



# **P.Hercul. 1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results and Prospective Researches**

**Valeria Piano**

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## **P.Hercul. 1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results and Prospective Researches\***

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P.Hercul. 1067 is one of the most studied Latin papyri in the Herculaneum collection. A remarkable amount of scholarly inquiry has been devoted to its palaeographical peculiarities (cf. *infra*). Moreover, in an article published in 1984<sup>1</sup> Felice Costabile attempted at an overall interpretation of the text and, without producing a proper edition of the papyrus, understood the text as an *oratio in Senatu habita ante principem*, mostly relying on the textual evidence provided by the Neapolitans ‘disegni’. A new comprehensive study of the papyrus argues against this interpretation and allows to construe the text as a literary work of historical nature, most probably composed by Seneca the Elder.

This paper presents some of the results obtained from the thorough re-assessment of P.Hercul. 1067, and will focus on three main aspects:<sup>2</sup>

1. The bibliological features of the roll as they were gathered from its virtual reconstruction.
2. The ‘mise en page’ of the text and the palaeographical features of the script.
3. An evaluation of the work contained in the papyrus in the light of significant new textual evidence.

### 1. The roll

P.Hercul. 1067 consists of 16 ‘pezzi’ (henceforth ‘pz.’)<sup>3</sup> framed in 10 ‘cornici’ (henceforth ‘cr.’), which are numbered from 1 to 9.<sup>4</sup> A first portion of the papyrus was unrolled with the Piaggio machine in 1809 by Gennaro Casanova; Vincenzo Orsini completed the work in 1820. Francesco Celentano made ten out of the fourteen ‘disegni’ in 1820 (henceforth *N*); Raffaele Biondi made the remaining four in 1856 (henceforth *N*<sup>2</sup>).

The old catalogues stored at the Officina dei Papiri in Naples<sup>5</sup> provide pieces of evidence that are mostly consistent with what can be deduced from the current arrangement of the ‘pezzi’ in their ‘cornici’. Five of the ten ‘cornici’ (crr. 1-5) contain 6 ‘pezzi’ of papyrus glued on blue ‘cartoncino’: they are the more legible ones and have been selected in order to be hung up

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<sup>1</sup> Costabile (1984).

<sup>2</sup> Piano (2017a) contains an exhaustive analysis of the papyrus in papyrological, bibliological and palaeographical terms, as well as the *editio princeps* of the text; the textual fragments of the papyrus are quoted according to the classification adopted in the ed. pr. as illustrated in Piano (2017a) 188-189.

<sup>3</sup> The relevant entry of the *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, edited by Marcello Gigante in 1979, describes the papyrus as constituted by 15 ‘pezzi’: Gigante (1979) 254. Despite the first impression, cr. 1 contains two pieces and not just one; cf. Piano (2017a) 168.

<sup>4</sup> Cr. 6 pz. I was kept in the same ‘cornice’ of cr. 6 pz. II until 2004, when it was mounted on a wooden support and framed in a new ‘cornice’; the numbering of the ‘cornici’, however, has not been changed in order to avoid confusion in the classification of the pieces; see Travaglione / Del Mastro (2005).

<sup>5</sup> A detailed presentation of the information supplied by old catalogues is given in Piano (2017a) 165-170.



and displayed on the wall of the third room of the Officina in 1853.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, the remaining 5 ‘cornici’ (cr. 6-9) contain 9 ‘pezzi’ in total: they are all in very poor condition and glued on old white paper.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of their shape and size, the 16 ‘pezzi’ of P.Hercul. 1067 can be divided into two groups.

- a. The first one consists of pieces the height of which is between 16 and 19.5 cm (cr. 1, pzz. I and II; cr. 2 pz. I; cr. 3 pz. I; cr. 4 pz. I; cr. 6 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pz. I; cr. 8 pz. I; cr. 9 pzz. I and II).
- b. The second group includes pieces that are 6-8 cm high (cr. 5 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pz. II; cr. 8 pz. II; cr. 9 pz. III).

The measurement of the circumferences shows that the higher fragments (group 1) come from the outer portion of the roll, while the others (group 2) from an inner portion. Moreover, some of the ‘pezzi’ of group 2 have circumferences of the same length, which means that they constitute the upper or the bottom half of the same sections of papyrus, as the preservation of the bottom margin in a fragment (cr. 7 pz. II) also confirms. More precisely, cr. 7 pz. II represents the bottom half of cr. 5 pz. I, and cr. 8 pz. II has to be placed below cr. 5 pz. II.

These morphological features suggests that, after unrolling most of the roll (more than 11 m), the ‘midollo’ of P.Hercul. 1067 had broken into two smaller portions, which have been entirely unrolled after the crack. The upper part is better preserved than the bottom one. Indeed, only the upper part is extant in the final portion of the roll and, fortunately, it contains traces of the *subscriptio* (cr. 9 pz. III).

As it usually happens with Herculaneum papyri, the ‘cornici’ have been misnumbered: the order in which fragments have to be put into sequence does not correspond to the sequence in which the ‘cornici’ have been numbered.

The size of each circumference, which is what led me to establish the original order of the fragments, has been gained through the study of different kinds of material features and damages. Pieces that were part of the roll’s outer portion show a fold at about half of their height, having the shape of a small triangle (about 2.5 cm high), with the basis parallel to the upper edge (fig. 1, blue triangle). The oblique legs of this small triangular fold are part of another triangular fold, much wider than the first and oriented upside down (fig. 1, red triangle). The two vertices at the basis of the second (and bigger) triangle coincide with the vertex of the smaller triangle that is oriented towards the bottom edge of the papyrus. In these fragments (= group 1), the distance between the two vertices at the basis of a big triangular fold determines the size of the circumference (fig. 1).

Judging from the morphology of the pieces in group 1, moreover, the small triangular fold must have constituted a very fragile area of the papyrus: the outer pieces show several material damages in coincidence with the vertices of the small triangle and the virtual reconstruction of the roll encourages to assume that the fold coincides with the point in which the ‘midollo’ broke into two smaller portions during the second phase of unrolling.

<sup>6</sup> On the different kinds of ‘cartoncino’ and on the information that can be drawn from this support, see Essler (2006); (2010).

<sup>7</sup> Among these 9 pieces (cr. 6 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pzz. I and II; cr. 8 pzz. I and II; cr. 9 pzz. I-III) only cr. 6 pz. I is glued on a newer sheet of paper: indeed, it was placed on a paper support only in 2004, on the occasion of the most recent operation of re-arrangement of fragments without wooden support, on which cf. *supra* n. 4.

The anatomy of the roll and its virtual reconstruction led me to establish the following sequence of ‘pezzi’:

Cr., Pz.	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Circumferences
6, I	42 x 19.5	2 extant circumferences: 19.6-19.4 cm
8, I	37.5 x 15.7	2 extant circumferences: 18.2-18 cm
7, I	~ 49 [40.6 + 8 ca.] <sup>8</sup> x 16	1 extant circumference in the part visible: 16.3 cm
1, I	24 x 17.5	1 extant circumference: 15 cm
9, I + 1, II	Cr. 9 pz. I: 10 x 17.5 Cr. 1 pz. II: 17.7 x 17.5	2 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: ~ [14.7-14.5] cm
9, II	13 x 17	1 reconstructed circumference; estimated length: ~ [14.3] cm
6, II	38.3 x 17.5	3 extant circumferences: 12.7-12.5 cm
2, I	32.5 x 17.7	1 extant and 1 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: 11.9 cm-[11.8] cm
3, I	40.5 x 17	1 reconstructed and 2 extant circumferences; estimated length: [10.7]-10.1 cm
4, I	40 x 16.6	3 extant and 1 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: 8.8-[8.3] cm
5, I + 7, II	Cr. 5 pz. I: 38.8 x 8.5 Cr. 7 pz. II: 37.5 x 7.7	5 extant circumferences: 6.3-5.8 cm 5 extant circumferences: 6.5-5.9 cm
5, II + 8, II	Cr. 5 pz. II: 31.5 x 8 Cr. 8 pz. II: 37.5 x 7	5 extant circumferences: 5.3-4.9 cm 8 extant circumferences: 5-4.1 cm
9, III	27.5 x 8	8 circumferences, estimated length: 3.9-[2.4 ?] ca. cm

The outermost extant circumference of P.Hercul. 1067 is about 19.6 cm (cr. 6 pz. I), while the innermost one, which represents the very end of the roll, or a part that was very close to its end, is about 2.6/2.4 cm.

The average decline in circumference is about 1.7 mm. In light of that, the papyrus’ extant fragments enable to reconstruct a roll of about 13 m in length. Given the maximum diameter of the unopened roll, which was about 3 ‘once’ (= 6.6 cm ca.),<sup>9</sup> one may estimate the original length of the roll to be about 14.5 m at most, giving a total loss of 150 cm ca. from the beginning. However, since the measurement of the maximum diameter is to be referred to a scroll that was «compresso in varie guise» and no longer cylindrical in shape, the original total extension of the *volumen* was most probably shorter than 14.5 m, a figure which represents the ideal length of a roll with a diameter of 6.6 cm and perfectly cylindrical in shape.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A portion of the piece is folded back upon itself (ca. 8 cm, right half of the ‘pezzo’); the lower and the upper part together must cover a surface of about 16 cm that is not legible nor covered in the multispectral image.

<sup>9</sup> The measurement is recorded in Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004) 85, the oldest catalogue of the Herculaneum papyri, dating back to the first months of 1782. It contains the physical description of the unopened rolls from P.Hercul. 312 up to P.Hercul. 1695.

<sup>10</sup> On the relation between the maximum diameter of a given papyrus, registered by the 1782 catalogue, and the length of its first circumference, see Assante (2010). It is worth noticing that the bibliological parameters that

The roll was lacking its upper part already at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which is when the oldest catalogue of the Herculaneum papyri dates back to. The original height of the entire *volumen* is thus unknown, but, if one takes into account (a) the sizes recorded in the 1782 catalogue, (b) the extension of the preserved portion of the bottom margin, (c) the height of the letters and of the interlinear space, one may estimate that the roll was at least 28-30 cm high. The minimum extension of the margins is supposed to be of 3 and 4 cm for the upper and the bottom one, respectively.

## 2. 'Mise en page' and palaeography

According to this reconstruction, the estimated height of the original column was about [22-23] cm, for [28-30] lines. Given the complex stratigraphy of the papyrus, which is almost entirely composed by multi-layered pieces, the beginning and the end of the same column cannot be detected in any of the preserved pieces. Nevertheless, the width of a column can be calculated on the basis of virtual reconstruction: thanks to a careful evaluation of the layers that constitute some 'pezzi' of the papyrus, it is possible to estimate that a column is about [16-20] cm wide. The scribe justifies only the left margin and he does not split words on two consecutive lines: thus, the *intercolumnium* varies from 1.5 to 3.5 cm. *Apices* and *interpuncta* are fairly regular.<sup>11</sup>

The scribe resorts to a number of graphic strategies in order to mark different textual sections. In cr. 2 pz. I, traces of a *paragraphos* can be spotted in the initial portion of a column.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, a line written in *ekthesis* occurs in cr. 3 pz. I, close to the left edge of the 'pezzo', where the word *dixit* is shifted two letters to the left.<sup>13</sup> Most importantly, in one case signs that cannot be associated to a reliable sequence of letters are visible in the *intercolumnium* preserved in a layer of papyrus that also contains the beginning of a new column (5 pz. I, second *intercolumnium*, roughly at l. 9): the shape of each sign is similar to the letter *M*, but they are narrower and without 'emphatements' at the end of the strokes (fig. 2). Since neither *JMAM* nor *JMVM* is possible, the signs might be understood as decorative elements aimed at marking a new textual section.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, cr. 2 contains an annotation written in the *intercolumnium*, which can be spotted at the centre of the piece, exactly 12 cm to the right from the left edge and 9 cm down from the upper edge.<sup>15</sup> This is supposed to be the first marginal annotation ever attested in a Latin papyrus. It was probably written by the same hand as the rest of the text, just after the end of the line, in significantly smaller letters and with a more rapid *ductus*. An *interpunctum* marks the separation from the main text, which seems to end with a verbal form ending with *Jupprat*, that must be associated with a simple or compounded form of the verb *stupro*. The annotation is not easy to read. Despite what appears from the multispectral image, which is not very reliable in this case, the original indicates *J · muliē[r-* or *Jā · muliē[r-* as most plausible readings.

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emerge from the present reconstruction of P.Hercul. 1067 are fully in line with those provided by Capasso (2007).

<sup>11</sup> Pace Townsend (1969) 31.

<sup>12</sup> Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 5, col. II 5-6 (MSI [Multispectral Images] n° 1067-CR02-10953); cf. Piano (2017a) 185 and 209.

<sup>13</sup> Cr. 3 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 1 (MSI n° 1067-CR03-10960); cf. Piano (2017a) 185 and 213.

<sup>14</sup> MSI n° 1067-CR05-2-10977. For a more detailed description of these decorative elements, cf. Piano (2017a) 185-186; a possible parallel can be found in a much later item, the famous papyrus codex P.Monts.Roca I 1 p. 23 (IV<sup>2</sup>), where similar decorative elements are employed in order to mark the passage from the first to the second Catilinaria; cf. Ammirati (2015) 57-60.

<sup>15</sup> Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 4 (MSI n° 1067-CR02-10954); cf. Piano (2017a) 186 and 206-209.

The script of P.Hercul. 1067 represents one of the finest examples of Capital Roman Script in existence.<sup>16</sup> The scribe's experienced hand shows a slightly more rapid *ductus* than the one of P.Hercul. 1475, resulting into a less rigid script endowed with a more delicate shading. *A* is the most typical letter: it is made in three strokes and not in two, as palaeographic descriptions usually assert, with the middle bar transformed in a small sloping dash attached to the basis of the second stroke. This is often attested in coeval ancient cursive and in papyri dating in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, though some of its occurrences also feature in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> In many cases –including the *subscriptio*– the *A*'s third stroke is very helpful in distinguishing that letter from *M*, which, otherwise, would look like a double *A*.

The script of P.Hercul. 1067 is similar to the one of P.Hercul. 1066. However, they were written by different hands,<sup>18</sup> as the shape of letters like *A* and *B* clearly shows. In P.Hercul. 1066 *A* seems in two and not three strokes, and *B* is narrower and taller than in P.Hercul. 1067. Moreover, in P.Hercul. 1066 the upper loop of the *B* is very small and completely closed,<sup>19</sup> while in P.Hercul. 1067 it is always open and never touches the vertical stroke.

### 3. New readings and *subscriptio*

The poor condition of P.Hercul. 1067 makes it very difficult to read most of the text preserved on the extant 16 'pezzi'. In some cases, what can be read confirms the readings previously advanced by Bassi and Costabile: for instance, the two occurrences of the word *Senatus* the scholars detected<sup>20</sup> are indeed legible on the papyrus,<sup>21</sup> which probably contains, in the same portion of the text, another occurrence of a term coming from the same root.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the autopsy supports the presence of *ci/vica* in cr. 4 (~ fr. 9 N, l. 2), on a layer of papyrus containing another term connected with the same word (*civi*l, ~ fr. 9 N, l. 9), and the mention of a not better specified *vir prudens* (~ fr. 9 N, l. 7).<sup>23</sup>

By contrast, the original does not provide any evidence in support of those readings Costabile especially relied on to argue that the text was an oration actually delivered before the Senate. As the multispectral images also show (fig. 3), the phrases *s]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani* (cr. 3 pz. I fr. 4 N, ll. 20-22) and *nos creamus* (cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 2 ~ fr. 1 N, l. 12) cannot be confirmed. The former phrase contrasts with the palaeographic evidence, which

<sup>16</sup> Nicolaj (1973) 11-16; Cavallo (1984) 28-29 and Cavallo (2015) 12; Costabile (1984) 591-593 (with previous bibliography); Radiciotti (1998) 357; Ammirati (2010) 32; Capasso (2011) 61-62; Fioretti (2014) spec. 42 and n. 48.

<sup>17</sup> Among the many examples, see e.g. P.Iand. V 90*recto* (= Cic. Ver. 2.2-3; 1<sup>st</sup> century CE) and *verso* (= Ch.L.A. XI 492; 1<sup>st</sup> century CE); P.Berol. inv. 8507*r* (*post* 41-54 CE); P.Mich. VII 456 + P.Yale inv. 1158*r* («pieno I secolo», Ammirati [2015] 28); PSI 1183*r* fr. b (mid. 1<sup>st</sup> century CE); P.Masada 727 fr. b (*ante* 73-74 BCE); P.Gen. inv. Lat. 1*r*, part I = Ch.L.A. I 7 a (81 or 83 BCE) and inv. n. Lat. 4 = Ch.L.A. I 9 (end of 1<sup>st</sup> century CE); P.Mich. III 167 + P.Mich. VII p. 1 n° 167 (103 CE); P.Mich. VII 433 (110 CE). It is worth noting that Mallon (1952) 178 (Planche XIII 2) considers the presence of the third stroke in P.Mich. VII 433 as 'tardive'.

<sup>18</sup> Pace Ammirati (2010) 32. Del Mastro (2005) 191 and n. 80 highlights the similarity of the two scripts, but excludes that fragments of P.Hercul. 1066 and 1067 were part of the same original roll on the basis of the length of the circumferences.

<sup>19</sup> Cf., e.g., MSI n° 1066-CR04-05436.

<sup>20</sup> Bassi (1926) 210-211; Costabile (1984) 594.

<sup>21</sup> Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 6, l. 9 (~ fr. 2 N, l. 13): *] sena[t-;* cr. 3 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 3, l. 8 (~ fr. 2 N, l. 8): *Senātuf;* Piano (2017a) 210 and 216-217.

<sup>22</sup> Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 6, l. 10 (~ fr. 2 N, l. 14): *] sena[f* or *] senē[f;* Piano (2017a) 210-211.

<sup>23</sup> Cr. 4 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 2 (MSI n° 1067-CR04-10970); Piano (2017a) 225-226. Costabile identifies the *vir prudens* with M. Antistius Labeo whose name was read by Costabile in cr. 3 (Costabile [1984] 594-595); unfortunately, the original does not confirm the mention of Labeo: the letters belong to different papyrus' layers; cf. Piano (2017) 213-214.

induces to read ] *hóc* · *p*[ ] *ē*[/, while in the latter case, only the letters ] *ē* · *ra* · [ can be read.<sup>24</sup> The same can be said for another significant phrase, *nos viros esse* (cr. 4, strato 1, app. cr. l. 7 ~ fr. 8 N, l. 7), which, like the others, can be read only on the Neapolitans ‘disegni’.<sup>25</sup> The ‘disegni’, however, are not reliable for P.Hercul. 1067, because of the many ‘sovrapposti’ that Celentano or Biondi did not correctly single out.

While some of the key phrases on which Costabile’s interpretation relies on cannot be accepted, the fact remains that the work’s distinctive trait is its strong political character. In particular, the prosopography that emerges from the papyrus provides the most useful hints to reconstruct the text’s historical framework and to advance proposals for the nature of the work.

As Gianluca Del Mastro rightly pointed out in 2005, cr. 6 pz. II contains the mention of a Caesar (*Caés[a]re*).<sup>26</sup> When inspecting the original, I gathered other pieces of evidence that can help clarifying the context of such a mention. First, the indubitable presence of the word ] *bell*[ in the line after the one containing *Caés[a]re*, makes it plausible to think that the author is dealing with a warlike episode in which one of the ‘Caesars’ was involved. Moreover, in the circumference that follows the one containing *Caés[a]re* and ] *bell*[ one can clearly read the word ] *o* · *Gall*[/, which is written on a different papyrus layer but at the same height of ] *bell*[. A careful evaluation of the papyrus’ layers suggests that the two layers containing *Caés[a]re* and ] *bell*[/, and ] *o* · *Gall*[/ have to be joined, so that *Caés[a]re* (l. 4) and ] *bell*o · *Gall*[ico [ (l. 5) are to be placed in two consecutive lines<sup>27</sup> (fig. 4). In the light of that, it is plausible to suppose a reference to Julius Caesar and to his war in Gallia.

A new occurrence of the name Augustus, in addition to the one already recognised by Bassi (cf. infra), is probably contained in cr. 2 where, close to the left edge of the ‘pezzo’, one can read *A*] *u*[*g*] *usto* (cr. 2 pz. I, ‘sovrapposto’ 2, l. 2, ~ fr. 1 N, l. 9). Finally, the last mention of a member of the *gens Iulia* occurs in cr. 5 pz. II, where the papyrus shows the name of Tiberius in the nominative case (*Tiberius*, fig. 5).<sup>28</sup> This mention is particularly relevant for reasons concerning the dating of P.Hercul. 1067, and it occurs some columns after the vocative *Auguste*.

The direct address to the Emperor (cr. 5 pz. I, ‘sovrapposto’ 1, col. I 3: *Auguste*) is clearly legible on one of the best preserved papyrus’ layers, featured also by prominent political vocabulary, phrases in the first person singular and plural (cr. 5 pz. I, ‘sovrapposto’ 1, col. I 2-4, 7: ] *nostr*[/, ] *dam*[/, ] *repetam*[/, ] *inquar*[/) and the word ] *a*[*doption*[/ (cr. 5 pz. I, ‘sovrapposto’ 1, col. II 6). These elements, partially noticed also by Costabile, led the scholar to understand the text as an *oratio* delivered before the Senate, after that the *princeps* –i.e. Octavianus– assumed the name of *Augustus* (post 27 BC).<sup>29</sup> However, the newly established text and the analysis of the *subscriptio* are in contrast with this hypothesis.

The first line of the title provides crucial evidence in this respect.<sup>30</sup> It was Gianluca Del Mastro who first brought the recognition of the *subscriptio* in the last piece of P.Hercul. 1067 to scholarly attention. Noticing a precise correspondence between the letters legible in the

<sup>24</sup> Piano (2017a) 218-219 and 204-205.

<sup>25</sup> Piano (2017a) 224-225. On all the points discussed above, cf. Costabile (1984) 594-595.

<sup>26</sup> Del Mastro (2005) 191.

<sup>27</sup> For further details see Piano (2017a) 198-202.

<sup>28</sup> Cr. 5 pz. II, ‘sovrapposto’ 1, l. 8 (MSI n° 1067-CR05-10982); Piano (2017a) 235-237. Despite the damaged condition of the written surface, the reading is certain.

<sup>29</sup> Costabile (1984) 594-595. The vocative *Auguste* was read for the first time by D. Bassi (cf. Bassi [1926] 211); on all the new readings and for overall interpretation of the fragment see Piano (2017a) 229-233.

<sup>30</sup> On the first line of the title see Piano (2016).



first line of the title of P.Hercul. 1067 and the ones read and ascribed by Costabile to P.Hercul. 1475, Del Mastro rightly suggested that when Costabile studied the two papyri, their two last ‘cornici’ got mixed up.<sup>31</sup> The autopsy supports this hypothesis: the *subscriptio* Costabile described in his analysis of P.Hercul. 1475 is actually written on P.Hercul. 1067, but the letters constituting the first line are different from the ones the scholar recognised. Indeed, it was not Manlius Torquatus that composed the work contained in P.Hercul. 1067, as usually stated (i.e. *L. Mā[n]li Torqua[t]i*), but a member of the Annean family, whose *praenomen* was Lucius.

As Robert Marichal had already partially understood in his unpublished researches on Latin papyri from Herculaneum,<sup>32</sup> the *nomen* of the author preserved in cr. 9 pz. III starts with *ANNAE[* and not with *MA[*, as previously read. The first triangular letter, having the third descending stroke attached to the basis of the second one, is definitely *A*; the same can be said of the fifth letter of the line. Moreover, after the first *A*, two *N* are clearly legible, despite the little ‘sovrapposto’ placed on the upper part of the first *N*, and the papyrus crack occurring in correspondence with the third stroke of the second *N*. Finally, after the second *A*, it is possible to see traces of ink belonging to a vertical stroke, slightly sloping to the left, and to a horizontal one, placed on the notional base-line: they are certainly part of *E* (fig. 6a).

Yet, the traces that provide decisive evidence for reconstructing the first line of the *subscriptio* are placed on a little ‘sovrapposto’, visible after a lacuna of two letters following the *E* of *Annae[*. These traces belong to two letters. A little stroke descending to the left from the notional base-line and the curved end of an oblique stroke indicate that the first letter is surely *A*. What remains of the second one is compatible with *E*: despite the physical deformation and the cracks in the papyrus, it is possible to recognise a horizontal stroke placed on the notional base-line and a part of a vertical one. In the circumference that follows the one containing the ‘sovrapposto’, the papyrus shows a lacuna where the ‘sovrapposto’ has to be placed. Its virtual moving to the original place brings the letters *JAĒ* in a position which is compatible with the genitive ending of the author’s name. What remains of the first line is:

*L[.] Annae[. . . . .] aē,*

which perfectly bears the following supplement (fig. 6b):

*L [.] Annae[.] Senec]aē.*

In conclusion, the new inspection of cr. 9 pz. III of P.Hercul. 1067 shows that the work contained in that carefully produced book-roll is ascribable with certainty to one of the two Seneca. The historical tenor of the text, the proper names occurring in the papyrus, and the absence of philosophical expressions make Seneca the Elder the most likely candidate.

Unfortunately, the second line of the title is very fragmentary. Nevertheless, a careful inspection of the scanty palaeographic evidence shows that it is surprisingly compatible with the possible title of the historical work written by Seneca. Along with *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*, Seneca the Elder composed a historical work, on which he had been working until the very end of his life. His son, the philosopher Seneca, presents it as a remarkable analysis of the history of Rome (*res Romanae*) «from the origin of the civil wars» (*ab initio bellorum civilium*).<sup>33</sup> The surviving traces of the ink in the second line of the *subscriptio* fit pretty well with the phrase *ab initio bellorum civilium* (*ab [.] inītiō [.] bello]rum [.] civilium*), while they

<sup>31</sup> Del Mastro (2005) 192 and Costabile (1984) 597-599.

<sup>32</sup> I devoted a specific paper to this topic: Piano (2017b).

<sup>33</sup> Sen. Vita patr. fr. 15 Haase = 74 T1 Cornell; in addition to this testimony scholars ascribe two fragments to Seneca’s work, on which see Cornell (2013) vol. 1 n° 74, 505-508 (with a complete bibliography) and Canfora (2015) 138-213.

show a little compatibility with the alleged title of the rhetorical work, *Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores*.<sup>34</sup>

All these elements strongly suggest that P.Hercul. 1067 contained part of the historical work composed by Seneca the Elder, probably a book or a portion of a book that was dealing with the final part of Augustus' Empire or with the age of Tiberius. In any case, independently from the identification of the literary work, the authorship of Seneca the Elder and the prosopography emerging from the papyrus makes us sure that the text was composed about the end of the thirties and, thus, that the roll must be dated towards the middle of the first century CE.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> For a detailed discussion of the second line of the *subscriptio* see Piano (2017a) 242-246.

<sup>35</sup> For further details see Piano (2017a) 246-250.

Plates\*

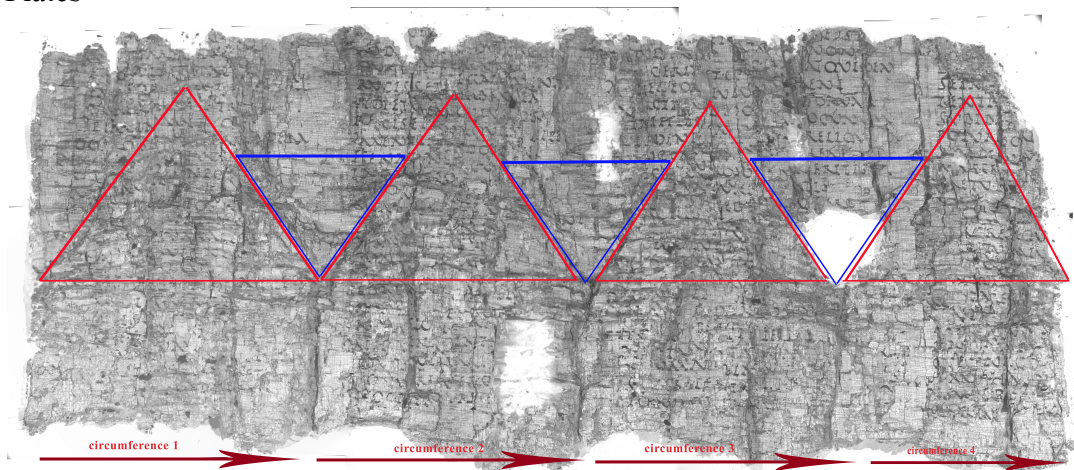


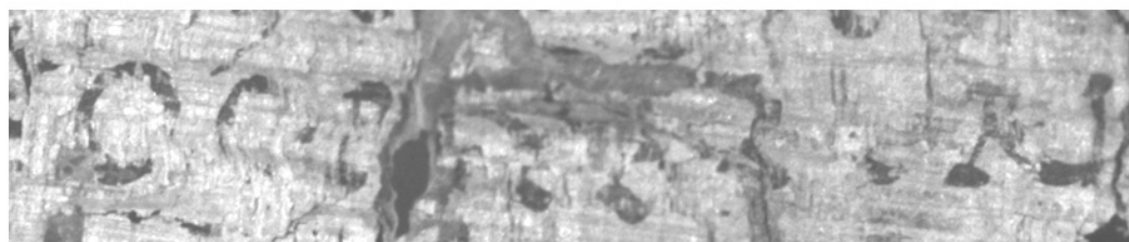
Fig. 1 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 3 pz. I, Pattern of folds

The image shows the pattern of the folds detected to measure the circumferences of the roll.



Fig. 2 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 5 pz. I, Decorative elements

The image shows the decorative elements probably employed in order to mark a new textual section.



Piano *] hóc · pf ] . ẹ!*  
Costabile *s]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani*

Fig. 3 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 3 pz. I, fr. 4 N, l. 22: *S]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani*?

The image shows the new reading challenging the one proposed by Costabile.

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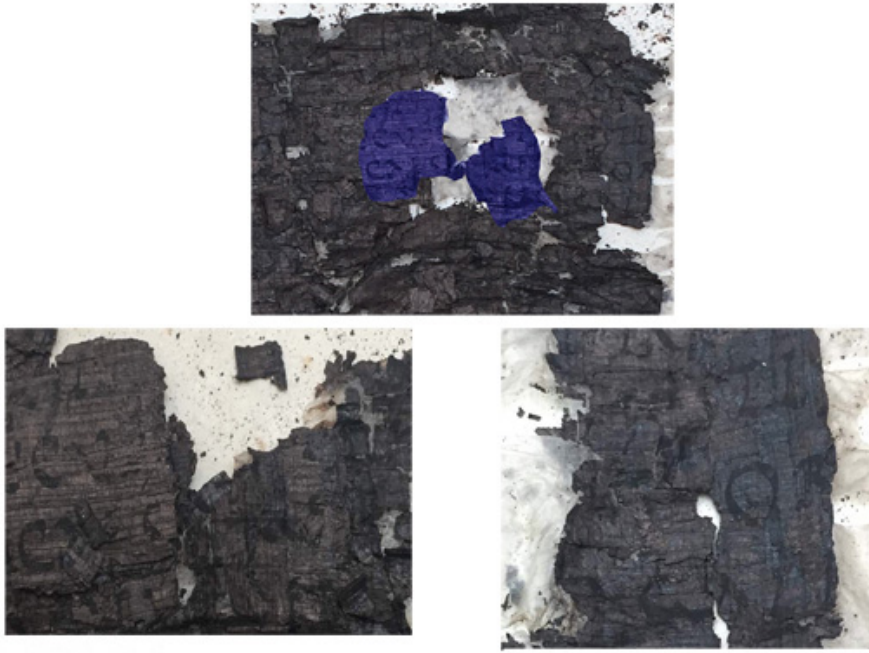


Fig. 4 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 6 pz. II, ] Caés[a]re and ] bello · Gall[ico ?

The image shows the virtual joining of the two different layers containing the words ] Caés[a]re, ] bello and ]o · Gall[, giving the possible sequence ] Caés[a]re, ] bello · Gall[ico.

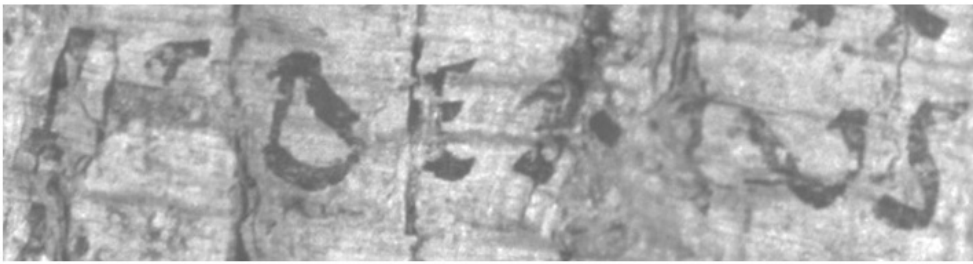


Fig. 5 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 5 pz. II, ] Tiberius [

The image shows the mention of *Tiberius*.

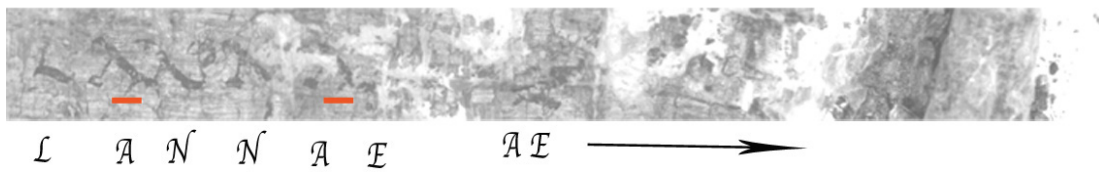


Fig. 6a P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 9 pz. III, *scriptio* l. 1

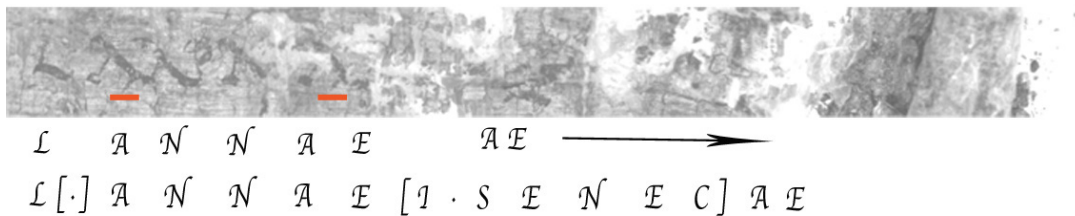


Fig. 6b P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 9 pz. III, The author's name

The images show the new reading of the first line of the *scriptio* (*L [.] Annae[i] · Senec[ae]*) challenging the previous one, proposed by Costabile (*L. Ma[n]li Torqua[t]i*).