

The Pocket Pindar

The Antinoupolis Codex and Pindar's Readership in Graeco-Roman Egypt

Mark de Kreij

Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen, Nederland

Abstract The parchment codex published as *P.Ant.* II 76 and III 212 contains remains of Pindar's *Olympians* 5 and 6 along with scanty traces of marginal notes. Further conservation and study allows us to now roughly reconstruct the format of the original manuscript, and new imaging techniques have revealed better readings of the marginalia. In this speculative article, I explore the Pindar codex's form, content, and the particular context of Antinoupolis. In the process, I touch upon the question of Pindar's popularity in Roman Egypt, book production in Antinoupolis, and the form and function of the early codex. Taking all available evidence into account, I propose that we might have a pocket codex of Pindar's complete works – perhaps intended for casual reading.

Keywords Pindar. Antinoupolis. Codex. Papyrology. Ancient readership.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Fragments. – 3 Pindar in Graeco-Roman Egypt. – 4 Pindar in the Codex. – 5 The codex in Antinoupolis. – 6 A Pocket Pindar?

1 Introduction

P.Ant. II 76 + III 212 are small fragments of a parchment codex containing Pindar's 5th and 6th *Olympian Odes*. Damaged and tiny though they may be, these pieces of a manuscript unearthed in Antinoupolis deserve thorough study. Considering it in its historical and bibliographical context, I attempt a reconstruction of the codex using all available internal and external evidence.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Antichistica 31 | Filologia e letteratura 4

e-ISSN 2610-9344 | ISSN 2610-8828

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-548-3 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-549-0

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2021-05-17 | Accepted 2021-06-23 | Published 2021-12-16

© 2021 | Creative Commons 4.0 Attribution alone

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-548-3/015

I first present a new edition of the fragments with significant improvements in the readings of the marginalia. After this follows a survey of Pindar manuscripts in Egypt, with particular attention for the six extant codices of his work. The next section contains a study of the papyrological finds in Antinoupolis, examining the high relative quantity of parchment codices and codices in general. In the final section, all the evidence is brought together to argue that the Antinoupolis codex may have contained a complete edition of Pindar. The article ends with the open question of Pindar's readership in Egypt.

2 The Fragments

The two fragments are contiguous pages of a parchment codex containing at least Pindar's *Olympians* 5 and 6 (*edd. pr.* Barns 1960 and Barns 1967). With only minimal deviations, the codex has the colometry that we know from the ancient and Mediaeval tradition,¹ which allows us to calculate the missing lines with reasonable certainty. In addition to the text in a dark ink, the codex contains multiple neatly written marginal notes, apparently by the first hand, but in a hard-to-read lighter ink. The main text is in a small upright rounded hand, which I would assign to the 3rd century [figs 1-2].²

Based on the measurement of the recto of *P.Ant.* 76 (bottom of first line of writing to bottom of 10th line of writing is ca. 3.7 cm), and the knowledge that the original column had 28 lines, we can establish column height at ca. 11.5 cm. Since the largest fragment of *P.Ant.* 76 conserves the line beginnings on both sides, we can measure the written space of the page (measuring from left margin on recto to left margin on verso) at ca. 12 cm. The inner side margin is preserved in

This piece brings together multiple issues I have been thinking about within the context of a project made possible by a Veni grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), project number 275-30-038. In an early stage I presented my ideas at a Pindar symposium at the Radboud University Nijmegen, and I thank the student audience as well as Bruno Currie, David Driscoll, Hans Hansen, and André Lardinois for their comments. Thanks are due to Daniela Colomo for sharing her thoughts and for conserving and re-arranging the fragments, to the Egypt Exploration Society for access to the fragments, and to Andrew Lui for assistance with the optical microscopy at Begbroke Science Park.

¹ Cf. Tessier 1995, 41-2.

² So Barns 1960; Ucciardello 2012, 109 prefers a slightly later date, citing *P.Ant.* I 28 and *P.Lond.Lit.* 192. Cavallo 2008, 101 assigns both of these papyri to the late 3rd century, however. In addition, we can point to *P.Oxy.* 412 (225-275 CE) and even *P.Fayum* 21 (134 CE) as good dated parallels for the hand, and the context clearly shows that parchment codices were present in Antinoupolis in the 3rd century (see below). From Antinoupolis, we may compare *P.Ant.* II 85 (papyrus codex of Ps.-Plut.; cf. Ricciardetto 2017, 216-19), assigned to the 3rd century CE, and *P.Ant.* III 121 (parchment codex with poetic (magical?) text), assigned to the 3rd or 4th century.

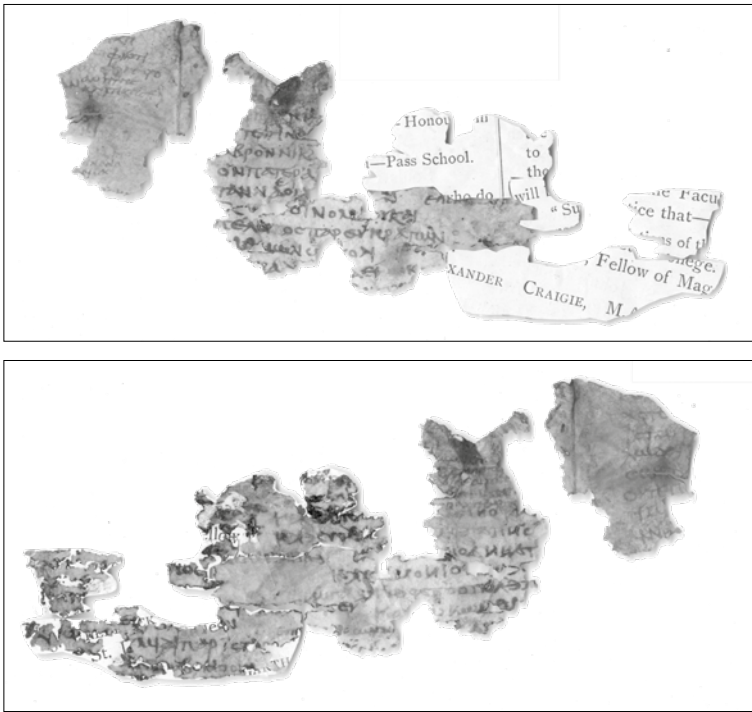


Figura 1-2 P.Ant. II 76 + III 212 sides one and two. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project

P.Ant. 212, at 1 cm; assuming the same on the outer margin, width of the folium will have been ca. 14 cm. Although we cannot establish the top and bottom margins, they will have been at least equal to the side margins, giving dimensions of a roughly square folium ca. 14 × 14 cm, or perhaps, following Turner's dictum (1977, 31) that in parchment codices a 'favourite proportion is 6:7' of width to height, ca. 14 × 16.5 cm. The format of the codex would thereby most likely put it in group X of Turner's typology (1977, 28-9).

The poetic text is written in single columns, with ample space left for marginal notes. Despite the deplorable state of the fragments, it is clear that a significant part of the unwritten portion of the page was filled in with notes. These are apparently in the same hand as the main text, but not in the same ink.³ For the sake of completeness, I

³ Analysis of the ink with a scanning electron microscope appears to show a difference between the two, with the ink of the marginalia yielding a much higher concentra-

present a fresh edition of the fragments, along with a brief commentary on the marginal traces.

P.Ant. II 76r

	ὕπὸ [βουθυαίαις ἀέθλων τε πεμ-		
	παμέρο[ις ἀμίλλαις		
	ἰ]πποικ[ήμι[όνοις τε]μ[ο]να[μ]υκί-		
	τε τιν δε [κύδος		
5	ἄβρὸν νικα[σας ἀ]νέθηκε καὶ		
	ὄν πατέρ' Ἄκ[ρων] ἐκάρυξε καὶ		
	τὰν νάτοικ[ον ἔδρ]αν.	ἐπεὶ [
	κων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ	[
	Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων	[
10	ς]ταθμῶν ὧ πολι-	. . [
	άοχ]ε Παλλά[ς] αἰεί-	κ [
	δει μὲν ἄλλος ἀ]γν[όν	[
	τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὡσανον ἐγ-]		

P.Ant. II 76v

	Κρόνιον τε ναίων λόφον		
	τιμῶν τ' Ἄλφεδὸν] [
	εὐρὺ ρέοντα Ἰδαῖ-]	[] [
	ὄν τε σεμνὸν ἄντρον]	[] , ω . α γ η . [
5	ἰκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι Λυδίοις]	[] , α . . τ ο [
	ἀπύων ἐν αὐλοῖς]	[] δ . . α π . [
	αἰτήσων πόλιν ε]ύα-	[] ν α σ .	
	νορίαίαι τάνδε κλυταῖ]ς	[] , π . . τ η . ρ . [
	δαῖδά[λλειν σέ τ']	[] [
10	Ὀλυμπιό[νικε]** Ποσι-] [
	δανίο[ισιν ἴ]ποις	[] [
	ἐπιτ[ερόμενον] φέρειν γῆρας· εὖ-	[] [
	θυμ[ο]ν ἐς τελευτᾶν	ἐπ[...]	[
	υἰῶν Ψαύμιδι*** παρίσταμέ[νω]ν ὑγί-	. σ ζ ω μ α . [
15	εντα δ' εἶ] τις ὄλβον	
] [. . . . [.	

* The line ends of ll. 3, 5, 6, and 7 can only be read from the verso (quite clearly), because the recto is covered by the attached Oxford Gazette (cf. Barns 1960, 634). There is no trace of further marginalia on the recto visible on the verso, but the parchment is quite damaged and dirty here.

** The word appears to be in ekthesis by one letter.

*** L. Ψαῦμι.

tion of iron. This is consistent with the reddish brown colour of the ink.

Commentary

Recto

- 7 ἐπεὶ [: Only the tops and bottoms of the dotted letters are extant. A possible reading is ἐπεὶ ἡ Καμά[ρινα]... The scholia *ad loc.* explain that νέοικον ἔδραν refers to Kamarina (νέοικον ἔδραν εἶπε τὴν Καμάριναν ὁ Πίνδαρος), which had been newly settled by Psaumis.
- 10 [: These traces are right underneath the final letters of εὐηράτων and the note is likely connected to it. Only two sets of visible traces are certainly not ink showing through from the verso: the first from the top and bottom of an ascending diagonal, not obviously matching any letter, the second is a set of exiguous traces at the top and bottom of the line.
- 11 κ [: This note may explain the reference to Athena, perhaps along the lines of the scholion *Ol.* 5.22 πολιόχε: Καμαριναίων θεὸς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ διὰ πλείστης τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐσα ἡ θεός. καὶ Ἀθήναιον ἐπίσημον ἐν Καμαρίνῃ. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθει ὁ κῶμος ἄγεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη καὶ ὁ ὕμνος ἄδεσθαι.

Verso

The position of the comment(s) in the top right of the page is remarkable. Although the parchment is damaged here, no trace of marginalia remains in the middle of the page, which would mean the comment is placed far removed from the poetic text at the right margin of the page. One possibility is that the comment does not refer to the text to its left, but is actually a note pertaining to the text on the following page. It may be that the note started to the left of the title of *Ol.* 6, and the title itself may even have been in the margin. Titles in Pindar take the form of the name of the dedicatee and the athletic event in which he was victorious. Any further contextual information such as the occasion or date would then naturally have followed underneath it.

- 3] . ω . αγη [: Ἀγησι[ι]- would fit the traces. Hagesias of Syracuse is the victor celebrated in *Ol.* 6; see notes above.
- 4] . α . . τῳ [: traces in this line are exceedingly hard to read.
- 5] δ . . απ [: ἀπ[η]ν[η]- would match the traces (the trace after π is the foot of an upright). Both Psaumis, the dedicatee of *Ol.* 5, and Hagesias were victorious in the mule car race.

- 6 At first glance there appears to be writing on this line, but after filtering out the ink showing through from the recto, I have identified no certain traces on the verso.
- 7] π., τη, ρ. [: Reading the letter before ρ is hampered by the thick grave accent showing through from the recto.
- 14 ἐπ[.], c: The comment starts over the μ of παρῖς ταμένων. Just before the c a letter from the recto appears so clearly as to make the reading of the verso impossible.
ζωμα [: This is written exactly over ὑγι-, and likely referred to this word.

P.Ant. III 212r

- [.]*
- κεῖν[ος ἀνὴρ ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων
ἀτῶ[ν ἐν ἡμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς
ἴτω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδι-
5 λωι δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων
Σωστράτου υἱός ἀκίνδυνοι δ' ἀρεταί
οὔτε παρ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐν ναυσι κοίλαις
τίμι[αι πολλοὶ δὲ μέ-
μναγ[ται καλὸν εἴ τι ποναθῆ].
10 .]. [

P.Ant. III 212v

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἧ-]** | κλητικῆ |
| δημοι χθένος ἡμιόνων,] |] Φίντι |
| ἄ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῃ τ' ἐν καθαρῶ] | τῆ ὀρθῆ ἔχρησατο |
| βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἴκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν] |] ἀντὶ τῆς |
| 5 καὶ γένος· κείναι γὰρ ἐξ] |] κλητικῆς |
| ἀλλὰν ὀδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι] |] |
| ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι] |] |
| ἐπεὶ δέξαντο· χρῆ τοίνυν πύλας] |] εἰν ἀνα |
| ῥυμῶν ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς:] |] αρμας |
| 10 πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον] |]· γη. [|

* I have added this unwritten line so that the line numbering on recto and verso matches. The gap between the lines starting κείνος and -δη μοι is exactly 28 lines, and in this arrangement the extant word ending -αν (verso) of an otherwise lost marginalium does indeed line up correctly with πεδι- (recto).

** Since none of the poetic text is extant, the alignment of comment to text is approximate, but see the preceding footnote.

Commentary

Verso

- 1-5 Reconstruction Barns, on the basis of sch. *Ol.* 6.37a τῆ δὲ κλητικῆ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο ἀλλὰ τῆ εὐθείᾳ.
- 2 Φίντι: the accent is written on the papyrus.
- 4]αν: Although larger than the surrounding comment, colometry and page lay-out practically guarantee that this is a further gloss or comment; the letters are too far to the right to form part of the main text. It could be a one-word gloss, but there is also enough space for a longer comment; cf. sch. *Ol.* 6.39 τῆ ὀδῶ δὲ τῆ καθαρᾶ, τῆ μὲ ἐχούση ἐπίληψιν ἢ ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ ἀλήθειαν.
- 8]ξιν ανα: Both this line and the following may have stood roughly at the height of the verse ending αὐταῖς. This allows us to read a reference to ἀναπιτνάμεν, perhaps a longer note including a gloss of the obscure verb (cf. sch. rec. *Ol.* 6.37-45 ἤγουν ἀνοίγειν, ἀναπετᾶν). The note may have gone on to specify the mules in order to explain what the Pindaric metaphor refers to.
- 9]αρμας: the second trace could also be ο; the final trace may just be the tail of the α, or it may be c.
- 11] . γη] : the first trace is the right-hand arc of a rounded letter or a slightly rounded π, apparently followed by a high dot. If the putative high dot is rather part of the following letter, we should read λ instead of γ. The final letter before lacuna is more likely ν than μ.

3 Pindar in Graeco-Roman Egypt

Quotations and references in literary works can illustrate the impact of Pindar's works throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period, but Egypt is the only part of the Roman Empire for which we have extant witnesses to his texts. Papyrological finds dating from the 1st century BCE to the 6th century CE attest to the lyric poet's continued popularity in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The majority of finds are from Oxyrhynchus, which should not surprise us since Oxyrhynchus eclipses all other finding places of literary papyri in Egypt. This fact may be linked to the practicalities of the archaeological expeditions, the vicissitudes of conservation in different places in Egypt, but also to the literary culture of Oxyrhynchus. Further finds in Hermopolis, Antinoupolis, and Busiris show that his readership extended beyond the cultural hub of Oxyrhynchus.

The total number of published textual witnesses is around 45, depending on how we decide on a few uncertainly attributed texts.⁴ The available sources tell us that Pindar's works were gathered in 17 rolls, divided by genre.⁵ The popularity of the *Epinicia* in antiquity is clear from the numbers: of the 45 papyri commonly attributed to Pindar, 22 contain *Epinicia*. In other words, 4 rolls out of 17 represent almost half of all the papyrological witnesses. Adding the 7 copies of the *Paeans*, 5 rolls out of 17 account for two-thirds of the evidence.⁶ From the positive evidence, we can cautiously hypothesise that the *Paeans* and *Epinicia* were more popular than some of the other genres – the three rolls of *Partheneia*, for example, are only represented by one certain papyrological witness.⁷ This observation is corroborated, at least for the *Epinicia*, by the fact that 3 out of 4 extant commentaries to Pindar's texts concern parts of the *Epinicia*.⁸

Irigoien established the dogma that the *Epinicia* were the only works in circulation after the 2nd century CE,⁹ and despite new finds of papyri,¹⁰ his picture of a top-down selection of literature under the Antonine emperors is still commonly accepted.¹¹ The data from Egypt outlined above should urge us to be more cautious than simply assuming a narrative of decline. Besides the accident of the find, we need to keep two issues in mind when evaluating this data. The first is that many of these papyri consist of large sets of fragments, and the only ones that can be positively identified as belonging to a certain genre are those that overlap with quotations in literature or with other published papyri that have been otherwise identified. Since the *Epinicia* are extant, they are also the ones most easily identified, even when only a tiny fragment is uncovered. The second is-

⁴ Especially PSI 145 and 146 are only doubtfully attributed, fr. *dubia* 334 and 335 in Snell, Maehler.

⁵ Versions of the list are extant in the *Suda*, the Mediaeval manuscripts of Pindar, and the biography on *P.Oxy.* 2438; see for an overview of the evidence De Kreij 2019.

⁶ Thanks are due to Enrico Prodi for consulting on the current *communis opinio* about the genres to which the different Pindar papyri have been assigned.

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 659.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 2451 (*Isthmians*), *P.Oxy.* 2536 (*Pythians*), *P.Oxy.* 5201 (*Olympian* 1); the exception is *P.Oxy.* 2449, which contains a lemma from *P.Oxy.* 2448, now identified as *Prosodia*.

⁹ Irigoien 1952, 93-100.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2442+5039, 2448, and 3822 carry other genres (*Paeans*, *Hymns*, and *Prosodia*) into the 3rd century CE.

¹¹ See Willcock 1995, 28 and Race 1997, 1: 35, "In the 3rd century AD the other books began to drop out of circulation and only the four books of epinicia continued to be read. About this time they were transferred from papyrus rolls to codices, apparently in the order of the founding of the games: Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. At some point the last two books were interchanged and some of the final pages of the Isthmian odes were lost".

sue is that the find of remains of one roll positively proves that there was a reader of Pindar, but it does not prove that the other rolls were not also there at some point. We do not know how common it was to own only one roll of Pindar's works, a selection, or his entire *oeuvre*.

There are two cases where multiple genres were found together in the same handwriting, which suggests that multiple rolls were discarded in the same place. It concerns *P.Oxy.* 841 (*Hymns* and *Paeans*) and *P.Oxy.* 2442 + *P.Oxy.* 5039 (*Hymns*, *Paeans*, *Prosodia*, and *Pythian Odes*). Such finds suggest the possibility that (some of) the genres not uncovered could also have formed part of the owner's collection. This may be the case all the more with the codices that concern us in particular in this article; they are discussed individually in the following section.

4 Pindar in the Codex

Before we further consider who read Pindar in Egypt, we must return to our codex. The Antinoupolis codex is one of at least six surviving Pindaric codices from Egypt.¹² It is in itself remarkable that so many codices containing Pindar's poetry have surfaced, since not much lyric poetry appears to have been transferred from rolls to codex.¹³ Of all five, only fragments of individual leaves are extant, so our hopes of establishing how much they may have contained rest on tentative reconstruction. In the following, I describe the physical make-up of the codices as far as it can be established.

The Antinoupolis codex had 28 lines per column, and one column per page, a distribution of the text paralleled in the 4th-century papyrus codex *P.Oxy.* 5038 (*Ol.* 10).¹⁴ The page lay-out of our codex was a peculiar one, however, with an extraordinary amount of space intentionally left blank and promptly filled with glosses and comments. However, since the notes in the Pindar codex are in the first hand, we may assume that the page lay-out was conceived as a whole, including space for the marginalia. We may productively compare the Callimachus codex *P.Oxy.* 2258 (6th century), whose "margins together are equivalent to half of the width of the page" (Wilson 1967,

¹² The other five are: *PSI* 147 (2nd century, papyrus), *PL* inv. III 310c, published in Pintaudi and Cannatà Fera 1997 (4th century, papyrus), *P.Oxy.* 5038 (4th century, papyrus), *P.Oxy.* 1614 (5th century, papyrus), and *MPER* I 23 (6th century, papyrus); *PSI* 145 is also a codex (2nd century, papyrus) but see the doubts about attribution mentioned in fn. 12.

¹³ Beyond Pindar, of the lyric canon only Sappho certainly made it into the codex (*P.Berol.* inv. 5006 and 9722, parchment codices from the 6th or 7th centuries CE); the Hellenistic lyric poets Callimachus and Theocritus are well represented among codex finds.

¹⁴ Although it is a generally larger codex: ca. 18 × 26 (w. × h.); see Maehler 2010, 67.

249). For the sake of completeness it is worth noting that the metrical cola of *Ol.* 5 and 6 are generally short, so lines would have been somewhat longer in other pieces (e.g. *Ol.* 11 and *Nem.* 11), yielding a different page lay-out.

Based on the number of lines per page and the number of lines in the book of *Olympian Odes*, we can reconstruct that the *Olympians* would have occupied around 56 pages in these two codices.¹⁵ The complete *Epinicia* would have taken up around 6,178 lines, assuming around 618 lines are missing at the end of the *Isthmians*, which amounts to around 220 pages.¹⁶ We do not know the length of the lost books of Pindar,¹⁷ but we can assume an average of between 1,000 and 1,500 lines, based on the *Epinicia* and our general knowledge of ancient bookrolls. As a rough guide, we may regard the *Epinicia* as around 4/17 of the complete Pindar.

PSI 147 is one leaf of a late 2nd-century papyrus codex in a regular rounded hand with ample margins, containing fragments of the *Paeans*. It has much taller pages than the Antinoupolis codex and *P.Oxy.* 5038, with around 44 lines per page. In this lay-out, the *Epinicia* would take up around 140 pages. Roberts and Skeat speculated whether these fragments came from a "complete Pindar" (1983, 72). If the *Epinicia* are indeed representative of the rest of Pindar's work in terms of quantity, the entire corpus in this format would have fit in around 596 pages.

PL inv. III 310c, a papyrus kept in the Laurenziana in Florence, is a fragment of a late 4th-century codex with 34 lines per page.¹⁸ The hand is rather irregular, and the codex does not give the impression of having been a fine copy. The first editors ask (themselves?) in a footnote whether the codex had all of Pindar (Pintaudi and Cannatà Fera 1997, 197 fn. 2), and if that were the case it would have contained around 772 pages.

P.Oxy. 1614 is a single sheet from a late 5th-century papyrus codex in a somewhat irregular, cramped hand containing parts of the *Olympians*. The codex had around 52 lines per page, and it contained decorated titles in the text, rather than in the margins. This makes 1590 lines for the *Olympians*,¹⁹ which would have fit in around 31 pag-

¹⁵ In its ancient colometry, the *Olympians* span 1562 verses. We should keep a margin of error, of course, for possible titles (as in *P.Oxy.* 1614 col. i, l. 22), mistakes, etc.

¹⁶ The number of extant lines of the *Epinicia* is 1562 + 1983 + 1273 + 742 = 5560. D'Alessio 2012, 28 estimates that around 10 per cent of the *Epinicia* are missing, around 618 lines, which would yield a hypothetical total of 1360 lines for the *Isthmians*, and 6178 for the *Epinicia*.

¹⁷ For the *Paeans*, the stichometric sign in *P.Oxy.* 841 informs us that it contained at least 1,350 verses; cf. Rutherford 2001, 140.

¹⁸ Published in Pintaudi, Cannatà Fera 1997, LDAB 3739; cf. Ucciardello 2012, 109.

¹⁹ 1,562 lines + 14 titles × 2 lines (title plus decoration) = 1,590.

es; the *Epinicia* would have taken up a minimum of around 119. The make-up of the quire that this sheet belonged to practically guarantees that the codex contained more than just the *Olympians*, so it is likely to have had at least the *Epinicia*.²⁰ A complete edition of Pindar would have taken up just over 500 pages.

MPER I 23 (*P.Vindob.* G 29817), finally, is the top corner of the page of a 6th-century papyrus codex containing marginal comments to the first *Pythian*. It was clearly a large-format codex (Gerstinger 1932, 146), but since only the upper and right margin of the recto, upper and left margin of the verso are extant, without any remains of the poetic text, the number of lines per column cannot be calculated with certainty.

Most of these are examples of codices from a period when the bookroll was still preferred for pagan literature.²¹ Still, there are parallels in literature as well as the papyrological record. Libanius (*Or.* 1.148) speaks of his handy single codex of Thucydides, which allowed him to forego the use of slaves if he wanted to carry the work with him (cf. Roberts 1954, 195). Remarkably, a 3rd-century papyrus codex that somehow found its way into collections across Europe is reconstructed by Bülow-Jacobsen (1982, 77) as having contained the complete Thucydides in around 427 pages.²² We may also compare *P.Ryl.* III 549, a 3rd-century papyrus codex containing Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a work of 7 or 8 bookrolls, in around 300 pages (Roberts 1938, 198).

The size of papyrus codices appears generally to have been limited, which might mean that the papyrus codices of Pindar did not contain the complete corpus – except perhaps *P.Oxy.* 1614. However, the same limitation did not apply to parchment codices (Turner 1977, 82–83).²³ In fact, the possibility of gathering large corpora in one volume

20 Fol. 1r starts with *Ol.* 1.171, so there are 170 lines lost before it. At 52 lines per page, this means that at least two outer leaves are missing. After *Ol.* 2.72, 407 lines and 4 titles are missing, which equates to around 8 pages on 2 leaves. This means the first quire was a quinio (cf. Turner 1977, 63), or a senio if the codex had a fly leaf before the start of the *Olympians*. In any case, the remainder of the quire (4 or 6 pages) would not have sufficed to cover the rest of the *Olympians* (788 lines and 7 titles, around 16 pages), which entails it must have been a multi-quire codex. It is unlikely to have only had another small quire for the remainder of the *Olympians*. An example of a multi-quire codex containing quiniones is the Theocritus codex found in Antinoupolis, cf. Hunt, Johnson 1930, 20.

21 Cf. the numbers given by Bülow-Jacobsen 2009, 24.

22 The publication numbers are *P.Gen.* 2, *P.Ryl.* III 548, *P.Oxy.* 3450, and *P.Köln* VII 304. Another Thucydides codex (parchment) with two columns to the page is *P.Ant.* I 25, now dated to the 4th century; cf. Turner 1977, 36.

23 A selection of early Coptic multi-quire parchment codices (dated between the 4th and 7th centuries) listed in Szirmai 1999, 16 (table 2.1) has between 15 and 32 quires, where known. Since most quires contained 4 leaves (= 16 pages) or more, this translates to codices containing 240 pages and up.

may have been one of the reasons of the format's success, and parchment was the material of choice for such codices (Roberts, Skeat 1983, 48). Roberts and Skeat refer to a Coptic Manichean parchment codex of at least 638 pages, and of course there are the 4th-century bibles: the *Vaticanus* had 1,600 pages and the *Sinaiticus* contained 1,460.²⁴ The parchment codex was not limited to Christian literature either, as we know the 35 bookrolls' worth of legal discourse by Ulpian (*Ad Edictum*) were re-edited in three codices, equivalent to 14, 11, and 7 rolls (Wieacker 1960, 125-9).

Parallel to the Thucydides codex mentioned above, larger literary works or corpora were also gathered into parchment books. Two papyrus codices of the *Odyssey* have surfaced whose page numbers show that they contained the entire *Odyssey* in just over 400 pages.²⁵ Even more impressive is the 4th-century parchment codex of Virgil, called the *Vaticanus*, which had his entire *oeuvre* in 880 pages.²⁶ It is clear that the new possibilities offered by the codex ensured its success and were being exploited thoroughly by the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. Moreover, it has so far gone unnoticed that this appears to have been especially true in the young foundation of Antinoupolis.

5 The Codex in Antinoupolis

P.Ant. II 76 and III 212 were found in Johnson's 1913-14 excavation of the rubbish heaps at Antinoupolis, modern El-Sheikh Ibada. Although his report does not explicitly mention the discovery of either fragment, the one find spot rich in Roman material was mound G, on the south-east side of the site, excavated in January and February of 1914 (Johnson 1914, 178-80).²⁷

Especially for the Roman period, which for Antinoupolis amounts to the 2nd-4th centuries CE, Johnson's harvest was a lot less rich than Grenfell and Hunt's in Oxyrhynchus. Including later finds from the site, I know of only around 84²⁸ literary texts that have been assigned

²⁴ The *Vaticanus* is in the Vatican library as Vat. gr. 1209 and the *Sinaiticus* in the British Library as Add. MS 43725.

²⁵ *P.Ryl.* I 53 (3rd-4th century) and *P.Amh.* II 23 (3rd-4th century); cf. Turner 1977, 83-4.

²⁶ Cod. Vat. lat. 3225 (*CLA* I 11) dated to the 4th century CE or to around 400.

²⁷ He does note finding the parchment roll of Xenophon (assigned 2nd or 3rd century CE) - discussed below - in *N*, a mound otherwise yielding much later material. One possible explanation is that the Xenophon text was a rarity preserved for multiple centuries before being discarded in late antiquity.

²⁸ This dataset for the 2nd-4th centuries CE was compiled by hand, consisting of the literary papyri from *P.Ant.* I, II, and III, plus the following 9 papyri published elsewhere: *PSI* XIII 1306 (though note the later date [5th or 6th century] proposed by Pres-

to the 2nd to 4th century.²⁹ In relative terms, this is still a high number: of all the published papyri from Antinoupolis, around 37.5 % are literary, whereas for entire Egypt only 15 % of published finds are classed as literary.³⁰ Fournet comments that the high relative number of literary finds might have to do with the priority that literary papyri receive in order of publication. However, at least for the Oxford collection, Barns claimed that he published the final Greek papyri in volume III of the *Antinoopolis Papyri* (Barns 1967, v), and only very fragmentary unpublished material from the Roman period remains in the Papyrology Rooms in the Sackler library.

There are more peculiarities in the early findings from Antinoupolis. Menci notes the apparent popularity of parchment in comparison to other places in Egypt, arguing that the parchment codex was the most prestigious book form in Antinoupolis (Menci 1998, 52).³¹ In her data, which cover all the papyri found at Antinoupolis, she points out the prevalence of texts of the orators ("and some few others of the greats") among the parchment codices. As for the period that concerns us here, the 2nd to 4th centuries CE, what stands out is that the parchment codex appears to have been reserved for fine copies of literary or biblical texts. Out of 27 parchment codices from that period (almost a third of the 84 literary texts assigned to the period), only 2 are exceptions, one is a legal text, and another is written in a more informal hand.³² In order to understand the interest of that number, compare the fact that in the same period only 31 parchment codices from Oxyrhynchus are listed in the LDAB. Moreover, 16 of these are biblical or otherwise theological texts, versus 7 out of 27 at Antinoupolis. Considering the quantity of 2nd to 4th-century papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in relative terms the number of parch-

sura 2017), LDAB 113249 (Minutoli in Pintaudi 2008, 111-15), LDAB 113251 (Nachtergaele and Pintaudi in Pintaudi 2008, 122-8), LDAB 2677 (Körte 1908), LDAB 6066 (Zalateo et al. 1940, 12-14), LDAB 6103 (Zalateo et al. 1940, 7), LDAB 642454 (Del Corso, Pintaudi 2015), LDAB 754092 (Minutoli in Pintaudi 2017, 527-34), LDAB 754097 (Del Corso, Pintaudi in Pintaudi 2017, 553-6).

29 The number is not beyond doubt for two reasons: 1) despite my best efforts, I may have missed relevant published papyri from Antinoupolis; 2) palaeographic dating is a subjective exercise: a number of manuscripts assigned to the 4th century may well be 5th-century in origin.

30 The data is from Fournet 2009, 117; Nocchi Macedo 2016 accidentally presents an even starker contrast (59.8% against 15%), because he confuses the number for the Antinoupolite papyri in the Florentine collection with the number of Antinoupolite papyri *tout court*.

31 "Il codice pergameneo ad Antinoe sembra essere un 'contenitore' di prestigio, destinato quasi esclusivamente ai testi di oratori [...] e di pochi altri 'grandi': e questi sono anche, tra i codici antinoiti, quelli di maggior pregio dal punto di vista paleografico".

32 I 22 (Latin legal text executed in a 'small and elegant hand') and Minutoli in Pintaudi 2017, 527-34 (*Iliad* in a somewhat quickly written bookhand).

ment codices found at Antinoupolis is orders of magnitude greater than that found in Oxyrhynchus.

An even larger statistical anomaly is the absolute preference for the codex over the roll, from the earliest finds onward. Again for the 2nd to 4th centuries, only 12 out of 84 literary manuscripts are rolls, divided as follows chronologically:

Table 1 Roll vs. codex in Antinoupolis (literary)³³

Date	Kind	Number
2nd century	roll	1
	codex	2
2nd-3rd	roll	4
	codex	7
3rd	roll	5
	codex	21
3rd-4th	roll	1
	codex	9
4th	roll	1
	codex	33

Table 2 Roll vs. codex in Egypt (literary)³⁴

Date	Kind	Number
2nd century	roll	1790
	codex	73
3rd	roll	1104
	codex	321
4th	roll	155
	codex	587

One way to explain this anomaly is to attribute it to the accident of the find. Johnson notes that the deeper strata containing texts from the Roman period had mostly “coagulated into a hard and concrete-like mass” (1914, 180), except in mound *G*. This mound is likely to have been the source for most of the Roman material. Nonetheless, since the mound yielded material spanning 5 centuries, and Johnson never speaks of finding a collection in *G*, whereas he does speak of

33 The 11 Christian texts in the Antinoupolis dataset are all codices, as expected, but even considering only the pagan literary texts, there is a clear preference for the codex.

34 Source: *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/ld-ab/index.php>).

uncovering a “small Byzantine library” (1914, 175) in mound *M*, there is no reason to assume this statistical anomaly can be attributed to the accident of finding the refuse from one eccentric book owner in the polis. In fact, Johnson describes the mound as follows: “It seemed that several early houses had here thrown out adjacent conical heaps and a later age had filled in their interstices till one mound resulted, so that in the same trench 2nd century and 5th century [*sic*] material came out side by side” (1914, 179). Finally, although among the more recent finds early manuscripts have been few, they still bear out the relative quantities of Johnson’s initial excavations.

Since it has not heretofore been noticed, there has been no attempt to explain the high number of codices, and in particular parchment codices among the Antinoupolis texts. A further particularity is *P.Ant. I 26*, the only parchment *roll* of a pagan text (Xenophon) ever to have surfaced in Egypt. Roberts (1950, 61) and Bingen (1962, 335) consider the possibility that the roll was imported from the Near East, based on its peculiar format and the handwriting.³⁵ Nocchi Macedo has rightly pointed to a number of parallels of the hand on papyri from Egypt, but does allow that the parchment roll would have been regarded as unusual in Egypt, and may well have been imported (Nocchi Macedo 2018, 329). One other possible explanation for both the parchment roll and the high number of parchment codices in Antinoupolis is that in the settlement process someone or a group of people migrated to the new city from the Near East, bringing with them not only their own books, but their own book production practices.³⁶ Since there is no evidence for such a demographic peculiarity, however, this will have to remain speculation.

³⁵ Cf. more recently Crisci 1996, 149. The other parchment rolls of Greek texts found in Egypt are all from a Christian context, and the one further pagan example is a glossary to the *Iliad* found in Doura, Syria (*P.Dura* 3); for the rarely discussed format of the parchment roll, see Nocchi Macedo 2018.

³⁶ The settlement of Antinoupolis is documented, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, on the ‘Antinoos Obelisk’. The only indication there is that people moved “from the villages” to the new polis, and that they were enticed with land grants, cf. Grimm, Kessler, Meyer 1994, 63.

6 A Pocket Pindar?

Speaking of speculation, it would surely be foolish to attempt to reconstruct the entire Antinoupolis codex of Pindar from such tiny fragments, were it not for one further piece of evidence. In the first volume of the *Antinoopolis Papyri*, Roberts published a parchment *sillybos*, a title tag, with the words Πίνδαρος ὄλος on it (*P.Ant.* I 21). The 'complete Pindar' – as it should apparently be translated – would have comprised 17 rolls, and it is hard to see why a tag with that text would be attached to each individual roll of a complete set (cf. Caroli 2007, 204). Roberts therefore first considers the possibility that “in the transition period between roll and codex, the *sillybos* was attached to the latter as well as to the former,” but later concludes that “in the absence of evidence for such a practice [...] this is improbable” (1950, 47). Caroli likewise believes it did not belong to a codex, and is more convinced by Maehler's theory (2003, 251) that it may have been attached to a *capsa*, a book case containing the whole set. Caroli (2007, 203-4) adduces the single parallel of a stone case found in Alexandria with the inscription Διοσκουρίδης γ' τόμοι, containing the works of the pharmacologist Dioscurides Pedanius (1st century CE).

There are a number of peculiarities about the Pindar tag: (1) the tag is parchment, not papyrus, (2) the name is written in the nominative rather than the genitive (just as on the stone *capsa*), and (3) the text proceeds vertically on the tag, rather than horizontally, unparallelled according to Caroli. The fact that the tag is made of parchment does not mean it would have been unlikely to be attached to a papyrus roll, as a reference in Cicero demonstrates.³⁷ In fact, two parchment *sillyboi* are extant with clear remains of papyrus on them.³⁸ These tags were positioned such that one end of the tag was glued with the back of the written side onto the roll, so that the written part stuck out. A close examination of the Pindar title tag shows no remains of papyrus, but rather traces of something else, and these are on the written side rather than on the back [fig. 3]. It is definitely not papyrus, and under the microscope the material looks like it might be darker parchment or leather, perhaps stuck to the tag as it came detached from the object it was attached to.

Despite the fact that a decent number of early codices have been found with parts of the bindings intact, Boudalis points out that we have yet to find out where the titles of the work(s) contained in the

³⁷ Cic. to Atticus 4.4a, *membranulam ex qua indices fiunt*; cf. Caroli 2007, 28-30.

³⁸ Caroli P 11 (*P.Oxy.* 2396, 2nd century CE) and Caroli P 15 (*P.Oxy.* 1091, 2nd century CE).

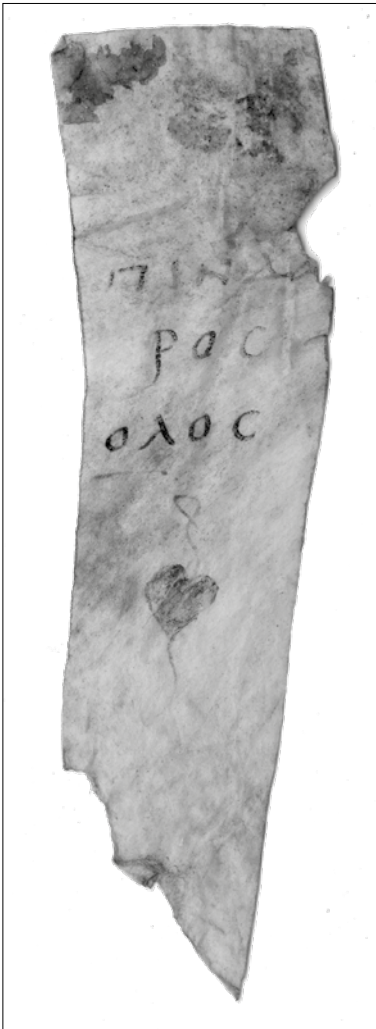


Figure 3 P.Ant. 121. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford *Imaging Papyri Project*

codex were displayed.³⁹ Since the title tag differs significantly from all others with regard to its physical make-up as well as its writing, we might seriously consider it was attached not to a roll, but to a codex, perhaps glued to the inside of the back of the binding, so that its written part stuck out below. Part of the reason for all of this spec-

³⁹ Personal communication, 23 January 2019; for thorough study of early codex bindings, see Szirmai 1999 and Boudalis 2018.

ulation is the question of the likelihood of finding *both* a codex containing a significant part of Pindar's poetry *and* a full set of Pindar's corpus on papyrus rolls in a dataset as small as that of Antinoupolis' literary papyri dated 2nd to 4th century CE. It is more economical to assume that they are connected, especially since their dating, based on handwriting alone, may be within the same range. The hand on the tag may even be a more regular and neat variant of the hand of the Pindar text,⁴⁰ although this is impossible to establish based on so few letters. Whether the same scribe wrote both the tag and the text or not, the hands look contemporary and may well have been part of the same work.

What would it mean if the tag reading *The Complete Pindar* belonged to our codex fragments? The reconstruction presented above shows that the a complete edition of the 17 books may have amounted to around 935 pages in the lay-out of our codex. This is a very high number for a parchment codex, though not unparalleled.⁴¹ The parchment pages of the codex were obviously very thin, as the writing on the verso can now be clearly seen through the parchment on the recto. The complete codex may have been a rather handy - if thick - little manuscript, not entirely unlike the larger of our Loeb volumes.⁴²

Libanius praises his Thucydides codex for the ease of transport and use. Roberts assumes - without clear reason - that Libanius' codex of Thucydides was "in all probability, more of a *de luxe* edition than the more utilitarian third-century⁴³ codices from Egypt. These now existed to satisfy the desire for collected and handy editions, particularly of the bulky prose authors" (Roberts 1954, 195). Roberts' statement remains a little impressionist, since it is not entirely clear which texts he has in mind when he speaks of the "utilitarian codices", but the term suits our Pindar codex. With its small format, practical lay-out, and somewhat irregular hand, we can imagine it as a "collected and handy edition" for a pragmatic reader - but who could this reader have been? The text with ample comments would have been ideal for a student, but this need not be the only possibility.

⁴⁰ Especially the shape of ρ and λ are very similar, but one may note the different shape of π and the forward slant of the writing on the tag compared to the generally upright script of the text.

⁴¹ We may refer again to the Vatican Vergil (Vat. lat. 3225) which gathered the poet's entire corpus in 880 pages of which the written space measured 16 × 16 cm (*CLA* I 11), compared to 12 × 12 for the Pindar codex. Alternatively, it is possible that by this time the four books of *Epinicia* were regarded as the complete Pindar, which would have amounted to a codex of just over 220 pages.

⁴² Loeb pages measure 10.3 × 16.3 cm; the pages of the Pindar codex were definitely a bit wider, but might have had a similar height.

⁴³ Note that some of the codices Roberts dated to the 3rd century are now commonly regarded as 4th-century books.

There is some talk of a 'reading middle class' in Greco-Roman Egypt, but it is hard to establish what such a group of casual readers may or may not have read.⁴⁴ In his article on the *lettore commune*, Cavallo introduced us to the 'casual reader' in Roman Egypt: someone of relatively humble means and partial education for whom literature was not a professional endeavour (2007, 558).⁴⁵ Cavallo sees an emergence of this class of readers in the early centuries of our era, as education becomes available to more people, and this is reflected in the popularity of mythography, paradoxography, and the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Most popular, however, were paraphrases of epic, epitomised history, and biography, and of course all kinds of erotic literature (Cavallo 2007, 566). The novel's narrative form and interest in romance and adventure will all have suited a wide range of readers.

Cavallo firmly excludes tragedy and similar 'high poetry' from this amateur's reading materials (2007, 570),⁴⁶ but there is no *a priori* reason to maintain this belief. As substantiation for his claim, Cavallo refers to the story of Demetrius ripping a roll of Euripides' *Bacchae* from someone's hands in order to save it from further torturing by the reader's incompetence.⁴⁷ However, the anecdote reported in Lucian's diatribe against the pretentious book collector is about someone unschooled (ἀπαίδευτος), not the class Cavallo has in mind. A better source is Strabo, who speaks of how the reader who is πεπαιδευμένος μετρίως, "mediamente istruito" in Cavallo's translation, can take the μῦθοι (if not much else) from poetry (2007, 567-8).

Strabo does not specify what poetry he has in mind, focussing mainly on Homer in the remainder of the passage, but considering the topics he touches upon (e.g. Heracles and Theseus) he may well have been thinking of tragedy and lyric, too. Considering that the casual reader would have received at least basic training in reading and writing, we can be confident that s/he will have encountered at least some poetry. Homer was the starting point for every student (Criatore 1996, e.g. 46 and 49),⁴⁸ and in spite of Cavallo's insistence we must allow that tragedies like the *Phoenician Women* were read

⁴⁴ See Lamedica 1985, 75 on the readership of the short biographies in *P.Oxy.* 1800: "non [...] un'élite intellettuale in grado di apprezzare il serio lavoro di erudizione, ma una classe media desiderosa di apprendere, senza un eccessivo impegno, notizie su individui noti da sempre".

⁴⁵ "Da individuare, piuttosto, è dunque chi legge letteratura *soltanto* (e non *anche*) al di fuori di qualsiasi obbligo o impegno sociale o intellettuale".

⁴⁶ "La tragedia era lettura riservata ai dotti". He refers to Morgan 2003, but her conclusion that tragedy was read only by a "smallish group of the highly literate" is not borne out by the evidence, as Criatore 1996 and 2001 had already shown.

⁴⁷ Luc. *Ind.* 19.

⁴⁸ On page 49: "Homer as educator *par excellence*".

widely (Cribiore 1996, 48).⁴⁹ Cribiore (2001) has convincingly demonstrated the central position of Euripides' tragedy in all levels of education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Once the technical skills of reading had been mastered, and after a first poetic encounter with Homer and Euripides, the reader would surely have been in a position to tackle other poetic texts, provided they were accompanied by the necessary comments. Del Corso raises the possibility that we have two such copies meant for casual readers in the Lille Callimachus (*P.Lille* inv. 82, 76 + 79, 78b, 78a) and the integral text of Nicanor's *Theriaca* with extensive notes in *P.Oxy.* 2221. He believes such texts may have been intended for readers without specialist knowledge of philology and grammar, but interested in reading obscure poets (Del Corso 2010, 93-4). He rightly notes that these texts may well have been used in a school context, but that they do not of themselves show any signs of scholarship, and appear rather to have been accessible to any reader, "un lettore di qualsiasi genere".⁵⁰ There is no reason not to extend this casual reader's interests to include Pindar.

As a final piece of information, consider the physical appearance of the Pindar papyri. The majority of manuscripts found in Egypt appear to have been fine copies, professionally produced. A good example is *P.Tebt.* 684, written in a neat biblical majuscule, with ample space between lines of verse and wide margins.⁵¹ The readership for such texts is hard to establish, but these *éditions de luxe* are likely to have been expensive commissions, as scribes were paid according to the quality of their writing.⁵² Although the owner's socio-economic status does not rule out the possibility that s/he was a casual reader of the poet, they do not provide positive evidence of such a readership either.

Received wisdom holds that Pindar was not accessible to the average reader; as Ucciardello has it: "The absence of Pindar [among literary texts on the verso of documents] is unsurprising, since this difficult author could have been accessible only to a well-accomplished readership" (2012, 115). Ucciardello's corpus are the *Epinicia*, but it should be pointed out that *P.Oxy.* 841, containing *Hymns* and *Paeans*, was written on the back of 2nd-century documents. We do well to heed Ucciardello's words, and his observation is a relevant piece

⁴⁹ "Of his plays the *Phoenissae* was the most read, since teachers' choices of authors mirrored the tastes of the general public".

⁵⁰ Socrates, the tax collector from Karanis, may also have been a leisure reader, although he certainly belonged to the socio-economic elite. Finds from his house show that besides Homer he owned some plays of Menander, a version of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, and even a roll of Callimachus' *Aitia*; see Van Minnen 1998, 132-3 and Rowlandson, Harker 2004, 97-8.

⁵¹ Orsini 2005, 129 dates the papyrus to the second half of the 3rd century CE.

⁵² As specified in the *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium*, col. vii 39-41 (301 CE); cf. Johnson 2010, 21 and Caroli 2012, 24-39.

of the puzzle. However, the papyri also bear out Pindar's popularity – the 45 manuscripts of Pindar from Egypt stand out within the relatively obscure genre of lyric poetry. Even more important is the presence of informal copies of the poet's work.⁵³ These copies were not written in the quick, impatient hands of scholars, which of course also look different from luxury copies, but do not expand the readership beyond the (intellectual) elite. Rather, I am referring to a number of manuscripts penned by slowly-written, inelegant, large hands. Slow writing speed and large characters are both typical signs of an unpracticed hand (Cribiore 1996, 104-5). These informal copies were likely copied by the same people who intended to read them (Ucciardello 2012, 117), and such limited scribal competence strongly suggests a reader who was not a scholar or other literary professional.

Where does all of this speculation leave us? Based on the evidence from literary and papyrological parallels, the Pindar codex may have contained all of his works – or a selection by that time regarded as his complete *oeuvre*. Considering the archaeological context of Antinoupolis, it is more likely that the title tag belonged to the codex than to a separate (set of) manuscript(s) of Pindar. The small format of the codex and its relatively informal writing suggest it was a workaday copy of the text, rather than a luxury edition. The competence of the hand is such that it may yet have belonged to a scholar or student, but we cannot exclude that it belonged to a member of an elusive 'middle class' of leisure readers. Despite the deeply-entrenched belief to the contrary, our fragmentary evidence leaves open the possibility of non-professionals reading Pindar's lyric poetry for fun. If a well-to-do citizen of Antinoupolis wished to do so, *this* is the book he would have owned.

Bibliography

- Barns, J.W.B. (1960). *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. II. London.
 Barns, J.W.B. (1967). *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. III. London.
 Bingen, J. (1962). "Xénophon, Symp. IV, 51-V, 3 (*P. Antin.* I, 26)". *Cd'E*, 74, 334-7.
 Boudalis, G. (2018). *The Codex and Crafts in Late Antiquity*. New York.
 Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (1982). "3450. Thucydides". Bülow-Jacobsen, A.; Whitehorne, J.E.G. (eds), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XLIX. London, 76-87.
 Bülow-Jacobsen, A. (2009). "Writing Materials in the Ancient World". Bagnall, R.S. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford, 4-29.
 Caroli, M. (2007). *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio*. Bari.

⁵³ Especially *P.Oxy.* 659, 1614, and 2622, *PSI* 1277, *PL* inv. III 310c, and *P.Berol.* inv. 17047; cf. Ucciardello 2012, 115-17, although he also includes *P.Oxy.* 2092, which I would not judge to be informal.

- Caroli, M. (2012). "Il commercio dei libri nell'Egitto greco-romano". *S&T*, 10, 3-74.
- Cavallo, G. (2007). "Il lettore comune nel mondo greco-romano tra contesto sociale, livello di istruzione e produzione letteraria". Fernandez Delgado, J.A.; Pordomingo Pardo, F.; Stramaglia, A. (eds), *Escuela y Literatura en Grecia Antigua*. Cassino, 557-76.
- Cavallo, G. (2008). *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*. Pisa.
- Criboire, R. (1996). *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Atlanta, GA.
- Criboire, R. (2001). "The Grammarian's Choice: The Popularity of Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Hellenistic and Roman Education". Too, Y.L. (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Leiden, 241-60.
- Crisci, E. (1996). *Scrivere greco fuori d'Egitto*. Florence.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2012). "The Lost Isthmian Odes of Pindar". Agocs, P.; Carey, C.; Rawles, R. (eds), *Reading the Victory Ode*. Cambridge, 28-57.
- Del Corso, L. (2010). "Libri di scuola e sussidi didattici nel mondo antico". del Corso, L.; Pecere, O. (a cura di), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*. Cassino, 71-110.
- Del Corso, L. and R. Pintaudi (2015). "Papiri letterari dal Museo Egizio del Cairo e una copertina di codice da Antinoupolis". Del Corso, L.; De Vivo, F.; Stramaglia, A. (a cura di), *Nel segno del testo. Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere*. Firenze, 3-30.
- Fabrini, P.; Manetti, D. (2008). "18 Hippocrates, 1 Aphorismi I 1-3 (*cum titulo*)". *CPF*, vol. I.2.1. Florence, 77-82.
- Fournet, J.-L. (2009). "I papiri di Antinoupolis: la collezione e gli scavi fiorentini". Bastianini, G.; Casanova, A. (a cura di), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentini per la papirologia*. Firenze, 115-32.
- Fressura, M. (2017). "PSI III 1306: Note codicologiche e paleografiche". Pellé, N. (a cura di), *Spazio scritto e spazio non scritto nel libro papiraceo. Esperienze a confronto*. Lecce, 77-129.
- Gerstinger, H. (1932). *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien: Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Bd. I. Vienna.
- Grimm, A.; Kessler, D.; Meyer, H. (1994). *Der Obelisk des Antinoos: eine kommentierte Edition*. Munich.
- Hunt, A.S.; Johnson, J. de M. (1930). *Two Theocritus Papyri*. London.
- Irigoien, J. (1952). *Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris.
- Johnson, J. de M. (1914). "Antinoë and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14". *JEA*, 1(3), July, 168-81.
- Johnson, W.A. (2010). *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*. Oxford.
- Körte, A. (1908). "Zwei neue Blätter der *Perikeiromene*". *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 60, 145-75.
- de Kreij, M. (2019). "FGrHist 1132 Anonymous, Pindar". Brusuelas, J.H.; Obbink, D.; Schorn, S. (eds), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued*. Part IV, *Biography and Antiquarian Literature*. IV A, *Biography*. Fasc. 8, *Anonymous Biographical Papyri*. Leiden, 269-93.
- Lamedica, A. (1985). "Il P.Oxy. 1800 e le forme della biografia greca". *SIFC*, III(3), 55-75.
- Maehler, H. (2010). "P.Oxy. 5035-5045". *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LXXV. London, 62-89.

- Menci, G. (1998). "I papiri letterari 'sacri' e 'profani' di Antinoe". Del Francia Barocas, L. (a cura di), *Antinoe cent'anni dopo*. Firenze, 49-55.
- van Minnen, P. (1998). "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period". *JJP*, 28, 99-184.
- Morgan, T. (2003). "Tragedy in the Papyri: An Experiment in Extracting Cultural History from the Leuven Database". *Cd'E*, 78, 187-201.
- Nocchi Macedo, G. (2016). "Juvenal in Antinoë". Derda, T. (ed.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. I. Warsaw, 167-83.
- Nocchi Macedo, G. (2018). "The Parchment Roll: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of the Greek Book". Pellé, N.; Davoli, P. (a cura di), *Polumatheia. Studi classici offerti a Mario Capasso*. Lecce, 319-42.
- Orsini, P. (2005). *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica*. Roma.
- Pintaudi, R. (2008). *Antinoupolis*, vol. I. Firenze.
- Pintaudi, R. (2017). *Antinoupolis*, vol. III.2. Firenze.
- Pintaudi, R.; Cannata Fera, M. (1997). "Pindaro, *Nem.* I 15-18, 35-42 in un papiro Laurenziano (PL III/310 C)". *ZPE*, 117, 197-9.
- Race, W.H. (1997). *Pindar*, 2 vols. Cambridge (MA).
- Ricciardetto, A. (2017). "Spazio scritto e spazio non scritto nelle dossografie mediche su papiri". Pellé, N. (a cura di), *Spazio scritto e spazio non scritto nel libro papiraceo. Esperienze a confronto = Atti della Seconda Tavola Rotonda del Centro di Studi Papirologici dell'Università del Salento* (9 ottobre 2014). Lecce, 183-224.
- Roberts, C.H. (1938). *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, vol. III. Manchester.
- Roberts, C.H. (1950). *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. I. London.
- Roberts, C.H. (1954). "The Codex". *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 40, 169-204.
- Roberts, C.H.; Skeat, T.C. (1983). *The Birth of the Codex*. London.
- Rowlandson, J.; Harker, A. (2004). "Roman Alexandria from the Perspective of the Papyri". Hirst, A.; Silk, M. (eds), *Alexandria. Real and Imagined*. London, 79-112.
- Rutherford, I. (2001). *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*. Oxford.
- Szirmai, J. (1999). *The Archaeology of the Mediaeval Bookbinding*. Aldershot.
- Tessier, A. (1995). *Tradizione metrica di Pindaro*. Padova.
- Turner, E.G. (1977). *The Typology of the Early Codex*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Ucciardello, G. (2012). "Ancient Readers of Pindar's Epinicians in Egypt: Evidence from Papyri". Agócs, P.; Carey, C.; Rawles, R. (eds), *Receiving the Komos. Ancient & Modern Receptions of the Victory Ode*. London, 105-40.
- Wieacker, F. (1960). *Textstufen klassischer Juristen*. Göttingen.
- Willcock, M.M. (1995). *Pindar, Victory odes: Olympians 2, 7 and 11; Nemean 4; Isthmians 3, 4 and 7*. Cambridge.
- Wilson, N.G. (1967). "A Chapter in the History of Scholia". *CQ*, 17(2), 244-56.
- Zalateo, G.; Cammelli, S.; Giabbani, L.; Barbera, A.; Tondi, I. (1940). "Papiri Fiorentini inediti". *Aegyptus*, 20, 3-30.

