

CRONACHE ERCOLANESI

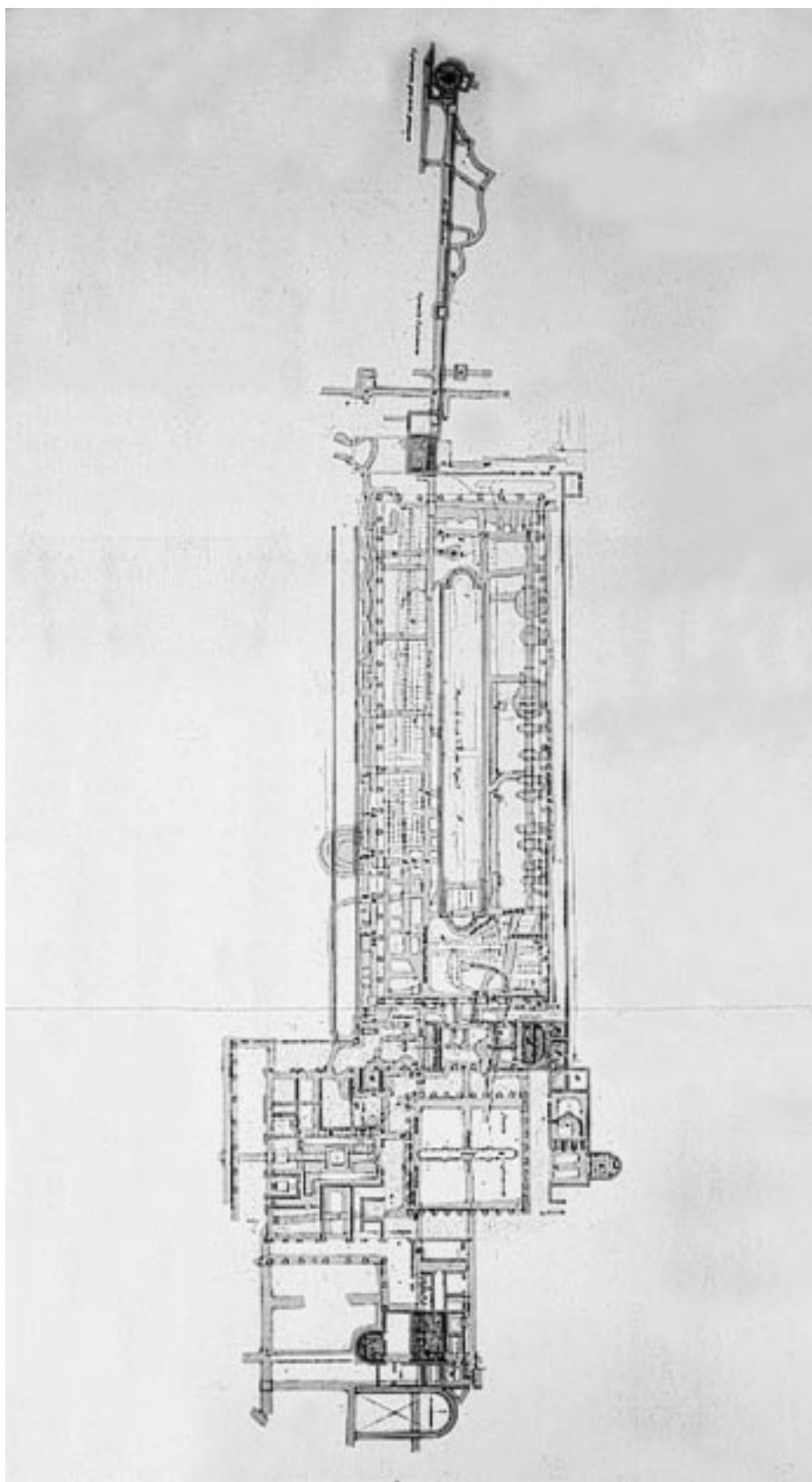
bollettino
del centro internazionale per
lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi
fondato da Marcello Gigante

38/2008

direzione
Graziano Arrighetti
Knut Kleve
Francesca Longo Auricchio

redazione
Giovanni Indelli
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MACCHIAROLI EDITORE



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Questo «BOLLETTINO» pubblica in volumi annuali articoli di papirologia e archeologia ercolanesi.

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Le prime due borse sono intitolate 'Istituto Banco di Napoli', la terza 'Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali'.

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Art. 4. La domanda di ammissione al concorso, redatta in carta semplice, dovrà pervenire entro il 13 settembre 2008 alla Segreteria del Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante', presso il Dipartimento di Filologia Classica 'F. Arnaldi', Via Porta di Massa, 1 - 80133 Napoli.

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Art. 6. Il vincitore della borsa ha l'obbligo della residenza a Napoli.

Direttore responsabile: Francesca Longo Auricchio

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Registrazione del Tribunale di Napoli n. 228 del 27.5.1971.

RICHARD JANKO New fragments of Epicurus, Metrodorus, Demetrius Laco, Philodemus, the <i>Carmen de bello Actiaco</i> and other texts in Oxonian <i>disegni</i> of 1788-1792	5
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In trying to decide the small question of whether *PHerc.* 1113a belongs to Philodemus' *On Poems* (which, after six months' work, finally seems unlikely), I stumbled upon new fragments of two treatises on aesthetics, one on poetry and the other on music, which on the basis of their colour and/or hand must be by Demetrius Laco.¹ I also identified new pieces of Epicurus, Metrodorus, and Philodemus. Attention to the largely neglected field of early Roman palaeography also enabled me to decipher for the first time various Latin texts, including additional fragments of the so-called *Carmen de bello Actiaco* as well as an oration about Sicily and some pieces in cursive. The identification of these fragments will in some cases help greatly in the reconstruction of complete papyrus-rolls.

Study of the history of the *disegni*, now in Oxford, in which these texts are found has clarified baffling difficulties in the numbering of many Herculaeum papyri and drawings, following a line of enquiry which David Blank had initiated independently. These confusions must have occurred in or shortly after 1791. It may well seem surprising that they were not sorted out a century ago, once the *Herculaneusia Volumina* and photographs of the Oxonian *disegni* had been published. Some had since been resolved by serendipity, but the key to the whole puzzle lay in a register in Naples which David Blank and Francesca Longo Auricchio published only in 2004. Moreover, to grasp the underlying principle required that one try to map a world governed by the philological equivalent of quantum physics, where normal

¹ For various kinds of help I am grateful to Dr Chad M. Schroeder; for assistance in deciphering and transcribing the Latin papyri I thank Dr Jake MacPhail and Ms. Abigail Sherkow. In addition, I wish to thank David Blank for sharing with me his materials on these drawings and on the papyri of Philodemus' *Rhetoric*, Dirk Obbink for information about the *De pietate*, and W. B. Henry for information about Sir Humphry Davy and other most valuable assistance. For an uncorrected but searchable version of the texts of Philodemus, which was indispensable in helping me to identify previously published fragments, the Philodemus Translation Project remains very grateful to Prof. Theodore Brunner of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. I thank Gianluca Del Mastro for a copy of his CD-Rom *Χάρτης Κατάλογο Μultimedial dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, 2005), which I was able to use at the last minute to verify the hands of many of the *scorze* on the basis of Brigham Young University's infra-red images of them, after I had done the essential work from the *Herculaneusia Volumina*. I especially wish to thank William Poole for helping me to acquire the ex-

emplar of the latter that formerly belonged to the Society of Writers to the Signet, without which I could not have prosecuted this line of research to a successful conclusion. Lastly, I wish to thank Francesca Longo Auricchio for helpful corrections and suggestions.

Abbreviations and bibliography: AOP = Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri; A.S.N. = Archivio di Stato di Napoli; ANGELI, *Lampsacco* = A. ANGELI, *La scuola epicurea di Lampsacco nel PHerc.* 176, «CErc» 18/1988, pp. 27-51; ANGELI, *Svolgimento* = A. ANGELI, *Lo svolgimento dei papiri carbonizzati*, «PapLup» 3/1994, pp. 37-104; ANGELI and DORANDI = A. ANGELI and T. DORANDI, *Il pensiero matematico di Demetrio Lacone*, «CErc» 17/1987, pp. 89-103; ARRIGHETTI = G. ARRIGHETTI, *Epicuro. Opere* (Torino 1973²); BASSI, *Frammenti inediti di opere di Filodemo in Papiri Ercolanesi*, «RFIC» 38/1910, pp. 321-356; BASSI, *Papiri disegnati* = D. BASSI, *Papiri Ercolanesi disegnati*, «RFIC» 41/1913, pp. 427-464; Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford; BISCHOFF = B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (original edition 1979), trans. D.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF EPICURUS, METRODORUS, DEMETRIUS LACO, PHILODEMUS, THE *CARMEN DE BELLO ACTIACO* AND OTHER TEXTS IN OXONIAN *DISEGNI* OF 1788-1792

RICHARD JANKO

Ó CRÓINÍN and D. GANZ (Cambridge 1990); BLANK = D. L. BLANK, *Reflections on Re-reading Piaggio and the Early History of the Herculaneum Papyri*, «CErc» 29/1999, pp. 55-82; BLANK and LONGO = D. L. BLANK and F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *Inventari antichi dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, «CErc» 34/2004, pp. 39-152; CAMODECA = G. CAMODECA, *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (Roma 1999); CAPASSO, *Manuale* = M. CAPASSO, *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanesi* (Lecce 1991); CAPASSO, *Piaggio* = M. CAPASSO, *Per la storia della papirologia ercolanesi III: il Piaggio a lavoro (da un documento e un disegno inediti)*, in M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Bicentenario della Morte di Antonio Piaggio*, «PapLup» 5/1997, pp. 59-76; CAPASSO, *Volumen* = M. CAPASSO, *Volumen: aspetti della tipologia del rotolo librario antico* (Napoli 1995); CASTALDI = G. CASTALDI, *Della Regia Accademia Ercolanesi* (Napoli 1840); *Cat PErc* = M. GIGANTE (ed.), *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Napoli 1979), with M. CAPASSO, *Primo Supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, «CErc» 19/1989, pp. 193-264, and G. DEL MASTRO, *Secondo Supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, «CErc» 30/2000, pp. 157-241; CAVALLO = G. CAVALLO, *Libri scritte scribe a Ercolano*, I Suppl. a «CErc» (1983); COMPARETTI = D. COMPARETTI and G. DE PETRA, *La villa ercolanesi dei Pisoni* (Torino 1883, Napoli 1972); COURTNEY, *Fragmentary Latin Poets* = E. COURTNEY, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993); CRÖNERT, *Fälschungen* = W. CRÖNERT, *Fälschungen in den Abschriften der Herculaneischen Rollen*, «RhM» 53/1898, pp. 585-595; CRÖNERT, *Neues* = W. CRÖNERT, *Neues über Epikur und einige herculaneische Rollen*, «RhM» 56/1901, pp. 607-626; CRÖNERT, *Kolotes* = W. CRÖNERT, *Kolo-*

tes und Menedemos (Leipzig 1906, repr. Amsterdam 1965); CRÖNERT, *Memoria* = W. CRÖNERT, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig 1903, repr. Hildesheim 1963); DAVY = H. DAVY, *Some Observations and Experiments on the Papyri found in the Ruins of Herculaneum*, «Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society» 2/1821, pp. 191-208; DE FALCO = V. DE FALCO, *L'epicureo Demetrio Lacone* (Napoli 1923); DE JORIO = A. DE JORIO, *Real Museo Borbonico. Officina de' papiri descritta* (Napoli 1825); DIELS = H. DIELS, *Philodemos Über die Götter erstes Buch*, «APAW», Phil.-Hist. Kl. (Jahrgang 1915), No. 7 (Berlin 1916), pp. 3-104; DEL MASTRO, *Papiri latini* = G. DEL MASTRO, *Riflessioni sui papiri latini ercolanesi*, «CErc» 35/2005, pp. 183-194; DEL MASTRO, *Poetica* = G. DEL MASTRO, *Il PHerc. 1419: nuovi frammenti del II libro della Poetica di Filodemo*, in G. INDELLI, G. LEONE, and F. LONGO AURICCHIO (edd.), *Mathesis e Mneme. Studi in memoria di Marcello Gigante* (Napoli 2004), pp. 87-94; DORANDI, *Arconti* = T. DORANDI, *Gli arconti nei papiri ercolanesi*, «ZPE» 84/1990, pp. 121-138; DORANDI, *Poetica* = T. DORANDI, *Per una ricomposizione dello scritto di Filodemo Sulla poetica*, «ZPE» 91/1992, pp. 29-46; DORANDI, *Precisazione* = T. DORANDI, *Precisazioni su papiri della Poetica di Filodemo*, «ZPE» 97/1993, pp. 81-86; DORANDI, *Ricomposizione* = T. DORANDI, *Per una ricomposizione dello scritto di Filodemo sulla Retorica*, «ZPE» 82/1990, pp. 59-87; DÜRR = E. DÜRR, *Sulla catalogazione di alcuni papiri ercolanesi*, «CErc» 18/1988, pp. 215-217; FOERSTER and FRENZ = H. FOERSTER and T. FRENZ, *Abriß der lateinischen Paliographie* (Stuttgart 2004); GALLO = I. GALLO, *Vita di Filonide Epicureo* (PHerc. 1044), in *Studi di papirologia ercolanese* (Napoli 2002), pp. 59-205; HAYTER = J. HAYTER, *A Report on the Herculaneum Manuscripts in a Second Letter addressed, by Permission, to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent* (London 1811); JANKO = R. JANKO, *Philodemus: On Poems. Book One* (Oxford 2000, corrected reprint with revisions 2003); JANKO, *De poem. 3-4* = R. JANKO, *Philodemus: On Poems Books 3-4* (Oxford, to appear); JANKO, *Empedocles* = R. JANKO, *Empedocles' Physica Book I: a New Reconstruction*, in A. PIERRIS (ed.), *The Empedoclean Kóquoc: Structure, Process and the Question of Cyclicity* (Patras 2005), pp. 93-135; JOHNSON, *Bookrolls* = W. A. JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004); KLEVE = K. KLEVE, *An Approach to the Latin Papyri from Herculaneum*, in S. CERASUOLO (ed.), *Mathesis e Philia. Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi in onore di*

principles of logic like Occam's razor seem rarely to apply. Lovers of confusion will be relieved to know that some of the items are still mystifying.

I. The Oxonian disegni of 1788-1792

All these texts appear in a set of twelve drawings of papyri which are grouped together among the Oxonian *disegni*. They now form vol. VI folios 1567-79 of the Oxonian collection in the Bodleian Library.² Images of them are readily available through the website of the Herculaneum Society;³ without their availability, for which we all owe a debt of gratitude to Dirk Obbink as well as to the Bodleian Library, this article could never have been written.⁴ I shall show that

Marcello Gigante (Napoli 1995), pp. 313-320; KÖRTE = A. KÖRTE, *Metrodori Epicurei fragmenta*, «JCPH» Suppl. 17/1890, pp. 531-597; LGPN III = M. J. OSBORNE and S. G. BYRNE, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: III Attica* (Oxford 1994); LINDSAY = W. M. LINDSAY, *The Bodleian Facsimiles of Latin Papyri from Herculaneum*, «CR» 4/1890, pp. 441-445; LONGO AURICCHIO = F. LONGO AURICCHIO, Φιλοδόμου Περὶ ῥητορικῆς libri primus et secundus, in F. SBORDONE (ed.), *Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi III* (Napoli 1977); LONGO, *Castrucci* = F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *Giacomo Castrucci e i papiri ercolanesi*, in *Mnemosynon: Studi di letteratura e di umanità in memoria di Donato Gargliardi* (Napoli 2001), pp. 363-373; LONGO, *Davy* = F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *L'esperienza napoletana del Davy*, in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo 1994), pp. 189-202; LONGO, *Retorica* = F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *Nuovi elementi per la ricostruzione della Retorica di Filodemo*, «CErc» 16/1996, pp. 169-172; MACFARLANE and DEL MASTRO = R. MACFARLANE and G. DEL MASTRO, *Il PHerc. 1491*, «CErc» 37/2007, pp. 111-124; MEKLER = S. MEKLER, *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculaneus* (Berlin 1902); MILITELLO = C. MILITELLO, *Filodemo, Memorie Epicuree*, Scuola, vol. XVI (Napoli 1997); OBBINK = D. OBBINK, *Philodemus: On Piety. Part I* (Oxford 1996); OLIVIERI = A. OLIVIERI, *Philodemi Περὶ παρησιᾶς libellus* (Leipzig 1914); OSBORNE, *Nikias* = M. J. OSBORNE, *The Archonship of Nikias Hysteros and the Secretary Cycles in the Third Century B.C.*, «ZPE» 58/1985, pp. 275-295; *Papiri non inventariati* = A. ANGELI, M. CAPASSO, M. COLAIZZO, T. DORANDI and G. INDELLI, *Papiri ercolanesi non inventariati*, «CErc» 8/1978, p. 159; ROMEO, *Poesia* = C. ROMEO, *Demetrio Lacone, La Poesia*, Scuola, vol. IX (Napoli 1988); ROMEO, *Nuove letture* = C. ROMEO, *Nuove letture nei libri "Sulla poesia" di Demetrio Lacone*, «CErc» 8/1978, pp. 104-123; SANTORO = M. SANTORO, [*Demetrio*

Lacone, La forma del dio], Scuola, vol. XVII (Napoli 2000); SCHÖBER = A. SCHÖBER, *Philodemi περὶ εὐσεβείας libelli partem priorem restituit Adolf Schober* (Diss. Königsberg ined. 1923), «CErc» 18/1988, pp. 67-125; SCOTT = W. SCOTT, *Fragmenta Herculaneisia. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculanean Rolls together with the Texts of Several Papyri accompanied by Facsimiles* (Oxford 1885); Scuola = La Scuola di Epicuro, *Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da M. GIGANTE*; SPINELLI = E. SPINELLI, *Metrodoro contro i dialettici?*, «CErc» 16/1986, pp. 29-43; STRAZZULLO = F. STRAZZULLO, *P. Antonio Piaggio e lo svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi* (Napoli 2002); SUDHAUS = S. SUDHAUS, *Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica I-II* (Leipzig 1892-6); THREATTE, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I* = L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, I: Phonology* (Berlin and New York 1980); TRACY = S. V. TRACY, *Athens and Macedon: Attic letter-cutters of 300-229 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 2003); TRAILL = J. S. TRAILL, *Persons of Ancient Athens: Volume 13, N- to Opsios* (Toronto 2004); TRAVAGLIONE = A. TRAVAGLIONE, *Incisori e curatori della Collectio Altera. Il contributo delle prove di stampa alla storia dei papiri ercolanesi*, in M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Contributi alla Storia della Officina dei Papiri*, 3 (Napoli 2003), pp. 87-178; TURNER and PARSONS = E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, revised edition by P. J. PARSONS (London 1987); USENER = H. USENER, *Epicurea* (Leipzig 1887); USENER, *Glossarium Epicureum* = H. USENER, *Glossarium Epicureum*, edd. M. GIGANTE and W. SCHMID (Roma 1977).

² Their shelf-mark is Ms. class. gr. c. 2, vol. vi, ff. 1567-1579.

³ See <http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/papyri.html>.

⁴ If the Neapolitan *disegni* were made available similarly, this would enormously facili-

the papyri correspond to those which were «issued» for drawing (but not for unrolling)⁵ between May 1788 and August 1792. Contrary to the later practice of the *disegnatori*, but like those made by Padre Antonio Piaggio,⁶ these *disegni* are drawn in ink.⁷ In addition, they often depict on the same folio pieces from more than one papyrus-number, whereas later *disegni* put different papyri on different sheets, and indeed normally show only one column per sheet. The *disegni* are on blue paper, approximately 21.2 W. x 32.1 H. With one exception,⁸ they are signed «Gio(vanni) Batt(ist)a Malesci dis.». G. B. Malesci was appointed *svolgitore*, *disegnatore* and *incisore* under the supervision of Father Piaggio on 12 Nov. 1781;⁹ he continued to work at the Officina until well after 1810.¹⁰ The drawings are countersigned in ink «Fran(ce)co Daniele Seg(retar)io della R(eale) A(cademia) E(rcolanese)». Francesco Daniele (11 Apr. 1740-14 Nov. 1812) became Secretary of the Academy in 1787, and was renewed in 1807.¹¹ They are endorsed in ink «Carlo Rosini Accad(emi)co Ercol(an)ese». Carlo Maria Rosini (Naples, 7 Apr. 1748-17 Feb. 1836), elected to the Accademia in 1787, became *interprete* at the same time; he was often President of the Academy from 1807 onwards.¹² He was appointed Superintendent of the Officina in Oct. 1802,¹³ and remained in post until he died. Three drawings are further endorsed 'Ap(rovat)o Vega'.¹⁴ Francesco La Vega (Rome 25 Jun. 1737-Naples 25 Dec. 1805) was director of the Reale Museo Ercolanese at Portici from 1781 until his death. Thus all the drawings have a *terminus post quem* of 1787. The existence of these drawings as a recognized set can be traced in the historical record. The pile of drawings has a cover-sheet (VI 1567) with the following inscriptions written in ink in three different hands:

Disegni di più frammenti, e due Alfabeti. Carte num(er)o [13] 12
Incise¹⁵

No. 1[3]2. Disegni di frammenti [con un alfabeto, inclusive]¹⁶

«Fragments immediately following
No. 1676 12 in Number but containing
no Alphabets» Note written on outer
wrapper of these fragments
H. C.¹⁷

There are now twelve sheets in the series (VI 1568-1579), excluding the cover-sheet. The corrections prove that there were once thirteen sheets, one of which has been lost; I will suggest later which items it depicted. This is probably the only exception to Bassi's statement that no drawings were lost between 1806 and 1807.¹⁸ The word 'incise' implies that copperplates were made of all the drawings; if they survive, their whereabouts are unknown. This folder is recorded at the end of the list of materials handed by Pietro La Vega to Pirro Paderni¹⁹ on 22 Jan. 1806, where after *PHerc.* 1676 we find the

tate the matching up of more drawings with their originals, and therefore the reconstruction of complete papyrus-rolls.

that the draughtsmen drew layers which could easily be separated, but did not engage in unrolling, since the process of *scorzatura parziale* did not begin until decades later (in my view between c. 1812 and the early

1820s). BASSI had already tried to make sense of this, rightly deducing that thirteen papyri, two of which we now know to have been issued in 1790-1, viz. 234 and 453, had still not been unrolled by 1807 (*Frammenti inediti*, p. 334 with n. 2).

⁶ See CAPASSO, *Piaggio*.

⁷ The earliest drawing made in pencil of which I know is that made by G. B. Malesci of *PHerc.* 1675, dated to 1786 (BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 463 n., with CAPASSO, *Piaggio*, p. 71). Pencil only became the norm in about 1796 (personal observation).

⁸ VI 1575 is not signed by Malesci. VI 1573 is not countersigned or endorsed.

⁹ AOP I, fasc. I/1 c. 2, with TRAVAGLIONE, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ On 18 Oct. 1807 he was the highest-paid employee of the Officina, and he was still a *svolgitore* there in 1810; by 15 Feb. 1817 he was deceased and had been succeeded by his son Carlo (A.S.N., Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica 378/1), who had been taken on by the Officina on 28 Nov. 1812 (AOP III, fasc. II/10 c. 12, with TRAVAGLIONE, p. 97).

¹¹ CASTALDI, pp. 41, 43, 127; *Id.*, *Vita di Francesco Daniele* (Napoli 1812); N. CIAMPITTI, *De Francisci Danieli studiis scriptisque commentarius* (Napoli 1818); STRAZZULLO, pp. 48-50.

¹² CASTALDI, pp. 217-227.

¹³ CASTALDI, p. 221, mistakenly gives the date as 1801.

¹⁴ CASTALDI, pp. 180-184.

¹⁵ Hand of G. B. Malesci, presumably corrected in 1806-1807 by Pietro La Vega or Pirro Paderni.

¹⁶ Second hand, *sic*. This must be the hand of Pietro La Vega in 1806, corrected by Pirro Paderni in 1807.

¹⁷ These are perhaps the initials of the person at Oxford who oversaw the binding of the drawings in 1883; he is evidently quoting Hayter, who must have created the lost outer wrapper in order to keep the fragments together, presumably when he received them in Sept. 1807.

¹⁸ *Papiri disegnati*, p. 441.

¹⁹ The second son of Camillo Paderni (STRAZZULLO, p. 45). He had become an assistant at the Reale Museo after his father's

⁵ See BLANK, *Reflections*, who demonstrated

following, which corresponds verbally to the second heading above before it was corrected:²⁰

Nº: tredici disegni di frammenti Greci, e Latini con un alfabeto inclusive
Alfabeto uno Latino, e cinque Greci

In the two inventories that were made when Paderni gave the folder to Hayter on 2 Sept. 1807, it reappears each time, again at the end after *PHerc.* 1676:²¹

Disegni dodici di frammenti Greci, e Latini
Sei alfabeti greci
Un Alfabeto Latino

From here the twelve drawings passed via Hayter and the Prince Regent into the possession of the Bodleian Library, where they were placed after the drawings of *PHerc.* 1676.

These papyri have suffered serious confusion in their numeration, which cannot be blamed on the political turmoil that would engulf the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies a few years later. Many items have incorrect numbers, while seven have none at all but are labelled with letters instead. Blank²² studied the question in 1999. However, further progress can be made, since only later did he and I come to recognize independently that their common date of issue might be used to clarify the history of this group of papyri. Thus Blank wrote in 2004:²³

«I've found something interesting, which should probably be noted: if one lists all the pieces said in the 1807 *Catalogo* to have been 'given out for unrolling' between 1782 and 1792, almost all the *scorze* among them are listed between Aprile 1790 and Maggio 1791 and have drawings of one, or at most four fragments in Oxford, among the drawings in the two *mappe* which have been placed at the end of volume vi. This would tend to indicate that these *scorze* were taken so that they could be drawn, and perhaps the draughtsman also tried to remove layers from the back of the pieces using the *macchina*».

death in 1781 (royal decree of 2 July 1781, quoted by M. G. MANSI, *Per un profilo di Camillo Paderni*, «PapLup» 5/1997, pp. 77-108, at p. 107 n. 139). For Pietro La Vega, brother of Francesco, see CASTALDI, p. 184.

²⁰ *Inventario de' disegni de' papiri ercolanesi svolti a tutto il 22 gennaio 1806: nota de' Disegni dei Papiri Ercolanesi svolti*, Busta XVII 6, published by BLANK and LONGO, pp. 130-133, at p. 133.

²¹ *Nota di tutti i disegni de' papiri d'Ercolano svolti, e questi col numero secondo si trovano segnati nell'inventario*, Bodleian Library, Ms. gr. class. c. 10, ff. 36-41 and 61-66, published by BLANK and LONGO, pp. 133-136, at p. 136 and pp. 136-139, at p. 139.

²² *Reflections*, pp. 69-70.

²³ I am greatly indebted to David Blank for sharing with me, when my own research was considerably advanced, his unpublished paper *Remarks on fragments and drawings in Piaggio's time*, which he wrote in 2004 and which reached independently almost the same conclusion, which I at first shared, viz. that the confusions are limited to papyri with dates of issue in 1790-1791.

After listing the pieces and discussing the signatures on the drawings, he continued:

«Do these cosigners tell us anything about the dates of the drawings? Is it possible or probable that they were made at the times when the papyri were signed out? . . . Note that all the fragments whose *disegni* appear in O were given out between Aprile 1790 and Maggio 1791. Therefore, it is probable that the other pieces, whose date is not given in the *Catalogo* but which appear in O, were also drawn between those dates».

Although I started out with the same hypothesis regarding the range of relevant dates, in fact, as we shall see, the dates of issue of the papyri involved in these confusions commence as early as May 1788 (no. 1076 = O '220') and end as late as August 1792 (no. 1090 = O '235'). Although these Oxonian *disegni* bear the folio-numbers 1-12 and then, when they were bound in Oxford, 1567 to 1579, I will list them in reverse order. This is because this was the original sequence of the folios, as is proved by the presence of seven fragments that bear the letters A-G instead of numerals. These pieces were labelled with letters because their numbers had been lost. We know this because 'Frammento D' is annotated in a different ink, but still

in the hand of Malesci, «per non esservi num(er)o nel pezzo del Papiro —». This set of alphabetical labels guarantees the sequence of seven of the drawings. Hence Table 1 lists all the relevant *disegni* in reverse order relative to that in which they were bound in Oxford. The first sheet was not completed before Dec. 1790, since the first item in the alphabetical series, ‘fr. A’, appears on the same folio, 1579, as a piece (no. 1116) that was issued in Dec. 1790. If there was a delay in undertaking the drawing, this may have contributed to the confusion in the numbering.

Four folios also bear in pencil a series of letters of the alphabet, but I can make nothing of the sequence that these letters imply. They are as follows: 1576, ‘A’; 1574, ‘B’; 1579, ‘c’; 1578, ‘d’. This contradicts the order implied by the pieces numbered with letters, since 1576 has Fr. D and 1579 Fr. A.

Within this sequence of folios, the fragment-numbers used by Malesci prove that he began in the upper left quadrant of the folio and then filled the upper right quadrant before moving down to the left centre of the folio, and so on. His procedure is confirmed by the fact that the first six folios depict Greek papyri, the seventh contains fragments of Greek with one piece of Latin in the lower right corner, and the last five contain Latin; this also proves that Malesci drew the Greek first and the Latin afterwards. On folio 1572 the copyist drew three pieces of papyrus 413 and then put a piece of papyrus 397 in the gap; he drew the remaining pieces of 397 on the next folio, 1571. Hence we may infer that another papyrus was finished on the succeeding sheet but not numbered: ‘1082’ was continued from folio 1570 to folio 1569. Table 1 shows the order in which the papyri were drawn, with their dates of issue where known. Pieces where the language is not indicated are in Greek. Numbers that are demonstrably erroneous are shown within inverted commas, *e. g.* ‘235’.

TABLE 1. *The Oxonian disegni of 1788-1792 by G. B. Malesci, with dates of issue*

Item-nos., in order in which they were drawn	Dates of issue	page-no., folio-no
Cover-sheet	[created after Dec. 1790]	—, 1567
244 in two layers, ‘235’, 1116, ‘Fr. A’	Jul. 1790 (bis), Dec. 1790, Oct. 1790	12, 1579
‘Fr. B’, ‘247’ in two layers, 238 in two layers, 237	Dec. 1790, Jul. 1790, Dec. 1790, Jul. 1790	11, 1578
230 in two layers, ‘Fr. C’, 239 in two layers	Oct. 1790, Jul. 1790, Dec. 1790	10, 1577
435, ‘Fr. D’, ‘220’, 253	Dec. 1790, ?, May 1788, Jul. 1790	9, 1576
1083 in two layers	Dec. 1790	8, 1575
221 in two layers, ‘1106’, ‘455’	Jul. 1790, ?, not recorded	7, 1574
‘Fr. E’, ‘Fr. F’, ‘Fr. G’ (Latin)	?, Jul. 1790, ?	6, 1573
413 in two layers (Latin), 397 (Latin), 413 (Latin)	all Dec. 1790	5, 1572
‘1419’ (Latin), ‘459’ (Latin), 397 in three pieces (Latin)	?, Dec. 1790 (bis)	4, 1571
‘1082’ in four pieces (Latin)	?	3, 1570
unnumbered (= ‘1082’, Latin), 413 (Latin), 397 (Latin), 399 (Latin)	?, Dec. 1790 (bis), not issued	2, 1569
‘1082’ <i>bis</i> (Latin), unnumbered (? = ‘1082’, Latin), ? caption erased and unnumbered in two layers (= ‘1082’, Latin)		1, 1568

To reconstruct how these pieces came to be drawn and renumbered, we need to consider all the papyri that were given out for study and unrolling before the Neapolitan Revolution, which are listed in the *Catalogo de' Papiri Ercolanesi dati per isvolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S. M. a personaggi esteri*, which was compiled in 1807.²⁴ This catalogue itself must be based on an earlier register, dating back to at least June 1782, which is the date of the earliest entry, that for no. 1420. The present whereabouts of this latter register are unknown, but, like Piaggio's inventory, it should be sought in the Museo Archeologico di Napoli. This register must have been kept alongside the inventory that, as Blank discovered, was made by Piaggio and F. La Vega after March 1782 but before August 1786.²⁵ He rightly inferred that, «with the making of the new inventory, the system of signing for papyri taken to be unrolled was also instituted».²⁶ Thus the fact that no. 1420 was issued in June 1782 proves that Piaggio's inventory was compiled between March and June of that year. In the extant list of 1807, the following entries relate to items that may have been issued before work was interrupted by the Neapolitan Revolution, were not among the items that were completely unrolled, and do not have drawings elsewhere among the Oxonian *disegni*:

150	restituito
177	Dato per isvolgersi [— — —]
220	Dato per isvolgersi nel Marzo 1791. Restituito
221	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
230	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
234	Dato per isvolgersi
235	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
237	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
238	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
239	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
244	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
247	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
253	Dato per isvolgersi nel Luglio 1790. Restituito
335	Dato per isvolgersi a' 11 Agosto 1796. Restituito
397	Dato per isvolgersi a' Dicembre 1790. Restituito
413	Dato per isvolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
435	Dato per isvolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
439	Dato per isvolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
453	Dato nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
455	Dato per isvolgersi
459	Dato per isvolgersi nel Dicembre 1790
474	Dato per isvolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
500	Dato per isvolgersi nel Settembre 1791. Restituito
809	Dato per isvolgersi a' Svolto del tutto a'
860	Dato per isvolgersi nell'Ottobre 1790. Restituito
995	Dato per isvolgersi a' 27 Giugno 1796. Restituito a' 11 Agosto detto anno

²⁴ AOP XVII 7, published by BLANK and LONGO, pp. 139-148.

²⁵ Published by BLANK and LONGO, pp. 39-152, at pp. 45-120. For the dates between which the inventory was made, see BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 82.

²⁶ BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 82.

1010	Dato per svolgersi alli 11 Agosto 1796.
1063	Dato nel Maggio 1788. Restituito
1064	Dato nel Maggio 1788. Restituito
1076	Dato per svolgersi nel Maggio 88. Restituito
1080	Dato per svolgersi nel Maggio 88. Restituito
1082	Dato per svolgersi nell' Aprile 1791. Restituito
1083	Dato per svolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
1090	Dato per svolgersi nel Agosto 1792. Restituito
1096	Dato per svolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
1116	Dato per svolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
1172	Dato per svolgersi. Restituito
1413	Dato per svolgersi a' 27 Giugno 1796. Restituito alli 11 Agosto detto anno
1419	Dato per svolgersi nel Dicembre 1790. Restituito
1420	Dato per svolgersi nel Giugno 1782. Restituito
1491	Dato per svolgersi nel Settembre 1782. Restituito
1690	Frammenti
1691	Frammenti

Note that nos. 177, 234, 455, 809, and 1010 are not recorded as having been returned, while 150, 177, 234, 455, 809, 1172, and 1690-1 have no dates at all. We will see in Section IV below that several of these undated items can be excluded, because we can determine on other grounds that they were issued either before 1782 (nos. 1690-1691) or after 1801 (nos. 150, 809). The only undated items that will in fact appear to have been issued between the relevant dates are nos. 234, which was I think given out in July 1790, and 455, which was issued in December of that year. The papyri were given out on the basis of how they were stored, as Blank observed,²⁷ since there are clusters of papyri which, according to the inventory of Piaggio and later sources, belonged to the same *Tavolette* (I arrange the clusters by date, omitting items that are isolated):

220-238	Tav. XXI	July 1790 (220 in Mar. 1791)
239-255	Tav. XXII	July 1790
397-425	Tav. XXXIV	Dec. 1790
426-452	Tav. XXXV	Dec. 1790
453-474	Tav. XXXVI	Dec. 1790
1057-1065	Tav. LVIII	May 1788
1073-1090	Tav. LX	May 1788 (1090 in Aug. 1792)
1091-1119	Tav. LXI	Dec. 1790

If we rearrange this list by date of issue (if known), adding a description of the state of the papyri as recorded in Piaggio's list of 1782, or at least (for the numbers 1-311, where Piaggio's inventory is lost) as they are at present, we obtain the following pattern:

²⁷ Pers. comm., 2007.

Jun. 1782 1420 (roll)
 Sept. 1782 1491 (roll)
 May 1788 1063, 1064 (rolls), 1076, 1080 (*scorze*)
 July 1790 221, 230, 235, 237, 238, 239, 244, 247, 253 (*scorze*)
 Oct. 1790 860 (*scorza*)
 Dec. 1790 397, 413, 435, 439, 453, 474, 1083, 1096, 1116 (*scorze*),
 1419 (roll)
 Mar. 1791 220 (*scorza*)
 Apr. 1791 1082 (*scorza*)
 Sept. 1791 500 (roll)
 Aug. 1792 1090 (*scorza*)
 Jun. 1796 995, 1413 (rolls)
 Aug. 1796 335, 1010 (rolls)

This pattern is explicable not because of the language of each text, but because of the differing states of the papyri. Blank has listed all the rolls which were successfully opened before 1798.²⁸ Piaggio began in 1754 by unrolling *PHerc.* 1497. The Officina also unrolled *PHerc.* 1418 (issued June 1792), 1424 (issued in July 1791), 1425 (issued October 1789), 1426 (issued in September 1791), and 1427 (issued in September 1786); these are close in numeration to nos. 1413, 1419 and 1420. The entry «Frammenti» for nos. 1690 and 1691 implies that the unrolling had failed, and these were pieces removed from the outsides on Piaggio's machine; perhaps this was in 1754-1765, when Piaggio and Merli unrolled *PHerc.* 1669 to *PHerc.* 1676 inclusive. Since it is not even stated that these two items were issued, they must have been worked on before 1782, when records began to be kept. Since nos. 1420 and 1491 were whole *volumina*,²⁹ they were tackled first, in 1782. Nos. 1063 and 1064 were also whole papyri,³⁰ so one understands why they were issued in 1788; *PHerc.* 1065 was also given out then and was completely unrolled.

However, at the same time two *scorza*-stacks, nos. 1076 and 1080, were issued. It is no coincidence that both items appear in this set of Oxonian *disegni*, where they are called '220' and '455' respectively (see Section IV below). The majority of the pieces in the drawings were issued between July 1790 and August 1791. The papyri given out during that time were all *scorze* except for no. 1419. The last item to appear in our drawings was issued in August 1792, viz. no. 1090, a *scorza*, but this is an unusual case (see on *PHerc.* 253 in Section IV below). The next month a roll was issued, no. 500. No further transactions are recorded until 1796, when the rolls with the nos. 335, 995, and 1010 were issued; *PHerc.* 1021 was given out in the same year and was successfully unrolled.

Although the absolute *terminus ante quem* for our set of drawings is December 1798, when Naples fell to the French and King Ferdinand fled to Palermo, taking the papyri with him, we can be more precise. This set of drawings represents only *scorze*. In May 1788 Rosini and his staff began to experiment with pieces that had been peeled off from the outsides of *volumina* and could not be unrolled continuously. These were tackled

²⁸ BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 78.

²⁹ BLANK and LONGO, pp. 105, 109, where no. 1491 is described as «facile a sfogliarsi».

³⁰ BLANK and LONGO, p. 85.

either with *sollevamento* or somehow by lifting off pieces that were «facile a sfogliarsi», as Piaggio described no. 860 among many others in his catalogue of 1782. When they found that this was practicable in some cases, they tested the method on a whole series of *scorze*. They seem to have desisted from this experiment in about September 1791. As Blank hypothesized, they did not undertake true *scorzatura*, *i. e.* the deliberate removal and destruction of layers from the the top of the stack, beginning with the innermost layer.

Since the first item to be issued whose relevance to the set of *disegni* can be demonstrated is no. 1076, which was given out in May 1788, and the last is no. 1090, issued in August 1792, the rolls which were given out before and after these dates are therefore irrelevant to this investigation. It seems likely that the attempts to unroll the latter rolls failed. However, if they were partially unrolled and some pieces of them were drawn (and it is perfectly possible that discrete fragments were successfully removed from the outsides and were copied), the whereabouts of all such *disegni* are unknown. A search should be made in the papers of the Ministro della Casa Reale, to whom Piaggio and his successors could have sent them, as he sent his drawing of the *subscriptio* of *PHerc.* 1675; M. Capasso discovered it in the Archive of the Archaeological Superintendency of Naples and Caserta.³¹ Thus we may yet recover drawings of the items originally catalogued as nos. 335, 500, 995, 1010, 1063-1064, 1413, 1420, 1491, and 1690-1691.

II. Scribal hands, including those of Latin texts, in the *disegni* of 1788-1792

Although it is generally claimed that the *disegnatori* do not depict the different hands with sufficient care for them to be recognized,³² this is certainly not true of these drawings, which are exceedingly careful and accurate. In a few cases Malesci drew wrongly some letters in the first few lines of a piece, and offers the correct forms lower down in the text. Where he offers two forms of the same letter, the second one is always correct. His care with regard to the lettering accords with the trouble he took to avoid drawing multiple layers: the only drawing in the set that depicts the top of a *scorza*-stack with different layers visible is Fr. E (VI 1573), the present *PHerc.* 245.

The Greek scribal hands of many of the surviving papyri were identified by Cavallo, supplemented for the papyri of Philodemus' *Rhetoric* by Dorandi.³³ However, when the hands of the extant papyri do not match those of the drawings, I have relied on my own observations to explicate the confusions among them, with the dates of issue of the papyri serving as a control on what would otherwise have been almost infinite possibilities. The identifications of the Greek hands, in Cavallo's numeration, are included in Table 2 below and are discussed for each papyrus in Section IV. These identifications have been crucial to sorting out the disorder in these drawings.

³¹ CAPASSO, *Piaggio*, p. 61, quoting Arch. Mus. Arch. Naz. Nap. LXX 1751-1761. The archives of the National Archaeological Museum in Napoli ought also to contain further drawings of rolls that Piaggio attempted to unroll.

³² «Nessun valore può essere riconosciuto ai disegni nella ricostruzione della fenomenologia grafica» (CAPASSO, *Manuale*, p. 123); cf. CAVALLO, pp. 11-22.

³³ See DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*.

Malesci seems likely to have depicted the hands of the Latin papyri with an equal degree of accuracy.³⁴ This is certainly true of the script of the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*, where we can compare his work with the extant *PHerc.* 817. At least six different scribes can be discerned: to distinguish their writing from Greek «Hands», I will call them «Manus». The fact that they all have a *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 79 will be of great value for our understanding of Roman palaeography, which is very poorly documented during this period. It is astonishing that no Latin papyri from Herculaneum were included in the *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*.³⁵ Three Latin hands must be called Capitals, both «Early Roman» and «Pre-Classical».³⁶ (The drawings contain no example of Kleve's «Classical Capitals», which he dates to the first century A.D.)³⁷ Manus 1 (in O '1082' *bis*, prose or verse) is a bilinear, upright script. It uses the early form *U* rather than *V*, as in Kleve's style «Early Roman Capital», and also has very large letters, like those in the papyri of Lucretius. However, it uses the capital forms of *A*, *D*, *L*, and *R* rather than the lower-case forms. The use of these forms suggests that it is somewhat later than the hands in the copies of Ennius (*PHerc.* 21) and Lucretius (*PHerc.* 1829-31) that comprise Kleve's «Early Roman Capital». I would tentatively date this script to the mid to late first century B.C. because of its use of *U*, but this criterion is somewhat uncertain. Note its use of an apex for punctuation over the mid-line dot that separates the words; this combination is also seen in Manus 3, the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*.³⁸

Manus 2 (in O Fr. G, prose) is a tidy, bilinear capital, smaller than Manus 1. It again uses *U* rather than *V*, with the first arm sloping to the left and the second straighter. Otherwise it uses capitals, so far as one can tell. It uses a long *I* projecting above the line in line 1 to mark the lengthened vowel. No dots separating the words are preserved; it is not clear from such a small sample of the script whether they were used. Its date is similar to that of Manus 1.

Manus 3 (in O 397 and 399, hexameter verse), which Kleve termed «Pre-classical Capital», is the same elegant, mid-sized upright hand as that of *PHerc.* 817, the famous *Carmen de Bello Actiaco*. This hand, formerly called «rustic capitals» and adapted in the modern font «Herculaneum», is actually of Augustan date.³⁹ Only the *Q* breaches bilinearity. The first letter of each line is enlarged. As W. M. Lindsay noted,⁴⁰ both of these papyri, like *PHerc.* 817, use dots to separate the words. Likewise both use apices to mark long vowels that might be ambiguous, and a bent paragraphus. O 397 twice uses dots to separate prefixes as well, as in *per-emi* and *c[o]n-ut*; the same phenomenon appears in N 817 col. 7 (likewise drawn by G.B. Malesci), *Atropos-in-rid[e]ns* and *consilia-inter-itus*. There is no instance of long *I* in these *disegni*; this is sometimes used in *PHerc.* 817, but is not always represented in the drawings of it.

I classify three hands as cursive, a style which has hardly been discussed in the previous literature on the Herculaneum papyri. Indeed, the latter have been almost entirely neglected by scholars of early Roman cursive, who believe that until the fourth century A.D. their sources are limited to

³⁴ Pace KLEVE, p. 314.

³⁵ See R. CAVENAILE, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* (Wiesbaden 1956-1958).

³⁶ See KLEVE, pp. 315-319 with his Table I.

³⁷ It is already found in the papyrus of Gallus from Qasr Ibrim, which dates from the 20s B.C. (KLEVE, p. 317).

³⁸ *PHerc.* 817 col. 8, where it separates the two clauses in the line *consiliis nox apta dum, lux aptior armis*.

³⁹ KLEVE, pp. 313-314. It is astonishing that the authenticity of *PHerc.* 817 has lately been questioned by F. BRUNHÖLZL (*Zum sogenannten Carmen de bello Actiaco*, *PHerc.* 817, *Codices Manuscripti* 22/1998, pp. 3-10) who is cited with credulous approval by FOERSTER and FRENZ (p. 104). See the devastating rebuttal by M. CAPASSO and P. RADICIOTTI, *La falsa falsificazione del De bello Actiaco* (*PHerc.* 817): *a proposito di un paradosso ercolanese*, «PapLup» 8/1999, pp. 117-135.

⁴⁰ LINDSAY, p. 442.

wooden and wax tablets, *tabellae defixionum*, graffiti and inscriptions on clay.⁴¹ I shall assign letters to these scripts, so that further hands can be added to this series by future scholarship. The distinction between the three hands at Herculaneum enables us to make a finer classification of them, which may even have chronological implications. Bischoff calls all such scripts «Old Roman Cursive», with the older set of the forms of it in his illustration of that style.⁴² However, we shall see that some forms of this cursive use a *P* without a loop, a *U* instead of a *V*, and an *R* that looks like *A* with a vertical left leg. By analogy with the evolution of the Capitals, one might expect these forms to be older than cursives which use some capital forms. In addition, Manus A and B are more formal than is Manus C. Since the former hands were used even for literary works, they might reasonably be called «semi-cursive».

Manus A (in O '1082', an oration, perhaps the same as *PHerc.* 238a) is upright, squarish and bilinear except for *B*, *Q*, and long *I*. This *I*, extending well above the line and transcribed ì, is used to mark the lengthened vowel, as Lindsay noted.⁴³ Manus A uses *U* rather than *V*, although the latter appears twice and may have been a variant form. It has the lower-case forms of *D* and *R* (the latter is almost indistinguishable from *A*, which as usual has lost its central line), and the right top of *H* is hardly shown. The letter *B* already has the shape known as «*B à panse à gauche*», *i. e.* «*a bow on the left with a long rounded neck above it*».⁴⁴ *I*, *L*, *P* (which has no loop) and *T* are often hard to tell apart. Separation-points were apparently always used. The sign / seems to be used for punctuation. I think this hand can be called «Early Roman Cursive», by analogy with the capitals of the time; it is probably 1st. century B.C. in date. Apart from its use of *U*, it is closely comparable to that of a fragment of Cicero's *Verrine* 2 in a papyrus in Giessen, supposedly datable to the first century A.D., which uses the «*B à panse à gauche*» and *P* with no loop, but also has a sloping *V* like Manus B.⁴⁵ This Ciceronian papyrus shows that semi-cursive could be used for literary works.

Manus B (in O '1419', an oration or letter) is bilinear except for *F* and *B*, which again is the «*B à panse à gauche*». *R* is still lower-case, again resembling *A*. However, *H* and *P* have the Classical form, and a leftward-sloping *V*, like that in Manus 2, is used rather than *U*. One separation-point is shown. Again this hand is closely comparable to the fragment of Cicero's *Verrine* 2 in Giessen, which uses the sloping *V* but has the earlier form of *P* with no loop. By analogy with the Kleve's terminology for the Capitals, I call Manus B «Pre-Classical Cursive», and suspect that it is Augustan in date.

Manus C (in O 413 and probably O '459', both correspondence or legal depositions) is a rapid cursive. *A*, *B*, *D*, long *I* and *L* rise above the line, while *F* and *Q* go below. *U* is used rather than *V*. *H* has a lower-case but angular form. *R* is lower-case and easily confused with *A*; in one place a vestige of its lower right diagonal is still written. Note the abbreviation *N'* for *n(on)* in O '459'. In O 413 the first letter of each paragraph, or at least initial *C*, is enlarged and written in ecthesis. Separation-points at mid-

⁴¹ So BISCHOFF, p. 61.

⁴² BISCHOFF, p. 64. Cf. the description of FOERSTER and FRENZ, pp. 111-112.

⁴³ LINDSAY, p. 443 (I do not think, however, that the spelling *nln* contains the preposition *in*, as he supposed). This too is found in the archive of the Sulpicii (CAMODECA vol. I, p. 39).

⁴⁴ BISCHOFF, p. 62 with Fig. 5. Francis Newton, to whom I am grateful for this reference, tells me that he calls the form «left-looped B».

⁴⁵ *P. Jand.* 90, illustrated in BISCHOFF, Pl. 2a.

height are used spasmodically to separate the words; from the copies we cannot tell whether they were always so used. However, it is likely that they were, since they appear in at least 38% of the documents in the archive of the Sulpicii from Puteoli (this is dated to the middle of the first-century A.D. and superbly edited by G. Camodeca),⁴⁶ and were neglected only by barely literate writers.⁴⁷ Whether Manus C is Republican or Early Imperial is unclear. The hand is perhaps less evolved than the hands in the archive of the Sulpicii, since these hands use the highly cursive form of *E* as two uprights; however, this form can be traced back to the second century B.C.

III. The Confusions in the Drawings of 1788-1792

The surviving portion of Piaggio's catalogue of 1782, which begins with no. 312, is of some help in identifying the items further. It reveals that the pieces with numbers greater than 312 were all exterior *scorze* of similar sizes, with the exceptions of no. 1172, which was still a complete *midollo*, and of nos. 1419, 1420, and 1491, which were still complete rolls. The identification of the scribal hands was vital to the identification of the drawings. Where the papyri in Table 1 can be identified, they were all issued between May 1788 and August 1792. It will also be shown that some other papyri that were simply «issued», with no date stated and no indication that they were returned, probably belong to this group as well. These are nos. 177, 234, and 455, while no. 1172 has no date of issue but was returned and 399 is not listed at all. Finally, I will be able to prove below that two papyri changed their numbers: O fr. E was mistakenly refiled as *PHerc.* 245, while the original no. 397 became O 399 and was refiled as *PHerc.* 399. Table 2 lists them all in numerical order. For ease of reference, I have listed the items in all the relevant places, and I have catalogued all the lettered pieces in alphabetical order at the end, as well as under their papyrus-number where that is known; the current number for each entry is in bold face. The dimensions given in Piaggio's inventory of 1782 are converted to cm. (1 *uncia* = 2.2 cm); the widths (W.) and heights (H.) quoted from the *Catalogo* are maxima. Note that the heights and widths of the papyri can have diminished between 1782 and today, but they cannot have increased. Where the dimensions are unknown, *i. e.* in nos. 1-311, and the identity of the original no. with the present number cannot be affirmed or denied, I have assumed that the number was the same, simply in order to include the information about the date of issue. As a check on this, I have supplied the ratio of the height to the width ($H. \div W.$), since this is applicable even to drawings where the dimensions are not given. This is sometimes a useful confirmation that two items are the same, but often damage has rendered them incommensurate. Lastly, I have been careful to state where an item was or is a roll rather than a *scorza*. I give only the height for rolls, since the width is not useful as an indicator of identity.

⁴⁶ See CAMODECA.

⁴⁷ CAMODECA vol. I, pp. 38-39.

TABLE 2. *The papyri given out from June 1782 to August 1796, together with those having no date of issue (numbers changed in the disegni are in inverted commas)*

No. in register of 1782	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state in 1782	Date of issue in register of 1807	No. in Oxonian <i>disegni</i> , ratio H./W.	No. now	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state now	Contents (* = new identification), publication status and location in column	Hand (* = newly identified)	O VI folio nos.
150	? (roll)	not stated (1804?)	—	150	H. 16.5, unrolled	Greek prose, author and work unknown, top	?	—
177	? (roll)	not stated, return not noted	?, if drawn	177	H. 15.8, unrolled	*Phld. <i>De dis</i> III, unpublished, top	*as <i>PHerc.</i> 152/157, 1076	not known
1076	W. 7.2, H. 20.9, R. 2.9, <i>scorza</i>	May 1788	‘220’ R. 2.33	1076	W. 7.2, H. 19.5, R. 2.7, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>De dis</i> III, unpublished, ?top	as <i>PHerc.</i> 152/157, 177	1576
220	?	Mar. 1791	?, if drawn	220	W. 8.5, H. 20.0, R. 2.35, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A, unpublished, top	*27 Cavallo	not known
221	?	July 1790	221 R. 2.07	221	W. 5.7, H. 13.6, R. 2.38, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A, top	27 Cavallo	1574
230	?	July 1790	230 R. 1.15	230	W. 3.5, H. 7, R. 2.0, <i>scorza</i>	*Dem. Lac. <i>De poem. lib. inc.</i> , unpublished, top	*2 Cavallo	1577
? (233 was not issued)	?	?	Fr. C R. 2.0	233	W. 3.4, H. 6, R. 1.76, <i>scorza</i>	*Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i> , unpublished, middle	*4 Cavallo	1577
234	?	not stated (July 1790?), return not noted	?, if drawn	234	W. 4.5, H. 12, R. 2.66, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> I, published, top and bottom	20 Cavallo	not known
?	?	?	‘235’ R. 1.5	253 + 1090	3 pieces, W. 3.2, H. 7.7, R. 2.41 (1090 lost)	Phld. <i>De vitiis</i> , <i>De avaritia</i> , partly unpublished, top	25 Cavallo	1579
235	?	July 1790	?, if drawn	235	W. 4, H. 6.6, R. 1.65, <i>scorza</i>	Greek prose, author and work unknown	?	not known
?	?	?	‘237’ R. 1.28	1082	W. 5.6, H. 8, R. 1.43, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>De vitiis</i> II or III, <i>De adulatione</i> , unpublished, top	*25 Cavallo	1578
237	?	July 1790	?	237	frag., ?size	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	?	not known
?	?	?	‘1082’ and <i>sine numero</i> R. 1.5-2.3	238a = 1817 ‘lost’	W. 6.5, H. 17.5, R. 2.69, <i>scorza</i>	Latin oration, unpublished, bottom	*Manus A	1568, 1569, 1570
238	?	July 1790	238 R. 1.25	238b	small <i>scorza</i> , R. 1.75, not in <i>CatPErc</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> VIII, unpublished, top	*14 Cavallo	1578
?	?	?	?	238c	<i>scorza</i> , not in <i>CatPErc</i>	?	?	?
?	?	?	?	238d	small <i>scorza</i> , not in <i>CatPErc</i>	?	?	?
?	?	?	?	238e	small <i>scorza</i> , not in <i>CatPErc</i>	?	?	?
239	?	July 1790	239 R. 1.42	239a	2 pieces with 238, R. 1.18, not in <i>CatPErc</i>	*Phld. <i>Memoriae Epicureae</i> , unpublished, bottom or top	*as <i>PHerc.</i> 310, 474, 1787	1577
?	?	?	?, if drawn	239b	W. 6.5, H. 6, R. 0.92, <i>scorza</i>	Latin prose or verse, unidentified, unpublished, bottom	?Manus A	not known
244	?	July 1790	244 R. 2.13	244	W. 4, H. 9, R. 2.25, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. B, unpublished, bottom	*11 Cavallo	1579

No. in register of 1782	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state in 1782	Date of issue in register of 1807	No. in Oxonian <i>disegni</i> , ratio H./W.	No. now	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state now	Contents (* = new identification), publication status and location in column	Hand (* = newly identified)	O VI folio nos.
? (245 was not issued)	?	?	Fr. E R. 1.15	245	W. 8, H. 8.5, R. 1.06, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A, partly unpublished, top	*27 Cavallo	1573
? (255 was not issued)	?	?	‘247’ R. 2.12	255	3 pieces, W. 4, H. 7, R. 1.75	Metrodorus, ? <i>Adversus dialecticos</i> , partly unpublished, top	as <i>PHerc.</i> 418, 439, 1084, 1091, 1112	1578
247	?	July 1790	Fr. F R. 1.84	247 (= 1815, lost)	W. 5.5, H. 14, R. 2.55, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>De piet.</i> , ?top	12 Cavallo	1573
439	W. 4, H. 18.7, R. 4.68, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	‘253’ R. 1.45	439, = 1824	8 pieces, W. 4, H. 16, R. 4.0	Metrodorus, ? <i>Adv. dialecticos</i> , unpublished, top	as <i>PHerc.</i> 255, 418, 1084, 1091, 1112	1576
253	?	July. 1790	‘235’ R. 1.51	253 + 1090	3 pieces, W. 3.2, H. 7.7, R. 2.41 (1090 lost)	Phld. <i>De vitiis, De avaritia</i> , unpublished, top	25 Cavallo	1579
? (255 was not issued)	?	?	‘247’ R. 2.12	255	3 pieces, W. 4, H. 7, R. 1.75	Metrodorus, ? <i>Adv. dialecticos lib. inc.</i> , partly unpublished, top	as <i>PHerc.</i> 418, 439, 084, 1091, 1112	1578
335	H. 15.4, roll	11 Aug. 1796	—	335	6 pieces, H. 8.5, unrolled	*Epic. <i>De nat. lib. inc.</i> , unpublished, top and bottom (broken in middle)	*5 Cavallo	—
397	W. 4.4, H. 11.9, R. 2.70, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	397 R. 2.0-2.3	lost, = 399	lost	*uncertain author, <i>De bello Actiaco</i> , unpublished, top	*Manus 3 (as <i>PHerc.</i> 817)	1569, 1571, 1572
397 (399 was not issued)	W. 4.4, H. 11.9, R. 2.70, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	399 R. 2.0-2.3	399	broken <i>scorza</i> , ?size	*?uncertain author, <i>De bello Actiaco</i> , unpublished, top	*Manus 3 (as <i>PHerc.</i> 817)	1569
413	W. 3.5, H. 13.2, R. 3.77, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	413 R. 2.8-3.0	413	W. 3.5, H. 9, R. 2.57, <i>scorza</i>	Latin letter or legal deposition, unpublished, top	*Manus C	1569, 1572
435	W. 3.5, H. 11.5, R. 3.29, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	?	?	?	?	?	?
455	W. 4.4, H. 11, R. 2.5, <i>scorza</i>	not stated (Dec. 1790?), return not noted	‘435’ R. 1.88	455	2 pieces, W. 4, H. 10, R. 2.5	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> III, unpublished, top	*22 Cavallo	1576
?	?	?	?, if drawn	435	W. 5, H. 7, R. 1.4, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> ?II, unpublished, middles?	*?23 Cavallo (so Blank)	not known
439	W. 4, H. 18.7, R. 4.68, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	‘253’ R. 1.45	439	8 pieces, W. 4, H. 16, R. 4.0	*Metrodorus, ? <i>Adv. dialecticos</i> , unpublished, top	*as <i>PHerc.</i> 255, 418, 1084, 1091, 1112	1576
453	W. 5.5, H. 9.2, R. 1.67, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	?, if drawn	453	W. 5, H. 9.5, R. 1.9, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A, published, top	*27 Cavallo	not known
1080	W. 6.6, H. 18.7, R. 2.83, <i>scorza</i>	May 1788	‘455’ R. 1.46	1080	5 pieces, W. 6, H. 20, R. 3.33	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> X, unpublished, top	*21 Cavallo	1574
455	W. 4.4, H. 11, R. 2.5, <i>scorza</i>	not stated (Dec. 1790?), return not noted	‘435’ R. 1.88	455	2 pieces, W. 4, H. 10, R. 2.5	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> III, unpublished, top	*22 Cavallo	1576

No. in register of 1782	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state in 1782	Date of issue in register of 1807	No. in Oxonian <i>disegni</i> , ratio H./W.	No. now	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state now	Contents (* = new identification), publication status and location in column	Hand (* = newly identified)	O VI folio nos.
459	W. 3.1, H. 11, R. 3.54, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790; return not noted	‘459’ R. 2.26	?	?	*Latin letter or legal deposition, unpublished, top?	*Manus C	1571
?	? (roll)	?	‘1116’ R. 2.48	459	H. 10, unrolled	*?Epic. <i>De nat.</i> XXV copy 2, top	*15 Cavallo	1579
474	W. 8.4, H. 13.2, R. 1.57, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	?	?	?	?	?	?
?	?	?	?, if drawn	474	10 pieces, W. 10.8, H. 10.2, R. 0.94	*Phld. <i>Memoriae Epicureae</i> , unpublished, top	as <i>PHerc.</i> 239a, 310, 1787	not known
500	H. 15.4, roll	Sept. 1791	?, if drawn	500	frag., ?size	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	?	not known
809	H. 6.2, roll	1796 or later	—	809	frag., ?size	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	?	—
860	W. 9.9, H. 13.2, R. 1.33, <i>scorza</i>	Oct. 1790	?	?	?	?	?	?
?	? (roll)	?	Fr. A R. 1.67	860	H. 13, unrolled	*Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i> unpublished, top	4 Cavallo	1579
995	H. 18.7, roll	27 June 1796	—	995	frag., ?size	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	?	—
1010	H. 20.9, roll	11 Aug. 1796	—	1010	crr. 6, H. 8.5, unrolled	Epic. <i>De nat.</i> II, top and bottom	Group C Cavallo	—
1063	H. 20.7, roll	May 1788	?, if drawn	1063	frag., ?size	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	?	not known
1064	H. 25.3, roll	May 1788	?, if drawn	1064	H. 11.4, unrolled	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> I, unpublished, top	*20 Cavallo	not known
1076	W. 7.2, H. 20.9, R. 2.90, <i>scorza</i>	May 1788	‘220’ R. 2.33	1076	W. 7.2, H. 19.5, R. 2.71, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>De dis</i> III, unpublished, whole column	*as <i>PHerc.</i> 152/157, 177	1576
1080	W. 6.6, H. 18.7, R. 2.83, <i>scorza</i>	May 1788	‘455’ R. 1.46	1080	5 pieces, W. 6, H. 20, R.3.33	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> ?X, unpublished, top	21 Cavallo	not known
1082	W. 3.3, H. 9.7, R. 2.94, <i>scorza</i>	Apr. 1791	?	?	?	?	?	?
?	?	?	‘237’ R. 1.28	1082	W. 5.6, H. 8, R. 1.43, <i>scorza</i>	*Phld. <i>De vitiis</i> II or III, <i>De adulatione</i> , unpublished, top	*25 Cavallo	1578
?	?	?	‘1082’ and <i>sine numero</i> , R. 1.5-2.3	238a = 1817 ‘lost’	W. 6.5, H. 17.5, R. 2.69, <i>scorza</i>	Latin oration, unpublished, bottom	*Manus A	1568, 1569, 1570
?	?	?	‘1082’ bis , R. 2.24	?	?	Latin prose or verse, unpublished, bottom	*Manus 1	1568
1083	W. 3.5, H. 18.7, R. 5.34, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	1083 R. 1.75	1083	W. 4.5, H. 13.5, R. 3.0, <i>scorza</i>	Dem. Lac. <i>De Polyaeni quaest. lib. inc.</i> , unpublished, bottom?	4 Cavallo	1575
1090	W. 4, H. 6.6, R. 1.65, <i>scorza</i>	Aug. 1792	?	?	lost	?	?	?
253	?	July 1790	‘235’ R. 1.5	253 + 1090	?, R. 2.1(?), <i>scorza</i> [N <i>disegni</i> only]	Phld. <i>De vitiis</i> , <i>De avaritia</i> , unpublished, top	25 Cavallo	1579
1096	W. 4.5, H. 14.3, R. 3.18, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	?, if drawn	1096	W. 4.5, H. 11, R. 2.44, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> III, top and bottom	22 Cavallo	not known

No. in register of 1782	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state in 1782	Date of issue in register of 1807	No. in Oxonian <i>disegni</i> , ratio H./W.	No. now	Size (cm.), ratio H./W., state now	Contents (* = new identification), publication status and location in column	Hand (* = newly identified)	O VI folio nos.
? (1106 & 1113 were not issued)	?	?	'1106' = N 1113 R. 2.13	1113a = 1818	W. 5, H. 9.2, R. 1.84, <i>scorza</i>	*?Epic. <i>De nat. lib. inc.</i> , unpublished, top	?	1574
1116	W. 3.5, H. 8, R. 2.29, <i>scorza</i>	Dec. 1790	?, if drawn	1116	W. 3.5, H. 8, R. 2.29, <i>scorza</i>	Greek prose, author, work and hand unknown, middle	?	not known
?	?(roll)	?	'1116' R. 2.48	459	H. 10, unrolled	*Epic. <i>De nat.</i> XXV copy 2, unpublished, top	*15 Cavallo	1579
1172	H. 11, roll with <i>umbilicus</i>	not stated	—	1172	?size, roll with <i>umbilicus</i>	unknown, unopened (unless by <i>sollevamento</i>)	?	—
1413	H. 15.4, roll	27 June 1796	—	1413	H. 6, unrolled	Epic., unidentified dialogue, top	Group A Cavallo	—
?	?	?	'1419' R. 1.48	? 1491 b	?	Latin oration or legal document, author and work uncertain, unpublished, bottom	Manus B	1571
?	?	?	?	1419a	W. 5.8, H. 15, R. 2.59, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>De mus.</i> IV, unpublished, bottom	26 Cavallo	not known
?	?	?	?	1419b	W. 3, H. 12, R. 4.0, <i>scorza</i>	?Phld. <i>De dis</i> III, unpublished	?as <i>PHerc.</i> 152/157	not known
1419	H. 19.8, roll	Dec. 1790	Fr. B R. 1.0	1419c	10 fr., W. 12.5, H. 12, R. 1.0	*Phld. <i>De poem.</i> II, unpublished, top and bottom	8 Cavallo	1578
1420	H. 13.2, roll	June 1782	—	1420	H. 13, unrolled	Epic. <i>De nat. lib. inc.</i> , top	6 Cavallo	—
1491	H. 13.2, roll	Sept. 1782	?	?	?	?	?	—
?	?(roll)	?	?	1491a (cr. 1)	H. 21.7, unrolled	Greek prose, author and work uncertain, unpublished, bottom	?	not known
?	?(roll)	?	? '1419'	1491b (crr. 2-3)	H. 18.5, unrolled	Latin prose, author and work uncertain, unpublished, bottom	Manus B	? 1571
?	?(roll)	?	?	1491c (cr. 4)	H. 15.5, unrolled	*Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. B, unpublished, top	*11 Cavallo	not known
1690	fr. taken from roll, ?size	before 1782	—	1690	H. 16, unrolled	Latin prose, author and work unknown	? (cursive)	—
1691	fr. taken from roll, ?size	before 1782	—	1691	H. 20, unrolled	Greek prose, author and work unknown	?	—
?	?	?	Fr. A R. 1.67	860	H. 13, unrolled	*Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i> , unpublished, top	4 Cavallo	1579
1419	H. 19.8, roll	Dec. 1790	Fr. B R. 1.0	1419c (cr. 2)	8 pieces, W. 12, H. 12, R. 1.0	*Phld. <i>De poem.</i> II, unpublished, top and bottom	8 Cavallo	1578
? (233 was not issued)	?	?	Fr. C R. 2.0	233	W. 3.4, H. 6, R. 1.76, <i>scorza</i>	*Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i> , unpublished, middle	*4 Cavallo	1577
?	?	?	Fr. D R. 1.23	?	?	Greek prose, author and work unknown	*as <i>PHerc.</i> 1408, 1489	1576
? (245 was not issued)	?	?	Fr. E R. 1.15	245	W. 8, H. 8.5, R. 1.06, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A, partly unpublished, top	27 Cavallo	1573
247	?	July 1790	Fr. F R. 1.84	247 (= 1815, lost)	W. 5.5, H. 14, R. 2.55, <i>scorza</i>	Phld. <i>De piet.</i> , ?top	12 Cavallo	1573
?	?	?	Fr. G R. 1.0	?, = 1816, lost	?	Latin literary prose, unpublished, top	Manus 2	1573

As we saw above in Section I, we know that one drawing has been lost from the set, because the cover-sheet (VI 1567) says there were thirteen drawings, but the number is twice corrected to twelve, and the catalogue of 1806, quoted above, records thirteen drawings, whereas that of 1807 and Hayter's wrapper, also cited above, say there were twelve. The extant *scorze* of six pieces of Philodemus' *Rhetoric* that were issued during 1788-1792, but which have no recognizable drawings in the set, are in familiar hands:

<i>PHerc.</i> 220	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand 27) ⁴⁸
<i>PHerc.</i> 234	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand 20) ⁴⁹
<i>PHerc.</i> 435	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand ?23) ⁵⁰
<i>PHerc.</i> 453	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand 27) ⁵¹
<i>PHerc.</i> 455	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand 22) ⁵²
<i>PHerc.</i> 1096	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> (Hand 22) ⁵³

The absence of drawings in Hands 20 and 23 from this set of *disegni* suggests that the lost folio had drawings of *PHerc.* 234 and 435 on it. Since the Greek papyri were drawn separately from the Latin papyri, and we have the sheet (VI 1573) where the transition from Greek to Latin occurs, the other pieces on this missing folio must also have been in Greek. Of the two papyri in Hand 22, *PHerc.* 455 and 1096, we can deduce that the former was mislabelled O '435', which is clearly in Hand 22, while *PHerc.* 1096 was perhaps shown on the missing folio. Since O '455' is shown as in Hand 21, and depicts a piece broken off below line 14, it can be identified as the present *PHerc.* 1080, which is in Hand 21 and depicts columns that are often broken below line 14. One of the papyri in Hand 27 is accounted for by 'Fr. E', which has since become *PHerc.* 245. Thus the missing folio could also have contained another fragment of the *Rhetoric* in Hand 27.

While this series of drawings was being made, other confusions arose. It was already known that no. 235 was exchanged with no. 253 and no. 247 was renumbered '255',⁵⁴ while the number 247 was reallocated to a fragment of the *De pietate*.⁵⁵ But the disorder was much more extensive, as Table 2 made clear. This should occasion no surprise. As in the cave of Vergil's Sibyl, and as any Philodemian can confirm from their own experiences in the Officina, a single gust of the breeze that comes off the sea would have sufficed to scatter many of the labels: *foliis tantum ne carmina manda, ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis* ... But it is worth noting that, when the items were returned, the staff of the Officina evidently managed to assign the correct numbers to many of them, even though in a minority of cases further confusion arose. The muddle was not limited to confusions between pieces in given Tavolette where the fragments were stored (see Section I above), since there are confusions between all the Tavolette of *scorze* involved except Tavoletta XXXIV (from which only two pieces were issued), and the correspondences between them reveal no regular pattern. The most confusion is found in Tavoletta XXXVI (nos. 453-474), which participates in confusions with four others, followed by Tavoletta LX (nos. 1073-1090) with three and then by XXI (nos. 220-238) and XXII (nos. 239-255) with two each. Since some confusions have not yet been successfully diagnosed, it is not clear what this tells us.

⁴⁸ *Contra* CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

⁴⁹ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

⁵⁰ David Blank, pers. comm., May 2007 (he had thought it might be in Hand 27).

⁵¹ *Contra* CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

⁵² CAVALLO, p. 64, with Tav. XLIII (showing *PHerc.* 1426).

⁵³ DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*, pp. 63, 79-80.

⁵⁴ BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 445.

⁵⁵ BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 70.

Many pieces have had their numbers changed or lost. The pieces affected by these confusions are listed in Table 3, which prioritizes the numbers in the drawings over those of the originals.

TABLE 3. *The confusions in the Oxonian disegni of 1788-1792*

No. in 1782	No. in <i>disegno</i>	Present <i>PHerc.</i> no.	Content of drawing	Hand (Cavallo)	Cause of error
1076	'220'	1076	Phld. <i>De dis</i> III	as <i>PHerc.</i> 152/157, 177	label '220' given to 1076
253	'235'	253 + 1090	Phld. <i>De avaritia</i>	25	label '253' given to 439, label '235' given to 253 (digits reversed); papyrus broke and part was refiled as 1090
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'237'	1082	Phld. <i>De adulatione</i>	25	labels '1082' exchanged with '237', '238' and '239'
? (255 was not issued)	'247'	255	Metrod. ? <i>Adv. dialecticos</i>	as <i>PHerc.</i> 418, 439, 1084, 1091 1112	label '247' given to wrong papyrus, wrong no. assigned when refiled
439	'253'	439	Metrod. ? <i>Adv. dialecticos</i>	as <i>PHerc.</i> 255, 418, 1084, 1091, 1112	label '235' given to 253 (digits reversed), label '253' given to 439
397 (399 was not issued)	399	399 (397 is lost)	uncertain author, <i>De bello Actiaco</i>	Manus 3	piece of 397 wrongly numbered 399, wrong no. assigned when refiled
455	'435'	455	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> III	22	label '455' given to 1080, label '435' given to 455
1080	'455'	1080	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> ?X	21	label '455' given to 1080
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'459'	?	Latin letter or legal deposition	Manus C	label '1116' given to 459, label '459' given to wrong papyrus
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1082'	238a	Latin oration	Manus A	labels '1082' exchanged with '237', '238' and '239'
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1082' bis	239b	Latin prose or verse	Manus 1	labels '1082' exchanged with '237', '238' and '239'
? (1106 and 1113 were not issued)	'1106'	1113a	Epic. <i>De nat. lib. inc.</i>	?	unknown label given to wrong papyrus, wrong no. assigned when drawn and again when refiled
? (roll)	'1116'	459 (roll)	*Epic. <i>De nat.</i> XXV copy 2	15	label '1116' given to wrong papyrus
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1419'	?	Latin oration or letter	Manus B	label '1419' given to wrong papyrus (digits reversed to '1491'??)
? (roll)	Fr. A	860 (roll)	Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i>	4	unknown label given to wrong papyrus, label '860' given to wrong papyrus, item refiled as 860
1419 (roll)	Fr. B	1419c	Phld. <i>De poem.</i> II	8	label '1419' given to Latin piece, but item refiled correctly
? (233 was not issued)	Fr. C	233	Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i>	4	unknown label given to wrong papyrus, item refiled under no. that was never issued

No. in 1782	No. in <i>disegno</i>	Present <i>PHerc.</i> no.	Content of drawing	Hand (Cavallo)	Cause of error
? (<i>scorza</i>)	Fr. D	?	Greek prose, author and work unknown	as <i>PHerc.</i> 1408, 1489	unknown label given to wrong papyrus
? (245 was not issued)	Fr. E	245	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A	27	unknown label given to wrong papyrus, item refiled under no. that was never issued
247	Fr. F	247 (fr. is lost)	Phld. <i>De piet.</i>	31	label '247' given to 255
? (<i>scorza</i>)	Fr. G	?	Latin literary prose	Manus 2	unknown label given to wrong papyrus

Thus we are left with thirteen pieces shown in the drawings whose original numbers have not been identified. There may in fact be as few as ten, because the sizes of the originals of three items with numbers below 311 are still unknown, and their numbers could even be correct. These are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4. *The items of unidentified origin in the Oxonian disegni of 1788-1792*

No. in 1782	No. in <i>disegno</i>	Ratio (H./W.)	Present <i>PHerc.</i> no.	Size and Ratio (H./W.)	Content of drawing	Hand (Cavallo)
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'237'	1.28	1082	W. 5.6, H. 8, R. 1.43	Phld. <i>De adulatione</i>	25
? (roll)	'247'	2.12	255	W. 4, H. 7, R. 1.75 (three pieces)	Metrod. ? <i>Adv. dialecticos</i>	as <i>PHerc.</i> 418, 439, 1084, 1091, 1112
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'459'	2.26	?	?	Latin letter or legal deposition	Manus C
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1082'	1.5-2.3	?238a	W. 6.5, H. 17.5, R. 2.69	Latin oration	Manus A
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1082' bis	2.24	?239b	W. 6.5, H. 6, R. 0.92	Latin prose or verse	?Manus A
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1106'	2.13	1113a	W. 5, H. 9.2, R. 1.84	Epic. <i>De nat. lib. inc.</i>	?
? (roll)	'1116'	2.48	459	H. 10, unrolled	*Epic. <i>De nat.</i> XXV copy 2	15
? (<i>scorza</i>)	'1419'	1.48	?	?	Latin oration or letter	Manus B
? (roll)	Fr. A	1.67	860	H. 13, unrolled	Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i>	4
? (<i>scorza</i>)	Fr. C	2.0	233	W. 3.4, H. 6, R. 1.76	Dem. Lac. <i>De mus.</i>	4
? (<i>scorza</i>)	Fr. D	1.23	?	?	Greek prose, author and work unknown	as <i>PHerc.</i> 1408, 1489
? (<i>scorza</i>))	Fr. E	1.15	245	W. 8, H. 8.5, R. 1.06	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A	27
? (<i>scorza</i>)	Fr. G	1.0	?	?	Latin literary prose	Manus 2

Eight of these thirteen pieces have numbers, and five have letters. In addition, two pieces were given wrong numbers on the drawing and refiled under a wrong number, *i. e.* the numbers of items that had not been issued at the time in question: I refer to O '1106', now *PHerc.* 1113a, and O '399', which was apparently refiled as *PHerc.* 399. Three papyri were refiled under numbers that were never issued, viz. the present *PHerc.* 245, 255, and 399: these were drawn as 'Fr. E', '247' and '397' respectively. The most economical explanation for this situation would be as follows. We know that the five alphabetical items had lost their labels. These labels were given to five of the numbered items in the list, but we do not yet know which ones. This leaves two numbered items. These probably comprise a pair which had their labels exchanged with each other. However, in dealing with this problem, although the most economical explanation has been my guiding principle, it has not always proved as reliable as sheer persistence.

There is no proof that any pieces issued either before May 1788 or after August 1792 were involved in the confusion; hence, for economy of hypotheses, I exclude them. I also exclude no. 150, which was probably given out in 1804. There remain nineteen items that were or may have been issued between May 1788 and August 1792 that have not had any Oxonian drawings identified (see Table 2). At least five were rolls. The items without Oxonian *disegni* are listed in Table 5. Some of them will be identical with the present *PHerc.*, but others will not.

TABLE 5. *Items issued in 1788-1792 that are not identified in the Oxonian disegni*

No. and state in 1782	Size in 1782 and Ratio	Size now and Ratio	Content of present <i>PHerc.</i>	Hand (Cavallo)
177 (date of issue not stated)	?	H. 15.8, unrolled	Phld. <i>De dis</i> III	as <i>PHerc.</i> 152
220	?	W. 8.5, H. 20, R. 2.35	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A	27
234	?	W. 4.5, H. 12, R. 2.66	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> I	20
235	?	W. 4, H. 6.6, R. 1.65	Greek prose, author and work unidentified	unknown
237	?	not given in <i>CatPerc</i>	presumably Greek, author and work unidentified	unknown
435 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 3.5, H. 11.5, R. 3.29	W. 5, H. 7, R. 1.4	unknown, size differs from <i>PHerc.</i> 435	?
453 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 5.5, H. 9.2, R. 1.67	W. 5, H. 9.5, R. 1.9	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> IV ed. A	27
459 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 3.1, H. 11, R. 3.54	H. 10, unrolled	unknown, not same as O '459' or <i>PHerc.</i> 459	?
474 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 8.4, H. 13.2, R. 1.57	W. 10.8, H. 10.2, R. 0.94	unknown, possibly = <i>PHerc.</i> 474 (Phld. <i>Memoriae Epicureae</i> , hand as <i>PHerc.</i> 239a)	?
500 (roll)	H. 15.4, roll	not given in <i>CatPerc</i>	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	unknown
860 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 9.9, H. 13.2, R. 1.33	H. 13, unrolled	unknown (<i>scorza</i> in 1782, but <i>PHerc.</i> 860 was a roll)	?
1063 (roll)	H. 20.7, roll	not given in <i>CatPerc</i>	presumably Greek, author and work unknown	unknown
1064 (roll)	H. 25.3, roll	H. 11.4, unrolled	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> I	20

No. and state in 1782	Size in 1782 and Ratio	Size now and Ratio	Content of present <i>PHerc.</i>	Hand (Cavallo)
1082 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 3.3, H. 9.7, R. 2.94	W. 5.6, H. 8, R. 1.43	unknown, size differs from <i>PHerc.</i> 1082	?
1083 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 3.5, H. 18.7, R. 5.34	W. 4.5, H. 13.5, R. 3.0	unknown, size may differ from <i>PHerc.</i> 1083	?
1096 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 4.5, H. 14.3, R. 3.18	W. 4.5, H. 11, R. 2.44	Phld. <i>Rhet.</i> III	22
1116 (<i>scorza</i>)	W. 3.5, H. 8, R. 2.29	W. 3.5, H. 8, R. 2.29	Greek prose, author and work unidentified	unknown
1172 (roll) (date of issue not stated)	H. 11, roll with <i>umbilicus</i>	?size, roll with <i>umbilicus</i>	unknown	?
1413 (roll)	H. 15.4, roll	H. 6, unrolled	Epic., unidentified dialogue	Group A

Three of these are perhaps the same as the present papyri, since the dimensions are fairly similar (nos. 474, 1082, 1083). Drawings of four or more items must have been on the lost thirteenth folio, and it is of course possible that further folios were lost already before 1806. If we deduct four from the total of nineteen, to allow for the lost folio, the remaining total of fifteen almost corresponds to the tally of thirteen Oxonian drawings whose original numbers are unknown in Table 3. Four pieces issued in 1788-1792, viz. nos. 177, 234, 455, and 459, do not have their return recorded in the inventory, as we saw in Section II. This suggests that they were known to have lost their original numbers. Indeed, although the original *scorza* no. 455 is exactly the same size the present *PHerc.* 455, the label ‘455’ was given to the wrong papyrus, since O ‘455’ = *PHerc.* 1080. In addition, no. 459 was given to a Latin piece, while the present roll *PHerc.* 459 was drawn as O ‘1116’. Unfortunately it is possible that a few of the unidentified originals may have been given numbers that fall outside the list of items that were issued in 1788-1792, since, as we saw, at least three *scorze* were drawn and replaced under the numbers of items that were not issued then, viz. *PHerc.* 245, 399, and ‘1106’ = 1113a. Further study of all the *scorze* and *disegni* is needed to resolve these lingering problems. But so long as we lack the dimensions of the original nos. 1-311, some of the confusions relating to these numbers will never be definitively solved.

IV. Notes on the Papyri issued in 1788-1792

With the exception of *PHerc.* 1113a, the editions below are only preliminary, since I have not studied all the surviving *scorze*. Instead, they should help future editors by identifying pieces that might otherwise have passed unnoticed, and by pointing to new works in the library that need proper editions.

***PHerc.* 150** (Greek prose, author, work and hand unknown)

The date of issue of *PHerc.* 150 is not stated. However, it can be excluded from our set of *disegni* on the grounds that it was issued after 1801. An identical entry for *PHerc.* 355 is datable to 1804 on the basis of an erasure,

⁵⁶ BLANK and LONGO, pp. 140, 142. See LONGO, *Davy*, p. 201 n.

⁵⁷ So *CatPerc*, p. 84.

⁵⁸ LONGO, *Davy*, p. 201 n. 38, quoting AOP Busta XVII Pos. IV. The *CatPerc*, p. 84, does not note this fact but states that it was not taken for unrolling until 1856.

⁵⁹ See CAVALLO, Tavv. XXIII and XX respectively.

⁶⁰ DÜRR, p. 216.

⁶¹ These were included in the «Clarendon Press Facsimiles» («Oxford Photographs») VII 22-3 (CRÖNERT, *Kolotes*, p. 113 n. 512); for details about this rare publication see LINDSAY, pp. 441-442. CRÖNERT's transcription reveals that these *disegni* are also published as engravings (without the number of the papyrus) by DAVY, p. 208 Plate XII Figs. 2-3, which enabled me to identify the hand. They were engraved by James Basire (London, 12 Nov. 1769 - Chigwell Wells, 13 May 1822), the engraver to the Royal Society. The *CatPerc* (p. 96) gives the reference as O 11-12, with no volume-number. This is in fact a reference to the sixty-seven *disegni* that Davy brought back from Napoli (DE JORIO, p. 53), forty-one of which are now in a bound volume in the Bodleian Library with the shelf-mark Ms. Cl. Pr. d. 44. (I thank W. B. Henry for information on this point.) I have ascertained that the other twenty-three are in a volume entitled *Copies of specimens of papyri unrolled under the auspices of His Sacred Majesty King George the Fourth* (manuscript, after 1820, with watercolour drawings); its shelf-mark in the Royal Library at Windsor is RCIN 1076170.

⁶² BASSI, *Papiri disegnat*, p. 444; cf. *CatPerc*, pp. 95-6. Some were apparently made by Sir William Gell, since folio 31 verso of the drawings in the Bodleian Library, which belong to the Clarendon Press and have the shelf-mark Ms. Cl. Pr. d. 44 (CAPASSO, *Manuale*, p. 119 n.), bears the following note: «Fragments of Papyri found at Herculaneum — unrolled in Dec. 1819 Jan(uar)y & Feb(ruar)y 1820 — under the auspices of His Sacred Majesty George IV by the chemical experiments of Sir H(umphry) D(avy), compared with the originals by Rev(eren)d P(eter) E(lmsley) FRS & delineated by Sir W(illiam) G(ell) FRS FAS». I owe this information to W. B. Henry.

⁶³ CRÖNERT, *Kolotes*, p. 113 n. 512.

since it reads (beginning, as in the case of *PHerc.* 150, with a lower-case letter R) «restituito [[Dato per svolgersi a' 29 Settembre 1804]]». ⁵⁶ Hence the entry «150 restituito» was probably written after that date. The piece consists only of strips unrolled on Piaggio's machine, containing the tops of columns; there are no Neapolitan drawings. ⁵⁷ It was later worked on by Sir Humphry Davy. ⁵⁸ The hand, which Cavallo does not discuss, bears some resemblance to those of *PHerc.* 757 (Philodemus, unidentified work) and *PHerc.* 1021 (Philodemus, *Academicorum index*), especially the latter. ⁵⁹

***PHerc.* 177** (Philodemus, *De dis* III, hand of *PHerc.* 152/157 and 1076)

The date of issue of no. 177 is not recorded; adjacent items were given out in 1802, but this evidence has little weight. Its return is not noted either, which suggests that it was confused with another piece; we shall see that this is *PHerc.* 97. Presumably the attempt to open it did not succeed, because it was only unrolled under the direction of Sir Humphry Davy in 1820. Its remains were put onto four *cornici* by D. Bassi. ⁶⁰

Two drawings of it were published among Davy's *disegni* (here denoted by the siglum O), ⁶¹ which were made at that time by F. Celentano, ⁶² while a third is in Naples. ⁶³ There are further drawings in England, both in Windsor and in Oxford. ⁶⁴ Crönert showed that the content both of the fragments that Davy illustrated and of the unpublished Neapolitan drawing is on the gods; he calls both pieces 'P. ined. 177'. ⁶⁵ Its hand is that of Philodemus' Περὶ τῆς [τῶν] θεῶν διαγωγῆς Γ in *PHerc.* 152/157, i. e. *De dis* III. ⁶⁶ This is also the hand of the *scorza*. This hand appears within the Oxonian set in the present *PHerc.* 1076 (see further below on *PHerc.* 1076). However, the latter was drawn as O '220'. Hence it is not clear whether this is the same piece or not. Moreover, although Crönert identifies the drawings as *PHerc.* 177, they are labelled *PHerc.* 97 in the Oxonian volume. ⁶⁷ The latter papyrus is now Philodemus' *De divitiis* in Cavallo's Hand 24, ⁶⁸ on which Davy also worked. ⁶⁹ Further study of these texts will surely resolve the question; a new edition of *De dis* III by Holger Essler is eagerly awaited. Meanwhile, I include only a preliminary edition of the two drawings that Davy illustrated.

⁶⁴ W. B. Henry kindly examined Bodl. Ms. Cl. Pr. d. 44 for me, and writes: «your fr. 1 is fr. 3 on fol. 9, with the note "3 in King's book". The reference will be to the set of *disegni* in the Royal Library in Windsor. The Oxford copy has a further fragment, 4-5 letters wide at the start of lines 11-12. Your fr. 2 is not to be found in the Oxford volume, but there is a note on fol. 7 to the effect that no. 4 in the "King's book" "begins ἀφορὰν", which must be your fr. 2,1. There are three more fragments in the Oxford volume, each of which is given its number in the "King's Book"» (pers. comm., July 2007). For details of the «King's Book» see n. 61 above.

⁶⁵ CRÖNERT, *Kolotes*, p. 113 n. 512.

⁶⁶ CAVALLO, p. 36 with Tav. XXXI. CRÖNERT (*Kolotes*, p. 113 n. 512) supplied τῶν, and I cannot see what other three-letter word could have been lost.

⁶⁷ W. B. Henry adds that the volume also contains *disegni* assigned to *PHerc.* 177, but these are in a different hand (pers. comm., July 2007). They may well turn out to depict the present *PHerc.* 97.

⁶⁸ CAVALLO, pp. 40, 45.

⁶⁹ *CatPerc*, p. 77, where the drawings by F. Celentano are inaccurately dated.

Fr. 1 = ‘Fig. 3’ (lower layer?)

1 γνόν[τ - - -
λεγ[- - -
θεοῦ γ’ [ύ]πάτωι, ὃ θα[ν - - - -
τον τὸ ἄτο[μ]ον ὑπὸν [- - -
5 τὸ κακὸν δρᾶν. ἀλλὰ τ[- - -
θεου[.] ἐν τουτί, καὶ ὁ μη[- - - ἄ-
πείργειν κκλ[ηρ.]ν α[- - -
εἶναι [. .(.)]ου[. . .]τωσ ολ[- - -
9(.)]και[- - -
10 *deest versus unus*
11]ic αν[- - -
desunt versus fere xxix

fons O adsunt margines sin. et sup. primus edidi 3 γ vel τ distinxi ο potius quam
ς fort. θά[νατος 4 α vel λ ο vel ω, θ 5 spat. vac. unius litt. τ vel γ 6 fort. θεοῦ [γ’
vel θεοῦ]c distinxi fort. δυνάμενος 7 fort. κκλ[ηρὸ]ν vel κκλ[ηρᾶ]ν 8 ο vel θ, ω τ
vel γ fort. οὔ]τωσ vel ἀλό]γως λ vel μ

Fr. 2 = ‘Fig. 2’ (upper layer?)

0 δι-]||
1 αφορὰν [- - -
ἐν ἧι τοῦ ἀκα[- - -
πρὸ[.]ιν ἀκου[- - -
ὁμ’ ο[ίως]’ ἄψεως οὐ[- - - -
5 κούσης. καὶ βλ[- - -
κόφοις ἀναθα[να - - -
το μ[- - -
με[- - -
9 νω[- - -
desunt versus fere xxxi

fons O adsunt margines sin. et sup. primus edidi 2 ο vestigium sin. α vel λ fort.
ἀκα[τα- 3 ο vel ς fort. ἀκού]σεως 4 μ vel λλ sup. μ adest ο vel ς ε: potius ο 4-5
fort. πρὸς η]||κούσης 5 κ potius quam χ, ς spat. vac. unius litt. fort. βλ[έπεται 5-6
fort. τοῖς φιλο]||κόφοις 6 α vel λ θ vel ο, ς 8 fort. τὸ αἶ[τιον

PHerc. 220 (Philodemus, *Rhetoric* 4 edition A, Hand 27)

No. 220 was issued in March 1791. It is not recognized among the Oxonian *disegni*: the piece O ‘220’ is now known to correspond to the present *PHerc.* 1076, which is part of Philodemus’ *De dis* III (see on *PHerc.* 1076 below). *PHerc.* 220 consists of a single *scorza* and twelve Neapolitan *disegni*. These depict whole columns (the first three drawings show only the left edges of columns). They were drawn by C. Malesci in 1824 and published as *HV*² VI

188-99.⁷⁰ Sudhaus edited the text.⁷¹ Following a suggestion of Sudhaus,⁷² Cavallo⁷³ and Dorandi⁷⁴ both assigned *PHerc.* 220 to Hand 21. Since Sudhaus⁷⁵ assigned *PHerc.* 220 to the same roll as *PHerc.* 1669, Dorandi⁷⁶ attributed it to his book ‘VII’ of the *Rhet.* rather than to his book VI. Longo Auricchio has since shown that book ‘VII’ may actually be book X.⁷⁷ However, the *scorza* is clearly in Hand 27, as is proved by a comparison with that of *PHerc.* 221.⁷⁸ It therefore belongs to Philodemus, *Rhet.* IV edition A. No drawing of it survives among this set, unless the artist chose to depict only the upper part of the column. It was presumably on the lost folio.

O ‘220’ = *PHerc.* 1076

See on *PHerc.* 1076 below.

***PHerc.* 221 = O 221** (O VI 1574, Philodemus, *Rhetoric* 4 edition A, Hand 27)

No. 221 was issued in July 1790.⁷⁹ There seems no reason to doubt that it was the same piece as Oxonian drawing and the present *PHerc.* 221. O 221 was first assigned to a work on rhetoric by Scott.⁸⁰ It belongs to Philodemus, *Rhet.* IV edition A, as the fact that it is in Hand 27 indicates; the extant pieces are in the same script, and the content is rhetorical. The whole will be published by R. Gaines as part of the Philodemus Translation Project. The piece labelled ‘1’, which was presumably a small piece from an upper layer that easily came off the top of the *scorza*, is unpublished, while the piece labelled ‘2’ shows lines 1-14 of the *scorza* in a more complete state than in 1832 or so, when it was drawn by F. Casanova. The latter offers new readings compared with Sudhaus, who had relied on N 221 fr. 1 only (= HV² VIII 134). The correct order is clearly first ‘2’, and then ‘1’. The quotation of Plato, *Gorg.* 486a-b, turns out to be more accurate than Sudhaus had supposed, and to support E. R. Dodds’ preference in the line cited from Euripides’ *Antiope* for the more idiomatic reading ἥτις of codices BF rather than the εἴ τις of TW.⁸¹

O 221, fr. 1 (fr. ‘2’, VI 1574), = N 221, fr. 1 (fr. 4 Gaines)

0	εἴ τις σου λαβό-
1	μενος εἰς τὸ δεσμοτή- ριον ἀπάγοι, φάσκειν ἀδικεῖν οὐθὲν ἀδι- κιοῦντα, μὴ ἂν ἔχειν
5	ὅ, τι χρήσιμο αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ἱλιγγιᾶν καὶ χαρμᾶ[c- θ]αι ἀπορίαι τοῦ τί εἰ- πεῖν, καὶ ἐν δικαστηρί- ῳ κατηγοροῦ τεύ-

⁷⁰ *CatPerc.*, p. 107.

⁷¹ SUDHAUS II, pp. 131-143.

⁷² SUDHAUS I, pp. XII, XI-XIII; II, p. VII; Suppl., p. XXIX.

⁷³ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

⁷⁴ *Ricomposizione*, p. 85.

⁷⁵ I, pp. XII, XI-XIII; II, p. VII; Suppl., p. XXIX.

⁷⁶ *Ricomposizione*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ LONGO, *Retorica*.

⁷⁸ This is confirmed by David Blank (pers. comm., 2007).

⁷⁹ Not May 1791, as BLANK stated (*Reflections*, p. 69 n. 51).

⁸⁰ SCOTT, p. 48.

⁸¹ E. R. DODDS, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford 1959), p. 278. See F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *Echi del Gorgia nella Retorica di Filodemo*, «Cerc» 15/1995, pp. 191-196, at pp. 194-195.

- 10 ξα]ντα πάνυ φαύλοισι
καὶ μοχθηροῦ, θαν[.]εῖς-
θα]ι. «πῶς» δὲ «κοφίον
τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἥτις εὖ-
14 φυῇ λαβοῦσα τέχνη [.

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fontes O (vv. 1-14), N (fines vv. 1-22), Plat., Gorg. 486a-b] adsunt margines sup. et dext. ed. pr. Sudhaus ii. 176 1 μ N: μ O 2 ἀπάγοι O, Platonis codd. praeter V: απαγω N: ἀπαγάγοι Platonis cod. V 3 οὐθὲν ON: μηδὲν Plato 4 ο O: ο N v N: μ O 6 ἰλιγγιᾶν pap., ἰλιγγιῶς Platonis codd. Fbt: εἰλ- Platonis codd. BTW 7 α vel λ 9 ω O: ω N υ: ε O, c N 9-10 τεύ[ξα]ντα scripsi ex O: τυχὼν Plato: τ[υ]χόν]τα Fuhr: τ[υ]γχά]νο]ντα Sudhaus e N (ταυ[|]ντα) 10 υ O: om. N φαύλοισι iam Fuhr: φαύλ[ου τε Sudhaus, perperam 11 ο: θ O: om. N εις O: om. N 11-12 θαν[εῖς |θαι iam Sudhaus: θαν[εῖν | ἄν Fuhr 12 ι O, post quod spat. vac. omisit, haud recte: vacat N v N: om. O 12-14 Eur. fr. 186 Kannicht 12-13 ἔστιν, ἥτις εὐφυῇ scripsi: συγινητις [.]νκ[N:]στινητις O: ἔστιν, ὧς Ὀκράτες, ἥτις εὐφυῇ Platonis cod. B (εὐφρεῖ Platonis cod. F, εἴ τις codd. TW): ἐς|τιν, εἰ ε]ύγ[ε]νῇ τις [ᾗ]ν[θρω]πον Sudhaus 14 εχ[.]η N: οχ[O 15-22 omisi

«. . . (Plato says that), if someone grabbed hold of you and led you off to prison, saying you were a criminal when you had committed no crime, you would not know how to react, but would be left dizzy and gaping from not knowing what to say, and if in court you hit upon a prosecutor who was wicked and evil, you would be put to death. But “how wise a thing is this, a skill that takes a gifted man (and makes him worse)”? . . .»

O 221, fr. 2 (fr. '1', VI 1574), om. N (om. Sudhaus, fr. 5 Gaines)

- 1 - - -]αρ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς [- - -
- - - ἀ]ναβιβάσας εἰς [- - -
- - -]ανον δείξειε μὴ [- - -
4 - - -]οι μηδὲ λ[.(.)]ρον [- - -

deficit papyrus

fons O adest margo sup. 2 τὸ βῆμα conieci 3 πιθ]ανὸν conieci η vel ι 4 λ[ῆ]ρον conieci

«. . . he himself (*verb missing*) . . . making us mount (the rostrum?) . . . would show not (to be) . . . to the (*singular noun missing*), nor . . . nonsense (?) . . .»

PHerc. 230 = O 230 (VI 1577, Demetrius Laco, *De poem. liber incertus*, Hand 2)

No. 230 was issued in July 1790; it was probably the same as the present *PHerc.* 230. I have ascertained that the two Oxonian *disegni* are in the same hand as the current *PHerc.* 230. The latter is heavily damaged and contains parts of several layers.⁸² Inspection of this *scorza*, which is unpublished, shows that it is brown, as is usual for manuscripts of Demetrius Laco. As Hayter noted, all the Greek manuscripts are darker than the Latin papyri,

⁸² DORANDI, *Precisazione*, p. 85.

and the manuscripts of Philodemus are the darkest of all; he added that the less the manuscript has been affected by the heat of the eruption, *i. e.* the less dark it is, the harder it is to unroll.⁸³ The script closely resembles the hands of Cavallo's Group B, which are nearly all manuscripts of Demetrius Laco. Our hand could also be compared with the script of *PHerc.* 860, which I have identified as a copy of Demetrius' *On Music* in Hand 4 of Group C, but the A and Y are different. In fact it is undoubtedly Hand 2 of Group B. It slopes to the right, but less strongly than Hand 4. The unusual forms of the H and Π with sloping horizontals are the same, and so are the M with a less high second peak and curved final stroke. It has E, O, and C as narrow letters (no Θ is preserved); it uses an angular A, whereas that of Hand 4 is a rounded, semi-cursive form. It has a very distinctive Y with a horizontal right arm; it is largely bilinear, although T, P, Φ, and Ψ project below the line while Φ and Ψ rise above it. Φ has a triangular central element. Ω too is distinctive, since it has its first loop raised above the base-line, but the second loop touches it and is terminated by an upright. As is usual at Herculaneum as well as elsewhere, the scribe observes Maas' Law,⁸⁴ and the *disegnatore* reflects this.

Hand 2 also wrote *PHerc.* 188 and 1014, *i. e.* the two known rolls of Demetrius of Laconia's *De poem.*, and *PHerc.* 1013, an unidentified work of his.⁸⁵ This same hand, Hand 2, may also have written *PHerc.* 1061, *i. e.* Demetrius' *De geom.*, and two unidentified texts, *PHerc.* 1024 and 1053, although Cavallo is unsure that the latter three papyri are in Hand 2.⁸⁶ The form οὐδεῖς is known in the MSS of Demetrius, *e. g.* *PHerc.* 1012, cols. 53,4, 70,5, and 72,8 Puglia; *PHerc.* 1055 col. 22,3-4 and 8 Santoro.

Scott assigned this piece, on the basis of its Oxonian *disegno*, to a work on poetry, but specifically to Philodemus' *De poem.*⁸⁷ When Dorandi published this *disegno*, he rightly reassigned it to Demetrius Laco, because the handwriting has archaic traits and the extant *scorza* is dark brown.⁸⁸ The content certainly suggests that both layers of O 230 are from a roll of the *De poem.* of Demetrius Laco; it is likely to be from the outer parts of its *volumen*, but there is no demonstrable match between either piece and either book of Demetrius' work. One cannot be certain whether it is a second copy of Book 1 or of Book 2, or another, previously unknown, further volume of the same treatise.⁸⁹

There are two fragments in O. The surviving *scorza* is heavily stratified, and legible only to the extent that the script can be identified; there is no overlap with either of the Oxonian fragments. Following Scott,⁹⁰ Dorandi printed the ends of fr. 1,12-16 as a separate fragment, but since the sense runs on and the letters continue across the crack between the two pieces I believe that only one layer is shown. Scott⁹¹ understood that fr. 2 also belonged to this papyrus, since he speaks of two pieces, but Dorandi did not, since he publishes only fr. 1.⁹² Dorandi read the number of fr. 2 as '238', but it is actually '230'; he misread a smudge above the '0' as the upper loop of '8'.⁹³ This is shown on the same *disegno* as fr. 1, and is depicted as having been in the same hand as that papyrus. To judge from the usual habits of the *disegnatori*, the way in which Malesci drew it immediately to the right of ll. 4-11 of the *disegno* of *PHerc.* 230, without any outline of the edges being given, strongly suggests that it was a *sovrapposto* to that very piece, in which case it no longer exists (the lines below l. 11, where a crack is drawn, would

⁸³ HAYTER, pp. 47-48. Papyri of Demetrius Laco that are light brown in colour include *PHerc.* 188, 1012, 1013, and 1014 (SANTORO, p. 70).

⁸⁴ CAVALLO, p. 18, stated that Maas' Law is rarely observed at Herculaneum (cf. CAPASSO, *Manuale*, p. 209), but this is not so: cf. JANKO, p. 72, and JOHNSON, *Bookrolls*, pp. 91-99.

⁸⁵ See CAVALLO, p. 29 with Tavv. VI-VII.

⁸⁶ CAVALLO, p. 29.

⁸⁷ SCOTT, p. 49.

⁸⁸ DORANDI, *Precisazione*, p. 85.

⁸⁹ I at first ascribed these pieces to a Περὶ ὀνομάτων of Demetrius, contained in O VI 1577 and supposedly with its initial title in *PHerc.* 238a (JANKO, *Empedocles*, p. 99), but this was mistaken.

⁹⁰ SCOTT, p. 49.

⁹¹ SCOTT, p. 49.

⁹² *Precisazione*, p. 85.

⁹³ I at first repeated this error (JANKO, *Empedocles*, p. 116 n. 44).

not have survived the process of *scorzatura*); for on the same drawing Malesci follows the same practice for O 239 (VI 1577), of which only one piece survives. If it was a *sovrapposto*, it would have been closer to the end of the roll, and so would come from further on in the text.

O 230, fr. 1 (VI 1577)

1 . . .(.)]αυλ[- - -
τούτων [- - - -
πον. ἐχ[- - -
τον επ[- - - -
5 τεσ τὸν [- - - -
ψομεν [- - -
πλασ[- - -
οὔδεῖς ελ[- - -
εὔ φρον[ῶν - - - -
10 ται. ἐστ[- - -
τα πλασ[- - -
πλασμοῦς [- - - -
ξεωο οἰς[- - -
πλήν ἐπ[- - -
15 ἄ]λλα[- - - -
16 πεν ὕλ[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons O adsunt margines sup. et sin. primus edidit Dorandi 1 φ]αυλ[conieceroim λ
vel γ 3 post ν spat. vac. I-II litt. 6 μ: potius λλ 7 πλασ [μ conieci 8 λ potius quam
γ 10 post ι spat. vac. 11 πλασ[μ conieci 13-14 πρά][ξεωο vel λέ][ξεωο scripserim 14
οἷς intellexerim 15 supplevi λλ potius quam μ 16 ὕλ[legi: τλ[Dorandi

« . . . of these . . . have . . . we will . . . style . . . nobody . . . in his right mind . . .
is . . . style . . . style . . . of (*feminine singular noun missing*) . . . except . . . but (?)
. . . material . . . »

O 230 fr. 2 (VI 1577)

desunt versus iii

4 - - - ὕ]πὸ μόνοις [- - -
5 - - -]ολομεθε[]χ[- - -
- - - τ]ὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἡ[δὺ - - -
- - - ἰ]δίως ποημ[α - - -
- - -]αι. ἐστιν δ[- - -
- - - .]γας πανιν[- - -
10 - - - ὁν]ομάτων [- - -

incertum quot desint versus

fons O absunt margines primus edidi 6 ο: τι O η vel γ 8 post αι spat. vac. I-II
litt. 9 γ vel τ τὰς ἀρμο]γὰς conieci πᾶν ἱδ]ι[ον vel πᾶν, ἱν[α conieci

« . . . under only (*plural noun missing*) . . . (*one line illegible*) . . . the word that is pleasant . . . in a particular manner a verse . . . But (?) (*subject missing*) is . . . everything that is particular (?) . . . of words . . . »

PHerc. 233 = O Fr. C, PHerc. 860 = O Fr. A (VI 1577 and 1579, Demetrius Laco, *De mus.*, Hand 4), with an edition of O 1671 fr. 1

Item no. 860 was issued in October 1790, but item no. 233 was not issued during the period in question. Two of the Oxonian drawings in this set, 'Fr. C' and 'Fr. A', together with the surviving papyri now called *PHerc. 233*, 860 and 1671, belong to a previously unrecognized aesthetic work by Demetrius Laco. 'Fr. C' on VI 1577 must be the same piece as the *scorza* now called *PHerc. 233*, since the ratio of its height to width is the same (it may have been confused with an adjacent number like 234). Presumably the layer that was drawn as 'Fr. C' has since been destroyed in an attempt at *scorzatura*. No Neapolitan *disegni* of *PHerc. 233* exist.⁹⁴

Scott recognized that the hands of O Fr. A, O Fr. C and O 1083 are identical.⁹⁵ I can add that *PHerc. 860* (with R. Biondi's Neapolitan *disegni* of it, which were drawn in 1851-2 and reproduced as *HV² X 81-92*) is in the same hand. However, it cannot be the same as the original no. 860, because Piaggio recorded the latter as a *scorza*⁹⁶ whereas *PHerc. 860* was evidently a roll. Fr. A must have been peeled off the back of one of the items that were issued as a roll, and the latter subsequently was refiled under the incorrect number '860'.

Another papyrus in Hand 4 is *PHerc. 1671*, which was unrolled before 1782, because Piaggio's catalogue records that at that date it was a «pezzo di papiro svolto, di lunghezza palmi 3. 11/24, di larghezza once 2. 1/2, resta incollata su di una carta, e resta la medesima su di una tavoletta, quale carta è in parte strappata con porzione di papiro». ⁹⁷ This was presumably part of the series of rolls that Piaggio first attempted, since he began *PHerc. 1669* in May 1766, and did *PHerc. 1672* and *1673* in 1754-1756 and *PHerc. 1674* and *1675* by 1762 (it is unknown when he opened *PHerc. 1670*).⁹⁸ In 1820 *PHerc. 1671* was worked on again, drawn and mounted in two *cornici* under the supervision of Sir Humphry Davy. Because of its content, the effect of sound on the hearing and the emotions, I believe that it belongs to the same work. A drawing of it in Oxford, published by Davy,⁹⁹ is transcribed below.

Apart from the fact that it slopes to the right, the script resembles the hands of Group B, which are nearly all in manuscripts of Demetrius Laco. However, Cavallo has identified the script of *PHerc. 860* as Hand 4,¹⁰⁰ and so all these papyri are in this script. Hand 4 is largely bilinear, although K, T, P, Φ, and Ψ project below the line while Φ and Ψ rise above it. The writing slopes to the right. It has E, Θ, O, and C as narrow letters; it uses a rounded semi-cursive A. It has a distinctive Y made in two movements, with a shallow bowl and a diagonal downstroke beginning from the upper right. Ω is well-rounded and written slightly above the base-line, with the bottoms of its two loops level with each other. Some of the letters can be very widely spaced.

⁹⁴ *CatPErc*, p. 112.

⁹⁵ SCOTT, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁶ BLANK and LONGO, p. 73.

⁹⁷ BLANK and LONGO, p. 119.

⁹⁸ BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 78.

⁹⁹ DAVY, p. 208 Plate XVIII Fig. 2. This drawing is in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Cl. Pr. d. 44 f. 77. It is annotated with supplements, probably by Peter Elmsley.

¹⁰⁰ CAVALLO, pp. 30, 45, 59, with Tav. IX.

Scott could make nothing of Fr. C, and thought Fr. A was on pleasure and pain.¹⁰⁵ However, both pieces can be referred beyond doubt to a work on music. The fact that *PHerc.* 860 also belonged to this work is proved by N 860 fr. 9, since this contains the word αἶθμα, which is surely to be read αἶτμα «song». There is no obvious way to establish the relation between Fr. A, Fr. C and the other papyri. The number of letters per line and number of lines per column have not been established. A full edition of the material from this roll, including the extant remains of *PHerc.* 860 and 1671 and the relevant Neapolitan *disegni*, is a desideratum.

1 ci πρὸς τῇ[v - - -
 ἀλλα φvc[- - -
 παρ' ἡμᾶς εἰδ[- - -
 θεν δ' ὅτ' αἵcμ[a - - -
 5 ᾱicμ' ἄλλον ic[- - -
 πρὸς τὴν κατὰ [- - -
 ἡδονὴν τῆc [- - -
 κειμένων πε[ρι - - -
 δημιουργίας [- - - μῆ
 10 μόνον ἐχῆ[ι] τ[- - -
 τὸ ἀλγοῦν λ[- - -
 εὐωχίαν λε[- - -
 ..]εκα[- - -
 ..]ινε[- - -
 15 ..]ειν α[- - -
 16 .(.) αὖ]θιc λ[- - -

fons O adsunt marCYy4kOLWkR'NyNyIkG0)0)y(y(uGed)0)QzYN&zy7hN526G05y1h1(G(((zyik<OveWNzGNOIW{1XkR'2yNyIkUC
 scripserim 11 λ vel α fort. α[λλα και 12 χ vel λ, δ 16 λ δητυ φ φ φ διηδΚΚωδθηδθυμ εηΚι φ φ φ
 υῦρηΚῖνι φ φ φ υηωδ φ φ φ ηκηΚι φ φ φ ANGELI and DORANDI, p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ SCOTT, pp. 49-50.

Fr. 2a (O fr. C, layer 1 = VI 1577)

1 - - - . . . (.)] ἡθῶ[v - - -
 - - - . . . (.)]λαί γο[- - -
 - - -]ν τοῖς α[- - -
 - - -] ἀνατ[- - -
 5 - - -]αχη[] τῶ[- - -
 - - -]λ[]κα τηρ[- - -
 7 - - -]τ[.]δ[]ω[- - -

fons O absunt margines primus edidi 1 η pedes θ vel α 4 fort. ἀνατ[ιθ- 5 η vel ι[6 aderant partes versuum alienorum u.v. fort. ἀλ]λ' [δ]κα α vel λ η: potius υ ϙ vel ϙ, ϖ, θ

«. . . of characters . . . for the (*plural noun missing*) . . . ascribe (?) . . .»

Fr. 2b (O fr. C, layer 2 = VI 1577)

7 - - -]λ[. . .]γε[- - -
 - - -]α[- - -

deest versus unus

10 - - - . . . (.)]ντ[- - -
 - - - (.)]θω[.]αχ[- - -
 12 - - -]τακα[- - -

fons O absunt margines primus edidi 11 fort. ἡθῶ[v vel πα]θῶ[v

Fr. 3 (O 1671, fr. 1, Pl. XVIII Davy)

1 - - -]ειδ[- - -
 - - - ύ]ποκε[ι - - -
 - - - μετε]ῖχ[ε] τῶ[v - - -
 - - -]μον απ[- - -
 5 - - - ἀ]πολύτωγ ω[- - -
 - - -]τι χρήσιμ[α] π[- - -
 - - -], ἀλλὰ μετει[χ - - -
 - - - πᾶ]θους τροφη[- - -
 - - -] ὄρον ἐκτιθε[
 10 - - -] τὸ τῆς ἀκο[ῆς πάθος - - -
 - - -]αν ὀχλησᾶ[- - -
 - - -] ἀνάλογον [- - -
 - - -] ἐκλεαίνει [- - -
 - - -]λε τοσαύτ[- - -
 15 - - -]ται τ[- - -

fons O fort. adest margo inf. primus edidi 1 δ: α formae inusitatae 3 fort. οὐ 4 μ vel λ ϙ vel θ fort. χρις ι]μον vel ἄλ]λον 5 υ potius quam ιλ 6 μ: ω O τί χρις ιωπ[ᾶν Elmsley 8 η vel [] 9 ε: potius ϙ 10 ϙ: α O Ἀκα[δημείας Elmsley 11 α: δ O ὀχλησι]ν 13 ε: λ O

«... underlie ... did not (?) partake of the (*plural noun missing*) ... useful (?) ... of absolute (*plural noun missing*) ... useful (*plural noun missing*) ... , but partook of the emotion ... nourishment ... set out a definition ... the experience (?) of the hearing ... annoy ... analogous ... smoothes out ... so many ... »

PHerc. 234 (Philodemus, *Rhetoric* I, Hand 20)

As we have seen, although the date of issue of no. 234 is not recorded, it probably belongs to this group. The piece which now bears this number is known to be part of a copy of Philodemus' *Rhet.* I in Hand 20;¹⁰⁶ it contains the whole height of the column. Four fragments of *PHerc.* 234, two with the upper margin and one with the lower, were published by D. Bassi¹⁰⁷ from the Neapolitan *disegni* of F. Casanova, that were made between 1825 and 1835; N fr. 3 is a drawing of the extant *scorza*. Since their content does not correspond with anything in this set of Oxonian drawings, no such *disegno* of it appears to survive. As was argued above, it must have been drawn on the missing thirteenth folio.

PHerc. 235 (Greek prose, author, work and hand unidentified)

No. 235 was issued in July 1790. No drawings of it are known; O '235' depicts the present *PHerc.* 253 (see below on *PHerc.* 253). The extant *scorza* is small and illegible; all one can make out is that the script is in Greek. It may contain the top of a column. The hand is hard to classify, since almost no letters can be recognized, but the forms of N and P are comparable to those of *PHerc.* 1538 (Philodemus, *De poem.* V copy 2), and also to those of *PHerc.* 1427 (Philodemus, *Rhet.* I), by the scribe of Hand 20, who also copied *PHerc.* 234.¹⁰⁸

O '235' = PHerc. 253 = PHerc. 1090 (O VI 1579, Philodemus, *De vitiis lib. inc.*, *De avaritia*, Hand 25)

See on *PHerc.* 253 below.

O '237' = PHerc. 1082 (O VI 1578, Philodemus, *De vitiis* 2 or 3, *De adulatione*, Hand 25)

See on *PHerc.* 1082 below.

PHerc. 238a = O '1082' (VI 1568, 1569, 1570, Latin oration, Manus A)

One item numbered 238 was issued in July 1790. There is much confusion among the six *scorze* that are conserved as the present *PHerc.* 238. Their numbering and identity needs clarification in the Officina. One of the *scorze* under this number, which I will label *PHerc.* 238a, can be identified as the drawing O '1082', although it cannot have been issued under the latter number, since in 1782 no. 1082 was smaller than is the present

¹⁰⁶ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45, followed by DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*, p. 74. COMPARETTI (p. 86) had wrongly identified it as from the *De pietate*.

¹⁰⁷ BASSI, *Frammenti inediti*, p. 341.

¹⁰⁸ CAVALLO, pp. 38-39, 45, Tavv. XXXVII, XLI.

PHerc. 238a. Scott noted that *O* '1082' does not match the current *PHerc.* 1082, which is Philodemus' *On Flattery*; he found nothing intelligible in these drawings.¹⁰⁹ The drawings on folio VI 1570 are of two different shapes: square, and oblong. It is not clear whether they depict upper or lower margins, or no margins at all. An unnumbered piece in the top left corner of folio VI 1569 shows an upper margin and seems to be in the same hand. The fact that it was drawn immediately after the four pieces of *O* '1082' on folio VI 1570 supports its attribution to the same papyrus. The four pieces labelled '1082' on folio VI 1568 are more puzzling. The drawing in the upper left corner definitely depicts a second, larger and very different hand: this is called *O* '1082' *bis*. The hand on the narrow strip of papyrus shown in the upper right quadrant is smaller, and could be the same as that of *O* '1082'; I have called it *O* '1082' fr. 6. The script of the two lower pieces is likely to be the same as that of *O* '1082'. For a description of the hand see Section II above. Del Mastro does not record the existence of either *O* '1082' or *O* '1082' *bis* in his list of Latin papyri from Herculaneum, since he lists only extant pieces.¹¹⁰

Study of the recently conserved *scorza* *PHerc.* 238a, combined with the analysis of the confusions in this set of drawings, suggests that this piece is the same as *O* '1082', which likewise has large early Latin letters. The number of letters across is approximately the same. No contradiction between the letter-forms can be detected, but it must be admitted that the number of letter-shapes that are securely identified in *PHerc.* 238a is small (only *A*, *F*, *G*, *I*, *K*, *M*, *N*, *O*, and perhaps *U*, which seems to appear on a different layer at the lower right below line 5). The *F* and *U* are the same. However, most of the pieces of *O* '1082' seem to depict the tops of columns, but *PHerc.* 238a is definitely from the bottom of its roll. *PHerc.* 238a is a thick and large *scorza*-stack, 6.5 cm. W. by 17.5 cm. H. A width of 5.75 cm. of lower margin is preserved. The visible letters are *c.* 5.4 to 5.6 mm. in height. This *scorza* was first recognized as Latin by Del Mastro.¹¹¹ Its size matches the entry in the *Catalogo*, which records only one fragment of *PHerc.* 238.¹¹² The confusion arose in 1788-1792, since, as we saw above, the papyrus now numbered *PHerc.* 1082 of the *On Flattery* is drawn under the number *O* '237'.

The original sequence of the fragments of this papyrus is hard to determine. *PHerc.* 238a fr. 1 is an outermost folio and therefore comes first, but its content is obscure. *O* '1082' fr. 1 probably precedes fr. 2, and fr. 3 is likely to stand in the same relation to fr. 4. There is both narrative and speech addressed to singular and plural audiences. *PHerc.* 238a fr. 1 mentions 'mind' and 'spirit'. *O* '1082' fr. 1 mentions groaning or doubling and perhaps cooking; fr. 2 a god, suspicion, insolence, a consul and perhaps a fire; fr. 3 a fire and washing, seeking and involving oneself in a complaint or quarrel; fr. 4 sending, a quaestor, and a Greek called Dmetor; fr. 5 involves a group who drag, besmirch something with dung, are covetous (?) and frivolous, the people of Henna in Sicily or Vienne in France, and perhaps great crimes; fr. 6 is badly damaged; fr. 7 mentions travelling, various nations, hearing, sound, quiet, and someone's right, and fr. 8 thought, a city, and possibly Sicily. There are enough suggestions of forms

¹⁰⁹ SCOTT, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

¹¹¹ *Papiri latini*, p. 186. I have not been able to edit it well, since the digital images in *Chartes* have part of it missing.

¹¹² *CatPErc*, p. 113.

in the first person singular for one to conjecture that this was a political oration, as the mentions of a consul and quaestor confirm. The presence of the Greek Dmetor inclines me to prefer a Sicilian to a Gallic setting; a greedy Roman governor like Verres comes to mind.

PHerc. 238a, fr. 1

1 - - -]ali · ; m̄ · . . [- - -
 - - -]om[.]r̄it̄iul̄. . . [- - -
 - - -]. n̄imam · nonn̄. .t[- - -
 - - -]i · o. .animō · f. . . .g[- - -
 5 - - -].no. .ç. .n̄a. .r̄.[- - -

fons pap. adest margo inf. primus edidi fr. lectu difficillimum 3 fort. a]n̄imam 5 r̄ vel k

«. . . spirit . . . not . . . mind . . .»

O ‘1082’, fr. 1 (VI 1570, square piece, below)

1 - - -] cum [·] non [·] ac[- - -
 - - -]. egerentu. .[- - -
 - - -].m · ingemi. .[- - -
 - - -].mu[. .]et [·] cau[- - -
 5 - - -].itium; coc. .[- - -

fons O incertum an adsit margo sup. vel inf. primus edidi 2 fort. (intel)]egerent vel negl]egerunt(u[r] vel t]egerent(u[r] vel r]egerent(u[r] 5 fort. u]itium vel ex]itium vel in]itium vel com]itium / signum interpunctionis fort. coc[t-

«. . . since . . . not . . . they . . . groan (?) . . . and (?) . . . cooked (?) . . .»

O ‘1082’, fr. 2 (VI 1570, square piece, above)

1 - - -]im [·] deus [·] . . [- - -
 - - - sus]picacem . . [- - -
 - - -]um [·] quin. .[- - -
 - - - i]nsolent̄ia.[- - -
 5 - - - co]nsulem [·] . . [- - -
 6 - - -].n [·] accen[- - -

fons O incertum an adsit margo sup. primus edidi 1 fort. (et)en]im 2 pi: n O 4 t̄ vel l̄ 5 n̄ potius quam r̄ accen[d- vel accen[s- vel accen[t-

«. . . god . . . suspicious . . . that not . . . arrogance . . . consul . . . set fire to
 (?) . . .»

O '1082', fr. 3 (VI 1570 oblong piece, below)

1 - - -]. . . ą[r]dentis [·] cę[- - -
 - - -].gali [·] imum [·] . . . [- - -
 - - -]. . . .e [·] ma. . . x. [- - -
 - - -]. . . .t [·] cui [·] ļaua. [- - -
 5 - - - p]eteret [·] mit[t]. [- - -
 - - -]. [· in]uoluo [·] quer. [- - -
 - - -]. .os [·] quoad [·] in. . [- - -
 - - -].rm. .os [·] ļ. . . [- - -
 - - -]. .m. .tus. . . . - - - [
 10 - - -].m [·] t. [- - -

*fons O incertum an adsit margo sup. primus edidi 1 ą vel r, m ą[r]dentis potius quam
 dentis ę vel ę, ę 2 re]gali vel coniu]gali vel uecti]gali m vel n, r i 4 ļ vel i 6 r vel m,
 ą fort. quer[imoniis vel quer[elis 8 r potius quam ą fort. fi]rm[at]os ļ vel i*

« . . . on fire (?) . . . royal (?) . . . lowest . . . for whom . . . wash . . . (*singular noun
 missing*) might seek . . . send . . . I involve (myself) in complaints . . . to the
 extent that . . . strengthened (?) . . . »

O '1082', fr. 4 (VI 1570, oblong piece, above)

1 . .].um · et [·] tųto[- - -
 . . .t [·] tandem [·] es[- - -
 . . .ues [·] ubi [·] misi.[- - -
 s[i · qu]aesto[r · u]lidiť [·] .[- - -
 5 Dmeto[r] pot.[- - -
 amas [·]mau[- - - -
 cebať [·] gem. . . .[- - -
 magno. . . .[- - - -
 9 co [·] nōuș[- - -

*fons O adsunt margines sup. et sin. primus edidi 1 ų vel i] 2 fort. es[t 4 ą vel r 5 ę vel
 ę p potius quam i t: potius i fort. si me 6 fort. mau[ult vel a]mau[i(t) 6-7 di]]cebať
 vel du]]cebať vel nol]]cebať 7 t vel p 9 ę vel ę ș: potius i vel t, p*

« . . . and safe . . . at long last is (?) . . .where . . . have sent . . . if the quaestor
 saw . . . Dmetor . . . able . . . (if) you are willing . . . prefer (?) . . . used to . . .
 double (?) . . . great . . . new (?) . . . »

O *sine numero* = <'1082'>, fr. 5 (VI 1569, oblong piece)

1 - - -]em [·] est [·] d[- - -
 - - - tra]hant · o[- - -
 - - - i]bus [·] fim[- - -
 - - -].ficiunt [· - - -
 5 - - -].c [·] ea[·] tim[- - -

--- app]eṭonibu[s ---
 ---]nse[(.)] circ[---
 ---].euibusq[ue ---
 --- H]ennen[s].[---
 10 --- o]mn[. . .] hab[e ---
 11 ---].liçt[. .] ma[---

fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 1 ṭ *vel* ṭ 2 ḥ *vel* ṭ 3 fim[u- *vel* fim[o- *vel* fim[briis 5 *fort. ne]c* ea[s] tim[ent 6 ṭ *vel* ṭ 7 *fort. praese]ns* ɛ: *potius* f Henne]n-
 se[s *potius quam* Vienne]nse[s 8 l]euibusq[ue *vel* br]euibusq[ue 9 H]ennen[s- *potius*
quam Vi]ennen[s- 10 *fort. o]mn[es* 11 ṭ *vel* ṭ ɛ: *potius* ṭ *fort. de]liçt[a] ma[xima*

«. . . is . . . they drag . . . dung (or ‘fringes’?) . . . they (*present tense verb missing*) .
 . . nor (?) do they (?) fear them (*sc. the laws?*) . . . for people who are covetous . .
 . around (?) . . . and for people who are frivolous (?) . . . men of Henna (?) . . . all
 had . . . great offences (?) . . . »

O ‘1082’, fr. 6 (VI 1568, oblong piece, narrow)

1 --- e]x [.] qua. . .[---
 --- mi]hi . su. . .[---
 ---]. .x . . .[---
 ---]na. . .[---
 5 ---].m. . .[---
 ---]. .non. . .[---
 ---].[---
 8 ---]. . .r. . .[---

fons O adest marg. sup. ut vid. primus edidi 3 x *vel* á

«. . . from which . . . for me . . . not . . . »

O ‘1082’, fr. 7 (VI 1568, oblong piece, broad)

1 ---]. . . .sinae. . . .[---
 ---]. . . .ui [· i]ter · fac [·] eo[---
 --- ua]rũs [·] quidem [·] gen[t]ib[us ---
 ---]it [·] . . . [·] sensi[s] [·] ex[---
 5 ---]ci. . .nato [·] so[no ---
 ---]. o [·] in.[---
 ---]. .quie[s ·] ex [·] quib[us]. . . .[---
 ---]. . . [·] nancto [·] en. . . .[---
 ---]. .orq [·] it̃er [·] ac [·] te. . . .[---
 10 ---]. . suĩ [·] re[ct]í [·] et.[---

fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 1 *fort. re]sinae vel Brundi]sinae vel A]sinae vel*
Peru]sinae 3 n: á *vel* m̃ O 8 n: á *vel* m̃, q O *fort. en[im* 9 q *vel* ɛ *vel* ṭ 10 í *adest*
apex

«. . . go on your way in that direction . . . for different nations . . . you hear
 from . . . sound . . . born . . . tranquillity, from those which . . . having been
 obtained . . . I beg (?) . . . journey and . . . of his own right and . . . »

O '1082', fr. 8 (VI 1568, oblong piece, narrower)

1 - - - exi]stim[. .]q[u - - -
 - - - .] . . [· u]rbem [·] . . [- - -
 - - - .] . . . auitq[ue - - -
 - - - Si]cilia [·] tem[- - -
 5 - - - e]x [·] eadem [- - -
 - - -]i. [·] sed [·] cum [- - -
 - - - .] . . [·] alios [·] n[- - -
 - - -]gessisse. [- - -
 - - - .] . . es [·] mu[- - -
 10 - - - .] . . . onu. . . [- - -
 11 - - - .] . . . u. . [- - -

fons O adest marg. sup. primus edidi 1 fort. exi]stim[at vel ae]stim[at 4 Si]cilia scripsi
 propter Hennensium mentiones, sed etiam con]cilia possis i vel l t vel p m potius quam a
 5 e:c O

« . . . think . . . city . . . and he did (*verb missing*) . . . Sicily (?) . . . from the same
 . . . but when . . . that others . . . managed . . . »

PHerc. 238b = **O 238** (O VI 1578, Philodemus, *Rhetoric* VIII, Hand 14)

The Oxonian drawing numbered 238 shows a papyrus in Greek with parts of two layers that are apparently from the top of a column. Bassi thought that the number is wrong, since *PHerc.* 238 is in Latin;¹¹³ by this he meant *PHerc.* 238a (see above). On the basis of content Scott rightly assigned O 238 to a work on rhetoric;¹¹⁴ he was followed by Dorandi, who made supplements in two lines but felt that the hand could not be identified.¹¹⁵ The square form of M is not like Hand 20, nor like Hand 14, and neither is the variation between a bilinear form of P and a form with a long tail below the line. However, the other traits of the script are close to Hand 14, in which *PHerc.* 1015/832 is written; this is a copy of *Rhet.* VIII Longo. *PHerc.* 300, an unidentified work, is in the same hand.¹¹⁶ Since fr. '2' probably underlay fr. '1', and is therefore closer to the start of the text, I have reversed their order. The number of letters lost at either side in fr. 1 is not determined. O 238 may well correspond to a small *scorza* in a Greek bilinear hand, with only a few letters surviving in its lower left corner but a P descending below the line, that is now kept with *PHerc.* 238a;¹¹⁷ I shall call this *PHerc.* 238b. There is no proof that it is the same piece, but the ratio of height to width and the surviving letter-shapes are at least compatible, so just this once I feel able to apply Occam's razor to these papyri.

¹¹³ BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 448.

¹¹⁴ SCOTT, p. 50.

¹¹⁵ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 62-63, 86.

¹¹⁶ CAVALLO, pp. 36, 45 with Tav. XXX.

¹¹⁷ It is mounted to the left of *PHerc.* 238a and upside-down in relation to it, as appears in digital image no. 11212. It is not to be confused with *PHerc.* 239a, which is seen below *PHerc.* 238a on image no. 11213.

PHerc. 238b, fr. 1

1 - - -]δ[- - -
 - - -]οκ[- - -
 - - -]ετορ[ι - - -
 - - - .]ην[- - -
 5 - - -]μεν[- - -

fons II primus edidi absunt margines 1 fort. δ vel ξ, ζ 5 ε vel ο

O 238 fr. 1 ('fr. 2', VI 1578)

1 - - - ἀ]ποπληξίας [- - -
 - - -]άχηι, κᾶν κόρο[ν - - -
 - - - ρή]τωρ ἢ φιλόσο[φος - - -
 - - -]δὲ τὸ πρόχει[ρον - - -
 5 - - -]ιν, ὥς οἱ ῥήτο[ρες - - -
 - - -]ει· τοῦτο γὰρ πα[- - -
 - - -]ν ἴδωμεν [- - -
 - - -]αν καὶ ἰατρικὴν [- - -
 9 - - -]εθα[ι] λ[- - -

incertum quot versus desint

fons O praesto est marg. sup. primus edidi 1 ο: η vel ι O η potius quam ι γ 2 fort.
 π]άχηι vel (κατα)κευ]άχ ηι vel πλεον]άχηι 3, 5 suppl. Dorandi 6 fort. πά[ντεc 7 fort.
 ὄτα]ν vel ἐ]άν 8 fort. ὄτα]ν vel ἐ]άν 9 α vel λ, δ λ vel α

«. . . lunacy . . . , even if an orator or philosopher (*verb missing*) boredom, but they (*verb missing*) what is to hand . . . as the orators (*verb missing*). For we all (?) (*verb missing*) this . . . when (?) we see . . . when (?) medicine too . . . to be (*verb missing*) . . . »

O 238 fr. 2 ('fr. 1', VI 1578)

1 θ' ἔαυ[τ - - -
 ἔξω φορὸν [- - - -
 ειν, ὥς κα[- - -
 αυτὸν πα[- - - οὐ-
 5 χ ὥς φηειν ο[- - - -
 τ' ἑ' υ[. .(.)]τα[- - -
 τέχ[νη]c α[- - - ύ-
 πόλο{λο}ιποι[- - -
 9 τῶν cὺν τῇ[- - -

incertum quot versus desint

fons O adsunt margines sup. et sin. primus edidi 2 litt. φ e litt. φ a picture emendata
 est 6 τε: το librarius a.c. in linea

«. . . self . . . outside tending . . . , as . . . him . . . not, as he says . . . well . . . of
 art . . . the remaining (*plural noun missing*) of the . . . »

PHerc. 238c, 238d, 238e (all unidentified)

Several further *scorze* are kept with the present *PHerc. 238a*. None is recorded in the *Catalogo*.¹¹⁸ These include the small piece with a few Greek letters mounted alongside *PHerc. 238a*, which I call *PHerc. 238b* (see above), and the very legible Greek *scorza* which is in fact the original *PHerc. 239* and which I will now call *PHerc. 239a* (see below), which is

¹¹⁸ *CatPErc*, p. 113.

mounted below *PHerc.* 238a.¹¹⁹ There are three more. Mounted to the right of *PHerc.* 239a lies another *scorza*, about the same size as *PHerc.* 239a. There is only a letter readable either as Greek Α or Latin cursive A or R, which seems more likely, and an O. Two further *scorze* are mounted below *PHerc.* 239a and the latter piece. That below *PHerc.* 239a has no visible writing at all. The second is in a smaller hand than that of *PHerc.* 238a. At least two layers are visible, and no margins. Almost nothing is readable except some As (one of which might be Δ), a N in the upper right corner and R [·] NEC or vεø in the lower right corner. It is hard to tell whether it is in Greek or in Latin, but Latin seems more likely, especially if there is a R or B (if so, it is in the form used by the scribe of the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*). None of these pieces is fit to edit. Whether any of them matches missing items issued in 1788-92 seems impossible to determine.

***PHerc.* 239a = O 239** (O VI 1577, Philodemus, *Memoriae Epicureae*, hand of *PHerc.* 310, 474 and 1787), with an edition of N 1787

No. 239 was issued in July 1790. Two drawings under this number correspond in hand and roughly in shape to a *scorza*, containing parts of at least two layers, that is conserved with *PHerc.* 238a, perhaps by an error during the recent remounting;¹²⁰ I shall call it *PHerc.* 239a. There are no Neapolitan *disegni* corresponding either to O 239 or to *PHerc.* 239a.

The script of O 239 is much larger than Hand 4 as seen in *PHerc.* 233 and *PHerc.* 860 and does not have the same rightward slope. The huge writing of *PHerc.* 1113a can also be compared, but there the A is angular. Scott¹²¹ rightly thought that these pieces are in the same hand as *PHerc.* 310, an exemplar of Philodemus' *Memoriae Epicureae* with 15 lines per column. In addition, Crönert¹²² noticed that the same extraordinarily distinctive hand appears in the five *disegni* of N 1787, which were drawn in 1839 by F. Celentano and published at *HV*² I 198-200 (I have not seen the surviving *scorza*, but Crönert says that it does not match the *disegni*), which is presumably from the same roll (neither the top nor the bottom margin is preserved). Nobody has noticed that this hand also appears in *PHerc.* 474, a badly damaged and unpublishable *scorza* from the top of its roll.

There are many elements in common with the large script of *PHerc.* 310, which Cavallo dates to the 1st century A.D. rather than B.C.¹²³ (I would prefer an earlier date). The projection of the top left end of the diagonal of Δ is distinctive. The Φ with triangular body and semi-cursive, rounded A are identical. The hand has the same contrast between broad and narrow letters, with E, Θ, O, and C written very narrow, but the O is not usually small. The uprights of K, P, T, and Φ go below the base-line, while B and Φ project above. The upright in T is centred, as in the hand of *PHerc.* 310. The sole difference is that the Ω, drawn but once, sags in its right loop, in a manner more reminiscent of Hand 2, whereas in the original it has a straight first upright. However, the identification must be

¹¹⁹ This piece and the others discussed in the rest of this paragraph are all visible in infra-red image no. 11213.

¹²⁰ It appears in infra-red digital image no. 11213 below the edge of *PHerc.* 238a.

¹²¹ SCOTT, pp. 24, 49.

¹²² CRÖNERT, *Neues*, p. 614.

¹²³ For this hand see CAVALLO, pp. 44, 57, 65 with Tav. LX. However, the illustrations at *HV*² VIII 194-6 are more informative than Cavallo's plate.

regarded as certain. These pieces must come from a second copy of the work found in a different script in *PHerc.* 1418, formerly called Πραγμα-τεῖαι.¹²⁴ Another treatise on the biography of Epicurus by an unknown Epicurean writer in an early hand¹²⁵ is found in *PHerc.* 176, in columns only 5-6 cm. wide,¹²⁶ but that is in a very different script since it is bilinear.¹²⁷

Many of the same people appear both in the new fragments and in C. Militello's recent edition of Philodemus' *Memoriae Epicureae*,¹²⁸ which she based on *PHerc.* 310 and *PHerc.* 1418. Both Epicurus and Leonteus of Lampsacus, to whom Epicurus wrote letters,¹²⁹ are named, just as they are in that work. O 239 fr. 2 names Eudoxus, who also occurs in the *Memoriae Epicureae*;¹³⁰ his identity is uncertain,¹³¹ but he seems likely to have been a friend and correspondent of Epicurus. Likewise, a Eudemus appears in N 1787 fr. 4; a Eudemus was mentioned as a correspondent of Epicurus in the *Memoriae Epicureae*.¹³² A name in -chus, perhaps Protarchus, Eurylochus, Anaxarchus, Amynomachus, or Hermarchus, associates of Epicurus,¹³³ may also appear (or Timarchus, a correspondent of Metrodorus,¹³⁴ might be meant). Another name probably began with chi, conceivably Charidemus, Epicurus' brother who is in the *Memoriae Epicureae*,¹³⁵ or Charmides, another correspondent.¹³⁶

On the other hand, Nicias the son of Antidorus or Antibius is unknown. Although a Nicias was among the slaves whom Epicurus freed in his will,¹³⁷ and an Antidorus was a philosopher whom Epicurus criticized (it is not clear whether he was a follower or an adversary),¹³⁸ Philodemus may mention this Nicias because he was an Athenian archon who held office a certain number of years before Epicurus died. In fact a Nicias was archon in 282/281,¹³⁹ eleven to twelve years before Epicurus died in 271/270 during the archonship of Pytharatus. Another Nicias surnamed ὕστερος, who is most unlikely to have been the same person,¹⁴⁰ had been archon in 296/295.¹⁴¹ In neither case is the father's name or demotic known, but the provision of such details would usefully distinguish between them. Nicias Otryneus, son of Philo and archon in 266/265,¹⁴² is too late to be relevant.

The topics of O 239 are probably an action of Eudoxus that Philodemus wishes to date to 282/281, and conceivably the fact that Epicurus was never prosecuted or brought to trial.¹⁴³ N 1787, fr. 1, mentions letters; fr. 2 mentions refutations of arguments and Eudemus, fr. 3 the happiness of the philosopher who refrains from politics, and fr. 4 arguments, while fr. 5 may describe Epicurus' generosity to his students. The presence of hiatus shows that both papyri, like *PHerc.* 310 and 1418, contain quotations from Epicurus' epistles, but I have been unable to define their extent.

Since I suspect that O 239, 'fr. 1', is likely to have overlain 'fr. 2', which in turn is likely to have been above the present *scorza*, I present the pieces in reverse order. The number of letters per line is unknown. My edition of N 1787 depends on the engravings, since I have not seen the originals. I have assumed that the order of fragments needs to be reversed relative to the N *disegni* because of the process of *scorzatura totale*.

¹²⁴ See the edition by MILITELLO.

¹²⁵ CAVALLO, pp. 44 and 57, with Tav. LV.

¹²⁶ CAVALLO, p. 18.

¹²⁷ The readings of *PHerc.* 176 are revised by ANGELI, *Lampsaco*.

¹²⁸ See MILITELLO.

¹²⁹ D. L. 10. 25-26.

¹³⁰ *PHerc.* 1418 col. 20,6-16.

¹³¹ See MILITELLO, pp. 233-234. Philodemus mentions the astronomer at *De dis* I col. 21,28 DIELS, *De lib. dic.* (*PHerc.* 1471) fr. 6,5 OLIVIERI, and *Ind. Acad.* col. 16,11 MEKLER.

¹³² Col. 18,5-15 MILITELLO.

¹³³ Protarchus is discussed by MILITELLO, p. 228, while Eurylochus appears at D. L. 10. 13 and Amynomachus at D. L. 10. 16.

¹³⁴ Fr. 38 KÖRTE.

¹³⁵ Col. 10,4 MILITELLO.

¹³⁶ Epic., fr. 170 USENER.

¹³⁷ D. L. 10. 21.

¹³⁸ D. L. 10. 8, 10. 28, cf. *PHerc.* 418 fr. 6,16 (= *HV*² IX 77), with SPINELLI, pp. 34-36, who suggests that he transferred his allegiance from the Garden to the Megarians.

¹³⁹ *LGP* III, 333, no. 21; cf. OSBORNE, *Nicias*, pp. 275-80; DORANDI, *Arconti*, p. 123; TRACY, p. 109 n. 10; TRAILL, no. 711755.

¹⁴⁰ TRACY, pp. 12-14.

¹⁴¹ TRAILL, no. 711750. The *subscriptio* to Epic., *De Nat.* 28 (fr. 13 col. XIII SEDLEY) says the book was written in the archonship of «the Nicias who came after Antiphates», who was archon in 297/296. The reference to the archonship of a Nicias in Phil., *De Epic.* 2 (*PHerc.* 1289) fr. 1,7 VOGLIANO is in a damaged context; we cannot tell whether Nicias I or Nicias II is meant.

¹⁴² TRAILL, no. 712610.

¹⁴³ Cf. Phil., *De piet.* 1508-12 OBBINK, with OBBINK, p. 526.

PHerc. 239a, fr. 1a (sottoposto)

1 - - -]γ καὶ [- - -
 - - -]ηχον ἰδ[- - -
 - - -]. . . . [- - -
 - - -]. [- - -
 5 - - -]χον πρι[- - -
 6 - - -]ημα δ[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons pap. absunt margines primus edidi 1 γ pes sin. 2 fort. ἦχον]ι vel π fort.
 Ἰδομενε- 3-4 vestigia incerta 5 fort. Πρώταρ]χον vel Εὐρύλο]χον vel Ἀμυνόμα]χον
 vel Ἑρμαρ]χον ι pes

«. . . and . . .»

PHerc. 239a, fr. 1b (sovrapposto)

desunt versus ii

3 - - -]. βολι.[- - -
 - - -]γ cὸν πρῶ[- - -
 5 - - -].· κα[- - -
 6 - - -]κ.[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

fons pap. absunt margines primus edidi 3 ι[vel η 4 γ vel ι φ vel ι fort.
 Πρῶ[τάρχωι 5 spat. vac. ii litt.

«. . . with . . .»

O 239, fr. 2 (VI 1577)

1 - - -]τα Εὐδοξος συνιστα[- - -
 - - - ἐ]πὶ Νικίου τοῦ Ἀγτιδῶ[ρου τοῦ - - -
 - - -]ητου, ὥς οἶμαι, ἀφ' οὗ [- - -
 4 - - -] Ἐπικ[ο]υρος ἔζη δ[ώδεκα ἔτη - - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons O incertum an adsit marg. sup. vel inf. primus edidi 1 ρ vel c 2 π: τη O, sed η
 multo angustius quam debuisset depinxit γ potius quam η Ἀγτιδῶ[ρου scripsi: αντι-
 διο[O 3]ητου nomen vici Attici potius quam πο]ητου 4 Ἐπικ[ο]υρος iam Scott ζ vel
 τ, π δ: potius α

«. . . Eudoxus . . . constitute . . . (in the archonship?) of Nicias the son of
 Antidorus (?) (of the deme?) . . .-etus, as I suppose, from which point . . .
 Epicurus lived twelve years . . .»

1 - - -]ο[. .] ἔ[[ι]]χει προσκειμ[εν - - -
 - - -]τος Ἐπικούρου τὸ ς[- - -
 - - - εὐ]αγεστάτη[[ι]] κεν[- - -
 - - -] ἐπ[ι] πλείοσί τε, ὅς η[- - -
 5 - - -] ἰδ[' .] ἐνήχθη προ[- - -
 6 - - -]ταρ[- - -

deest versus unus

8 - - -]λαμβανο[- - -
 - - - π]ρότερον δ[ἐ] καὶ X[- - -
 10 - - - κ]αὶ Λεοντέα τὸν ι[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

fons O incertum an adsit marg. sup. vel inf. primus edidi 1 litt. ι puncto superscripto delevit librarius μ pes tantum 2 ς vel ρ, ω 3 εὐ]αγεστάτη[[ι]] potius quam ἐν]αγε-
 τάτη[[ι]] litt. ι potius quam ς puncto superscripto delevit librarius fort. κεν[ὼς 4 π
 vel ι[, η ρ vel lacuna male descripta η pes sin. 5 vestigia litt. ἰδ parvarum in init. sup.
 lin., quae fort. paginae aliae tribuenda sunt ε potius quam θ η: potius ιπ, fort. pars
 paginae alienae 8 ο: α O 9 fort. X[αρίδημον vel X[αρμίδην 10 fort. Ἰ[δομένεα

«. . . has . . . lying nearby . . . the (*singular noun missing*) of Epicurus . . . most
 innocent (?) (*singular noun missing*) . . . empty . . . and with reference to several
 (*plural noun missing*), as much as . . . was accused (?) with regard to . . . being
 taken . . . , but previously (*verb missing*) both . . . and Leonteus the . . . »

PHerc. 1787, fr. 1 = *N* 1787, fr. 5 (*HV*² I 200)

1 - - -]ως [- - -
 - - -]ο καθὰ πρ[.(.)]λω[- - -
 - - - κεκ]ομμένοις [.] συνε`στ[η ']υξ[- - -
 - - - ἐ]πιετολων [.] λαβεῖν ιξ[- - -
 5 - - -]ους δελοι[. .(.)] περὶ παν[τ - - -
 - - -]ουδ' οἱς τ[.(.)]ς παρα[- - -
 - - -]εντ[. .]ευ[. .]θαν[. .]ιεν[- - -
 - - -]ως [. . .] `τιθε[' . .]τοι νο[- - -
 9 - - - π]ερ[ι[. .]μ[ε[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons N absunt margines primus edidi 2 π: ιτ N λ vel α 3 ρ vel θ ο: θ N ς vel
 ρ 4 iam suppl. et corr. Crönert πις: ιη N fort. [ὼς ξ vel π, τ, ζ ε vel ς, ρ 5 fort. δ'
 ἔλοι[το 9 ε vel ς, ρ

«. . . just as . . . (*plural noun missing*) that have been struck . . . was constituted .
 . . of letters . . . to take . . . , but would choose (?) regarding every . . . and . . .
 put . . . regarding (?) . . . »

1 (.)λoт[- - -
 (.)ρχι`του` τινϝ[с - - -
 τῶν ἐξελεγχο[- - - -
 τοις ἔτη, ᾧс εἰν[. .]π[- - - ἀλλ' ὁ-
 5 μωс ἡ ἐπὶ ἀνε[λ]έν[κτ - - -
 ται [Ἐῦ]δῆμου сη[- - -
 . . .]εντο λ[- - -
 8 ]ολο[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons N adest marg. sin. primus edidi 2 fort. nomen proprium velut Δικαιοαρχίτου
(cf. Xanth. Lyd. F 15,4) ο vel ε, ζ τινὸ[ς vel τινῆ[ς 3 fort. ἐξελεγχο[μένων vel
ἐξελεγχό[ντων 3-4 fort. αὐ]τοῖς vel τοῦ]τοις 4 ο: θ N 5 η vel ι ε vel ζ 6 η vel
ι 8 fort. ὁ λό[γος vel ἀπ]ολο[γία vel ὅλο[

«. . . of a certain (*name damaged*) . . . some of those that were (?) refuted . . . years, who . . . But all the same the (*singular subject missing*) . . . with regard to irrefutable (arguments?) . . . of Eudemus . . . »

PHerc. 1787, fr. 3 = N 1787, fr. 3 (*HV*² I 199)

1 . .]πα[- - -
. .] τοῖς αὐτοῖς]εγιν[- - -
μένων πολιτικῶν ω[- - - μα-
κάριον ἡ παρ' ἀλλήλων κ[- - - τη-
5 λικαύτην, ε<ῖ> τιν' εἶχεν [- - -
οὖν οἱ [μακ]άρι[οι] πάντες - - -
. .]οις [ε][. .]ειν πο[- - -
.(.)ενα τ[- - -
9(.)παν[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons N adest marg. sin. primus edidi 3-4 iam suppl. Crönert 6 ¶ vel γ 7 litt. ε
puncto superscripto deleta est

«... for the same (*plural noun missing*)... happen... of political (*plural noun missing*) that were (*participle missing*)... blessed (*singular object missing*) to change... so great a (*singular noun missing*), if he had one... Therefore all the blessed ones... do... all...»

PHerc. 1787, fr. 4 = N 1787, fr. 2 (*HV*² I 198)

1 πιν[- - -
 συνιεν[- - -
 τῇι διανοίαι [- - -
 τοῦ λόγου τούτο[υ - - - εἰ
5 μὴ τὰ εἴδη, διότι κ[- - -
 συν[οί]δασι[ν] τα[- - - πο-
 λὺ [ἐ]ρεῖν πολλάκ[ι - - -
 . . .]το ποη[- - -
9 . . .]παντ[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

deest pagina una vel altera

fons N adest marg. sin. primus edidi ante 1 fort. ἐ]||πὶ 2 ν: η N 5 ε vel ζ δι: ν N

«. . . drink (?) . . . understand . . . with the mind (or ‘meaning’) . . . of this argument . . . except the forms, because . . . they are aware . . . would often (?) say (?) a lot . . . do . . . all . . . »

PHerc. 1787, fr. 5 = N 1787, fr. 1 (*HV*² I 198)

1 - - -]κ[- - -
 - - -]λεῖμ κω[- - -
 - - - ταῦ]τα καὶ τοιαῦ]τα - - -
 - - - τοῖς φοι]τηταῖ`c, [ὅ]’ποτα δυνα[τὸς ἦν - - -
5 - - - καὶ γὰ]ρ οὐθεὶς [ἐ]λεγεν μὴ εἰς το[- - -
 - - -] ὁ φιλόσοφος [.]αν[- - -
 - - -]λεισ[.(.)]ρος[- - -
8 - - -]τοις[- - -

incertum quot desint versus

fons N adest marg. sin. primus edidi 2 sc. -]λεῖν 4 φοι]τηταῖ`c’ potius quam
δια]ιτηταῖ`c’: sed -ητὰ`c’ scribendum esset, si litt. ι propter litteram superscriptam deleta
esset 5 ε: ι N η: ν N 6 ρ vel θ, φ 7 fort. π]ρος 8 ζ vel ε, ρ

«. . . these things and things like them (Epicurus used to give?) . . . to his students (?), as much as he was able . . . For nobody used to say not with regard to. . . the philosopher . . . »

***PHerc.* 239b** (?Latin prose or verse, ?Manus A)

Item no. 239 was issued in July 1790. The *scorza* corresponding to this is now kept with *PHerc.* 238, but should be called *PHerc.* 239a (see above on *PHerc.* 239a). What is at present called *PHerc.* 239, but should be called *PHerc.* 239b, is in Latin, as Del Mastro discovered,¹⁴⁴ and contains the bottom of a column. It is not known to have been drawn. It is smaller than *PHerc.* 238a,

¹⁴⁴ DEL MASTRO, *Papiri latini*, p. 186.

¹⁴⁵ It is likewise visible in infra-red image no. 11213.

¹⁴⁷ CAVALLO, pp. 34, 45, with Tav. XXIV illustrating *PHerc.* 1007/1673.

¹⁴⁹ Pers. comm., Apr. 2007. He adds that Dorandi's assignation of *PHerc.* 232 and 426 to it is incorrect, since they come from *Rhet.* I.

¹⁵¹ See MACFARLANE and DEL MASTRO, pp. 118-123.

¹⁵³ SUDHAUS I, p. 246.

No. 244 was issued in July 1790. The drawings of O 244 depict an upright hand. Although the Y is made in two ways, the correct one seems likely to be that where an upper curved bowl meets a diagonal sloping down to the left rather than that which has a vertical base. The cross-bar of E projects to the right, and the diagonals of A and Δ project to the left. The A may have a loop at the lower left corner. The vertical of P extends far below the line; otherwise, with the usual exception of Φ, the hand is bilinear. The O can be small and tends to be oval. This is Cavallo's Hand 11, which he recognized in *P Herc.* 1007/1673, the copy of Philodemus' *Rhet.* IV divided into two rolls, and in *P Herc.* 1114, which is also from his *Rhetoric*.¹⁴⁷ Dorandi assigned *P Herc.* 224, 1077a and 1677a to the same hand, and concluded that all these papyri belong to *Rhet.* IV edition B.¹⁴⁸ This roll is the version of Book IV full of substantive corrections, which I take to be a revision by the author himself. David Blank agrees with Dorandi's assignments, and reports that the surviving *scorza* is in the same hand.¹⁴⁹ In addition, *P Herc.* 254, 391, 1104, 1118 and 1491c (*i. e.* cr 4) are in Hand 11. All may presumably be from this roll; none has previously been identified,¹⁵⁰ except for 1491c.¹⁵¹

18 [φ]αc -
κόντων ἀκριβεῖς [ποιεῖ-
20 cθ[α]ι λόγ[ου]c, οἷου[c οὐ]κ ἄ[ν]
οἱ ῥήτορ[ε]c δύνα[ιντ' ἀντεπ-
άγε]ιν ἄ[τε] καὶ διὰ τῶν
εἰκ[ότ]ων τοῦc λόγου[c] συν-
τιθ[έντ]εc, δια[τελοῦ]ci
25 λ[έγον]τεc, ὥc κτλ.

CRONACHE ERCOLANESI 48

incertum quot desint versus

- 1 φιλόσοφα ου[.]
]ι τοὺς φ[.]
]αι τοῖς ὕ[.
]την ἱατρ[.]
 5]γε οἱ μόνων [.]
 πολ[ε]ιτικῶν, ὅτι [.
] ἀκρ[ε]ιβεῖς δια[.]
]λόγους, οἷους οὐ[δ' ἂν οἱ
 ῥήτ]ορες δύναιτο [.]
 10 ὄν]τες, καὶ εἰκότ[ω]ς
 11 δι]ακύρουσι λέγον[τες]

fons O adest margo inf. primus edidi 2 fort. φιλσοφους 4 τ vel η η: potius π ι
 vel γ fort. ἱατρικὴν 8-9 divisionem versuum conieci 9 γ vel ι 10 ω: o O fort.
 οὔτοι 11 litt. v e κ mutata est

«. . . philosophical matters . . . the philosophers (?) . . . for the . . . medicine (?) .
 . . those who . . . of only political orators, because . . . precise arguments such as
 not even the orators could (*verb missing*), as they are (*predicate missing*), and they
 reasonably spurn them when they say . . . »

incertum quot desint versus

- 9ω]ν γούν τοῖς ἀνθ[ρώ-
 10 ποικ ἐ]πιτιθεμένων θα[.]
 11]ι τῶν μὲν με[.]

fons O adest margo inf. primus edidi 9 fort. πολλῶ]ν vel πάντῶ]ν θ vel ς 11 fort. κα]ι

«. . . At any rate, when many (?) attack the persons . . . »

PHerc. 245 = O Fr. E (VI 1573, Philodemus, *Rhet.* IV ed. A, Hand 27)

The present *PHerc.* 245 is not recorded as having been issued during the period in question, but corresponds textually to the Oxonian drawing entitled ‘Fr. E’. The latter shows parts of three layers, offering a clear depiction of the top of a stack (the only such drawing in the set). Scott first assigned this drawing to a work on rhetoric.¹⁵⁴ What was evidently the lowest and therefore the outermost layer (layer a) consisted of the right side of one column and the very left edge of the next. To the right these columns are overlaid by parts of two unpublished layers. The lowest layer reveals the identity of the work, since I have found that it was first published as *PHerc.* 245 frr. 1-2 (*Rhet.* ii. 178 Sudhaus), from a Neapolitan *disegno* made by F.

¹⁵⁴ SCOTT, p. 48.

O Fr. E, fr. 1a, col. i (VI 1573) = N 245, fr. 1, col. i

fontes ON (vv. 1-9), ἡ N 224 fr. 9,6-14 (= N²) ed. pr. Sudhaus adest marg. dext. 1 v. om. N μὲν om. N² 2 O: ἢ N 6: ο O 3 O: ἢ N 3-4 γραμ[ματεὺς Indelli, collatis *Vitis Aeschinīs*: γραμ[ματικὸς Sudhaus 5 ἀνὴρ τις scripsi: ἀνὴρ suppl. Sudhaus, brevius 5-6 φιλόξενος ἐγένετο N² 6 α N (pes): om. O 7 καὶ δὴ καὶ Sudhaus: ἔτι δὲ Sudhaus ap. N², brevius 8 τὸν prius rest. Sudhaus: ται N² τὸν alterius: ον O a.c. 9 fort. Περσῶν, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 20 ρ[N²: ρο vel ορ O: om. N υδὶ N: om. O supplevi καὶ N: om. O 14 μῆδ- suppleverim: καὶ δῆλ[δ]ικαίως Sudhaus 14-15 ἐ[λ]λέγ[ε]το λαβεῖν Sudhaus 28-9 Sudhaus 29 παρὰ Sudhaus Εὐαγόρου supplevi

«Likewise, as long as Aeschines was an actor and a clerk he was poor, but once he practised as an orator he became someone who loved to entertain in a most lavish manner. Indeed, Demosthenes acted as an advocate for the king of Persia (?) and received . . . many . . . so many things . . . Isocrates (*continues on*)»

O Fr. E, fr. 1a, col. ii (VI 1573) = N 245, fr. 1, col. ii

- 1 τοῦ Κυπρίου [τάλαντα ἔ-
λαβεν εἴκοσι· καὶ πα-
ρὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κό-
νωνος οὗτος ἔλαβεν ἄλ-
5 λα δέκα, κτ[.
ας οὐ κελε[υ.
μόνο[.
cace[.
9 λους [.

desunt versus fere xx et pagina una vel altera

fontes O (initia vv. 1-5), N ed. pr. Sudhaus adest marg. sin. 1 του tantum O υ vel
τ 2 λ[-]β tantum O ρ vel ς 3 πατ tantum O ρ vel ς 4 νω tantum O 5 λα tantum
O τ potius quam υ Κυ[πρ- scripserim 6 ρ vel ς scripsi: οὐκ ἔλε[Sudhaus 7 μονο N:
μόνον Sudhaus 8-9 πολ[|λοὺς vel ἄλ[|λους scripserim

«received twenty talents from (Evagoras) the Cypriot. He received another ten
from Conon's son Timotheus, . . . not . . . only . . .»

O Fr. E, fr. 1b (VI 1573)

desunt versus fere v

- 6 - - -]ιν[- - -
- - -]ηις π[- - -
8 - - -]τ[- - -

desunt versus fere xxi et pagina una vel altera

fons O absunt margines primus edidi 7 π vel γ

O Fr. E, fr. 1c (VI 1573)

- 1 - - - π]αραλογ[- - -
- - -]ιδη[- - -
- - -]παρθεν[- - -
- - -]ωσι τ[- - -
5 - - -]coucin ω[- - -
- - -]αιον κα[- - -
- - -]ν καὶ αι[- - -
- - -]τους ὁμ[- - -
10 - - -]αμην γο[- - -
11 - - -]θεοὶ τ[- - -

desunt versus fere xviii

fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 2 η: τι O 3 π vel τ, γ 6 fort. σπουδ]αῖον vel
ἀναγκ]αῖον 10 α vel λ

«. . . reason (?) . . . weak . . . that they . . . they will . . . and . . . similar (?) . . .
gods . . .»

PHerc. 247 = O Fr. F (VI 1573 = *PHerc.* 1815, Philodemus, *De pietate*, Hand 12)

No. 247 was issued in July 1790. Evidently it lost its label, since there is no Oxonian drawing under that number. Instead, O Fr. F can be identified with the present *PHerc.* 247. The drawing is now called *PHerc.* 1815; the original piece is lost or unidentified. The *Catalogo*¹⁵⁹ assigns Fr. E to the same number as Fr. F, wrongly stating that both pieces are in the same hand:¹⁶⁰ for the truth see above on *PHerc.* 245 = O Fr. E.

Scott deemed Fr. F unintelligible.¹⁶¹ The drawing was first assigned to the *On Piety* (and edited) by Crönert,¹⁶² and the hand is unmistakable. It has been reedited by W. Luppe,¹⁶³ and the catalogue of Zeus' lovers that it contains is within a column or two of *PHerc.* 1692, fr. 4, while part of this catalogue is also in *PHerc.* 1602, fr. 5.¹⁶⁴ The present *PHerc.* 247 is the only section of *De piet.* which is known to correspond to a number that was issued in 1788-1792; the Neapolitan drawings of it, done in 1830 by C. Malesci, are published as *HV*² II 42-49, but these do not match. Fr. F cannot correspond to *PHerc.* 243, since the latter shows whole columns and was not issued during the relevant period. Hence it seems reasonable to deduce that Fr. F was originally the top of the stack then called *PHerc.* 247. However, this raises complications, as Dirk Obbink has explained to me.¹⁶⁵ Fr. F depicts what is the upper part of col. 274 in his forthcoming edition.¹⁶⁶ However, *PHerc.* 247, fr. 1, also the tops of columns, corresponds to his cols. 190-191. Between the two layers he believes that there intervened *PHerc.* 1088, containing whole columns, and after another papyrus eventually *PHerc.* 1692, which was removed from the back of its stack by *sollevamento*. Hence many layers survive bearing other inventory numbers between the first Neapolitan *disegno* of the present *PHerc.* 247 and this piece. Obbink suggests that the stack may have come apart and been given the higher numbers subsequently, which may help to explain why the numbers allocated to the different stacks are so far apart from each other, when they might have been expected to have similar numbers. However, the number 1692 already existed in Piaggio's catalogue, which ends with no. 1696.¹⁶⁷ For the text see Obbink's forthcoming edition. Incidentally, I suspect that the *scorze* of *PHerc.* 1100 and 1104 (which has recently been confused with *PHerc.* 1114 in Hand 11 of the *Rhetoric*)¹⁶⁸ are also in Hand 12; the short horizontal stroke on the upper right corner of M is characteristic, and would indicate that these belong to *De pietate*. The same is true of some of the Neapolitan drawings of *PHerc.* 1111. To judge by *HV*² X 185-201,¹⁶⁹ they do not all appear to be in the same hand: frr. 1-21 and 27-41 resemble Fr. D (see below on Fr. D), but frr. 22-26 and frr. 42-45 seem to be in two other hands, one of them very like that of Philodemus' *De pietate*. Crönert edited N 1111, fr. 44,¹⁷⁰ and in his restoration this sounds to me exactly like Philodemus' defences in the first part of *On Piety* of the views of Epicurus, Metrodorus and Hermarchus on the gods, with the full citations of his sources that are so characteristic of the *De pietate*. Obbink has reedited this column, but calls its authorship 'uncertain'.¹⁷¹

O '247' = PHerc. 255 (VI 1578, Metrodorus, ?*Adversus dialecticos*, hand of *PHerc.* 418, 439, 1084, 1091, 1108, 1112, and 1645)

See below on *PHerc.* 255.

¹⁵⁹ *CatPerc.*, p. 398.

¹⁶⁰ This was also noted by D. BLANK (*Remarks on fragments and drawings in Piaggio's time* cit. in n. 23 above).

¹⁶¹ SCOTT, p. 48.

¹⁶² W. CRÖNERT, *Bericht über literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen*, «APF» 1/1901, p. 109 n. 1.

¹⁶³ W. LUPPE, *Zeus und Nemesis in den Kyprien*, «Philologus» 118/1974, pp. 193-202; cf. A. HENRICHs, *Iuppiter mulierum amator in papyro Herculanensi*, «ZPE» 15/1974, pp. 302-304.

¹⁶⁴ Dirk Obbink, pers. comm., Apr. 2007.

¹⁶⁵ Pers. comm., Apr. 2007.

¹⁶⁶ *Philodemus: On Piety* Part 2 (Oxford, publication expected 2007-2008).

¹⁶⁷ BLANK and LONGO, p. 120.

¹⁶⁸ DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*, p. 61 n. 18.

¹⁶⁹ The reference in the *CatPerc.*, p. 270, is incomplete.

¹⁷⁰ *Kolotes*, p. 24 n. 136.

¹⁷¹ OBBINK, pp. 300. I have not seen the Neapolitan apograph, which the engraver of *HV*² may of course have distorted.

PHerc. 253 + PHerc. 1090 = O '235' (VI 1579, Philodemus, *De vitiis lib. inc.*, *De avaritia*, Hand 25)

No. 253 was issued in July 1790 and no. 1090 in August 1792. It is not clear whether either was the same papyrus as that which was drawn under the number '235' but was apparently somehow refiled both as *PHerc. 1090*, which is what the later Neapolitan *disegni* call it (the *scorza* of no. 1090 is said no longer to exist)¹⁷² and, remarkably, as *PHerc. 253* as well.

The Oxonian *disegno* labelled '235' consists of parts of the tops of two successive columns. The Neapolitan drawings of twelve layers of *PHerc. 253* were made by C. Malesci in 1827, and are published as *HV*² VII 191-6.¹⁷³ They show the tops of columns, with under half the width of the line preserved. Comparetti assigned O '235' to *De pietate*,¹⁷⁴ but Scott noticed the word *φιλαργυρία* in col. i line 8 of this fragment, and rightly attributed it to the *De vitiis*.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile D. Bassi identified *PHerc. 253* as from that multi-volume work, and more precisely from the *De avaritia*.¹⁷⁶ In fact the right half of the Oxonian drawing corresponds textually to the first Neapolitan *disegno* of *PHerc. 253*. The drawing shows the fragment in a more complete state than N 253, fr. 1, which is published as *HV*² VII 191 fr. 1; the latter shows only the last few letters in each line of col. i, plus the stichometric sign in the left margin of col. ii. The reading of this sign as Θ is confirmed by the fact that the signs H and Δ appear further on in the Neapolitan *disegni*, i. e. further towards the outside and thus the beginning of the roll, with H on N fr. 3 line 13 and Δ on N fr. 7 line 15. The original sequence was of course the reverse: Δ, <E>, <Z>, H, and Θ. Since the Θ occurs on fr. 1 col. ii line 12, the number of lines per sign was almost an exact multiple of the number of lines per column; this will greatly facilitate reconstruction. One of the three extant pieces corresponds to N 253, fr. 9 (= *HV*² VII 195 top), another to N 253, fr. 9 (= *HV*² VII 195 bottom). The third fragment contains part of an *agraphon* with traces of what Mario Capasso has recognized as the initial title, viz. Φιλο[δ]ήμου | Περὶ | κ[α]κιῶν.¹⁷⁷ Hence this series of pieces comes from the very beginning of the roll. Cavallo identified the script of *PHerc. 253* as Hand 25, like two other papyri of the *De avaritia*, namely *PHerc. 465* and *PHerc. 1613*.¹⁷⁸ The presence of the word *φιλαργυρία* supports this identification. Crönert assigned *PHerc. 415*, 421, and 1645 to the same roll.¹⁷⁹ Still more remarkably, the left half of the Oxonian drawing corresponds textually and in layout to N 1090, fr. 15, which is clearly accurate enough (= *HV*² X 162 top). How this could come to correspond to fr. 15 is puzzling, since this is part of a series of twenty Neapolitan drawings that were made in 1826 by F. Casanova and published in *HV*² X 155-175; like the drawings of *PHerc. 253*, these are clearly the result of *scorzatura totale*.¹⁸⁰ *PHerc. 1090* was issued in August 1792. In the catalogue of 1782 Piaggio had described it as follows:

«Altro simile (sc. frammento scorzato da un papiro spezzato nel mezzo) di lunghezza once 3, di larghezza once 1. 4/5 con piega per lungo».

This accords with the fact that the Oxonian and Neapolitan drawings only show a fragment from the upper part of a roll. Comparetti assigned *PHerc. 1090* to the *De avaritia* on the basis of content.¹⁸¹ As *PHerc. 1090* is not extant, Cavallo does not discuss its hand.

¹⁷² *CatPerc*, p. 265.

¹⁷³ The confusion between '235' and 253 is already recognized in the *CatPerc*, p. 117.

¹⁷⁴ COMPARETTI, p. 78 n. 4.

¹⁷⁵ SCOTT, p. 50.

¹⁷⁶ *CatPerc*, p. 117.

¹⁷⁷ In his paper at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, July 2007. ANGELI (*Svolgimento*, pp. 78-80) had considered that this and the title on the *scorza superstite* of *PHerc. 222* (*De vitiis* I, *De avaritia*) were final titles, but the fact that these are what remains of *scorzatura totale* shows that they must be from the beginnings of their rolls. M. CAPASSO since recognized the initial titles in *PHerc. 222* and 1457 (*Les Livres sur la flatterie dans le De vitiis de Philodème*, in C. AUVRAY-ASSAYAS and D. DELATRE, edd., *Cicéron et Philodème: la polémique en philosophie*, Paris 2001, pp. 179-194, at pp. 187 and 194), and that of *PHerc. 1008* was seen by J. WINCKELMANN (*Nachrichten von der neuesten Herculanischen Entdeckungen an Hn. Heinrich Fueßli*, Dresden 1764, p. 52, with BLANK, *Reflections*, pp. 74-75). On initial titles see TURNER and PARSONS, pp. 13-14, and G. BASTIANINI, *Tipologie di rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione*, «PapLup» 4/1995, pp. 21-42, at p. 26. Initial titles listed by these authorities are *PHarr. 123*, Hierocles (*BKT* IV), *PMich. VI. 390*, *PMich. inv. 4968*, *POxy. 568*, and *PSI II. 139*. I can add *POxy. 2256*, fr. 2 and *POxy. 663* (Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*): both contain hypotheses of plays written around the initial title. In no case is the stichometric total given; clearly it was written only at the end.

¹⁷⁸ CAVALLO, pp. 41, 45 with Tav. XLV.

¹⁷⁹ CRÖNERT, *Kolotes*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁰ CRÖNERT considered that these *disegni* were half falsified (*Fälschungen*, p. 593), but N 1090, fr. 15 certainly is not.

¹⁸¹ COMPARETTI, p. 78 n. 4.

The situation may be explained as follows. G. B. Malesci drew under the label '235' the top of a stack, which had been issued under some other number. The stack subsequently broke vertically into two. Its left half was refiled as *PHerc.* 1090, while its right part was refiled as *PHerc.* 253. Both no. 253 and no. 1090 in the catalogue of 1782 could well have been different pieces; in the case of no. 1090, its dimensions in 1782 were smaller than those of the present *PHerc.* 253, which shows that it cannot have been the same. No layers were removed from the two stacks that now existed until the introduction of *scorzatura totale*, when the Neapolitan *disegni* were made; their order will need to be reversed to give the correct sequence, as the stichometric signs confirm. However, the overlap will be greatly aid in the reconstruction of the roll; indeed, there are likely to be further joins between other drawings of N 253 and N 1090. The series N 1090, frs. 20, 19, 18 and 17, may correspond to the same layers as the extant pieces of *PHerc.* 253 and N 253, frs. 4, 3 and 2, with the numerical order reversed because of the process of *scorzatura totale*. These two series between them will enable the reconstruction of one side of the beginning of the roll. The number of letters per line is likely to be around 24, as in other papyri in Hand 25.¹⁸² I have used *HV*² as my source for both Neapolitan *disegni*. A reconstruction of this roll is clearly a major desideratum.

O '235' col. i (VI 1579) = N 253 fr. 1 col. i (N¹) = N 1090 fr. 15 (N²)

- 1], καὶ μεθ' ἡ[μέ]ραν πε-
 ρὶ(.)]τοὺς δυσκολ[αί]νοντες,
 καὶ(.)] πολλοὺς ἀντιλογίαι
(.)] ἔχοντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
 5 φιλοσόφ[ω]ν προσκοπτόμενοι
 κ]ατὰ τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφί-
 αι παλαιο]ὺς ἱκανὴν ἔξιν τινὲς
 ἔχον, ὥ]ς ἐπιτεταμένη ἰ' συνέ-
 πεται τῇ]ι φιλαργυρίαι. προείρη-
 10 ται δὲ τὸ τ]ῶς μὲν ἀκρότητας συν-
 τελεῖν τιν' ἔξ]ιν τῶν ἀρετῶν, τὰς
 δὲ]εις μηδαμῶς, καὶ
(.)]ις τοῦτο γίνεται
(.)]ο τινας
 15]ις ἔξιν ε-
(.)]νοίς ου
]το[.]ς ἀλη-
 θ.]ντας ἀλ-
 λ.]νι τὰς ἰ-
 20 δίας

incertum quot desint versus

¹⁸² E.g. *PHerc.* 1424, with CAVALLO, Tav. XLV.

fontes O (vv. 1-19), N¹ (fines vv. 1-19), N² (initia vv. 1-13) adsunt margines sup. et dext. ap. ON¹ primus edidi 1 O:]καμεν[N²:]νπε N¹ θ vel ρ O: ν N²: om. N¹ 2]τοὺς δυσκολ[.]νοντες O:]υςδυσκ[.]α[N²:]νοντες N¹ τ brach. dext. 3 fort. εἰς π[αμ]-

πολλους O:]ομουα[N²:]τιλογιας N¹ 4 O:]εχοντες[.]ν[N²:]καιυποτων N¹ 5 O:]ν
 προσχο[]ιλ[N²:]τομενοι N¹ φ vel ψ (pes) 6 O:]τατουσεν[N²:]φιλοσοφι N¹ 7 O:
]ικανην[N²:]ξιντινες N¹ 8 O (νε vel νϕ):]επιτετα[N²:]ενη'ι'συνε N¹ 9 O:]φιλαργυ-
 ριαι[N²:]προειρη N¹ spat. vac. ii litt. ap. O 10 O:]μενακρο[N²:]ητασεν N¹ 11 O:
]ντωναρ[N²:]τωντας N¹ 12 O:]τιμηδα[N²:]και N¹ 13 O:]ιςτουτογ[N²:]ται N¹ 14
 O:]τινας N¹ 15 O:]εξινη N¹ fort. οὐ vel οὐ[]τω 19 ιτ N¹: om. O

«. . . (misers by night) . . . , and by day grumbling about (*plural noun missing*),
 and raising (harsh?) objections (against) many (*plural noun missing*), and being
 offended by the philosophers . . . according to those of the ancients who
 practised philosophy some (misers) had a habitual disposition that was suffi-
 cient, as it accompanies a love of money that is intense. We have already
 spoken about the fact that excellent behaviours bring about a habitual dispo-
 sition towards the virtues, but (*plural noun missing*) do not do so at all, and . . .
 this comes about . . . (*verb missing*) some (*plural noun missing*) . . . (*subject and*
verb missing) habitual disposition . . . not (?) . . . true (?) . . . but (?) . . . the
 particular (*plural noun missing*) . . . »

O '235', col. ii (VI 1579) = N 253, fr. 1, col. ii (om. N 1090)

1	α[.
	ρ[.
	ς[.
	[.
5	κ[.
	μ[.
	τ[.
	[.
	τ[.
10	κ[.
/	— ρ[.
/ θ	ρ[.
—	ε[.
	ς[.
15	[.
	κ[.
	α[.
	τ[.
	τ[.
20	α[.

incertum quot desint versus

fons O: om. N, nisi quod signum stichometricum depinxit adsunt margines sup. et
 sin. primus edidi 11 α vel λ 12 θ O: θ vel ρ N

O '253' = PHerc. 439 = PHerc. 1824 (VI 1576, Metrodorus, ?*Adversus*
dialecticos, hand of PHerc. 255, 418, 439, 1084, 1091, and 1112)

See below on PHerc. 439, and for a description of the work see below on
 PHerc. 255.

No. 255 is not recorded as having been issued during the period in question. However, Scott identified it with O '247';¹⁸³ as we saw in Section III, it must have lost its original label and been given a wrong number when it was returned to the collection. This drawing shows the tops of two columns forming the top of a stack of *scorze* and written in a distinctive hand. Crönert recognized this hand in *PHerc. 255, 418* (in part), 1084, 1091, and 1112; he suggested that they all belong to a single roll, which contained an Epicurean polemic against other philosophers.¹⁸⁴ Cavallo rightly compared it to the hands of the Zeno archive in the mid-third century B.C., and therefore dated it to that time;¹⁸⁵ he agreed that these papyri all belong to a single roll.¹⁸⁶ I believe that the extant *PHerc. 390, 456 and 1108* are also in this script, and could therefore come from the same work; *PHerc. 1103* might be too. Spinelli has since given a detailed account of this hand.¹⁸⁷

Scott observed that O '247' is not from *De pietate*, like the current *PHerc. 247*. He brilliantly identified col. ii of this drawing with N 255, fr. 1 (= the present *PHerc. 255*, a *scorza* in three pieces), published in *HV*² VIII 173-175;¹⁸⁸ it follows that both drawings depict the same hand, as visual observation confirms.¹⁸⁹ The *disegno* shows col. ii in a more complete state than is seen in N 255, fr. 1.¹⁹⁰ The spelling πᾶμ μὲν (col. ii 16) with *sandhi* is fully consistent with a date in the third century B.C. Such spellings are normal in manuscripts of the fourth-century B.C. like *P. Derveni*; L. Threatte observes regarding Attic inscriptions that «assimilation of final -v drops off rapidly after 300 B.C. and is virtually extinct in Roman times»,¹⁹¹ and the same is true in the papyri. There seem to have been about 17-18 letters per line, but only c. 15 survive in any of the pieces.

Scott thought fr. 2 might suggest some possible connection with piety, but considered this very uncertain, noting in the drawings in *HV*² the names of Plato, Epicurus, and Polyaeus.¹⁹² Since Epicurus' name appears in two of the papyri in this group,¹⁹³ they cannot contain works of the Master himself. N 255, fr. 3, mentions Stilbo and fr. 4 names Plato, while fr. 6 names Epicurus. Since several Megarian and other philosophers are named in other members of this group of papyri, and *PHerc. 418, fr. 5, 12-14* has a phrase that Plutarch gives as a quotation of Metrodorus,¹⁹⁴ Spinelli deduced that they all contain a work of Metrodorus, and in particular the treatise *Against the Dialecticians* in one book that is known from Diogenes Laertius.¹⁹⁵ But it could also be his *Against the Sophists*, which was in nine books. The most complete of the fragments newly published here, O '247', fr. 2 = N 255, fr. 1, is an important discussion of mankind's early progress in discovering laws and new ideas¹⁹⁶ and comments ironically on the self-proclaimed 'immortality' of their inventors, a theory that goes back to Prodicus¹⁹⁷ and was taken up by the Stoic Persaeus.¹⁹⁸ Spinelli believes that this fragment discusses Epicurus' anti-Platonic concept of justice, which could vary at different times and places rather than be absolute.¹⁹⁹ It accords with this that N 255, fr. 2, discusses

¹⁸³ SCOTT, p. 50.

¹⁸⁴ CRÖNERT, *Kolotes*, pp. 19, 147 (he also thought that some fragments of *PHerc. 1788* are in this hand, but they all belong to the *De pietate*).

¹⁸⁵ See CAVALLO, p. 44 with Tav. LIVa, which illustrates *PHerc. 1084*; he compares *PLit. Lond. 73*, dated between 261 and 239 B.C. (*ibid.* p. 57).

¹⁸⁶ SPINELLI, p. 44.

¹⁸⁷ SPINELLI, pp. 30-31.

¹⁸⁸ SCOTT, p. 50.

¹⁸⁹ BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 445 n.

¹⁹⁰ The latter is reproduced at *HV*² VIII 173, fr. 1.

¹⁹¹ *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I*, p. 589.

¹⁹² SCOTT, p. 50.

¹⁹³ *PHerc. 255*, N fr. 5,7, and *PHerc. 1084*, fr. N 1,5.

¹⁹⁴ Plut., *Adv. Col.* 1125b (= fr. 6 KÖRTE).

¹⁹⁵ Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς (D. L. 10.24).

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Democritus 68 B 5 DIELS-KRANZ = D.S. 1. 8. 5-7.

¹⁹⁷ 84 B 5 = Phld., *De piet.*, p. 75 GOMPERZ = p. 117 SCHÖBER, with Cic., *DND* 1. 118 and Phld., *De piet.*, p. 115 SCHÖBER (fr. 19).

¹⁹⁸ SVF 448 VON ARNIM (I owe this point to David Sedley).

¹⁹⁹ SPINELLI, pp. 38-39.

the invention of laws and the concomitant restriction on violence, again aspects of Epicurus' idea of a «social contract».

If these fragments are the result of a process of *scorzatura totale*, as they surely must be, they need to be put in reverse order; hence I have presented them in that sequence. A proper edition of all these materials is a major desideratum.²⁰⁰

O '247', fr. 2 = N 255, fr. 1 (VI 1578)

0 [. οὐ κατὰ βαρ-] ||
1 βαρικὸν ἔθνος [μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καθ' ὀπηλ[ίκα δὴ-
— ποτε χώρας, ἐπ[εὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς χρόνοις [τὸ καινὸν
5 οὐ μακρὰν διῆ[χ' ὥς κοι-
νὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς τῶν
ὁμοίων. καὶ ἀν[εκάλουν
• εὐρέτας καὶ κατ[ασκευ-
ατάς (προὔπαρχ[ουσῶν
10 ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἀν[ομοίων
ἐν ἐκάστοις ἔθνε[σιν
ἐννοιῶν περὶ καιν[οῦ
τινος) καὶ μακαρί[ους ἐαν-
τοὺς μετ' ἀφθαρ[είας,
15 ἔχοντες συνεργοῦ[ς τῷ
μυθοῦντι ἐαντ[οῦς .(.)
17]κλους[.

fontes O (vv. 1-17), N (initia versuum vv. 5-17) adsunt margines sup. et sin. primus edidit Spinelli ante 1 supplevi 1 supplevi 3 ἐπ[εὶ supplevi 4, 5 supplevi 5-6 κοι]-
νὸν scripsi post Wigodsky 6 νογγε[. . .]θροαιτ[N: νοικπενεσθαιτ[O intellexit
Henry 7 spat. vac. i litt. O: καιτω[N 8 punctum stichometricum in marg. sin. habet
O: om. N τ pars sin. brach. N: om. O 8-9 supplevi 9 ατας' ON (stigma non notavit
Spinelli) προὔπαρχ[ουσῶν scripsi: -ούσας Spinelli χ om. N 10 supplevi 11 O: εονε[
N supplevi 12 ἐννοιῶν περικ[O: ἐντιτηπερικατ[N (τ vel π, ζ, ξ) scripsi 13 τινος O:
τῶν N μακαρί[ους fere Usener (*Glossarium Epicureum* s.v. μακάριος): μακαρί[ζων Spi-
nelli 13-14 scripsi: αὐ[|]τοῦς Wigodsky 14 του O: ης N 14 ἀφθαρ[είας Usener loc.
cit. 15 ἐχοντες O: ἴοντες O N υ vel χ τῷ supplevi 16 μυθοῦντι O: ὀρυντι N sup-
plevi 17]λους[O:]κλιω[N fort. κύ]κλους

«. . . not in a barbarian nation only, but in any countries whatsoever, since in those same times innovation did not extend far (enough) to become common to those (nations) that consisted of similar (people). They²⁰¹ proclaimed themselves²⁰² “inventors” and “discoverers”—even though there had existed at the same time dissimilar ideas too in each of the nations about a given innovation—and “blessed with immortality”, having themselves as collaborators with the person who related (that they were gods?) . . . cycles (?) . . . »

²⁰⁰ Other papyri that belong to the same hand, as far as one can judge from the *Herculaneusia Volumina*, are *PHerc.* 1108 (HV² VIII 63-74), *PHerc.* 1110 (HV² VIII 108-118), *PHerc.* 1607 (HV² XI 207), and *PHerc.* 1645 (HV² XI 135-140). The images confirm that *PHerc.* 1108 and 1645 are definitely in this hand. All these papyri appear to be in hands of the third or possibly second century B.C.

²⁰¹ *I. e.* the lawgivers, or the people?

²⁰² Or «them», *i. e.* the lawgivers, if αὐ|τοῦς is read.

1 ἔ]κ παιδός
 (.)]ος προς
 (.)]ησαντα
 (.)]τα και
 5 ]η λαιδο-
 ρ. (.)]και πα-
 ]νον
 ]ως κα-
 ]υς ου
 10 ]αι φι-
 λ. (.)]νει

fons O adsunt margins sup. et dext. primus edidi 10-11 fort. φι|λοσοφ-
 «. . . from childhood . . . with regard to (?) . . . and . . . vilify . . .»

1 — κοντα[.
 μὲν λοιπα[.(.)
 — ἀφίημι [.
 ε̅ τας ἐδυν[.
 5 διάθεσιν μ[.
 μαι. οὐκεί[.(.)
 εὐν τέλει[.(.)
 πασῶν τυ[φλ.
 — τολμαν φ[.,
 10 ἀλλὰ μόνον [.
 ἀνθρώπων ο[.
 τατον ἀπο[.
 προσαγαγέσθ[αι(.)
 >— αὐτῶι τε κα[.(.)
 15 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὧ[] τιφ[.(.)
)— πᾶμ μὲν δ[.
 . .]νει καὶ α[.
 18]ι το[.(.)

«... on the one hand remaining ... I relinquish ... was able ... character ... I (*verb missing*). Not ... with magistracies ... blindest of all (*plural noun missing*) ... daring (?) ... , but only ... of human beings ... very ... to bring over ... For for me, as (?) someone ... on the one hand every ... and ... »

No. 335 was a roll issued on 11 August 1796. There seems to have been no confusion in the numbering. It was tackled again in 1869 by C. Malesci. It now consists of two *cornici* and some Neapolitan drawings made under the direction of D. Bassi.²⁰³ Bassi also put it onto frames, a procedure that could have caused confusion in the numbering.²⁰⁴ Cavallo does not discuss its hand. However, the extant piece, which was unrolled continuously on Piaggio's machine, appears to be in Cavallo's Hand 5, which is third or second century B.C. in date. The same scribe wrote *PHerc.* 1148, a copy of Epicurus' *De nat.* XIV, and *PHerc.* 1151, a copy of *De nat.* XV, as well as the roll of unidentified content *PHerc.* 1037 and apparently *PHerc.* 1158, also unidentified.²⁰⁵ It is unlikely that an item that was issued as late as 1796 is relevant to this set of *disegni*.

PHerc. 399 = O 397 and O 399 (VI 1569, 1571-1572, uncertain author, *De bello Actiaco*, Manus 3)

No. 397 was issued in Dec. 1790. There is no extant original called *PHerc.* 397; all that survives of no. 397 is the Oxonian drawings.²⁰⁶ O 399, which was drawn after O 397 and has the same physical shape (both depict the tops of columns), corresponds to a broken *scorza* that is, according to Del Mastro, in Latin.²⁰⁷ Scott suspected that both sets of drawings depict Latin hexameters.²⁰⁸ This is correct, and they are in the same hand, which I have called Manus 3; for a description of it see Section II above. I believe that they in fact depict the same papyrus. As I suggested in Section III above, this was issued in Dec. 1790 as no. 397 and was mostly drawn under that number, but eventually its label was lost and it was renumbered '399' (an item that had not been issued), under which number it was refiled in the collection. In addition, there should be no doubt that both papyri are in the same hand as the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* of *PHerc.* 817, which depicts the bottoms of columns. The final column of *PHerc.* 817 has been thought to be the end of Book IX, if the X in the bottom left margin below the last line of col. 8 means that Book X follows;²⁰⁹ however, this is more likely to be merely part of a concluding coronis.²¹⁰ Everything about the script is identical. Since these fragments depict the tops of columns, they could even come from the same columns that appear in *PHerc.* 817; however, it is unlikely that the relationship between the two can easily be established. Kleve believed that the same type of writing appears in *PHerc.* 90, which also contains hexameters;²¹¹ however, it is in a different hand.²¹² Another possibility worth exploring is *PHerc.* 414. Although Scott had suggested the attribution of O 397 and O 399 to the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*,²¹³ Lindsay denied it, on the ground that the words he could read imply a different content. However, he deciphered only a few, and read *in silua* as *in stiua*.²¹⁴ Hence his argument fails to convince. The most recent edition of *PHerc.* 817 is by L. Garuti, who ascribes the poem to Rabirius;²¹⁵ although this might seem the most attractive option, on the basis of fr. 2 about the death of Marcus Antonius, E. Courtney assigns it to the *Res Romanae* of Cornelius Severus,²¹⁶ while M. Gigante has reverted to the old attribution of it to a *Laudes egregi Caesaris et Agrippae* of L. Varius Rufus.²¹⁷

²⁰³ *CatPErc*, p. 335.

²⁰⁴ DÜRR, p. 216.

²⁰⁵ CAVALLO, pp. 31, 45, with Tav. XII of *PHerc.* 1148. For an edition see E. PUGLIA, *Frammenti da PHerc.* 1158, «Cerc» 23/1993, pp. 29-65.

²⁰⁶ As David BLANK pointed out (*Remarks . . . cit.*), the *CatPErc* (p. 141) does not record the fragment on VI 1569.

²⁰⁷ *Papiri latini*, p. 186.

²⁰⁸ SCOTT, p. 52.

²⁰⁹ Cf. COURTNEY, p. 340.

²¹⁰ R. IMMARCO, *Breve nota sulla coronide di PHerc.* 817, pp. 253-258 in M. CAPASSO (ed.), *Il rotolo librario* (Lecce 1994), with an illustration of the piece, now lost in Paris.

²¹¹ KLEVE, p. 318.

²¹² R. Macfarlane, pers. comm., May 2007.

²¹³ SCOTT, p. 52.

²¹⁴ LINDSAY, pp. 442-443.

²¹⁵ *C. Rabirius: Bellum Actiacum e papyro Herculanensi* 817 (Bologna 1958). He is ultimately following N. Ciampitti in *HV*¹ II, pp. xiii-xiv (Napoli 1809).

²¹⁶ COURTNEY, pp. 334-340. For a survey of recent work see A. COZZOLINO, *Recenti studi sul De Bello Actiaco*, «PapLup» 8/1999, pp. 137-149.

²¹⁷ *Virgilio e i suoi amici tra Napoli e Ercolano*, Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti N.S. 59/1991, pp. 87-125, at pp. 116-117, supported by KLEVE, pp. 313-315, 320. The suggestion was first made by John Hayter (M. GIGANTE, *Virgilio e i suoi amici*, in *Altre Ricerche Filodemee*, Napoli 1998, pp. 57-98, at p. 88), and first cited in print, only to be rebutted, by N. Ciampitti in *HV*¹ II, pp. x-xiii (Napoli 1809).

I have arranged the new fragments in the reverse of the order in which I think they were drawn, on the ground that layers were coming off the top of a stack and the earliest to be drawn would therefore have been nearest to the end of the roll. Given the great width of the columns in this papyrus, the fragments seem likely to come from six successive columns. Their content, like that of *PHerc.* 817, is varied, and includes speeches in the first person singular (*O* 399, fr. 1, *O* 397, fr. 1-2) and military narrative (*O* 397, fr. 4-5). More specifically, in *O* 399, fr. 1 the speaker imagines ploughing and sowing objects like seeds, and doubts that something could happen in a very long span of time. First-person speech continues in *O* 397, fr. 1, which mentions the bronze-hoofed horses of the Sun, a disaster the speaker has caused, and his or her empty wish to help the addressees in some way. *O* 397, fr. 2, is still a (the same?) speech, where the speaker mentions seeking something elsewhere in some part of the earth over which the Sun goes on high, and again mentions ploughing. *O* 397, fr. 3, tells us nothing. In *O* 397, fr. 4, some soldiers with gilded equipment and chariots seem reluctantly to have entered a dense primeval forest, perhaps searching for what was lost. *O* 397, fr. 5, may describe an ill-disciplined soldier (probably one standing for a whole army), eager for loot and slow to assist others, who prefers to wait for dawn rather than follow commands at night. I cannot relate any of this material to what we know of Agrippa's Egyptian campaign, but in a poem anything can be subject to unexpected elaborations.

O 399, fr. 1 (VI 1569)

1 - - - ara]ssem [·] uomere · terr[am
 - - -]mi · ceu [·] semina [·] de[- - -
 - - - d]ubitare[m] [·] accidere [·] .[- - -
 4 - - -]gni. . . .ania · lu.[- - -

fons O adest margo sup. fines versuum primus edidi 1 *s*: i *O* terr[am Lindsay (cf. Ov., Met. 11.31): terr[as coniecerim (cf. V., Georg. 3.525) 2 *a*: x *O* (corr. Lindsay) fort. de]xtrá vel de]ntis 3 *u*: i *O* fort. [posse 4 fort. ma]gnis vel ma]gni vel i]gni[s fort. ins]ania vel ues]ania potius quam inn]ania, quod spatium excederet, vel in]ania, quod brevius est fort. lu[ctús vel lu]stris

«. . . that I had turned the earth with a plough . . . like seeds with my right hand (?) . . . I would doubt that (*subject missing*) could happen . . . madness (?) of (?) great (?) grief (?) . . .»

O 397, fr. 1 (VI 1569)

1 - - - s]o[[·] se · aere · pedes · [- - -
 - - -]it [·] petiere · ne.[- - -
 - - -]er · per·emi · ni. .[- - -
 - - -]m [· a]nteā [·] plu.[- - -
 5 - - -]. [· p]ossem [·] uob[is - - -

fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 1 *i* vel *i*[·], p aere pedes: cf. Ov., Her. 12.43 2 fort. ne]cem (cf. Sil. It., Pun. 12.549) 4 *a*[·] vel *m* p potius quam *i* 5 fort. utinam] (cf. Ov., Met. 7.519)

«. . . the sun (*verb missing*) feet with bronze . . . they sought death (?) . . . to be killed . . . before more . . . (would that) for you I could . . . »

O 397, fr. 2 (VI 1571)

1 - - -]ue · alib[i] · quaer[- - -
 - - - s]ol [· uo]lať [·] alt[- - -
 - - -]e · [m]eque [·] meos[que - - -
 - - - ar]uo[m] · ar[ass]et · a.[- - -
 5 - - -]i. .er. . . [·] cúr[- - -
 6 - - -].nqu[- - -

fons O *adest margo sup.* *primus edidi* 1 ē: *potius o* r *vel* p 2 t *potius quam* i 3 m *vel*
 a[*cf. Ov., Fast. 5.438* 6 fort. longi]nqu[*vel* propi]nqu

«. . . or (?) seek elsewhere . . . the sun flies on high . . . me and my (*plural noun missing*) . . . would plough the field . . . care . . . »

O 397, fr. 3 (VI 1571)

1 au[- - -
 qu[- - -
 non [- - -
 quid[- - -
 5 atq[u - - -
 — tu[- - -
 7 de[- - -

fons O *adsunt margines sup. et sin.* *primus edidi* 1 fort. au[r- *vel* au[rora

«. . . gold (?) . . . not . . . why (?) . . . and . . . you (?) . . . »

O 397, fr. 4 (VI 1571)

1 - - -]. . . .aurato[- - -
 - - - i]nui[ti ·] in silua[m - - -
 - - -]am [·] pr[i]mitiae · ç[- - -
 - - -]. . .cos · aliaē [·] et[- - -
 5 - - -]feras [·] currus [- - -
 - - -].ae · gr[- - -
 7 - - -]. .ceden[- - -

fons O *adest margo sup.* *primus edidi* 2 i]nui[ti *scripsi:*]nue[m Lindsay in stiuā Lind-
 say, *haud recte* 3 pr: n O ç *vel* o 4 fort. lu]cos *vel* cae]cos *vel* pris]cos *vel* pau]cos *vel*
 magnifi]cos ē *potius quam* s, ç 6 r: b O

«. . . gilded . . . (they entered) the (*adjective missing*) forest unwillingly . . . in primeval times . . . other, and . . . chariots (*verb missing*) wild (?) (*plural object missing?*) . . . yield . . . »

1 - - - .] au[ru]m [·] çupien.[- - -
 - - -]us · ad · auxilium [· - - -
 - - -] prospiciens · lúc[em - - -
 - - -]la[·]iam [·] c[o]n·ue[- - -
 5 - - -]e · [n]am [·] nõçtę [·] şequi [· - - -
 6 - - -]. [·] breui[- - -

fons O *adest* *margo sup.* *primus edidi* 1 ç *vel* ç *fort.* çupien[s 2 *fort.* tard]us *vel*
 prompt]us 3 ç *vel* ç lúc[em *potius quam* lúc[os: *non fuit* luc[rum, *quod apici baud con-*
gruit 4 n: u O *fort.* La[t]iam *fort.* c[o]n·ue[rt- *vel* c[o]n·ue[rs- *vel* c[o]n·ue[n(t)- 5
 n]am: i]am *aut t]am spatio male convenerit* n *vel*]i ç *vel* ç t *vel* i ç *vel* ç ş *vel* t

«... eager for gold . . . slow (?) to assist . . . looking forward to dawn (?) . . . now
 (?) turn . . . for to follow by night . . . short . . .»

PHerc. 413 = O 413 (VI 1569, 1572, Latin letter or legal deposition, Manus C)

No. 413 was issued in December 1790. It exactly corresponds in size to the present *PHerc.* 413; there has been no confusion in the numbering. O 413 comprises four drawings, which seem to have formed the top of a stack. Again I have reversed their order, on the principle that the one drawn first is likely to have been closest to the end of the scroll. O 413 corresponds to an extant *scorza*, which was first recognized as Latin by Del Mastro,²¹⁸ but is in very poor condition indeed; it is so bad that one can hardly tell which way up it goes and whether it is in Greek or in Latin. For a description of the hand of the Oxonian *disegno* see Section II above.

Scott could find nothing intelligible here.²¹⁹ Fr. 3 has entries or paragraphs beginning with *cum* in ecthesis in the left margin. Lindsay thought these were abbreviations of a speaker in a dialogue, perhaps «Cumanus» or «Cumelius». ²²⁰ However, it seems more likely to be a series of entries as in a legal document, which better suits the rapid cursive in which it is written. Annius (?), Longinus (?), Hercules and Ninus (?) are named, and there is discussion of auctioneers, money, law, speeches in the Senate, anger, and magic, while fr. 4 sounds like a letter.

O 413, fr. 1 (VI 1569)

1 - - -]. · cum [·] qu.[- - -
 - - -]{ma}ontis · a[- - -
 - - - prae]cones · u.[- - -
 - - - p]ecuniam [·] .[- - -
 5 - - - .] cum · pret[i]o [·].[- - -
 - - - .] om̄is · qui[- - -
 - - - g]inta · quae.[- - -
 - - -]m̄os [·] exemun[t - - -

²¹⁸ *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

²¹⁹ SCOTT, p. 52.

²²⁰ LINDSAY, p. 444. He is followed by KLEVE, p. 314 n. 7.

10

fons O *adest* margo sup. *primus* edidi 2 {ma} *litt. sup. verum quae alia sunt ex pagina*
fort. (in)s]ontis vel f]ontis 4 *suppl. Lindsay* 5 p vel i, t 6 n vel i s 8 m vel a s: p O n:
potius ·i

«. . . with whom (?) . . . fountain (?) . . . auctioneers . . . money . . . with the price . . . everyone who . . . thirty (?), which . . . they deducted . . . month . . . (*singular subject missing*) used to say . . . law . . . »

O 413, fr. 2 (VI 1572)

1 - - -] in şenatu [·] .[- - -
 - - -]ibus : dixisse.[- - -
 - - -].quid [·] non[- - -
 - - -]ator · barba[r - - -
 5 - - - i]sdem · inquit - - -
 - - - h]oc [·] modo [·] pote[rat - - -
 - - -]. .a [·] quod . se[- - -
 - - -] non · incud[- - -
 9 - - -]. . .e · gr[- - -

fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 1 ş vel i 3 d vel i[] 4 fort. (pro)cur]ator 6 p vel

«. . . in the senate . . . that (*subject missing*) said to the (*plural noun missing*) . . .
what . . . not . . . barbarian . . . the same man said . . . could in this way . . .
because (?) . . . self (?) . . . did not strike . . . »

O 413, fr. 3 (VI 1572)

1	dit [.] ses.[- - -	
	cum · abeo[- - -	
	ei · dom[- - -	
	longin[- - -	-
5	centi [.] c[um - - -	
	esset · ira[tus - - -	
	cum [.] hae [.] ŋ. .[- - -	car-
	mine · i.[- - -	noce-
	ret · ab. .[- - -	car-
10	men · m[- - -	

fons *O* *adest* *margo* *sup.* *primus* *edidi* *1 fort.* *abdi*||*dit* · *ses*[e *4* *longin*[qu *vel* *Lon-*
gin[7 *n* *vel* *i*]

«... hid (?) himself (?) ... Since I am away ... for him ... master (?) ... distant (?) ... hundreds ... since he was angry ... Since these women ... with a spell ... might harm (?) ... a spell ...»

O 413, fr. 4 (VI 1572)

1 - - -]d[·] h[. . . a]iieb. .[- - -
 - - -]· ene[. .(.)] qualis [· - - -
 - - -]a [·] annì · quon[iam - - -
 - - -].icaui [·] rap[t]i[- - -
5 - - -]. . .curator.[- - -
 - - -]uit [·] de [·] uia . . .[- - -
 - - - n]untia [·] Nino [·]. .[- - -
 - - -]. . . .[·] saluta.[- - -
 - - -].m [·] scis · no. .[- - -
10 - - - ·] Hercules · eius [- - -

*fons O adest margo sup. primus edidi 1 d potius quam h fort. se]d h[aec e: potius
ç 2 ene[ca- vel ene[ru- i potius quam e 3 quon[iam potius quam quon[dam 4 fort.
iud]icaui a vel r p vel t, h i potius quam l 5 pro]curator Lindsay 7 u O, per errorem
pictoris, quoniam hic librarius apice nusquam usus est N: potius h 9 litt. m fort. in fr.
superposito erat*

« . . but (?) used to say these things (?) . . . such a one as . . . of Annius (?), since
(?) . . . I judged (?) that . . . having been snatched . . . guardian . . . did . . . from
the street . . . tell Ninus . . . greet . . . you know . . . Hercules . . . his . . . »

PHerc. 435 (Philodemus, *Rhetoric* ?II, ?Hand 23)

No. 435 was handed out in December 1790. However, it cannot have been the same as the present *PHerc. 435*, because the latter is wider (see Table 2). O ‘435’ is also in a different hand from that of *PHerc. 435*, and can be identified with *PHerc. 455* (see below). The Neapolitan *disegni* of *PHerc. 435*,²²¹ made in 1828 by C. Malesci, depict four fragments on two pages.²²² David Blank has kindly transcribed N 435, fr. 1, for me.²²³ This probably discusses sophistic rhetoric, as it contains the syllables *coφ-*, *ρη-* and *-τωρ*, but the text does not correspond to any published fragment of Philodemus. N 435, fr. 4, should partly correspond to the extant *ultimo foglio*. We can at least confirm that *PHerc. 435* is part of his *Rhetoric*.

Dorandi assigned the *scorza* of *PHerc. 435* to the *Rhet.*, but apparently did so solely on the basis of O ‘435’; he did not recognize the script of the surviving *scorza*.²²⁴ Blank believes that the latter is in a hand more like that of *PHerc. 1672*, *i. e.* Hand 23 which wrote the definitive version of Book II, rather than that of *PHerc. 1669*, *i. e.* Hand 21. This seems probable. The script is close to, but not identical with, that of *PHerc. 1427* (Hand 20), which is the hand that most strongly resembles Hand 23, as Cavallo remarks.²²⁵

O ‘435’ = PHerc. 455 (VI 1576, Philodemus, *Rhet.* III, Hand 22)

²²¹ DORANDI reports some readings from N 435, fr. 1 (*Ricomposizione*, p. 86).

²²² David Blank, pers. comm., 2007.

²²³ Pers. comm., May 2007.

²²⁴ *Ricomposizione*, p. 86.

²²⁵ CAVALLO, p. 40.

See below on *PHerc. 455*.

PHerc. 439 = O ‘253’ = PHerc. 1824 (VI 1576, Metrodorus, *Adversus dialecticos lib. inc.*, hand of *PHerc. 255*, 418, 439, 1084, 1091, and 1112)

No. 439 was issued in Dec. 1790, and its dimensions indicate that it was the same piece as the present *PHerc. 439*. No drawing of it was known. Eight

extant original fragments contain the tops of columns, but in a very complex stratification. They were put onto a *cornice* by D. Bassi.²²⁶ The script is not discussed by Cavallo; however, it is the same as that of O ‘253’. This single drawing, which also shows the top of a column, was called *PHerc.* 1824 in the *Catalogo*, because its original was then unidentified. Scott found nothing in it intelligible, noting that it is not the same as the current *PHerc.* 253;²²⁷ nor could Bassi identify the original.²²⁸ The loop of M shows that this is not Cavallo’s Hand 1, although the raised Ω and oval E and Θ are the same; the M is close to the hand of *PHerc.* 989, but the Ω is not raised there.²²⁹ I believe that its small hand, to be dated to the middle of the third century B.C., is that of the scribe of *PHerc.* 255. In neither case does Malesci show the upright of K rising above the line, but otherwise the forms of M, Π and many other letters are distinctive. For a description of the hand and of the important new work of Metrodorus that it contains see on *PHerc.* 255 above. The topic here may be atomic and/or molecular physics. The number of letters per line is presumably as in the other papyri in this hand, *i. e.* 18. The number of lines per column has not been established, but is at least 28.

O ‘253’, fr. 1 (VI 1576) = *PHerc.* 439

a [. ᾶ-] ||
 1 ρηρεμενημεθ[.
 δια τὴν ἐπιτο[.
 ἐκεῖν[ω]ν, οὐθ’ εὐ[ρόμε-
 νοι, οὔτε αἱ ἀκ[ύνθετοι,
 5 ὅπη[ι πε]ταννύ[ασι
 τονοπεριτο[.,
 οὐδὲ κυττῆν[αι (.)
 ἀλήθειαν εἶναι παραπλη-
 ρίαν, ὅτι ὁπο[.
 10 τωι τῶι χι[. (.)
 11 οὐθὲν πηλ[ίκον

fons O praesto sunt margines sup. et sin. primus edidi 1 obscurum, nisi fuit fr. epici carminis θ vel ς 2 fort. ἐπιτο[λῆν vel ἐπὶ το[ιχ- 6 utrum]τον δὲ περὶ co[an]τον ὅσπερ ἴσο[legendum sit non intelligo 7 ε: ι O 8 fort. εἶναι 9-10 τοῦ]|τωι vel αὐ]|τῶι supplendum 10 fort. χιλ- vel χι[όνι

«. . . fitted (?) . . . on account of their (*singular noun missing*) . . . neither being found nor the uncomposed (*plural noun missing*), where they scatter . . . and not to be composed . . . that the truth is similar to (*singular noun missing*), by which (*subject missing*) will see . . . thousand (?) . . . nothing of a certain magnitude . . .»

***PHerc.* 453** (Philodemus, *Rhetoric* IV edition A, Hand 27)

Item no. 453 was given out in Dec. 1790, and corresponds well in size to the present *PHerc.* 453. However, no Oxonian drawing with this number is known. Its uppermost layer presumably corresponded to the first of four Neapolitan *disegni* of *PHerc.* 453, which F. Casanova copied in 1824 from

²²⁶ DÜRR, p. 216.

²²⁷ SCOTT, p. 49.

²²⁸ *Papiri disegniati*, p. 445.

²²⁹ CAVALLLO, Tav. III.

successive layers of a stack of *scorze*; these depict the tops of columns. These *disegni*, first assigned to the *Rhetoric* by Comparetti, were edited by W. Crönert,²³⁰ who did fr. 4 only, and D. Bassi, who published all four with the extant *ultimo foglio*, which contains the tops of two columns.²³¹ There is no overlap in wording between the text and any of the Oxonian *disegni* in this set. Cavallo identified the hand as Hand 20,²³² and Dorandi suggested that this piece must have come from the lost opening of *Rhet.* I.²³³ However, the script is in fact that of Hand 27, which is the hand of edition A of *Rhet.* IV. Other papyri among the Oxonian *disegni* in this set are O 221 = *PHerc.* 221, issued in July 1790, and O Fr. E, the present *PHerc.* 245, which is too square in shape to be the same as *PHerc.* 453. If *PHerc.* 453 was drawn, it must have been on the missing folio.

***PHerc.* 455 = O ‘435’ (VI 1576, Philodemus, *Rhetoric* III, Hand 22)**

The date of issue of no. 455 is not recorded, and neither is its return; it is a text of *Rhet.* III in Hand 22, and corresponds exactly in size to the present *PHerc.* 455. However, it was drawn as O ‘435’. Scott believed O ‘455’, which he rightly recognized as part of a work on rhetoric, is in the same hand as the twelve Neapolitan *disegni* of *PHerc.* 455 made by G. B. Casanova in 1825 and published in *HV*² IX 121-32, even though there is no overlap in content between them.²³⁴ These drawings depict the tops of columns, and are published by Sudhaus.²³⁵ However, working from the Neapolitan *disegni* and from autopsy of the extant *scorza* of *PHerc.* 455, which was subjected to unrolling before Jan. 1807 and is now in two pieces, Bassi concluded that the hand is totally different.²³⁶ He is right, since O ‘455’ is in Hand 21: see below on *PHerc.* 1080 = O ‘455’. In addition, Piaggio’s inventory²³⁷ of 1782 gives the dimensions of no. 455 as H. 5 *once*, L. 2 *once*. This is 11.0 by 4.41 cm, which is comparable to the dimensions of the extant *PHerc.* 455.²³⁸ *PHerc.* 435 cannot correspond to O ‘435’. The Neapolitan *disegni*²³⁹ of *PHerc.* 435 were made in 1828 by C. Malesci and show four fragments on two pages.²⁴⁰ However, the *Catalogo* gives the dimensions of the extant *scorza* of *PHerc.* 435 as H. 7 by W. 5,²⁴¹ whereas in Piaggio’s inventory²⁴² the dimensions of no. 435 are given as H. 5.2 *once*, L. 1.6 *once*, *i. e.* 11.46 by 3.52 cm. Since no Herculanean fragment can get larger over time, but only smaller, the discrepancy in size shows that another *scorza* has been confused with the original one. Lastly, the hands do not match. Although Dorandi assigned *PHerc.* 435 to the *Rhet.* on the basis of O ‘435’, he did not recognize its script.²⁴³ David Blank transcribed N 435, fr. 1, for me. This probably does discuss sophistic rhetoric, as it contains the syllables $\kappa\phi$ -, $\rho\eta$ - and $\tau\omega\phi$. He believes that it was written by Hand 23.²⁴⁴ The text shown by O ‘435’ is unpublished. On the basis of its content, Scott²⁴⁵ rightly attributed O ‘435’ to a work on rhetoric, comparing the script of O ‘455’, which is actually Hand 21, and that of O 238, which is in fact in Hand 14. The script of the drawing is not Cavallo’s Hand 27, which is rounded rather than elongated.²⁴⁶ For example, the E and Θ have central bars that touch the curves, in this differing from Hand 27. O ‘435’ is in surely Hand 22, as is shown by the distinctive forms of P, which projects above as well as below the

²³⁰ Kolotes, pp. 67-69.

²³¹ BASSI, *Frammenti inediti*, pp. 343-345. *PHerc.* 234 is in the same hand (DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*, pp. 74-75).

²³² CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

²³³ *Ricomposizione*, p. 75.

²³⁴ SCOTT, p. 49.

²³⁵ SUDHAUS ii., pp. 279-282.

²³⁶ *Papiri disegnat*, p. 447 n.

²³⁷ BLANK and LONGO, p. 53.

²³⁸ *CatPerc*, p. 151.

²³⁹ DORANDI reports some readings from N 435, fr. 1 (*Ricomposizione*, p. 86), but could not assign the papyrus to a specific hand.

²⁴⁰ David Blank, pers. comm., 2007. DORANDI incorrectly states that there are only two fragments (*Ricomposizione*, p. 86).

²⁴¹ *CatPerc*, p. 148.

²⁴² BLANK and LONGO, p. 52.

²⁴³ *Ricomposizione*, p. 86.

²⁴⁴ Pers. comm., May 2007.

²⁴⁵ SCOTT, pp. 49, 91.

²⁴⁶ CAVALLO, pp. 43, 46, with Tav. L (illustrating *PHerc.* 1423).

base-line, and T. Although in lines 3 and 5 this letter is made with a straight horizontal, in lines 4, 9, and 10 it resembles the Y of other hands, being made in two strokes, the first of which begins at the top and turns in a decided curve, with a serif at the left base, while the second is shorter and horizontal. In addition, Π is ligatured to a following vertical; its horizontal is completed by a very distinctive additional stroke at the upper right. The characters can be elongated vertically, as in E, where the cross-bar can extend beyond the tips of the curve. Cavallo showed that Hand 22 wrote not only *PHerc.* 455 but also *PHerc.* 240, 421, 467, 1095, 1101, 1426, and 1633.²⁴⁷ Dorandi established that *PHerc.* 1096 is also in Hand 22.²⁴⁸ It consists of fourteen fragments each containing about eleven to twelve lines, some with the upper and others with the lower margin, as can be seen in the Neapolitan *disegni* that were published as *HV*² VIII 75-81. No. 1096 was issued in December 1790. However, it is less likely to correspond to O ‘435’, since O ‘435’ is a small piece whereas Piaggio’s catalogue shows that no. 1096 was larger than no. 455.²⁴⁹ Dorandi rightly assigned all these papyri to the definitive edition of *Rhet.* III.²⁵⁰

O ‘435’ fr. 1 (VI 1576)

1 - - -]. . . ν βουλ. .[- - -
 - - -]αι καὶ ἡ πε. .[- - -
 - - - τέ]χνη ἰ' καὶ νεω[- - -
 - - -]τα πεμπτ[- - -
 5 - - -]της ῥητόρω[ν - - -
 - - -]ρο[.] τοὺς μ[- - -
 - - -]ερ[γ]αζμένων [- - -
 - - - π]λανηθέντων π[- - -
 10 - - -]. πολιτικωτάτη[- - -
 - - -].ε πρᾶξιν καὶ [- - -
 - - -]περ ἐκόμπα[[ζεν]] ᾿ζ. . '[- - -
 12 - - - ἔπρα]ξεν.καὶ ἐπὶ[- - -

fons O incertum an adsit margo sup. vel inf. primus edidi 3 suppl. Dorandi ω vel ς, ϑ, θ 4 π; η O 5 ω O: ικ Dorandi supplevi: ῥητορικ[ῆς Dorandi, haud recte 10 π: η O τατη O: ν Dorandi, haud recte 12 fort. ὡς]περ vel καθά]περ vel ὅ]περ num ἐκόμπα-᾿ζ[ον]? 11-12 fort οὕτως καὶ vel τοῦτο καὶ 12 spat. vac. i-ii litt.

«... want (?) ... and the ... by the art and new ... fifth ... of rhetoricians ... the (*plural noun missing*) ... of those who had effected ... of those who had gone astray ... very political (rhetoric) ... action and ... as they (?) boasted ... he did. And ... »

O ‘455’ = *PHerc.* 1080 (VI 1574, Philodemus, *Rhetoric* X, Hand 21)

See below on *PHerc.* 1080.

PHerc. 459 = O ‘1116’ (Epicurus, *De nat.* XXV copy 2, Hand 15)

A narrow *scorza*-stack bearing the number 459 was issued in December 1790; its return is not recorded. However, the present *PHerc.* 459 appears to have

²⁴⁷ CAVALLO, pp. 40, 45, 64, with Tav. XLIII (illustrating *PHerc.* 1426).

²⁴⁸ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 63, 80.

²⁴⁹ BLANK and LONGO, pp. 53, 86.

²⁵⁰ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 79-82.

been unrolled continuously on Piaggio's machine from the outside of a roll; accordingly, these cannot be the same, and the number has been confused. O '459' depicts a piece in Latin,²⁵¹ which cannot possibly correspond to the piece issued in 1790; its ratio of height to width does not match well. The script of the present *PHerc.* 459 is not Hand 16, as Cavallo suggested,²⁵² but the very similar Hand 15, since the crossbar of A is often diagonal and the crossbar of E is detached from the body of the letter. Its content has not been determined from either the very poor Neapolitan *disegni* of F. Casanova,²⁵³ made after 1835 and published in *HV*² IX 142-86, or the «illegible» extant papyrus, which is heavily stratified. There is no match between this and the Neapolitan *disegni*, which depict both tops and bottoms of columns.²⁵⁴ However, Hand 15 also wrote *PHerc.* 419, 697 (Book ΚΕ), and 1634, which all come from the second copy of Epicurus' *On Nature* XXV and have been edited by S. Laursen.²⁵⁵ In addition, O '1116' is in this hand, and has been referred to Epicurus independently. Laursen does not mention O '1116', but it seems likely to come from the same roll. This is the only Oxonian drawing in this set that is in Hand 15. This drawing of a small piece, which does not match the hand of the present *PHerc.* 1116 (see below on *PHerc.* 1116), seems to show the top of a column, but it is also possible that a bottom is depicted. It looks like a *scorza*, and when no. 1116 was issued in Dec. 1790 it was indeed a small *scorza*. However, I believe instead that O '1116' is a small piece peeled by *sollevamento* from the back of a roll that refused to be unrolled continuously. *PHerc.* 459, which was also issued in December 1790, was just such a roll.

Scott found no continuous sense in O '1116'.²⁵⁶ However, Crönert assigned O '1116' to Epicurus,²⁵⁷ and A. Cosattini specified Book XV of *On Nature*.²⁵⁸ The script of O '1116' is to be identified as Hand 15 because of the horizontal serifs at the bases of P and Φ, as well as the diagonal crossbar of A and the fact that the horizontal of E is detached from the curve.²⁵⁹ The fragment is unpublished. Its remaining words indicate that it concerns sensation, as Crönert observed.²⁶⁰

²⁵¹ This is not stated by the *CatPERC*, p. 152.

²⁵² CAVALLO, p. 37.

²⁵³ The *disegni* are so full of apparent non-sense that CRÖNERT thought Casanova falsified them (*Kolotes*, p. 69 n. 338).

²⁵⁴ They are reproduced as *HV*² IX 142-86.

²⁵⁵ *The Early Parts of Epicurus, On Nature. 25th Book*, «CErc» 25/1995, pp. 5-110, especially pp. 31-38.

²⁵⁶ SCOTT, p. 50.

²⁵⁷ CRÖNERT, *Neues*, p. 609.

²⁵⁸ *Per una edizione dei frammenti del Περί φύσεως di Epicuro*, «RFIC» 33/1905, pp. 292-308, at p. 305.

²⁵⁹ CAVALLO, pp. 36, 45, Tav. XXXII.

²⁶⁰ CRÖNERT, *Neues*, p. 609.

O '1116' = *PHerc.* 459 (VI 1579)

1 - - -]υσι δεινὸν [- - -
 - - -]ν αἰσθησιν [- - -
 - - -]ιν τῶν το[- - -
 - - -]ατος μέρο[- - -
 5 - - -]οις καὶ τὰ α[- - -
 - - -]η διαδίδω[ci - - -
 - - -]ησιν, ὥστε τ[- - -
 - - - ἀ]φορίσαι, ὅτι [- - -
 - - - α]υτα μάλις[α - - -
 10 - - -]ς ἕτερ' εἰτ[- - -
 - - -] διέδωκε τ[- - -
 12 - - -]η ἀλλ̣αυ[- - -

fons O incertum an adsit margo sup. vel inf. primus edidi 2 τῇ]ν Crönert 3 fort. το[ιούτων 5 fort. α[ἰσθητήρια 7 fort. αἰσθ]ησιν ησιν' pap. (sic) τ potius quam ι 9 fort. τὰ α]υτὰ vel τα]υτα vel τοια]υτα 11 τ vel ζ, π, ξ 12 λ̣: δ O fort. ἀλλ̣' αὐ[τ- vel ἀλλ̣ὰ ὕ[π- vel ἀλλ̣ὰ ὕ[λ-

«... terrible ... sensation ... of the (*plural noun missing*) ... part of (*singular noun missing*) ... and the sense-organs (?) ... distribute ... sensation (?), with the result that ... define, because (*plural noun missing*) most of all ... other (*plural noun missing*) ... distributed ... but ...»

O '459' (VI 1571, Latin letter or legal deposition, Manus C)

Scott found nothing intelligible in the Latin of O '459'.²⁶¹ As he noted, this drawing does not match the papyrus now called *PHerc. 459*, which is a roll of Epicurus in Hand 15. The existence of this Latin papyrus is not noted by Del Mastro in his list of extant items from Herculaneum.²⁶² Since all the pieces depicted on the missing Oxonian *disegno* were in Greek, one of the Latin items whose original is securely identified, viz. '459', '1082' *bis*, and Fr. G, should correspond to the extant *PHerc. 239b*; since O '237' = *PHerc. 1082*, O '1082' = *PHerc. 238a*, and O 238 = *PHerc. 459*, it would make perfect sense that O '459' should have been confused with *PHerc. 239b*. But it is uncertain whether the hand could be the same; the resemblance to '1082' *bis* is greater. For a description of the cursive hand of O '459' see Section II above; it is very close to, and conceivably identical with, that of O 413. The content is a first-person narrative, probably financial or legal correspondence, like O 413, rather than an oration. It could be that this is simply a piece of O 413 that has been misnumbered on the *disegno*.

O '459', fr. 1 (VI 1571)

1 - - - i]nquit · miḥ[i - - -
 - - - o]mnia · q[u].[- - -
 - - -] cum [·] accep[- - -
 - - - n]ec [·] s[i]t [·] nil [·] q[uod - - -
 5 - - -]tibus · ipsi[s - - -
 - - -]m [·] for̄tem [- - -
 - - - proge]niem · ei[q]ue - - -
 8 - - - n]il [·] est [·] n(on) lic[- - -

fons O incertum an adsit marg. sup. vel inf. primus edidi 1 ḥ vel i 5 i: potius p 6 t vel i 7 q vel ç 8 n(on) scripsi: n' O fort. lic[itum

«... he said to me ... all the things that (?) ... since ... received and that there is nothing that ... for the (*plural noun missing*) themselves ... strong ... progeny, and they ... nothing is not permitted (?) ...»

PHerc. 474 (Philodemus, *Memoriae Epicureae*, hand of *PHerc. 239a*, 310, and 1787)

Although no. 474 was issued in Dec. 1790, no drawing of it, whether Oxonian or Neapolitan, is known to exist. The present *PHerc. 474* is different, because its size does not match. It was opened by C. Malesci in 1867 using *sollevamento*, and contains the tops of columns. The barely legible remains in ten pieces that bear this number were put onto a *cornice* by D. Bassi, a process that sometimes caused confusion in the numbering.²⁶³ It can

²⁶¹ SCOTT, p. 52.

²⁶² *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

²⁶³ DÜRR, p. 216.

now be identified, because it is in the very distinctive large hand of *PHerc.* 239a and other papyri, all presumably fragments of the same roll: see above on *PHerc.* 239a. It is not clear whether it could be the same as *PHerc.* 239a, since it is not certain whether the latter contains the tops or the bottoms of columns. It deserves to be edited.

***PHerc.* 500** (presumably Greek, author, work and hand unknown)

No. 500 was a roll issued in September 1791. There are no Neapolitan *disegni* of it, but only a fragment,²⁶⁴ which I have not seen. We know nothing about its contents. Whether it is relevant is unclear; it ought to be, since no. 1090, which was issued in 1792, is part of our set of drawings. Perhaps it was shown on the missing folio.

***PHerc.* 809** (presumably Greek, author, work and hand unknown)

The dates of issue and of unrolling of no. 809 are left blank in the register, and its return is not recorded. It is unclear whether it was even issued. However, the format of the entry indicates that it was written in 1796 or later, since the preposition *a'* indicates that the day when it was issued was to be recorded, a practice which does not occur until that year. Indeed, I believe that it postdates Hayter's arrival, since only then did complete unrolling become a reasonable and normal expectation. There is no record that any other attempt at doing so was ever made. There are no Neapolitan *disegni*, but only a broken *scorza*,²⁶⁵ which I have not seen. Nothing is known of its content. It is surely irrelevant.

***PHerc.* 860 = O 'Fr. A'** (VI 1579, Demetrius Laco, *De mus.*, Hand 4)

The original no. 860 was issued in October 1790, but Piaggio's inventory²⁶⁶ shows that it was then a *scorza*, whereas the present *PHerc.* 860 was evidently a roll until it was opened. Evidently the numbering has been confused. However, O 'Fr. A' is in the same hand as the present *PHerc.* 860 and comes from the same work (it was presumably removed from the outside by *sollevamento*); so does 'Fr. C', which is now *PHerc.* 233. Cavallo identified the hand of *PHerc.* 860.²⁶⁷ For an account of Fr. A, *PHerc.* 860 and this new work of Demetrius Laco see above on *PHerc.* 233.

***PHerc.* 995** (presumably Greek, author, work and hand unknown)

No. 995 was a roll issued on 27 June 1796 and returned on 11 August 1796. It now consists of only a fragment,²⁶⁸ which I have not seen. Cavallo does not discuss its hand. It is doubtful whether an item that was issued as late as 1796 is relevant to this set of *disegni*.

***PHerc.* 1010** (Epicurus, *De nat.* II, hand in Cavallo Group C)

This roll was issued on 11 August 1796; there is no record of its return. No Oxonian *disegni* of it have been recognized. The *Catalogo*²⁶⁹ reports that the

²⁶⁴ *CatPErc*, p. 160.

²⁶⁵ *CatPErc*, p. 185.

²⁶⁶ BLANK and LONGO, p. 73.

²⁶⁷ CAVALLO, pp. 30, 45 with Tav. IX.

²⁶⁸ *CatPErc*, p. 211.

²⁶⁹ *CatPErc*, p. 221.

present *PHerc.* 1010 was unrolled in 1808 by C. Orazi. The seventeen Neapolitan drawings were made by him at that time and by C. Malesci in 1842-3; they are published as *HV*² VI 69-81. They show a roll with 20 lines per column and some 12 letters per line. The roll is broken into tops, with the remnants of five lines, middles with those of nine, and bottoms with those of another four or five. The hand is an early one, which Cavallo puts the hand into his Group C; however, he believes it to date from the later second or first century B.C.²⁷⁰ This papyrus-roll surely does not pertain to our group of *disegni*.

***PHerc.* 1063** (presumably Greek prose, author, work and hand unknown)

No. 1063 was issued in May 1788 as a roll. There are no Oxonian or Neapolitan *disegni* of it under this number. The present *PHerc.* 1063 consists of only a broken fragment²⁷¹ that I have not seen. Cavallo does not discuss the hand. However, the case of *PHerc.* 1076 = O '220' proves that an item that was issued in May 1788 could certainly be relevant to this set of *disegni*.

***PHerc.* 1064** (?Philodemus, *Rhetoric* I, Hand 20)

No. 1064 was handed out in May 1788 as a roll. No Oxonian or Neapolitan *disegni* of it are known to exist, but there is no reason to think that the numbers have been confused. The present *PHerc.* 1064 was tackled in 1867 by C. Malesci, and consists of fragments of the tops of columns, which have been continuously unrolled. It is preserved in two *cornici*.²⁷² Cavallo omits to discuss the hand. It is unclear whether the rather unremarkable bilinear script, which I would date to the first century B.C., reappears in this set of *disegni*. It most closely resembles Hand 20, the script of the copyist of Philodemus' *Rhet.* I.²⁷³

***PHerc.* 1076 = O '220'** (VI 1576, Philodemus, *De dis* III, hand of *PHerc.* 152/157 and 177)

No. 1076 was given out in May 1788. The present *PHerc.* 1076 is clearly the same piece as it has the same dimensions. In 1825 C. Malesci made a single Neapolitan drawing of it; this is published as *HV*² XI 203. Fortunately I was able to match the fragment shown in this drawing with O '220' because the text is the same. The script of this piece had been very hard to identify because of its small extent. Scott could not confirm that O '220' belonged to a work on rhetoric like the extant *PHerc.* 220, since he felt that the hand of the N 220 as published at *HV*² VI 188-99 is different.²⁷⁴ There is indeed no match with N 220, a set of drawings depicting whole rather than half columns which were made in 1824 by C. Malesci. D. Bassi, studying the extant large *scorza* of *PHerc.* 220, which he believed to correspond to N 220, fr. 14 (= *HV*² VI 199), concluded that they are in fact in the same script.²⁷⁵ Following a suggestion of Sudhaus,²⁷⁶ Cavallo²⁷⁷ and Dorandi²⁷⁸ both assigned *PHerc.* 220 to Hand 21. But O '220' cannot represent Hand 21 because in O '220' the P descends well below the line, whereas in Hand 21 it is bilinear.

Among the different hands illustrated by Cavallo, the closest resemblance is to the scripts of his Group I, because these hands are square, well-rounded and

²⁷⁰ CAVALLO, pp. 30, 58.

²⁷¹ *CatPErc*, p. 251.

²⁷² *CatPErc*, p. 251.

²⁷³ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45 with Tav. XLI.

²⁷⁴ SCOTT, pp. 49, 91.

²⁷⁵ *Papiri disegnat*, p. 444 n.

²⁷⁶ SUDHAUS I, pp. XII, XI-XIII; II, p. VII; Suppl., p. XXIX.

²⁷⁷ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

²⁷⁸ *Ricomposizione*, p. 85.

unadorned, often with the tail of P noticeably below the base-line.²⁷⁹ The hand of *PHerc.* 1012,²⁸⁰ which contains an unidentified work by Demetrius Laco, has the same P, but the Ξ is different. The handwriting of Philodemus' *De signis* 3 (*PHerc.* 1065)²⁸¹ has the same H, but the tail of P does not descend sufficiently. In the hand of *Rhet.* VIII Longo (*PHerc.* 1015/832, Hand 14 Cavallo)²⁸² the tail of the P is too short and the H is different. The hand of Philodemus' *De poem.* I (*PHerc.* 460 etc., Hand 13 Cavallo)²⁸³ has the same number of lines per column as *PHerc.* 1076 and the same Ξ but a different H. One hand in this Group is especially similar, viz. that of Philodemus' «*De dis*» III in *PHerc.* 152/157, which likewise has a long tail on P ending with a hook to the left.²⁸⁴ So does *PHerc.* 177, from the same work (see above); indeed the *scorza* of *PHerc.* 1076 has the same shape, and appears to be from the same side of the roll. The text mentions «narration», «character» or «disposition», «opposites», «likeness» and «movement»; theology certainly cannot be excluded.

N 1076, fr. 1 = O '220', fr. 1 (VI 1576)

1 - - -]αν ἀπαγγελ[
 - - -]α[]κροιν[
 - - - δι]άθεσιν [
 - - -] πρόδηλον [- - -
 5 - - - ἐν]αντίων εἰς[- - -
 - - - με]ταξύ, ὥς[- - -
 - - -]και μεμ[- - -
 - - -]εν ὁμοιοτη[- - -
 - - -]τερον το[- - -
 10 - - -]εἰς δὲ ταῖς α[- - -
 - - - κ]εῖνται τξ[- - -
 - - -]κινηθ[- - -
 - - -] προτερα[- - -
 - - -]ε[- - -
 15 - - -]νδ[- - -

desunt vv. iii

19 - - -]του[- - -
 20 - - -] ἄλλου[- - -
 - - -]των[- - -
 - - -]ινε[- - -
 - - -]αιτ[- - -
 24 - - -] περι[. .]ρω[- - -

incertum quot vv. desint

²⁷⁹ CAVALLO, pp. 35-36.

²⁸⁰ CAVALLO, p. 35 with Tav. XXVI.

²⁸¹ CAVALLO, p. 35 with Tav. XXIX.

²⁸² CAVALLO, p. 36 with Tav. XXX. *PHerc.* 300 is in the same hand.

²⁸³ JANKO, Plate 1.

²⁸⁴ CAVALLO, p. 36 with Tav. XXXI.

²⁸⁵ Or «so that».

²⁸⁶ Or «other» (?).

fontes O (vv. 4-13), N (vv. 1-24) praesto est margo sup. ap. N desunt margines sin. et dext. primus edidi 2 fort. κ]α[ι] κρειν[- 4 O: προδηλη[N 5 εἰς scripsi: ε[]c O: c[]κ N 7 c om. N ε N: θ O fort. μεμ[ιγ- 8 fort. ἐν ὁμοιότη[τι ε om. O οτ O: cτ N 9 ρ O: ι[vel ρ N fort. πρό]τερον vel ξ]τερον ρ vel θ O: om. N 10 εἰ N: om. O 11 fort. ὑπόκ]εῖνται]ε N:]ε vel]c O ε[vel θ[O: om. N 12 θ O: ε N 13 α O: om. N

«. . . narrate . . . separate (?) . . . disposition . . . clear . . . of opposite (*plural noun missing*) to (?) . . . between, as²⁸⁵ . . . mix (?) . . . similarity . . . more²⁸⁶ (?) .

. . . But (*singular masculine participle missing*) for the (*feminine plural noun missing*)
 . . . they lie²⁸⁷ . . . be moved . . . former . . . of another . . . of (*plural noun missing*) . . . about . . . »

PHerc. 1080 = O '455' (VI 1574, Philodemus, *Rhetoric* X, Hand 21)

No. 1080 was issued in May 1788. Twenty drawings of the present *PHerc.* 1080, which has similar dimensions, were made in 1830-1832 by R. Biondi.²⁸⁸ These drawings are published, along with those of *PHerc.* 1078 (which was already recognized as the same roll) as *HV*² VII 161-185; there is no overlap with any of the Oxonian *disegni*. They show whole columns, sometimes broken below line 14. Comparetti assigned *PHerc.* 1080 to the *Rhetoric*;²⁸⁹ Sudhaus published its fragments.²⁹⁰ The prior pieces concern the punishments that cities can inflict, like *PHerc.* 220, which is, as we will see, in the same hand. Cavallo,²⁹¹ followed by Dorandi,²⁹² assigned *PHerc.* 1078/1080 to Hand 21.²⁹³ Other papyri written in Hand 21 are *PHerc.* 220, 1004, 1669 hand A, 1693, and perhaps 473.²⁹⁴ Dorandi assigned *PHerc.* 1118 to the same hand; all are from the *Rhetoric*.

Since the date of issue of no. 455 is not recorded (Section II), it was not at once clear that it belongs to this group. However, we shall see that, like most pieces without a date, it does so belong. The Oxonian drawing labelled '455' does not match the extant papyrus of that number. Cavallo, working from the extant *scorza*, identified the script of *PHerc.* 455 as Hand 22.²⁹⁵ Hence Dorandi assigned the surviving *PHerc.* 455 to the definitive version of *Rhet.* III.²⁹⁶ Scott was first to assign O '455' to a work on rhetoric.²⁹⁷ He believed that it is in the same hand as the Neapolitan *disegni* of *PHerc.* 455 published in *HV*² IX 121-132. However, the inventory²⁹⁸ of 1782 gives the dimensions of no. 455 as H. 3.8 *once*, L. 2.5 *once*. This is 8.38 cm by 5.51 cm, which is smaller than the dimensions given in the *Catalogo*.²⁹⁹ Moreover, working from the Neapolitan *disegni* and from autopsy of the extant *scorza* of *PHerc.* 455, Bassi concluded that the hand of *PHerc.* 455 is very different from that of O '455'.³⁰⁰ Bassi was right. Cavallo, working from the extant fragments, identified the script of *PHerc.* 455 as Hand 22,³⁰¹ whereas the hand of O '455' is a square, upright script, which I believe is readily identifiable as Cavallo's Hand 21.³⁰² Notably, in Hand 22 the P descends well below the line, whereas in the hand of O '455' the P goes only slightly below; the script is otherwise completely bilinear except for Φ and presumably Ψ, and is also smaller. In addition, Hand 21 lacks the very distinctive T of Hand 22, with its almost curved left horizontal.

Hand 21 wrote two rolls of the *Rhetoric*, which Dorandi called books VI and VII.³⁰³ Longo Auricchio has since shown that book 'VII' may actually be book X.³⁰⁴ This piece could be from either roll. However, I believe that O '455' depicts *PHerc.* 1080, because the fragment is broken off at line 14, like *HV*² VII 161-162, 165 and 167, whereas the plates of *PHerc.* 220 show complete columns without damage at that point. O '455' would be from the top of the stack of *scorze*, and would therefore come a couple of columns after the first of the Neapolitan *disegni*. Our fragment is unpublished. It contains a transition between discussions of political and of sophistic rhetoric. It mentions a Herodotus, but the reference is obscure.³⁰⁵

²⁸⁷ Or «are presupposed»?

²⁸⁸ *CatPerc.*, p. 259.

²⁸⁹ COMPARETTI, p. 77 n. 5.

²⁹⁰ SUDHAUS II, pp. 143-167.

²⁹¹ CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45.

²⁹² *Ricomposizione*, p. 85.

²⁹³ This is confirmed by David Blank (pers. comm., 2007).

²⁹⁴ These were identified by CAVALLO, pp. 39-40.

²⁹⁵ CAVALLO, p. 64, with Tav. XLIII (illustrating *PHerc.* 1426). Blank confirms this (pers. comm., 2007).

²⁹⁶ *Ricomposizione*, p. 79.

²⁹⁷ SCOTT, p. 49.

²⁹⁸ BLANK and LONGO, p. 53.

²⁹⁹ *CatPerc.*, p. 151.

³⁰⁰ *Papiri disegnat*, p. 447 n.

³⁰¹ CAVALLO, p. 64, with Tav. XLIII (illustrating *PHerc.* 1426).

³⁰² CAVALLO, pp. 39, 45, with Tav. XLII (illustrating *PHerc.* 1669 cr 9).

³⁰³ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 62, 85.

³⁰⁴ LONGO, *Retorica*.

³⁰⁵ If the historian is meant, the parallel is unidentified. Herodotus of Nicomedia is mentioned by Philodemus, *Ind. Acad.* 85, 37 = 105, 34 MEKLER; another Herodotus was the correspondent of Epicurus to whom he sent the *Ep. Hdt.*

0 [. ὅ-] ||
 1 τ]αν καταδικασθῶσιν
 ζ]ημίας, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ
 τ]ῶν ὅλων οὐσιῶν δη-
 μεύσεις, οὐδ' ἐγὼ λέγω, ἥϊ' φη-
 5 σ]ιν Ἡρόδοτος. τὰ μὲν δὲ
 π]ερὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς
 ῥ]ήτορας τοιαῦτ' ἔστί. τοῖς
 δ]ὲ σοφί[c]τεύουσι τῶν μὲν
 π]ερὶ ἐκείνους τοιούτων
 10 οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτίας μέτε-
 ςτι]ν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν διατρι-
 βῶ]ν δὲ ἢ τρεῖς παρρασιτή-
 ςου]σιν, ὥς καὶ φιλόσοφοί τι-
 14 νες] διὰ φιλοσοφίας. οἱ

fons O adsunt margines sup. et dext. primus edidi 3 δ[]η O 4 μ:]c O οὐδ' ἐγὼ
 scripsi: ευλεγω O 5 spat. vac. unius litterae 6 π: ιτ O 9 ε:]o O τ: potius ι: lineola
 obliqua O 11 spat. vac. i-ii litt. 13-14 scripsi: πεγοσιτή[. . .]σιν O, litteris εγο (sc.
 λ]εγο[-]) quae alia ex pagina erant perperam descriptis u.v. 14 spat. vac. i-ii litterae fort.
 οἱ vel οἱ[]μαι vel οἱ[]δ

«. . . when they are sentenced to fines, and sometimes to the confiscation of all
 their possessions, and I do not mean it in the sense that Herodotus says. So
 much for the considerations that relate to political orators. But those who
 practise sophistic rhetoric have no share in the cause of the aforementioned
 circumstances regarding the former orators, but as a result of their discourses
 two or three of them will become dinner-companions, as some philosophers will
 too by virtue of philosophy. The (?) . . . »

PHerc. 1082 = O '237' (VI 1578, Philodemus, *De vitiis* II or III, *De
 adulatione*, Hand 25)

No. 1082 was a *scorza* issued in April 1791. My analysis of the confusions in
 these drawings in Section III above suggested that the Latin text O '1082' is
 now *PHerc. 238a*; it also indicates that the Greek fragment O '237' is now
PHerc. 1082, which is the only piece of Philodemus' *De adulatione* known to
 have been issued during the relevant period (there is no Oxonian drawing of
De adulatione under the number 1082). The papyrus now consists only of a
 single *scorza*. The tiny script is easily recognizable as Hand 25.³⁰⁶ No. 1082
 when issued was a «frammento scorzato da un papiro a forma di canale . . .
 spezzato nel mezzo», *i. e.* only half the full height of its roll.³⁰⁷ However,
 Piaggio gives a narrower width than that of the present *scorza* (see Table 2),
 which is troubling. I suspect that his entry referred not to the present *PHerc.*
 1082, but to O '1082', since this is the only piece involved in the confusion
 with *PHerc. 237* and *238* whose dimensions are unknown. In reproducing the
 Neapolitan *disegni*, which depict whole columns with their tops better pre-

³⁰⁶ For an illustration of the hand see CAVAL-
 LO, Tavv. XLV-XLVI (*PHerc. 1424*, Philode-
 mus' *De oec.*).

³⁰⁷ So Piaggio's catalogue of 1782 in BLANK
 and LONGO, pp. 85-86.

served, Giuseppe Fiorelli assigned *PHerc.* 1082 to the roll of the *De adulatione* because of its content.³⁰⁸ There is no match between O ‘237’ and N 1082, as seen in *HV*² I 84-92, nor with the extant *ultimo foglio*. Evidently O ‘237’ depicts the original top layer of this stack of *scorze*, while the N 1082 series once lay under it and therefore comes from earlier in the roll. Other papyri belonging to this work comprise *PHerc.* 222 (where the *scorza* contains the initial title), 223, 1089, 1457, and 1675.³⁰⁹ Cavallo affirms that they are all in Hand 25,³¹⁰ except *PHerc.* 223, which he does not discuss. In addition, the unpublished extant *scorza PHerc.* 246 is in this hand, and can be assigned to the same work, because it reads οἱ κολα|[κ- in col. i line 8 (*i. e.* 4 lines from the bottom margin). However, it is not the same piece as O ‘237’.

The unpublished O ‘237’ consists of the upper parts of two columns. Scott found no continuous sense in it.³¹¹ Since one can easily supplement οἱ κόλα|[κες or οἱ κολα|[κεύοντες in col. 1,6-7, O ‘237’ is definitely part of Philodemus’ *Περὶ κολακείας*. The number of letters per line in O ‘237’ would have been 36-38, as in *PHerc.* 1082. A reconstruction of the complete roll of the *De adulatione* is another desideratum.

O ‘237’, col. i (VI 1578)

1]οις τρέφουσιν
.ενεγ]κάμενον πο-
τὸν(.)]ιν ἢ παροινεῖν
. τῶι δ]ίδοντι τὸν οἶ-
5 von οὐ]χ ὥς ποιεῖν
.]ειν οἱ κόλα-
κ π]ερὶ ᾧ [α]ὐτί-
κα]νου
9]γας

desunt versus fere xxviii

38 ᾶ-] ||

fons O adest marg. sup. primus edidi 2 fort. εἰςενεγ]κάμενον 3 fort. ὥστ’ ἐμε]ῖν vel καὶ ἐμε]ῖν

« . . . they supply dinner to (*plural noun missing*) . . . brought in (?) a drink . . . to vomit (?) or to be drunk . . . to the person who serves the wine . . . far from doing . . . flatterers (*verb missing*) . . ., regarding which things at once . . . »

O ‘237’, col. ii (VI 1578)

1 γωνοσαρ[.
κατεσπου]δακ.-
σειε περὶ η[. εύντρο-
φον ἔχον[τ.
5 τις ἂν ὅπ[.(.)
γενηνο[.
ναι δοκο[.(.)-

³⁰⁸ *HV*² I, *Index*, pp. 7-8.

³⁰⁹ *CatPERc*, p. 54. See further E. ACOSTA MÉNDEZ, *PHerc.* 1089: *Filodemo «Sobre la adulación»*, «CERC» 13/1983, pp. 121-138; F. LONGO AURICCHIO, *Sulla concezione filodemea dell’adulazione*, «CERC» 16/1986, pp. 79-91.

³¹⁰ CAVALLO, pp. 41, 46.

³¹¹ SCOTT, p. 50.

vov [.
9 γὰρ τὸ θ[.

incertum quot desint versus

fons O adest marg. sup. primus edidi 0-1 fort. ἄ|||γῶνος vel γῶν ὄκα ρ[- vel γῶν ὄκ
ἀρ[μιο- 2 v: ι O 3 fort. ἦ[ε vel ἦ[δονῆε 6 fort. γένην vel γεν η vo[vel γένη vo[6-7
fort. εἶ||vαῖ 7 fort. δοκο[ῦci 8 fin. fort. καὶ vel οὐ

«... in earnest ... might ... a dining-companion having ... whoever ... think
... For the ...»

O ‘1082’ bis (VI 1568, Latin prose or verse, Manus 1)

The existence of neither O ‘1082’ nor O ‘1082’ *bis* is noted by Del Mastro in his list of extant items from Herculaneum.³¹² However, Lindsay had already observed that there are several Latin papyri labelled ‘1082’, one of which is written in a much larger and less cursive hand than that of the others.³¹³ I have called this O ‘1082’ *bis*. For a description of its hand, which is probably from the first century B.C., see Section II above. The most plausible candidate for the original is *PHerc.* 239b, but very few letters are preserved (it is probably an indication of desperation that I see a resemblance in the *l*): see above on *PHerc.* 239b. The content is obscure; a goddess may be mentioned. I have an intuition that the form is verse, but the scanty remains make it hard to be sure.³¹⁴

O ‘1082’ *bis* (VI 1568)

1 - - -]u[. .]eue[- - -
- - -]ulos .’ id[- - -
- - -]o . dea [.] at . t[- - -
4 - - -]r . in [.] ar[- - -

fons O adest margo inf. primus edidi 1 fort. br]eve vel l]eve 2 punctum inter verba
apicem habet superscriptum 4 n: h O

«... this (?) ... goddess, but ... in ...»

***PHerc.* 1083 = O 1083** (VI 1575, Demetrius Laco, *On the Problems of Polyaenus lib. inc.*, Hand 4)

³¹² *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

³¹³ LINDSAY, p. 443.

³¹⁴ There is no match with the surviving corpus of Roman poetry in the data-bank of the Packard Humanities Institute.

³¹⁵ SCOTT, p. 49. He found nothing intelligible.

³¹⁶ *PHerc.* 1501, from an unidentified work, is in the same hand.

³¹⁷ BLANK and LONGO, p. 86.

³¹⁸ *CatPErc*, p. 263.

Item no. 1083 was issued in December 1790, and may or may not be the same as both O 1083 and the present *PHerc.* 1083. Scott³¹⁵ observed that O Frr. A and C are in the same hand as O 1083, which he rightly called «peculiar». ³¹⁶ However, although, as I have established, the former *disegni* belong to a treatise of Demetrius Laco on music (see above on *PHerc.* 233), the present item comes from a copy of his Πρὸς τὰς Πολυαίνου ἀπορίαις, a mathematical work originally in at least five books. The script of O 1083 is that of Cavallo’s Hand 4, that copied a number of works by Demetrius. Piaggio’s inventory gives the size as H. 8.5 *once*, W. 1.6 *once*.³¹⁷ This equals 18.74 by 3.53 cm; yet the *Catalogo*³¹⁸ gives the present size as 13.5 by 4.5, which might suggest that another *scorza* has replaced the present one. Whether or not this is so, the item was refiled as

PHerc. 1083, because the same scribe also wrote *PHerc.* 1083 itself, of which four fragments survive.³¹⁹ He also wrote *PHerc.* 1429, 1642, and 1647.³²⁰ All these papyri belong to the *Πρὸς τὰς Πολυαίνου ἀπορίας*, as Crönert showed.³²¹ Although the hand of *PHerc.* 1429, a copy of book 5 of this work, is faster and smaller, I agree with Cavallo that the script is in fact the same.³²² O 1083 has the same type of hand, which is very rapid indeed: thus H is written as a backwards N, and N is once written H and once Π. The cursive A is unmistakable. As normally in Hand 4, Y is shown in two forms, with the upright placed centrally or joined to the right of the curved horizontal. The mathematical nature of *PHerc.* 1083, as well as its identity with O 1083, was demonstrated by Angeli and Dorandi,³²³ who noted that *PHerc.* 1083, fr. 4, contains the remains of a geometric figure. The mention of an acute angle in O 1083, fr. 1,7, confirms that geometry is the topic.

O 1083, fr. 1 (VI 1575) = *PHerc.* 1083, fr. 1

1 παρ[. .(.)]α[- - -
[.] τι[ν]' ἀχθῆν[αι - - - πα-
ρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν[- - - -
μένη του[- - - ἐλα-
5 χίτου κατ[- - -
παραττο[χα - - -
ὀξ[ε]ίας κα[- - - -
8 ρ]η[μ]ένη[- - -

fons O adest margo sin. incertum an adsit margo sup. vel inf. primi edd. Angeli et Dorandi 2 τι vel η 2-3, 3 supplevi 6 τ vel]ι supplevi 7 supplevi 7-8 εἰ|ρ]η[μ]ένη aut ἥι|ρ]η[μ]ένη supplendum η vel τι

«. . . (line) to be drawn . . . alongside the particular (line) . . . of the minimum . .
. estimate . . . of the acute (angle) . . .»

O 1083, fr. 2 (VI 1575) = *PHerc.* 1083, fr. 2

1 παρὰ τῶν [- - -
το α[.(.)]χλα[- - - -
λημ[- - - -
θα[. .]θ[- - - -
5 κοινῶ[- - - πα-
ρὸ ἐστοιχ[- - -
διὰ τῶν [- - - ὑπο-
μνημά[των - - -
9 .]η[. .] πρωτ[- - -

incertum an adsit marg. inf.

fons O adest margo sin. incertum an adsit margo sup. vel inf. primus edidi 5-6 supplevi 6 intellexi: στοιχ[εῖον Angeli et Dorandi 7 τῶν scripsi: τῶπ O

«. . . from the (*plural noun missing*) . . . the (?) . . . premiss (?) . . . common . . .
inasmuch as (they are) set in a row . . . by means of the commentaries . . . first
(book?) . . .»

³¹⁹ There are no Neapolitan *disegni*.

³²⁰ CAVALLO, pp. 30, 45.

³²¹ *Kolotes*, pp. 110-111, 125; he also showed that *PHerc.* 1822 is from the same work (the reference to *Neues*, p. 611, in the *CatPErc*, p. 399 is incorrect). Cf. the edition of DE FALCO, pp. 99-108.

³²² CAVALLO, pp. 30, 45.

³²³ ANGELI and DORANDI, p. 100.

PHerc. 1090 = PHerc. 253 = O '235' (VI 1579, Philodemus, *De vitiis lib. inc.*, *De avaritia*, Hand 25)

See above on *PHerc. 253*.

PHerc. 1096 (Philodemus, *Rhetoric* III, Hand 22)

No. 1096 was issued in December 1790, and was the same size as the present *PHerc. 1096*. Dorandi established that *PHerc. 1096* is in Hand 22.³²⁴ As we saw in Section III above, the Oxonian drawing numbered '1096' could have been on the lost folio, unless it was drawn as O '435', which I believe to be *PHerc. 455* in the same hand. The likelihood that O '435' is actually *PHerc. 1096* is small, since O '435' is a little piece whereas Piaggio's catalogue shows that no. 1096 was larger than no. 455.³²⁵ See on *PHerc. 455* above. The Neapolitan drawings of *PHerc. 1096*, made by F. Casanova in 1828, were published as *HV*² VIII 75-81; they consist of fourteen fragments each containing about eleven to twelve lines, some with the upper and others with the lower margin.³²⁶ They do not match any of the *disegni* in the Oxonian series. The extant *ultimo foglio* contains some fourteen lines and the bottom margin of its column. Dorandi rightly assigned *PHerc. 1096* to the definitive edition of *Rhet. III*.³²⁷ Incidentally, some pieces of *PHerc. 431*, a broken *scorza*, are also in Hand 22, and I believe ρ]ητορ[can be read there; *PHerc. 436*, 462, and 473, further *scorze*, are likewise in Hand 22.

³²⁴ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 63, 80.

³²⁵ BLANK and LONGO, pp. 53, 86.

³²⁶ CRÖNERT suspected that Casanova falsified them (*Kolotes*, p. 69 n. 338).

³²⁷ *Ricomposizione*, pp. 79-82.

³²⁸ Cf. JANKO, pp. 16-17.

³²⁹ In *Papiri non inventariati* it is mistakenly stated that the original no longer exists; so the *CatPerc*, p. 398.

³³⁰ *PHerc. 1113b* is published in *HV*² XI 7-10, but these fragments have hardly been studied. Cf. A. VOGLIANO, *Per un verso di Alceo*, «BFC» 32/1926, p. 110; H. DAHLMANN, *Bemerkungen zu den Resten der Briefe Varros*, «MH» 7/1950, p. 206. The author is unidentified; the content is undetermined, but might be a discussion of perception. The hand will be able to be identified when this *ultimo foglio* is rediscovered among the collection, where De Falco saw it in 1923, corresponding to *HV*² XI 6 (DE FALCO, p. 82).

³³¹ For an explanation of these terms see JANKO, pp. 16-19.

³³² BLANK and LONGO, p. 87.

³³³ BLANK and LONGO, p. 87.

PHerc. 1113a = O '1106' (VI 1574 = *PHerc. 1818*, ?Epicurus, *De nat. lib. inc.*, hand unknown)

Neither no. 1106 nor no. 1113 is recorded among those issued during the years in question. The history of this papyrus is peculiarly puzzling. Since it was the starting-point and goal of this entire investigation, I will describe it in more detail than usual; indeed, the notes to the translation teem with parallels to Philodemus, which I have left in, in case it does after all turn out to be by him. Once the papyrus now called *PHerc. 1113a* had been discovered in 1752-1754 and mishandled by Camillo Paderni, it consisted of a thin stack of *scorze* peeled from the outside of its roll. Perhaps Paderni had picked it out as an exceptionally fine specimen to which he could apply his famous knife.³²⁸ The number *PHerc. 1818* was assigned to O '1106' and N 1113, fr. 1-4, in 1978.³²⁹ However, since the past scholarship on it had repeatedly called these drawings *PHerc. 1113*, without knowledge of the original, I shall call both the latter and the drawings of it *PHerc. 1113a*, so as to distinguish it from other fragments under the number 1113 that are in a different but unidentified hand, and which will here be called *PHerc. 1113b*.³³⁰ *PHerc. 1113a* has been further reduced by the process of *scorzatura* to an *ultimo foglio* containing parts of two layers.³³¹ Piaggio gives the size of the *scorza* no. 1106, which was almost flat, as H. 6 *once*, W. 2.6 *once*, *i. e.* 13.23 by 5.73 cm.³³² The present *scorza* numbered 1106 is 9 cm by 3.5 cm. In Piaggio's inventory no. 1113, a similar *scorza*, is listed as H. 3.8 *once*, W. 1.4 *once*, *i. e.* 8.34 by 3.09 cm,³³³ but the present *scorza* numbered 1113 is 9.2 by 5 cm. The present *PHerc. 1106*, reproduced at *HV*² X 182-184, is

in a completely different hand, as Scott observed.³³⁴ The *scorza* of 1113 (the present *PHerc.* 1113b) was already too small to be the relevant piece, even before the process of *scorzatura* further reduced its size.³³⁵ The inventory compiled in 1819-1823 shows that, after this drawing was made, no further work on *PHerc.* 1113a had been undertaken.³³⁶ The relevant entries are these:

1106. [[Pezzetto]] Scorzetta di pap(ir)o 'provata e restituita nel prop(ri)o luogo'. Armadio N° XI°, Tavola 61^a.

1113. Idem (sc. Scorza di pap(ir)o). Armadio N° XI°, Tavola 61^a.

The fact that these papyri are described merely as *scorze* proves that no attempt had been made to open either. This situation soon changed, as we learn from the inventory of 1824:³³⁷

1106. Scorzetta di Papiro. Fu provata e quindi riposta nel proprio luogo. *Ripresa per isvolgere da D(on) Francesco Casanova e restituita di nuovo nel proprio luogo.*³³⁸ *Data a D(on) Carlo Malesci '1825' e disegnata in Fram(ment)i 5. L'ultimo foglio restituito nel proprio luogo.*³³⁹ Armadio N° XI°, Tavola 61. *Frammenti 5. Disegni 4. Rami 2.*

1113. Idem (sc. Scorzetta di papiro, non isvolta). *Presa per isvolgere da D(on) Gio(vanni) Batt(is)ta Casanova '1827'.*³⁴⁰ *Svolta in F(rammen)ti 4; esiste il solo ultimo foglio nel proprio luogo.*³⁴¹ *Più altri 8 fram(ment)i, disegnati da D(on) Francesco Casanova.*³⁴² Armadio N° XI°, Tavola 61. *Frammenti 12. Disegni 8. Rami [4]] 8.*

These entries reveal that three papyri, *i. e.* *PHerc.* 1106, 1113a and 1113b, were tackled in the mid-1820s, as part of the sustained effort, as a last resort to recover more of the texts, to apply to the outer pieces of rolls which had been cut in two the destructive method of *scorzatura*.³⁴³ They also confirm that *PHerc.* 1106 was by now irrelevant. For the Neapolitan *disegni* show that it was G. B. Casanova who subjected *PHerc.* 1113a to *scorzatura* and made the four Neapolitan *disegni* of it, whereas C. Malesci drew the four *disegni* of *PHerc.* 1106 and F. Casanova was responsible for the eight *disegni* of *PHerc.* 1113b. All this confirms that the confusion of no. 1106 with *PHerc.* 1113 had already occurred when these pieces were issued in 1788-1792 and then refiled in the collection.

The subsequent history of *PHerc.* 1113a is briefly told. The Neapolitan *disegni* of it were engraved in 1844.³⁴⁴ The inventory of 1854 states that both sets of drawings of *PHerc.* 1113 (*i. e.* those of 1113b as well as 1113a) were made in 1827.³⁴⁵ The cover-sheet made in 1863-1875, while Giuseppe Fiorelli was Director of the Archaeological Museum, repeats this statement.³⁴⁶ In the inventory compiled in 1917 by Domenico Bassi, the papyrus appears under the title *PHerc.* 1113 with its dimensions given as 9.5 cm high x 5 cm wide.³⁴⁷ Bassi's transcription of the letters αιϰθηϰιϰ with the letters

by 9.2 H., its compilers measured the *scorza* of *PHerc.* 1113a; they give no dimensions for *PHerc.* 1818, as it was held not to exist (*CatPerc.*, p. 398). The *scorza* now numbered *PHerc.* 1106 is 3.5 W. by 9.0 H. (*CatPerc.*, p. 269).

³³⁶ *Inventario de' Papiri Ercolanesi* (AOP XVII 11), folio, bound in leather, 92 folios, unpublished. Erasures are between double brackets, abbreviations between parentheses, and insertions over the line are between the signs 'and'.

³³⁷ *Inventario della Reale Officina de' Papiri Ercolanesi, Napoli* MDCCCXXIV (AOP XVII 12), folio, bound in leather, 190 folios, unpublished; that G. Castrucci was its author is shown by the document A.S.N.A., Min. Int. II Inv. 2048, 17/2/1824, cited by LONGO, *Castrucci*, pp. 364-365.

³³⁸ This sentence is in a second hand.

³³⁹ These two sentences are in a third hand.

³⁴⁰ This sentence is in a second hand.

³⁴¹ This sentence is in a third hand.

³⁴² This sentence is in a fourth hand.

³⁴³ For the decision to follow this approach see JANKO, p. 21.

³⁴⁴ The signatures on the backing-sheets reveal that they were engraved as follows: N 1113a, fr. 1, F(rancesco) Biondi, Sept. 1844; N 1113a, fr. 2, Carlo Orazj, Feb. 1844; N 1113a, fr. 3, Franc(esco) Biondi, Sept. 1844; N 1113a, fr. 4, C(arl)o Orazj, Dec. 1844.

³⁴⁵ This is the source of the same information in BASSI (*Papiri disegnati*, p. 455), DE FALCO (p. 81), and the *CatPerc.* (p. 271).

³⁴⁶ It reads: «Papiro no. 1113. Scorza di papiro, disegnato da D(on) Francesco Casanova, e di D(on) Gio(vanni) Battista Casanova, in fram(ment)i 12, disegni 8, Rami 8. Aver-tasi che questa scorza fu trovata in due caratteri diversi. L'originale dell'ultimo foglio si conserva nell'Armadio II tavoletta 61».

³⁴⁷ The papyrus had the inventory-number 108545/1100, which was assigned when it was transferred from the administration of the Museo Archeologico to that of the Biblioteca Nazionale in 1910; the papyri were physically transferred to the Biblioteca only in 1925 (G. GUERRIERI, *L'Officina dei papiri ercolanesi dal 1752 al 1952*, in *I Papiri ercolanesi I*, I Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Serie III, 5, Napoli 1954, pp. 25-30).

³³⁴ SCOTT, p. 48. Similarly BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 455 n.

³³⁵ Since the dimensions of *PHerc.* 1113 given in the *CatPerc.* (1979, p. 271) are 5.0 W.

τικ below proves that this was *PHerc.* 1113a, fr. I; indeed, since his time the α has perished and the letters ιϛ have become detached (see below).

The engravings of *PHerc.* 1113 were reproduced in *HV*² XI 3-10, as part of the attempt to complete the publication of the more intelligible of the Neapolitan *disegni* by bringing out even the smallest sets of them. The first four folios depict *PHerc.* 1113a; the remaining four, in a smaller and completely bilinear script, represent those of *PHerc.* 1113b. Frr. 5-13 were at first numbered frr. 1-8; the original numbers have been deleted and replaced with frr. 5-13. The first scholar to notice frr. 1-4 was Theodor Gomperz, who in a note in his copy of *HV*² XI 3 assigned them to the same scribe who wrote both rolls (*PHerc.* 188 and 1014) of Demetrius Laco's *De poem.*, Book 1 of which is preserved in *PHerc.* 188, and Book 2 in *PHerc.* 1014. Gomperz made no other notes on this text.

The next scholar to study *PHerc.* 1113 was Crönert, who likewise assigned all 13 fragments to this work of Demetrius.³⁴⁸ However, upon seeing the *scorza* he changed his mind, on the grounds that the script is different and the papyrus is far darker than the papyri of Demetrius, which are brown rather than grey or black;³⁴⁹ he is correct on both counts. The first and only editor of the papyrus, based solely on the Neapolitan *disegni* and *scorza*, was De Falco in 1923.³⁵⁰ Despite Crönert's *volte-face*, De Falco assigned the text to the *De poem.* of Demetrius Laco, on the basis of its orthographic peculiarities and its hand, which is, he claimed, «perfettamente identica a quella di 188 e 1014». However, since he states that the *scorza* corresponds to *HV*² XI 6, which is in the smaller bilinear hand, he was actually looking at the *ultimo foglio* of *PHerc.* 1113b.³⁵¹ He contributed so little to the text that he can hardly be called its first editor.

Two scholars have discussed the origin of *PHerc.* 1113a since. In her edition of the *De poem.* of Demetrius Laco, C. Romeo³⁵² excluded this papyrus from his *oeuvre*, even though she had not seen the original. She did so on the basis of the orthography; for the papyrus uses ι rather than ει for τ and writes ι for ει in the word *σημιωματα*, whereas the MSS of Demetrius always use ει for τ and never write ι for ει. Hence she suggested that it is a copy of part of the *De poem.* of Philodemus. However, having seen the *scorza*, Dorandi³⁵³ concluded that the hand of *PHerc.* 1113a is no later than second century B.C., and therefore rejected Romeo's hypothesis³⁵⁴ that it is a work of Philodemus. But he agreed with Crönert that it is not the same as the hand of *PHerc.* 188 or 1074, since the writing is extremely large. Finally, J. Porter suggested to me that it is a copy of Epicurus.³⁵⁵ Accordingly, there has been no agreement as to the date (and therefore the origin) of this text, and much will depend upon our conclusions regarding its hand and content.

The extant *ultimo foglio* was conserved by Knut Kleve in May 2000 under the number 1113, and is now stored in 'Mobile X Scorze'. Often it cannot be found without the provision of very precise information as to where it is kept, because of the confusion over its number. It can be described as follows: a medium-sized, approximately trapezoidal piece with longest side at left; size (excluding detached pieces at left) 4.9 cm. W. x 7.9 cm. H.³⁵⁶ Dark grey. Clean and legible, with parts of two layers. Fr. Ia: lower layer of writing. At centre right, trace of one line of writing (l. 5); at lower left, parts

³⁴⁸ Kolotes, p. 107.

³⁴⁹ Kolotes, p. 107 n. 506a. Cf. D. BASSI, *Catalogo descrittivo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, «RFIC» 36/1908, pp. 477-501, at p. 489.

³⁵⁰ DE FALCO, pp. 81-82.

³⁵¹ DE FALCO, p. 82. He is followed by F. SBORDONE, *Sui papiri della Poetica di Filodemo* (Napoli 1983), p. 29.

³⁵² ROMEO, *Nuove letture*, pp. 108-109; ROMEO, *Poesia*, pp. 78-80.

³⁵³ DORANDI, *Poetica*, p. 33.

³⁵⁴ ROMEO, *Nuove letture*, pp. 108-109; ROMEO, *Poesia*, pp. 78-80.

³⁵⁵ Pers. comm., Sept. 2006.

³⁵⁶ This is as measured with the digital calipers whose use was introduced by J. Fish. When D. Bassi inventoried this piece in 1917 (in the catalogue of that date in the Archive of the Officina), he recorded its size as 9.5 cm H. by 5.0 cm W., but the difference may be owed simply to parallax errors, since it is impossible to bring a ruler close to the papyrus without a risk of damaging it.

of the middles of five lines of writing (ll. 8-12). No remnant of margin or intercolumnium. Fr. 1b: upper, main layer of writing. At top, centre right and lower right, parts of the middles of eleven lines of writing (= middles of N 1113 fr. 4, ll. 2-12), with no remnant of upper margin or intercolumnium. Detached fr. with letters]ιc[from l. 4 now lies over l. 5. Two small detached scraps lying sideways at centre left edge with traces of letters are unplaced. The Oxonian *disegno* shows some letters that are missing from the Neapolitan one, but conversely does not show the letters that N depicts along the right edge of fr. 5. Where the readings of the two diverge, one can judge which is better only by the language, since the original has perished. O's divergences from N in *PHerc.* 1113a fr. 5 are these:

- l. 3 ωc κ[O: ωcτε[N. O has misread TE as K.
- l. 4 πιν[O: πτη[N. N has misread N as H.
- l. 6 χοιεν O: κοιον M. The true reading is οι]]κειον. O misread E as O and O as E.
- l. 7 O reads ς or ι where N has the correct reading c.
- l. 8 κοιουν OM. The true reading is οι]]κειουν. O misread O as E.
- l. 9 αφιcα O: αφηce N. Here N is right, but O may have copied correctly a *souvrapposto* that lay at the right edge of the fragment.
- l. 11 τεcυcτραφ[O: [[τ]]εcυcτρα[.] N. Here O could read more than N.

The four Neapolitan *disegni* depicting this roll are drawn in pencil on the first page of large sheets of stout white paper folded in half (each page is c. 21.9-22.1 cm W. x 30.9-31.8 cm H.). Each depicts the upper parts of columns with the upper margin, ending with the bottommost, sole extant piece.³⁵⁷ They are signed «G. B. Casanova svol. e dis. No. 1113» and annotated «Non esiste l'originale». N 1113a frr. 1, 3 and 4 are countersigned «Visto Buono Genovesi», while fr. 2 is countersigned «Visto Buono B(ernardo) Quaranta». All are endorsed «S'incida Scotti».

Since Giuseppe Genovesi was appointed *interprete* in 1822 and Bernardo Quaranta in June 1826, these *disegni* could well have been made in 1827, as is indicated in the inventory of 1824 as cited above. Neither *interprete* was zealous in overseeing the work of the *disegnatori*, and both were bad Hellenists.³⁵⁸ In 1823 Rosini released the *interpreti* from the requirement that they be present while the papyri were unrolled; the less diligent of the *interpreti* ceased to produce transcripts of the papyri like those which proved so invaluable for the reconstruction of Philodemus' *On poems* 1.³⁵⁹ This may be why no transcript of *PHerc.* 1113a has been preserved. The signatures of Angelo Antonio Scotti³⁶⁰ must have been added in 1843-1844, in preparation for the engraving; the postponement in making the copperplates was presumably caused by the fact that no complete columns survive.³⁶¹ In May 1911 Bassi noted on the cover-sheet the difference between the two hands: «i disegni, contenuti in questa copertina, di 1113 debbono appartenere a due papiri; certo i framm. 1-4 sono di una scrittura, quelli degli altri quattro di un'altra». It was also Bassi who first drew the parallel with the Oxonian *disegno*, since he continues: «dal confronto della fot. VI 1574 con i disegni dei framm. 1-4 di 1113 risulta che c'è grande somiglianza fra le due scritture».

³⁵⁷ N 1113a fr. 4 corresponds to the extant *ultimo foglio*.

³⁵⁸ JANKO, pp. 27-28, 32-37.

³⁵⁹ A.S.N. Ministero dell'Interno, II Inventario, Busta 2035/1, I (*Nuovo sistema per la interpretazione de' Papiri*, decree of 23 Aug. 1823), with JANKO, p. 31.

³⁶⁰ See JANKO, p. 28.

³⁶¹ On the procedure followed see JANKO, pp. 25-26.

A final feature of this series of Neapolitan *disegni* is that the *interpreti* have falsified three of them. A comparison with the extant *scorza* reveals that, in five places where these *disegni* give complete lines, but otherwise no traces past a certain point, these lines have almost certainly been completed on the basis of a knowledge of Greek rather than according to what would have been visible to the *disegnatore*, who knew little or no Greek. The cases where this occurred are:

- fr. 2,6: νην is filled in at the start of the line
- fr. 2,8: ουκ is filled in at the start of the line
- fr. 4,2: ωνονο is filled in at the end of the line
- fr. 4,3: ομε is filled in at the end of the line
- fr. 5,8: παςης is filled in at the end of the line

All these supplements are straightforward except that at fr. 4,3, where the correct one is probably ομενων δε φω. This would be unproblematic if they were presented as supplements, but they are in the same script as the rest of the *disegno*. Some of the *interpreti* did occasionally suggest such supplements and have them written by the *disegnatore*. It would be useful to establish precisely which of the *interpreti* were responsible for this unfortunate and unscholarly practice; in this case the finger points to B. Quaranta, if not also to G. Genovesi.³⁶²

No complete alphabet can be recovered even from the *disegni*. The letters present are these:

<i>PHerc.</i> 1113a, fr. I:	A	ΔΕ	ΗΘΙΚΛ	N	ΟΠ	CTY
O 1106, fr. 1:	A	ΓΔΕ	ΗΘΙΚΛ	N	ΟΠ	ΡCTYΦXΨΩ
N 1113a, frr. 1-4:	A	ΓΔΕ	ΗΘΙΚΛMN		ΟΠ	ΡCTYΦXΨΩ

The following analysis relies on the extant *ultimo foglio* where available (and on this alone for descriptions of how the letters were made), with supplementary information gleaned from the *disegni*. The hand, which Cavallo did not discuss,³⁶³ is upright, unhurried and professional; it belongs to an expert and well-trained copyist rather than a hasty scholar or barely literate amateur. Its appearance is remarkable and indeed completely unparalleled, for three reasons. First, the scribe wrote with a wide pen held at an angle of 15°;³⁶⁴ this has resulted in narrow uprights and broad diagonals. The hand is very stylized and has some highly unusual letter-forms; it bears some resemblance to the script of Philodemus' *De poem.* 2 (Hand 8),³⁶⁵ but is much larger. It is ornamented, in that uprights often end in horizontal or oblique hooks or half-serifs (rarely full serifs, except on the top of the upright of K); the left-hand extremities of Y and Ψ have downward hooks, and the apex of Δ has a horizontal one that extends to the right. Although the general impression is bilinear, the letters K, Θ, Y, Φ, and Ψ project both above and below the line, while P and T project only below, the latter but slightly; O sometimes has its base above the notional base-line. Θ and O are oval; Ω is rounded. The letters H and Π have curving right sides, and the right diagonals of A, Δ, and Λ are also curved; the left sides of H and K are also curved. A is made in two movements starting from the top, with a loop at the lower left foot where the pen turns to make the cross-bar; likewise Δ, although here the pen turns on

³⁶² Cf. R. JANKO and D. L. BLANK, *Two new manuscript sources for the texts of the Herculanum papyri*, «CER» 28/1998, pp. 173-184, at pp. 180-181; JANKO, p. 31 with n. 1, 58.

³⁶³ There is no reference to it in CAVALLO.

³⁶⁴ TURNER and PARSONS, p. 23.

³⁶⁵ Hand 8 in CAVALLO, pp. 37, 45 with Tav. XVI; cf. TURNER and PARSONS, p. 134.

itself to make the base. The cross-bar of T is extended far to the left, and the letter is made in a single stroke, with a loop at the right side of the cross-bar where it turns into the descender, as in Hand 8. M has vertical sides connected by a shallow bowl, as also in Hand 8; Y and Ψ have steep diagonals that meet at an acute angle. Examples of the ornamentation seen in this hand can be found in Egypt from at least the second century B.C. onwards.³⁶⁶

Secondly, the script is huge—the largest I have ever seen in a Herculaneum papyrus written in Greek, apart from the special hand used in *subscriptions*. As I remarked, the average bilinear letter N is 0.4 cm. high and 0.4 cm. wide; the narrow letter E is 0.2 cm. wide. This is much larger than the hand of the MSS of Demetrius Laco's *De poem.*: in *PHerc.* 1014, the N is only 0.28 cm. high by 0.28 cm. wide. It is also far bigger than the hand in Hand 8 of Philodemus' *De poem.* 2, which is otherwise so similar. However, the hand of *PHerc.* 235, 310, and 1787, containing a copy of Philodemus' *Memoriae Epicureae*, is almost as large.³⁶⁷

Thirdly, the hand is dominated by a pronounced disparity in width between wide and narrow letters. The letters M, Π, and T are unusually wide. The narrow letters are E, Θ, O, and C. The letter C is a vertical curving rightwards at base, with a short descending oblique or horizontal added at top, while E is identical to it with the addition of a short cross-bar that does not project beyond the other arms.

The script of *PHerc.* 1113a is very hard to date. The use of the narrow letters E, Θ, O, and C is usual in scripts of this style, such as *PHerc.* 1061 (Demetrius Laco, *De geom.*), *PHerc.* 1014 (Id., *De poem.* 2), and *PHerc.* 1676 (Philodemus, *De poem.* 2). Cavallo assigned the first two hands to his Group B;³⁶⁸ the third belongs to Hand 8 of *De poem.* 2, and belongs with Cavallo's group E. Five groups of hands at Herculaneum display this contrast. Group A, which Cavallo believes to be early, comprises manuscripts of Epicurus.³⁶⁹ Group B comprises manuscripts of Epicurus,³⁷⁰ of Demetrius Laco,³⁷¹ and of unidentified authorship.³⁷² Group C includes papyri of Epicurus,³⁷³ Demetrius Laco,³⁷⁴ and unknown authors,³⁷⁵ but these hands slope strongly to the right. Group D includes copies of Epicurus,³⁷⁶ Philodemus,³⁷⁷ and unidentified authors.³⁷⁸ Group E is a later development of Group A; it reaches down to the first century B.C., since it comprises manuscripts of Epicurus,³⁷⁹ Polystratus,³⁸⁰ unidentified authors,³⁸¹ and Philodemus.³⁸² Since Group E includes Hand 8 of Philodemus' *De poem.* 2, this group must include hands from as late as the first century B.C. However, these hands are very hard to date, because no papyri from Egypt that employ the contrast between wide and narrow letters have been securely dated any earlier than the second century A.D.³⁸³ Hence their editors have dated to the second century A.D. papyri with comparable hands like *P. Oxy.* 409, 1082 (both with cursive marginalia of the latter date), 2176, or 2663.

It is not clear what to conclude from this study of the hand of *PHerc.* 1113a. If the style of the writing seems to indicate a date in the later second or early first centuries B.C., as Dirk Obbink suggested to me³⁸⁴ and as T. Dorandi had felt,³⁸⁵ it is too early for Philodemus. Yet it is certain that the papyrus differs in important ways from the known papyri of Demetrius Laco, including the newly identified pieces of Demetrius' aesthetic works, *PHerc.* 230 and *PHerc.* 233, which I discussed above. Moreover, as Hayter noted,³⁸⁶ the known

³⁶⁶ TURNER and PARSONS, p. 134.

³⁶⁷ See above on *PHerc.* 235.

³⁶⁸ CAVALLO, pp. 29-30 with his Tavv. VII-VIII.

³⁶⁹ *PHerc.* 993/1149, 1479/1417, 1431 (all same hand), 1191, 989, 1056, and 1413.

³⁷⁰ *PHerc.* 996.

³⁷¹ *PHerc.* 188, 1013, and 1014, all in the same hand.

³⁷² *PHerc.* 1024 and 1053 (same hand).

³⁷³ *PHerc.* 908/1390, 1010.

³⁷⁴ *PHerc.* 1429 1642, and 1647.

³⁷⁵ *PHerc.* 128, 860, 1083, and 1501. Pace CAVALLO, p. 30, *PHerc.* 128 is not from Philodemus' *De poem.*, since the words which had seemed relevant to that topic are falsifications by the *disegnatore*; the papyrus is in fact on dialectic (C. ROMEO, *Il PHerc.* 128, in L. FRANCHI DELL'ORTO, ed., *Ercolano 1738-1988: 250 anni di ricerca archeologica*, Roma 1993, pp. 285-287).

³⁷⁶ *PHerc.* 1056 hand A, 1148, 1151, and 1420.

³⁷⁷ *PHerc.* 155, 327, 495, 558, 1289, 1508, and 1780.

³⁷⁸ *PHerc.* 332, 373, 735, 1037, 1039, 1040, and 1158.

³⁷⁹ *PHerc.* 154 and 1042.

³⁸⁰ *PHerc.* 1520.

³⁸¹ *PHerc.* 132 and 1348.

³⁸² *PHerc.* 994/1676/1677 (*De poem.* II) and 1418.

³⁸³ TURNER and PARSONS, p. 134.

³⁸⁴ Pers. comm., 2005.

³⁸⁵ DORANDI, *Poetica*, p. 33.

³⁸⁶ HAYTER, pp. 47-48.

papyri of Demetrius Laco are all brown in colour; however, the surviving *scorza* of *PHerc.* 1113a is dark grey, like the papyri of Epicurus and Philodemus. However, the treatise might be by another predecessor of Philodemus like Zeno of Sidon, who wrote a work entitled *Περὶ ποιημάτων χρήσεως*.³⁸⁷ Since we now know that at least one book by Zeno was among the collection,³⁸⁸ he cannot be excluded as the author of this one. However, apart from its size, the script of *PHerc.* 1113a most closely resembles Hand 8 of Philodemus' *De poem.* 2; it also rather resembles the large hand of the copy of Philodemus' *Memoriae Epicureae* made up of *PHerc.* 239a, 310, and 1787. If *PHerc.* 1113a were to be a copy of a work of Philodemus on poetry rather than of a part of Epicurus' *On Nature* that discussed sensation, it would most probably be a second exemplar of *De poem.* 1, 2, or 3, where the euphonist critics are discussed; the damaged nature of the texts that have survived makes it possible that there might be no overlap in wording with the surviving.

The papyrus offers little information as to format. There are no complete lines, but the number of letters per line may lie around 18, which seems to work in fr. 5. The prevailing uncertainty makes restoration very difficult, as does the uncertainty as to whether the writer admits hiatus, as does Epicurus, or eschews it, as does Philodemus. The number of lines per column is unknown. According to the *disegni*, the left edge of the columns shown in fr. 4-5 obeyed Maas' Law. The angle was very pronounced; according to the Oxonian *disegno* the deviation was 15° from the vertical. This is an exaggeration, since the usual deviation in papyrus-rolls like Philodemus' *De poem.* 1 was only 3-5°. ³⁸⁹ Although the widths of the upper and lower margins and of the intercolumnia are unknown, the layout of the script is generous: the spacing between the lines is somewhat above average at 3.5 mm.,³⁹⁰ and the line-to-line height is 9.5 mm. This is explicable because of the large size of the hand, where the height and width of an average bilinear letter is 4 mm. Large letters such as these are typical of an elegant manuscript, as W. A. Johnson has shown; at Oxyrhynchus fine scripts account for almost 75% of rolls with letters over 4 mm. in height.³⁹¹ Thus this was very much a *de luxe* manuscript; the standard height of a Herculaneum roll was about 20-24 cm.³⁹² Since fr. 1 is the lower and outer layer of the extant *ultimo foglio*, this must be the first piece from the roll. I have reversed the order of the fragments to reflect the process of *scorzatura*.

The content only deepens my perplexity. Fr. 2 asks how words and/or sounds can provide sensation without causing pleasure or pain. The rhetorical question suggests that a rebuttal is in progress: the opponent is contradicting himself if he thinks the ears' perception of sound can be separated from pain and pleasure. An effect, evidently pleasure or pain, supervenes (*ἐπιφαίνεται*) on the sound. Fr. 3 refers to weaving, enjoyment, words and indications or meanings, *i. e.* perhaps the relation of sound to sense. Fr. 4 may draw a connection between enjoyment and learning. In fr. 5 the adversary first asserts that touch becomes enjoyable because of its particular arrangement, and then makes a parallel argument about taste, where the particular taste conciliates the percipient. All this material could relate to the euphonist critics who are summarized and rebutted in Philodemus' *De poem.* 1-2 and perhaps 3, especially Heracleodorus, Pausimachus and Crates. There is no

³⁸⁷ Fr. 12 in A. ANGELI and M. COLAIZZO, *I frammenti di Zenone Sidonio*, «CErc» 9/1979, pp. 47-133, at pp. 75, 99-100, = Philodemus, *Πρὸς τοὺς* [*PHerc.* 1005] col. 7,15-20, who lists his *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*, *Περὶ ἱστορίας*, *Περὶ παροιμιῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων*, *Περὶ λέξεως* and *Περὶ ποιημάτων χρήσεως* (cf. JANKO, p. 128 n. 1). DELATTRE's alternative supplement *χρη[ετῶν]* is supported by M. GIGANTE (*Zenone Sidonio e la poesia*, «CErc» 28/1998, pp. 85-98, at pp. 94-97).

³⁸⁸ K. KLEVE and G. DEL MASTRO, *Il PHerc. 1533: Zenone Sidonio A Cratero*, «CErc» 30/2000, pp. 149-156. Zeno's treatise, entitled *Ζήγωνος «Πρὸς τὸ Κρατεροῦ Πρὸς τ[ὸ] Περὶ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν ἀποδείξεων»*, *i. e.* Zeno <of Sidon>, *Against the Treatise of Craterus «Against the Treatise 'On Geometrical Proofs'»*, may be the first recorded reply to a hostile book-review.

³⁸⁹ See above, n. 85, and JOHNSON, *Bookrolls*, pp. 91-99, who shows that the slant hardly ever exceeds 5° from the vertical.

³⁹⁰ JOHNSON, *Bookrolls*, p. 156 with Chart 3.9b.

³⁹¹ JOHNSON, *Bookrolls*, pp. 155-156 with Chart 3.9a.

³⁹² CAVALLO, p. 18.

evidence that Demetrius Laco discussed Heracleodorus or Pausimachus, although he did report the views of Andromenides. We have no sign that such theories were of interest to Epicurus, and I have argued that they did not even exist until later in the third century B.C. However, the text may well be Epicurus discussing sensation. Its content, especially in fr. 5, is very similar to that of *PHerc.* 1420, especially col. 5: this is a copy of Epicurus' *De nat.* written in Cavallo's Hand 6, and is edited by G. Arrighetti as fr. 35.

PHerc. 1113a, fr. 1 = *PHerc.* 1113a, fr. Ia

desunt versus fere in

5 - - -]ω[- - -

desunt versus ii

8 - - - .]ι[- - -

- - -] γὰρ[- - -

10 - - - . .]λ[- - -

- - -]ει τῷ δ[- - -

12 - - -]γῶδι[- - -

incertum quot versus desint

deest pagina una vel altera

fons *II* absunt margines primus edidi 8 ι hasta directa 9 γ vel τ 10 λ potius quam
 γ 11 δ vel ζ 12 γ vel ι ι vel η, π (pes)

«. . . for . . . for the (*singular noun missing*) . . .»

PHerc. 1113a, fr. 2 = *PHerc.* 1113a, fr. Ib = *N* 1113a, fr. 4 (*HV*² XI 6)

1 - - -(.)] ὀνόματα [. . . .

- - -]ύειν, πῶς οὐχὶ [. .

- - - . . τοῦτου τοῦ τρόπου

- - - . . .] αἵσθησιν ἑαυταῖς

5 - - - . . . ἄλλ' ἀνίαν <ἦ> εὐφροσύ-

- - - νην, διότι καλεῖται [

- - - . . .]; κατὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα

- - - {οὐκ} ἐπιφαίνεται [. . . .

- - -]λεχθῆναι [.

10 - - - . . .] οὕτω γὰρ [. . . .]ν

- - -]ότι κατ' αὐτὴν [. . . .

12 - - -(.)]νον η[. . . .(.)] πρὸς

incertum quot versus desint

deest pagina una vel altera

fontes *II* necnon Bassi (ll. 4, 6) perierunt margines ap. *II*: adest margo dext. vv. 4-7 et
 11 ap. *N*, sed margo sin. vv. 6 et 8 ap. *N* ab interprete Genovesi restituta est u.v. 2
 ἀπολα]ύειν vel ἀκο]ύειν supplendum: διαλ]ύειν De Falco *N*:]υξίνπω[*II* 3 *N*:]υτουτ[

³⁹³ ἑαυταῖς proves that the subject is feminine plural; one of the sense-organs, clearly αἰ ἀκοαί, must be meant.

³⁹⁴ πῶς οὐχί introduces lively rhetorical questions in philosophical prose, including Plato (*Lys.* 205 c), Nausiphanes (fr. 1,6), Epicurus (fr. 24, 43,20) and Chrysippus; it is also characteristic of Philodemus' rebuttals. Cf. *De poem.* II *PHerc.* 994 col. 26,1-14, *De ira* col. 39,24-33, *ibid.* 41,28-35, *De oec.* fr. 2, 14-17 (restored), *De lib. dic.* fr. 40,9-15, *ibid.* 43,3-4, *Rhet.* II, *PHerc.* 408, fr. 18d.1-4 (ii., p. 90 SUDHAUS), *Rhet.* VIII, *PHerc.* 832, col. 53,7-9 (ii., p. 57 SUDHAUS). For the construction cf. Ap. Dysc., *De coni.*, p. 215,12 SCHNEIDER, πῶς οὐχί βίαιον μὴ οὐχί παραδέξασθαι . . .

³⁹⁵ I think μανία has been mistranscribed and is in fact ἀνία «pain», which is often contrasted with pleasure: cf. Thgn., *Eleg.* 1032-3; Arph.; Pax 764; Hipp., *De morb. sacr.* 14; Xen., *Mem.* 1. 1. 8; Id., *Hier.* 4. 6; Hierocl., *Fr. eth.* 53,25 VON ARNIM; Plut., *Sol.* 32. 2. ἀνία appears in Phld., *De poem.* II, *PHerc.* 994, col. 23,25 (rebuttal of Pausimachus). For the collocation of madness and pleasure cf. only Joh. Chrys., *Comm. in Ps.* lv. 151, 26-9 MIGNE. Philodemus wrote a Πε[ρι] μ[αν]ίας (*PHerc.* 57).

³⁹⁶ εὐφροσύνη occurs in Epicurus and Philodemus (*De lib. dic.*, fr. 43, 3-8 OLIVIERI). The term was carefully defined by the Stoics (Chrys., *SVF*, fr. 432, 434 VON ARNIM). ROMEO took it as the feminine of the adjective εὐφρόδυνος (*Nuove lettere*, p. 108 with n. 15), and thought it alludes to poetic inspiration (*Poesia*, p. 79).

³⁹⁷ Did this say that pleasure or pain supervenes upon the sensation, or that sound supervenes upon the composition (cύνθεσις)? επιφαινέσθαι is used of the sound that supervenes upon the cύνθεσις: cf. Heracleodorus (F 29 JANKO); Demetrius (*De eloc.* 186), and Philodemus rebutting first Pausimachus (*De poem.* II, *PHerc.* 994 fr. 13,4-6), then the Stoic (*De poem.* V col. 23,27-30), and lastly Crates (*De poem.* V, col. 24,27-33, = Crates, F 101b BROGGIATO, cf. JANKO, p. 162 n. 6, where I should have made clear that this term forms part of Philodemus' explanation). The notion probably originated with Aristoxenus (cf. fr. 54 WEHRLI). Cf. also Aristotle fr. 47,55 ROSE = [Plut.], *De mus.* 1140 A, 1143 A. The verb is not found in Epicurus.

³⁹⁸ Sc. pleasure.

³⁹⁹ This is probably an analogy, since Greek literary criticism does not associate poetry with weaving. Philodemus often uses wea-

II fort. διὰ τοῦτου scripsi ο: ε N τρόπ[ου] scripsi: τρέπ[ειν] De Falco 3-4 αἰ ἀκοαί coniecerim 4 N: ἰσθησινεα[II (litt. ic in frustulo seiuncto inveni): αισθησιν legit Bassi 4-5 fort. παρέχουσιν vel διδόουσιν ἄλλ' ἄνιαν <ῆ> scripsi: ἡμανιαν N: ἡανιαν II 5-6 εὐφροσύνην N, sed litt. νην ap. εὐφροσύνην suppl. Genovesi u.v.: ε[II 6 N: ἡρικαλε[II: τικ legit Bassi 6-7 fort. οὕτω 7 N: ἡ[δετο[. . . (.)]α[II 8 N: ἡ[φ[.]νε[II ουκ, quod suppleverat Genovesi u.v., del. Armstrong: fort. ἡδονή | ἐπὶ τῷ scribendum 9 N: ἡχθην[II fort. διαλεχθῆναι 10 N: ἡ[τ[II 11 N: ἡ[κα[II ὅτι vel διότι scripserim κατ' αὐτῇ[ν De Falco, nisi fuit αὐ[τίκα ταύτη[12 N: ἡ[γῇ[II fort. μό[νον] vel -με[νον]

«. . . that words . . . give pleasure (?), how can it not be that (the ears³⁹³ do) not³⁹⁴ (provide) themselves with sensation (by means of) this method but (provide) pain³⁹⁵ <or> pleasure,³⁹⁶ because (words) are called (sounds)? In accord with such (words), (pleasure?) supervenes³⁹⁷ . . . to have been said . . . For in this way . . . that in accord with it³⁹⁸ . . . towards . . .»

PHerc. 1113a, fr. 3 = N 1113a, fr. 3 (*HV*² XI 5)

5
10
12
- - - . . . ὑ]φάσματα καὶ [. . .
- - - . . .] κατὰ τοιαῦτα [. . .
- - - . . .]εῖν, ἀπολαύειν [δὲ
- - - . . .]λλης παντελῶς
- - - . . . (.) ὀνόματα περὶ τοῦ
- - - . . . (.)εὔεται, ἀλ[λ[.
- - - . . . (.)]ματα εἶναι, [. . . .
- - - . . .] ἐστιν, ὥς εἰπεῖν, [. . .
- - - . . . (.)] σῆμ<ε>ιώματα [. . . .
- - - . . .]ς, τοῦτο δέ[.
- - - . . .]ότι καταφρονῆσαι
- - - . . .]νον[. . .] μᾶλλον [. . . (.)

incertum quot versus desint

deest pagina una vel altera

fons N abest marg. sin. adest marg. dext. ap. vv. 4-5 et 11 u.v. 1 Blank per litt.: φάσματα De Falco 3 fort. λυπ[εῖν] interpunxi et supplevi 4 fort. τῆς ἄλλης: πο]λλῆς De Falco 5 τὰ De Falco δ' scripserim 5-6 fort. τοῦ[του 6 τ: π M num παιδ]εὔεται vel ἀκ]οῦεται? distinxi λ vel α fort. ἀλ[λά ταῦτα 7 fort. ποι]ήματα: ὀνό]ματα De Falco fort. ταῦτα 8 fort. γὰρ 9 corr. Crönert, *Memoria*, p. 26 9-10 φω]νῇ]ς coniecerim 10 distinxi 11 διότι scripserim

. . . weavings³⁹⁹ and . . . in accord with such (*plural noun missing*) to (*verb missing*), but to enjoy . . . the other (?) (*noun missing*) completely⁴⁰⁰. . . concerning the (?) . . . but . . . (*neuter plural noun missing*) to be . . . are, so to speak, . . . indications⁴⁰¹ . . . , but this (*singular noun missing*) . . . that to despise . . . rather . . .»

ving as a *comparandum* for other arts, e. g. *De mus.* IV, col. 148, 14-17, *Rhet.* X, *PHerc.* 1669, col. 14.25-8 (i., p. 246 SUDHAUS); *Rhet.* I, *PHerc.* 1612, fr. 6,2-5 (ii., p. 185 SUDHAUS). «Weaving a plan» goes back to Homer (*Od.* 4. 678 and often), but the cognate noun is rare as a metaphor for language: cf. Men., *Sent.* 743, ὕφασι' ὑφαίνειν μάνθανε τροφὰς λόγων; Aristo, fr. 391, Ἀρίστων τοὺς λόγους

τῶν διαλεκτικῶν εἵκαζεν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑφάσμασιν; Pol., 3. 32. 2. ROMEO (*Poesia*, p. 79) accepted DE FALCO's φάσματα.

⁴⁰⁰ This adverb, common in Philodemus, is also in Epicurus and Demetrius Laco.

⁴⁰¹ σημεῖωμα, missing from the lexica of classical Greek, means «significance» once in

plevi 4 ν[O: η[N supplevi 5 ηc N: om. O supplevi 5-6 οἱ|κεῖτον scripsi:]|κοιον N:]|χοιεν O 6 ε[N: om. O supplevi 6-7 supplevi 7 cτ N: cτ vel ιτ O νταo N: om. O ο vel ς, ε supplevi 7-8 supplevi ε O: ο N 8 ακαιπαςηc N: om. O supplevi, litt. παςηc et marg. dext., quae suppeditaverat interpres Genovesi ap. N u.v., deletis: om. O 9 <c>αφήσεωc voluit Crönert, *Memoria*, p. 92 ησεωc N: ια O, litt. α vel etiam ια e fr. quod superpositum erat legens u.v. 10-11 supplevi τε O: [τ]ε N 11 scripsi: cυcτρα[.]ov[N: cυcτραφ[O

«. . . (it is impossible that touch) does not (conciliate) a person who is enjoying it, as is said, by means of what is particular, and that it does not benefit (him) if it is applied in manner particular (to him).⁴⁰⁵ Again, when, he says (?), someone who is hungry or thirsty has applied what is agreeable about taste in a manner particular (to him), it not only conciliates him as he ingests,⁴⁰⁶ but also (benefits him), and in the case of touch,⁴⁰⁷ as long as (*plural subject missing*) become (*predicate missing*), with the result that they are compressed⁴⁰⁸ . . . »

PHerc. 1113a, fr. 6 = O '1106', fr. 1b (VI 1574)

desunt versus fere viii

9 - - -]α[- - -

incertum quot versus desint

desunt columnae permultae

fons O 9 litt. α vel ια (num = κα?) ap. fr. quod superpositum erat collocavi

⁴⁰⁵ This collocation of «particular», «conciliate» and «agreeable» is found both in Epicurus and Philodemus: cf. Epic., *Ep. Men.* 124, ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέχονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες; Phld., *De poem.* I, col. 108 JANKO (summary of Pausimachus), 2 *PHerc.* 994, cols. 3-4 (rebuttal of Pausimachus). ἰδίως is in Epicurus at *Ep. Hdt.* 75 (on the origins of language).

⁴⁰⁶ The rare verb παρατέλλειν, literally «draw in», is glossed ἀνατέλλειν by Hesychius (*Lex.* π 685-6). It is at first found only in medical writers, but more widely from Heliodorus onwards.

⁴⁰⁷ Crönert's proposal <c>αφήσεωc would introduce an unattested word, although διακάφησις occurs from the *Letter of Aristeas* 305 onwards in Jewish and Christian writers (cf. too *Vit. Aesopi*, p. 275,8 PERRY).

⁴⁰⁸ The noun cυcτροφή is common in Epicurus (e. g. *Ep. Hdt.* 73, in the plural); the verb appears at *Ep. Hdt.* 77. Neither is known in Philodemus.

⁴⁰⁹ BLANK and LONGO, p. 87.

⁴¹⁰ BASSI, *Papiri disegniati*, p. 456.

⁴¹¹ M. CAPASSO, Ὀμφαλός/*Umbilicus: dalla Grecia a Roma*, in M. CAPASSO, *Volumen*, pp. 73-98, at p. 87.

⁴¹² BLANK and LONGO, pp. 45-124, at p. 90.

***PHerc.* 1116** (Greek prose, author, work and hand unknown)

A small *scorza* numbered 1116 was issued in December 1790. In Piaggio's inventory⁴⁰⁹ its size was 7.9 by 3.5 cm. The present *PHerc.* 1116 is 8 by 3.5 cm., which shows that the same piece is in question. However, it does not match the Oxonian drawing labelled '1116', which depicts a small *scorza* that is now *PHerc.* 459 (see above on *PHerc.* 459). Since no Neapolitan drawings had been made, Bassi had it drawn in 1907.⁴¹⁰ However, its bilinear and generally nondescript hand, probably to be assigned to the first century B.C., diverges from Hand 15, as seen in O '1116', because it lacks the horizontal serifs at the bases of letters like P. The surviving piece is small and heavily stratified; Cavallo did not discuss it. I cannot identify its hand or its content.

O '1116' = *PHerc.* 459 (VI 1579, Epicurus, *De nat.* XXV copy 2, Hand 15)

See above on *PHerc.* 459.

***PHerc.* 1172** (author, work and hand unknown)

The date of issue of no. 1172 was not recorded; it is not clear whether it belongs to this group. The present *PHerc.* 1172 consists of a *midollo* with the remains of an *umbilicus*;⁴¹¹ this is clearly the same as no. 1172, since Piaggio's catalogue described it in the same way, adding that it had already had material removed from the outside.⁴¹² As there are no fragments in *cornici*, it is possible that no Oxonian drawing of it was made, and that it does not belong in this group of papyri, but a piece could have been removed by *sollevamento*. There are no Neapolitan *disegni* of it.

PHerc. 1413 (Epicurus, unidentified dialogue, hand of first third of third century B.C.)

No. 1413 was a roll issued on 27 June 1796 and given back soon after, on 11 August. No Oxonian drawings of it are known. Neapolitan drawings of what is surely the same roll were made by F. Casanova in 1810; they were not published in *HV*². Crönert assigned the papyrus to a dialogue of Epicurus.⁴¹³ Its hand is probably contemporary with Epicurus' lifetime. *PHerc. 1413* still uses the epigraphic forms both of Π, with a shortened right leg, and of Ω;⁴¹⁴ the use of the latter, to judge by fact that some of the Hibeh papyri still use it (a group that antedates c. 260 B.C.), dates it to before that time. Among all the scripts in his Group A, this has the least pronounced contrast between wide and narrow letters, and can be compared to third-century hands like that of the Lille Stesichorus.⁴¹⁵ However, it finds no match among these Oxonian *disegni*. There is no evidence that pieces issued as late as 1796 formed part of this set of drawings.

PHerc. 1419c = O Fr. B (VI 1578, Philodemus, *De poem.* II, Hand 8)

No. 1419 was issued in December 1790. When issued, it was not an exterior *scorza* but an entire roll, as Piaggio states:⁴¹⁶ «Altro papiro mancante di ambi gli estremi, alquanto compresso per lungo e ove più, ove meno scorzato. Vi e su di questo lo stesso saggio» (*i. e.* the same evidence of an attempt at unrolling as on *PHerc. 1418*). «È di lunghezza once 9, di diametro maggiore once 3», *i. e.* its height was 19.8 cm. and diameter 6.6 cm. Unlike the Oxonian *disegno* labelled '1419' (see next entry), all the pieces currently under this number are in Greek; hence there has been confusion. Del Mastro showed that the present *PHerc. 1419* contains pieces in three different Greek hands: these should be given separate numbers. In *cornice* 1 two pieces (fr. 2 and 3) are in Hand 26 of Philodemus' *De mus.* 4; this should be called *PHerc. 1419a*. Fr. 4 on the same *cornice* is in an ornamented and ligatured script that apparently contains an abbreviation for καί like those in *PHerc. 152/157* (Philodemus' «*De dis*» III) or *PHerc. 831* (Demetrius Laco, *op. inc.*).⁴¹⁷ I will call this *PHerc. 1419b*. Del Mastro rightly assigned all the fragments in cr. 2 except fr. 13 and perhaps 17 to Hand 8, the scribe of *De poem.* II; he believes that fr. 9 and 10 in cr. 1 may also come from this roll.⁴¹⁸ Fr. B is in the same hand as these. I shall call these pieces *PHerc. 1419c*.

The script of Fr. B is unmistakably that of Hand 8, but there is no verbal match with the surviving fragments 11-12 and 14-18, which are also in this script.⁴¹⁹ While fr. 11 and 14-17 contain the lower 5-15 lines of their columns, fr. 12 and 18 contain the upper 7-14 lines, like Fr. B. All these fragments were probably removed from the outermost parts of the roll by *sollevamento*.⁴²⁰ This matches the report in Piaggio's catalogue, quoted above, that no. 1419 was still a whole papyrus; Del Mastro rightly concludes that it was subjected to unrolling in 1790 rather than, as had been thought, in 1798, and that the pieces of *PHerc. 1419* in the other hands were added later as a result of confusion.⁴²¹

Some of the confusion may be owed to the fact that *PHerc. 1419* was put onto two *cornice* by D. Bassi,⁴²² but it is clear that some of it goes back to this episode. There are no Neapolitan drawings of any text called '1419'.

⁴¹³ *Kolotes*, p. 104 n. 501.

⁴¹⁴ This fact was already noted by CRÖNERT (*Kolotes*, p. 104 n. 501). CAVALLLO, p. 50, assigns it to Group A and dates it later, but cf. R. JANKO, *The Herculaneum Library: some recent developments*, «Estudios Clásicos» 44/2002, pp. 25-41, at pp. 39-40.

⁴¹⁵ So Parsons in TURNER and PARSONS, p. 134.

⁴¹⁶ BLANK and LONGO, p. 104.

⁴¹⁷ DEL MASTRO, *Poetica*, pp. 88-89. I have not seen this fragment.

⁴¹⁸ DEL MASTRO, *Poetica*, p. 88 n. 5.

⁴¹⁹ DEL MASTRO reports that fr. 13 is in a different hand, but thinks that fr. 17 may be in Hand 8; it contains the bottom of a column (*Poetica*, p. 89 n. 12).

⁴²⁰ DEL MASTRO, *Poetica*, pp. 92-93.

⁴²¹ *Poetica*, pp. 93-94.

⁴²² DÜRR, p. 216.

Scott found nothing in this piece to help him identify its content.⁴²³ However, it surely discusses how the sympathies of the audience are aroused by poets' depiction of the sufferings of others.

O Fr. B = *PHerc.* 1419c, fr. nov. (VI 1578)

1 . . . γέγ]ονεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι [. . .
. . .]ν ἐμβλέψαειν εἰς τὰ
τῶν ἄλ]λων κακά. καὶ
. . . .]τω[.] φανῆναι πα-
5]τ[. .] τοῖς ἄλλοις [

desunt versus fere xxii

fons O praesto sunt margines sup. et dext. primus edidi 2 ve: πι O 3 spat. vac. ii
litt. 4-5 fort. πᾶ|ci

«. . . has happened to them, because (?) . . . for those who observe the misfortunes of others. And . . . to appear . . . to the others . . .»

O '1419' (VI 1571, Latin oration or letter, Manus B)

Since the present *PHerc.* 1419 subsumes only fragments in Greek, albeit in at least three different hands (see above on *PHerc.* 1419), but O '1419' is in Latin, there has clearly been confusion in the numeration. The existence of O '1419' is not noted by Del Mastro in his list of extant papyri from Herculaneum.⁴²⁴ For a description of its semi-cursive script see Section II above. Scott found nothing intelligible in this piece.⁴²⁵ However, as it uses the first person singular, it seems to be an oration, legal deposition or correspondence. The script is perfectly compatible with a literary work, as in the papyrus of Cicero in Giessen. If this piece corresponds to the present *PHerc.* 1491b, which seems possible on grounds of hand, the no. 1491 that Piaggio recorded was another piece, as its dimensions differ.

O '1419' (VI 1571)

1 - - - .] inquit [.] m[i]h[i .] . .] - - -
- - -]or[i [.] omnibus . c[- - -
- - -]ter . ho[c . .]onu[- - -
- - - .] ciui [.] ner[- - -
5 - - - .] prope [.] sci[.] m. .] - - -
- - -]m [.] fit [.] s[.] e[.] co. .] - - -
7 - - -]nibus [.] tri[.] e[- - -

fons O primus edidi 1 t: potius i 2 ri vel n 3 fort. prop]ter vel -i]ter 3 fort. m]onu-
mentum 4 i vel e r vel a 5 s potius quam i t vel i 6 fort. s[i a vel r 7 fort. ma]nibus
vel om]nibus ri vel n n vel it o vel c

⁴²³ SCOTT, p. 49.

⁴²⁴ *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

⁴²⁵ SCOTT, p. 52.

«. . . (*singular subject missing*) said to me . . . for all . . . on account of (?) this monument (?) . . . for a citizen . . . almost knows . . . happens . . . she (?) . . . for (*plural noun missing*) for the third . . .»

No. 1420 was issued as a roll in June 1782; the date of this event is in fact the *terminus ante quem* for the creation of Piaggio's inventory, since without it this record could not have been kept. The present *PHerc. 1420* was unrolled and has the same height. It consists of the upper part of a *volumen* containing an unknown book of Epicurus' *De nat.* It is written in Cavallo's Hand 6,⁴²⁶ like *PHerc. 1056* hand A (also from Epicurus' *De nat.*) and *PHerc. 1039*. It has been edited by G. Arrighetti and S. Laursen.⁴²⁷ Some fragments and several columns were drawn by G. B. Malesci in 1809 and published in *HV*² VII 68-73. However, it does not correspond to any known Oxonian drawing. Given its date of issue, it is unlikely that it was ever among this bundle of *disegni*.

PHerc. 1491a, 1491b and 1491c (Greek prose, author, work and hand uncertain; Latin prose, author and work uncertain, ?Manus B; Philodemus, *Rhetoric* IV ed. B, Hand 11)

A roll bearing the number 1491 was issued in September 1782. Clearly there has been confusion in the numbering, since none of the three different rolls now called *PHerc. 1491* is as short in height as was no. 1491. A *volumen* numbered '1491' was subjected to unrolling in 1822 by G. B. Casanova.⁴²⁸ Yet De Jorio, writing in 1824, records that *PHerc. 1491* had not yet been unrolled, and that it had a title written on the exterior; unfortunately he does not tell us what language this was in, and his illustration of it is too diminutive to help.⁴²⁹ A Neapolitan *disegno* of a piece called *PHerc. 1491* was drawn by C. Malesci, probably in 1839; as Bassi noted, this drawing shows a Latin text.⁴³⁰ The papyrus presently consists of four *cornici* containing twelve pieces.⁴³¹ They all appear to have been unrolled continuously on Piaggio's machine. However, they are in three different hands. The single wide piece in *cornice* 1, which is in poor condition, is the lower part of a roll in an unidentified Greek hand, and should be called *PHerc. 1491a*. Its height is too great for it to correspond to the original no. 1491. Del Mastro confirms that *cornici* 2 and 3 are both in Latin;⁴³² they are in the same hand, and these pieces should be named *PHerc. 1491b*. *Cornice* 4 is certainly in Cavallo's Hand 11, which wrote *PHerc. 1007/1673* and *PHerc. 1114*, probably both part of Philodemus' *Rhetoric* IV⁴³³ (the *scorza* of *PHerc. 1114* has recently been confused with that of *PHerc. 1104*, the *scorza* of which I believe to be in Hand 12 of the *De pietate*⁴³⁴). These fragments should be renamed *PHerc. 1491c*.

The Latin hand of crr. 2-3 is closest to the semi-cursive Manus B of O '1419'. It uses *V* rather than *U* in the same distinctive form and has no cross-bar in the *A*. *Q* is bilinear and the *B* «à panse à gauche» has a vertical upright. Accordingly, one wonders whether the digits of '1491' were reversed to '1419'; if so, this is in fact the same papyrus. However, no overlap in the text is apparent, and it is uncertain whether a roll issued as early as 1782 could be relevant to this set of *disegni*. Unless there has been an error of measurement or reporting, none of these items can correspond

⁴²⁶ CAVALLO, pp. 31, 45 with Tav. XIII.

⁴²⁷ Epic., fr. 35 ARRIGHETTI; S. LAURSEN, *The Early Parts of Epicurus, On Nature, 25th Book*, «CERC» 25/1995, pp. 5-109. E. PUGLIA first suggested that it is from the beginning of the same roll as *PHerc. 1056* (*PHerc. 1420/1056: un volume dell'opera Della natura di Epicuro*, «CERC» 17/1987, pp. 81-83).

⁴²⁸ *CatPERC*, p. 343.

⁴²⁹ DE JORIO, pp. 59, 92 (Tav. I lett. A b). His book appeared after 5 Nov. 1824 (DE JORIO, p. 92).

⁴³⁰ BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 460.

⁴³¹ *CatPERC*, p. 343, which implies that they are all in Latin.

⁴³² *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

⁴³³ This had been thought to be in Latin, but was first identified as Greek in my presence by S. Booras while he was creating the digital images (pers. comm., 2000), and again by R. Macfarlane during KBYU Television's documentary «Out of the Ashes» that was filmed in 2002, when he picks out the word *κυνοεργόντες* that is visible in line 3.

⁴³⁴ DORANDI, *Ricomposizione*, p. 61 n. 18.

to the roll no. 1491 that was issued in 1782, because carbonized papyri cannot get taller.

PHerc. 1690 (Latin prose, author, work and hand uncertain)

Nos. 1690 and 1691 appear together in the list of pieces issued as «Frammenti» with no date given; no doubt they were handed out at much the same time. Each piece now consists only of a *scorza*, without Neapolitan *disegni*.⁴³⁵ Neither is discussed by Cavallo. Piaggio's inventory listed no. 1690 as «Tavoletta con frammento di papiro incominciato a svolgersi, e poi tralasciato», and no. 1691 as «altra Tavoletta con frammenti di altro papiro parimente incominciato, ed indi tralasciato».⁴³⁶ This proves that they were issued before 1782, since, as Blank observed, those pieces that we know to have been issued before 1782 have no date given in the register, but are listed simply as «unrolled» or «fully unrolled».⁴³⁷ If these pieces were drawn, as Piaggio indicates was his custom,⁴³⁸ it was presumably Piaggio himself who drew them. If *PHerc.* 1690 is glued to canvas, as seems to be the case from the infra-red image, it would resemble the papyrus of *De musica*, the first to be unrolled. It is most unlikely that either is relevant. *PHerc.* 1690 appears to be in Latin cursive, although this is not noted by Del Mastro, but it is difficult to be sure when the surviving *scorza* is in such poor condition.

PHerc. 1691 (Greek prose, author, work and hand uncertain)

No. 1691 was issued before 1782, since, as Blank observed, those pieces that we know to have been issued before 1782 have no date given in the register, but are listed simply as «unrolled» or «fully unrolled».⁴³⁹ It is not clear whether the present *PHerc.* 1691 is the same. Either way, given its date of issue this item is unlikely to be relevant to our *disegni*. The content is Greek and the hand is small and bilinear and slopes to the right.

⁴³⁵ *CatPErc*, p. 384.

⁴³⁶ BLANK and LONGO, p. 120.

⁴³⁷ *Reflections*, p. 82.

⁴³⁸ BLANK, *Reflections*, p. 82, quoting Piaggio's memorandum of early Aug. 1786 (see A. TRAVAGLIONE, *Testimonianze su Padre Piaggio*, pp. 53-80, in *Epicuro e l'Epicureismo nei Papiri Ercolanesi*, Napoli 1993, at p. 71).

⁴³⁹ *Reflections*, p. 82.

⁴⁴⁰ BLANK and LONGO, p. 120.

⁴⁴¹ BLANK and LONGO, p. 148, quoting AOP XVII 7.

⁴⁴² BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 464.

⁴⁴³ *CatPErc*, p. 387.

⁴⁴⁴ BASSI, *Papiri disegnati*, p. 464. It was published as HV² I 198-200.

PHerc. 1787 (Philodemus, *Memoriae Epicureae*, hand of *PHerc.* 239a, 310 and 474)

This item was not issued in 1788-1792. In fact its number had not yet been created in 1782, when Piaggio inventoried only 1695 items,⁴⁴⁰ or indeed in 1807, since the highest number listed in the catalogue of papyri that had then been issued is no. 1691.⁴⁴¹ Additional numbers down to *PHerc.* 1805 (because *PHerc.* 1806 was found in 1870) must have been assigned in the years 1806-1813, because *PHerc.* 1786 was drawn by F. Celentano in 1813.⁴⁴² The fact⁴⁴³ that *PHerc.* 1719 was «provato» by V. Corazza in 1785 must imply that this papyrus was then inventoried under a different number. F. Celentano drew *PHerc.* 1787 in 1839.⁴⁴⁴ However, since it comes from the same roll as *PHerc.* 239a = O 239, I have given a preliminary edition of it above in the discussion of the latter.

PHerc. 1815 = Fr. E and F (VI 1573, Philodemus, *Rhet.* IV Edition A, Hand 27, and Philodemus, *De piet.*, Hand 12)

See above on *PHerc.* 245 and 247 respectively.

PHerc. 1816 = Fr. G (VI 1573, Latin prose, Manus 2)

The Latin fragment labelled ‘Fr. G’ has never been edited. In 1978 it was assigned the number *PHerc.* 1816.⁴⁴⁵ Its existence is remarked by Del Mastro in his list of Latin papyri from Herculaneum.⁴⁴⁶ Evidently it lost its numerical label; its original has not yet been identified. The drawing shows part of the upper margin and parts of the first four lines of writing. Since the edges of several further layers are depicted underneath, this was clearly the top of a stack of *scorze*. Scott saw nothing intelligible in this piece, calling it «perhaps Latin».⁴⁴⁷ This is too pessimistic, but the content remains obscure. The formal hand, not represented elsewhere in these *disegni*, is probably of late Republican date (see Section II).

1 - - -]ntì' quoq[ue
 - - -]ñit xē[- - -
 - - -] nūtrītis o[- - -
4 - - -]k[- - -

fons O *adest marg. sup.* *primus edidi* 1 *fort.* uigi]ntì *signum* ' non intelligo: *fort. vestigium alius paginae* 2 i *potius quam* o xē[*fort. nomen graeculi* ē: *litt. formae ignotae* 3
u: *litt. formae ignotae* rī: *potius* n o *vel* q 4 *fort.* k[alend-

«. . . twenty (?) also . . . (*plural noun missing*) having been nourished . . .»

PHerc. 1817 = O ‘1082’ and O ‘1082’ bis (VI 1568, 1570, Latin prose, Manus 1 and Manus 2)

During the making of the *Catalogo* (1978) the number 1817 was assigned to the «Latin papyrus» that was drawn as O ‘1082’ in our set of *disegni*. Unfortunately this is in two hands, as Lindsay observed.⁴⁴⁸ For O ‘1082’ see above on *PHerc.* 238a, and for O ‘1082’ *bis* see the discussion under the latter number.

PHerc. 1818 = PHerc. 1113a = O ‘1106’ (VI 1574)

The *disegni* of this piece were given the number 1818 in 1978, when the original was mistakenly thought to have been lost. See above on *PHerc.* 1113a.

PHerc. 1824 = O ‘253’ (VI 1576, ?Epicurus, ?*De nat. lib. inc.*, in Hand B of *PHerc.* 1420/1056)

See above on O ‘253’.

⁴⁴⁵ So *Papiri non inventariati*, where it is stated that the original no longer exists. So too the *CatPErc*, p. 398.

⁴⁴⁶ *Papiri latini*, p. 187.

⁴⁴⁷ SCOTT, p. 52.

⁴⁴⁸ LINDSAY, p. 443.

Fr. A = PHerc. 860 (VI 1579, Demetrius Laco, *De mus.*, Hand 4)

See above on *PHerc.* 233, which is from the same roll.

Fr. B = PHerc. 1419c (VI 1578, Philodemus, *De poem.* 2, Hand 8)

See above on *PHerc.* 1419c.⁴⁴⁹

Fr. C = PHerc. 233 (VI 1577, Demetrius Laco, *De mus.*, Hand 4)

See above on *PHerc.* 233.

Fr. D (VI 1576, author and work unknown, hand of *PHerc.* 1408 and 1489)

This piece must have been issued in 1788-1790. It was drawn after *PHerc.* 435, which was issued in Dec. 1790 and occupies the upper left corner of the same *disegno*. Its caption «Frammento D» is annotated in a different ink, but still in the hand of G. B. Malesci, «per non esservi num(er)o nel pezzo del Papiro —». This confirms that he gave it the number D, as part of the series from A to G, because seven of the papyri in his care had lost their numbers. This was therefore the fourth piece among these seven.

Few letters are preserved: only ABΓ, E, HΘIK, MN, PCTY and X. The hand of *PHerc.* 1113a is somewhat similar. Both hands are large in size and square, with B rising above the line. M has two pairs of splaying diagonals. The letters EΘOC are distinctly narrow. However, in the hand of Fr. D the T has its upright in the middle. I see a closer resemblance to the hand of *PHerc.* 1111, a small *scorza* showing the top of a column, and *PHerc.* 1119, a larger one, which have an oval O and an identical T and Y; in these pieces, the arm of E does not extend beyond the curve. Comparetti had assigned *PHerc.* 1119 to Philodemus' *Rhetoric*, but Dorandi⁴⁵⁰ notes that the writing is too archaic and the papyrus is light brown in colour, which excludes him as author and points to Demetrius Laco. It is probably from a hitherto unknown work of his on rhetoric, since the words published by Bassi⁴⁵¹ from the twelve Neapolitan *disegni* made by F. Casanova in 1830 include ῥητορικῆς. The extant *scorza* shows the top of a column.

The same hand as that of Fr. D definitely appears in *PHerc.* 1408, part of the bottom of its roll containing three to five lines, just as does Fr. D. This piece has an identical E. However, none of the latter papyri were issued during the years in question. The same script appears in *PHerc.* 1489, which was unrolled in 1808 by F. Casanova and drawn, probably in 1829, by F. Biondi. The two sheets containing six drawings are published in *HV*² XI 67-68. They show the first four lines of the top of successive columns; as I have not seen the original, I do not know what colour it is. On the basis of the hand and the very limited content, Crönert assigned them to Epicurus' *On Nature*.⁴⁵² He noted the presence of *ano stigmatai*. However, none appear in our fragment. Fr. D has never been edited or identified. It has not even been assigned a «*PHerc.*» number. Scott could make nothing out, and called the writing «large and peculiar».⁴⁵³ An assignation to Epicurus was suggested to me by J. Porter.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁹ The *Catalogo* omitted this fragment entirely.

⁴⁵⁰ DORANDI, *Precisazione*, p. 63.

⁴⁵¹ BASSI, *Frammenti inediti*, p. 347.

⁴⁵² CRÖNERT, *Neues*, p. 610.

⁴⁵³ SCOTT, p. 49.

⁴⁵⁴ Pers. comm., Sept. 2006.

incertum quot versus desint

0	[ἀ-]
1	νάγκηι, α[- - -	
	κατὰ τὰ χαι[ρ - - -	-
	νειαι θυμ[- - -	-
	αγ η κατὰ ς[- - -	
5	συμβ{ραικ}[- - -	

fr. 1b = O Fr. D, pagina b (VI 1576)

incertum quot versus desint

5 - - -]ραικ[- - -

Fr. E = *PHerc.* 245 (VI 1573, Philodemus, *Rhet.* IV Edition A, Hand 27)

See above on *PHerc.* 245.

Fr. F = *PHerc.* 247 (VI 1573, Philodemus, *De piet.*, Hand 12)

See above on *PHerc.* 247.

Fr. G = *PHerc.* 1818 (VI 1573, Latin prose, Manus 2)

See above on *PHerc.* 1818.

Sarà scritta un giorno sulle pagine di questo 'Bollettino' la cronaca della ripresa degli scavi della 'Villa dei Papiri' in Ercolano?

La pianta del Weber cesserà di essere un documento di archivio o un mero incentivo a ipotesi marginali?*

Sarà descritto un giorno lo scavo di altre ville ercolanesi?

La speranza non è incerta, ma è soprattutto in tale voto, la cui realizzazione esige tuttavia tempi non troppo brevi, che rinviene giustificazione il titolo di «Cronache Ercolanesi», organo del Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi.

MARCELLO GIGANTE

Dalla 'Premessa' al volume 1/1971

* [Riprodotta in copertina]