

KNUT KLEVE

Lucretius' Book II in P.Herc. 395

P.Herc. 395 was unrolled in 1805 by F. Casanova and G. Braibanti and is mounted in 17 "cornici". The *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi* classifies the papyrus as "illegibile", but it can in fact be read. So far I have been through "cornici" 4, 5 and 17, all of which contain fragments from *Lucretius*. The readings, presented in the Appendix, are based upon my colour macro slides¹ which still have to be controlled against the papyrus. The text will be published in the *Cronache Ercolanesi* by Gianluca Del Mastro and myself.

Twelve years ago I identified some tiny "pezzi in cassetto" 114, which turned out to belong to other books of *Lucretius*: I, II, IV and V².

However, Mario Capasso has recently announced that there is no *Lucretius* in *Herculaneum*³: In a paper read in Lille he has proved that all my former readings are wrong, and that P.Herc. 395 cannot possibly have contained the *De rerum natura*, but what it has contained, he is unable to say. Capasso feels like Dr. Stockmann in Ibsen's play *An Enemy of the People*, who reveals that the public baths are polluted⁴.



P.Herc. 395, Text 17C (cf. Appendix, original colour slide was shown)

¹ On the photo method cf. K. Kleve et alii, *Three technical guides to the papyri of Herculaneum*, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 21 (1991) 117ff., id., *Lucretius in Herculaneum*, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 19 (1989) 27, id., *How to read an illegible papyrus. Towards an edition of P.Herc. 78, Caecilius Statius, Obolostates sive faenerator*, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26 (1996) 5–14. In later years I have used a Canon EOS 500N Camera with SOLIGOR Extension Tubes 20 and 12 mm and a Canon Macro Ring Lite ML-3. For deciphering I have, in addition to microscope, used Adobe Photoshop 5.0 with Agfa FotoLook PS 3.5.

² Kleve, *Lucretius in Herculaneum* (s. n. 1), 5–27.

³ The papyrological bulletin *PAPY@listserv.hum.ku.dk*, Wed, 15 Nov. 2000: "NO LUCRETIUS IN HERCULANEUM. In a paper read at International Congress 'Philodemus et Lucretius' (Lille, 28–30/9/2000) I have proved that until now *Lucretius*' text is not in *Herculaneum*. The P.Herc. 1829–1830–1831 dont contain the "*De rerum natura*" but another unidentified latin text. These papyri are the exterior part of a volumen, whose internal part is P.Herc. 395. That dont contain equaly *Lucretius*. Mario Capasso". This announcement appeared immediately after an e-mail of mine about the discoveries in P.Herc. 395. The title of Capasso's Lille paper is "*Filodemo e Lucrezio: due intellettuali nel patriai tempus iniquum*", ms 29 pp. P.Herc. 1829–1830–1831 refer to the "pezzi in cassetto" 114, which have been numbered after the publication of the article mentioned in note 2. It is Capasso's merit both to have detected the "pezzi" and their connection (but hardly satisfactorily) to P.Herc. 395 and thus inadvertently to have lead to the discovery of *Lucretius* among the *Herculaneum* papyri.

⁴ "In quell'occasione mi senti vagamente, se mi è permessa una similitudine letteraria, come il protagonista del dramma di H. Ibsen, *Un nemico del popolo*. Strana e variegata la storia dei papiri ercolanesi, che ha visto anche

On the papyrus strip to the right we see three letter sequences, placed vertically, one above the other: UM TAS UM. They are terminated by slashes (*distinctiones*), which indicate that they are verse endings and thus necessarily conclude the lines. Verses ending in UM and in TAS occur fairly often in Latin poetry. Verses ending in UM followed by verses ending in TAS are, of course, not that frequent, but still frequent enough, and so is also the case with verses ending in TAS followed by verses ending in UM. But verses which end in TAS and are both preceded and followed by verses ending in UM, are not frequent, occurring only six times in the extant Latin literature B.C., Ovid included: once in Terence (*And.* 276–278), twice in Lucretius (I 109–111, II 1081–1083), once in Vergil (*Aen.* XI 7–9) and twice in Ovid (*Met.* IV 532–534, *Tr.* V 6. 25–27).

But six times are still five times too much for an identification. Fortunately, there are more remnants on the line above, slightly to the left of the uppermost UM: CE · M (left part of M visible). The dot (*interpunctio*) is a word divider, sparingly used in the Latin papyri.

With this extra information the fragment can be identified. There is only one place corresponding to our findings: the remnants on the picture must belong to *Lucr.* II 1080–1803:

*sint genere. in primis animalibus indiCE· Mente
invenies sic montivagum genus esse ferarUM/
sic hominum geminam prolem, sic denique muTAS/
squamigerum pecudes et corpora cuncta volantUM/*

There are still more traces of writing (recorded in the Appendix Text 17C), but the remnants pointed out so far are enough for identification⁵.

Capasso offers some readings of his own from “cornici” 11, 12 and 13, which have not yet been inspected by me, in an attempt to prove that our papyrus has nothing to do with Lucretius⁶. Curiously enough, his readings fit well in with the text of *De rerum natura* II:

Example 1:]IL[.]N[.]N[may be part of II 69: *et quasI LoNgiNquo fluere omnia cernimus aevo*

Example 2:]UE.FUGI[(where I think the uncertain U really is a *distinctio* or sign of verse ending, cf. the right stroke of the U in the photo above) may be part of II 45: */EFFUGIUnt animo pavidae, mortisque timores*

Example 3:]ULCI·U[(where I think the dot is the remnant of a S) may be part of II 474: *umor dULCIS Ubi per terras crebrius idem*

Example 4:]SIN·H[(where I think the dot is the remnant of a T) may be part of II 400: *at contra taetra abSINTHi natura ferique*

Example 5:]SII (which, pace Capasso, need not be a word ending) may be part of one of several verses, II 35, II 36, II 958, II 974, in the combinations *SI In* or *SI Iam*.

The text searches have been performed by means of *PHI Workplace*⁷, a computer program available to everybody.

My former Lucretius readings (cf. note 2) are also illustrated by slides and drawings which I think should be clear enough to meet Capasso’s criticism, whenever published⁸.

momenti in cui discutere una determinata congettura o interpretazione, evidentemente opinabile se non manifestamente errata, significava contrastare inettresi superiori”. Capasso’s Lille paper p. 11.

⁵ Steve Booras’ digital imaging method could have made it easier to show all the traces of writing. But unfortunately P.Herc. 395 is not yet among the digitized papyri.

⁶ “Sui pezzi conservati nelle cornici è possibile leggere porzioni di testo costuite, nel peggiore dei casi, da lettere isolate e, nel migliore dei casi, dai resti di due o tre linee. Alcune di queste porzioni (per es.]IL[.]N[.]N[- - - | - - -]UE.FUGI[leggibile al centro del pezzo della cr. 11;]ULCI·U[- - - | - - -]SIN·H[visibile sulla destra del pezzo della cr. 12;]SII finale di (*sic*) leggibile nella parte centrale del pezzo della cornice 13) non rientrano assolutamente nel testo del *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio”. Capasso’s Lille paper 18.

⁷ PHI Workplace, Silver Mountain Software, 1029 Tanglewood, Cedar Hill TX 75104–3019.

⁸ An example to show that at least one of my readings is right: P.Herc. 1829 (“pezzo, cassetto” 114, cf. p. 3 and note 3): This pezzo was for a long time my only evidence of Lucretius’ presence in Herculaneum. Unfortunately it has twice been exposed to damage, and the photos are now the sole testimony of its original appearance. Capasso (Lille paper 11ff.) reads]M·ES/[|]/EHIL,[and thinks everything is written on the same papyrus layer. But beneath the M there is an ink remnant standing on the brink of a sovrapposto. To the sovrapposto also belongs the vertical



P.Herc. 1829 (pezzo, cassetto 114, cf. not. 3 an not. 8)

P.Herc. 395 is more than eight hundred years older than Oblongus and Quadratus, but is still not the original manuscript of Lucretius. This can be deduced from two metrical (but not grammatical) errors: Text 4E (cf. Appendix) reads II 224 *nihil* instead of the correct *nil* (*principiis ita nil* [not *nihil*] *unquam natura creasset*). Text 5E (cf. Appendix) reads II 748 *tum* with short syllable where a long syllable is required. The easiest correction for *tum* is *tunc* (*quod quoniam vinco fieri tunc esse docebo*). This is against *nunc* OQ, but *nunc* may be a hyperlogical emendation taken over from the archetype. *Tunc* need, of course, not refer to time, but can also, as here, denote a next in numeration.

The metrical errors further show that the Lucretian text was not dictated, but transcribed, as was usually the case with the Herculaneum papyri⁹.

A third error (if it is an error) occurs in Text 5C (cf. Appendix): the spelling II 663 *graemina* instead of *gramina* (*saepe itaque ex uno tondentes graemina campo*). Was the scribe a *graeculus* with a failing Latin, or may the spelling tell us something about the pronunciation of the Latin *a*?

The papyrus can settle a discrepancy between O and Q. Text 5A (cf. Appendix) shows that II 187 *fraudem* O is right against *frudem* Q (correct reading: *ne tibi dent in eo flammaram corpora fraudem* [not *frudem*]).

The papyrus confirms collective readings of OQ against later emendations. Text 17C (cf. Appendix) reads II 1080: *indice* with OQ against Lipsius *inice* (correct reading: *sint genere in primis animalibus indice mente* [not *inice mentem*]). The same text further reads II 1089 *his* with OQ against Bernays *hic* (correct reading: *quam genus omne quod his* [not *hic*] *generatim rebus abundant*).

stroke which appears just behind the tiny ink remnant after the S. I take this stroke to be the left part of an R, and the sovrapposto thus fits in with Lucr. V 1408–1410:

*unde etiam vigiles nunc haec accepta tueNtuR
et numerum servare genus didicere neqUË HÏLO
maiozem interea capiunt dulcedine fructiuM*

Lucr. V 1409 being the only extant Latin verse ending in *neque hilo*. The sottoposto, in full]TUM·ES[]COR[, goes with Lucr. V 1301–1302:

*et quam falciferos armaTUM ESCendere currus
inde boves lucas turrto CORpore taetras*

For further information cf. the article mentioned in note 2, pp. 6ff., 14f., 22. For the original letter forms see Appendix and K. Kleve, *An Approach to the Latin Papyri from Herculaneum*, in: *Storia Poesia e Pensiero nel Mondo Antico, Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante*, Naples 1994, esp. 315–319.

⁹ Cf. M. Capasso, *Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese*, Naples 1991, 219f.

One column contains 19 verses (41 – 22 = 19), cf. below text F and corn. 17, text B. The columns are vertically compressed whereby ends of verses (II 21 rem II 22 nt) and beginnings (II 40 si II 41 fer) have disappeared.

Text 4C (sottoposto)

II 78 inque breui spatio mutantur saECIA Animantum,
II 79 et quasi cursores uitai lampaDA tRADUnt

Text 4D

II 185 CONfirmare tibi nullam rem posse sua ui

II 188 SURSUs enim uersus gignuntur et augmina sumunt

II 190 PONDERa quantum in se est cur deorsum cuncta ferantur

II 191 NEC CUM subsiliunt ignes ad tecta domorum

II 192 eT CeLERI flamrna degustant tigna trabesque

Verses 185–188 and 188–190 are horizontally compressed.

Text 4E (sovrapposto)

II 223 nec foret offensus natuS nec plaga creata

II 224 principiis ita niHIL UMquAm natura creasset

nihil in contrast to nil in modern edd. indicates a visual copying, cf. corn. 5, text E and M. Capasso, Manuale di Papirologia Ercolanese, pp. 219f.

Text 4F (sovrapposto)

II 391 et quamvis subito per colum uina UIDEmus II 413 Mobilibus digitis expergefata figurant

II 392 perfluere at contra tardum cunctATur oliuum/ II 414 nEU simili penetrare putes primordia forma

II 393 aut quia nimirum maioribus est eleMentis II 415 IN Nares hominum cum taetra cadauera torrent

One column contains 22 verses (413–391 = 22), cf. above text B. and corn. 17, text B.

Text 4G (sovrapposto)

II 488 summA atque ima locans transmutans dextera laeuis

II 489 omniModis expertus eris quam quisque det ordo

II 490 forMAi speciem totius corporis eius

II 491 qUod superest si forte uoles uariare figuras

II 492 ADDendum partis alias erit inde sequetur

Text 4H (sovrapposto)

II 504 et contemptus odor sMYRNAe mellisque sapes

The only place in whole Lucretius with the letter sequence myrna.

Text 4J (sovrapposto)

II 753 nam quodcumque suis mutaTUM finibus erit

II 754 continuo hoc mors est iLLIUs qUOD fuit ante

Texts with uncertain references

M SIMuLAC AE NCILI E HIBE IX UID U A IBE

These fragments may fit several places in Lucr. II.

“Cornice” 5

Text 5A

II 185 confirmare tibi nullam rem posse sua **UI**
 II 186 corpoream sursum ferri sursumque **MEARE**
 II 187 ne tibi dent in eo flammaram corpora **FRAUDEM**
 II 188 sursum enim uersus gignuntur et aug**MINA SUMU**nt
Cf. corn. 4, text D 187 fraudem against Q frudem

Text 5B

II 446 et quasi ramosis al**TE COM**pacta teneri
 II 447 in quo iam genere in primis **ADAM**antina saxa
 II 448 prima acie constant ictus cont**EMN**ere sueta

Text 5C

II 660 saepe itaque ex un**O TONDENTES GRAEMINA** campo
graemina for gramina not attested elsewhere

Text 5D

II 705 tum flammam taetro sp**IR**antis o**RE CHIMAERAS**

Text 5E

II 748 quod quoniam ui**Nco FieRI TUM ESSE DOCEBO**/ II 767 Uertitur in canos candenti marmore
 fluctus

new line 1]O[7]U[3]AUIAI/
 new line 2]EH[
 II 749 omnis enim color omnino MUT**AtUR ET OMNIS**
 new line 3] DEFECIT ET ADDIT/
 II 750 quod facere haud ullo debent primord**la pacTO**/
 748 *The metrically impossible tum for tunc indicates a visual copying of the ms.*
(edd. nunc) 748, 767 One column consists of 19 lines (767–784 = 19)
 new line 1 cf. I 1041 auersa uiai
 new line 2 *horizontally compressed*, cf. III 867 neque hilum 749 et = OQ

Text 5F

II 1029 quod non pau**L**atim minuant mirarier omnes
 II 1030 princip**IQ CAELI** clarum purumque colorem

Texts with uncertain references

IA NIB CES E TC A U (four times) **C U L O ERU A**
These fragments may fit several places in Lucr. II

Text 5X (lacuna II 164–165?)

new line 1] . [1] **AE**[1] **I NIU**[
 new line 2] .. [
 new line 3] **MU**[3] . **EG**[
 new line 4] **ED**[2] **EDA** . S[
 new line 5] . [1] . [
 new line 6] **EGI** . [1] . **AI** . S[1] [
 new line 7] . [
 new line 8] . [
 new line 9] **DIM**[3] **ID CU**[1] . [1] . [
 new line 10] . **ASSO**[

new lines 2, 5, 7, 8 horizontally compressed. The only lacuna in *Lucr. II* where ten (or more) lines have been lost, seems to be between verse 164 and 165, cf. M. F. Smith *ad loc.* in Rouse-Smith's Loeb ed.

"Cornice" 17

Text 17A ("sottoposto")

II 879 ergo onm**ES NATUR**a C**ib**os in corpora uiua
II 880 uertit e**T HINC SENS**us an**IM**antum procreat omnis

Text 17B

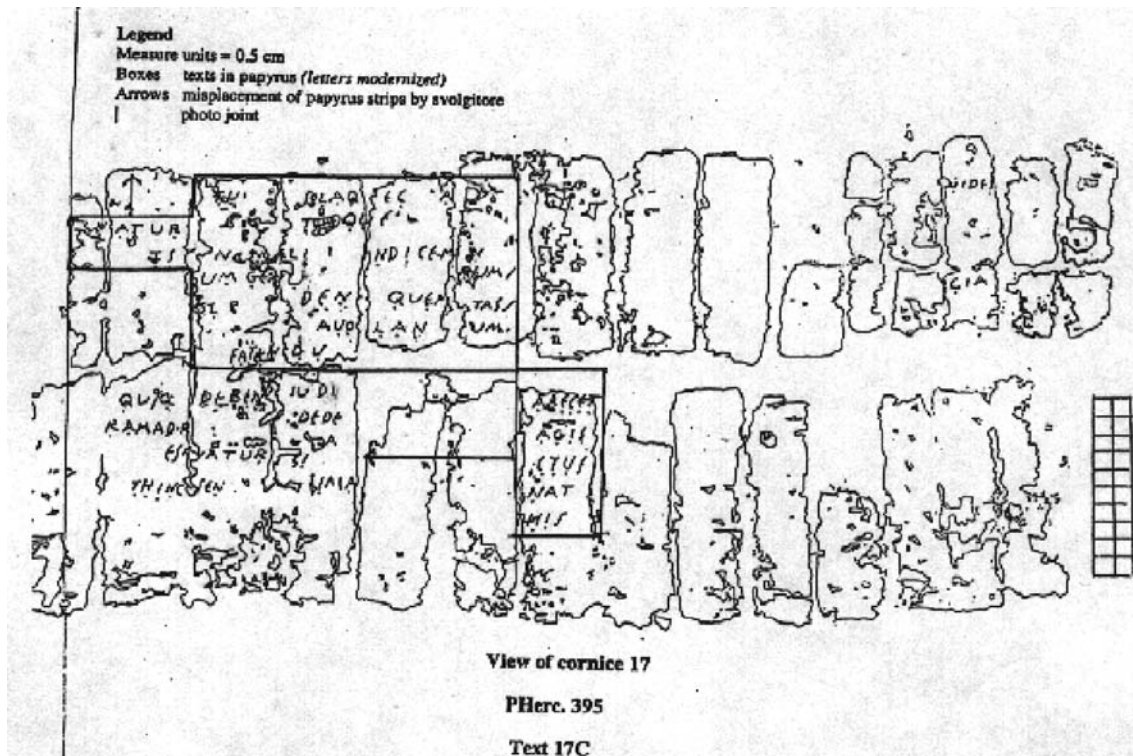
O

II 1022 cum permutantur mutari res Qu /**Que DEBENT** II 1042 **IUD**icio perpende et si tibi uera uidentur
II 1023 nunc animum nobis adhibe uer**RAM AD** Rationem II 1043 **DEDE** manus aut si falsum est ac-
cingere contra

II 1044 qu**Aerit** enim rationem animus cum summa loci sit
One column contains 20 verses (1042–1022 = 20), cf. corn. 4, text B.

Text 17C ("sovrapposto")

II 1078 unica quae gig**NATUR** e**T** Unica **SOLA**Qu**E** Cresc**At**
II 1079 quin aliquo*iu'* sie**T** Saecli permul**Ta**Qu**E** eodem
II 1080 sint genere in primis a**Ni**MALIBus i**NDICE** Me**N**te *indice = OQ*
II 1081 inuenies sic montivag**UM** GENU**S** esse fera**RUM**/ 1080–1081 *compressed?*
II 1082 sic hominum geminam pro**LE**m sic **DENi**QUE Mu**TAS**/
II 1083 squamigerum pecudes et corpora cunct**A** UOLANT**UM**/
II 1084 quapropter caelum simili ratione FATEND**UM**st
II 1085 terramque et solem lunam m**ARE** C**ET**era quae sunt
II 1086 non esse unica sed numero m**AGIS** innumerali
II 1087 quandoquidem uitae depa**CTUS** terminus alte
II 1088 tam manet haec et tam **NAT**ivo corpore constant
II 1089 quam genus omne quod **HIS** generatim rebus abundat *his = Q*



Original letter	K	N	M
forme	N	N	N
A	Δ	Λ	Ο
B	δ	δ	Ρ
C	Ϸ	Ϸ	Q
D	δ	δ	R
E	ε	ε	S
F	Ϸ	Ϸ	T
G	Ϸ	Ϸ	V
H	H	Ϸ	U
I	I	I	X
L	L	L	Z

Text 17D (“sovrapposto”)

II 1122 nam quaecumque **UIDES** hilario grandescere adactu

II 1127 et plus dispendi fa**CI**Ant quam uescitur aetas