'Publication', papyri, and literary texts: process and presentation



Daria Kondakova

Wadham College

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Preface

This thesis is a product of the first cohort of Leverhulme Doctoral Centre 'Publication Beyond Print'; its undertaking was made possible by a doctoral scholarship from the Leverhulme Trust and a generous extension from the University of Oxford Covid Scholarship Extension Fund. As the last detail, and the submission year, indicate, a large part of this thesis was completed under one or another set of 'unprecedented circumstances'. Without dwelling much on it, I note that the impact of the various changes was probably most significant in the extent to which I was (un)able to work with papyrological material, and in extended periods of restricted access to physical copies of books.

Technical remarks on the thesis are minimal. In abbreviating authors and works I largely follow the existing conventions (preferring clarity to conciseness). Editions of papyri are introduced in the bibliography if they are footnoted; otherwise, the reader will find all the necessary information in the Checklist of Editions (https://papyri.info/docs/checklist). The *index locorum* contains all passages from Greek and Latin authors referenced; page numbers set in bold indicate passages translated and discussed in the main text. All translations are mine, unless stated otherwise.

Now I have the pleasant duty of writing the acknowledgments. First of all, thanks are due to my doctoral supervisors: Prof. Gregory Hutchinson, for lightning-fast replies, exciting discussions, and optimism, and Dr. Amin Benaissa, for being an extremely attentive reader and helping to shape my papyrological ventures. Dr. Scott Scullion and Dr. Luke Pitcher interviewed me for transfer of status, Dr. Barnaby Taylor and Dr. Enrico Prodi conducted my confirmation interview. I am grateful to them for their time, constructive criticism, and helpful suggestions. Prof. Dr. Martin Hose responded to my paper on prefaces at the OIKOS PhD days in Ravenstein and kindly communicated his comments in writing afterwards.

Apart from the supervisors of the doctoral thesis itself, I would like to thank two people who contributed to my way into and within Classics: Dr. Vsevolod Zelchenko, who taught me at *Gymnasium Classicum Petropolitanum* and supervised my BA thesis at St. Petersburg State University, for teaching me Greek and to always note down the page number when reading, and for the challenge of finding something to tell him that he would not know; and Prof. Arnd Kerkhecker, my MA supervisor at the University of Bern, for his encouragement ('Mut, Frau Kondakova!'), introducing me to papyrology, and fostering (and forcing) independent thinking and writing. For much of what has led to making me a better classicist, I am most grateful to them; needless to say, I alone am responsible for whatever shortcomings this process has had.

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Outside Oxford Classics, thanks are due to the Academic Writing Group run by Dr. Alice Kelly, for bringing structure into many a Friday morning, and the Angel & Greyhound pub on St. Clements street, for harbouring me and my laptop on numerous writing evenings.

There are, of course, some people without whom this thesis might not have seen the light of day. Here, less is more. I thank V. for her indefatigable ability to build a theory out of anything, and plainly for being an incredible friend. I cannot thank J. enough for his incisive questions, seeing structure in chaos, and endless patience.

I also want to thank my family for supporting their daughter and granddaughter in her wish to study some recondite discipline that consists mainly of reading strange texts in ancient languages. In particular, I am thinking about my late grandfather, with whom I received my first ever library card and who always asked me what I was reading at the moment. He passed away in 2020, while my doctorate was still in progress, but I hope that he would have found my thesis an interesting read.

As a final note, a thesis that to a large extent consists of describing Greek and Latin authors' comments on their writing turned out to provide many parallels to the workflow of a DPhil candidate. The process was highly educative; I hope its presentation is enjoyable.

καὶ δὴ ἀρκτέον ἤδη μοι τοῦ λόγου.[*]

Oxford, January 2022

[*] Gal. *CAM* 1. 227K.

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Abstract

What do we mean when we say that an ancient author 'published a treatise' or that Vergil's *Aeneid* was 'left unpublished'? Are we even allowed to make such statements, in the absence of publishing houses? Oral practices held an important place in the literary world, and Greek and Latin books were copied by hand. Was their literary culture, then, completely different from ours? This thesis aims to answer such questions by approaching 'publication' from the perspective of the authors and readers involved, and by comparing the evidence across extant literary texts with insights from papyri.

The thesis consists of an introduction (chapter 1), five chapters (2–6) and a conclusion. After the introduction, which briefly situates this work in relation to existing approaches to book studies and ancient 'publication', chapter 2 analyses the bookroll as a medium of literary communication between two alternative ways to present a text: performance and inscription. The discussion of modes of publication is illustrated by a selection of early Greek lyric papyri and a number of inscriptions and graffiti, including the monumental 'stone publication' by Diogenes of Oenoanda.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are focussed on three elements of the communication system: readers, authors, and books. Chapter 3 looks at strategies of representation of the audience and existing methods of text distribution. It reveals a hierarchical structure present both in audience engagement and in the representation of the book trade. It is completed with a study of papyri produced close to the lifetime of their authors, including three case studies. Chapter 4 interrogates the term 'publication' by examining the motivations urging authors to produce a book and and the hesitations holding them back. The second half of the chapter considers two *topoi*, the book address and the image of an unfinished work, as a means of engaging with the reality of book publication. Chapter 5 treats the book as a material object. It compares the features of a 'standard' bookroll with their literary reception, and reveals their connection to the moment of publication. The chapter then analyses two major elements of the book's paratext, titles and prefaces, and explores their relevance for publication.

Chapter 6 analyses the journey of a text on its way to becoming a book, in the physical and conceptual sense. It introduces a classification of texts into 'coherent' and 'collected' to account for differences in their creation and usage and includes an analysis of pre-publication texts such as 'a master copy'. It also considers the changes to the publication process of multi-volume works and the phenomenon of serial publication. Finally, the chapter examines the phenomenon of serial publication and compares the paratactic activity of publishing in multiple instalments to literary activity in general.

The thesis is furnished with two indices, a list of figures and tables, and a bibliography. Authors discussed include Polybius, Cicero, Vitruvius, Horace, Ovid, Martial, Statius, Pliny the Younger, Diogenes of Oenoanda, and Galen.

1 Introduction: the study of ancient publishing

1.1 Background and aims of the thesis: why study ‘publication'?

1.1.1 Topic and justification

Publication, in the broad sense of ‘the act of making public’, is an essential part of the literary context: the text needs to acquire its audience at some point. Thus, various publication-related questions are almost always in the background of literary studies, yet often the topic itself is avoided. It is not helped by the fact that we more often than not have to deal with evidence full of lacunae, be it whole strands of texts lost in transmission (such as Hellenistic drama) or lack of knowledge about the real-life circumstances (the epithets used by scholars in reference to the book trade before the 3rd century BC range from ‘nonexistent’ to ‘burgeoning’). The texts were *somehow* distributed, authors were *somehow* involved, and readers did *somehow* read them. A study of publication is what brings the studies of authorship, readership, and material culture together.

The interest in ancient books and their production can be generally divided into two sets. One comprises the material side, such as the media on which the text is written (writing supports), the physical appearance of a book, its probable cost in different centuries, the ways in which texts could be stored and disseminated. The other set contains questions oriented towards the literary and social aspects, such as literacy and its grades, readers and reading, scholarly activities, and critical reactions. My thesis aims to bring together these two broad fields of study in order to investigate the concept of literary publication in the ancient world.

Although ‘publication’ is a highly important topic that comes up in the majority of works both on book culture in general and in discussions about a specific author or text, there has been no large-scale study dealing specifically with this phenomenon. An exception is the recent book by R. Winsbury, which approaches the question of publication and the role of the book, but is restricted to Roman literary culture.[1] Recently, scholarly interest in the book as a medium of communication has grown and brought forth a number of important studies. New research has been done on readership,[2] ancient libraries,[3] ways of dissemination of literary texts,[4] materiality of text production and the processes involved in the composition of the text,[5] and many other relevant topics. More attention has been

[1] Winsbury 2009.
[2] Corso 2005; Johnson 2010.
[3] König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf 2013; Nicholls 2017.
[4] Apart from the still important Starr 1987, Caroli 2012.
[5] Dorandi 2007; Gurd 2012.

drawn to authors and texts previously overlooked in this respect, such as Galen or Virtruvius. All this, along with new commentaries and monographs on classical authors, has prepared fruitful ground for a new discussion of publication in all its facets.

1.1.2 Aims and objectives

The main purpose of my thesis is to explore as precisely as possible the place and significance of book publication in the Greek and Roman world. This means not only, and not primarily, reconstructing the mechanics and technicalities of book production and dissemination, but also, and more importantly, focussing on the role publication played in the literary world, the expectations authors and readers had, and the impact it had on literary production and literature itself. A large part of this work consists in defining the terms we are working with and distinguishing them from their ancient usage. Thus, one of the goals of this work is to correct the possible anachronistic interpretations arising from the connotations that the term 'publication' has gathered during the last (few!) centuries of the dominance of the printed word.

One does not have to go too far to find out that the very application of the terms 'to publish', as well as other terms connected with modern booktrade to Greek and Latin texts is controversial. It is often called anachronistic, with later scholars accusing their predecessors of imposing their own view of the world onto classical antiquity. 'Publishing' as a modern reader understands it mostly relies on the existence of the printing press as the technology of distribution and publishing houses as major intermediaries between authors and the public. It has long been argued, although still not universally accepted, that aligning the activity of Atticus with that of a modern publishing house does not do it justice: there was no '*Romae, in aedibus T. P. Attici*'.[6] However, there are more pressing and more precise problems with defining 'publication' than the attempt to move away from the image of an ancient publishing inductry.

Consider the following statement: 'Ancient literature was not marketed to potential readers… Scribes worked in isolation, like butchers, or cobblers, carpenters, or any other craftsmen. To describe this activity as a "publishing industry," or as a general "book trade," is anachronistic.'[7] While some of this is true, the difficulty lies in the anachronistic approach to the question itself. Indeed, we may come to the conclusion that the term 'publishing' in our understanding is not applicable in this context, but this approach does not ask what stands behind calling the set of practices 'publication'. It also does not allow one to consider if the term 'publication' might still be applicable to another set of practices, even if the material processes, economic structures, and social importance connected to them differ. The definitions of publication that modern readers might come up with, if asked, are difficult to apply to ancient texts, and it is not a rewarding task to bend them until they seem to fit. Brushing the term off as anachronistic, however, does not help understand the combination of factors behind the production and distribution of a literary work, but rather reveals the preconceptions that

[6] Sommer 1926; Dortmund 2001.
[7] Peachin and Hedrick 2014, 183.

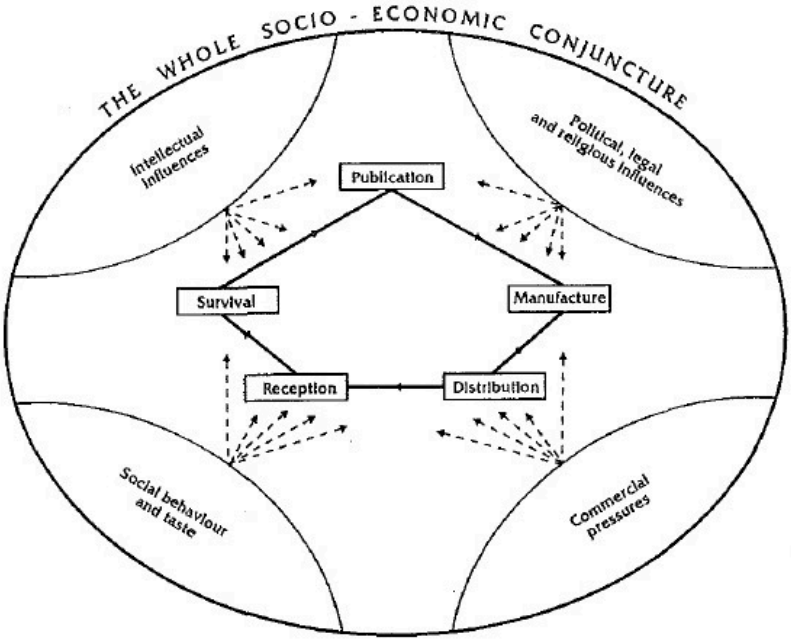


Figure 1.1: A model for book studies centered around a 'bibliographical document' (Adams and Barker 1993, 14)

we have already agreed to part with. So: what is 'publication'? And what are we really interested in?

To illustrate some of the topical questions of studying publication, I will briefly turn to a diagram coming from the field of book history, proposed by R. Adams and N. Barker in 1993 (fig. 1.1) and building on Darnton's 1982 'communication circuit', in which the book was moving between the author, the publisher, the printers, the shippers, the booksellers, and the readers, who completed the circle.[8]

The papyrus roll is not commonly studies by book historians; the scholarly study of book history mainly focuses on the book after the printing press entered the scene. Darton's 'communication circuit' model was aimed at book production between 1500 and 1800, and included such agents as 'publisher', 'bookbinder', and 'agent'.[9] In a move partly motivated by the wish to avoid anachronisms, Adams and Barker move from describing a book to analysing a 'bibliographical document': 'something printed or written in multiple copies that its agent, be it author, stationer, printer or publisher, or any combination thereof, produces for public consumption'.[10] This expansion, which the authors created in order to accommodate a range of materials that do not fit the description of 'a book', creates an abstract system with the book 'life' in the middle which can to an extent be applicable to the study of the book in Greek and Roman antiquity as well. The five stages of this 'life' (publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival), influenced by the indirect forces from the outside of the

[8] Darnton 1982.
[9] Darnton 1982, 67.
[10] Adams and Barker 1993, 13.

circle, are as relevant for studying a Greek bookroll as for a printed volume.

Finally, Adams and Barker are focused on the book, not on a text. Therefore, they disregard all processes of composition that precede publication, and agents are absent from their model. However, in the discussion of publication, they concede that it is defined by someone making a decision: 'the decision to publish, not the creation of a text, is, then, the first step in the creation of a book.'[11] This is an important addition: different people and their actions will play an important role in my discussion of Greek and Roman 'publication'.

Competing interests of various disciplines touching upon book studies are neatly summarised by L. Howsam: 'bibliographers look at the book primarily as an object; literary scholars think of it in terms of text; while historians conceptualize the book as a cultural transaction'.[12] The same competing interests apply when one thinks about book studies in Classics: the material book is in the remit of papyrologists, the book as source of a text interests textual critics, while literary scholars approach it from various angles exemplifying its place and role in literature.[13] Recently, some attempts have been made to socialise the book, with studies bringing the people and communities around it into the spotlight.[14] What is distinctive about getting a literary work into circulation? What do Greek and Latin authors mean when they say that a book is 'published' (or not)? Are readers' opinions different? Why and when is the appearance of a book in the world worth mentioning? These questions naturally invite a consideration of all the agents in the communication system, as well as the book itself in its centre.

This thesis will combine the knowlegde of the materiality of book production with an analysis of its representation in literature though a critical lens. Since 'publication' is an elusive concept, I suggest approaching it from the perspectives that ancient writers and readers provide us with. Many statements about books have been used simply as 'evidence' so often that it led to a loss of awareness of their original context. By having a fresh look at the well-known passages and expanding the source material to include less well-studied authors and texts, I hope to provide a more balanced picture of ancient book publication.

Greek and Latin practices are naturally viewed together, as they are based on the same medium. However, there are differences in both the details of Greek and Latin bookrolls and the societies in which they were used.[15] Furthermore, ways of 'doing things with books' changed over time, and these changes need to be accounted for. Finally, a comparison with modern practices is dangerous but almost inevitable.[16] Hopefully, a more detailed view of the set of literary practices pertaining to Greek and Latin book culture will help to specify in which aspects book publication changes across

[11] Adams and Barker 1993, 18.

[12] Howsam 2015, 8.

[13] An overview of the points of contact and possibilities for mutual enrichment between fields of book history and Classics: Frampton 2019, 13–32.

[14] E. g. Johnson 2010.

[15] On differences in the 'looks' of Greek and Roman books, see Hutchinson 2008, 20–25.

[16] A recent article entitled *Publica aut peri!* (Iddeng 2006) demonstrates the eagerness with which scholars look for parallels to their own practices.

time, societies, and media. In some of them, as this thesis will show, it remains surprisingly stable.

1.1.3 Scope and limitations

The research is based on two bodies of evidence, (1) literary texts in Latin and Greek and (2) literary and paraliterary papyri. In order to arrive at the fullest picture of 'publication', I will draw on texts from different genres and literary traditions, written in Greek and Latin. Literary papyri will form an addition to the study of literary texts and, hopefully, enrich the obtained picture, providing more first-hand information about breadth of readership, speed of distribution, and the variety of ways in which books were seen, handled, and even created by readers.

This thesis does not aim at providing a comprehensive analysis of each author that it makes use of, nor does it claim to be an extensive papyrological study. Its goal is to bring together as broad a collection of evidence as possible, looking at each bit of it through the lens of 'publication'. Some chronological developments might emerge; some features might be only due to an author's personal attitude rather than a general trend; others will be shown to be present independently of author, language, or time of writing.

The limits for the material were set as follows: literary practices dating from ca. 4th century BC until ca. 2nd century AD, of texts written in Latin and Ancient Greek, with the exclusion of Christian authors. The former time limit marks an important discussion of the written word and its benefits and drawbacks in Athens, while the latter allows encompassing some of the most prolific commentators on the matter (such as Martial and Galen).

The literary activity I am examining can be described as 'authorial literary publication realised through the medium of a bookroll'. This description highlights some necessary limitations of this thesis. '**Authorial**': the thesis is concerned with publication initiated or planned by the creator of the text, who claims their authorship and wishes for it to reach the broader public. **(2)** '**Literary**': I am concentrating on literary and subliterary texts, while bearing in mind the difficulty of differentiating literary from non-literary. In practical terms, it means, for example, that dissemination of documents, such as decrees or edicts, will only be used as a *comparandum* to literary practices. **(3)** '**Realised through the medium of a bookroll**': the history of the codex and the changes in practices it brought about falls outside the scope of this thesis. While the codex format came into usage in some genres of literature toward the end of the period under study, the main image associated with a book was a papyrus roll and it will remain the object of examination throughout this work.

1.2 Greek and Latin 'publication': a search for a definition

Is ἔκδοσις the same as 'publication'? The central issue connected with the attempts to define and analyse ancient literary publication, formulated by A. Dortmund, is the lack of understanding that there are two interconnected questions within it: the search for a precise explanation of the semantics of *edere* or ἐκδίδωμι and the wish to compare it with the practices of modern book publishing and dissemination.[17] An example of conflation of these two questions can be seen in the following line of reasoning: since neither the Greek nor the Latin term refer exclusively to a publication initiated by the author, it was a simple matter that any person could do.[18] Indeed, various verbs that may mean 'to publish' are used broadly in Greek and Latin, and the fact that a book is called *editus* or ἐκδοθείς does not presuppose authorial involvement. However, this is not enough to cover the complexity of the literary world behind them.

Both Greek and Latin employ an array of words and expressions that can mean 'to make a text public'. Here is a selection of the most commonly used verbs, with some illustrative examples:

Greek: ἐκφέρω,[19] ἐκδίδωμι,[20] διαδίδωμι,[21] δημοσιόω[22]
Latin: *edere*,[23] *emittere*, *vulgare*, *divulgare*, *producere*, *publicare*

Apart from single verbs, authors use expressions such as *in medium dare*, *in foras dare*, *in vulgum edere*, or εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκφέρειν. The semantics of all these verbs and expressions indicate making something accessible or visible for others, with an implication of a broader public, and prefixes convey either the idea of getting something out (ex-, ἐκ-), or disseminating it (di-, δια-).

The last Latin verb warrants a separate commentary: *publicare* is not attested as 'to publish' in the sense similar to literary publication until at least the 1st century AD. Scribonius Largus uses it with *ut ita dicam* when answering possible criticism about putting in his book recipes known from elsewhere: *neque illud rursus dico, novas et non aliquibus notas me in hoc libro congesturum compositiones, verum*

[17] Dortmund 2001, 108.

[18] 'In the ancient world publication was a simple matter which did not involve the complex business arrangements known today. Anyone who put a previously unknown manuscript into circulation could be said to have published it' (Phillips 1981, 17).

[19] Cf. Plat. *Parm.* 128d–e: …οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι ἐξεγένετο εἴτ' ἐξοιστέον αὐτὸ <τὸ γράμμα – D.K.> εἰς τὸ φῶς εἴτε μή, 'and I never got the chance to decide whether it <the work – D.K.> should be brought into the light or not'.

[20] Cf. Isocr. *Antid.* 9: …μαλακώτερος ὢν φαίνηται τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον ἐκδεδομένων, 'it <the speech> might seen to be milder that those that were published by me earlier'.

[21] Cf. Isocr. *Phil.* 7: τοιούτων δὲ πολλῶν λεγομένων ἤλπισαν ὅσοι περ ἤκουσαν, διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς, 'as many of such things were being said, all of them who heard them hoped that when the speech is distributed, you would stop the war.'

[22] Cf. Plat. *Soph.* 232d–e: Ξ: τά γε μὴν περὶ πασῶν τε καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην τέχνην, ἃ δεῖ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτὸν τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀντειπεῖν, δεδημοσιωμένα που καταβέβληται γεγραμμένα τῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν. Θ: τὰ Πρωταγόρειά μοι φαίνῃ περί τε πάλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν εἰρηκέναι. '(S.) Yes, and regarding all arts and each of them separately, everything that a professional needs to say in his defence is somehow published, set down in writing for the one who wants to learn it. (Th.) It seems to me that you have talked about the writings of Protagoras about wrestling and the other arts'.

[23] Cf. Vitr. 1 praef. 1: *non audebam, tantis occupationibus, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata edere*, 'I did not dare to publish what I wrote and developed with a lot of reflection about the architecture, with you being so busy'. For a study of *edere* and related questions, I refer to Dortmund 2001, 107–124.

etiam quasdam divulgatas et, ut ita dicam, publicatas: eiusmodi enim, quia efficaces sunt, etiam pluribus in notitiam veniunt (Scrib. *Comp.* 38).[24] This 'publishing' refers to the recipes being accessible to the public, most likely, also in the form of a book. A clear case of the usage in reference to literary publication is present in Plin. *Epist.* 4.27.5: *ad hunc gustum totum librum repromitto, quem tibi ut primum publicauerit exhibebo.*[25]

The lexicological study of the Greek ἔκδοσις conducted by van Groningen remains important.[26] Van Groningen concluded that the translation of ἔκδοσις as 'edition' (*édition*) should be abandoned, and scholars generally followed. However, his definition takes ἔκδοσις as something done exclusively by the author, who 'met le texte à la disposition de l'autrui, l'abandonne à ceux qui veulent en prendre connaissance'.[27] The idea that the author loses or lets go of their work, or somehow gives it over to someone else, has its roots in the legal component of the semantics of ἐκδίδωμι.[28] It was also taken further by some scholars; so, M. L. Delvigo suggests that 'publication (*editio*, ἔκδοσις) is the moment in which the responsibility for the text itself and the rights on it are transferred from the author (creator of the text) to those who are authorised to make copies'.[29] In the second of these definitions in particular, the intention and the consequence of the action of *edere* are confused. The fact that introducing changes to a work already in circulation was difficult does not have to imply that the authors transmitted the 'rights' of the text to others.[30]

In her analysis of the Latin *edere*, Dortmund differentiates between the activities that imply the possibility of further dissemination and the discreet sharing of a work, which would then still remain in the *Eigenbereich* of its author.[31] The intention behind an action of *edere* is important; it is a 'Handlung mit beabsichtigten Folgen und Implikationen'.[32] The subjectivity of usage that Dortmund highlights is quintessential and can be expanded: a lot of studies treated literary texts purely as a collection of evidence, taking all or most of their statements at face value. A crucial move in thinking about book culture and the evidence we have of it is the change from viewing the sources as an objective mirrors of reality and exploring the reasons why and the ways in which authors may mention specific facets of literary practices.[33] Throughout this thesis, I will attempt to consider the evidence at hand

[24] 'And I also do not say that I am going to collect in this book recipes that are new and not known to some, but indeed some that are disseminated and, so to say, published: for recipes of this kind, because they are efficient, also come to be known to more people.'

[25] 'I promise you that the whole book is similar to this taster. I will show it to you as soon as he makes it public.'

[26] Groningen 1963.

[27] Groningen 1963, 5. Some critics misunderstood this claim as a wish to restrict ἐκδίδωμι to private dissemination (Mansfeld 1994, 61 n. 105; Dorandi 2012).

[28] In particular, ἐκδίδωμι is commonly used in the meaning 'give one's daughter in marriage' (LSJ s.v. A.2.a), and it can mean 'let (land) for hire' (LSJ s.v. A.3).

[29] 'La 'pubblicazione' (*editio*, ἔκδοσις) cioè il momento in cui la responsabilità del testo medesimo e i 'diritti' su di esso passano dall'autore (produttore del testo) a coloro che sono autorizzati a trame copie …' (Delvigo 1990, 87). See almost a century earlier, and less reserved, Birt 1913, 358 n. 2.

[30] As has been underlined many times, the concept of 'copyright' as 'right to reproduce' in its modern sense is not applicable to ancient publication practices (Dziatzko 1894). While plagiarism and forgery were real problems, restricting dissemination of a work was virtually impossible.

[31] Dortmund 2001.

[32] 'An act with expected consequences and implications' (Dortmund 2001, 119–121).

[33] Cf. Gurd 2011, 183 n. 27, on Galen: 'an ideology of publication rather than a simple reflection of practice'.

in context, including possible motives behind its inclusion in the text.

A lexical analysis of contexts for *edere* or ἐκδίδωμι can only bring one so far, and the need for further criteria to define 'publication' is evident. A rather vague definition coming from both the material and the social side of literary production places no emphasis on the importance of the act: '… lending of a copy of one's work to people outside the inner circle of friends.'[34] The social side of book publication has been rightfully stressed in many studies, with the importance of patronage especially high for certain periods and authors.[35] The picture of the following distribution is often framed as something that happens naturally, almost on its own and without any further interest or influence on the author's part.[36] Furthermore, another angle from which the process has recently been viewed is that – at least for Roman books – book publication was not that important after all: 'Roman books were not, in themselves, necessarily the final objective of the exercise … They were, as their most important function, a stage between two sets of literary activity—the original oral presentation of the "work" … and some future … oral recreation of it.'[37] This idea is based on a reassessment of the role of orality in ancient literature, itself a long-lasting reaction to the text-centered scholarship of the 19th and a good part of the 20th century. The need to view book-related practices alongside other aspects of literary culture is not to be doubted, but it will be seen in the course of this thesis to what extent the claim of the non-importance of books can stand.

I will now return to the text and its state as 'published' as the focus of this discussion. A passage exemplifying the changes that a text may go through is Polybius' account of his criticism of Zeno (16.20.4–9):

> περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν τόπων ἀγνοίας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διὰ τὸ μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν παράπτωσιν οὐκ ὤκνησα γράψαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζήνωνα, κρίνων καλὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ τὰς τῶν πέλας ἁμαρτίας ἴδια προτερήματα νομίζειν, καθάπερ ἔνιοι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον τῶν ἰδίων ὑπομνημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τ' ἐσμέν, ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ διόρθωσιν χάριν τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καὶ γνοὺς ἀδύνατον οὖσαν τὴν μετάθεσιν διὰ τὸ προεκδεδωκέναι τὰς συντάξεις, ἐλυπήθη μὲν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, ποιεῖν δ' οὐδὲν εἶχε, τήν γε μὴν ἡμετέραν αἵρεσιν ἀπεδέξατο φιλοφρόνως. ὃ δὴ κἂν ἐγὼ παρακαλέσαιμι περὶ αὐτοῦ <τοὺς> καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους, ἐὰν μὲν κατὰ πρόθεσιν εὑρισκώμεθά που κατὰ τὴν πραγματείαν διαψευδόμενοι καὶ παρορῶντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἄγνοιαν, συγγνώμην ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συντάξεως καὶ διὰ τὴν καθόλου περιβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων.

[34] Espluga 2016, 55. Taxidis 2019, 32 also makes a distinction between 'giving out to another person' and 'giving out for publication.'

[35] White 1993. More on dedications in section 3.1.1.

[36] 'Romans circulated texts in a series of widening concentric circles …' (Starr 1987, 213).

[37] Winsbury 2009, 122.

> *Regarding the lack of knowledge about the places in Laconia, I did not hesitate even to write to Zeno personally because of the greatness of the deviation, considering that it is good not to take the mistakes of others for virtues of one's own, but to take caution about and correct not only one's own works, but also those of the others, to the extent to which we are able to do so, for the sake of the common benefit. He, upon receiving my letter and having recognised that the change was impossible due to the work having already been disseminated, was much vexed, but could not do anything, while he kindly accepted my correction. And I will ask for the same from our contemporaries and future generations: if it is found that we have purposefully lied about the subject matter and neglected the truth, to rebuke us without mercy, but if this happened because of a mistake, to have understanding, in particular because of the greatness of this work and the comprehensive account of events.*

This anecdote is important as a reflection of the irreversibility of 'publication' as early as the 2nd century BC. Two major differences from the 'unpublished' state are the availability of the text for an audience that does not need the author's permission to read it, and the difficulty of changing anything, connected to the wider and unpredictable dissemination. An interesting point is provided by the rationale behind Polybius' decision to contact Zeno.[38] He says that the 'correction' (διόρθωσις) of the work of others is necessary for the common benefit and frames his action as the result of care for the truthfulness of any kind of historical writing, 'constructive feedback' as we would call it today. The fact that a change was impossible due to the wider distribution (τὸ προεκδεδωκέναι) of the work excuses Zeno from taking further action, and Polybius does not seem to disagree. But if it were so, Polybius must have assumed the possibility of changing the mistake, otherwise his letter could only be read as a reproach. This would imply that he either had access to an exclusive copy (which is unlikely, given that this would already entitle him to commenting on the text in question) or could not estimate the breadth of distribution of Zeno's work and so decided to take a chance and tell him about the blatant mistake before it was too late.

Walbank notes that the errors in geography are generally 'excusable', and that Polybius did not write to Zeno regarding his other transgressions, such as pursuing style before facts, 'presumably because he could say nothing useful on this'.[39] But why did he write about the error? And why did he mention it in his own book? In Polybius' presentation of his ideals and his practices, being as precise as possible is the utmost goal of a historian, but he only criticises harshly those who (according to his understanding) were either not industrious enough or consciously let mistakes into their work.[40] In this episode, Polybius' way of commenting on a mistake in a colleague's work is presented as exemplary, and Zeno's reaction as appropriate. Polybius does not reproach Zeno for his mistake, showing consideration instead. The irreversibility of the process leaves the author to the mercy of

[38] Polybius' writing to Zeno is unique evidence of correspondence between historians; Paton, Walbank, and Habicht 2010, xxviii quote the letters between Pliny the Younger and Tacitus as the single possible parallel.

[39] Walbank 1967, 525.

[40] Cf. 12.7.6. For the role of such criticism for the narrative, see Miltsios 2013, 125–132.

contemporaries and future readers. This adds to the attitude that Polybius wants his readers to have, too: being critical towards straightforward lies or overlooking the truth, but excusing possible slips, especially since these are also more likely to happen in a work of such magnitude.[41]

This episode exemplifies that two crucial kinds of change that can happen to the text, one in its reach to the audience, and the other in the possibility of introducing authorial changes, are not an on-off switch. The result of a text being widely distributed is that (1) there is an unpredictable and unrestricted audience, who will have opinions on it; (2) there is close to no way of influencing the state in which the text will reach said audience, especially regarding the correction of mistakes. However, between the text being conceived and the text being 'published', there are multiple other stages in which it already has some audience and may undergo change to some extent. I will now give some examples of such multistage processes.

First of all, let us consider instances of text production linked to a particular occasion which cannot or are not thought to be reproduced. The most obvious of them is a court speech, written for a real process and given ('performed') during a trial. Since the trial is a unique event, a speech cannot be repeated under the same circumstances. Moreover, as we know that speeches were mostly not read out from a ready copy, its text is relatively fluid. Even if we were to reproduce the occasion, which we cannot, the speech itself would be different. Similarly, texts that are composed for a specific context but with the possibility of reperformance in mind, such as single poems performed at festivals and contests, have a potential for change which may or may not be realised.

Within specific text types, certain developments are discernible. A court speech is unique in the moment of its performance. A version of the same speech, written down, improved and distributed, does not only have a longer lifespan: it has different goals, a different audience, quite possibly a very different text. In fact, it is a different speech. Even further down the imaginary line is a speech that only serves to show off rhetorical talent, never intended to be used in court (e.g. Gorgias' *Helen*). A tragedy written for a performance and competition context differs from a tragedy written for reading or recitation, even though they belong to the same tradition.

Text production focused on writing, on the other hand, can also undergo different stages. Multivolume books of what is usually called 'technical' character are an example of a highly text-based genre. The production of a work such as Apollonius of Perga's *Conica* was hardly destined for performance, not to mention Pliny's *Natural History*. Arguably, didactic poetry is not particularly suited for being sung, and is rather written to be read. On a smaller scale, a single letter, written and dispatched, is a literary object, ready to be read, re-read, copied, and distributed if needed. The 'postcard poems'[42] are single poems that often present themselves as letters, and could have been given to the dedicatee in person.[43] When letters or poems are collected into a book, their audience reach changes, as well as their texts may do, even though they have already been 'made public' to some extent beforehand.

[41] On the disingenuity of Polybius' statements about his principles: Walbank 1972, 48–55, this episode 54–55.

[42] I coined this expression to avoid the term 'pamphlet poems', which is overloaded with connotations.

[43] Cf. Catullus 65, prefacing 66: *sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Ortale, mitto / haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae*; in later times, one might think of Statius' *Silvae*.

Texts can turn into books: a longer work can be split into several volumes, and one volume can hold a collection of shorter texts, which could also exist independently. The rise of the book conceived as a collection of texts, produced and arranged by the author, is an important literary development.[44] Whereas the production of copies and collection of material in scrolls had been around for some time, there is a marked transition that can be observed in the emergence of a book of smaller forms (usually a poetry book, but also a book of letters) which is in itself a literary product. Among the genres less popular for such investigations, such as multi-volume works, one can also see an increasing engagement with the form. It manifests itself in the attention paid to the limits of the text, instances of internal cross-referencing, and the awareness of the benefits and drawbacks of 'serial' publication.

For the study of publication, the qualities pertinent to the type of text are at least as relevant as its immediate social or historical context: they provide a starting point for further change and influence the extent to which it can happen. In order to be able to describe the place that publication held for a certain work, I suggest that it is necessary to bear in mind this starting point, as well as the following aspects: (a) the intended use and context of production; (b) the audience: expected, aspired to, unwanted; (c) the social implications of publication for the author; (d) the 'lifetime' of the text (the journey from conception to circulation in book form); (e) the book's 'identity'.

1.3 Outline

In chapter 2, I will situate the process of book publication within the context of Greek and Latin culture, considering the place of the bookroll between a set of oral practices, on the one hand, and the widespread use of inscriptions, on the other. This chapter will define the main features of book publication as opposed to the other modes of dissemination and prepare the ground for the discussion of its more specific aspects. In the following three chapters, I will analyse the system of communication that literary publication creates. First, in chapter 3, I will examine the receiving side of this system: individual readers, as they are represented and addressed by the authors, and the role that different means of dissemination play for the delivery of a literary work to its audience. With chapter 4, the thesis will move further into the authors' minds, exploring the complex of motivations and reservations they could have for making their texts known. Further in this chapter, I will consider two literary *topoi* that stand in connection with the tensions arising from publication: the personification of the book, including the book address (section 4.3), and the idea of the endless polishing of the literary work (section 4.4). Chapter 5 will focus on the book as the interface between the author and the recipients of the literary text. I will inspect various elements of the book and their relevance for publication, beginning with the physical appearance of the bookroll and moving on to such paratextual elements as the title and the preface. In chapter 6, I will analyse the processes involved in the movement from a text to a literary work, texts that can be said to belong to the 'pre-publication stage', the additional qualities of a multi-volume work and finally, the phenomenon of serial publication.

[44] Hutchinson 2008.

2 Publication as part of the literary process

The place of the bookroll as an alternative to other modes of making a text public is a necessary background to the study of the phenomenon of book publication. One such mode, predating book publication, is performance; the other, inscription.

In this chapter, I will first consider the relationship between performance of a literary text and its realisation in book form across different genres (section 2.1), starting with the variety of ways in which a text could be delivered to an audience, based on the examples of Classical Greek oratory and Hellenistic poetry. I will then turn to performances at a time when book publication is already an established practice, namely, Roman *recitationes*. In the second part of the chapter (section 2.2), I will analyse the ways in which inscribing a text on an unmovable material support can be seen as a way of publishing, and the ways in which it differs from book publication. I will address questions of authorship and interaction with audiences, investigating writing on surfaces created for the purpose (stone inscriptions) and appropriation of other surfaces for literary production (graffiti). Finally, I will summarise the findings and situate the bookroll as a mode of making a text public between performance, on the one hand, and inscription, on the other (section 2.3).

2.1 Performance and publication

In the study of Greek and Latin literature, we are bound to think about performances. Oral performance precedes any kind of fixation and dissemination in written form, and as such, the movement from oral to written is in the background of many discussions of ancient texts.[45] In any literary world, performance (taken in its broadest sense to be any oral realisation of a text) was an important part of the literary process throughout, never sidelined by purely written dissemination. There are, however, many factors to be taken into account when considering the connection between performance and publication. It is crucial to distinguish different sorts of performance, and different sorts of text that they can be used for, before thinking about the place of publication in the picture.

For some texts, performance is the primary and original method of delivery. Thus for a court speech in its original context, performance is the ultimate goal, whereas the production of a copy is only needed to facilitate it, for example, if the speech is composed on demand. Throughout the times we are concerned with, the importance of oral delivery is quite high in general. Many types of text in Greek and Latin literature are performance-oriented, and apart from them, reading aloud holds a

[45] Worthington 1996; Mackie 2017, to name a few.

prominent place in the literary life, while coexisting with silent reading.[46]

Within the broad category of 'performance', many subcategories coexist: private or public, given by the author or by someone else, such as a trained *lector* or ἀναγνώστης. In the latter case, it is relevant whether the author of the text was involved in some way. The possible goals of an oral delivery of a text are many: teaching, advertising ones's own works, upholding one's reputation, contributing to a social interaction, getting feedback, and many others. The context of every such 'performance' is crucial to understanding its function, and has to be taken into account when considering its relation to publication.

Several possible criteria can be used to distinguish various types of performances. One has to do with the audience. If someone reads a speech and discusses it with some students, the audience is clearly defined; in the case of an orator giving a speech in court, it is not. It seems that the predictability and size of the audience go hand in hand with the 'readiness' of the text, or of a version of it: restricted audiences tend to give the author more flexibility concerning the current state of his work. Of course, there is nothing that hinders someone from reading (or performing) a finished text in front of a defined or predictable group. However, the scenario in which the number of people accessing the text is limited is particularly suitable for a kind of 'performance' or reading where the text does not need to be fixed. This is the private reading that we witness in Isocrates:

> ἐπηνώρθουν μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν μέχρι τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων γεγραμμένον μετὰ μειρακίων τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων τῶν εἰθισμένων μοι συνδιατρίβειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεξιοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ προσδεῖσθαι τελευτῆς μόνον, ἔδοξέ μοι μεταπέμψασθαί τινα τῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν πεπλησιακότων, ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δὲ πεπολιτευμένον, προῃρημένον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαινεῖν, ἵν' εἴ τι παρέλαθεν ἡμᾶς ψεῦδος εἰρημένον, ἐκεῖνος κατιδὼν δηλώσειεν ἡμῖν. (Isocr. *Panath.* 200)
>
> *For I was correcting the part of speech, written down as far as what has been read, with three or four young men who used to spend time with me. And after it seemed to us, having gone through it, that it was in a good form and only needed an ending, I decided to send after one of those who had been close to me but who lived under oligarchy and preferred to praise the Spartans, so that if some wrong saying had gone unnoticed by us, he would have spotted and shown it to us.*

Similarly, Pliny the Younger writes about the steps he is going to take after having held a *recitatio* of a new work:

[46] The theory that the ancients were *unable* to read silently was efficiently disproven in 1997 (Gavrilov 1997, with the addendum by Burnyeat 1997). For a brief history of the question see Johnson 2010, 4–10. See also Vatri 2012 (on the physiology of Ancient Greek reading) and Nagy 2009.

recitavi biduo. hoc assensus audientium exegit; et tamen ut alii transeunt quaedam imputantque quod transeant, sic ego nihil praetereo atque etiam non praeterire me dico. lego enim omnia ut omnia emendem, quod contingere non potest electa recitantibus. <…> non dubito cupere te pro cetera mei caritate quam maturissime legere hunc adhuc musteum librum. leges, sed retractatum, quae causa recitandi fuit; et tamen non nulla iam ex eo nosti. haec emendata postea vel, quod interdum longiore mora solet, deteriora facta quasi nova rursus et rescripta cognosces. nam plerisque mutatis ea quoque mutata videntur, quae manent. (Plin. *Epist.* 8.21.4–6, with omissions)

I read for two days—this was necessitated by the approval of the listeners. And yet, as others pass over some parts over and make a merit of it, I don't skip anything and I state that I don't. For I read everything in order to correct everything, which those who read selected bits cannot succeed in. <…> I don't doubt that you wish to read this still very fresh book as soon as possible, in your usual kindness toward me. You will read it, but when it is reworked, which was the reason for the recitation. You know quite a bit of it already, of course. These parts, corrected for the better – or worse, which is often the case with a long wait, – you will find later as if they were fresh and written anew. For with most things changed, the remainder seems to have changed as well.

Although one of these episodes belongs to a setting of a 4th century BC Greek rhetorical school and the other to a very different social setting of a 2nd century AD Roman *recitatio*, there is one crucial similarity in attitude: in both cases the authors use the occasion to change and improve the text they are working on, using feedback from the listeners as the input.

2.1.1 Classical Greek prose: multiple ways to perform and some to publish

Dwelling more on the earlier of the two examples above, we can think about one of the genres that are relatively well-defined and theorised by the ancient authors themselves: oratory. Speeches were written for various contexts: forensic, political, epideictic. In Isocrates, we can find a differentiation between speeches written for different sorts of performance: composed for actual delivery (λόγοι λεγόμενοι) and for reading (λόγοι ἀναγιγνωσκόμενοι).[47] A failure to use the proper type in the proper context impedes its appreciation: καὶ παραβαλλόμενοι οἱ μὲν τῶν γραφέων λόγοι ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι στενοὶ φαίνονται, οἱ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, εὖ λεχθέντες, ἰδιωτικοὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν (Arist. *Rhet.* 1413b14–16).[48]

For the types of reading, there are various categories as well: a 'simple' reading is called ἀνάγνωσις,

[47] Isocr. *Phil.* 25. On Isocrates' comments on the composition of this speech, see below.

[48] 'And if you compare them, the speeches of writers seem weak in debates, and those of rhetoricians, well spoken, seem plain in the hands'.

whereas a delivery embellished with gesture and articulation, ὑπόκρισις.[49] Another word to denote performance is ἐπίδειξις, literally 'a demonstration'. Its beginnings seem to have been in public performances serving as demonstrations of a particular skill. Its sphere of usage is very broad: within literary works, there is hardly any that could not be presented in the form of an ἐπίδειξις.

Looking at the way philosophers talk about texts in Plato' dialogues, R. Thomas concludes that most of those were notes for oral delivery, which would happen in the format of such a public lecture (ἐπίδειξις). The famous text from Plato's *Phaedrus* (231–234c) is, according to her, 'a verbatim record of what Lysias was publishing as an oral performance'.[50] Although 'verbatim' might be too hopeful a term, it is clear that the writing comes second. A development in this regard comes when two modes of composition and delivery clash.

The rising popularity of written speeches troubled Alcidamas, who wrote a critique of those who do not speak *ex tempore*.[51] Here is a cursory overview of some of the points he makes. Producing a written speech is easier than to speak, unprepared, on a given topic; when writing, one has the possibility of correcting at leisure (κατὰ σχολὴν ἐπάνορθῶσαι, 4) and consulting works of others, picking out the best parts. Learning to write is easier than learning to speak, and therefore the transition from a spoken speech to a written one is easier than the reverse. In public life, one has to be able to speak on the spot, not go home and compose a clever answer. The written speech, when read out loud, produces an entirely different effect on the audience, and the better written speeches mimic spontaneity; it is much more difficult for the speaker to remember the words; in all regards, a pre-written and rehearsed speech fades in comparison with true eloquence. In particular, Alcidamas criticises the lack of flexibility that a written text imposes on the author.[52] Finally, he even argues that a written speech should not be called λόγος at all, because it is only a representation of the 'real thing'.[53]

Alcidamas' criticism, it is important to note, only concerns performances. He mentions some advantages of the written word, agrees that he himself writes when composing the critique, and admits that writing down speeches is a way to leave a memory of ourselves and to reach glory.[54] It is the intrusion of one mode of producing and presenting a text to the public (composition in writing) into another (composition in performance) that led to the clash of opinions. One can safely assume that the existence of different sorts of text that are more or less apt for a specific performative context must also have implications for their publication. In what ways, then, can performance and publication be connected?

In his speeches, Isocrates engages with the audience, but most of the time expects it to be listening

[49] The word ὑπόκρισις can also just mean 'rhetorical delivery' in a broader context. See Vatri 2017, 304–307 for more contexts and literature.

[50] Thomas 2003, 164–166, 171, who also connects this fact to the considerable amount of anonymous texts now in our possession.

[51] The newest editions are Muir 2001 and Mariss 2002.

[52] Alcidam. 23: χαλεπόν γάρ …ἀνθρωπίνην πρόνοιαν ἐφίκεσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥστε προϊδεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τίνα τρόπον αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν ἀκουόντων πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν λεγομένων ἕξουσιν.

[53] Alcidam. 27.

[54] Alcidam. 32: ἔτι δὲ καὶ μνημεῖα καταλιπεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σπουδάζοντες καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ χαριζομένοι λόγους γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν.

to a speech read aloud by professional reciters.[55] 'Published' verisons of speeches could be used for teaching, and Isocrates even accuses his enemies of plagiarism, saying that they never took part in his classes but copied words from his writings.[56] In the example adduced at the beginning of this section, it is also worth noting the circumstances under which Isocrates talks about the λόγοι λεγόμενοι and λόγοι ἀναγιγνωσκόμενοι: the difference is important, since the speech itself would be read aloud to Philip, and the phrasing of Isocrates suggests no specific delivery that it should be accompanied with, which may impact its efficiency.

Interestingly, Isocrates also mentions that the speech deals with the same topic (advocating a Panhellenic idea) as his *Panegyric*, which makes it difficult to treat. The *Panegyric* is called 'one published earlier' (ὁ πρότερον ἐκδοθείς).[57] This means that some people had access to it and could, therefore, compare it to the *To Philip*. The composition of the latter speech must have happened after the peace of Philocrates of 346 BC, while the *Panegyric* was written in roughly 380 BC.[58] With the two speeches set at more than thirty years apart, it would be unlikely to suggest that someone would have been able to remember in detail what the other speech said. The participle ἐκδοθείς must mean 'out there', available for use and consultation.

Apart from this discussion, Isocrates mentions that he was criticised by his students for the endeavour to write *To Philip*, countered their arguments and promised not to show the speech to anyone else but them and to leave it up to them to decide what to do with it.[59] When the finished speech was shown to them, the students changed their minds.

This anecdote shows several features of Isocrates' display of his working process: (1) the practice of reading and discussing a text within the confines of a smaller group; (2) the awareness of the texts already in circulation; and (3) the question of suitability of a work for 'publication'. The latter is particularly important for our study, and is also demonstrated in Plato's *Parmenides* (128d–e):

> διὰ τοιαύτην δὴ φιλονικίαν ὑπὸ νέου ὄντος ἐμοῦ ἐγράφη, καί τις αὐτὸ ἔκλεψε γραφέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι ἐξεγένετο εἴτ' ἐξοιστέον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ φῶς εἴτε μή.
>
> *It is because of such a zeal for rivalry that this <work> was written by me in my youth, and someone stole this writing, so that I never got the chance to decide whether it should be brought into the light or not.*

Here, Zeno (in Plato's retelling) defends his work in front of Socrates. The defence consists of two parts: him being young at the time of composition (which is always a suitable excuse) and the work having been stolen. In addition to the general point—the distribution of the text had nothing to do

[55] See Hudson-Williams 1949.

[56] Isocr. *Panath.* 16–17. Yunis 2003, 185: drawbacks of publication for those who take money for lecturing.

[57] Isocr. *Phil.* 11.

[58] Mathieu and Brémond 1956, 4–11; Mathieu and Brémond 1962, 3–8.

[59] τελευτῶν ὑπεσχόμην μόνοις αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείξειν, καὶ ποιήσειν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ αὐτοῦ πλὴν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξῃ, *Phil.* 22.

with Zeno—the second one emphasises the decision that was not taken. It implies that Zeno could have thought that his text was not to be read by a wider audience, had he had the possibility of considering the question.

This evidence shows a variety of attitudes to the written word in Classical Athens and the existence of multiple forms of performance available. Alcidamas' work is also a testimony to the emergence of a kind of 'publication' that could accompany an oral delivery, as well as an awareness of different modes of delivering a text to its audience and their benefits and drawbacks.

2.1.2 Performance before and beyond Hellenistic poetry

Like prose oratory, poetry is from its beginnings a highly performative genre. The earlier periods of Greek literature do not provide us with enough evidence to estimate the intensity of the book trade and the overall level of literacy, and there is an ongoing debate about how much of literary production was destined only to be listened to, not to be read.

For the present argument, it suffices to say that the very existence of texts preserved in relatively large numbers has to have some reasons, and that text production of some sort must have accompanied the composition of choral and solo songs.[60] My interest lies in the relationship between a performed work and its written version, and whether the latter can amount to something bigger than just 'a copy'. I will now consider some of the oldest preserved papyri and analyse their relationship to book publication.

2.1.2.1 The earliest papyri and performance

Among the literary texts preserved on papyri, some are close to performance practices, such as the scolia and elegy from Elephantine (P.Berol. inv. 13270), a papyrus written in an informal hand which was used as a wrapper for a package of documents and put together with them in a jar. It looks like a personal copy with a strong link to sympotic context, and while its to rule out written dissemination.[61] For others it is unclear or even unlikely. Three of the earliest Greek papyri, coming from Derveni in Macedonia (a commentary on an Orphic theogony), Daphne in Athens (an unknown possibly poetic composition), and Abusir in Egypt (fragments of Timotheus' *Persae*), give an interesting study of the use of writing in the late 4th – early 3rd century BC.[62]

The Derveni papyrus (P.Derveni) was found in a tomb, preserved due to the carbonisation process during the funeral pyre. A relatively big part survived and a large part of the fragments has been edited. The papyrus is a commentary on an Orphic poem and does not invite a thought of being

[60] While Pindar's epinicians were meant for oral performance and written on a specific occasion, the claim of everlasting glory all over the Greek-speaking world could only be achieved through prolonged access to the poems in the form of text or a reperformance (for which a text would be needed). See on Pindar's readers in Spelman 2018, 40–44.

[61] Ferrari 1989; Pernigotti and Maltomini 2002, 67–75 on the papyrus as a 'sympotic handbook'. Elephantine scolia and their performance context: see the recent dissertation Tezzon 2019, esp. 53–67; Cameron 1995, 74–5.

[62] To the earliest Greek books, P.Callatis 1 might be added. See recently Janko et al. 2021, 65–69 on the oldest existing papyri in general, 80–85 on the papyrus' script, date, and context. The authors suggest a poetic work dealing with the history of Persian wars.

used for performance. Instead, it testifies to a scholarly engagement with an earlier text, based on its written version (as the papyrus contains quotes of the poem).[63]

The text of the Daphne papyrus, also coming from a burial, cannot tell scholars much: unlike in Derveni, there was no fire, and the papyrus, which the editors think could have been placed in a leather case, was badly damaged by moisture.[64] The remains of some letters seem to indicate poetic vocabulary, but the state of preservation does not allow one to make any further conjectures. What has been more revealing is the burial context. 'The Tomb of the Musician' belonged to a young person ('probably in their twenties'). The papyrus was found in a tomb along with an impressive set of items: 'further writing material (four wooden writing tablets and fragments of a fifth, a writing case, a bronze ink pot, a chisel and a bronze stylus), musical instruments (fragments of a harp, of a tortoise shell, which must have been the soundbox of a lyre, and an aulos tube with mouthpiece), a saw made of iron and nine knucklebones'.[65] It is possible that the papyrus roll was thought to accompany a performance, although the earlier suggestion that the Daphne papyrus carries musical notation was proven to be wishful thinking by later analysis. At the same time, the tablets and the ink pot found together with the scroll seem to indicate that the 'Musician' did not only perform but also composed. With enough imagination, one could even think of an unfinished work, partly on the tablets, partly on the scroll, that accompanied the young composer to their grave.[66]

The third item in the list enjoyed a much luckier fate compared to the papyri from Derveni and Daphne: the preserved part of P.Berol. inv. 9875measures 1.11 m in length.[67] Moreover, it bears a text of a known author, and this is where something can be said about its relation to literary publication.

The 4th century BC witnessed a rise of new genres of lyric poetry, dominated by the dithyramb, and the so-called 'New Music'. To this period belongs Timotheos of Miletus, whose nome *Persae* is preserved on P.Berol. inv. 9875.[68] Timotheos' literary activity was agonal, and it seems that he was not greatly bound either to his native Miletus or to other cultural centres. Most of the testimonia tell about his victories or defeats in various contests.[69] The only references to books are lists of works, too late to say anything about their arrangement at the time of Timotheos' life. Dithyrambs enjoyed popularity, and we can expect Timotheos' works to have been performed, and reperformed, at festivals throughout Greece. Nevertheless, there are very few texts of 4th century lyric, and as with earlier lyric, we have to accept that there were copies of texts, but that most of them remain inaccessible to us.[70]

Even more striking in this context is the papyrus of Timotheos' *Persae*, found in 1902 during the excavations of a Greek necropolis at Abusir (Busiris). The context of the excavation allowed a more

[63] Recent edition of the papyrus: Kotwick 2017, with text reconstruction by R. Janko.

[64] The papyrus was discovered in 1981 but has not been published until recently, after extensive restoration and multi-spectral imaging. See Karamanou 2016 with further literature.

[65] Karamanou 2016, 52.

[66] See also Pöhlmann and West 2012. Similarly about the Callatis papyrus: 'we might even wonder whether the deceased was its author and had his work buried with him' (Janko et al. 2021, 85).

[67] Hordern 2002, 69.

[68] *Editio princeps* Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1903.

[69] See Hordern 2002, 3–9 for a collection of evidence on Timotheos' life, mostly anecdotal.

[70] But not to the contemporaries: we would expect Aristotle to have had a copy of Timotheos' work.

precise dating of the find: the settlement seems to have been deserted before the time of Alexander the Great.[71] Thus Timotheos' papyrus is close in date to its author's lifetime, and testifies to his popularity. What was it produced for?

The sarcophagus that the papyrus was found with contained a body of an elderly man and exhibits features found in Milesian colonies. P. van Minnen therefore suggests that he might have come originally from Miletus.[72] He also thinks that the owner was a scribe, based on the writing utensils found next to the sarcophagus. These are, however, not as numerous or explicit as the ones in the Daphne burial, and the connection might be a bit far-fetched. It is hard to assess the writing due to the lack of contemporary *comparanda*, but it seems that the text's hand, while trained, is not extremely high-skilled, and the layout of the bookroll is uneven. The scribe often fails to estimate the length of the line and lets it run into the intercolumnium. Based on this, and in particular the position of the *coronis* in col. v, Hordern suggests that the scribe was trying to dutifully represent the exemplar he was copying from, which also included the *coronis*.[73]

There seems to be little reason to believe it was a copy produced for performance. An (almost illegible) marginal note in col. ii, probably by the same hand as the main text, could suggest a reader's note. If it was copied from an original containing paragraphoi and a *coronis*, it might indicate an early literary usage of a text written for performance, similar to the copies of the dithyrambs by Philoxenus and Telestes that Alexander the Great ordered to be procured for his literary amusement along with the tragedians.[74] It is not unlikely that from such copies as Timotheos' *Persae*, or their fairer archetypes, a collected version of an author's corpus could subsequently be formed. The copies should ultimately go back to the author, but whether Timotheos would care, for example, about the placing of a *coronis* specifically at the end of the narrative part of the poem, is hard to tell.

The three papyri surveyed above are the oldest existing papyri with literary texts, all of which show an engagement with the text of a performance-oriented genre written down on a papyrus roll. At least two of them would have been used outside of a performance context. This further supports the continous need to analyse the relationship between the oral and the written in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

2.1.2.2 Hellenistic performances and Hellenistic books

At the end of the 3rd century BC, the citizens of Lamia, the capital of Malis (Thessaly), issued a decree in honour of Aristodama of Smyrna, an itinerant poetess who came to their city and performed there.[75] This decree, unusual as it is in commemorating the achievement of a woman and giving her citizenship, is one of a considerable number of testimonies to the continued practice of performances in the Hellenistic world. Aristodama received honours on account of giving performances of her po-

[71] Hordern 2002, 62–65.
[72] Van Minnen 1997.
[73] Hordern 2002, 72–73.
[74] Plut. *Alex* 8.2–3.
[75] IG 9.2.62.

etry, in which she seems to have treated the genealogy of the Aetolians (l. 4–6: πλείονας ἐ[πιδείξεις] ἐποιή[σ]ατο τῶν ἰδίωμ ποιημάτων ἐν οἷς περί τε τοῦ ἔθνεο[ς] τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[μ καὶ τ]ῶμ προγόνω[ν] τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη).[76] The Hellenistic world had many festivals, and many travelled around it, performing their work and receiving honours from the cities as well as statues at home.[77] This was not only a prerogative of the poets: historians and philosophers also were among the travelling literators. And as A. Cameron has persuasively shown, there is no need to assume that Hellenistic poets brought performances to a halt in order to enjoy the secludedness of a library or that they only wrote for a restricted audience of an Alexandrian (or some other) court.[78]

What makes the picture of Hellenistic poetry more complex is the gradual emergence of the book, in particular the poetry book, as a literary product. For quite some time, the dominant view of Hellenistic literature was that it was 'bookish' and 'pedantic', written for a very small audience that was able to understand its intricacies. This view has been slowly adjusted by taking into account the historical and social context of the Hellenistic courts as well as the ongoing performance culture of festivals. There was no lack of audience for such events, and the atmosphere of Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 is representative of the type of festival where a hymn could be performed. Several poems of the major authors like Callimachus or Theocritus have been connected with a context in which they could have been performed (with varying degrees of plausibility).[79] To the festivals should be added symposia, which could happen in various social contexts, from courts of kings to smaller groups of friends. A lot of poetry composed in the Hellenistic period was, indeed, performed.

However, Cameron's rebuttal of the Alexandrian 'ivory tower' has led to another extreme. The focus on oral performance can be stretched to the extent of almost calling the ἐπίδειξις a 'publication': 'for many sorts of poetry, the first public performance remained the most important not only in the Hellenistic age but right down into Roman and even Byzantine world'.[80] A more balanced view is, as so often, probably closer to capturing the variety of literary life that can be reconstructed from an abundant yet never all-encompassing and randomly selective amount of material. The worlds of poetic performances and that of the poetry book are closely linked to one another; the 'high' or 'court' poetry was also read outside of the cultural centres (proved, for example, by the Lille papyrus of the *Victoria Berenices*). The extent to which these two worlds could, in fact, be the same needs to be reassessed.[81]

One of the major examples that are often drawn to the discussion of the topic is the legend about Apollonius of Rhodes and his allegedly failed performance of the *Argonautica* in Alexandria. With all the necessary caveats on the lack of reliability of ancient biographies, one can analyse the picture

[76] 'She made a performance of her own songs, in which she made an honourable mention of the race of Aetolians and the forefathers of the people'. There is a second decree for Aristodama: FD [Fouilles de Delphes] 3.3.145. On the political context of the decrees see Rutherford 2009.

[77] See also Bouvier 1985.

[78] Cameron 1995, 24–70, esp. 47–53.

[79] See Meyer, Rengakos, and Sistakou 2014, 39–40, with n. 31.

[80] Cameron 1995, 44.

[81] D. Meyer (Meyer, Rengakos, and Sistakou 2014, 32–33) summarises the interdependence of the two literary cultures, keeping the divide between them.

both of Apollonius' *vitae* convey without taking any of it at face value.[82]

> Vita A (excerpt): τοῦτον λέγεται ἔτι ἔφηβον ὄντα ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ Ἀργοναυτικὰ καὶ κατεγνῶσθαι, μὴ φέροντα δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν, καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ κατεληλυθέναι εἰς Ῥόδον, κἀκεῖ αὐτὰ ἐπιξέσαι καὶ ὀρθῶσαι καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὑπερευδοκιμῆσαι. διὸ καὶ Ῥόδιον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι ἀναγράφει.
>
> *It is said about him that he, still a young man, made a performance of the "Argonautica" and was judged unfavourably. Not being able to bear the shame of the citizens and the blame and slander of the other poets, he left his homeland and went to Rhodes, and there he scraped and corrected it and so gave [another] performance of it and enjoyed great renown. Because of this he calls himself Rhodian in his poems.*[83]

> Vita B (excerpt): …συντάξας ταῦτα τὰ ποιήματα ἐπεδείξατο. σφόδρα δὲ ἀποτυχὼν καὶ ἐρυθριάσας παρεγένετο ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ κἀκεῖ ἐπολιτεύσατο καὶ σοφιστεύει ῥητορικοὺς λόγους, ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ῥόδιον ἀποκαλεῖν βούλονται. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν διάγων καὶ ἐπιξέσας αὐτοῦ τὰ ποιήματα, εἶτα ἐπιδειξάμενος σφόδρα εὐδοκίμησεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἀξιωθῆναι πολιτείας καὶ τιμῆς.
>
> *Having put together the poems he made a performance, but having utterly failed and blushed, he arrived in Rhodes and there lived as a citizen and gave lectures on rhetoric, whence people call him 'Rhodian'. So, there he, having continued working on his poem and having scraped it, and then having given a performance, enjoyed exceeding renown, so that he was deemed worthy of the citizenship of Rhodes and the honour.*

The honour of the second ἐπίδειξις from the *Vitae* is similar in wording (especially in B) to an honour that an itinerant poet or a member of an embassy could have received. The story of a public shame after a performance might serve to explain the clash between the alleged Alexandrian provenance of Apollonius and the name Rhodios (taken up by himself in A, given to him by others in B). The first performance and the subsequent revision remain puzzling. These two statements attracted most of the attention of the scholars, who looked at the possibility of joining them with the six mentions of a προέκδοσις that occur in the scholia to the *Argonautica*. This connection has almost been abandoned in later scholarship, for being nothing more than a wishful reconstruction: among other arguments,

[82] Discussion in Lefkowitz 2012, 121–125.

[83] The verb ἀναγράφω in this context seems to mean 'document oneself' (see LSJ s. v. A.I.2), referring to Apollonius' self-identification. The addition ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι might indicate that the biographers viewed the information transmitted in the titles or colophons as going back to the author.

the few stylistic variants can hardly testify to a lengthy revision.[84] The existence of a second edition might not have been as fascinating for the biographers as for us today, and they worked with stories of individual personalities, not of books. Even if some of them stemmed from the fact of two editions being in circulation, this remains a mere conjecture. The idea of a dominant performative event was a reasonable option for biographers to explain some seeming inconsistencies, but the two testimonies should be viewed separately from the question of the Apollonian προέκδοσις.

We do not know much about the fate of individual poems that were performed at some point or another. It is also not quite clear whether a certain performance would always be the first 'public appearance' of a text. Especially in the case of a travelling poet, one could think of repeating a 'hit' in different places, maybe with variations to suit the context. Not every single performance would have led to the creation of a copy of the text, either, but single items could have been written down and disseminated afterwards. Performance was an event of its own importance; it did not necessitate nor preclude further dissemination of the work performed.

Still, there are books of poetry. They are the strongest testimony to the importance of this relatively new form of poetic literary composition. Callimachean poetry carries signs of a book organisation: the *Iambi* 1 and 13 frame a book that has both classification of material and internal development, which, if accepted, is the first case of editorial arrangement known to us.[85] The *Aetia* is believed to have 'come out' in two editions, with the famous prologue added later on. Epigrams were collected in anthologies and authorial edited collections, as shown by the Milan papyrus of Posidippus.

In addition to that, as P. Bing has persuasively shown, there are more than enough attestations of letters being a method of literary communication, primarily in the world of scientific or 'technical' literature. Circulation of poems by letter is attested in Hellenistic practices such as the proem to Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*.[86] Of the anonymous Hellenistic fragments preserved on papyri, we almost never know whether the original text was part of a larger collection or just a single item. An unusual example are the epigrams on the dog Tauron from the Zenon archive: these are two epigrams on the same topic.[87] They are written in a neat documentary hand, but preserve a layout in which epigrams are found in literary collections, with an ἄλλο ('another') separating them. The verso of the papyrus contains an address. The exact purpose of the papyrus has been subject of scholarly arguments: Wilamowitz thought the epigrams were intended to be inscribed on the real tomb of Tauron, and the papyrus was a temporary carrier of the text. The existence of double verse inscriptions linked by ἄλλο seems to prove the point.[88] Among newer literature, T. Purola argues that there are not enough parallels to postulate such a task and thinks of a literary exercise instead.[89] Whatever the answer is in this particular case, it may well be that many more individual poems were travelling across the Hellenistic world than we assume.

[84] Gurd 2012, 14. Overview in Schade and Eleuteri 2008.
[85] Kerkhecker 1999, 282–290.
[86] Bing 2009, 106–115 against Cameron; 115 n. 16 on Nicander.
[87] P.Cair.Zen. 4.59532 = *SH* 977. Other literary papyri contained in Zenon archive: Pestman 1981, 167.
[88] Wilcken 1920, 454–455.
[89] Purola 1994.

The relationship between performance and publication in Hellenistic literature is nuanced. The contexts that Bing uses as a counterexample to Cameron's arguments add a nice touch to the picture of an interconnected world, and it is difficult to imagine a performance of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*. Still, Callimachus' *Hymns* (for some of which performance contexts can be reconstructed), unlike the *Iambi*, do not carry uncontroversial signs of editorial arrangement.[90] Silvia Barbantani views performances as 'a sort of προέκδοσις'.[91] I tend to agree up to a point: that the text would necessarily be 'concepito prevalentamente per la lettura' seems to be a slight exaggeration, and the word 'proekdosis' has obviously gained more popularity in the modern academic language than it has ever had in Ancient Greek.[92] The connection between poetic performance and book publication in the time when the poetry book begins to take hold as a literary medium does not need to be complicated. The ἐπιδείξεις, ἀκροάσεις, and other public displays had their niche in the cultural life of the time. While they were not endangered by the emergence of the poetry book, awareness of the new format found its way into the texts, as when fame is preserved ἐν βύβλοις in *SH* 969.[93] In short, nothing hindered poets from both performing and publishing, with different audiences and goals in mind.

2.1.3 The role of Roman *recitationes*: performance *as* publication?

We have already seen public readings as a way to advertise one's work and receive appreciation (and criticism) in the Greek-speaking world. For Latin writers too, a form of public reading could fulfil an important role in the composition and improvement of the text. Valuable comments from Ovid's friends are a necessary part of a writing process as well as books are.[94] In Cicero's works, we can see a circle of friends exchanging views on literature, sometimes in writing, sometimes in person. The use of performance for improvement is also mentioned in *De Officiis*, where he says that painters, sculptors and even poets want to show their work to the public: *suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult, ut si quid reprehensum sit a pluribus, id corrigatur.*[95] Still, close acquaintances are often framed as more important for the author than the crowd's judgement. Poets treat the acceptance of the broader public according to the necessity of the context, while the real criticism comes from a close group of friends or critics during a recitation.[96]

A very different kind of recitation is the one that serves the delivery of the text to the public along with advertising a work or its author and being an enjoyable social event. Poetasters wishing to

[90] Kerkhecker 1999, 277, with n. 38.

[91] 'La recitazione a corte, come come quella nel corso di agoni pubblici, constituiva una specie di προέκδοσις, di fronte da un pubblico meno selezionato, di un testo concepito prevalentemente per la lettura, e in tale forma libraria destinato alla fruizione di una cerchia piuttosto limitata …' (Barbantani 2001, 12).

[92] The noun does not seem to be used outside of the scholia. The verb's attestations are equally scarce (first in Polyb. 16.20.7), and it is not used in any sense more technical than 'to have distributed beforehand'. For the assumed Apollonian προέκδοσις, see section 4.4.

[93] See Barbantani 2001, 103–106 for parallels.

[94] Ov. *Trist.* 3.14.37–40: *non hic librorum, per quos inviter alarque, / copia: pro libris arcus et arma sonant / nullus in hac terra, recitem si carmina, cuius / intellecturis auribus utar, adest.*

[95] Cic. *Off.* 1.147.11.

[96] '…öffentliche Lesungen sollten durch ernsthafte, begründete Kritik den Autor auch zu Korrekturen am präsentierten Entwurf befähigen' (Binder 1995, 276).

attain glory with their bad verses are often the object of jokes, particularly in satire. Already in Horace readers encounter some despicable figures: *in medio qui / scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes* (*Sat.* 1.4.74–75). The figure of an extravagant author reciting from a high chair and with a precious stone on his finger opens Persius' first *Satire*, and ubiquitous recitation is unnerving for Juvenal: *semper ego auditor tantum?* is the beginning of the collection (1.1). Earlier, public reading aimed to please and not to instruct, as well as the wish for compliments from the audience were an object of reproach in Seneca.[97] What, then, is the relationship between these performances and written dissemination, and how do both relate to 'publication'?

In his chapter on Roman *recitationes*, R. Winsbury interprets them as an act of publication. For him, 'the recitatio was publication (in effect)'.[98] This claim, set out in the heading of the section, is softened in the paragraph itself, where Winsbury adds 'followed by *editio*, if the new work warranted it', but the hierarchy is set clearly. Acknowledging the importance of the *editio*, which he understands as 'sending out copies after the *recitatio*', Winsbury attributes to the 'formal *recitatio*' the role of the pivotal event in the life of a text. Indeed, one can trace the rise of the *recitatio* as an important practice of the Roman literary life.[99] However, the picture painted by Winsbury is too specific for general application.

Winsbury notes the lack of references to *recitationes* in Cicero or Catullus, and he is probably right in interpreting the novelty of the legendary first *recitatio* by Pollio as being 'formal, regular, and in private', as opposed to the *extempore* recitations that Horace refers to.[100] These recitations are a means of delivering a text to its audience, but we lack evidence to make any conclusions with regard to any special nature of such a performance, or the first such performance, for the texts or their authors.

For his claim, Winsbury seems to focus on the kind of public readings that we witness from the second half of the 1st century AD: a 'boilerplate' *recitatio* at the beginning of his chapter is a semi-public reading of a new work, given by the author (or with him present) from a raised platform for an invited audience.[101] This automatically means that his model of publication does not apply to the authors we knew well *did* produce written works before, such as Cicero. But even if we only treat the subgroup of *recitationes* at the heart of Winsbury's model, we can find enough examples where performance is not all that important for literary publication.

An argument against this central placing of the *recitatio*, or at least a very different view thereof, can be found in a text contemporary to Pliny, Tacitus' *Dialogus* (9.3–6). Aper makes a case against the usefulness of poetry, and recitals in particular:

[97] Sen. *Epist.* 52.9.
[98] Winsbury 2009, 110; the emphasis belongs to the author.
[99] Binder 1995.
[100] Winsbury 2009, 97.
[101] Winsbury 2009, 95.

> hi enim <sc. versus> Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecerpta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanis et gaudium volucre.
>
> *For verses come to Bassus in his own home, and nice and charming as they are, yet their outcome is that when after a whole year's work, on all days and a big part of the nights, he has forged and produced by the nightly lamp a single book, he is further forced to beg and go around people looking for those who would condescend to listen to him. And not even this without costs: for he rents a house, furnishes a room, brings in seating, and scatters programmes. And even if a fantastic success follows his reading, all this glory does not bring any sure and solid fruit from one day to another, as a herb or flower plucked too early. He does not take away with him either friendship, or a client, or a favour that would remain in someone's mind, but only uncertain applause, void exclamations and passing joy.*

The reasons against poetic recitals are that it does not do justice to the work. It is difficult to find listeners; it is expensive and hard to arrange; finally, the short-lived glory that one gets does not bring any substantial benefits. The participants of Tacitus' *Dialogus* may have their own reasons for arguing that recitations are a pure waste of time, since the context is a criticism of poetry as literary activity in general, contrasted with oratory. But also in Pliny's letters, which are an important source of evidence for Winsbury, the *recitatio* is often portrayed as merely a step in literary production, not a pivotal point. His views on public readings and their presentation in the letters are worth looking into with more attention.

2.1.3.1 Pliny's *rationes recitandi*

The literary world that emerges from Pliny's correspondence seems to consist mainly of recitations. Going to recitations is a friendly duty, and one might expect the host to return the favour.[102] In this world, Pliny takes recitations more seriously than others. The reader gets this impression both from the number of explanations that accompany the reference to a public reading, and from the answers to explicit (although usually anonymous) criticism that Pliny gives. He also finds fault with ill-behaved

[102] 1.13.6: *possum iam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne uidear, quorum recitationibus adfui, non auditor fuisse sed creditor.* It is complicated by the fact that no one actually has the time to attend them (3.18.4: *numquam porro aut ualde uacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem*). An earlier account of *recitationes* that lasted a whole day can be found in Sen. *Epist.* 122.11–13; the anecdote itself is about the poet Iulius Montanus, who lived in the times of Tiberius, so even further into the past.

listeners.[103] Such care is not surprising, given that Pliny often frames his recitations as a necessary step in the polishing of a text, based on the direct feedback and more subtle hints that he derives from the reaction of the audience. It should be noted that the excessiveness of commentary restrains the possibility of extrapolating Pliny's way of working to a 'generic' author of his time. On the other hand, Pliny might have exaggerated the uniqueness of his approach in an attempt to underline the utmost care with which he polished his work.

There are several letters in which Pliny explains his method in great detail and more that hint at it. Letter 5.3 is a defence against some critics who found fault with Pliny's writing and reciting verses, as related to him by a friend in whose house the discussion happened. The critics trouble was not with the verses themselves, but with *writing and reciting* them: *me celandum non putasti … exstitisse etiam quosdam, qui scripta quidem ipsa non improbarent, me tamen amice simpliciterque reprehenderent, quod haec scriberem recitaremque.*

Pliny picks up both objections (*scriberem recitaremque*) in turn, first providing an impressive list of more than 20 names of 'most learned, serious and pious people' (*doctissimos gravissimos sanctissimos*) who engaged in writing light-hearted verse. He then admits not knowing whether they recited their compositions, all to turn this into an expression of humility of his talent in comparison with that of Vergil or even Ennius and his need for a second opinion to decide whether his work is good enough. A recitation is presented as an exam that allows Pliny to see the better and worse parts of the work and encourages changes that critics might see when they pick the book up. Finally, Pliny reminds his friend that the readings he gave were for a group of friends, not for a large audience (*atque haec ita disputo quasi populum in auditorium, non in cubiculum amicos advocarim*).

Another objection concerns the reading of speeches (7.17). In this case it is not the lowliness of the genre that bothers critics but its alleged unsuitability to be the matter of recitation. The recitation, according to Pliny, is different from the given speech, because there is a degree of reworking involved. If the critics admit this, they should give to recitation as much right to exist as they would to publication (*cur minus probabilis sit causa recitandi quam dixeris quam edendi?*). A couple of lines later he pins the hierarchy down: *nec vero ego dum recito laudari, sed dum legor cupio.* The recitation is only one of the steps undertaken to publish the text. It is also seen clearly in 5.12: Pliny sends to Terentius Scaurus the text of a speech that he gave a reading of with the specific intention to enhance it before 'publishing' (*recitaturus oratiunculam quam publicare cogito*).

Pliny's case is an illustration of a conscious use of the different functions and possible realisations of a *recitatio.* In his letters, the relationship between a public reading and a publication is twofold. On the one hand, a recitation does not necessarily need to be connected to a subsequent publication, and has a value of its own.[104] In arranging his own recitations, Pliny reflects on whom to invite,[105]

[103] The topic of 6.17 is Pliny's indignation at the lack of reaction shown by some of the attendees at a reading (the author himself is left unknown).

[104] In *Epist.* 2.3.9 he urges Maecilius Nepos to come to Rome and listen to Isaeus, saying *legendi semper occasio est, audiendi non semper.*

[105] *Epist.* 2.19; 7.17.

whether the work is suitable for a reading,[106] and whether he has to read himself or rather use the help of a *lector*.[107] In all these cases Pliny underlines his highly serious attitude to the matter, which is the key to the whole enterprise: whatever other people may think about arranging or attending *recitationes*, for him it is a matter of high importance. Even higher, in turn, is the actual 'letting the book out', *editio*. Pliny does not hesitate much to recite, but hesitates to publish, and whenever *editio* is mentioned next to a public reading, the latter is shown as an ancillary step before the actual publication and plays a role in creating a picture of a constant work in progress.[108]

While oral performances undoubtedly held an important part in Roman literary life, and some of them were probably the only way in which a text could reach its public, one cannot equate *recitatio* with publication. Among different kinds of *recitationes*, some were viewed by their authors as a 'work-in-progress', and some, as something akin to a 'launch event'. The production of a written copy often accompanies a *recitatio* and when it does, in my view, it carries more weight.

2.2 Inscriptions as a way of publishing

Similarly to performance, the practice of inscribing a text on something predated publication on bookrolls and consequently coexisted with it throughout the period under study. Greek and Latin inscribed texts include documents of various kinds, literary texts, as well as texts that escape categorisation, and Greek- and Latin-speaking authors and readers lived in an epigraphic landscape that could be very rich depending on the time and place under consideration.[109] It is therefore necessary to compare these two modes of making a text public. This section will not deal with the questions of influence that inscriptions exerted on literary texts, which has received much attention, both generally and in application to specific literary genres. It will instead consider how setting up an inscription that carries a text is different from producing a copy of a text on a papyrus roll and whether it is comparable to literary publication altogether.

Greek and Latin texts carried by various material supports are distributed among epigraphy, papyrology, archaeology, and numismatics. M. Guarducci's broad definition of Greek epigraphy includes writings on 'stone, metal tablets, various objects made of clay, metal, glass, ivory, fabrics, gems, and also coins'.[110] Guarducci only explicitly excludes writings that traditionally belong to the realm of papyrology, namely papyri and ostraka, while noting their importance for the history of Greek writing. The interest in publication means that texts suitable for comparison must have been produced with an evident intention that they be read by a non-exclusively defined group of people that the author has an idea of ('the public'). The usage and circulation of objects carrying texts, whether private and chaotic (e.g. domestic utensils) or central and regulated (e.g. coins) is difficult to compare to the cir-

[106] *Epist.* 2.19.
[107] *Epist.* 9.34.
[108] More on this in section 4.4.
[109] One naturally thinks about the *furor epigraphicus* during the principate of Augustus.
[110] Preceded by a discussion of definitions of epigraphy as a discipline and its boundaries: Guarducci 1967, 1–7.

culation of papyri due to the shortness of the texts on them and the greater importance of the object than of the inscription. Therefore, I will only use a subset of all that can be called an 'inscription' for this comparison, namely, texts on non-portable, freely accessible material supports.

This section will aim to provide a series of case studies serving to explore various aspects of the media that coexisted in Greco-Roman antiquity. Inscriptions on stones or metal plaques nailed to stones or buildings lend themselves to comparison with texts written and disseminated on papyrus due to both their inherently public character and the length of text that they can potentially hold. Graffiti and dipinti, on the other hand, allow one to cast a glance at a range of literary and subliterary texts that have been recently receiving considerable scholarly attention.

The focus on 'publication' invites a classification that is less interested in the material on which the inscription was made or the location where it was produced, but primarily in the the context of its production and intention behind it. The physical accessibility, the portability, and the stability of a text are key features to this comparison. Further relevant aspects can include the economic side of text production (how expensive and/or labour-intensive it was to produce such a text) and its cultural and social implications.

2.2.1 Stones, walls, and plaques

The accessibility and stability of inscriptions on freestanding stones or buildings was used extensively by Greek- and Latin-speaking people throughout the period under study: decrees, funerary inscriptions, milestones, inscriptions commemorating construction or reconstruction of a building or a road, and lists of various kinds abound in the epigraphic corpora. Setting up an inscription is a way of dissemination in itself, since it is accessible to a wider public. Statues and other signs of recognition were often ordered to be placed *celeberrimo loco* to reach as many viewers as possible. Treaties between two localities could be placed in both, which would amount to a publication in two communities.

Apart from the epigram (dedicatory and funerary), which holds a separate place as a genre originating in the epigraphic tradition, various kinds of texts that can be classified as literary or subliterary rarely make their way into the lists of text types preserved on stone. The difference in perception of such an inscription by a modern scholar and a contemporary reader is obvious, not least because of the disciplinary boundaries that often separate epigraphists from literary scholars. In one way, however, a literary text carved into stone has a feature that we now perceive in a similar way to its ancient readers: most likely, it was only produced in one copy.

Inscriptions could be copied and collected; we know of such collections from Hellenistic times, and the existence of earlier epigram collections that Athenian orators could have used has recently been posited.[111] There are papyri preserving copies from inscriptions, such as P.Oxy. 79.5202, copy of an inscription for the poet Apion (the end of 1st century AD). However, I could not find any project that would involve the production and setting up of multiple inscriptions on stone with an unlimited epigraphic dissemination in mind. A decree enforcing the usage of Athenian weights and measures

[111] Petrovic 2013; Philochoros, Krateros, and Polemon collected inscriptions in the Hellenistic period (Guarducci 1967, 28).

(IG I^3 1453) ordered for a copy of it to be set up by the local officials in the cities it was sent to, thus constituting a limited publication.[112] A logical mechanism for such dissemination implies postage of a document to a locality on a less durable material and its subsequent 'publishing' onto stone. The commission of an inscription could be done on order, as with the Athenian decree just mentioned, or through local initiative. So, in the Roman empire, multiple copies of imperial edicts were posted to different localities, but only a few of these decided to produce an inscribed copy of such an edict.[113] Even the monumental stone publication of the *Res gestae divi Augusti* seems not to have been initiated from Rome, but rather to have originated locally.[114]

Even if an inscription is a copy of a text that has also been set up elsewhere, its existence is inseparable from the place where it was positioned. The question of local initiative or local motivation is closely connected to the discussion of authorial publication on stone. Greek cities would have had a vested interest in displaying texts that consolidated local histories, supported their claims and testified to their relationships to their neighbours. In his study of historiographic texts on stone, A. Chaniotis distinguishes three main categories, according to the function that the publication on stone had: (1) local historiography, with propaganda as part of the deal; (2) universal history and chronicles, set on stone to promote education in the polis; (3) contemporary historiography, set with the aim to praise contemporary rulers.[115] The poleis could commission texts to be used in this way, and they did also employ professional historians to do the research and produce the archetypes.[116] Such 'write on demand' texts can be seen as an epigraphic publication, and some of them are close to being classified as literary productions. However, as they are not initiated by their authors, they would fall outside our area of interest.

In many other cases, we do not know who composed the text, nor who ordered it to be inscribed, nor at whose expense this work was completed. All of the three agents could have been the same person, in which case one would be able to talk about authorial stone publication. A Sicyonian inscription (ἀναγραφή) that described the development of Greek poetry and music is mentioned by Ps.-Plutarch.[117] Jakoby compared it to the contemporary work by Glaukos, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν, saying that they only differ in the way of publication. In his view, the inscription should be interpreted as a patriotic act of a Sicyonian who wanted to highlight the roots of the history of music in his native city.[118] A similar line of interpretation has been proposed for the publication context of the *Marmor Parium*, due to its opening sentence, which, even though severely damaged, seems

[112] 8: [ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τ[όδε τὸς ἄ]ρχονται[ς ἐ]ν ταῖσι πόλεσιν [κ]ᾳθ' ἕνα ἕκασ[τον· θῆναι δὲ ἐν στή]λει λιθίνει ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι τέλεσι [ἑκάσ]τη[ς πό]λεως καὶ τὸς ἐπιστ[άτας ἔμπ]ροσθεν τõ ἀργυροκοπίο· ταῦτα δὲ ἐπ[ιτελὲν συμμα]χίαν, ἐὰμ μὴ αὐτοὶ βόλωνται. ('And to the arkhontes, to write up this decree in each of the cities one in each, and to put it onto a stone stele in the agora on the account of each city, and to the overseers, <to put it> in front of the mint. And the allies to realise this, if they do not want to do it themselves.')

[113] Millar 1992, 252–9, esp. 255–6.

[114] Cooley 2007.

[115] Chaniotis 1988, 112–123.

[116] One can compare the decree ordering the composition of the *Lindian Chronicle*, BNJ 532 F 1.

[117] *De mus.* 3.1131f–1132a; 8.1134a–b.

[118] FGrH 550; Chaniotis 1988, 89–91.

to point at a personal introduction by the author.[119] The beginning of the text is set in larger letters, which underlines its prefatory character. Although heavily damaged, it contains the word ἀνέγραψα ('I set down in writing') and points at the author of the text, and might imply some agency from their side.[120] These texts would then fall into the category of 'authorial publication', even though there is not much one can say with certainty about the intention behind them, and their authors' names are unknown. It is, however, likely that these acts of publication were of considerable importance for the locality they lived or were active in.

2.2.2 Interaction between inscription and bookroll

Palaeographers have long noticed the migration of scripts from stone to papyrus and vice versa. The earliest papyri that have been found exhibit letter-shapes that were common in stone inscriptions, such as four-bar sigma, square epsilon, and 'epigraphic' omega. These shapes went out of use and were replaced by newer, more curved ones, which were quicker to write, something that was not feasible when carving letters into stone. In the process of creating the inscription, copies on less durable material would be used as models, and consequently, a reverse influence, where letter-shapes seemed to have been copied onto stone from a papyrus, has also been noted.[121]

The layout of a papyrus roll could also be imitated on stone.[122] An inscription from Sidyma (TAM II 174 = SEG 28.1222, 2nd cent. AD) has two types of layout, namely columns in a double frame and plain text, whereby the framed text is the main body of the work and the plain text contains the oracle.[123] The Mnesiepes inscription at the Archilocheion on Paros has an Archilochos-vita with a *coronis*, *paragraphoi* and verse quotations in *ekthesis*.[124] Among many inscriptions worthy of mentioning, one can single out the epitaph of Sophytos, discovered in Kandahar (fig. 2.1).[125]

Sophytos' inscription exhibits an extraordinary number of features that connect it to the book layout of the time. It was almost certainly made to look like a 'page' carrying the poem. The inscription features not only an acrostic made evident through copying of each of the first letters in the left margin, but also a title (ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ ΣΤΗΛΗ) placed above it and centred in relation to the column of verse. The stone that carries it has been cut in a square form, which makes plausible the suggestion that the

[119] .....ου [.... ²nomen auctoris² ἐκ συγγραμμάτω]ν(?) παν[τοί]ων – – – – – –νων(?) ἀνέγραψα τοὺς ἀν– – – – – – – ..... ἀρξάμ[εν]ος ἀπὸ Κέκροπος τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Ἀθηνῶν εἵως ἄρχοντος ἐμ Πάρωι (IG 12.5.444).

[120] It does not, however, necessarily mean that the author and the commissioner of the inscription were the same person; 'the verb need not refer to the act of publication on stone but simply to the composition of the chronicle by its author', Sickinger 2016.

[121] Guarducci 1967, 377 with n. 3.

[122] Corso 2003, 32–38; Garulli 2014.

[123] Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 77; Chaniotis 1988, 75–85; 131–132 (T19); Merkelbach 2000.

[124] Chaniotis 1988, 23–32 (T3); Kimmel-Clauzet 2013.

[125] Santin 2009, 276–282; Garulli 2014, 132–137.

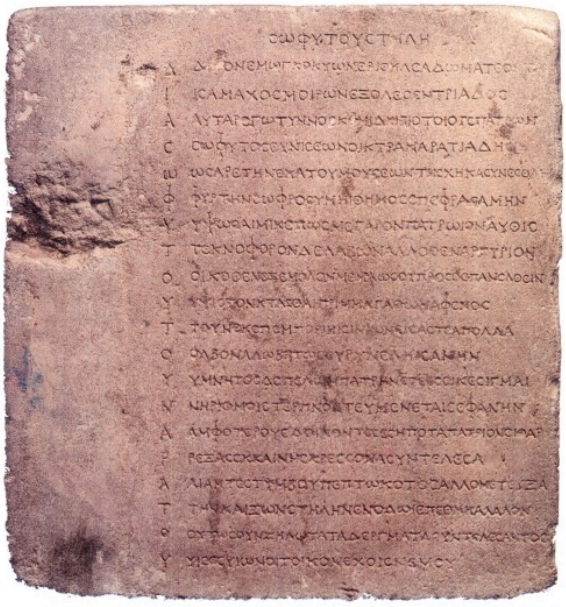


Figure 2.1: The epitaph of Sophytos (Rougemont, Bernard, and Pinault 2004, 230)

left margin is also part of the original concept.[126]

2.2.3 Authorship and motivation

Sophytos' inscription is an exception in many ways, not least because we know the name of its author, proudly set out in the title and in the acrostic. Generally, names of authors are scarcely found in literary inscriptions. The rarity of this phenomenon can be illustrated by E. Santin's work on authors' signatures in Greek funerary epigrams, one of the most prolific epigraphic genres.[127] The entire corpus that she surveyed, between the 2nd century BC and 4th century AD, produced only 34 items which carry the name of the person who composed the epitaph.[128] Even if we take into consideration that the goal of a funerary inscription is to name and honour the deceased, not the author, the number is extraordinarily low. In other genres, dedicatory inscriptions sometimes do contain the name of their author for a pragmatic reason: the dedicatory formula invites stating the name of the dedicator, and if the object of dedication is a literary text, we have an opportunity to know the author's name. The inscription of Isyllos from Epidauros (IG IV^2 1 128) can serve as an example.[129]

[126] G. Rougemont tentatively suggests that the engraver could have had in mind other plaques of similar kind when realising the layout of the inscription: 'La largeur de la marge à gauche du texte, autrement dit le décalage de l'axe vertical du poème par rapport à l'axe vertical de la plaque sur laquelle il est gravé, signifie-t-il que le graveur a tenu compte, en effectuant sa mise en page, de textes analogues gravés sur des plaques contiguës?' (Rougemont, Bernard, and Pinault 2004, 238 n. 13).

[127] Santin 2009.

[128] To compare, the first volume of Peek's *Griechische Versinschriften* (Peek 1955), consisting of epitaphs only, counts more than 2100 items.

[129] Isyllos' motivations in composing the texts and setting up the stele have been subject of many discussions, starting with the *editio princeps* Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Kießling 1886. The most recent monograph is Kolde 2003; a summary and reassessment of the most important questions for the *Gesamtauffassung*, Schröder 2006.

The inscription consists of seven segments separated from each other either by an empty line, by a *paragraphos*, or both.[130] Segments I and V are prose elements of paratextual function. In I (lines 1–2 of the inscription), which is set in larger letters, Isyllos announces the dedication to Apollo Maleates and Asclepios in a formulaic way: Ἴσυλλος Σωκράτευς Ἐπιδαύριος ἀνέθηκε Ἀπόλλωνι Μαλεάται καὶ Ἀσκλαπιῶι.[131] After the 'heading', which presents the whole inscription as the object of dedication, three verse segments follow. Then, another prose element introduces the paean honouring Asclepios (32–36):

> Ἴσυλλος Ἀστυλάϊδαι ἐπέθηκε μαντεύσασθαί οἱ περὶ τοῦ παιᾶνος ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἐπόησε εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἀσκλαπιόν, ἦ λώιόν οἱ κα εἴη ἀγγράφοντι τὸν παῖανα. ἐμάντευσε λώιόν οἱ κα εἶμεν ἀγγράφοντι καὶ αὐτίκα καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον.
>
> *Isyllos sent Astylaidas to consult the oracle in Delphi for him regarding the paean which he composed for Apollo and Asclepios: whether it would be good if he set the paean down in an inscription. The oracle said that it would be better for him to set the paean down in an inscription both for the present and for the future.*

Isyllos' declaration states that he sent a friend to consult the oracle in Delphi on whether he should write down the paean to Apollo that he composed. Why would he be interested in adding this detail? It seems that Isyllos was in need of adding authority to his decision to inscribe his composition as part of the dedication. The stele has a very individual character.[132] Isyllos' text was more than just a religious dedication: it also contained a number of political views and featured his name and figure in prominent positions. By adding the oracle's response, Isyllos provided a legitimate reason for setting up an inscription and also underlined his literary ambitions.

In Isyllos' case we can only assume the need to explain his motivation to readers. About four centuries later, in Rome, there is another extraordinary inscription containing a literary composition: the funerary monument of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (fig. 2.3a). Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, a boy-poet who was barely eleven and a half years old at the time of his death, competed in the Capitoline games in AD 94 and died soon after. The extemporary verses that Sulpicius performed were subsequently written down on his tombstone by his parents. The placement of various texts on the monument is fascinating on many levels: the Greek text authored by Sulpicius is written on the left and right hand side of the niche containing his statue; three last lines 'run' onto the scroll the statue holds. Under the figure and the texts, following the traditional heading of the funerary inscription, *deis manibus sacrum*, begins the Latin part, in which the parents, among other information, give a reason for setting Sulpicius' verses into stone:[133]

[130] Kolde 2003, 5–6.
[131] 'Isyllos son of Socrates, from Epidauros, set this up for Apollo Maleates and Asclepios'.
[132] 'Eine stark persönlich Färbung': Schröder 2006.
[133] Here and further the text and translation (by B. Graziosi) are quoted from Garulli 2018.

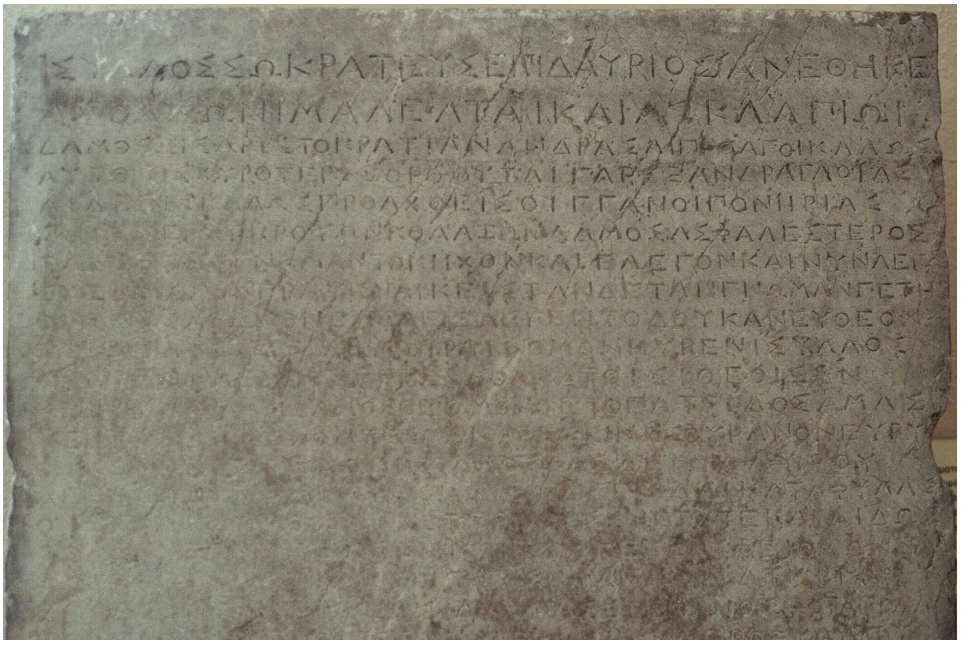
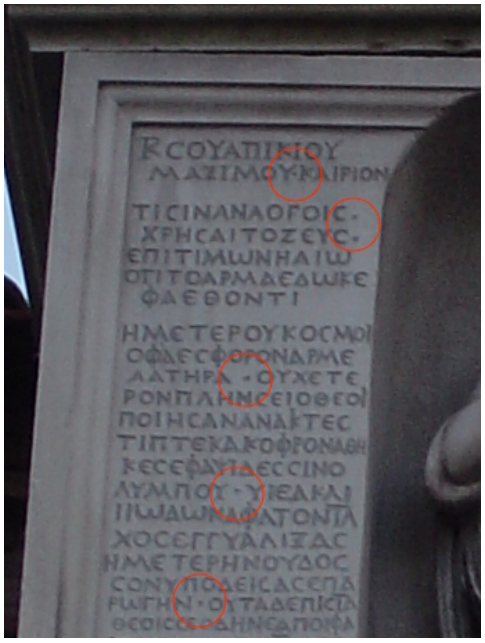


Figure 2.2: Isyllos' stele in Epidauros (IG IV^2 1 128), top part.



(a) Full picture of the monument



(b) Detail of Sulpicius' tomb: title of the poem and first lines. Red circles highlight the middle dots.

Figure 2.3: Cast copy of the tomb of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome.

Deis Manibus Sacrum. | Q(uinto) Sulpicio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cla(udia) Maximo, domo Roma, vix(it) ann(os) XI, m(enses) V, d(ies) XII. | hic tertio certaminis lustro inter Graecos poetas duos et L | professus favorem, quem ob teneram aetatem excitaverat, | in admirationem ingenio suo perduxit et cum honore discessit. Versus | extemporales eo subiecti sunt, ne parent(es) adfectib(us) suis indulsisse videant(ur). | Q(uintus) Sulpicius Eugramus et Licinia Ianuaria parent(es) infelicissim(i) f(ilio) piissim(o) fec(erunt) et sib(i) p(osterisque) s(uis).

Sacred to the Deified Dead. In memory of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, the son of Quintus, of the Claudian tribe. Rome. He lived eleven years, five months, and twelve days. In the third edition of the contest, performing as one among fifty-two Greek poets, he turned the good will he had aroused because of his young age into admiration because of his talent, and left with honours. Lest his parents may seem to have been unduly influenced by their affection for him, his extemporaneous verses have been inscribed here. Quintus Sulpicius Eugramus and Licinia Ianuaria, his unfortunate parents, erected this tomb for their most pious son, for themselves, and for their descendants.

The text itself is furnished with the author's name and a title: Κ(οΐντου) Σουλπικίου Μαξίμου καίριον· τίσιν ἂν λόγοις χρήσαιτο Ζεὺς ἐπιτιμῶν Ἡλίῳ, ὅτι τὸ ἅρμα ἔδωκε Φαέθοντι.[134] While they do not have any embellishments that one might expect of a title written on a piece of papyrus, the positioning of dots within it might indicate that the text from which the stonecutter copied the title had a different, more symmetrical arrangement (see fig. 2.3b). In the main text, the dots are placed where the hexameter lines do not coincide with the lines on the monument. If one applies the same reasoning, the dots in the title would split it in the following way:

Κ(οΐντου) Σουλπικίου Μαξίμου
καίριον
τίσιν ἂν λόγοις
χρήσαιτο Ζεὺς
ἐπιτιμῶν Ἡλίῳ ὅτι τὸ ἅρμα ἔδωκε Φαέθοντι

The dots in the poem title are curious: they are the only example of dots placed at the end of the line, which otherwise is left unmarked. One could suggest that the prose title was placed in four or five lines, and the stonecutter felt a need to indicate the line breaks after λόγοις and Ζεὺς, but the slight indent of the second line would speak against this assumption. A line break after Ἡλίῳ would achieve some symmetry, but this might be only wishful thinking.

The pair of Greek epigrams below the Latin funerary inscription sets out the wish of eternal fame for Sulpicius in no uncertain terms. The passer-by is encouraged to stop and behold 'the eloquence

[134] 'The extemporaneous verses of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus: the words Zeus might have used, reproaching Helios because he gave his chariot to Phaethon.'



Figure 2.4: CIL IV 4966: *Tiburtinus epoese*

of the off-hand composition' (σχεδίου γράμματος εὐεπίην, epigr. 1.6). The same eloquence is the reason for the eternity of Sulpicius' name: νώνυμον οὐδέ σε Μοῖρα κατέκτανε νηλεόθυμος, / ἀλλ' ἔλιπεν λήθης ἄμμορον εὐεπίην (epigr. 2.3–4). The second epigram finishes off with the statement that the poet's column will be more precious than gold and amber: πουλὺ δὲ καὶ χρυσοῖο καὶ ἠλέκτροιο φαεινοῦ / ἔσ(σ)ετ' ἀεὶ κρέσσων ἣν ἔλιπες σελίδα (9–10).

There is no doubt that the first and only publication of Sulpicius' poem, which the passers-by should read and admire, is what shall bring the glory to the deceased poet. With the name of the poet set out at the top left of the monument and the lines arranged, if not in perfect technical imitation of a bookroll, but at least in obvious connection with it (the Greek text does look like two columns and flows over to the roll in the boy's hand), and with the epigrams also bearing a title and placed in a two-column layout, the monument has clear aspirations to a literary aesthetic.

There is not much connection between 3rd century BC Epidauros and 1st century AD Rome, nor between a dedicatory stele and an intricate funerary monument. However, both the stele of Isyllos and the tomb of Sulpicius advertise a literary composition; in both there is an attempt for the name of the author to be easily visible. The result is in both cases a 'stone publication' (authorial for Isyllos, posthumous for Sulpicius). It also seems that both of them, more or less overtly, present a case where whoever is inscribing a literary text is in need of providing a reason, an excuse, or both for doing it.

2.2.4 Graffiti and their authors

Graffiti, texts scratched onto a surface or written on it with charcoal, and dipinti, texts painted on a surface, have a slightly different character from stone inscriptions. The most obvious is the initiative leading to their creation: while setting up a stone would involve considerable expense, and, possibly, permission from an authority, writing on a wall can be done with minimal effort.

There are many methodological hurdles in the study of graffiti, arising both from the 'mixed-bag' approach to assigning the label and from the stereotypes about the social groups that engaged in graffiti writing.[135] It is clear from the scope of various kinds of wall-writing that graffiti were produced by members of different ages, genders, and socio-economic positions; the variety of expression

[135] Methodological problems connected with the term: Baird and Taylor 2010, 3–7.

allowed many sorts of people to make a public (or semi-public) statement available to see for those who happened to be in the same place some time later.

In terms of literary expression, graffiti in general and Pompeiian graffiti in particular preserved multiple examples of versification, quotes of and allusions to 'canonical' authors, but hardly any names of the composers. On the one hand, the wall-writers did not hesitate to add their names. So, CIL IV 1841 is a quotation of a line from Vergil (*quisquis es amissos hin[c iam ob]liuiscere Graios*, *Aen.* 2.148), followed by *scribit Narciss(us) ser(uus) (?)*. P. Kruschwitz suggests that we have to view the names in Pompeiian graffiti with more doubt, partly in the light of some unexpected coincidences,[136] but even if the person who did write something on the wall was not called Narcissus, the idea of adding a name to a scribbling is present. However, neither quotations from poets known to us nor compositions by unknown authors or pastiches normally carry a sign of authorship. It seems that adding your name was not really necessary for a graffiti scribbler, which, in turn, asks us to reconsider the idea of authorship in general.[137] An exception from the rule is a certain Tiburtinus, who, after scratching several epigrams on the wall of a theatre, added to them his signature: *Tiburtinus epoese* (fig. 2.4).[138]

Tiburtinus' inscription has given rise to many discussions regarding his personality, his idea of literary production, the connection between his name and the texts it is appended to (the author? the creator of the inscription?), and the nature of the poem(s).[139] The presentation of the poems and the title is one of the cornerstones of the discussion. The epigrams were placed in three columns, with the latter two starting lower than the first one, in a peculiar L-shape.[140] The line-breaks and verse-ends coincide, the pentameters do not seem to be indented. The signature, in the same hand as the rest of the poems, but much larger, is placed to the right of the beginning of the first column, above the two other columns. This is an unusual placement, given that one would expect it to be closer to the end of the text or to its beginning. It seems rather unlikely to me that the signature was thought to 'crown' the peculiar L-shaped writings. One could assume that the title was added after the first poem had already been written, and that it was made to align with the first poem, consisting of 4 lines.[141] Another possibility is that there was no space after the first column to add a signature or to place it visibly enough, and that Tiburtinus then decided for a different, more prominent placement. G. Cavallo saw in the signature a potential imitation of the format of an end-title of a bookroll, which was often placed on the empty column to the right of the text, and had a tendency to a larger script.[142] This could add to the question of the order in which the poems of columns 2 and 3 were written.

[136] Kruschwitz 2008, 240 n. 39.

[137] K. Milnor posits an 'anonymous authorship', which 'allows the original creators to continue to stand behind their words and connect them to the wider world of literary discourse': Milnor 2014, 137–189, quote from 154. The scope of this thesis, focusing on authorial publication, does not include anonymous expression, but it may be an interesting *comparandum* for further work.

[138] CIL IV 4966–4973.

[139] See Morelli 2000, 237–245 with further literature.

[140] Kruschwitz 2008, 251–253, photographs in Morelli 2000, 104–107.

[141] Ross 1969, 139–140; he also only attributed the first 4-line epigram to Tiburtinus, and the others, to an imitator.

[142] An oral comment reported in Morelli 2000, 341–342. End-titles in Herculaneum papyri are predominantly placed to the right of the last column of writing: Delattre 2006, 55–56.

The alignment and arrangement of the poems on the wall also speaks in favour of some sequentiality in the writing (if not necessarily in their composition). K. Milnor notes the usage of *paragraphoi*-style incisions into the plaster (which she calls 'hatch-marks') for separating poems 8–11 in her numbering (= CIL IV 4972–3). She notes that these marks are different from the spacing used to delineate poems in her groups 1 and 2.[143] There seems to be little reason for changing the way of separating the items from each other mid-process, so one might assume a break in composition between columns 2 and 3 of the set of poems. This also adds to the arguments against G. Lieberg's suggestion to read the poems as a continuous elegy.[144]

In 'Tiburtinus' poems', we can see an interest in collecting items that come into contact with one another, whether belonging to the same author or produced as a response to the existing writing on the wall. There is an interest in (and need for?) division of individual items. The addition of the signature has definitely not only led to more attention in scholarly literature, but also made the composition stand out from its surroundings. Whether it was Tiburtinus the author, Tiburtinus the author and collector, or Tiburtinus the collector who put the poems on the wall, he did it in such a way as to highlight his share in the creation for everyone else to see.

Another collection of texts that might be worth a comparison to graffiti are the inscriptions on the Memnon Colossus. The two colossi in Egyptian Thebes originally represented the pharaoh Amenhotep III but were reassociated with the figure of Memnon, hero of the Trojan war. The northern of the two statues became a place of pilgrimage because of the sound it is said to have produced at dawn. An earthquake had destroyed the upper part of the northern colossus and cracked the rest of the statue, which, as it seems, led to the creation of the phenomenon, which modern scholars connect with the morning sun heating up the stone. Many people travelled to hear Memnon, with the earliest testimony by Strabo in 20 BC, who, however, expresses some doubt about its divine origin.[145]

Since hearing the 'voice' of Memnon was a sign of divine favour, its documentation needed to connect it with the person who experienced it. Thus most, if not all of the Greek and Latin inscriptions from the Memnon colossus carry the name of the person who made them or ordered them to be made.[146] The metrical inscriptions are not an exception: poets who came to visit the statue either added their names at the beginning or the end of the poem or incorporated it within its text. They are also well aware of the publicistic aspect of their dedicatory writings. So, poem 55 consists of two lines: *meas quoque auris Memnonis vox accidit / nomen cieto quisque vatem Maximum.*[147] The writing on the stone guarantees that Maximus' name will be there for all other visitors of the site.

One of the most famous authors from the Memnon colossus is Iulia Balbilla.[148] She was a poetess and accompanied the emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina on the trip to Egypt in AD 130. Balbilla's four poems on the colossus tell about the encounters of the emperor, his wife, and Balbilla herself

[143] Milnor 2014, 146.
[144] Lieberg 2005. The idea has not found much approval.
[145] Strab. 17.1.46.
[146] Checked against Appendix I in Rosenmeyer 2018, 211–240.
[147] 'The voice of Memnon reached my ears as well. Let each call the name of the poet Maximus'.
[148] Recent edition: Cirio 2011.

with Memnon in different configurations.[149] Poems 28, 29 and 30 are inscribed by the same hand and occupy two 'columns' on the left ankle of the statue, whereas poem 31 is written across the top of the foot by a different stone-cutter. There is also a sign resembling a *diple* (>) between poems 28 and 29; no such sign is reported for separating 29 and 30.[150] Poems 28–30 all have prose lines above them, which some have called 'short prefaces', but which it is probably more apt to call 'titles'. The first one, 28, has the name of Balbilla in the genitive, as is customary for a declaration of authorship:

Ἰουλίας Βαλ(β)ίλλης·
ὅτε ἤκουσε τοῦ Μέμνο(νο)ς
ὁ Σεβαστὸς Ἀδριανός.

By Iulia Balbilla: When Caesar Hadrian heard Memnon

The two following titles also begin with ὅτε: 'When I was at Memnon with the august Sabina' and 'When on the first day we didn't hear Memnon'.[151]

Balbilla's texts, even though they are incised on a rather unexpected surface, are presented as a sequence of poems with the author's name and poem-titles. Poem 29 also presents the reader with the genealogy of Iulia Balbilla and her claim to the verses she composed (lines 11–18):

ἀλλ' ἔγω οὐ δοκίμωμι σέθεν τόδ' ὄλεσθ' ἂν ἄγαλμα,
ψύχαν δ' ἀθανάταν λοῖπον ἔσωσα νόῳ.[152]
εὐσέβεες γὰρ ἔμοι γένεται πάπποι τ' ἐγένοντο,
Βάλβιλλός τ' ὁ σόφος κ' Ἀντίοχος βασίλευς,
Βάλβιλλος γενέταις μᾶτρος βασιλήϊδος ἄμμας,
τῶ πάτερος δὲ πάτηρ Ἀντίοχος βασίλευς·
χήνων ἐκ γενέας κἄγω λόχον αἷμα τὸ κᾶλον,
Βαλβίλλας δ' ἔμεθεν γρόπτα τάδ' εὐσέβε[ος].

But I don't think that this statue of you could ever perish, and I sense in my heart a soul hereafter immortal. For my parents and my grandparents were pious, Balbillus the wise and Antiochus the king: Balbillus was the father of my mother the queen, and King Antiochus was my father's father. From their race, I, too, have obtained noble blood, and these are my writings, Balbilla the pious.[153]

[149] Poems 28–31 in Bernand and Bernand 1960.
[150] Rosenmeyer 2018, 145.
[151] ὅτε σὺν τῇ Σεβαστῇ Σαβείνη|ι ἐγενόμην παρὰ τῷ Μέμνονι (29.1–2); ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἀ|κούσαμεν τοῦ Μέμνονος (30.1–2).
[152] Balbilla's poems on the colossus also have the pentameters indented.
[153] Transl. P. Rosenmeyer (Rosenmeyer 2018, 147).

Iulia Balbilla underlines her genealogy and claim to immortal glory connected with the genealogy and glory of Memnon—not only will her lineage and her writing support her fame, but the physical existence of the colossus will carry them through time. Balbilla's alignment of herself with Sappho can support her claims to immortality; Sappho, in P. Rosenmeyer's words, was for Balbilla 'a model of success' that could support her quest for poetic glory.[154]

In a peculiar way, inscriptions, including poetry, that ancient 'tourists' made on the feet of the Memnon colossus, can be said to share some features with Pompeian graffiti. While the incision of some of them seems to have been planned, they had to share the space with other texts and adapt to a surface that was not originally prepared for bearing a text. The inscriptions also had a public quality: whoever arrived at the popular destination in the hope of hearing the sounds coming from the statue at dawn would see the writings covering its feet and ankles.

It seems that unlike more 'proper' inscriptions, or inscriptions bearing a literary text in a context where it usually would not appear, personally motivated texts in more flexible settings such as graffiti or the Memnon inscriptions are not in much need of justification. They can also fulfil similar functions to those of a book publication, with a spatial inversion: it is not the book that travels to reach its readers, but the readers who have to travel in order to read an inscription.

2.2.5 Diogenes of Oenoanda: a self-conscious stone publication

An outstanding example of publication on stone is the monumental inscription that adorned the city of Oenoanda (Lycia) in the 2nd century AD.[155] It was commissioned and partially authored by an otherwise unknown Diogenes, a wealthy Epicurean philosopher who lived in the city.[156] Within the city, it was most likely placed in a stoa on the so-called Esplanade, a 'flat area of polygonal shape in the northern part of the city, south-east of the theatre'.[157]

The writing preserved on the known fragments of the inscription belongs to seven separate texts. The placement, layout and textual features of the inscription leave no doubt that it was a complicated and well thought-through project.[158] Single texts constituting the inscription had titles, some of which are preserved.[159] Within the texts, care has been taken to imitate a bookroll through the use of *paragraphoi*, disposition in columns and lines following syllable-division and spacing.[160] The arrangement of the texts on the wall must have facilitated reading: columns of larger letters were placed higher up, and the 'font size' decreased towards the bottom of the inscription. It has also been suggested that the text did not go all the way down to the ground, since it would otherwise be impractical to read it.

[154] Rosenmeyer 2018, 167.

[155] The dating of the inscription has been the subject of discussions but the *opinio communis* is AD 120–160.

[156] Smith 1992, 35–48 on the date of the inscription and Diogenes' identity.

[157] Smith 1992, 54.

[158] Some reservations regarding single texts: Smith 1992, 97 n. 75.

[159] fr. 28: Διογένους [τοῦ Οἰνο]ανδέως [περὶ τῶν] παθῶν καὶ [πράξεων] *v.v.* ἐπιτομ[ή]; fr. 137 has three lines and begins with Διογένο[. More on titles in Hammerstaedt 2006, 2–6, who suggests a different understanding of fr. 28.

[160] Smith 1992, 83.

Thus, a collection of literary texts of various kinds (sententiae, letters, epitomes etc.) was consciously displayed by their author in a popular area of the city. Public access to it was facilitated by the choice of layout, letter-size and style of incision. One can say, in fact, that Diogenes of Oenoanda *published* his writings in this peculiar form. And indeed, Diogenes himself comments on his choice to produce the inscription in some of the preserved fragments.

The main programmatic passage is fragment 3. Fragments 2 and 3 must have introduced the reasons for compiling the text, as can be seen from the words καὶ τὴν δευτέραν οὖν ἀποδοὺς αἰ[τί]ᾳ̣ν τοῦ συνγράμματος, τὸ κατεσπουδ̣ασμένον ἡμῶν νῦν προστίθημι, ὁποῖόν ἐ̣σ̣τ̣ι̣ν καὶ τίν' ἔχει φύ[σιν ἐξηγούμενος in cols. 1–2.[161] Diogenes' statement in cols. 3–6 relates to his whole undertaking. I set it out in a way that reproduces the placement of words on the stone in four columns in order to give an approximation of a visual impression. In particular, this allows to showcase the placement of spaces (*vacats*), rendered below as a longer space.

[161] Diog. Oen. fr. 3.I.14–II.6. Here and further the text is quoted according to Smith 1992, unless noted otherwise.

col. 3

ων πληρώματος, ἠ-
θελήσαμεν, ἵνα μὴ
προλημφθῶμεν, βο-
ηθεῖν ἤδη τοῖς εὐ-
συνκρίτοις. εἰ μὲν
οὖν εἷς μόνον ἢ δύ' ἢ
τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἢ
πέντε ἢ ἓξ ἢ ὅσους,
ἄνθρωπε, βούλει τῶν
τοσούτων εἶναι πλείο-
νας, μὴ πάνυ δὲ πολ-
λούς, διέκειντο κα-
κῶς, κἂν καθ' ἕ[να— —]
καλούμενος [πάν]-

col. 4

τα παρ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔπρατ-
τον ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ συμβουλίαν
τὴν ἀ̣ρ̣ίστην. ἐπεὶ δέ,
ὡς προεῖπα, οἱ πλεῖστ̣ο̣ι
καθάπερ ἐν λοιμῷ̣
τ̣ῇ̣ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ψευδοδοξίᾳ̣ νοσοῦσι
κοινῶς, γείνονται δὲ
καὶ πλείονες (διὰ γὰρ
τὸν ἀλλήλων ζῆλον
ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου λαμ-
βάνει τὴν νόσον ὡς
[τ]ὰ̣ πρόβατα), δίκαι̣ο̣ν̣
[δ' ἐστὶ καὶ] τοῖς μ̣[εθ' ἡ]-

col. 5

μᾶς ἐσομένοις βοη-
θῆσαι (κἀκεῖνοι γάρ
εἰσιν ἡμέτεροι καὶ εἰ
μὴ γεγόνασί πω), πρὸς
δὲ δὴ φιλάνθρωπον
καὶ τοῖς παραγεινομέ-
νοις ἐπικουρεῖν ξέ-
νοις. ἐπειδὴ οὖν εἰς
πλείονας διαβέβη-
κε τὰ βοηθήματα
τοῦ συνγράμματος,
ἠθέλησα τ̣ῇ̣ στοᾷ̣ ταύ-
τ̣η̣ καταχρησάμενος
ἐ̣ν̣ κοινῷ̣ τὰ τῆς σωτη-

col. 6

ρίας προθεῖν̣[αι φάρμα]-
κα, ὧν δὴ φαρ̣μ̣[άκων]
πεῖραν ἡμε[ῖ]ς̣ π̣ [άντως]
εἰλήφαμεν. [τοὺς]
γὰρ ματαίως [κ]ατ[έχον]-
τας ἡμᾶς φόβους [ἀ]-
πελυσάμεθα, τῶν τε
λυπῶν τὰς μὲν κ̣ε̣ν̣ὰ̣ς̣
ἐξεκόψαμεν εἰς τέ-
λειον, τὰς δ̣ὲ φυσικὰς
εἰς μεικρὸν κομιδῇ
συνεστείλαμεν, ἐλα-
χιστιαῖον αὐτῶν τ̣[ὸ]
μέγεθος ποι̣ή̣σ̣α̣[ν|τες]

> *...[to celebrate the] fullness [of pleasure] and so to help now those who are well-constituted. Now, if only one person or two or three or four or five or six or any larger number you choose, sir, provided that it is not very large, were in a bad predicament, I should address them individually and do all in my power to give them the best advice. But, as I have said before, the majority of people suffer from a common disease, as in a plague, with their false notions about things, and their number is increasing (for in mutual emulation they catch the disease from one another, like sheep); moreover, [it is] right to help [also] generations to come (for they too belong to us, though they are still unborn) and, besides, love of humanity prompts us to aid also the foreigners who come here. Now, since the remedies of the* ***writing*** *reach a larger number of people, I wished to use this stoa to advertise publicly the [medicines] that bring salvation. These medicines we have put [fully] to the test; for we have dispelled the fears [that grip] us without justification, and, as for pains, those that are groundless we have completely excised, while those that are natural we have reduced to an absolute minimum, making their magnitude minute.*[162]

Diogenes' choice of an inscription is opposed to private instruction of individuals (as there are too many who would be in need of it) and underlines his wish to reach a broader public, including the foreigners who might visit the city. While the contrast between inscription and oral delivery is underlined, Diogenes does not, at first sight, compare his inscription with a book. It is worthwhile to focus on lines 8–14 in col. 5 and their translation. Smith translates it as 'since the remedies of the *inscription* reach a larger number of people'. Throughout the inscription, Diogenes does refer to his work both as γραφή and a σύγγραμμα. However, σύγγραμμα does not have to mean 'inscription'; it may simply refer to a literary work. The logic within Smith's translation is further compromised by the rendering of the perfect διαβέβηκε in ll. 9–10: if the remedies of the σύγγραμμα *have already reached* more people, how can it mean the inscription that the sentence comments on?

It is tempting to think that Diogenes does comment on the activity of literary publication, or some precursors to it, in this passage. He has already commented on individual instruction being only effective in smaller numbers, and now sets out the difficulty in front of him: helping the majority of people (οἱ πλεῖστοι) who suffer from a common disease (νοσοῦσι κοινῶς). Could it be that the help of a σύγγραμμα referred to the distribution of Diogenes' writings to students, or other interested parties – a method that is more efficient than oral instruction, but still only has a limited reach in terms of its audience? Then, setting up the writings in the stoa would naturally represent the next step, a monumental publication accessible to all who are in need of its 'remedies'.

Some indirect comparison with practices associated with book publishing might be drawn from a different introduction found within the inscription. The text that interests us is preserved on fr. 29 + NF 207 II:[163]

[162] Translation from Smith 1992, 368, adapted (see discussion).
[163] Text and translation after Hammerstaedt and Smith 2012.

[πολλοὶ γὰρ πλούτου καὶ δόξης] ἕ[νε]κεν τὸ φιλο[σο]φεῖν μεταδιώκου[σ]ιν, ὡς ἤτοι παρ' ἰδιωτῶν πορισύμενοι ταῦτα ἢ βασιλέων, οἷς μέγα τι καὶ τείμιον κτῆμα φιλοσοφία πεπίστευται. οὐχ ἵνα οὖν τι τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἡμεῖν γένηται, πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὡρμήσαμεν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως εὐδαιμονήσωμεν τὸ ἐπιζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως κτησάμενοι τέλος. τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τε μήτε πλοῦτος αὐτὸ δύναται παρασχεῖν, μήτε δόξα πολειτική, μήτε βασιλεία, μήθ' ἁβροδίαιτος βίος καὶ τραπεζῶν πολυτέλεια, μήτ' ἀφροδεισίων ἐγλελεγμένων ἡδοναί, μήτ' ἄλλο μηδέν, φιλοσοφία δὲ περιποιεῖ μόνη, ἣν ἡμεῖς μεταδιώκομεν, ὁ λόγος δείξει προβαίνων. καὶ τήνδε μέντοι τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν, ὦ πολεῖται, καταβεβλήμεθα, σωτήριον οὖσαν ὑμε[ῖ]ν, ὡς ἐν εἰσόδῳ τ[ο]ῦ παντὸς λόγου κατεπηγγελμεθα. καὶ οὐ τισὶ μὲν ὑμῶν δοκοῦμεν αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμην, τισὶ δ' οὐ χρησίμην, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν·

[There are many who] pursue philosophy for the sake of [wealth and fame], with the aim of procuring these either from private individuals or from kings, by whom philosophy is deemed to be some great and precious possession. Well, it is not in order to gain any of the above-mentioned objectives that we have embarked upon the same undertaking, but so that we may enjoy happiness through attainment of the goal craved by nature. The identity of this goal, and that neither wealth can furnish it, nor political fame, nor royal office, nor a life of luxury and sumptuous banquets, nor pleasures of choice love-affairs, nor anything else, while philosophy alone, the one which we pursue, secures it, the developing argument will demonstrate. Moreover, we have set down this inscription not for our own sake, but for your sake, citizens, as a means of salvation for you, as we announced at the opening of the whole discourse. And we do not consider that it (the inscription) will be useful to certain people and not useful to certain people, but (that it will be useful) to all.

It has been noted that Diogenes has to balance several aspects of his undertaking in this representation. He says that he does not take part in political life. On the other hand, he must have been both wealthy and influential in order to get permission to put up the inscription. Possibly, he had also built the stoa in which the inscription was displayed. In this way, and through the inscription, Diogenes represents himself as an *euergetes* of the city.[164] At the beginning of the preserved fragment, Diogenes also underlines that he is not interested in favours from kings and private individuals, again contrasting the possibility of giving private instruction – or compiling treatises on demand – and his wish to reach as big an audience as possible.

The members of this audience, in turn, should not just be passive receipients of the remedy from the ills. Let us inspect a part of Diogenes' admonition to the readers (fr. 30):

[164] On Diogenes' audience: Roskam 2015; Scholz 2003.

...ἓν] μόνον δ' ἀξιῶ, [ὡς καὶ ἔ]νανχος, ὑμᾶς μ̣[ὴ τῶν πα]ροδευόντων τ[ρόπον], μηδ' ἄν τι ἀκηδ[είας] καὶ ἄλυος [ᾖ, ἐφισ]τάναι τοῖς γεγρ[αμμέ]νοις, ποικίλως [ἐπ' αὐ]τῶν ἕκαστον ἐ̣[πιστρέ]φοντας καὶ πα[ριέν|τας πάντα ἀναγινώσκειν.

[One thing] only I ask of you, [as I did also] just now: do not, even if [you should be] somewhat indifferent and listless, be [like] passers-by [in your approach] to the writings, [consulting] each [of them] in a patchy fashion and [omitting to read everything]...

Diogenes conveys an expectation that the readers would take their share of responsibility in the education process. The criticism of the 'passer-by' approach again shows a reflection on the chosen medium of publication: unlike the regular way of interacting with an inscription, the readers should take care to grasp it as a whole.[165]

The setting, the selection and disposition of the text, the subject-matter and the content of the paratextual material make the Oenoanda inscription one of its kind. Diogenes knew what he was doing; he also made sure that everyone else did.

2.3 The bookroll among other modes of publication

Both various kinds of performance, in its broad sense, and various kinds of writing on immoveable surfaces accompanied the bookroll throughout the period that this thesis is studying. The interaction between these modes was largely shaped by the type of the text; more specifically, the context of its creation and the function that it had.

Papyrus can be used to transmit information: a letter; a decree; a personal horoscope; the antigraph of an inscription to be cut onto stone; the text of a speech to be read from; the script of a play to be performed. It can be also used to store or organise information: tax receipts; medical recipes; copies of inscriptions; lists of various kinds; lecture notes; a commentary on a text. In both these lists, the usage of papyrus as material support is auxiliary to the main activity, and not a goal in itself. Still, in both these lists the later items come very close to the faint line between the categories 'documentary' and 'literary'.

Does the use of papyrus as writing material for a literary text equal the creation of a book? If not, what does? One could argue that the turning point in the history of the book happens where the material support is no longer just auxiliary but exists as an essential part of the concept, where writing a *book* means envisaging the final product of your work in a very specific form. Dissemination of texts in this established form is, then, book publication. In the following, I will draw some conclusions from the previous two sections in order to situate book publication in its relationship to performance and inscription.

Performance and publication, broadly conceived, do not preclude one another and do not have a

[165] Readers are usually not being interested, and need to be lured by an address. Plutarch pictures reading of inscriptions and graffiti as a bad habit coming out of idle interest (*De cur.* 11).

stable order of appearance. There are certain limits to what can be performed, especially with regard to length.[166] If an author was a travelling poet, historian, or philosopher, one would expect them to only perform a part of the whole repertoire, possibly with some adaptations, but hardly the whole *oeuvre*. The details of the balance also depend strongly on the type of the text and the reasons for composing it. The performance, or, likely, multiple performances of Timotheos' *Persae* preceded the act of writing it down on P.Berol. inv. 9875, which, in turn, could become the basis of a collective edition of the poet's work (whether made by Timotheos himself or not). A speech given in court can be written down and distributed by other people, but can equally be published by its author, as can be seen from the examples of Cicero and Pliny.

Performance of texts that are written in order to be published is better rendered by the word 'recitation'. This kind of performance takes a different place in the literary world, primarily because it does not necessarily take precedence over book publication, but rather functions as its preliminary stage. These are the 'work-in-progress' recitations of Pliny, but also Isocrates, that I have considered. Already published writings can be presented to the public in the form of readings, as a means of advertisement or otherwise: various recitations in Rome, starting from the Late Republic and gaining in number and social prominence by the time of Pliny, are part of the literary landscape in which the bookroll exists and finds, or keeps finding, its niche.

The book, as a material object, adds to the longevity of the literary work, and the work becomes associated with its carrier. The text also loses some of the protection of and connection with its author; there is no way for the author to know or to react to their audience, no way to correct any wrong assumptions, if not in a following piece of writing. This clash of the written and the spoken word is easily visible in the philosophical discussions of 5th century Athens; it might resurface in other genres where oral transmission is important, such as a school context.

While performance and book publication are flexible literary instruments that can be deployed by authors as they see fit, inscribing a text seems to be a separate activity, restricted to certain text-types and certain inscription contexts. Publication of most texts on stone, whether of a personal, political or sacred character, is tightly connected with a specific time, place and occasion. The initiative is most often local, restricted either to a private individual or an institution such as a local political or religious authority. There is rarely a case for intended unlimited dissemination, at least not at the time when the text is first set up, and inscriptions are not usually moved on purpose.[167] Some of the inscriptions and graffiti I have surveyed in this chapter show an interest beyond the immediate audience at the location. While we do not know if Diogenes' expectation that foreigners will read his texts while on a visit to Oenoanda was fulfilled, the graffiti on the Memnon colossus enjoy a lasting 'inverted publication', having been read by visitors and tourists throughout the centuries and up until

[166] Diogenes of Sinope is said to have cried out 'γῆν ὁρῶ' upon seeing the empty space at the end of the roll during a lengthy reading (Diog. Laert. 6.2.38): μακρά τινος ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βιβλίου ἄγραφόν τι παραδείξαντος 'θαρρεῖτε,' ἔφη, 'ἄνδρες: γῆν ὁρῶ.'.

[167] Guarducci's approach, which sorts inscriptions into 'public, private, and sacred', according to the initiating body, and the number of literary texts in each category, is helpful in illustrating why authorial publication on stone is not very widespread (Guarducci 1967, 12–15).

the present day.

In view of this, setting up an inscription is similar to a performance, with the exception of the stone's (or the plaque's) longevity: in the same way as an inscription, an oral performance of a text has a time, a place, and an occasion. Re-performance of a text outside of its original context, as well as copying of an inscription to be moved to a different place, necessitates a reinterpretation and, consequently, change. Publication in book form, in turn, is free of some of these ramifications: the object itself is not connected to a specific context, and it can easily be copied, transported elsewhere or change possession without losing its internal qualities.

The relative freedom that publication in the form of a bookroll provided in comparison with a performance or an inscription also comes with a price. There is the increased potential for text corruption and the decreased possibility of direct interaction with the audience. There are some limits to the book's 'public' availability and its material at the same time is not particularly stable and has a variety of other usages (for example, as fish-wrappings).[168] The autonomy of the book leads to the need for extra information and help, and strategies to influence the reader, such as the addition of paratexts, some of which we have already seen in inscriptions. As we have seen, ancient authors were well aware of the various benefits and drawbacks of book publication compared to performance, inscription or graffiti.[169] Sometimes, like Diogenes of Oenoanda, they even commented on their editorial choices.

[168] One could, of course, and one did use stone slabs as building elements, but whether those who set them up cared much about this fate is unknown to me.

[169] Cf. Mart. 12.61, telling Ligurra that she should rather ask a poet to scribble verses about her in charcoal in public lavatories rather than to (pretend to) be afraid of Martial's epigrams – the latter obviously being more prestigious.

3 Readers and audiences

In this chapter, I will start exploring the communication system of ancient book publication at its receiving end: the readers. The process of reaching the audience is indispensable for a book to be published, but not all of its parts and actors receive equal coverage in Greek and Latin authors. My goal is to reconstruct the image of the reading public created by the authors and to compare it to the visibility of various means of distribution that we know existed in the ancient world.

In the first part of the chapter (section 3.1), I will analyse the portrayal of specific readers and general audiences in various types of Greek and Latin texts. The transpiring hierarchy of readers, from the unique dedicatee to the crowd, will be seen in the way authors refer to their real and potential audiences. After having established what the readers are and how they can be represented, I will give an overview of various ways in which a literary work can reach them in section 3.2, with a focus on their relative prominence when authors talk about publication. This will include the role of personal connections, private and public libraries, travelling booksellers and copyshops. A separate section (section 3.3) will be devoted to the analysis of papyrological evidence for copies of texts that were made close to, or possibly even during the lifetime of their authors.

3.1 Authors' attitude to their readers

How do we know who the intended audience of a text is? Authors are not obliged to tell it to us explicitly, and in some types of text this sort of statement is not allowed. In some performance-oriented types of text, the author may address the audience. So, in Greek comedy, Old and New, the tradition of addressing the audience gives the author greater creative licence: the spectators are involved in the action on stage; the actors can refer to them, ask them questions, flatter or even mock them (in general or individually).[170] In Roman comedy, the prologues of Plautus and Terence exploit different textual strategies of engagement with the audiences.[171] In lyric poetry, a first-person voice often naturally invites a second-person (silent) interlocutor, particularly prominent in the poems of praise and reproach. Starting with Hesiod and his address to Perses, the figure of an addressee is a stable part of the didactic genre as well.[172] The spectators or listeners either learn of something that has been created for them, being the 'target audience', or perceive a text as addressed to someone else and can position themselves in relationship to this addressee.

[170] Audience address in Menander: Scafuro 2013.
[171] Parker 1996.
[172] Cf. Clay 1993 and other papers in Mitsis, Alessandro, and Clay 1993.

The role of the reader for a text that is distributed in book form is as hard to underestimate as the role of the listener for a performed text, with an additional difficulty. During an individual performance, the text can be adapted to the audience (although it does not need to be). In a book, the same text (on the macro level) continues to be copied and circulated to all readers.[173] However, not all readers are equal: for the authors, even if they pretend to think the opposite, some will be more important than others. In regard to publication, it is necessary to establish the variety of relationships between Greek and Latin authors and their readers and the ways it can manifest itself. In order to do that, I will now turn to the place readers may take in literary texts.

3.1.1 Individual address

The address to an individual at the beginning of a work takes its roots in the tradition of the dedicatory epistle, a letter that would accompany the book sent to a friend or colleague. The earliest examples of such prefaces come from Archimedes' treatises, most of which have a dedicatory letter at the beginning.[174] A couple of them are addressed to Dositheus, an Alexandrian mathematician interested in Archimedes' work. It is also tempting to think that at least some of the earliest letters belonged with the text or, even if they were sent along separately, could subsequently have been appended to it by the recipient, which secured their place on the margin of the text.[175]

To send a letter is a personal, even if not always (or not in antiquity) a private action. A letter could accompany a gift or be itself considered one, so it seems only natural to let a letter accompany a new treatise or philosophical dialogue.[176] The direct connection between two people or its imitation has the benefit of simplicity. For instance, as long as the sending of the letter (and the text) only involved two people, it did not need to contain any 'advertising' for the text.[177] When it had become standard practice to write a dedicatory epistle with other readers in mind, authors used the format to advertise their work in the way they seemed most fit. For example, the letter-form supports philosophic treatises which do not need a defence or explanation of the doctrine.[178] A separate value of a letter-preface in a literary world lies in the dedication that establishes a relationship between the author and the dedicatee. Since an addressee is always present in a letter, dedication in an epistolary preface allows to include them in a natural way and underlines the social aspect of publication.

All dedications can be roughly sorted into two groups, based on the author's underlying motives. One comprises dedications to family and friends, generally speaking, people of the same social status,

[173] The various unlucky fates of the text are not of interest for us now: during the creative process, the author does not take into account lines falling out or half of a scroll being lost altogether.

[174] Janson 1964, 19–22.

[175] Paratexts, including epistolary prefaces, will be treated separately in chapter 5.

[176] Ps.-Demetr. *Elocut.* 224: ἡ δὲ <sc. ἐπιστολὴ – D.K.> γράφεται καὶ δῶρον πέμπεται τρόπον τινά, 'the letter is written and sent as a gift, in a way'. On comparisons of a dedication with a gift see already Graefenhain 1892, 5–10.

[177] 'The author had no need to be especially concerned about exciting interest in his work' (Janson 1964, 20–21).

[178] '…with the epistle, unlike the dialogue, questions from the addressee in response can only occur in the anticipation of the author. These conditions of epistolary communication explain why the epistle is especially useful as a form of philosophical writing if the goal is (only) to communicate a doctrine (but not to justify or problematize it)' (Hose 2016, 250).

the other encompasses dedications to patrons, rulers and other influential people.[179] The dedication of a book is in the first instance a present and an expression of friendly disposition towards the dedicatee. It is often the case in literary circles that writers dedicate books to one another as a sign of mutual respect and support: Parthenius addressed his Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα to Cornelius Gallus, saying that he thought this collection would suit him and indicating that he could use it for composing poetry;[180] Cicero writes about a dedication that inspired him to work: *an mihi potuit, inquam, esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri, quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit.*[181] The dedications from the other group, even if they sometimes look similar, have an additional value because the dedicatee is socially higher than the author. In Hellenistic literature, writing to the king was usual; Diogenes Laertius says about Chrysippus (3rd century BC) that he must have been arrogant, because he wrote much but did not address anything to any of the kings.[182] In Rome, *officium amicitiae* makes writing to the patron a part of the author's 'job', especially in the case of poetry.[183]

The focus on the patron's figure is particularly clear in Vitruvius. Reflecting on the most suitable time to publish *De architectura* (the work is called so in the first paragraph), he intertwines praise of the emperor with constant mentions of his work. Augustus is, indeed, in focus throughout the preface. The start of the building program and the appointment of Vitruvius as supervisor of war machinery are aligned with the need to write a treatise and the financial possibility of doing so, thanks to the emperor. The expressions of dedication are numerous: *non putavi praetermittendum, quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem* (1 praef. 2), *haec tibi scribere coepi* (3), *ut... per te posses nota habere* (3). Clearly, the emperor is presented not only as a 'formal' addressee but as the primary audience of the work that is written with his interests in mind.

To compare a less elevated treatment of the dedication *topos*, one can view Lucillius' comments on the need to please the ruling house (*AP* 9.572):

'Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν'
ἔγραφε ποιμαίνων, ὡς λόγος, Ἡσίοδος.
'μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά,' καὶ 'ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα'
εἶπεν Ὁμηρείῳ Καλλιόπη στόματι:
κἀμὲ δὲ δεῖ γράψαι τι προοίμιον. ἀλλά τί γράψω,
δεύτερον ἐκδιδόναι βιβλίον ἀρχόμενος;
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διός, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθην,
εἰ μή μοι Καῖσαρ χαλκὸν ἔδωκε Νέρων.

[179] A similar separation is used by Dam 2008. The two groups do not always have a clear divide, and are introduced here as one of possible ways of looking at dedications.
[180] Parth. *Amat. narr.* praef.
[181] Cic. *Brut.* 13.
[182] Diog. Laert. 7.7.7: δοκεῖ δ' ὑπερόπτης τις γεγονέναι. τοσαῦτα γοῦν συγγράψας οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων προσπεφώνηκεν.
[183] White 1978.

> *'Let us begin the song from the Heliconian Muses', wrote, as they say, Hesiod, when he was tending his flock. 'Sing, goddess, the wrath', and 'Tell me, Muse, of the man', said Calliope through Homer's mouth. So I, too, should write a proem of sorts. But what could I write, approaching the publication of a second book? Olympian Muses, daughters of Zeus, I wouldn't have been saved, if the emperor Nero hadn't given me some money.*

The joke is built on the references to the famous openings of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which the epigrammatist deploys ironically to make a statement of his work: Lucillius is in need of a poetic prologue akin to those produced by Homer and Hesiod. The final couplet begins in a solemn fashion and addresses the Muses. The unexpected comes in the final line: instead of praising a deity for saving his life, Lucillius calls Nero, who 'gave him money', his 'saviour'.[184] The element of surprise gains in force, as A. Sens has shown, when considered against the Hesiodic context it refers to (Hes. *Theog.* 22–34), where Muses abuse shepherds for only caring about finding sustenance.[185] In this epigram, lines 5–6 are particularly interesting from the publication perspective: Lucillius uses ἐκδιδόναι and refers to a 'second book'. He implies that there is an expectation to add a dedicatory preface to the work, and produces one, but with a twist.

As we have seen, the dedication shows a connection between the author and the decidatee. It can also bring favours in return for the 'gift' it represents. The mechanism that lends book dedication such power is twofold. First of all, it gives the dedicatee a position of authority over the book.[186] From the moment the dedicatee receives the book, they share a part of the responsibility for its future; the fact that the addressee now has the fate of the book in their hands is often underlined in the dedications.[187] They also have an interest in the book being both of high quality and well-read, because in return, the dedication will make both the dedicatee and the author famous.[188] This is partially due to the fact that dedications often found their way into the actual titles of the works as they were cited: a book could be quoted as 'By X, about N, addressed to Y'.[189]

The dedicatee is a figure emerging from both the social and the literary context of the text, who either belongs to the intellectual circle of the author or is an influential person whose goodwill is secured through a literary present. However, the prominence of this figure can only be achieved if there is another, less important, public it can stand in contrast to. A good example of this dependency

[184] On this epigram and generally on the difficulty of interpreting Lucillius' references to Nero, Nisbet 2003, 36–47; 113–118.

[185] Sens 2011, 179–183.

[186] However, it is too bold to claim that the author 'gives up his copyright', *pace* Dam 2008, 16.

[187] Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2 praef.: *haec qualiacumque sunt, Melior carissime, si tibi non displicuerint, a te publicum accipiant; si minus, ad me revertantur.* On the importance of patrons for 'professional poets' see White 1978, esp. pp. 85–86 on the distribution of works.

[188] Cf. Plutarch on the philosopher Blossius: ὁ δ' <Βλόσσιος – D.K.> αὐτόθεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Κυμαῖος, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γεγονὼς ἐν ἄστει συνήθης, καὶ τετιμημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσφωνήσεσι γραμμάτων φιλοσόφων. (Plut. *Vit. Ti. Gracch.* 8.6).

[189] Examples are numerous. The dedication of Varro's *De lingua Latina* to Cicero is preserved in one of the manuscripts. Galen, when naming his works in *Lib. Prop.* 19. 13K, says to whom each of them was dedicated. See also Schröder 1999, 22–25. A fragment on P.Mich. inv. 1316v reads 'ᾳὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνω[σιν ἐ]γ τῶι Πρὸς Καλλισθένην ' [γεγ]ραμμένων βιβλίων' (ll. 37–39).

are the famous verses from Vergil's *Eclogue* 6 (9–12):

> … si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
> captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
> te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebo gratior ulla est
> quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.

…yet if someone ever reads these verses, caught by love, then, Varus, our tamarisks will sing you, and the whole grove will, too. For there is no page dearer to Phoebus than the one that has the name of Varus affixed to it.

There are many questions brought up by these lines, and different interpretations were suggested with regard to the *pagina*.[190] However, one things is made very clear: the *other* readers are necessary for Varus' fame.

3.1.2 The general reader

The distance between the dedicatee and the general reader is substantial. The dedicatee is a specific individual who is known to the author (often personally) and occupies a particular role in the literary world. The general reader is one of the ultimate collective audience, and therefore unknown to the author. Ultimately, reception by the broader public is as much an object of the author's fear as praise or criticism from the specified few.[191] So, Statius is unsure about the chances of success that his *Silvae* have with a general audience: *quid quod haec serum erat continere, cum illa vos certe quorum honori data sunt haberetis? sed apud ceteros necesse est multum illis pereat ex venia, cum amiserint quam solam habuerunt gratiam celeritatis* (Stat. *Silv.* 1 praef.). The unspecified, collective readers are more than relevant.

The ways in which authors choose to refer to this readership in the text vary in form and, consequently, in the representation of the readers. The most remote of these ways is to use an indefinite pronoun: 'one might wonder'.[192] It does not call the unspecified reader into existence, only a chance that there will be one. A less detached way is to use the word 'readers': *lectores* or *legentes*, οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες in Greek. Both an indefinite τις-reader and collective *legentes* are the public that the author has in mind. The use of a plural makes them a group that shares some common qualities, which, in turn, could be used to justify authorial decisions. For example, in Vitr. 2.1.9 readers are in need of explanation: *nunc revertar ad propositum et de copiis, quae aptae sunt aedificiorum perfectionibus … ne obscura sed perspicua legentibus sint, ratiocinabor.*

[190] Donatus' commentary gives a list of double titles for the poems, with names of figures acting in the poem or referenced in it in the nominative; this poem is *sexta μεταμορφώσεις et dicitur Varus vel Silenus* (Donat. *Verg. ecl.* praef. 69). Schröder has shown that the name-parts of these titles are the oldest and might go back to the author himself (Schröder 1999, 226–35).

[191] More on authors' anxieties in chapter 4.

[192] Cf. *dixerit quispiam* introducing potential arguments (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.76; *Sen.* 8.1; *Off.* 3.29).

In the following, I will cast a glance on the position that a 'general reader' may occupy within a work. Similar both to an audience during a performance and to an individual addressee, readers as a group can be on the receiving side. However, they are more difficult to find in the genres that maintain their performative aspect. While a hymn may address the public at a festival, it is unable to incorporate the reader as well. Similarly, a court speech addresses its immediate audience in form but does not explicitly engage with the secondary audiences. The first case study, therefore, will be drawn from a genre more rooted in writing and from an author who is very conscious of his audiences: Polybius' *Histories*.

3.1.2.1 Referring to readers: Polybius' participles

Polybius repeatedly gives the historian a goal: to educate his readers. It is not useful to provide them with exaggerated accounts of extraordinary events or invented speeches of historical figures. Instead, correct facts, their sensible contextualisation, and focus on important things should lead the readers to understanding. The words Polybius is very fond of in this context are ὠφελεία / ὠφελεῖν / ὠφέλιμος, ἐπίστασις, ὑπομιμνήσκειν, εἰς ἔννοιαν ἀγαγεῖν. 'Bad' authors, on the other hand, try to impress (ἐκπλήττειν / ἔκπληξις), please (τέρπεσθαι) and evoke emotions (εἰς ἔλεον ἐκκαλεῖσθαι), and therefore write works that cannot achieve the educational goal of history.

When Polybius gives explanations or commentaries on the reasons he treats his material in the way he does, he often refers to the benefit that his choices will bring to his readers. Apart from a general τις, used in introductory phrases such as καὶ τί δήποτ᾽ ἔστι τὸ αἴτιον, ἀπορήσαι τις ἄν (1.62.1), there are three specific words for 'readers' that he most often uses: participles of ἀκούω, ἀναγιγνώσκω and ἐγτυγχάνω. At first glance at a couple of contexts, the three verbs seem to be used almost interchangeably, sometimes within the same paragraph. To look for trends or explanations behind the choice of verb, I have collected all the contexts where Polybius uses one of these verbs to say 'readers'. Their distribution across the preserved text is represented in fig. 3.1.

The majority of cases belong to the following groups: (1) structural items introducing or closing off a sub-topic; (2) methodological reflections on the writing of history; linked to it, (3) criticism of other authors and their methods of influencing their readers.[193] It would be interesting to look for trends or explanations behind the choice of verb: does Polybius make a difference between οἱ ἀκούοντες and οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες? Do οἱ ἐγτυγχάνοντες carry any specific connotation?

The close connection between 'readers' and 'listeners' is understandable, if one takes into account the popularity of reading aloud in antiquity. While ἀναγιγνώσκω is active reading, often aloud or in the presence of others (but not necessarily), ἀκούω usually describes passive perception. There are cases where the specific meaning of ἀναγιγνώσκω 'to read aloud' is crucial, such as in 10.47.7–9: there, in a hypothetical situation a boy is asked to read (λέγειν τὰ γεγραμμένα) and one who is reading aloud is then referred to with the participle (τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα). But in the cases that we

[193] These groups are not specifically Polybian, but common to historiography and longer works that reference readers in general. In Latin, compare e.g. Sisenna *hist.* fr. 127: *nos una aestate in Asia et Graecia gesta litteris idcirco continentia mandauimus ne … saltuatim scribendo lectorum animos impediremus.*

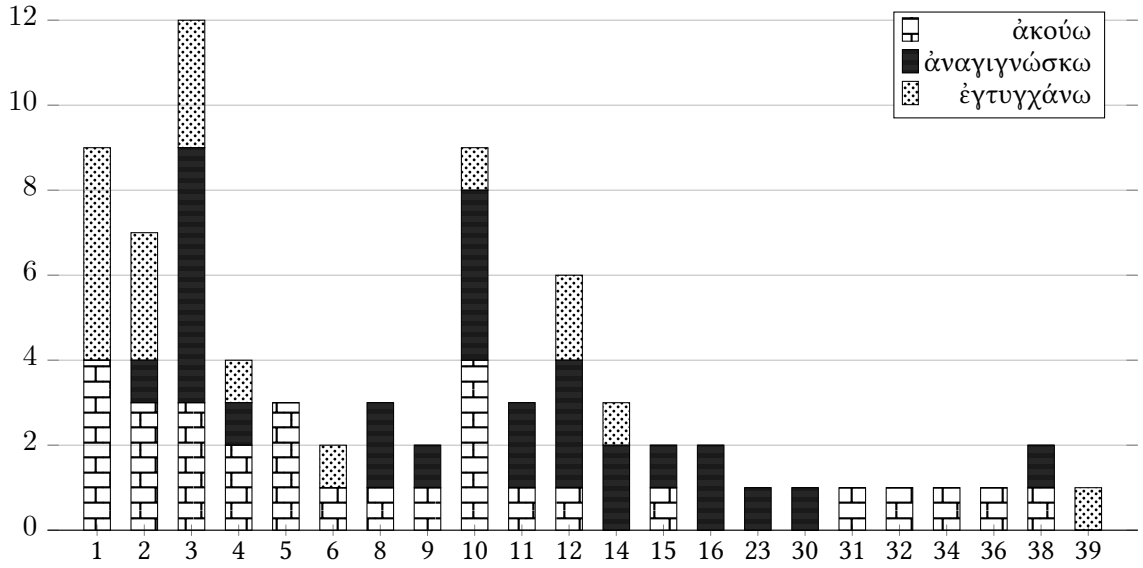


Figure 3.1: Instances of ἀκούω, ἀναγιγνώσκω, and ἐγτυγχάνω 'to read' in Polybius' *Histories*

are interested in, namely where Polybius talks about readers of literature, references to 'listening' and 'reading' seem to be used almost interchangeably. There is a particularly clear example of this in Polyb. 38.4.8:

> τὴν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων παράδοσιν ἀμιγῆ παντὸς ψεύδους ἀπολείπεσθαι χάριν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τέρπεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς διορθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διασφάλλεσθαι.
>
> *The transmission of the things past to future generations by means of writings should be pure from all fallacy—not for the sake of pleasing the ears of the readers in the present moment, but to improve their souls are improved, in order for them not to fail again and again in the same situation.*

M. R. Guelfucci also tries to establish the difference between Polybius' ἀκούοντες and ἀναγιγνώσκοντες.[194] She suggests that ἀκούειν generally requires less mental effort, but that Polybius expects the same level of commitment both from his 'readers' and his 'listeners', who are both on the receiving side of his historical method. For her, the difference between the two is in the proximity to the author: the ἀναγιγνώσκοντες are supposedly the readers of the published work, while the ἀκούοντες are a more immediate public.[195] However, the examples she gives do not give an impression of a clear-cut distinction, even if a certain tendency might be seen. The usage of ἀκούω is broader, as we expect it to be, and encompasses more situations, including that of passive listening to a text or even presence

[194] Guelfucci 1994, 245–52.
[195] Guelfucci 1994, 248–9.

at a performance of a part of it. Still, where a 'general reader' is in mind, Polybius does not seem to make a distinction between the two.

Interestingly, although the overall frequency of ἐντυγχάνω is not much lower than that of the other two verbs (23.4% against 36.4% for ἀναγιγνώσκω and 40% for ἀκούω), it is less evenly distributed throughout the text. The majority of cases (11 out of 18) are aggregated in Books 1–3, and after that the verb is used only sporadically. In Book 2, the first ἐντυγχάνω comes from the preface, and two other cases belong to the criticism of Phylarchus, who uses tragical effects to impress his readers (all three verbs are used, seemingly indiscriminately). Uses of ἐντυγχάνω can be found in the prefaces of Books 4, 6, and 14, and in 39.1.3 it is used when Polybius retells the contents of a preface by another author (Aulus Postumius): … τέλος δὲ καὶ ποίημα γράφειν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνεχείρησεν, ἐν ᾗ διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐὰν Ῥωμαῖος ὢν μὴ δύνηται κατακρατεῖν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας.

While the difference between the first two participles is not very clear, ἐντυγχάνω, 'to chance upon', does stand out. In this case, it seems that the semantics might have played a certain role. The beginning of the work is a place where the writer has to win the disposition of the readers, and he does not yet count on them being engaged with his work. Thus the high number in Book 1. The non-prefatory cases, as Guelfucci has shown, also refer to a quite general public in need of comments on Polybius' method; 'un public de lecteurs qui n'est pas le sien'.[196]

Two other marked words for the readers are οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες and οἱ προσέχοντες. These two are 'proper' readers, those wishing to learn and pay attention. They are sometimes contrasted to 'plain' readers, as in the following examples:

(1) **9.2.6, arguments for only talking about political history**: οὐχ οὕτως τῆς τέρψεως στοχαζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων ὡς τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν προσεχόντων.[197]

(2) **11.19a.2, the need to include causes of the events**: τὰ γὰρ τέλη τῶν πράξεων ψυγαγωγεῖ μόνον τοὺς ἀκούοντας, αἱ δὲ πρόσθεν διαλήψεις τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἐξεταζόμεναι δεόντως ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας.[198]

(3) **2.56.11, the difference between tragedy and history**: ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ διὰ τῶν πιθανωτάτων λόγων ἐκπλῆξαι καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἐνθάδε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων εἰς τὸν πάντα χρόνον διδάξαι καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡγεῖται τὸ πιθανόν, κἂν ᾖ ψεῦδος, διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην τῶν θεωμένων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις τἀληθὲς διὰ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν φιλομαθούντων.[199]

[196] Guelfucci 1994, 246.

[197] 'I am not so much aiming at the pleasure of those who will read it as at the benefit of those who are being attentive'.

[198] 'For the results of actions only allure the listeners, while the earlier opinions of the responsible people examined properly, bring help to those willing to learn.'

[199] 'For there, it is needed to amaze and allure the listeners at the moment, and there, to teach and persuade those willing to learn for the rest of the time through truthful deeds and words, after that since in the one case the plausible is the main thing, even if it is false, in order to deceive those watching, and here, the truth, in order to benefit those who are willing to learn.'

While it might be difficult to classify every single instance into one category or another, it becomes clear that for Polybius, not all readers are equal. In the parts belonging to the exposition, and particularly in the first two books, he has in mind the audience that almost chances upon his work (ἐντυγχάνοντες). Further on, Polybius explains and justifies his method, thus creating an image not only of a 'proper' writer, the one who cares about the usefulness of his work, but also of an ideal reader, who is not seeking distraction and pleasure, but is willing to pay attention (συνεφιστάναι) and learn (μαθεῖν). The possible readers of his work are the simple, generic audience on the one hand and the chosen, targeted one, on the other. The 'proper' reader is special and partakes as much in the process of instruction as Polybius does.

3.1.2.2 Addressing the audience: plural and singular

As we have seen above with Polybius, the readers of treatises can be referred to by the author in order to explain specific choices or make a general remark. Vitruvius goes further and weaves the readers into a sentence addressed to the emperor: *peto, Caesar, et a te et ab is, qui ea volumina sunt lecturi, ut, si quid parum ad regulam artis grammaticae fuerit explicatum, ignoscatur* (1.1.18). This is a particularly interesting case, since, as I have shown earlier, the preface is full of references to the emperor. The readers are suddenly found on the same level as the highest possible authority, even if in passing.

Close to the same expression (*qui … sunt lecturi*), with an added note of modesty, is Catullus' poem 14b, which survives as a three-line fragment:

> siqui forte mearum ineptiarum
> lectores eritis manusque vestras
> non horrebitis admovere nobis
>
> *If some of you will be the readers of my fooleries and will not be afraid to move your hands towards us …*

It is one of the few cases where the readers are addressed, by the poet himself but also, seemingly, by the verses, which the readers could pick up. This beginning indicates a certain fear about the readers: will there be any? The tension between the first and the second person is underlined by the pronouns (*mearum … vestras … nobis*), where in the last case the poet positions himself as his text, as if it were Catullus himself who waits for the readers to approach him. As the poem breaks off, it is impossible to know how serious Catullus was in pursuing or inverting the *topos* in 14b. Yet it is important to note that for a literary text, the readership is by no means secured. Authors make assumptions about those who will come to their book and treat them according to a chosen scenario.[200]

[200] So, Columella in the epilogue to the whole work indirectly addresses the readers and doubts whether there are going to be any: *clausulam peracti operis mei, Publi Siluine, non alienum puto indicem lecturis, si modo fuerint, qui dignentur ista cognoscere, nihil dubitasse me paene infinita esse, quae potuerint huic inseri materiae* (Colum. *Rust.* 12. ep.)

While an address to the readers in the vocative (*lectores*) is very rare, the target audience of a book can be referenced or addressed more directly and specifically. So, in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* the *iuvenes* and the *puellae* are addressed, and the same become recipients of the *Remedia amoris* 71–72: *Naso legendus erat tum, cum didicistis amare; / idem nunc vobis Naso legendus erit.* Instead of conveying his advice to one particular person, Ovid encompasses the whole of Roman youth: everyone is reading the *Ars amatoria.* Propertius begins his Book 2 with a question to the audience, presumably surprised by the appearance of a new work: *quaeritis, unde mihi totiens scribantur amores.* The answer to this 'question from the public' goes on for 16 lines and is followed by an address to Maecenas.[201] Unlike Catullus, neither Ovid nor Propertius expresses any real doubt that readers wait for their books to come out.

The closest and most interesting contact between the author and the reader can be found in the instances where the unspecified reader is addressed directly. Unlike in inscriptions, where an address to the passer-by is an established part of the genre, the 'Dear reader…' address is quite uncommon in texts circulating in book form.[202] It seems not to exist in Greek. In Latin prefaces, the singular reader is addressed in Phaedrus' *Fabulae* (2 praef.) and at the end of Apul. *Met.* 1.1: *fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. lector intende: laetaberis.* Aulus Gellius talks about readers in his preface as well, but we do not have the addressee.[203] Further investigation into the use of the word *lector* in Latin will show that it is restricted to a few quite exceptional cases in single authors.

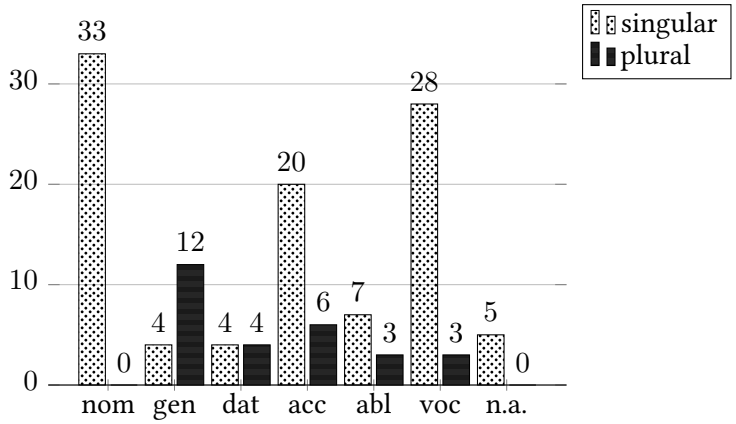


Figure 3.2: Distribution of the lemma *lector* by case in PHI Latin texts

As can be seen on fig. 3.2, out of 129 instances of the lemma *lector* in the PHI database, there is a significant prevalence of the vocative: 31 cases, or 24%. This number of vocatives of *lector* is higher even than the combined number of accusative forms attested (20.1%), and only slightly lower than that of the nominative forms (25.6%), while nominative and accusative are the most commonly used

[201] See Citroni 1995, 397–399.

[202] See Hutchinson 2019.

[203] Gell. praef. 20: *mutuabor ex Aristophanae choro anapaesta pauca et quam ille homo festiuissimus fabulae suae spectandae legem dedit, eandem ego commentariis his legendis dabo, ut ea ne attingat neue adeat profestum et profanum uolgus a ludo musico diuersum.*

cases in Latin.[204] If we look closer into the vocatives, we will find that out of those 31 cases, the most occurrences per author come from Martial (13) and Ovid (8). This speaks for a conscious literary choice, worth exploring further.

3.1.2.3 Ovid's *lector* of the *Tristia*

Ovid's practices of construction and manipulation of his readers are well-known and come to the fore in particular in the books of *Tristia*. The collection begins with a famous address to the book which is allowed to see Rome, and is portrayed as the mirror image of the exiled poet himself. After the exposition (1–16), the book receives instructions on how to answer the public's questions (*siquis … forte requirit*, 18): to say that Ovid is alive but not that he is well (*vivere me dices, salvum tamen esse negabis*, 19), and to refrain from further comment (Ov. *Trist.* 1.1.21–24):

> atque ita tu tacitus, quaerent si plura legentes,
> ne, quae non opus est, forte loquare, cave!
> protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector,
> et peragar populi publicus ore reus.
>
> *And so silently beware of saying something there is no need of, if the readers keep asking!*
> *In no time will the reader reiterate accusations against me, and I will be talked about in the public's mouth as a criminal.*

The appearance of anonymous readers in the first poem goes along well with Ovid's decision to avoid calling any of his friends in Rome by their names.[205] The reasons and effects of this device have received much treatment in the literature.[206] One of the consequences, the manipulation of the reading audience, is commented on by E. Oliensis in her analysis of the lack of name of the faithful friend in *Trist.* 1.5: 'the aside thus effectively splits Ovid's putative audience into (at least) two', namely, 'the particular and knowledgeable addressee' and 'a general audience of ignorant outsiders (including Augustus)', with the addition of the third reader, anyone who could see themselves reflected in the description of a good friend.[207]

The figure of *lector* appears regularly in the programmatic poems of Book 1. In 1.1, as we have just seen, it is the general reader who can be dangerous for the poet's name. In 1.7, Ovid first addresses a friend who would keep an image of him and wear a ring with his portrait. After that, he turns to briefly describe the fate of the 'unfinished' *Metamorphoses*, which Ovid claims to have put in the fire himself upon leaving Rome, but which he now wishes to be read (*nunc precor ut vivant et non*

[204] Pinkster 2015, 1179–1180, fig. 12.1: nominative amounts to 32% of cases and accusative, to 21.6%.

[205] An explicit commentary on it is *Trist.* 3.4.63–68, and the departure from the device is named as a new feature in *Pont.* 1.1.17-20.

[206] Williams 1994; Nagle 1980, 77–82; Barchiesi 1993.

[207] Oliensis 1997, 173–174.

ignava legentum / otia delectent admoneantque mei, 25–26). However, there is a difficulty which must be remedied (27–40):

nec tamen illa legi poterunt patienter ab ullo,
nesciet his summam siquis abesse manum.
ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud,
defuit et coeptis ultima lima meis.
et veniam pro laude peto, laudatus abunde,
non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.
hos quoque sex versus, in prima fronte libelli
si praeponendos esse putabis, habe:
"orba parente suo quicumque volumina tangis,
his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus.
quoque magis faveas, non haec sunt edita ab ipso,
sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit,
emendaturus, si licuisset, erat."

Yet no one would be able to read them patiently without knowing that they never received the final touch. This work was taken away from the middle of the anvils, and the last polishing file wasn't applied to what I had begun. I ask for pardon instead of praise, since I'll be praised more than enough if I am not despised by you, reader. Also accept these six verses, in case you think that they should be added to the beginning of the bookroll: 'You, whoever touches the bookrolls bereft of their parent—let there be place in your city at least for them. And so that you are better inclined towards them, these are not published by himself, but are as though snatched from the funeral pyre of their master. Thus if the coarse song in them contains any kind of fault, he would have corrected it, if only he had been allowed to do so.'

By this point in the poem, the more specific benevolent friend from its beginning almost certainly gives way to a general reader, on whose reaction Ovid's fate depends. This *lector* is led onto the details of the status of the *Metamorphoses*, and they are in charge of making the necessary changes and preparing the book for further copying, namely, adding a suitable preface explaining the author's circumstances, which, again, addresses a general reader (*quicumque … tangis*). Within 1.7, Ovid expands the subset of 'faithful friends' who could have fulfilled the traditional function of a dedicatee to include any reader at all and give this reader a personal editorial authority (*si praeponendos esse putabis, habe*). One cannot but think at this point about one specific reader whose opinion Ovid wanted to influence: Augustus.[208]

[208] Barchiesi 1994, 34–36.

In 1.11, the last poem in Book 1, there is no specification of the addressee: the first lines address anyone who has just read poems 1–10 (*littera quaecumque est toto tibi lecta libello, / est mihi sollicitae tempore facta viae*). In lines 35–36, after describing the circumstances of writing poetry on his way to Tomis, Ovid apologises for the quality of his poetry: *quo magis his debes ignoscere, candide lector, / si spe sunt, ut sunt, inferiora tua.* It is the unspecified *lector* who becomes the addressee of the whole book. And indeed, both Books 3 and 4 begin with an address to *lector*; in 3.1 the book asks to give it a hand, and in 4.1 Ovid asks again to excuse the bad quality of his poetry.[209]

The combination of anonymous addresses to friends and direct addresses to the general reader in *Tristia* creates a situation in which each and every one of the readers becomes an individual and comes into contact with the author in this capacity. The readers define the fate of the work, and they are asked to make the choice to be benevolent. This is underlined in particular in the last poem of Tristia 4. At the beginning of *Tristia* 4.10, Ovid addresses future generations (*ille ego qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum, / quem legis, ut noris, accipe posteritas*, 4.10.1–2). The end of the poem is a statement on Ovid's fate and fame (4.10.115–132):

ergo quod vivo durisque laboribus obsto,
nec me sollicitae taedia lucis habent,
gratia, Musa, tibi: nam tu solacia praebes,
tu curae requies, tu medicina venis.
tu dux et comes es, tu nos abducis ab Histro,
in medioque mihi das Helicone locum;
tu mihi, quod rarum est, vivo sublime dedisti
nomen, ab exequiis quod dare fama solet.
nec, qui detrectat praesentia, Livor iniquo
ullum de nostris dente momordit opus.
nam tulerint magnos cum saecula nostra poetas,
non fuit ingenio fama maligna meo,
cumque ego praeponam multos mihi, non minor illis
dicor et in toto plurimus orbe legor.
si quid habent igitur vatum praesagia veri,
protinus ut moriar, non ero, terra, tuus.
sive favore tuli, sive hanc ego carmine famam,
iure tibi grates, candide lector, ago.

[209] Ov. *Trist.* 3.1.2: *da placidam fesso, lector amice, manum*; 4.1.1–2: *siqua meis inerunt, ut erunt, vitiosa libellis, excusata suo tempore, lector, habe.*

The fact that I am alive and withstand hard toils, and that the tiresomeness of the anxious day does not take hold of me, for this, Muse, you should be thanked: for you give relief, you come as a pause from and as a remedy against sorrow. You are the leader and the companion, you bring me away from the Danube, and give me a place in the middle of Mount Helicon. You gave me, while I was still alive—which rarely happens!—a lofty name, which usually fame gives when one is dead. And Envy did not bite any of my works with its unfair tooth, Envy who destroys things now existing. For although our age brought forth great poets, fame was not ill-wishing to my talent, and while I am putting many higher than myself, I am called no less than they are and am the most read in the whole city. So if the sayings of the prophets have some truth to them, even if I die right now, I won't belong to you, earth. Whether I earned this fame through good will or through poetry, rightfully I am thanking you, fair reader.

Here, the reader is positioned almost higher than the Muse: while composing poetry supports Ovid in enduring his current circumstances, it is being read that ensures a lasting fame.

The *lector* in Ovid presents an instance of direct contact between the author and each specific reader, not shadowed by grammatical categories nor mediated by roundabout references. The reader addressed at the beginning of a poem takes the position of the dedicatee, who usually has a particular power over the work. In addition, this strategy simultaneously allows Ovid to be true to his statement about not naming any names and to turn all of Rome into his dedicatee.

Ovid's address to a single *lector* was taken up and developed by Martial. He also refers to the whole of Rome as his readers (*toto legor in orbe*, 5.13.3), and turns to each of them individually in the *lector*-epigrams. Martial's *lector* inherits the praise epithets such as *candidus* or *delicatus* and enters into a complex relationship with both Martial as author and his books. Epigram 1.1 picks up the motifs from the end of *Trist.* 4.10, addressing the reader as the source of Martial's contemporary fame:

hic est quem legis ille, quem requiris,
toto notus in orbe Martialis
argutis epigrammaton libellis.
cui, lector studiose, quod dedisti
viventi decus atque sentienti,
rari post cineres habent poetae.

Here is he whom you read, whom you seek out, Martial, known in the whole world for his witty epigram-books. The glory you have given to him, eager reader, while he was alive and able to understand it, few poets have even after death.

Martial's use of the general reader is more multifaceted than Ovid's, while it owes much to the anony-

mous *lector* of the *Tristia*.[210] His *lector* comprises many kinds of readers who engage in various activities with and within the books of epigrams. The reader can be an eager fan, as the *studiosus lector* from 1.1, but his eagerness sometimes turns out to be impractical for the poet: in 11.108, the reader keeps asking for poems while Martial tells him that he should pay if he wants to read more, bringing money into the author-reader relationship.[211] The *lector* can be a critic (e.g. in 2.8), a prude (11.16), too lazy to read much (10.1)—in short, Martial's reader is indeed general, since this figure encompasses all kinds of readers in the world created by the poet in his work.[212]

3.1.3 Reading hierarchies

Authors cannot really influence their audiences, but they can influence the reception of the work by commenting on them, praising the 'right' readers and criticising or ridiculing the 'wrong' ones (critics or ignoramuses). The idea of choosing one's readers can be exaggerated to the extent that a part of the public is explicitly excluded. In this section, I will bring forward some more specific examples of this last phenomenon and connect it with the wider topic of audience manipulation.

First, I suggest turning to a quotation from Lucilius on choosing his readers which seems to be well-known to the later writers. In *De or.* 2.25, Crassus recalls it when talking about the difference between a knowledgeable and a lay audience:

> nam, quod addidisti tertium, vos esse eos, qui vitam insuavem sine his studiis putaretis, id me non modo non hortatur ad disputandum, sed etiam deterret. nam ut C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea, quae scriberet neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse; de quo etiam scripsit "Persium non curo legere,"—hic fuit enim, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus—"Laelium Decumum volo," quem cognovimus virum bonum et non inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium; sic ego, si iam mihi disputandum sit de his nostris studiis, nolim equidem apud rusticos, sed multo minus apud vos; malo enim non intellegi orationem meam quam reprehendi.

[210] There is not enough space to include a similar analysis of Martial's general reader; Larash 2004 is a PhD thesis devoted to Martial's *lector*, with ch. 2 (21–91) on the relevance of Ovidian intertext.

[211] 'Not only is there no mechanism by which a reader, qua reader, could support a poet, but the only way that a poet could lay the reader under obligation would be by complimenting him by name. But Martial makes the unorthodox demand that if the reader wants more, he must pay for it' (Fitzgerald 2008, 165). See also Nauta 2002, 118–120 on this epigram as part of the closural series 10.106–108.

[212] Fitzgerald 2008, 165: 'different categories of readers and readings form shifting configurations in a virtual space which is one important dimension of the world of Martial's books'.

> *For the fact which you adduced as the third reason, namely that you are the people who would find life dull without these studies, not only does not incite me to discussion, but rather deters. For it is like when Lucilius, a learned and sophisticated man, used to say that he did not want his writings to be read either by most uneducated or by most educated people, because the ones wouldn't understand anything, and the others would possibly understand more than he himself. On this he also wrote 'I don't care if Persius reads it,'—and he was, as we know, perhaps the most learned of all our men—'I want Laelius Decumus' (whom we know as a good man and not uneducated, but nothing compared to Persius). So too I, if it were necessary for me to discuss these studies of mine, would surely not want to do it among provincials, but even less, among you: for I prefer for my speech to not be understood rather than to be criticised.*

The context of the Lucilian quotation that emerges from its use in Cicero seems to be the following: (1) Lucilius claimed that his books are only apt for a specific audience; (2) the phrasing was aphoristic and involved both highly educated readers and laymen; (3) it contained a reference to the famous orator Persius and Laelius Decumus, one of high erudition, the other of a lower level. A variant of the same quote in Cicero is preserved by Pliny the Elder, using different names: *nec doctissimis. Manium Persium haec legere nolo, Iunium Congium volo.*[213] Either there has been a mistake or Cicero has changed the names in the quotation to make a pun using the names of his contemporaries. It is also worth noting that Pliny's quote comes from the preface to the work, after a tongue-in-cheek suggestion that the emperor should not bother reading the work, since it is written *humili vulgo.*

Finally, in Cic. *Fin.* 1.3.7 there is a commentary on the same matter: *nec vero ut noster Lucilius recusabo quominus omnes mea legant. utinam esset ille Persius! Scipio vero et Rutilius multo etiam magis; quorum ille iudicium reformidans Tarentinis ait se et Consentinis et Siculis scribere.*[214] Cicero continues to say that Lucilius was afraid of the opinion of some, but that in his times, there were not yet critics apt enough. He, on the other hand, is not afraid of any reader, since his addressee is already the utmost authority (and his criticism is something to be more afraid of): *ego autem quem timeam lectorem, cum ad te, ne Graecis quidem cedentem in philosophia, audeam scribere?.*[215]

Lucilius' denial of the right to read his *Satires* was probably perceived as a bold move, and it lent itself for referencing and further development in later authors. It is also not surprising that it was satire that produced such a statement on the desired and undesired readership. The genre is full of audience engagement, and Horace provides us with a handful of descriptions of who he does and does not want to approach his books. The *Satires* were one of the first works that Horace produced and crucial for his establishment as a poet. Poems 1.4 and 1.10 are the most expressive regarding Horace's views on literature. Apart from the literary discussions of the genre, Horace sets himself apart from the other (obviously, worse) poets. He says that he does not want his poems to be too widely read,

[213] Plin. *NH* praef. 7.

[214] 'Nor will I, indeed, object to everyone reading my works, like our Lucilius. If only that Persius were alive! And even more so, Scipio and Rutilius, in fear of whose criticism he says that he writes for the people of Tarentum, Consentia and Sicily.'

[215] Cic. *Fin.* 1.3.8.

advertised in bookshops or put on stage (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.71–2):

> nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
> quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli,
> nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis idque coactus,
> non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. in medio qui
> scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes:
> suave locus voci resonat conclusus. inanis
> hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentis, num sine sensu,
> tempore num faciant alieno.

Let no bookshop or post have my little books, in which the hand of the crowd and Hermogenes Tigellius could sweat; and I do not recite to random people but friends, and even to them, if asked, not in any place and not in front of whoever you wish. There are many who recite their writings in the middle of a forum, and many who do so in baths: the closed space sweetly returns the voice. This is pleasant to those who are vain, not asking themselves, aren't they doing it insensibly or at an odd moment.

The 'sweaty' hand of the crowd from *Sat.* 1.4.72 is similar to the fate that Horace prophesies to his book in *Epist.* 1.20; both can be compared to Callimachus' epigram in which the poet says he hates a popular poem, a road taken by many, a fountain that everyone drinks from, and a promiscuous lover.[216] In Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.36–39, a similar statement occurs: Horace does not want his verses to return to the theatres again and again.

Longing for fame originating in theatrical performances seems to have to be below a poet's aspirations, but it depends a lot on the circumstances. A similar expression, but inverted, is found in Ovid (*Trist.* 5.7b.25–30):

> carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro,
> versibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis:
> nil equidem feci—tu scis hoc ipse—theatris,
> Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est;
> non tamen ingratum est, quodcumque oblivia nostri
> impedit et profugi nomen in ora refert.

[216] Call. *Epigr.* 28 (Pfeiffer).

> *You write, my friend, that my poems are put on stage in full theatres, and that people applaud my verses. I haven't written anything for the theatres, though, as you know yourself, and my Muse is not greedy for applause. But whatever prevents the fading of the memory of me and lets the name of the exile be uttered, is very pleasant.*

The same can be applied to bookshops: it is a quality of good poetry in *Ars Poetica* if a book that mixed 'the necessary and the sweet' brings profit to Sosii, finds readers across the sea and gives its author renown.[217] Once again, authors manipulate various groups within their audiences according to the interest at hand: at one time, it is clever to refuse the 'hand of the crowd', at the other, it is needed again.

Readers of all sorts play a significant role for Greek and Latin literature. Their figures are not always apparent for us, but they were clearly on the minds of the authors composing their works. Although the dedicatee's exclusive position is highlighted in contrast to everyone else, the general public is not homogenous either. Within the more general audience, different groups of readers come together and sometimes compete. In the examples above, we have considered the strategies of creating a hierarchy within the readership, ranging from a juxtaposition of the dedicatee and the rest to more intricate groupings of possible readers. The approaches to a general reader include different strategies, from casual expressions of modesty ('those who chance upon my work') to active refusal of a part of potential readership ('these are not the people for whom I write'). Separately, the case of an anonymous but single-standing *lector* attracts attention by combining the personalised features of a dedication with the more efficient approach of addressing the general reader.

[217] *AP* 343–346.

3.2 Distribution: reaching the reader

The transition of the book from the author to a reader, or readers, is one of the challenging parts of discussing the process of literary publication. One can encounter a book in many places: listen to it at a recitation, other public performance, or at the author's house; see it at a friend's, in a library, or at a bookseller's. Some of these scenarios make it possible to acquire a copy or have one made to order and read it at leisure later. In the following, I will look at some of the means and stages of book distribution, with a focus on their importance as seen by the authors.

3.2.1 The dedicatee

The dedicatee, if there is one, is supposed to be the first person to receive a new book. This is easy to achieve if we think about sending a book-roll to a friend in another city. More interesting things begin to happen when the author and the dedicatee belong to the same community, not only intellectually but also physically. In this case, the chances that someone else gets access to a book before its hour comes are higher. Cicero writes to Atticus (Cic. *Att.* 13.21a):

> dic mihi, placetne tibi primum edere iniussu meo? hoc ne Hermodorus quidem faciebat, is qui Platonis libros solitus est divulgare, ex quo 'λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος'. quid illud? rectumne existima<s> cuiquam <ante quam> Bruto, cui te auctore προσφωνῶ?
>
> *Tell me, do you like it, letting books out without my order? Even Hermodorus didn't do that, he who used to distribute Plato's books, whence the saying 'Hermodorus <trades> in books.' What was that? Or do you find it right to <give it> to someone before Brutus, to whom I dedicate it, following your advice?*

An important point of interpretation is that this letter belongs to a chain of letters where Cicero discusses his re-edition of the *Academica*. In 13.19 (dated 29 June 45) he hesitates whether to address the second edition to Varro; a few days later, in 13.21a, the mishap with Balbus getting a copy of a work written for Brutus serves as a background to something that is more pressing on Cicero's mind:

> sed haec hactenus, ne videar περὶ μικρὰ σπουδάζειν. etsi nunc quidem maxima mihi sunt haec; quid est enim aliud? Varroni quidem quae scripsi te auctore ita propero mittere ut iam Romam miserim describenda. ea si voles, statim habebis. scripsi enim ad librarios ut fieret tuis, si tu velles, describendi potestas. ea vero continebis quoad ipse te videam; quod diligentissime facere soles cum a me tibi dictum est.

> *But enough of that, lest I seem to make a fuss about petty things. Still, these things are exactly what is most important for me now – for what else is there? The books I wrote to Varro, following your advice, I am in such haste to send off that I have already sent them to Rome to be copied. If you want to, you'll get them at once. For I wrote to the copyists with the aim that there will be a possibility to copy for your people, if you wish. Those do indeed hold back until I see you myself, which you usually do with much zeal when I tell you so.*

After the part about *Academica*, Cicero returns to discussing how *De finibus* could have been copied, and in the end excuses Atticus' negligence, saying that he himself should have given more explicit instructions. Wrapped in the story of indignation that Cicero experiences when he learns about the 'leak', the instruction to keep an eye on the book destined for Varro is reinforced. The role of Atticus is similar in both cases: he suggested the dedicatee to Cicero (*te auctore*), he knows about the progress of the work, and he usually has his own copy, although not the same one as the 'presentation copy': as we have seen, it was permitted to him to produce one for his own use. Some of the copies of Cicero's books that are in Atticus' house, then, are final versions, made from the same material that serves as the archetype for the one that will be presented to the dedicatee.[218] They do not need to be kept secret, as it seems, but protected from further distribution (*ea vero continebis*) until the moment comes.

Approaching a dedicatee in a high position is an additional source of anxiety for the authors. An example of that is Horace's sending a book to Augustus and giving instructions to a certain Vinnius in *Epist.* 1.13:[219]

> ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
> Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
> si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
> ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
> sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.

> *As I instructed you, Vinnius, repeatedly and extensively, as you were leaving, it is to Augustus that you have to give the sealed rolls, if he is well, if he is happy, and finally, if he asks for them: lest you make a mistake out of trying to help my case and bring hatred upon the books as an assiduous attendant to your duties.*

The fear which Horace describes relates to the specific moment in which Vinnius would give the books to Augustus. A similar idea of 'a right time' occurs in *Sat.* 2.1.18–19: *nisi dextro tempore Flacci / verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem.* Similarly, Vitruvius builds the reflections on the most suitable

[218] 'Master copies' will be treated in more detail in section 6.2.

[219] Vinnius' identity is unclear; see a suggestion in Nisbet 1959, 75–6. The majority of scholars think that the poem refers to the collective edition of *Odes* 1–3; *contra*, Hutchinson 2002.

time to publish *De architectura* into the preface of the work, intertwining them with the praise of the emperor, as we have already seen above.[220] In the very first paragraph Vitruvius says that he first did not dare to publish a book on architecture, fearing that this might be not the right moment to do so (*non audebam, tantis occupationibus, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata edere*, 1 praef. 1).

The dispatch and arrival of the first copy to the dedicatee is an important moment, and one that some writers care very much about. The house of the dedicatee is the first 'station' on the book's way to readers, and the circumstances under which the book arrives and the impression it makes may secure or jeopardise its future.

3.2.2 Private book collections

So, the book has reached an addressee. What happens next? It is reasonable to expect that if a freshly produced book is a gift to a friend or patron, it would land in their house. Where exactly? To what extent is it important for other potential readers?

Storage solutions for ancient books were not restricted to one concept. Some of the ancient Near-Eastern libraries discovered have sets of niches carved into stone, others have shelves.[221] Although these niches served for storing clay tablets, they could provide a parallel to the storage of book-rolls. Egyptian evidence suggests storage of papyri in chests or jars; an image of the 'Place of Documents of Pharaoh' has chests lined up against the walls.[222] Without suggesting an immediate connection, it is intuitively understandable that use of similar writing materials led to the development of a similar infrastructure for working with them. The available evidence for Greek and Roman practices tells of books stored horizontally in chests or wooden cupboards with shelves, vertically in ceramic jars and round containers. Containers or chests could be simply placed on the floor of a room, or, in a similar way to other storage rooms, bookrolls could be kept on the shelves mounted on the walls. A late Roman relief from Neumagen (fig. 3.3) depicts a setup including shelves and rolls on them.[223] A cupboard with shelves opening on both sides was found in the room at the Villa dei Papiri that housed most of the recovered scrolls.

3.2.2.1 Organisation of the early private libraries

When we think about Greek and Roman libraries, it is necessary to highlight some terminological and conceptual difficulties. Most derivatives of the Greek βίβλος (βύβλος) can embrace a number of semantic categories related to writing supports made out of papyrus. Greek βιβλιοθήκη is used for documentary archives in Greco-Roman Egypt, along with γραματοφυλάκιον (which can equally be used for a 'literary' library).[224] Both Greek βιβλιοθήκη and Latin *bibliotheca* can mean the space

[220] Section 3.1.1.
[221] Ryholt and Barjamovic 2019, 44–50.
[222] Hagen 2019, 302 with fig. 7.11.
[223] On the finding and depiction of the relief, see Marganne 2017.
[224] See a helpful overview of Greek words and their semantics in Coqueugniot 2013.

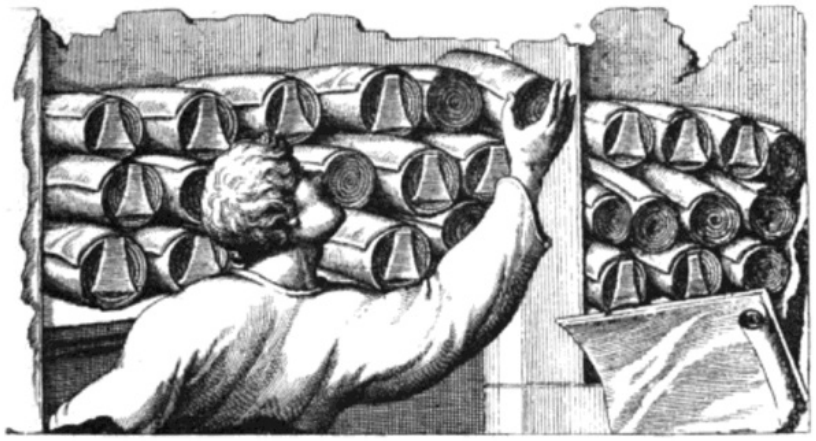


Figure 3.3: Neumagen relief with shelves and papyrus rolls (Birt 1907, fig. 159)

where books are located (a book-chest or a physical space) and the collection of books as movable property.[225]

Already Roman comedy contains references to books, as part of education (Plaut. *Bacch.* 431-433) and as personal belongings that can count as dowry (Plaut. *Pers.* 390–392). Texts are in possession, but I could not find evidence of books being sold and bought. Starting from the first half of the 2nd century BC, there are references to the study of grammar, which started, according to the legend, with Crates of Mallus, who broke his leg while on a diplomatic mission and stayed in Rome (Suet. *de gramm.* 2).[226] With the growing interest in books, private collections and libraries came into being. Such was the library of Lucullus that Cicero refers to in *Fin.* 3.2.7–8; Sulla is told to have brought the library of Apellicon to Rome after his death, which occurred around 84 BC (Strab. 13.1.54):

> πολὺ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη προσελάβετο· εὐθὺς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος τελευτὴν Σύλλας ἦρε τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος βιβλιοθήκην ὁ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἑλών, δεῦρο δὲ κομισθεῖσαν Τυραννίων τε ὁ γραμματικὸς διεχειρίσατο φιλαριστοτέλης ὤν, θεραπεύσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης, καὶ βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

[225] The homonymy does not seem to have bothered the speakers of Greek and Latin in the same way that it does not bother modern English speakers. In Russian, 'библиотека' can refer to a building, a book-collection or a set of furniture designed to hold books.

[226] Zetzel 2018, 20–24 on the degree of plausibility and representation in this account.

> *Rome has also contributed a lot to this [i.e. the faulty transmission of the works of Aristotle]. For right after the death of Apellicon Sulla, who had taken Athens, seized his library, and when it was brought here, the grammarian Tyrannio, who was fond of Aristotle, laid his hand on it by paying court to the librarian, as well as some booksellers, who used bad scribes and did not compare the texts – something that happens also to other books written for sale, both here and in Alexandria.*

The passage is interesting not only as a historical reference to the book trade, but also because it features a number of different Greek nouns connected with it, each having its own function. A grammarian could be in charge of looking after books—indeed, Cicero also used Tyrannio's help to arrange his library.[227] This is a more prestigious status than a bookseller (βιβλιοπώλης), whose function is only to trade in books. Both a grammarian and a bookseller would use the help of scribes (γραφεύς, βιβλιόγραφος), who are set lower on this virtual hierarchy.[228]

The setup of a library included not only preparing a room, installing shelves and adding decoration, but also the labelling and, where necessary, restoration of the book rolls. In order to make a library, one needed the skills of both a modern room designer and a bookbinder. The labels did not necessarily come with the book-rolls and were made separately (possibly to have a similar style), and could be another reason for boasting. An interesting parallel might be found in Egyptian practices: while the regular material for labelling was wood, the labels for a book container of Amenhotep III were made of blue faience.[229] Book acquisition was a whole different enterprise.[230] We know of works dedicated to the skills of acquiring books, and Varro, who was in charge of Caesar's plan of a public library, wrote, among others, a treatise called *De bibliothecis*.

From Cicero's letters, we can get an idea of what the arrangement of a library would entail. The organisation of the library in Antium was done by Tyrannio, and Cicero, eager to finish it, asked Atticus to send extra people to help. In *Att.* 4.4a.1 he says that the arrangement is done, and the only thing left is to make the title-tags and take care of some volumes:

> perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. offendes dissignationem Tyrannionis mirificam librorum meorum quorum reliquiae multo meliores sunt quam putaram. et velim mihi mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, ad cetera administris, iisque imperes ut sumant membranulam ex qua indices fiant, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, σιττύβας appellatis.

[227] *Att.* 4.4a.1; 4.8.2.

[228] Books copied by renowned grammarians themselves were particularly valuable for later scholars; in Gellius, an effort is undertaken to get a version of Ennius' text *quem fere constabat Lampadionis manu emendatum* to check whether he wrote *ecus* or *eques* (Gell. 18.5.11).

[229] Hagen 2019, 258.

[230] Cic. *QF.* 3.4.5 (only a professional can be charged with the task of acquiring books of decent quality): *de bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici, praesertim cum ad meum quoque usum spectent. sed ego mihi ipsi ista per quem agam non habeo. neque enim venalia sunt, quae quidem placeant, et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt. Chrysippo tamen imperabo et cum Tyrannione loquar.*

> *It would be very nice of you if you came to visit us. You will be struck by Tyrannio's marvellous disposition in the collection of my books, the remainders of which are much better than I thought. And I'd like you to send me two or so of your copyists, who Tyrannio could use as restorers and helpers in other things, and that you order them to take the bit of parchment to make tags out of it, which you Greeks, I think, call 'sittybi'.*

Cicero's full attention is devoted to the books themselves, which needed to be repaired and provided with leather tags, and the *pegmata*. The latter were constructions for holding books, either book cases as pieces of furniture or shelves mounted onto the walls.[231] I tend to see them as in-built.[232] In *Att.* 4.5.4 Cicero says *bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sittybis*.[233] Transmitted *constructione* is controversial; suggested conjectures included *cum structione* (Birt) or *con<fecta librorum con>strictione* (Dorandi).[234] It might not be necessary: *structio* and the usage of a derivate of πήγνυμι could refer to the same thing. In terms of the interpretation of *pegmata*, mounting bookshelves might fit the description better than simply providing furniture. The Greek πῆγμα, meaning a frame of a ship or a kind of scaffold used in theatre (cf. Strab. 6.2.6), also rather supports, in my opinion, the idea of a carpenter's work.

Whereas literary references to private libraries are relatively common, the difficulty of identifying rooms that could house them at archaeological sites has long been pointed out. Libraries do not seem to be very different from other rooms in their layout, apart from possibly having niches and/or wooden structures to hold books. Of the one library that can undoubtedly be identified as such, the library of the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum, the layout does not tell much apart from it being possibly located near the courtyard. From what remains, the most salient signs of a room that could be a library are wall paintings indicating literary activities, niches, remains of shelving or decoration-free space where a book case could have stood. Apart from the library at the Villa dei Papiri, there are several candidates in Pompeii, the least doubtful being the *Casa del Menandro*, *Casa del Poeta Tragico* and the house VI 17, 41, in which W. Strocka identified Room 18 as a library.[235]

3.2.2.2 Functions and further development

The importance of private libraries as places of learning and sources of access to books is attested in Rome since the Late Republic. Personal libraries figure in accounts about spending time in literary or scholarly occupations. Plutarch reports that Lucullus opened his library to the Greeks coming to Rome, and praises him for that.[236] To what extent the reading itself was, or could be conducted in a private library room, has been discussed *ad infinitum*. As in many such cases, a certain restraint is in order. Reading could be done in a private library; even though most of the rooms identified

[231] Discussion in Dorandi 1983, 26 n. 11.
[232] With Houston 2014, 183 n. 12.
[233] On the exact form of the Greek word, Dorandi 1984, Caroli 2005.
[234] Dorandi 1992.
[235] Strocka 1993.
[236] Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 42.

as such are fairly small, they must have had enough light for someone to be able to read there. For some time, this was considered almost impossible. Refuting this opinion, Hendrickson underlines the evidence for reading happening in private libraries: these are four passages from Cicero (*Fin.* 3.7; *Div.* 2.8; *Top.* 1.1; *Fam.* 7.28) and the famous one from Vitruvius (7.4.1), on the light-related positioning of the *bibliotheca*.[237]

By the looks of it, the claim stands: Romans could and did read in their private libraries, and even entertained guests there. The other question, reasonably treated by S. A. Frampton in a recent article, is how standard this practice was.[238] She reassesses the weight of the main Ciceronian passage that is used to illustrate the practices of reading in the library itself, *Fin.* 3.7. Frampton's analysis shows the exceptionality of a private library as the location of a philosophic dialogue; she also underlines that being inside a library is a fairly rare occasion in Cicero. In the other two passages, in *Div.* 2.8 the company sits down after a walk to continue the discussion, while *Top.* 1.1 recounts a visit to study some books by Aristotle. Frampton construes the latter, as well as the encounter with Cato in *De finibus*, as a sign of a more intimate relationship. It is worth noting that in the passage where Cicero talks about himself working in his library, he 'hides away' there (*abdo me in bibliothecam*, *Fam.* 7.28.2): in contrast with the *atrium* or *tablinum*, bigger rooms which served primarily to receive visitors and clients, the *bibliotheca* is a smaller, more private space. Possibly, Cicero's favourite reading place in Atticus' house (*sedecula quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis*) was also in a *bibliotheca*.[239]

It is worth considering Vitruvius' comments on the positioning of the *bibliothecae* and assessing the function that they assumed.[240] Vitruvius' famous opinion states that a *bibliotheca* should face the east (1.2.7, 6.4.1). In both passages, it is coupled with the *cubiculum*, a bed-chamber, and 6.4.1 says explicitly *usus enim matutinum postulat lumen.* The morning regimen of many authors that we have (such as Pliny's depiction of his uncle's day in *Epist.* 3.5) includes working alone, for which a library-room not far from the *cubiculum* would be suitable. While rooms of this kind, according to Vitruvius, are in need of morning sun, others, such as picture-galleries or workshops of textile workers and painters, are supposed to have a stable source of light throughout.[241] If one were supposed to be able to read or work in the *bibliotheca* throughout the day, especially given the Romans' common struggles with eye inflammation (*lippitudo*), we could expect it to be reflected in the manual. Instead, Vitruvius reserves it for the early hours and adds a comment on the usefulness of such a location

[237] Hendrickson 2014, 384–385.

[238] Frampton 2016.

[239] Cic. *Att.* 4.10.

[240] Of course, we should not expect real-life architectural decisions to match Vitruvius' expectations of the alignment of library rooms. The libraries that have been identified so far do not, and it is unlikely to be a relevant criterion for identifying new ones.

[241] *pinacothecis et quibus certis luminibus opus est partibus, a septentrione, quod ea caeli regio neque exclaratur neque obscuratur solis cursu sed est certa inmutabilis die perpetuo* 1.2.7: 'for the picture-galleries and the parts which are in need of stable light, <to get it from> the north, since this part of the sky is neither lightened up nor darkened by the course of the sun, and is instead stable and unchanged throughout the day'. In 6.4.1 on what should face north: *… non minus pinacothecae et plumariorum textrina pictorumque officinae, uti colores eorum in opere propter constantiam luminis inmutata permaneant qualitate*: 'not least the picture-galleries and the weaving-rooms of the embroiderers and the workshops of the painters <should face north>, so that the colours in their work stay of unchanged quality due to the stability of light'.

against putrefaction, which again points at the importance of the storage function.[242]

To sum up, one can say the following about the early private library rooms. The room itself was not particularly big but allowed for work there if needed. It seems to have been located close to a peristyle, which would allow both sufficient circulation of air and a possibility to take books outside for reading. The room could have niches built for the bookcases or have them standing freely. Its walls could be decorated with literary motifs such as portraits of writers.[243] The busts of writers decorated the peristyle but smaller ones could also be placed in the *bibliotheca* itself.[244]

Work that necessitated usage of books could be done both in the library room itself and elsewhere. A selection of books could be taken out of the storage room and used in other parts of the house, such as in the peristyle.[245] However, I do not think that the narrow definition of the *bibliotheca* needs to be enlarged to encompass nearby parts of the building, as suggested by Frampton.[246] Later, Pliny describes a room that has been furnished *like* a library: *annectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curvatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros sed lectitandos capit* (*Epist.* 2.17).[247] Unlike the storage-room described by Vitruvius, it gets sunlight throughout the day and is not in itself a library but a *cubiculum* fitted with a book cabinet; in *Epist.* 4.6 Pliny says that he works there a lot. This shows 'library' as a type which can develop and change, but is restricted to a specific room.

The same library room that does not figure as prominently as a place for social reading in Cicero gradually develops into a more public space within the house, and is thus subject to the vices of those who only view it as a way to display wealth. We know that buying books became a sign of luxury by the 1st century AD at the latest.[248] Seneca the Younger gives a vivid description of the purchasing of books and book collections in *Tranq.* 9. The whole passage is an attack on vanity and extravagance. Ignorant book-collectors purchase books and whole libraries but could not possibly use them in their whole life—in fact, they would not have enough time even to read their titles only (*quo innumerabiles libros et bybliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita indices perlegit*). The Alexandrian library is shown as a display of wealth, not a pursuit of learning, similarly to Seneca's contemporary practices (*non fuit elegantia illud aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria, immo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium sed in spectaculum comparaverant, sicut plerisque ignaris etiam puerilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt*).

The outward appearance is important, with bookcases made of expensive citrus wood and ivory (*armaria e citro atque ebore*), and the *frontes* and *tituli* of the books being on display. At the same

[242] See more on the needs of a library, in particular of air and light, in Coqueugniot 2013, 46–47.

[243] See more on various ornaments in Houston 2014, 207–214.

[244] The only example found in the library room itself at the Villa dei Papiri is a small bust of Epicurus (Dix and Houston 2006, 679 n. 60). In Juv. 3.219, help to a rich person whose house burnt includes books, bookshelves, and a bust of Minerva to go with them: *hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam.*

[245] Frampton 2016, 126, 132–133.

[246] Frampton 2016, 140–141.

[247] 'Next to this angle, there is a chamber with a curved wall, which follows the course of the sun with all its windows. A bookcase is built into its wall, like a library, which holds the books not only to be read but to be read again and again'.

[248] An outline of the status of the book trade in the Late Republic and the principate: Holleran 2012, 246–248.

time, the 'nests' (*loculamenta*) that are built up to the ceiling remind of the construction of *pegmata* we have seen earlier in Cicero: both luxurious book cases and walls full of bookshelves show the extravagance of the owner. A purchase of a statue or a bust of an author to go with its works seems to be a popular 'bundle' (*cum imaginibus suis discripta sacrorum opera ingeniorum*), and the whole activity is denounced as a 'cultivation of the walls' (*cultus parietum*).[249]

The library, Seneca says, has become as necessary a decoration of the house as the baths (*inter balnearia et thermas bybliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur*). It is difficult to show off one's literary taste if books are restricted to the library or the library is too small to spend time in: in the passage above books are seen as a decoration at a dinner (*cenationum ornamenta*), so they are not only held in the *bibliotheca* itself. Whether used 'properly' or not, books seem to spill out of their storage rooms and take up a prominent place both in the decoration and the usage of the house.

3.2.2.3 Relevance for literary publication: a reader in a library

What weight would a library have for an author contemplating the future of their work? We know from multiple sources that the usage of private and public book collections is important for writing; however, the texts required are usually older works which are hard to find, not recent productions. The knowledge of new works would rather spread through readers themselves and discussions held at their houses. In Cicero's world, one rarely just stumbles upon a new book at a friend's library: they hear or read about it, learn about it through a letter, or participate in a reading or discussion while visiting. This changes, as will be shown, with the development of private libraries and them providing space for literary entertainment.

An interesting feature of a library lies in the place that texts occupy there.[250] The order is not just a sign of everything being in its place. As seen from Cicero's remarks on Tyrannio's work, arranging a collection is not a trivial task. The disposition of the books is a conceptual question; by setting up a personal library, one creates one's canon of authors and works. For an author, then, being added to a library means a place among other texts, which, in turn, is very relevant for the immediate reception of their work. This addition does not necessarily have to be taken literally. Famously, Horace in *Carm.* 1.1.33–36 wants to be placed among Greek lyric poets: *quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres*: there is no Roman canon for him to join, so he is aspiring to be among the Greeks. Some of the interpretations of this passage are probably too literal: so, Dix and Houston, along with many others, understand take this image as a sign that a personal library could have a mixed collection of Greek and Latin

[249] '–Those books. How much? – Hmmm? – Those books. The leather-bound ones. – Yes, Dickens, the *Collected Works* of Charles Dickens. – Are they real leather? – They're real Dickens. – I have to know if they're real leather because they have to go with the sofa.' ('Cooking The Books' [2000], *Black Books*, season 01, episode 01. Directed by Graham Linehan and Nick Wood, written by Dylan Moran and Graham Linehan).

[250] When Ovid talks about the library in his own house in *Trist.* 1.1.105–108, he imagines the new book to join its 'brothers', set in order: *cum tamen in nostrum fueris penetrale receptus, / contigerisque tuam, scrinia curua, domum, / aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres, / quos studium cunctos euigilauit idem.*

texts, organised by genre.[251] However, M. Leigh's article furthers a more fruitful, it seems, line of enquiry.[252] He aligns *inserere* with Greek ἐμπλέκω instead of ἐγκρίνω, which is widely accepted and used for passing judgement on writers. In his interpretation, the weaving of a garland 'implies the same critical judgement as does the reconfiguration of the established canon'.[253] Still, the recipient of poetry decides on its placement in the range of existing authors.

With the gradual development of the library as a recognised sign of luxury and high cultural aspirations, the positioning of a book there becomes more than just a sign of acceptance by a friend or patron. An example of a relationship between the sending of books to one's house and the fame of both sides is the epigram Mart. 7.17, commenting on giving seven volumes of epigrams to his friend, Iulius Martialis:

ruris bibliotheca delicati,
vicinam videt unde lector urbem,
inter carmina sanctiora si quis
lascivae fuerit locus Thaliae,
hos nido licet inseras vel imo
septem quos tibi misimus libellos
auctoris calamo sui notatos:
haec illis pretium facit litura.
at tu munere †delicata† parvo,
quae cantaberis orbe nota toto,
pignus pectoris hoc mei tuere,
Iuli bibliotheca Martialis.

If there is going be some place for a playful Thalia among the more serious poems in the library of the tender countryside, from which a reader sees the neighbouring city, please put there—even if only in the lowest niche—these seven books that I've sent you, with notes made by the pen of their author: this correction adds value to them. And you, †praised?† by a small gift, you, who will be sung and known everywhere, protect this pledge of my heart, you, the library of Iulius Martialis.

Martial's library has an explicit reader, the generalised *lector*. It is a private library located in a suburban villa. This library is not a separate place to which books would be taken: the room that has shelves also provides a stunning view of the city of Rome to enjoy. Readers could contemplate the city from within the library—it must have been situated on a hill.[254] There follow praise of the rest of the

[251] Dix and Houston 2006, 707 n. 256. *Contra*, Hutchinson 2013.
[252] Leigh 2010.
[253] Leigh 2010, 271.
[254] Cf. 4.64, likely the same villa, as Martial also comments on the view.

book collection (*carmina sanctiora*) and a standard belittlement formula that implies that the lower 'nest' (*nidus*), one that would have less valuable books, would be enough for Martial. The middle part concentrates on epigram books that he sends to his friend Iulius Martialis as a present, having corrected them himself (*auctoris calamo sui notatos*). The correction makes the exemplar in question more valuable than others, as it has been proofread by the author.[255] The last four lines comprise praise of the library, which is going to be known everywhere because of the epigram itself. In the beginning of the poem, the reader does not know what library it is talking about; in the end, Martial rounds up the description by bringing Iulius Martialis into the spotlight.

The preface to book 9 of Martial's epigrams is curious: it is a letter addressed to Toranius, in which Martial explains why he has placed in the book an *extra ordinem paginarum* epigram addressed to Avitus (Mart. 9 praef.):

> have, mi Torani, frater carissime. epigramma, quod extra ordinem paginarum est, ad Stertinium clarissimum virum scripsimus, qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua voluit. de quo scribendum tibi putavi, ne ignorares, Avitus iste quis vocaretur. vale et para hospitium.
>
> note, licet nolis, sublimi pectore vates,
> cui referet serus praemia digna cinis,
> hoc tibi sub nostra breve carmen imagine vivat,
> quam non obscuris iungis, Avite, viris:
> 'ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus,
> quem non miraris, sed puto, lector, amas.
> maiores maiora sonent: mihi parva locuto
> sufficit in vestras saepe redire manus.'
>
> *Greetings, my Toranius, my dear brother. The epigram that is outside the range of the pages I wrote for Stertinius, a noble man, who wanted to put my bust in his library. I thought I should write to you about this, so that you do not ask yourself, who is this man called Avitus. Farewell and prepare to have guests.*
>
> *«O poet with a lofty soul, well-known, even though you do not want it, to whom a late grave will bring the deserved reward! Let this brief poem live under the bust of mine at your place, a bust that you place together with most distinguished men: 'I am the one who is second to nobody in the praise of trifles, the one whom you, reader, do not wonder at—I think—but love. Let bigger poets sing greater topics! For me, who has talked about little things, it is enough to often come back into your hands.'»*

The reason for the epigram is that Avitus wanted to place a bust of Martial in his library. Even though

[255] Cf. Mart. 7.11, a reader wants Martial to correct his books. Pliny is asked to review a number of his books that somebody else has collected: *Epist.* 4.26. Corrections will be treated in detail in section 4.4; copies close to their authors, in section 6.2.1.

the practice of adorning libraries with statues seems to have become by then common, the idea of setting a bust of a person still alive is somewhat surprising—and obviously underlines how famous Martial is.[256] The epigram itself consists of two parts. The first quatrain functions as a letter addressed to Avitus, and explains the circumstances for reading the second part—he is going to put Martial's book under the bust, in the company of other famous authors (*non obscuris iungis … viris*). The *persona loquens* in the second part is the poet, and the quatrain could also be placed on the stone right under the bust, so that the poet would address the reader, *lector*, whom we imagine to have just drawn Martial's bookroll from the shelf. The poet begins with self-praise and finishes on a humble note, assimilating himself with his book—ultimately, all it wants is to be read again and again.

The added epigram does not make the whole book addressed to Avitus. Rather it was added to the book later, when an occasion for a dedication occurred. For Avitus, it is a dedicatory epigram praising his literary taste and his library adorned with busts of poets. For readers, it shows that Avitus' library as well has a copy of the book they now have in their hands.

In these two passages, private libraries of friends and patrons are places where the author envisages his books arriving. The quality of the surrounding selection of literature is linked to their owners' tastes, and the act of gift-giving from Martial's side is answered by the praise and advertisement his books (and his *persona*) will get among other excellent volumes. Moreover, praising a library in verse, Martial returns the favour, making it known to the whole world (*orbe nota toto*, 7.17.10), since Martial's books are read everywhere (*toto notus in orbe* from 1.1.2).

3.2.3 Scaling up: public libraries in Rome

While private libraries of wealthy individuals continued amassing books, the first public libraries were opened in Rome. The history of their development has been described in detail multiple times, and much has been inferred that does not always hold ground; in the following, I rely heavily on the reassessment of the previous scholarship on the topic by T. K. Dix and G. W. Houston.[257]

A general sketch of the beginnings of the public library in Rome includes the following: the task of organising a public library assigned to Varro; the realisation of the idea by Asinius Pollio in *Atrium Libertatis*; the rather quick addition of the Palatine library and Octavia's library in the *porticus Octaviae* under Augustus. Then, the fast-growing number of library buildings under emperors further on: libraries in the *Templum Divi Augusti* and *Domus Tiberiana* under Tiberius, along with the first mention of an overseer of all libraries, Tiberius Iulius Pappus;[258] the library of the *Templum Pacis* under Vespasian (dedicated in 75 AD); finally (within the timeframe of the present study), the library on the *Forum Traiani*.[259]

The problems of identification apply to public libraries to a similar extent to those relevant for the

[256] Cf. Plin. *NH* 7.115: *M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est.*

[257] Dix and Houston 2006.

[258] See also Houston 2008.

[259] Sources on Roman public libraries helpfully listed in Nicholls 2018, 357–358.

private ones. Roman libraries normally had two parts, the Greek and the Latin. The ones built for purpose consisted of a long hall with niches made in the walls to keep bookcases or install bookshelves in them. Some had a podium running along the walls. Some libraries, such as the library of Trajan, seem to have had two levels, but it is not clear whether books were kept on both of them. Facing the entrance, a prominent statue could be placed, such as one of Apollo or Minerva. It has often been suggested that there were also libraries in public baths, such as the Baths of Trajan, but the identification is disputed.[260]

Suetonius (*Iul.* 4.2) recounts Caesar's putting Varro in charge of making 'public' as many Greek and Latin book collections as possible: *… bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum.* His duty would have consisted of collecting books (*comparare*) and arranging them (*digerere*; not attested in this meaning in relation to books before Suetonius). The project was never realised, and the praise of being the *inventor* of the concept went to Asinius Pollio, who set up a library in the *Atrium Libertatis*, using money from the spoils (*ex manubiis*).[261]

We do not know whether Caesar's plan involved the construction of a purpose-built library to house Greek and Latin book collections. Dix and Houston interpret Suetonius as meaning that 'Caesar's intention was to build a library which would surpass the Alexandrian library in size and in comprehensiveness'.[262] However, the plan does not indicate a new building, and it might have equally had a focus on bringing the Greek and Latin book collections together into an existing and suitable place—which is what Asinius Pollio did when he rebuilt the *Atrium Libertatis*.[263]

3.2.3.1 Meaning for authors and readers

Public libraries combined the monumentality of a public building with the functionality which was necessary for literary production.[264] They provided writers with high quality copies and allowed large-scale research in their collections. At the same time, the possibility of one's book being deposited in a public library has to be considered from the perspective of a not yet fossilised author.

Although a genetic link between the Alexandrian library of the Hellenistic period and Roman libraries cannot be established, a conceptual connection is clearly visible. One can compare Vitruvius' description of the libraries of Pergamon and Alexandria in Book 7 (praef. 4):

[260] An example of a description with photographs of assumed 'libraries in baths': Casson 2002, 89–92. *Contra*, see Dix 1994, 287–288; Dix 1996 against identification of a complex of baths and a library belonging to Pliny in Comum.

[261] The fact that Pollio got the money for the project from a military campaign also recalls one of the major sources of 'import' of books into Rome: looting for the benefit of the libraries of select individuals.

[262] Dix and Houston 2006, 674.

[263] While *bibliotheca* can mean both a collection of books and a place or space for keeping them, here it is clear that one talks about book collections, which were hitherto kept in private libraries.

[264] References to the need for books are ubiquitous; see a collection of *loci* in Marshall 1976.

> regis Attalici magnis philologiae dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bybliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent, tunc item Ptolemaeus infinito zelo cupiditatisque incitatus studio non minoribus industriis ad eundem modum contenderat Alexandriae comparare. cum autem summa diligentia perfecisset, non putavit id satis esse, nisi propagationibus inseminando curaret augendam.
>
> *When the Attalid kings, driven by the delightfulness of philology, established the outstanding library of Pergamon for the common pleasure, then in like manner Ptolemy, spurred by jealousy and the eagerness to follow his desires, applied himself with no negligible diligence to producing a match for it in Alexandria. When then he had it finished with utmost care, he decided it was not enough, unless he could also see to its further growth by planting its extensions.*

The libraries of the Hellenistic kings are private projects that serve the 'common delight', and most importantly, their function is not restricted to selecting the best texts and preserving them, but also to be constantly enlarged by including the best authors of the present time. The two processes, the preservation and the expansion of the canon, are clearly visible in the interactions of writers with the idea of being accepted into a public library.

Similarly to the way that a dedication to a literary patron and the subsequent inclusion of the book into his private library was important for authors in the times of the Late Republic and grew over time, the placement of a work in a public library has a direct link to the emperor. Augustus' library was closely connected to the Temple of Apollo and his own house on the Palatine hill, with the three of them joined in an architectural unity. Horace's plea to Augustus to pay attention to the poets writing to be read, not for performance (obviously exaggerated in light of his program of literary patronage), sketches the route of a book to the Palatine library through the emperor's hands (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.214–221), with lines 220–221 (*cum tibi librum / sollicito damus aut fesso*) quite similar to the already mentioned *Epist.* 1.13.

While readers receive some attention throughout, as they frequent the libraries and use them for their own creative needs (no sign of an idle crowd there), it is not the fact of being more accessible to the city of Rome, but the security of Augustus' patronage that the writers compete for and care mostly about. So, Ovid's third book of *Tristia* going from pillar to post in a vain attempt to be accepted into a library (*Trist.* 3.1) is a metaphor of his own unfavourable position, but not a picture of lack of readership: Book 1 would have circulated in Rome, as well as Book 2, although it seems to have failed in its goal to persuade the emperor, and Book 3 itself is expected to settle down at a private house (79–80).

The emperor's figure is important not only in the case of Augustus. Making decisions about additions and removals of authors' works and their statues in the libraries as a sign of praise or disdain is a trend among Roman emperors. Caligula had a wild idea of banning Homer and wanted to re-

move Vergil and Livy from public libraries,[265] and according to Dio Cassius, Caracalla wanted to burn Aristotle's books, blaming him for the death of Alexander the Great.[266] Such decisions could also influence contemporary literary production. So, after Tiberius placed works and statues of the Greek poets Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius in the public libraries (*publicis bibliothecis*), writers took the hint and instantly set to producing works about them and dedicating them to him: *et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt.*[267]

In epigram 5.5, Martial addresses the librarian Sextus and asks for a place in the Palatine library:

Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Mineruae,
ingenio frueris qui propiore dei—
nam tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas
et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet—:
sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libellis,
qua Pedo, qua Marsus quaque Catullus erit.
ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.

Sextus, eloquent priest of the Palatine Minerva, you who delight in the closeness of the mind of the god, since it is allowed to you to learn of the cares of the emperor as they arise and to know the private thoughts of the ruler! Would you find a place somewhere for my little books as well—somewhere, where Pedo, where Marsus and where Catullus will be. Next to the heavenly poem of the Capitoline war put the great work of buskined Maro.

Out of the introductory sequence in Book 5, epigrams 5.1, 5.3 and 5.5 deal with the emperor. 5.1 addressed him in the form of a dedicatory epistle accompanying the book that is sent to him, wherever he might be (the poem begins with *hoc tibi…* (1) *Caesar…* (2) and at (7) comes *mittimus*). 5.3 is not dedicatory but praises the conquests and addresses the emperor. In 5.5, it is the librarian who is addressed. He is close to the ruler, and he is also in position to pick books for the Palatine library. By assuming a position within the Palatine library, Martial asks for the emperor's favour. Moreover, when he imagines his book placed next to his predecessors Albinovanus Pedo, Domitius Marsus, and Catullus, Martial further underlines his reliance on them as models (set out already in the preface to Book 1) and claims a place in the canon. This epigram has striking similarities with the epigram 7.17 and the preface to Book 9, which was discussed above: the wish to be placed in a famous library, the focus on joining the canon, and finally, the personal connection to the owner of the library that the author is trying to establish. Again, the imperial library can be seen as a private library of

[265] Suet. *Cal.* 34.2: *cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis, cur enim sibi non licere dicens, quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate quam constituebat eiecerit? sed et Vergilii ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret <…>.*

[266] Dio Cass. 77.7.3.

[267] Suet. *Tib.* 70.2. Note the usage of *edere*.

extraordinary grandeur.

3.2.4 Booksellers in life and literature

The peculiarity of booktrade is that it does not occupy a prominent position in the picture painted by literary authors. In Greek literature, it is barely visible, as well as in Latin literature until the time of Martial. References to the popularity of something expressed in terms of 'customer demand' are more of an exception.[268] Indeed, searching for books for purchase often means looking for older texts or better editions thereof that are difficult to find; Lucian's ignorant book-collector does not rush to acquire the latest hits and buys luxurious editions of 'classical' writers instead.[269] However, where there was demand for new works, copyshops would find their niche as well.

Towards 1st century AD, distribution through booksellers seems to have gained more weight, and the connection between at least some authors and booksellers strengthened. The most famous case is Quintilian's letter to Trypho, which sets out the circumstances in which Quintilian decided to publish the *Institutio Oratoria*. Trypho, who is also attested as a bookseller in Martial (4.72 and 13.3), acts as a 'publisher' for the work, asks Quintilian to release it, quoting public demand, and is responsible for the delivery of the final product to readers. Martial tells readers where to find his books, and a personal connection to booksellers is found in Pliny (*Epist.* 1.2.6): *libelli quos emisimus dicuntur in manibus esse, quamvis iam gratiam novitatis exuerint; nisi tamen auribus nostris bibliopolae blandiuntur.*[270]

Booksellers were around in Rome from at least the 1st century BC, as can be seen from Cat. 14a and further passages. Nevertheless, they are barely seen in literary works. Are Martial and Pliny special? Martial often makes a point that he is accessible to a broader readership, not only the elite and snobbish poets who criticise him; 'a reader and a listener like my books'.[271] At the same time, the world that Pliny construes in his letters is an interconnected social network, where people are highly interested in literary production and constantly exchanging books. For both Martial and Pliny, it is popularity outside this network that is relevant. While social connections provide both of them with immediate readers, being read by those who cannot get a book as easily gives hope for lasting fame.[272] A bookseller, as the most remote possibility to get a book both in the social and in the geographic sense, reflects the wide readership of both authors.

A crucial change in the representation of bookshops as part of literary life happens in the 2nd century AD. They start to gain prominence; most importantly, the bookshop acquires the status of a

[268] Cicero's comment *Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti. posthac quicquid scripsero, tibi praeconium deferam* (*Att.* 13.12.2) seems to stands out in a time where any kind of reference to purchasing or selling books is a rare case. Cf. *Att.* 13.19: *Ligarianam, ut video, praeclare auctoritas tua commendavit.* Atticus is to be made *praeco*, a 'public crier' or 'auctioneer', for Cicero's following works. However, *vendidisti* is certainly not meant to be understood literally, given that there was no profit from publishing books either in Cicero's time or later.

[269] Demosthenes and Thucydides: Lucian. *Ind.* 4.

[270] For *gratia novitatis* cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1 praef.

[271] Mart. 9.81.

[272] Plin. *Epist.* 9.11: *bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam ac tanto libentius ex litteris tuis cognovi venditari libellos meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam quam in urbe collegerint delector. incipio enim satis absolutum existimare, de quo tanta diversitate regionum discreta hominum iudicia consentiunt.*

literary place. *Vicus Sandalarius* and neighbouring quarters witness customers and booksellers arguing, bargaining and engaging in literary discussions: a *grammaticus* is called to prove the quality of the allegedly perfect script;[273] readers dispute whether a book is truly written by Galen, who is conveniently eavesdropping on them;[274] a self-proclaimed expert fails to read aloud when asked.[275] One of Athenaeus' dining sophists, Ulpian of Tyre, is said to conduct his literary investigations everywhere: ἐν ταῖς ἀγυιαῖς, περιπάτοις, βιβλιοπωλείοις, βαλανείοις ('in the streets, walks, bookshops, and baths').[276] At least in Galen, Gellius, and Athenaeus, a bookshop becomes a place of social and literary interaction.

The relative invisibility of booksellers in literature might be due, on the one hand, to the focus on close connections and elite intellectual circles that ignores broader and more impersonal distribution, as well as snobbish attitudes toward trade in general. On the other hand, copyshops do not feature as prominently for the simple reason that they are viewed as a tool to get the work done, in the same way as typewriters or photocopiers do not hold a high occurrence rate in discussions of modern literary works (and if they do, it is rather when they do not work properly).

For members of an intellectual circle, the bookstore might not be the first place to go when looking for a book. However, even in the times when bookstores and the book trade do not yet feature as prominently in the literature that we possess, its development and certain prominence is clear. R. J. Starr suggests a relationship that reflects the higher prestige of an intellectual circle over bookshops: Catullus collecting bad poetry from the *scrinia librariorum* shall imply that 'the poets he mentions were so terrible that no one in his circle would know them or own a copy of their poetry'.[277] This, at the same time, points to the existence of less prestigious layers of literature, which are expected to be found in bookshops. If there is a market and an audience for books acquired through such a channel, there might be a reason to rely on book trade for the distribution of the works, at least for an author who does not have access to higher circles. Of these authors, we sadly know too little. The division between those who do and do not use bookshops has not always been strict; indeed, some authors of the late 1st and 2nd century mention dealing with booksellers, and by this time, bookshops are represented on a similar level with other 'intellectual' spaces.

3.2.5 'Get my book to Athens': literary destinations

The importance of having reliable delivery becomes increasingly clear when one looks beyond a single location. Diogenes Laertius says that Zeno's father Mnaseas, who was a merchant, used to bring him books from Athens.[278] Travelling professionals, such as teachers, can be expected to bring books with them. Travelling booksellers play their role in getting books to readers: Aristotle, in a frag-

[273] Gell. 5.4.
[274] Gal. *Lib. Prop.* 19. 8–9K.
[275] Gell. 13.31.1.
[276] Athen. 1.2.
[277] Starr 1987, 221–222.
[278] Diog. Laert. 7.31.

ment preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' biography of Isocrates, tells of volumes of Isocrates' speeches being 'carried around' (περιφέρεσθαι) by booksellers;[279] a community of scholars with similar interests and a bookseller feature in the famous letter about books dating from the 2nd century AD (P.Oxy. 18.2192).[280]

Already by the time the library of Alexandria was founded, the book trade had developed significantly. It had its centres (books for the library were purchased from Athens and Rhodos: Athen. 1.4), there was low- and high-quality production, and there were enough copies of texts around to gather a portion of the whole of literary production and let it undergo philological scrutiny. A rivalling royal library existed in Pergamon, and there are testimonies of collections in Antioch, Sinope and Pella.[281] Public libraries were established in the Hellenistic period in educational contexts, such as in connection with gymnasia. In the Roman period, libraries funded by private individuals joined the royal and the publicly funded ones: such are, for example, the libraries of Pantainos and Hadrian in Athens and the library of Celsus in Ephesus. In addition to this, the general mobility of people and epistolary exchange supported the grid connecting different places and the reading communities within them.

Horace's poem comparing the book with a runaway slave (Hor. *Epist.* 1.20) presents the dilemma that a writer has to face. On the one hand, he wants his book to be read, and his name to be known. On the other hand, it would probably be better for the book to stay at home. The book, however, is not happy to be only shown to a selected minority of people (*paucis ostendi*), and the warning follows: if the book runs away, it will soon regret it.[282] Line 13 mentions sending the book to farther corners of the world, Utica in Africa and Illerda in Spain; lines 17–18 paint a picture of a schoolmaster teaching the letters and syllables *extremis in vicis* and using Horace as a textbook.

Horace sets out as an unhappy ending for his book two things that are not that negative on their own, at least for the poet's fame, if not for the book itself. It would not be in such bad company: Homer's texts were ubiquitous in ancient education.[283] In the same way, to be read somewhere far away could be tied in with the idea of the poet's fame travelling across the known world.[284] Staying at home means not to be read by anyone, as with Volusius' annals that shall stay in Padua, according to Catullus (Cat. 95), and serve as wrapping for fish, while Cinna's *Zmyrna* will be read at the extremes of the known world. Still, the prospect of being used for a low purpose in some far corner horrifies Horace. Both the context and the place are important: the miserable state of schoolbooks is a commonplace, and not every place in the world is equally good for fame.[285]

This sets the focus on two important features: it is not enough for the book to just be somewhere, it

[279] Dion. Hal. *Isocr.* 18 (= Arist. *fr.* 140).

[280] Re-edition of the papyrus: Hatzilambrou 2007.

[281] See Coqueugniot 2013, 40–42 with further references.

[282] However, all the awful things that could happen are only possible *after* its receipt by Maecenas, the dedicatee of *Epistles* 1. This does not seem to play a role for the picture of dangers awaiting a literary work.

[283] An overview in Morgan 1998, 288–322, esp. tabl. 11–12, 15 and 17.

[284] Martial knew his verses were read in Vienna (7.88), while Pliny is famously surprised that there are booksellers in Lyon (9.11).

[285] Juv. 7.225–7 on the state of books used in schools. The focus in Horace's poem is on being sent away from Rome (*carus eris Romae*, 10), and it is Rome, not the whole world, that the book wants to see in the first place (*Vortumnum Ianumque*, 1).

is important where exactly it is and how it is used. Cicero's request to Atticus to distribute his Greek history of his consulship in Greece (*Att.* 2.1.2) shows a peculiar interest in Cicero's writings:

> quamquam ad me rescripsit iam Rhodo Posidonius se, nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα <cum> legere<t>, quod ego ad eum ut ornatius de isdem rebus scriberet miseram, non modo non excitatum esse ad scribendum sed etiam plane deterritum. quid quaeris? conturbavi Graecam nationem. ita vulgo qui instabant ut darem sibi quod ornarent iam exhibere mihi molestiam destiterunt. tu, si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae. videtur enim posse aliquid nostris rebus lucis adferre.
>
> *However, Posidonius has already written back to me from Rhodes, saying that when he read this note of mine which I had sent him so that he could write about those same things in a more embellished way, he was not only not motivated to write but even plainly terrified of the idea. In short, I have stirred the population of Greece. So, generally speaking, those who pressed me to give them something they could embellish have now stopped troubling me. And you, if the book shall be to your liking, will take care that it is in Athens as well as in the other Greek towns. It seems indeed that it could bring some light to our activities.*

The request is based on Atticus' wide connections in Greece, where a certain interest in Cicero's works is proven. Atticus is in Greece himself at the moment, so he can act as a local distributor and deliver the work to people who would then pass it on. It is important to note that the destination of the text is expressed as location (*curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae*). Even if Cicero knows quite a few people there, he is not targeting specific individuals, but expects the book to find its way to interested reading circles through the assistance of Atticus.

In terms of distribution, a book might be in a better position to reach a broader and less expected audience when it is carried by a travelling bookseller, but the process lacks direct communication with the author and, more importantly, may undermine the authority of the text. A possible reconciliation, illustrated by M. Nicholls, is in the use of public libraries as repositories of approved copies of the text.[286] Galen's commentaries show a prominence of libraries as centres of access to books: in one passage, he tells of a great effort he made to find a book written by Archigenes: he goes to libraries first, then to booksellers, and only after that, to other physicians known to take interest in the works of Archigenes. There is also a certain sense of urgency with which Galen tries to acquire this book he has just heard of.[287]

Depositing books in libraries elsewhere is a way of ensuring both the quality of the text and its presence in a certain place. It is not clear how much relevance this method of distribution would have. When Pliny opened a library he presented to Comum, it is not unreasonable to expect that he

[286] Nicholls 2017, 39–41.

[287] πυθόμενος τῷ Ἀρχιγένει τι γεγράφθαι βιβλίον, ἔνθα διδάσκει μνήμης βεβλαμμένης ἀνάκτησιν, εὐθέως περιῆλθον ἁπάσας μὲν τὰς βιβλιοθήκας, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς βιβλιοπώλας, ἅπαντας δ' οὓς ᾔδειν ἰατροὺς ἐσπουδακότας περὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τἀνδρὸς, εὐπορῆσαι τοῦ βιβλίου προῃρημένος (Gal. *Loc. Aff.* 8. 148K).

also had some of his books copied for the new collection, although he does not say anything about it: books, alongside the library building and the decorations, are documented as gifts or donations to cities in inscriptions.[288] In exchange, libraries could house statues of prominent people (Ps.-Dio's speech to the Corinthians is about them removing his statue from the public library) and celebrate the founders in inscriptions (one of the most extensive being the façade of Celsus' library in Ephesus). Galen also says that he planned to send his works to his friends back home so that they could deposit them in the public library (Gal. *Ind.* 21):[289]

> διπλᾶ γὰρ ἐγέγραπτο πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν ἤδη, χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μελλόντων μένειν, ἀξιούντων μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι φίλων ἁπάσας αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι τὰς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγονυίας πραγματείας ὅπως ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσίᾳ στῶσι, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι[ς] τινὲς ἤδη πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἔθηκαν, ἐννοοῦντος δὲ κἀμοῦ πάντων ἔχειν ἀντίγραφα κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν.
>
> *For all the writings that were already fit for publication had been copied twice, apart from those that were to stay in Rome: the friends in my homeland expected that all the treatises originating from me would be sent to them so that they could stand in the public library—in the same way as some others had already deposited a lot of my works in other cities—and I myself thought that I had the originals of all in Campania.*

So, when Cicero wants Atticus to take care of the distribution of his book to Greece, we do not know how he would want Atticus to accomplish the task, but we note the impersonal distribution.[290] Galen's sending his latest treatise to Pergamon supports his social connections there in an exchange of favours: he provides the library there with the copies and gets a share of fame in his home city. Since different locations throughout the known world can represent the communities that dwell there, making the book known *somewhere*, not to someone specific, may show interest in a connection to such a community.

3.3 Papyri: the world of travelling books and their readers

Some authors became popular during their lifetime, and their texts travelled far from the places they themselves lived and worked. It might be helpful to look at some papyrological evidence to trace the ways this could happen in the very first stages of distribution. Since most surviving papyri originate in Egypt, often far from well-known cultural centres (such as Alexandria) it is also interesting to see how far the papyri could travel in areas off the 'literary radar' of their authors.

Unknown literary texts are more difficult to date and often are the only instance of the text that came down to modern times. A very small number of them could be autographs; however, a solid

[288] Dix 1996, 94.
[289] Quoted from Brodersen 2015.
[290] Murphy thinks it was done through libraries (Murphy 1998, 496).

argument for that is provided only for the poems found in the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, where his literary compositions were found alongside documents written in his own hand.[291] There is a relatively small number of other texts that can tentatively be called 'autographs'.[292] However, these texts, even though extremely interesting in themselves, are not very helpful for discussing the distribution of texts, and especially when we assess its meaning for their 'publication'. What could be more revealing is copies that we know to have been in use within a relatively short time span from the suggested composition of the text.

3.3.1 Statistical analysis

Each text preserved on a physical artefact has at least two points of time it can be related to: the time of composition and the time of production of this specific instance of a text inscribed onto the material support. Given that the range of Greek and Latin literature transmitted otherwise covers a lot more than the date range of unearthed papyri, these two points in time are often separated by several centuries and, most likely, quite a number of copies were produced between the archetype and the copy that survived. The estimate of the time passed between the date of composition and date of the papyrus is complicated due to the fact that both dates can rarely be defined with precision. As a result, one has to work with two periods, the one during which the author is likely to have lived and been productive, and the other, into which the papyrus in question is likely to be dated.

With these reservations in mind, I undertook an analysis of the items from the Mertens-Pack^3 (MP^3) database from a chronological point of view.[293] The goal of this analysis was twofold: (1) to locate individual papyri that could be worth examining in more detail; and (2) to look for patterns of distribution and temporal distance between the composition of the text and the available papyri.

MP^3 has 235 authors, to whom 2363 entries are assigned; the number of entries corresponding to no known author amounts to 3324. For each of the authors, I added their dates of life based on data from TLG Canon. Works of collective authorship such as the *Palatine Anthology*, as well as texts of the *Homerica*, legal compendia and other similar texts, were excluded from the analysis. For each of the papyri, I converted MP^3 metadata into two numbers indicating the *earliest estimate* and the *latest estimate* of its date. After this, I calculated the minimal and the maximal distance between the date of composition and the date of the papyrus, taken as the differences between (a) the earliest estimate of the papyrus and the assumed death of the author and (b) the assumed birth of the author and the latest estimate of the papyrus.

The distances ranged from negative numbers (due to the rough dating of some authors or mistakes in the mark-up which were then easy to remove) to more than 1000 years. To account for the inaccuracies in dating, I calculated separately an average distance and filtered out the papyri where it was

[291] MacCoull 1988.

[292] In 1991, Dorandi listed 16 papyri dating from 1st century BC to 7th/8th century AD (most of them between 2nd and 4th century) as possible autographs (Dorandi 1991, 19–21). See also, recently, Essler 2017, Cribiore 2019, 183–188, and Cribiore 2020.

[293] Data collected in June–July 2020.

data	value
MP^3 number	00001.000
papyrus	P.Schub. 30 (P.Berol. inv. 16971)
date	3rd AD
papyrus date 1	200
papyrus date 2	299
author	Achilles Tatius
lifetime	2nd AD
author date 1	100
author date 2	199
min distance	$200 - 199 = 1$
max distance	$299 - 100 = 199$

Table 3.1: Example: calculation of the difference between the papyrus date and the author's lifetime

more than 100 years, and then added to them the cases with minimal distance up to 50 years (i.e. in the best-case scenario, the papyrus is produced within 50 years or less of the author's death). The resulting tables can be consulted at the end of this section. What follows is a summary of the method and its findings, with some questions of interest for further research.

The best of the potentially contemporary papyri are those with the minimal *maximal distance*, i.e. the distance between the latest papyrological dating and the assumed birth of the author. Apart from the Dioscorus papyri, there are 24 papyri that fall below the threshold of 100 years of maximal distance (table 3.2). Among these papyri, some of the famous 'possible contemporaries', such as the Gallus or the Timotheus papyri, are found. Alongside them, a variety of authors from the 1st and 2nd century AD are present, as well as some later figures. Of course, a lot of these numbers are approximate, and in some cases, such as with Palladas, the dating of the author depends on the dating of the papyrus.[294] From the Hellenistic period, only Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter* and Cercidas' *Choliambi* made it to the list. It is interesting to see a large number of Greek novel papyri and 'popular literature' (such as fables) among these, as well as some technical works (Heraclides Milesius, Galen, Charisius). An interesting case from 1st century AD are two Oxyrhynchus papyri with epigrams by Nicarchus.

I then expanded the criteria so as to add the papyri that are still *possibly* early enough but could have a gap as big as 200 years. In doing this, I ensured that my list includes papyri with uncertain date, since such dating as 'II/III' in MP^3 results in an interval between the year 100 and the year 299. The most interesting of these papyri are the ones that have a *minimal distance* under 0. While a papyrus obviously cannot be written before its text is composed, this number indicates a significant overlap between the life of the author and the presumed date of the production of the text. With the exclusion of texts of collective authorship, the *codex Justinianus* and Ulpian, Chares and Triphiodorus, whose dates are too unclear, and an unconfirmed lyric fragment of Callimachus, we arrive at another table, of 38 papyri (table 3.3). Again, Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic authors are rather rare but more

[294] The discussion on the date of Palladas is still ongoing; the seminal article is Bowra 1959, an overview of the discussion in Wilkinson 2009, 36–42. Against Wilkinson's dating, see Benelli 2013.

prominent, with one early papyrus of Menander and one of Aratus. Some of the names will repeat: the Greek novel remains present, with Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Lollianus and Antonius Diogenes. Nicarchus and his epigrams are there, too, as well as some technical literature. A sequence of Plutarch papyri stands out; in general, there are more groups of papyri of the same author in the second table. A single Latin papyrus also makes its way into the list: this is Cicero's *In Verrem* (P.Iand. 5.90).

Apart from those, I selected papyri with a minimal distance between 0 and 80 (which assumes they could have been produced shortly after the author's death) (table 3.4 and table 3.5). Among famous ancient books one notes the Milan Posidippus papyrus (P.Mil.Vogl. 8.309). Latin authors include two Vergil papyri and one papyrus of Sallust. The table adds even more to the already prominent number of Plutarch papyri; it might be of some interest that the *Vitae* only occur now while philosophic works appear closer to Plutarch's lifetime.

The nature of the data precludes excessive conclusions, and a shift in the scholarly opinion on the dating could easily throw some of the items off these lists.[295] Nevertheless, this study provides us with an overview of the authors and kinds of literature that we come across in the course of their authors' lifetimes or several decades later. A detailed study of these papyri, including their palaeographic qualities, the state of transmission of the text compared to the later tradition, and the possible conclusions about the context of their production and use, would be a topic for a different thesis. In the following section, I will introduce some case studies that illustrate the reality of book dissemination beyond what literary texts convey.

[295] As an example, I took the dates, as all the other data, from MP^3, but the Trismegistos database sometimes gives minor to major fluctuations.

MP^3 #	Author	Author's time		Work	TM #	Collection number	Papyrus time		Distances		
		min	max				min	max	min	max	average
1537	Timotheus	-446	-357	Persae	62931	P.Berol. inv. 9875	-399	-375	-42	71	14.5
1342	Philicus	-299	-250	Hymn. Dem.	62371	PSI 12.1282	-299	-200	-49	99	25
239	Cercidas	-290	-225	Choliambi	59439	Bodl.Libr. inv. Gr.cl.f.1(P)	-299	-200	-74	90	8
2924.1	Cornelius Gallus	-69	-27		59474	P.Qasr Ibrîm inv. 78-3-11/1 (LI/2)	-43	20	-16	89	36.5
1328.02	Nicarchus II	1	99	Epigrammes	65900	P.Oxy. 66.4501	0	99	-99	98	-0.5
1328.03	Nicarchus II	1	99	Epigrammes	65901	P.Oxy. 66.4502	0	99	-99	98	-0.5
347.01	Dioscorides	40	90	De materia medica	59695	P.Köln 7.312	75	125	-15	85	35
461	Heraclides Mil.	75	125	Περὶ δύσκλιτων ῥήματων	59978	MPER 3.33	100	149	-25	74	24.5
1335	Pancrates	120	150	Hadrianus et Antinous	62353	P.Oxy. 8.1085	100	199	-50	79	14.5
1336	Pancrates	120	150	Hadrianus et Antinous	62354	P.Lond. 3.1109 (b)	100	199	-50	79	14.5
137	Aristodemus	100	199		63524	P.Oxy. 27.2469	100	199	-99	99	0
1284.3	Lollianus	100	199	Phoinikika	61432	P.Colon. inv. 3328	150	199	-49	99	25
1437.06	Ptolemaeus math.	150		Psephophoria		PL inv. II/33	175	225	25	75	50
1284.33	Lucianus	125	180	Navigium	704640	P.Oxy. 81.5275	200	225	20	100	60
456.1	Galenus	129	216	De placitis	59958	P.Monac. 2.43	200	225	-16	96	40
456.22	Galenus	129	216	In Hipp. De alimento	59957	P.Flor. 2.115	200	225	-16	96	40
173	Babrius	100	250	Fabulae	59333	P.Oxy. 10.1249	100	199	-150	99	-25.5
2.11	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	58910	P.Oxy. 56.3836	100	199	-125	49	-38
2.1	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	58913	P.Colon. inv. 901	200	225	-25	75	25
2.2	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	58912	P.Oxy. 7.1014	200	249	-25	99	37
1333.01	Palladas	300	399		145316	P.CtYBR inv. 4000	275	349	-124	49	-37.5
171.11	Ausonius	310	394	Herm[es?]	113266	P.Oxy. 72.4851	275	299	-119	-11	-65
2917.01	Charisius	325	399	Ars grammatica	59433	P.Laur. inv. III/504	300	349	-99	24	-37.5
1334	Pamprepius Panop.	440	484		62352	P.Vindob. inv. G 29788 A-C	500	525	16	85	50.5

Table 3.2: Papyri with the latest estimated date within 100 years from the estimated date of birth of the author (excluding Dioscorus of Aphrodito)

MP^3 #	Author	Author's time		Work	TM #	Collection number	Papyrus time		Distances		
		min	max				min	max	min	max	average
1499	Theophrastus	-371	-287	De aqua	62831	P.Hib. 1.16	-299	-200	-12	171	79.5
1300.2	Menander	-342	-290	Dyscolus	61588	P.Oslo 3.168	-299	-200	-9	142	66.5
113.1	Aratus	-315	-240	Hymne à Pan	65699	P.Hamb. inv. 381	-299	-200	-59	115	28
1349	Phoenix from Colophon	-287	-250		59939	P.Strasb. inv. WG 307v	-250	-151	0	386	193
343.2	Dionysius Scytobrachion	-299	-200	Argonautica	65736	P.Hib. 2.186	-225	-175	-25	124	49.5
1484	Sosylus	-250	-175	Hannibal	62778	P.Würzb. inv. 1	-199	0	-24	250	113
2920	Cicero	-106	-43	In Verrem	59462	P.Iand. 5.90	-75	25	-32	131	49.5
1296.1	Meleager	-99	-1		61460	P.Oxy. 47.3324	-99	99	-98	198	50
536	Hierocles stoic.	-199	100	Ethike stoicheiosis	60170	BKT 4	100	299	0	498	249
242	Chariton	-99	199	De Chaerea et Callirhoe	59441	P.Michael. 1	100	199	-99	298	99.5
241	Chariton	-99	199	De Chaerea et Callirhoe	59442	P.Oxy. 7.1019	100	299	-99	398	149.5
243	Chariton	-99	199	De Chaerea et Callirhoe	59443	P.Fay. 1	100	299	-99	398	149.5
1328.01	Nicarchus II	1	99	Epigrammes	61918	P.Oxy. 54.3725	75	125	-24	124	50
1431.1	Plutarchus	46	120	Septem sapientium convivium	62655	P.Oxy. 52.3685	100	149	-20	103	41.5
1432.001	Plutarchus	46	120	De cohibenda ira	68984	PSI 16.1607	100	149	-20	103	41.5
1431.11	Plutarchus	46	120	Quaestiones convivales	62652	P.Oxy. 28.2481, fr. 6 et 7	100	199	-20	153	66.5
1431.13	Plutarchus	46	120	Quaestiones convivales	171902	P.Oxy. 78.5157	100	199	-20	153	66.5
1431.01	Plutarchus	46	120	De profectibus in virtute	171899	P.Oxy. 78.5153	100	199	-20	153	66.5
1431.12	Plutarchus	46	120	Quaestiones convivales	62653	P.Laur. inv. III/543 A	100	199	-20	153	66.5
364.101	Epictetus	50	125	Dissertationes		P.Cair.Mich. 2.11	100	199	-25	149	62
364.104	Epictetus	50	125	Dissertationes	704639	P.Oxy. 81.5274	100	299	-25	249	112
337.11	Dictys Cretensis	1	199	Bellum Troianum	117822	P.Oxy. 73.4943	100	199	-99	198	49.5
338.1	Dictys Cretensis	1	199	Bellum Troianum	59664	P.Oxy. 31.2539	100	299	-99	298	99.5
484.1	Herodotus med.	1	199	De remediis	60048	P.Tebt. 2.272	175	199	-24	198	87
136.3	Aelius Aristides	117	181	Ars rhetorica	113269	P.Oxy. 72.4854	175	225	-6	108	51
95	Antonius Diogenes	100	199	Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα	59138	PSI 10.1177	100	299	-99	199	50
95.11	Antonius Diogenes	100	199	Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα	92140	P.Oxy. 70.4760	100	299	-99	199	50
95.12	Antonius Diogenes	100	199	Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα		P.Oxy. 83.5354	100	299	-99	199	50
1284.2	Lollianus	100	199	Phoinikika	61433	P.Oxy. 11.1368	100	250	-99	199	50
1437.01	Ptolemaeus math.,			Tables faciles	65968	P.Oxy. 61.4167	100	399	-50	249	99.5
53	Africanus (Julius)	106	240	Cesti	61406	P.Oxy. 3.412	200	299	-40	193	76.5
174.1	Babrius	100	250	Fabulae (epit.)	59334	P.Hakkert inv. 1	200	299	-50	199	74.5
172	Babrius	100	250	Fabulae	59335	P.Amh. 2.26	200	399	-50	299	124.5
2	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	58915	P.Oxy. 10.1250	100	299	-125	149	12
1	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	58911	P.Schub. 30	200	299	-25	149	62
2.01	Achilles Tatius	150	225	Clitopho et Leucippe	117827	P.Oxy. 73.4948	200	299	-25	149	62
1486.5	Themistius	317	385	Πρεσβευτικός	62795	P.Lit.Lenaerts 12	375	499	-10	182	86

Table 3.3: Papyri with the minimal distance between the assumed death of the author and the papyrus date < 0

MP^3 #	Author	Author's time		Work	TM #	Collection number	Papyrus time		Distances		
		min	max				min	max	min	max	average
77.1	Alcidamas	-425	-350	-	60174	P.Hib. 1.13	-299	-200	51	225	138
88	Anaximenes rhet.	-350	-300	Rhetorica ad Alexandrum	59110	P.Hib. 1.26	-299	-200	1	150	75.5
1320.5	Menander	-342	-290	-	61584	P.Hib. 2.180	-270	-240	20	102	61
1434	Posidippus com.	-316	-250	Apokleiomenê	62663	P.Heid.Siegmann 183	-200	-200	50	116	83
1435.01	Posidippus	-310	-240	-	62665	P.Mil.Vogl. 8.309	-225	-200	15	110	62.5
1349	Phoenix from Colophon	-287	-250	-	59939	P.Strasb. inv. WG 307v	-250	-151	0	386	193
1324.25	Mnasalces	-275	-225	Epigrammes	61601	P.Köln 5.204	-199	-100	26	175	100.5
373.31	Euphorion,	-275	-200	-	59780	P.Lugd.Bat. 25.1	-199	0	1	275	138
96.1	Apollodorus of Athens	-180	-120	De deis	59146	P.Köln 3.126	-99	-75	21	105	63
168.02	Artemidorus of Ephesus	-150	-75	Geographia	65868	P.Artemid.	0	25	75	175	125
342.01	Diodorus Siculus	-99	-25	Bibliotheca	69082	PSI 17.1663	0	99	25	198	111.5
2933	Sallustius	-86	-34	Historiae	62687	P.Ryl. 3.473	0	199	34	285	159.5
536	Hierocles stoic.	-199	100	Ethike stoicheiosis	60170	BKT 4	100	299	0	498	249
2935.1	Vergilius	-70	-19	Eclogae	62946	P.Narm. inv. 66.362	0	99	19	169	94
2947	Vergilius	-70	-19	Aeneis	62949	P.Haw. 24	0	99	19	169	94
96.04	Anubion	1	99	-	65904	P.Oxy. 66.4506	100	199	1	198	99.5
346.01	Dioscorides	40	90	De materia medica	388532	P.Oxy. 80.5225	100	199	10	159	84.5
347	Dioscorides	40	90	De materia medica	59696	P.Aberd. 8	100	199	10	159	84.5
1431.001	Plutarchus	46	120	Caesar	704635	P.Oxy. 81.5270	175	225	55	179	117
1430	Plutarchus	46	120	Pelopidas	62654	P.Heid.Siegmann 209	180	180	60	134	97
1431.14	Plutarchus	46	120	De proverbiis Alexandrinorum	704636	P.Oxy. 81.5271	200	249	80	203	141.5
1429.01	Plutarchus	46	120	Alexander	702427	P.Oxy. 82.5301	200	299	80	253	166.5
1429.1	Plutarchus	46	120	Lycurgus	62657	P.Oxy. 52.3684	200	299	80	253	166.5
1431	Plutarchus	46	120	Caesar	62656	P.Duk. inv. 773	200	299	80	253	166.5
1431.02	Plutarchus	46	120	Coniugalia praecepta	171900	P.Oxy. 78.5154	200	299	80	253	166.5
1432.02	Plutarchus	46	120	De sollertia animalium	171903	P.Oxy. 78.5158	200	299	80	253	166.5
1432	Plutarchus	46	120	De placitis philosophorum	62673	P.Ant. 2.85	200	299	80	253	166.5
1431.101	Plutarchus	46	120	Apophthegmata	171901	P.Oxy. 78.5155	200	399	80	353	216.5

Table 3.4: Papyri with the minimal distance between the assumed death of the author and the papyrus date between 0 and 80 years (part 1)

MP3 #	Author	Author's time		Work	TM #	Collection number	Papyrus time		Distances		
		min	max				min	max	min	max	average
364.102	Epictetus	50	125	Dissertationes	704637	P.Oxy. 81.5272	175	225	50	175	112.5
364.103	Epictetus	50	125	Dissertationes	704638	P.Oxy. 81.5273	175	225	50	175	112.5
338.11	Dictys Cretensis	1	199	Bellum Troianum	117823	P.Oxy. 73.4944	200	225	1	224	112.5
338	Dictys Cretensis	1	199	Bellum Troianum	59665	P.Tebt. 2.268	200	299	1	298	149.5
455	Favorinus	80	160	De exsilio	59953	P.Vat. inv. Gr. 11	200	299	40	219	129.5
1284.31	Lollianus	100	199	Phoinikika	68662	P.Oxy. 73.4945	200	299	1	199	100
1330.01	Oppianus	100	199	Halieutica	704642	P.Oxy. 81.5277	200	249	1	149	75
1329.02	Oppianus	100	199	Halieutica	704641	P.Oxy. 81.5276	200	299	1	199	100
1330	Oppianus	100	199	Halieutica	62333	P.Cairo inv. 45623	200	299	1	199	100
1437	Ptolemaeus math.	150		Episêmôn poleôn kanôn	62679	P.Ryl. 3.522	200	299	50	149	99.5
1437.03	Ptolemaeus math.	150		Tables faciles	65970	P.Oxy. 61.4169	200	299	50	149	99.5
1284.32	Lucianus	125	180	Dialogi deorum	68972	P.Oxy. 69.4738	200	299	20	174	97
2954	Gaius	170		Institutiones	59955	P.Oxy. 17.2103	200	299	30	129	79.5
537	Himerius	315	386	Orationes	60173	P.Oslo inv. 1478	400	499	14	184	99
1486.51	Themistius	317	385	Orationes	704645	P.Oxy. 81.5280	400	599	15	282	148.5

Table 3.5: Papyri with the minimal distance between the assumed death of the author and the papyrus date between 0 and 80 years (part 2)

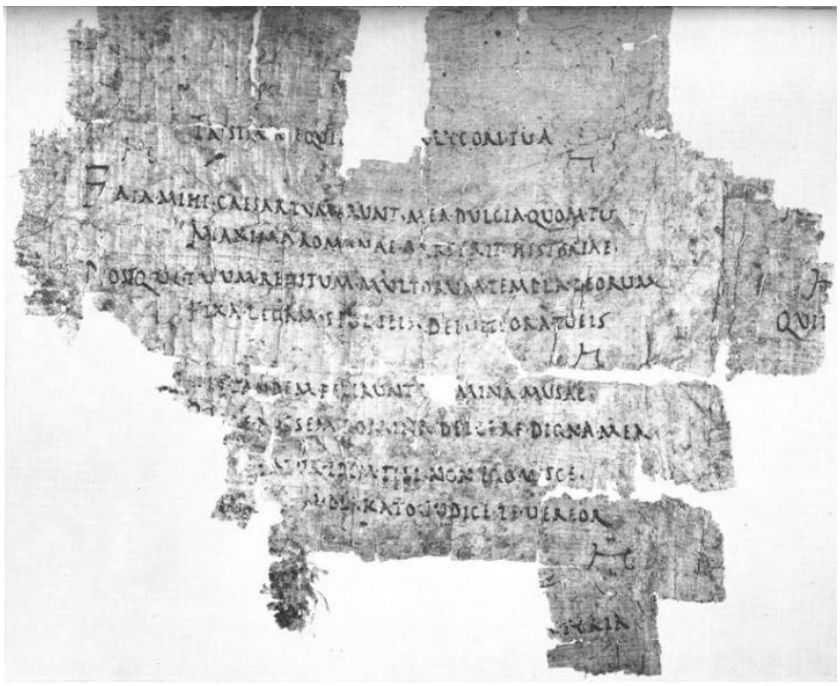


Figure 3.4: 'Gallus papyrus': P.Qasr Ibrim 78-3-11/1 (LI/2)

3.3.2 Case studies

Bookrolls accompanied people on travels of many kinds: professionals (teachers; poets) going from town to town, people visiting other places on personal or political business, people deployed in military garrisons. Professional booksellers travelled, too, and brought books for copying, purchase, or comparison.[296] Some of the papyri are witnesses of the geographical range that a work could reach, which is rendered even more impressive when the papyrus is dated close to the lifetime of its author. In addition to that, their format may tell us something about the immediate reception and readership. In the following, I will turn to some examples of such papyri.

3.3.2.1 Military contexts: Cornelius Gallus

P.Qasr Ibrim 78-3-11/1 (LI/2), found in 1978 during the excavations at Qasr Ibrîm, contains remains of elegiac couplets attributed to Cornelius Gallus, the Roman poet who was considered the founder of the genre of elegy in Rome. It was published in 1979 and attracted scholarly attention straightaway. The 'Gallus papyrus' combines several unique qualities: a rare papyrus not only of Latin literature, but of a key figure in the development of Roman elegy, it can also be dated with considerable precision. The place it was found in, then Primis, was under Roman occupation in 25–20 BC. Combined with Gallus' date of birth around 70 BC, this yielded the date of papyrus of 50–20 BC. Even a more cautious

[296] P.Petaeus 30, ll. 6–7: Iulius Placidus writes to his father about not buying books from a certain Dios, but taking some to compare texts (ἀντεβάλομεν).

dating of or 50 BC–AD 25, also considered by the editors, would put the production of the papyrus either in the last years of Gallus' life or not long after his death in 26 BC.[297]

The papyrus is a testimony to literary interests on the far border of Roman influence in Egypt. Reading and (sometimes) writing while on a military or political campaign is in itself not peculiar; for example, soldiers of Crassus were accused of reading Aristides' Μιλησιακά.[298] However, even though the *comparanda* for Latin papyri are much scarcer, the material and textual features of the papyrus seem to indicate an expensive edition: it comes from a roll with sheet width of at least 16.5 cm, has a large upper margin of 3.4 cm, its hand is accurate and uses shading, it has some decorative elements such as enlarged first letters of the lines and the setting of pentameters in *eisthesis*. The appearance of such a bookroll in a fort far south is peculiar.[299]

The appearance of a sign between groups of lines added to questions concerning the production of Gallus' papyrus. Marks of separation are not uncommon in Greek nor Latin papyri, and Latin books seem to have more 'mark-up' in general.[300] The sign finds few parallels in literary texts, but some similarities with inscriptions.[301] Most importantly, no literary text seems to employ a separation mark symmetrically, which is the case with the signs in Gallus papyrus. Further considerations of the relevance of epigraphic parallels led to the extension of theories for the papyrus production and the connection between inscription practices and élite Roman bookrolls, including a recent suggestion by G. Leghissa that it might have consciously imitated the layout of inscriptions in order to resemble a stone with multiple poems.[302]

The journey of the papyrus to Primis is obscure. A roll of such quality would not be produced in a military fort, but how did it get there? Most scholars assume that the papyrus was produced in Rome and imported to Egypt, where it travelled in a soldier's pack.[303] However, it could have been copied during Gallus' lifetime, and—although this is a far-fetching assumption—its impressive layout, with all its features, could have had its roots in the author's decision as well. The position of *praefectus Aegypti*, which allowed Gallus, among other things, to erect several obelisks recording his deeds, would surely put professional copyists at his service. This could as well have happened in Egypt. After that, however, the papyrus still travelled a long way to Primis, where it stayed for another two thousand years.



Figure 3.5: P.Oxy. 66.4501 (Nicarchus): between 5 lines at the top and 2 lines at the bottom, a poem could have been left out.

3.3.2.2 Self-made collections: Nicarchus

Not much is known about the imperial poet Nicarchus. He was active in the genre of scoptic epigram and has 38 epigrams transmitted under his name in the *Palatine Anthology*. His *terminus ante quem* is established based on the imitation by Martial, whose first book of epigrams (*Xenia*) appeared in December 83/84, and he is either a contemporary or a younger colleague of Lucillius, who lived under Nero. Nicarchus was writing in Greek and seems to have lived in Egypt, which is suggested by several lexical items and placenames mentioned in the epigrams.[304]

Three papyri containing Nicarchus' epigrams have been found so far, all of them in Oxyrhynchus. Of these, two are dated to the 1st and one to the 1st / 2nd century.[305] This means that they were copied either within, or shortly after Nicarchus' lifetime, and makes them interesting for this study.

[297] Anderson, Parsons, and Nisbet 1979, 127–128.

[298] Plut. *Vit. Crass.* 32.3.

[299] The scribe made at least one mistake, writing *erit* in l. 3 of the papyrus, within a section addressed to Caesar, which must have been *eris* in the original. However, mistakes in papyri of high quality are not uncommon.

[300] Hutchinson 2008, 21–24 on the visual impact of a Greek and a Latin bookroll.

[301] An example of a 'serifed' *paragraphos* is P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36 (Schironi 2010, 96–97). S. Ammirati compares CIL VIII, 211–216 and P.Iand. v 90 (Ammirati 2015, 28).

[302] Leghissa 2019, a study focused on the papyrus' layout features.

[303] Overview in Capasso and Radiciotti 2003, 99–102. Leghissa's argument that indented pentameters speak for Roman origin does not hold ground in view of Lougovaya-Ast 2012.

[304] Schatzmann 2012, 21–25 for Nicarchus' vocabulary and what little can be said about his biography in general.

[305] P.Oxy. 54.3725, P.Oxy. 66.4501 and P.Oxy. 66.4502. A fourth papyrus, yet unpublished P.Oxy.inv. 103/125 (c), is tentatively seen as connected with P.Oxy. 54.3725 by A. Schatzmann.

All three papyri are written in informal hands, sloppy and often using ligatures, and all are written on the back of documents. P. Parsons in the *editio princeps* identified 66.4501 and 4502 as written by the same hand and did not exclude the possibility that 54.3725 belonged to the same 'amateur copyist'.[306] The layout of an epigram book with a section title mid-line introducing a set of epigrams on the common topic is visible in P.Oxy. 66.4502 and P.Oxy. 54.3725. The most peculiar of the three is P.Oxy. 66.4501, which contains a sizeable white space after line 5 (7 cm; estimated to fit 14 lines by Parsons).[307] Based on the combination of unprofessional production and this possible sign of non-sequential copying, it has been suggested that this papyrus is a personal project: the owner was collecting epigrams by Nicarchus and left space for an epigram that was missing from his source (fig. 3.5).

The existence of personal copies of this sort presumes that there were other, professionally produced copies of Nicarchus to serve as the archetype. At the same time, Nicarchus would be being read in Rome. It remains a question whether he was active in Rome for some time and sent some books back home, or whether the dissemination of his works started from Egypt. In any case, it was picked up quickly by some interested readers.

3.3.2.3 Miniature formats: Plutarch

In 1997, editing a number of fragments including a new papyrus of Plutarch (P.Laur. inv. III/543 A), G. Messeri Savorelli and R. Pintaudi made a tentative suggestion that there might have been a library holding a tangible part of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Oxyrhynchus.[308] At that point, only 6 papyri of Plutarch were known, divided equally between the *Lives* and the *Moralia*. Less than a quarter of a century later, the balance has shifted dramatically towards the latter: of 17 papyri that Schmidt lists in 2019, 5 feature the *Lives* and 12, the *Moralia*.

The papyri of Plutarch are of particular relevance to our study due to their chronology. The majority of them are dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.[309] Even given the richness of papyrological material from this period of time, it is rather uncommon to find so many works by the same author, circulating in Egypt within a generation or two of his lifetime. Their bibliographical qualities could give an insight into what their archetypes looked like and, furthermore, into the nature of the early distribution of Plutarch's works.[310]

The earliest known papyrus of Plutarch, P.Oxy. 52.3685 (fig. 3.6), is dated on palaeographical grounds to the first half of the 2nd century. The fragment contains a part of the *Septem sapientium convivium*. It is very small (the height of the written area is 10.6 cm), the smallest in Johnson's sample of Oxyrhynchus papyri both by column width (3.2 cm) and column height (10.8 cm+).[311] A wide *inter-*

[306] Parsons 1999, 39.
[307] Parsons 1999, 40.
[308] Savorelli and Pintaudi 1997, 175.
[309] 7 (41%) are dated to the 2nd century, 6 (35%) to the 3rd century, 2 to 2nd–3rd century and one each to the 4th and the 5th century.
[310] An overview of Plutarchean papyri in Schmidt 2019.
[311] Johnson 2004, 162.

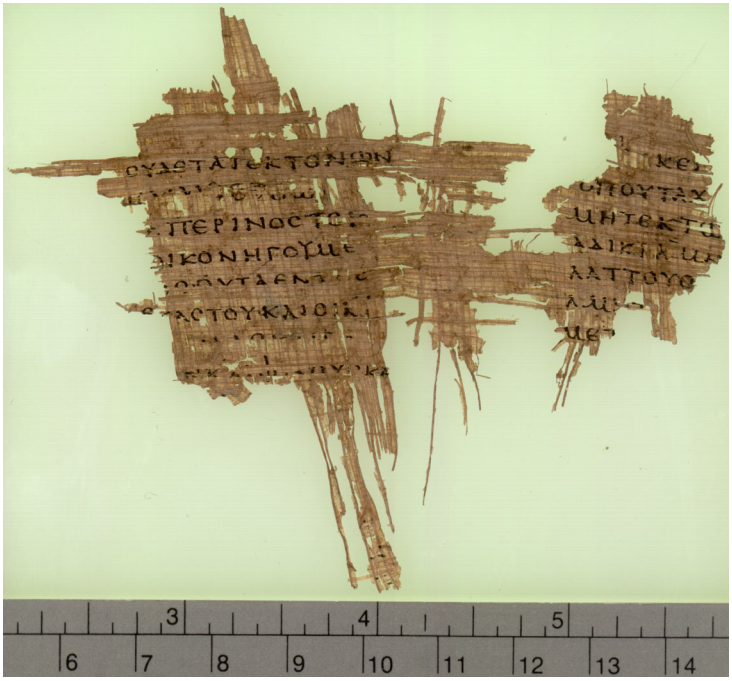


Figure 3.6: P.Oxy. 52.3685: Plutarch, *Moralia* 155 C (*Septem Sapientium Convivium* 12)

columnium and a wide upper margin (>2 cm) point at an edition of higher quality, and the fragment is written by a trained literary hand.

A roll of a different, less formal bookhand has been reconstructed by combining eight fragments of papyrus from different collections. These are PSI 16.1608, P.Oxy. 78.5156, and P.Oxy. 28.2481 (fr. 6-7) (fig. 3.7).[312] The *Quaestiones convivales* ('Table Talk') are witnessed in three Plutarch papyri, including the reconstructed roll, all of them from the 2nd century. The text itself was composed in the later part of Plutarch's life, as he indicates that most of his children were already grown up and had married by the time of writing.[313] This brings the bookroll quite close to the time of composition of the work, with the most optimistic interpretation by Schmidt measuring the gap as only about 30 years.[314] The preservation of the text is illustrated on table 3.6.[315]

The remains of the second column on fr. 8 were crucial in assessing the size of the roll. The line having 13–14 letters, the missing part of the text would fit 14–15 lines of text below the fragment. This yields a column of 24–25 lines. The columns are rather narrow. Their width measures ca. 4 cm, and stands in the ratio 1:3 to the height, which is estimated at about 12 cm. The preserved fragments come from different parts of a roll stretching over 84 columns of text.

[312] Brusuelas (2012, 97) noted the similarity of the script, the presence of unjustified line-ends, and the same line-spacing and line-length ('c. 13 letters occupying c. 4.5 cm') with the PSI fragments. Fragments 6 and 7 of P.Oxy. 28.2481 were reattributed to Plutarch by Danbeck (2013, 33–34).

[313] See Jones 1971, 27 n. 48 for the list of passages.

[314] Schmidt 2019, 82.

[315] Source: Muratore and Perrone 2013.

fr. 1	P.Oxy. 78.5156 fr. 1	660c
fr. 2	PSI inv. 2055a	660d
fr. 3	P.Oxy. 78.5156 fr. 2	661b–c
fr. 4	P.Oxy. 28.2481 fr. 6	661c
fr. 5	PSI inv. 2055b	661d
fr. 6	P.Oxy. 28.2481 fr. 7	662a
fr. 7	PSI inv. 1960	671a–b
fr. 8	PSI inv. 1995	671c–d

Table 3.6: Distribution of the fragments of Plutarch's *Quaestiones convivales* (P.Oxy. 28.2481 fr. 6 and 7, P.Oxy. 78.5156; PSI inv. 2055a, 2055b, 1960 and 1995.)



(a) P.Oxy. 78.5156: Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 660c; 661b–c (= 4.pr; 1.2)

(b) PSI 16.1608: Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 660d, 661d, 671a–b, 671c–d

Figure 3.7: Fragments of a single bookroll with considerable margins containing parts of the Book 4 of *Quaestiones convivales.*

Of the known Plutarchean papyri, only two are written on the back of a different text.[316] Several of them exhibit peculiar formatting, such as relatively short columns in combination with a large upper margin and a wide *intercolumnium*. While the speed of distribution alone is not as impressive as it might seem, it is definitely interesting to find multiple copies of unusual and rather high-end format.[317] Combined with relatively high frequency of punctuation marks and sometimes visible care about the copy's visual appeal (e.g. the use of line-fillers in P.Oxy. 78.5153), it seems to indicate a number of readers of Plutarch in Oxyrhynchus who were well-off enough to order a rather high-quality copy.

3.4 Conclusion

What transpires from the analysis of the audiences of texts distributed in book form and the ways that these books could reach them is a system working on different levels, both socially and spatially.

Personal dissemination is always one of the first steps of a book's way into the world. In the dedicatee, the book finds its first reader and advertiser; from their house it will start on its way through the close social circles. Depending on the position and interests of the author, a book may also be sent elsewhere to circulate in a similar social milieu in a different place. Libraries provide a physical space for books to be stored, read, and worked with, as well as some defence of the authenticity and quality of their texts. The journey of a book to a library is personal and relies on the author's personal connections or influence. It is also a sign of being accepted into the canon and thus established as a literary figure. This type of prestige grows in accordance with the position of the library in question: the imperial libraries in Rome are directly connected with the emperor's favour, those regulated by a city, the views and allegiances of its community.

Where the 'target audience' of a work is not confined to a single locality, one can see more means of distribution employed. Books can be delivered to a place by a friend travelling there who has a connection to the local reading community, or they can be deposited in a library, which has an additional benefit of confirming their authenticity. Travelling booksellers act as more neutral messengers, whose role is underplayed in the statements made by authors. After the first stage of distribution, the rest depends on readers, who might order copies of a work or make them themselves, creating their own libraries and collections. This stage, however, is rarely the topic of authors who reflect on the fate of their work, focussing on immediate reactions in the circle of select readers.

The existence of hierarchies within the expected audiences of a literary work might also explain the relative lack of treatment that booksellers and, especially, bookshops receive in literary works beyond a simple matter of 'not talking about tools'. Literary papyri exhibit a variety of styles and ways of using a literary text which reflects a varied readership not represented in literature. The analysis of papyri close to their authors' lifetimes has shown that compositions could travel at unexpected speeds and reach many more places than reading communities in large centres.

[316] Both exceptions come from the 3rd century: a fragment from *Proverbia Alexandrinorum* written on the back of an account in P.Oxy. 81.5271 and a passage from *Alexander*, on the back of an unidentified literary text in P.Oxy. 82.5301.

[317] Speed: Lundon 2004, 46 n. 6.

4 Tensions around publication

In this chapter, I will explore the moment of publication from the point of view of the authors. Its aim is to analyse the motivations behind publishing a text in book form and the anxieties that might accompany this process. In section 4.1, I will approach this topic through the question of refraining from publication, namely in which contexts it is applicable and whether 'non-publication' can have negative consequences. Section 4.2, dedicated to the happenings after the book is 'out', will contain the analysis of authors' engagement with critics and criticism as well as an overview of the question of political consequences connected with literary activity.

The resulting picture of publication-related motivations and hesitations will serve as background to the second part of the chapter, which will present an analysis of the Latin *topos* of personifying and addressing the bookroll (section 4.3) and the array of literary effects arising from the practice of correcting a literary work before publishing it section 4.4.

4.1 Before publishing

'But why did they write?' is not a question that is often asked in Classics. Apart from 'professional authors' who worked within a competition context, it is often silently assumed that someone just decides to pick up the *stylos* and produce a work of literature. Since the production of a book would involve some expense on the author's side, there was an in-built gatekeeping mechanism: one had to be able to afford bringing a book to the 'market' or find someone who would pay for it. Apart from that, there were other ways of making a name for oneself in which authors engaged. Why, then, would someone wish to disseminate their work in a bookroll?

The goal of this section is to take a closer look at the moment of publication, considering its importance in the literary process and the tensions that arise around it. I will begin by analysing the very possibility of talking about the decision to publish, based on the distinction between 'published' and 'unpublished' texts. Then, I will view passages in which authors express their doubts about bringing a work to the public, and finally, I will consider the possible negative consequences of *not* publishing a text.

4.1.1 The option not to publish

One of the earliest examples of pondering whether a text should be 'published', Plat. *Parm.* 128d–e, has already been discussed above, in conjunction with the relationship between performance and

publication and the development of the attitude to the written word.[318] An important feature of this passage is a reference to a text being in the unpublished state: it had been written (ἐγράφη), but the author did not have the opportunity to consider its suitability for dissemination (εἴτ' ἐξοιστέον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ φῶς εἴτε μή), and it was stolen and disseminated without the author's permission.

Only where dissemination of a text in book form is a viable option for delivering a text to an audience is it possible to start speaking about the author's choice between 'publishing' and 'not publishing'. There should be an expectation that the text, after being copied once, continues to 'live' and find new readers. The important features of book publication can be seen most clearly when the option to publish a work is contrasted with an alternative, either in the form of a different mode of presentation (for example, an oral performance) or in the form of a 'non-publication', where a written text remains inaccessible to the public. In the following, I will study examples from two genres of writing that are connected with a possibility of oral delivery, lectures and speeches, where either an acknowledgement of a work's status as 'not published' or a choice to publish is present.

One of the well-known areas of literature in which there is a perceived difference between published and unpublished texts is education. On all levels of education, what is now called 'the oral method' was predominant. Lectures both happened in enclosed communities and attracted the interested public if given openly. The transition between oral delivery and written dissemination of this kind of material could happen in different ways. Some students made notes which could then circulate independently, and the lecturers themselves could decide to collect and prepare a selection of them for the usage of the students or wider public. Even in the absence of an oral component, the composition process of a longer work could involve stages where the text was not published yet.

The Greek adjective ἀνέκδοτος is first attested with the meaning 'unpublished' in the testament of Lycon, head of the Peripatetic school, who died ca. 225 BC. His will is quoted by Diogenes Laertius (5.73):

> καὶ Χάρητα ἀφίημι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτόν. καὶ δύο μνᾶς αὐτῷ δίδωμι καὶ τἀμὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα· τὰ δ' ἀνέκδοτα Καλλίνῳ ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ ἐκδῷ.
>
> *And I set free Chares, and Lycon shall support him. And I bequeath to him two minas and my writings – the already read ones. The unpublished, on the other hand, <I bequeath> to Callinus so that he publishes them with care.*

This short passage from a longer will furnishes us with examples of using ἀνέκδοτος for a specific status of the text: 'not (yet) published'. These texts need further preparation, which Callinus is supposed to undertake before publishing them (ἐκδίδωμι), while the enslaved Chares receives 'published' books as valuable objects (next to a sum of money). The usage of ἀνεγνωσμένα in opposition to the ἀνέκδοτα poses a question: it puts one of the possible meanings of ἀναγιγνώσκω into the same, or a very similar, category as ἐκδίδωμι. One way of seeing the difference between the two groups is in

[318] Section 2.1.

the reach to the audience. Some books have already been read (possibly, read out), while the others are not out there yet. D. J. Allan sees it as proof that reading aloud could constitute the act of publishing.[319] However, I find this interpretation strained. A likelier interpretation of ἀνεγνωσμένα might be 'proofread', which was suggested already by K. Dziatzko.[320] For example, παραναγιγνώσκω, 'reading next to each other' is attested for comparison of documents in Classical times, which is similar to the process of correcting a literary text.[321] The kind of work that Callinus is supposed to undertake would thus mean at least proofreading and arranging the production of copies. One of the features of an unpublished work is that it is not—yet—corrected.

Traditions on philosophical schools often say that the works produced within them were only meant for internal usage and not to be published. Such is the story about Pythagorean teachings, which it was forbidden to disclose outside the school in any form. In a less drastic form, one can think of a segregation of texts for the initiated from those for the *profani*. A famous fictitious letter exchange between Aristotle and Alexander the Great on the topic of Aristotle's esoteric works concerns a question of publication (Gell. 20.5):

> Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει εὖ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας, ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροατικοὺς τῶν λόγων. τίνι γὰρ δὴ διοίσομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ' οὓς ἐπαιδεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί; ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπειρίαις ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο.
>
> *Alexander to Aristotle, greetings. You did not make it right when you published the lectures of the acroatic kind. For how will we be different from the others, if the lectures through which we received our education will be in common possession of everyone? I, however, would like to differ in the knowledge about the noblest things, rather than in the power. Farewell.*
>
> Ἀριστοτέλης βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εὖ πράττειν. ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τῶν ἀκροατικῶν λόγων οἰόμενος δεῖν αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις. ἴσθι οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκδεδομένους καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένους· ξυνετοὶ γάρ εἰσι μόνοις τοῖς ἡμῶν ἀκούσασιν. ἔρρωσο, Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ.
>
> *Aristoteles to king Alexander, greetings. You wrote to me about the acroatic lectures, thinking that it is necessary to keep them in secret. Now know that they are both published and unpublished, for they are only comprehensible to those who have listened to my teachings. Farewell, king Alexander.*

I am adducing this example not to discuss Aristotle's esoteric and exoteric writings or the tradition of spurious letters ascribed to famous figures. What is of interest here is the 'both published and

[319] Allan 1980, 244; LSJ quotes this passage s.v. ἀναγιγνώσκω II Pass.: 'books read aloud, hence, published'.

[320] Dziatzko 1897, 961.

[321] The verb also occurs in the *explicit* to Eutocius' commentary on Archimedes in the 6th century AD and seems to indicate cross-checking (Nagy 2009, 427). Even though it is a late usage, it can add to the plausibility of this interpretation.

unpublished' aphorism that is key to the exchange. The act of publishing is understood in 'Alexander's' letter as something that lets a text cross the threshold and come from the possession of a group of initiated into the public realm. Alexander's fears are that the recondite knowledge that was only available to the selected few will lose its value when it becomes common (πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί). 'Aristotle's' answer addresses specifically this fear: although the works might be publicly available, it does not make their contents common knowledge, since they cannot be understood without having been to Aristotle's school. There is no defense of the idea to publish the texts in question, only a refutation of its assumed drawbacks; the fact that more people will have access to the text after its publication is obviously true.

In the 2nd century AD, Galen writes extensively on the texts that he produced and is familiar with the distinction between the works that are meant to be published and those that are not. According to him, some of Hippocrates' texts were not yet prepared to be 'published', which accounted for incompleteness and unclarity.[322] As T. Dorandi notes, this is more likely to be an anachronistic application of Galen's practices – the same, Galen says, happened to some of his own works.[323] Following his research on Galen and Philodemus' library, Dorandi concludes that there was a category of 'private' literary production, not suitable for a wider readership.[324] Galen's concerns, however, are not with the dissemination of rare knowledge to those who are not ready for it or not worthy of it, but with the issues that may arise from the dissemination of a οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν text – mainly blows to his fame and reputation.[325]

What is the alternative to publishing a work? In Latin, *continere* ('to keep', 'to enclose') expresses the decision against making a work public, and is often used in a juxtaposition with *edere*.[326] It is not surprising that an author could have some texts at various stages of progress, or 'sitting on the shelves' waiting for a potential 'release'. Similarly, work on a text that has already been performed could take time.

For speeches, the moments of performance and publication are separated both by the context and by the goal of the activity: publication does not contribute to the legal goal of writing a speech anymore. This watershed makes it a practical ground for case studies regarding the authors' decisions on publishing their speeches. Cicero composed many speeches, of which he published only some. The supposed reasons for it usually fall into two categories: the actual socio-political situation and reflections on future literary glory. W. Stroh admits the possible political influence of Cicero's published speeches, but denies that this could have been the primary goal of their publication.[327] Arguing with

[322] E.g. Gal. *Hipp. Epid. VI* 17a. 1001K: οὐ γὰρ σύγγραμμά ἐστι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸς ἔκδοσιν γεγονός, ἀλλὰ παρασκευαί τινες ἢ ὑποτυπώσεις ὁποίας ἑαυτοῖς εἰώθαμεν ποιεῖσθαι.

[323] Dorandi 2014, 4, formulated already in Dorandi 2007.

[324] On the division between a σύγγραμμα and a ὑπόνημα, see in section 6.2.2.

[325] The expression πρὸς ἔκδοσιν in reference to books occurs only in three authors across TLG: once in the preface to Aelian's *Tactica*, twenty (!) times in Galen and twice much later, in Photius' *Bibliotheca*. Galen's outstanding attention to his works is well-known, but the almost complete lack of similar expressions in other authors is peculiar. For the question of οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν, see in section 6.2.2, page 194.

[326] For a non-literary usage of *continere* cf. e.g. Cic. *Sull.* 42: *non occultavi, non continui domi.*

[327] Stroh 1975, 51.

this view, Crawford talks about 'a combination of didacticism and political considerations' that influenced Cicero.[328] Whereas this seems likely to have had at least some impact, the assumed importance of the publication of speeches for Cicero's career that Crawford draws directly from the importance of forensic activity seems to be overrated.[329] This, and the idea that Cicero made a choice about each and every speech, evoked most critical remarks from reviewers. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that each and every piece of oratory production was scrutinised to determine whether it was worthy of publication—or, in the way Crawford sees it, to weigh the possible benefits and drawbacks that its publication would bring. This would make 'non-publication' not a result of mere chance and even not an outcome of a selection process (in which case the question is decided in favour of some, not against a specific speech, although the same considerations play their respective roles), but a conscious decision against publishing. However, it seems that at least for the speeches, 'non-publication need not have a motive or involve a decision at all.'[330]

Cicero himself in *Brutus* gives a commentary on the writing practices of the orators. He does not seem to be interested in questions of publication, rather he is listing works worth reading that survived until his day. In Cic. *Brut.* 91, the question is why, if Galba was so talented at giving speeches, his ability is not visible in their written versions. Cicero says that most of the speeches are not composed in writing and explains reasons not to write.[331] Some do not do it because of laziness (*inertia*). Some are happy with the immediate glory and do not care about what will happen after their death. They may also be afraid that the qualities of their speeches will not stand the test of time. Some have a natural talent for speaking, but lack the necessary education to write: this is the case of Galba, who did write, but whose written speeches are not as impressive as their delivery was. These reasons are likely to be applicable to Cicero's time as well.

Whereas for the publication of Cicero's speeches, one has to rely largely on the existing corpus, and to some extent, on the correspondence, Pliny comments extensively on the decision-making concerning the reworking of his speeches for publication. In his letters, *continere* is a clear antonym to 'publishing'. So, in 1.8 it is still an option not to publish even after the text has been corrected: *erit enim et post emendationem liberum nobis uel publicare uel continere*; in 5.12 he ponders whether to publish something or not, *edere* or *continere*, based on the opinion of a friend: *tu velim quid de universo, quid de partibus sentias, scribas mihi. ero enim vel cautior in continendo vel constantior in edendo, si huc vel illuc auctoritas tua accesserit.*[332] We can compare these passages to Cic. *Att.* 13.21a (discussed above, section 3.2.1) where Atticus is asked to 'hold back' the copies of the *Academica* (*ea vero continebis*).

In *Epist.* 5.8, Pliny responds to a suggestion that he should write history, and explains his hesita-

[328] Polemic in Crawford 1984, 6–7.

[329] Orator's success is supposed to be amplified by the publication of his speeches: Crawford 1984, 4.

[330] Douglas 1986, 334.

[331] *nec enim est eadem inquam, Brute, causa non scribendi et non tam bene scribendi quam dixerint. nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse, ne domesticus etiam labor accederet ad forensem—pleraeque enim scribuntur orationes habitae iam, non ut habeantur.*

[332] 'Please, write me what you think about it as a whole and about its parts. For I will either be more cautious in keeping it to myself or more resolved in letting it out, if your judgement agrees to one or the other.'

tions, among other reasons, by his ongoing work on the speeches:

> cur ergo cunctor? egi magnas et graves causas. has, etiamsi mihi tenuis ex iis spes, destino retractare, ne tantus ille labor meus, nisi hoc quod reliquum est studii addidero, mecum pariter intercidat. nam si rationem posteritatis habeas, quidquid non est peractum, pro non incohato est. dices: 'potes simul et rescribere actiones et componere historiam.' utinam! sed utrumque tam magnum est, ut abunde sit alterum efficere.
>
> *Why do I hesitate <to write history>? I gave speeches in some important, serious cases. Those, even though I do not hope to get much from them, I plan to revise, lest all the work I put into them disappears together with me, unless I add the little effort that is remaining. For if you know what posterity will think, it is that whatever is not finished is held as not started. You will say: 'You can rewrite the speeches and put together a history at the same time.' If only! But each of the tasks is so great that it would be more than enough to have finished the other.*

For Pliny, the publication of his reworked speeches is a necessary part of contributing to his posthumous glory, the way of securing their future when their author is long dead. The decision to publish a speech that has already been given has a specific weight. At the same time, Pliny underlines the work that is needed for the speeches to move from the 'performed' to the 'published' form.

An interesting question on whether something should be published is raised in Pliny's letter 1.8 to Pompeius Saturninus. This is a speech (*sermo*) given when he was dedicating a library. Apart from the request to re-read the text (*petiturus sum … ut rursus vaces sermoni*) and correct it, Pliny explains at great length the reasons of his doubts about its publication. His concerns involve both the quality of the text and its essence: *saepe ipse mecum, nobisne tantum, quidquid est istud, composuisse an et aliis debeamus … ita nunc in ratione edendi veremur, ne forte non aliorum utilitatibus sed propriae laudi servisse videamur.*[333]

The problem of the argument of conscious 'non-publication' is the implication it bears for each unpublished text. With speeches, even writing the text down before the delivery means extra work (setting apart the dismissal of those who read from a ready text), even though no one is likely to access it but the orator himself. To publish would mean even more effort. If for some speeches there might have been good reasons not to put them into circulation, the others might just not have made it into the final selection. It does set them somewhat lower on the hierarchy, but should not mean there was a good reason *not* to publish—rather that there were not enough good reasons to do so. The picture is different when one talks about the preparatory stages for a text that is intended to be disseminated in a written form, such as a treatise. A compilation of material does not need to be intended for wide dissemination but may just serve the author's own attempt to understand a topic. It is when there is a motivation that these texts may be turned into 'published' books.

[333] 'I have often asked myself, should I have written it up, of whatever quality it is, only for myself, or also for the others … so now I am afraid lest it seems that I have served not the benefits of the others, but my own praise.'

4.1.2 Considering publication: motivations

I will now turn to some of the driving forces behind publication that can be found in the literary texts. For most of literature, there are some benefits in it being published, whether book publication is the primary mode of delivery or not. Striving for fame is definitely one reason to publish; however, it might also lead to derision. Seneca the Younger compares contemporary writers of low-quality works with Greeks who discuss such useless questions as what came first, the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, or whether both of them were by the same author. Such literary enquiries, he says, neither make one happy if they stay unpublished (*sive contineas*), nor give him the reputation of a scholar if made public (*sive proferas*), and those engaging with them are placed together with people who like playing ball games or sunbathing (Sen. *Brev. vit.* 10.13):

> persequi singulos longum est, quorum aut latrunculi aut pila aut excoquendi in sole corporis cura consumpsere vitam. non sunt otiosi, quorum voluptates multum negotii habent. nam de illis nemo dubitabit, quin operose nihil agant, qui litterarum inutilium studiis detinentur, quae iam apud Romanos quoque magna manus est. Graecorum iste morbus fuit quaerere quem numerum Ulixes remigum habuisset, prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssia, praeterea an eiusdem esset auctoris, alia deinceps huius notae, quae siue contineas, nihil tacitam conscientiam iuuant, siue proferas, non doctior uidearis sed molestior.
>
> *It would take a long time to list each of those who choose to waste away their life at boardgames, playing ball or cooking their bodies in the sun. Those whose desires are busy are not free. For no one will doubt that people kept by useless study of literary problems do nothing industrious—those of whom there is already a great number among Romans. It was a malady of the Greeks: to enquire how many rowers Ulysses had, whether the Iliad or the Odyssey was written first, and otherwise if they were by the same author, and then other things of this kind, which do not please your silent knowledge if you keep them inside, and if you put them forth, you will seem not cleverer but more annoying.*

Among the common points of criticism of literary authors is the accusation of not putting enough work into the book. However, there are also good reasons to be fast if there is competition, which leads to the tension between the wish to produce a work of high quality and the need to do it quickly. It is not surprising that new works are more popular than older ones. The normality of the interest in new poetry can be seen from a reference in Horace to the unexpected popularity of the archaic poet Naevius, which was disapproved of by the poet in *Epist.* 2.1.53–54: *Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret / paene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.*[334] Naevius is an archaic poet,

[334] 'Is Naevius not clinging to the hands and the minds, as if he were fresh?' The question mark was set by Bentley; Naevius' name comes after the commentary on the 'second Homer' Ennius in v. 50–52, building to the climax of the passage (Barchiesi 1962, 44–46).

but he is being read and learned as if he were contemporary.[335] The enthusiasm for the old authors is what is surprising, while the interest in new production would be the norm.

In letter 1.2, Pliny sends a book (*liber*) to Arrianus, asking for his opinion. The matter in question seems, as elsewhere, to be a speech. After an explanation of his stylistic choices, Pliny writes:

> nec est quod putes me sub hac exceptione ueniam postulare. nam quo magis intendam limam tuam, confitebor et ipsum me et contubernales ab editione non abhorrere, si modo tu fortasse errori nostro album calculum adieceris. est enim plane aliquid edendum—atque utinam hoc potissimum quod paratum est! audis desidiae uotum—edendum autem ex pluribus causis, maxime quod libelli quos emisimus dicuntur in manibus esse, quamuis iam gratiam nouitatis exuerint; nisi tamen auribus nostris bibliopolae blandiuntur. sed sane blandiantur, dum per hoc mendacium nobis studia nostra commendent. (1.2.6)
>
> *Nor should you think that I am asking for forgiveness based on this limitation. For, in order to make your file even more rigorous, I will openly say that both myself and my friends do not fear publishing it, if only you would approve where I am uncertain. Something definitely needs to be published, and if only this one, the one that is ready! You hear the desire of idleness, but I have to publish because of many reasons, most of all because the books that I have sent out are said to be circulating, although they are already deprived of the benefit that novelty brings. Unless, of course, booksellers flatter my ears—well, let them flatter, so long as they set me to work through this lie.*

A letter on a literary topic, full of so many hints at the same time and standing at the beginning of a collection, can only be understood as programmatic. Pliny says that he should publish something (*est enim plane aliquid edendum*), but that this something should be ready (*utinam hoc potissimum quod paratum est*). Another, and the most compelling, reason is that his other works found their audience and are said to be read (*in manibus esse*), even though they have lost the charm of novelty (*iam gratiam novitatis exuerint*).[336] The source of this knowledge are also not rumours or friends' reports, but testimonies of booksellers, *bibliopolae*. Pliny efficiently conveys the tension between the need to produce books to answer to the demands of the public and the uncertainty concerning the state of the work that might be out next.

A different kind of comment on the reasons to be fast with the publication of a book can be found in Tacitus' *Dialogus*. There, the sophist Maternus refuses to correct his tragedy, which seems to have offended certain people in a position of power (Tac. *Dial.* 2–3.3):

[335] Brink 1982, ad loc. (102–103).
[336] Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1 praef.

(2) nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aper et Iulius Secundus <…> (3) igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsum<que>, quem pridie recitaverat librum, inter manus habentem deprehendimus. Tum Secundus 'nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo librum istum adprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares, et sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?' Tum ille 'leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit, et adgnosces quae audisti. quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi. atque ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

(2) But a day after Curiatus Maternus gave a reading of 'Cato', Marcus Aper and Iulius Secundus came to visit him, because it was said that he offended the minds of powerful people, as if, having forgotten himself in the subject of the tragedy, he had thought only about Cato, and there was a lot of talk in the city about this matter. <…> (3) So, when we entered Maternus' room, we found him sitting and holding in his hands the book which he recited a day before. Then Secundus said: 'Aren't you in the least afraid, Maternus, of the talks of ill-wishers, and do you like the provocations of your Cato nonetheless? Or did you take up this book in order to correct it very attentively and to send your Cato out not really better, but at least safer, having removed everything that gave grounds for a twisted interpretation?' Then he said: 'You will read what Maternus owed himself, and you will recognise what you had heard, because if Cato left something out, Thyestes will say it at the next reading. For I have already planned this tragedy and composed it in my mind, and I am in such a hurry to speed up the publication of this book in order to dedicate myself with my whole soul to the new topic, when the earlier task is off.'

The recitation of *Cato* was obviously a significant event in city life. Secundus' suggestion upon entering the room is that Maternus picked up the work to edit it (*ut diligentius retractares*) and to 'send your Cato out not better, but still safer'. As it seems, not reacting to offended high figures could lead to problems, especially in a context where a recitation had already provoked talk. Maternus, however, denies the suggestion: the next tragedy, *Thyestes*, is already on its way, and will convey similar sentiments. Moreover, finishing one book means giving way for the next project: a literary work is taking all the time it needs, and only when it is finished and published is the author free to move on to a new one. This is comparable to Pliny's excuses for not writing history as seen earlier (*Epist.* 5.8): multitasking is not among the habits of Latin authors.

4.1.3 Consequences of non-publication

Having considered the motivations and fears that may accompany the decision to publish a literary work, we can now turn to the question of 'non-publication': as it turns out, having a text written down but keeping it back from the public is not as harmless as it might seem.

Within a literary community, news of someone working on a text are easily spread, and the expectations grow accordingly. Martial 4.33 is a reminder to publish while you are still alive:

plena laboratis habeas cum scrinia libris,
    emittis quare, Sosibiane, nihil?
'edent heredes' inquis 'mea carmina.' quando?
    tempus erat iam te, Sosibiane, legi.
ante fores stantem dubitas admittere Famam
    teque piget curae praemia ferre tuae?
post te victurae per te quoque vivere chartae
    incipiant: cineri gloria sera venit.

Although you have book-chests full of well-toiled books, why do you, Sosibianus, not publish anything? You say: 'My heirs will publish my poems'. When? It's about time, Sosibianus, that you are read already. Do you hesitate to let in the Fame waiting at the door? Are you reluctant to accept the reward for your work? Let the pages that will also live after you start living through you—the glory that ashes get is a late one.

Sosibianus purportedly has many books written, but none published. Martial says his books will outlive him but should start living already. Unpublished poetry in this case 'does not count' as an achievement.[337]

The object of Martial's humour might not have any books at home, but if he did, the decision not to publish them could lead to more unpleasant consequences than simply not being taken seriously. The connection between the author's name and the text circulating under it is fragile, and there are a few scenarios where authors are unhappy about the fate of their texts. When talking about such cases, we should keep in mind the difference between forgery, plagiarism, and piracy. A forger adds to the author's corpus a work not composed by them, a plagiarist appropriates a work by someone else, and a pirate distributes copies without the author's permission.[338] Of these, forgery is not relevant for the current discussion, because it is based on a text not produced by the author, so it will be omitted.[339]

[337] It is interesting to compare a statement from Pliny's *Natural History* that sets publication by heirs as a more suitable way (Plin. *NH* praef. 20): *vos quidem omnes, patrem, te fratremque, diximus opere iusto, temporum nostrorum historiam orsi a fine Aufidii. ubi sit ea, quaeres. iam pridem peracta sancitur et alioqui statutum erat heredi mandare, ne quid ambitioni dedisse vita iudicaretur.*

[338] McGill 2012, 3 with n. 10.

[339] Forgery in ancient literature: Speyer 1971.

Of the remaining two scenarios, the first case is piracy. A text entering circulation without the author's knowledge or against their wishes is a common situation in Greek and Latin literature. The potential damage depends on the text in question and the original plan of the author. In section 3.2.1, I analysed a situation where Cicero envisages a social difficulty that would arise if the book went into circulation before it reached the dedicatee, and a possible embarrassment because of its as yet uncorrected state. Both these problems are quite relevant for other authors as well, especially the latter. So, Diodorus says some books were stolen from him and made public without his consent before being proofread and taking their final form, and denies any responsibility for what can be found in them: ὅτι τῶν βίβλων τινὲς πρὸ τοῦ διορθωθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ συντέλειαν λαβεῖν κλαπεῖσαι προεξεδόθησαν, οὔπω συνευαρεστουμένων ἡμῶν τῇ γραφῇ· ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀποποιούμεθα (Diod. 40.8.1).[340]

In the 2nd century AD, Galen justifies writing a bibliographical compendium to his works with the enquiries of people who found inconsistencies between lecture notes he gave to interested students and their reworked version in treatise form (Gal. *Lib. Prop.* 19. 10K). Galen learned about the circulation of unauthorised texts under his name when some people contacted him and asked to correct their texts (ἐπανορθώσασθαι). The sequence of events leading to that was not stealing, as in the example from Diodorus, but his own decision to share notes with the students, which had no titles (χωρὶς ἐπιγραφῆς) and were not destined to dissemination (ὡς ἂν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔκδοσιν). Galen reworked some of his notes into other texts later, and the result was even more drastic: instead of some possible mistakes, in Galen's case the differences were those between lecture notes for beginners and a full treatise.

Finally, it might be that the author never planned to publish the text in question at all. In Cic. *Att.* 3.12.2 Cicero is concerned about a speech against Clodius and Curio that somehow 'slipped' out of his care and could bring him harm:

> percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. cui vulneri, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. scripsi equidem olim iratus quod ille prior scripserat, sed ita compresseram ut numquam emanaturam putarem. quo modo exciderit nescio. sed quia numquam accidit ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem et quia scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae puto ex se <posse> probari non esse meam. id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim; sin plane perii, minus laboro.

[340] 'That some of the books were stolen and published in advance, before being corrected and taking the exact form, while we were not yet satisfied with the writing; these we disown.'

> *Then you also shattered me about the circulation of that speech. Tend to this wound, as you say, if you can in any way do it. I did indeed write it, angry because he had written earlier against me, but I suppressed it so that I never thought it would resurface. I don't know how it escaped. But since it never happened that I argued with him even in a single word and since this speech seems to be written with less care than the others, I think it may be proven from its own qualities to not be mine. Please, take care of this, if you think I may be cured. If, on the other hand, I have perished already, I am less anxious.*

In this case, the mere existence of a text in a written form is potentially dangerous, since it can 'escape' (*excidere*) the author without their knowledge. A way of mediating this, for Cicero, was not trying to stop the dissemination, which seems to have been close to impossible, but to try to convince the public that the speech is not genuine.

Another danger of books 'escaping' their author is being plagiarised. Martial's corpus presents the reader with multiple epigrams on the topic.[341] A text that nobody has seen yet is an easier target. Martial 1.66 is an attack on an unskilled plagiarist:

erras, meorum fur avare librorum,
fieri poetam posse qui putas tanti,
scriptura quanti constet et tomus vilis:
non sex paratur aut decem sophos nummis.
secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas,
quas novit unus scrinioque signatas
custodit ipse virginis pater chartae,
quae trita duro non inhorruit mento.
mutare dominum non potest liber notus.
sed pumicata fronte si quis est nondum
nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana,
mercare: tales habeo; nec sciet quisquam.
aliena quisquis recitat et petit famam,
non emere librum, sed silentium debet.

[341] Spahlinger 2004.

> *You are wrong, greedy thief of my books, you who think that it is possible to become a poet for the price of copying and a lousy papyrus roll: applause cannot be prepared for six or ten coins. Look for recondite poems and raw material, those which the father of the virgin sheet knows and keeps sealed in the box, a sheet that hasn't become coarse yet, rubbed by a hard chin. A known book cannot change its master. But if there is one with the brow not yet polished by pumice, and not decorated with winding-rods and a cover, buy it. I have such, and nobody should know. Whoever reads aloud others' works and wants fame, must buy not a book but silence.*

Not 'releasing' a text can thus have negative consequences, apart from the missed chance to achieve fame. A text can 'leak' and bring the author into danger. If it is disseminated in a non-ready state or to the wrong people, it may lead to a literary or social fiasco. Finally, notes and unpublished texts can be stolen and plagiarised, while the dissemination of a text provides it with some protection, a proven connection between the book and its author. So, the same feature that is a source of worry—*nescit vox missa reverti*—turns into an advantage from the point of view of 'intellectual property' (*mutare dominum non potest liber notus*).

Non-publication, in the form of withholding a written text from the public, can be seen as a distinct option for authors, particularly in genres with a more extensive use of writing. Ἀνέκδοτος can be understood as a stage of a text's existence which may or may not develop into publication. In some cases, non-publication might be the best choice, but it is connected with its own pitfalls. On one side there is the fairly obvious aspect of wasting the effort and not fulfilling the purpose of writing (cf. Mart. 4.33). Authors under the pressure of their literary environment cannot necessarily allow themselves not to publish, if there is demand (Pliny's *est aliquid edendum*) or if they want to move on (Maternus' *maturare libri huius editionem festino*), which leads to the tension between quality and speed of production for the resulting work. Other dangers of texts existing in the unpublished form are concerned with accidental or malevolent distribution without the author's consent or publication under another name.

4.2 When the book is out

Now I will consider two kinds of consequences which have already been touched upon in the previous section, the reaction of readers and critics to the newly produced book and, separately, the possibility of social and political consequences in the case that someone in a position of power finds fault with it. The first subsection, concerned with critics and criticism, will investigate the role of feedback received after the publication of a book and ways of mitigating it. The second one is an overview of political censorship, which is at times seen as a relevant point of consideration for people engaged in literary activity, through the lens of its connection with book publication.

4.2.1 Literary criticism and book publication

Since literary criticism happens in contexts where the book as an artefact does not yet have any prominence, its existence is not predicated on the existence of book publication. Literary rivalry goes back to oral poetry (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, though imaginary itself, is an example of the idea), while expressions of one's own superiority are a commonplace already since archaic lyric. The parabasis of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (563–626), a well-treated passage, is a testimony of an engagement with criticism by a dramatic work. The production of a play is akin to the publication of a book: the author willingly brings it out in front of the public and therefore subjects it to their criticism. The *parabasis* refers to a second production, which could be called a second 'edition' of the play. Whether it was performed, planned to be performed but unfinished or thought for reading only, the reference is a dramatic one, not connected to the act of recording the *Clouds* on papyrus.[342]

Further, the language of poetry often does not distinguish between reception of the written work and its oral presentation. It is clear, as I have already discussed above (section 2.1), that recitation or other kinds of oral presentation of a work constituted a world of its own, with its particular prominence. A favourable reaction to a recital is one of the signs of success, whereas an unfavourable one may mean a critical point in the author's career.[343] Thus, literary criticism is not *per se* connected to the mode of publication central to this examination; in the following, I will focus on the examples where a connection with book publication is evident.

Criticism is a practical literary device to be used inside the text itself. Iambic poetry, epigram and satire are the genres most fitting for literary attacks. The same genres are also more suitable for responding to criticism, as Callimachus does in *Ia.* 13, where he lets his adversary talk (τεῦ μέχρι τολμᾶις, fr. 203.19). In Greek epigram, Lucillios has a series of epigrams on his fellow-poets, where he exercises his wit in destroying their skills. In *AP* 11.131 he criticises an unknown poet, Potamon, saying that he killed many people, as well as a surgeon, Hermogenes. Another epigrammatist, Pollianus, criticises 'cyclic' poets who write verses made up of Homeric quotes in *AP* 11.130. *AP* 11.127 and 128, by the same, are also on poets. The former of these is addressed to an unnamed poet who writes a lot 'without pondering', ἀκρίτως—whether this had a specific person in mind or just criticised a general trend is impossible to say.

It is possible that the popularity of invective in these genres is connected with the early appearance of writing and books alongside images of poet-competitors. Catullus' invectives against poets are well-known. In 14, he receives a traditional Saturnalian gift, a book. As it contains bad poetry, Catullus promises to send back a similarly unpleasant collection. In 44, he complains about the bout of disease that followed his reading a speech by Sestius, to whose house Catullus wanted to be invited. Poem 22 contains a description of an aspiring but hopeless poet, Suffenus, who takes great care to produce his books on the best material (*regia charta*), with all the additional decorative elements. The mismatch between the quantity and appearance of the poetry, on the one hand, and quality, on the other, is

[342] On the two versions, see Dover 1968, lxxx–xcviii; Olson 2021, 3–5.
[343] Compare, for example, the discussion of Apollonius Rhodius in section 2.1.2.2.

ridiculed, although the poem ends on a self-reflective note: it is easy to fall into deceiving yourself and think you are better than you are.[344]

Satire is, perhaps, one of the most self-conscious genres in Roman literature, and as such it is a perfect place for discussing literary matters. The verse satire has a strong 'lineage', with each prominent satirist building on his predecessor and taking his turn in the continuous redefinition of the genre.[345] Although it is strongly connected to performance, already in Lucilian satire one finds references to the material side of the book. Lucilius' corpus contains scattered references to verses, writing material, and satires (*saturae* or *sermones*).[346] Discussion of orthography, for instance, shows that writing is definitely a topic of conversation.[347] There are references to tragic authors (Pacuvius and Accius), and advice on composing history in verse.[348] Fame stemming from literature seems to be referenced in 1085 M = 1013 W (*et virtute tua, et claris conducere cartis*).[349]

In later satirists, books and writing take up an important position, and criticism is applied to the written work. The authors, readers and critics are dramatised in Horace and Persius (*Satires* opens with a question about the readers of the book, *quis leget haec*).[350] In Juvenal, poets eager to get popular read out their poems even in August (3.9–10: *mille pericula saevae / urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas*?), and a way of complimenting the book is to ask for a copy or to be able to make one (3.41–42: *mentiri nescio; librum, / si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere*). Criticism of the predecessors is an important way of establishing one's position in the literary landscape.

A final introductory note should be made with regard to the reliability of the sources. Whereas there is likely to be no reason to doubt Cicero's statements on Lucretius (*Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis*)[351] or on a poet he finds useless (*poëta ineptus, et tamen scit nihil; sed est non inutilis*),[352] writers' comments on the reception of their texts within or next to those texts themselves are obviously biased. More literary reactions show the tradition of engaging with predecessors and contemporaries and contribute to the understanding of the ideal

[344] A fuller analysis of Cat. 22 will follow in section 5.2.

[345] The scholiast says that Persius took the first verse of *Satire* 1 (*O curas hominum!*) from the beginning of Lucilius' book (an alternative says it originates in Lucr. 1.329–330: *nec tamen undique corporea stipata tenentur / omnia natura; namque est in rebus inane* (Hendrickson 1928)); Persius comes back to Lucilius and Horace in the middle of *Satire* 1 (1.114–115: *secuit Lucilius urbem*); Juvenal uses Lucilius' straightforwardness to contrast it with the present times where the freedom of speech is lacking. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff said once in a footnote: 'Es gibt gar keine lateinische Satire, es gibt nur Lucilius, Horaz, Persius und Iuvenal' (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1921, 42 n. 1).

[346] 1015 M = 1085 W: *gaudes cum de me ista foris sermonibus differs.* 1016 M = 1086 W: *et maledicendo in multis sermonibus differs.* 970 M = 1121 W: *multis indu locis sermonibus concelebrarunt.* Since *sermo* means 'speech', the divide between spoken and written satire is very permeable.

[347] Kent 1913, Sommer 1909, Somerville 2007 with more recent bibliography.

[348] 612 M = 700 W: *veterem historiam, inductus studio, scribis ad / amores tuos.* 621 M = 714 W: *percrepa pugnam Popili, facta Corneli cane.*

[349] I have already discussed Lucilius' famous quote on his preferences for the audience above (section 3.1.3). Several other fragments refer to the reception and appraisal of Lucilius' poetry: 1013 M = 1091 W: *et sola ex multis nunc nostra poemata ferri.* 588–9 M = 720–721 W: *nunc itidem populo … his cum scriptoribus; / voluimus capere animum illorum.* 688–9 M = 791–2 W: *rem, populi salutem fictis versibus Lucilius / quibus potest inpertit, totumque hoc studiose et / sedulo.*

[350] Pers. 1.2.

[351] Cic. *QF.* 2.10.3.

[352] Cic. *Att.* 2.20.6; the poet is thought to be Alexander of Ephesus.

through the criticism. At the same time, they may serve self-promotion, by highlighting the constant importance of the way the work is received for its author.

4.2.1.1 Immediate reactions and their relevance

Later comments on and accounts of the way someone's writings were received by contemporaries become part of the myth of the author, telling more about the way it was seen in the subsequent tradition. The immediate success of Vergil is portrayed in his *vita*: there were public performances of the *Eclogues* set to music (p. 6 l. 90: *Bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiaretur*), while the yet unfinished *Aeneid* won approval of other poets (30: *Aeneidos vixdum coeptae tanta exstitit fama, ut Sextus Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare …*) and the emperor himself, who is said to have asked for a first draft of the poem (31: *prima carminis* ὑπογραφή *vel quodlibet* κῶλον). *Vita Persii* (p. 44 l. 42) mentions that the *Satires* were so popular that people started to contend for the book: *editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt.* While we should not understand *diripere* as 'selling out in minutes', the verb indicates that there were more people who wanted to have a copy shortly after the production of the first exemplar(s) than there were available.

Criticism, as in the modern day, is also a sign of worthiness. 'Writing in response' (ἀντιγράφω / *rescribo*) means showing respect for the opponent. *Vita Vergilii* compares Vergil to Homer on this account: *obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt, nec mirum; nam nec Homero quidem* (p. 10 l. 170). In the following, the *vita* showcases critics of Vergil, including titles of works written against him, such as *Antibucolica* or *Aeneomastix*. There was also a work criticising the critics, called *Contra obtrectatores Vergilii.* When Polybius criticises other authors, he underlines that these are specialists worthy of his attention: you have to be a good historian to be attacked by him.[353]

In a different literary and political context, Cicero adds a commentary on the value of a response in a letter to Quintus (*QF* 3.1.11). The question is what to do with the answer to Cicero's *in Pisonem.*

> rescripsi epistulae maximae, audi nunc de minuscula. qua primum est de Clodi ad Caesarem litteris; in quo Caesaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit uti ullum ad illam furiam verbum rescriberet. alterum est de Calventi Mari oratione: quod scribis tibi placere me ad eam rescribere, miror, praesertim cum illam nemo lecturus sit si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdiscant.
>
> *I have answered the longest letter, now listen about the tiny one. In this, the first topic is on the letter of Clodius to Caesar. In this regard I approve of Caesar's decision not to grant you what you so nicely asked of him—and that he did not answer in a single word to this madness. The other matter is about the speech of Calventius Marius <i.e. Piso>. I am surprised that you write that you think I should write a response to it, especially since nobody will read that speech if I do not respond, while all boys learn my speech against him by heart, as if it were an exercise.*

[353] Polyb. 16.14.3: Zeno and Antisthenes of Rhodes are held in high regard, but they made some grave mistakes.

Cicero implies that Piso's speech is not worth answering, and not only for himself: the act of responding would lend it more weight than it deserves.[354]

Finally, I want to discuss a case of peculiar silence in an author otherwise very engaged in literary matters. Pliny's letters, which regularly address literary topics, include the reception and criticism of his writings. He himself makes the distinction between reciting, sending to a selected group of people and publishing in *Epist.* 9.1, and in several cases recommends to a friend something that he heard during a recitation and promises to send it as soon as it is made public (cf. 1.16; 6.21). Pliny is mostly interested in his friends' personal views on his texts and often refers to what was criticised in relation to his public readings (not only in terms of form and content, but also presentation). He also urges others to publish on many occasions, but conspicuously rarely says something about the reception of his own published books.

I could find only two straightforward examples of this. One is *Epist.* 7.4, a response to an enquiry by someone who read his verses, in this case not sent by Pliny, but acquired in some other way:

> (1) ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris etiam quemadmodum coeperim scribere <…> (8–10) postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum uolumen absoluere, nec paenitet. legitur describitur cantatur etiam, et a Graecis quoque, quos Latine huius libelli amor docuit, nunc cithara nunc lyra personatur. sed quid ego tam gloriose? quamquam poetis furere concessum est. et tamen non de meo sed de aliorum iudicio loquor; qui siue iudicant siue errant, me delectat. unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent. vale.
>
> *You say that you've read my hendecasyllables, and you also ask how I embarked on writing them <…> Finally, I decided, following the example of many, to finish a separate book of hendecasyllables, and I have no regrets. It is being read, copied, even sung—and it is put now to the cithara, now to the lyre by the Greeks as well, whom the love for this book taught Latin. But why am I boasting? Well, it is allowed for poets to be mad. And I am not talking about my opinion, but about that of the others, which, whether they are just or wrong, pleases me. I only wish for one thing, that also the posterity may be just or wrong in the same way. Farewell.*

In *Epist.* 4.26, Pliny is asked to correct a selection of his works and answers that this would be a great pleasure to him and gives a compliment saying he is more enthusiastic to write new things when he knows the correspondent is one of his readers. Not only does this give a hint of what a direct connection between an author and his readers could look like (cf. Mart. 7.11, someone asks Martial to correct his books for him), but also that finding and acquiring a selection of an author's works is an undertaking, anf the author seems to be pleased at such a sign of favourable reception of his work.

Both these cases do not really talk of 'immediate' criticism, for it seems that the composition and publication of the books in question had happened a while before the letters were written. However, it

[354] Cf. also Cic. *Brut.* 123, Cic. *Att.* 2.1.3 on Cicero's popularity with the youth.

still happens during the author's lifetime, and the distance between publishing and receiving criticism might seem bigger because Pliny is much more concerned about the quality of the texts he can still improve, therefore commenting more arduously on the reactions to his readings and pleading for useful feedback from his addressees. Publication is many times underlined in Pliny as an important and necessary stage, a 'point of no return', but when it happens, it receives significantly less attention.

4.2.1.2 Dramatisation of literary reception

The importance of books and writing and their presence in Roman satire makes it a good basis to investigate the ways authors tackle the expectation of being criticised. Since critics are a subset of readers, the methods of creating readers' hierarchies, which I discussed in section 3.1.3, are equally applicable. On the one hand, some critics are more important than others; on the other, the authors may act as critics themselves and launch a preemptive strike at their opponents.

Like (probably) Lucilius and (definitely) Catullus, Horace has an array of unworthy poets to make fun of. Their main quality, apart from the huge ego, is the lack of understanding of what proper poetry should look like. Writing too much is a fault, not a good quality. Thus Horace ridicules Crispinus, who wants him to enter into a poetry contest in *Sat.* 1.4.14–16: *accipe, si vis, / accipiam tabulas: detur nobis locus, hora, / custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.* The over-eager half-acquaintance of the *Sat.* 1.9 is similar. This person wants to get into the closed-off circle that Horace is already part of, and he is also a poet: *'noris nos,' inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego, 'pluris / hoc,' inquam, 'mihi eris'* (6–8). Horace dismisses him with unnoticed irony. Later on, in 23–24, the 'bore' boasts of his productivity: *nam quis me scribere pluris / aut citius possit versus?*. The boasting makes him even more ridiculous when he goes on, saying that Hermogenes would be envious of his talent (25: *invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto*). Given that Hermogenes is Horace's laughing-stock throughout Book 1, this makes his pretensions just as low.

Horace, on the other hand, constantly shows himself rising above this boastfulness and the lack of talent and gives readers his ideal of poetry. Lucilius takes a special place in the *Satires*. By praising and criticising him, Horace creates a background against which he presents his view on the genre. So, prolificity is not only a fault of modern times but also a drawback of Lucilius (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.9–13):

> nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
> ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;
> cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;
> garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
> scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror.

> *For he was faulty in the following way: he often dictated two hundred verses per hour, standing on one foot, as if it were a big deal. While he was flowing as a dirty stream, there were things you would want to remove. He was chatty and lazy to carry out the work of writing—writing correctly, I mean, for I don't care about writing much.*

The real quality of a poet is expressed: *labor scribendi recte*, opposed to *multum*. These ideals are more fully expressed in 1.10, where Lucilius comes back in a more favourable light. Horace also puts his views on the need of a genre for development into a more subtle form, saying that Lucilius himself would not be pleased with his verses, were he to time-travel into Augustan Rome. Thus, Horace uses criticism of others to defend himself from possible critique and to form his literary program.

The writer can refute points of criticism, but they do not want to lose their readers. Horace creates an ideal audience which has to rise to his expectations and makes reading him sound appealing through exclusivity. Along the lines of Lucilius' supposed refusal of the *indoctissimi*, Horace gives a refusal to let his books be read by the crowd (*vulgus*) and low-level poets: *nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos / quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli* (1.4.71–2), and calls the one who is eager for this kind of fame *demens* (1.10.74–75). From here, Horace claims he only cares about the opinion of a selected few and starts a long sequence of name-dropping, which, on the one hand, lets him praise his literary friends and patrons, and on the other, shows to the rest of the readers his connection to this world. The person from 1.9 must be devastated, and the reader, excited.

Persius' *Satire* 1 has been in the spotlight of a variety of studies, exploring and disentangling its programmatic nature. It has the form of a dialogue between Persius and an imaginary interlocutor. The first two lines prepare the first surprise: *o curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane! / 'quis leget haec?' min tu istud ais? nemo hercule. 'nemo?' / vel duo, vel nemo. 'turpe et miserabile.' quare?* The interlocutor is vexed that Persius thinks no one would read the poem, to which Persius replies that it should not matter, given the deplorable state of contemporary literature. Criticising contemporary hacks is natural for the genre, but the details point at the most typical behaviour. Horace already talks about readings of his poetry, and the poetasters in his *Satires* sometimes boast of their ability to perform. Persius lived in the time when recitations were of greater importance, and the figure of an extravagant author reciting from a high chair and with a precious stone on his finger opens the first *Satire*. However, it is the explicit reference to reading that Persius' book begins with: not only does the public from *Satire* 1 have access to books, but it is being *read* by them that shows the poet's popularity.

The interlocutor brings reasons why one could be happy to be famous: it is pleasant to be recognised on the streets (28; cf. Horace's complaints about it); to be read in schools (29–30); finally, to be published in a nice edition (41–43: *an erit qui velle recuset / os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus / linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?*). Persius does not refuse the pleasures of fame, but arms against groundless flattery. Again, the choice of the audience is discussed. In verses 123–126, Persius defines the kind of readers he wants to attract. So already did Lucilius and Horace, but Persius puts a twist on it, using the reference to Old Comedy, one of the pillars that satire stands on, inside a

less expected *topos*: those who like Cratinus, Eupolis or Aristophanes should be his readers.

Another instance of using virtual hierarchies for refuting criticism can be found in Martial, who often engages with comments against his poetry (the genuineness of which is almost impossible to estimate). His own books are loved by the 'reader and listener' in 9.81, but criticised by a fellow poet. He does not care, comparing the poems with a dinner that has to please the guests, not the cooks. A similar view is expressed in 10.21, this time against Sextus, who writes obscure poetry (Mart. 10.21.1–6):

scribere te quae vix intellegat ipse Modestus
et vix Claranus, quid, rogo, Sexte, iuvat?
non lectore tuis opus est, sed Apolline libris:
iudice te maior Cinna Marone fuit.
sic tua laudentur sane: mea carmina, Sexte,
grammaticis placeant ut sine grammaticis.

Sextus, if I may ask, what's the point for you to write things that Modestus himself and Claranus would hardly understand? Your books need not a reader, but an Apollo, and in your judgment Cinna was greater than Maro. Let your poems be praised on this premise, of course— but let my poems, Sextus, please grammarians insofar as they would without their intervention.

Martial says that his books need not a reader, but Apollo, for only he would be able to understand them. His own poems, on the other hand, do not have to please grammarians who look for complicated things to comment on. In this epigram, Martial asserts his place in the literary landscape through criticism of the other author's approach to poetry, defined through obscurity that needs professional commentary (Modestus and Claranus are known to have commented on Horace).[355] The literary examples, Cinna and Virgil, illustrate the confrontation of two approaches (*perspicuitas* and *obscuritas*), which were present in contemporary discussions on rhetoric.[356] Putting an emphasis on the popularity of his books with the public as opposed to a select number of critics, Martial inverts the expected image: suddenly, the general reader is raised to the level of a literary *iudex*.

I have surveyed various ways in which an author can get 'feedback' for his work: positive, lack of positive, and negative. We have also seen some means of criticising a text and answering to criticism: from a full book arguing against someone to short exposing pamphlets. Dramatisation of the process of receiving feedback for one's work contributes to the author's literary programme: by expressing a view that some people will not understand their work, authors automatically put the critics into the category of 'bad readers', nullifying the potential criticism.

[355] Kalinina 2007, 13.
[356] Damschen and Heil 2004, 106–107.

4.2.2 Social and political consequences

Another genre of reactions to a work of literature falls into the realm of politics and public life. Real-life consequences of literary activity include everything that does not directly relate to the fact of being a writer: legal accusations, the anger of political opponents, possible loss of social status.

4.2.2.1 Potential dangers of writing literature

In Cicero's letters one finds considerations regarding the suitability of a certain text and the potential damage it can bring. Cic. *Fam.* 6.7 preserves a request from A. Caecina to Cicero to have a look at his work but keep it secret: *librum … peto a te ne exeat, aut ita corrigas ne mihi noceat.*[357] Cicero himself is very concerned about a speech of his that somehow found its way out and could harm his political situation (*Att.* 3.12.2 and again shortly in 3.15.3), and even asks Atticus if it could pass for a forgery because of its lower quality.[358]

Cases of legal action because of a literary text in Republican times are rare. In Rome, a law protected people from being openly insulted: *si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri* (Cic. *Rep.* 4.12 = XII tab. 8.1). The earliest such case, reported in Ps.-Asconius' commentary to Cicero, tells that Cnaeus Naevius produced the following line: *fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules.*[359] The imprisonment is only evidenced in Gellius 3.3.15, who says that Naevius was put into prison for constant abuse and infamy towards the ruling classes (*ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in principes civitatis de Graecorum poetarum more dicta*) and then got himself out by writing two plays, *Hariolus* and *Leo*, and apologising in them. Ps.-Asconius, however, only says that Metellus, in anger, responded in the following way: *dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae.*[360]

In the speech *In Pisonem*, Cicero refutes an assumption that his verses (more precisely, one verse) could have been the reason for his exile (*Pis.* 72–75):

> qui modo cum res gestas consulatus mei conlaudasset, quae quidem laudatio hominis turpissimi mihi ipsi erat paene turpis, 'non illa tibi,' inquit, 'invidia nocuit sed versus tui.' nimis magna poena te consule constituta est sive malo poetae sive libero. 'scripsisti enim: "cedant arma togae."' quid tum? 'haec res tibi fluctus illos excitavit.'

[357] The answer, Cic. *Fam.* 6.5, confirms that Cicero has read the text and complies with Caecina's wishes: *liber tuus et lectus est et legitur a me diligenter et custoditur diligentissime.*

[358] Quoted and discussed above, section 4.1.3.

[359] Ps.-Asc. *Verr.* 1.10.29 = 215 Stangl: *dictum facete et contumeliose in Metellos antiquum Naevii est: 'fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules'.*

[360] The quote is also preserved as a metrical example in Terentianus Maurus, GL 6.2516–2519, 2532 Keil.

> *He, who said, when he was praising the accomplishments of my consulship – although this very praise from a most shameful man was nearly embarrassing for me – 'it was not the ill-will that did you harm, but your verses'. You have established quite a punishment during your consulship for a lousy poet, or even for a free-speaking one. 'For you wrote: "Let arms yield to the toga."' So what? 'This is what caused those storms to you.'*

Cicero's defence consists of the following (mostly witty) arguments. He wants to underline the stupidity of the assumption and asks whether the inscription on the *aedes Libertatis*, the official bill on Cicero's exile, said 'because M. Cicero wrote a verse', instead of naming the alleged crimes. Then he compares Piso with the tyrant Phalaris, who was famous for his atrocities:[361]

> verum tamen, quoniam te non Aristarchum, sed Phalarin grammaticum habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum versum, sed poetam armis persequare, scire cupio quid tandem in isto versu reprehendas: cedant arma togae.
>
> *But indeed, since we have in you a grammarian who is no Aristarchus, but a Phalaris, who does not make a note against a bad verse, but persecutes the poet with weapons, I would like to know what on earth you reproach in this verse: 'Let arms yield to the toga'.*

The following argument accuses Piso of not being able to understand the poetical usage of words and misjudging the context of the line. Even if one forgets that the verse in question has nothing to do with Pompeius, Cicero says, he could not have offended him, celebrated in so many speeches, by this one line (*hoc uno violare versu*). And, he continues, even if Pompeius had been offended, this one verse would not have weighed more than all the other works of Cicero (*nonne compensabit cum uno versiculo tot mea volumina laudum suarum?*). And even if this had vexed him that much, he would not have imposed such a harsh punishment on a human being for just a verse (*in hominis caput ille tam crudelis propter versum fuisset*).

Throughout his argument, Cicero underlines the impossibility of the assumption that one verse could bring such a calamity upon a person. By *sive malo poeta, sive libero* he seems to imply that the worst he could have done was to write bad poetry: the second *sive* introduces a weaker alternative.[362] The whole is a lengthy attack on Piso, including claims that he is not educated enough to understand poetry: he has to go to his friend Philodemus for an explanation.[363] At the same time, Cicero proves that it would be entirely impossible to prosecute a poet for a single little verse and repeats the same idea at the end of this section.

The whole section is a *tour de force* and therefore cannot be taken completely seriously. However, Cicero clearly ridicules the movement of a literary argument into the political sphere. The appropriate way of dealing with bad literature is by being an Aristarchus, not a Phalaris; Aristarchus is sometimes

[361] Cf. also Seneca *Tranq.* 14.4, calling Caligula *ille Phalaris*.
[362] Nisbet 1961, 140; 'un poète peut-être mauvais, peut-être indiscret' (Grimal 1966, 137).
[363] On Piso and Philodemus, Nisbet 1961, 183–186.

ridiculed by Cicero, but he is the right person to be concerned with such questions.

So, an acceptable alternative to persecution, in the same way as we have seen above (*dabunt malum Metelli…*), is an appropriately critical literary response. Caesar's two books of *Anticatones* were seen as an example of adequate reaction by the later authors.[364] However, engaging in a polemic with the emperor soon became impossible: Pollio is said to have reacted to Augustus' writing insulting verses against him: *at ego taceo, non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.*[365] This marks the beginning of a period of harsher consequences, where bland writing could be seen as safer, and the past was often idealised for its 'freedom of speech'. So, Persius refers to Lucilius, and Horace, in the defence of aggressive verse against the interlocutor who wants only to praise 'those in high places', *maiores* (1.114–118), and Juvenal deplores the lack of freedom of invective in the end of his *Satire* 1.149–73.

In general, dangerous topics seem to attract poets. To give only one example, Hor. *Carm.* 2.1 is an example of an elaborate *recusatio*. The poem comments on the topic of Asinius Pollio's book, but it is only in l. 7 (*tractas*) that the reader understands it. Lines 19–24 describe the experience that one has reading Pollio, and possibly being present at a recitation.[366] Horace pretends to be carried away with his fantasy until he restrains his Muse in l. 37, short of embarking on a poem on a topic he consciously avoids.[367] Throughout the poem, Horace writes about *arma*, first under the guise of retelling, then in the description of readers' experiences, and finally, in his own words. The dangerous topic is there all the time, and the *ne relictis iocis … retractes* is too late to be a real warning. While some dangers were definitely present, we always have to take the authors' statements regarding them with a grain of salt.

4.2.2.2 *Libri aboliti* in Roman empire

Cicero's representation of political consequences because of a literary work as ridiculous stands in striking contrast to the accounts from the imperial period, where one could at times be killed for a mere hint at something that seemed inappropriate to the emperor, accused of *crimen laesae maiestatis*.[368]

Under the heading of 'ancient censorship' scholars usually talk about 'burning books' and political repercussions that could be a consequence of literary activity. Some of them meant exile or death for the author. I have undertaken an investigation into the reported cases of bans and burning of books with three questions in mind: (1) how often did burning or banning of literary works accompany the punishment of their author; (2) what was the actual or perceived trigger of the punishment; and,

[364] Dio Cass. 43.13.4: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐτεθαυμάκει ὥστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐγκώμιον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν μηδέν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ προσπολεμήσαντος, βιβλίον δέ τι γράψαι ὃ Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε. Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.20 (within the speech of Cremutius Cordus): *Marci Ciceronis libro quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione velut apud iudices respondit?*

[365] Macr. *Sat.* 2.4.21.

[366] West 1998, 8.

[367] *sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis / Ceae retractes munera neniae, / mecum Dionaeo sub antro / quaere modos leviore plectro.*

[368] For example, Domitian is said to have condemned Helvidius Priscus to death for a supposed hint at his divorce in the title of a play: *quasi scaenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium suum cum uxore taxasset* (Suet. *Dom.* 10.4).

finally, (3) was the punishment, the ban or the burning connected with the moment of book publication as a literary and social action?

In recent decades, scholars' approaches on book-burning have moved from an overall historical description and assessment to more fine-grained studies on its functions and relation to the history of the book. The chapter on censorship and book destruction in W. Speyer's *Büchervernichtung* presents an overwhelming number of cases in almost 40 pages.[369] It is a thorough collection of evidence, which laid a basis for further investigations. However, Speyer did not make a clear distinction between various kinds of texts that could be burnt, which led to a mixture of cases that are more different from one another than it might seem at first glance. J. A. Howley suggests stepping aside from historical or religious interpretations and categorises burning of different kinds of writing according to their function and representations in literature. Importantly, he underlines the difference between literary texts and documents, which is based on the possibility of destroying all the copies, their importance as court evidence, and symbolism.[370]

Of all instances mentioned by Speyer from the time of Augustus until Diocletian, there are 29 that seem to be connected with literary activity. Upon closer inspection, some of them turn out to be: (a) a reaction to explicitly political writings; (b) cases where books were banned but the process was not connected to their context; (c) a reaction to a (semi-)public performance, such as a staging of a play, verse recitation, or a rhetorical declamation. Only the latter is related to our current interests. Most of the evidence is not contemporary with the events described. The image that is formed upon a renewed analysis of the cases is not necessarily that of a single burning of all the books that were found, but of a continuous search and destruction.[371] As for the vocabulary, *abolere* does not necessarily mean 'to destroy', but rather 'to suppress', 'to ban'; this can be seen in particular where several reports of a ban exist, but also from instances of the ban being lifted after some time.[372]

Since a full overview of all instances surveyed is outside the scope of this thesis, I will now comment on the earliest attested cases of authors whose books were burned or banned: Labienus, Cassius Severus and Cremutius Cordus. **Labienus** was a historian, whose books were burned as the consequence of a trial. Seneca calls his case a *nova poena*. However, the reason for the trial is unlikely to have been in the books. The expression *res nova et inusitata supplicium de studiis sumi* (Sen. *Controv.* 10.5) means that the punishment was inflicted on his *studia*. Its uniqueness is that the writings were punished with their author. The side remark about Cicero (Sen. *Controv.* 10.6) goes along the same lines: if anyone had thought about banishing his writings with him, it would have been a disaster. Labienus took his own life and his books were burned around AD 6–8. **Cassius Severus** is said to be the the first case of application of *lex maiestatis* to 'disgraceful writings' (*famosi libelli*). He 'has insulted many respectable men and women in his bold texts' and was banished. His *libelli* were banned or burnt in AD 8. The third of the earliest known cases of banned books is the trial of **Cremutius**

[369] Speyer 1981, 43–80.

[370] Howley 2017.

[371] Sen. *Controv.* 10.8: *illo tempore quo libri Labieni ex senatus consulto urebantur*: the process took some time.

[372] Suet. *Cal.* 16.1: *T. Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit*.

Cordus, which happened in AD 25, under Tiberius. It is reported in all three historians I mentioned, as well in Seneca's *consolatio* to Cremutius' daughter Marcia. Its popularity deserves closer attention.

In the list of reasons why a history can displease its readers, Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.33–34) puts the earlier writers in a more favourable position: then, it was not important whether they described Roman or Carthaginian forces with more enthusiasm.[373] In his time, however, it is easy to unwillingly insult some descendant of a family you are referring to. The placement of this is relevant: sections 32–33 constitute a digression on the value and aim of a historian's work.[374] Straight after it comes the description of the first-ever case of criminal prosecution because of a publication: *Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset* (34).[375] In this 'then yet unheard' case, Cremutius Cordus is accused of publishing his annals and calling Cassius 'the last Roman'.[376]

What follows is a short speech of Cremutius. He starts by saying that he is so obviously innocent, that not his deeds, but his words are denounced. Then, he lists earlier writers who praised Brutus and Cassius and were not prosecuted and then those who allowed themselves to launch a direct insult at Caesar and Octavian, namely Catullus and Bibaculus.[377] The more suitable reaction to an insult comes in a literary, not political form. Finally, logic suggests not to dwell on the insults, because getting angry at them gives them more ground. Dio Cassius in his account emphasises that the accusation was based on his books because there was no better reason, that the allegations were made much later than the publication (underlined by pluperfects), and that Augustus himself had read it: ὥστε ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἣν πάλαι ποτὲ περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πραχθέντων συνετεθείκει καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνεγνώκει, κριθῆναι (57.24.4).[378]

The books of all three, Labienus, Cassius Severus and Cremutius Cordus, are mentioned in Suetonius' *Life of Caligula* (16.1): *T. Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit.* The lifting of the ban may hint at what it implied: *esse in manibus* (private possession) and *lectitari* (read and re-read; since it accompanies possession, it might mean public or semi-public readings).[379] It also shows clearly that burning could not destroy all the available copies, and is unlikely to have ever tried to achieve that. All three are grouped, but only one of them seems to have really been connected with literary activity: for Labienus, burning

[373] *quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrectator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris* (33.4).

[374] For further discussion on the location in the book see Woodman 2018, 171–173; he also notes the non-fortuitous placement of the tale of Cremutius Cordus that is relevant for the present discussion (Woodman 2018, 173). More on Tacitus and Cremutius in Wisse 2013.

[375] Woodman 2018, 190: 'the publication … had taken place many years previously … and was being denounced just now'.

[376] Cf. Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 44, where these words are attributed to Brutus himself.

[377] The comparison with Ov. *Trist.* 2.1 has been brought up regularly.

[378] D. Rohmann's remark that Cremutius Cordus 'may have felt that he had little to lose' (Rohmann 2013, 127) does not hold ground: the climate at the time of publication of his work must have been milder, and a mention of Brutus and Cassius was unlikely to lead to such a drastic end.

[379] *Lectitare* in the sense of *recitare* in *ThLL*: Beikircher. 1985, 1.b.

his books was an additional punishment, and Cremutius' writings were used to support an otherwise hopeless case.[380]

Under Tiberius, poet **Clutorius Priscus** was tried because of a denunciation that he was composing a consolatory poem on Drusus' death while he was ill, in the hope of receiving a reward. He was careless enough to brag about it at a dinner, which brought him death (Tac. *Ann.* 3.49–51). In the same time period, the trial of **Aemilius Scaurus** (AD 34) was based on fabricated evidence, the plot of a tragedy he was writing with verses that could be interpreted as hinting at Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6.29). He died by suicide and his speeches were burnt. Seneca (*Controv.* 10. pr. 3) with a slightly unexpected irony says that fire did them well, as they were of low quality, but that there are other books in circulation, even worse. Dio Cassius also mentions that the official accusation had nothing to do with the tragedy, but that Scaurus was charged with adultery with Livilla.[381] All these cases are not connected with the dissemination of writings.

It would be hardly possible to burn all the books by the condemned author, even if a search of private houses took place. The 'burning' was more of a symbolic action that accompanied the sentence: even in the case of Cremutius Cordus, whose books were collected in Rome and other cities and burnt, his daughter (and others) managed to save some. Persecution for purely literary reasons seems to be rare and single cases as well as the overall picture continue to be reassessed in scholarship.[382] One cannot deny the influence of the political climate on writers. However, the overall views on Roman 'literary censorship' are long due a thorough review.

What other consequences can the dangers of displeasing the ruling house bring to the writers and the texts? One of them, inconveniently for those who want to ban the books, is their greater popularity.[383] However tragic the consequences for the tried author, the books seem to rarely have been completely destroyed. In some cases, the story behind them attracted more readers. So Dio Cassius on Cordus: καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν <τά τε> ἐν τῇ πόλει εὑρεθέντα πρὸς τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἐκαύθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεδόθη τε αὖθις (ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά) καὶ πολὺ ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Κόρδου συμφορᾶς ἐγένετο (Dio Cass. 57.24.4).[384] Another remark by Dio Cassius also concerns Tiberius: by punishing the alleged insults, he thus heaped them upon himself (57.23.2–3).

Thus, this study of bans on books and book-burning returned the following results. The bans were not all-inclusive and could be lifted, and some texts survived them. Most of the time books were not banned together with their authors, which led to a number of extraordinary cases known to most writers and readers. Neither banning nor burning of the books occurred close to, or seems to have

[380] Obviously, this does not change the outcome of the trials and would be of little consolation to the writers in question.

[381] Dio Cass. 58.24.5.

[382] Rohmann 2013, 127 argues against seeing book burning as an 'expression of imperial authoritarian rule'. On the interconnected trials of AD 93 see Rogers 1960, who claims that ban/burning of the books is also in this case only a consequence of the treason trial, and is not based on the books' contents.

[383] Similarly, in Plin. *Epist.* 9.27, the fact that the recitation was not finished promoted the interest in the book.

[384] 'And his writings were then burned, those that were found in the city, by the aediles, and those outside, by the local magistrates. And later they were published again, for both others and his daughter Marcia hid them, and they became much more interesting because of this very fate of Cordus.'

been triggered by, the start of their written dissemination: if anything, the trigger would be a public display, such as a recitation, and as such connected with the author's public activity. Authors could be subjected to punishment in connection with what they wrote, and rarely, with what they were said to be writing, but in the majority of cases there might have been a separate reason for the infliction of a punishment.

Now seems to be a suitable moment to return to an author we skipped, probably the most famous exile in Latin literature: Ovid.[385] In the exile poetry, Ovid works on constructing the image of himself and his current writings: *Tristia*, *Ex Ponto* and the books left behind (the already written *Amores*, the alleged cause of the exile, *Ars amatoria*, and the unfinished, or rather unpolished, *Metamorphoses*). The idea that all or some of Ovid's literary production suffered some unlucky fate as well is often repeated in the scholarly works.[386] In the light of the previous discussion, the story of the banning of Ovid's books because of his exile seems even more surprising. It is hardly believable that such an instance would be ignored by later writers, when they refer to punishing the writings as something unheard of. For removing books from the libraries, the few instances refer only to 'retrospective censorship', not to something inflicted on a living author.[387]

Thus, there is little evidence that could imply that Ovid's books were banned from public libraries. Most of it comes from an analysis of his statements in the exile poetry, which has recently been challenged by B. Blum.[388] Especially given the strong connection between the Palatine library and the emperor, the image of the 'banned' books seems to be relevant only in connection with Augustus' personal opinion on Ovid and his poetry.

4.3 Personification of the book

Authors deploy different literary strategies to manage the anxieties connected with the process of making their work known. One of them is similar to the advice of 'facing the fear': making the publication-related anxiety into a topic within the work itself. I will now provide an overview and analysis of one such case: the personification of the book as an object that can speak and be addressed.[389]

Some Greek epigrams have books being addressed or talking themselves, but none of them antedate the period of the empire. In addition to this, it is never the author who talks. Rather it is a reader or an admirer—so, an epigram by Antiphilus of Byzantium (*AP* 9.192) has a dialogue with the

[385] The only credible attestations for the exile part of his biography originate from his poems. Constraints of space prevents me from discussing the idea that there was no exile at all. Even if this were only a literary construct, the representation of what it would be like if it were real would be not less attractive for literary scholars.

[386] Blum 2017, 490 n. 2 collects a a few dozen instances, including such recent works as Winsbury 2009.

[387] As has already been mentioned above (page 79), Caligula wanted to remove Vergil and Livy from public libraries, and Caracalla wanted to burn Aristotle's books.

[388] Blum 2017 After reviewing the key passages from Ovid and giving a brief overview of book censorship, Blum concludes that there is no reason to see the books of *Ars* as banned. Instead, he suggests an alternative scenario, where the books of *Ars* were moved to storage, or stripped of their tags.

[389] See e.g. Besslich 1974; Citroni 1986; Wissig-Baving 1991.

books of Homer. It is praise of the poet's work, a variation on the topos of adding great books to the number of Muses.[390] The books reply but do not take an active part in the development of the conversation. Sometimes, the book (as an object) talks without prompt and addresses the reader, as in the anonymous *AP* 9.210, where the first line says 'look at me, the book pregnant with mighty toils'.[391] The book further engages in self-advertisement, telling of its creation under Hadrian and re-edition by Anastasius; we can imagine the epigram being on its 'cover'. In *AP* 9.358 (anonymous), a book complains about being called spurious, and in 9.583 (also anonymous), a book of Thucydides warns an unprepared reader:

ὦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
νῆις ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥῖψον, ἃ μὴ νοέεις.
εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐ πάντεσσι βατός, παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο
Θουκυδίδην Ὀλόρου, Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος.

Friend, if you are clever, take me in your hands, but if you are, in fact, ignorant of the Muses, throw away what you do not understand. For I am not for everyone to go through, and few admire Thucydides, son of Olorus, Athenian by birth.

In these epigrams, the book has a voice and is able to interact with the reader, mostly because its author is long dead. The book represents its own interests: protecting a good name, advertising itself to readers and knowing its worth. The tradition of book epigram expanded in Byzantine times and often uses the reader address.[392] Although they do have interesting features, their time of composition falls outside the scope of this work. Within the timeframe of this thesis, the personification of the book is most prominently seen in Latin literature.

4.3.1 Apostrophe to the book: the beginnings

While comparison of words with different living beings does go back to Greek literature, the personification of and the authorial address to the book seem to be a Roman invention. There is a variety of metaphors that are employed when personalising a book. Horace's book in *Epist.* 1.20 is presented as a runaway slave, Ovid portrays his literary works as his children.[393] Statius compares books to birds flying from the nest. The earliest examples of an address to something written are found in Catullus. In Cat. 35, the poet talks to a sheet of papyrus which is going to bring his message to his friend Cae-

[390] *AP* 9.522 (anonymous) also addresses and praises Homeric poems.

[391] δέρκεό μοι κρατερῶν καμάτων ἐγκύμονα βίβλον.

[392] This element has 417 records in the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/).

[393] *Pont.* 1.21–22 compares the books with the children of an exile who, unlike him, have access to the city. In *Fast.* 2.3–4 Ovid addresses his elegiac verses as if they were children becoming older: *nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis: / exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus.* But most prominently, the epigraph that Ovid asks to be added to the circulating *Metamorphoses* in *Trist.* 1.7.35 calls the books *orba parente suo … volumina.* Cf. also *Trist.* 3.14.15: *hanc tibi commendo, quae quo magis orba parente est….*

cilius in Novum Comum and invite him to Verona. Catullus also summons the hendecasyllabi in 42 to force a woman who took his writing-tablets (*codicilli*) to give them back, and is close to personifying his *iambi*, although without a direct address. Citroni also compares the address to the Muse, asked to talk instead of the poet, in Hor. *Epist.* 1.8.1–2 (*Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano / Musa rogata refer…*).[394] Finally, Cat. *36* famously addresses the *Annals* of Volusius (*Annales Volusi, cacata carta*).

No comparably explicit book address antedating Horace can be found in Greek literature. Citroni brings into comparison two passages, the beginnings of Pind. *Nem.* 5 (γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά) and the description of an unfriendly welcome that the poetry of Theocritus might receive in *Id.* 16.[395] Theocritus has doubts about the fate of his poems that he sends out. His works are represented as travellers who would return empty-handed and barefoot, angry at the poet for the journey made in vain (αἱ δὲ σκυζόμεναι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν οἴκαδ' ἴασι / πολλά με τωθάζοισαι, ll. 8–9). A reminder of their true nature comes unexpectedly in the middle of l. 10, to be straightaway reverted back to the allegorical image of travellers: they will stay at the bottom of a bookchest (ἐν πυθμένι χήλοῦ, l. 10), sinking their heads on their cold knees. Citroni underlines the parallelism between the two situations, explaining them as two allegories of the poetic work: one that is private and intimate, where the author hesitates to share it with the public, and the other that is by definition 'professional' and in need of contact with the outside world: 'che <poesia – D.K.>… ha senso solo in quanto trovi il modo di collocarsi in un ambito di rapporti con l'esterno.'[396] Here, we might be dealing with an instance of reference to book publication in Hellenistic poetry.

Hor. *Epist.* 1.20 (*Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris*) starts off a series of variations on the topic. It is the first fully-fledged book apostrophe, characterised by addressing the book as a finished object and endowing it with personal characteristics.[397] The tension between the safety of the poet's home and the lure of Rome is at the heart of the poem: the book wants to see Rome and be seen, to stand exposed in the bookshop of Sosii and to enjoy the attention of the many—*non ita nutritus*, laments Horace. The desire of the book to see Rome allows Horace to explore the dangers that its publication may encounter. The love of the crowd fades away quickly and only attracts the foolish book, not the poet. Horace conceals the author's wish to be seen and read by putting them into the book's 'mind', and presents himself in the guise of a wise counsellor. He does not miss the opportunity to send some autobiographical information along either.

While Horace's book is eager to see the city, Ovid's *Tristia* have reasons to be afraid of not being welcome, and his *Fasti* tremble awaiting the judgement of Germanicus (1.19–20: *pagina iudicium docti subitura movetur / principis, ut Clario missa legenda deo*). The emperor is not that easy to approach or address, and books need someone to speak on their behalf. Horace's *Epist.* 1.13 begins with an extended reminder of the specific circumstances under which his books are to be presented: *Augusto*

[394] Citroni 1986, 115.
[395] Citroni 1986, 112; 116–117.
[396] Citroni 1986, 117.
[397] Citroni 1986, 115.

reddes signata volumina, Vinni, / si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet. / ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis / sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.[398] The *odium* feared by Horace is much more real for Ovid, who prohibits his book from approaching the Palatine: *Trist.* 1.1.69–72, 87–88: *forsitan expectes, an in alta Palatia missum / scandere te iubeam Caesareamque domum. / ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum! / venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput. <…> ergo cave, liber, et timida circumspice mente, / ut satis a media sit tibi plebe legi.* For his book, or at least so he says, being read by *media plebs* should be enough.

Among book addresses, a passage from Persius (1.119–123) is often overlooked.

> me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?
> hic tamen infodiam. vidi, vidi ipse, libelle:
> auriculas asini quis non habet? hoc ego opertum,
> hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi vendo
> Iliade.

> *I shouldn't say it? Not in secret? Not in a ditch? Never? Still, I'll dig a hole here. I've seen it, I've seen it, little book: who does not have donkey's ears? This secret thing, this thing for me to laugh, such a small one, I won't sell to you even for the price of an 'Iliad'.*

The address to the book is somewhat unexpected in this dialogue with an alter ego. Midas' secret is confided to the book and looks like a toy Persius wants to play with (*hoc ego opertum, hoc ridere meum*).[399] In 5.19–21 Persius juxtaposes his writing and tragedy: *non equidem hoc studeo, pullatis ut mihi nugis / pagina turgescat dare pondus idonea fumo / secreta loquimur.* Again, the 'privateness' of the satirist and the satire is underlined. The question of privateness is always double: since any invective is not written for private reading but intends to target specific individuals, saying that they do not leave the author's house is an oxymoron. In the case of Persius, then, the book address has a different function, where it underlines the ungenuine privateness of the satire.[400]

4.3.2 Martial's addresses to the *liber/libellus*

In Martial's epigrams, established figures and motives flourish in new combinations and realisations. A consideration of the 'addressing the book' *topos* on the example of his corpus can show the multiplicity of functions that it can serve and illustrate the various themes coexisting around book publication.

First, let us briefly consider the representation of this topos on formal grounds. Of the whole corpus,

[398] 'As I instructed you, Vinnius, repeatedly and extensively, as you were leaving, it is to Augustus that you have to give the sealed rolls, if he is well, if he is happy, and finally, if he asks for them: lest you make a mistake out of trying to help my case and bring hatred upon the books as an assiduous attendant to your duties.' Discussed also in section 3.2.1.

[399] This has been compared with Horace's lines on Lucilius: *ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim / credebat libris* (2.1.30–31), meaning that Persius here compares himself with Lucilius.

[400] More on this passage and Persius' interaction with the readers: Reckford 2009, 48–50.

17 epigrams feature an address to the book in the form *liber* or *libellus*.[401] All the instances of *libelle* are found in hendecasyllabic poems and never carry an adjective, while *liber* is used both in elegiac distichs and other metres and is accompanied by adjectives in half the cases. Nothing in the usage of the two terms indicates a deeper semantic difference between *liber* and *libellus*.

As is to be expected, poems addressing the book have the potential to carry programmatic statements. This is reflected in their positioning within the respective books of Martial's epigrams. Of the epigrams listed, 8 belong to the opening section of the book, with half of them taking the first place. Only 2 epigrams (4.89, 10.104) stand at the end of the book, but multiple others are positioned close to it (4.86 in a book of 89 poems; 7.97 out of 99; 9.99 out of 103). The forms of address are distributed as roughly 4:6, with *liber* carrying an additional qualifying adjective in half the cases.

address	number
libelle	6
libelli	1
liber (+ adj.)[402]	5
liber (no adj.)	5

Table 4.1: Distribution of the forms of address to the book in Martial's epigrams

4.3.2.1 Book as messenger

The image of the book as a messenger, sent on its way elsewhere alone or with someone else, is one of the earliest in Latin poetry and goes back to the motives surrounding letters. A single poem, such as Catullus 35 or Mart. 1.108, greets an addressee and talks instead of the poet.[403] In Mart. 7.84, a book goes to Pliny in Getic lands; in 8.72, it hurries to catch up with Arcaus on his way to Narbo. When sent to Rome, Martial's *liber* gets detailed directions (1.70, 3.5, 12.2) like Ovid's book in *Tristia* 3.1. Similarly to some of Ovid's book addresses, Martial's *liber/libellus* may be asked to relay a message or to give answers where the poet cannot. In 3.4, the book going to Rome (*Romam vade, liber …*) should answer questions about the whereabouts and activities of its author. In 10.104, the book comes with Flavus to Tarragona in Spain as a companion: *i nostro comes, i, libelle, Flavo / longum per mare …* Lines 8–16 are the book asking for instructions and Martial responding: the book has to greet his faraway friends and keep reminding Flavus to prepare a retreat for Martial.

4.3.2.2 *Liber* taking part in the conversation

Introduction of the book as an addressee creates an additional agent in the communication system. Expanding on Horace's and Ovid's bank of literary *topoi*, Martial opens up the possibility of discussing

[401] Mart. 1.3, 1.70, 2.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 4.86, 4.89, 5.10, 7.84, 7.97, 8.1, 8.72, 9.99, 10.104, 11.1, 12.2. Two of these epigrams (5.10 and 9.99) present a case of double address, where the poet first talks to a person and then turns to the book(s).

[402] Adjectives used: *parve* (1.3, 3.5), *otiose* (11.1), *peregrine* (12.2), *officiose* (1.70).

[403] Mart. 1.108.10: *mane tibi pro me dicet havere liber*.

important aspects of publication with an invested interlocutor: the book itself. The personified book in Martial can express its wishes and participate in the decisions concerning its fate.

In the treatment of this topic, the book's wishes and decisions are sometimes 'weighed' against the wishes and decisions of the author. In 1.3, an epigram that bears the most striking resemblances to its Horatian ancestor, the book wants to live in Argiletan bookshops and has its high hopes shut down by Martial. In 3.2, the book is allowed to choose its dedicatee, and is praised for making the right decision; just three poems later, in 3.5, it is asked whether it wants to have one or more 'recommendations' in Rome, and Martial makes the decision to select one addressee, Iulius. Finally, in 11.1 the book has set its hopes on a certain Parthenius and wishes to visit him, but Martial assures it that it will not be read, since Parthenius has no time, and neither does the Roman public—even among the most idle crowd in the *porticus Quirini* the book would only find a couple of readers. The poet takes the role of a wise guide for the book, developing the motives already present in Horace, and also uses Ovid's association of books with children (10.104 has the poet as a *parens*, and 12.2 is expected to meet its brothers in Rome). He makes ultimate decisions on the book's fate, but the book is allowed to discuss them and has some freedom of action.

The choice of whom to approach is closely connected with the fate of the book. In 4.86, the book is advised to please the learned Apollinaris, whose praise or condemnation will decide its destiny.

si vis auribus Atticis probari,
exhortor moneoque te, libelle,
ut docto placeas Apollinari.
nil exactius eruditiusque est,
sed nec candidius benigniusque:
si te pectore, si tenebit ore,
nec rhonchos metues maligniorum,
nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas.
si damnaverit, ad salariorum
curras scrinia protinus licebit,
inversa pueris arande charta.

If you want to be approved of by Attic ears, little book, I advise and urge you to please the learned Apollinaris. There is nothing more precise and more learned, but also nothing more sincere and benevolent: if he holds you close to his heart and to his lips, you will not fear the sneers of enemies, nor will you provide mackerel with the pitch-dress. If he condemns you, you may straightaway run to the chests of the sellers of salted fish, to be written on by the boys with your page turned over.

This epigram and Mart. 3.2 summarise two main dangers that can befall a book. One of them is physical damage and neglect, up to being reused for other purposes. The book should also be afraid of

critics, of which Rome is full: *et pueri nasum rhinocerotis habent* (1.3.6).[404] A cleverly chosen defender (*vindex*) would not only secure protection from the critics, but also make sure that it is received in the right hands and flourishes. Caesius Sabinus from 7.97 reads the *libellus* together with the 'noble works of Turnus' (*proximumque / Turni nobilibus legit libellis*), and the book's trip to him is the beginning of a celebrity life: it is going to be read at dinners, in the squares, and then everywhere in the city. The poem closes with an assertion of approaching fame: *uni mitteris, omnibus legeris.* Likewise, Stella in 12.2.15–16 will contribute to the distribution of the book: *ille dabit populo patribusque equitique legendum, / nec nimium siccis perleget ipse genis.*

A personal approach is celebrated explicitly in 9.99. The book, addressed for the first time in line 6, is instructed to undertake a journey to be a pledge of friendship from the long distance (*absentis pignus amicitiae*). The next four lines give an unexpected turn on the book's changeable qualities (9.99.7–10):

> vilis eras, fateor, si te nunc mitteret emptor;
> grande tui pretium muneris auctor erit:
> multum, crede mihi, refert, a fonte bibatur
> quae fluit, an pigro quae stupet unda lacu.

I admit, you would be worthless, if a buyer sent you—your maker will be the great value of you as a gift. Believe me, it matters a lot, whether one drinks flowing water from the source or that which is motionless in a dull lake.

The separation of the author and the book is often underlined. For example, in 8.72.9 Martial says he would like to be his book (*quam vellem fieri meus libellus*). The most manifest case of such separation is 7.97.4–9:

> illi tu dabis haec vel occupato:
> instent mille licet premantque curae,
> nostris carminibus tamen vacabit
> nam me diligit ille proximumque
> Turni nobilibus legit libellis
> o quantum tibi nominis paratur!

To him you will give these even if he is busy: even if a thousand preoccupations stand in the way, pressing, still he will find time for our poems. For he loves me and reads my books very close to the noble little books of Turnus. Oh, how great a name is being prepared for you!

[404] The use must be colloquial; *rhonchus*, in the line before, means 'sneering'.

Martial elaborates on the topic of approaching a patron, changing the precise description of the suitable moment to present the book in Horace's *Epist.* 1.13 to a promise that Caesius will accept the poems even if he is busy. The figures of poet, book, and text are mixed: the addressee loves Martial and finds time to read his poems, but the book receives the promise of fame and recognition. In addition to that, instead of involving a separate messenger, Martial's *libellus* presents its poems (*haec*, sc. *carmina*) to the addressee itself, in a remarkable example of the book's detachment both from its appearance and its contents.

Differences between the book's and the author's point of view can be more subtle than a direct disagreement. In 5.10, Martial responds to a (supposed) inquiry by Regulus about his views on fame. He adduces examples from the literary past to support the idea that living poets are denied fame, since the readers prefer other times to their own (*sua … rarus tempora lector amat*, 2). Virgil, Menander, and Ovid were not appreciated by their contemporaries, he says, and turns in the final couplet (5.10.11–12) to the books:

> vos tamen o nostri ne festinate libelli:
> si post fata venit gloria, non propero.
>
> *You, my books, don't be hasty though—if the fame comes after death, I am in no rush.*

This view on fame and death is hardly compatible with epigram 4.33, which I have commented on above (section 4.1.2). Whereas in 4.33, Martial urges a fellow author to publish without waiting for the posthumous glory, in this epigram he turns the haste into the will of his books, not his own. Another example where the book's wishes are presented as if they did not agree with the ideals of the author or the readers are two epigrams concerning the length of the book, 2.1 and 4.89. In 2.1, Martial uses the *liber* to argue for the benefits of shorter volumes:

> ter centena quidem poteras epigrammata ferre,
> sed quis te ferret perlegeretque, liber?
> at nunc succincti quae sint bona disce libelli.
> hoc primum est, brevior quod mihi charta perit;
> deinde, quod haec una peraget librarius hora,
> nec tantum nugis serviet ille meis;
> tertia res haec est, quod si cui forte legeris,
> sis licet usque malus, non odiosus eris.
> te conviva leget mixto quincunce, sed ante
> incipiat positus quam tepuisse calix.
> esse tibi tanta cautus brevitate videris?
> ei mihi, quam multis sic quoque longus eris!

> *You could, of course, carry three hundred epigrams, but who would carry you and read you through, oh book? Now learn about the advantages of a short little book. The first is this: that I waste a shorter piece of papyrus on them. Then, that the scribe will get through them in one hour, and will work not only on my trifles. The third reason is that if perchance you are read to someone, you won't be annoying even if you are ever so bad. A guest will have read you having his wine mixed, but before the cup, put down, begins to grow warm. Do you think you are safe, then, with such shortness that you have? Dear me, for how many you will still be long!*

An even more explicit wish to continue can be found in 4.89, the last epigram of book 4 (*ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle / iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*): the little book wants to keep going, and cannot keep itself confined to the last page (*schida*). The reader, Martial says, already complains and revolts against it, and even the scribe says 'enough'. The jokey character of the epigram is underlined by its position at the end of the book. In contrast to this one, the book of epigram 1.3 does not want to end so as not to be corrected: *sed tu ne totiens domini patiare lituras / neve notet lusus tristis harundo tuos.*

The appearance of the books is also a recurrent feature, with most of the comments about the looks concerning the final stages of work: at the end of 12.2, the book asks for a title (*quid titulum poscis?*), and the haste of 8.72 forces it to set out without the purple embellishment and the polish of the pumice.[405] This topic in Martial and other authors will be treated separately below (section 5.2).

The appearance of the book address in single poems, epigrams and poems imitating letters maintains the connection with real letters, whereas the more wide-ranging personification of the book transfers to it some of the qualities of an animate being and provides the author with an extra agent in their relationship with the readers and critics. The personality that the book takes (an enslaved boy, a child, a confidant) allows the authors to highlight different aspects of their literary figures.

4.4 Work-in-progress

The correction of the text is one of the last steps before completion, but also one that can be repeated over and over again. As such, it stands on the threshold of publication, and the way authors deal with it is informative for us to learn about their attitudes to this stage and its place in the overall process.

Our knowledge about the composition process of ancient authors is quite extensive. There have been discussions on whether authors tended to dictate more, or they tended to write things out in their own hand. But whether it was dictated, compiled or written down straightaway, when the text had already been put together, the last stage would be to go through all of it and make sure that everything is right.

In the broadest sense, the verbs *emendare* and *corrigere* mean 'changing something for better', usually by correcting errors of different kinds. The adjective *emendatus* has strong positive connotations

[405] *nondum murice cultus asperoque / morsu pumicis aridi politus*, 8.72.1–2. The parallels with Catullus 1 are obvious.

and can be translated as something like 'flawless'.[406] *Emendare* is used when talking about correcting and updating laws, but also about changing human behaviour (*emendare mores*), compensating for mistakes made, and in medical texts, about curing.

In book terms, *emendatio* may refer to different parts of the process of book creation. Corrections are the last stage before publishing. In many sources, *emendare* directly precedes *edere* or a similar verb. Servius in the preface to his commentary gives information on how long it took Vergil to compose his books. When talking about *Bucolics* and *Georgics* he uses *scribere* and *emendare*, but the *Aeneid* is only written, because Vergil died before completing it (*sed nec emendavit nec edidit*).[407] *Emendatio* can equally apply to the reworking of a text that has already been used in some function or to editing a collection. Cicero talks about preparing a collection of his letters to be published: *eas <sc. epistulas> ego oportet percipiam, corrigam; tum denique edentur.*[408]

Other changes in the text can happen along the way. These are the changes that involve the author and sometimes other people collaborating on the text and changing it. This process may also be called *emendatio*. While the *emendatio* that is the last part in the pipeline of text production is more akin to proofreading, involving correction of scribal errors and slips of the hand or tongue, in the *emendatio* which involves other people making suggestions or authors generally trying to make their texts better, the changes may be greater, up to full paragraphs being rewritten or the plan of the work changed.

This brings us to the question of what is actually involved in the corrections, and at what scale they happen. Corrections can range from minor orthographic changes to major overhauls, like replacing parts of the text, or changing its main characters, or so on. There is also a middle ground: the polishing of the style and phrasing, such as choosing one adjective over another. While a major overhaul would not really be called an *emendatio*, and scribal errors are less relevant because readers would expect to see them in most copies, stylistic corrections would be a sign of a change made by the author, rather than by a scribe.[409] These variants are most interesting for modern scholars, but there is evidence that ancient readers could be interested in those as well.

Sometimes, textual critics think that the manuscript tradition can be traced back to authorial variants. In other cases, already ancient scholars assumed the existence of different versions belonging to the author. These include the variants in Apollonius of Rhodes' assumed προέκδοσις. Regarding these variants, the level on which the changes happen is crucial. The changes that supposedly can be traced back to Apollonius' προέκδοσις (on the basis of the scholia) are usually small, subtle changes of a word or an expression.[410] The existence of these variants could have led to the retrospective

[406] Cicero's *pure et emendate loquentes, quod est Latine* (Cic. *Opt. Gen.* 4) turns into the ways of *Latine atque emendate loquendi* in Quint. 8.1.2. Horace talks about a poem that he would not consider *emendata* and *pulchra*: *Epist.* 2.1.69–71; cf. also 1.16.30: *cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari.*

[407] Serv. *in Aen.* 1. prol. 22.

[408] Cic. *Att.* 16.5.5.

[409] Of course, scribes can introduce or change words and whole phrases, but this is way less likely to happen than a simple, mechanical error.

[410] Overview of variants and papyrological testimonies: Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 30–39. 'The departures from the προέκδοσις have no bearing on the plan or structure of the poem as a whole; they affect individual passages, lines or words. Mostly, they are stylistic emendations or elucidations on points of content' (Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 33).

creation of the myth of two different editions.[411]

An even more fascinating example are papyri that contain authorial variants happening on the page. P.Oxy. 7.1015 is an encomium to gymnasiarch Theon, dated on palaeographical grounds to the middle or late 3rd century AD.[412] One of the peculiarities of the text are multiple corrections and interlinear alternatives that seem to result from authorial changes to the text. In l. 6, ανυμνειουσιν has εοι κλειουσιν written above it, with the original writing not marked for deletion. Similarly, l. 10 has both an 'alternative' (ιερω written above τιων) and a correction of ανα δημον into ενι δημω with the preposition and the ending struck through. In line 19 the hexameter ending μειλιγματα κεινα has an alternative—κενεαυχεα δωρα—written above the line in the same cursive hand. This substitution, as well as that of l. 6 and probably that of l. 10, is not a correction of a mistake, but an improvement of the diction. It is the same kind of improvement that we can imagine happening when Ovid talks about the *ultima lima* in *Trist.* 1.7.30: not a major change in the structure or a work, but subtle changes in the language and style.

4.4.1 'Collective' *emendatio*

A close friend often used to be the first reader and critic of what we would now call a 'draft', bringing suggestions and marking passages he found exceptionally good or in need of change. So, Ovid recalls Tuticanus' literary advice in Ov. *Pont.* 4.12.25–28: *saepe ego correxi sub te censore libellos, / saepe tibi admonitu facta litura meo est.* This seems to hint at a collective creative process, akin to the *lusus* of Cat. 50. In epistolary exchanges, it is also common to send copies to friends to receive feedback.[413] Friends could equally 'proofread' the text before making a copy to be made public—so, Quintus asks Cicero to correct and publish his historical work in Cic. *Att.* 2.16.4—although we would not expect any substantial changes to happen at this stage, or at least not by the hand of somebody other than the author.

In the section on performances and *recitationes* (section 2.1.3.1), I have already touched upon the idea of a 'work in progress' perpetuated by Pliny in his letters. The *recitationes*, however, are only one of the possible methods of improving a text. The same theme occurs frequently in the letters about sending and receiving books. There are a few requests for feedback to already 'published' material—it being 'out' does not mean Pliny is not interested in the comments any more.[414] However, letters requesting feedback on what seems to be an ongoing work are more frequent. The real work in progress is an exchange of versions of the text with a friend, who is asked to provide comments and praised for his critical abilities: *est autem mihi moris, quod sum daturus in manus hominum, ante*

[411] More on it above, section 2.1.2.2.

[412] No. 50 in Turner 1987, 80; see now Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 43 with further bibliography (of items not mentioned, see also Vox 1998) and Delgado and Pordomingo 2017, 204–206.

[413] Atticus is known to have acted as a critic to Cicero on multiple occasions; see Gurd 2007. Cf. also Plin. *Epist.* 3.13.5: *adnota, quae putaueris corrigenda*; Front. *Amic.* 2.1.1: *legam libenter itaque ut soleo corrigam, quantum manus, quae infirmissimae sunt, tolerare poterunt.*

[414] 8.3: *iam nunc contra istum librum faveo orationi, quam nuper in publicum dedi communicaturus tecum, ut primum diligentem tabellarium invenero.*

amicorum iudicio examinare (8.19; Pliny sends a book [*liber*] to Maximus). In 1.8 he explains that the 'correction loop' is what helps him decide whether the text is worth publishing (*dignus editionis*). In 3.15 Pliny is on the other side of the exchange, reassuring Silius Proculus that his works are *editione digni*.

One interesting feature that can be noticed in Pliny's 'feedback' letters is the sending of books, or feedback to them, in parts. In 2.5 he send a 'much asked for' (*flagitatam*) court speech to Lupercus, but not a full version: a part of it is still being polished (*perpolitur*). After describing the difficulties of achieving perfection, Pliny justifies his sending the speech in parts and asks Lupercus to get acquainted with the parts he has for the time being. A letter to Novius Maximus (4.20) should have been the last of a series, since Pliny was sending him partial feedback as he was progressing through the work, and now gives an overall assessment. This is an understandable way of analysing someone's text.[415] Is it only about haste? Letter 8.4, an answer to Caninius, who plans to write a poem on the history of the Dacian war, sets out a detailed consideration of Pliny's reasons (8.4.6–8):

> illud iam nunc paciscor: prima quaeque ut absolveris mittito, immo etiam ante quam absolvas, sicut erunt recentia et rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus. respondebis non posse perinde carptim ut contexta, perinde incohata placere ut effecta. scio. itaque et a me aestimabuntur ut coepta, spectabuntur ut membra, extremamque limam tuam opperientur in scrinio nostro. patere hoc me super cetera habere amoris tui pignus, ut ea quoque norim quae nosse neminem velles. in summa potero fortasse scripta tua magis probare laudare, quanto illa tardius cautiusque, sed ipsum te magis amabo magisque laudabo, quanto celerius et incautius miseris. vale.
>
> *This only thing I stipulate: that you send me the very beginnings as soon as you finish them, or even before you finish them, as they will be, fresh and raw and, as it were, similar to newborns. You will tell me that plucked bits cannot please in the same way as the coherent whole and a work only started, as a complete one. I know that. So I will judge them as beginnings, view them as parts, and they will await your final polish in my book-case. Allow me to have this sign of your love on top of the others, so that I also know those things that you want no one to know. Put briefly, I will probably be able to praise and applaud your writings more if you send them to me later and with more consideration, but I will love and praise you yourself the more, the swifter and more recklessly you send them.*

Sending a work which is not yet ready means exposing a vulnerability and testifies to a close, intimate relationship between two friends. Pliny explicitly contrasts it with the ability of being a good critic, which is easier with a more finished version of the text, but which is in this case less relevant. In contrast to this, in 4.14 Pliny sends a whole book of poetry instead of picking out some select verses.[416] A possible explanation of the haste is found in 9.18: Pliny does not want to bother his friend by sending

[415] Cf. 5.12 or 9.4.

[416] *quanti faciam iudicium tuum, vel ex hoc potes aestimari, quod malui omnia a te pensitari quam electa laudari.*

him too much at a time. Overall, there seems to be an emphasis on the hastiness of production, and correction, of literary works. Pliny creates a busy literary world, in which he has to keep up by publishing: *est plane aliquid edendum.*

One may attempt to describe a certain development in the dynamic between the author and different strands of their public in the references to the 'authorised copies' and 'collaborative revision'. I have already discussed the various hierarchies that exist within the reading public, as they are viewed from the author's perspective. There is always a feeling that some parts of this public are closer to the author than others: some belong to the same social circle, some share ambitions and interests in the kind of work they are doing. A 'general public' is equally always present in a literary work. But what might have shifted in Latin imperial literature is a sense of a broader public that has some ways to get closer to the author. Cicero, or Horace, even though they think about their works being very popular somewhere else, do not consider communicating with people outside of their direct area of interest. Cicero is interested in what people are saying about his speeches in Athens or on Rhodes, but readers from the 'outside world' do not feature much in his texts. Martial and Pliny, on the other hand, keep talking about the unknown, general readers who are far away, and the friend-readers who criticise, correct, and copy their works. As a reader, you are either included in or excluded from the group of people who can reach the author, ask for a personal copy, or even participate in the collaborative revision of the text. It is through these proofread copies, and these correction loops, that the hierarchy of readers gets reinforced and opened up at the same time.

This brings us to how the reality of 'publishing' influences the way it's represented in the literature. Corrections being the last stage means that the author cannot really change much after they have decided to publish, or not without great effort. At the same time this stage is different from drafting, planning, or reciting a part of a text, in that the 'proofreading' *emendatio* implies the existence of a copy that is very close to being ready. After another round of *emendatio*, one can decide whether to publish it or not. The author is then torn between a motivation to publish and an anxiety that accompanies the irreversible step of giving the book to critics.

4.4.2 *Opus perfectum* vs. *perfectum*

OLD s.v. perfectus: perfectus ~a ~um, a. *compar.* ~ior, *superl.* ~issimus. [pple. of PERFICIO] **1** Fully grown, mature; (also, of age). **2** (of an action, state, etc.) Realized to its full extent, complete, perfect. **3** Developed or completed so as to have all the desired qualities, perfect, finished, or sim.

There is an expectation of a striving for perfection on the side of the author. However, a text can only be corrected one final time before it is released to the public: *nescit vox vissa reverti* (Hor. *AP* 390). This brings the author into a constant tension between a work being perfect and being done. An illustration of this tension is Plin. *Epist.* 5.10.3, in which Pliny urges Suetonius to publish his work (we do not know which one), saying that he managed to be slower than Pliny himself: *sum et ipse in edendo haesitator, tu tamen meam quoque cunctationem tarditatemque vicisti.* In his opinion, Suetonius' work

is perfect and will not benefit from any further corrections. The revision has to end at some point, because postponing the release in the hope of making a work better might harm it: *perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur.* The conflict between the endless polishing and the need to bring the work to the public is clear.

The correction (*liturae*) would be done by washing off a part of the text with a sponge. This method is less invasive than scraping, but it is still shown as quite unpleasant for the book in Mart. 1.3. The volume does not want to be corrected any more (*ne totiens domini patiare lituras / neue notet lusus tristis harundo tuos*) and wishes to be in the bookshops already. Another joke on the idea that the book is still unpolished can be found in Mart. 4.10. The epigram accompanies a book sent to the poet's patron, but a sponge is sent along as an invitation to correct it. The final couplet says: *non possunt nostros multae, Faustine, liturae / emendare iocos: una litura potest.* One option is that Martial says in a self-deprecating way that his book is not good enough to be read at all and should be erased. The explanation proposed by R. M. Soldevila takes *una litura* as referring to Faustinus' criticism and thus underlining his importance as the patron.[417]

Horace is well-known for his ideal of composition in the *Ars Poetica*: Latium would not be stronger in virtue and weapons than in language, if each and every one of the poets was not upset by the work of the file and the time it takes (289–291): *nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis / quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum / quemque poetarum limae labor et mora.* This goes along well with the criticism of hacks producing too many verses at a time, including his predecessor Lucilius. In *Satire* 1.10, which houses another famous saying of Horace, *saepe stilum vertas*, Lucilius is acquitted (1.10.64–75):

… fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,
si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevum,
detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet unguis.
saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. an tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

[417] Moreno Soldevila 2006, 153.

> *Let's say, Lucilius was courteous and witty, and he was more polished than an author of crude poetry, untouched by the Greeks, and than the crowd of old poets; but he, if by fate he had slipped into this time now, he would rub away much of his stuff, cut off everything that dragged outside the finished work, and in composing verses he would often scratch his head and bite his nails. Turn your stilus often, if you plan to write things that are worth re-reading, and toil not so that the crowd admires you, happy with a few readers. Or would you prefer your poems to be dictated at cheap schools, you fool?*

Horace defends Lucilius and says that he would have reconsidered what he thought was *perfectum* if he happened to be transferred to Horace's times: he would then scratch his head and gnaw at his nails. The poet, then, should work thoroughly, correcting a lot for the selected few readers and avoiding the big crowds that could gather around a poet giving a performance. However, at the end of the satire, a standalone verse tells a slave to quickly add the verses to the book of poetry:

> i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello (1.10.92)

Ten is one of the most popular numbers for a poetry book; the reader could expect the tenth poem to be the last one. In addition, the fact that it is a programmatic poem that clearly expresses his aspirations in Roman literary circles also hints at the closure of the book. The twist comes in a different form: by adding line 92, Horace imitates a spontaneous decision to add the poem, freshly composed, to the previous nine. The copyist, whom we imagine hastily taking notes while Horace is dictating, should now add the poem to the book that is already produced (*subscribe*). Taken literally, this seems to contradict the poet's statements on the importance of reworking and the disdain for hasty production we have just seen—there is no *emendatio* planned and the *Satires* are not going to wait in a leather-case for nine years before being presented, as the *Ars Poetica* teaches. Instead, the slave should be fast (*citus*) in order to ensure the book is ready as soon as possible.[418]

4.4.3 Unfinished business: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

To some extent, the idea of poetic *emendatio* has been reinforced through the image of Vergil. His personal biography as a poet is blended with the 'biography' of the *Aeneid* as a text, which produces the image of the poet perfecting his masterpiece just until the time he died, asking his friends to burn it. The *Aeneid* was, of course, published posthumously against his will, and everyone found it extraordinary, although it did not have the *ultima lima* of its author. This legend created an unattainable ideal of an epic poem and an epic poet's biography.[419] A reflection of it can be seen in Ovid's treatment of the unfinished but published *Metamorphoses* in his exile poetry. Ovid says that he wanted to burn the poem before leaving Rome, but since there were multiple copies (*quae quoniam non sunt penitus sub-*

[418] 'But of course, his spontaneity is contrived': Reckford 2009, 34.
[419] On literary 'careers' and how authors adapt them, see papers in Hardie and Moore 2010.

lata, sed extant: pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor), the book reached its public, but uncorrected.[420] The full version of the story is told in Ov. *Trist.* 1.7, and its abbreviated version, in 3.14.19–24:[421]

sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae,
carmina de domini funere rapta sui.
illud opus potuit, si non prius ipse perissem,
certius a summa nomen habere manu:
nunc incorrectum populi pervenit in ora,
in populi quicquam si tamen ore meum est.

There are also the 'changed forms', three times five volumes, poems snatched from the funeral pyre of their master. This work could have had a more secure name from the final touch, if I had not perished earlier; now it has come into the people's mouth uncorrected—if there is anything of mine in the people's mouth anyway.

At multiple points in the exile poetry, Ovid portrays the exile as his death, and his books as orphans.[422] All this makes the parallel with Vergil quite striking, and in particular in the way Ovid talks about the poem being uncorrected. The *Metamorphoses* becomes this unfinished and unpolished poem that was snatched from Ovid as he was dying, or being sent to exile. This is, perhaps, the most striking example of how *emendatio* is integrated into the poet's life and the life of a text.

Another good example from Ovid illustrating the poets' relationship to *emendatio* is when he says he cannot really write in the land of the Getes in *Trist.* 3.14. In 37–42, Ovid lists three main reasons for the allegedly poor state of his poetic talent: (1) he does not have enough books; (2) he has no one to listen to his recitations; and (3) he has no chance to get into a nice quiet place to write. This alone does not mean that we have to deprive it of any historicity; however, the richness of the *Tristia* does not suggest a particular lack of reference works. Moreover, we are at the end of a book full of information about the land of Tomis, including some intricate aetiological elements. If anything, the lack of books would mean that Ovid knew all his sources by heart.

The lack of a suitable audience is a graver difficulty, and it can also be linked to the practice of *emendatio*. The reason Ovid struggles without an appropriate audience is not only that the Getes cannot appreciate the poems that he writes, but also the fact they cannot really give him any feedback, which is what makes real composition impossible. Ovid's complaint that the Getes laugh at his verses might imply that he misses not only a deserving audience, but also his circle of friends and literary critics. At the same time, line 40 with its first word, *intellecturis*, which fills up the first half of the pentameter with long syllables, strikes the reader as a careful poetic device (cf. *Trist.* 1.7.40:

[420] The 'I believe' is ironic: while copying without the author's permission existed, surely Ovid would know well of the existence of such *exempla*. So also Luck 1977, 65–66.

[421] Ov. *Trist.* 1.7 is treated in connection with the address to the reader in section 3.1.2.3.

[422] *orba parente suo*, *Trist.* 1.7.35.

emendaturus si licuisset erat), hardly something that proves a lack of capacity.

4.5 Conclusions

The tensions around the moment of literary publication help to assess its importance. The transition of a work from 'unpublished' to 'published' happens by different routes in different text types. For a court speech, the question of publishing involves creating a new version of a text, while in the case of lecture notes or similar material, the boundary between 'private' and 'public' is more blurred. A transition between these two states is marked by the concerns that authors show: the transition from a known and prepared audience to a wide and uncontrolled one, the limited possibility of changing the text and the need to respond to opinions about it are the main fears connected with publication. On the other hand, publication may mean a confirmation of one's literary or professional aspirations; it may bring fame and favours, and contribute to one's social position. The internal motivation to publish may be accompanied by pressure from friends, patrons, or doubters: the expectation not only to publish, but to keep publishing is exceptionally clearly visible in Pliny. This need is also one of the driving forces that bring a given work to completion, in order to give way to a new one.

Among the difficulties awaiting the book after publication, the most important are reactions by readers. Possible social or political consequences, while relevant for literary practices, seem to be confined to particular time periods. The interests of the Roman emperors did influence the literary activity of the respective time, but the image of a book being banned or burned after its publication seems misplaced: a recitation, even if it was not connected to a subsequent production of physical copies, was much more likely to provoke anger. In contrast, the overall fear of readers not liking the book or critics finding fault with it is omnipresent and contributes to the motivations behind various strategies of manipulating the audience. The dramatisation of literary reception in Roman satire is a good example of such a strategy. There is also a positive side to being an object of criticism: it means participation in the common literary discussion.

The conflict between the dangers awaiting a literary work in the world and a wish to publish it is a productive force behind two literary *topoi*. Latin book address explores publication-related anxieties through the introduction of the book as an invested participant of the process, one that has hopes, makes plans, and suffers the consequences of being published. The recurring topics in the book address are its outward appearance, the contrast between the safety of staying home with its author and the dangers of leaving it, and the scenarios in which it encounters benevolent and malevolent readers and users. The exploitation of the book address is also particularly useful for the aims of anticipating and preemptively rejecting criticism and manipulating readers.

The theme of the book's corrected or uncorrected status has a solid grounding in the process of book creation. Perhaps it is this connection to the materiality of the publication practices that makes remarks regarding *emendatio* or διόρθωσις ubiquitous in all genres of Greek and Latin literature. The variety of ways to 'correct' a book encompasses technical changes arising during the process of preparing it for publication and more social, collective *emendatio*, during which a text is changed for

the better by a community of like-minded readers and writers. The interest in a text that is as correct as possible brings the reader to the source of the first copy, namely, the author. They, in turn, use this interest to allow the readers 'into their workshop' when commenting on the process of correcting and publishing their books.

The tension preceding *edere* may be exaggerated in some authors, but it certainly highlights the special status that the presentation of a new book would have. The main points of conflict I have surveyed remain stable across genres and cultures, as do some of the methods authors employ to resolve them. In Latin literature, the dramatisation of the moment of publication is very visible; in Greek texts, while being more covert, it is present as well.

5 Creating a book

The way in which a text progresses from concept to publication may vary depending on the text's initial purpose, the features of its genre, and the personal attitudes and practices of its author. Its final product, however, is the same: a bookroll.[423] In the previous chapters, I have already touched upon some of the elements of text production, such as *emendatio*.[424] Now, I would like to attempt a more generalised view on what the creation of a book entails, both in material and conceptual terms, and how this process and its product have been reflected upon in Greek and Latin literature.

This chapter is thus dedicated to the book—specifically, the papyrus roll—and the implications its usage has for questions of literary publication. I will discuss the elements of a bookroll, the influence that book practices have on them, and their relevance in the publication process. The elements are arranged in order of closeness to the text, although some overlap is inevitable and, as will be shown, necessary: (1) purely non-textual features (quality and format of the papyrus, colours, embellishments); (2) semi-textual features (layout); and (3) textual features (titles, prefaces).

Section 5.1 will treat the characteristics brought into relevance by the emergence and existence of the book as a text-bearing object: the book's material features, such as the quality of the papyrus sheets that were used for it, and their place in the publication process. Section 5.2 will be dedicated to the 'looks' of the book and the tension between its outward appearance and inner qualities. Developing the theme of decisions that authors may make in regard to their books' design, section 5.3 will contain an analysis of cases in which considerations of textual layout can point to an authorial intention. In section 5.4 and section 5.5, I will look at the happenings at the periphery of the text, analysing two elements, titles and prefaces, which have an explicit function in regard to the interaction with the reader.

All of these elements constitute the ancient book's paratext. The term was defined by G. Genette in a purposefully loose way: the paratext is, in his words, 'un ensemble hétéroclite de pratiques et de discours de toutes sortes et de tous âges que je fédère sous ce terme au nom d'une communauté d'interêt, ou convergence d'effets, qui me paraît plus importante que leur diversité d'aspect'.[425] It is this 'common interest' of the paratext that makes the term indispensable for this part of the discussion of ancient book publication: the Genettian paratext is defined through its function, which is to bring the text into existence. The paratext is what allows the text to make itself a book and to present itself

[423] As I have outlined in the introduction, questions pertaining to the codex format fall outside the scope of this thesis.

[424] Section 4.4.

[425] Genette 1987, 8. English translation renders it: 'Made up of a heterogeneous group of practices and discourses of all kinds and dating from all periods which I federate under the term 'paratext' in the name of a common interest, or a convergence of effects, that seems to me more important than their diversity of aspect' (Genette 1997, 2).

to its readers, and the public in general.[426]

For my work, paratexts, and especially authorial paratexts, are of particular importance, since they are connected to publication, or, even, they are what makes publication possible. Genette's lack of consideration for pre-print paratexts has been noted and exploited by classicists. P. Andrist discusses the applicability of the term 'paratext' in manuscript studies, giving an overview of theoretical difficulties that the handwritten creation and transmission of texts present.[427] A recent volume on Latin paratexts, edited by L. Jansen, has given much thought to the function of the various categories of paratextual material.[428] It will be visible in this chapter that Latin literature provides scholars with most explicit examples of the features and functions of authorial paratext. However, the comparative meagreness of its representation in Greek literature does not imply a lack of interest.

5.1 Features of a bookroll: an overview

What makes a book a book? A possible answer: a book is an object that complies with the expectations of what a book should be. This is, of course, an example of a less-than-ideal definition. However, its main fault – it being recursive – illustrates the reality of book production, in which every new literary work takes as a reference point the ways in which literary texts were presented at the time of its creation.[429]

I will begin with stating the obvious: a literary book, in the timeframe of this thesis, is a roll of papyrus sheets glued together, on which the writing is arranged in columns running down the shorter side. A generic book is a bookroll; in art, it is enough to depict the *format* (even without representing the writing itself) on a vase or in sculpture for the viewers to understand that it refers to a literary work. The various additional elements that a bookroll consists of are commonly drawn from the literary descriptions of books that stand out in some way. 'Regular' bookrolls do not warrant a description for the very reason that there is nothing particular to describe about them, in the same way as, as I have argued above, there are very few references to the production and sale of books.[430] Therefore, one has to rely on the descriptions of 'special' books, or comparisons between books, in order to compile an image of what makes a generic book.

What is, then, a *published* book? Put very plainly, it must be a book, and it must have been made public. The 'book' side of the definition includes, on the material side, the necessary physical features of the carrier of the text (material, format, size), of the physical realisation of the text itself (method [e.g. inscribing or incising], layout, script, possibly ink), finally, the text, including its paratext. The

[426] 'Le paratexte est donc pour nous ce par quoi un texte se fait livre et se propose comme tel à ses lecteurs, et plus généralement au public' (Genette 1987, 7).

[427] Andrist 2018.

[428] Jansen 2014.

[429] While the idea that it was the Alexandrians who 'invented' the book and started exploring its physical and conceptual characteristics has been commonplace in literature, this development did have roots in the practices of reading and writing of the 4th century BC, many of which, in particular in regard to lyric poetry, are difficult to trace due to the lack of material.

[430] Section 3.2.4.

'publication' side includes an expectation of a certain quality of the text in terms of its 'readiness' or 'finishedness', at least for the time being.

In the following, I will look into some of the features that might make a bookroll stand out. The main characteristics of an edition are the quality and price of the papyrus itself and the layout of the text. The quality of the papyrus impacts on the writing surface and the general condition of the roll. The better parts of the papyrus plant are both thick and long. The thickness allows to have fewer horizontal stripes per sheet, while the length of the stripe bears on the number of sheets that are necessary for the production of a roll. The types of papyrus sheets that make up a roll are described within Pliny's discussion of the papyrus plant in Plin. *NH* 13.74–80.[431] The shortest and therefore worst sheet format was called *charta emporitica*, and its sheets measured 6 digits or less, or about 11.1 cm. It is said to be hardly suitable for writing, and derives its name from the fact it was used for business transactions. The largest format reported by Pliny is *macrocollum*, a cubit-wide sheet (modern 44.4 cm); its appearance in Cicero's correspondence will become relevant further in this chapter.[432] Johnson's analysis of scribal practices in Oxyrhynchus and a sample of papyri from other places showed that the scribes tended to use rolls of reasonably high grade, with κολλήματα of 20–25 cm, which corresponds to the format of *hieratica charta* and above.[433]

Another indication of an expensive roll originated in the need to protect papyrus books from pests. Larvae of insects could destroy books by eating through them, in particular books that were not stored adequately or were long not in use. In a 3rd century AD papyrus letter, Marcus, a doctor, writes home asking the recipient to regularly take his books out of storage and shake them.[434] Another way of preventing this kind of damage from happening was treating papyrus with cedar-oil (*cedrium*, κεδρίον). The wood and oil of the cedar tree have antifungal and antibacterial features. This makes them suitable for a variety of usages, many of which are attested in antiquity.[435] While garments, which also are a frequent target of insects, can be protected from damage if put into a cedar or cedar-lined wardrobe, papyrus rolls were anointed with cedar-oil to ward off bookworms. An important feature of this treatment for the prominence of cedar in literature is that it gave the papyrus a yellowish colour as a side-effect.[436] This would be noticeable for readers: Ovid's book is *neque … cedro flavus nec pumice levis* (Ov. *Trist.* 3.1.13). Given that oils would be expensive, the treatment would indirectly indicate the book's value, which would also be visible in the colour. Treating the book-roll with cedar oil could thus be an indication of the book's worthiness: *carmina … linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso* (Hor. *AP* 331–332); *an erit qui velle recuset / os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus / linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?* (Pers. 1.41–43).

[431] Full discussion takes up Plin. *NH* 13.68–89.

[432] Reconstruction of the meaning of *macrocollum* in regard to the width of the sheets: Johnson 1994.

[433] Johnson 2004, 88–91.

[434] P.Ross.Georg. 3.1, l. 17–19: καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ κάστῃ ἐπιστολῇ σοι γράφω ἐκτινάξαι μου τὰ ϊατρικὰ βυβλία, ἐκτίναξον καὶ ἆρον αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος ἃ κατέλιψα ἐξερχόμενος ('And, as I do in every letter, I write to tell you to shake out my medical books: shake and take out of the niche the books that I left behind when I departed.')

[435] Cedar-oil was used by the Egyptians in mummification. Cf. Plin. *NH* 16, Vitr. 2.9.13. On cedar-oil for the preservation of papyri, see Cockle 1983, 153, with extensive technical and literary nn. 129–132.

[436] The colouring has been observed on some of the papyri that survived until modern times: Cockle 1983, 157 n. 135.

In terms of impagination, a 'deluxe edition' could have prominent upper and lower margins, a column of a short height, and a tightly written text.[437] Each of these features, independently or combined, would strive to make the resulting 'block of text' (modern *Schriftspiegel*) feature prominently on the 'page'. The layout of the text is partly influenced by the price of papyrus: the decision to leave large margins, especially on an expensive material, can be a statement of wealth. In addition to that, larger margins would act as safeguards for the text, protecting it from accidents and general wear and tear happening in storage. However, there must have been aesthetic considerations at hand as well, such as the shorter column height or the level of execution of the text itself.

Finally, the script. Handwriting is one of the most prominent features that papyrologists use to classify papyri into those copied by professional or trained scribes and those produced by less well-trained copyists or private individuals. Yet it does not, at least to my knowledge, figure in any literary account as a sign of an expensive edition. This might mean quite simply that all books that could be purchased in a bookshop were *expected* to be written in a literary hand. In this case, it would make sense that it did not necessitate any comment, in the same way that one would hardly comment on the fact that a modern book is typeset and not handwritten.

Some of the decisions regarding the final look must have been made by the creator, or commissioner of the book, while other embellishments were not reserved to the time of creation and could be added later. Unlike the expense of choosing the quality grade of papyrus, cedar oil treatment would be applied after the text had already been written, together with other final touches. The outer edges of the bookroll, called in Latin *frontes*, were polished and, as it seems, could have had some further embellishment. Further, accessories such as winding-rods (*umbilici*) or leather covers could be added to the finished product.

Extra embellishments, such as the special treatment of papyrus (polishing or anointing) or the addition of winding-rods or covers, are not needed to understand that one holds a book in their hands. They are not what defines a book *per se*. Yet they occupy a prominent position in the book's apparel, and it is their proximity to the moment of publication that makes them relevant. In an epigram warning a plagiarist, Martial says (1.66.9–12): *mutare dominum non potest liber notus. / sed pumicata fronte si quis est nondum / nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana, / mercare: tales habeo; nec sciet quisquam.*[438] Striving for Parthenius' acceptance, the 'leisurely' (*otiose*) book sets out in a 'fancy dress': *cultus Sidone non cotidiana.*[439] A good fate means not only the security of the patron's house and the advertisement gained through it, but also the 'good looks'. In this regard it is interesting that the benefits that the book can draw from a patron's protection are all such that can also be added to a volume after it has already been produced in a simpler fashion. Crucially, all of the questions of embellishment are connected to the moment when the book sees the world: a polished book equals a published book.

[437] Johnson 2004, 156.

[438] 'A known book cannot change its owner. But if there is one which doesn't yet have a polished brow, one not embellished by winding-rods and a leather-cover, buy it! I have such books! And no one will know.'

[439] Mart. 11.1.

5.2 The look of the book in literature

5.2.1 Catullus 22 and the 'fancy edition'

Does a good book have to be beautiful? From the point of view of a literary scholar, the existing literary papyri exhibiting features of an expensively produced book-roll do not necessarily have better texts or higher literary value in general. However, this does not mean that every 'deluxe edition' should be suspected of low textual quality. So, PSI 9.1090 (2nd cent. AD), containing fragments of Erinna's *Distaff*, is a beautiful edition with large margins; it carries a text accompanied by lectional signs which indicate scholarly use.[440]

The ability to pass judgement and to purchase a good-quality copy is what Lucian's ignorant book-collector is lacking: he is interested in what books are *said* to be good, but is unable to distinguish 'old and valuable' ones from 'bad and just wretched' (1: τίνα μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, τίνα δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ἄλλως σαπρά). He also could buy old *and* beautiful editions (2: αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα … ὅσα ὁ Καλλῖνος εἰς κάλλος ἢ ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἀττικὸς σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἔγραψαν), but it would not help him against his ignorance.[441] After purchasing books, he pretends to keep busy, rolling and unrolling them, gluing and trimming the edges, applying saffron and cedar oil; his books also have purple leather-covers and gilded *umbilici*.[442] All these features equally occur in Latin texts talking about the authors' decisions in embellishing their works. I will now turn to the analysis of this *topos*.

In Lucilius' fragment 1131 (1279 Marx), the satirist seems to call his writing *schedium*, from the Greek σχέδιος 'made off-hand', 'sketchy'. The fragment itself is badly preserved, but there are references to *schedium* in other authors that do not leave doubt about the message it conveys.[443] The Lucilian image of *schedium* seems to be the beginning of positioning the satire as a lower, less pretentious genre, something one can jot down. This topos of a simple, unpretentious volume can only exist against the backdrop of a practice of embellishing literary works.

In Catullus, one can see a cleft between the outward appearance and the inner quality of the work: while the *libellus* in the programmatic poem 1 is 'just now polished with dry pumice', Catullus laughs at a bad poet, Suffenus, who strives to decorate his unworthy texts in 22. Lines 1–8 give an idea of a pretentious edition:

[440] I am grateful to V. Zelchenko for this example.

[441] Johnson 2000, 614: 'The provincial… mistakenly concentrates on the beauty of the book as an object (4, 7, 16) and as a display of wealth and superficial education within his social group (19), rather than on the beauty and instruction of the text it contains (17)'.

[442] Lucian. *Ind.* 8: ὁπόταν τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχῃς πάγκαλον, πορφυρᾶν μὲν ἔχον τὴν διφθέραν, χρυσοῦν δὲ τὸν ὀμφαλόν… 16: τίνα γὰρ ἐλπίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων εἰς τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀνατυλίττεις ἀεὶ καὶ διακολλᾷς καὶ περικόπτεις καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ καὶ διφθέρας περιβάλλεις καὶ ὀμφαλοὺς ἐντίθης, ὡς δή τι ἀπολαύσων αὐτῶν; …

[443] Petron. *Sat.* 4.5.1: *sed ne me putes improbasse schedium Lucilianae humilitatis, quod sentio et ipse carmine effingam.*

Suffenus iste, Vare, quem probe nosti,
homo est venustus et dicax et urbanus,
idemque longe plurimos facit versus.
puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura
perscripta, nec sic, ut fit, in palimpsesto
relata: chartae regiae novi libri,
novi umbilici, lora rubra, membranae,
derecta plumbo et pumice omnia aequata.

6 palimpsesto] palimpsesto *1473*: palmisesto *V*
7 novi] novi *1473* novei *Lachmann* novem β nove V
7 libri] bibli *Nisbet*
8 lora] coria *Birt* lana *Baehrens*
8 membranae] membrane V, membrana Avantius
9 derecta] derecta Statius: detecta V

This Suffenus, whom you know well, Varus, is a charming man, loquacious and elegant. And he's been writing lots of verses for a while now as well. I estimate he has already produced ten thousand of them or more, and not in the usual way, copied onto a washed-off papyrus: these are new volumes made of broad pages, new rolling-sticks, red pieces of leather, covers, everything set straight with lead and smoothed out with pumice.

This passage holds a strong position in the inventory of a book historian. Not only does it include an early description of a bookroll with high aspirations, but it also is the first attestation of the word *palimpsestos*, a papyrus reused after writing has been washed off it.[444] However, its exact interpretation has been subject of many discussions, both in regard to the items listed in ll. 6–7 and in the general interpretation of the poetic activity of Suffenus.

6: chartae regiae novi libri The **charta regia** has been aligned with the best quality of papyrus referred to by Strabo, the βύβλος ἱερατική, or *hieratica charta*.[445] This would be a top-quality roll made of wide sheets of papyrus. The reading *novae* (based on the attested *nove*) would create an imbalance in the line with two adjectives qualifying *charta*, and does not add much to the sense. With the reading *novi*, 'new volumes made of broad pages' would refer to two different qualities, the quality of the sheets making up the roll and its fresh state. However, the fact that the papyrus is new

[444] With papyrus, the ink was washed off, not scraped off as with parchment; there is a recipe for a paste that was used to whitening pearls and removing ink from papyrus (P.Holm. γ.18–29; Lagercrantz 1913). While already Birt showed it was well possible to have a palimpsest papyrus (Birt 1913, 290), many thought this line means Suffenus wrote on parchment. Further arguments against it in Roberts and Skeat 1983, 16–18.

[445] Strab. 17.1.15: ἡ δὲ βύβλος ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐ πολλὴ φύεται (οὐ γὰρ ἀσκεῖται), ἐν δὲ τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τοῦ Δέλτα πολλή, ἡ μὲν χείρων, ἡ δὲ βελτίων ἡ ἱερατική.

has already been stated in l. 5 (*nec … in palimpsesto*), and repeating that after the poignant *chartae regiae*, which would surely be new anyway, seems to undercut it. Nisbet's conjecture *bibli* works better at filling the spondee at the end of the line, but its meaning ('royal sheets of new papyrus') leads to the same pleonastic difficulty.[446] I wonder if the transmitted reading *novem*, together with *libri*, could not be reconsidered: the expense of commissioning nine rolls of top-grade papyrus would be substantial, and ten-something thousand verses could fit nine rolls at about 1100 lines per book.

7: **novi umbilici, lora rubra** The **umbilici**, winding-rods, are the only item that does not prove difficult. The next word, **lora**, usually means a leather thong, and was interpreted either as something used to tie the bundle of bookrolls together or as a leather-tag carrying the title of the work (*titulus*). The arguments for the former are that it is difficult to imagine the same word to apply to horse reins and to a book label. This difficulty can be alleviated through two considerations. Firstly, *lorum* seems to indicate, first and foremost, a long and narrow strip of leather, same as the Greek ἱμάς. This corresponds to the form of a title-tag. Secondly, one could compare, even if at a later point in time, Juv. 5.165, where an amulet worn by a poor child is called *signum de paupere loro*. There is indeed evidence for fasces of bookrolls, which has been adduced to this passage.[447] However, nowhere in other poems using the same image of an embellished bookroll is there a mention of strips of leather used to tie the roll, or multiple rolls together. The four parallels noted by Gamberale all apply to storage or transportation of books, not their presentation; one can hardly compare Horace's threat that his book will be sent to Illerda *vinctus* ('in a bundle'; Hor. *Epist.* 1.20.13) to Suffenus' attempts to embellish his works.[448] The *lora* should, then, refer to the title-tag. Possibly, by using *lora*, Catullus further ridicules Suffenus' expense: even the small leather tag is bigger or longer than usual.

7: **membranae** The **membranae** should not be taken with *lora*, since the word itself conveys that they are made of leather. Instead, they are leather-covers, which would protect the papyrus roll from damage. As a further point in favour of this structure in lines 6–7, one could add that the length of each item decreases: *chartae regiae novi* (or *novem*?) *libri* (9 syllables), *novi umbilici* (5), *lora rubra* (4), *membranae* (3).

I will now turn to the interpretation of the passage itself. We quickly understand what is wrong with Suffenus' books: his verses are terrible, and there are lots of them.[449] Moreover, they are presented in a beautiful edition, with all the bells and whistles.

The comparison with writing on washed-off papyrus (*ut fit, in palimpsesto*, l. 5) is less straightforward. The common assumption that, since palimpsest would be of a lower quality, Suffenus' activity has to do with drafting. This leads to two logical developments. Either Suffenus is producing

[446] Nisbet 1978, 96–97.

[447] Gamberale 1982, 151–153.

[448] If anything, this use of *vinctus* reinforces the image of an enslaved boy running away, with whom the book is compared throughout the poem.

[449] Cat. 22.9–11: *haec cum legas, tum bellus ille et urbanus / Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor / rursus videtur.* Cf. Cat. 95, Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.9–13.

drafts on expensive material, or his writings are nothing more than drafts but he wants them to look ready.[450] Yet if one thinks about the context of Suffenus' presentation, neither assumption can quite hold ground. In order for Catullus to make fun of Suffenus, his books have to be available to the public, and we know that they are: in poem 14, booksellers have a variety of bad poets on sale, including Caesius, Aquinus, and Suffenus.[451] Producing drafts on expensive papyrus would be a sign of extravagancy, not vanity. The other scenario, in which Suffenus pretends that his books are ready while they are not comes close to the general ideal of the need for a *labor limae*. He would bring them out to the readers in the unpolished stage, but in the format that 'means' a ready book. This explanation sounds more credible, yet I doubt it would help Suffenus' work if he paused to revise his poems before producing an expensive edition. In my view, both explanations do not seem satisfactory. What else, then, does writing on a palimpsest papyrus might mean in this context?

Writing on palimpsest papyrus is attested in literary sources apart from Catullus, a contemporary parallel being Cic. *Fam.* 7.18.2, where Cicero jokingly praises the correspondent for being thrifty and writing a letter on a palimpsest. With regard to the palimpsests among the preserved papyri, opinions and numbers differ, with estimates of palimpsest ranging from being very high to extremely low.[452] Counting palimpsests is difficult, both due to lacking metadata and difficulties in deciding whether a papyrus is indeed a palimpsest. Regarding literary papyri, Thomas S. Schmidt has recently provided a set of preliminary estimates: from those in LDAB, an overall 0.59% of all papyri, or only 40 items, are palimpsests.[453] With the due caution that needs to be applied when comparing the use of papyrus in Egypt and in Rome, one can also note that the number of palimpsests found rises slightly (to 1.53%) in the 1st century AD.[454] A review of literary palimsests shows 13 known texts and 24 unknown, of various degrees of care to their production. Apart from copies originating from a school context, we should note the presence of 'copies soignées' of various texts, among them a fragment of Plato (P.Lugd.Bat. inv. 22). We can thus establish that at least some palimsest papyri could be used not for drafting, but for producing a text that is ready to be used.

If both Suffenus' activity and the 'custom' of writing on a palimpsest should aim at publication, we may look for an explanation within the system of copying and production. The first copy ready for the reader would be done from a 'master copy', ἀρχέτυπον, which we would expect to contain the whole text in its final redaction. In *Att.* 16.3.1, which I will discuss in more detail below, Cicero sends Atticus the ἀρχέτυπον of his work with multiple additions and corrections, and tells him, jokingly, to copy it onto a large-format sheet. Could the palimpsest book that Catullus hints at be such an ἀρχέτυπον or its next descendant? While our knowledge of book production in Catullus' time is limited, one could

[450] '… it was normal practice (*ut fit*) for an author to use old papyrus rolls from which the text had been washed off for his own draft. For publication this would, of course, be handed over to the scriveners for professional copying. Catullus here hits at the ridiculous vanity of Suffenus, who insisted on using only the finest materials for this first and transitory stage of composition.' (Roberts and Skeat 1983, 18).

[451] 14.17–19: *nam si luxerit, ad librariorum / curram scrinia, Caesios, Aquinos, / Suffenum, omnia colligam venena.*

[452] A sample is provided in Schmidt 2007, 984–5.

[453] Schmidt 2007 (updating the figure of 0.54% from Schmidt 2009, 89—sic!—the two articles were written in reverse order of their date of appearance). Schmidt 2009, 98–99 has a table of all 37 papyri then surveyed.

[454] Schmidt 2007, 987.

assume the following scenario: after having a master copy of the work, the author produces, at their own expense, the first copy or copies ready to see the public. The public's reception is what defines the book's fate: if people want to read more of it, they will pay for more copies, and possibly also better editions.

The addition of special features to the bookroll is a claim to its quality. This claim, however, has to be confirmed through some authority or other: a good book will be praised by being published in expensive editions, not the other way round.[455] Suffenus' paying for the features of his book's presentation is an attempt to skip the criticism and proceed straight to fame, for which he is justly reprimanded. One can compare Suffenus' activity to the modern phenomenon of a vanity press. The difference is that in the times we are considering, there is no expectation that the copyshop, even if it does have a certain reputation, should conduct any quality control of what they 'publish': the author will be paying for the work, whether their books are good or not.

The strained relationship between the book's 'looks' and its qualities is visible in other poems that engage with Catullus 22, often with an ironic or subversive undertone. When Ovid sends off the first book of the *Tristia*, he lists things that it does *not* have (Ov. *Trist.* 1.3–14) – no covers (5: *nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco*), no colourful title and no special treatment of the papyrus with cedar oil (7: *nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur*), no winding-rods (8: *candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras*), no polishing of the ends of the roll with pumice (11: *nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes*). The first impression of this description is an honest representation of suffering, set in parallel to the death-like appearance of the exiled poet. Most scholars primarily note the parallelism between l. 11 (*nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes*) and Cat. 1.2 (*arida modo pumice expolitum*).[456] Unlike this widely acknowledged intertext, the similarity of the qualities denied to Ovid's book to Suffenus' vain volumes are less often commented on. In light of the controversial nature of embellishing one's work, Ovid's self-fashioning receives an additional spin: his book does not have any arrogant aspirations from the outset, but by mentioning them he evokes the possibility of pleasant reception in Rome.

Martial promises its book that if it approaches the right dedicatee (in that poem, Faustinus), it will find protection from even the sternest critics, such as Probus. The book, he says, if it runs to the embrace of Faustinus, will get the licence to do anything: *cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus / et frontis gemino decens honore / pictis luxurieris umbilicis, / et te purpura delicata velet, / et cocco rubeat superbus index, / illo vindice nec Probum timeto* (Mart. 3.2.7–11).[457] The epigram is often understood in the sense that a good patron would not only protect the book from the (not less topical) list of bad fates such as becoming a fish-wrapping, but also provide it with a 'fancy dress'. However, as Holford-Strevens shows, Faustinus will only provide protection for the book, which is vain and provocative.[458] Martial's personified book has a tendency to 'dress up'—11.1 begins *quo tu, quo, liber otiose, tendis cultus Sidone*

[455] Horace's book from *Epist.* 1.20 wants to be *Sosiorum pumice mundus.*

[456] Evans 1983, 33–4; Hinds 1985, 14, among others.

[457] 'Even if you walk around anointed with cedar oil, and luxuriate in painted winding-rods, with double forehead properly adorned, as well as have a proud scarlet-red title and a purple cover – with such a protector you shouldn't be afraid even of Probus.'

[458] Holford-Strevens 2008.

non cotidiana?—and receives a condescending commentary from its author for that. It seems that also in this case, there is something in a luxurious edition that does not quite sit right.

A similar approach may elucidate Lygdamus' opening poem (Tib. 3.1.7–14), which contains a description of the final touches before sending a book to Neaera, ordered by the Muses:[459]

carmine formosae, pretio capiuntur avarae:
    gaudeat, ut digna est, versibus illa tuis.
lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum,
    pumex et canas tondeat ante comas,
summaque praetexat tenuis fastigia chartae,
    indicet ut nomen littera facta tuum,
atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes:
    sic etenim comptum mittere oportet opus.

9 tuis] *Muret* meis ω novis *Postgate*

13 facta] rubra *Némethy* picta *Livineius*

Beautiful girls are won by a poem, greedy ones, by money: let her rejoice at your verses, as she deserves. Yet let a yellow cover wrap a white bookroll, let pumice shave off grey hair, and traces cover the top of the slim papyrus, so that the resulting letter would show your name, and let the horned bosses be painted between the double foreheads—for one should send a work styled in this way.

The realisation of the *topos* by Lygdamus was not always appreciated by scholars who, again, compared it with Catullus 1.[460] The Muses' advice might appear ironic: while they say that Neaera is worthy of Lygdamus' verses, they still recommend taking extra precautions to make the book look especially appealing.[461] Given that such a book would also cost more, line 7 may be reinterpreted not in Neaera's favour.

It is the position on the brink of publication that lends descriptions of book embellishments particular importance: they are part of a series of decisions influenced both by the authors and the public. Their representation in prose and poetry often is a literary statement. In particular, the description of a 'fancy edition' does not lose the ironic note of Catullus 22 when it becomes a staple of Latin poetry. Instead, it is an image that is fruitfully employed to underline some uncomfortable aspects of book publication.

[459] The transmitted *meis* does not make sense, as then Lydgamus would be answering himself.

[460] 'Der Dichter hat hier ein Element, das ihm im Einleitungsgedicht einer Sammlung am Platze schien, in nicht besonders geschickter Weise eingefügt.' (Traenkle 1990, 70).

[461] Fulkerson (2017) also notes that the preparation of a presentation copy would be the last thing a poet might need help with.

5.2.2 More on choosing formats: Cicero and Horace

Generally, papyrus bookrolls tend to fall within an average height margin: rolls from the Hellenistic period measure 19–24 cm; later, Oxyrhynchus papyri are usually about 25–33 cm high.[462] A column of writing (σελίς) can vary as well, but it seems that there was some expectation of how much text it would fit. For example, in Polyb. 5.33.3, a criticism of other historians includes them 'discussing the war between the Romans and the Carthaginians in three or four columns', which indicates at least a very broad idea of a 'regular format'.[463]

Clearly, authors could also decide on what kind of papyrus their works would be copied. Suffenus chooses *charta regia* for his books. Cicero's usage of the word *macrocollum* in two letters to Atticus indicates an expense. In *Att.* 13.25.3, he takes care to produce a copy of *Academica* to be presented to Varro: *sed tamen ego non despero probatum iri Varroni et id, quoniam impensam fecimus in macrocolla, facile patior teneri. sed etiam atque etiam dico, tuo periculo fiet.*[464] The moment discussed in the letter is just before the dispatch of the books, which must already have been copied on the best rolls possible, and some lines later Cicero asks whether Atticus liked his letter to Varro—presumably, the one that was going to accompany the work.

In the second passage, *Att.* 16.3.1, Cicero sends Atticus a copy of his work *De gloria*, saying that he added further corrections to it:

> quod Erotem non sine munusculo exspectare te dicis, gaudeo non fefellisse eam rem opinionem tuam; sed tamen idem σύνταγμα misi ad te retractatius, et quidem ἀρχέτυπον ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et refectum. hunc tu tralatum in macrocollum lege arcano convivis tuis sed, si me amas, hilaris et bene acceptis, ne in me stomachum erumpant cum sint tibi irati.
>
> *Regarding you saying that you expect Eros to come not without a little present, I am happy that that work did not fail your expectations. But I am still sending you the same composition, further reworked, actually its very master copy made tight*[465] *and reworked in many places. Read it, copied onto a wide-sheet papyrus, in secrecy to your dinner guests, but, please, when they are happy and well-received, so that they do not take their bile out on me, being angry at you.*

Does this passage suggest anything else than just a regular communication between Cicero and Atticus? Instead of an expected 'little present', *munusculum*, Cicero sends Atticus more work, a 'master copy' with even more additions. *Macrocollum*, which is only attested three times in all of Latin lit-

[462] Johnson 2004, 83–4.

[463] … τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τινες γραφόντων ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἐξηγησάμενοι σελίσιν ἡμῖν τὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμον φασὶ τὰ καθόλου γράφειν.

[464] 'But I nevertheless do not lose hope of it being approved by Varro and since we have already spent money on wide-sheet papyrus, I can survive it staying as it is. But I repeat again and again, this is going to be at your risk.'

[465] With *inculcare* meaning 'to press, to force', this might refer to interlinear notes indicating additions or corrections which would make the text; 'with numerous interlinings and alterations', as in (Bailey 1999, 325).

erature, has a very technical flair and occurs here next to another term, ἀρχέτυπον. Johnson must be right in suggesting that this has to do with Cicero showing off his knowledge of book-related vocabulary, possibly as a sort of 'inside joke'.[466] Is there any more to the joke than meets the eye? Might Cicero imply that Atticus will have to compensate for the lack of a proper 'literary present' from Cicero's side by copying his latest draft onto a wide-sheet papyrus that he would then be able to enjoy?

Another reference to the format of the bookroll can be found in one letter of Augustus to Horace. Tradition says that Augustus was angry with Horace for not addressing anything to him. The poet's answer was a virtuoso example of a *recusatio*, *Epist.* 2.1. The emperor was still not amused, and answered with the following joke (Suet. *vita Horati* 12):[467]

> 'pertulit ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego ut accusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. uereri autem mihi uideris ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es. sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, quo circuitus uoluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος, sicut est uentriculi tui.'

1 ut accusantem] *codd.*: ut accusem te *Bentley* ut excusantem *Reifferscheid* ut <se> accusantem *Rostagni*

1 quo] *Saumaise*: cum FλP ut *codd. recent.*

> *'Onysius brought to me you little volume, which I find good, however little there is of it, as bringing a charge <against you>. It seems to me that you are afraid your books might become bigger than yourself. But you lack in height, not in the body. So you could even write on a sextariolus, so that the girth of your volume is all puffed up, like that of your belly.'*

The poem, if it was indeed *Epist.* 2.1, takes up 270 lines, less than one would expect a 'proper' book to be.[468] The joke compared Horace with his book, making a pun on his figure: Suetonius introduces it with *habitu corporis fuit breuis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in saturis describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula.*[469]

The joke should, then, refer to the physical characteristics of the bookroll containing Horace's text, in two varieties: the regular one (the one Augustus received, or the one Horace would normally use), and the one written on a *sextariolus*. The word *sextariolus* is not attested otherwise and was probably coined by Augustus for the occasion. *Sextarius* is a measure of volume for liquids or, rarer, grain, amounting to about half a liter: Horace advises to buy a *sextarius* of wine in *Sat.* 1.1.74.[470]

[466] Johnson 1994.

[467] Text: Villeneuve 1981, lxxxvii. An overview of attemps to emend it in Tovar 1968, who argues against most conjectures.

[468] *Ars poetica*, containing 476 lines, is almost double the length. Alternative suggestions are listed in Tovar 1968, 336 n. 5.

[469] 'Regarding the condition of his body, he was short and overweight, in the way that he is described by himself in the *Satires* and by Augustus, in this letter.'

[470] *nescis, quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum? / panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius.*

Some scholars thought that it should be taken as referring to a papyrus format rather than any other explanation involving the measure of volume. So, Rostagni interprets it as 'la sesta parte del formato maggiore' and calculates its height as 5 cm.[471] Tovar, referring to the passage from Pliny mentioning roll formats, suggested that *sextariolus* can refer to the bookroll of the worst quality, since the width of the *charta emporitica* measured 6 digits.[472] It might be appealing to equate *sextariolus* and *emporiticon*, a documented word for a particular format of a papyrus roll. However, how well does it work within the context of Augustus' joke? The irony revolves around the book's length, which corresponds to the circumference of the roll.[473] Since Horace is short but fat, he does not have to worry about the length of the book being too much: it will still be thinner. (A modern analogy would be: 'you could even print it on A6, and the book still won't be fatter than you.') Both Rostagni and Tovar seem to disregard the fact that it is the width of the sheet, not its height, that defines a cheap format in our sources. If the height of the roll was not the decisive reference point for the classification of formats, there would technically not be any difference between the circumference of an expensive versus a cheap papyrus: it would not matter whether a roll of n metres consists of x or y sheets, if their height is the same.[474]

None of the attempts to align sextariolus with an existing format seem to hold ground. Moreover, employing a technical term for papyrus production would probably undermine the joke. Still, Augustus must have meant a shorter bookroll, which would require more columns to accommodate Horace's text and make the roll fatter. The lack of a common name for such a 'format' brings back the original interpretation of *sextariolus* as a small pot of a standard volume (cf. 'a pint glass'), which was probably to be found in every household. The expression *in sextariolo* should, in my view, refer to the form that a filled bookroll would fill: one can imagine a small pot functioning like a *capsa* for it.

The references to book formatting in Horace and Cicero indicate that writers could care about the sort of papyrus their first copies were produced on. The readers, especially the first readers, would know that the book they held depended on the author's decisions not only with regard to its text, but also in its outward appearance.[475]

5.3 Handling the text: layout decisions

I have until now attempted to make a clear distinction between the 'outer' side of the text, its material support, and its essence. For describing layout, however, categorisation into 'material' and 'textual'

[471] Rostagni 1944, 119.

[472] Tovar 1968.

[473] Compare Martial 2.6, a roll 'not much bigger than the wrapping-stick'.

[474] One could attempt to explain the difficulty through a combination of qualities: cheap papyrus could also be rougher, and the higher number of sheet-joins could have made the roll thicker. It seems to me, however, that this explanation is complicating the matter at hand.

[475] Martial is a further source of reflection on the suitable formats of the books, including the brand-new codex format.

is not helpful, since layout encompasses both. This also leads to the question whether it is possible, or necessary, to describe elements of layout (impagination, *mise en page*) as paratexts. On the one hand, Genette does mention non-textual elements in *Seuils*, where they are treated under the subcategory 'peritéxte éditorial'.[476] Yet unlike more obvious 'thresholds', such as titles or prefaces, such elements of the material realisation of the book as the choice of material support, its format, and the realisation of the text layout easily escape the mind.

In particular, the 'typographic composition' lent itself with difficulty to the definition of 'paratext', and led to some amount of scholarly debate.[477] For the modern typeset book, it is understandable: the choice to print a novel in paperback or in a deluxe edition on expensive paper depends much more on the economic considerations of the publishing house, and much less on the wishes of its author. However, the process of publication of a Greek or Latin book necessitated a closer connection between the author and the resulting object, and as we have already seen above, the choice of papyrus—a blend of both modern format and paper quality—is something that would have to be decided on in every case where a copy was about to be made.

The layout is the first thing the reader notices when their eyes fall onto the text, before engaging in the reading process; it thus sends a paratextual message.[478] For the purposes of this investigation, layout decisions are relevant when they have a function in the communication system between the author and their reader, which then can be seen as a feature of literary publication. If in a printed book, the layout is largely decided on by the editor or the typesetter, to what extent does the layout in a handwritten Greek or Latin papyrus roll depend on the scribe that produced that specific exemplar? Can we trace any authorial decisions in the process of 'typesetting' a Greek or Latin literary text at all?

I will begin with a couple of examples from poetry with layout features that must have come down from their authors. First of all, the 'figure poems', or technopaignia, are an example of a text with a particular layout that is a part of the message.[479] The *Wings* and *Axe* by Simias of Rhodes comment on their form, and so does Ps.-Theocritean *Syrinx*.[480] In via Nolana in Pompeii, a graffito represents an elegiac poem in the form of a snake (CIL IV 1595 = CLE 927, fig. 5.1):

ser]pentis lusus si qui sibi forte notauit,
    Sepumius iuuenis quos fac(i)t ingenio,
spectator scaenae siue es studiosus e[q]uorum:
    sic habeas [lanc]es se[mp]er ubiq[ue p]a[res].

[476] Genette 1987, 20–25; p. 20: 'il s'agit du péritexte le plus extérieur : la couverture, la page de titre et leurs annexes ; et de la réalisation matérielle du livre, dont l'exécution relève de l'imprimeur, mais la décision, de l'éditeur, en concertation éventuelle avec l'auteur: choix du format, du papier, de la composition typographique, etc.'

[477] Rockenberger and Röcken (2009) on terminological difficulties with the application of the term 'paratext' to the way the text is typeset.

[478] Kruschwitz (2008) illustrates this by producing various typeset layouts of the beginning of Cicero's first Catilinarian: from a distance, the same text may look like a letter, an entry in a dictionary, or a lyric poem.

[479] Luz 2010.

[480] On the dutifully transmitted and garbled layouts of the figure poems, see Kwapisz 2013, 33–36.

If someone by chance made notice of the games of the snake, which the young Sepumius smartly created, whether you are a theatre-goer or a fan of horses, may you thus have fair fortune always and everywhere.

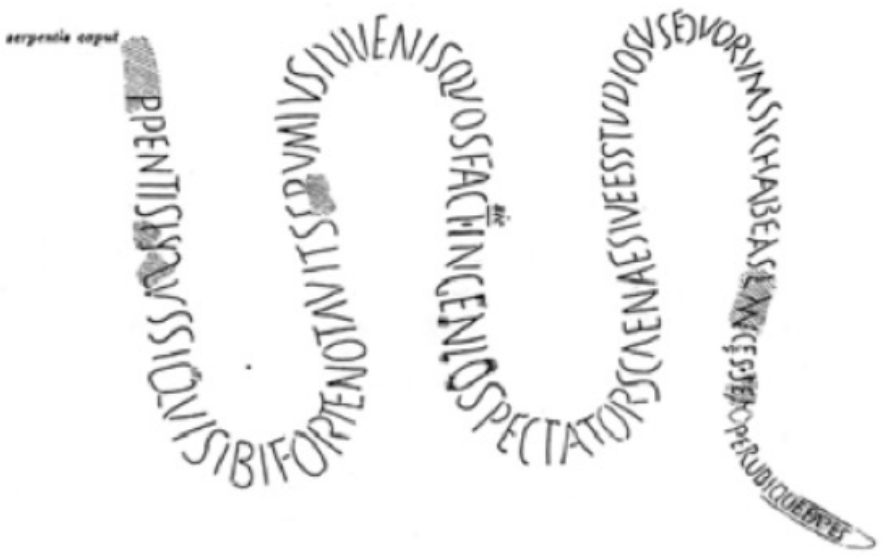


Figure 5.1: CIL IV 1595: a Pompeiian snake-shaped poem in elegiacs

The author names himself and comments on the shape of the poem in the first line, to which the accumulation of sibilants gives an additional phonetic effect. The arrangement of the text on the writing support is key to its interpretation. Surely, without it, the poem would not lose its appeal entirely, and had it been transmitted in the manuscript tradition, someone could have guessed that the reference to the *lusus serpentis* is to be taken as referring to the poem's original form. Still, it only has its full force in the form in which it was read on the Pompeian wall.[481]

Further, the apparent interest of Greek and Latin authors in acrostics is an undeniable phenomenon. In inscriptions, first letters can be highlighted or copied onto the left margin, such as on the stele of Sophytos (discussed in section 2.2, fig. 2.1).[482] According to Luz, whose treatment of various ways of engaging with the form of the the text remains seminal, the first attested intended acrostic dates to the 4th century BC: it is P.Hibeh 2.224, the first letters of which read XAIPHM.[483] Examples of acrostics containing the name of the author and/or the title of the work come from both Greek and Latin sources. Cicero mentions in passing that Ennius created an acrostic reading *Q. Ennius fecit* (*Div.* 2.54.111). Acrostics of such kind could be used by authors as well as by other readers or editors, who could have found them practical or witty; acrostic arguments to Plautus and Terence are the most

[481] Kwapisz 2019a, 117–118 underlines the difference from the Greek technopaignia, in which the shape is a product of the literary technique, not a pure change of the layout.

[482] On acrostics in inscriptions, see Garulli 2013.

[483] Luz 2010, 7.

commonplace example of the latter phenomenon. A different case is P.Par. 1 (2nd century BC), which has an acrostic poem on its verso. The papyrus contains an astronomical treatise falsely attributed to Eudoxus.[484] The acrostic is written in the same hand as the main text, and the first letters of the lines spell ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗ. However, its positioning does not correspond to the beginning of the text, so that it could not serve as a preface to the reader; it seems more likely that the writer remembered the epigram and put it on the back of the text they were copying.[485] It is possible that it was originally intended as a prefatory acrostic to a different astronomical work by Eudoxus.[486]

The 'bibliographical' acrostics are, however, only a part of a larger group. There are also alphabetic acrostics, which are closer to technopaignia in their function: to show off skill and to please the reader. So, P.Köln 11.431 is an acrostic which begins similarly to a messenger's speech (ἀπαγγελῶν πάρειμι, fr. 1.1), and contains 24 lines beginning, as can be reconstructed on the basis of the preserved part, with letters of the Greek alphabet.[487] A more complex phenomenon is an acrostic that does not, at first sight, convey a predictable meaning in the way that an *abecedarium* or an acrostic with the author's name does. By this I mean such acrostics as Aratus' λεπτή in *Phaen.* 783–87, which has been the object of multiple scholarly articles.[488] The search for new acrostics of this kind has developed into its own field of study, and new acrostics arrive in scholarly literature in a steady flow.[489] Questions of authorial intentions and readers' expectations, alongside some solid statistical reasoning, are crucial for productive engagement with this strand of scholarship.[490]

Concerning literary publication, acrostics of the last two kinds are probably of least importance, apart from the testimony they bear to an interest in visual play with the textual material and unless they occur at a critical location within the text (such as the beginning or, even more importantly, the end). The acrostics belonging to the first type, on the other hand, provide starting points that allow us to consider questions of authorship and authenticity, and the organising principles that were governing practices of not only creating literary works, but also organising them. For example, it has recently been argued that the XAIPHM- acrostic mentioned above was not produced by Chaeremon but originated from a gnomic anthology of Chaeremonic verses, the collector of which put them in the order that would create an acrostic.[491] This analysis forces us to reassess the reasons behind the acrostic: while it was surely intentional, its goal was not an authorial addition of a *sphragis* but an arrangement of existing texts so that they could fit a pattern. Finally, a remark in Photius shows that

[484] F 137 in Laserre 1966.

[485] Luz 2010, 58–63.

[486] An even bolder consideration has been proposed by J. Kwapisz, namely that it could have been inscribed on a model of the Cosmos created by Eudoxus (Kwapisz 2019b, 385).

[487] *Editio princeps* Gronewald 2007, 20–3. See Collard 2009 for further considerations of the fragment's genre.

[488] Bibliography overview: Hanses 2014, 609 n. 2. Most importantly, Kwapisz 2019b on the potential connection between this acrostic and the 'Ars Eudoxi' epigram from P.Par. 1.

[489] A recent such article, with ample bibliography: Kearey 2019.

[490] See recently Robinson 2019, a suggestion of a methodology for working with acrostics in Latin literature. Robinson compares the methodology of dealing with acrostics with the established methodologies of analysing allusion; most importantly, he reserves judgement about authorial intentions and instead focuses on a reader who is 'on a lookout' for acrostics.

[491] Schubert 2013.

the interest in acrostics could reach further than the visible span of text on a page. Philostorgius, a Church historian who lived in the 4th–5th centuries AD, is said to have composed twelve books, beginning each of them in such a way that the first letters of each book, taken together, would give his name.[492] The only way of noticing this would be to collect the *incipits* of each book in a list, and Philostorgius must have expected his readers to either have such a list or to create one.

Figured poems and acrostics convey meaning, either in the form of the poem or in the word that can be composed from the first letters, especially if this word is emphasised separately (for example, through highlighting the first letters or copying them onto the margin). This both make it easier to connect them to the author's intention than other visual elements and lends them a certain stability. What else, if anything, can be considered an authorial layout decision?

Literary texts do not provide us with much detail when it comes to layout considerations. There are no passages talking about the size of the margins or the positioning of the titles. Of course, to an extent, the decision of writing on a papyrus of higher or lower quality, or of larger sheet-width, which we have seen above, might also imply certain layout features, such as larger margins. To my knowledge, no study has been made that would investigate the existence of such a correlation, or lack thereof—not least because the number of papyri with two or more sheet-joins preserved is far from high.

Many features regarding the layout of a text can be regarded as the result of natural development rather than as an individual decision. For prose texts, the average length of the line corresponds to the span that can be covered and analysed by the eye while reading.[493] In stichic poetry, each line normally corresponds to a verse, as one would expect. The introduction of an indent to mark pentameters in the elegiac distichs was thought to be a late innovation, possibly under Roman influence. However, in the article of 2012, J. Lougovaya–Ast showed that although the practice of indenting pentameters never established itself as standard, the first single cases of its usage occur already in the 3rd century BC and can be found throughout the Greek-speaking world by the 1st century BC: she argues for a Greek influence on Roman layout practices instead.[494]

Developments of this kind cannot and should not be brought back to a πρῶτος εὑρετής. However, even within these 'natural' layouts, some features are worth noting. They are not always as stable as it may seem, or as important for readers as we would like them to be: while line- and verse-ends often coincide in the metrical graffiti from Pompeii, P. Kruschwitz showed that there were more factors at play that could influence the line-breaks, including caesurae and sentence structure.[495] Some decisions can be connected to the changing interests or needs of the audience, and are particularly visible in texts of a technical nature.[496] The need for annotation led to different ways of laying out the

[492] *Bibl.* 40: …αἱ ἀπαρχαὶ συντιθέμεναι τὸ τοῦ συγγεγραφότος ἀπαρτίζουσι Φιλοστοργίου ὄνομα.

[493] Johnson 2000, 609–612 defends the ability of Greek readers to decipher writing without spaces in the format of a papyrus column. See also Battezzato 2009.

[494] Lougovaya-Ast 2012.

[495] Kruschwitz 2008.

[496] A good entry point on layouts is the collection Pellé 2017a, especially Ammirati 2017 on the juristic texts and Pellé 2017b on the 'scholar's copies' and their marginalia.

text.[497] A few of preserved commentaries are integrated into the text, such as the Lille scholia to Callimachus: the text of the commentary is indented in relation to the text of the poem, and commentary inserted where it was needed.[498] This kind of 'edition' needs either to be copied from a version with interlinear annotation or to be compiled from other commentaries. Some papyri seem to have space left for interlinear annotation, such as P.Schubart 10r (fig. 5.2): a need for correcting and commenting that is catered for? Fashion could have influenced text production as well: K. McNamee suggests that the asystematic usage of Aristarchean critical signs in Homeric papyri could mean that such papyri looked 'fancier' and more authoritative.[499]

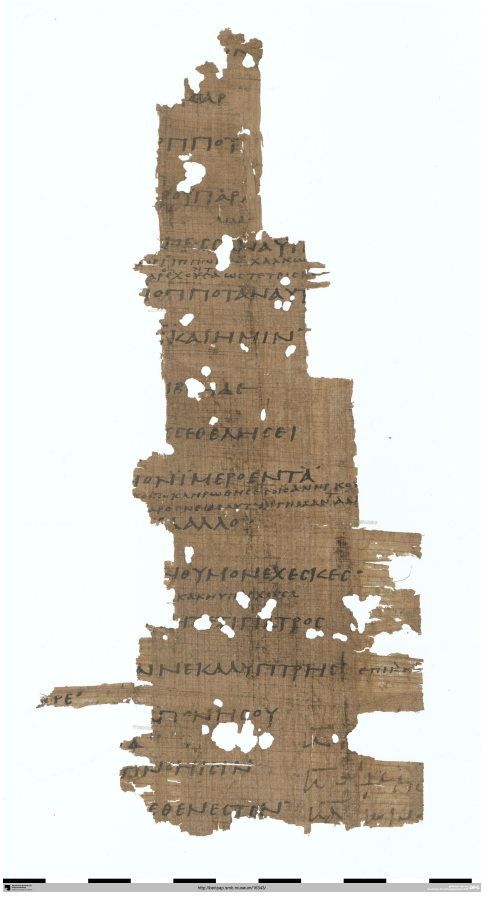


Figure 5.2: P.Schubart 10r: Archilochus (?), possibly with interlinear commentary

[497] The majority of readers did not need an interpretative commentary but were satisfied by minimal reading aids such as *paragraphoi* marking period ends or speaker change in drama, and sometimes a *coronis* at the very end of the text. The amount of heavily annotated papyri does not make up a big part of all literary papyri: in K. McNamee's work, the number of papyri under consideration is 'roughly 5% of the 5,431 classical literary papyri listed in LDAB as of August 2005' (McNamee 2007, 2). Most annotations come from texts from the school curriculum, comprising a rigid selection of texts (Morgan 1998, 288–322).

[498] P.Lille inv. 76d + P.78a-c + P.79 + P.82 + P.8. K. McNamee notes four atypical rolls of this format, saying that they 'fall somewhere between annotated texts and hypomnemata': McNamee 2007, 17–18. The others are a hypomnema on Nicander (P.Köln 5.206r + P.Oxy. 19.2221r), a copy of the second book of the Iliad (PSI 12.1276), and a Ptolemaic riddle papyrus ('The oyster', P.Louvre inv. E 7733v + P.Louvre inv. E 7734v).

[499] McNamee 1981.

Although we barely have any autograph papyri, the introduction of significant structural elements within a text is more likely to go back to the authors than the copyists. There are reasons to believe that the placement of *paragraphoi* and *coronides* was perceived as an important part of an ancient edition: Galen in *De indolentia* mentions among the books he lost in the fire of Rome some that were so meticulously copied that not a single *paragraphos* and not a single *coronis* was missed.[500] Galen's is, of course, rather late evidence, and it is dangerous to project it back. But combined with the likelihood that some of Cicero's sections may well go back to the author himself, shown by S. Butler, it seems worthwhile at least to keep the paragraph division in mind when thinking about layouts.[501] Papyrological evidence of the Greek novel gives a picture that could have been an altogether new literary situation. The editorial practices of the writers of the Greek novel are yet not entirely clear to us, but with these texts, the production and dissemination in the extant papyri occur in the same time period.[502] Novels come in a variety of flavours, some fairly standard, some in beautiful calligraphic hands, some in documentary hands attempting (with various degrees of success) to produce a literary script. The layout and annotations present solutions that seem to improve the readability of the text for less professional audiences. So in P.Turner 8 prose and poetry are distinguished by layout. As this is a development toward complexity, it seems unlikely to come from the readers making or commissioning copies: the new layouts may have come from the authors themselves.[503]

Then, of course, there is a lot of room for assumptions. J. Schafer argues in a recent article that Vergil might have had a specific arrangement of lines within the series of columns in the papyrus roll of the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*, coming at very specific numbers that allow the theory to seem plausible.[504] Even though Schafer does say he is only trying to reconstruct an instance of intended layout in a single copy or a handful of copies produced under Vergil's control, such calculations seem to me tentative at best. An 'intended placement' of specific lines would also be highly unstable: while an acrostic would stay intact, unless textual corruption takes place, and the preservation of *paragraphoi* is connected to the text they accompany, a construction suggested by Schafer would only be secured in select controlled exemplars, and it seems to be too much effort to produce a poem with key words occurring at exactly the same intervals. In my view, the most secure reference to *some* authorial impagination remains the *praescripsit pagina nomen* from Verg. *Buc.* 6.11, from which one might indeed draw the conclusion that poems could begin on a new column, and especially if they had individual titles.[505] Similarly, when Martial says, as an answer to criticism that the poems of Marsus and Pedo often take up a 'double page' (*saepe duplex unum pagina tractat opus*, Mart. 2.77.5–6), or says that he tries not to fill a whole page with the poem (10.59), it might indicate a tendency of starting at the top.

[500] Gal. *Ind.* 14.
[501] Butler 2009, reprinted in Jansen 2014.
[502] See statistics in section 3.3.1.
[503] Cavallo 1996.
[504] Schafer 2017.
[505] However, the first titles for individual poems that can be securely shown to originate from the author are those in Mart. 12 and 14: Schröder 1999, 176–179.

5.4 Titles

5.4.1 Terminology, materiality, and format

Inscription being the natural way of giving supplementary information about the object, it is not surprising that Greek and Latin uses the same vocabulary for literary works as for monuments. In Greek, to give a book a title is ἐπιγράφω, a title being ἐπιγραφή (but also, though rarely, ἐπίγραμμα).[506] In Latin, *inscribere* and *inscriptio* are popular from Cicero's time onwards, and *titulus* can refer to an inscription on a monument (especially sepulchral) as well as a title of a text. The other line of semantics for giving a title views the book more as a living creature than as an object, as one can talk about 'naming' a book in both languages (*nominare* or *vocare*, *nomen*; καλέω, ὄνομα). In Latin, one encounters equally *index* and *titulus*, with some fluctuations in use over time and in different authors.[507]

The most visible part of a papyrus roll depends on how it is stored. If the rolls are put into a wooden chest, the first thing one sees is the backside of the papyrus sheet at the beginning of the roll. If the rolls are stored vertically in a box or ceramic vessel, as well as if they are laid horizontally on shelves or inserted into niches in the wall, the only thing visible is the round opening of the roll at its top. Neither of the possibilities lets the reader see the main text before unrolling the book, and the need for identification resulted in several options of adding information to the visible parts of the book-roll.

A title could be placed (a) at the beginning of the roll; (b) at the end of the roll; (c) on the *verso* of the roll; and (d) on a title-tag attached to the roll, which would then stick out of the vertical box or the bookshelf. The discussion of the relationship between these various kinds of titles is also made more difficult by the scarcity and unevenness of distribution of material evidence. For some fragments, it is difficult to establish whether a title is a beginning-title or an end-title.[508] Titles at the beginning of the text are less numerous, which is partly due to the fact that the beginnings of book-rolls are more prone to decay (unless the reader was too lazy to roll the book back, preserving its first sheet inside). Inside a papyrus roll, a title could be separated from the text by its positioning (usually centered), ornamentation (such as dashes above and below it) and a sign on the margin of the text itself (a *paragraphos* and/or a *coronis*).

Title-tags (σίλλυβοι) were made of papyrus or leather; the preserved examples sometimes have ornamentation similar to the internal titles. As they were easily detached from their rolls, title-tags were often lost and needed to be replaced or updated. Among papyri finds, few existing title-tags are usually separated from their book-rolls; an exception is P.Oxy. 8.1091, which contains a fragment from Bacchylides (*Dith.* 17.47–78, 91–92) with title tag still attached (fig. 5.3). The title is written on vellum and consists of two lines, 'Βακχυλίδου / Διθύραμβοι'. It is embellished with small curved lines

[506] Gal. *San. Tu.* 6. 132K: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἑνὶ βιβλίων.

[507] For an overview of Latin terminology, see Schröder 1999, 319–323. Gellius uses *inscripta* in praef. 9, alongside *titulus* and *index*.

[508] A useful appendix with end-titles and some titles of unsure location in Schironi 2010; see also Caroli 2007. On titles written on the back, see Luppe 1977.

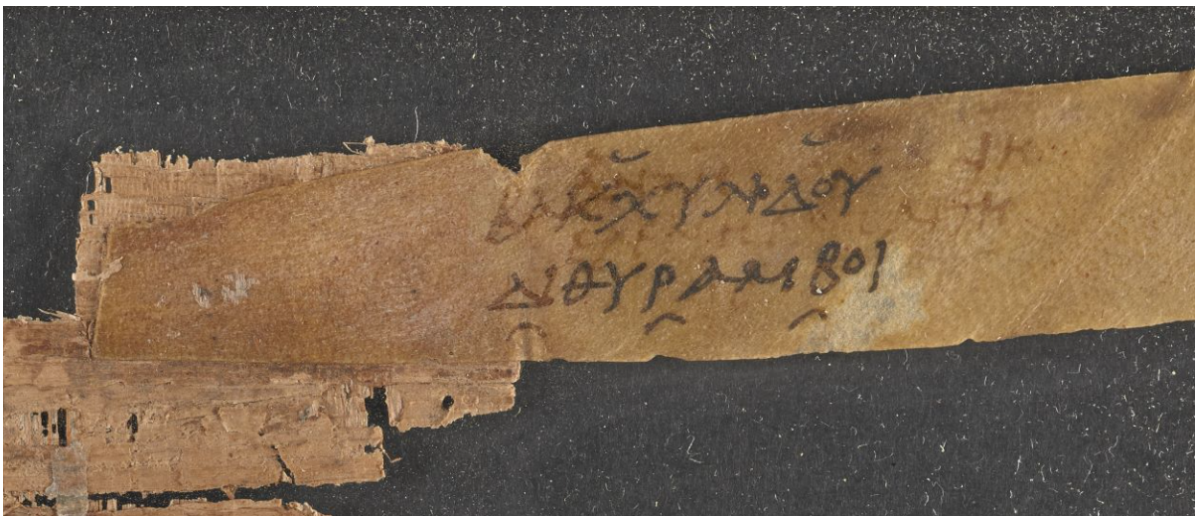


Figure 5.3: P.Oxy. 8.1091 (fragment): a title-tag preserved in its original place

above and below. Under the writing, traces of an earlier title can be seen: the title-tags, as well as rolls themselves, were subject to reuse.[509]

The arrival of a title happened at different times for different literary genres.[510] So, for theatre plays, this moment seems to have arrived fairly early, whereas lyric poetry did not seem to use titles for quite some time (single poems are mainly referred to by their *incipits*). There is also a problem of interpretation posed by the titles of 'περί / de' type, where it is not clear to what extent the sheer indication of the general topic of the text is formalised as a book title.[511] In terms of formulae, Greek papyri preserve a variety of titles. The basic recipe is the name of the author in the genitive, followed by the title proper; an inverted variant is also present.[512] If the text consisted of multiple volumes, a reference to the volume number could be used.

Already from the description of the physical reality of a title it is clear that its stability is constantly under threat. Many Greek and Latin works were transmitted under various titles, so that scholars argue about their original 'names'. Establishing it is a difficult task: the number of titles found on papyri is considerable but far from enough to reconstruct the names of the texts preserved in the manuscript tradition. Some of the original titles, or, at least, those likely to have originated closer to the time of production, can be deduced from depictions of bookrolls and from manuscripts that can contain traces of the earlier textual tradition.[513] The lack of consistency exhibited by Greek and Roman sources when referring to books does not help the matter.

An ancient author was not expected to include detailed references to their sources, nor, if they

[509] The previous title was reconstructed by J. M. Edmonds as Ἀντηνορίδαι ἢ ἡ Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις. See Edmonds 1922; Caroli 2007, 199–204 with further bibliography.

[510] On the history of titles in general, see Caroli 2007, 13–22.

[511] A study of the early book-titles: Schmalzriedt 1970. According to him, the most ancient prose work that was given a title is the Ἀλήθεια of Protagoras.

[512] See Appendix VII in Schironi 2010, 228–240.

[513] Oliver 1951.

decided to do so, to exert any particular care or precision. References contained in Greek and Latin texts (and sometimes on papyri) are often depressingly unclear. Even those of the ancient authors who were well-known for their meticulousness in working with sources provide us with references far from any modern citation standard. A reference may come from the author's memory and does not have to coincide with the 'official' title. Sometimes the author does not bother to include any title at all and just writes 'as X says'. Furthermore, even if there is a title, the most precise indication that one usually gets for prose texts is to a volume of a book (unless a more fine-grained subdivision exists) or an episode.[514] In books containing a series of poems the smallest textual item is a poem. Such indications seem to aim not at facilitating a search in the library, but in the best case, to remind the reader of a passage they already know. However, there are multiple indications that at least some ancient authors did care for the titles of their works, and those of the others. What is in a title, then? What functions did it have? How important was giving a book a name?

5.4.2 Functions: authorship and identity

In the dialogue *Hipparchus* (ascribed to Plato, authorship contested), Socrates tells a story of how Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, after bringing poetry into the city, wanted to educate people in the countryside. He chose the wisest sayings, put them into elegiac verse and inscribed them on the herms outside the city.[515] Socrates continues by describing two of the herms that still survived until his day: one carried a metrical inscription μνῆμα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου· στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν, the other, μνῆμα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.[516]

This story is a case of written expression of authorship as early as the 6th century BC. The idea of putting your own name into the verse, in a sort of *sphragis*, bears here not only a literary idea, but a political one: Hipparchus wants to implement his program of education and make people associate him with wise sayings, replacing the well-known maxims from Delphi with his own. The formula 'μνῆμα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου' marks the act of setting up the monument, but also a claim to the utterance that follows. If we view the inscriptions set up by Hipparchus as a minimalistic literary text, each of them has a title incorporated within the text itself. It conveys the name of the author (Hipparchus) and the 'genre' (μνῆμα), and invites the reader to read on, revealing the main message.

From the moment when it became usual to begin with the title, it must have been the first contact of the reader with the book. Titles indicate the contents of a text, situate it in a tradition or mark a digression from it. A title in the broader sense ('everything that stands on a title-tag or at the beginning of the work', an analogue of the cover page of a modern book) can furnish the reader with further bibliographical information, such as the number of volumes that make up the book.

[514] Asconius' commentary to Cicero has approximate indication of line number together with each quote from the original text, but it is, as far as I am aware, rather an exception.

[515] ἐκλεξάμενος ἃ ἡγεῖτο σοφώτατα εἶναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐντείνας εἰς ἐλεγεῖον αὑτοῦ ποιήματα καὶ ἐπιδείγματα τῆς σοφίας ἐπέγραψεν, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμματα τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα μὴ θαυμάζοιεν οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ <…> ἀλλὰ τὰ Ἱππάρχου ῥήματα μᾶλλον σοφὰ ἡγοῖντο (Ps.-Plat. *Hipparch.* 228d–e).

[516] *Hipparch.* 229a.

Various things could happen to a title. A wrong attribution is not an uncommon thing for Galen, and also something worth noticing and telling his readers about:[517]

> πάρεστί σοι τὰς τῆς Ἰατρικῆς συναγωγῆς ἀναγνῶναι βίβλους ἐπιγεγραμμένας μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους, ὁμολογουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ Μένωνος, ὃς ἦν μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ, γεγράφθαι, διὸ καὶ Μενώνεια προσαγορεύουσιν ἔνιοι ταυτὶ τὰ βιβλία.
>
> *You can read the books of the 'Medical collection', which carry the title of being by Aristotle but are commonly agreed to have been written by Menon, who was his student, wherefore some people call these books 'Menonia'.*

Similarly, Quintilian indicates a discrepancy between the title of his source and the common opinion about its authorship (2.15.10): *non dissentit Theodectes, siue ipsius id opus est quod de rhetorice nomine eius inscribitur, siue, ut creditum est, Aristotelis.* Changing the title of a book could also be a way of 'stealing' it. So, Vitruvius (7 praef. 8) says he did not plagiarise others by 'changing the titles and inserting his own name': *neque alienis indicibus mutatis interposito nomine meo id profero corpus.* (What follows this declaration of fair practice is an annotated bibliography of works on architecture and its various branches.)

Reflection on giving titles does not occur that frequently, and more by way of criticising. The most extensive and well-known of those is, probably, Plin. *NH* praef. 24–26. He makes fun of exquisite titles of Greek works that have nothing behind them (*at cum intraveris, di deaeque, quam nihil in medio invenies!*) and of their self-assuredness (*Apion quidem grammaticus … immortalitate donari a se scripsit ad quos aliqua componebat*; note the reference to the dedicatees). He himself is fine with a not particularly pompous title (*me non paenitet nullum festiviorem excogitasse titulum*). Another case of a direct commentary is given by Gellius in the preface to the *Attic Nights* (praef. 4).[518] Lucian tells of someone who wrote a way too concise historical book and gave it a title which was almost longer than the book itself.[519]

Philostratus (*Vit. soph.* 2.26) tells an anecdote about someone who worked very hard to compensate for the lack of talent:

> … βιβλίον ξύμμετρον, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται Πόνου ἐγκώμιον, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸ χειρῶν ἔχων ἐνέτυχε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ κατὰ τὴν Ναύκρατιν, ὁ δὲ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὅ τι σπουδάζοι, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι πόνου εἴη ἐγκώμιον, αἰτήσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἀπαλείψας τὸ πῖ 'ὥρα σοι' ἔφη 'ἀναγιγνώσκειν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκωμίου'.

[517] Gal. *HNH* 15. 25K.

[518] *quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro, sicuti dixi, terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus, idcirco eas inscripsimus noctium esse Atticarum nihil imitati festiuitates inscriptionum, quas plerique alii utriusque linguae scriptores in id genus libris fecerunt.* On this unusual piece of reflection and the reason for choosing this title and framing the choice in such a way, see Vardi 1993.

[519] Lucian. *Hist. conscr.* 30.

> *… a rather pleasing composition of his, a book of moderate size, called "In Praise of Work" (Πόνου ἐγκώμιον). Once, when he was carrying this book in his hands, he met Ptolemy the sophist in Naucratis, and the latter asked him what he was studying. When he replied that it was an encomium on work, Ptolemy asked for the book, crossed out the letter pi and said: 'Now you must read the title of your encomium.'*

For the book, the title reflects not only its contents, but also its 'identity'. In *De or.* 2.61, Cicero complains that he is deceived by the titles of philosophic works:

> …in philosophos vestros si quando incidi, deceptus indicibus librorum, qui sunt fere inscripti de rebus notis et inlustribus, de virtute, de iustitia, de honestate, de voluptate, verbum prorsus nullum intellego; ita sunt angustis et concisis disputationibus inligati…
>
> *…if I ever chance upon your favourite philosophers, deceived by the titles of their books, which are entitled as if they were talking about known and important things, such as 'On Virtue', 'On Justice', 'On Reputation', 'On Pleasure', I hardly understand a word, so entangled they are by contracted and broken up discussions…*

Cicero often mentions the titles of his works, and it is clear that they carried a meaning for him.[520] In the preface to *Topica*, he says that it was the title of Aristotle's book (*Aristotelis Topica quaedam*) that aroused the interest of his friend Trebatius, when he was browsing through Cicero's books: *qua inscriptione commotus continuo a me librorum eorum sententiam requisisti.*[521] Here, the reference to Trebatius' interest strengthens the already given connection between Cicero's work and that of the same title.[522]

In *Pont.* 1.1.15–16, Ovid says that the reader will find the poems in this book not less sad than the *Tristia*, even though their title is not as deplorable: *inuenies, quamuis non est miserabilis index, / non minus hoc illo triste quod ante dedi.* Sending the first book of *Tristia* to Rome, Ovid describes its 'looks', which have to reflect his own miserable state; the red-inked title is mentioned alongside the other usual properties of a 'fancy' edition, such as application of cedar oil to the papyrus or addition of an *umbilicus*.[523]

The author's name in the title serves the book's, and the author's, advertisement and fame. When Polybius corrects a mistake in Fabius Pictor, he justifies doing so by the fact that those who chance upon a mention (ὑπόμνησις) of his book might be distracted by its title. His further comments explain that Fabius, as a Roman senator of the time he was describing, could make readers believe him just

[520] Daly 1943, 21.
[521] Cic. *Top.* 1.1.
[522] On the question of identification of the book in Cicero's library, see Reinhardt 2006, 177–185.
[523] Ov. *Trist.* 1.1.3–10, already discussed in section 5.2.

because of his name.[524] Comments on the hypocrisy of putting your name on the 'cover' of the book, using almost the same words, can also be found in Cicero and Plutarch.[525]

Since the title can and does serve as a means of identifying a book and its author, a reversal of this idea serves to underline the fame: a book by a well-known author does not need a title to be recognised as such. An attribution by style, not title is commented on in Dion. Hal. *Din.* 6: τοὺς δ' Ὑπερείδου δόξαντας εἶναί τισι Δεινάρχου λέγοι μακρὰ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τῶν βυβλίων χαίρειν εἰπών. Ovid praises Carus in *Pont.* 4.13: even if one tore the title off the roll (*ut titulum chartae de fronte reuellas* – note the physicality of this action; this title is placed outside of the text, but within the roll), he would have recognised his friend's style. Galen's story about a quarrel at the bookseller's, told at the beginning of *De libris propriis*, also implies that even with a fake title, a learned person could tell a true Galen from a forgery.[526] Martial plays on the same idea in 12.2.17–18: *quid titulum poscis? versus duo tresve legantur, / clamabunt omnes te, liber, esse meum.* The book, which is ready to leave its parent and proceed to independent life, asks Martial for a title. Instead, Martial expects the public to recognise his talent from his verses only, and jokingly denies the book its request.

A number of passages indicate that giving the book a title is the last part of publication. Martial's *liber*, as we have already seen above, may be sent to the addressee without a title or other embellishments, due to the hastiness of the dispatch.[527] In Pliny the Younger, the title is an attribute of a finished work ready for being delivered to the audience:[528]

> perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur. patere me uidere titulum tuum, patere audire describi legi uenire uolumina Tranquilli mei.
>
> *The work is done and finished, and already doesn't shine brighter because of the file but is being worn out. Let me see your title, let me hear that the volumes of my Tranquillus are being copied, read, and sold.*

Some texts may exist untitled, but obtain a 'name' when it is time for them to be published. While describing his next projects in court, Cicero writes to Atticus that 'boastful titles are being prepared for the speeches' (*parantur orationibus indices gloriosi*), implying the possibility of a later publication

[524] Polyb. 3.9: τίνος δὴ χάριν ἐμνήσθην Φαβίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γεγραμμένων; οὐχ ἕνεκα τῆς πιθανότητος τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀγωνιῶν μὴ πιστευθῇ παρά τισιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἀλογία καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξηγήσεως αὐτὴ δι' αὑτῆς δύναται θεωρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀναλαμβανόντων τὰς ἐκείνου βύβλους ὑπομνήσεως, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπωσιν. ἔνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ λεγόμενα συνεπιστήσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν λέγοντα, καὶ λαβόντες ἐν νῷ διότι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ὁ γράφων γέγονε καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου μετεῖχε τῶν Ῥωμαίων, πᾶν εὐθέως ἡγοῦνται τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τούτου πιστόν.

[525] Cic. *Arch.* 26: *ipsi illi philosophi etiam in eis libellis quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt nomen suum inscribunt; in eo ipso in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt praedicari de se ac nominari volunt.* Cf. Plut. *De lat. viv.* 1128: ἐπεὶ τί λέγειν ἔδει τοῦτο, τί δὲ γράφειν καὶ γράψαντα ἐκδιδόναι πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον, εἰ λαθεῖν ἐβούλετο; and *Tusc.* 1.34.11: *quid? nostri philosophi nonne in is libris ipsis, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt?*

[526] Gal. *Lib. Prop.* 19. 8–9K:ὠνουμένου δέ τινος ὡς ἐμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς κινηθείς τις ἀνὴρ τῶν φιλολόγων ἐβουλήθη γνῶναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δύο τοὺς πρώτους στίχους ἀναγνοὺς εὐθέως ἀπέρριψε τὸ γράμμα, τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιφθεγξάμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ λέξις αὕτη Γαληνοῦ καὶ ψευδῶς ἐπιγέγραπται τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον.

[527] Mart. 12.2, 8.72.

[528] Plin. *Epist.* 5.10.3.

of texts that would not normally have a title upon delivery. Galen says that he gave some of his notes to students without a title, because it was not thought yet to be ready for circulation (χωρὶς ἐπιγραφῆς ὡς ἂν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔκδοσιν) and that those writings then all got various titles (ἐγὼ δ' ἁπλῶς δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς οὐδὲν ἐπέγραψα καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὕστερον εἰς πολλοὺς ἀφικομένων ἄλλος ἄλλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο).[529] Again, the addition of a title is one of the final moments within the creation of a text.

5.5 Prefaces

How does a reader know what a book they have just picked up is about? Partly they are able to deduce the contents from the title, but, as we have seen above, it might be misleading, wrong, or lost altogether. Moreover, even an elaborate title does not have the capacity of giving an extended commentary on the contents of the work.[530] The example from Lucian quoted above (*Hist. conscr.* 30) shows that even if authors attempted such titles, they were likely to be subjected to ridicule. This is where another part of the paratext, the preface, comes into play. Prefaces have many advantages. They are closer to the text than titles and are less likely to be detached and lost; they are not, or less, constrained by problems of space; finally, they allow the author to take a stand in regard to their work.

Prefaces can provide insights into the history of the text, its constitution and its place in the tradition as seen by the author. This makes them one of the richest sources not only for specific information related to the text, but also for exploring strategies of interaction with the audience, authorial self-fashioning, as well as the formal development of this specific kind of paratext.

5.5.1 History and form

There are several lines in the development of a preface. On the one hand, the very idea of having some preliminary material seems to be inherent to ancient literature. On the other hand, there is a tradition of dedication letters that then develop into prefaces, and it makes sense to view this development as a social and literary one. As I will argue further, the combination of the two yields a perfect blend, particularly suitable for exploring issues connected with book publication.

The most widely used Greek term for preface is προοίμιον. Latin uses, apart from the loan-word *pro(h)oemium*, a more general *principium*. Προοίμιον seem to have originated in poetical performances – for example, it can denote a shorter piece of poetry that is sung before the 'main' text (e. g. a hymn before a rhapsody). These proems did not necessarily have to be written down, or, even if they were, to be preserved and become part of the textual tradition. Along the same lines goes *praefatio*, an oral remark before a recitation; it only begins to be used in relation to a written text around the 1st century AD.[531]

[529] *Lib. prop.* 19. 10–11K.

[530] One can contrast, for instance, the long titles in early modern books, sometimes taking up the whole of the title-page.

[531] Cf. Plin. *Epist.* 1.13.2: *sibi nuntiari iubent, an iam recitator intrauerit, an dixerit praefationem, an ex magna parte euoluerit librum.* The first attested examples of a written *praefatio* also come from Pliny: *ThLL*: Oesterle. 1985, II.A.I.a.

The beginning of a text fulfils an important function. In rhetorical theory, the famous triad – to make the listener *benivolum, attentum, docilem* (Cic. *Inv.* 1.20) – encompasses the functions of a rhetorical *exordium*. Unlike the short prefatory items discussed above, *exordium* constitutes an integral part of a text. However, it was also perceived as a separate unit: the art of composing beginnings was discussed, used in teaching and became the subject of specialist treatises.[532] A list of introductions to Demosthenes' speeches is also preserved on P.Oxy. 1.26.

Plato (*Leg.* 722d–723e) brings together rhetoric, poetry and the creation of laws on the grounds that they all have 'prefaces'. He compares laws with performances (with a word-play on νόμος), which are accompanied by a προοίμιον, and equates the functions of a preface to a law and that to a speech: it has to change the listener's disposition towards what is going to follow and make him readier to learn. This multiplicity of terms and the focus on the function is also reflected in Aristotle's definition: τὸ μὲν οὖν προοίμιόν ἐστιν ἀρχὴ λόγου, ὅπερ ἐν ποιήσει πρόλογος καὶ ἐν αὐλήσει προαύλιον· πάντα γὰρ ἀρχαὶ ταῦτ' εἰσί, καὶ οἷον ὁδοποίησις τῷ ἐπιόντι (*Rhet.* 1414b).

Thus, a προοίμιον is more or less any beginning, spoken or written, and it is distinguished by its function more than by its form. Preliminary matter in ancient literary thought, consequently, has the following features: (a) it exists as a separate idea; (b) it has a relatively clear set of functions; and (c) it may take various forms, depending on the author and, loosely, the type of text.

One of the ancestors of a preface is a letter to the addressee or dedicatee. It is not fully clear when those letters became a part of the text itself and turned into an epistolary preface. Some of them have a greeting, some only have a vocative; the valedictory formula is rarer, but it still can be seen from time to time, also in later texts (e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 3 praef. and 4 praef.; the preface to Philostratus' *Vitae sophistarum* ends with ἔρρωσο Μουσηγέτα). Sometimes it disappears without a trace, in other cases the author states the end of a preface explicitly, and there it is clear that the preface was a part of the text.[533]

Not every letter that has a work of literature as its subject is a preface. We have already considered letters from Cicero's and Pliny's correspondence that are part of the creative process, for example, letters asking for feedback. These clearly have nothing to do with prefaces. In some cases it is less obvious whether a certain letter has functioned as a preface or not.

A letter that talks about publication but is not part of it is Arrian's letter to Lucius Gellius, which introduces his collection of Epictetus' *Discourses*. Arrian responds to criticism, disclaiming what we would now call a copyright on Epictetus' thoughts. These writings were produced *ex tempore*, he says, and were not planned to be read by the broader public. Indeed, he has no idea how this happened. Consequently, we must assume that this work did not have an original preface. One could think that this letter could be appended to the text afterwards, as it has an explanation of what the text was

[532] For an overview of prefaces in rhetoric see Ruch 1958, 95–97.

[533] Cic. *Top.* 5: *sed iam tempus est ad id quod instituimus accedere*; at the end of a prose preface to Columella's *De re rustica* 10. praef. 5 the verb itself is used: *sed iam praefari desinamus.*

intended to be, obviously only needed *after* it has been made accessible to the public.[534]

So, letters can also be transmitted with the main text with or without the intention of their author. The recipient could do it: apart from generally useful information, the letter is a proof that the book was dedicated to them. The famous letter to Trypho at the beginning of the *Institutio* is not a prefatory, but a publication-related letter, but it was placed at the beginning of the edition nonetheless, whoever made this decision.[535]

5.5.2 Functions

The preface is a special part of the text, a sort of threshold from which the author can look at the text that will follow, partly from the outside, partly already from within.[536] It is left to the author to decide whether the text is going to have any preface at all and if it is, how it will look.

The fact that a text has an explicit, visible preface tells the reader several things from the very beginning. First of all, it is most probably the final version, or at least the version consciously made (semi-)publicly available. Writing a preface requires the self-consciousness of the author and a special relation to the text that is going to be sent out and to reach a certain audience. Even if this audience technically consists of one person, a preface has public-facing features. Thus, the very existence of a preface implies a conscious act of 'publishing'.

An advantage of a preface arising from its liminal position is that it allows the author to employ a different style from the main text. Perhaps the most striking stylistic contrast in this respect can be seen in the long preface by Scribonius Largus to his *Compositiones*. The work itself can barely be called an example of eloquence: it is a list of medical recipes against various illnesses. The preface, however, is stylistically a very different text that contains, among other things, a discussion of medical ethics.[537] In addition to this, Scribonius uses the preface to underline his professional skills as a medical practitioner. Similarly, Vitruvian prefaces exhibit different stylistic features from the main text of the treatise.

The social aspect of the prefatory epistle has been discussed in connection with the figure of the dedicatee in section 3.1.1. We have seen that a dedication could improve the 'social status' of the text, and that the dedicatee was sometimes expected to influence the fate of the books entrusted to them. Further, the preface and dedication, if there is one, serves as an identifier and contains the claim of authenticity. There are cases when a work was forged and got a fake letter appended to it. One of Galen's plagiarism stories says that the books that he wrote for a student were appropriated by someone else, who appended a preface to them:[538]

[534] Interestingly, the *Enchiridion* is said to have had a preface, in which Arrian explained the way he collected and assembled the excerpts for this handbook. This preface, according to Simplicius, also had a letter form and was addressed to Massalenus (again, the addressee is worth mentioning): Simpl. *in Epict. ench.* 1. There is no other trace of it in the text itself.

[535] Whitton 2019, 485–489 finds interplay between Plin. *Epist.* 1.1 and 1.2 and Quintilian's 'two prefaces'; if this is true, the belonging of the letter to Trypho to the work is indisputable.

[536] Genette 1997, 161.

[537] Römer 1987. Briefly on the style in general, Baldwin 1992, 81.

[538] Gal. *Lib. Prop.* 19. 17K.

> ἀποθανόντος οὖν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ βιβλία παρά τισιν ἦν, ὑπονοούμενα τῆς ἐμῆς ἔξεως εἶναι, καί τις ἠλέγχθη προοίμιόν τι τεθεικὼς αὐτοῖς εἶτ' ἀναγιγνώσκων ὡς ἴδια.
>
> *So, since the young man had died in the meanwhile, the books landed by some people, and were suspected to be mine, and someone was caught reading*[539] *them as if they were his own, having added some sort of preface to them.*

This shows that (1) a preface seemed to belong to a text; (2) it was relevant enough to go to the effort of faking not only the actual text, but also its preface.[540]

The preface allows the author a broader field for engagement with readers' expectations. The dedicatee, as a figure from the outside, provides a starting point for discussing the circumstances of the text's composition. A reference to an inquiry, a task, or another external reason gives the author the opportunity to answer the silent question from the audience: 'Why write this in the first place?'

The reason for writing is one of the most common things that an author puts into a preface. Some of the reasons seem to come from the authors themselves, as with Varro's *De re rustica*, which is dedicated to his wife Fundania (he says she has just bought a piece of land and might need some good advice).[541] Another reason that became a common *topos* is a request from the part of the addressee.[542] It is attested since the first epistolary prefaces preserved, such as Archim. *Lin. spir.* pr. 1: …ἀεὶ τὰς ἀποδείξιας ἐπιστέλλεις μοι γράψαι. Apollonius of Perga mentions that Eudemus wanted to read what he wrote on conic sections: καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἤμην μετά σου ἐν Περγάμῳ, ἐθεώρουν σε σπεύδοντα μετασχεῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡμῖν κωνικῶν.[543] A request like this works in two different ways. On the one hand, it redistributes the responsibility for the writing, as it is not only the author's idea anymore. On the other hand, it underlines the writer's authority as an expert on the topic.

Further details about the relationship between the author and the addressee can add intimacy and make the reader sympathise with the writer in the case of a friendly dedication, or underline the author's high social rank through the ease with which he addresses those of lofty positions. When giving a reason for writing in a dedication to the emperor, writers sometimes use hedging language to express the need that the emperor might have for their book, at the same time making sure they do not seem to undermine his authority.[544]

Engagement with existing criticism also finds its place in the preface. If the author has already tried to secure their position, but expects or has already experienced criticism, a new work can be used as

[539] In this context, clearly 'reading publicly', or 'reading and discussing'.

[540] On using letters in forgery: Speyer 1971, 79–82.

[541] Varr. *RR* 1.1–2.

[542] For the *topos* in Latin, Janson 1964, 117–20.

[543] Apoll. Perg. *Conica* 1 praef. 1. In technical literature, there are full treatises written in the form of an admonition to a single person, which shows a special relevance of the letter for this kind of text; see more in Langslow 2007.

[544] Discussed above, in section 3.1.1.

a platform for refuting it.[545] Martial's preface to Book 2 of the *Epigrams* presents an peculiar case for various reasons.

> Valerius Martialis Deciano suo sal. 'quid nobis' inquis 'cum epistola? parum enim tibi praestamus, si legimus epigrammata? quid hic porro dicturus es, quod non possis versibus dicere? video quare tragoedia aut comoedia epistulam accipiant, quibus pro se loqui non licet: epigrammata curione non egent et contenta sunt sua, id est mala, lingua: in quacumque pagina visum est, epistolam faciunt.' noli ergo, si tibi videtur, rem facere ridiculam et in toga saltantis inducere personam. denique videris an te delectet contra retiarium ferula. ego inter illos sedeo qui protinus reclamant.' puto me hercules, Deciane, verum dicis. quid si scias cum qua et quam longa epistula negotium fueris habiturus? itaque quod exigis fiat. debebunt tibi si qui in hunc librum inciderint quod ad primam paginam non lassi pervenient.
>
> *Valerius Martial greets Decianus. You say, 'What business do I have with a letter? Am I not nice enough to you, if I read the epigrams? What are you even going to say which you couldn't say in verses? I see why a tragedy or a comedy accept a letter, for whom it is not allowed to speak for themselves. Epigrams don't need a crier, they are happy with their own language—a dirty language. They seem to be making a letter in every page. So please, stop making stupid things and putting a figure of a dancer in a toga onto a stage. Finally, you should see if you like to have a rod against a net-fighter. I sit with those who make immediate protest.' I think indeed, Decianus, you're right! If only you knew what kind of and how long a letter you were about to get! So be it as you wish. If someone chances upon this book, they'll have to thank you for not coming to the first page worn out.*

First of all, he addresses his friend Decianus, as if in a dedicatory letter. However, directly after that he plunges into a direct quotation, from which we learn that Decianus is, in fact, a big critic of the practice of adding a preface to the book of epigrams. After quoting his arguments at length, Martial tells Decianus that readers should be grateful to him, as he indeed decided to spare the long letter—but then he needed to put Decianus' one in front instead. This preface shows a couple of interesting features. First of all, it looks like a dedicatory epistle and takes a place appropriate for it in the book, but does not exhibit any of the regular qualities. It would be less surprising to see such an answer to criticism in one of the epigrams, as Martial often does. But as the critic was unhappy with the epistolary preface itself, not with the epigrams, the poet answered to him using the very form that was criticised. By doing so, Martial puts forward his editorial decisions (whether to include an *epistula* or not) and shows that he cares about the readers' experience with his book—although he cannot be taken seriously. Finally, it leaves us with the question of whether there were indeed some conventions concerning the use of an epistolary preface in the time of Martial.

[545] We cannot always prove that the criticism is not a product of the author's self-marketing plan, but in order to fulfil its purpose, it must reflect reality at least to some extent.

5.5.3 Two case studies: Statius and Galen

Direct engagement with readers, as we have seen from the example of the few Roman *lectores* (section 3.1.2.2), is a relatively rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, the authors manage to make their readers feel important, not only through more or less overt addresses, but also by the very fact of using a 'personal' letter as a preface. The disguise of a letter allows the reader to feel closer to the author, sometimes almost to cast a look over their shoulder in the very last moments of putting together a book. The author, in turn, has a chance to get as close to the readers as possible without contacting them directly. In the following, I will attempt to show from two examples how the authors take this chance and use it in their interests.

Example #1: Statius

We have already seen an attack on Martial's editorial decisions earlier. Statius, who is often grouped with Martial on the grounds that both of them wrote prose prefaces to poetic works, also has something to say about his *Silvae*.[546]

The peculiarity of the *Silvae* is that these were occasional poems, sent or recited as single pieces, which Statius decided to publish after they had already been presented for the first time. These are poems not only presented before being published, which is not surprising in itself, but poems whose point is to commemorate an occasion. Statius underlines it often enough, even to a somewhat absurd extent, when he apologises for beginning a *consolatio* too soon in Stat. *Silv.* 2.1 (*intempesta cano* (8); *iamne canam?* (17)). At the same time, when a poem *is* produced for the occasion, its life as a literary work begins. It should be borne in mind that even a 'private' poem for an occasion would get an audience already when it was presented to its addressee. This is connected with the growth of the importance of recitation: a poem could be read by its author at a dinner, but it could also circulate among friends of the addressee and be recited by other people.[547] The first instance of presenting an occasional poem must have been already public enough; single poems already claim that their praise will outlive their author.[548] The only time when Statius expresses a hope of having posthumous glory on the basis of his poetry is found in Book 5 (*Silv.* 5.3.213–214).[549]

Single passages do not necessarily suggest that Statius had in mind creating a collection of his poems, but the fact itself does not strike us as much. When the collection was assembled, Statius appended a prose preface to it, addressed to Stella, his friend and literary patron. It begins the following way (Stat. *Silv.* 1 praef. 1–23):[550]

[546] On prose prefaces in Statius and Martial: Johannsen 2006.

[547] Hardie 1983, 48–49: 'Poetic activity, due to the practice of recitation, had become a much more public business. The close-knit literary coteries of the early principate had passed, together with their exclusiveness and genuine expertise.'

[548] Cf. *Silv.* 2.3.62–63: *haec tibi parva quidem genitali luce paramus / dona, sed ingenti forsan victura sub aevo*; 3.3.37–39: *nos non arsura feremus / munera, venturosque tuus durabit in annos / me monstrante dolor*; and also *durabisne* in *Theb.* 12.810.

[549] See Johannsen 2006, 340.

[550] Quoted after Courtney 1990.

> diu multumque dubitaui, Stella iuuenis optime et in studiis nostris eminentissime, qua parte et uoluisti, an hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt, cum singuli de sinu meo pro[……..], congregatos ipse dimitterem.
>
> *I hesitated much and long, my Stella, a distinguished young man and most outstanding in our pursuits, as you wanted to, whether I should collect and send out myself these little books, which poured out in a moment of heat and in a pleasure of speed of some kind, when they <had already flown forth> from my embrace one by one.*

Although Statius often underlines the humbleness of his poetry, for example, addressing less important deities instead of Apollo (cf. *Silv.* 2.3.6–7: *quid Phoebum tam parva rogem? vos dicite causas / Naides*), he has a high opinion of all of his work and wants it to endure; there is no reason not to produce a selection of it in the form of a book.[551] However, Statius seems to be in a need of an excuse to do so. First, he puts his authorial persona in focus (*ipse dimitterem*) and makes the publication seem of a similar importance to the presentation that these poems have already had. In the following sentences, he continues the argumentation for producing a collected edition:

> quid enim [……..] quoque auctoritate editionis onerari, quo adhuc pro Thebaide mea, quamuis me reliquerit, timeo? sed et Culicem legimus et Batrachomachiam etiam agnoscimus, nec quisquam est inlustrium poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit. quid quod et serum erat continere, cum illa uos certe quorum honori data sunt haberetis? sed apud ceteros necesse est multum illis pereat ex uenia, cum amiserint quam solam habuerunt gratiam celeritatis. nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa. quam timeo ne uerum istuc uersus quoque ipsi de se probent! primus libellus sacrosanctum habet testem, sumendum enim erat 'a Ioue principium'. centum hos uersus, quos in ecum maximum feci, indulgentissimo imperatori postero die quam dedicauerat opus tradere ausus sum. 'potuisti illud' dicet aliquis 'et ante uidisse.' respondebis illi tu, Stella carissime, qui epithalamium tuum quod mihi iniunxeras scis biduo scriptum (audacter mehercules, sed ter centum tamen hexametros habet). at fortasse tu pro collega mentieris.

[551] More on Statius' *recusationes* in Johannsen 2006, 307–316.

> *For why should I burden with the responsibility of publication also <these verses>, when I am still worrying about my 'Thebaid', although it has already left me? But we also read the 'Gnat' and even recognise the 'Battle of Frogs', and there is no famous poet who hasn't sent out something playful in a lighter style in front of his works. And anyway, it was late to keep them back, since you, in whose honour they were presented, for sure have them? Among others, however, much of forgiveness for them will necessarily perish, because they have lost the only favour they had, that of speed. For none of them was written longer than in two days, and some poured out even in one day. How I fear that the verses themselves confirm it about themselves! The first little book has a sacred witness, for I had to start with 'from Juppiter my beginning'. These hundred verses, which I wrote on the great horse, I dared to give to the most courteous emperor on the next day after the work was dedicated. Someone will say: 'You could have seen it earlier, too.' You will give him an answer, dear Stella, you who know that your epithalamium, which you imposed on me, was written in two days. It is bold indeed, but it does have three hundred hexameters after all, and maybe you will lie on behalf of your colleague.*

The work is presented with an emphasis on the hastiness of its production. Occasional poetry is closely connected with the social side of a poet's life, and one should be able to react promptly to events of the public and private life of patrons. If we believe Statius' own words—*nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa* —there could not be enough time for polishing verses. This does not mean that the quality of the presented poem did not play a role: time constraints only added another dimension in which poets had to compete with one another. Having exhausted the examples of his speed-of-light production, Statius addresses a possible point of criticism – he could have seen the statue before it was unveiled and thus had more time to compose a poem – and turns to Stella to protect the truthfulness of his words.

Statius' almost obsessive commentaries on the time the composition of each of the poems took stand in contrast to the references to the twelve–year-long work on the *Thebaid* that he makes elsewhere.[552] The reference to another freshly published work and the comparison of the two with similar undertakings of great epic poets neatly defends the *Silvae* that the reader has in hand and advertises the *Thebaid* at the same time.[553] Moreover, it shows the reader that Statius is equally able to produce a long epic poem that takes twelve years and a celebratory poem turned out in two days.

The preface follows some of the patterns of the dedicatory letter that I have discussed: the poet addresses a friend, in this case Stella, and sends him a book. On the one hand, Statius does not develop the topic of *amicitia* in this preface as much as one could expect. There is no indication that the dedicatee contributed to the idea of bringing single poems together; there is also no direct dedication.[554] On the other hand, Stella, and not Statius, carries the responsibility of responding to

[552] Stat. *Theb.* 12.810–812: *durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes, / o mihi bissenos multum vigilata per annos / Thebai?*

[553] Statius talks about his major work elsewhere as well. Take *Silv.* 4.4.87–100, a passage of considerable length in which Statius announces finishing the *Thebaid* and embarking on the *Achilleid*. In 4.7.25–28, an ode to Vibius Maximus, Statius praises him as counsellor and allocates him a share in the fame that the *Thebaid* gets. Also in 3.5.35–36 he emphasises the tedious work on the *Thebaid*, witnessed only by his wife (*longi tu sola laboris / conscia*).

[554] Compare, for example, multiple cases of explicit dedication that were mentioned in the discussion of Vitruvius' preface (section 3.1.1).

the remarks of possible critics. The image that emerges is that of Stella advertising the book of his friend-poet Statius; *fortasse tu pro collega mentieris* hints at a professional connection between the two.

The transaction of the responsibility for the book to the addressee is not attested in the preface to Book 1, as its ending has not been preserved, but one can assume it was present, especially since the same feature is there in prefaces to Books 2 and 4, addressed to Melior and Marcellus respectively.[555] In 2, it suggests that Melior is now 'in charge of' putting the book into wider circulation; in 4, that Marcellus shares some of the responsibility to stand beside the book against its critics. The end of the preface to Book 4 is a denial of several points of criticism. The fact that reader sees it indicates that the book was, indeed, deemed good enough. The end of each preface brings the addressee back into focus. The whole setting of the prefaces, filled with names and occasions, also reminds readers of the original social context of the *Silvae* and underlines the high quality of the book in front of them. In this way, Statius crafts a relationship between the reader and the book before they encounter the first poem.

Example #2: Galen

Galen's work *On the Constitution of the Art of Medicine* has a long and very personal preface addressed to a certain Patrophilus, who is not attested in any other work by Galen and might be fictitious. I will use excerpts from it to show how the intimacy of the epistolary preface can be used to predispose readers towards the author's work. Galen begins with praising Patrophilus' desire to learn and shows that the coming books are written as an aid in his studies (Gal. *CAM* 1. 224K):

> ὑπηρετῆσαί σου διέγνωκα τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ γράψαι τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἤκουσας ἢ περὶ ὧν ἠπόρεις, ὑπομνήματά σοι.
>
> *I have decided to go along with your enthusiasm and write out some notes for you on both the arguments you listened to and those you inquired about.*[556]

He continues by praising Patrophilus' path in learning and says he sees great potential in him. The student is also brave enough to undertake this journey alone, which leads to the next point in the preface: apparently, Patrophilus complained that he could not find expert advice on the topic. Surely Galen shall jump in to help.

[555] 2 praef.: *haec qualiacumque sunt, Melior carissime, si tibi non displicuerint, a te publicum accipiant; si minus, ad me revertantur.* 4 praef.: *hunc tamen librum tu, Marcelle, defendes. et, si videtur, hactenus, sin minus, reprehendemur. vale.*

[556] Not 'you had difficulty with' (Johnston 2016, 14).

> λέγοντος οὖν σου μυρίοις μὲν ὑποβεβληκέναι τὰ ὦτα μαθήσεως ἕνεκα τέχνης ἰατρικῆς, οὔτε δ' ὅθεν ἄρχεσθαι χρὴ σὺν ἀποδείξει τε καὶ μεθόδῳ παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκηκοέναι, καὶ πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ὁδὸν οὐδενὶ δεικνύντι σοι συγγεγονέναι, δείξειν ὑπεσχόμην ὃ ποθεῖς, εἰ πρότερον ὑπομείναις ἐπ' ἄλλων γυμνάσασθαι τεχνῶν.
>
> *So, since you say you have submitted your ears to thousands of people for the sake of learning the art of medicine, but you have not heard from anyone where to start from with demonstration and method, and even more, that you have not met anyone who would show you the road from start to end, I took upon myself to show you what you were longing for, if you would first submit to training in other arts.*

The teacher–student relationship here does not only explain why it was Galen who wrote the current book to Patrophilus, but also presents him as the only person who was capable of providing guidance in medicine to such a promising student, making quite an advertisement for him and his books. A description of the books Galen wrote for Patrophilus follows:

> κἀγὼ χαίρων σου τῇ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σπουδῇ δύο ταῦτα συνέθηκα γράμματα· τὸ μὲν ἕτερον, ἐν ᾧ χρὴ πρότερον γυμνάσασθαι τὸν τεχνωθῆναι βουλόμενον, ἐπιδεικνύον, ὅπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλόσοφοι λέγουσι, τὸ πάσῃ τέχνῃ τὴν σύστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἐννοίας γίγνεσθαι· διῃρέθη δὲ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἰς δύο βιβλία· τὸ δ' ἕτερον καὶ δεύτερον, οὗ νῦν ἀρχόμεθα, δεικνύον, ὅπως ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ μία μέθοδος, ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας τέχνας, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν συνεστήσατο.
>
> *And I, happy at your eagerness to know the truth, speedily composed these two treatises, one showing what training someone wishing to become skilful in an art should do first—as philosophers of old say, that the constitution of each art is created from the notion of the end. This one was divided due to its size into two volumes. The other, second, which I am now beginning, is showing, how the same and only method, in the same way as in all other arts, constituted medical art as well.*

Straight after the last quoted sentence, Galen finishes by marking the transition to the main text: καὶ δὴ ἀρκτέον ἤδη μοι τοῦ λόγου ('So now I must begin the discussion already').[557]

The letter makes the impression of a very personal message, containing the full story of Galen's relationship with his student. Patrophilus, if he existed, would not need to have all this repeated in detail. For any other reader, however, this letter (1) portrays Galen as a knowledgeable writer, (2) shows that he is a good teacher, and (3) advertises the first of the two books he wrote to Patrophilus with a bibliographical hint that it consists of two volumes. It is an example of a skilful employment of the epistolary preface to underline Galen's status as renowned practitioner, teacher, and writer.

[557] Gal. *CAM* 1. 227K.

5.6 Conclusion

The creation of a physical bookroll is intertwined with the creation of a literary work contained within. The elements of the book are especially prominent in Latin poetry, where the topos of an extravagant edition has been exploited since at least Catullus 22. The relationship between the outward quality of the book and the quality of its text is twofold. The authors want their books to be read and used, and to stand in private libraries in their beautiful editions, but it is not enough for readers to find the best-looking volumes on the market, since everyone with enough money can self-publish. The criticism of authors seeking vain glory correlates with the criticism of readers who buy books based on their 'covers' and never read them, or do not read them properly.

Layout decisions are an elusive topic, stuck between the purely external elements of the bookroll and more explicit elements of the work's paratext. Based on the evidence from inscriptions and graffiti, one can say that ancient writers and readers were aware of the impact that a particular placement of the text could have. In papyri, some of the developments may be attributed to trends and fashions, while some others may come back to the authors themselves: Cicero might have cared about the *capitulatio* of his texts, and Galen's testimony shows that correct placement of the lectional signs was important for textual work. Acrostics stand out as an element that is very visible, more stable, and anchored in the text itself; the depth of their importance for specific passages within the works can be argued about, while the particular kind of acrostic that carries the author's name or the book's title was used both by authors and the later readers of the books.

Titles are names of books, indicators of their contents, or both. They can be placed in different parts of the roll, and have different features: the title on a sillybos or on the back of the roll advertises it to the reader, but is less stable than one at the end of the book. Apart from conveying the book's 'identity' and allowing the author to situate it in the literary tradition, titles could incorporate other publication-related pieces of information, such as the name of the dedicatee, thus contributing to their fame. Information about the book's contents and the work's structure ('book 1 of 2') could also be added to the title where necessary. Since the addition of a title is one of the last things that have to happen in order for the book to be published, it is not only an important moment for the physical bookroll, but also the moment in which a new literary work is created.

Prefaces develop the possibilities that titles only indicate: they are still on the threshold of the book, but they hold a more secure position and have more space at hand. A preface is a versatile tool that was naturally suitable for the needs of all sorts of writers, be it philosophers, poets, or medics. Precise examination of the features present and absent in the epistolary prefaces can be helpful in describing the way they work and analysing the aims that their authors tried to attain. The epistolary preface as 'genre' provides examples that allow one to observe its features in their development over time: the relationship to the addressee, the explanation of reasons for writing, the possibility for the reader to be included in the author's decision-making. It also comes closest to indicating 'publication' as the moment of transition to wider readership: the letter-form itself suggests both a transaction (sending something to somebody) and an one-off action (you cannot send a letter twice).

6 Texts, volumes, works

In the previous chapter, I studied the ways in which the physical realisation of the bookroll, including its paratexts, may mark its departure into the world, or, publication. Now I will turn to an investigation of the processes involved in the creation of a literary work, their consequences, and their representation in literary texts.

The first two sections of this chapter are dedicated to the composition process, partially driven by the format of the bookroll. First, I will consider various stages through which a text passes on its way to publication, depending on the type of text and the working method of its author (section 6.1). In section 6.2, I will build on these considerations to analyse two kinds of text that are connected to the pre-publication stages of composition, the 'master copy' and the 'note(s)'.

In the second half of the chapter, I will move from the factors involved in the composition of a single book to works consisting of multiple volumes, investigating the material and textual changes brought about by the concept of composition in volumes and the management of audience expectations (section 6.3). Finally, section 6.4 will further explore the paratactic nature of adding a volume to another, turning towards the creation of the *oeuvre* of a literary author and its representation.

6.1 Composition process

For questions treated in this chapter, I suggest keeping in mind the following distinction between two types of books: the 'coherent' book and the 'collected' book. The first of them consists of longer or shorter textual items (such as paragraphs, or series of verses) connected with each other. One can think of a hexameter poem or a novel as an example. The coherent book can be divided into smaller segments, such as books or chapters, but they are rarely supposed to stand fully on their own. The other type of book is a collection of independent textual items, for example, poems or letters. The difference from the first type lies not in it being prose or poetry, but in the fact that in collections of items, each of them is a self-contained independent unit.

While the suggested distinction does not try to reflect the views on literature exhibited by Greek and Latin authors, it will be relevant as a background to the discussion of literary publication from the typological perspective. The two types of text are different in the processes involved in their creation, but both end in the presentation of the book to the public. Comparing the challenges of 'process and presentation' that these two types present to their authors will hopefully help shed some light on the common features of book publication.

6.1.1 The author's 'workshop': notes, drafts, and arrangement

Usually, the author does not simply produce a coherent piece of writing from start to finish. The process involved in the creation of a longer prose work, usually a treatise, is the one we have most evidence for. For this very reason, it was texts of this kind that mainly served as the basis for the analysis of the 'officina dei classici' by T. Dorandi.[558] The activity of annotating, excerpting and rearranging the material seems to lie at the source of creating a new work.[559] It is not surprising that a lengthy process of composition, involving a considerable amount of work with written sources and potentially lasting for many years, would necessitate a collection of materials. Selections of notes would be arranged to produce a draft of a work, while the 'post-production' stage of correction and preparation could involve not only stylistic improvements but also additions, deletions, and changes in the order of the text. The existence of traces of this process on a papyrus is one of the main signs that it might be a working copy, and among Herculaneum papyri, rolls containing potential versions of the same work by Philodemus were found.[560]

The most important pieces of evidence of the details of the composition process, and the earliest ones for Latin literature, are found in Cicero's letters. He often describes starting or finishing the work on a literary text, and asks friends (mostly Atticus) for advice regarding it. Some copies are travelling back and forth, with correspondents annotating them or sending their comments separately in a letter.[561] The text goes through multiple iterations of *emendatio*, with the addition of the title and the preface often as one of the last stages in book composition. An interesting example of a last-moment change in a text can be found in Cic. *Att.* 16.6.4:

> nunc neglegentiam meam cognosce. de gloria librum ad te misi, et in eo prohoemium id quod est in Academico tertio. id evenit ob eam rem quod habeo volumen prohoemiorum. ex eo eligere soleo cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. itaque iam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto prohoemio, conieci id in eum librum quem tibi misi. cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum. itaque statim novum prohoemium exaravi et tibi misi. tu illud desecabis, hoc adglutinabis.

[558] Dorandi 2007.
[559] Dorandi 1991; 2007.
[560] Dorandi 1990; against, Blank 1998.
[561] Described in section 4.4.

> *Now you shall learn of my carelessness. I sent you the book 'On Glory', and in it the preface which is in the third book of the 'Academica'.*[562] *This happened because I have a book of prefaces. Out of it I usually choose <one> when I have finished a work. Thus already in Tusculum, because I didn't remember that I had already used this one preface, I added it to that volume that I sent to you. But when I was reading the 'Academica' on a ship, I recognised my error. So, I produced a new preface at once and sent it to you. Will you please cut out the other one and glue this one in.*

This part of the letter is striking in a number of ways. Cicero talks about the mistake he discovers after having sent *De gloria* to Atticus, which in itself is not surprising. However, no mistake of similar nature is recorded anywhere else. Cicero's statement about a collection of prefaces (*volumen prohoemiorum*) that seem to be more or less interchangeable and suit a number of different texts is the most unexpected. Y. Baraz argues that the existence of the *volumen* testifies to a unified approach to the philosophical writings, for which prefaces of individual works would play a key role.[563] In addition to this, the idea of cutting out the wrong preface and gluing a new one in its place makes us consider the status of the text sent to Atticus: it looks like, even if *De gloria* was close to completion, the copy travelling was still 'in the works'. An even more unexpected, and large-scale, change that Cicero considers is found in what seems to be one of the last moments before dispatching the *Academica* to Varro: he tells Atticus that it would still be possible to change the names of the interlocutors in the dialogue.[564]

Descriptions of poets at work are rarer, but these also give a taste of the composition process. As in prose, the poet's composition process involved making or dictating notes, which are usually put down on a wax tablet. Callimachus in the *Aetia* fr. 1 famously refers to his composing literary works as 'when I first put the writing-tablets on my knees' (καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα / γούνασιν).[565] Juvenal in 1.63–64 presents himself standing in the middle of a busy city, making notes, like a journalist, exactly when he sees something: *nonne libet medio ceras inplere capaces / quadrivio.* Wax tablets are closely tied to the process of poetic composition, and their material features, the possibility of erasing the written and composing it again, underlines the omnipresence of revision in this process.[566] Works of other authors were part of the poet's 'workshop' as well: Horace takes books along to the countryside in *Sat.* 2.3.11–12, and Parthenius' address to Cornelius Gallus suggests that he may turn the material found in his book into verse.[567]

The contrast between a hastily produced work and an elaborate creation of many years is especially visible in Roman satire, where the reader encounters an array of poets whose main trait is overproductivity and lack of revision. Lucilius in Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.9–10 dictates hundreds of lines per hour: *in*

[562] Cicero refers to the second version of the *Academica*, reworked into four books.
[563] Baraz 2012, 5–7.
[564] Cic. *Att.* 13.25.3. I wonder whether these insertions by Cicero could be at least partially taken as tongue-in-cheek.
[565] Call. *Aet.* fr.1.21–22.
[566] Roman 2006.
[567] Parth. *Amat. narr.* praef.

hora saepe ducentos, / ut magnum, uersus dictabat stans pede in uno. It would be unexpected if these were not delivered to the audience with equal speed. The anecdote about Augustus' attempts to draw at least a sample of the *Aeneid* from Vergil stands in contrast to the practice of bringing the work to the audience as soon as possible (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 46):

> Augustus vero — nam forte expeditione Cantabrica aberat — supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitarat, ut sibi de Aeneide, ut ipsius verba sunt, 'vel prima carminis ὑπογραφή vel quodlibet κῶλον' mitteretur. cui tamen multo post perfectaque demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum, quartum et sextum <…>
>
> *Augustus indeed, for he happened to be away on a Cantabrian campaign, demanded from him, in pleading but also jokingly threatening letters, to get from the 'Aeneid'—I quote—'either the first sketch of the poem, or some part of it'. However, only much later did Vergil recite to him three books only—when at last the material was ready—the second, the fourth and the sixth <…>*

The process of composing a 'coherent' text, be it in prose or verse, involved a series of stages during which the text would come into existence through various degrees of completion. The earlier stages probably involved the usage of wax tablets for notes and drafting, as well as papyrus rolls for later stages of composition of for collecting notes and excerpts for later use. A text could pass through multiple stages of being written out on papyrus before taking its final form.

6.1.2 Collections, anthologies, and books

One can make a distinction between two separate ways of collection and arrangement: on the one hand, collection and arrangement of textual items where the same person is the author of the original material and the creator of the new text; on the other, collection and arrangement of others' texts. Can we decide whether there were made for personal use or for publication? Is this, in itself, a valid question?

Collection of smaller, self-sufficient items already existed as a literary activity in pre-Alexandrian times. There were collections of sayings and maxims (sayings of the Seven Wise Men are also found inscribed on stones in a considerable number), collections of songs such as *carmina convivalia*, collections of jokes and proverbs. Collections of inscriptions are posited to be in use already in 5th century Athens.[568] Collections of letters were popular within schools of philosophy. Anthologies were created and used in education contexts. The interest in collecting smaller items never seems to go out of fashion: Athenaeus mentions people who compile lists of beginnings of texts that could be used to show off their erudition.[569] Among literary papyri, there are many that contain either actual anthologies or lists of items that might be connected to the creation of a personal selection of texts. The Vienna epigrams papyrus (P.Vind. G 40611) contains first lines of epigrams, accompanied by stichometric

[568] Petrovic 2013; see also Higbie 1999.
[569] Athen. 1.4c.

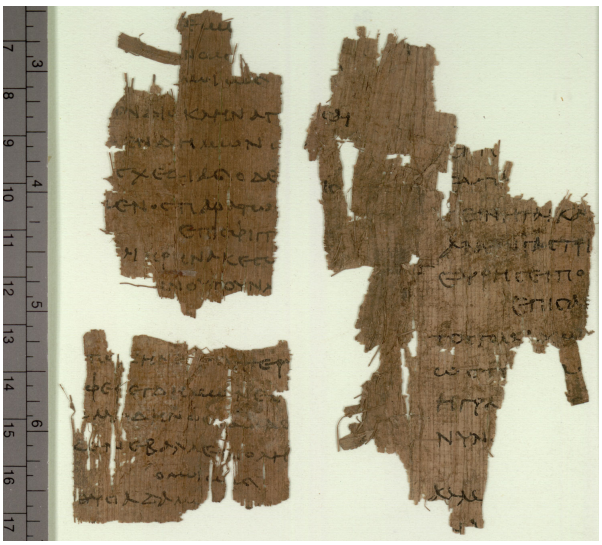


Figure 6.1: P.Oxy. 54.3725: Nicarchus. Section titles in *eisthesis* in all three fragments.

notes, and is assumed to be a preparatory stage for a collection.[570] A Michigan papyrus containing a list of incipits from lyric poetry and tragic choral songs has the section of the latter marked off by an *eisthesis* and a heading (παροδῶν ἀρχαῖ).[571]

There is a substantial amount of evidence for the activities of collecting, excerpting, copying and pasting, creating lists of textual items and, possibly, books on the basis of these lists. However, we rarely know anything about the people who created these books, and even less about their 'status'. In what relationship does the process of their creation stand to the combination of practices that we place under the umbrella term 'literary publication'?

One of the points that can be made about the anthologies on papyri is their technical characteristics. The quality and type of the script, together with the (in)accuracy and (in)consistency of the layout, and the existence of major first-hand corrections or transpositions, can be adduced to decide whether a given papyrus roll was supposed to be in circulation. Among signs of a papyrus which was probably not intended for dissemination are informal handwriting, reuse of other literary texts or documents as a writing surface, and unevenness of the layout. The difference is quite clear if one compares one of the papyri with Nicarchus' epigrams to the Milan Posidippus papyrus (P.Mil.Vogl. 8.309), which is written in a bookhand. But if a personal anthology is copied onto a roll of fine papyrus in a professional hand, would it suffice for us to call its creation 'publishing'?

One way of answering this question is to look for the existence of a paratext. Prefaces are a regular way of introducing prose works and, more generally, works of 'coherent' nature. In works of collected nature, on the other hand, the paratext often is a part of the book itself. Its parts can take the form of the first element only or the framing elements (Plin. *Epist.* 1.1 is a letter about letter collection, functioning as a preface; Callimachus' programmatic *Iambi* 1 and 13). The prefatory material may

[570] Parsons, Maehler, and Maltomini 2015.

[571] P.Mich. inv. 3498+3250b recto, 3250a and c recto; Borges and Sampson 2012, esp. 12–18 on other lists of *incipits*.

also have a more striking contrast to the rest of the work. So, the choliambs that open the book of Persius' *Satires* stand out because of their metre, with the contrast to the following poems underlining their special position and serving as a reference to the iambic tradition. The whole structure, with the relationships of the items with each other and the book itself, can also function as the paratext; here the most prominent example is, of course, Virgil's *Eclogues*.

Meleager's anthology is made into a book with publication aspirations by the addition of the opening and closing poems, preserved as *AP* 4.1 and 12.257. The long first poem opens with a question to the Muse about the addressee and the creator of the collection, and introduces both Meleager and his addressee Diocles.[572] The epigram ends with an invitation for all to enjoy the poems, opening the audience to more than just one person. At the end of the collection (presumably), Meleager's frame was strengthened by the inclusion of the *coronis* as the speaker of the final epigram, 12.257:

ἁ πύματον καμπτῆρα καταγγέλλουσα κορωνίς,
ἐρκοῦρος γραπταῖς πιστοτάτα σελίσιν,
φαμὶ τὸν ἐκ πάντων ἠθροισμένον εἰς ἕνα μόχθον
ὑμνοθετᾶν βύβλῳ τᾇδ' ἐνελιξάμενον
ἐκτελέσαι Μελέαγρον, ἀείμνηστον δὲ Διοκλεῖ
ἄνθεσι συμπλέξαι μουσοπόλον στέφανον.
οὖλα δ' ἐγὼ καμφθεῖσα δρακοντείοις ἴσα νώτοις,
σύνθρονος ἵδρυμαι τέρμασιν εὐμαθίας.

The coronis, who announces the last bending, the most faithful guardian of the written columns, I claim that Meleager finished this toil, collected out of the works of all poets into one, having rolled it into this book, and that for Diocles he plaited together with flowers an ever-remembered garland, serving the Muses. And I, curled and bent like the back of a snake, sit enthroned at the boundary of the learned work.

The *coronis* is a sign that was most commonly used to mark the end of a book or, more rarely, a substantial section of text, and took the form of a series of strokes placed in the left margin next to the end of the text.[573] The talking *coronis* underlines the definite closure of the garland. Recently, D. Anderson argued that the *coronis* poem is a conscious move against the practice of rearranging poetry collections.[574] He uses the existing papyrological evidence for arranging and rearranging poetic collections and concludes that the *coronis*' words 'emphatically assert Meleager's possession

[572] 4.1.1–4: Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον ἀοιδάν; /ἢ τίς ὁ καὶ τεύξας ὑμνοθετᾶν στέφανον; / ἄνυσε μὲν Μελέαγρος, ἀριζάλῳ δὲ Διοκλεῖ / μναμόσυνον ταύταν ἐξεπόνησε χάριν. 'O Muse, to whom are you bringing this multifruit song? And who is the one who created the poetic garland?—Meleager accomplished it, and he wrought out this memorable favour for admirable Diocles.'

[573] Schironi 2010, 16–19; for visual reference, a *coronis* roughly from Melager's time is preserved on P.Mil.Vogl. 2.36. On the history and form, see Stephen 1959.

[574] Anderson 2014.

of the work over and against potential usurpation by another epigrammatist'.

It is, of course, somewhat restrictive to assume that there is a need of an explicit paratext in order to consider a book published. However, especially in the case of collections or anthologies of texts from multiple sources, the main way for the author to assert their contribution is by adding an element of their own—be it a title, a preface, or another poem—to the resulting unity.

Texts that are not composed for written dissemination only, such as speeches, poems, or dramatic works to name a few, will have undergone a series of changes before being published. In authorial collections of single items, an extra step must be added: texts that existed previously in one way or another, including physical copies, may be changed and adapted to fit a collection. The two versions of the *Lock of Berenice* suggest that the poem existed both inside and outside of the *Aetia*.[575] Cicero says about his letters that they need to be collected and corrected first: *tum denique edentur*.[576] The existence of multiple phases in which a text could already circulate among the reading public, together with readers' individual activity in creating collections, may lead to the author needing to assert their presence and decision-making in the process of creating a book. This can explain the stress on the author's figure in Stat. *Silv.* 1 praef. (*congregatos ipse dimitterem*).[577]

The composition process of a 'coherent' book consists mainly of the collection of material, composition of various parts, and putting them together in a meaningful order. The main features that distinguish an authorial publication of such a book are (1) that it is in a completed and proofread (corrected) state; (2) that it has the necessary accompanying elements, such as a title and, possibly, a preface. The composition process of a 'collected' book shares some of these features but is more complex due to the nature of its constituent elements. There is, again, the expectation for it to be 'completed', but each single element has to be completed first, and the book has to be completed separately. Often, some of the items of such a work have already been made public (orally or in a written form) and may be available to readers from sources other than their author. The involvement of the authorial *persona* in the activity of selecting and preparing a subset of texts for book publication is therefore particularly important. If an author, like Meleager, is compiling from works both by themselves and by others, they may feel an additional need to assert their contribution. One of the ways to emphasise authorial involvement in the creation of a work is through framing elements, such as prefaces or programmatic items in a collection.

[575] Parsons and Kassel 1977.

[576] There is a discrepancy with Nepos' statement about eleven unpublished volumes (vs. sixteen published volumes known to us): *praeter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, undecim volumina epistularum ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum* ('apart from the books, which are distributed to the public, in which <Cicero> mentions him <Atticus>, eleven rolls of letters sent to Atticus, dating from Cicero's consulship until his last days' Nep. *Att.* 16.3). On the *status quaestionis*, see overviews in Setaioli 1976 and White 2010, 174–5.

[577] Discussed above, in section 5.5.3.

6.2 Pre-publication texts

In the overview of the process of creating texts of 'collective' and 'coherent' nature, we have seen the importance of the stages that happen before the book is—or is considered—done. In the following sections, I will discuss two types of texts that can be situated in this 'pre-publication' period of the texts' existence. The first, ἀρχέτυπον, will be relevant for all kinds of books. The second, *commentarius*, is a more complex case that only applies to 'coherent' prose works.

6.2.1 Ἀρχέτυπον

In order for a 'fair copy' of the book to be created, the author would need to produce a version that it would be copied from. This is called in Latin *exemplar*, and in Greek, ἀρχέτυπον, which I will render as 'master copy'. The word ἀρχέτυπον is derived from τύπτω 'beat, strike', and would originally mean the mould from which a coin or something similar could be struck. The meaning was also used for any model from which further copies are made, in particular, of models for paintings and sculptures.[578] While there are not many references to the ἀρχέτυπον in Greek works, Latin authors use it alongside the Latin *exemplar*. Plin. *Epist.* 5.15 uses *archetypon* to talk about literary imitation, comparing it with painters who try to make a copy. A usage of the Latin *exemplar* in the meaning 'literary model' is found in Hor. *AP* 268–9: *vos exemplaria Graeca / nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.* The metaphorical meaning is present in both Greek ἀρχέτυπον and Latin *exemplar*.[579]

In reference to book production, ἀρχέτυπον is the master copy, and any further copy is called ἀπόγραφος. The ἀρχέτυπον that figures in the publication process occurs in its technical sense in Cicero's letter to Atticus, discussed above, with the emphasis on the fact that the master copy itself received further corrections.[580] In a qualitative assessment, as is to be expected, the copies are worse than their model. This can be seen in the comparison of Onesicritos and Xenophon in Diogenes Laertius, where Onesicritos is said to be second to Xenophon as a copy is second to its model (Diog. Laert. 6.84): καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ δὲ παραπλήσιος, πλὴν ὅτι ὡς ἀπόγραφος ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτερεύει.[581]

It is well-known to readers that it is hard to find a good copy. Strabo names bad scribes and lack of cross-checking with other copies as the reason of poor transmission of Aristotle's works.[582] Cicero complains about the difficulty of finding good books in *QF* 3.4.5: *neque enim venalia sunt, quae quidem placeant, et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt.* The point of criticism is that the books in question have been copied many times, leading to a low quality of the text. The further

[578] Cf. Sen. *Controv.* 10.5.25.

[579] E.g. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ἀρχέτυπον ἐκκείσθω καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμώμητον εὐμενείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης (Plut. *De frat. amor.* 489a); *scio nonnullis ita uideri, sed ego (forsitan fallar) persuasum habeo posse fieri ut sit actio bona quae non sit bona oratio, non posse non bonam actionem esse quae sit bona oratio. est enim oratio actionis exemplar et quasi ἀρχέτυπον* (Plin. *Epist.* 1.20.9).

[580] *et quidem ἀρχέτυπον ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et refectum* (*Att.* 16.3.1), quoted in full in section 5.2.2.

[581] 'And in the expression he resembles him <i.e. Xenophon>, apart from the fact that he is as second to him as the copy is to the model.'

[582] …βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ (Strab. 13.1.54).

one is from the author, the more difficult is finding a good copy, and mistakes proliferate.[583] The idea of a good edition encompasses a reliable text, whereas in a fancy edition the focus is on the embellishments; so, Galen in *De indolentia* underlines the quality of text in the books he lost in the fire, both those done by others and his own editorial work.[584]

Several centuries after the author lived, a copy going back to them becomes the ultimate textual authority. In Gellius, when Valerius Probus is asked whether it is better to decline 'urbis' or 'urbes' and 'turrim' or 'turrem', he says that in poetry, one should rely on the feeling for the sound. To support his argument, he refers to Vergil using both 'urbis' or 'urbes' and says he saw that in a book *manu ipsius correctam*.[585] Since authors are expected to pay attention to errors, commentators are sometimes left puzzled and suppose that something escaped the writer's or the corrector's attention. So, Gellius (15.6.2) comments on words attributed to Ajax instead of Hector: *quamobrem non tam id mirabamur errasse in ea re M. Tullium, quam non esse animaduersum hoc postea correctumque uel ab ipso uel a Tirone…*[586] Similarly, in 10.16 Vergil is criticised for a mistake in the logic of the text and Hyginus thinks that he would have changed it: *reprehendit Hyginus Vergilium correcturumque eum fuisse existimat, quod in libro sexto scriptum est.*[587]

If there is an interest in good quality editions from the past, we may expect readers to also want to have a good quality edition of their contemporaries. The understanding of the writing process together with the existing interest in high-quality editions makes it clear that only the author can give the ultimate stamp of quality to a given copy. Moreover, possessing a copy that has been proofread by the author is a way to show a connection to them. So, in Mart. 7.11 a reader asks Martial to correct his own book:

> cogis me calamo manuque nostra
> emendare meos, Pudens, libellos.
> o quam me nimium probas amasque
> qui vis archetypas habere nugas.

You, Pudens, urge me to correct my little books with my pen and in my own hand. How much indeed you love and value me, you, who want to have my trifles in the original!

Out of six occurrences of the work *archetypon* in five epigrams, four refer to vessels or paintings that

[583] Cf. an instance in Steph. Byz. 3.44.4: <Γεδρωσία>· ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολυίστορος διὰ τοῦ <κ> εὑρέθη ἡ πρώτη συλλαβή, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδιόρθωτον τὸ βιβλίον. Eustathius comments on an instance of false orthography and says that it might have come from a book containing a mistake, which is not uncommon: ταύτην δέ, φησί, θέτταν γράφει Δωρόθεος, βιβλίῳ περιτυχών, ὡς εἰκός, ἡμαρτημένῳ (Eust. *Il.* 23.230).

[584] Gal. *Ind.* 12–14.

[585] Gell. 13.21.4.

[586] 'Therefore, I am not so surprised to learn that Marcus Tullius made a mistake in this matter, as that it wasn't later noticed and corrected whether by him himself or by Tyro…'

[587] Again in Gellius, a lot of effort is undertaken to get a version of Ennius' text *quem fere constabat Lampadionis manu emendatum* to check whether he wrote *ecus* or *eques* (18.5.11).

their owners brag about: they are antique, which is their most important quality.[588] The contrast between *archetypas* and *nugas* highlights Martial's ironic tone. Because of asking Martial to correct his books, Pudens is compared to those chasing after rare 'originals'. Pudens occurs elsewhere as a benefactor to be taken seriously, so the joke is probably not directed at him.[589] Rather, Martial engages in self-diminishing, comparing his – modern – trifles with works of old times that one might actually want to have in an *archetypon*.

A similar allusion to the wish to acquire 'originals', but directed at the tasteless public, occurs in Juv. 2.4–7, where *archetypus*, used as an adjective, describes something that uneducated Romans want to have in order to look clever:

> indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso
> Chrysippi inuenias; nam perfectissimus horum,
> si quis Aristotelen similem uel Pittacon emit
> et iubet archetypos pluteum seruare Cleanthas.

First of all, they are uneducated, even though you would find there everything full of Chrysippus' plaster images. For the most sophisticated of them is the one who buys a likeness of Aristotle or Pittacus, and orders for the desk to store the originals of Cleanthus.

The first three lines leave no doubt that Juvenal describes the sculptures decorating the homes of Romans pretending to be educated and interested in philosophy. Line 7 has two difficulties: first of all, *pluteum* is a kind of a board which may or may not denote a writing-desk; secondly, the construction of *iubes* may mean either that the board should hold or preserve *archetypos Cleanthas* or the other way around. That *pluteus* may mean a writing-desk is supported by Pers. 1.106, where a modern poet 'does not hit the desk nor tastes his bitten nails' (*nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit unguis*). If one takes *archetypus*, as in 7.11, to mean 'originals of books', the joke seems to lose its character: having original texts, as we have seen, is not a bad idea.[590] On the other hand, it is not unlikely that one might have a bust near the writing-desk as well as on bookshelves, and it seems natural both in the line of other sculptures in the passage and given the context of Martial's *archetypus* denoting antique objects of use. What an educated person would want to have at their disposal are original *books* of Cleanthus. The pretenders, however, prefer an 'original bust' instead.

Finally, another passage puts the reader into focus. In Plin. *Epist.* 4.26, Maecilius Nepos asks Pliny to correct a collection of his works, and he readily agrees:

[588] 8.34: *archetypum Myos argentum te dicis habere. / quod sine te factum est, hoc magis archetypum est?* 14.93 ('pocula archetypa' is the poem-title): *non est ista recens nec nostri gloria caeli: / primus in his Mentor, dum facit illa, bibit.* 8.6.1–4: *archetypis vetuli nihil est odiosius Eucti / ficta Saguntino cymbia malo luto, / argenti furiosa sui cum stemmata narrat / garrulus et verbis mucida vina facit.* 12.69: *sic tanquam tabulas scyphosque, Paule, / omnes archetypos habes amicos.*

[589] Cf. Mart. 6.58, Mart. 7.97.

[590] It does not mean the practice could not be ridiculed: Lucian's *indoctus* chases after originals as well. However, in this epigram we would need more to explain that the search for old books by Romans is not done in the 'right' way.

petis ut libellos meos, quos studiosissime comparasti, recognoscendos emendandosque curem. faciam. quid enim suscipere libentius debeo, te praesertim exigente? nam cum vir gravissimus doctissimus disertissimus, super haec occupatissimus, maximae provinciae praefuturus, tanti putes scripta nostra circumferre tecum, quanto opere mihi providendum est, ne te haec pars sarcinarum tamquam supervacua offendat! adnitar ergo, primum ut comites istos quam commodissimos habeas, deinde ut reversus invenias, quos istis addere velis. neque enim mediocriter me ad nova opera tu lector hortaris. vale.

You ask that I take care to inspect and correct my books, which you collected with great effort. I'll do that. For what task should I take up more eagerly, especially if the request comes from you? Since when you, a most serious, learned and eloquent man, and a most busy at that, about to rule the biggest province, hold my writings in such esteem as to carry them around with you, I should make sure as best I can that this part of your luggage[591] *does not fail you, being useless. Therefore I shall strive, first of all, to make those companions as agreeable as possible, and secondly, that on your return you should find some which you would like to add to them. For having you as a reader compels me to new works in no insignificant way. Farewell.*

The addressee of the letter seems to have collected a selection of Pliny's writings, and done it with great eagerness. Clearly, it was done either through friends and their libraries or through booksellers: if the books had come directly from the author, there would have been no need for correcting them. *Recognoscere*, 'to examine', is a preliminary stage to correcting the books, the inspection and comparison of them with the originals;[592] *emendare* is the process of marking changes that have to be made in the text. The specific set of books in this exchange serves as the reflection of the relationship between the author and the reader which benefits both. Maecilius receives a valuable copy, corrected in the author's hand, and a recognition of his importance as one of the valuable readers. Pliny, in turn, has proof that his books are read, and with care, and is compelled (or at least he says so) to write more.

The 'master copy' holds a special place in literary references. It definitely seems to be sought after by the public, which is driven by the wish to have a better text. The most secure way to approach the ἀρχέτυπον for a reader is to ask the author to proofread a copy for them. Both Martial and Pliny see such a request as a sign of recognition and use it to comment on the relationship between them and their audience.

6.2.2 Notes and drafts

Excerpting is among the most well-studied practices of ancient authors. The famous passage describing the compositional practices of Pliny the Elder (*Epist.* 3.5.17) has been much commented on; it lays out a combination of processes of *legere*, *adnotare* and *excerpere* which contributed to the collection

[591] Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.13.6: *si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae*; Ov. *Trist.* 3.14.16: *hoc tibi tutori sarcina maior erit*.
[592] *ThLL*: Goldstein. 2016, I.B.1.a.

of material. The notes resulting from such excerpting can be called *commentarii*, of which Pliny the Younger receives 160 volumes, produced in a very practical way: written on both sides of the bookroll in a very small script.[593] T. Dorandi compared this description to P.Herc. 1021, which exhibits many features that indicate it being only a preliminary version: multiple additions, marginal commentaries, passages copied twice.[594] Most importantly, the back of the papyrus contained columns of text and single notes that seem to be connected to the text of its front, including explicit references to the back side (ὀπίσω).[595] Another papyrus that includes notes on the back is P.Lit.Lond. 165, *Anonymus Londinensis*. Such versions could then be used to produce a new copy of the text, and Galen in the 2nd century AD infers that this procedure led to mistakes in the transmission of Hippocrates.[596] However, the notes collected by Pliny the Elder are different from the papyrological *comparanda*: the latter are on the way to becoming a book, versions caught mid-composition, while Pliny's *commentarii* are, as it seems, only a collection of material which could then serve as a basis for a work.

The crux in discussing *commentarii* and ὑπομνήματα lies in specifying their multifaceted semantics. Both words share the stem 'to remember' (*comminiscor* / (ὑπο)μιμνήσκω), and preserve some of the semantics of an *aide-memoire* in all of their meanings. The Greek and the Latin terms overlap in their application to a great degree, with the exception that the Roman *commentarius* has a separate set of roots in the text-type of an *Amtsbuch*.[597] Overall, *commentarius* is anything written down, usually privately, and from there it can develop into different possible meanings, including the accidental conflation with the Greek ὑπόμνημα. Already from a cursory overview of the examples of *commentarius* within Cicero's corpus it is clear that the interpretation of the word is highly dependent on the context.

First of all, *commentarii* can be private notes, including but not restricted to those pertaining to the composition of a new text: *ipsa illa censoria contra Cn. Domitium conlegam non est oratio, sed quasi capita rerum et orationis commentarium paulo plenius* (Cic. *Brut.* 164). In Liv. 1.32.3, Ancus Marcius, in an attempt to restore the old religious ceremonies, gives orders to copy the description of sacred rites from Numa's notes (*ex commentariis*) and display it publicly on white boards.[598] An inscription from Troesmis illustrates the process of introducing the *lex Papia Poppaea*, including a *commentarius* in AD 5: *utiq(ue) commentari ex quo lex P(apia) P(oppaea) lata est propositi*.[599] The draft was accessible for the people but did not yet have the force of law; G. Hutchinson resolves that it was 'a way of easing the legislation in, a sort of white paper in British terminology'.[600]

[593] *commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissimis scriptos; qua ratione multiplicatur hic numerus.*

[594] Dorandi 1991, 15–17.

[595] The text is preserved in the *disegni* which must have been made at some point before the papyrus was glued onto the *cornici*, rendering its verso inaccessible without damaging the papyrus. On the localisation of the text through the correspondences in *lacunae*, see Fleischer 2017.

[596] Hanson 1998, 26 with n. 14.

[597] As underlined in Bömer 1953.

[598] *… longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut ab Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album elata proponere in publico iubet.*

[599] Eck 2016, p. 576: Tafel B, ll. 7–8.

[600] Hutchinson 2017, 76–7.

Both *commentarius* and ὑπόμνημα, in singular and plural form, are attested as titles of prose texts, including those of a kind that neither the readers nor, most probably, the authors considered preliminary material or 'not yet ready for publication'.[601] Polybius calls his *Histories* ὑπομνήματα at the very beginning of the work, in 1.1.1, and elsewhere throughout the text; Cicero refers to philosophical works of Cratippus that his son has to study as *commentarii*, and says he should receive the books of *De officiis* among them: *hi tibi tres libri inter Cratippi commentarios tam quam hospites erunt recipiendi.*[602]

The difference between 'notes', 'text in the form of notes', and 'work' is difficult to grasp. It has to do with the composition process, but also with the expectations of the text as a finished entity. At one of the stages in the text's creation, it could have the form of 'arranged notes': with the main body of material put together, but lacking further elaboration and embellishment. The fact that something consists of *notes* does not make it impossible to be read and used by others. It might imply a certain state of the text, one that is less polished, or one that could be used as a basis for further work by the author or someone else. Parthenius explicitly states this goal for his Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα in the preface addressed to Cornelius Gallus (Parth. *Amat. narr.* praef.):

> αὐτῷ τέ σοι παρέσται εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν τὰ μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἁρμόδια. <μηδὲ> διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ περιττὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ σὺ μετέρχῃ, χεῖρον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐννοηθῇς. οἱονεὶ γὰρ ὑπομνηματίων τρόπον αὐτὰ συνελεξάμεθα, καὶ σοὶ νυνὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ὁμοίαν, ὡς ἔοικε, παρέξεται.
>
> *It will be possible for you to turn the most fitting of them into hexameters and elegiacs yourself. Don't think badly about them because of the lack of subtleness which you, of course, pursue. For I have collected them as if by way of little memos, and, I believe, they will provide you now with a similar use.*

Such is also the use of ὑπόμνημα in Cic. *Att.* 2.2: *nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα … quod ego ad eum ut ornatius de isdem rebus scriberet miseram*—'this note of mine which I had sent him so that he could write about those same things in a more embellished way.'[603] In the end, Posidonius does not wish to turn Cicero's ὑπόμνημα into a book on his consulship, and the work may enter general circulation in Greece, especially if Atticus approves.[604] Cicero's false modesty is see-through: he proudly displays his success both in writing in Greek and in the fact that his work turned out to become so successful while being just a 'preparatory note'.

A commentary by Cicero (*Brut.* 262) on Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* makes reference to the same practice, saying that Caesar, in his wish to provide others with material for writing history, only did so for those who have no skill, while any sane person was scared of taking up such a task

[601] A collection of passages with analysis in Bömer 1953, 215–225.
[602] Cic. *Off.* 3.121.
[603] Bömer 1953, 236–238.
[604] The passage is quoted and discussed above, section 3.2.5.

after reading the work.[605] A similar idea is visible in Hirtius (*BGall* 8 praef. 4–5):

> constat enim inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur: qui sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio ut praerepta, non praebita, facultas scriptoribus videatur.
>
> *For it is known to all that there is nothing written among all others with so much toil, which would not be overcome by the beauty of these notes. They were published so that writers would not lack the knowledge of such important deeds, but they are held in such esteem by the judgement of all that it seems that the opportunity has been snatched away from the writers, not given to them.*

Much more can be said on Caesar's *commentarii* in general, but it would surpass the limits of this work. The two passages I quoted indicate a clear contrast between the usual expectation of a work of such a kind and the extraordinary quality of Caesar's books, so great that no one would want to try to write a *historia* on their basis, in a similar way to Cicero's materials on his consulship.

What else can a comparison with a work fashioned after the manner of *commentarii* achieve? At the beginning of Book 1 of *De Oratore*, Cicero refers to Quintus' wish that brings him to writing the treatise (1.5):

> vis enim, ut mihi saepe dixisti, quoniam, quae pueris aut adulescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris incohata ac rudia exciderunt, vix <sunt> hac aetate digna et hoc usu, quem ex causis, quas diximus, tot tantisque consecuti sumus, aliquid eisdem de rebus politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri …
>
> *Since you wish, as you often told me—for the reason that what leapt out of my notes, raw and unfinished, when I was a child, or rather a young man, is hardly worthy of my age and my experience, which I attained from speaking in so many processes of such importance—that something in a more polished and finished state were brought forth by me about the same things …*

The sentence, convoluted as it retells Quintus' argument within a lengthy *quoniam*-clause, refers to Cicero's earlier work, *De inventione*, the topic of which he intends to pick up again. The reference to *commentarii* together with young age is often made to describe a selection of excerpts made during studies. Cicero says that the earlier work was too close to the form of organised notes but not yet finished or polished, which is what Quintus asks him to do now (*politius perfectiusque*).

The usage of *excidere* is peculiar. Elsewhere in the dialogue, Antonius uses it in reference to his

[605] *sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere: sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit.*

work *De ratione dicendi*, which was the only book he wrote.[606] He says: *scripsi etiam illud quodam in libello, qui me imprudente et invito excidit et pervenit in manus hominum* (*De or.* 1.94), and Crassus picks the same expression up later in the text.[607] However, in Antonius' case, the work in question is one that he, at least in this representation, actively did not want to be published and which found its way out without his will or knowledge. The same happens to Cicero's speech against Clodius and Curio in *Att.* 3.12.2. It seems unlikely that Cicero's distancing from *De inventione* would go so far as to pretend that it was published almost accidentally. However, the underlining of its state at the moment of publication—somewhere between notes (*commentarii*) and a perfectly finished work—serves to situate the new work, *De oratore*, as one that should correspond to the necessary standards.

Ultimately, *De oratore* was perceived as an 'update' on *De inventione*, as can be seen from Quintilian's comment in 3.6.59–60: the latter were similar to notes taken during his studies, and any fault in them can be explained at least by reliance on the source—and moreover, Cicero replaced them (*substituit*) with his books of *De oratore*.[608] One should also note here that Quintilian applies *commentarios* already to the books themselves and thus uses *commentarius* as a type of text, not a stage of composition.

One can see that a certain kind of work could be perceived (whether for good reasons or not) as a collection of materials, not yet polished but one that could already be read or used. I will now discuss a passage from Galen that contrasts σύγγραμμα and ὑπόμνημα as two different types of text in Hippocrates' writing (and publication) practice (Gal. *Hipp. Art.* 18a. 529–30K):

> καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐμάθετε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατομὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὑπομνημάτων ἔχετε φλεβῶν μὲν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν ἀνατομὴν γεγραμμένην, ὥσπερ γε καὶ νεύρων. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων πραγματείαν. οὐκοῦν χρὴ μηκύνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτῶν γράφοντα ἐνταυθοῖ, μηδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους ἐθελήσαντος ἅπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν διελθεῖν κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλομένου, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. σώζεται δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ προκείμενα νῦν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ χωρία φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν συγγραφή. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν παρατεταμένων τοῖς σφονδύλοις μερῶν ὑπομνηματικῶς, οὐ συγγραφικῶς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐπιδημιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέλεκται, παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ βιβλίον ἐδείξαμεν ὑπομνήματά τινα τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους, οὐ συγγράμματα. μόνον γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τρίτον τῶν ἐπιδημιῶν ὡς πρὸς ἔκδοσιν πρὸς αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.

[606] Cic. *Brut.* 163: *vellem aliquid Antonio praeter illum de ratione dicendi sane exilem libellum, plura Crasso libuisset scribere.* Quint. 3.1.19: *solum opus eius atque id ipsum imperfectum.*

[607] Cic. *De or.* 1.206: *… petimus ab Antonio, ut ea, quae continet neque adhuc protulit, ex quibus unum libellum sibi excidisse iam dudum questus est, explicet nobis et illa dicendi mysteria enuntiet?*

[608] *sunt enim uelut regestae in hos commentarios quos adulescens deduxerat scholae, et si qua est in his culpa, tradentis est … sed Cicero quidem his pulcherrimos illos de oratore substituit, ideoque culpari tamquam falsa praecipiat non potest.*

And about these things you have learnt from dissecting bodies, but you also have the dissection of veins and arteries, as well as nerves, written up through notes, and more detailed in the work on practical anatomy. Surely then there is no need for the writer to dwell on these here anymore, considering that even Hippocrates himself didn't want to go through the whole nature of them in this work, but put it off, as he did with other things as well, and there is no treatise about the parts of veins and arteries that are set out in this work. And the parts that stretch alongside the vertebrae have been covered by him in the second book on the epidemics in the fashion of notes, not of a composition, in the same way as all the other passages in that book that we have shown to be some kind of notes by Hippocrates, not compositions. For only the first and the third books of the Epidemics are written by him with a view to public dissemination.

Two questions arise in the consideration of Galen's commentary on composition processes, one concerning the difference between ὑπόμνημα and σύγγραμμα, the other, their connection to publication, expressed as οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν. The interpretation of the first is connected with the second in Galen's argumentation: notes are a sign that Hippocrates did not prepare this part of the work for dissemination. How much of a difference it was, is not quite clear, but it must have been not very considerable in order for Galen's point to be valid.

The adverbs ὑπομνηματικῶς and συγγραφικῶς are different ways of writing which can be applied to the same topic. The difference is made clear in another passage from the same commentary, this time on Book 6 of *Epidemics* (Gal. *Hipp. Epid. VI* 17a. 931K):

τοῦτο δ' οὕτως ῥηθὲν ἐν μὲν συγγράμματι προφανῶς ἐνδείκνυται τὸν γράψαντα χαίρειν αἰνιγματώδει λέξει· τὸν δ' αὐτῷ τινα ὑπογραφὴν ἐν ὑπομνήματι πεποιημένον οὐκ ἄν τις μέμψαιτο. πολλὰ γὰρ οὕτως εἰώθαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὑποτυποῦσθαι συμβολικῶς.

Said in this way in a σύγγραμμα, this clearly indicates that the writer rejoices in a riddling style, but nobody would blame the one who has made a note of sorts in a ὑπόμνημα. For we are also used to drafting many things in this summarised way.

The next point brings us to the question of ἔκδοσις, and, more specifically, the distinction between πρὸς ἔκδοσιν and οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν. The expression is derived from Galen, who uses the idea of distinguishing writing 'for publication' and 'not for publication' both in application to his work and to the work of others.[609]

S. Gurd interprets Galen's usage of οὐ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν as a means to retroactively establish authorial control over the published works: 'What he could not do was get every copy back and guarantee that the new versions would supersede the old. What he could do was authorize circulation after the fact by being more precise about who should read what, using the distinction πρὸς ἔκδοσιν / οὐ

[609] The major publications on the topic are Dorandi 2007, 45–81 (summarised anew in Dorandi 2014, 2–11) and Gurd 2011; see also Roselli 2012.

πρὸς ἔκδοσιν to facilitate this.' The distinction employed by Galen is a 'tool for controlling, if only in imagery terms, a materially incontrollable situation, a surprisingly canny solution to an intractable problem'.[610] I agree that Galen seems to have an agenda in creating this distinction, yet I wonder whether control is all it is about.

As Gurd underlines, it is important to focus on the connection between Galen's scholarly activity and production of his own medical practice and writing. As a scholar, Galen uses philological methods to deal with problems arising from the textual history of the corpus of Hippocrates' works.[611] As a medic, he fashions himself after Hippocrates and strives to achieve similar fame. One of the results of Galen's analysis is that Hippocrates' corpus can be classified into two distinct kinds of texts, σύγγράμματα and ὑπομνήματα, the more and the less suitable for wider dissemination. Galen himself produces both, and refers to a similar distinction: some books were only produced for students.

Galen's compositional practices may have received extra legitimation when seen against the backdrop of the *corpus Hippocrateum*. Presenting his works, or parts of them, as ὑπομνήματα and underlining their lesser suitability for a broader audience might have helped Galen to avoid the criticism of obscurity. A reference to Hippocrates' practices, as in the original passage quoted above (μηδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους ἐθελήσαντος…) , could also serve the purpose of speeding up the production of text, allowing Galen to only elaborate on topics he himself found important enough. Furthermore, when Galen talks about the works that 'escaped' him, he retrospectively applies the same characteristics that are relevant for establishing the genuineness of a text by someone else, such as the fact that he did not add a title to the notes he gave to his students.

Commentarius and ὑπόμνημα are terms that can be used to describe an independent document that helps during the delivery of a text, a text written down for personal use (whether as a preliminary stage of a composition or not), or a published text. The breadth of the semantics of the term, which was used by Greek and Latin writers in a similarly confusing way as English 'notes', necessitates a cautious approach to its interpretation. The usage of these terms and their derivatives is preserved both in relation to a published text and an unpublished one; it applies primarily to the technique of making notes rather than to the purposes for which they are made. It seems that it is up to the author to decide to identify their work this way, and that it conveys some expectation of its nature. In contrast to complaints about 'escaped' or stolen texts that had not yet taken their final form, an intentional circulation of ὑπομνήματα / *commentarii* would underline not so much the 'not yet ready' status of the work, but the different nature of its material.

Pre-publication texts and their representation in literature provide us with an insight into the lifetime of a work. The idealised goal is a book that is perfect, but even if it were possible to achieve, the very process of creating and disseminating a book renders it extremely fragile: before publication, there are only imperfect preliminary versions, after it comes inescapable corruption.

[610] Gurd 2011, 176.

[611] The seminal article on Galen's philological activity is Hanson 1998. Similarly, Demetrius Lacon (2nd century BC) applied philological practices to the text of Epicurus (Dorandi 2000, 25–27).

6.3 Multiple volumes

6.3.1 Physical realisation and the work's identity

The basic Greek term for a literary work is σύγγραμμα. It differs from the word βιβλίον in its nature as a completed, autonomous, and organised piece of writing.[612] While a βιβλίον often indicates just 'a bookroll', σύγγραμμα is the overarching intellectual entity, which can fill one or multiple rolls.[613] What is, then, the relationship between a volume and a book?

Since at least Alexandrian times writers were more acutely aware of the questions of book-division and disposition of texts within a book-roll.[614] The concept of dividing a work into multiple volumes presupposes an entity that takes up too much space. Yet the lengths of book-rolls were more flexible than one used to think; an author would not aim at filling a book of a certain length. One should rather think about the organisation of content coming first, and its material realisation following it. Book division is an editorial as well as an authorial activity, and we cannot always say whether a given text underwent one or the other. For some authors, competing book divisions exist: Thucydides was divided into eight, nine, or thirteen books, Diogenes Laertius says that Xenophon wrote about forty but that different people divide them differently (ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων, Diog. Laert. 2.56), and the story of the text of Aristotle is difficult on many levels, including book divisions.[615]

Composition in multiple books is first attested for Ephorus, who composed a universal history and prefaced each of its books, and is most visible in historiography and technical literature. The idea of book-division influenced Alexandrian poetry: the structure of *Argonautica* is Apollonius' creation. Thinking about works as consisting of books is omnipresent in Greek and Latin texts of our timeframe. Polybius uses book numbers in cross-referencing his own work (they will receive further comment in section 6.3.4). Titles of works would often include the number and sometimes they may have included the total number of volumes, making it an integral part of the book's identity.[616] Cicero's list in *Div.* 1.6 reminds one of a library catalogue.[617] Martial uses numbers to refer to his epigram books (e.g. 6.1: *sextus mittitur hic tibi libellus*) and makes puns on them: the reader at the end of Book 2 wonders where the first book is, and is told to remove one 'iota' from the title to turn *ii* into *i*.[618]

The bookroll as a format was also explored and exploited for literary purposes. When a book is established as a unit, it lends itself to play with the notion of a boundary. The end of the work, and of a volume, is where the reader expects some form of closure. In Ovid, they often do not get it, and are

[612] 'Scritto compiuto, autonomo, organizzato' (Landolfi 2018, 216).

[613] '… e la sostanziale differenza tra i termini σύγγραμμα e βιβλίον: al primo equivale la divisione intellettuale, al secondo quasi sempre quella materiale. Un βιβλίον molte volte indica un *volumen* mentre un σύγγραμμα può corrispondervi, o essere contenuto in un βιβλίον, oppure essere ripartito in più βιβλία' (Landolfi 2018, 228).

[614] See e.g. Hutchinson 2008, 229–232.

[615] Higbie 2010, 14–16.

[616] More on titles above, in section 5.4.

[617] *sed cum Stoici omnia fere illa defenderent, quod et Zeno in suis commentariis quasi semina quaedam sparsisset et ea Cleanthes paulo uberiora fecisset, accessit acerrumo vir ingenio, Chrysippus, qui totam de divinatione duobus libris explicavit sententiam, uno praeterea de oraclis, uno de somniis; quem subsequens unum librum Babylonius Diogenes edidit, eius auditor, duo Antipater, quinque noster Posidonius.*

[618] Mart. 2.93.

instead served with clues and teases.[619] Book structures have been shown to be handed down in the literary tradition and influence new works together with the other features. This influence is visible within single genres, as well as across them, for example, in the relationship between didactic poetry and didactic prose.[620]

6.3.2 Tools for ordering and reader interaction

The ordering tools have a double function, supporting the reader in the physical handling of the volumes, and in the intellectual work of moving through the text.

On a material level, splitting a longer work across several books led to searching for solutions to preserve the text, such as *versus reclamantes*: on the end of a roll, the first line of the next one was copied to ensure the continuity of the text.[621] A feature that is present in Virtuvius' *De architectura* is the 'Verzahnungsmethode': each chapter ends with an indication to the content of the next one; the same happens at the book level, linking them like cogs in a cogwheel.[622] The development from this practice to chapter titles and indices, illustrated by B.-J. Schröder, suggests that these 'tables of contents' may have helped to keep a multi-volume work together, because the rolls could be thus checked against an inventory in the preface.[623] I assume that a similar effect could be realised through shorter dedications (sometimes reduced to a bare vocative) at the beginning of each volume of longer works. So, the name of P. Silvinus is present at the beginning of each of the books of Columella's *De re rustica*, while in Book 7 it is not even part of a preface, but is integrated into the main text. Both features occur at the beginnings of the books of *De materia medica* by Dioscorides Pedanius: they always address Areius, mention the book number, summarise previous volumes and introduce the current one.[624]

Regarding the contents, it is a common practice to tell the reader (or the addressee) by way of preface what is going to be treated. For example, Vergil's *Georgics* begin with a summary of topics of all four books in 4.5 lines.[625] In some genres these content announcements developed into full paragraphs, reminding one of modern prefaces to conference proceedings or companions. Technical literature in particular has an affinity with expressions of structure and organisation; some technical works have a list of chapter titles appended at the beginning or at the end of the preface.[626] The most

[619] Barchiesi 1997 on Ovid's closures in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. The episodes in the *Metamorphoses* do not end with the end of the volume; L. Morgan points to a conspicuous appearance of horns in the text at key places and connects them to the *cornua* sticking out of a bookroll (Morgan 2020, 63).

[620] Hutchinson 2008, 228–250.

[621] West 1963; Schironi 2010, 31–34; 74–75.

[622] Mutschmann 1911, 94.

[623] Schröder 1999, 99–115, esp. 106 on Vitruvius.

[624] Diosc. Ped. *mat med.* 1.praef: πολλῶν οὐ μόνον ἀρχαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ νέων συνταξαμένων περὶ τῆς τῶν φαρμάκων σκευασίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δοκιμασίας, φίλτατε Ἄρειε, πειράσομαι παραστῆσαί σοι …; 2.arg: ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ, φίλτατε Ἄρειε, ὄντι πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ ὕλης <ἰατρικῆς> ἡμῖν συντεταγμένων, παρεδώκαμεν …; 3.arg: ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου βιβλίοις, φίλτατε Ἄρειε, παρεδώκαμεν …; 4.arg: ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου βιβλίοις τρισί, φίλτατε Ἄρειε …; 5.arg: ἀποδόντες ἐν τοῖς προγραφεῖσι τέτταρσι βιβλίοις, φίλτατε Ἄρειε ….

[625] Verg. *Georg.* 1–5.

[626] Not all of them can be shown to originate from the authors, but some definitely did.

impressive example of this practice can be seen in Pliny's *Natural History*, where the whole Book 1 is an extended table of contents.

Most commonly, the tables of contents tend to be placed before the main text. In the course of transmission, they could lose this place or even their integrity, being turned into smaller indices to single books. Curiously, the table of contents is one of the most unstable parts of the book even today. For instance, Genette in the introduction to *Seuils* says that the table of contents relieves him of the need to make a preliminary list of things he is going to talk about.[627] However, the 1987 edition of *Seuils* has it at the back. It is, of course, a minor inconvenience for a modern reader, but it nevertheless makes the sentence technically incorrect: the author is left to rely on thin air.

An interesting example of a placement is the index to Columella's *De re rustica*, found after Book 11. This unexpected positioning only makes sense if (1) the index was compiled after books 1–10 had already been published and (2) there was no plan to have an index when Columella began his work. Schröder suggests that Columella might have been influenced by the *Naturalis historia*: unlike 'regular' prefatory summaries at the beginnings of the books that proceed in a similar way to those of Vitruvius', Columella's index can indeed be used for locating items in the work.[628]

The 'tables of contents' were not necessarily neutral. So, G. Maselli shows that Gellius' 'lemmata' often prompt the reader to consult the chapter in question, for example, by withholding information or by introducing an ambiguity where there is none in the main text.[629] R. Gibson has argued for a reassessment of the potential behind the index to Pliny's *Letters*, which may or may not be authorial, but in both cases enter into a complex relationship between the preface and the work.[630] The prefaces to Statius' *Silvae* provide a *comparandum* from a different field: poetry. Each of Books 1–4 of the *Silvae* has an epistolary preface, and in each preface Statius includes a list of poems that will follow, with short comments on each. There is not much difference between this practice and what I have just discussed in relation to technical literature: such a preface would help the reader get an overview of the coming work and, quite possibly, make them more interested in reading the book. The fact that names of recipients are spread throughout the lists supports this idea. Whereas already the name of a single dedicatee could have an influence on the reception of the book, we can only guess that the collection of names of prominent people who Statius composed occasional poetry for, placed at the end of each preface, would make quite a statement.

Finally, an awareness of the traditional structures of lists and introductions can be found in the late Hellenistic author of the *Periodos to Nicomedes* (Ps.-Skymnos), who seems to play with the readers' expectations. The author introduces a geographic account of the world, set in iambic trimeters, with a lengthy prologue (1–138).[631] The structure of the prologue is as follows: praise of comedy, the decision to write a treatise, a request to be allowed to summarise it (1–15); digression on Apollodorus'

[627] 'La table de matieres de cette etude me dispense sans doute d'une enumeration prealable' (Genette 1987, 8).

[628] Schröder 1999, 109–111, more on the special case of Columella on pp. 131–137.

[629] Maselli 1993.

[630] Providing the reader with the double names of the addressees; indicating subject matter; hinting at a possible arrangement of a collection: Gibson 2014, esp. 47–50.

[631] See Hunter 2009 with further bibliography.

work, also written in verse, which immortalised King Attalus (16–49); learning about the qualities of Nicomedes and the decision to check whether it is true (50–64); announcement of the topic of the work and list of its contents (65–108); list of used sources (109–136) and finally, announcement of the first topic (137–138). Around the list of topics, the author fashions his work as didactic and underlines its conciseness and practicality (65–74, 98–102):

ἐκ τῶν σποράδην γὰρ ἱστορουμένων τισίν
ἐν ἐπιτομῇ σοι γέγραφα τὰς ἀποικίας
κτίσεις τε πόλεων, τῆς ὅλης τε γῆς σχεδόν
ὅσ' ἐστὶ πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ τῶν τόπων.
τούτων δ' ὅσα μὲν εὔσημά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ σαφῆ
ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου συντεμὼν ἐκθήσομαι,
ὅσα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν οὐ σαφῶς ἐγνωσμένα,
ὁ κατὰ μέρος ταῦτ' ἐξακριβώσει λόγος,
ὥστε, βασιλεῦ, τὸν πάντα τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἔχειν σε παριορισμὸν επιτετμημένον,
<…>
συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, οὐχὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως
ἀναδεξάμενος, ὥς φασιν οἱ μῦθοι, πλάνην,
ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας δὲ καταμένων εὐδαιμόνως,
οὐχὶ μόνον ἑτερόφυλον ἀνθρώπων βίον,
ἐθνῶν ὅλων δὲ γνώσετ' ἄστη καὶ νόμους.

From the things recounted here and there by various people I have written for you in brief the colonies, city-foundations and whatever places are navigable or reachable on foot from practically the whole earth. For such things as are well-marked and clear I will trim my account to the main headings, but for what is not clearly known my account will go into precise detail, so that, King, you will have a concise definition of … [list of topics]. To say it compactly, not, as the myths have it, undertaking the wanderings of Odysseus but remaining comfortably in one's own property, you will not only learn about the life of alien peoples, but also the citadels and laws of every nation. (transl. Brady Kiesling)

This prologue is an example of a deployment of the same elements that a technical treatise would have, done with a full awareness of it. The preface explicitly delays announcing the topic of the work until lines 66–67, while constantly referring to its aim of brevity. After the list of topics, the reader is treated to a false hope that the end (or the beginning, to be precise) is approaching: line 109 reads ἤδη δ' ἐπ' ἐρχὴν εἶμι τῆς συντάξεως …, only to continue with the promise to list the names of the author's sources: … τοὺς συγγραφεῖς ἐκθέμενος. The two lists, of topics and of sources, create the tension within the allegedly very short preface to an allegedly very concise work.

6.3.3 The expectation of a plan

Arrangement of thoughts and words in the right order was a necessary skill in the Greek and Latin literary world: *compositio*, the art of putting words together, and *dispositio*, the art of arranging the material, are crucial features of rhetorical training. Thus already on the approach to the text, a reader has an expectation of some plan behind and compositional arrangement within it. In multi-volume works, the reader would have been prepared for the number of volumes in the work both by the title-tags and by the visible number of bookrolls, if they were to see all of them in one place. It is to be expected that the composition of such a work goes according to a plan, and that its structure is an integral part of it.

Vitruvius' *De architectura* seems to be clearly planned from the very beginning. The book is, as its author himself states, the first of its kind, as it represents the knowledge about different areas of architecture in an orderly manner, and not as a mass of loosely connected facts. The importance of structure can be traced in the arrangement of material in single books as well as in the overall layout of the treatise. In addition to this, each book is framed by a preface and an afterword.

Diodorus Siculus starts his preface with a list of topics in the books, saying that he has finished the composition but that the volumes are not yet published: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἔχει τέλος, αἱ βίβλοι δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀνέκδοτοι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, βούλομαι βραχέα προδιορίσαι περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας (1.4.6). The subject of discussion (ὑπόθεσις) has been explored, but the books containing the discussion are not yet published (ἀνέκδοτοι), and Diodorus says that he wants to 'draw some distinctions in regard to the whole undertaking in advance' (προδιορίσαι περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας). The addition of the table of contents, which imposes a structure on the work, is, again, the last thing to do before publication.[632]

A peculiar feature can be observed when one turns to the 'collected' works. We know that processes of collection and excerption of previous authors' works happened alongside and influenced the creation of new books. A certain order of the elements of the whole is to be expected; moreover, the order is what makes a collection. The authorial plan in 'collected' books, especially in poetry books, has been explored a lot in scholarship.[633] There is an interest in the arrangement of the poems in the *Eclogues* in antiquity, and no reason to assume it wasn't there when Vergil composed them.[634] However, in several authors we can observe a diversion from the very idea of an inherent structure. So, the ending of Book 3 of *Epistulae ex Ponto* (3.9.51–56) inverts the expected image of an elaborately created collection:

> nec liber ut fieret, sed uti sua cuique daretur
> littera, propositum curaque nostra fuit.
> postmodo conlectas utcumque sine ordine iunxi:

[632] The same Diodorus comments in a fragment placed in Book 40 on some books that have been stolen and circulated before publication, which may add to the motivation to set the expectations from the start (Diod. 40.8.1; section 4.1.3.

[633] Van Sickle 1980, Krevans 1984.

[634] Ps.-Probus *Verg. Ecl. 1* vol. 3 p. 328 Thilo–Hagen: *Bucolica scripsit sed non eodem ordine edidit, quam scripsit.*

hoc opus electum ne mihi forte putes.
da ueniam scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis
causa, sed utilitas officiumque fuit.

My plan and care was not to produce a book, but that each letter is given to its addressee. Afterwards I joined them, collected, without order: don't you think by any chance that this is a choice work of mine. Pardon these texts, the reason for writing which was for us not glory but use and duty.

So, Ovid assures Brutus that he did not arrange the epistles but just put them together. Coming at the end of the book which exhibits clear features of structure and organisation, this passage teases the reader with the fiction of unpolished, unordered verses that only serve their original, epistolary purpose: to convey a message to the addressee. Moreover, Ovid denied employing any criteria for including the poems in the book, which is one of the features of a literary collection.

A similar statement on the lack of order in a collection, this time in Greek prose, occurs in Plutarch's *Table talk*, praef. 2:

ὧν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν βιβλίον εἶχε μεμιγμένα δείγματα, τοῦ μὲν προτέρου γένους τὸ περὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν παρὰ πότον καὶ περὶ τοῦ διανέμειν αὐτὸν ἢ τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν ἐφιέναι τὰς κλίσεις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα: τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐρῶντας ποιητικοὺς εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς. … καλῶ δῆτα καὶ … τὰ συμποτικά: τὰ δ' … τερα κοινῶς συμποσιακά. σποράδην δ' ἀναγέγραπται καὶ οὐ διακεκριμένως ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστον εἰς μνήμην ἦλθεν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, εἴ σοὶ προσφωνοῦντές τινα τῶν προρρηθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ συνηγάγομεν: καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις μὴ ποιῶσι, πολλάκις εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ μανθάνειν τὸ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι καθίστησι.

Of these the first of our books held a mix of examples. Of the first kind, the one about philosophising over drinks, and the one about distributing the couches or letting the guests go to them, and such things; of the second kind, the one about lovers being keen on poetry, and about the tribe of Aeantis. […] And I call, indeed, the [first] συμποτικά. The others, in turn, I call commonly συμποσιακά. They are written down in a chaotic fashion and without a selection, but each how it came to memory. And readers shouldn't be surprised that we dedicate it to you, when some of the things said we collected from you. For learning does not always make you remember, but often the learning and the remembering consists of one and the same thing.

The statement about the genre being a miscellany recalls Pliny's introductory letter (*Epist.* 1.1), which says that he collected the letters upon the request of Septicius and arranged them not according to

the time in which they were written, but as they came into his hands.[635] Both Pliny and Plutarch deny a planned arrangement, in the same way as Ovid does. Unlike Ovid, however, they both do it at the entry point of the book. J. König compares and contrasts the ways in which Plutarch and Pliny represent the intellectual communities of their time and argues that the very genre of miscellany suits the goal of emphasising the richness of the world they are depicting in the respective works.[636] The stress on the lack of plan instead of a detailed index sets out the type of text that a reader has in their hands; at the same time, it might prompt them to look for such a plan nevertheless.[637]

The division and disposition of texts within a bookroll is a matter of consideration for authors as well as readers. Multi-volume works have an extra dimension compared to single rolls. The number of books that the work consists of was visible and relevant, not only for archival practices: it belongs to the identity of the work as well as a title does. Physical bookrolls of a work, similarly to volumes of a modern book, would be visible on the 'bookshelf'.

Indices and tables of contents are more than just pointers to help the reader get to the information they need. They can also be deployed in a playful way, as elements of the paratext, priming the readers for the coming work and continuing the interaction that started with the title and the preface. An expectation of a certain order is particularly important in works of 'collected' type, which lends itself to playful engagement.

6.3.4 Polybius: explicit structuring and a change of plan

It is not enough to arm the book with everything it needs to be presented to the world. From the moment when a reader picks it up, the book enters into a contest, striving to live up or even outdo its predecessors, beat its competitors, be accepted into the patron's – and every other relevant reader's – library, become known in all the relevant places (some of which are more important than others), and finally, enter the literary canon. A preface alone sets up an expectation and makes a promise to the reader. The rest of the work has to ensure that the reader knows they have not been fooled.

The stakes are even higher in multi-volume works, where the coherence of the entire project should be constantly reinforced. An example of a work that shows a high level of awareness of this fact is Polybius' *Histories*.

6.3.4.1 Background and publication history

Polybius' *Histories* is a 40-volume work, only a third of which has been preserved. The work on the *Histories* must have taken many years, if not decades, and is believed to be inspired in the period when Polybius, a Greek himself, was taken to Rome among the 1000 hostages from Achaean nobility in 167 BC. There, he befriended Scipio, an account of which is also found in the work (32.9), and must

[635] Plin. *Epist.* 1.1: *frequenter hortatus es, ut epistulas, si quas paulo curatius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. collegi non servato temporis ordine—neque enim historiam componebam—sed ut quaeque in manus venerat. superest ut nec te consilii nec me paeniteat obsequii. ita enim fiet, ut eas quae adhuc neglectae iacent requiram et si quas addidero non supprimam. vale.*

[636] König 2019.

[637] On structures in Pliny's collection, see e.g. Sherwin-White 1966, 42–51, Gibson and Morello 2012, 234–264.

have quickly found his way into the Roman elite due to his political experience. It is assumed that he had written two of his earlier works, a biography of Philopoemen and a Τακτικά, before coming to Rome, and that the latter might have contributed to establishing his position there. The genre of the *Histories*, invented by Ephorus and developed to perfection by Polybius (according to his own words), is 'universal history' (τὰ καθόλου).[638] Polybius' ambition was not only to describe events, but to analyse their causes and consequences, an improvement on previous historical works. Its aim was to cover the events of the whole world, and in this manner to provide readers with a comprehensive account of the happenings in the selected time period, illustrating the rise of Rome to power.

The external evidence on Polybius' publication practices is scarce at best, and even less of it is contemporary. Obviously, the work succeeded. Later historians started their histories where Polybius left off, and his work was possibly used already by his younger contemporaries in Rome.[639] Polybius' *Histories* were known by Greek and Latin authors and considered important enough for Brutus to compile its epitome (Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 4.8).

There are many indications that the text of the *Histories* as we have it is not the final version 'published' by Polybius. There are minor and major discrepancies that one would expect the author to get rid of in the final version. The most important of them originates in the change of chronological limits of Polybius' plan of describing Rome's route to world dominion. Originally intending to cover the time from 220 to 168 BC, he then expanded it to include the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. The remainders of the original plan can be seen already in Book 1, where it is laid out, and mentions of Carthage as still existing are spread throughout Books 1–15. There is also a chapter in the epilogue (39.5) that must have been added by a later hand. At the same time, a programmatically styled digression in 3.32 must have been written after the change of plan, and among many passages engaging with criticism some are more likely to be answering to real, not just possible comments.

All of the above has led to various theories concerning the way Polybius planned, prepared, compiled and published his work. Some of them roam on the extreme ends of the spectrum of possibilities, such as a much entangled scheme of five (!) different editions by R. Laqueur.[640] It seems likely that the process had at least some stages, and it is left to the phantasy of the reconstructors to conceive the various models that would comply with the non-exhaustive list of facts one can rely on. It would not be too bold to assume that Polybius' friends were acquainted with some parts of the work while it was in the process of being written, but this can only explain the criticism, not the mismatches.

The aim of the *Histories* is stated programmatically in the very first sentence of the work: διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἑτοιμοτέραν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν τῆς τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης ('there is nothing more suitable for improving people than the knowledge of previous events').[641] History has to be useful to its readers, and the task of a historian lies in bringing it to them. I have already discussed Polybius' management of his readers above (section 3.1.2.1); in the following, I will

[638] On the concept of universal history in Polybius, Sacks 1981, 96–121.
[639] Sempronius Asellio: Ziegler 1952, 1573.
[640] Laqueur 1911, 183. On the edition process: Ziegler 1952, 1485–1489.
[641] Polyb. 1.1.1–2.

look at some of the ways he frames his work and supports the reader going through it.

In 1.3.7–9, Polybius gives reasons for prefacing the whole work with the προκατασκευή in Books 1 and 2, saying that it would not be necessary were the Greeks (the intended audience, at least there) better acquainted with the history of Rome and Carthage.[642] He then embarks on a lengthier explanation of the method of general, or universal history, starting at 1.3.3–4 with the famous juxtaposition of the events that were 'dispersed' (σποράδας) until the different parts of the world became intertwined, resulting in a history that is like a whole organism (σωματοειδῆ).[643]

By 1.4.11, Polybius has explained why his times are different from previous periods, and why his method is the best way of describing them. In 1.5, the actual προκατασκευή begins, again with a rationale for the starting point of the first book (the arguments for the starting date of the whole *History* were listed a couple of paragraphs earlier). Polybius has a tendency to bring and repeat arguments for his method, not only in prominent positions such as prefaces but also throughout the work, often indicating that what he does goes along with his initial plan (κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν).[644] In Book 8, he criticises Theopompus for breaking off from the initial plan of writing about Philip.[645] The meticulousness with which Polybius defends his choices indicates an anticipation of criticism, inevitable when one chooses the way of innovation. On another level, the constant nodding towards readers and potential critics results in the illusion of a dialogue in the absence of any direct address.

6.3.4.2 Explicit structuring

It seems that the amount of material and the peculiarity of its disposition called for a particularly explicit discussion of its arrangement. As a consequence, Polybius' work has many structural elements apart from the general discussions of the method. Single sentences and paragraphs can mark the end of the treatment of a topic, often in the form of 'enough on that from me', introduce a new chapter and give reasoning for it, or summarise or preface a whole book. Even the very need for structure is reflected upon: the reasons Polybius includes prefatory material (προκατασκευή, προέκθεσις, προοίμιον) are listed and backed up with arguments.

An intriguing reflection on the choices of book composition (or even book design) is the passage on προγραφαί and προεκθέσεις in 11.1a:

[642] Gelzer 1940 on the composition of the προκατασκευή in Book 2.
[643] Note the σῶμα-metaphor, popular in Greek and Latin literature.
[644] 1.2.71, 2.71.2 and 2.71.9, 3.4.2, 5.31.1 etc.
[645] Polyb. 8.11.3–7.

ἴσως δέ τινες ἐπιζητοῦσι πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐ προγραφὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προεκθέσεις καθ' ἑκάστην ὀλυμπιάδα πεποιήκαμεν τῶν πράξεων. ἐγὼ δὲ κρίνω χρήσιμον μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ τῶν προγραφῶν γένος· καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγει τοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν θέλοντας καὶ συνεκκαλεῖται καὶ παρορμᾷ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ζητούμενον ἑτοίμως ἔνεστιν εὑρεῖν διὰ τούτου· θεωρῶν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς τυχούσας ὀλιγωρούμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον τὸ τῶν προγραφῶν γένος, οὕτως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατηνέχθην· τῆς γὰρ προεκθέσεως οὐ μόνον ἰσοδυναμούσης <πρὸς> τὴν προγραφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖόν τι δυναμένης, ἅμα δὲ καὶ χώραν ἐχούσης ἀσφαλεστέραν διὰ τὸ συμπεπλέχθαι τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐδοκιμάσαμεν χρῆσθαι τῷ μέρει παρ' ὅλην τὴν σύνταξιν πλὴν ἓξ τῶν πρώτων βυβλίων· ἐν ἐκείνοις <δὲ> προγραφὰς ἐποιησάμεθα διὰ τὸ μὴ λίαν ἐναρμόζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν προεκθέσεων γένος.

Some wonder, perhaps, why we made in this book not προγραφαὶ, but also προεκθέσεις of the events of each olympiad. I think that also the type of προγραφαὶ is useful, for it leads those who want to read to be attentive and summons and encourages those who happen upon the book to read it, and in addition to this, it is easy to find everything that is looked for through it. But observing how the type of προγραφαὶ is neglected and destroyed because of many reasons, so also because of that I was brought to this element. And since a προέκθεσις is not only of equal strength to that of a προγραφή, but even has a bit more force, and at the same time holds a more secure position because of being intertwined with the matter, I decided to rather use it in all of the work apart from the first six books. In these, I made προγραφαὶ, because the type of προεκθέσεις wasn't fitting them well.

Polybius expresses his judgment about two types of prefatorial material available: one is succinct, detached from the work, with functions similar to that of a table of contents (ἡ προγραφή), the other belongs with the text and is therefore 'stronger' (προέκθεσις), without losing the relevant characteristics of a προγραφή, namely to attract the attention of those wishing to read and to encourage those who come across the book to read it. Thus, as προγραφαί are easily neglected or destroyed, Polybius decides to use the alternative instead, apart from the first six books which do not lend themselves to this kind of 'introductory summary'.

The difference between the two lies in the physical position outside the main text or within it.[646] Indeed, there is no trace of a προέκθεσις within the text of Books 1–6, but there is none of a προγραφή either. It leaves us to decide whether Polybius' commentary on their weak position turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy or whether he decided to remove them altogether. As for the προεκθέσεις, it is rather difficult to decide what should count as such. For example, whenever Polybius refers to a προέκθεσις, it seems to be placed at the beginning of the work, but there are other recapitulations of the events at less prominent positions. Some of the 'prefaces' are rather programmatical, such

[646] Laqueur 1911, 183.

as 8.1, which does not give a list of events. 9.1 indicates that a list of events came before it: αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέσταται πράξεις … εἰσὶν αὗται. 38.1 recounts the events of the book that is to follow. In 14.1a, Polybius refers to the προεκθέσεις and their functions again: ἴσως μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς ὀλυμπιάσιν αἱ προεκθέσεις τῶν πράξεων εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγουσι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. The expression is the same as in 11.1a, with the emphasis on 'attention', ἐπίστασις.

While Polybius' prefatory practices still leave some questions unanswered, one can note how he presents them to him readers, persuading them that there is a reasoning behind his decisions: everything goes according to the plan.

6.3.4.3 Cross-references

Apart from summarising or advertising passages in key parts of the work, Polybius uses lower-scale references, to the analysis of which I will now turn. References to the topics treated already are usually vague and use such expressions as τὰ ἄνω or τὰ προειρημένα. Sometimes a more precise indication, or even a book number, is given. All the cross-references are listed in the RE-article on Polybius;[647] they are presented below in tabular form for easier reference.

		books preserved fully					books in fragments						Σ
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	18	21	31	
<–	without book #	-	2	12	9	11	/[a]	/	5	4	/	/	34+? =ca. 70[b]
–>	without book #	-	1	4	3	3	/	/	/	2	2	/	11+8[c]=19
<–	with book #	-	-	5	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	8+6=14
–>	with book #	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+0=2
Σ		-	3	22	15	15	/	/	/	7	/	/	ca. 105

[a] Since some of Ziegler's calculations remain only approximate, and since I have not undertaken the task of counting all the unspecific references in Books 6–40, the slashes (/) in the table mean that the number and existence of references in the corresponding book is unknown.

[b] As given by Ziegler.

[c] As given by Ziegler.

Table 6.1: Cross-references in Polybius: an overview

It is not surprising that the references without a book number prevail (34 vs. 11 in the fully preserved books), as well as that the number of references backward exceeds greatly that of references forward.

If we look more closely at the kind of references used (table 6.2), it will become clear that references to a book by its number normally happen in the next book within the *Histories*. Among the books referred to by number or contents, Book 6, which contains the description of the Roman constitution,

[647] Ziegler 1952, 1551.

stands out. It is announced throughout Books 1–5 several times, introduced in the beginning as an unexpected yet eagerly awaited digression and keeps its relevance afterwards. The nature of Book 6 also explaines the reference to Book 5 occurring in Book 7: they follow each other in the narrative, while Book 6 is a digression. The other two interesting cases are Books 1 and 2, which do not contain many references on their own but are referred to seven times, out of which five are in Book 3. Thus, the overall trend within the books that came down to us in full shows a marked break between the προκατασκευή (1–2) and the rest of the work.[648]

book	number of references	location of references
1	3	Books 3 (x 2) and 6
2	4	Books 3 (x 3) and 4
3	2	Book 4 (x 2)
5	1	Book 7
6	5	Books 3, 5, 10, 18 and 21
30	1	Book 31

Table 6.2: References to specific books by their number within Polybius' *Histories*

There remains something to be said about the function of the references. Ziegler finds them 'pedantic' and 'not really useful', saying that it is almost impossible to find what Polybius refers to.[649] This is the case indeed, but I do not think that this is their primary function. References forwards and backwards, summaries and other comments on the state and progression of the text must have had a different function. As well as shorter reminders about what has just been said and what is going to follow, they serve to catch the attention of the reader and convey the sense of a coherent work fully in the control of its author. Apart from that, references to the programmatic Books 1 and 2 remind the reader of the original intention and plan of the work, while forward-references to Book 6 in the preceding books should contribute to the reader's sense of eager anticipation.

As for the impossibility of finding something, in 39.8.8 Polybius talks about the plan to finish the work with a summary:

> τούτων δὴ πάντων ἡμῖν ἐπιτετελεσμένων λείπεται διασαφῆσαι τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς περιειλημμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βύβλων καὶ <τὸν> ἀριθμὸν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.
>
> *Indeed, having finished all this, it remains for us to make clear the time periods that were encompassed by the history, and the number of the books, and a listing of the whole undertaking.*

[648] There is barely anything that can be drawn from the references in Books 6–40 due to their fragmentary state. There is also no particular reason for Books 10 and 18 to have more references than the others. It might just as well be the combination of pure chance and better preservation (about a half of both has been preserved.)

[649] '… die (sc. Zitate und Verweisungen) aber … nicht gerade viel nützen und eher pedantisch wirken.' (Ziegler 1952, 1551).

The description seems to refer to an index of some kind, which was, unfortunately, lost in transmission.

Polybius' work is full of conscious engagement with its constituent elements, from short cross-references to other books to the explanation of the reasons behind using προγραφαί and προεκθέσεις and a mention of something that sounds like an index. He continuously underlines that he does not digress from the stated intention. He changes the plan of his work at some point and includes two books of prefatory character. The combined force of these elements contributes to the interaction with the (anonymous and collected) audience.

6.4 Volume after volume: serial publication and the literary *oeuvre*

6.4.1 Serial publication

Serial publication, that is, publication of a text stretched across time, is a phenomenon that provokes further questions. A volume within a series is both a part of the series and a new book. Its publication may be planned or not, and it may not quite go according to the plan.

Again, Apollonius of Perga provides a vivid description of what led to a serial publication (*Conica* 1 praef.). The process is laid out as follows: first, a request from Naucrates came, prompting Apollonius to compose the books of *Conics* as soon as he could. These were given to him without further work, in haste. Secondly, Apollonius undertook a reworking of the whole ('one after the other'), and decided to start sending them out. The preface only announces the dispatch of Book 1 of the revised edition, with the others to follow. It also describes the structure of the whole work, in two sets of four books each (unsurprising, given that the work had already been composed). Of the following, Book 2 only has a brief note as a preface, instructing Eudemus to share it with those interested, and Book 3 has none preserved.[650]

After the publication of Book 3, Eudemus died, and Apollonius redirected the rest of his work to Attalus. He begins the preface to Book 4 by mentioning the name of the dedicatee of Books 1–3, and announces the change of dedication starting with Book 4. Prefaces to Books 5–7 do not comment much on their position within the work, concentrating on the immediate content. It seems that after the initial explanation of the publication context, and the following re-dedication, the remainder of the books would be joined to their companions upon receipt. The works are announced as an entity, and they have to comply. However, the high level of individuality within each of the books of *Conica* has been stressed by researchers: 'the books are the result not of mere division into papyrus rolls, but of their being genuine separate entities'.[651] The prefaces do not normally make references to the other books, but they assert, even if briefly, that the book in front of the reader is a part of a series, and needs to be viewed as such.

[650] All prefaces collected in Heath 1896.
[651] Netz 2002.

Apollonius' work is probably the earliest case of an explicit description of a publication process, and one of a serial publication too. He wants to produce a single work, but he dispatches the volumes one by one, without further comment. We can read here the wish of releasing a finished part into the world as soon as it is ready, instead of waiting for the whole project to be completed.

I have already mentioned the strangely placed index in Columella's *De re rustica*.[652] There are other signs that Columella's plan was changed at least once. In the short preface to Book 11, he admits that the work got outside of the planned (or ideal) limits, but excuses himself by mentioning a request from Claudius Augustalis (although the addressee is still Silvinus).[653] Beginning Book 12 with a reference to Xenophon's *Oeconomicon*, he seems to look for an excuse to begin yet another volume and find it in mentioning an influential literary predecessor.

Columella's original plan of *De re rustica* had 10 books in it, as it seems from the description of its contents in 1 praef. 24–28 as well as the announcement of Book 10 in 9.16.2:

> sed iam consummata disputatione de villatici pecudibus atque pastionibus, quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars subest, de cultu hortorum, Publi Silvine, deinceps ita, ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat, in carmen conferemus

> *'And now, having finished the discussion about farmhouse animals and their feeding, we will express in verse the one last part of the rural affairs, which still remains for us, on the cultivation of gardens, for you, Publius Silvinus, according to the way you and our friend Gallio wanted it.'*

Apart from communicating to scholars the change of plan in the composition and publication of the work, this passage might suggest an additional interest in underlining Book 10. A reference to criticism in 4.1.1, among other things, shows that the books were published sequentially.[654] The mention of Publius Silvinus at the end of a volume occurs only in Book 9, Book 10 (*Rust.* 10.433: *hactenus hortorum cultus, Silvine, docebam*) and Book 12, where the work concluded. The announcement at the end of Book 9 that the following volume will be in verse must have come as a surprise to readers, and not only prepared the ground for the arrival of Book 10, which was composed in verse as an hommage to Virgil, but contributed to its anticipation.

So, serial publication also helps to engage the reader. A fitting commentary on the difficulty of producing new material is Sen. *Controv.* 4. pr. 1–2:

[652] section 6.3.2.

[653] Colum. *Rust.* 11.1.2: *quae quamuis primo rei rusticae libro uidebar aliquatenus executus, quoniam tamen ea simili desiderio noster Augustalis saepius flagitabat, numerum, quem iam quasi consummaueram, uoluminum excessi et hoc undecimum praeceptum rusticationis memoriae tradidi.*

[654] *cum de uineis conserendis librum a me scriptum, Publi Siluine, conpluribus agricolationis studiosis relegisses, quosdam repertos esse <dixisti> qui cetera quidem nostra praecepta laudassent, unum tamen atque alterum reprehendissent ….*

> quod munerarii solent facere, qui ad expectationem populi detinendam nova paria per omnes dies dispensant, ut sit, quod populum et delectet et revocet, hoc ego facio: non semel omnes produco. aliquid novi semper habeat libellus, ut non tantum sententiarum vos sed etiam auctorum novitate sollicitet. acrior est cupiditas ignota cognoscendi quam nota repetendi. hoc in histrionibus, in gladiatoribus, in oratoribus, de quibus modo aliquid fama promisit, in omnibus denique rebus videmus accidere: ad nova homines concurrunt, ad nota non veniunt. non tamen expectationem vestram macerabo singulos producendo; liberaliter hodie et plena manu faciam.
>
> *What I am doing now is what producers of gladiator fights are used to doing, they who distribute new pairs every day in order to preserve the sense of expectation of the people. I do not bring forward all at the same time. The book should always have something new, so that it tempts you with the novelty not only of the aphorisms but also of the speakers. The wish to learn new things is sharper than the wish to revise the known. This we observe happening in actors, gladiators, orators, on behalf of whom fate has promised at least something: people gather running to new things, they do not come to the known. But I won't torment your expectation by bringing them out one by one; today I will act graciously and with a full hand.*

Based on the examples of Columella and Vitruvius, I have considered multi-volume works published either sequentially or simultaneously. In a 'set' of several volumes, the structure may be clear from the outset, as in Apollonius' *Conica*, where the single volumes are expected to work as a unit when combined. An index at the beginning points at a planned publication, while references to criticism of the previous volumes show that the books were published gradually, as the work proceeded. If books are published sequentially, each new volume has several opportunities opened up for it. The author can introduce a new dedicatee, add a new preface, or react to criticism that has accumulated since the publication of the previous volume and adjust the plan.

6.4.2 Canon and *oeuvre*: virtual bookshelves

What happens if we extrapolate the concept of producing volumes of a work one after the other to the concept of producing books? Multiple books of an author 'arrive' to their audience with a natural gap, and all of them take their place on the shelves or 'nests' of the libraries. The image is exploited by Ovid when he talks about his *Tristia* taking a place next to its 'brothers' (*Trist.* 1.1.105–108) and when the reader is asked to add Book 5 to the previous four in *Trist.* 5.1.1–2.[655] The addition of a book to the author's 'bookshelf' and the addition of a volume to the previous ones are portrayed in a similar way. I will argue that one can find features similar to the creation of collections, on the one hand, and series of volumes, on the other, in the presentation of the creative output of a writer.

The decision to 'publish' some texts that were not created for written dissemination presupposes

[655] *hunc quoque de Getico, nostri studiose, libellum / litore praemissis quattuor adde meis.*

selection from a larger body of material. For example, Cicero makes a selection of his own speeches, not least with the view of becoming a canonical author and educating the youth.[656] If an author is writing for written dissemination within one genre, they do not expect readers to be acquainted with their texts from elsewhere. For them, each new work will be added to the previous volumes.

It is also not surprising that for the majority of works where issues of an authorial second edition can be raised, the question of book-division and re-division are present.[657] Book divisions are not easy to trace, and, as is visible in the textual tradition of the *Academica*, the previous version could not always be efficiently suppressed. It could even be that some authors wanted such versions to be in circulation still, for the readers to compare.

An addition of a volume to the previous book-sequence is paratactic in its nature. Without a previous announcement, the *status quo* will have been taken by readers as a complete work, and the addition of another book would need to open it up and close it again.[658] The works of Ovid show exquisite care to create continuity between different volumes and different works. But where within a work a plan is expected to exist, between different works there is a development that sometimes creates a sense of a neverending project.[659]

Horace's *Satires* 1 and 2 present a case of an unexpected creation of a set. During the sizeable gap between the first and the second book, much changed in Horace's life and circumstances. Book 2, however, at first seems to be very similar to Book 1. In *Satires* 1, Horace worked with the definition of the genre, appealing to the 'inventor' of satire, Lucilius. Book 2 opens with an account of criticism received by the poet (2.1–6):

> 'sunt quibus in satura videar nimis acer et ultra
> legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quidquid
> conposui pars esse putat similisque meorum
> mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
> quid faciam? praescribe.' 'quiescas.' 'ne faciam, inquis,
> omnino versus?'

> *'There are some to whom I seem to be too sharp in my satire and to stretch the work beyond what is proper. Another group thinks that I wrote something without nerves, and that a thousand verses like mine can be composed in a day. Trebatius, what should I do? Give me an instruction.'—'Stay silent.'—'You are saying, I shouldn't write any verses at all?'*

The first poem of Book 2 picks up the literary discussion of Book 1. The very first line refers the reader to the criticism that Horace has received for writing satires, of two different kinds: some think that

[656] Pliny refers to Cicero's practice explicitly in *Epist.* 1.20. See recently La Bua 2019, 16–54.
[657] Ovid's *Amores* and Cicero's *Academica* are the most obvious examples.
[658] Hutchinson 2008, 254, on books 3–4 of the *Aetia*: 'a later addition creating a new total structure'.
[659] Hutchinson 2008, 237–240 on *Ars amatoria* 1–3 + *Remedia amoris* as one developing structure.

his poetry is too vehement and abusive, some, that it lacks power, and that it is very easy to write this kind of poetry anyway. Apart from that, it is the first time Horace calls what he writes *satura*, while in Book 1 it was only—possibly—hinted at, particularly at the end of *Satire* 1.1, where words *satur* and *satis* are placed in lines 119–120.[660]

The first-person narrative could have started a monologue, but it is broken off by the vocative *Trebati*. The question is similar to that of *Satire* 1.1 (*Qui fit, Maecenas* …). But instead of a rhetorical question serving as a lead-in into the poem, the reader encounters an interlocutor. This is a marked departure from the first book, which was mainly in the first person; in Book 2, the position of the reader is quite different.[661] The figure of the poet in *Satires* 2 reflects his newly acquired fame and position. While in *Satires* 1, he was only occasionally pestered by glances and an over-eager and over-talkative poet who wants to get into Maecenas' circle, in *Sat.* 2.6 Horace has a busy life and is constantly followed by people longing to hear some gossip. So, the second book of *Satires*, after a five-year pause, expects its reader to put it next to Book 1. It engages not only with the genre in general, but also with one other predecessor, its own 'older brother', referring back to its literary discussions and proceeding to a different satire, and a different Horace.

The nature of serial publication has some benefits for producing a multi-volume work: it can reach the audience more quickly, the author can adapt their plan and react to readers' reactions, and finally, the fact of the work being unfinished may contribute to the anticipation of its sequel. The addition of a new work to the author's literary output shares similarities with the the phenomenon of seriality. It can change and reframe previous books, reflect on them, take a completely new direction or unexpectedly return to an old project. All of this contributes to the creation of the author's *oeuvre* as a corpus of interlinked texts.

6.4.3 Autobibliography

In general, at least for Latin authors, there seems to be an expectation to keep writing, or to write more than one book.[662] Equally, some genres created and perpetuated expectations of what an author's literary production should be, and the authors knew what tradition they were attempting to join.[663] For example, Statius adduces Vergil's and Homer's supposed early works to pave the way for the *Silvae*, and makes the *Aeneid* praise (by then already dead) Lucan.[664]

In other genres, 'literary careers' look different. Historians, for instance, strive to become part of the larger historiographic structure. Historical works tend to begin where the works of their predecessors ended, and to explicitly refer to them; coincidentally or not, the works that have survived

[660] On the difficulties in establishing the title of the *Satires*, see Schröder 1999, 76–78.

[661] 'Readers of this poem … find themselves differently placed in their relationship to the speaking that happens on the page, pushed a bit farther out from the conversations they are given to hear. This is a book where readers are no longer being talked to.' (Freudenburg 2021, 6).

[662] Cf. *vita Persii* p. 43 l. 36: *scriptitavit et raro et tarde; hunc ipsum librum inperfectum reliquit. versus aliqui dempti sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset.*

[663] '… writers are acutely aware of the career patterns of great writers of the past, and motivated by that awareness to emulation, or in some cases conscious avoidance, of the paths of their predecessors.' (Hardie and Moore 2010, 2).

[664] Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.79–80: *ipsa te Latinis / Aeneis venerabitur canentem.*

were efficient in doing that. But apart from the *opus magnum*, many historians composed smaller treatises of which we usually do not know much. These could have served as a preparation for the main work and help to establish the author's position on the literary arena.

Compiling lists of authors and establishing canons was part of the study of literature from Alexandrian times, and a list of works would often accompany an author's *vita*. Some authors contributed to the formation of their place and image in literary history themselves. Cicero begins the second book of *De divinatione* with the following statement:

> quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti quanam re possem prodesse quam plurimis, ne quando intermitterem consulere rei publicae, nulla maior occurrebat quam si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus; quod compluribus iam libris me arbitror consecutum.
>
> *As I was much wondering and longer deliberating on how I could be of service to as many people as possible, so that I never stop being of help to the matters of state, nothing greater came to my mind than if I were to give the ways of the best studies to my citizens. This I think I have already pursued in multiple books.*

What follows is a list of Cicero's philosophical writings, with commentaries on the order and the aims of their creation. Cicero includes the numbers of books, and for the *Tusculanae disputationes*, he lists the topics of each volume. He also considers whether some of his works should be included in this list, with the affirmative answer: *his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de re publica*; *nostri quoque oratorii libri in eundem librorum numerum referendi videntur*. Here, Cicero creates an annotated bibliography of his works, with some autobiographical and literary information about their background.

The most well-known author to be concerned about the correctness of their bibliography is Galen. Apart from regularly mentioning his works, he decided to create a companion volume to them. Its predecessor is a list at the end of the book *On the Art of Medicine* (Gal. *Ars Med.* 1. 411K):[665]

> περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραμμάτων τε καὶ ὑπομνημάτων ὧν ἐγράψαμεν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι διεξέρχεσθαι νῦν, ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων γε μέλλοντας ἐρεῖν ἑτέρωθι, καθ' ἓν ἴσως ἢ δύο βιβλία τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔξοντα, Γαληνοῦ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων.
>
> *Regarding other treatises and notes that we wrote, it is not necessary to go over them now, since we actually intend to talk about all of them elsewhere, in one or perhaps two books which will have the title 'Galen, On his own books'.*

It seems that at least some of the authors have a 'publication plan', or to try to establish one retroactively. If in a multi-volume work published sequentially, each following book has to join its predecessors, in the literary production of an author, each new work joins his 'virtual bookshelf'. Cicero wants to create his own *corpus* (σῶμα) and become a classic, and Roman poets create a sense of literary biog-

[665] A practical table of the books listed in the three bibliographical works: Boudon-Millot 2007, 16.

raphy, strengthened after the creation of the 'myth of Virgil'. Galen is a pinnacle of self-anthologising and autobibliography: he writes two treatises on his own books and the order in which one has to read them, *de facto* creating a canon of Galen.

6.5 Conclusion

Authors and readers show awareness not only of the physical product that is the result of literary publication, but also of various steps involved in its creation, as well as of the business of publishing as a longer project potentially involving multiple stages.

Around the moment of publication, texts can exist in various states. While the distinction between 'unpublished' and 'published' is relevant for the assessment of the work's reception, some stages of the text's 'life' may be called 'publishable', such as an arrangement of notes that has not yet been turned into a fully fledged treatise. The long process of introducing changes, considering audiences, adding prefaces and deciding on titles, and finally, of proofreading the entire work and introducing corrections into the 'master copy' is present in the background of authors creating new texts and sometimes breaks out to the fore or is brought into the spotlight for literary purposes. With texts of 'collected' nature, arrangement and rearrangement is the defining feature of the creative process, and is found in need of an emphatic stop, as in the case of Meleager's *coronis*.

Scholarly questions, such as the search for a better text, or the reconstruction of an author's working practices, are reflected in the interactions between authors, readers, and texts. The search for 'originals' of an earlier work, undertaken by eager readers, blends in Martial and Pliny with contemporary readers striving to have a copy proofread by the author. The qualitative difference between 'notes' and 'treatises' in Hippocrates' corpus is exploited by Galen to influence the reception of his own works, and Cicero replaces his youthful work *De inventione* with a different, better volume, commenting on the qualities of the former in the latter. These anecdotes corroborate the picture in which books cannot really be taken out of circulation, even if someone wishes to replace them: authors have to tackle any arising difficulties in the subsequent works.

The added dimension of being one work consisting of many physical bookrolls creates new challenges for the authors, but also presents them with new opportunities. The idea of composing something in many books allows the author to allude not only to subject matter or a specific passage in a literary predecessor, but to a whole structure. Elements of explicit planning, apart from prefatory material, include indices and cross-references, both of which can serve not only the direct aim of facilitating usage of a book but equally the larger goal of influencing the reader's experience and reception of the work. The existence or lack of a plan is part of the author's statement about what they do and how they do it; Polybius goes to great lengths to prove that everything in his work goes as planned, while Pliny denies a structure to his letter collection, claiming that he does not plan to write history.

Finally, serial publication is a phenomenon that combines the qualities of the publication of a single book, and those of the publication of a multi-volume work, bringing them to a new level. Engagement with criticism, comments on the processes of composition, correction, and publishing, changes of the

announced plan and attempts to retroactively enforce a new one, and multiple ways of structuring a work which is still being written can be most prominently found in technical literature but remains in the background of all texts. There is a wish to bring a work to its end, and at the same time each ending carries the potential for a new beginning, realised through the addition of another volume to a work that was considered finished. The application of the same principle to the literary work of an author throughout their life brings out similar features: authors create and change their literary figure as they go, engage with the publication history of their predecessors, and fashion the expectations of both their contemporary readers and posterity, with the boldest of them, Cicero and Galen, preemptively undertaking the work later readers would do and creating their own canons.

7 Conclusions

The goal of this thesis was to analyse the importance of book publication in the Greek and Roman world, as applied to literature disseminated through the medium of a papyrus roll. I set out to investigate whether the concept of publication existed within the literary world of classical antiquity, and if it did, whether it was of any importance. The results of this investigation allow us to answer both these questions positively. The necessary *caveat* is that the contemporary biases evoked when one says 'publication' are always present and we should be acutely aware of them. I do not, however, suggest changing the term or coining a new word to describe 'ancient publication' in an attempt to avoid these biases. On the contrary, approaching ancient literary publication benefits greatly from an awareness of the ways in which we view ancient reading and writing practices.

I was looking for a definition of what should be there in order for us to say that a text is 'published' and what was needed for the same purpose by ancient readers and authors. A published text looks like a published text, which in the modern world means that a text takes a finite form, has paratexts like a title and metadata like a publication date, and no further changes can be made (in this edition). The text becomes 'real' when it is made public: people can read it, and something can happen with it, whereas before it was safe in the drawer of a desk (or on a hard drive). All of that is applicable to ancient literature as well, with the exception of publishing houses, which were always an obvious cornerstone in the argument around the production and dissemination of Greek and Roman books. There are, of course, consequences to not having a centralised way of producing texts and receiving copies, which influence the way we think about texts (and, most importantly, the way authors do), but they do not change the nature of publication as a transaction between author and readers, and the changes it brings.

Throughout the thesis, I have approached the ancient book as an element of a communication system involving authors and readers. The moment of publication is a moment that creates tension within this system. Authors enter into a complex relationship with their work, which they wish to be perfect, but also to be done. Readers await new works in eager anticipation, and some of them are already sharpening their *calami*, ready to criticise. The book, it would seem at first, does not have much say in the process, but when it is given a voice, it serves as a mirror into the part of the literary world in which it holds a central place.

People talk about books, search for them, lend or buy them, copy them out themselves, and collate them against other copies. They also scribble in them, use them for drafts, or as a wrapper. The literary evidence is biased in many ways: the authors are highly literate and in possession of significant social and cultural capital. The books they describe are, as a consequence, either of high literary quality,

high material quality, or both. Papyri provide a window into the world which is largely disregarded in literary evidence, and enable us to see the depth and breadth of a world of books that is not confined to one dominant city, or to elite production.

While Greek and Latin authors of the period under study lived and worked in a culture with more emphasis on performance than at some other times in book history, the idea of 'publishing' a book was very much present in the minds of readers and authors. The complexity of the system within which this process took place should invite its further consideration as one of the media through which a text could reach its audience. While the niche held by the book is only one of many ways of producing and disseminating texts, it is a large one. The importance of physical books needs to be reasserted, together with further research connecting the literary and the material on a scale larger than single instances of text production. As an example of this approach, I showed from inscriptions and graffiti how consideration of alternative ways of making a text public may enrich our thinking about the paths that texts took and the communication strategies that their authors or commissioners chose.

In the search for a definition of what would make a text 'published', major differences also arose between the information necessary to reconstruct the historical reality of book production, dissemination, and reception, and the aspects that authors choose to put into the spotlight. Most of the authors we surveyed talk about producing a book within a book they produced.[666] In talking about Greek and Latin book publication, we are talking about a phenomenon and a set of practices which mostly get mentioned when there is a reason to do so. The literary world created by Pliny in his letters is one of the best examples of making the business of publication into a topic of considerable, and perhaps slightly overstated, importance.

The invisible side of literary publication encompasses several groups of people and texts. Copyists and booksellers, who were actively involved in the physical production and distribution of material books, barely receive any mention. Among readers, only selected groups are usually of interest, leaving out those on the periphery of the literary world, and social reality. Finally, whole strands of literature are not only hard to recover but also difficult to place within a picture that favours other kinds of texts and authors.

Across the six centuries of literary practices that this thesis set out to investigate, and the two languages, we encounter many different contexts for the production, dissemination and reception of literary works. Roman writers have an unparalleled interest in talking about literary production, in a humorous or worried way, and in turning mundane elements of the book's lives into literary *topoi*. Greek prose writers display an assertiveness in dealing with the expectations of their work and their readers. Some features relating to publication have proven extraordinarily stable. The most permanent of them are connected with the two qualities that change with publication: the state of the text and its accessibility to the broader public.

The awareness of the processes involved in creating a book is very high. It is especially clear in

[666] Cicero's letters to Atticus are the most striking exception, but the level of seriousness with which he refers to his writing and publishing practices complicates matters considerably.

the interest in the state of the text and the process of correction, which is almost omnipresent in the sources. A handwritten text undergoes a constant process of change. Publication only makes it clear that there was a definite text once, but with each new copy mistakes might appear. This is a concern of readers who wish to have the best possible copy, ideally, the author's ἀρχέτυπον. For authors, however, the main goal is to assure readers that the text did reach the stage of being *perfectum*, and to explain possible variants and slips they may encounter. Alternatively, authors may go against the expectations and announce that their work is unplanned or unfinished.

Concerns regarding the book's reception are equally ubiquitous. Authors in all times and genres want their books to be read, to be read by the right people, and to be read properly. From Polybius' introducing his readers at the beginning as οἱ ἐντυγχάντοντες to Statius being unsure about the 'general' reader, they do not know who will read their texts and how they will react. From Lucilius deciding which readers he prefers to Galen specifying which of his books are suitable for which kinds of audience, they try to influence a situation over which they have little authority. Ways of influencing the audience are limited, but authors make use of them extensively, through paratexts, programmatic statements and carefully constructed hierarchies of 'right' and 'wrong' readers.

The contrast between quantity and quality is present in antiquity as much as it is today, and the book, while striving to receive a beautiful leather-case and painted *umbilici*, is reprimanded for it in an example of mock modesty. The appearance of the book, its compliance with expectations of a literary bookroll, can be seen in copies made by untrained hands which nevertheless imitate the layouts of books produced in a more professional manner. Similarly, the distribution of literary texts, sometimes soon after they were composed, shows what a broad variety of styles a few 'master copies' could produce, and a reach far beyond the admitted interests of literary authors.

Beyond considering similarities within specific types of text (such as *Fachliteratur*), the introduction of a classification of texts into those of 'coherent' and 'collected' nature proved helpful in approaching the more complex questions of composition and presentation. The activities of collecting and arranging pervade the literary world on all its levels: authors collect material and arrange it into a work, which readers peruse alongside other texts, and produce their own collections of excerpts and possibly books. Readers and libraries also receive books, which take their places in collections. In analysing ways of handling multi-volume works, I compared the paratactic activity of adding one volume to another in a serial publication and the activity of adding one work to another in creating a canon.

I have viewed the cases in which a text is published as a book, even if it already had seen its audience in some form. These include texts created for a performance-related context: court speeches, or the occasional 'postcard poems' collected into a book of poetry. In future work, it would be interesting to investigate second editions, which can be seen as a re-publication of a book already in circulation, and to consider the representation of publication in and around these works. An expansion of the material toward non-authorial publication in the form of editorial activities, such as posthumous publications, is a further avenue for research. Finally, one could address the question of the extent to which subliterary texts lend themselves to similar investigations.

This thesis has striven to underline the relevance of texts that are found on the sidelines of literary studies, and textual elements that are easily disregarded. For example, an engagement with Columella revealed the same features that are known from more popular authors, such as the presence of the dedicatee or an interest in preparing readers for the next volume. We can thus say that the literary world found in authors such as Ovid and Martial is not an invention, but a (somewhat tweaked) reflection of historical circumstances.

The same holds for textual elements. Indices, for example, proved to offer a unique insight into the engagement of readers with their text. They are not a feature of authorial expression but a manifestation of the demand readers have. They may be authorial reactions to that demand or even executed by others, but in all cases they reveal to us how books were used and read. By putting such evidence next to more widely read authors we gain a picture that is more reliable and secure.

Keeping this picture in mind will allow us to approach Latin and Greek literature with a more fine-grained understanding of its multiple facets; it is hoped that it may help deepen engagement with texts and books in many areas of Classics.



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