




2004-11-09

P. Herc. 1570 Pieces 4, 5, 6a, 6b: [Philodemi] [De divitiis]

Joseph Anton Ponczoch
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Classics Commons](#), and the [Comparative Literature Commons](#)

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Ponczoch, Joseph Anton, "P. Herc. 1570 Pieces 4, 5, 6a, 6b: [Philodemi] [De divitiis]" (2004). *All Theses and Dissertations*. 672.
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/672>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

P. HERC. 1570 PIECES 4, 5, 6A, 6B:

[PHILODEMI] [*DE DIVITIIS*]

by

J O S E P H A N T O N P O N C Z O C H

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
M A S T E R O F A R T S

DEPARTMENT OF
HUMANITIES, CLASSICS,
AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

B R I G H A M Y O U N G U N I V E R S I T Y

DECEMBER 2004

COPYRIGHT © 2004 JOSEPH ANTON PONCZUCH

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

JOSEPH ANTON PONCZOCH

This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

DATE

Roger T. Macfarlane, Chair

DATE

John F. Hall, committee member

DATE

Daniel W. Graham, committee member

B R I G H A M Y O U N G U N I V E R S I T Y

As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Joseph Anton Ponczoch in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, table, and charts are in place; (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

DATE

Roger T. Macfarlane
Chair, Graduate Committee

Accepted for the Department:

V. Stanley Benfell
Department Chair, Humanities, Classics, and
Comparative Literature

Accepted for the College:

Van C. Gessel
Dean, College of Humanities

A B S T R A C T

P. HERC. 1570 PIECES 4, 5, 6A, 6B:

[PHILODEMI] [*DE DIVITIIS*]

Joseph Anton Ponczoch

Department of Humanities, Classics, and Comparative Literature

Master of Arts

P. Herc. 1570 is an unedited papyrus extant in seven pieces that together measure ca. 1.6 m. long; these are contained in five frames in the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi “Marcello Gigante” at the Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” in Naples, Italy. Like many of the Herculaneum papyri, *P. Herc. 1570* has remained unedited largely because of the great difficulty with which traces of letters can be discerned on its surface. It was unrolled more than fifty years after its discovery, as one of ca. 1,100 papyri that were unearthed during the excavation of first-century Herculaneum (1752-1754); but it was a mere artifact, at best, for 110 years, before it was first investigated for its literary content; and since that time 90 more years have passed, with little progress in reading its text, until the recent multispectral images of the papyrus-fragments opened a door to substantial new readings. Via these images, the dark letter-strokes can now be seen in dramatic contrast to the dark papyrus-surface, and this formerly ‘illegible’ papyrus can now be edited much more fully.

Pcc. 4-6b comprise the most central part of the roll, and thus reveal the concluding columns of writing for the treatise contained on its surface. On these pieces, ten columns can be seen in breadth and height, and five other columns can be either seen in part or inferred entirely. The parts of these columns that give sense reveal an ethical (economic) treatise that seems to discuss poverty and wealth in light of death, *physiologia*, friendship, *oeconomia*, frank speech, respect and contempt, and the necessary *vs.* the frivolous. Reference is made a few times to Epicurus, and mention is also made of a Phaedrus.

Based on vocabulary and thematic content, and by 'time-honoured convention,' this work *may* be ascribed to Philodemus as one book from his multi-volume work *De divitiis*, sometimes called *De divitiis et povertate*, of which *P. Herc.* 163 contains Book 1 and *P. Herc.* 209 may contain another. And if the text truly refers to Phaedrus, head of the Garden from 75 BC until 70 BC, then Philodemus *is* the most likely author; for he lived thirty years after Phaedrus' death and also wrote a vast majority of the works among the Herculaneum papyri.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

All primary research for this thesis was made possible by a nine-month fellowship for research at the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi “Marcello Gigante” at the Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” in Naples, Italy; it was awarded in the names of the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi (CISPE) and Brigham Young University (BYU), but funded primarily by Mr. Ira Fulton, a generous, private donor; the Institute for the Study and Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts at BYU provided some secondary funding, but contributed much more by having supported the multispectral imaging of the Herculaneum papyri (2001-2002). Prof. Roger Macfarlane (BYU) and Dr. Gianluca Del Mastro (CISPE) originally conceived the idea of this fellowship, and brought it to fruition with the approval of Prof. Francesca Longo Auricchio (Director of CISPE). During the period of this fellowship, Mr. Carlo Del Mastro, a private and unsolicited patron (who need have only a marginal interest in this work), repeatedly showed extraordinary concern for my professional and personal needs; he always offered time and resources, and actively ensured the well-being of my family; we are forever indebted to him for seeing to so many of our needs and desires while dwelling in his hometown, Pomigliano d’Arco.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

LIST OF TABLES.....XVII

LIST OF FIGURES.....XIX



Introduction

HERCULANEUM PAPYROLOGY 1

Modern Editing and Multispectral Images 7

Editing *P. Herc.* 1570 10

Chapter 1

THE PAPYRUS & THE TEXT 13

Opening, Drawing, Storage 15

Roll-Sequence: Circumferences, *Kollemata*, Columns, *Intercolumnia* 16

Physical Characteristics: Size, Layers, *Kolleseis*, *Kollemata* 24

Format, Script, Orthography, Syllabification 28

Abbreviations, Insertions, Corrections, Marginalia, *Agraphon* 31

Title & Author 33

Chapter 2

TEXT & TRANSLATION 37

Chapter 3

COMMENTARY 67

Conclusion

P. HERC. 1570 77



WORKS CITED79

APPENDICES.....84

Appendix A. Table Showing the Widths of *Kollemata* for Certain Herculaneum Papyri 84

Appendix B. Columns VI–XIX: Translation of Text into English 85

Appendix C. Lexicon 87

L I S T O F T A B L E S

Table 1.	A correlation of the letters and numbers assigned to each piece, <i>foglio</i> , or frame of <i>P. Herc.</i> 1570, according to the new piece-numbers adopted in this edition.	16
----------	--	----

L I S T O F F I G U R E S

Figure 1.	Three abbreviations in monogram from <i>P. Herc.</i> 1570: Π-P, T-P, Φ-H (enhanced for contrast).	30
-----------	---	----



Introduction

Herculaneum Papyrology

At Herculaneum in 1752 the first of ca. 1,000 papyrus-rolls were discovered among the debris that was being removed from the excavation-tunnels of the ‘Villa dei Papiri’. This bayside town had remained buried since the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in the summer of AD 79;¹ but since 1738 Charles VII of Bourbon² had been excavating and recovering its hidden artifacts, employing miners, engineers, and artists to dig shafts and tunnels through the layers that separated eighteenth-century Resina from first-century Herculaneum.³ In 1750 the Bourbons sank a shaft onto the *belvedere* of an immense villa⁴ and spent parts of the next eleven years recovering antiquities from within its walls: statues, frescoes, mosaics, and, of course, the papyri, for which it has been named ‘Villa dei Papiri’, or Villa of the Papyri.

The papyrus-rolls were initially unrecognized and discarded: having been carbonized by the superheated surges of gas and ash that followed the eruption, and having been exposed to rains and seeping water both before and after their carbonization, they resembled moist lumps of charcoal.⁵ Ultimately, however, their uniformity

¹ Cf. Plin., *Ep.* 6.16, 6.20.

² Charles VII of Bourbon was King of the Two Sicilies, with primary residence in Naples, from 1734 until 1759, when he became Charles III of Spain and removed himself to the Iberian peninsula.

³ C.C. Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19-31.

⁴ Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 77-80.

⁵ D. Bassi, *Il P. Antonio Piaggio e i primi tentativi per lo svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples: Luigi Pierrò e Figlio, 1907), 659; cf. Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity*, 104. Indeed, after nearly 1,800 years, most papyrus-rolls no longer held their original cylindrical shape, but had assumed the less-regular, or quasi-cylindrical, shapes into which they had been molded during the years they spent buried (cf. C. Basile, *I papiri carbonizzati di Ercolano. La temperatura dei materiali vulcanici e le tecniche di manifattura dei rotoli*, Quaderni dell’Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro – Siracusa

in size and shape urged the close inspection of Camillo Paderni (a painter from Rome acting then as superintendent of the Real Museo Ercolanese di Portici), who discerned their literary identity. Paderni anticipated the existence of other papyri, and from 19 October 1752 until 25 August 1754 he directed the retrieval of many hundreds of rolls⁶ from multiple locations in the ‘Villa’.⁷ In the meantime, a variety of unsuccessful attempts at opening the rolls were made.⁸ Paderni eventually favored two ‘successful’ processes, that involved splitting the roll in hemicylinders (‘scarnire’) or prising chunks away from the center of the roll (‘scorzare’), each for the purpose of exposing the text on one of the large, inner layers; but the result of each method was a collection

3 [Syracuse: Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro, 1994], 29; A. De Jorio, *Officina de’ papiri*, Syngrammata: Ricerche papirologiche dirette da Mario Capasso 3 [1825; reprint, Naples: Eurocomp 2000, 1998], 55-60).

⁶ Terminology follows Janko: “The largest unit is the papyrus-roll (‘roll’ for convenience). A roll may, and usually does, consist of several ‘papyri’. A ‘papyrus’ denotes a portion of a roll given a distinct number.... Moreover, a ‘fragment’ [refers] to a piece of extant papyrus which is not physically connected with a preceding or subsequent column of writing” (ed., *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, The Philodemus Translation Project, Philodemus: The Aesthetic Works 1/1 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 15); in addition, ‘column’ and ‘line’ always refer to a ‘column of writing’ and to a ‘line of writing’, respectively; and ‘papyri’ (in the plural) often refers a collection of rolls, e.g. the Herculaneum papyri. *P. Herc.* 1570 exists in seven extant ‘pieces’ (not ‘fragments’, since each contains multiple columns of text); whereas *N* 1570 (the Neapolitan *disegni* of portions of three of the seven pieces; see below) contain five ‘fragments’. Throughout this edition, both pieces and fragments receive arabic numerals, whereas columns receive roman numerals.

⁷ Excavators retrieved more than 1,100 rolls from five different parts of the ‘Villa’ (Capasso, *Manuale*, 68-82; G. De Petra, ed., *Documenti e notizie degli scavi eseguiti nella villa*. In *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*. ed. D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, 145-294 [1883; reprint, Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1972], 155-70); not all have survived to the present, but the ca. 1,800 items that have since been individually catalogued originated from these rolls.

⁸ Unsuccessful attempts were numerous: “Erano stati vani, infatti, tutti i [primi] tentativi di apertura dei rotoli.... Né era servito sottoporre i *volumina* a trattamenti con soluzioni di vario genere, glutinose, idroalcoliche, dissolventi, al fine di restituire elasticità alla materia carbonizzata” (A. Travaglione, “Padre Antonio Piaggio. Frammenti biografici,” *Bicentenario della morte di Antonio Piaggio. Raccolta di studi*, ed. M. Capasso, *Papirologica Lupiensia* 5 [1997]: 22; cf. Basile, *Papiri carbonizzati*, 30).

of papyrus-chunks that still consisted in many layers. Eventually King Charles sought assistance from the Biblioteca Vaticana in the matter of opening the rolls, and in July 1753 Padre Antonio Piaggio came from Rome to assist Paderni.⁹ Later that same year Piaggio constructed his famous *macchina*, a device (in use until the early 1900's) by which an individual roll could be painstakingly unrolled, while maintaining the order of its text and preserving much of the roll itself. Nevertheless, Paderni's knife was employed along with Piaggio's machine for some time.¹⁰

Thus the papyri were first opened (successfully)¹¹ by the processes of *scarnire* (split and scrape), *scorzare* (prise away chunks), and *svolgere* (unroll); and eventually by two complementary methods, *sollevamento* (peeling off) and *sfogliamento* (scraping away).¹² In order to view some of a roll's text, the first two methods attempted to cut away portions of the outermost layers of the roll, and the third to unwind the roll intact; the last two methods took the portions that had been cut away by the first two methods, and then attempted to separate the layers of those portions.

⁹ Mr. Barker, quoted in De Jorio, *Officina*, 69; Bassi, *Piaggio*, 639; M. Gigante, "Carlo di Borbone e i Papiri Ercolanesi," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 11 (1981): 9; Travaglione, "Padre Antonio Piaggio," 22.

¹⁰ "We do not know by what time Paderni had finished cutting up the rolls from the massive discoveries of 1754" (D. Blank, "Reflections on Re-reading Piaggio and the Early History of the Herculaneum Papyri," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 29 [1999]: 71).

¹¹ For the first several years following Paderni's recognition of the rolls as papyri, successful opening meant demonstrating to the king, or his representatives, that these were, in fact, literary papyri; this was accomplished by exposing a single large layer of visible text on a portion of a roll. Later, however, perhaps as late as the 1790's or the early 1800's, success came to mean exposing the contents of as much of the roll as possible for the purpose of drawing the text in facsimile (cf. Blank, "Re-reading Piaggio," 59, 69, 71; M. Capasso, introduction to *Officina de' papiri*, by A. De Jorio, *Syngrammata: Ricerche papirologiche dirette da Mario Capasso* 3 [1825; reprint, Naples: Eurocomp 2000, 1998], 29).

¹² Terminology describing the various methods of opening the Herculaneum papyri has often been ambiguous, primarily because of uncertainty regarding the methods themselves; and scholars are not yet consistent in usage. Each of the terms given here

“*Scarnire* refers to cutting the roll through its center into...halves, the centers of which are then crushed and emptied out.... By *scorzare* Paderni meant using metal instruments to prise chunks of papyrus off the outside of a roll, a number of layers at a time.”¹³ The result of *scarnire* was generally a pair of *barchette*, hemicylindrical halves of the roll made concave by the ‘girare’ of a knife-blade; the result of repeated *scorzare* was a small amount of *scorze*, multi-layered chunks of varying sizes and shapes. The inner surface of ‘*scorze*’ and ‘*barchette*’ would be made to reveal a column of writing that could eventually be drawn in facsimile (a *disegno*); then the chunks of papyrus were set aside as relics.¹⁴ *Scarnire* always destroyed the central portion (‘midollo’) of the roll, but *scorzare* often managed to retain this intact;¹⁵ Piaggio’s machine was constructed to unroll the *midolli*.

Svolgere, or *svolgimento*, describes the process whereby a roll, or a *midollo*, was unwound on Piaggio’s machine. Gold-beater’s skin was glued to its leading edge, which was then “gently unrolled under its own weight,” under supervision and with occasional intervention.¹⁶ The first rolls opened via Piaggio’s machine had been rewound at one end while the other was still unrolling; but eventually considerations of storage and preservation urged that each roll be cut into pieces (between columns

will be explained hereafter, and notes will alert the reader to ambiguity or disparity in the literature.

¹³ Blank, “Re-reading Piaggio,” 57.

¹⁴ Only later, probably in the early 1800’s, a “large-scale, systematic scraping down of ‘*scorze*’ [began in earnest], so that each layer could be [removed and] copied in turn” (Blank, “Re-reading Piaggio,” 71; cf. Capasso, introduction to *Officina de’ papiri*, 29).

¹⁵ *Scarnire* and *scorzare* are often referred to by the ambiguous term *scorzatura*, and are then only distinguished by whether the central portion of the roll has survived the cutting: *scorzatura totale* denotes *scarnire*, and *scorzatura parziale* denotes *scorzare* (Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 17-19; Capasso, introduction to *Officina de’ papiri*, 33-34; A. Angeli, “Lo *svolgimento* dei papiri carbonizzati,” *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*, ed. M. Capasso, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 3 [1994]: 43-47).

whenever possible) while unrolling. *Disegni* of the constituent pieces of a roll opened by *svolgimento* could subsequently be drawn.

*Sollevamento*¹⁷ was a process that applied the principles of *svolgimento* toward removing layers from portions of rolls whose layers were non-continuous, i.e. from *scorze*, from *barchette*, and from *midolli* previously scored by knife-cuts. Their layers were separated by gluing gold-beater's skin to the outermost layer and peeling it off. *Disegni* of these fragments could also be drawn subsequently. *Sfogliamento*¹⁸ was a destructive process; it was introduced late, and demanded the immediate production of *disegni* because it destroyed the papyrus-chunk, one layer at a time. Presumably it was applied (as a 'last resort') to *scorze*, *barchette*, and other multiply-layered chunks that would not yield to *sollevamento* or *svolgimento*. Each layer was copied in facsimile, then scraped away to expose the layer beneath it; that layer was copied, and it too was scraped away; and so forth until only the last layer remains. This *ultimo foglio* was also copied, but not destroyed; it is often the only remnant of the original stack of layers.

The nature of a papyrus' existence often reveals the method of its opening: a papyrus that exists primarily in *disegni* and only in one hemicylindrical fragment, probably was opened by *scorzatura*; a papyrus that exists in extensive pieces of consecutive text, was opened by *svolgimento*; and a papyrus that exists in multiple hemicylindrical fragments, probably was opened by *sollevamento*. And many combi-

¹⁶ Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 19.

¹⁷ *Sollevamento* is the term used by Janko (*Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 19-20); it is 'sfogliare' in Blank ("Re-reading Piaggio," 59) and 'sfogliamento' in Capasso (introduction to *Officina de' papiri*, 34-35).

¹⁸ *Sfogliamento* is the term used by Janko (*Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 17); Blank concedes 'sfogliare', but prefers 'grattare', or 'raschiare', or 'vuotare' ("Re-reading Piaggio," 59); and Capasso calls *this* process 'sollevamento' (introduction to *Officina de' papiri*, 34).

nations of these methods can have been applied to a single roll, the result of which can be multiple ‘papyri’, in multiple shapes, stored in multiple locations.

Since the late 1700’s, archival records, artistic renderings, and academic interpretations periodically were compiled and published under the direction of the *Officina dei Papiri*; these reported the nature and content of the Herculaneum papyri. In 1782 Piaggio assigned a number to each individual ‘papyrus’;¹⁹ and since then catalogues and archival registers have tracked various data pertinent to these papyri (e.g. method of opening, storage location, legibility, content, manner of publication, state of conservation). From the 1750’s until the early 1900’s *disegni* (apographs, or pencil-drawn facsimiles) were prepared,²⁰ eventually representing 2,000+ fragments. Certain *disegni* that had been drawn in Naples between 1802 and 1806 were removed permanently in 1807 to Oxford—these are the Oxonian *disegni*. Other *disegni* were drawn and retained in Naples—these and all that remained in Naples are the Neapolitan *disegni* and were primary components in early publications of the *Officina*. In the early 1800’s laborious editions (with engravings of the *disegni*, transcriptions, commentaries, and translations into Latin) were published in an uncompleted series entitled *Herculaneusium voluminum quae supersunt, [collectio prior]*.²¹ In the 1860’s and 1870’s simple editions (with only engravings of *disegni*) were published in *Herculaneusium voluminum quae supersunt, collectio altera*.²² A third series, a *Collectio tertia*, was meant to have followed, but only the first volume appeared before it was

¹⁹ D. Blank and F. Longo Auricchio, “An Inventory of the Herculaneum Papyri from Piaggio’s Time,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 30 (2000): 142.

²⁰ The production of *disegni* was discontinued in the early 20th century, partly in favor of photographic reproduction; cf. Capasso, *Manuale*, 120, 142-5.

²¹ These were published in 11 volumes, from 1793 until 1855: “in sessantadue anni furono editi 19 papiri, con l’impiego di 556 tavole di rame” (Capasso, *Manuale*, 124).

discontinued.²³ Meanwhile many and various publications were prepared by a multitude of scholars not associated directly with the Officina.²⁴

Modern Editing and Multispectral Images

In every decade and every century editors of the Herculaneum papyri have experienced handicaps, known and unknown. Aside from the primary difficulties of opening the rolls and discerning the text, each editor has always examined a papyrus physically smaller (however minutely) than at any previous encounter. Some editors have created their own handicaps by ignoring extant testimony for an individual papyrus or text, such as some who have depended solely upon *disegni* without autopsy.²⁵ Others have suffered from unperceived handicaps, such as occurred for about sixty years (1807-1866) following the removal of the Oxonian *disegni* to England, when no one realized that the removed *disegni*, although ostensibly reproduced in Naples, could have contained facsimiles of unrecoverable material.²⁶

In the 21st century, despite the inevitable burden of decaying papyri and expanding bibliographies, the editor benefits from facility in travel and communication and from the broad capabilities of modern scientific technology: photographic

²² These were published also in 11 volumes, from 1862 until 1876: “riproducevano il testo di ben 176 papiri, mediante 2232 tavole di rame” (Capasso, *Manuale*, 126).

²³ “Si riuscì a pubblicare solo il primo tomo, che vide a la luce a Milano in 1914;” publication failed for multiple reasons (Capasso, *Manuale*, 128)

²⁴ Cf. I.C. McIlvaine, *Herculaneum: A Guide to Printed Sources*, 2 vols. (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1988), 751-99; Capasso, *Manuale*, 124-42.

²⁵ E.g., Garuti, who edited *P. Herc. 817* by making ‘new’ *disegni* that ‘correlated’ the Oxonian *disegni* with the Neapolitan *disegni*, but without ever having seen the papyrus itself (*C. Rabirius: Bellum Actiacum e Papyro Herculanseni 817*, Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Filologia Classica 5 [Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1958]).

²⁶ D. Obbink, ed., *Philodemus: On Piety Part I: Critical Text with Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 48-49; Capasso, *Manuale*, 120.

reproduction has replaced, in part, the production of *disegni*;²⁷ email facilitates scholarly communication at all stages of research and publication; and the availability of rapid air travel makes possible regular international conferences on papyrology and even brief visits to the Officina dei Papiri in Naples. Science has not been able to reverse the carbonization process, but it has been employed (a) in defining the variety of volcanic effects on the papyri,²⁸ (b) in preparing *sovrapposti* for successful removal and unopened rolls for new unrolling techniques,²⁹ and (c) in attempting to rebuild letters from traces of letter-strokes.³⁰

A recent scientific contribution to Herculaneum papyrology is the multispectral imaging (MSI) technology³¹ by which particular digital photographs have been taken of nearly the entire collection of Herculaneum papyri,³² and archived for application in research. MSI was adapted to its papyrological use by the Institute for the Study and Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts at Brigham Young University.³³ MSI offers a

²⁷ Capasso, *Manuale*, 120, 142-5.

²⁸ Basile, *Papiri carbonizzati*, 49-61; *ibid.*, ed., *Memorie intorno all'antica carta del Papiro siracusano rinnovata dal Cav. Saverio Landolina Nava Scritte dal Presidente Francesco di Paola Avolio*, Quaderni dell'Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro – Siracusa 1 (Syracuse: Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro, 1991), 39 n. 6; Fredrik Störmer, Knut Kleve, and Brynjulf Fosse, "What Happened to the Papyri during the Eruption of Vesuvius?" *Cronache Ercolanesi* 16 (1986): 7-9.

²⁹ K. Kleve, E.S. Ore, and R. Jensen, "Three Technical Guides to the Papyri of Herculaneum: How to Unroll; How to Remove *Sovrapposti*; How to Take Pictures," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 21 (1991): 111-24.

³⁰ K. Kleve and I. Fønnes, "Lacunology: On the Use of Computer Methods in Papyrology," *Symbolae Osloenses* 56 (1981): 157-70; K. Kleve, E.S. Ore, and R. Jensen, "Letteralogia: computer e fotografia," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 17 (1987): 141-150; *ibid.*, "Literalogy: On the Use of Computer Graphics and Photography in Papyrology," *Symbolae Osloenses* 62 (1987): 109-129; M. Capasso, "Lacunologia," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 11 (1981): 171.

³¹ S.W. Booras and D.R. Seely, "Multispectral Imaging of the Herculaneum Papyri." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 29 (1999): 96-9.

³² 30,000+ images have been taken of 2,500+ storage-frames; cf. M. Gigante, "Atakta XX," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 31 (2001): 105.

³³ Booras-Seely, "Multispectral Imaging," 95-6.

means of preserving what may easily crack, crumble, and disappear; and it facilitates inspection of the papyri away from the Officina.³⁴ Yet its fundamental contribution rests not in preserving distributable images of the papyri, but in providing images that remarkably distinguish the dark ink of the text from the dark effect of carbonization on the papyrus.

Multispectral images excel in revealing letters unseen and imperceptible even to an eye aided by the microscope.³⁵ The images aid transcription immensely and also facilitate assembling samplings of letters for comparison and description. In the Officina printed copies of the images (especially of papyri previously deemed ‘poco leggibili’ or ‘illeggibili’)³⁶ can guide the papyrologist in making measurements (e.g. the width of columns and intercolumnia) on a particularly dark piece. And even when the images have not been printed to size, relative measurements, such as placing *sovrapposti* and *sottoposti*, or comparing letter-sizes, can be achieved with calculated³⁷ precision.

As with most photographic reproductions, MSI clearly depicts height and width while disguising depth. Personal inspection reveals folds, creases, wrinkles, overlap, in addition to layers (often multiple); all of which characteristics are rarely clear, if at all evident, in the images. Thus MSI can never replace personal inspection,

³⁴ K. Kleve remarks: “It would mean a real progress for the study of the papyri outside the Officina, and the papyri themselves could be spared deterioration by handling and shuffling. Scholars’ visits to the Officina might be reduced to just control reading” (Quoted in Booras-Seely, “Multispectral Imaging,” 100).

³⁵ “In quasi tutti i casi si è migliorato il quoziente di leggibilità dei materiali” (G. Del Mastro, “La *subscriptio* del *PHerc.* 1005 e altri titoli in caratteri distintivi nei Papiri Ercolanesi,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 32 [2002]: 246 n. 6); for images see Booras-Seely, “Multispectral Imaging,” 98-9.

³⁶ Cf. M. Gigante, ed., *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1979).

³⁷ One primary calculation, for example, estimates the effect of the contours of the papyrus on the placement of *sovrapposti*, to determine whether to anticipate a placement more or less than one complete circumference from its actual location.

and autopsy must always govern the interpretation of MSI.³⁸ But multispectral images are a resource that can render poor papyri ‘leggibili’ and enrich the papyrologist’s familiarity with the papyrus.

Editing P. Herc. 1570

P. Herc. 1570 is an exceptionally dark papyrus that has long been considered ‘illeggibile’;³⁹ but MSI reveals much of its text and is a primary resource for this edition. (This papyrus was designated for this study because of the great contrast between the text visible on the papyrus and the text visible on the images.) ‘Just control reading’⁴⁰ describes essentially how the pieces of *P. Herc. 1570* have been utilized in the preparation of this edition; for only infrequently does autopsy reveal the same letter-strokes that are visible in the multispectral images of this papyrus; and only rarely does the papyrus reveal traces of letters that can only be distinguished on the papyrus but not on the images.⁴¹ By necessity the transcription relies heavily on MSI, and by necessity the construal of MSI relies on comparison with the papyrus.

Initially, a rough transcription was prepared, exclusively via MSI; then, the transcription was compared with the original to ensure that each letter-stroke transcribed from the images, when not observable on the papyrus, appeared on a portion of the papyrus where text *could* appear, *i.e.*, the transcription was revised to harmonize with the physical dynamics of the papyrus;⁴² meanwhile, readings from the

³⁸ Cf. Gigante, “Atakta XX,” 101; Del Mastro, “La *subscriptio* del *PHerc. 1005*,” 246 n. 6.

³⁹ Gigante, *Catalogo*, 359

⁴⁰ K. Kleve, quoted in Booras-Seely, “Multispectral Imaging,” 100.

⁴¹ But that such occurs reinforces the priority of the papyrus over any image of it.

⁴² This harmonizing-procedure is vital not only for reading letters and traces of letters, but also for estimating the number of damaged or otherwise illegible letters, which are more often illegible in the images because they coincide with an uneven portion of the papyrus (*e.g.*, a fold, a crease, across the crack between sections) than because the

papyrus alone were added to the transcription. The manner in which the multispectral images have been applied to the transcription in this edition reflects both their utility and their limitations.

portion of the papyrus on which they have been written is in decay, *i.e.*, the presence of text on an extant portion of papyrus is certain, but the letters are indivisible. Since this third dimension is never clearly depicted in the multispectral images, autopsy is vital for an interpretation of it.

Chapter 1

The Papyrus & the Text

P. Herc. 1570 is a *midollo* unrolled by Francesco Casanova in 1809 into seven pieces (now numbered: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6*a*, 6*b*).¹ These were mounted and set in frames in 1910; five *disegni* were drawn by Mario Arman and Alfonso Cozzi between 1907 and 1914. The sequence of the arabic numerals assigned to each piece still reflects the order upon opening even though present frame-numbers disturb that order. Pcc. 1-2 are multiply layered, making separate columns seem indistinguishable. Pc. 3 is also multiply layered, but seems to contain four distinguishable columns (I–IV), plus *bisovrapposti* containing portions of the fifth (V). Pcc. 4-6*b* reveal large, continuous layers with fewer *posti*, and contain thirteen columns: pc. 4 contains three consecutive columns (VI–VIII); between pc. 4 and pc. 5 two columns seem to have been lost (IX–X); pc. 5 contains four consecutive columns (XI–XIV); pc. 6*a* contains five consecutive columns (XV–XIX); plus two *sovrapposti* containing portions of a sixth (XX). Thus, from pcc. 3-6*b* originally contained coll. I–XX. Local circumferences range from ca. 10 cm. (on pc. 1) to ca. 2 cm. (on pc. 6*b*). *Kolleseis* are discernible on all pieces save pc. 2 and pc. 6*b*, and a complete *kollema* remains on each of pcc. 3-6*a*; *kollemata* measure 13.3-14.2 cm. wide.

Script and format befit a functional draft of no particular refinement. The script is regular, medium-sized, and bilinear; letters vary somewhat in size, and letter-strokes are often oblique; unique letters include three abbreviations: a Π-P monogram (πρός), a T-P monogram (τρόπος, τρόπου, τρόπω, τρόπον, etc.), and a Φ-H

monogram (φησί[ν]). The format is vertically and horizontally dense: wide columns (6.6-7.4 cm.), narrow intercolumnia (0.9-1.4 cm.), and narrowly-spaced letters (27-33 per line), complement a column-height (15.1-16.0 cm.) that accomodates numerous lines (33-38). Although classified by Cavallo within his Group F, differences in relative letter-widths and in the form of E separate this papyrus from the other four in that grouping. Other notable phenomena include three omissions, one correction, two diple, and various *spatii*; no stichometric letters, nor punctuation marks, appear.

The text presents an ethical (economic) treatise; it is certainly Epicurean, and possibly Philodemus' *Περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας*. The extant portion of the *agraphon* (pc. 6b) reveals no trace of a *titulus*, or of any *subscriptio*. Previous attempts to ascertain its content have wanted it to be a theological treatise, but these relied on the insufficient and uncertain evidence available on this 'illegible' papyrus, or in its meager *disegni*. The multispectral images have revealed a vast amount of text, whose terms and phrases specifically address death, *physiologia*, the administration and preservation of goods, friendship, frank speech, contempt and respect, ease and difficulty in the acquisition of goods, and the differences between necessary and unnecessary goods; all such terms and phrases apply, it seems, to a broad admonition to enjoy one's status in life, in poverty or in wealth. The text makes direct and indirect reference to Epicurus' *Epistula ad Menoeceum*; it also names a Phaedrus (head of the Garden?) and a Leostratus. Among Philodemus' extant works, *Περὶ οἰκονομίας* exhibits occasional similarities to this text in points of terminology and theme; *Περὶ πλούτου, α'*, is also

¹ All catalogues and inventories have only distinguished six pieces, but what has long been called pc. 6, is here classified as two pieces, hereafter pc. 6a and pc. 6b.

similar in vocabulary, but seems a more theoretical work, and less practical, than this one.

Opening, Drawing, Storage

Svolgimento began on 17 April 1809 by Francesco Casanova and was completed that same year (if not that same month).² Early inventories and catalogues identify this as a ‘two-third’ papyrus, *i.e.*, a roll roughly two thirds as large in height as a ‘normal’ roll;³ later records classify it, under a less precise system, either as an ‘incomplete’ roll or as a ‘nearly complete’ roll.⁴ The nature of the extant pieces suggests that this roll was a *midollo*.⁵

² Along the top of *Foglio A* is written: “Frammento [sc. pc. 1] del Papiro N° 1570 incominciato a svolgere il dì 17. Aprile 1809;” but inventories and catalogues, referring to the whole papyrus, and not simply to the first piece, state both that it was ‘preso a svolgere in aprile 1809’ (*Catalogo* [n.d. (ante 1907)] (Archivi dell’Officina dei papiri Ercolanesi [hereafter A.O.P.] XIX 2); E. Martini, ed., *Catalogo generale dei papiri Ercolanesi*, in *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, ed. D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, 89-144 [1883; reprint, Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1972], 138) and ‘svolto nell’aprile 1809’ (*Inventario dei Papiri Ercolanesi compilato da D. Bassi con la collaborazione di Arman 1912*), or ‘svolto nel 1809’ (*Inventario della Reale Officina de’ Papiri Ercolanesi. Napoli MDCCCXXIV [1824]. Inventario de’ Papiri Ercolanesi* [A.O.P. XVII 12]; N 1570; V. Litta, ed., *I Papiri Ercolanesi II (Indice Topografico e Sistematico)*, I Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli 4.6 [Napoli: Industria Tipografica Artistica, 1977], 120).

³ De Jorio explains that in the early years of the Officina the papyri were assigned one of six classifications according to roll-height: ‘intero’, ‘quasi intero’, ‘due terzi’, ‘metà’, ‘terzi’, and ‘quarti’. ‘Due terzi’ described a roll roughly two thirds as high as an ‘intero volume’ (*Officina*, 62-3). Of the six nineteenth-century inventories that list *P. Herc. 1570* after its unrolling, four record: ‘Due terzi di pap.º svolto’ (*Inventario de’ Papiri Ercolanesi [1823]* [A.O.P. XVII 11]); ‘Due terzi di Papiro svolto’ (*Inventario della Reale Officina de’ Papiri Ercolanesi. Napoli MDCCCXXIV [1824]. Inventario de’ Papiri Ercolanesi* [A.O.P. XVII 12]); ‘[Papiro] svolto in due terze parte’ (*Reale Officina de’ Papiri Ercolanesi. Inventario Generale De’ Papiri e di tutti gli altri oggetti ivi esistenti 1853*); ‘Due terze parte, [papiro] svolto’ (*Catalogo dei Papiri* [n.d. (ante 1907)] [A.O.P. XIX 1]).

⁴ Four documents record ‘non intero’: *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]. Inventario 1915*; *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]. Inventario 1917-1919*; *I Papiri Ercolanesi II*, 120; Gigante, *Catalogo*, 359. Two documents record ‘quasi intero’: *Catalogo* [n.d.

Mounting followed unrolling, but framing and drawing *disegni* occurred an entire century later under the direction of Domenico Bassi (Director of the Officina, 1906-1926).⁶ In 1809 pcc. 1-2 were mounted together on sheet A, while pc. 3, pc. 4, and pc. 5 were mounted separately on sheets B, C, and D, respectively; pc. 6a and pc. 6b (which previous to this edition had together been called pc. 6) were mounted on sheet E. Each sheet of paper (*foglio*) was pinned to a thin sheet of wood (*tavoletta*) that was eventually set in a metal frame (*cornice*): five sheets were set in five frames in September 1910.⁷

Five *disegni* were created in Naples between 1907 and 1914,⁸ i.e. both before framing and after. In June 1907 Alfonso Cozzi drew three large portions (*frammenti*) of pc. 5, and in March 1910 he drew a small portion of pc. 2. In August 1914 Mario Arman drew a small portion of pc. 1. These comprise the five Neapolitan *disegni*.

Roll-Sequence: Circumferences, Kollemata, Columns, Intercolumnia

When the *tavolette* were set in *cornici*, pc. 5 was mistakenly assigned cr. 2, creating an artificial sequence of pieces by frame-number inconsistent with the order of unrolling (i.e., 1-2-3-4-5-6a-6b, the original sequence, became 1-2-5-3-4-6a-6b).⁹ Extrinsic data, such as the pattern of decreasing section-widths and of archival labels, supports

(ante 1907)] (A.O.P. XIX 2); *Inventario dei Papiri Ercolanesi compilato da D. Bassi con la collaborazione di Arman 1912*; Martini, *Catalogo*, 138.

⁵ If *P. Herc. 1570* is the *midollo* of a roll whose outer layers had been removed on an earlier occasion, a record of the removal remains yet undiscovered; these outer layers may exist as *scorze*, although a cursory comparison of this script with the scripts on the *scorze* has yielded no match.

⁶ *Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi. Elenco dei Papiri messi ultimamente in cornice* (A.O.P. XIX 7.2); E. Dürr, "Sulla catalogazione dei alcuni papiri Ercolanesi," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988): 215-217.

⁷ *N* 1570.

⁸ *N* 1570.

⁹ Piece-numbers are used throughout this edition for their ability to express order.

the sequence given by piece-numbers and by *foglio*-letters; and intrinsic data, such as the pattern of columns overlapping *kollemata*, *i.e.*, the average number of columns per *kollema*, make it possible to estimate the number of columns and the extent of the gap between pieces.

As mentioned above, the seven pieces were mounted on five sheets (*fogli*) in 1809, and these five sheets were set in five frames (*cornici* [cr.]) in 1910. In the first instance a unique number was assigned to each piece and a unique letter of the alphabet to each sheet, with the letters falling into alphabetical order when the numbers were in numerical order, and vice versa, *i.e.*, A (pc. 1, pc. 2), B (pc. 3), C (pc. 4), D (pc. 5), E (pc. 6*a*, pc. 6*b*). In the second instance each frame was also assigned a unique number, but, by one exception, these numbers did not correspond to the order of the letters and numbers assigned to the contents of each frame: *foglio* D, containing pc. 5, was mounted in cr. 2 rather than cr. 4 (see Table 1). Three sequences of letters or numbers exist, and the two assigned earliest (numbered by piece and by *foglio*) agree with one another in opposition to the third (numbered by frame).

NEW PIECE:	1	2	3	4	5	6 <i>a</i>	6 <i>b</i>
OLD PIECE:	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
FOGLIO:	A	A	B	C	D	E	E
FRAME:	1	1	3	4	2	5	5

Table 1. A correlation of the letters and numbers assigned to each piece, *foglio*, or frame of *P. Herc.* 1570, according to the new piece-numbers adopted in this edition.

The archival evidence mentioned shown in Table 1 suggests only a probable order for the pieces of *P. Herc.* 1570. Of primary importance for verifying the sequence of the pieces is ascertaining which sequence reveals the declining circumference of the roll. Each roll shows regular vertical cracks along its height; the papyrus between two

consecutive cracks is a ‘section’.¹⁰ Sections from the beginning of a roll are wide; those from the end of a roll are very narrow. The width of any two consecutive sections reveals an approximate local circumference for the roll. Arranging pieces by the width of these sections, from the largest to the smallest, restores their order, from the beginning of the roll to its end, with considerable accuracy. Moreover, the pattern of decline in section-width across an individual piece can predict, by imprecise extrapolation,¹¹ the width of subsequent section-widths and estimate the amount of material lost between pieces.

Arranging the pieces by declining section-width confirms the sequence set by piece-numbers and *foglio*-letters while rejecting the numerical order of the *cornici*. Pcc. 1-6*b* contain fifty-seven sections,¹² including sections at the beginning and the end of

¹⁰ M.L. Nardelli, “Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni papiri ercolanesi,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 3 (1973): 104. Sections are created when the roll is opened by *svolgimento*; they occur once every half-circumference and reveal themselves when the roll, having been carbonized in an already flattened, squashed, even twisted, state, is unrolled, however gently (cf. Capasso, “ΟΜΦΑΛΟC/UMBILICUS: dalla Grecia a Roma,” in *Volumen, Aspette della tipologia del rotolo librario antico*, Cultura: Collana di Studi “Dall’Antico al Moderno” diretta da Enrico Renna 3, 73-98 [Naples: Procaccini, 1995], 73-98 [= *Rudiae* 2 (1990): 7-29; *Rudiae* 3 (1991): 37-41]). How wide the first section of a papyrus can be depends on how loosely the roll had been rolled up; how narrow the last section of a papyrus can be depends primarily on whether the roll was wound around an *umbilicus* or upon itself (Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 109 n. 2, 114 n. 11).

¹¹ Admittedly, choosing where to take these measurements is rather arbitrary (G.B. D’Alessio, “Danni materiali e ricostruzione di rotoli papiracei: le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* (POxy 842) e altri esempi,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134 [2001]: 39), so results are imprecise. No true verticals separate sections; rather, the cracks reflect folding, squashing, twisting, and other forces that have worked on the papyri (Capasso, *Volumen*, 66). So a primary objective in taking such measurements must be to establish a pattern rather than to assemble solid data for extrapolation.

¹² Pcc. 1-6*b* (§57-§1): [pc. 1 (§57-§55)] (5.1), 5.6, (5.1); [pc. 2 (§54-§50)] 4.8, 4.6, 4.5, 4.4, 4.3; [pc. 3 (§49-§43)] (2.9), 3.7, 3.6, 3.5, 3.6, 3.5, 3.5; [pc. 4 (§42-§35)] (1.6), 3.5, 3.4, 3.4, 3.3, 3.4, 3.2, (2.0); [pc. 5 (§34-§24)] (1.2), 3.1, 3.0, 3.1, 3.0, 2.9, 2.8, 2.8, 2.7, (2.7), (2.0); [pc. 6*a* (§23-§6)] (2.2), 2.6, 2.4, 2.6, 2.3, 2.4, 2.1, 2.3, 2.1, 2.3, 2.0, 2.1, 1.8, 1.9, 1.8, 2.0, 1.7, (1.7) [pc. 6*b* (§5-§1)] (1.0), 1.2, 1.1, 1.0, (0.7). All numbers in parentheses represent minimum measurements, i.e., the widths of incomplete

each piece that are often incomplete. Pc. 5, whose position in the order had been cast in doubt by its position in the sequence of frame-numbers, is divided into eleven sections (§34-§24), which, from the first complete section (§33) to the last (§26), decline in width from ca. 3.1 cm. to ca. 2.7 cm. The final complete section of pc. 4 (§36) measures ca. 3.2 cm., whereas the first complete section of pc. 6a (§22) measures ca. 2.6 cm. Thus pc. 5 follows pc. 4 and precedes pc. 6a.¹³

As the pattern of decreasing section-widths confirms the sequence of the pieces, so the pattern of columns and intercolumnia overlapping the *kollemata* can project how much papyrus, and how much text, may have been lost between consecutive pieces. Pcc. 4-6a contain nine complete columns and nine complete intercolumnia, as well as three complete *kollemata*. They also contain incomplete components: three columns (VI, XIV-XV), two intercolumnia, and six *kollemata* (one at each end of each piece). The average width of a column in *P. Herc.* 1570 is 7.0 cm., that of an intercolumnium is 1.1 cm., and that of a *kollema* is 13.7 cm. Since *kollemata* are independent of text, it is possible, assuming that missing segments approach the average,¹⁴ to

sections. Sections are numbered from the narrowest to the broadest, from the end of the roll to the beginning, a pattern that follows D'Alessio ("Danni materiali," 39-41).

¹³ §36 > §33 and §26 > §22.

¹⁴ There is reason to expect the width of columns, intercolumnia, and *kollemata* to be consistent within a roll, even though Capasso warns that *kollemata*, for example, can vary 6 cm. from one *kollema* to the next ("Un nuovo esempio di doppia sottoscrizione nel *PHerc.* 1675," *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*, Ed. M. Capasso, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 3 [1994]: 251; cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968], 5, 173 n. 21). Measurement data for *kollemata* has been gathered primarily by Capasso (*Volumen*, 59-69; "Doppia sottoscrizione," 242-52), but also by Puglia ("Dati bibliologici del *PHerc.* 1414," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 20 (1990): 62) and Dorandi ("Sulla trasmissione del testo dell'*Index Academicorum philosophorum Herculensis* (*PHerc.* 1021 e 164)," Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Papyrologists [Chico: n.p., 1981], 141; G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano, Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci*, ed. G. Macchia-rolì, 1st supplement to *Cronache Ercolanesi* 13 [Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1983], 16-17). Further, measurements of *P. Herc.* 1570

estimate how many columns and intercolumnia can have been lost between consecutive pieces, by correlating the overlap of the column-to-column unit across the *kollemata* at the end of one piece with the overlap of the same at the beginning of the next. In other words, the primary factor in estimating the breadth of the gap between two extant pieces is the status of the *kollema* relative to the column-to-column unit both at the end of the first piece and at the beginning of the second piece, *e.g.*, if the left half of a column appears on the end of the first piece, then the right half of that same column must (a) be lost entirely in the gap, (b) exist entirely on the second piece at the beginning, or (c) be partially lost in the gap and partially extant on the second piece.

Between pc. 3 and pc. 4, for instance, a gap probably intervenes for 12.5-13.0 cm.,¹⁵ containing two partial columns, two intercolumnia, and one complete column. Pc. 3 ends with a partial column, 5.8 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 9.9 cm. wide. Pc. 4 begins with a partial column, 6.2 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 4.2 cm. wide. Each partial column is nearly as wide as an average column, so the two cannot be parts of the same column, but a ‘lost’ intercolumnium must intervene; and since there are large *bisovrapposti* on the lower portion of pc. 3 that cannot be placed anywhere on pc. 4, at least one full column (*sc.* that column whose text appears on the *bisovrapposti*) must also have been lost between pc. 3 and pc. 4. If this ‘lost’ column,

and *P. Herc.* 152/157 (Holger Essler, pers. comm.) suggest that the width of the *kolleseis* is more constant within a roll than across a field of diverse rolls (see Appendix A); so, even though Capasso also advises that *kollemata* oscillate most commonly between 8 cm. and 10 cm. (*Volumen*, 66, 70), the fact that the four extant *kollemata* in *P. Herc.* 1570 measure 13.3-14.2 cm. suggests that other *kollemata* in this roll *probably* extend similar widths.

¹⁵ The range of this estimate reflects the possibility that a segment (*sc.* column, intercolumnium, or *kollema*) could be narrower or wider than the ‘average’ segment. In this instance, 12.5 cm. represents a gap that would contain *kollemata* each as narrow as the narrowest *kollema* on this papyrus (*sc.* 13.3 cm.), and 13.0 cm. represents a gap

flanked by two 'lost' intercolumnia and the rest of the two partial columns, is the only complete column lost (and if each partial, or lost, column and each partial, or lost, intercolumnium approaches the average), then the *kollema* extending from the last *kollesis* on pc. 3 to the first *kollesis* on pc. 4 would measure ca. 25.3 cm. wide,¹⁶ uncommonly wide for this papyrus. But if there were two *kollemata*, the first beginning on pc. 3 and the second ending on pc. 4, then each would measure ca. 12.65 cm.,¹⁷ a more probable measurement even though it is a bit narrower than the average. From the second *kollesis* on pc. 3 to the first *kollesis* on pc. 4 would have measured ca. 25.3 cm. wide; and the missing papyrus would have measured ca. 11.2 cm.¹⁸ and would have contained one complete column flanked by two partial columns, the one beginning on pc. 3, the other ending on pc. 4. If relative column-numbering begins on this piece,¹⁹ then pc. 3 contains coll. I–IV and *bisovrapposti* with portions of col. V, and pc. 4 begins with col. VI.

that would contain columns and intercolumnia each as wide as the widest ones on this papyrus (*sc.* 7.4 cm. for each column, and 1.4 cm. for each intercolumnium).

¹⁶ All measurements in the calculations that follow are in centimeters (cm.). If k_3 is the partial *kollema* ending pc. 3, and if k_4 is the partial *kollema* beginning pc. 4; if C_3 is the complete column of which c_3 is extant on pc. 3, if C_1 is the complete column lacking between pc. 3 and pc. 4, and if C_4 is the complete column of which c_4 is extant on pc. 4; if I_{3-1} is the complete intercolumnium lacking between C_3 and C_1 , and if I_{1-4} is the complete intercolumnium lacking between C_1 and C_4 ; if K is the *kollema* extending from k_3 to k_4 ; then $K = k_3 + (C_3 - c_3) + I_{3-1} + C_1 + I_{1-4} + (C_4 - c_4) + k_4 = 9.9 + (7.0 - 5.8) + 1.1 + 7.0 + 1.1 + (7.0 - 6.2) + 4.2 = 25.3$ cm.

¹⁷ If K_3 is the complete *kollema* of which k_3 is extant on pc. 3; if K_4 is the complete *kollema* of which k_4 is extant on pc. 4; and if K is the combined width of K_3 and K_4 ; then $K_3 = K_4 = 0.5 \cdot K = 0.5 \cdot (25.3) = 12.65$ cm.

¹⁸ $K - k_3 - k_4 = 25.3 - 9.9 - 4.2 = 11.2$ cm.

¹⁹ Since columns on pcc. 1-2 remain yet undistinguished, this edition of *P. Herc.* 1570 begins numbering at the first column on pc. 3.

Between pc. 4 and pc. 5, a gap probably intervenes for 16.0-17.8 cm.,²⁰ containing two complete columns and nearly three intercolumnia. Pc. 4 ends with a partial intercolumnium, 0.5 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 5.2 cm. wide. Pc. 5 begins with a partial intercolumnium, 0.6 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 5.4 cm. wide. If the intercolumnium at the end of pc. 4 had been part of the intercolumnium at the beginning of pc. 5 (*i.e.*, if essentially no papyrus had been lost), then the *kollema* would have measured only 10.6 cm.,²¹ improbably narrow. And if one complete column had been lost, accompanied by the rest of the two partial intercolumnia, then a single *kollema* across the gap would have measured 18.7 cm.,²² while two *kollemata*, joined by a *kollesis* lost in the gap, would have measured 9.35 cm. each; the first one is improbably wide, the second two are improbably narrow. But if two complete columns and nearly three intercolumnia have been lost, then a *kollesis* would have also been lost and the two *kollemata* would each measure ca. 13.4 cm.,²³ a measurement within the

²⁰ In this instance, the gap depends entirely on the width of the *kollemata*, the smaller estimate (16.0 cm.) represents a gap containing *kollemata* each as narrow as the narrowest on this papyrus (*sc.* 13.3 cm.), and the larger estimate (17.8 cm.) represents a gap containing *kollemata* as wide as the widest on this papyrus (*sc.* 14.2 cm.).

²¹ If k_4 is the partial *kollema* ending pc. 4, and if k_5 is the partial *kollema* beginning pc. 5; and if K is the complete *kollema* between pc. 4 and pc. 5; then $K = k_4 + k_5 = 5.2 + 5.4 = 10.6$ cm.

²² If k_4 is the partial *kollema* ending pc. 4, and if k_5 is the partial *kollema* beginning pc. 5; if C_I is the complete column lacking between pc. 4 and pc. 5; if I_4 is the complete intercolumnium of which i_4 is extant on pc. 4, and if I_5 is the complete intercolumnium of which i_5 is extant on pc. 5; and if K is the complete *kollema* beginning with k_4 and ending with k_5 ; then $K = k_4 + (I_4 - i_4) + C_I + (I_5 - i_5) + k_5 = 5.2 + (1.1 - 0.5) + 7.0 + (1.1 - 0.6) + 5.4 = 18.7$ cm.

²³ If k_4 is the partial *kollema* ending pc. 4, and if k_5 is the partial *kollema* beginning pc. 5; if C_I is the first complete column lacking between pc. 4 and pc. 5, and if C_{II} is the second complete column lacking between pc. 4 and pc. 5; if I_4 is the complete intercolumnium of which i_4 is extant on pc. 4, if I_{I-II} is the complete intercolumnium lacking between C_I and C_{II} , and if I_5 is the complete intercolumnium of which i_5 is extant on pc. 5; if K_4 is the complete *kollema* beginning with k_4 ; if K_5 is the complete *kollema* ending with k_5 ; and if K is the combined width of K_4 and K_5 ; then $K_4 = K_5 = 0.5 \cdot K =$

range of others in this papyrus. From the second *kollesis* on pc. 4 to the first *kollesis* on pc. 5 would have measured 26.8 cm. wide; the missing papyrus would have measured 16.2 cm.²⁴ and would have contained two complete columns. So pc. 4 contains coll. VI–VIII, coll. IX–X are lost, and col. XI is the first on pc. 5.

Between pc. 5 and pc. 6a, a gap probably intervenes for 6.8-8.0 cm.,²⁵ containing two partial columns and one intercolumnium. Pc. 5 ends with a partial column, 1.7 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 7.0 cm. wide, and pc. 6a begins with a partial column, 6.5 cm. wide, written on a partial *kollema*, 12.8 cm. wide. Since the two partial columns could only combine to form an extraordinarily wide column, the two are most likely not parts of the same column, but at least a ‘lost’ intercolumnium must intervene. If this were the case, one *kollesis* would have been lost and the two resultant *kollemata* would each measure ca. 13.35 cm.,²⁶ a probable measurement. From the second *kollesis* on pc. 5 to the first *kollesis* on pc. 6a would have measured 26.7 cm. wide; the missing papyrus would have measured 6.9 cm.²⁷ and would have contained the remainder of two columns, the one beginning on pc. 5, the other ending on pc. 6a. Pc. 5 contains coll. XI–XIV, and pc. 6a begins with col. XV.

$$0.5 \cdot (k_4 + (I_4 - i_4) + C_I + I_{I-II} + C_{II} + (I_5 - i_5) + k_5) = 0.5 \cdot (5.2 + (1.1 - 0.5) + 7.0 + 1.1 + 7.0 + (1.1 - 0.6) + 5.4) = 0.5 \cdot (26.8) = 13.4 \text{ cm.}$$

$$^{24} (K_4 - k_4) + (K_5 - k_5) = 2K - k_4 - k_5 = 2 \cdot (13.4) - 5.2 - 5.4 = 26.8 - 10.6 = 16.2 \text{ cm.}$$

²⁵ In this instance, as in the gap between pc. 3 and pc. 4, the smaller estimate (6.8 cm.) represents a gap containing *kollemata* each as narrow as the narrowest on this papyrus, and the larger estimate (8.0 cm.) represents a gap containing columns and intercolumnia each as wide as the widest on this papyrus.

²⁶ If k_5 is the partial *kollema* ending pc. 5, and if k_6 is the partial *kollema* beginning pc. 6; if C_5 is the complete column of which c_5 is extant on pc. 5, and if C_6 is the complete column of which c_6 is extant on pc. 6; if I_{5-6} is the intercolumnium lacking between C_5 and C_6 ; if K_5 is the complete *kollema* beginning with k_5 ; if K_6 is the complete *kollema* ending with k_6 ; and if K is the combined width of K_5 and K_6 ; then $K_5 = K_6 = 0.5 \cdot K = 0.5 \cdot (k_5 + (C_5 - c_5) + I_{5-6} + (C_6 - c_6) + k_6) = 0.5 \cdot (7.0 + (7.0 - 1.7) + 1.1 + (7.0 - 6.5) + 12.8) = 0.5 \cdot (26.7) = 13.35 \text{ cm.}$

$$^{27} (K_5 - k_5) + (K_6 - k_6) = 2K - k_4 - k_5 = 2 \cdot (13.35) - 7.0 - 12.8 = 26.7 - 19.8 = 6.9 \text{ cm.}$$

Between pc. 6a and pc. 6b at least one column has been lost. The last column visible on pc. 6a (col. XIX) reveals two small *sovrapposti*, one across lines 8-9 and another across lines 19-20, that must be placed subsequent to that column. If pcc. 6a-6b had been continuous, the text on the *sovrapposti* would likely have appeared among text on the top of pc. 6b; but no text is visible at all on pc. 6b: the *sovrapposti* contain text that pertains to a column lost between pc. 6a and pc. 6b. So pc. 6a contains col. XV–XIX, with col. XX extant only on two small *sovrapposti*; and from pc. 3 to pc. 6b there were likely twenty columns (I–XX).

Aligning pieces by the decreasing circumference of the roll recreates the order of the pieces upon opening. Calculating the average width for *kollemata*, columns, and intercolumnia, enables an estimation of material lost between pieces. These two techniques are primary tools that complement each other in reconstructing this roll. By this reconstruction, pcc. 3-6b contain eighteen extant columns, including two extant only on *sovrapposti*, and lack two columns entirely: coll. I–V appear on pc. 3 (with col. V extant only on *bisovrapposti*), coll. VI–VIII on pc. 4, coll. IX–X have been lost between pc. 4 and pc. 5, coll. XI–XIV on pc. 5, and coll. XV–XX on pc. 6a (with col. XX extant only on *sovrapposti*).

Physical Characteristics: Size, Layers, Kolleseis, Kollemata

Inventories and catalogues of the Herculaneum papyri accurately describe *P. Herc.* 1570 as layered ('posti'),²⁸ incomplete ('non intero'),²⁹ and in poor condition ('cat-

²⁸ *Inventario de' Papiri Ercolanesi* [1823] (A.O.P. XVII 11).

²⁹ *Inventario dei Papiri Ercolanesi compilato da D. Bassi con la collaborazione di Arman* 1912; *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]. Inventario* 1915; *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]. Inventario* 1917-1919; *I Papiri Ercolanesi II*, 120; Gigante, *Catalogo*, 359.

tivo').³⁰ It is 'incomplete' in its height (max. 16.0 cm.), which never reveals an upper or lower margin; but this papyrus has proven *cattivo* more for being illegible than for being fragmentary or disorganized: "Besser erhalten ist [*P. Herc.*] 1570," admits Crönert, "aber hier kann man die verblaßte Schrift kaum lesen."³¹ And so, although a few inventories esteem the papyrus *disegnabile*,³² creating facsimiles of the text proved most difficult for the *disegnatori*.

Pcc. 1-2 exhibit the greatest variety of layering and the smallest portions of continuous text. On these pieces *posti* occur frequently, and seldom consist in a single layer. Pc. 3 contains numerous *posti*, some of multiple layers, but seems to reveal four consecutive columns. Pcc. 4-6*b* exhibit much less layering and reveal, in fact, a primary layer exposed across more than 50% of each piece; consecutive columns are discernible on all three pieces; on these pieces *posti* occur infrequently and generally consist in a single layer. In all seven pieces lacunae are most common across the lower central part, and the lower portions are generally more fragmentary and disorganized.

Pc. 3 measures 25.5 cm. wide and 15.1 cm. high, and is divided into seven sections (§49-§43). Along its left edge appears the right side of a column (2.8 cm. wide), with a *kollesis* visible near the right edge of the column. Two columns follow, separated by a large intercolumnium of uncertain width; a *kollesis* is visible on the fifth section (§45), left of center, the lower portion of which is partially covered by a large *bisovrap-posto*. A fourth column begins 5.8 cm. from the right edge of the piece. The *bisovrap-posto* from §45 extends onto §44, continuing the same top layer; their surface reveals a

³⁰ *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]*. *Inventario 1915*; *O[fficina dei] P[apiri] E[rcolanesi]*. *Inventario 1917-1919*; Gigante, *Catalogo*, 359.

³¹ W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte*, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 6, ed. C. Wessely (1906; reprint, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 113 n. 512.

partial intercolumnium, the left edge of the adjoining column, and text from the middle of that column, all of which should follow col. IV.

Pc. 4 measures 23.1 cm. wide and 15.8 cm. high, and is divided into eight sections (§42-§35); it is generally better preserved above than below, but all three columns are visible along the entire height of the piece. At mid-height, or just below mid-height, the first two columns are lacunose and the third is going to dust. Two *kolleseis* appear along the right edge of two sections, the second (§41) and the sixth (§37).

Pc. 5 measures 29.5 cm. wide and 16.0 cm. high, and is divided into eleven sections (§34-§24); small lacunae occasionally appear above, and the last three columns are almost unreadable below: the bottom of the second and third are overlaid by *sovrapposti*, the bottom of the third and fourth are lacunose. Two *kolleseis* appear, in the middle of the third section (§32), and along the left edge of the eighth (§27). At the left edge of the piece is an intercolumnium of 0.6 cm., followed by the first column; at the right edge of the piece only the left side of the last column appears (1.7 cm. wide). A small portion of this piece (2.5 cm. wide, 7.0 cm. high) is physically detached from the main piece at the lower right; its relative position is uncertain since no gold-beater's skin extends directly between the two pieces.

Pc. 6a measures 38.9 cm. wide and 15.5 cm. high, and is divided into eighteen sections (§23-§6); pc. 6b measures 5.7 cm. wide and 11.3 cm. high; and is divided into five sections (§5-§1).³³ Primary evidence for the distinction between these two pieces is a pair of *sovrapposti*, both of which show writing, lying on the last column of pc. 6a, which, since there is no text on pc. 6b, must have been part of a column subsequent to

³² *Catalogo dei Papiri* (A.O.P. XIX 1); Martini, *Catalogo*, 138; *Catalogo* (A.O.P. XIX 2).

³³ Gigante (*Catalogo*, 359) records the width of 'p(e)z(z)o 6' (43.8 cm.) by measuring the two pieces together as they are mounted, over the gap that separates them.

col. XIX, from the gap between the pieces. Secondary evidence is the pattern of section-widths, which drops 0.5 cm. across three sections.³⁴ Only pc. 6a contains text, one partial column and four columns, more or less complete. The first column is fragmentary: it reveals scattered letters and no sensible text. The second column is better preserved below, with a large, rectangular lacuna above, spanning nearly two sections. The third column has a large lacuna below, and the papyrus is going to dust throughout much of the column. The fourth and fifth column are better preserved than the previous three, each has two small lacunae, one along part of the top, the other at mid-height. Two *kolleseis* appear, along the right edge of the fifth section (§19) and along the left edge of the twelfth (§12).

In length the seven pieces together measure ca. 1.6 m. (perhaps 2.5 m. including sections lost between all extant pieces), much shorter even than what had long been considered a ‘standard’ length (10-12 m.) for Greek rolls.³⁵ Their greatest height is 16.0 cm.; but on no piece is the upper or lower margin visible. At least eight *kolleseis* are visible, two on each of pcc. 3-6a; the corresponding *kollemata* measure 13.3 cm., 13.9 cm., 14.2 cm., 13.5 cm. As is common, the exposed edge of the *kollema* is rarely

³⁴ 0.5 cm. marks the drop in section-width from the last section (§6) of pc. 6a (ca. 1.7 cm. wide) to the second section (§4) of pc. 6b (ca. 1.2 cm. wide); the average decline per circumference, *i.e.*, two sections, for *P. Herc.* 1570 is ca. 1.1 mm. (17 sections, ranging in width from 2.6 cm. to 1.7 cm., yield an average decline of 0.5 mm. per section, *i.e.*, a half-circumference [*i.e.*, $(2.6 - 1.7) \div 17 = 0.53$ mm.], or 1.1 mm. per circumference [*i.e.*, $0.53 \times 2 = 1.06$ mm]). The average decline per circumference in papyri of *De poematibus 1*, *De rhetorica*, and *De musica 4* is also 1.0 mm. (Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 108-9).

³⁵ Cavallo concedes this standard for the Herculaneum papyri (*Libri scritte scribi*, 18), but Janko calculates that the roll of *De poematibus 1* measured ca. 16.4 m. and cites evidence that Greek rolls measured as much as 25 m. in length (*Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 109, 114; cf. E. Puglia, “Note bibliologiche e sticometriche,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119 (1997): 124-5.).

straight, but often jagged and notched.³⁶ In each case the join occurs amid a column, so that the text runs ‘downhill’ from one *kollema* to the next, across the *kollesis*.³⁷

Format, Script, Orthography, Syllabification

P. Herc. 1570 is written in a formal mixed hand,³⁸ and writing runs parallel to the papyrus-fibers. The script is regular, of medium-size, and written at moderate speed; it maintains an interlinear space equivalent to letter-height, and is roughly bilinear; letters lean slightly forward to the right, letter-strokes are typically oblique and sometimes cursive, but ligatures are absent throughout. The slope precludes right angles and makes round letters (E Θ O C) elliptical. There is a mixture of broad and narrow letters but only slight contrast: if an average letter-width is 1.0, then I is 0.5, Z Π T Ω are 1.5, and M is 2.0; all three abbreviations are also 2.0. The script is only roughly bilinear: B Δ sometimes project above the upper line; A K P Y usually project below the lower line; Φ Ψ always project both above and below the lines, and sometimes touch the letter below.

Letters generally measure 2.0 cm. wide and 2.3 cm. high; but Z M Π T Ω can approach 4.5 cm. wide and I can measure only 1.0 cm. wide; O C and the circular

³⁶ Turner cautions thus in reference to papyrus-rolls generally (*The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie. Première Partie, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 [Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978], 15); and Capasso confirms this for *Herculaneum papyri* (*Volumen*, 59-60).

³⁷ Turner, *Recto and Verso*, 19. Cf. *ibid.*, “Sniffing Glue,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 13 (1983): 10-14; Dorandi, “Trasmissione,” 141; Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi*, 17; contra W. Crönert, “La tradizione dell’Index Academicorum,” in *Studi ercolanesi*, trans. Enrico Livrea, Collana di filologia classica diretta da Marcello Gigante 3, 155-202. Naples: Morano, 1975 (= “Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum,” *Hermes* 38 (1903): 357-405), 200 and n. 94).

portion of P are regularly high, touching the upper line but not the lower; and the initial letter of a line is often unusually broad. In height, columns measure at least 16.0 cm. and contain at least 38 lines; line-to-line height is ca. 4.3 mm; and no upper nor lower margins appear on any piece. In width, columns measure 6.6-7.4 cm. and can contain 24-36 letters, though most commonly 27-33 letters appear, and an average line contains ca. 5 words; intercolumnia measure 0.9-1.4 cm. wide. Columns follow Maas' law, yielding a 5.5° shift, for example, on col. XI; and the right margin on a column is never justified. Script and format befit a functional draft, as opposed, for example, to a deluxe copy.³⁹

Iota mutum occurs at least six times (in dative singular nouns and singular verbs of the third person in the subjunctive mood), it is absent only in contract verbs (ἀρικτῶ [XI 16] and συναρικτῶ [XI 16]). Syllabification is consistent and correct;⁴⁰ itacism is unapparent.

Cavallo classifies this script within his Group F, which he characterizes as somewhat cursive, and sloping ever so slightly to the right, yet maintaining rather uniform letter-widths.⁴¹ This script differs, however, from others in Group F by its mixture of broad and narrow letters, and also by the form of E, whose central bar always connects to the body of the letter rather than being detached. Characteristic letters occur in five groupings: (1) Α Δ Κ, (2) Μ, (3) Ρ Υ, (4) Π Τ, (5) Φ Ψ. Each letter in the first

³⁸ Cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 22.

³⁹ Janko proposes that *De poematibus 1* was a 'de luxe' copy according to criteria given by W.A. Johnson: "(i) a short height to the column; (ii) broad upper and lower margins; (iii) a large script written in a tight format" (*Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 73).

⁴⁰ Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 75-6.

⁴¹ *Libri scritturae scribi*, 33.

grouping is drawn in three strokes; A with the central bar and the left diagonal often descending to the left, below the lower line; Δ with the right diagonal often ascending above the upper line; K with the lower diagonal supporting the upper diagonal, and with the vertical often descending below the line. M is drawn in four strokes with a saddle that seldom resembles a bowl and often leaves $M = \wedge\wedge$. P ends in a long descender, and its circular portion touches the upper line but not the lower; Y is drawn in two strokes but in two different ways; when the strokes are cursive, the vertical descends from the right of the bowl; otherwise it descends from the center of the bowl. Π is drawn in three strokes with the horizontal drawn second and the right vertical drawn third; sometimes these two strokes are drawn cursively; the right vertical is always oblique. T is drawn in two strokes with the vertical engaged to the horizontal, right of center; a long serif descends from the left end of the horizontal (and the top horizontals on Z and Z̄ are identical to that on T, with the same long, descending serif). The vertical of Φ is drawn from top to bottom, that of Ψ is drawn from bottom to top; if there are serifs on either, they point left.

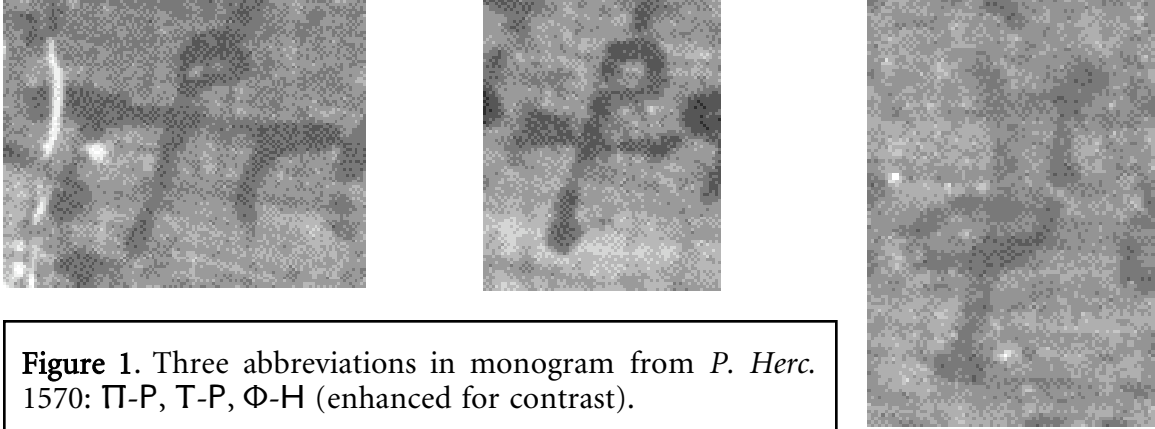


Figure 1. Three abbreviations in monogram from *P. Herc.* 1570: Π-P, T-P, Φ-H (enhanced for contrast).

Abbreviations, Insertions, Corrections, Marginalia, Agraphon

A most notable characteristic of this papyrus is the inclusion of at least three abbreviations in the text: a broad Π of normal height overlaid by a tall P, a slightly-lowered T whose vertical is the descender of an overlaid P, and a Φ of normal size whose upper vertical becomes the left vertical of a raised H (see Figure 1). The first two monograms appear in *P. Herc.* 152/157,¹ and in no other papyrus;² the last is otherwise unattested in the Herculaneum papyri³ and also in all other edited collections of papyri.⁴ The Π-

¹ H. Diels, ed., *Philodemos Über die Götter, Drittes Buch*, Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Adademie der Wissenschaften 1917, Nr. 4 (Text) (Berlin: Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), 10; W. Scott, ed., *Fragmenta Herculansia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 98-100; W. Crönert, "Le abbreviazioni in alcuni papiri greci letterari, con particolare riferimento ai rotoli ercolanesi," in *Studi ercolanesi*, 127-34 (Naples: Morano, 1975), 131-2.

² F.G. Kenyon, "Abbreviations and Symbols in Greek Papyri," in *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (London: n.p., 1899), 153-6, reprinted in *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Al.N. Oikonomides, 127-30 (Chicago: Ares Publishers, Inc., 1974), 129.

³ Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribe*, 25. *P. Herc.* 152/157 is the only other papyrus from Herculaneum with manifest abbreviations in the text, but it shares no physical or textual relationship with *P. Herc.* 1570. In format, the two are similar in line-height (ca. 30 letters per line) and column-height (ca. 40 lines per column), but the script of *P. Herc.* 152/157 is more deliberate, and the shapes of its letters differ from *P. Herc.* 1570. The variety of abbreviations is also greater in *P. Herc.* 152/157, which employs two additional monograms, as well as *sigla* and symbols. That these two hands differ, yet

P monogram represents $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (the preposition) and $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ - (the prefix); it appears 31 times in pcc. 4-6a, and is never not abbreviated so. The T-P monogram can represent $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ in any of its inflections (e.g., $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$, $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$); it appears once (XII 17), in the dative case, singular. The Φ -H monogram represents $\varphi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ and appears here only in the present tense, third person, singular ($\varphi\eta\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu$);⁵ the monogram appears five times (at least once on each of pcc. 4-6a) and the verb is spelled out twice ($\varphi\alpha\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ [XII 12], $\varphi\eta\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ [XIX 29]).⁶

Three insertions appear in the text, two omissions and one correction. Omissions appear in the interlinear space above the line, with the first letter over the point of insertion; they consist of one letter (VII 6), five letters (XI 4), and twenty-four letters (XVIII 18). In the case of correction (XI 18), the incorrect letter has been blotted out with a dark circle of ink, while the correct letter appears above and partly to the right of the blot. All inserted letters are about 20% smaller than letters in the line and seem to have been written by the same hand that copied the main text.

Marginal signs are absent save the dipole, which occurs twice. It appears to the left of the column, pointing to the interlinear space and marking a passage of text

contain abbreviations, warns against inferring a *manus Philodemi* based primarily on the use of abbreviations (cf. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi*, 26; Dorandi, "Trasmissione," 140-1).

⁴ Kenyon, "Abbreviations," 129.

⁵ A different abbreviation for $\varphi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, also abbreviating various conjugated forms, appears only in a medical papyrus in the British Museum (Kenyon, "Abbreviations," 129; Crönert, "Le abbreviazioni," 127-8, 134.

⁶ There is no apparent reason for the appearance of the same word in both of these forms, but perhaps a distinction between $\varphi\eta\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ and $\varphi\eta(\varsigma\acute{\iota}\nu)$ will appear when the text is more fully edited; nevertheless, the appearance of such in *P. Herc.* 152/157 (within the same column, or even within the same line) is neither unusual nor distinguishing. (Although examples of such doubling in Diels' edition are inconsistent with the

beginning in the line above; a *spatium* in the line above indicates the beginning of the passage.⁷ (A *spatium*, when unassociated with the dipole, merely marks the beginning of a significant passage.) The dipole is drawn in oblique strokes and measures ca. 4.5 mm. high and ca. 3.0 mm. wide. No stichometric letters are visible; nor is any mark of punctuation.

The final piece (pc. 6a) contains no visible traces of ink. It is only 6 cm. wide and 11 cm. high, and composed of five narrow sections. It is the *agraphon* and likely was preceded by the last column; the *subscriptio* could have been written on its lost upper portion, but more likely it appeared in the gap preceding it or following it.

Title & Author

The present edition of *P. Herc. 1570* is the first of any portion of this papyrus; the papyrus existed previously only in bibliography. Crönert and Bassi were the first, and only, scholars to address its contents: Crönert considered it a complement to Περὶ Θεῶν, and Bassi agreed; both conceded, however, that the text was only read with extreme difficulty.⁸ All other references to it are as an unidentified text in general catalogues.⁹

palaeographical evidence, H. Essler assures me that it occurs not infrequently [pers. comm.]

⁷ This association between the dipole and the *spatium* does not accord with Cavallo, who asserts that the *spatium* marks the conclusion of a noteworthy passage (*Libri scritte scribi*, 24); but some relationship between these two lectional signs is common (cf. Capasso, *Manuale*, 216).

⁸ Crönert, *Kolotes*, 113 n. 512; D. Bassi, “Frammenti inediti di opere di Filodemo (περὶ μουσικῆς — περὶ θεῶν? — περὶ ῥητορικῆς) in papiri Ercolanesi,” *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 38 (1910): 328 and note; *Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi. Inventario 1917-1919*.

⁹ Gigante, *Catalogo*, 359; Martini, *Catalogo*, 138; D. Bassi, “Papiri Ercolanesi disegnati,” *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 41 (1913): 460; Dürr, “Catalogazione,” 217. A reference by Dorandi to Cavallo seems to be a misreading of Cavallo (“Den Autoren

No *titulus*, nor any *subscriptio*, appears on the *agraphon*; and no title appears anywhere else in this papyrus. It is not a work of Epicurus or Phaedrus since both are cited in the text. Its most regular vocabulary refers to wealth and poverty, the rich man and the poor man; but it also treats death, *physiologia*, friendship, frank speech, and household management. And much of its vocabulary correlates well with two other Epicurean treatises (of different eras): Epicurus' *Epistula ad Menoeceum* and Philodemus' *De oeconomia*.¹⁰

If Phaedrus (XI 4) is Phaedrus son of Lysiades from Berenicidae,¹¹ head of the Garden (ca. 75-70 BC) after the death of Zeno of Sidon,¹² then Philodemus would likely be the author.¹³ If so, this could be another book from his multi-volume work *On Wealth and Poverty*.¹⁴ It does not match *P. Herc.* 163—nor in format, nor in script,

über die Schulter geschaut: Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 87 [1991]: 15 n. 22).

¹⁰ *Philodemi Περὶ οἰκονομίας qui dicitur libellus*, ed. C. Jensen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906); hereafter this text is referred to by its Latin name, *De oeconomia*, and only by column-number and line-number, e.g. XII 12-14.

¹¹ A.E. Raubitschek, “Phaidros and his Roman Pupils,” *Hesperia* 15 (1949): 96-103 (= *The School of Hellas* [New York: n.p., 1991], 337-44.)

¹² T. Dorandi, *Ricerche sulla cronologia dei filosofi ellenistici*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 19 (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1991), 64.

¹³ 70 BC would become the *terminus post quem*. Philodemus (who died after 40 BC) lived 30+ years after Phaedrus' death; and he could cite from him just as he cites Zeno of Sidon, the scholar who preceded Phaedrus.

¹⁴ This title, according to D'Amelio, is a more complete form of another title of the same work, *On Wealth (Di alcuni trattati epicurei sulla ricchezza* [Naples: F. Sangiovanni e Figlio, 1926], 17 n. 1); both are cited in *De oeconomia* (XII 21-22; XXVIII 5-6). G. Del Mastro has discovered an annotation on the *agraphon* of *P. Herc.* 163, between the last column of writing and the *subscriptio*, in which he distinguishes five lines of writing, with πλούτ[ου] on the third, an uncertain word on the fourth, and πενίας on the fifth (“Osservazioni sulle *subscriptio*nes dei *PHerc.* 163 e 209,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 33 [2003]: 323-4). Although this does not promise to be the expanded form that D'Amelio reads in *De oeconomia*, it confirms the notion that a treatise on wealth can, and must, also treat poverty.

nor in content—so it is not a copy of Περὶ πλούτου, α';¹⁵ nor does it match *P. Herc.* 209—neither in script nor in letter-sequences.¹⁶ If, as Janko assumes, Philodemus' *On Wealth and Poverty*, together with *On Extravagant and Frugal Lifestyles* and at least eight other works, belongs to the *Epitome of Characters and Lives from Zeno's Lectures*¹⁷ (which Zeno [of Sidon] was head of the Garden for twenty-five years [ca. 100– ca. 75 BC] and was succeeded by Phaedrus at death),¹⁸ then this strengthens the argument for Philodemus being the author.

Where *P. Herc.* 1570 gives sense, it discusses poverty and wealth, each according to the merits of the other. If this is one of the books from *On Wealth*, of which *P. Herc.* 163 contains Book 1, then the two likely differ in approach. *P. Herc.* 163 may differ from *P. Herc.* 1570 just as Epicurus' treatise on wealth differed from Metrodorus', the former being more theoretical, the latter more practical.

¹⁵ A. Tepedino Guerra, "Il primo libro «Sulla ricchezza» di Filodemo," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 8 (1978): 52-95.

¹⁶ In this latter papyrus, the end-pieces of a roll contained in three frames, G. Del Mastro has discovered part of a *titulus* and proposes the following reconstruction:

ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΥ.

He also reads two occasions of a word beginning διαφορ-, a term that occurs (several times) at the end of this papyrus ("*PHerc.* 163 e 209," 328-9).

¹⁷ *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 7 n. 8.

¹⁸ Dorandi, *Filosofi ellenistici*, 64

Chapter 2

Text & Translation

Text from pcc. 4-6*b* is transcribed and translated below. It is presented in a dual format patterned largely after Janko¹ and Obbink,² using facing pages: on the verso, there appears a diplomatic text; on the recto, an *apparatus*, a continuous text, and a translation into English.³ The diplomatic text includes only letters written on the line, omitting scribal insertions and corrections; line-numbers in the left margin mark every line that is a multiple of five. A minimal *apparatus* is keyed to the diplomatic text; it gives the source of each column, and signals insertions and corrections; it also indicates whether a *disegno* of a portion of a column exists.⁴ The continuous text omits deleted letters, includes scribal insertions unmarked, and marks every fifth line with a bar and a superscript line-number, e.g. |⁵. A translation into English is given where the text yields sense; here the size of lacunae is expressed as an estimation of how many words may have been lost (assuming five words occur on the average line).⁵

The method of publication follows *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.⁶ The text is printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation. Iota is printed adscript when

¹ *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 194-449.

² *Philodemus: On Piety Part I*, 99-277.

³ “The columnar text facilitates the evaluation of restored passages and supplementation of lacunae, because it keeps the papyrus’ original lineation, whereas the running-text makes it easier to understand the sense” (Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 196).

⁴ The contents of the *disegni* themselves have not been included in this edition, and are not included in the *apparatus*. The three fragments drawn of piece five are often incorrect on palaeographic grounds, and so their accuracy is uncertain on occasions when they show text where presently the papyrus is lacunose.

⁵ This estimate assumes that incomplete lines contain the same average number of words as the *ca.* 30 more-complete lines, which range from three to six words per line, but most often contain five or six.

⁶ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

so written; otherwise it is subscript. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of an abbreviation, angular brackets < > an insertion by the editor, braces { } a deletion by the editor, double square brackets [[]] a deletion by the scribe, the signs ` ^ an insertion above the line by the scribe. Dots set lower than the line represent individual letters: a low dot within brackets represents a lacuna equal to one average letter-width (groups of five dots are set off by a blank space for ease in counting); a low dot outside square brackets represents a damaged or otherwise illegible letter; a low dot under a letter indicates that the letter is of doubtful reading because its traces are compatible with at least one other letter in this scribe's handwriting. The sign † marks a space left blank by the scribe. The sign // marks the union of two parts of the same line of writing preserved on separate pieces, and joined by the editor.⁷ Roman numerals mark columns; arabic numerals mark lines, which are only continuous within a column; thus XI 6 identifies the sixth line of the eleventh numbered column.

Conspectus Signorum ⁸

α̣	littera dubia quae aliter legi potest
{α}	littera ab editore deleta
<α>	littera ab editore inserta
(α)	littera ab editore completa
[α]	littera ab editore suppleta
[[α]]	littera a librario deleta
`α`	littera a librario addita
α//β	duae partes eiusdem versus e fragmentis diversis coniunctae

⁷ In this edition, these are always *sovrapposti*.

⁸ This conspectus is patterned largely after Janko (*Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, 199-200).

- $\alpha \tau \beta$ spatium vacuum a librario relictum
[] 0-1 littera deperdita
[] littera deperdita
[---] lacuna ubi litterarum numerus definiri nequit
... reliquiae totidem litterarum incertarum

VI. *deest versus fere i*

-] [] υοντ [---
 ---] ... [---
 ---] τας[]αλλα τὰ ψα[]
 5 ---] ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν []εν[]
 ---] [τῆ]ν γὰρ α κο ν καὶ τὴν []
 ---] ἰμν οὐκ εχουε[]
] χο ον κε α ο αυτ[]
] οὔτε πρ(ὸς) τοὺς ζῶντ[αε
 10] [οὔ]τε πρ(ὸς) τοὺς τετελευτηκότας
] μὴ ὄντας. ὧ ἄλλουε εδο-
] ἡ φυειολογία περιτ του
] ουτοε ἔχει παύει τα []
] επνοασ[]εξαμηνημια
 15 ---] μα τίθηειν. ὧ ἄλλουε ἡ φυειολογία
 ---] τμ ταλειον τι εχε νεικα
 ---] νπ []επ αυτα καὶ μὴ αι
 ---] τοουτ[] αουτοε
 --- τ]ῶν πρ[α]γ]μάτων
 20 ---]
 ---] ονα ν
 ---] ε [---] ατ [---] [] α
 ---] τ[]τε[] τε [] ια[] λον
 ---] α [] []
 25 ---] λεται ἄγειν α[] [] λα[]
 ---] φ φ ομεν κ[] ευεα[]
 ---] ουτε ν πρ(οε)[]
 ---] τααυτ αυτ[]
 ---] θολ [] α
 30 ---] αιρετοε []
 ---] [] εν φιαν[]
 ---] [] τα []
 ---] ... γ []

VI. P. Herc. 1570 pc. 4 col. i; β = 1570-CR04-FIL8-FS8-17740.tif

VI. (*deest ca. i v.*) [---] [] υοντ [---] ... [---] τας[]αλλα τὰ ψα[.....
---] |⁵ ἀλλά τοὺς μὲν []εν[---] [τὴ]ν γὰρ α κο ν καὶ τὴν [---] μιν
οὐκ εχουσ[.....] χο ον κε α ο αυτ[.....]
οὔτε πρ(ὸς) τοὺς ζῶντ[α]ς |¹⁰ οὔτε πρ(ὸς) τοὺς τετελευτηκότας
[.....] μὴ ὄντας. Ὅλλους εδο[.....] ἡ φυσιολογία περιτ
του] ουτος ἔχει παύει τα [.....] σπνοας[]εξαμηνεμια
[---] |¹⁵ μα τίθησιν. Ὅλλους ἡ φυσιολογία[---] τμ ταλειον τι εχε
νεικα[---] νπ []επ αυτα καὶ μὴ αι[---] τοουτ[] αυτος[---] τῶν
πρα[γ]μάτων [---] |²⁰ [---] ονα ν[---] ε [---] ατ [---] [] α
[---] τ[]τε[] τε [] ια[.....] λον[---] α [] [---]
|²⁵ λεται ἄγειν α[] [] λα[---] φ φ ομεν κ[]ευσα[---] ουτε
ν πρ(ος)[.....] [---] τααυτ αυτ[.....] [---] θολ [.....] α
[---] |³⁰ αιρετος [.....] [---] [] εν φιαν[.....] [---]
[.....] τα [.....] [---] ... γ [.....]

VI. (*ca. 17 words missing*) but some (*ca. 3 words missing*); for the (*word missing*)
and the (*ca. 12 words missing*) neither for the living (*1-2 words missing*) |¹⁰ nor for the
dead (*1-2 words missing*) since they do not exist. Some (*2-3 words missing*) the study
of nature (*ca. 4 words missing*) possesses; it stops (*ca. 9 words missing*) it places. |¹⁵
Others the study of nature (*ca. 18 words missing*) of matters (*ca. 70 words missing*)

VII. *desunt versus fere ii*

-] ηση[. . .]λλ[.] κ [.]
 ---] κατὰ καυτοῦ [.] ουνω [.]
 5 ---] αιο ριομοιος[. . .]ολ[]υθησαια[.]
 ---] ταδεη χρημάτων ἔνεκα λ[.]
 ---] ια ὁ σοφός καὶ φωνησο [. . .] [. . .]
 καὶ π[ερ]ισσότερον π [.] τὴν πρῶ-
 τὴν τ[ο]ῦ πλουσίου πρ(ο)ε [.] ν ἄλλων
 10 ἐφ' ἑσῆς ἐχόντων αν [.]
 ἢ πρ(ὸ)ς αὐτὸν ὁμιλία τα α υ [. . .]ον
 α εἰς δῆμον δ' ἐκφυγε δω
 τα καὶ φύγε κατατ . . . υνε ιτ . . . ος
 ρας δῆμων. † ποιεῖσθαι []κίαις καὶ
 15 παραχορῆμα τὰ ἐκφυγ υτ [. . .] ὕστε-
 ρον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ υτ[]ραιαιεστ[. . .] ν πε-
 ρι ικαοις. † καθόλου τε ἐπὶ τοῦ υ-
 ρα μοντος ἱστάμενο[ς] πλούτου καὶ
 πολιτοκοπεῖν τον ροφ[. . .] ον
 20 [. . .] τατ [---] λο ρ . . . α[.]
 ---] δο νεπι [.]
 α φικω [---] α χην[.]
 αικ [---] κρις [.]
 τ [. . .] [---] μιατο [. . .] [.]
 25 [. . .] []δια [---] ων παρ [---]
 ολο ταιεαυτ [.]ια
 τεκαι [---] το αμερ ρ τα
 τουτ [---] υτανειηο αρ καθάπαξ θανά-
 του εκτ [---] ς καθίστησιν οὐ[κ] ἀφοβίαν . . . -
 30 θαιατ [---] ποιει ωνδ [. . .] θα
 πρ(ο)ς [---] οζην ποιει [. . .] ηνουδο
 . . . τα [---] ληθηια [. . .] [. . .] πακυ
 το[. . .] [---] [. . .] [.] [---]
 ξ[. . .] κ [---]

VII. (*desunt ca. ii vv.*) [---]ηχη[]λλ[] κ [] [---]κατὰ καυτοῦ
 [] ουνω []⁵ [---] αιοιομοιο[]ολ[]υθησαια[] [---]
 ταδειη χρημάτων ἔνεκα λ[] [---]ια ὁ σοφός καὶ φωνησο [] [] και
 π[ερ]ισσότερον π [] [] τὴν πρώτην τ[ο]ῦ πλουσίου προ(ο)ε
 [] τ[ω]ν ἄλλων |¹⁰ ἐφ' ἑσῆς ἐχόντων αν [] ἢ προ(ο) αὐτὸν
 ὀμιλία τα α υ []ον α εἰς δῆμον δ' ἐκφυγε δω τα και φύγε
 κατατ [] υνε ιτ [] ος ρας δῆμων. † ποιεῖσθαι [] κίαις και |¹⁵ παρα-
 χρῆμα τὰ ἐκφυγ [] υτ [] ὕστερον και παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ υτ[] ραιαιεστ[] ν
 περι [] ικακοις. † καθόλου τε ἐπὶ τοῦ υ [] ρα μοντος ἰστάμενο[]
 πλούτου και [] πολιτοκοπεῖν τον ροφ[] ον |²⁰ [] τ[] τ[] [---] λο
 ρ [] α[] [---] δο νεπι [] α φικω [---] α χην[] αιεκ [---]
 κρις [] τ [] [---] μιατο [] [] |²⁵ [] [] δια
 [---] ων παρ [---] [---] ολο ταιεαυτ [] ια τεκαι [---]
 το [] αμερ ρ τα [] τουτ [---] το]ῦτ' ἂν εἴη ο [] αρ καθάπαξ
 θανάτου εκτ [---] ς καθίστησιν οὐ[κ] ἀφοβίαν |³⁰ θαιατ [---] ποιει [] ωνδ
 [] θα [] προ(ο) [---] ὄζην ποιει [] ηνουδο [] τα [---]
 ληθηια [] [] πασυ το[] [---] [] [---] ξ[] κ [---]

VII. (*ca. 27 words missing*) for the sake of money (*2-3 words missing*) the sage also
 (*2-3 words missing*) even extraordinarily (*ca. 2 words missing*) the first (*word missing*)
 of the wealthy man, even though others |¹⁰ behave (?) the same way (*ca. 2 words
 missing*) his company (*ca. 2 words missing*) but to escape to the people (*ca. 2 words
 missing*) and flee(!)(*ca. 3 words missing*) of the people. To make (*ca. 2 words missing*)
 |¹⁵ now you (?) must escape these things (*1-2 words missing*), later for the same
 (*infinitive + ca. 4 words missing*). Both, in general, on (*participle missing*) standing
 wealth and (*word missing*) to court the mob (*ca. 39 words missing*) this would be (*word
 missing*) absolutely of death (*word missing*) it doesn't cause fearlessness (*ca. 17 words
 missing*)

VIII. ---] [] []
 ---] [---] απ
 .ιας[]π αυτο[] [] .ια και
 καθη .τ [] [] α α αι
 5 χωρίς πλήθους χρημάτων πα θυμ []ρ
 ἀληθινὴν .ων προικ []
 η[] .αις .και ταιτα κριει η αι κα[ι πε]-
 πρακται Ἐπικούρωι ὡς και ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρ(ος)-
 (θ)εν ε ανικ [] [] η .ι .πη ἄλλος []
 10 .ς λειονη .παρετε η και προ(ος)ηγ-
] .εν και[] .αιοταν .ς κρινεσαια
 θονιατο .αζωσιν .εον οὔτε
 προβαλλόντας τὸ δυσφύλακτον προ(ος)δεόμε-
 νον λιτουργῶν οἶκον[ο]μιῶν καταξιώ-
 15 .σιν ἔχον ο [] ουδας ρισπα
 μουσκα[] [] και κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ
 πλοῦτο[υ] τήρης[ι]ν και οἰκονομίαν με[]-
 λ[] .ς. Ὑ ἀλλὰ μή τίς, φη(σίν), εν .ντ με
 ρ ω .ω .σ και τ θησωκαι
 20 τ νι φθον .προ(ος) [] ντο
 ---] πλοῦτος του [] []
] [] .ια ων κρις [---] α [---
] α [] προ(ος) αο ο [---] αι
]ανα []ωποσπ[]να .ο ... ηι
 25]τερ .σιν ... α του καθ το ... και
] πολι ... [] δ[]ιο ακ [---
]τ[]εταδιο [] και[] [---
] .δο .κι τους []ους
]υσιδι .ιςφωνουδ[]οσωσο
 30]ανεχει .ν προ(ος) [] ν []
]ον ὙὙὙ α τινα [] τ [---]
]πη [] ... [---] [---
]ση .α [---] [---
] τα [] α[]αδε [---] [---
 35]το .ε [] ... [---
 ... [] .εσθα [---
 ---] ... [---

IX-X. *desunt*

VIII. [---] [] [---] [---] απ[]ια[]π[]αυτο[] []
 []ια καὶ καθη[]τ[] [] [] α[]α[]αι⁵ χωρὶς πλήθους
 χρημάτων πα[]θυμ[]ρ[] ἀληθινῶν πρῶς []η[]
 αἰς [] καὶ ταῦτα κρισι[]η[]αι κα[](ἰπε)πρακται Ἐπικούρῳ ὡς καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰσιν [] []η[] []ιπη ἄλλος []¹⁰ []
 λειονη[] παρῆται η[] και προ(σ)ηγγ[]σεν και[] []αιοταν []
 κρινεσαια θονιατο []αζωσιν []εον οὔτε προβαλλόντας τὸ
 δυσφύλακτον προ(σ)δεόμενον λιτουργῶν οἶκον[ο]μιῶν καταξιώσειν¹⁵ ἔχον
 ο[] []ουδας ρισπαμουσκα[] [] και κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ
 πλούτου τήρησιν[ι]ν καὶ οἰκονομίαν με[]λ[]σ. Ὅτι ἀλλὰ μή τις, φη(σίν),
 ἐν[]ντ μερ[]ω[]ω[] και τ[]θησικαι²⁰ τ[]νι φθον[] προ(σ)
 []ντο [---] πλοῦτος του [] [] []ιαων κρισι [---]
 α [---] α [] προ(σ)αο ο [---] αι []ανα []ωποσπ[]να ο ...
 η[]²⁵ []τερ[]σιν ... α του καθ[]το ... και []πολι ... []δ[]ιο
 ακ [---] τ[]εταδιο [] και[] [---] []δο[]κι τουσ
 []ουσ []υσιδι []ιφωνουδ[]οσωσο³⁰ []ανεχει []ν
 προ(σ) []ν []ον³³ α[]τινα []τ [---]
 []πη [] [] ... [---] [---] []ση []α [---] [---] []
 τα [] α[]αδε [---] [---]³⁵ []το []ε [] ... [---] ... []
 εσθα [---] ... [---] (*desunt 2 coll.*)

VIII. (*ca. 20 words missing*)⁵ apart from an abundance of riches (*ca. 2 words missing*)
 true (*ca. 9 words missing*) and has been done by Epicurus, even as in the citation (?)
 above (*ca. 20 words missing*) nor do they propose that they will esteem any necessity
 that can only be retained with difficulty to be equal to an abuse (?) of property
 management (?)¹⁵ because (such a necessity) has (*ca. 7 words missing*) according to the
 preservation itself of wealth and the management of (*word missing*). But – he says – let
 no one (*ca. 14 words missing*) wealth (*ca. 83 words missing + gap of 2 cols., ca. 380*
words)

- XI. ---] .. [---
 ---] ...
 τα []υτονα[.....] εν[]κα κυκοφάν-
 της ευ σο [.....]νιον φη(ειν) ό μέν Φαϊ-
 5 δρος κα ειτα κα[.....]γκ χμεν[] υχ
 ανυτοιςτοτατο[.....] βορωι .. νυ
 αρις και καταφρον [.....] ανουσιν
 τε πολλα άσυνερ[γή]ς α [] .. ενη
]των α .. παρεδρε[ύ]ειν και ει
 10 μικρά. άλλ[ά] μέν άκεφάλαιον τοε [.
 αυτων αορ []ομε νω κ [] ο [.
 μου εύχρηστον .. τον αλιον και εις
 οικονομίαν και εις παρεδ[ρε]ίαν και εις
]δεων καστ ρ [] ..
 15]νη. τ αξι[.....] ατον α [. μο-
 νος ού]κ άριστᾶ ό πένης· συναριστᾶ, φη(είν), αυτωι
 ή κ[λι]νία και τραπέζιον τι—χωλόν γάρ έ-
 τ[έθ]η και πω[]α ύδάριον προ(ο)ηνέχ[θ]η, ἦν
 α[ύ]τος ρυπαρός τ τ ριον όστρακιν ον
 20 []πορευετοιςιν [.....] .. ω
 []ιον ράκινον ρ .. ρον [] αλ
 []ηκυνε[] [.....]χρει .. α ην
 []διο τ[]ουτο [---
 ---] αιν .. [---
 25 ---] ... [---
 ---] [] α [---
 ---] π ... [---
 ---] δαιγαλει αι [---
 ---] ... [---
 30 ---] οννοσ []ορη [---
 ---] ... ων μο [---
 ---] .. εκρου [---

desunt versus ii

-] .. [] ουσις [---
 ---] ου [---
 ---] [---

XI. P. Herc. 1570 pc. 5 col. i (= N 1570 pc. 4 fr. 1); β =1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17730.tif 4 νιον`εχων 18 πω`μ`α

XI. [---] [---] ... τα []υτονα[] εν[]κα κυκοφάντης ευ co
 []νιονεχων φη(σιν) ό μέν Φαῖ⁵δρος κα ειτα κα[]νκ
 χμεν[] υχ ανυτοιςτοτατο[] βορωι νυαρις και καταφρον
 [] ανουσιν τε πολλα άσυνερ[γῆ]ς α [] ενη []των
 α παρεδρε[ύ]ειν και ει ¹⁰ μικρά. άλλ[ά] μέν άκεφάλαιον τοε []
 αυτών αορ []σομε νω κ [] ο [] μου εύχρηστον τον αλιον και εις
 οικονομίαν και εις παρεδ[ρε]ίαν και εις []δεων καστ ρ
 [] ¹⁵ []νῆ. ^τ αξι[] ατον α [] μόνος ούκ άριστᾶ ό
 πένης· συναριστᾶ, φη(σίν), αυτῶι ἠ κ[λι]νία και τραπέζιον τι—χωλόν γάρ
 έτ[έθ]η και πω`μ`α υδάριον προ(σ)ηνέχ[θ]η, ἦν α[ύ]τος ρυπαρός τ τ ριον
 όστρακιν ον ²⁰ []πορευετοιουν [] ω []ιον ράκινον
 ρ ρον [] αλ [] ηκυνε[] []χει α ην [] διο
 τ[]ουτο [---] αιν ... [---] ²⁵ [---] ... [---] [] α [---]π ... [---]
 δαιχαλει αι [---] ... [---] ³⁰ [---] ονονοσ []ορη [---] ... ων μο [---]
 εκρου [---] (*desunt ii vv.*) [---] ³⁵ [---] [] ουσις [---]ου [---]
 [---]

XI. (ca. 15 words missing) a sycophant (3-4 words missing) Phaedrus says (ca. 10 words missing) and scorns (?)(2-3 words missing) and unhelpful in many ways (ca. 5 words missing) to wait upon even if ¹⁰ small. But of secondary importance (?)(word missing) their (ca. 5 words missing) useful (1-2 words missing) for household management, and for paying visits, and for (ca. 10 words missing) the poor man doesn't eat breakfast alone; his couch – he says – takes breakfast with him, and something like a table—for it had been set up broken and (word indistinguishable) a wash-basin (?) had been brought—he himself was filthy (word missing) an ostraca (?)(word missing) ²⁰ is carried (ca. 5 words missing) ragged (ca. 83 words missing)

XII. ---] ... α[...] ... [---
 ---] ττ ἔργων στ[] πα [---
 ρις πά[μπολ]υ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων [γνώ-
 ρισιν διατροπὴν τε καὶ αἰσχύνην κατὰ τὴν
 5 αὐτοδιακονησίαν καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιφέρει. ἡ πε-
 νία μικρολογίας ἔμφασιν ἐμποίει[ι], καθό-
 {δ}ου τὸν βίον ἀτερπῆ{ι} παρέχεται καὶ ἀδιά-
 γωγον τὸν μὴν παραλαβεῖν ἡλίκασ συνέδ-
 ρους δύνηται· μὴ ἐπὶ δούλο[ν] μὴ αὐτὸς ἀπο-
 10 θεν ὁ διακονη [] ἀντικαλεῖ[ι]ν· ἀπαρρη-
 κίαστον ὁ ἰοντο[ν] [] ποίει τὸν τοιοῦ
 καθόλου φασὶν καὶ κα [] ετελευτας χρ
 μ νυκνης ἐπιφέρει κ ἐκφορὰς καὶ τάφους
 [] []ιουτοισα[] α [---
 15 > ... θρηνο[ς] ἡ εν αι. τ πρῶτον πρ(ὸς) ἐ-
 κάστην αὐτῶν τ ἀπολογητέον, φη(σίν) ὁ ἱερός, [ἐ-]
 μ(ο)ῖ τρ(όπω) περ[ι]αιροῦντ[ι] τὰ ψευδῶς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπ[ου]
 αὐτῆι πρ(οσ)[τιθέμ[ε]ν[α]. τοῦτ' οὖν ποιήσομεν.
 ἀλλὰ κα [] [] [] οὐδ' ἐν ἐξαριθμούμε-
 20 νον [] //κενωσπλ//[] υνι πρ(οσ)απ ομ
 περ [---] //τα π//αρακολουθ []
 κ//αι// [---] α πρ(οσ)εμφα[]
 [---] υδ υ []
 ---] [---] []
desunt versus ii
 ... κερ [---
 οισ καὶ α [---
 αλλο πρ(οσ) [---
 30 αι γὰρ ει [---
 ἐπλανηθ [---
 λογοι αλ [---
 ρ [---
 []ταιω τι [---
 35 αντι [---
 ψε [---
 [---

XII. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 5 col. ii (= *N* 1570 pc. 4 fr. 2); β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17731.tif

XII. [---] α[] [---] ἔργων στ[] πα[---]ρις πά[μπολ]υ περι
τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων [γνώ]ρισιν διατροπὴν τε καὶ αἰσχύνην κατὰ τὴν
|⁵ αὐτοδιακονησίαν καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιφέρει. ἡ πενία μικρολογίας ἔμφασιν
ἐμποίει[ι], καθό(λ)ου τὸν βίον ἀτερπῆ παρέχεται καὶ ἀδιάγωγον τὸν μὴν
παραλαβεῖν ἡλίκασ συνέδρους δύνηται· μὴ ἐπὶ δούλο[ν] μὴ αὐτὸς ἄπο¹⁰θεν
ὁ διακονη [] ἀντικαλεῖ[ι]ν· ἀπαρρησίαστον οἰοντον[] ποίει τὸν
τοιου καθόλου φασίν καὶ κα [] ετελευτας χρ μ νσυνης ἐπιφέρει κ
ἐκφοράσ καὶ τάφους [] []λουτοισα[] α [---]
|¹⁵ θρηνο[σ] η εν αι. Ἦ πρῶτον πρ(ὸς) ἐκάστην αὐτῶν Ἦ ἀπολο-
γητέον, φη(σίν) ὁ ἱερὸς, [ἐ]μ(ὸ)ι τρ(όπω) περ[ι]αιροῦντ[ι] τὰ ψευδῶς ὑπ'
ἀνθρώπ[ου] αὐτῆι πρ(οσ)[τιθέμ[ε]ν[α]· τοῦτ' οὔν ποιήσομεν ἀλλὰ κα []
[] [] οὐδ' ἐν ἐξαριθμούμε|²⁰νον [] //κενωσπλ//[] υνι πρ(οσ)απ ομ
περ [---]//τα π//αρακολουθ [] κ//αί// [---]α πρ(οσ)εμφα[]
[---] υδ υ [] [---] [] (desunt ii vv.) κερ [---]οισ καὶ
α [---]αλλο πρ(οσ) [---] |³⁰ αοι γὰρ ει [---]επλανηθ [---]λογοι αλ
[---] ρ [---] []ταιω τι [---] |³⁵ αντι [---] ψε [---] [---]

XII. (*ca.* 6 words missing) of tasks (*ca.* 5 words missing) concerning the discernment of necessities it causes both confusion and shame on account of |⁵ self-service (?), as well as other things. Poverty stresses stinginess; it generally offers a life that is cheerless and makes him impossible to live with: it is impossible to receive a group of friends, neither by a servant nor he himself who ministers (?) from |¹⁰ afar (*1-2 words missing*) to call not frank in speech (*ca.* 2 words missing) makes him so (?). Generally they also say that (*ca.* 5 words missing) brings about both the funeral-procession and the funeral-rites (*ca.* 5 words missing) |¹⁵ a dirge (*ca.* 2 words missing). First of all, against each of these (accusations) I must – says that holy man (?) – offer a defense by somehow refuting the false accusations of men against it (*sc.* poverty); so this I shall do, but also (*ca.* 3 words missing) nothing is reckoned (*ca.* 8 words missing) attending upon (*ca.* 85 words missing)

- XIII. ---] [---
] α ουτου [---] τοτ [---
 ιον ι ου ου [---] λλους τῶν
 τ υτικων δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνων[ε
 5 τασα ιζ[] παρρησίαν ἔχοντα
 πο α ημ ε ν καὶ [ο]ύκ ἀναγκαῖ-
 ον υνεπιτας τονδεκ[] αντανο ν
 τ[]οπ το ἀπαρρησίαστον καὶ ταπεινὸν
 ἐπιφέρει οὐχ ἢ πενία. ἀλλ' εἴαν εμπενια
 10 τη ἀκέραιος καὶ ωτος ἢ πολ-
 λή μ α ον καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχει καὶ ἀκα-
 ταφρο [] οκλο ε ποα οι κα-
 ταφρονεῖ ω ιτους[.....] [] ςματα[] ν
 νμ ο [] δ ητινατα[
 15]α[]αιαγεν[] []ορ τὴν πενίαν
 καταφρονῆται εἴαν δὲ τηρητουφος
 καιαπ χνοαι παντός ἀδίκου κα[]αι
 χρ το ἀκέραιον καὶ πιστόν καια τα
 π [---] τηρη //c//[]πρ(ος) ... [---
 20 α [---] ναγεκ//κ// [---
 ---] αιμη [---
 ---] επουςκ [---

desunt versus fere xviii

XIII. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 5 col. iii (= *N* 1570 pc. 4 fr. 3); β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17735.tif

XIII. [---] [---] α ουτου [---] τοτ [---] ιον ι ου ου [---] λλους
 τῶν τ υτικων δικαίως και σωφρόνω[c] |⁵ τασα ιζ[] παρρησίαν
 ἔχοντα πο α ημ c ν και [ο]ὐκ ἀναγκαῖον υνεπιτας τονδεκ[]
 αντανο ν τ[]οπ το ἀπαρρησίαστον και ταπεινὸν ἐπιφέρει οὐχ ἡ πενία,
 ἀλλ' εἴαν εμπενια|¹⁰τη ἀκέραιος και ωτος ἡ πολλή μ α ον και
 παρρησίαν ἔχει και ἀκαταφρο [] οκλο ε ποα οι καταφρονεῖ
 ω ιτους[] [] cματα[] ν νμ ο [] δ ητινατα |¹⁵ []α
 []αιαγεν[] []ορ τήν πενίαν καταφρονῆται εἴαν δὲ τηρητουφος
 καιαπ χνοαι παντός ἀδίκου κα[]αι χρ το ἀκέραιον και πιττόν
 καια τα π [---] τηρη //c//[]πρ(ος) ... [---] α[---] |²⁰ ναγεκ//κ// [---]
 αιμη [---]επουςκ [---] (*desunt ca. xviii vv.*)

XIII. (*ca. 16 words missing*) justly and prudently |⁵ (*ca. 3 words missing*) someone (?)
 possessing frank speech (*ca. 3 words missing*) also not necessary (*ca. 6 words missing*)
 poverty does not imply (that one is) not frank in speech and abased. But if (*1-2 words
 indistinguishable*) |¹⁰ uncorrupted and (*word missing*) much (*word missing*) both
 possesses frank speech and is beyond reproach (?)(*ca. 4 words missing*). He (?) scorns
 (*ca. 12 words missing*) |¹⁵ he (?) would scorn poverty. But if (*ca. 4 words missing*) of
 each unjust (*ca. 2 words missing*) unharmed and trusted (*ca. 95 words missing*)

XIV. *desunt versus fere ii*

- τους αδ [---
ουσει[]το [---
5 νησποα [---
ομη προ(ο)π [---
ανειδ [---
τοιουτ [---
ησφαλιζ [---
10 το πενία [---
κατατ [---
αλλα [---
νια α [---
ντοσα [---
15 εχεσουχ [---
θα[]διαιο [---
καιπαρε [---
απολλυ [---
ναικα [---
20 κ [---
α [---
[---
[---

XIV. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 5 col. iv (= *N* 1570 pc. 4 fr. 3); β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17735.tif

XIV. (*desunt ca. ii vv.*) τους αδ [---]ουσει[]το [---]νησποα [---]ομη πρ(ο)π
[---]ανειδ [---]τοιουτ [---]ησφαλιζ [---]το πενία [---]κατατ [---]αλλα ..
[---]νια α [---]ντοσα [---]εχεσουχ [---]θα[]δαιο [---]καιπαρε
[---]απολλυ [---]ναικα [---]κ .. [---]α .. [---] .. [---] .. [---]

XIV. (*ca. 45 words missing*) poverty (*ca. 143 words missing*)

XV. *desunt versus fere vi*

---] α [] c[
 ---] το[] [
 ---] ο []τα
 10 ---] [
 ---] [
 ---] [
 ---] τοτ []τ [] τ
 ---] τ[]ον αι αι
 15 ---] μα[] ι [
 ---] ειθν [] ξ
 ---] ο [
 ---] ον ριο
 ---] τ[]υτ[]
 20 ---] [] [] []τ
 ---] ττ[] [] α
 ---] ...
 ---] τ ...
 ---] ρ
 25 ---] [] [] τττ[]
 ---] [] [] [] [] αρ[]αι
 ---] [] []
 ---] [] τ cco ταιπα
 ---] τττ [] της α
 30 ---] τ[] [] [] []ο
 ---] [] [] ολο[] [
 ---] []ατ [] τ
 ---] [] []ειστηνθε []
 ---] α[] α α []
 35 ---] []

XV. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 6a col. i; $\beta = 1570\text{-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17743.tif}$, $\beta = 1570\text{-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17744.tif}$

XV. (*desunt ca. vi vv.*) [---] α [] c[. . . ---] . το[] [. ---] ο [] τα
[---] [. . . ---] [. . . ---] [. . . ---] τοτ [] τ
[] τ [---] τ[]ον αι αι [---] μα[] ι [] [---] ειθν
[. . .] ξ [---] ο [. . . ---] ον ριο [---] τ[. . .]υτ
[. . .] [---] [] [] [] τ [---] ττ[] [] α [---] ...
[---] τ ... [---] ρ [---] [. . .] [. . .] τττ[] [---] [] []
[] [] αρ[]αι [---] [] [. . .] [---] [] τ cco ταιπα [---]
τττ [] της α [---] τ[. . .] [] [] [. . .] ο [---] [. . .] [] ολο
[] [---] [] ατ [] τ [---] [] [. . .] εις τήν θε
[. . .] α[. . .] α α [---] [. . .]

XV. (*remnants of 1 col., ca. 190 words*)

XVI. *deest versus fere i*

] [] []
] [] [] ηται []
 εν ε [] χορηγίαν [] αφι
 5 [] [] νιακ κονα α
] [] λ [] πένητες ταυτ []
 ριπτο [] αφθ ν []
 χατισλ [] τ []
 ατοσν [] ειαισ [] εχε [] φιλ []
 10 ασμα [] ασ α σοπ
 μηπαν [] ατ εμπεςηα []
 λ τα [] αττο τα ου α
 ο τει λ [] υοι ογλ υτο []
 ε [] π [] [] [] ατα []
 15 [] [] [] [] [] [] ει ν ειτ []
 α ου δυσπόριστον [] αδα σ κα
 γομενα κοινά [] απ [] τῆς φιλοσοφίας π[ερὶ
 τῆ[ς] ψυχῆς δε ον [] τους δασ
 π τοτωνοτεν ωτ νπ []
 20 υ [] αι σοφίας [] ουσης []
 α τατ [] αια ωτη []
 α [] [] χορηγεῖν σ []
 [] [] ι χαρ [] []
 τα [] [] [] [] ο ια θελε [] α []
 25 ν [] κ ν οιμη ρ οντ
] ακ προ(σ)φε ται. † μῆ δῆμοι π
 αε [] προβάλλει ω ιστου καὶ διὰ πε-
 νίας ταυτ α [] πολαύειν ιασ
 ο ση αιπα τεμ οὔκετι τοῦ χρόνου.
 30 πολυχῶς γὰρ κ νταςλη τολ
 ο αν [] τ]ήν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πολυτέλει-
 αν σ [] το [] τον ἔχει. ταύτης δ προ(σ)
 τ [] τ ουσιος δέμη σοφός η χρα
 α [] αιτη τε ειςτ [] ασειτο []
 35 [] [] εχ ντοις αυτ λες [] υτοπλ []
 [] ν ν [] αλει ο [] τ
 [] [] [] []

XVII. ---] [---
 [---] τοι [---] α
 πο [] καιδο ους []
 τ αο[] πα [] [] [] τ
 5 δυς[] αι γάρ αυ [] [] α
 τ η [] ου [] θον
 α [] η α ιν [] ω
 ε πρ(ος)[] ναδε την ^τ ...
 > υσκο τοιο ηρ δ π τ ως
 10 η ν ιον α καια ε
 το τις φυσι [] τος νε
 ειου πρ(ος) Λεωστρατον. την δε πρα πρ(ος)
 διαρ[] αη η χον
 τ [] δ [] [] [] το
 15 κ τ ω τ
 τ ους[] σ ^τ οπαν ν ο το ο
 τ [] σ [] υπετα θαικαιτ
 τ υτο παρέχεσθαι ^τ δεύτερος
 και τον ασ[] δηπ []
 20 ζονα λογ αυ
 ρ ω το υτος μ νοστρ
 καιτ [] [] [] ο π
]ς []
 τονε τ [] πρ(ος) [] [] γελη
 25 [] [] [---]
]αι[]κ []ηι [---]
] α ο[] και [---]
]χ[]το αυτη [] ε [---] ρ
]π υται δια [] [] [---]
 30 [---] τον τῆς φ[]
] τλο αυ [---] []
 φύσεως α[]π [---] καιτηι[]α
 τιφα []δες [---] ε ι []
 τε νδε [---] το [] κ
 35] ο []αιτ [---] [] φ[]
] τ [] πα [---] [---]
 πολ [---]

XVII. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 6a col. iii; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17745.tif; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17746.tif

XVII. [---] . . . [---] . . . [---] τοι [---] α πο [. . .] καιδο . . . ους .
[.] . . . τ αο[. . .] πα [] [] [] τ ⁵ δυς[. . .] . . .
. αι γάρ αυ [. . .] [. . .] α τ η [. . .] ου [.] θον α . . .
[. . .] η α ιν [. . .] . . . ω ε προ(ος)[. . .] ναδε . . . την [†] . . . υσκο τοιο
. . . ηρ δ π τ ως ¹⁰ η ν ιον . . . α . . . καια ε το τις φυσι [. . .]
. τος νε ειου προ(ος) Λεώστρατον. τήν δέ πρα προ(ος) διαρ[. . .]
. αη η χοντ[. . .] δ [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] το . . . ¹⁵ κ τ
. ω τ τ ους[. . .] σ [†] οπαν ν ο το ο τ[. . .] σ [. . .]
. υπετα θαικαιτ τ υτο παρέχεσθαι [†] δεύτερος και τον
. ας[. . .] δηπ [. . .] ²⁰ ζονα λογ αυ ρ ω το υτος . . . μ
. νοστρ καιτ [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] ο π [. . .] σ [.]
.] τονε τ [. . .] προ(ος) [. . .] [.] γελη ²⁵ [. . .]
[. . .] [---] [. . .] αι[. . .] κ [. . .] ηι [---] [. . .] α ο[. . .] και [---].
[. . .] χ[. . .] το αυτη [. . .] ε [---] ρ [. . .] π υται δια [. . .] [. . .] [---].
³⁰ [---] τον τῆς φ[. . .] [. . .] τλο αυ [---] [. . .]
φύσεως α[. . .] π [---] καιτηι[. . .] ατιφα [. . .] δες [---] ε ι [. . .] τε
. νδε [---] το κ ³⁵ [. . .] ο [. . .] αιτ [---] [. . .] φ[. . .] [. . .] τ
[. . .] πα [---] [---] πολ [---]

XVII. (ca. 28 words missing) against Leostratus. But the (ca. 29 words missing) to provide. Second (ca. 65 words missing) of nature (ca. 29 words missing)

XVIII. *deest versus fere i*

[---
 [] αδε α []
 [] α υκα [] []
 5 [] τα [] ως ακ
 [] προειρ [] η υ α
 [] ρηδηοτ[] [] υμην []
 τοσευ [] ρο επ τει ε []
 κ ισητε [] αριθ τοι υμ υη
 10 οκριπωνο[] ω[] ηριπ πασμο α[]
 νει προ(ο)τ ν [] των τωοο ι
 ωσοντονε[] τν ρπι ω
 ρθεν [] το τομ [] τ [] ο
 σποτ [] ατεινεντ [] []
 15 ενη θυμιατῶν μη και
 αλλα η ς παν μη ης ν υ
 [] ης συμπλη [] σα [] αλλαι
 [] νωο ατ τοῦ χαίροντοο τ
 [] ετ [] ουτοο ο πλοῦτοο και
 20 ν χορω[] πλοῦτοο φια ν
 [] υτοιτ του []
 [] αλλ αιαπ
 λ [] ν ριστ
 για τ νο [] σο ἀπό τοῦ χαίρ[ο]ντ[οο
 25 πλουτο πλήθει νο χρημα
 φ τ[] ο τόν φυσικόν πλοῦτοο κατὰ
 κενόν. ἀλλά τοῖο προείρημένοιο
 οια μ τοιοῦτοο ωνκεν ^{TT} επετ
 κατὰ περιτάσε[ι]ο και τόποοο τὰ αὐτοῦ
 30 χρήματα ηολ αηπολλα καικατ
 περιεοτηκότ[α] τα ενπλο ναο
 ἔχει περιε τ[] οδε λεν αγο
 ητε νωκηα[] ω ευμάτων και
 δη τ οιο [] μενοιοοπ ε δ
 35 [] [] τον λ[] του ο[]

XVIII. P. Herc. 1570 pc. 6a col. iv; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17745.tif; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17746.tif 18 ν`τισα δανα ινε γι[] αΐως

XVIII. (desunt ca. i v.) [---] []αδε α []α υκα []
 [] |⁵ [] τα [] ως ακ [] προειρ []
 [] η υ α [] ρηδηοτ[] [] υμην [] τοσευ
 [] ρο επ τει ε [] κ ισητε [] αριθ τοι υμ υη
 |¹⁰ οκριπωνο[] ω[] ηριπ πασμ ο α[] νει προ(ο)τ ν []των τωοο
 ι ωσοντονε[] τν ρπι ω ρθεν []το τομ []τ []ο
 σποτ []ατεινεν [] [] |¹⁵ ενη θυμιατων μη
 και αλλα η ς παν μη ης ν υ []ης συμπλη [] σα []
 αλλαι [] ντισα δανα ινε γι[] αιως ατ του χαίροντος
 τ [] στ [] ουτος ο πλοῦτος και |²⁰ ν χορω[]
 πλοῦτον φια ν [] υτοιτ σου [] αλλ
 αιαπ λ [] [] ν ριστ για τ νο [] σο από
 του χαίρ[ο]γτ[ο]σ |²⁵ πλουτο πλήθει νο χρημα φ τ[]ο τον
 φυσικόν πλοῦτον κατά κενόν. ἀλλά τοῖς προεیرهμένοις οια μ
 τοιούτος ωνκεν ^{TT} επετ κατά περιτάσε[ι]ς και τόπους τὰ αὐτοῦ
 |³⁰ χρήματα ηολ αηπολλα καικατ περιεστηκότ[α] τα ενπλο νας ἔχει
 περιε τ[] οδε λεν αγο ητε νωκηα[]ω ευμάτων και δη τ οιο
 []μενοιςπ ε δ |³⁵ [] [] τον λ[] του ο[]

XVIII. (ca. 89 words missing) of one enjoying (ca. 4 words missing) wealth (ca. 3 words missing) |²⁰ wealth (ca. 19 words missing) from one enjoying |²⁵ wealth (?)(word missing) in abundance (ca. 4 words missing) natural wealth because (it is) unfulfilling. But for those which have been preferred (ca. 6 words missing) due to extension and opportunity, |³⁰ his riches (ca. 4 words missing) have been distributed (ca. 3 words missing) it has (ca. 19 words missing)

XIX. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 6a col. v; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17747.tif; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17748.tif

XIX. [---] [---] co [---] [---] υc[]
 [---] |⁵ π [] το [---] [] α [] [---] α
 [] [] οημ[] τελ [] [] π [] φορ ν [] [] ὑπό τοῦ
 Ἐπικούρου [] [] α ο ια[] τ[] |¹⁰ πρ(ός) Λεώστρατον [] [] τμ
 ον [] και φη(σιν) ειν τον τἀναγκαῖα πλυ [] ταπωσ[] ναι
 προεκρίνεται ε πδιαφο[] ειση. οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε πᾶν π [] ουτουτα[]
 [] ενασα [] φορασ |¹⁵ [] ωστε ν και τὸν κενὸν [] []
 τοις π[ε]ρειελήφετο πλοῖον συνάμα [] τουφουσι[] τ ασαπο ττ
 [] φορασα [] δεμη ουδ εθα[] φυσικὸν [] μοντι [] υ πρωτο
 ερ[] ουδεπ[] του [] |²⁰ εινοτις φ[] ον σα το[] [] τοστι
 αγ[] ησιντου[] [] ὀλίγους α [] αευεινα[]
 φυσικὸν π[] [] ονεχει [] ποριστον ε [] δετωνκεν[] δε
 |²⁵ ξ ρισαπ [] [] κπ ειν ειουα τανπ απ[] σκα [] ντων χ
 [] υτ νευποριστ ων [] α τῶν φυσικῶν υ [] ποριστ ν αις ο
 στον φησιν αυτον[] πναιαν κα |³⁰ α ν πρ(ός) τὸν ἀναγκαῖον διάφορον
 οὐ δυσπ ον φη(σιν) αυτ ε αι και αυτον [] [] υτονπο[] μακ
 φαίνεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν βαδίζων ατα [] ν πρ(ός) ἐκεῖνον, δι[α]φορα[]
 |³⁵ α μεν [] αλλουδυσ αωσ [] αυ[] τον [] [] φα [---]

XIX. (ca. 40 words missing) by Epicurus (ca. 3 words missing) |¹⁰ against Leostratus (ca. 5 words missing) he (?) says (word missing) the necessities (ca. 3 words missing) it is distinguished (word missing) the difference (?)(word missing). For surely at least not everything (ca. 9 words missing) |¹⁵ and what is vain (1-2 words missing) he (?) intercepted a boat together with (ca. 10 words missing) natural (ca. 17 words missing) few (ca. 6 words missing) natural (ca. 4 words missing) provided (ca. 15 words missing) procured with ease (ca. 3 words missing) of natural things (word missing) provided (ca. 2 words missing) he (?) says (ca. 3 words missing) |³⁰ toward the necessary, different, not secured with difficulty (?) – he (?) says – (ca. 7 words missing) he (?) is plainly walking by himself (ca. 2 words missing) toward that man, a difference (ca. 10 words missing)

XX. *desunt versus fere vii*

---] ||co. || [---

---] ||γ̇ϕ|| [---

desunt versus fere x

---] ||ω|| [---

desunt versus fere xix

XX. *P. Herc.* 1570 pc. 6a col. vi; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17747.tif; β = 1570-CR02-FIL8-FS8-17748.tif

XX. (*desunt ca. vii vv.*) [---] ||co . || [---] ||γϙυ|| [---] (*desunt ca. x vv.*) [---] ||ω||
[---] (*desunt ca. xix vv.*)

XX. (*remnants of 1 col., ca. 190 words*)

Chapter 3

Commentary

The ten columns on pcc. 4-6a that give sense (VI–VIII, XI–XIII, XVI–XIX) reveal three primary themes, all ethical. The first theme (VI–VII) is that death is of no consequence, a concept discussed in light of the effects of *physiologia* on different people, and followed, after a large gap, by a repeated admonition to escape and to flee; but the argument ultimately returns to death and to fearlessness. The second theme (VIII; XI–XIII) is the neutral status of poverty, a defense of poverty against the bad reputation conceived among men. In this defense, wise management of property is urged, friendliness toward even the most impoverished friend is encouraged, and poverty itself is praised for encouraging frank speech and respect. The third theme (XVI–XIX) is the actual value of wealth, or abundance: natural goods, which are easy to obtain, are contrasted with artificial goods, which are difficult to obtain.

Col. VI treats two significant Epicurean themes, death and *physiologia*. Death is the subject of lines 9-11 (οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας |¹⁰ οὔ]τε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας | [.] μὴ ὄντας), a near direct quotation, with some paraphrasing, of Epicurus' advice to Menoecus:

ὁ θάνατος οὐθέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ περ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν,
ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν· ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῆ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς
οὐκ ἔσμεν. οὔτε οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς
τετελευτηκότας, ἐπειδὴ περ περὶ οὐκ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δ'
οὐκέτι εἰσίν.¹

¹ *Ep. ad Menoecum* 125 (= D.L. 10.125)

Both lacunae are probably paraphrases of the causal statements in Epicurus' letter. The first is likely a paraphrase of ἐπειδὴ περὶ οὐκ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, 'since it is of no concern to them [*sc.* the living]'; but it may simply contain a predicate nominative (e.g., ὁ θάνατος). The second could contain one word (e.g., ἡμᾶς), or two (e.g., τοὺς δέ, or τῇ φύσει), always qualifying the nonexistence expressed by μὴ ὄντας, which paraphrases Epicurus' οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν, 'for they [*sc.* the dead] no longer exist'.

Immediately subsequent to this paraphrase is a pair of declarations concerning the effects of *physiologia* on people. Each is set off by an initial *spatium* and begins with the masculine, plural, direct object, ἄλλους, followed by the subject, ἡ φυσιολογία. (It is a curious fact that no correlative particle appears in either statement!) The verbal notions in these declarations are yet indistinguishable, and the remainder of the column yields little sense.

Col. VII urges escape (ἐκφεύγειν) and flight, or avoidance (φεύγειν), and seems to suggest seeking refuge among the people (cf. εἰς δῆμον [line 12], πολιτοκοπεῖν [line 19]). Other terms appear in relative isolation: wealth (πλούσιος, πλούτος), riches (χρήματα), and one's manner of speaking (ὁμιλία). The phrase θανάτου... καθίεστησιν οὐ[κ] ἀφοβίαν (line 29) recalls the initial theme of col. VI as well as other parts of Epicurus' letter.² The occurrence of at least one imperative verb (φύγε: line 13)—if not also two others (ἐκφυγε: lines 12, 15)—and the possible phrase κατὰ καυτοῦ (line 4) imply direct address for much of this column.

² *Ep. ad Menoecium* 122, 133: [ἡ ἀφοβία] τῶν μελλόντων and περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως [ἔχων].

Col. VIII makes reference to riches in abundance (πληθὺς χρημάτων), and contains six lines at mid-height that address the preservation of goods. Lines 7-8 name Epicurus in referring, perhaps, to some of his words cited previously: ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρο(ο)ς(θ)εν—it is unclear whether this refers the reader back to VI 9-11.

Lines 13-18 discuss the preservation, or the preservability, of goods. A finite verb is lacking, so interpretation of the argument rests on a participle introducing an indirect statement that is expressed by a future infinitive:

οὔτε προβαλλόντας τὸ δυσφύλακτον προ(ο)δεόμενον λειτουργῶν
οἶκον[ο]μιῶν καταξιώ¹⁵σειν ἔχον ο [] οὐδ' α
ριπα|μουκα[] [] και κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ | πλούτου[υ]
τήρησι[ι]ν καὶ οἰκονομίαν με[]λ[]

‘nor do they (?) propose that they will esteem any necessity that can only be retained with difficulty to be equal to an abuse (?) of property management (?) because (such a necessity) has...according to the very preservation of wealth and the management of (something else).’

Admittedly, λειτουργῶν and οἶκον[ο]μιῶν are both troublesome: each contains three doubtful letters; and λειτουργός is a rare synonym of κακοῦργος, while οἰκονομία is unusual in the plural. Likely, one of these two nouns depends on καταξιοῦν, the other depends on the other *noun* (e.g. an objective genitive); but the first noun could also be the genitive object of προ(ο)δεόμενον: τὸ δυσφύλακτον προ(ο)δεόμενον λιτο
ων ‘something that can only be retained with difficulty (and) that (also) lacks (*word uncertain*)’.

The administration and preservation of property is discussed in various works of Philodemus;³ obviously it appears in *De oeconomia* (*P. Herc.* 1424), but it is also mentioned in *De divitiis* (*P. Herc.* 163). *De divitiis* refers to φυλακή (XVIII [fr. 2] 14-15)⁴ and to οἰκονομία (LVIII);⁵ *De oeconomia* refers throughout to οἰκονομία, but also to ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τήρησις (XIV 9-10), to πορίζεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν (XXII 8-9, XXIV 19, XXVI 46-47), and to ἐπιμέλεια καὶ φυλακή (XXVIII 3-4). Multiple other terms in col. VIII (δυσφύλακτος, οἰκονομία, and τήρησις) also have precedent in Philodemus.

Col. XI follows a gap of two lost columns; its text is often illegible, but it probably discusses the importance of paying friendly visits. It may begin with a citation from a Phaedrus, but the transcription yields little sense in his regard. Three related terms (ἄσυνεργός, παρεδρεία, παρεδρεύειν) appear in lines 8-13, among many indistinguishable words; the first ('unhelpful') is opposed to the second ('a visit') and the third ('to attend upon'). That these may apply to visiting an impoverished friend is implied by what follows. On lines 15-19, an excerpt—seemingly attributed, in the telling, to a person unnamed—from the life of a poor man is recounted: the poor man does not take breakfast alone, but in the company of his couch, his lame table, his wash-basin—his meager property.

If there is an immediate correlation between the description of the poor man's breakfast and the terminology of being helpful, it may be a call to visit the poor man so

³ G. Indelli and V. Tsouna-McKirahan, eds., *[Philodemus] [On Choices and Avoidances]*, La Scuola di Epicuro: Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da Marcello Gigante 15 (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995), 70.

⁴ Tepedino, "Sulla ricchezza," 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

that he need not only entertain his furniture. *De oeconomia* XXVI 1-18 suggests, in fact, that offering oneself as a friend to another is of especial worth in ‘bad times’:

Χρή δὲ, καθάπερ πλειόνων προσπερόντων χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἀβλαβέσι τῶν ὀρέξεων αὐτοῖς καὶ φίλοις, οὕτω ⁵ συμβάσης ἀδραῶς κοιλότητος | ἀναμάχεσθαι ταῖς μὴ ἀνελευθέρους συστολαῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον | γε ταῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς εἰς | φίλους, καὶ πρὸς ἐπικέψεις |¹⁰ καὶ παρεδρείας ἐνίοις καὶ | συλλογισμῶν συνθέσεις | κατατίθεσθαι τινὰς χρόνους | μήτε αἰσχύ[ν]εσθαι μήτε | φιλοσοφίας δοκεῖν ἀφαιρεῖν· ¹⁵ τὸ γὰρ πλεονάζον αἰσχρόν | ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον χρήσιμον | εὐσχημον, αἰσχρον δὲ πάλιν τὸ μηδ[έ] ἔν.⁶

Laurenti sees in this passage an important kernel of Epicurean wisdom:

Epicuro doveva scorgere in quegli atti la sublimazione della *φιλία*; si pensi soprattutto alla *παρεδρεία*, l’assessio, il sedere presso qualcuno, forse presso un malato, un’azione che Epicuro stesso poteva aver suggerito se passò infermo buona parte della vita (e Metrodoro scrisse un libro sulle infermità di Epicuro).⁷

παρεδρεία and *παρεδρεύειν* in col. XI likely allude to expressing friendship in times of difficulty; and the excerpt about the poor man’s company seems an attempt to summon mercy, evoking pity by inserting diminutive and disparaging terminology (e.g., *τραπέζιον τι, χωλόν, ῥυπαρός, ὀστρακ-, ῥάκινος*).

Coll. XII–XIII continue to discuss the poor man, and ultimately turn to an evaluation of frank speech and contempt. Col. XII contains two substantial sections of

⁶ “In realtà, come bisogna indulgere a se stessi e agli amici nei desideri innocui quando c’è abbondanza di cose, così, quando capita un periodo di gravi strettezze, bisogna rimediarsi con una parsimonia non illiberale e più nei confronti di se stessi che degli amici, e non vergognarsi di destinare qualche tempo alle salutazioni, alle visite, allo scambio dei pareri con qualcuno, senza peraltro pensare di togliere qualcosa alla filosofia: il soverchio è brutto, ma nei limiti in cui è utile, è decoroso e, di conseguenza, niente è brutto” (Laurenti, *Il pensiero economico*, 175; emphasis mine throughout).

⁷ Laurenti, *Il pensiero economico*, 176. Philodemus’ *De ira* X 33-9 employs *παρεδρεύειν* as suggested here, describing a nurse attending to a madman (G. Indelli, ed.

text: lines 3-13 articulate a series of allegations against poverty, whereas lines 16-18 begin a systematic refutation of the charges.⁸ The allegations address certain limitations of poverty: stinginess (μικρολογία), an unhappy (ἀτερπής) and unlivable (ἀδιάγωγος) life, and the inability to entertain groups of guests. A dipole appears to the left of the column, between line 15 and line 16, marking a passage set off from the text by a *spatium* at its beginning and its end. Lines 15-18 accept the challenge of an unspecified, holy person (ὁ ἱερός)⁹ to defend poverty against each of the accusations previously articulated. The defense seems to emphasize the fact that poverty is neither a virtue nor a vice, but as a state of existence.¹⁰

Lines 3-5 allege that poverty produces confusion and shame. The confusion (διατροπή) regards the necessities: περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων [. . .]|ριειν (lines 3-4). In supplementing this lacuna, context could permit a word denoting discernment, or differentiation, or knowledge; but it must conform to the pattern (apparent throughout this text) of correct syllabification at line-ends; thus [διάκ]|ριειν is improbable, [γνώ]|ριειν is possible. Allegedly, poverty confuses the ability to recognize necessities, and shame (αἰσχύνη) allegedly stems from poverty's requiring self-service (αὐτοδιακονησία), as opposed, perhaps, to affording hired help.

Filodemo, L'Ira, La Scuola di Epicuro: Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da Marcello Gigante 5 [Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995], 70, 114.

⁸ To Prof. Daniel Graham I owe much of the reconstruction of this column and, especially, the immediate correlation between the allegations and the beginning of their refutation.

⁹ This is not a priest (ἱερεὺς), but seems a substantival adjective referring to a source named previously, expressing reverence for him.

¹⁰ Philodemus' *De divitiis* distinguishes poverty (πενία), subsistence on little (XLV 4-5), from indigence (πτωχεία), absolute deprivation (XLV 15-17; cf. Del Mastro, "PHerc. 163 e 209," 323-4). Wealth (πλούτος), it follows, is living in abundance.

Lines 7-10 allege inability to receive (παραλαμβάνω) large groups of friends or even to return the favor of an invitation (ἀντικαλέω), all on account of poverty. Lines 12-15 are partially lacunose, but seem to conclude the argument mentioning death (τελευτή) and the trappings of a funeral: the procession (ἐκφορά), the rites (τάφος), the lament (θρῆνος). At this point (line 15) the allegations end and their rebuttal begins. The author professes the intention to counter each accusation: πρὸς ἑκάστην αὐτῶν ἀπολογητέον (where the feminine, singular adjective [ἐκάστη] must refer to an implied term of accusation [e.g. κατηγορία]). One point of difficulty is the word that begins line 17, here reconstructed as a word beginning in a lacuna at the end of line 16: [ἐ]||μ<ο>ι, the agent of the verbal adjective. This has proved a difficult reconstruction: the Μ is visible only above, and *could* be ΛΑ or ΑΛ;¹¹ and the Ι appears more curved than usual, but not a C. Via the microscope one can see that the ink for this second letter straddles a vertical crack in the papyrus, so that, if it is an Ι, there appear serifs above and below, both pointing right and both on the right side of the crack. Emending it to the plural ([ῆ]||μῖ<ν>) instead of the singular creates similar problems, but does resolve it to ποιήσομεν (line 18). Alas, the points of refutation that immediately follow are obscured by the lacunose nature of the bottom of this column.

Col. XIII turns the discussion of poverty to its relationship to frank speech and contempt. Key words appear throughout (e.g., παρρησία, ἀπαρρησίαστος, κατα-

¹¹ ΛΑ is not a possibility because this combination of letters must be split (by correct syllabification) when they occur across line-end ; and ΛΛ cannot start a word.

φρονέω, ἀκαταφρόνητος), but phrases are mostly indistinguishable.¹² The text seems to discuss reactions to poverty (e.g. contempt) and positive characteristics of poor people (e.g., frankness, respect).

Coll. XIV–XV are insubstantial, and it is uncertain whether they continue this discussion of poverty. Col. XIV is only partially extant, and col. XV contains no distinguishable words. Coll. XVI–XVII also mostly contain indistinguishable words, but seem to mark a point of thematic transition, from poverty to wealth, which is certainly the primary subject of coll. XVIII–XIX.

Col. XVIII refers repeatedly to wealth (πλούτος), riches (χρήματα), and even pleasure (χαίρειν). Here begins a discussion of the superiority of natural wealth (ὁ φυσικὸς πλοῦτος)¹³ to fleeting goods (τὸ κενόν). Col. XIX broadens the discussion to an examination of the value of procured goods, according to the ease in acquiring and securing them. Key words appear in contrast (εὐπόριστος vs. δυσπόριστος; φυσικός vs. κενός), reflecting, once again, Epicurus' admonition to Menoecus: τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον.¹⁴ These terms frequently seem to be discussed with emphasis on their differences, a fact apparent in the nominal and adjectival derivatives of διαφέρω that occur throughout (e.g., διαφορά, διάφορος). Nevertheless, the phrases are mostly indistinguishable even in col. XIX and only a general message can be gleaned from the remnants.

¹² A correlation between these two sets of terms (–παρρησι– and –καταφρον–) is given by Aristotle: παρρησιαστῆς ... διὰ τὸ καταφρονητικὸς εἶναι (NE* 1124b 29). Cf. M. Gigante, *Ricerche Filodemee*, 2nd ed. (Naples: Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore, 1983), 55.

¹³ Cf. *De oeconomia* XIV 19; Laurenti, *Il pensiero economico*, 115-6.

¹⁴ *Ep. ad Menoecum* 130 (= D.L. 10.130).

The terminology and grammatical constructions within this document are noteworthy both for dating its composition and for postulating its author. One phrase that appears unusual, yet correct, is: ἐφ' ἕτης (VII 10), with *spiritus asper*. The letter-sequence CC, that occurs in one word (περικκότερον [VII 8]) and one fragmentary line (XV 28); the sequence TT also occurs (XVI 12).¹⁵ *Hapax legomena* include: ἀκεφάλαιον 'not at the head' (XI 10), ἀκυνεργής 'uncooperative' (XI 8), αὐτοδι-ακονησία 'self-service' (XII 5), κλινία 'bed, couch' (XI 17), ὑδάριον 'wash-basin' (XI 18). Three names are also cited: Epicurus (VIII 8; XIX 9), Phaedrus (XI 4), and Leostratus (XVIII 12; XIX 10). The first seems obviously to be the very founder of the Garden, whose letter to Menoecus is cited at VI 9-11; the second is possibly Phaedrus, head of the Garden (ca. 75-70 BC) after the death of Zeno of Sidon; but the third individual is unknown. All three references to Epicurus and Phaedrus seem to be citations, but in the of none is the citation apparent. Leostratus appears twice, in the phrase πρὸς Λεώστρατον; but each phrase appears among illegible letters. That the second occurrence follows the name Epicurus (XIX 9), may suggest a correlation between the two.

The breadth of this treatise seems to admonish finding pleasure in life and acknowledging benefit in every state of existence. It is as if to say: "Have a positive outlook. Don't dwell on a morbid prospect of death, or on the disadvantages of poverty, or even on the burdens of administering and preserving wealth. Rather,

¹⁵ The preference for Attic TT over CC is common for Philodemus (W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1903], 134-5), but not exclusive (Capasso, M., et al., "In margine alla vita di Filonide," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 6 [1976]: 58 and n. 37), even in the same document (Crönert, *Memoria*, 135 n. 2).

concentrate on the pleasures of life; and admit that the benefits of poverty can be just as rewarding as the those of wealth.”

Conclusion
P. Herc. 1570

A more complete edition of this papyrus can build upon this *editio minor*: by transcribing more text, by further interpreting layers, by editing the *disegni*, and by correlating the treatise with other literature. Text from pcc. 1-3, in particular, must yet be transcribed and translated; and the play of layers on pcc. 4-6*b* can be still more precisely discerned. A physical, scribal, or textual link may exist among the Herculaneum papyri (on a *scorza*, or in some other papyrus), and must be sought. The text itself—in theme, in vocabulary, in format—may correlate with still more texts, among both the Herculaneum papyri and other philosophical texts; identifying points of correspondence will elucidate the meaning of terms and assist the supplementation of lacunae.

Of the three unedited pieces, pc. 3 promises most, both for its consecutive columns and for its physical and textual relationship—already estimated—to pc. 4. The content of this piece may shed particular light on the first phrase on pc. 4 that gives sense: οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας... οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας... [θάνατός ἐστιν] (VI 9/10; cf. Epicur. *Ep. ad Menoeceum* 125). Pcc. 1-2 reveal no consecutive columns, and the gap between pc. 1 and pc. 2, and the gap between pc. 2 and pc. 3, can only be imprecisely estimated; and both reveal a play of layers that will demand effort and skill to correlate; but text on some of the layers of pcc 1-2 is more easily discerned than many other layers on the other pieces.

On pcc. 4-6*b*, many *sovrapposti* still must be moved. These three pieces primarily reveal one continuous layer, and *sovrapposti* on their surface are usually small and

difficult to spot. Pc. 5 offers the particular challenge of large *sovrapposti* set among various lacunae. The lower, right-hand portion of this piece, filling nearly one quarter of its area, is a play of layers intermingled most heavily upon the right edge of XII (§29) and across the intercolumnium between XII and XIII (§28). On that same portion of this piece, in addition to the layers, there remains also the small portion that seems never to have been fully attached, but whose text is likely that of XIV. The text on this portion still must be transcribed, then correlated with XIV and, perhaps, even with some of the *sovrapposti* mentioned above.

Regarding the *disegni*, although they seem often inaccurate, an evaluation of their accuracy—or their patterns of inaccuracy¹—can predict their usefulness in restoring text at points, such as at the top of col. XI, where the papyrus is presently disappearing, and the *disegni* remain the only source for the text.

Finally, further study of the economic thought of Philodemus, Epicurus, and Metrodorus can surely contribute to the supplementation of lacunae, to the clarification of local passages and themes in this treatise, and ultimately to an understanding of this treatise in its breadth.



¹ Cf. D. Armstrong and J. Fish, “Emender’s Guide to *PHerc.* 1425 as Read by O and N,” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994): 97-107; Obbink, *Philodemus: On Piety Part I*, 60-62.

WORKS CITED

- Angeli, A. "Lo svolgimento dei papiri carbonizzati." *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*. Edited by M. Capasso. *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 3 (1994): 37-104.
- Armstrong, D., and J. Fish. "Emender's Guide to *PHerc.* 1425 as Read by O and N." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994): 97-107.
- Basile, C. *I papiri carbonizzati di Ercolano. La temperature dei materiali vulcanici e le tecniche di manifattura dei rotoli*. Quaderni dell'Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro – Siracusa 3. Syracuse: Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro, 1994.
- , ed. *Memorie intorno all'antica carta del Papiro siracusano rinnovata dal Cav. Saverio Landolina Nava Scritte dal Presidente Francesco di Paola Avolio*. Quaderni dell'Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro – Siracusa 1. Syracuse: Associazione Istituto Internazionale del Papiro, 1991.
- Bassi, D. "Frammenti inediti di opere di Filodemo (περὶ μουσικῆς — περὶ θεῶν? — περὶ ῥητορικῆς) in papiri Ercolanesi." *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 38 (1910): 321-356.
- . *Il P. Antonio Piaggio e i primi tentativi per lo svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi*. Naples: Luigi Pierro e Figlio, 1907.
- . "La sticometria nei papiri ercolanesi." *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 37 (1909): 321-63, 481-515.
- . "Papiri Ercolanesi disegnati." *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 41 (1913): 427-464.
- Blank, D., and F. Longo Auricchio. "An Inventory of the Herculaneum Papyri from Piaggio's Time." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 30 (2000): 131-147.
- Blank, D. "Reflections on Re-reading Piaggio and the Early History of the Herculaneum Papyri." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 29 (1999): 55-82.
- Booras, S.W., and D.R. Seely. "Multispectral Imaging of the Herculaneum Papyri." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 29 (1999): 95-100.
- Capasso, M. Introduction to *Officina de' papiri*, by A. De Jorio. *Syngrammata: Ricerche papirologiche dirette da Mario Capasso* 3. 1825. Reprint, Naples: Eurocomp 2000, 1998.
- . "Lacunologia." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 11 (1981): 171.

- . *Manuale di papirologia ercolanese*. Testi e studi 3. Lecce: Congedo Editore, 1991.
- . “ΟΜΦΑΛΟΣ /UMBILICUS: dalla Grecia a Roma.” In *Volumen, Aspette della tipologia del rotolo librario antico*. Cultura: Collana di Studi “Dall’Antico al Moderno” diretta da Enrico Renna 3. 73-98. Naples: Procaccini, 1995. (= *Rudiae* 2 (1990): 7-29; *Rudiae* 3 (1991): 37-41).
- . “Un nuovo esempio di doppia sottoscrizione nel PHerc. 1675.” *Il rotolo librario: fabbricazione, restauro, organizzazione interna*. Edited by M. Capasso. Papyrologica Lupiensia 3 (1994): 235-52.
- . *Volumen, Aspette della tipologia del rotolo librario antico*. Cultura: Collana di Studi “Dall’Antico al Moderno” diretta da Enrico Renna 3. Naples: Procaccini, 1995.
- Capasso, M., M.G. Cappelluzzo, A. Concolino Mancini, N. Falcone, F. Longo Auricchio, and A. Tepedino. “In margine alla vita di Filonide.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 6 (1976): 55-59.
- Cavallo, G. *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano, Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci*. Edited by G. Macchiaroli. 1st Supplement to *Cronache Ercolanesi* 13. Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1983.
- Crönert, W. *Kolotes und Menedemos, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte*. Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde 6. Edited by C. Wessely. 1906. Reprint, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965.
- . “La tradizione dell’Index Academicorum.” In *Studi ercolanesi*. Translated by Enrico Livrea. Collana di filologia classica diretta da Marcello Gigante 3, 155-202. Naples: Morano, 1975. (= “Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum.” *Hermes* 38 (1903): 357-405)
- . “Le abbreviazioni in alcuni papiri greci letterari, con particolare riferimento ai rotoli ercolanesi.” In *Studi ercolanesi*. Translated by Enrico Livrea. Collana di filologia classica diretta da Marcello Gigante 3. 127-34. Naples: Morano, 1975. (= Crönert, W. “Abkürzungen in einigen griechischen litterarischen Papyri mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herkulanensischen Rollen.” *Archiv für Ste-nographie* 54 [1902]: 73-9.)
- . *Memoria Graeca Herculensis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903.
- D’Alessio, G.B. “Danni materiali e ricostruzione di rotoli papiracei: le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* (POxy 842) e altri esempi.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134 (2001): 23-41.
- D’Amelio, M. *Di alcuni trattati epicurei sulla ricchezza*. Naples: F. Sangiovanni e Figlio, 1926.

- De Jorio, A. *Officina de' papiri*. Syngrammata: Ricerche papirologiche dirette da Mario Capasso 3. 1825. Reprint, Naples: Eurocomp 2000, 1998.
- Del Mastro, G. "Osservazioni sulle *subscriptions* dei *PHerc.* 163 e 209." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 33 (2003): 323-9.
- Del Mastro, G. "La *scriptio* del *PHerc.* 1005 e altri titoli incaratteri distintivi nei Papiri Ercolanesi." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 32 (2002): 245-256.
- De Petra, G., ed. *Documenti e notizie degli scavi eseguiti nella villa*. In *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*. Edited by D. Compagnotti and G. De Petra. 145-294. 1883. Reprint, Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1972.
- Diels, H., ed. *Philodemos Über die Götter, Drittes Buch*. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Adademie der Wissenschaften 1917, Nr. 4 (Text). Berlin: Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917.
- Dorandi, T. "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut: Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 87 (1991) 11-33.
- . *Ricerche sulla cronologia dei filosofi ellenistici*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 19. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1991.
- . "Sulla trasmissione del testo dell'*Index Academicorum philosophorum Herculanensis* (*PHerc.* 1021 e 164)," 139-44. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Papyrologists. Chico: n.p., 1981.
- Dürr, E. "Sulla catalogazione dei alcuni papiri Ercolanesi." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988): 215-217.
- Garuti, I, ed. *C. Rabirius: Bellum Actiacum e Papyro Herculanensi 817*. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Filologia Classica 5. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1958.
- Gigante, M. "Atakta XX." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 31 (2001): 97-106.
- . "Carlo di Borbone e i Papiri Ercolanesi." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 11 (1981): 7-18.
- , ed. *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi*. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1979.
- . *Ricerche Filodemeae*, 2nd ed. Naples: Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore, 1983.
- Indelli, G., ed. *Filodemo, L'Ira*. La Scuola di Epicuro: Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da Marcello Gigante 5. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995.
- Indelli, G., and V. Tsouna-McKirahan. [*Philodemos*] [*On Choices and Avoidances*]. La Scuola di Epicuro: Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da Marcello Gigante 15. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1995.

- Janko, R., ed. *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*. The Philodemus Translation Project. Philodemus: The Aesthetic Works 1/1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Jensen, C., ed. *Philodemi Περὶ οἰκονομίας qui dicitur libellus*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.
- Kenyon, F.G. “Abbreviations and Symbols in Greek Papyri.” In *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (London: n.p., 1899), 153-6. Reprinted in *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions. Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*. Edited by Al.N. Oikonomides. 127-30. Chicago: Aris Publishers, Inc., 1974.
- Kleve, K., and I. Fonnes. “Lacunology: On the Use of Computer Methods in Papyrology.” *Symbolae Osloenses* 56 (1981): 157-70.
- Kleve, K., E.S. Ore, and R. Jensen. “Letteralogia: computer e fotografia.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 17 (1987): 141-150.
- Kleve, K., E.S. Ore, and R. Jensen. “Literalogy: On the Use of Computer Graphics and Photography in Papyrology.” *Symbolae Osloenses* 62 (1987): 109-129.
- Kleve, K., E.S. Ore, and R. Jensen. “Three Technical Guides to the Papyri of Herculaneum: How to Unroll; How to Remove *Sovrapposti*; How to Take Pictures.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 21 (1991): 111-24.
- Laurenti, R. *Filodemo e il pensiero economico degli Epicurei*. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’antichità 39. Milan: Cisalpino – Goliardica, 1973.
- Litta, V., ed. *I Papiri Ercolanesi II (Indice Topografico e Sistemico)*. I Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli 4.6. Napoli: Industria Tipografica Artistica, 1977.
- Martini, E., ed. *Catalogo generale dei papiri Ercolanesi*. In *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, edited by D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, 97-144. 1883. Reprint, Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1972.
- McIlvaine, I.C. *Herculaneum: A Guide to Printed Sources*. 2 vols. Naples: Bibliopolis, 1988.
- Nardelli, M.L. “Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni papiri ercolanesi.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 3 (1973): 104-15.
- Obbink, D., ed. *Philodemus: On Piety Part I: Critical Text with Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Parslow, C.C. *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Puglia, E. “Dati bibliologici del *PHerc.* 1414.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 20 (1990): 61-4.

- . “Note bibliologiche e sticometriche.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119 (1997): 123-7.
- Raubitschek, A.E. “Phaidros and his Roman Pupils.” *Hesperia* 15 (1949): 96-103 (= *The School of Hellas*. New York: n.p., 1991. 337-44).
- Scott, W., ed. *Fragmenta Herculanensia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885.
- Störmer, Fredrik, Knut Kleve, and Brynjulf Fosse. “What Happened to the Papyri during the Eruption of Vesuvius?” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 16 (1986): 7-9.
- Tepedino Guerra, A. “Il primo libro «Sulla ricchezza» di Filodemo.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 8 (1978): 52-95.
- Travaglione, A. “Padre Antonio Piaggio. Frammenti biografici.” *Bicentenario della morte di Antonio Piaggio. Raccolta di studi*. Edited by M. Capasso. *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 5 (1997): 13-48.
- Turner, E.G. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- . *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- . “Sniffing Glue.” *Cronache Ercolanesi* 13 (1983): 7-14.
- . *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*. Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie. Première Partie. *Papyrologica Bruxel-lensia* 16. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix A. Table Showing the Widths of Kollemata for Certain Herculaneum Papyri

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
	9.2	8.6	8.5	11.3	11.7	8.7	15.6	8.5	13.7	13.7	15.0	8.7
	13.0	12.5	9.0	14.0	12.5	13.0	19.0	10.0	15.0	14.2	15.0	9.0
	6.5	6.0	7.5	9.0	11.0	7.0	10.5	6.0	10.5	13.3	15.0	8.0
	9.0	9.0	8.5	11.0	11.8	8.0	15.9	8.5	14.5	13.7	15.0	9.0
28	18	18	17	8	8	8	7	5	4	3	3	

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
1	13.0	12.5	9.0	14.0	12.5	7.0	15.5	6.0	14.5	13.3	15.0	9.0
2	10.0	9.5	9.0	14.0	12.5	9.5	15.5	9.0			15.0	8.0
3	10.0	9.0	9.0	13.5		7.5	16.0	8.5	15.0	13.9		9.0
4	10.0	9.0	9.0	13.3		7.5	10.5	8.0	14.0	14.2	15.0	
5	10.0	9.0	9.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	15.8	8.5		13.5		
6	10.0	9.0	8.8	11.5	12.0	9.0	16.3	10.0	10.5			
7	9.5	9.0	8.5	11.5	11.5	13.0	19.0	9.8				
8	9.5	9.0	8.5	11.5	11.0	8.0	16.5		14.5			
9	9.3	9.0	8.5	11.0	11.0							
10	9.0	9.0	8.5	11.0	11.0							
11	9.0	9.0	8.5	11.0								
12	9.0	8.5	8.5	10.5								
13	9.0	8.3	8.5	10.0								
14	9.0	8.3	8.5	10.0								
15	9.0	8.0	8.0	9.5								
16	9.0	7.0	8.0	9.0								
17	9.0	6.5	8.0	9.0								
18	9.0	6.0	7.5									
19	9.0											
20	9.0											
21	9.0											
22	9.0											
23	9.0											
24	9.0											
25	8.5											
26	8.0											
27	8.0											
28												
29	6.5											

Number of kollemata :		127
For all data:		For averages:
Ave. (width):	10.2	11.8
Median (width):	9.0	12.0
Max. (width):	19.0	12.0
Min. (width):	6.0	11.5
All measurements are in centimeters (cm.).		

a	P. Herc. 1065	De signis	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 59-60)
b	P. Herc. 1424	De oikonomia	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 62)
c	P. Herc. 1425	De poematibus	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 64)
d	P. Herc. 336/1150	De contemptu	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 62)
e	P. Herc. 1056	De natura	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 63-4)
f	P. Herc. 1027	Contra Filista	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 64)
g	P. Herc. 1012	(opus incertum)	(Puglia, "Dati Bibliologici," 62)
h	P. Herc. 1479/1417	De natura	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 64-5)
i	P. Herc. 1675	De vitiiis	(Capasso, "Doppia sottoscrizione," 251-2)
j	P. Herc. 1570	[De divitiis]	
k	P. Herc. 1497	De musica	(Capasso, "Doppia sottoscrizione," 249-50)
l	P. Herc. 1414	De gratitudine	(Capasso, <i>Volumen</i> , 69)

Appendix B. Columns VI–XIX: Translation of Text into English

VI. (*ca. 17 words missing*) but some (*3 words missing*); for the (*word missing*) and the (*12 words missing*) neither for the living (*1-2 words missing*) |¹⁰ nor for the dead (*1-2 words missing*) since they do not exist. Some (*2-3 words missing*) the study of nature (*4 words missing*) possesses; it stops (*9 words missing*) it places. |¹⁵ Others the study of nature (*18 words missing*) of matters (*ca. 70 words missing*)

VII. (*ca. 27 words missing*) for the sake of money (*2-3 words missing*) the sage also (*2-3 words missing*) even extraordinarily (*2 words missing*) the first (*word missing*) of the wealthy man, even though others |¹⁰ behave (?) the same way (*2 words missing*) his company (*2 words missing*) but to escape to the people (*2 words missing*) and flee(!)(*3 words missing*) of the people. To make (*2 words missing*) |¹⁵ now you (?) must escape these things (*1-2 words missing*), later for the same (*infinitive + word missing*). Both, in general, on (*participle missing*) standing wealth and (*word missing*) to court the mob (*ca. 39 words missing*) this would be (*word missing*) absolutely of death (*word missing*) it doesn't cause fearlessness (*ca. 17 words missing*)

VIII. (*ca. 20 words missing*) |⁵ apart from an abundance of riches (*2 words missing*) true (*9 words missing*) and has been done by Epicurus, even as in the citation (?) above (*20 words missing*) nor do they propose that they will esteem any necessity that can only be retained with difficulty to be equal to an abuse (?) of property management (?) because (such a necessity) has (*6-7 words missing*) according to the preservation itself of wealth and the management of (*word missing*). But – he says – let no one (*14 words missing*) wealth (*ca. 83 words missing + gap of 2 cols., ca. 380 words*)

XI. (*ca. 15 words missing*) a sycophant (*3-4 words missing*) Phaedrus says (*10 words missing*) and scorns (?) (*2-3 words missing*) and unhelpful in many ways (*5 words missing*) to wait upon even if |¹⁰ small. But of secondary importance (?) (*word missing*) their (*5 words missing*) useful (*2 words missing*) for household management, and for paying visits, and for (*10 words missing*) the poor man doesn't eat breakfast alone; his couch – he says – takes breakfast with him, and something like a table—for it had been set up broken and (*word indistinguishable*) a wash-basin (?) had been brought—he himself was filthy (*word missing*) an ostraca (?) (*word missing*) |²⁰ is carried (*5 words missing*) ragged (*ca. 83 words missing*)

XII. (*ca. 6 words missing*) of tasks (*5-6 words missing*) concerning the discernment of necessities it causes both confusion and shame on account of |⁵ self-service (?), as well as other things. Poverty stresses stinginess; it generally offers a life that is cheerless and makes him impossible to live with: it is impossible to receive a group of friends, neither by a servant nor he himself who ministers (?) from afar (*1-2 words missing*) to call not frank |¹⁰ in speech (*2 words missing*) makes him so (?). Generally they also say that (*4-5 words missing*) brings about both the funeral-procession and the funeral-rites (*5 words missing*) |¹⁵ a dirge (*2 words missing*). First of all, against each of these (accusations) I must – says that holy man (?) – offer a defense by somehow refuting the false accusations of men against it (*sc. poverty*); so this I shall do, but also (*2-3 words missing*) nothing is reckoned (*7-8 words missing*) attending upon (*ca. 85 words missing*)

XIII. (ca. 16 words missing) justly and prudently |⁵ (2-3 words missing) someone (?) possessing frank speech (3 words missing) also not necessary (6 words missing) poverty does not imply (that one is) not frank in speech and abased. But if (1-2 words indistinguishable) |¹⁰ uncorrupted and (word missing) much (word missing) both possesses frank speech and is beyond reproach (?) (4 words missing). He (?) scorns (12 words missing) |¹⁵ he (?) would scorn poverty. But if (4 words missing) of each unjust (2 words missing) unharmed and trusted (ca. 95 words missing)

XIV. (ca. 45 words missing) poverty (ca. 143 words missing)

XV. (remnants of 1 col., ca. 190 words)

XVI. (ca. 18 words missing) an expense (9-10 words missing) poor men (ca. 46 words missing) difficult to secure (3 words missing) called (?) 'common' (1-2 words missing) of philosophy regarding the soul (10 words missing) |²⁰ of wisdom (10 words missing) to furnish well (20 words missing) Let (?) not the people (2 words missing) he (?) proposes (word missing) even because of poverty (2 words missing) to enjoy (4 words missing) no longer for that time. |³⁰ For abundantly (5 words missing) personal extravagance (2 words missing) he (?) has. But of this (4 words missing) a wealthy (?) sage lacks (?) (ca. 21 words missing)

XVII. (ca. 28 words missing) against Leostratus. But the (ca. 29 words missing) to provide. Second (ca. 65 words missing) of nature (ca. 29 words missing)

XVIII. (ca. 89 words missing) of one enjoying (4 words missing) wealth (3 words missing) |²⁰ wealth (19 words missing) from one enjoying |²⁵ wealth (?) (word missing) in abundance (3-4 words missing) natural wealth because (it is) unfulfilling. But for those which have been preferred (6 words missing) due to extension and opportunity, |³⁰ his riches (3-4 words missing) have been distributed (3 words missing) it has (ca. 19 words missing)

XIX. (ca. 40 words missing) by Epicurus (3 words missing) |¹⁰ against Leostratus (4-5 words missing) he (?) says (word missing) the necessities (3 words missing) it is distinguished (word missing) the difference (?) (word missing). For surely at least not everything (9 words missing) |¹⁵ and what is vain (1-2 words missing) he (?) intercepted a boat together with (10 words missing) natural (17 words missing) few (6 words missing) natural (4 words missing) provided (15 words missing) procured with ease (2-3 words missing) of natural things (word missing) provided (2 words missing) he says (3 words missing) |³⁰ toward the necessary, different, not secured with difficulty (?) – he says – (7 words missing) he (?) is plainly walking by himself (2 words missing) toward that man, a difference (ca. 10 words missing)

XX. (2 remnants of 1 col., ca. 190 words)

Appendix C. Lexicon

Below are all words appearing in the text or supplied by the editor, excluding the definite article and all negative adverbs. Column 2 gives pertinent definitions for entries that appear in *Lexicon Philodemeum*, ed. C.J. Vooijs (Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1934) and *Lexicon Philodeum: Pars Altera*, ed. C.J. Vooijs and D.A. Van Krevelen (Amsterdam: N.V. Swets en Zeitlinger, 1941), regardless of whether they differ from definitions given in column 3, from *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H.S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); an asterisk marks a word that appears in the *Lexicon Philodemeum* but is not defined explicitly here (usually because it is very common).

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
ἄγω	<i>adhibeo; extendo; educio; trado</i>	to lead	VI 25
ἀδιάγωγος		impossible to live with	XII 7
ἄδικος	<i>iniquus</i>	unjust	XIII 17
αἰσχύνη			XII 4
ἀκαταφρόνητος		not to be despised	XIII 11
ἀκέραιος	<i>purus</i>	pure, unmixed; uncorrupted	XIII 10, 18
ἀκεφάλαιος		n.f. (subordinate? secondary?)	XI 10
ἀληθινός	<i>verax; verus</i>	true	VIII 6
ἄλλά	*	but	VI 5; VIII 18; XI 10; XII 19; XIII 9; XVIII 27
ἄλλος	*	other, another	VI 11, 15; VII 9; VIII 9; XII 5
ἀναγκαῖος	<i>necessarius</i>	necessary	XII 3; XIII 6; XIX 11, 30
ἄνθρωπος		man; mankind	XII 17
ἀντικαλέω		???	XII 10
ἀπαρρησίκατος	<i>libere loqui non audens</i>	not frank	XII 10; XIII 8
ἀπό	*	(+ GEN) from, away from	XVIII 24
ἄποθεν		from afar	XII 9
ἀπολαύω	<i>fructum capio</i>	to enjoy	XVI 28
ἀπολογέομαι	<i>me defendo</i>	to defend	XII 16
ἀριστάω		to breakfast	XI 16
ἀσυνεργής		n.f. (not cooperating? not working with?)	XI 8
ἀτερπής		???	XII 7
αὐτοδιακονησία		n.f. (self-service?)	XII 5
αὐτός	*	same; -self	VII 11, 16; VIII 16; XI 11, 16, 19; XII 9, 16, 18; XVIII 29

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
ἀφοβία	<i>audacia</i>	fearlessness	VII 29
βαδίζω	<i>eo; venio ad; procedo ad; transeo ad</i>	to walk; to proceed	XIX 33
βίον		life	XII 7
γάρ	<i>nam</i>	for	VI 6; XI 17; XII 30; XVI 30; XVII 5; XIX 13
γε	<i>quidem</i>	(<i>particle</i> ; see LSJ)	XIX 13
γνώρισις		making known; getting to know	XII 3
δέ		(<i>particle</i> ; see LSJ)	XIII 16, XVII 12
δεύτερος	<i>secundus</i>	second	XVII 18
δέω	<i>absum; vincio</i>	to lack; to beg	XVI 33
δή	<i>nempe</i>	of course	XIX 13
δῆμος	<i>populus; comitia populi; res publica</i>	common people	VII 12, 14; XVI 26
διά	*	(+ GEN) through (+ ACC) on account of	XVI 27
διακονέω		to minister, do service	XII 10
διατροπή	<i>confusio</i>	agitation; disgust; pity	XII 4
διαφορά	<i>differentia; discrepantia; controversia</i>	difference	XIX 34
διάφορος	<i>diversus; varius; (adv.) diverse</i>	different from (+ GEN); at variance with (+ DAT)	XIX 30
δίκαιος	<i>iustus</i>	just	XIII 4
δοῦλος	<i>servus</i>	slave, servant	XII 9
δύναμαι	<i>possum</i>	to be able, be capable	XII 9
δυσπόριστος		hard to come by or procure	XVI 16
δυσφύλακτος		hard to guard or prevent	VIII 13
ἐαυτός		(<i>reflexive pronoun</i>)	XVI 31; XIX 33
εἰ (ἐάν)	<i>si</i>	if	XI 9; XIII 9, 16
εἰς	*	(+ ACC) into, to; for	VII 12; XI 12, 13, 13
εἶμι	<i>sum; fieri potest</i>	to be	VI 11
ἕκαστος	<i>quisque</i>	each	XII 15
ἐκεῖνος	<i>ille</i>	that one	XIX 34
ἐκφεύγω	<i>evito</i>	to flee away, escape	VII 12, 15
ἐκφορά		carrying out; utterance	XII 13
ἐμποιέω	<i>affero</i>	to make in; to produce	XII 6
ἔμπροσθεν	<i>ante</i>	before, in front	VIII 8
ἔμφασις	<i>imago repercussa; species; opinio; asseveratio; ostentatio; emphasis</i>	reflection; impression	XII 6

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
ἐν	*	(+ DAT) within, in	VIII 8
ἐνεκα	<i>causa; propter; quod attinet ad</i>	for the sake of	VII 6
ἐξαριθμέω	<i>enumero</i>	to enumerate; to recount	XII 19
ἐμός	???	mine	XII 16
ἐπί	*	(<i>preposition</i> ; see LSJ)	VII 10, 17; XII 9
ἐπίτασις	<i>intentio; accentus; vehementia</i>	stretching; increase in intensity or force; presence of pitch accent	XIII 7
ἐπιφέρω	<i>adicio; adhibeo; refero; tribuo; concludo</i>	to bring, place upon; to confer; to add to; to give (a name) to	XII 5, 13; XIII 9
ἔργον	<i>opus</i>	work, labor	XII 2
εὐχρηστος		useful, serviceable	XI 12
ἔχω	<i>habeo; assequor</i>	to have, hold	VI 7, 13; VII 10; VIII 15; XIII 5, 11; XVI 32; XVIII 32
ζάω	<i>vivo</i>	to live	VI 9; VIII 12
ἧλιξ	???	age-mate; companion	XII 8
θάνατος	<i>mors</i>	death	VII 28
θρῆνος	???	dirge, lament	XII 15
θυματός		burnt as incense	XVIII 15 (?)
ἴσος	<i>par; aequus</i>	equal	VII 10
ἵστημι	<i>constituo; expono; coerceo; sisto</i>	to make stand	VII 18
ιερός	<i>sacer</i>	hallowed, holy	XII 16
καθάπαξ	<i>in universum; prorsus</i>	once for all; absolutely	VII 28
καθίστημι	<i>compono; paro; induco in; reddo; constituo</i>	to appoint, establish	VII 29
καθόλου	<i>omnino; universe</i>	in general, on the whole	VII 17; XII 6, 12
καί	*	(see LSJ)	VI 6, 17; VII 8, 13, 14, 16, 18; VIII 3, 7, 8, 17; XI 7, 9, 12, 13, 13, 17; XII 4, 5, 7, 12, 13, 28; XIII 4, 6, 8, 11, 11, 18; XVI 27; XVIII 29; XIX 15
κατά	<i>adversus; in; secundum</i>	(+ GEN) under; against (+ ACC) according to	VII 4; VIII 16; XII 4; XVI 31; XVIII 26, 29; XIX 33
καταξιόω	<i>dignum puto; censeo; posco</i>	to deem worthy; to claim	VIII 14
καταφρονέω	<i>despicio</i>	to look down upon (+ GEN); to despise (+ ACC)	XI 7; XIII 12, 16

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
κενός	<i>inanis; vanus; vacuis manibus; expers</i>	empty, void	XVIII 27; XIX 15
κλινία		n.f. (bed? couch?)	XI 16
κοινός	<i>communis; vulgaris; simplex; pervulgatus; generalis; universe dicere</i>	common	XVI 17
λέγω		to speak, say, tell	XVI 16
λιτουργόν		(<i>kakourgon</i> = evil doer)???	VIII 14
μέν	*	(<i>particle</i> ; see LSJ)	VI 5; XI 4, 10
μικρολογία		stinginess, meanness	XII 6
μικρός	*	small	XI 10
μόνος		alone	XI 15
οίκονομία	<i>administratio</i>	household management	VIII 14, 17; XI 13
ὄλιγος	*	few	XIX 22
ὀμιλία	<i>usus dicendi; consuetudo; propinquitias; copia igitur</i>	association, company; instruction	VII 11
οὖν		therefore, <i>et al.</i>	XII 18
οὗτος		this	XII 18; XVI 32
παρά	*	(<i>preposition</i> ; see LSJ)	VII 16
παρακολουθέω		to attend upon	XII 21
παραλαμβάνω		to ascertain, undertake	XII 8
παραχρῆμα		on the spot, forthwith; at the moment	VII 15
παρεδρεία	<i>assessio</i>	attendance, a visit; close study, application	XI 13
παρεδρεύω	<i>assidue cum aliquo sum</i>	to wait upon, attend upon	XI 9
παρέχω	<i>exhibeo; praebeo</i>	to produce; to present	XII 7; XVII 18
παρρησία	<i>libertas in dicendo</i>	outspokenness, frankness	XIII 5, 11
πᾶς		all, each	XIII 17; XIX 13
παύω	(<i>med.</i>) <i>desino</i>	to stop	VI 13
πένης	<i>pauper</i>	day-laborer; poor person	XI 16; XVI 6
πενία	<i>paupertas</i>	poverty, need	XII 5; XIII 9, 15; XIV 10; XVI 27
περί	<i>de; circum; quod attinet ad</i>	(<i>preposition</i> ; see LSJ)	XII 3; XVI 17
περιαιρέω	<i>adimo, tollo</i>	to remove; to cancel	XII 17
περιίστημι	<i>in condicionem redico; muto; (med.) vito; circumdo; immineo</i>	to place round; to come round	XVIII 31

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
περιλαμβάνω		to encompass, surround; to intercept	XIX 16
περικοτότερος		prodigious; extra; (<i>adv.</i>) extraordinarily, exceedingly	VII 8
περίτασις		extension, contraction	XVIII 29
πιστός		faithful; genuine	XIII 18
πληθος	<i>copia; vulgus</i>	multitude	VIII 5; XVIII 25
πλοῖον	<i>navis</i>	ship, boat	XIX 16
πλούσιος	<i>dives</i>	wealthy, opulent	VII 9
πλοῦτος	<i>divitiae</i>	wealth, riches	VII 18; VIII 17, 21; XVIII 19, 20, 25, 26
ποιέω	<i>facio</i>	to make, do	VII 14, 30, 31; XII 11, 18
πολιτοκοπέω		to court the mob	VII 19
πολύς	*	much, many	XI 8; XIII 10
πολυτέλεια	<i>ubertas</i>	extravagance; costliness	XVI 31
πολυχοῦς	<i>abundans</i>	yielding much; manifold; frequent	XVI 30
πορεύω		(<i>mid./pass.</i>) to be driven, carried	XI 20 (?)
πράγμα	<i>res</i>	deed, act	VI 19
πράττω	<i>ago, facio</i>	to act, do	VIII 7
προβάλλω	<i>propono; in discrimen do; (med.) praetendo; contendo; supero</i>	to put forward, propound	VIII 13; XVI 27
προκρίνω	<i>praefero</i>	to prefer; to distinguish	XIX 12
προλέγω	<i>ante dico; praedico</i>	to choose, prefer; to fortell	XVIII 5, 27
πρ(ός)	<i>praeter; quod attinet ad</i>	(<i>preposition; see LSJ</i>)	VI 9, 10, 27; VII 9, 11, 31; VIII 8, 10, 13, 20, 23, 30; XI 18; XII 15, 18, 20, 22, 29; XIII 19; XIV 6; XVI 26, 32; XVII 8, 12, 12, 24; XVIII 11; XIX 10, 30, 34
πρ(ος)		(<i>preposition or prefix; yet uncertain which</i>)	VI 27; VII 9, 31; VIII 20, 23, 30; XII 20, 22, 29; XIII 19; XVI 26, 32; XVII 8, 12, 24; XIX 34
πρ(ος)- πρ(ός)		(<i>prefix</i>) (<i>preposition</i>)	VIII 8, 10, 13; XI 18; XII 18; VI 9, 10; VII 11; XII 15; XIV 6; XVII 12; XVIII 11; XIX 10, 30
προσδέω	(<i>med.</i>) <i>indigeo (+ GEN)</i>	to need besides; (<i>mid.</i>) to be in want of, to need (+ GEN)	VIII 13
προστίθημι	<i>addo; (med.) attribuo; applico</i>	to put to; to deliver	XII 18

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
προσφέρω	<i>affero; adhibeo; (med.) praebeo, habeo; affero; confero</i>	to apply to; to offer	VI 18
πρῶτος	???	first	VII 8; XII 15
ῥάκινος		ragged	XI 21
ῥυπαρός		filthy, dirty; sordid, mean	XI 19
καυτός	???	yourself, your own	VII 4
σοφία	<i>philosophia; sapientia</i>	wisdom	XVI 20
σοφός	<i>sapiens</i>	clever, wise, prudent; sage	VII 7; XVI 33
κυκοφάντης	<i>sycophanta</i>	common informer, voluntary denouncer; professional swindler	XI 3
συνάμα		together (with)	XIX 16
συναριστάω	<i>simul prandeo</i>	to breakfast with (+ DAT)	XI 16
σύνηδρος	???	sitting together	XII 8
σώφρων	<i>prudens; moderatus; (adv.) prudenter</i>	of sound mind; discreet	XIII 4
ταπεινός		low: low-lying; abased in power, humbled; mean, poor	XIII 8
τάφος		funeral-rites; grave, tomb	XII 13
τε		and	VII 17; XI 8; XII 4
τελευτάω	<i>morior</i>	to finish	VI 10
τήρησις	<i>conservatio</i>	guarding; preserva- tion	VIII 17
τίς (τις)	*	who, what; someone, something	VIII 18; XI 17
τίθημι	<i>pono; propono; puto; afficio; mitto; dico; fero</i>	to put, place	VI 15; XI 18
τοιούτος	<i>talis</i>	of such a sort	XII 11; XVIII 28
τόπος	<i>locus; quaestio</i>	place, position	XVIII 29
τρόπος	<i>modus; mores; (adv.) modo; bene</i>	way, manner; character	XII 17
τραπέζιον		small table	XI 17
ἕστερον	<i>serius; postea</i>	later	VII 15
ὑδάριον		n.f. (wash-basin?)	XI 18
ὑπό		(preposition; see LSJ)	XII 17; XIX 9
φαίνω	<i>nomen defero; (pass.) videor; appareo; opinio</i>	to show; to appear	XIX 33
φεύγω	<i>fugio; accusor</i>	to flee	VII 13
φημί	<i>dico; affirmo et nego</i>	to say, tell	XII 12; XIX 29
φη(σί)			VIII 18; XI 4, 16; XII 16; XIX 11, 31

ENTRY	LEXICON PHILODEMEUM	LSJ	P. HERC. 1570
φιλοσοφία	<i>philosophia</i>	love of knowledge ...	XVI 17
φυσικός	<i>is qui rerum naturae peritus est; naturalis; iustus; fieri non potest, quin</i>	natural, native	XVIII 26; XIX 18, 23, 28
φυσιολογία	<i>doctrina de rerum natura</i>	inquiry into natural causes	VI 12, 15
φύσις	<i>natura; natura rerum; corpus; atomus; indoles; ingenium</i>	nature	XVII 32
χαίρω	<i>gaudeo; absit</i>	to rejoice; to enjoy	XVIII 18, 24
χορηγέω	<i>copias supposito</i>	to lead/finance a chorus; to minister to; to furnish well	XVI 22
χορηγία		expense; subsidy; abundance of external means, fortune	XVI 4
χρῆμα	<i>res familiaris</i>	need; sum of money	VII 6; VIII 5; XVIII 30
χρόνος	<i>tempus</i>	time	XVI 29
χωλός		lame; defective	XI 17
χωρίς	<i>sine; (adv.) praeterea; praeterquam quod</i>	apart (from); different	VIII 5
ψευδῶς	*	falsely	XII 17
ψυχή	<i>animus et anima</i>	soul; life	XVI 18
ᾧς	<i>sicut; quod; ut subtilius dicam</i>	(see LSJ)	VIII 8
Ἐπίκουρος	*	Epicurus	VIII 8; XIX 9
Λεώστρατος		Leostratus	XVII 12; XIX 10
Φαῖδρος		Phaedrus	XI 4