or perhaps the same thought was put positively, that when common successes are enjoyed, the heroes often give credit to others, rather than just claiming it for themselves. This would explain the introduction of Thersites in the following column, who may be faulted for claiming more than his fair share of the credit. In schol. T at *Il.* 8.526, Hector is condemned for his words ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος as "appropriating to himself the success" (οἰκειοῦται τὸ κατόρθωμα) and as "appropriating to himself the shared success" (πάλιν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν οἰκειοῦται κατόρθωμα) schol. b. The scholia at *Il.* 11.328 claim that Homer does just the opposite there, making the victory of an individual a common victory: καὶ κοινὸν ποιεῖ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ κατόρθωμα. ἔστι δὲ Διομήδης μόνος ὁ ἀνελὼν. We may also compare the b schol. on *Il.* 1.367-8 (τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα· / καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσαντο μετὰ φίλιν υἱεσ Ἀχαιῶν), to which I referred above: <δάσσαντο μετὰ φίλιν·> κοινωνὸν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς κατορθώμασί φησιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ <δάσσαντο> χωρίζει. Considering its use and frequency in the Homeric

scholia, we might suppose that κοινὰ κατορθώματα was a technical term for literary and rhetorical criticism.

Col. 35

Little survives except two quotations from *Iliad* Book 2 where Thersites harasses Agamemnon, followed by a quotation of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus responds moderately to the impudent son of Alcinous. The end of the column has been interpreted in various ways. Dorandi, who follows Murray (170) in viewing this section through col. 39 to be on hubris, claimed that Thersites and Hector are contrasted to Odysseus. For Asmis, the section on Thersites involved social standing, and Odysseus is contrasted to Hector. Neither of these approaches is entirely satisfactory, however, for neither deals with one simple fact: the quotations of Thersites are connected to the quotation of Odysseus with ἔτι δέ (31-2) which implies that the item which follows is in a class with the one which preceded. I suggest two possible interpretations. Either a) this column in some way continues the discussion from the preceding one on giving credit to oneself and to others (boasting and modesty), or b) it begins a theme treated in the following column, namely how the good king should deal with insolent characters, using Odysseus as a favorable example in his treatment of Thersites and of Laodamas and Euryalus, insolent young men of Phaeacia. I will discuss possibility a) first, then b), following these with some textual notes.

For Philodemus, Thersites' words are a "babbler's parody" (30-1). The bT scholia at *Il.* 2.212 b claim that Homer mocks (κιλλαίνει) Thersites and that Thersites mocks the *aristoi*. In this interpretation (a), it is the latter to which Philodemus is referring here, Thersites' mockery, φλυαροῦντος being a possessive genitive. Thersites' parody may lie in the fact that his speech imitates that of the heroes, not only in claiming credit, but also for acknowledging the accomplishment (or potential accomplishment) of others, in the first quote "whenever *we* capture," and in the second "or *some other* Achaean." Since his speech is heroic, but he himself is wholly unheroic, Philodemus defines him as a "babbler." I noted in the last column that ancient Homeric scholarship considered stressing common achievement to be an important aspect of a general's rhetoric, on which see esp. schol. bT *Il.* 8.175-6, quoted above at 34.25, where Hector is said to have acted στρατηγικῶς "like a general" for mentioning success to his men, but is condemned for claiming it all for himself. Thersites, as Murray noted (171), is faulted by the scholia for placing himself first in the following phrase ὄν κεν ἐγὼ δῆσας ἀγάγω ἢ ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν (2.231). More importantly, at 2.228 the b scholia point out that he "gives credit to himself for [having captured] the enemy" (οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγράφει τοὺς πολεμίους) in saying εὖτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν in contrast to Achilles' ἐκπέρωσι "when they sack" 1.164. Cf. Posidonius' comment on Thersites (Fr. 290 a): πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι διαπληκτίζεται ἀλαζονευόμενος ὡς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς σεμνός τις ὢν,

ἔπειτα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἑαυτὸν κατατάσσειν τολμῶ λέγων· ἅς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
Πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν, εὖτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν.

"First he reproaches the princes, boasting as if he was himself some great personage, then dares to rank himself with the best warriors, saying, 'what *we* Achaeans give you first of all when *we* take a city'."

Philodemus' point, however, may be to show that the language of the Homeric heroes (exemplified here in a parody) often contains a mixture of claiming credit and giving it, and so should the language of the good king. This would conform well to the bottom quotation where we find Odysseus' moderate protest, which occurs after his boast to be a great archer.

Thersites' words have traditionally been interpreted as a parody of Achilles' speech against Agamemnon in *Iliad* Book 1, the incongruity being that the blame speech appropriate for Achilles is completely inappropriate for Thersites. It is also conceivable that Philodemus thought that Thersites was parodying how Agamemnon speaks at *Il.* 4.238-9: ἡμεῖς αὖτ' ἀλόχους τε φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα / ἄξομεν ἐν νήεσσιν, ἐπὴν πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν. These are the only two places in the *Iliad* where the line ends with πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν, and capturing women is discussed in both places. Thersites is, after all, said to be harassing Agamemnon (τότ' αὖτ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δίῳ / ὄξεα κεκλήγων λέγ' ὀνειδέα 2.221-2). Perhaps Philodemus understands this passage in Book 4 as a well-worn refrain of the sort that Agamemnon has been mouthing to

his army for ten years now. I am grateful to Erwin Cook for his suggestions on this note.

In the following quotation, in 32-4, Odysseus, *after* he has boasted of being the greatest archer alive with the exception of Philoctetes (*Od.* 8.215-22), says that he is "not willing to quarrel with men of former times, neither Heracles nor Eurytus." Philodemus expects us to be able to remember the boast that preceded. Once again, we have the pattern of boasting followed by a compliment to others. Alternatively, the moderation and reserve of this quotation may be seen as a contrast to the presumption of the preceding quotations of Thersites (28-31) and the following arrogance of Hector (so Dorandi 191). If this is correct, and that the words of Thersites and Odysseus here are cited in contrast, this would still be akin to the material in col. 34, as I have argued, on self-praise and modesty. I do not prefer it, however, since I doubt that Philodemus has forgotten, or expects us to forget, that Odysseus' modesty in the quoted passage is immediately preceded by his boast to be the best archer alive, Philoctetes excepted. Moreover, as I mentioned previously, ἔτι | δέ (31-32) does not typically move to an opposing example, on which see *LSJ* s.v. II. 1. This section, therefore, arguably relates very much to the material in col. 34. The *diple* in 35.16, accompanied by τοιγαροῦν, need not suggest anything other than that Philodemus has drawn some inference, *pace* Murray (170) and Dorandi (190). . This seems to be the case with the *diple* in 28.4 and 33.16, which

seem to show that Philodemus has made an inference, but the subject seems not to have changed greatly.

Alternatively, one could argue b) that this column is about how the good king responds to insolent and boastful behavior, the good king in this column being Odysseus, referred to as ὁ πολύμητις in 19. In col. 36, 19ff., Odysseus is referred to as ὁ [τυ]φλώκας, followed not by the name Polyphemos, but rather a quotation illustrating Polyphemos' arrogance. Here, with καθικοίμεν- (25-6), there may be a reference to Odysseus striking Thersites with a rod, illustrating Homer's view of what should be done with persons of such insolent behavior. φλυαροῦντος, in this reading, would be an objective genitive, i.e. if Homer's parody of a babbler does not escape us, he has Odysseus beat the one who says such presumptuous things with a rod. The following quotation (*Od.* 8.223-4) illustrates another response of Odysseus' towards insolent behavior, this time, a quite different response. Odysseus was provoked by Euryalus and Laodamas into athletic competition, and as part of his rebuke of them tells them of his own athletic greatness, which he qualifies with this moderate remark. ὁ πολύμητις in 19 may be introduced as part of an explanation of Odysseus' capacity to respond to the insolent and boastful (κ[]α[υ]χω[μείνου]c 24-5) in the manner appropriate to the occasion.

16 **μοc θαλ** . [: μ[.]c N: μ, ο/ε/ς, ζ/ο, θαλ, stroke which starts vertically from the bottom of the line, but appears to begin to slant to the rt. some near the top, so almost certainly not ε for Olivieri's reading γάιμος θαλ[ερòc (*Od.* 5.66, etc.).

19 **ò πολύμητιc**: at τικ the papyrus is significantly darker, but since it cannot be placed in neighboring columns (it interferes with text there) it must not be from a different stratum.

23-9 Several letters from these lines found in previous additions were actually sottoposti, and have been placed accordingly in the previous column.

25-6 **καθικόμεν[**: as καθικνέομαι may mean to "strike one with a strap, etc." (*LSJ* s.v. 1), perhaps this is a reference to Odysseus striking Thersites with a rod. Or perhaps "rebuke," a meaning found at schol. Gl H *Od.* 10.70 καθικνούμενος, όνειδίζων, έπιπλήττων. This meaning, however, is not found in *LSJ* and is accompanied only by a citation of patristic Greek in Montanari. Thus, if the participle modifies Thersites, it is likely a reference to his "having attacked" Agamemnon.

28-31 If either interpretation a) or b) is correct, Philodemus uses these in a manner somewhat different from other ancient critics, who seem to have viewed statements such as this one by Odysseus as rhetorical moves calculated to achieve some aim of the speaker. One exception, however, would be Agamemnon's praise of Nestor at *Il.* 2.370 ή μάν αὖτ' άγορη νικᾶc γέρον υἱας 'Αχαιών, to which the bT scholia respond έπιεικῆc ό βασιλεύc, όc οὐκ οἶεται δειν έν άπασι πάντων ύπερέχειν. On

Epeius' confession that he is slack in battle (*Il.* 23.670), the A and bT scholia comment τὸ ὁμολογεῖν ἐφ' οἷς τις ἠσκάται πίστιν ἐμποιεῖ περὶ ὧν τις ἐπαγγέλλεται. Eustathius says that Odysseus, in confessing to the Phaecians that he should have been persuaded by his comrades to leave Polyphemos' cave, was hunting for their confidence in the rest of the things that he was saying θηρώμενος οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς λέγει πίστιν παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν (vol. 1 p. 338 van der Valk). And in Plutarch's treatise *On Inoffensive Self-praise* (a treatise also addressed to a Roman nobleman), the statesman is encouraged to insert admissions of minor faults or failures to divert displeasure when he speaks about himself (543 F- 544 C).

Col. 36

This column, and the legible portion of the previous one, have been interpreted by previous scholarship as "instances of the nexus of attitudes comprised in the word ὑβρις" (Murray 171). The moderation Odysseus displays at col. 35, 32-34 was supposed to contrast with the arrogance of Thersites (col. 35, 26-30) and Hector (col. 35, 34– col. 36, 1-14). The middle portion of the column (14-23) was (correctly) believed to contain a reference to Odysseus boasting over the blinded Polyphemus. Philodemus was thought to juxtapose Odysseus' barbarous behavior towards Polyphemus with his later praise of civilized restraint to Eurycleia in order to show that his later behavior, in particular the statement uttered to Eurycleia, represented Homer's opinion and not Odysseus'. New readings in the column, primarily from the placement of *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti* (represented in the text by bold-faced letters) have changed that picture considerably. This portion of the text seems to be primarily about the *response* of the good king to insolence, apparently with special emphasis on how the good king responds to verbal insolence. As I have shown, we may also interpret the end of the previous column in this manner, though other interpretations are possible. There Odysseus is shown to respond in what Philodemus considers the ethically correct way to two instances of insolence. He punishes the presumption of Thersites, illustrated in

col. 35, 26-30 by beating him with a rod (25-6). On the other hand, when rudely challenged and mocked by Euryalus and Laodamas, Odysseus shows moderation. The fact that Odysseus responds differently according to the demands of the occasion may be related to the use of his epithet *πολύμητις* at col. 35, 19. This capacity to respond correctly to the insolence of others without acting insolently oneself is not a quality which Hector possesses. He instead responds impetuously to arrogance. When Achilles said what was tantamount to fighting against the gods (*Il.* 20.357-62), Hector at first responds nobly, but then boasts that he will come against Achilles, "even if his hands are like fire." Philodemus contrasts this boast to his cowardly flight before Achilles in Book 22. He then touches upon Hector's arrogance in more favorable situations (col. 36, 9-14). At 14, a genealogical boast is mentioned, though the specific Homeric reference is difficult to identify and the relationship of the boast with the text that follows is difficult to establish. Odysseus' blinding of Polyphemus is mentioned (col. 36, 19), followed immediately by a hubristic boast of Polyphemus' (col. 36, 20-3), before a lacuna. I argue below that it is the arrogance of Odysseus that is emphasized here. He responded arrogantly to the arrogance of Polyphemus, and was corrected for his mistake. Even in the face of arrogance as great as Polyphemus', the good king must not respond with further insolence of his own. Odysseus shows that he has learned from his chastisement by restraining Eurycleia when she

was intent "to cry out in triumph over those who have been justly avenged" (col. 36, 28-30), namely the slain suitors.

The passage could be outlined in the following way:

Odysseus -- how he responds to insolence (and corrects it?) col. 35, 1-34.

a) Thersites (insolence corrected by the rod) 35.26-31.

b) Laodamas & Euryalos (insolence corrected in part by Odysseus' own display of moderation) 35.31-4.

Hector - how he responds to Achilles' insolence and is chastised

col. 35, 34-36.9.

More on Hector's arrogance 36.9-14

On Achilles' (?) arrogance in his boast to the Xanthus and consequent correction, or else on Polyphemus' arrogance 36.14-19

Odysseus avenging the insolence of the Cyclops

[he too, is corrected, and learns, as is shown by his subsequent action] 36.24-7? in forbidding Eurycleia to gloat over the corpses of the suitors 36.28-32.

1-10 I have integrated Dorandi fr. 80 here, a large *sovrapposto* on the previous *cornice* at the top of col. 35. My readings differ from his at various points on the fragment. Some of the letters ($\pi\nu\rho$ and $\nu\tau$ or $\eta\tau$ in lines 4-5) are two layers higher, that is, *sovrapposti* B. Thus for the

first time in the text's history Philodemus' citation of *Il.* 20.371-2 takes its correct form and place.

In these lines (1-9), Philodemus points out the contradiction between Hector's words in *Il.* 20.371-2 and his actions in Book 22. Although he had boasted that he would come against Achilles, "even if his hands are like fire," he ultimately fled before him. Although he had encouraged his compatriots not to be afraid in 20.367, immediately before the quoted verse. he is himself later overcome by fear (22.136-7). We may be sure that Achilles was mentioned somewhere in lines 1-3, or in the lacuna at the top of the column, since he is referred to merely by αὐτὸν in 6. If Ἐκ]τορᾶ is correct in 1-2 (we may certainly exclude Νέκ]τορᾶ), enough text has preceded at the top of the column for Hector to pass from being the subject of one sentence to apparently being the direct object in another. Two or three lines, then, may be lost at the top of the column. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in these lost lines it was made clear that Hector's boast is uttered in response to Achilles' far more hubristic vaunt that he would break through an enemy line which not even Athena and Ares could penetrate (*Il.* 20.357-62). Hector responds at first with moderation, recognizing that the gods are greater (367-8), but then makes a rash and false boast of his own, claiming he would do what he proved in the end unable to do. Unlike the previous example of Odysseus, who successfully responds to arrogance and presumption (albeit of men far inferior to Achilles), Hector responds to presumption with presumption of his own. If I am right to

see this pattern, the line of thought would be: "But Hector, [when Achilles claims to be able to do what gods themselves could not do] is seen [to respond rashly, saying that he will come against him] 'if his hands are like flame, if his hands are like flame,' when he flees not even inside the wall but around the wall in consequence of his rashness."

Philodemus' juxtaposition of Hector's boast and his ultimate act of cowardice seems somewhat unjust, in light of the fact that after his boast, following a brief retreat at the bidding of Apollo (20.376-80), Hector does confront Achilles courageously (419-44). This may simply reflect a tendentious appraisal of Hector (on which, see below on 12-14). Strictly speaking, however, Hector's vow is not tested in this encounter with Achilles. Whereas he had vowed to face Achilles *εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας, | εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' αἴθωνι κιδήρω*, in this encounter it is not Achilles with whom the fire-imagery is associated. It is, in fact, Hector whose sharp spear is *φλογὶ εἴκελος* (20.423). When, however, Hector is about to face his foe for the last time, he beholds an Achilles all fire and brightness: *ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος ἀύγῃ / ἧ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἡελίου ἀνιόντος* (22.134-5). His boast is put to the test and found to have been rash and false. This may explain why Philodemus ignores this encounter. The fact that Philodemus explicitly comments on Homer's use of fire and star imagery to describe the heroes (see col. 38, 4-12 below) at least increases the likelihood that Philodemus was aware of this aspect of Hector's boast.

2 I have preferred VH¹'s reading θεο to N's ενο since in the Homeric text immediately preceding the quotation in 3-5, Achilles apparently claimed to be able to do something that even gods (Ares and Athena) could not do (20.356-64), and Hector's response to Achilles' claim also involves the gods (367-8). Philodemus might be paraphrasing this, and the fact that he ends his discussion of Hector with reference to the gods (13-15) may suggest that he also started with reference to them. On the other hand VH¹ may have altered N to conform to Cirillo's desire to find *Il.* 9.237-9 at this part of the column, which is now rendered impossible by my integration of fr. 80. Professor Cairns suggests that perhaps some form of θεο[ῖς ἐπι]εῖ[κελ- should be supplemented, which is used several times of Achilles in the *Iliad* (22.279; 23.80; 24.486, etc.), since in this column and the previous one, Philodemus refers to Homeric *basileis* by an epithet (ὁ πολύμητις 35.19) and by various periphrases (ὁ [τυ]φλώκας 36.19, τὸν . . . φλυαρο[ήϊα]ντα 36.19-24). θεο[εῖκελ]ον (Armstrong) is also possible.

6 ὀρᾶται: though the traces at the end of the previous line are unclear, they do not seem to conform to letters which could make a compound form. The word is therefore almost certainly not in the middle voice, which is said to be used in prose only in compounds. See *LSJ* s.v. ὀράω II.4.a. Hector is probably the subject.

7 ἰ]δ[εῖ]ν: there is room only for a small letter preceding the δ on the fragment. Only a vertical of the ν remains, but it is close to φ and therefore most likely the right vertical of ν or η. The moment referred to is *Il.* 22.136-7: "Ἐκτορα δ', ὡς

ἐνόησεν, ἔλε τρόμος· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη / αὖθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ
δὲ φοβηθείς.

8 φεύγω[]ν οὐδ' εἰς τὸ ἰ τεῖχος: the emphasis on Hector's fleeing "not even inside the wall" would be clearer if we had all of line 9. I argue in the next note for readings which would mean "in consequence of his impetuosity." The thought that seems to lie behind this is that if Hector were going to give in to cowardice and flee, he (and his own) would have been better off if he had fled to the wall. Instead, he acted rashly, without due consideration, just as in the earlier example, he had spoken rashly, not weighing his words. Working from a less reconstructed text, Asmis (42) suggested that Hector's fleeing around the wall is presumably cited "to illustrate a lack of wisdom," while Murray (170) had postulated that Hector's "ὑβρις was punished by his not being allowed to flee into the city before Achilles (or perhaps exemplified in his refusal to do so)." Dorandi (191) comments "Come lui [Thersites] anche Ettore ha commesso un atto di hybris contro gli dei, che gli impediscono di rientrare in città mentre è inseguito da Achille."

9] . †πατρατρεπείας†: no such word πατρατρεία is attested. It could possibly be a severe corruption of προπετείας, "rashness," for which cf. Porphyry at schol. *Il.* 22.71-3, where Priam says to Hector νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν / ἄρηϊ κταμένω δεδαϊγμένω ὄξεί χαλκῷ / κείσθαι· πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ ὅτι φανήη "everything looks well on a young man who dies in battle, mangled by the bronze; as he lies there all that appears on

him is beautiful, dead though he is." On this Porphyry comments: δοκεῖ τοῦτο προτρεπτικὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ θάνατον ἢ ἀποτρεπτικόν· καίτοι φαίνεται βουλόμενος πείθειν τὸν Ἑκτορα εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ μὴ ὑπομένειν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. ῥητέον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ἅπαξ ἀναγκασθέντι ἀποθανεῖν νέφ τοῦτο ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐκ προπετείας ὑφίστατο θάνατον.

"This seems rather to encourage him to die rather than discourage him; and yet he clearly wants to persuade Hector to go inside the wall and not to stand his ground before Achilles. But it must be said that everything becomes the young man who is absolutely compelled to fall; and Priam premises that Hector's death would be out of rashness."

To the left of the initial π there is the remains of the right half of a curved letter (ο and ω both good). Fr. 80 at the beginning of 9 reads χο[.]υ, though the υ seems to me to be from a higher stratum. It did not, however, to Dorandi or Olivieri. If they are right, ὕ[π]ῶ seems unavoidable. If they are wrong, we should read Janko's [ἄπ]ῶ followed by προπετείας, "in consequence of his rashness." The bT scholia (see below on 12-14) call Hector θρακύς and a θρακύδειλος. Philodemus' use of προπετεία in *On Anger* is illuminating, since it is associated with acting without proper consideration: ἐ[ν]ί[ο]τε καὶ παρὰ πολ[ύ] | συμβάλλουσιν ἰσχυρ[ο]τέρ[οι]ς –οὐ γὰρ ἔαι διακρί[ν]ειν ὁ θυμός –, ὡς καὶ Τ[ι]μοκράτην φησὶν ὁ Μητροδόωρος τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Μ[εν]τορίδῃ, κάπειτα τῆς | προπετείας πικρὰ κομίζονται τάπιχειρα (12.10-12.19) "Not but what sometimes they attack those much, much stronger than themselves, for rage does not allow one to distinguish,

as Metrodorus tells us Timocrates did to his elder brother Mentorides; and then they reap the bitter recompense of their impetuosity."

The scribe appears to be at his worst in this column. Aside from giving us apparently impossible Greek here, he curiously left room for almost a letter between the ω and ν of $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega[\]\nu$ (7) and incorrectly omitted a letter in line 35. I argue below that he may have misplaced a negative in 11-12. There may, of course, have been problems with the text he was copying. There is no evidence that this column was corrected, unlike several others in the treatise.

9-14 Very probably these lines speak of Hector in good circumstances (as opposed to his previously mentioned dire straits of facing the glorious wrath of Achilles) succumbing all the more to arrogance and insolence. If this is the case, we should assume that $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$ has gotten incorrectly placed in the clause after $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ and should have been placed in the clause before it, or else, as Francis Cairns suggests to me, we should read $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ rather than $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$, which appears equally possible on the basis of my drawing. If $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ is correct, we should assume that the scribe mistakenly omitted $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$ in 11, which he may have carelessly thought superfluous with the visually similar $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ nearby.

The text as it stands (reading $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}[\kappa]$ with the former editors) in spite of not having been interpreted so, would say that in fortunate circumstances as opposed to the unfavorable ones mentioned in 1-9, Hector did not behave boastfully and hubristically, which would involve the following problems. First, it would seem to require $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$ to

negate both ἐφρόνει and [ἥρι]ζεν, which would make ungraceful, if not strictly impossible, Greek. Olivieri was thus compelled to add μή τι δὴ after ἐφρόνει and Cirillo supplemented οὐκ ἥρι]ζεν at the beginning of 14, *spatio longius*. Second, where in Greek literature (or any other) do we hear of someone being more moderate in fortunate circumstances? We hear precisely the opposite in numberless instances. The transposition of οὐκ at once solves all these problems. Surely the point is that, in the severe circumstances (facing Achilles and finding himself a coward and being chased around the walls of Troy) he was indeed much less arrogant and boastful (see 20.367-8, 434) but in favorable circumstances quite the contrary. Cf. *Aeneid* 10. 501-2: *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis*. These lines from the *Aeneid* follow upon Turnus' hubristic treatment of Pallas. Although the thought and language of the parallel are conventional, their similarity to lines 10-14 of this column is nonetheless remarkable given the immediate discussion of treatment of an avenged enemy. On Aeneas' treatment of Pallas, see further below on 33-6.

11-12 ἄνθρωπος ὦν | (οὐκ) ἐ[γίνω]σκειν: a bold accusation against Hector indeed, considering that in *Il.* 20.367-8, he seems to understand his position in relation to the gods quite well: καί κεν ἐγὼ ἐπέεσσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μαχοίμην, / ἔγχεϊ δ' ἀργαλέον, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, to which the b scholia respond τάχα δὲ διδάσκει μὴ μέγα κατὰ τῶν ἀπόντων φρονεῖν. Below (20-3) Polyphemus claims just the opposite, that the

Cyclopes are better by far than the gods: ἐπ[ε]ῖ [ἦ ποίλῶ φ]έρτεροί ἐσμεν. But the circumstance of Hector being faced with Achilles would hardly be categorized by Philodemus as being among εὐ[τυχία]ις or any other word that could be supplemented there. When Hector was caught in grim circumstances, there were moments where he well understood his place in the world (20.367-8, 434), even though he still rashly boasted as Philodemus reminds us at the top of the column. Below I discuss what might explain Philodemus' charge against Hector.

For the supplementary participle with γινώσκω, see *LSJ* s.v. γινώσκω I. 2. c. part.

12 ἀλλ' οὖν: this combination occurs at *De musica* col. 31, 6, though the context is too damaged to determine its precise meaning. "ἀλλά bears one or other of the shades of meaning expressed by simple ἀλλά; while οὖν adds the notion of essentiality or importance" Denniston 1954², 441. And yet not one of his examples or categories is helpful here. Blomqvist 1969 is unhelpful. Nevertheless, it does not seem inconceivable that ἀλλ' οὖν is here essentially equivalent to ἀλλὰ δῆ. But if no good parallels can be found, I shall revert to my suggestion that οὐκ was simply displaced.

12-14 ἴσα θε[ο]ῖς ἐφρόνει: the phrase is not common, and doubtlessly meant to echo epic style. Asmis, who correctly interprets 10-14 as entailing transgressions of Hector, on account of the incorrect οὐκ, mistranslates, "But he did not have wisdom equal to the gods." Aside from there being no parallel for this sense, surely this would be

an unreasonable charge to hold against Hector, or any other human being. We can enjoy the same degree of pleasure that the gods enjoy, an Epicurean would believe, but surely not possess the same degree of wisdom. Given the discussion of striving with the gods and of human limitation, ἴσα θεοῖς φρονεῖν is sure to mean "vie with gods" as it does in *Il.* 5.441-3 where Apollo says to Diomedes μηδὲ θεοῖσιν / ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον / ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων. For φρονεῖν ἴσα cf. also Aristoph. *Ec.* 630, certainly a parody of the phrase in Homer: ἡ Λυσικράτους ἄρα νυνὶ ῥίς ἴσα τοῖσι καλοῖσι φρονήσει. Philodemus seems to be clearly imitating epic diction here, and, in fact, the whole passage may have a higher style than usual. Philodemus' accusation of Hector not knowing that he was just a man and vying and striving with the gods in fortunate times may seem excessive and better suited for Diomedes, for whom this very language is used (see *Il.* 5.441-2 quoted above) or for Ajax (*Od.* 4.499-509) or Achilles. But in Book 12 Hector begins to show the unmistakable signs of *hybris*. Immediately after the wisdom of Polydamus has been confirmed with Aisios' failure to penetrate the Achaean gate, Hector rejects the advice Polydamus which gives on the basis of an omen clearly sent from Zeus (12.231-250), on which schol. T comments ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ θεοὺς τιμῆσει καὶ οἰωνοῖς πείσεται, ὡς ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς. In 13.821-3 he dismisses another omen. Both these omens occur in "favorable circumstances" (10-11), the first when the Trojans were on the verge of breaching the defensive wall of the Greeks, and the second after the

wall had been breached and the Greeks were holding off the Trojans with great difficulty. Cirillo points to *Il.* 9.236-9: "Ἐκτωρ δὲ μέγα κθένεϊ βλεμεαίνων / μαίνεται ἐκπάγλως πίτυνος Διί, οὐδέ τι τίει / ἀνέρας οὐδὲ θεοῦ· κρατερὴ δὲ ἐλύσσα δέδυκεν. It should be pointed out, however, that this comes from the mouth of Odysseus, who was attempting to persuade Achilles to rejoin the Greeks, though that may not have made a difference to ancient critics. Hector is portrayed as hubristic. Schol. A comments εὐτελίζει, φησίν, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦς. τῇ δὲ ὑπερβολῇ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοῦ ἐδήλωσεν "that is, he makes light not only of men but gods; and the hyperbole points to the greatness of his arrogance." Hector also shows contempt for the prophetic *ultima verba* of Patroclus which prophesied his impending death at the hands of Achilles (18.851-61). We could contrast Hector's unholy contempt for prophetic signs with Aeneas' pious and scrupulous attention to them. The fact that contempt for divination is a major part of Hector's hubris, and must therefore have been at least part of what Philodemus was referring to, may seem strange for an Epicurean to note, though Philodemus also speaks of Telemachus befriending the seer Theoclymenus (*Od.* 15.223ff.), "because he knew that the race of seers is trusted" (col. 32, 36-8). Philodemus understands that *in the world of Homer's poetry* contempt for divination is contempt for Zeus, and that, as Janko 1992, 146 points out, "Bird-omens always come true in Homer: scoffers like Hektor or Eurumakhos (*Od.* 2.181f.) are doomed to a bad end." We should also remember the fatal effect of

Hector's triumph at the end of Book 12 and especially his triumph over Patroclus and capturing Achilles armor, which seem to mark a change in him toward hubris and over-confidence and prepare his ill-starred attempt to stand against Achilles alone.

In addition to these offences of Hector, we should also remember the hostility towards Hector found in some strands of ancient Homeric criticism, condemning him in particular for boastfulness. As van der Valk 1963, *i.* 475 noted, already Aristarchus seems to display this tendency somewhat, as is evidenced in Aristonicus calling Hector a boaster in schol. A on 8.526, 8.535, and 14.366. The bT scholia are very harsh indeed in their judgment of Hector, where he is called *θρασύς*, *ἀλαζονικός*, *ὑπερήφανος*, *ἀναιδής*, *τυραννικός*, and *βάρβαρος*, all catalogued in Valk 1963, *i.* 475 n. 339. Cf. Richardson 1980, 265-87. In *Il.* 3.19 the bT scholia classify Hector, along with Thersites, Paris, and Dolon, as being a *θρασύδειλος*. At *Il.* 7.75, where Hector uses a laudatory epithet of himself (*Ἐκτορι δῖω*) schol. A claims that Hector has done so *ἀκαίρως*. Schol. b cites other instances of Homeric characters referring to themselves in the third person, saying that here Hector, as well as Zeus in *Il.* 8.22 (*Ζῆν' ὕπατον*) do so "in accordance with their preeminence" (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*). It is rather uncharacteristic for schol. b not to disparage Hector when there is opportunity to do so for his boasting. But the fact that this instance of Hector using a self-laudatory epithet was associated with an instance of Zeus doing so may have been held against Hector by some as presumptuous. Ameis 1868-1932 at *Il.* 7.75 noted that these

are the only two instances in Homer where a speaker refers to himself with a laudatory epithet (though *Od.* 8.494 should be added). *P. Oxy.* 1087, a commentary whose hand is dated to the first century B.C., after enumerating two other instances where Homeric characters refer to themselves in the third person (Zeus and Apollo) comments on Hector's self-laudatory epithet: ἀυτέπαινος δ' ἔαυι[τὸ]ν "δῖον" καλῶν, πλὴν ὅμοιος τοῖς | [πλ]είστοις ἐκ κληνῆς στρατιώταις "it is self-praise to call oneself δῖος, though like what most soldiers on the stage do." According to the papyrus, the effect of having Hector use a laudatory epithet of himself is to make him seem like a *miles gloriosus* on the comic stage. For the most recent edition of the papyrus, see Erbse 1969-1977 ii, 222-7. Cf. also van der Valk 1963, i. 475. On the other hand, Philodemus approves Odysseus calling himself δῖος in the presence of the Phaeacians at col. 39, 2-4. He may have agreed with the bT schol. that Hector's use of the epithet was ἀκαίρω.

With the οὐκ transposed, or else reading οὐν, Hector's behavior in favorable circumstances parallels the description of his behavior in difficult circumstances at the top of the column. In both, he is described as not doing what he should do (flee inside the wall / understand that he was just a human being) but instead doing what he should not do (flee around the wall / vie with the gods).

13-14 τοῖς θεοῖς | [ἤρι]ζεν αὐτοῖς: probably intended in part as a contrast to Odysseus' refusal in the previous column (col. 35, 32-34) to contend (ἐρίζειν) with the great archers of old. He was unwilling to

contend with great mortals whereas Hector, Philodemus claims, contended with the very gods. Perhaps fr. 12.12-14 (Dorandi) is related: γ]ὰρ ἐρίζων τοὺς | [. . .]δ[. . .] . γα φαίνεται | [Ἔ]κτορος [. . .] . τα δ' ἀπο[.

14 καί που: primarily a combination that occurs in Hellenistic (and later) Greek. The sentence has an air of extemporaneity and perhaps carelessness. που might simply mean here that Philodemus does not recall the textual location of the incident to which he is referring. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 678 B l. 7: καί που παρρησιαζόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, 'πολλάς' φησὶν (I 325) 'ἀύπνους νύκτας ἰαῦσαι'. More probably καί που should be taken here to mean "I suppose."

14-23 This section begins with reference to a genealogical boast, a fairly common phenomenon in the *Iliad* (e.g. 6.119ff.; 21.184ff.). The connection of this boast with what follows, however, is not entirely clear. The main problems for this section may be organized as follows. What is the instance of boasting to which Philodemus refers? Does another sentence begin at 17? If so, does the new sentence begin before ἐφ]ρενοῦτ[ο, or after it? If we assume a full stop after ἔλκειν we should read φησι in 15. Genealogical boasting, however, is fairly common in the *Iliad*, and it is hard to believe that Philodemus did not know that. To merely point out that in Homer someone boasts to be one of the Greater Ones and draws his lineage from them" may seem too obvious, though no more offhanded or careless than Philodemus can sometimes be. One possibility (which I do not prefer, however) would be to assume that the sentence continues on and supplement φήσας

rather than φησι. Someone who made an improper or untrue genealogical boast somewhere in the text was chastised (ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο), according to this reading. It is perhaps more natural to read the following καθάπερ clause with this sentence:

καί που

15 φήσας τῶ]ν κρείττωνων τις
εἶ]ναι τε κα[ι] γ[έ]νος ἔλκειν
ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο, κ]αθάπερ ἔνι-
οι] καί [τῶ]ν ὑστερ[ο]ν μοναρχ[η]-
cάν]των.

"And somewhere (in Homer), someone claiming to be from the family of the greater (gods ?) and to draw his lineage from them was corrected, just like some also of those who ruled as monarchs later." This would narrow the cases of genealogical boasting down to those in which someone is chastised for his boast. Philodemus may be referring to Achilles' boast made to the river Xanthus:

κεῖς' οὐτάς· χαλεπόν τοι ἐριθηνέος Κρονίωνος
185 παισὶν ἐριζέμεναι ποταμοῖό περ ἐκγεγάωτι.
φήσθα σὺ μὲν ποταμοῦ γένος ἔμμεναι εὐρὺν ῥέοντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὐχομαι εἶναι.
τίκτέ μ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσειν Μυρμιδόνεσσι
Πηλεὺς Αἰακίδης· ὃ δ' ἄρ' Αἰακὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν.
190 τῶ κρείσσων μὲν Ζεὺς ποταμῶν ἀλιμυρηέντων,

κρείσσων αὐτε Διὸς γενεῇ ποταμοῖο τέτυκται.

καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ποταμός γε πάρα μέγας, εἰ δύναται τι

χραιομεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι Διὶ Κρονίωνι μάχεσθαι,

τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,

195 οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖταιο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο,

ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν·

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δαίδοικε Διὸς μέγαλοιο κεραυνὸν

δεινὴν τε βροντὴν, ὅτ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν σμαραγῆσσι (II. 21.184-199).

Lie it so: it is hard even for those sprung of a river to fight against the children of Kronos, whose strength is almighty. You said you were of the generation of the wide-running river, but I claim that I am of the generation of great Zeus. The man is my father who is lord over many Myrmidons, Peleus, Aikos' son, but Zeus was the father of Aiakos. And as Zeus is stronger than rivers that run to the sea, so the generation of Zeus is made stronger than that of a river. For here is a great river beside you, if he were able to help; but it is not possible to fight Zeus, son of Kronos. Not powerful Acheloios matches his strength against Zeus, not the enormous strength of Ocean with his deep-running waters, Ocean, from whom all rivers are and the entire sea and all the springs and all deep wells have their waters of him, yet even Ocean is afraid of the lightning of great Zeus and the dangerous thunderbolt when it breaks from the sky crashing." [tr. Lattimore]

Philodemus may have understood Achilles' near defeat by Scamander as chastisement and correction in return for the arrogance and rashness of his former boast. Richardson 1993, 68 notes that the "contemptuous and constant references to rivers (185, 186, 190, 191, 192, 196) rise to

magnificent, cosmic climax in the dismissal of even Okeanos, the source of all the waters of the world, as no match for the thunderbolt of Zeus. It is a superb piece of rhetoric, but seriously miscalculated, for Akhilleus himself will soon prove to be no match for Skamandros, whom he dismisses too boldly at 192-3." Not only does Achilles dismiss Scamander too boldly, he dismisses him inaccurately, for we are told in 21.2 that Xanthos' father was Zeus himself. He had a more immediate connection with Zeus than Achilles! The *καθάπερ* clause, if taken with the preceding phrase, would refer to later monarchs (presumably Hellenistic ones) who boasted arrogantly (and falsely) about their lineage, and whose downfall could, in part, be explained as a result of their arrogance in claiming descent from the Gods. Philodemus discusses the hatred that Homer would have had for Demetrius Poliorcetes in the following column.

There are problems, however, with this interpretation, one of which is how to read the Greek that follows τῶν in 19: ο[. (.)]φλώαα. We must, of course, read τυ]φλώαα, but what of the preceding space? There is room for another letter, if necessary, between ο[and τυ]φλώαα, but I find none of the possibilities intelligible (ο[ὐ, ὄ[ν, etc.) except for simply reading the article ὁ to give an attributive participle. If there is a full stop after μοναρχ[ηϊκάν]των, as there would apparently need to be, we should read ὁ (δὲ) [τυ]φλώαα in order to begin a new clause. Moreover, the spacing in 17 would have to assume a rather large ο and κ to fill the

lacuna. Three letters would be optimum, four possible. If we assume a full stop after ἐφ]ρενοῦτ[ο, we must read

κ]αθάπερ (δ') ἔνι-
 οι] καί [τῶ]ν ὑστερ[ο]ν μοναρχ[η]-
 cάν]των, ὁ [τυ]φλώσας κτλ.

"And just like some also of those who ruled later, the one who blinded . . .". According to this reading, it is Odysseus' action (or actions) to which later kings are compared.

A much better possibility (which I have printed in the text) would be to assume a full stop after ἔλκειν in 16, in which case no correction in the papyrus is required, using Armstrong's δέ in 17, which can be used to mark "balancing adversatives, where two truths of divergent tendency are presented" Denniston 1954², xlix. The passage would read as follows:

καί πού

15 φησι τῶ]ν κρείττόνων τις
 εἶ]ναι τε κα[ί] γ[έ]νος ἔλκειν.
 ἐφ]ρενοῦτ[ο δὲ κ]αθάπερ ἔνι-
 οι] καί [τῶ]ν ὑστερ[ο]ν μοναρχ[η]-
 cάν]των ὁ [τυ]φλώσας τὸν

20 "οὐ] γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰ-
 γιόχου ἀλέγουσιν οὐδ' ἐ
 θεῶ]ν ἄλλ[ω]ν ἐπειὶ ἰῆ πο-
 λὺ φιέρτεροί ἐσμεν"

And suppose someone claims to be a child of the Great Ones and to draw his lineage from them; and yet even the one who blinded the one who foolishly said “for the Cyclopes are not heedful of Zeus nor the other gods, since we are far better” (*Od.* 9.275-6) was corrected, just as some also of those who ruled later (were corrected).” As I mentioned above, this would seem to make the statement in 14-16 too obvious, simply pointing out that someone somewhere (in Homer) boasts to come from the greater (gods ?) and to draw his lineage from them. Several characters in the poem make that claim. On the other hand, given the preceding verses about Hector arrogantly overstepping his bounds, perhaps he means someone who makes a genealogical boast arrogantly or untruthfully. There are, in fact, few examples of this in Homer, the two best candidates being Polyphemus or, as I discussed above, Achilles. It seems strange, however, to suppose that Philodemus would refer to either one in this indefinite manner, though we might compare his reference to Achilles in 29.12-14: ἐπαῤῥαταί τις | ἐκ τε [θ]εῶν ἐκ τ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσθαι, in which case it is conceivable either that he could not remember who voiced the prayer, as Murray (169) suggests, or that who said the statement simply was not relevant or important. Above I discussed taking these lines as a referring to Achilles, though I construed ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο with them. Still another possibility, the one I prefer, is to take 14-16 as referring to Polyphemus, who, at *Od.* 9.519 traces his γένος from Poseidon: τοῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάϊς εἰμί, πατήρ δ’ ἐμὸς εὐχεται

εἶναι. If we can justify a full stop after ἔλκειν, ἐφ]ρευνοῦτ[ο can be construed as referring to Odysseus, who, one could argue from the material after line 29, learned not to act arrogantly. The καθάπερ clause then becomes somewhat more complicated, comparing later kings to someone who was chastised for improperly avenging the arrogance of another. Philodemus elsewhere favorably compares the Homeric kings to later kings (see col. 20), and in the following column (37.1-15) Philodemus discusses why Homer would have hated Demetrius Poliorcetes. I now need an example of a Hellenistic (or at least post-Homeric) monarch who, in avenging the arrogance of another, was himself chastised for his arrogance.

A final possibility that might be canvassed is to take τις and που as "anyone" and "anywhere" and understand that Philodemus is making the point that anytime someone in Homer boasts about his lineage, he receives correction. This would be a gross error unless he means boasting falsely or incorrectly. The imperfect is not the tense that one would expect, and to supplement φ]ρευνοῦτ[αι in 17 would require an abnormally large φ.

γ[έ]νος ἔλκειν: "derive one's race," cf. Strabo 11.9.3.5 ἀπὸ τούτων δ' οὖν ἔλκειν φασι τὸ γένος τὸν Ἄρκακην. In prose this is usually accompanied by a prepositional phrase (ἐκ τῶν θεῶν, etc.) or an adverb like θεόθεν rather than a simple genitive as apparently here. Olivieri therefore corrected the ρ in the *disegno* in 17 to read γ[έ]νος ἔλκειν | [διό]θεν not assuming a stop after ἔλκειν. It is interesting that

Philodemus does not avoid this cadence, which was considered bad for prose: καὶ] γένος ἔλκειν.

17-19 ἐφ]ρηνοῦτ[ο: primarily a poetic verb, but found in *De lib. dicendi* col. XII b, 3-7 ἀλλ[υ]πος γὰρ ὁ Μαίμων φρεῖ[ν]οῦμενος καὶ ἀπάγει τοῦ χωρίου. The sentence may be a paraphrase of a line in New Comedy, on which see Gigante 1971. The word also occurs twice in Xenophon (*Mem.* 4.1.5 and 2.6.1), but is primarily tragic, occurring in all three tragedians, a fact which should not weigh against the supplement, given the tragic theme here of the correction of arrogance, and the poetic language in 11-14. Presumably its use here echoes ἐφρόνει 13 and φρονημάτων 36.35. If this is to be construed with what follows rather than what precedes, presumably there would have followed in the lacuna an explanation of why Odysseus was chastised, namely because of his hybriatic boasting over the blinded Polyphemus (see below). This reconstruction would fit well with what follows at the end of the column (28-32) where reference is made to Odysseus instructing Eurycleia not to boast arrogantly over defeated enemies, as I show below. That Odysseus was chastised "just like some of those who ruled later" may find support in what follows at the top of col. 37, where the presumptuous Demetrius Poliorcetes is disciplined. Demetrius has been interpreted by ancient and modern biographers as a classic example of the downfall of arrogance, on which see Green 1990, 131.

17-18 Olivieri's reading at 17-18 ἐν Ἰ[θά]κη[ι is paleographically preferable to Armstrong's correction of χη in the disegno to και, but one has difficulty imagining what the monarchy or a monarch in Ithaca has to do with what seems to precede or follow, and the mistake of χη for και is conceivable, given the kinds of errors committed by the *disegnatori*. Errors of this kind occur fairly frequently in the *disegni* of the Herculaneum papyri, in which see Armstrong and Fish 1994.

18-19 The trace after μοναρ conforms well to χ, after which there is room for one letter. If the χ had been deleted, we could read some form of μόναρχος, but assuming it was not, we must either supplement some form of μοναρχία, or the superlative of μοναρχικός, or a verbal form beginning in μοναρχη-, either a participle, or the future μοναρχήσει]. Bücheler's suggestion (201) that this is a reference to later kings must be correct.

19-23 The placement of sottoposti led to the discovery of another quotation. As Murray notes (171), the blinding of Polyphemus was a locus for a number of interpretive cruxes for ancient scholarship as early as Antisthenes. Is it the arrogance of Odysseus that Philodemus is featuring here, or the arrogance of Polyphemus, or both? It is not impossible that the line of thought goes as follows: "The one who blinded the one foolishly saying, 'for the Cyclopes are not heedful of Zeus nor the other gods, since we are far better' [shows that such arrogance can not be unpunished. He also shows himself as one who resists and corrects *hybris* when he] forbids [Eurycleia] to cry out in

triumph even over those justly slain." The reference in col. 39, 34-6 to an Odysseus who "will gouge out the eyes of the ungrateful" (τοὺς δὲ ἀχαριςτοῦντας ὀφθαλμωρυχίσει), which surely includes his treatment of Polyphemus, could perhaps be seen to lend support to this view, and the fact that Odysseus saw himself as the instrument of the retribution of the gods (*Od.* 9.477-9). But surely Philodemus could not have been such a poor reader of the *Odyssey* as to pass over in a discussion of arrogance Odysseus' hubristic behavior towards Polyphemus, when he gratuitously prolongs the pleasure of his vengeance (in contradiction to Philodemus' view of virtuous anger) and declares with unwarranted confidence and arrogance at 9.523-5 that Poseidon will not heal Polyphemus (on which see Stanford 1958-1959, i. 364). White: I rather think that it is Odysseus' arrogance and incorrect behavior that is featured here, and that the point is that *even in the face of arrogance as great as Polyphemus'* one may not respond with acts (or words) of arrogance oneself. Homer realizes this and corrects such behavior. ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο, if construed with ὁ [τυ]φλώσας, would explicitly state this. In any case, given the fact that after the lacuna we find Odysseus restraining someone from gloating over those justly avenged, behavior from which he did not restrain himself in his encounter with Polyphemus, it seems plausible to assume that some statement to the effect that Odysseus was corrected for his behavior and learned from his error, either with ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο or in the lacuna stretching from 23-7.

One of the problems treated by Aristotle (fr. 174 Rose) was why Poseidon was angered because of Odysseus' blinding of the Cyclops rather than because of his ἀπόφθεγμα, what he said over the blinded Polyphemus, since the text says ἀλλὰ Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἀκελὲς αἰὲν / Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται, ὃν ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωκεν (*Od.* 1.69). Was Philodemus illustrating the arrogance of the blinding itself, or the accompanying gloating, or both? The answer probably lay in the lacuna from 24-7, but the fact that when clear text emerges at 28, the topic is the correct treatment of someone justly avenged, would seem to make it almost certain that at least his boasting is faulted. Perhaps both the boasting and the blinding were considered acts of arrogance by Philodemus.

All the witnesses to this passage in the *Odyssey* read μακάρων rather than ἄλλων. It is easy to understand how the variant arose, since the received reading seems to separate Zeus from the category of μάκαρες θεοί. The translation of R. Lattimore, who could not have known of this variant, reveals the same process which presumably produced the variant: "The Cyclopes do not concern themselves over Zeus of the aegis, nor any of the rest of the blessed gods." In quoting from memory, Philodemus has simply substituted one Homeric formula for another. It is interesting, however, that Philodemus' way of quoting Polyphemus' boast in 9.275-6 makes that boast correspond more precisely to Odysseus subsequent taunting of Polyphemus: καὶ λίην cé γ' ἔμελλε κινήσεσθαι κακὰ ἔργα, / χρέτλι', ἐπεὶ ξείνους οὐχ ἄζεο σῶ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ / ἐσθέμεναι· τῷ σε Ζεὺς τεύκατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι (9.477-9).

21 init. γ from *sottoposto* at rightmost part of line ἀλέγουσ[ι: α, λμ [P:]εγουσ[from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 18 N:]ε(left of curved let.), γ/τ, ου, ζ(left of curved let.) [from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 18 P: Olivieri read]γουσ in P.

22 init. θ from *sottoposto* at end of line ἄλλ[ω]ν: αλ, λμ [P:]ν from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 19: perhaps]ων N ἐπ[ε]ι: ε, π/τ [., ι from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 19.

23 ι from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 20 ἐςμεν from *sottoposto* in 37.20:]ν(part of second vert.).

23-4 φλῦαρο[ή]κα]ντα (Cairns after Armstrong, who had proposed φλῦαροῦ]ντα): cf. col. 35, 31. φ, perhaps diag. incl. to rt., two specks at top of line, α/λ/δ, η/(κ/ν) from *sottoposto* in 37.20: Olivieri read φ[. . .]α in P:][[α]] N 24 ρ/ι + ι or else η, τα, κ/(ι), etc. from *sottoposto* in 37.21 P:][[ακ]] N: . This is not a secure reading, and must be checked against the papyrus. It does not seem inconceivable to me that Philodemus could use the article immediately followed by a quotation as an abbreviated way of saying "the one who said . . .". Above in 35.25-6, where there is very little room for a word meaning "say," it may be that we should supplement καθικόμην[ος τὸν], followed by the quote: "having struck the one who said . . .".

24 τωιμε, vert. (ι/ν/π/γ) from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 21.

25 τοιαυ[from *sottoposto* at end of line:]τ(perhaps part of base), η ενη, followed by space (perhaps tight for μ), ιν from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 22.

26 speck in top rt., ιτ from *sottoposto* at end of line.

27ε, speck in top left from *sottoposto* in col. 37, 24.

28-31 Dorandi, who was the first to read ἐπολολύζειν, saw that it harks back to ὀλόλυζε in *Od.* 22. 411. I would go beyond that and suggest

that 28-31 are a paraphrase of the four lines in the *Odyssey* preceding the lines Philodemus quotes in 31-2. I print 22.407-12 for context:

ἦ δ' ὡς οὖν νέκυάς τε καὶ ἄσπετον εἶσιδεν αἶμα,
ἴθυσέν ῥ' ὀλολύξαι, ἐπεὶ μέγα εἶσιδεν ἔργον·
ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἰεμένην περ
410 καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦ, χαίρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυξε·
οὐχ ὀσίη καταμένοιισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι.

In 407-10 Eurykleia, upon seeing the corpses of the suitors, is about to cry out in triumph over them but is restrained by Odysseus. Just as Philodemus writes ἐπολολύζειν for ὀλόλυξε in 411, he writes ἐπιφωνῶν for φωνήσας in 410. I am therefore inclined to prefer something along the lines of οὐκ ἐ]ῶν to οὐ δοκ]ῶν in 28, since it would paraphrase *Od.* 22.409.

29 ἐνδίκως: Philodemus thinks that the suitors have been justly slain, and, if my interpretation is correct, that the blinding of Polyphemus was just vengeance. But even in the case of characters so morally base, the good ruler must not descend to gloating and triumphing, and should discourage others from doing so.

31 φθιμένοιισιν: a variant shared by Cicero (at *Att.* 4.7.2) and Pliny (*Epp.* 9.1.3) among others. For full discussion of the variant see Dorandi (1978, 43-44). Other authorities read καταμένοιισιν.

33-6 καταμην[ύε]ι: Bücheler (202) argued that the subject of this verb was not Odysseus, but rather an author of a lampoon against Demetrius who was thought to be referred to in the beginning of the following column. Murray correctly countered that the subject must either be Odysseus or the whole previous sentence. Philodemus makes the claim that Homer's view is revealed in Odysseus' words, but not enough of the following sentence survives to know how he supported this claim. According to Murray (171), who is followed by Dorandi (192-3), Philodemus is likely to have justified the claim on the basis of the fact that elsewhere Odysseus' behavior is in contradiction with these words. This statement of Odysseus' is inconsistent with his former behavior, and must therefore represent Homer's opinion, not Odysseus'. As Murray noted, the scholia at *Od.* 22.412, the verse quoted by Philodemus, were aware of the incongruity of Odysseus' words here and his boasting over the corpse of Socus in *Il.* 11.450-5, where he says:

ὦ Σῶχ' Ἰπάκου υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο
 φθῆσε τέλος θανάτοιο κυχήμενον, οὐδ' ὑπάλυξας.
 ἄδειλ' οὐ μὲν σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 ὄσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντι περ, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ
 ὠμησται ἐρύουσι, περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες.
 αὐτὰρ ἔμ', εἴ κε θάνω, κτεριοῦσί γε δῖοι Ἀχαιοί.

On these lines see Stanford 1962, 34 with n. 21. (Russo 1992, 291 is surely wrong to claim that Odysseus' words there are "humane and sympathetic.") Murray's reasoning may be correct, but I believe Asmis'

suggestion is nearer the mark, that "Philodemus perhaps also has Homer correct Odysseus's vindictiveness toward the blinded Cyclops" (43). One could take that a step further and argue that Homer corrects his vindictiveness *in general*. Ten hard years must have taught Odysseus something about triumphing inappropriately over an avenged enemy, and while the scholia seem to have been blind to this, perhaps Philodemus was not. I argue above for the reading ἐφ]ρευοῦτ[ο in 17, which, if correct, would specifically express this thought. My reconstruction of col. 23 shows that Philodemus saw the Telemachy as educational for Telemachus. If I am correct in my interpretation of this column, he saw Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus and his consequent correction as morally educational for him also, resulting in a change of attitude in Odysseus.

I would suggest that Philodemus' interpretation of these events in Homer informs Vergil's conception of retribution in the *Aeneid*, and is especially apparent in Book 10 where Turnus' behavior towards Pallas (10.495ff.) contrasts with Aeneas' treatment of Lausus (10.825ff.). Others have already noted the contrast. What they could not have seen, however, is that the contrast is owed to models of how a good king and a bad king differ in their treatment of an avenged enemy. Turnus' error is similar to Odysseus' as illustrated in *On the Good King*, in that he gratuitously prolongs the pleasure of vengeance. His actions are characterized by violent pleasure, exultation over the slain, and glorying in his plunder. D. Armstrong has recently argued that such

prolonging of pleasure is precisely what Philodemus prohibits in his *On Anger* (Armstrong 1998). Such conduct could not contrast more with Aeneas' behavior over the slain Lausus, who behaves as the good king is instructed to behave in this the column I have reconstructed. Aeneas does not even boast over the corpse, which would have been a standard Homeric element. He feels pity rather than pleasure. He consoles rather than taunts. This encounter with Lausus, and its contrast to Turnus' behavior over the corpse of Pallas prepares us for the final encounter between Aeneas and Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid*. We are prepared to assume that Aeneas felt no pleasure nor gloated over the corpse of his justly slain enemy. On the issue of anger in the *Aeneid*, see Galinsky 1988; Cairns 1989, 78-84; Erler 1992; Galinsky 1994; Armstrong 1998.

φρονημάτων: see *LSJ* s.v. Π.2. for φρονήμα as "presumption, arrogance." I understand τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἢ φρονημάτων to refer to all the instances of presumption referred to in the column.

It may be that the gap between the text at the bottom of this column and the top of the next one was bridged in the following way (beginning at 33): "This reveals that Homer, in his disdain for thoughts of this kind, both (shows) himself such [as to have no mercy upon arrogance and to not forgive arrogance towards others who are themselves unforgiveably arrogant.]"

Col. 37

1-15 From the time of Cirillo, critics have hypothesized the presence of another author to whom Philodemus was referring in 1-15. This author would be one who despised Demetrius Poliorcetes (4-5), and cited *Il.* 3.54-55 against him as a kind of lampoon, pointing out that Paris and Demetrius were both vain about their beauty, and that just as Hector said that Paris's beauty would be of no use for him against Menelaos, so, in fact, Demetrius's beauty was of no help to him when he was taken captive along with his whole army. Bücheler (202) conjectured that Epicurus, a contemporary of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was the author of the criticism to which Philodemus refers. Philippon then speculated that it was from Epicurus' lost *Περὶ βασιλείας*. To all this Murray expressed justified scepticism (171-2), pointing out that any of a number of contemporary enemies of Demetrius could have criticized him in this way, or that it may have even been an anonymous graffito. I suggest instead that Homer himself must be the subject, who "would also have loathed" (καὶν μὲν[α]|χ[θ]εῖς) Demetrius Poliorcetes on account of his arrogance, to judge from his low opinion of Paris.

Philodemus mentions the presumption of later kings in the previous column (18-19), and probably the correction of their arrogance

as well. Demetrius serves as an example *par excellence* of the downfall of the arrogant, and one of the chief causes of his arrogance, his beauty, serves as the point of transition to the main topic of the column, the value of beauty. Beauty can be harmful, if it leads to arrogance, as in the case of Demetrius. Homer shows that beauty has no moral value, though it can be useful for a king, on which cf. Asmis (43); Dorandi (202).

1-2 A *sottoposto* at the end of the line (|ρ(good), oc, diag.) belongs here, probably giving us the word φα|νερόν, perhaps modifying Homer somewhere in lines of lost text at the top of the column.

2 αὐτόν: reading οὐτόν is not impossible, but the beginning of a diagonal stroke at the end of the *sottoposto* supports αὐτόν. The slash before ρ/α which N records is a stroke from another layer.

γε: τε is also possible, but Cirillo's [δ]è, maintained by subsequent editors, is not. Part of a crossbar is visible at the top of the line.

2-3 κἄν // μυσ[α]χ[θ]εῖς: κἄν is paleographically slightly superior to Cirillo's καὶ, since a small part of the uppermost part of the diagonal of ν appears to be present, though καὶ is still possible. With my reading, the clause becomes counterfactual and the hypothesis of another author (or political figure) quoting Homer is obviated. For μυσ[α]χ[θ]εῖς cf. Diod. *Bibl.* 9.19.1.15-16 τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Φάλαρις καὶ μυσαχθεῖς ἐκείνων. The word is common in medical writings. Perhaps the participle is to

be construed with ἐστι φα]ινερὸς (Smyth 1846b, 1848b), but I have yet to find such a parallel that includes ᾗν.

3-4 ἐπὶ τῷ // κάλλ[ει] | θρυπτόμενον: this occurrence of θρύπτω is incorrectly categorized in Montanari under the heading "essere debole, mostrarsi molle o delicato." The point is not Demetrius' softness, but his conceit. See rather *LSJ* s.v. II. b. and c., to which should be added D.L. 6.45.7 πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λεοντῇ θρυπτόμενον "to one proud of wearing a lion's skin." In our case, the word here is more or less a synonym of χ[α]//υνούμενον in 6-7. Demetrius may have been the first living ruler to put his portrait on coinage. See Dorandi (106-7) for ancient references.

6-7 χ[α]//υνούμενον: Dorandi aptly points to Plut. *De lib. educ.* 9A χαυνοῦνται γὰρ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ θρύπτονται. The word is also found in *De vit.* 10 col. 12, 22, as Dorandi notes. In 290 B.C. Demetrius held games in Athens and was welcomed with incense and garlands and libations, and, as "by an ithyphallic chorus praising his beauty, offering him prayers, and making the notorious claim that he was the only true god, for 'the others were asleep or somewhere else or nonexistent,' and mere wood or stone, as opposed to a presence manifest in flesh and very truth" Green 1990, 127.

7-8 κ//ατέγραφεν: probably simply means "wrote" here, rather than "wrote against." Philodemus regularly refers to Homer's activity in the historical present, and the occurrence of the imperfect here probably encouraged the hypothesis of someone quoting Homer against

Demetrius. The use of the past tense here is perhaps to be explained by the fact that it serves as the verb in the protasis of a contrafactual condition, and I expect that the historical present is less common in such a case. Philodemus does not elsewhere in the treatise refer to Homer's writing in the treatise, but rather his saying, showing, etc.

8-12 Philodemus has put the Homeric text into indirect discourse, and used βοηθήσειν for χραίμη and simply οὐ for οὐκ ἄν and Πάριδι for τοι. The Homeric text reads οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίμη κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης / ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μιγείης (*Il.* 3.54-5).

12-15 Lysimachus and Seleucus defeated and captured Demetrius and his army in 285 B.C. He was held captive by Seleucus, though Lysimachus offered two thousand talents to have him murdered. In the summer of 283 he drank himself to death. On these events, see Green 1990, 129-30.

15-18 Philodemus has already referred to the anecdote of Ares and Aphrodite caught in adultery (*Od.* 8.266ff.) once in col. 20, 4-6.

18 If μῆ is correct (μη *N*: λ/μ, η *P*), perhaps we should supplement something like, "he would not have been bound by a cripple were it not for his beauty." If λη is the correct reading, Cairns' κέ]λη is attractive, perhaps referring to the irony of Ares' legs being bound and rendered powerless by the crippled Hephaestus.

19 τὸν Νειρέα: cf. *Il.* 2.671-5, where Nireus is said to have been the most beautiful of all the Greeks after Achilles, but that he was weak (ἀλαπαδνός). Philodemus' treatment suggests Vergil's use of Euryalus.

20 Dorandi supplemented ἐφ[ύβρι]ζε, which may be the correct word, but φ is from another layer. But does a negative word really belong here? I think a word meaning "made beautiful" would work well with with οἴῳ, to mean that Homer makes Nireus beautiful in such a way (i.e. like Ares, to show beauty's worthlessness if unaccompanied by other excellences).

20-4 It escaped former editors that this section of the papyrus is not about Eumelus, but the Phaeacian athlete Euryalus, of whom it is said:

ἄν δὲ καὶ Εὐρύαλος, βροτολοιγῶ ἴκος Ἄρηϊ,
 Ναυβολίδης, ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδος τε δέμας τε
 πάντων Φαιήκων μετ' ἀμύμονα Λαοδάμαντα (*Od.* 8.115-7).

In these lines Philodemus must be discussing Odysseus' rebuke of him in *Od.* 8.166ff.:

"Ξεῖν', οὐ καλὸν ἔειπες· ἀτασθάλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.
 οὕτως οὐ πάντεςσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν
 ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φυὴν οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτ' ἀγορητῦν.
 ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνήρ,
 170 ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφήν ἔπεισι στέφει· οἱ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν
 τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν, ὃ δ' ἀφραλέως ἀγορεύει,
 αἰδοῖ μιλίχη, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν,
 ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωσιν.
 ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
 175 ἀλλ' οὔ οἱ χάρις ἀμφὶ περικτέφεται ἐπέεσσιν,
 ὡς καὶ σοὶ εἶδος μὲν ἀριπρεπές, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως

οὐδὲ θεὸς τεύξειε, νόον δ' ἀποφώλιός ἐστι.

"Stranger, you have not spoken well; you seem like a man blind with folly. So true is it that the gods do not give gracious gifts to all alike, not form, nor mind, nor eloquence. For one man is inferior in looks, but the god sets a crown of beauty upon his words, and men look upon him with delight, and he speaks on unfalteringly with sweet modesty, and is conspicuous among the gathered people, and as he goes through the city men gaze upon him as upon a god. Another again is in looks like the immortals, but no crown of grace is set about his words. So also in your case your looks are preeminent, nor could a god himself improve them, but in mind you are stunted." [tr. Loeb]

Odysseus rebukes Euryalus for his insolence and points out (169-70) that though a god could not have made him any better in form (cf. θεοῦ ἢ πλάσμα 21-22), he was stupid. μὴ λείπεσθαι (22-3) must refer to his not being inferior to a god in appearance, ἤτρο[ν to his being must less intelligent. Thus for the first time we have the sense of this passage. Philodemus quotes part of Odysseus' response to the taunts of Euryalus and Laodamas at the end of col. 35. On the connection between this Euryalus and the Vergilian one (also famous for his beauty but not stupid), see Cairns 242-3.

24 The *diple* in conjunction with καίτοι signals a turn in the discussion from the moral inutility of beauty to its practical utility for kings. Murray (172) notes the utility of Octavian's handsomeness in his early career.

28 τὸν χυδαῖον: the term is so used in *De poem.* V col. 28, 7 and *De piet.* 1182 (on which see Obbink's note) to refer to ordinary unphilosophical persons as opposed to σοφοί.

29 καταπληκτικὸν: cf. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 166 τοὺς δὲ ὑποδεετέρουσ καταπληκτικῶς ὑπακούειν τοῖς κρείττοσι ἀναγκάζων "intimidatingly compelling their subordinates to obey their superiors." καταπληκτικῶς is mistranslated in Keaney 1996 as "in their confusion."

30 τοῖς κρατίστοις: Asmis aptly points out that the gods, according to Epicureans, should be imitated (43). See *Lucr.* 5.1169-82 on the beauty and strength of the gods, which she notes. Murray incorrectly understood τοῖς κρατίστοις to refer to both gods and heroes (172).

Col. 38

Quotations at the top of the column continue the topic of the previous column by illustrating the utility of god-like appearance for a good ruler in having something καταπληκτικὸν "startling and impressive" (37.29) about it. A fragmentary section follows, referring to the heroes being free of boastfulness. The last section of the column (25-36) contains a justification of Odysseus' apparent boastfulness and pursuit of recognition. This recognition, in part brought about by his pointing to his own merits and identity, as the quotations in the following column illustrate, serves as a necessary condition of his success and

superiority. Philodemus qualifies his earlier depreciation of boastfulness in col. 36 by saying that a man disadvantages himself by pretending to lack virtues all men agree he possesses.

1-17 On the topos of gods enhancing the appearance and virtue of the heroes, see Hillgruber 1999, *ii* 305 for extensive ancient parallels.

2-3 Given the presence of *Il.* 2.483 in 5, which speaks of Agamemnon's preeminence, these preceding lines may contain portions of the previous verses, in which he is compared with Zeus, Ares, and Poseidon. 1-2, for example, might have τ]ερπ[ικεραυ]λυ[ωι (Armstrong) from 2.478. In 2-3 we could read verse 479 .[. "Αρεϊ δὲ ζ]ώνην ζ[τέρνον δὲ] | Π[οειδάω]νι (*). Line 2, however, would have to be about four letters longer than we would expect.

4-5 Cirillo read *Il.* 2.483 here: ἐ[κπρεπ]έ' ἐν π[ολλοῖσι καὶ] ἔξοχον ἠρώεσσιν. The second half of the verse is present (on the text of which see Dorandi 1978, 48 n. 124), but the first half is difficult to find in the traces. There is a vertical before ἐν, and the traces after π do not conform to those needed for πολλοῖσι. In any case, Philodemus' point is clear enough in referring to this section of the *Iliad*. Zeus enhances the appearance of Agamemnon to make him more effective in organizing the Achaeans for battle.

5-7 [τὸν δ' Ἄ]χιλλέα: Achilles is actually only called κάλλιστος indirectly in *Il.* 2.673 Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε / τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. No satisfactory solution has been

found for 6-7. Olivieri's proposal (ἀλπά[ν](των ἀν)δρῶν), as Dorandi correctly saw, requires radical correction of the papyrus.

7-8 *Il.* 22.26, spoken by Priam as he beheld Achilles on the plain
παμφαίνονθ' ὡς τ' ἀτέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο.

8-13 Philodemus probably means to continue quoting parts of *Il.* 22.27ff., but (quoting from memory no doubt) lapses to part of *Il.* 5.5-6 (about Diomedes):

ἀτέρ' ὀπωρινῶ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιτα
λαμπρὸν παμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος ὠκεανοῖο (5.5-6).

He then returns to *Il.* 22.30-1:

λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστὶ, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν (22.30-1).

Bücheler (206) noted the confusion.

11-12 Dorandi supplemented καὶ τ[οῦτ]ον [φέρει, but against the traces.

13-17 See above on col. 25, 27-32 where the order of the Greek army is contrasted with barbarian disarray.

15-16 The traces are exiguous but nevertheless do not fit Olivieri's ἔ[γ]χ[ε]κι.

16 **κόσμωι**: Asmis's "adornment" is probably to be preferred to Dorandi's "disciplina," though Philodemus spoke of the order of the Greek army in col. 25.

17 **παντευχίαις**: the term is fairly common in the Homeric scholia.

20-1 **ἀλαζοι[νεῖα]**//**κ//αθαροῦς**: cf. *De lib. dicendi* col. Ib, 6-7 φθόινου καθαροῦς. There is not room for Olivieri's κ//αθ' α[ύτο]ῦς. Philodemus

claims to have stated before that the heroes (presumably they are the subject) are "free from boastfulness." This is probably a reference to col. 34 (possibly also col. 35), where Philodemus discusses the issue of the heroes' giving and taking credit. I argue in the commentary on that section that Philodemus made the point that the heroes acknowledge other's accomplishments as well as their own. This statement may have been qualified with a conditional clause in 21 (εἰ c-). At col. 39.26-30 Philodemus claims to have previously stated reasons why a series of apparently boastful statements in the Epics (mostly from the mouth of Odysseus) are not actually gratuitous bragging.

21-4 Somewhere in the wreckage of these lines the subject changes to Odysseus.

22 c]τέ[ρ]ησις ? : cf. ἀ]πελ[τ]έρει below (27-8).

25-36 This sentence, which affirms that Odysseus is not boastful (cf. 20-1), as Asmis has already observed (44 n. 65) and apparently Murray (172), must be counterfactual. That is, Homer, unlike Dorandi's translation seems to suggest, was *not* depriving Odysseus of his outward acclaim (ἐπισημασία): "(Omero) privò (Odisseo) della facoltà di segnalare i suoi meriti . . ." (131). Instead, Odysseus' success, his "excelling all" (τὸ πᾶ[ντων ἢ ὑπ]ερέχειν 25-6) was integrally connected with his outward acclaim and would not have occurred without it. It seems that we are to understand this outward acclaim as referring to Odysseus' acknowledgment of his own greatness, since the passage is both followed by three citations of Odysseus boasting about himself in

the next column (though a few lines have been lost at the top of it), and preceded by a reference to boasting (20-1). "It was incumbent on the Homeric hero to proclaim his existence, his value, and his claims upon those whose help he needed" (Adkins 1969, 33).

25 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄν: there are only exiguous traces in the papyrus for οὐ (one could just as easily read ω or ωι), but the sense of the counterfactual sentence which follows to the end of the column would seem to demand a negative in the apodosis. We would expect ἄν to come before ἦν, but the word order is not unparalleled (though mostly poetic). Cf. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄν εἰς οὐδὲ ἀμέριτος Procl. in Prm. p. 762, l. 37; οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄν μικρόν, εἰ μὴ μικρόδημον ἦν κφόδρα Ar. fr. 108.3 ; S. OC 252 οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἄν ἀθρῶν βροτὸν ὅστις ἄν, / εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι, / ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο. Olivieri claims to have read the γ in γὰρ. Today there is only a horizontal, which could also give παρῆν (Bücheler), etc.

τὸ π[ά]ντων | ὑπερέχειν: π, α/λ derives from a *sovrapposto* in the left margin which I have placed in accordance to the length of the *sezione* of the roll here. Former editors have supposed these to be the first two letters of the line. At first sight the fragment looks as though it may have originally belonged there and simply drifted to the left in the process of unrolling. Closer examination (confirmed by Catherine Atherton) reveals that it is indeed attached to the left, but belongs to a higher layer of the papyrus. Moreover, the vertical following τὸ seems to be the first vertical of the π, which is missing in the *sottoposto*. For ὑπερέχειν in this sense cf. Plat. *Tim.* 24 e 1 πάντων μὴν ἐν ὑπερέχει μεγέθει

καὶ ἀρετῇ, and other citations given in *LSJ* s.v. Π. 2. On Odysseus' excellence over all, cf. *Od.* 13.297-8 ἐπεὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐσσι βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων / βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν.

27-8 ἀ]πειζτέρει: others seem to have understood this to refer to Homer's depriving Odysseus, but since the issue is boasting, perhaps we are to understand this reflexively.

28 τῆς ἐπισημασίας ὧν ἔχει προτερημάτων: rendered by Asmis (33) as "the mark of his [Odysseus's] superiority." This "mark" she understands to be "his cunning wisdom" (43). However, "approval" or "acclamation," both commonly attested meanings, fit better here, on which see Montanari (approvazione, acclamazione). Murray's "had deprived him of noticing the successes he has" (172) is on the right track. Plutarch *Mor.* 235 D 7 speaks of a delighted crowd which roared (ἐκρότησε) with πολλῆς ἐπισημασίας (with great applause?). Cicero brags of receiving *mirandas* ἐπισημασίας, "wonderful ovations" (*Ep.* 1.16.11); ἐπισημασίας τυγχάνειν εὐνοϊκῆς καὶ προστατικῆς "getting well-disposed and magnificent acclaim" *Plb.* 6.6.8. Cf. also *Rhet.* 1 col. 1, 12 Longo ἐπισημασίας ἀξιολθῆσεται.

προτερημάτων: cf. *LSJ* s.v. I. and II.; Philod. *Rh.* 2.87 Sudhaus φυσι[ικ]ῶν προτερημάτων.

30 χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων: "apart from the other considerations." Recognition of his own excellence was not the only motive for the actions Philodemus lists in the following lines.

31-6 Philodemus here seems to amplify what he means by Odysseus' "excelling all" (25-6). These statements seem to be illustrated by the verses cited in the following column (1-27). The change from Philodemus's rather offhanded prose to this high rhetoric, already noted by Fowler (84), is striking:

τοῖς μὲν ἀνικτορήτοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξει,
τοὺς δ' ἐπιλανθανομένους ἀναμνή[σ]ει,
τοὺς δὲ ἀχαριτοῦντας ὀφθαλμωρυχήσει,
τοὺς δὲ παραλείποντας [

Why the elevation in style here? Is it possible that Philodemus prepared parts of the treatise beforehand and improvised the rest with a general outline at hand?

31 τοῖς μὲν ἀνικτορήτοις: cf. ἀνικτόρητον (col. 23, 15-16). This is probably a justification of his boasting to the Phaeacians (*Od.* 9.19-20), quoted in the following column (5-8), and perhaps also his telling them about the stratagem of the wooden horse (*Od.* 8.494), also quoted in the following column (2-4). The Phaeacians did not know who Odysseus was, and this justified his revealing himself and his greatness to them. Cf. Eustath. v. 3 p. 57 περιττὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τῶν φίλων ἔπαινος, δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ἐπαινεῖν. αὐτὸς οὖν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν ἀγνοοῦσι περιαιτολογῶν φησι "εἰμὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι δόλοισι μέλω καὶ μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει." Philodemus quotes the same verse in the following column.

32-3 τοὺς ἰδ' ἐπιλανθανομένους: Remind them of what? Presumably of his identity and superiority. He reminds the suitors, as Asmis points out (43), but who else? Perhaps Philodemus intends to illustrate this in quoting *Il.* 19.218 in the next column (10-11) in which Odysseus reminds Achilles of his superior intelligence.

34-5 τοὺς δὲ ἀχαριτοῦντας ὀφθαλμωρυχίλει: David Armstrong suggests to me that Philodemus is making use of the common ancient trope of envy as a kind of disease of the eye, and that he would then be referring to the virtues of Odysseus defeating those treating him without χάρις (i.e. with φθόνος). Cf. Philodemus' own definition of φθόνος as ὀφθαλμία ψυχῆς (*De vit.* X col. 12, 15ff.) and *LSJ* s.v. ὀφθαλμίαω, which fairly means to envy. Though ἀχαριτέω seems always to mean "be ungrateful" the root (as is seen in the usage of ἄχαρις, ἀχάριτος, and ἀχαριτία) can mean merely "unpleasant." The term may incorporate both senses here of being ungrateful and unpleasant, cf. Asmis' "ungracious." ὀφθαλμωρυχίλει is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, though the adjectival form occurs in Aesch. *Eum.* 186, where Philodemus may have gotten the term, and also twice in *De vit.* 10 col. 8, 28; 9, 44). Bücheler (206) called the term a "kyklopische Wortungethüm," and the term is probably intended to recall the blinding of the Cyclops (see col. 36), but its object, ἀχαριτοῦντας, may be plural not merely for the sake of rhetorical parallelism. We should perhaps think also of the unfaithful servants of Odysseus, who displayed ingratitude to Odysseus in their disloyalty towards him, though they owed their livelihood to

him, or perhaps the suitors. Ingratitude was considered a serious enough vice by the author of *PHerc.* 1251 (probably Philodemus) to be coupled with the cardinal vice of superstition: δι[ό γ' ὅλο]φύρονται κακοῖ[ς εἰ π]ά[σ]χουσι παραπλήσια, καὶ [τοῖς] ἐ[ξ ἀ]χαριτίας καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώ[πο]υς καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα καὶ | τοῖς ἐγ δεικιδαιμονίας δὲ τῶι | τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑ[π]ολαμβάνειν καὶ θανάτου καὶ [ζ]ωῆς "and so they mourn if they suffer (?) things akin to evils, both those resulting from ingratitude towards men and towards the fatherland and those (evils) resulting from superstition . . ." col. 10, 7-15 Indelli-Tsouana. On the ruinous effect of ingratitude see *Lucr.* 3.935-6, 937, 942, 958. Philodemus wrote a work *Περὶ χάριτος*, on the paltry remains of which see Tepedino Guerra 1977 <Check to see if Epicurus did too>.

36 τοὺς δὲ παραλείποντας: neglectful of what? Hospitality?
Neglectful of their duty to him?

Col. 39

Citations at the top of the column illustrate the end of the previous column, which justified Odysseus' pursuit of acclaim. Asmis (44) notes that "[t]he source of superiority in all these cases is the intellect."

2-4 *Od.* 8.494. Odysseus, whose identity is as yet unknown to the Phaeacians, asks Demodocos to sing about the strategem of the wooden horse.

5-8 *Od.* 9.19-20. Vergil bases his *sum pius Aeneas . . . fama super aethera notus* (1.378-9) on this Odyssean passage. It is not impossible that Vergil also had in mind the passage Philodemus has just quoted. Odysseus does describe himself by an epithet in this passage, but in the previous one (8.495), he calls himself *δῖος*, a homophone of Vergil's choice *pius*. I am grateful to David Armstrong for this suggestion.

9-10 The supplements in these lines may be two or three letters too short, but the sense is clear enough.

10-11 *Il.* 19.218-19. Odysseus' attempt to persuade Achilles that he should eat before battle with the Trojans.

12-13 *πρεσβε* may be from part of a paraphrase of the next line, in which Odysseus refers to his being older than Achilles: *ἐπεὶ πρότερος γεγόνημι καὶ πλείονα οἶδα*, in which case we would expect some form of

πρεβεύω. Bücheler suggested that this may be a reference to the embassy to Achilles and supplemented πρεβεί[α].

23-7 *Il.* 9.104-5, part of Nestor's attempt to persuade Agamemnon to reconcile with Achilles.

22 ἀνδραγαθία: apparently not otherwise found in Philodemus, though a common enough word in Classical and later Greek.

27-31 Philodemus claims that in the case of the Homeric quotations he has listed (more were probably lost in the lacuna at 12-21) the speakers were not speaking gratuitously about themselves but had justifiable ends. He claims to have previously given reasons why such instances are not gratuitous boasting. Where did he state these reasons? Col. 38, 31ff. explains why Odysseus pointed to his own identity in certain circumstances, and that may be what Philodemus is referring to, but I think it more probable that he justified some of the boasting of the heroes as early as col. 34, where he apparently points out that the heroes credit the accomplishments of other heroes and perhaps explained that sometimes boasting has important narrative purposes in the epics. Philodemus considers the furtherance of Odysseus' own success (see 38.25ff.) as a justifiable ground for seemingly boastful self-promotion. The bT schol. at *Il.* 8.497 faults Hector for gratuitous boasting in a speech which he begins there, favorably comparing Agamemnon's rhetoric: ὑπερηφανίας μετὸς ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ εὖνους θέλει ποιήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ἀλλὰ μόνον καυχᾶσθαι, οὐχ ὡς τὸ "ὦ φίλοι, ἦρωες Δαναοί" (*Il.* 2.110) "a speech full of arrogance, for it does not aim

to make its hearers well-disposed, but only to boast not like the 'O friends, heroes of the Danaans'." πάντες οὔτιοι includes Odysseus and Nestor and perhaps others lost in the lacuna from 12-21.

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