

INTRODUCTION

1. *PHerc.* 21¹

The papyrus was partly opened in 1965 by A. Fackelmann.² In 1988 the unrolling was resumed by T. Starace with the method of B. Fosse. The *pezzo* with most handwriting, numbered 3 by Sbordone, today *pezzo* 7, is now mounted, together with seven other pieces (1, 2, 3A, 3B, 4, 5, 6). More than thirty loose *pezzi* of different size remain in the *cornice* where Fackelmann assembled them (*pezzi* numbered with Roman numerals and presented below in selection).

2. *Reading the papyrus*

All *pezzi*, both the mounted and the loose ones, have been microphotographed with colour slides. The slides were put under a stereomicroscope, illuminated from below and studied in magnification. The remains of the hand-writing were copied with a drawing device attached to the microscope.³ The drawing was made on transparent paper to facilitate the reconstruction of fragmentary letters by comparing them with fully preserved ones.⁴ A final comparison with the originals is desirable, but has not yet been within our reach.

3. *Ennius, Annales, book VI*

The identification of the text has been hampered by the bad state of the papyrus and the archaic forms of the letters. Before the unrolling was resumed and the loose *pezzi* had been inspected, the material was also too scanty to allow any certain identification. Sbordone took the papyrus to be a sacral text.⁵ For a while we thought that the papyrus contained a Roman comedy.⁶ That was before we on the loose *pezzo* II, fragment 2, had observed the *distinctio* mark which ends a hexameter,⁷ and before we had discovered the text on the loose *pezzo* I, fr. 1, which with great probability links the papyrus with Ennius' *Annals*, book VI. This discovery made it further possible to identify the tiny *pezzo* 1, fr. 2 and *pezzo* 2, fr. 1, as belonging to the same book. *Pezzo* 5, fr. 2 and 3, seem to contain texts which have hitherto been registered as belonging to the *Annals*, but *sedis incertae*. These fragments probably also belong to book VI, on the assumption that one papyrus scroll contained one book.⁸ Cf. § 7 below.

4. *On texts, transcripts and fragments*

Texts are given for the identified fragments, transcripts only for the unidentified fragments (cf. § 7 below). Partly preserved letters are marked with a dot beneath. Their degree of certainty can be judged from the photos, drawings and reconstructions. For editorial reasons just a few samples of the photos, drawings and reconstructions could be published in this article. All are, however, available through the editorial board.

The fragments on the *pezzi* are numbered according to their assumed position as *sotto-* and *sovrapposti*. The *sottoposti*, laying nearer the outside of the scroll, get the lower numbers, whereas the *sovrapposti*, laying nearer to the centre of the scroll, get the higher numbers.

5 KNUT KLEVE

ENNIUS IN HERCULANEUM

KNUT KLEVE

¹ The description is mainly borrowed from M. CAPASSO-A. ANGELI, *Papiri aperti col metodo osloense* (1983-1989): *descrizione e classificazione*, «CERC» 19/1989, p. 265.

² F. SBORDONE, *Nuovi frammenti dei papiri ercolanesi*, «PP» 103, 1965, pp. 307-13, esp. 308-10.

³ For fuller information cfr. K. KLEVE, ESPEN S. ORE, R. JENSEN, *Literology: on the use of computer graphics and photography in papyrology*, «SO» 62, 1987, pp. 109-129, esp. 110-12, *Id.*, *Letterologia: Computer e fotografia*, «CERC» 17/1987, pp. 141-150, esp. 143-45, K. KLEVE, *Lucretius in Herculanum*, «CERC» 19/1989, pp. 5-27, esp. 27 and the forthcoming *Informatica papyrologica in La Charta* (Firenze 1990).

⁴ This can be done far more efficiently with computer methods, which we have shown in pilot projects, cf. the works mentioned in note 3, and K. KLEVE, I. FONNES, *Lacunology. On the use of computer methods in papyrology*, «SO» 56/1981, pp. 157-170. To put the methods into practice requires resources which we have not had at our disposal.

⁵ F. SBORDONE, *loc. cit.* n. 2.

⁶ K. KLEVE, *Lucretius in Herculanum*, «CERC» 19/1989, p. 6, n. 9.

⁷ Cf. *pezzo* 3A, fr. 1, *pezzo* 5, fr. 1, *pezzo* 7, fr. 1, *pezzo* VII, fr. 3, *pezzo* XI, fr. 1. On the *distinctio* mark, see R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri*, II 1 (Stuttgart 1978), p. 36 and "Tafelanhang" III 4 (photo from *PHerc.* 817 *Carmen de bello Actiaco*). Several specimens to be seen in the *disegni* of *PHerc.* 817, published by W. SCOTT, *Fragmenta Herculanensia* (Oxford 1885) final section. Cf. K. KLEVE, *loc. cit.*, n. 6, p. 12.

⁸ Cf. K. KLEVE, *op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 5.

5. The handwriting

All fragments seem to be written by the same hand in a rugged *capitalis rustica* with identical letters of uneven size, sometimes cursive, sometimes slightly backhand and with uneven distances between the lines. The forms of the Latin letters are the most archaic observed by us in any Herculaneum papyrus (esp. the forms of A, B, D, O, R and P), decidedly more archaic than the letters in *PHerc. 817 (Carmen de bello Actiaco)*,⁹ and even more archaic than the letters in the Lucretius papyri.¹⁰

The papyrus also contains other signs than letters: distinction marks which end the hexameters (cf. above § 3 with note 7) and interpuncts between words.¹¹ Interpuncts are consequently used in *PHerc. 817 (Carmen, cf. above)*, more sparingly in the Lucretius papyri, and not at all consequently in our papyrus (but enough to be of considerable help for the identification of fragments). The use of interpuncts have possibly grown more consequent by the time and may serve as a criterion for relative dating.

⁹ For specimens cf. the works mentioned in n. 7.

¹⁰ For specimens cf. K. KLEVE, op. cit., n. 6, 22-26. Tables with forms of archaic Latin letters in E.M. THOMPSON, *An introduction to Greek and Latin palaeography* (Oxford 1912), p. 312, 317, 335-337. Further literature mentioned in K. KLEVE, op. cit., p. 6, n. 8.

¹¹ Cf. *pezzo* 1, fr. 2, *pezzo* 2, fr. 1, *pezzo* 7, fr. 1, *pezzo* I, fr. 1, *pezzo* II, fr. 2, *pezzo* III, fr. 1, *pezzo* VII, fr. 3, *pezzo* X, fr. 1.

¹² *Pezzo* VIII, fr. 3. Paragraphi are frequent in the Greek papyri from Herculaneum, and can also be observed in the Latin *PHerc. 817 (Carmen de bello Actiaco)*, see. W. SCOTT, op. cit., n. 7. Cf. also E.M. THOMPSON, op. cit., n. 10, p. 276-77.

¹³ E.M. THOMPSON, op. cit. note 10, 276-77. Several specimens W. SCOTT, op. cit. note 7.

¹⁴ Cf. last disegno of *PHerc. 817 (Carmen de bello Actiaco)* in W. SCOTT, op. cit. note 7. The *coronis* occurs frequently in various forms in the Greek Herculaneum papyri.

¹⁵ Cf. M. GIGANTE, *Premessa* al vol. *La Villa dei Papiri*, Secondo suppl. a «CERC» 13/1983, p. 5: "Non è un sogno proibito pensare ad un esemplare del poema *Della natura* di Lucrezio e, soprattutto, alla scoperta degli *Annali* di Ennio, che rivoluzionerebbe la ristagnante critica virgiliana"; *La biblioteca di Filodemo*, «CERC» 15/1985, p. 5: "Si potrebbe recuperare il *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio, un cui esemplare non poté non essere collocato nel settore epicureo della biblioteca della Villa dopo l'edizione ciceroniana, ma anche autori come il *pater Ennius* pitagorico, anche non ignaro della dottrina epicurea (oltre a Virgilio e Orazio che, in diversa misura, furono sensibili al messaggio epicureo)".

¹⁶ D. KIENAST gives the sources in his art. *Pyrrhos von Epeiros*, *RE* XXIV (47. Halbband), Sp. 153, 59-63.

Paragraphi are used between verses on the left margin, probably to mark off a section of the text.¹² Long vowels sometimes seem to be marked with an accent (*pezzo* VII, fr. 1, *pezzo* XI, fr. 1), a feature which is also known from *PHerc. 817 (Carmen, cf. above)*.¹³ The conclusion sign of the book (*coronis*) seems to be preserved in *pezzo* VI, fr. 2.¹⁴

6. Lucretius and Ennius

When Lucretius has been found in Herculaneum (cf. note 6), it is not surprising that Ennius also should be there.¹⁵ Ennius was Lucretius' master of poetry (cf. *Lucr. I* 117, 121), and it is not impossible that it is Lucretius' own copy of Ennius we now see before our eyes. ✓!

7. The Pyrrhus war

Theme of book VI of the *Annals* was the war with Pyrrhus. Some of the unidentified fragments also point in that direction (cf. above § 3): The very name of Pyrrhus may have ended the book (*Burrus, pezzo* VI, fr. 2, line 3). The king's *petulantia* and uncontrolled rage may have been criticized in *pezzo* IV, fr. 1. Decius Mus and his presumably prudent decision of *devotio* may have been presented in *pezzo* III, fr. 1, line 2-4. And *pezzo* 7, fr. 1, may bear on the story of how Pyrrhus shamelessly robbed Proserpina's hidden treasures in Locri and was punished by the goddess who let all his seamen drown in a sea storm.¹⁶

TRANSCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE FRAGMENTS

Measuring rods on drawings and reconstructions = 0.5 cm. Identified fragments cited according to O. SKUTSCH, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985.

To help the orientation all drawings and reconstructions correspond with the photos. The same fragment may therefore be found in several figures (cf. Introduction § 4). The *pezzi* and their fragments are presented in two sections: *Pezzi* numbered

with Arabic numerals have the position to each other in the scroll which the numbering indicates. They have been unrolled by Fackelmann in 1965 (*pezzo* 7) and Starace in 1986 (*pezzi* 1-6), cf. Introduction § 1. *Pezzi* numbered with Roman numerals are of unknown location. They belong to the loose *pezzi* assembled by A. Fackelmann, cf. Introduction § 1. A selection of them is presented below.

First section: mounted pezzi 1-7

Pezzo 1

What is up and down on the *pezzo* can be ascertained from the polaroid photos which were taken before the unrolling (photo 33 and 35/86 Officina), and which give the relative positions of *pezzi* 1-5 (verso).

Pezzo 1, fr. 1

Transcript:

1]E[

Pezzo 1, fr. 2

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 3):

1]R·AT[

2]S·P[

Text line 1-2 = Ennius, *Annales* VI 177-178:

1 [Fraxinus frangitu]r at[que abies consternitur alta]

2 [Pinus procera]s p[eruortunt omne sonabat]

Pezzo 2

On what is up and down on the *pezzo* cf. under *pezzo* 1.

Pezzo 2, fr. 1

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 3):

1]E[.]L[.]FORTU[

2]TATI·PAR[

Text line 1-2 = Ennius *Annales* VI 188-189:

1 [Quorum virtuti b]e[] [i] fortu[na pepercit]

2 [Eorundem me liber]tati par[cere certum est]

There are two lines (186-187) between this fragment and *pezzo* I, fr. 1. If our reconstruction is correct, *pezzo* I has been part of the upper part of the scroll as envisaged on Officina polaroid photo 33/86 (cf. under *pezzo* 1). On the photo our fragment (verso) is visible, bordering on the uppermost edge.

Pezzo 3A, fr. 1

Transcript:

- 1]ÇUS>[
- 2]AUC.[
- 3
- 4]>[
- 5]U/[

Distinction marks at end of verses 1, 4, 5. Cf. Introduction § 5.

Pezzo 3A, fr. 2

Transcript

- 1]EU[

Pezzo 3A, fr. 3

Transcript:

- 1]TERR[
- 2]H.L[

Pezzo 3B, fr. 1

Illegible remains of writing.

Pezzo 3B, fr. 2

Transcript:

- 1]NO[
- 2]E[

Pezzo 4, fragment 1

Transcript:

- 1]A.[
- 2]. . .[

Pezzo 5, fr. 1

Transcript:

- 1]DIU.]>[
- 2]>[

Distinction marks at end of verses. Cf. Introduction § 5.

Pezzo 5, fr. 2

Transcript:

- 1]II
- 2]APERETQ[
- 3]ORSITP[

Text line 2-3 = Ennius, *Annales* sed. inc. 469-470.

- 1]i[
- 2 [Non si lingua loqui s]aperet q[ui]bus ora decem sint]
- 3 [In me tum ferro c]or s]i[p[ectusque reuinctum]

If our reconstruction is correct, the fragment belongs to book VI of the Annals
(cf. Introduction § 3).

Pezzo 5, fr. 3

Transcript:

- 1]. . .[
- 2]NITUSARCET[
- 3]M[

Text line 2-3 = Ennius, *Annales* sed. inc. 556.

- 1]. . .[
- 2 [Omnia per so]nitus arcet t[erram mare caelum]
- 3]m[

If our reconstruction is correct, the fragment belongs to book VI of the Annals
(cf. Introduction § 3).

Pezzo 5, fr. 4

Transcript:

- 1]IN[
- 2]N[.]

Pezzo 6

Illegible. No information available from the polaroid photos (cf. under *pezzo 1*)
as to what is up and down on the *pezzo*.

Pezzo 7

Photo fig. 1a, 2a.

Drawing fig. 1b, 2b.

Pezzo 7, fr. 1

Reconstruction fig. 1c, 2c.

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 7):

- 1]RCH
- 2]NUMQUL]M[
- 3]RTUR·INORA[.]>[
- 4]NT·ETMAGISI[.]S[
- 5]C[.]NTRAR[.]IL]RA[
- 6]AUERUNT·AUR[



Fig. 1a - Photo of *pezzo* 7, top left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 2a, drawing fig. 1b, reconstruction fig. 1c.

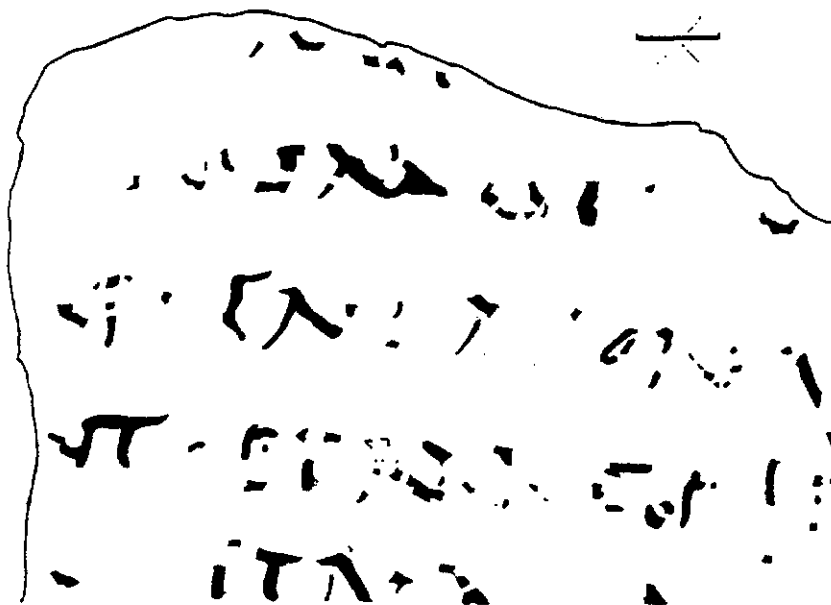


Fig. 1b - Drawing of *pezzo* 7, top left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 1a, reconstruction fig. 1c. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm.

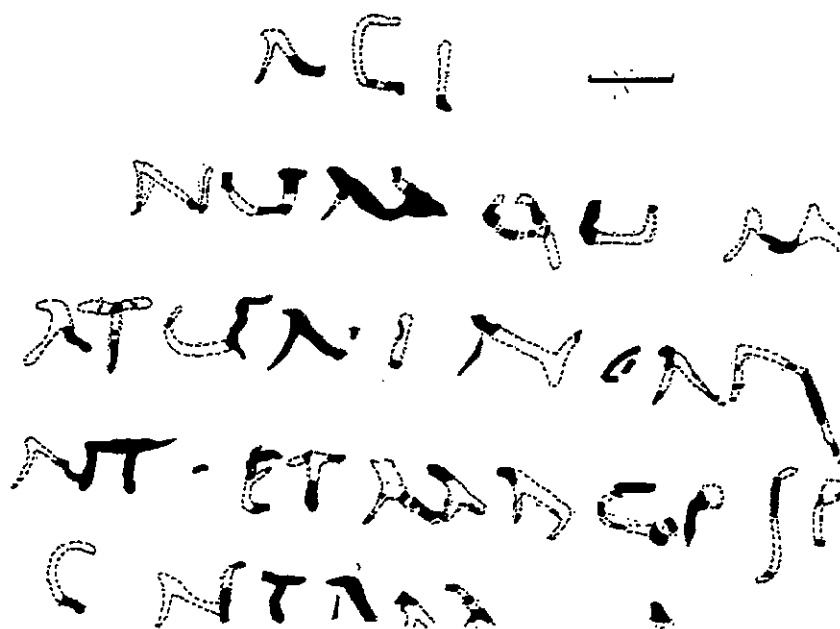


Fig. 1c - Reconstruction of *pezzo* 7, top left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 1a, drawing fig. 1b. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm.

ἸΤΑΝΝΑ Ἰ
 ἈΛΕΞΑΝΤ
 ΠΕΕΕΣ·ΣΥ
 ΝΤΙΛ·ΝΕΦΑΤ
 ἈΛΛΑ·ΣΕΣΕΣΕΤ

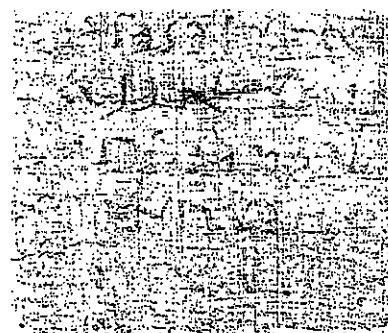


Fig. 2a - Photo of pezzo 7, middle left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 2a, drawing fig 2b, reconstruction fig. 2c.

Fig. 2b - Drawings of pezzo 7, middle left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 2a, reconstruction fig. 2c.

ἸΤΑΝΝΑ Ἰ
 ἈΛΕΞΑΝΤ
 ΠΕΕΕΣ·ΣΥ
 ΝΤΙΛ·ΝΕΦΑΤ
 ἈΛΛΑ·ΣΕΣΕΣΕΤ

Fig. 2c - Reconstruction of pezzo 7, middle left, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 2a, drawing fig. 2b. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm.



Fig. 3a - Photo of pezzo I, fr. 1. Cf. drawing fig. 3b, reconstruction fig. 3c.

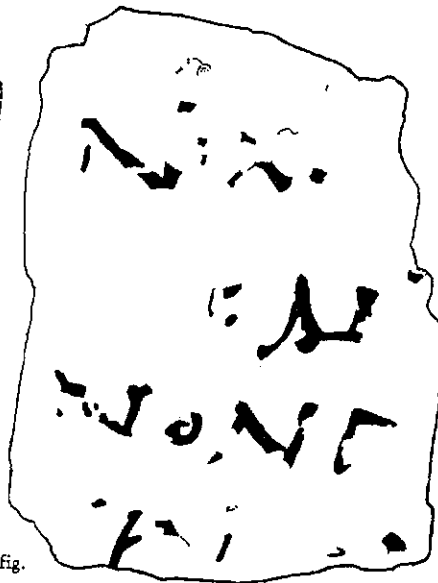


Fig. 3b - Drawing of pezzo I, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 3a, reconstruction fig. 3c.

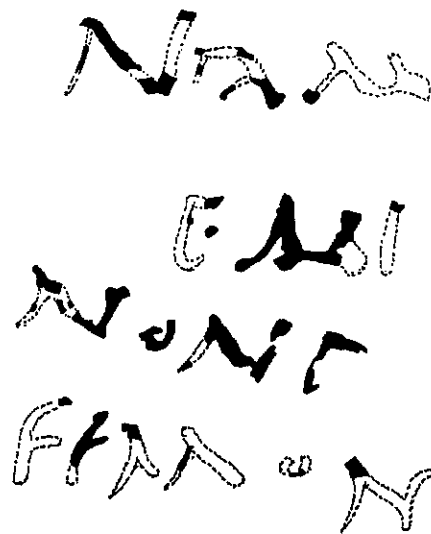


Fig. 3c - Reconstruction of pezzo I, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 3a, drawing fig. 3b.

- 7]REGES·SUD.[
- 8]NTUR·NEFRAT. .[
- 9]MMORSESESETA[
- 10]ERUNT·INDUP[
- 11]. .ETUIMAR[
- 12]AT[.IA[

Distinction mark line 3 at the end of verse.

The second E in line 9 is inserted under the preceding T.

The piece with lines 11 and 12 has been lost since 1965. They are reconstructed from Sbordone's photo «PP» 103, 1965, p. 309 (cf. Introduction § 3 with n. 5).

Second section: loose pezzi I-XI

Pezzo I

Photo fig. 3a

Drawing fig. 3b

Pezzo I, fr. 1

Reconstruction fig. 3c

Transcript:

- 1]NAM[
- 2]C·MI[

- 3]NONCI
- 4]FERRON[

Text line 2-4 = Ennius, *Annales* VI 183-185

- 1 Nam[
- 2 [Ne]c mi [aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis]
- 3 Non c[au]ponantes bellum sed belligerantes]
- 4 Ferro n[on auro uitam cernamus utrique]

On the location of the fragment cf. under *pezzo* 2, fr. 1. See also Introduction § 3.

Pezzo II, fr. 1

Remains of handwriting not yet reconstructed at the upper part of the *pezzo*.

Pezzo II, fr. 2

Transcript:

- 1]UIRI
- 2]MUNDI >[
- 3]TUR ·[
- 4]S[

Distinction mark at end of line 2, interpunct after word ending line 3. Cf. Introduction § 5.

Pezzo III

Photo fig. 4a

Drawing fig. 4b

Pezzo III, fr. 1

Reconstruction fig. 4c

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 7):

- 1]NI
- 2]E·CORI
- 3]ACDECLI
- 4]TMORII
- 5]ERAMA[
- 6]ORA[

Pezzo IV, fr. 1

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 7):

- 1]ETULAN[
- 2]ET[.]RA[

Pezzo V, fr. 1

Transcript:

- 1]A .[

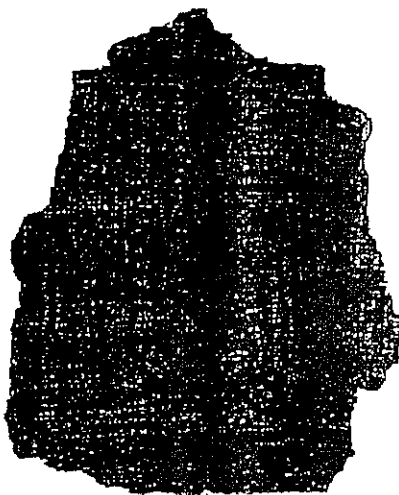


Fig. 4a - Photo of pezzo III, fr. 1. Cf. drawing fig. 4b, reconstruction fig. 4c.



Fig. 4b - Drawing of pezzo III, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 4a, reconstruction fig. 4c.

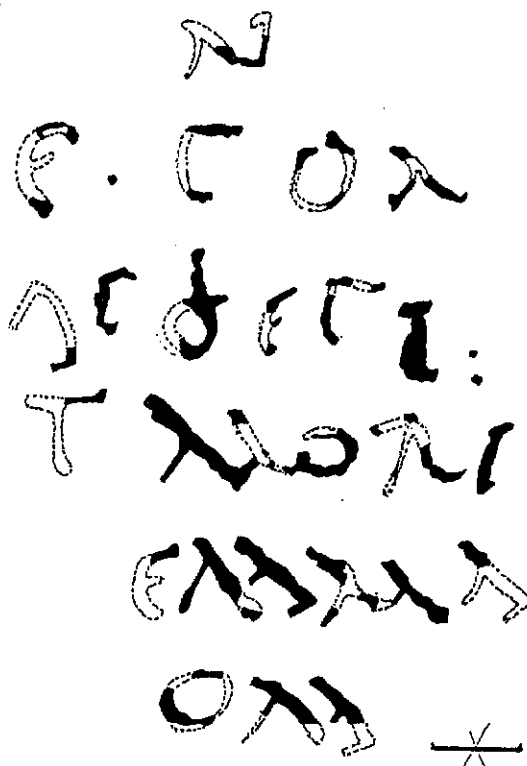


Fig. 4c - Reconstruction of pezzo III, fr. 1. Cf. photo fig. 4a, drawing fig. 4b. Measuring rod = 0.5 cm.

Pezzo V, fr. 2

Transcript:

- 1] . S[
- 2] . NN[

Pezzo VI, fr. 1

Transcript:

- 1]N[

Pezzo VI, fr. 2

Transcript (cf. Introduction § 7):

- 1] . .[
- 2]S . . / [
- 3]BUR.U[
- 4 ✕

Distinction mark at end of line 2. Conclusion sign (*coronis*) line 4 (cf. Introduction § 5 with note 13). No writing visible on the *pezzo* below or to the right of the sign.

Pezzo VII, fr. 1

Transcript:

- 1] .XOL]
- 2]GÈ[. . . .]U[
- 3] . . []QU[]R[
- 4]R[] . QU[

Verse accent over long vowel in line 2 (cf. Introduction § 5).

Pezzo VII, fr. 2

Transcript:

- 1]UMMAHIL.M[
- 2] . [

Pezzo VII, fr. 3

Transcript:

- 1] . RARA / [
- 2]COR / [
- 3] . EMO / > C[
- 4]RIPSA > S[
- 5] . [> C[
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

10]N>
 11]OR[.]
 12] R[
] . [

Verses end with conclusion marks, *paragraphoi* between verses visible on left margin of the following column (cf. Introduction § 5).

Lines 6-9 covered by fragments 1 and 2. A slight physical dislocation to the left of lines 10-12 has taken place in relation to lines 1-5.

Pezzo VIII, fr. 1

Transcript:

1]ORC[
 2]MM[
 3]S.T[

Pezzo IX, fr. 1

Transcript:

1]RN[
 2]SN[

Pezzo X, fr. 1

Transcript:

1]·ESTQ[
 2]RITU[

Pezzo XI, fr. 1

Transcript:

1]METU[.] /
 2]·TCRÈSC.[

Distinction mark at verse end line 1. Accent over two long vowels line 2 (cf. Introduction § 5). The first vowel has disappeared.