Christian Jensen’s and Wolfgang Schmid's Unpublished Herculanean Papers: 
A Preliminary Report on the Content and the Relevance of the Material

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A. In the spring of 2007 Karl August Neuhausen of Bonn University presented me with the Herculanean collectanea of his former teacher Wolfgang Schmid, of which a part had previously belonged to Schmid's teacher, Christian Jensen. The purpose of this paper is to give a preliminary account of the material.

B. The significance of Jensen and Schmid for Herculanean Papyrology

Christian Jensen\(^1\) was introduced by Siegfried Sudhaus\(^2\) at Kiel University to a solid tradition of Herculanean scholarship, which went back to Franz Bücheler\(^3\) and Hermann Usener.\(^4\) These two outstanding classicists had encouraged several young scholars at Bonn University to prepare Teubner editions of Herculanean papyri.\(^5\) Johannes Kemke edited Philodemus, *De musica*\(^6\) and Alfred Körte published, as a part of his *Metrodori Epicurei fragmenta*, *P.Herc.* 831.\(^7\) The most important achievement, however, was Siegfried Sudhaus’ *Philodemi volumina rhetorica*, the largest Teubner edition of Philodemus ever prepared. Further work was also done on Philodemus’ *On Poems*. August Hausrath edited the papyri which he had attributed to the second Book\(^8\) and in 1895 the 22-year-old Gottfried Kentenich completed a Bonn *Preisschrift* of almost all the Philodemean papyri containing this work.\(^9\)

Jensen published the Teubner edition of Philodemus’ *Περὶ οἰκονομίας* at the age of 23 and five years later Book 10 of *Περὶ κακιῶν*. To this day, neither has been replaced.\(^10\) His most outstanding Herculanean work, however, was his publication of the fifth Book of *On Poems*. He is also known for his edition of Hypereides and his work on Menander. His fellow student, Karl Wilke, moreover, published an edition of *Polystrati Epicurei Περὶ ἀλόγου καταφρονήσεως libellus* in 1905, which had also been supervised by Sudhaus at Kiel University,\(^11\) and in 1915 edited *Philodemi De ira liber*.

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\(^1\) On Jensen cf. Deubner 1942; Olivieri 1941; Mette 1980, 93f; Gigante 1988, 40–42.
\(^2\) On Sudhaus cf. Vollmer 1915; Mette 1980, 74 and 91.
\(^3\) On Franz Bücheler’s importance for the Herculanean papyri cf. Gigante 1988, 20f.
\(^5\) See below, p. 295.
\(^6\) Mette 1980, 50; Gigante 1988, 27.
\(^7\) Mette 1980, 69. The papyrus has now been recognized as containing the *Protrepticus* of Demetrius Laco.
\(^8\) Mette 1980, 67.
Jensen's university career took him, after his Habilitation at Marburg in 1910, from a position as extraordinary professor at Königsberg to chairs at Jena, Königsberg, Kiel, Bonn and Berlin,\(^{12}\) where he died of a heart attack in 1940.

He supervised several doctoral theses on Herculanean papyri in the course of his career.\(^{13}\) At Königsberg, Adolf Schober produced an edition of Philodemi De pietate pars prior, since recognized as the pars secunda by Dirk Obbink. Josef Heidmann, another of his pupils, edited a papyrus of Philodemus’ On Poems (P.Herc. 1676).

Jensen’s most eminent pupil was Wolfgang Schmid, who before writing his dissertation on the so-called Ethica Comparetti\(^{14}\) had already published an important study entitled Epikurs Kritik der platonischen Elementenlehre.\(^{15}\) Though later extending his interests to late Latin and Christian literature, Schmid retained an active interest in Herculanean, Epicurean und Lucretian scholarship throughout his career. He was one of the founders of the Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi.\(^{16}\)

**C. Schmid’s retrieval of Jensen’s Nachlass and the statement of Jensen’s son Uwe**

The papers Neuhausen handed over to me were accompanied by a statement of Jensen’s son Uwe written in 1980. It is evident that the text of this statement was composed by Wolfgang Schmid himself. We learn that Schmid retrieved a part of Jensen’s Herculanean collectanea in 1943 from the basement of Jensen’s bombed-out house in Berlin. The statement mentions the only known copy of Adolf Schober’s handwritten dissertation on De pietate pars I.

Much space is also given to the request that the readings, textual proposals and reconstructions contained in the papers must not be quoted if contradicted by the originals. There is an explicit remark about the numerous disagreements between Jensen’s and Sbordone’s reconstructions and it is quite clear that Schmid did not want Sbordone to gain possession of Jensen’s texts.

**D. The contents of Jensen’s and Schmid’s Herculanean papers**

The most important material regards the following texts:

- Demetrius Laco, Protrepticus, P.Herc. 831 (Schmid).
- Philodemus, On Piety (Jensen and Schmid).\(^{17}\)

\(^{12}\) Mette 1980, 93f.

\(^{13}\) See below, p. 295. Another thesis written under Jensen’s supervision is Knögel 1933. It contains an analysis of the 10th Book of Philodemus’ On Vices (Πείρας κακῶν), col. X–XXIV, the re-edition of col. X and XI and further new readings of the papyrus-text made by Jensen himself.

\(^{14}\) Now edited by Tsouma-McKirahan/Indelli 1995.

\(^{15}\) First published in 1936; reprinted in H. Erbse/J. Küppers 1984, 3–47.

\(^{16}\) On Wolfgang Schmid cf. Schetter 1981.

\(^{17}\) Unfortunately, the original of Adolf Schober’s handwritten edition, said to be in Bonn in Uwe Jensen’s statement of 1980 (and in Mette 1980, 94) is now missing. This is a great loss, in spite of the publication of Schober’s Dissertation in CronErc 18 (1988). On the importance of the original manuscript cf. Obbink 1996, 614, on col. 82B: “Less unintentional in that printing was the omission throughout of Chr. Jensen’s handwritten comments, and, more important, the discrepancies between his text and the readings recorded by the apographs, carefully documented and annotated by Schober in parallel columns throughout the original handwritten dissertation.”
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There is also some Herculanean material of minor philological importance consisting in copies of *disegni* of papyri with ethical writings.

Various letters, which were written by Adolf Schober, Achille Vogliano, Raffaele Cantarella, Ernst Siegmann, Johannes Mewaldt and several others, and belonged to Jensen and Schmid, may be of a certain interest too. Finally, there is handwritten material for a commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* collected by Hermann Mutschmann (1882–1918), the editor of Sextus Empiricus. Mutschmann finished his doctoral dissertation in 1906 under Sudhaus' colleague Paul Wendland, obtained the chair at Königsberg in 1913 and died in 1918 in the First World War.¹⁸

**E. Importance for Future Research**

Some of the letters may shed some light on historical matters, as for example those regarding the scholar Robert Philippson (1858–1942), who died in Theresienstadt.¹⁹ I have prepared a list of these and started transcribing them. Some of them were written in Sütterlin.

Herculanean scholarship is likely to draw some profit from the unpublished readings and conjectures. I have made a repertory of all the transcriptions, restorations and conjectures on Herculanean texts and related them to current editions. Unknown variants not obviously ruled out are presented in two different ways: the less complicated ones are reported literally, whereas the more complex cases are just indicated as "interesting." I have treated the whole collection in this way, with the only exception of Kentenich's manuscript, which requires special treatment, and the handwritten remarks in Gomperz's edition of Philodemus, *On Piety*, because Henrichs and Obbink had already been able to take Jensen's and Schober's texts of *On Piety* into account.

1. In the last decade of his life, Wolfgang Schmid concentrated his efforts on the first part of Philodemus, *On Piety*, while he allowed Henrichs to work on the second part. The first part was edited by Dirk Obbink in 1996.²⁰ I have made a list of about 20 readings and proposals of Schmid which diverge from Obbink's edition.

2. Wolfgang Schmid also worked on the *Protrepticus* by Demetrios Lakon, preserved in *P.Herc.* 831. A bound copy of Alfred Koerte's 1890 edition contains numerous notes, drawings of letters and comments on stratification.²¹ Further readings and observations accompany the pages copied from the *Collectio altera*²² in Schmid's Collation Notebook ("Kollationskladde") of September 1953.²³ Schmid used some of them in two publications.²⁴ His unpublished observations on the first ten columns as well as the thorough revision of col. 11 sent to Schmid by Albert Henrichs in 1971 may be useful too.

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¹⁸ Mette 1980, 34.
¹⁹ Schmid 1948; Gigante 1988, 38–40 and 50–52 (bibliography).
²⁰ Obbink 1996.
²² *VH²* X 71–80
3. Jensen's papers also contain some material on Philodemus, *De musica*. There are about 20 readings of papyrus 1497 by an unidentified German scholar which diverge from Neubecker's edition. Many of them have been superseded only very recently by Daniel Delattre's edition of Philodemus, *De musica*, Book 4.25 There are also some transcriptions of those parts of Book 4 which are only preserved in the disegni, among which I found a certain number of unknown suggestions. Some of them may still be useful, while others are at least of doxographical interest.

4. The most important material pertains to Philodemus, *On Poems*. Jensen had already expressed his hope soon to publish Book 4 of this work in 1923.26 In 1969, Francesco Sbordone wrote in the preface to his edition of Book 4 that, according to information supplied to him by Wolfgang Schmid in a letter of 17 June 1942, a provisional text existed among Jensen's papers and added: "ma purtroppo ormai della biblioteca personale dello Jensen si sono perdute le tracce." 27

In the Nachlaß, however, Book 4 appeared in several versions. The first bears the date of 19–2–1929. Then there is a more complete transcription of the first columns. A further stage was reached in December 1933. Finally, there are three typewritten copies of the text. 28

Further documents reveal that Wolfgang Schmid himself was interested in working on Book 4. In May 1947, he wrote to Werner Jaeger that he had received the most important parts of Jensen's preliminary work from his widow in 1942 and retrieved the material in 1943 at the risk of his own life, *ne iterum carbo fieret aurum Herculaneense*.29 But he never told this to Sbordone.

5. In other folders I came across more than 30 unknown proposals for the text of Philodemus, *On Poems*, Book 1, another 30 for that of Book 2, and some more proposals on papyri that belong to Book 5.

I have checked them against current editions, but have not investigated their relationship with the text of the most important manuscript:

6. Kentenich's Preisschrift of 1895. This manuscript passed from Usener to Sudhaus, from Sudhaus to Jensen and then from Jensen to Heidmann. Its extreme value was already known from Jensen's and Heidmann's editions. Jensen30 quoted its title and gave the number of its pages as 273.

Kentenich dealt with all the Philodemean texts on poetry except one.31 After making several efforts to track down this *Preisschrift*, Richard Janko wrote in 2000: "My enquiries revealed no trace of Jensen's Nachlass. I believe that, tragically, Kentenich's manuscript is lost with it."32 This tragedy, thanks to the *deus ex machina*, Karl August Neuhausen, has now been given a happy ending.

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26 Jensen 1923, p. VII n. 2.
28 In the autumn of 2007 Richard Janko, who is preparing an edition of Philodemus, *On Poems* IV, visited our Arbeitsstelle für Papyrologie, Epigraphik und Numismatik and found much useful information for his work in these documents.
29 A copy of this letter to Jaeger, dated 26–5–1947, was found in his Nachlass, and contains the following text: "was Jensens Vorarbeiten zu Philod. IV betrifft, so ist nur ein Teil (der wichtigere Teil) davon erhalten, den ich 1942 von Frau Prof. Jensen ... nach Hamburg ausgeliehen hatte. Ich habe ihn 1943 in jenen Katastrophentagen ... unter Lebensgefahr ... geborgen, *ne iterum carbo fieret aurum Herculaneense*.
30 1923 p. VII n. 4.
31 P.Herc. 1677
32 Janko 2000, 45. Contrary to what had been believed, Kentenich's manuscript had an *apparatus criticus*. It contains various notes of other scholars, including Jensen, Usener and Sudhaus.
Kentenich's manuscript had served as the basis of all German studies on Philodemus, *On Poetry* for half a century. The Arbeitsstelle für Papyrologie, Epigraphik und Numismatik in Cologne is proud to possess it together with the other valuable Herculanean material collected by Jensen and Schmid.

There are plans to publish Kentenich's manuscript together with some other useful material and a register of the content of the *Nachlass*. In any case, future editors of the papyri are welcome to request files of the repertory which I have already prepared and, of course, to study the documents that interest them in Cologne.

**F. Synopsis:**
The "Bonn School" of Herculanean Studies:
- Franz Bücheler (1837–1908)
- Hermann Usener (1834–1905)
- Siegfried Sudhaus (1863–1914)
- Gottfried Kentenich (1873–1939)

Editions of Herculanean papyri prepared by the "Bonn School" and its extensions
- 1884 *Philodemi De musica librorum quae exstant* (Johannes Kemke)
- 1889 *Philodemi Περὶ ποιημάτων libri secundi quae videntur fragmenta* (August Hausrath)
- 1890 *Metrodori Epicurei fragmenta*, with *P.Herc. 831* (Alfred Koertze)
- 1892 and 1896 *Philodemi volumina rhetorica* (Siegfried Sudhaus)
- 1895 *Librorum Περὶ ποιημάτων volumina Herculansia quantum fieri potest restituuntur* (Gottfried Kentenich)
- 1905 *Polystrati Epicurei Περὶ ἀλόγου καταφρονήσεως libellus* (Karl Wilke)
- 1915 *Philodemi De ira liber* (Karl Wilke)

Christian Jensen (20.7.1883–18.9.1940): Königsberg (1912); Jena (1913); Königsberg (1917); Kiel (1921); Bonn (1926); Berlin (1938)
- 1907 *Philodemi Περὶ οἰκονομίας qui dicitur libellus*
- 1911 *Philodemi Περὶ κακιῶν liber decimus*
- 1923 *Philodemos Über die Gedichte. Fünftes Buch*

Editions of Herculanean papyri by Jensen's pupils:

Wolfgang Schmid (3.7.1913–23.11.1980)
Works Cited


Jensen 1923 = Chr. Jensen, Philodemos Über die Gedichte, fünftes Buch (Berlin 1923).

Knögel 1933 = W. Knögel, Der Peripatetiker Aristeon von Keos bei Philodem (Leipzig 1933).


Ranocchia 2007 = G. Ranocchia, Aristone, Sul modo di liberare dalla Superbia nel decimo libro De vitii di Filodemo (Florence 2007).


