

A stylized, light-colored map of the Mediterranean region, including parts of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, serves as the background for the text. The map is rendered in shades of light blue and green, with white outlines for landmasses and water bodies.

**On Several Unpublished Fragments of
Book 4 of the On Rhetoric of
Philodemus of Gadara**

Mariacristina Fimiani

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On Several Unpublished Fragments of Book 4 of the On Rhetoric of Philodemus of Gadara

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The aim in view of this paper is to recognize the fragments which should be attributed to P.Hercul. 1673/1007, which contains the first draft of Philodemus of Gadara's On Rhetoric, Book 4, while the definitive edition, divided into two *volumina* for an easier use, survives only in its first part, conserved in P.Hercul. 1423. The text of both papyri does not coincide because the text readable in P.Hercul. 1423 ought to have been found in the first part of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, which is lost. And yet, first Dorandi in 1990,¹ and then, more recently, myself in 2013,² have been able to identify several textual correspondences between P.Hercul. 1423 and different 'scorze' of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, as well as between external parts of both papyri.

To recognize the fragments, I have reflected on paleographic and bibliographical factors, the shapes of the pieces and their contents. I have been able to add frs. 26, 27, 28 and D from P.Hercul. 1677 to the list of fragments attributed to P.Hercul. 1673/1007 by other scholars (P.Hercul. 224, 241, 244, 254, 418 fr. 1, 1104 *olim* 1114, 1118, 1491 frs. 9 and 12, 1077 frs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1677 frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23).³

The style and the hand of the papyrus in question are easily recognizable as belonging to the scribe 'Anonimo XI' ranked among Group H by Guglielmo Cavallo, who dates this hand no earlier than the third quarter of the first century BC and describes it as:

«scrittura dal tracciato sottile e ad andamento largo e fluente, eseguita con ductus piuttosto veloce. Si tratta di una tipologia scrittoria scarsamente attestata, la quale risulta quindi praticata da rare mani, peraltro non del tutto omogenee sotto l'aspetto di singoli elementi grafici».⁴

Cavallo, particularly describing the handwriting of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, observes that:

«alpha mostra il primo tratto e la traversa fusi con legamento a laccio, epsilon presenta la barra mediana proiettata in avanti, zeta risulta tracciato con asta interna ad andamento obliquo e la linea di base ampia e convessa, lambda e soprattutto delta mostrano il tratto discendente da sinistra a destra assai sporgente in alto, my è di tipo corsivo, ypsilon ha le linee oblique fuse in una curva larga e quasi piatta».⁵

Furthermore, I add that the *omicron* has sometimes the shape of a drop and is smaller than the other letters, the second vertical of *eta* is often curved, the first vertical stroke of *pi* sometimes is also curved, the loop in *rho* is not always completely closed, *tau* often shows a serif at the far left of the horizontal, *xi* is written with a curved middle part, and the letters are sometimes joined together.

¹ Dorandi (1990). Sudhaus (1896) VI-VII, 170, 172-174, 178-180 had already noticed some textual coincidences between several pieces that belong to both papyri, but without giving any explanation. For details, cf. Fimiani (2016) 403-404.

² Fimiani (2016) 403-404.

³ Cf. Fimiani (2012) 129-131.

⁴ Cavallo (1983) 34, 45, 63.

⁵ Cavallo (1983) 34.

The ‘mise en page’ shows that not too much care went into the manufacture: justification is barely respected on both sides, right or left; the height of the columns is ca 15 cm; the ratio between the height of the column and that of the roll is 4:5; each column contains between 25 and 30 lines, having each from 15 to 19 letters; the variable *intercolumnium* is rather narrow; at last, the ratio between the height and width of the columns is a little more than 2:1.

In the present paper, I intend to display the papyrological characteristics of the unpublished parts of the roll, i.e.: P.Hercul. 241 (which consists of eight papyrus fragments and three fragments which are still extant thanks to Neapolitan ‘disegni’ only), P.Hercul. 244 (one papyrus fragment and one fragment which only survives through an Oxford ‘disegno’), P.Hercul. 254 (two papyrus fragments and two other fragments on Neapolitan ‘disegni’), P.Hercul. 418 fr. 1 (a single papyrus fragment without any ‘disegno’), and P.Hercul. 1677 frs. 26, 27, 28 and D (none of which have been drawn).

1. P.Hercul. 241

The papyrus consists of eight fragments in one ‘cornice’. It was unrolled by Humphry Davy with the help of Francesco Celentano in 1820.⁶ We keep two Oxford ‘disegni’ of two extant fragments and four Neapolitan ‘disegni’ of five fragments, among which only two originals survive. All these ‘disegni’ were drawn by Francesco Celentano in 1820.⁷ A second series of Neapolitan ‘disegni’ is preserved with the ‘disegni’ of P.Hercul. 495; this series contains two ‘disegni’ of three fragments which no longer exist as originals and are included in the first series of Neapolitan ‘disegni’ as well. The papyrus was never published. The text of this ‘scorza’ is rather extensive and shows all the paleographic and bibliological characteristics of P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

2. P.Hercul. 244

The papyrus consists of a single piece containing the central and lower parts of a column in an extremely poor condition. If the lower margin can be discerned, it is not the case of the *intercolumnia*.

The date of its unrolling cannot be determined from the old catalogues, nor that of the unique ‘disegno’ kept at Oxford,⁸ which shows a different part of the text from that which the papyrus has. The ‘disegno’ presents the right part of the last twelve lines of a column with the right *intercolumnium* and the lower margin, and three lines which, as Janko has noticed, probably come from a ‘sovrapposto’ which was scraped off, which did not originally belong to that part of the text, but left stuck on it during the unrolling and then removed.⁹

The meagerness of the text reported by the ‘disegno’ caused it to remain unpublished in copperplate and it was not published at all until 2008, when Richard Janko included it in an article.¹⁰ As for the ‘scorza’ it still remains unedited.¹¹ On the paleographic level, the few readable letters show same characteristics as the roll to which this piece is now connected:

⁶ Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.

⁷ Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.

⁸ Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.

⁹ Janko (2008) 48.

¹⁰ Janko (2008) 48.

¹¹ The ‘scorza’ is the outermost part of the papyrus, most compact and resistant, which was taken off during the process of unrolling to simplify the work on progress. In this case, it was given a different inventory number and stored separately.

both *lambda* and *delta* have the right descender with an upward curve at the end, *omicron* is noticeably smaller than the other letters.

3. P.Hercul. 254

Under this inventory number, two pieces of papyrus are kept in a single ‘cornice’, both showing some remains of the lower parts of two columns, as a piece of the lower margin and an *intercolumnium* indicate.

This ‘scorza’ was unrolled in 1752, perhaps by Camillo Paderni. The first phase of the unrolling was stopped in 1753, and taken back up (before 1835) by Francesco Casanova, who only drew the ‘disegni’ of both pieces.¹² The first fragment contains the remains of two columns, while the second fragment shows the right part of the last lines of a column (as the lower margin and the right *intercolumnium* indicate). On the cover sheet of the Neapolitan ‘disegno’, compiled by Domenico Bassi, we read «la scorza, unica, è in minima parte l’originale del frammento n. 1 a destra». In reality, if we exclude the coincidence of a few letters, due to chance I think, the two papyrus fragments report a different text from that of the Neapolitan ‘disegno’. The text of the ‘disegno’, engraved on copperplate, was not published because of its meagerness and, as well as the ‘scorza’, remained unpublished until now. The *intercolumnium* as the handwriting are the same as of P.Hercul. 1673/1007. Distinctive are *alpha*, the median stroke in *epsilon*, the *omicron* smaller than the other letters and *rho* whose loop is not completely closed.

4. P.Hercul. 418

Fr. 1, the measures of which are 6.5 cm x 11 cm, is the only piece –of the nineteen that are catalogued under inventory number 418 in a single ‘cornice’– which seems to belong to P.Hercul. 1673/1007.¹³ It was not drawn nor published, although letters are legible, because it shows a juxtaposition of layers that renders impossible any textual reconstruction. The few letters that can be read securely confirm that it belongs to the ‘midollo’ of this copy of Philodemus’ On Rhetoric, Book 4.

5. P.Hercul. 1677

As reading on Chartes that the papyrus was unrolled in 1806 by GiovanBattista Casanova, we do not know to what part that notice refers. In fact, under this inventory number, 33 pieces of papyrus, in five ‘cornici’, are conserved, from the smallest fragments to the most extensive columns, which come from different *volumina* and belong to Philodemus’ treatises On Poetry and On Rhetoric, as well as others not yet identified. From P.Hercul. 1673/1007 there come frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23, 26, 27, 28 and D (the last four I identified in 2012).¹⁴

We know that nineteen Neapolitan ‘disegni’ of the papyrus, drawn in 1843-1844 by Carlo Malesci, did exist. They are currently missing (they were not located in the 1993 census of material), but they very probably reflected the same situation that the Collectio Altera does, namely, of the fragments On Rhetoric, Book 4: only frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, and 23 have been drawn, then published,¹⁵ but not the other four that I identified in the last ‘cornice’, and still

¹² Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.

¹³ The others belong to a work by Metrodorus, as we read in Spinelli (1986).

¹⁴ Fimiani (2012) 130-131.

¹⁵ HV (1876).

unedited. Furthermore, frs. 8, 9 and 12, already present in the *Collectio*, were recently taken into account by Tiziano Dorandi,¹⁶ who revealed textual coincidences with P.Hercul. 1423, which contains the other copy of Book 4 of Philodemus' *On Rhetoric*.

Well, in two of the four fragments of P.Hercul. 1677 which I identified in 2012, I was able to bring to the fore several new correspondences with P.Hercul. 1423: namely frs. 26 and 27 of P.Hercul. 1677 correspond, respectively, to P.Hercul. 1423 col. XX, ll. 21-22 and P.Hercul. 1423 col. XVIII, ll. 13-17.¹⁷ I will discuss these sections of text in another article.

After reading the last two lines of a column in fr. 26 of P.Hercul. 1677 (shown to be such by the presence of the lower margin), and taking into account the average number of lines for column in this papyrus is between 25 and 30, I deduced that ca 23-28 lines were probably above the two legible ones.

As for the number of missing letters, notwithstanding the fact that the margins are not visible, I was able to determine that if the fragment has hardly lost something on the left side by means of comparison with the text in P.Hercul. 1423, the loss was much greater on the right side.

The hand is clearly that of Cavallo's 'Anonimo XI': characteristic are the curved *alpha*, the cursive *my*, the *delta* with its elongated right descender, the *pi* with curved first vertical and the *tau* with a serif on the left end of the horizontal stroke.

The number of letters that P.Hercul. 1677 has on one line or a bit more needs about two lines in P.Hercul. 1423: this is a clear sign of the format differences between both papyri. The first one, P.Hercul. 1677, is characterized by a particularly wide column which takes up as much space on the writing surface as possible, while the other (P.Hercul. 1423) shows a column narrower by a little less than half: that proves the second scribe wanted to produce a refined product, with a slim and airy column. This impression is confirmed by a most visible difference between the handwritings: the hand of the draft is much less careful and the letters are smaller in size.

Fr. 27 conserves the last three lines of a column in their whole length, as can be seen from the presence of the lower margin and the *intercolumnia*. On the basis of a comparison with the 'midollo', it is possible to calculate that about 22-27 lines are lost in the upper part. The curved *alpha*, the *delta* with its elongated right descender, the *tau* with a serif on the left end of the horizontal stroke, and the *eta* with the curved right vertical do connect that 'scorza' with P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

We can also notice that the text of three lines in P.Hercul. 1677 corresponds to about five lines in P.Hercul. 1423, which confirms that the final edition had narrower columns than the draft, and the different quality of the hands and 'mises en page' is evident here as well.

Frs. 28 and D are very damaged, especially because of a multilayered stratigraphy, but the few letters we can read on them ensure us that they do belong to P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

The present study, as well as a presentation of the fragments of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, offers new textual correspondences that help us to reconstruct the pieces' order, confirm the belonging of these to P.Hercul. 1673/1007 and one more time reaffirm that this one included the entire Book 4 of *On Rhetoric*, also the part corresponding to the whole P.Hercul. 1423 which was lost during the unrolling.

¹⁶ Dorandi (1990).

¹⁷ The numeration of the columns is mine, and larger than that of Sudhaus because of a column I first reconstructed. Cf. Fimiani (2012) 123-125.

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