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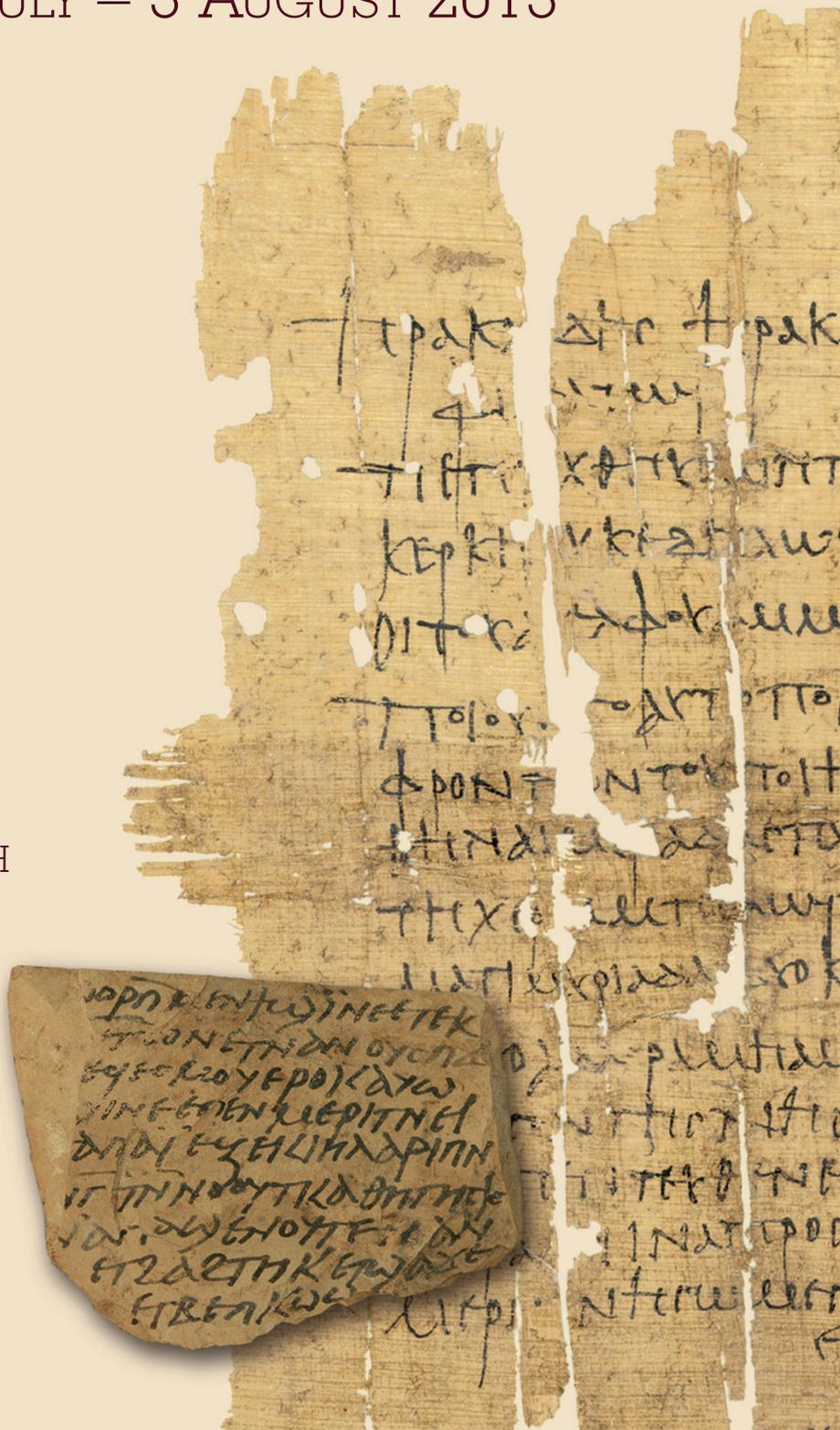
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Gabriel Nocchi Macedo

**JUVENAL IN ANTINOË
PALEOGRAPHIC AND CONTEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS
ON P. ANT. S.N.**

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

PANT. S.N. (MP³ 2925¹) IS THE ONLY MANUSCRIPT of the Roman satirist Juvenal discovered in Egypt. In his 1935 edition of the fragment, Charles H. Roberts insisted that the ‘real importance’ of the newly found fragment was its contribution to the study of Juvenal’s text, namely that of the seventh Satire.² However, in his thorough description of the piece, the editor did not neglect the paleographical and codicological aspects of the fragment. Nor did he fail to recognize the implications the fragment

¹ The following abbreviations are used throughout the article: MP³ = Base de données expérimentale des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins Mertens-Pack 3 (<http://www.cedopal.ulg.ac.be>); *CLA* = E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century I–IX & Supplement*, Oxford 1934–1972; *CLA Add.* = B. BISCHOFF, Virginia BROWN, ‘Addenda to the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*’, *Medieval Studies* 54 (1985), pp. 317–366; *PLP* = R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri. I: Urkunden* (1972); II.1: *Literarische Papyri: Texte Klassischer Autoren* (1978); II.2: *Literarische Papyri: Juristische und Christliche Texte* (1981), Stuttgart.

² C. H. ROBERTS, ‘The Antinoë fragment of Juvenal’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (1935), pp. 199–209.

would have for the *Kulturgeschichte* of Egypt, though he did not address the topic in detail.

In the present paper, I will focus on some paleographic particularities of P. Ant. s.n., such as the hands of the marginal and interlinear annotations and the critical signs, accents and other marks that abound in the text. My observations stem from the autopsy of the piece in Oxford in February 2012 and June 2013. I will also make further enquiries into the context in which the manuscript may have been produced and used. These observations are preliminary to a detailed codicological, paleographic and contextual study of this particular fragment.³

P. Ant. s.n. is a leaf from a parchment codex measuring 22.7 cm in height and 17 cm in breadth.⁴ It has been badly damaged, especially on the recto where the surface is darkened and the text is, at some places, completely illegible. The inner part of the leaf (left side on the recto) is severely mutilated and the beginnings (recto) and ends (verso) of about 13 of the 25 lines are missing. The recto (flesh side) contains *Sat.* 7, 149–173, and the verso (hair side), *Sat.* 7, 174–198. Annotations in both Greek and Latin were added by later hands between the lines and in the margins.

2. PALEOGRAPHY AND DATE

a. The hand of the text

The Latin hand of the main text is a carefully executed middle-sized uncial, written in a metallic brownish ink. This script belongs to a specific category of the uncial type, attested in a small number of manuscripts. The main characteristics of what Elias Avery Lowe first called ‘Byzantine

³ I am grateful to Kathleen McNAMEE, Marie-Hélène MARGANNE, Emily COLE and Anke DE MEYER who have read drafts of this paper and offered helpful criticism and suggestions.

⁴ TURNER’s ‘group V’ in the Classification of parchment codices. Codices which present similar formats are *P. Ant.* I 27 (Demosthenes, 3rd century; MP³ 280), *MPER* IV 29 (Jeremiah, 6th century) and British Library Add. 5114 (Coptic Pistis Sophia, 4th or 5th century). E. G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, p. 27.

uncial' are the shape of the B, which goes over the top line, and of the R, whose final (usually diagonal) stroke is horizontal or almost horizontal. Lowe later classified this script as the 'BR-type' of the uncial, which is the designation most commonly used by paleographers today.

Lowe counted 21 papyrus and parchment codices in BR-uncial to which I would add 12 pieces more where the writing can be attributed to this type. Since almost of all these manuscripts show what Lowe calls 'Greek (graphic) symptoms'⁵ and some of them are bilingual Greek and Latin,⁶ their origin, and the origin of the BR-uncial script itself, almost certainly lies in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and, according to Lowe and Richard Seider, more specifically in Constantinople.

The 33 pieces in BR-uncial all seem to stem from high quality well-written codices from the 6th century. 25 of them contain legal texts, including passages from the Theodosian code⁷ and the *Corpus iuris ciuilibis*,⁸ from Gaius,⁹ Ulpian¹⁰ and Papinianus,¹¹ as well as a number of *adespota* and unidentified legal texts.¹² The other non-legal texts are bilingual glos-

⁵ E. A. LOWE, 'Greek symptoms in a sixth-century manuscript of St. Augustine and in a group of Latin legal manuscripts', [in:] S. PRETE (ed.), *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, New York 1961, pp. 279–289; reprinted in L. BIELER (ed.), E. A. LOWE, *Palaeographical Papers 1907–1965*, Oxford 1972, pp. 466–474: quire signatures in the left-hand corner of the first page of the quire, bracket or *gamma*-shaped colophons, arrow and anchor symbols as marks of omission, *diplē* for quotations, syllabification, shapes of N and O.

⁶ In this case we can name further Greek symptoms in the Latin script: the shape of letters *a c e n o t* are usually that of *α c ε ν ο τ*.

⁷ *P. Oxy.* XV 1813 (MP³ 2963).

⁸ Laur. s.n. (*Pandectae Iustinianae*; *CLA* III 295); Verona, Bibl. Cap. 62 (60) (*CLA* IV 513); P. Pommersfelden inv. L 1–6 (MP³ 2967.1, *CLA* IX 1351); *PSI* XIII 1347 (MP³ 2970, *CLA* III 293); P. Heid. inv. 4 (MP³ 2966, *CLA* VIII 1221); *P. Oxy.* XV 1814 (MP³ 2969, *CLA Suppl.* 1713); *PSI* XIII 1346 (MP³ 2971.1, *CLA Suppl.* 1696); *P. Ryl.* III 479 (MP³ 2967, *CLA Suppl.* 1723).

⁹ Verona, Bibl. Cap. 15 (13) (*CLA* 4.488); *PSI* XI 1182 (MP³ 2953, *CLA* III 292).

¹⁰ P. Strasb. inv. L 3+6 (MP³ 2962, *CLA* VI 834). The lost manuscript Mt. Sinai s.n. of the so-called *scholia sinaitica ad Ulpianum* should be included here.

¹¹ P. Berol. inv. 6762 + 6763 + P. Louvre inv. E 7153 (MP³ 2955, *CLA* VIII 1037)

¹² P. Berol. inv. 6758 (MP³ 2992, *CLA* VIII 1034); P. Berol. inv. 6759 + 6761 (MP³ 2993, *CLA* VIII 1035); P. Heid. inv. 2 (MP³ 2976, *CLA* VIII 1218); P. Vindob. inv. L 26 (MP³ 2993.1, *CLA* X 1524); P. Vindob. inv. L 101 + 102 + 107 (MP³ 2993.5, *CLA* X 1536); P. Vindob.

saries to Vergil's *Aeneid*,¹³ a Greek-Latin glossary,¹⁴ a Greek-Latin grammar,¹⁵ Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*,¹⁶ a *fragmentum incertum*¹⁷ and the Juvenal fragment from Antinoë.

We might thus consider the BR-uncial as special *tipizzazione* of the Latin uncial used above all for valuable editions of legal texts. The 'Greek symptoms' and the fact that this script type was first and foremost used in legal works has lead specialists such as Lowe and Seider to place the origin (*Schreibort*) of these pieces, most of them found in Egypt, in Constantinople, which not only was home to *scriptoria* able to produce high-quality calligraphic manuscripts, but was one of the most important sites for the study of Roman law.¹⁸

Furthermore, the BR-uncial is the most common script used for legal texts at the time of Justinian and seems to be closely associated with the juridical reforms conducted by the emperor.¹⁹ All the codices written in this script should therefore be dated to the 6th century.²⁰ It is difficult to

inv. L 110 (MP³ 2984, *CLA* X 1538); P. Berol. inv. 11866A–B (MP³ 2277); PSI inv. CNR 132 (MP³ 2277.1); *P. Ryl.* III 480 (MP³ 480); *P. Ryl.* III 481 (MP³ 481); *PSI* XIII 1348 (MP³ 2982).

¹³ *P. Oxy.* I 31 (MP³ 2941; *CLA* 2.137); *P. Oxy.* L 3553 (MP³ 2943.1; *CLA Add.* 1832); P. Vindob. inv. L 24 (MP³ 2951; *CLA* X 1522).

¹⁴ Köln, Hist. Archiv der Stadt inv. W* 351 (= *Folium Wallraffianum*) + Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staatsbibliothek. App. Diplom. 8C–D (MP³ 2134.4; *CLA* VIII 1171)

¹⁵ P. Louvre inv. E 7332 (MP³ 2997; *CLA* V 697).

¹⁶ Lyon 478 (408) (*CLA* VI 777). The question of the origin of this codex is however problematic. See LOWE, 'Greek symptoms' (cit. n. 5).

¹⁷ London, British Library Oriental MS 4717 (5) (*CLA* II 206).

¹⁸ Seider, *PLP* II. 2 evokes Beirut as a possible *Schrijfheimat* to some of the manuscripts, but always seeming to prefer the capital of the Eastern empire.

¹⁹ F. MAGISTRALE & G. CAVALLO, 'Libri e scritture del diritto nell'età di Giustiniano', [in:] G. G. ARCHI, *Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana. Caratteri e problematiche*, Ravenna 1985, pp. 48–49. The BR-uncial ceases to be used in the *Haupttexte* after the time of Justinian. See also Serena AMMIRATI, 'Per una storia del libro latino antico. Osservazioni paleografiche, bibliologiche e codicologiche sui manoscritti latini d'argomento legale dale origini alla tarda antichità', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 40 (2010), p. 82 and 'The Latin book of legal content: a significant type in the history of the ancient book', *PapCongr.* XXVI, p. 23.

²⁰ MAGISTRALE & CAVALLO, 'Libri e scritture' (cit. n. 19), pp. 48–49 are more specific ascribing the BR-uncial evidence only to the time of Justinian's reign.

understand why Lowe and Seider have dated some fragments to the 5th century and other to 5th/6th century. There are no graphic elements which allow us to establish a diachronic evolution between the texts in BR-uncial: it is a very stable script.²¹ Therefore the dating ‘around 500 AD’ proposed by the editor for the Juvenal fragment, and repeated by Lowe and Seider, should be avoided in favor of the more cautious dating formula ‘6th century’. Indeed, one of the most relevant paleographic parallels to the Juvenal parchment seems to be *PSI XIII 1347*, containing the VII *Digestum* and dated after 534.²²

b. The hands of the annotations

Roberts identified 5 different hands in the interlinear and marginal annotations.²³ Most of the notes, both in Greek and Latin, he attributes to hands he named B and C (henceforth h2 and h3). Hand 4 (D for Roberts) wrote a few notes in a black ink and inked over some letters in the main text and in the glosses by the earlier hands. By examining the fragment I have been able to assert that the few words attributed by Roberts to a fourth and fifth hand (E and F) were actually written by h4, narrowing thus the number of intervening hands from 5 to 3.

h2 is responsible for all the notes on the inner margin, as well as many on the outer margin, between lines and one on the bottom margin of the verso. In Latin he writes in an informal, thick and rather clumsy mixed-uncial. The shapes of many letters are identical to those in his Greek script, a small rounded capital. The script of hand 3, whose interventions are mostly in Greek, is thinner, more expertly executed and slightly inclined to the right. Hand 4 is more cursive (some ligatures are to be noted) and clearly later.

²¹ MAGISTRALE & CAVALLO, ‘Libri e scritture’ (cit. n. 19), pp. 48–49, propose to date all the pieces assigned to the 5th or 5th/6th by Lowe to the 6th century.

²² ROBERTS, ‘The Antinoë fragment’ (cit. n. 2), p. 200 rightly compares the Juvenal parchment to *PSI XI 1182* of Gaius, *Institutiones* which should be dated the 6th, not the 5th century.

²³ A number of annotations transcribed by Roberts and reprinted by Kathleen McNAMEE, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, Cincinnati 2007, pp. 479–490 are no longer visible, even with a microscope and UV-lamp.

The Latin writing of hands 2 and 3 is what one could call ‘free’ (*scrittura libera*) or personal script (as opposed to canonical writing) characterized by a mixture of uncial (*e, p, r, s, g* in h3) and half-uncial shapes (*a, b, d, m*). This tendency towards mixing styles can be detected in the marginal scripts of many 5th- and 6th-century Latin manuscripts from the Eastern part of the Empire, most of them also containing Greek annotations,²⁴ such as PSI XI 1182 (MP³ 2953) of Gaius’ *Institutiones* from Oxyrhynchus. The Greek writing of the first two annotators can likewise easily be compared to other informal, rounded, often inclined, 6th-century hands found in glosses and commentaries (for example, in the Greek *scholia* to *Digestum V* in *P. Heid. Lat. 4* [MP³ 2953]).²⁵

Accents and quantity marks were added in all likelihood by hand 2. The accents are for the most part *accuti*, while *graves* are used only on monosyllables. They indicate the accented syllable of words and not the metrical *ictus*. The dieresis appears 10 times on *i*, but its meaning is not always clear: it probably indicates the semivowel in words such as *iūueni* and *cuius* (v. 160), the hiatus in *p’lacuit* (v. 149) and perhaps the hidden *yod* in *fies* (v. 197),²⁶ but does not seem to have another function than to mark the initial vowel on *implet* (v. 161) or *inter* (v. 186).²⁷ Quantity marks (17 for long syllables, 2 for short syllables) appear frequently, including on the last syllable of the hexameter. High, medial and low points are used as punctuation, but rather irregularly and at least three times incorrectly (v. 167, 172 and 181). The points are most likely the work of the first annotator (h2), but I would not exclude the possibility that some of them were inserted by the copyist of the text himself (h1).

²⁴ A. R. NATALE, ‘*Marginalia*: la scrittura della glossa dal V al IX secolo (nota paleografica)’, [in:] *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni*, Milan 1957, pp. 616–617.

²⁵ The same typology of ‘disorganised’ informal hand can also be seen on P. Heid. inv. 1271 (MP³ 1611), containing mythological hexameters.

²⁶ As suggested by Olga ÁLVAREZ HUERTA, ‘La diéresis en dos papiros latinos (P. Barc. inv. 158–161 y P. Antinoe s.n.)’, [in:] L. FERRERES (ed.), *Actes del IXè simposi de la secció catalana de la SEEC. St. Feliu de Guixols, 13–16 d’abril 1998. Treballs en honor di Virgilio Bejarano [= Aurea saecula 1]*, Barcelona 1991, pp. 37–43.

²⁷ This corresponds to what TURNER calls the ‘inorganic use’ of the dieresis, E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. enl. and rev. by P. J. PARSONS, London 1987, p. 10.

The annotations on P. Ant. s.n. were written in the margins and between the lines without any special planning of the *mise en page*,²⁸ as seen in all antique or late antique manuscripts from Egypt,²⁹ as opposed the practice in many medieval codices, where blank spaces were left to receive glosses. The rather spontaneous and disorganized disposition corresponds to nature of these annotations, as personal, rather simple notes, which have little to do with scholarly glosses and developed textual comments.

c. The signs

In addition, three lectional and critical signs occur in the Juvenal fragment from Antinoë. A sign in the shape of a stroke with one point on each side (·I·) was inserted a total of 14 times between the lines by h₂ (8 times), h₃ (2 times) and h₄ (1 time).³⁰ The stroke is in most cases vertical and resembles a capital I; however h₂ traces horizontal and diagonal strokes: ÷ and ×. Albeit different shapes, it is one and same sign, which can be identified as ‘dotted obelus’ (ὄβελος περιεστιγμένος).³¹ In Greek literary papyri, as well as in Byzantine manuscripts, vertical, horizontal and diagonal strokes, dotted on one or both sides have different critical or lectional functions (as almost all critical signs on papyri), some of which are not easy to determine. The oldest occurrence of dotted strokes, in this case a horizontal stroke dotted underneath, is to be found on *P. Lit. Lond.* 108 (MP³ 163; 1st century) containing Aristotle’s *Athenian Constitution*, where it indicates word transpositions. However, as Kathleen McNamee pointed out, in most cases there seems to be an association between this particular sign

²⁸ For a brief discussion of the articulation of glosses on medieval manuscripts, see M. MANIACI, ‘La serva padrona. Interazioni fra testo e glossa sulla pagina del manoscritto’, [in:] V. FERRA, G. FERRAÛ, & S. RIZZO (eds), *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, Messina 2002, pp. 3–36.

²⁹ See Gabriella MESSERI & R. PINTAUDI, ‘I lettori dei papiri: dal comment autonomo agli scoli’, [in:] FERRA, FERRAÛ, & RIZZO (eds), *Talking to the Text* (cit. n. 28), pp. 37–57.

³⁰ Neither on the digital image nor by autopsy could I see the signs on lines 161, 188 and 195.

³¹ The only mention to the dotted obelus as a critical sign is to be found in Diogenes Laertius’ comment about the critical edition of Plato’s text (*Vitae* III 66, 2): ὄβελος περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰκαίους ἀθετήσεις.

and textual comments, be it independent *hypomnemata* or marginal notes. In *P. Flor.* II 112 (MP³ 157; 2nd/3rd century), for example, containing a comment on a lost comedy by Aristophanes each note, which probably refers to a verse or passage of the play, is introduced by a diagonal dotted obelus on the left margin. Elsewhere, in *P. Rain.* III 37 of Thucydides (MP³ 2866; 5th/6th century),³² an interlinear horizontal dotted stroke seems to refer to a *scholium*. In our Juvenal parchment, the dotted obelus, regardless of the hand by which it was written, is associated with marginal or interlinear notes, and seems to have no other function than to indicate words that receive comments or explanations in a note. For example, the sign above *cenatio* on line 183 precedes the Greek translation of the word (ἀρικτητήρι(ο)ν). The use of the sign is nevertheless irregular and difficult to interpret in some cases. The explanatory ἀντιρρήσεις written by h3 above *sagittae* on v. 156 is preceded by this siglum and by illegible traces of what was probably another note by the same hand. One could suppose that here the dotted obelus serves also as a division sign between two notes that followed one another. The other dotted obelus by hand 3 on verse 166 is placed between *c* and *u* of the note *dicunt* written afterwards by the same hand. According to McNamee it accompanies the note ‘τὸ qu<i>d do/ ut totiens’, also from h3. The meaning would be something like: ‘The siglum refers to the words *quid do ut totiens* in Juvenal’s text’. This would be a very good but rather unlikely explanation, since the siglum is placed roughly above the third to last word of line 166 nowhere near *quid do ut totiens* which is split between the end of line 165 and the beginning of line 166. I would consider it more probable that the dotted obelus accompanies the note it is written in, which itself seems to refer to *haec alii sex* at the end of line 166.

The second ‘siglum’ is the abbreviation ζ for ζήτει or ζήτησον ‘look it up’, written on the right margins of lines 157 and 185, and on the left margin of line 160. Roberts prints these letters in bold, as he considered them to have been written by h4, an attribution that does not seem to convince McNamee.³³ After a close look at the color of the ink and the character-

³² K. WESSELY, ‘Die Fajumreste einer Thukydides-Handschrift’, *Wiener Studien* 7 (1885), p. 119 wrongly names the sign *lemniscus* (cf. Isidorus, *Etymologiae* I, 21, 5).

³³ MCNAMEE, *Annotations* (cit. n. 23), pp. 480, 481, 487.

istics of the hands, I would assign all the three ζ to hand 2,³⁴ the most prolific annotator, also responsible for the most of the other signs. Abbreviations for ζήτει (ζη, ζ^η or ζ) are found in a number of Greek literary papyri dating from the first to the seventh century, most of which contain poetry accompanied by annotations or self-standing commentaries to poetry.³⁵ With a few exceptions,³⁶ they usually indicate passages or words that need further investigation or verification,³⁷ be it because of the doubtful meaning of a word,³⁸ the possible existence of a variant³⁹ or a correction.⁴⁰ The fact that they occur in poetic texts which are often the object of commentary suggests that, much like the critical signs, the ‘ζήτει-siglum’ is integrated in a tradition of scholarship or textual studies.⁴¹ As suggested by Roberts, in the Juvenal text, the abbreviation probably means that the annotator did not fully understand a word or passage, and made a *nota bene*, to look it up.

Lastly, two διπλαῖ ὀβελισμέναι (in English sometimes referred to as ‘forked paragraphos’) have been placed above and below the beginning of line 192 by hand 2. Roberts presents two plausible explanations: the siglum has either its ‘neutral’ function of indicating a noteworthy passage and, in this case, referring to the marginal comment, or it serves, as in some Homer papyri, to athetize an entire verse. The editor favors the sec-

³⁴ Hand 4 must be in any case excluded.

³⁵ See Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Selected Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Brussels 1988, pp. 35. The editor of *P. Oxy.* V 841 (MP³ 1631; 2nd century), Pind., *Paeanes* interprets Z and Ζη as abbreviations for Ζηνόδοτος, indicating readings or corrections from the grammarian. This interpretation is also mentioned for *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2442 (MP³ 1360; 3rd century), Pind., *Hymni et Paeanes*, although the editor prefers to read ζήτει.

³⁶ On *P. Ant.* s.n. + *P. Ant.* III 207 (MP³ 1487; 5th/6th century) of Theocritus’ *Eidyllia*, the ζ serves as a division sign.

³⁷ In documentary papyri, ζ(ήτει) call attention to subjects needing verification.

³⁸ *P. Oxy.* XXV 2429 (MP³ 362; end of the 2nd century) Commentary on Epicharmus. The sign seems to refer to the doubtful meaning of the word χάνυμαϊσι.

³⁹ *P. Oxy.* XXII 2333 (MP³ 23; 2nd century) Aeschylus, *Septem* (ζ [γ]ηρουθεισ); *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2165 (MP³ 62; 2nd century), Alcaeus (Ζ εθελα).

⁴⁰ *P. Oxy.* IX 1174 (MP³ 1473; end of the 2nd century) Sophocles, *Ichneutae*.

⁴¹ The word ζήτει is also used by grammarians and lexicographers to refer readers to sections of their own work, e.g. Aelius Herodinus; Hesychios, George Khoiroboskos.

ond hypothesis, arguing that this very verse 192 of the seventh Satire was rejected in Otto Jahn's edition of Juvenal.⁴² It is interesting to note that the comment on the inner margin which accompanies the sentence that goes from line 190 to 194, does not seem to correspond to the sense of the passage. It cannot however be neglected that in the papyrological documentation the διπλῆ ὀβελισμένη is almost always used not as critical sign, but as lectional sign or punctuation mark. In its first occurrence in a Latin manuscript, in the famous *Carmen de bello Actiaco* (P. Herc. 817; MP³ 7060), it signifies a strong pause at a narrative transition in the text.⁴³ One could hardly justify a punctuation role for this sign in the Juvenal fragment: there is no syntactic or semantic pause between verses 191 and 192 and only a weak pause (indicated by a comma in modern editions) between lines 192 and 193. On the other hand, there are no occurrences of the διπλῆ ὀβελισμένη as a mark of spurious lines. According to Homeric scholia, Zenodotus used the simple διπλῆ to athetize,⁴⁴ a usage that however does not seem to have survived in papyri.⁴⁵ I would be inclined, in view of the papyrological occurrences, to think διπλαῖ ὀβελισμέναι were used here in the place of simple διπλαῖ in their most common function, i.e. to signify a line of the poem that seemed particularly interesting or difficult to understand. Such an understanding could also possibly be the reason for the strange comment on the margin. One could also imagine that the signs were copied from the ἀντίγραφον, where this verse may have been more aptly commented on.

⁴² O. JAHN, *A. Persii Flacci, D. Iunii Iuuenalis, Sulpiciae Saturae*, Berlin 1910.

⁴³ Maria Chiara SCAPPATICCIO, 'Il PHerc 817: spunti paleografici', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 38 (2008), pp. 238–239; O. WINGO, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age*, The Hague 1972, p. 50.

⁴⁴ E.g. Schol. A 396: ἡ διπλῆ {δέ}, ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ στίχου ἕως τοῦ 'τὸν καὶ ὑπέδδισαν' (A 406) Ζηνόδοτος ἀθετεῖ.

⁴⁵ C. H. ROBERTS, 'The Antinoë fragment' (cit. n. 2), p. 202 mentions BKT V.1 18–20 (P. Berol. inv. 9774; MP³ 962; first half of the 1st century) in which 4 verses from Hesiod's *Aspis* were interpolated into Σ 18. According to the author, *diplai* place on the left margin mark the interpolation. The same sign accompanies nonetheless two other authentic verses from the Homeric poem. Instead of being actual *athetesis* signs, it seems to me that the *diplai* have their usual function of highlighting something significant, including the spuriousness of the interpolated verses.

The presence of notes in both Greek and Latin, as well as signs, accents and punctuation marks, make it clear that the Antinoë Juvenal was not only read, but rather ‘studied’ and perhaps used for the learning or studying of the Latin language. These elements added by the intervening hands reveal an effort to understand the poet’s (not very easy) composition on different levels: that of the meaning of words, of the sense of passages, and of the correct pronunciation and metrical construction.

3. THE CONTEXT

a. Origin of the codex

Since the BR-uncial can be regarded as a particular type of the Latin script first and foremost used in the production of legal books during the age of Justinian, we can conclude that even non-legal manuscripts in this writing were produced in places which played an active role in the studying and transmission of legal knowledge. Firstly one thinks of Constantinople and the juridical activity around the imperial court. Moreover, while the production and circulation of Greek books seems to have decreased dramatically in the sixth century, the production of Latin books is likely to have flourished in the imperial capital under Justinian.⁴⁶ Though unknown by most of the population,⁴⁷ Latin language and culture were embraced by an elite of cultivated high functionaries active in the application of the legal reforms introduced by the emperor. The original codex to which the Antinoë Juvenal belonged could have originated in this *milieu*, as a result of the broadening of interest in the Latin letters whose starting point was the law.

⁴⁶ G. CAVALLO, ‘La circolazione libraria nell’età di giustiniano’, [in:] G. G. ARCHI (ed.), *L'imperatore Giustiniano: storia e mito*, Milan 1978, pp. 217–220; B. ROCHETTE, ‘*Latinum est: non legitur*. Lire le latin et traduire le latin en grec en Orient’, [in:] *Scrivere e leggere nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 28 aprile – 4 maggio 2011*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 328–344, especially pp. 343–344.

⁴⁷ B. ROCHETTE, ‘*Latinum est*’ (cit. n. 46), pp. 321–324. Despite Justinian’s (a native Latin-speaker) ideology, the *Nouellae constitutiones* were written in Greek, in order to be understood by the people.

Lowe however goes too far in considering that all BR-uncial *codices*, including our Juvenal, could have only been written in Constantinople (Seider is slightly more flexible, mentioning Beirut as another possible *Schreibort* for these manuscripts). Even if one reasonably supposes that Constantinople was the ‘birth-place’ of the BR-uncial and that many an edition of Latin legal texts was produced there, there is no concrete reason to limit the use of this script and the production of legal books to the capital of the eastern empire (or to Beirut for that matter). Magistrale and Cavallo have argued that the copying of legal literature in the age of Justinian, during which almost half of law-books from the period between the 4th and the 6th centuries were produced, took place in different centers in Egypt, Palestine and Byzantine Italy.⁴⁸ Hence the possibility of our Juvenal fragment having been produced in Egypt, and even in its *Fundort* Antinoë, should not be excluded.

The city of Antinous (Sheikh Ibada) has yielded just over 200 literary papyri in Greek, Latin, Greek and Latin and Greek and Coptic, to which about 23 Coptic literary fragments should be added.⁴⁹ The Latin pieces found at the site contain Virgil,⁵⁰ Sallust,⁵¹ Gaius,⁵² a commentary on Papinianus,⁵³ the *codex Iustinianus*⁵⁴ and a Latin alphabet with Greek

⁴⁸ MAGISTRALE & CAVALLO, ‘Libri e scritture’ (cit. n. 19), p. 54. See also E. CRISCI, ‘N. 27 PSI I 10’ [in:] G. CAVALLO, E. CRISCI, Gabriella MESSERI, R. PINTAUDI (eds), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico. Mostra di papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 25 agosto – 25 settembre 1998*, Florence 1998, pp. 157–159.

⁴⁹ The proportion of literary papyri from Antinoë is remarkable (59.8%), when compared to other sites in Egypt (15%). This however should be explained, as pointed out by J.-L. FOURNET, ‘I papiri di Antinoopolis. La collezione e gli scavi fiorentini’, [in:] G. BASTINIANI & A. CASANOVA (eds), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia*, Florence 2009, p. 117, not only by particularly vivacious cultural interests, but by the fact that many a documentary papyrus from the site is yet to be published.

⁵⁰ *P. Ant.* I 29 (MP³ 2937); *P. Ant.* I 30 (MP³ 2952).

⁵¹ *P. Ant.* III 154 (MP³ 2930.1).

⁵² *PSI XI* 1182 (MP³ 2953).

⁵³ *P. Laur.* s.n. (MP³ 2955.1).

⁵⁴ *PSI XIII* 1346 Justinian, *Nouella* 62 (MP³ 2971.01); *P. Ant.* I 22 (MP³ 2979); *P. Ant.* I 152 (MP³ 2979.1); *P. Ant.* III 153 (MP³ 2979.2); *P. Ant.* III 155 (MP³ 2979.3).

transliteration.⁵⁵ Three of these texts, *PSI XI 1182*, *P. Ant. III 152* and *PSI XIII 1346*, are dated to the 6th century: they are all juridical works (Gaius, the Justinian codex and a fragment on dowry) written in BR-uncial.⁵⁶ There is no doubt that, as already pointed out in 1914 by John de Monins Johnson, there was an interest in Latin in Byzantine Antinoë. And though, as in practically all Egyptian localities where Latin is attested, we see evidence for the learning of the language by Greek speakers⁵⁷ in Antinoë it seems that interest in and knowledge of the language and literature of the Romans went beyond the basics. *P. Ant. I 29*, for example, is a fragment of what once was a *Prachtausgabe* of the *Georgics* and, in the words of its editor, one of the rare Virgil papyri which does not have 'schoolroom origin stamped on its face'.⁵⁸ The Juvenal fragment itself was doubtlessly used in a context of study of Latin language and letters, but on a rather advanced level.

The legal books, whether they are parchment or papyrus *codices*, may point not only to the study of Roman law, but also to the use of Latin in legal procedures. Suffice it to mention the bilingual fragment on dowry on *P. Ant. III 153*. The presence of legal literature in Antinoopolis should not come as a surprise when one recognizes how the city's administrative importance increased in the Byzantine period. Under the political reforms of Diocletian it became the capital of the Thebaid province, and under Justinian the seat of the *Dux et Augustalis* (who answered directly to the *praefectus praetorio Orientis*). It was also a garrison town.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *P. Ant. inv. I, fr. I* (MP³ 3012). Within the meager corpus of Latin material from Egypt, the number of Latin literary papyri from Antinoë is relatively big. Cf. FOURNET, 'I papiri' (cit. n. 49), pp. 123-124.

⁵⁶ On *PSI XIII 1346* the letter *b* does not appear.

⁵⁷ The Latin alphabet accompanied by Greek letter names in *P. Ant. inv. I, fr. I* is a good evidence of the learning of Latin by Greek speakers in Antinoë.

⁵⁸ *P. Ant. I, p. 75* (C. H. ROBERTS).

⁵⁹ J. DE M. JOHNSON, 'Antinoë and its papyri. Excavation of the Greco-Roman Branch, 1913-1914', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), p. 172; H. I. BELL, 'Antinoopolis: a Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt', *Journal of Roman Studies* 30 (1940), p. 145. Legal activity in the city is also confirmed by the considerable number of shorthand manuals and the tachygraphy school known to have existed there.

containing both Christian and pagan texts. In this case, it would come as no surprise that in the 6th century, Latin law-*codices* destined to high placed officials were written in the current script for this type of book, namely the BR-uncial.

b. The context

Having alluded to the probable readership of Latin texts in Byzantine Antinoë and without going further into the abundant discussion about the presence of Latin in Egypt,⁶⁵ I would like to briefly consider the context in P. Ant. s.n. may have been used.

Our most telling evidence comes from the fragment itself, that is the traces left by people who read and studied the text of the *Sat.* VII. The annotations, which Roberts harshly qualified as ‘inept’, show no traces of great scholarship (there are, for instance, no citations from other authors or linguistic and grammatical remarks), nor do they belong to the same tradition as the *scholia uetustiora* on Juvenal.⁶⁶ Rather than comments, they are explanatory notes: synonyms (v. 160 *saeuus* for *dirus*), translations into Greek (v. 159 τὸ ὄμασθον for *mamillae*), paraphrases (v. 149 *si uis ex doctrina tua lucrum habere* for *si placuit mercedem ponere linguae*), ‘subject headings’ for particular passages (v. 150 *de docentis discipulis*), ‘additional’ words that help understand sentences (v. 166 *dicunt*), and general exegetical notes, which never go beyond a basic level of interpretation (note on v. 171: εἴ τις ἀφυσή(ς) | παισι ἀφίει τ[ὸ] | παιδευτήριον | καὶ ἀφορμῆ). If the annotations are indeed simple and at times clumsy,⁶⁷ they are not incompetent and typologically not very different from more learned *scholia*. Rewordings and synonyms, for instance, abound in the *scholia uetustiora*.

⁶⁵ See e.g. B. ROCHETTE, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, Brussels 1997; Raffaella CRIBIORE, ‘Latin literacy in Egypt’, *Kodai* 13–14 (2003–2004), pp. 111–118 and ‘Higher education in early Byzantine Egypt: rhetoric, Latin and the law’, [in:] R. S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 47–66; J. N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 527–641.

⁶⁶ According to P. WESSNER, *Scholia in Iuuenalem uetustiora*, Leipzig 1931, pp. XXXVI–XLV, these scholia stem from a commentary from the end of the 4th century.

⁶⁷ See for instance the note on verse 7.191, which strays from the sense of Juvenal’s text.

The types of notes by hands 2 and 3 do not differ much. They operate quite like today, when students annotate a text they are studying for a foreign language course. However, they do not represent a basic level Latin learning (as is often the case in bilingual papyri). Nor was the Juvenal text used only as a tool for acquiring linguistic competences (as were many of our Virgil and Cicero papyri). The annotations reflect the effort of Greek-speaking readers to understand the meaning of the *Satire*. They had some knowledge of Latin and made some notes in that language, though often falling back on their Greek. The punctuation helps in the comprehension of the text, the accents in the pronunciation; the signs, whose origins lie in Greek scholarship, show that at least one of the readers (h2) was even familiar with Greek philological practices.

In Antiquity Juvenal was not a classic school-author. With very few exceptions, the most notable being that of Tertullian, the poet's work was 'buried in silence' for over a century after his death, only to be 'rediscovered' by Christian authors in the 4th century.⁶⁸ The first running commentary to the satires was apparently written between 350 and 420 by a pagan scholar.⁶⁹ It was around that time that Juvenal began to interest grammarians, including Servius who, in his commentary on Virgil, quotes the satirist over seventy times. Thus, even if he was never to be a school-author to the same extent as Virgil, Juvenal does have a place within the study of grammar and literature of the 5th and 6th centuries and as consequence within education. Priscian, a Latin teacher in Constantinople, takes many examples for his grammatical discussions from the *Satires*, and so do the 6th-century grammarian Cledonius, the Horace scholiast known as Pseudo-Acron (5th century) and the annotator (or one of them) of the *codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* of Terence (Vat. Lat. 3225).

Our poet was also known to *literati* of Egypt and Northern Africa. The Alexandrian Claudian adapted some of his verses (especially in the *In Eutropium*), and so did Dracontius and Corippus.⁷⁰ Already in the begin-

⁶⁸ G. HIGHER, *Juvenal the Satirist. A Study*, Oxford 1954, pp. 183-184.

⁶⁹ T. MOMMSEN, 'Zeitalter des Scholiasten Juvenals', [in:] IDEM, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII, Berlin 1909, pp. 509-511; U. KNOCHE, *Überlieferung Juvenals*, Berlin 1926, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁰ HIGHER, *Juvenal* (cit. n. 68), pp. 186-189.

ning of the 5th century, Augustine had quoted the satirist to illustrate moral decay.⁷¹

The parchment from Antinoopolis comes as additional proof of Juvenal's success in the Byzantine period as an author not only to be read, but also to be 'studied seriously', as H. I. Bell puts it,⁷² on a somewhat advanced level. The fragment additionally reveals the interest of Greek-speaking readers, who, having acquired a solid knowledge of Latin, further their education by reading and studying a relatively difficult text. The owners/readers of P. Ant. s.n. belonged in all likelihood to a cultural elite, who could afford such an *édition de luxe*. It cannot be excluded, as suggested by B. Rochette,⁷³ that the original *codex* belonged to the library of a scholar,⁷⁴ though one can also suppose it was read by the same well-educated administrative high functionaries to whom the well-crafted Latin legal books were probably destined.

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⁷¹ Augustinus, *Ep.* 138, 3, 16.

⁷² BELL, 'Antinoopolis' (cit. n. 59), p. 146.

⁷³ B. ROCHETTE, 'Sur la signification des accents et des marques de quantité dans les papyrus latins', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119 (1997), p. 208.

⁷⁴ HIGHGATE, *Juvenal* (cit. n. 68), p. 190, also evokes a 'professional attention', when mentioning the fragment.