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Book Review

Research Note

Mise-en-page between Roman Egypt and Medieval Europe: The *Recette de Saint-Remi* and the Layout of an Early Greek Parchment Codex (P. Ant. 1 27)

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Abstract: This article identifies a folium from an early Greek parchment codex (P. Ant. 1 27) that is arranged in a way that corresponds very closely to the layout prescribed by the medieval set of instructions known as the *Recette de Saint-Remi*. P. Ant. 1 27, probably produced in the late third or fourth century CE, would likely be the earliest surviving example of this layout.

Keywords: *Recette de Saint-Remi*, P. Ant. 1 27, layout, Antinoopolis

Introduction[1]

In 1950, J. C. Dancy and Colin H. Roberts published an edition of a relatively well preserved parchment folium found during excavations of the garbage mounds of Antinoopolis in Egypt in the winter of 1913–1914.[2] The folium, P. Ant. 1 27, was once part of a codex containing works of Demosthenes that Roberts assigned on the basis

1 Abbreviations for papyrological editions follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (https://papyri.info/docs/checklist).

2 On the early twentieth century excavations at Antinoopolis, see J.d.M. Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913–14", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), 168–181. See also the extensive photographic record and list of excavated artifacts published in E.R. O'Connell, "John de Monins Johnson 1913/14 Egypt Exploration Fund Expedition to Antinoupolis (Antinoë), with Appendix of Objects", in *Antinoupolis II*, ed. R. Pintaudi, Florence 2014, 415–466.

of its script to "the earlier part of the third century" CE.[3] Dancy and Roberts described the appearance of the leaf in the following way:

> A complete leaf of a parchment codex with two columns to the page, each column being carefully ruled at top, bottom and both sides. The outside margin measures 4 cm., that at the bottom 4.5 cm. and that at the top 3.1 cm., while the columns are separated by a space of 1.7 cm. The total effect is thus that of a spacious and well-proportioned page.[4]

And it is the proportions of this page that I would like to examine in this forum. The placement of the columns and the ratio of written areas to blank space very nearly approximate the proportions prescribed in a later medieval set of instructions for laying out codex pages. These "recipes" for page layouts have been discussed at length by Marilena Maniaci in a series of useful studies.[5] In this instance, I would like to draw attention to the so-called *Recette de Saint-Remi*. This set of instructions is found on a folium now bound together with other unrelated manuscripts in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (=BnF), Latin 11884.[6] The main text of the manuscript was

3 This folium is number 59621 in the Trismegistos database (https://www.trismegistos.org/text/59621).

4 C.H. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri, Part I*, London 1950, 64 and note the "Preface" on p. v for Dancy's contributions. This folium contains *De Corona*, §§ 49–56. For additional palaeographic and codicological analysis of P. Ant. I 27, see L. Sardone, "P.Ant. I 27, tra i più antichi codici dell'orazione *Sulla Corona di Demostene*", in *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. M. Capasso, P. Davoli, and N. Pellé, Lecce 2022, vol. 2, 869–881 and L. Sardone, *I papiri del* De corona *di Demosthene: Storia e critica del testo*, Bari 2021, 134–145.

5 M. Maniaci, "Ricette di costruzione della pagina nei manoscritti greci e latini", *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 16–41; M. Maniaci, "Costruzione e gestione dello spazio scritto fra Oriente e Occidente: principi generali e soluzioni specifiche", in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, vol. 1, 473–514; and M. Maniaci, "Ricette e canoni di impaginazione del libro medievale: Nuove osservazioni e verifiche", *Scrineum Rivista* 10 (2013), 1–48.

6 In the current binding, the recipe is found in the lower margin of f. 2v (image available online at Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10542292b). The text was published by K. Hampe, "Reise nach Frankreich und Belgien im Frühjahr 1897 II", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 23 (1898), 601–665, at 638–639.

copied in the late ninth century, while the instructions for laying out the page were written in a lower margin perhaps in the tenth century. P. Ant. 1 27, usually assigned to the third century CE, would be a very early instance of the layout prescribed in these instructions.

The Recette de Saint-Remi

Below I provide a transcription of the instructions and an English translation with explanations and calculations in brackets:[7]

> Taliter debet fieri quaternionis forma: Quinta parte longitudinis, quarta latitudinis. Quintam partem da inferiori vel anteriori margini, et ipsam quintam partem divide in III et dabis II superiori, subtracta I. Rursus ipsas II partes divide in tres dabisque duas posteriori margini, subtrahendo unam. Huic compar erit, si media interfuerit. Lineas vero iuxta rationem scripturae divides, quia maior scriptura latioribus, minor autem strictioribus lineis indiget.
>
> The layout of a quire should be made like this, a fifth part of the height being a fourth part of the width [i.e., height of page = 5 units, width of page = 4 units]. Give one-fifth to the lower and fore-edge margin [i.e. lower margin = 1 unit, outer margin = 1 unit] and divide the same fifth into three and give two to the upper margin, subtracting one [upper margin = ⅔ of a unit]. Again, divide the same two parts into three [⅔ ÷ 3 = ⅔], and give two to the spinal margin [i.e., the inner margin], subtracting one [inner margin = 2 × ⅔ = ⅘ of a unit]. It will be equal to this if an intercolumn is inserted [intercolumnar space = ⅘ of a unit]. You will, however, divide the lines of writing according to the ratio of the writing, because larger writing requires wider lines, but smaller writing requires narrower lines.

In 1989, Denis Muzerelle produced a detailed study of these instructions and proposed an emendation to the formula, namely adjusting the inner margin (and the intercolumnar space) from ⅘ of a unit to ½ of a unit.[8] This change results in a slightly smaller space for writing (each column is 1 unit wide, rather than $^{19}/_{18}$ units

7 My text follows that of Hampe.

8 D. Muzerelle, "Normes et recettes de mise en page dans le codex pré-carolingien", in *Les débuts du codex*, ed. A. Blanchard, Turnhout 1989, 125–156.

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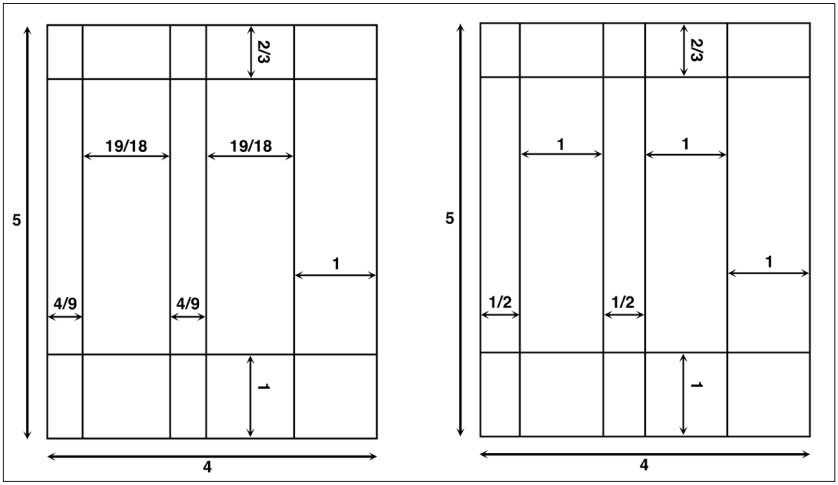

Figure 1: Layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

wide) and produces an elegant set of ratios between the margins and written columns:

> outer margin to width of written column: 1:1
> lower margin to width of written column: 1:1
> inner margin to width of written column: 1:2
> upper margin to width of written column: 2:3

Muzerelle helpfully presented two diagrams, one derived directly from the instructions as written and one derived from his emended version of the text (see the slightly modified versions of these diagrams in [Figure 1]).

The emended version of the layout is highly appealing in its simplicity and has been adopted by subsequent scholarship.[9] At the same time, however, examples that closely match all aspects of the layout prescribed in either the *Recette de Saint-Remi* or Muzerelle's emended version have not proven to be especially numerous. I would suggest that P. Ant. 1 27 may provide such an example.

9 In her 1995 publication, Maniaci characterized Muzerelle's proposal as "una brillante correzione" ("Ricette di costruzione", 26), but note the more reserved tone in 2013: "La correzione, necessaria, ma difficile da giustificare sul piano paleografico..." (Maniaci, "Ricette e canoni", 16, n. 39).

The Layout of P. Ant. 1 27

Highly precise measurements of P. Ant. 1 27 as it was originally produced are now somewhat difficult to obtain due to the heavy wrinkling and other damage to the folium, but reasonable approximations are possible.[10] Dancy and Roberts reported a page width of 17.8 cm and a height of 23.1 cm. Eric Turner gave the same width but listed the height as 22 cm.[11] The measurement of the width seems basically correct in both cases (I find a maximum width now near the top of the leaf, of 17.6 cm). For the height, I measure a maximum in the intercolumnar space of 22.2 cm, closer to Turner's measurement than to that of Dancy and Roberts.[12]

For this manuscript, then, a "unit" (pars) in terms of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* would be about 4.4 cm (17.6 divided by 4) or 4.44 (22.2 divided by 5). And in fact the lower margin, which would be one pars in the *Recette*, measures between 4.4 and 4.5 cm. The maximum measurement of the inner margin I find to be 2.0 cm.[13]

10 Dancy and Roberts assert that the folium was reused: "At some later date the sheet was used for the binding of another book; the holes and the thread with which it was stitched are still visible" (Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 64). This scenario seems unlikely to me. The holes and thread that they mention are not consistent with reuse in a binding, which generally involves the use of paste and/or major and obvious trimming. The threads in P. Ant. 1 27, which weave back and forth across the top and middle of the folium, look more like a crude reinforcement or repair, possibly related to the deep ruling cuts in the folium.

11 E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex,* Philadelphia 1977, 27 and 104.

12 Sardone reports the same dimensions as Turner. I am uncertain how Dancy and Roberts obtained their vertical measurement. Parchment may shrink over time in some environments, but it seems odd for only one dimension to be affected.

13 In light of the fact the *Recette de Saint-Remi* does not provide specific instructions for the spacing of individual lines of text, it is perhaps also noteworthy that the only ruling lines on P. Ant. 1 27 are those that define the writing columns and margins. The individual lines of text are not ruled. It is then not so surprising to find different numbers of lines of text on either side of the folium: 28 lines in the columns on the recto but only 27 lines in the columns on the verso. As Sardone noted, the ruling pattern is V 00A2 in H. Sautel and J. Leroy, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin*, Turnhout 1995, 256.

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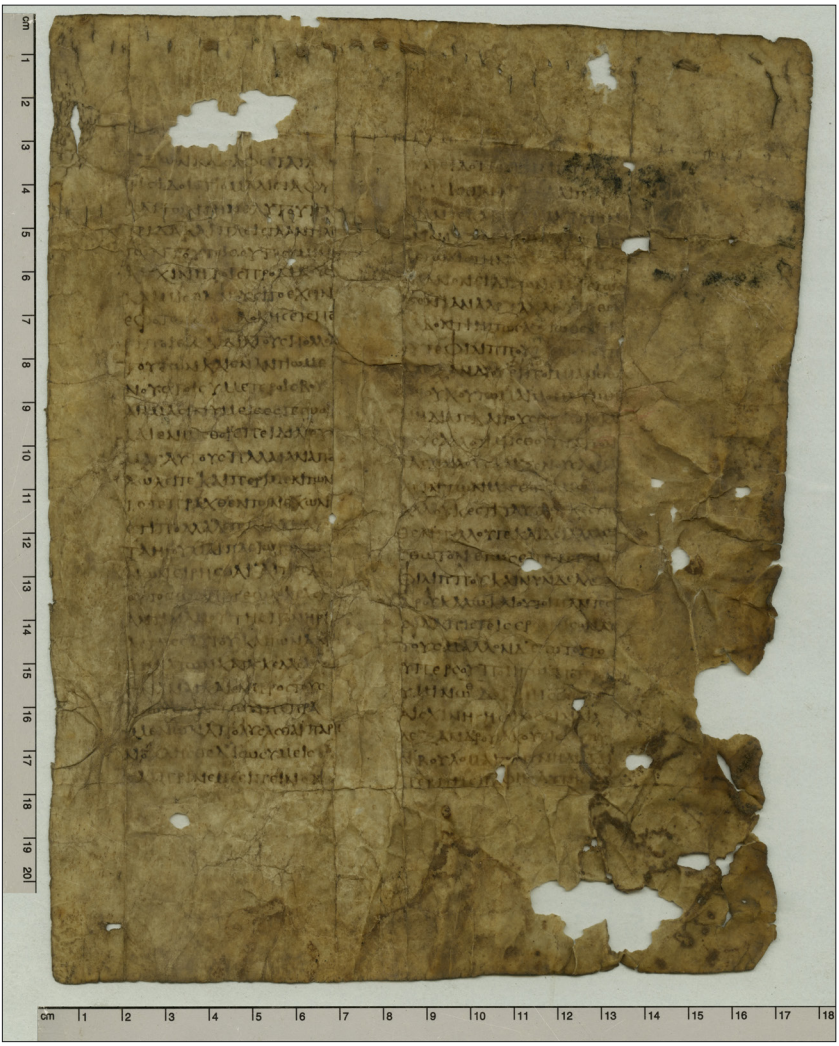

Figure 2: P. Ant. 1 27 with cm scales; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (© Egypt Exploration Society)

Indeed, the overall appearance of the folium certainly evokes the layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* [Figure 2]. It is an interesting exercise to superimpose both the layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* and Muzerelle's emended layout on P. Ant. 1 27 [Figure 3].

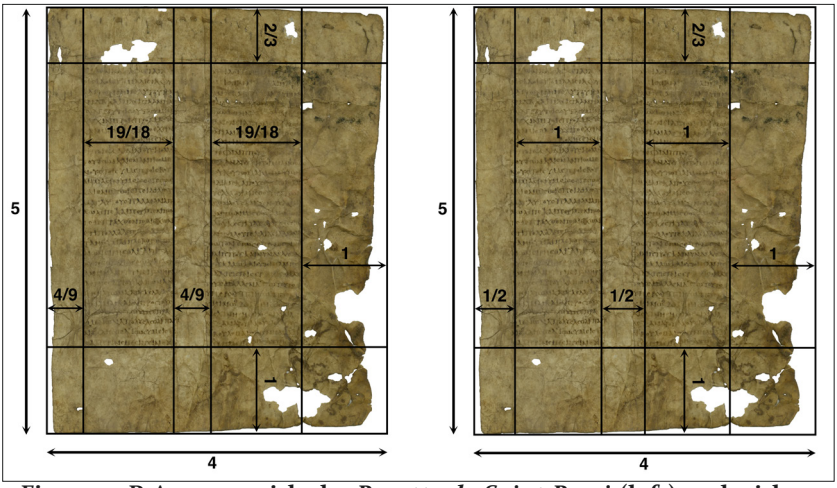

Figure 3: P. Ant. 1.27 with the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and with Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

While both layouts provide a good overall fit for the upper, lower, and outer margins of P. Ant. 1 27, the positioning of the written columns in P. Ant. 1 27 is actually closer to what is prescribed in the *Recette de Saint-Remi*. Muzerelle's emendation puts the left column slightly out of alignment and the right column even further out of alignment. In any event, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the bookmaker who laid out P. Ant. 1 27 sought to achieve an aesthetic very similar, if not identical, to what is prescribed in the *Recette de Saint-Remi*.[14]

The degree of proximity between the layout of P. Ant. 1 27 and the layout prescribed by the *Recette de Saint-Remi* can be appreciated by carrying out a similar exercise with one of the layouts that Muzerelle identified from among his corpus at the Bibliothèque nationale as

14 Any single aspect of the layout might be a coincidental similarity: the 4:5 width-to-height ratio, the 3:2 lower-margin-to-upper-margin ratio, the 1:1 lower-margin-to-outer-margin ration, etc. But the simultaneous presence of all of the similarities seems to rule out simple coincidence. The proportions of P. Ant. 1 27 seem deliberate. It is of course possible that the edges of P. Ant. 1 27 have been trimmed down at some point, but if so, the trimming was shockingly fortuitous.

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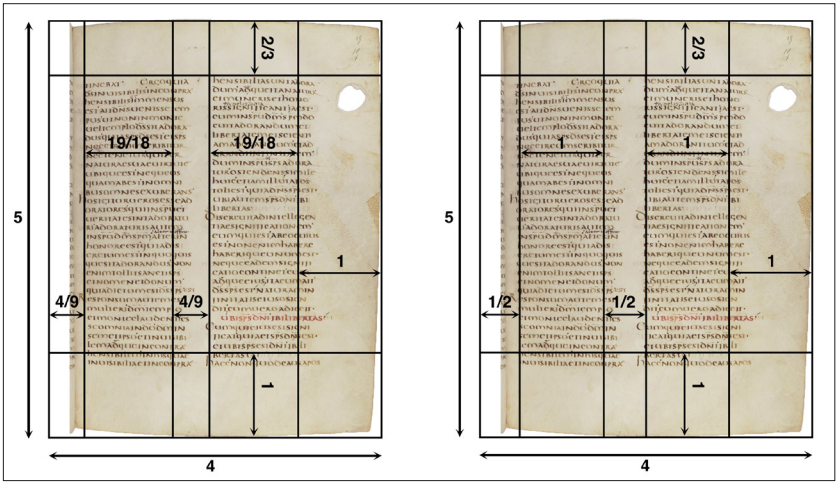

Figure 4: Paris, BnF, Latin 8907, f. 15r (gallica.bnf.fr), with the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and with Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

being closest to that of the *Recette de Saint-Remi*, *CLA* 5 572, a codex containing Latin patristic literature usually assigned to the fifth century (Paris, BnF, Latin 8907 [Figure 4], and take into consideration the distortion caused by the curve of the open codex and the partial loss of the inner margin of the page in the gutter).

Muzerelle is certainly correct to say that the layout of BnF, Latin 8907 shows some relation to the layout prescribed in the *Recette*, but there are differences. The ratio of the upper and lower margin is different, and the right edges of the written columns are not justified. It is clear that the proportions of the margins of P. Ant. 1 27 more closely match the layout in the *Recette*. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to note that the non-emended version of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* instructions appear again to be slightly a better "fit" for the horizontal orientation of the written columns of BnF, Latin 8907, just as it is for P. Ant. 1 27. It could be the case that Muzerelle's emendation, despite its undeniably appealing simplicity, may not be necessary after all.[15]

15 A sample of two is of course hardly conclusive. Much more data would be needed to reach a firm decision about the necessity of Muzerelle's proposed correction.

Muzerelle had already noted that the *Recette de Saint-Remi* seemed to have a closer association with codices from a much earlier period than the ninth-century manuscript in which the instructions are found:

> Specialists generally agree, based on the general appearance of the page that it produces, that [the *Recette de Saint-Remi*] could not be applied to manuscripts contemporary with the date when it was copied. The relatively wide format of the page, the size of the margins, and the narrowness of the columns irresistibly evoke what has come down to us from Late Antiquity.[16]

Examples like BnF, Latin 8907 show that something like this layout was in use at least as early as the latter part of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century.[17] Just how far back does P. Ant. 1 27 push the evidence for this kind of layout?

The Date of P. Ant. 1 27

The difficulty, as always when it comes to the earliest codices, is that we cannot be certain about the exact date when this folium was produced.[18] As noted above, Roberts assigned the codex to the third century on the basis of palaeography, with comparison to

16 Muzerelle, "Normes et recettes", 128: "Les spécialistes sont généralement d'accord pour estimer, d'après l'allure générale de la page qu'elle permet d'obtenir, qu'elle ne saurait s'appliquer aux manuscrits contemporains de la date où elle a été notée. Le format relativement large de la page, l'importance des marges, l'étroitesse des colonnes évoquent irrésistiblement ce qui nous est parvenu de la basse Antiquité".

17 The dating of this codex has vacillated somewhat but generally remained in the range of the fifth century. In *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (=CLA), vol. 5, Oxford 1950, E.A. Lowe assigned BnF, Latin 8907 to the end of the fifth century. In CLA, vol. 6 published three years later, he revised the date to the first half of the fifth century (preface, p. x). The question was revisited again by Paola Supino Martini, who concluded that the uncial of BnF, Latin 8907 "possa assegnarsi a non prima della fine del secolo v e, più probabilmente, agli inizi del vi". See Supino Martini's review of R. Gryson and L. Gilissen, *Les scolies ariennes du Parisinus latinus 8907*, Turnhout 1980 in *Il Bibliotecario* 6 (1985), 111–113.

18 On the challenges of palaeographic dating of Greek writing in the Roman era, see B. Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*, New Haven 2018, 47–82.

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one relatively datable piece and two undated pieces.[19] Eric Turner seemed to hesitate about this assignment, on one occasion describing P. Ant. 1 27 as "dubiously III" in a context that makes clear he was open to a later date.[20] Lorenzo Sardone, however, assigned the hand of P. Ant. 1 27 to the "pre-canonization" period of the development of the Alexandrian Majuscule and pushed for a date range including the latter part of the second century with the early third century as a *terminus ante quem*. He proposed no fewer than a dozen manuscripts for palaeographic comparison of different letters in P. Ant. 1 27. Of these many examples, however, only two of the manuscripts are datable by some means more objective than palaeography, and none of the twelve manuscripts are especially compelling comparanda.[21]

19 The relatively datable piece that Roberts adduced as a parallel for the script of P. Ant. 1 27 was P. Marm. 1 (Pap.Vat.gr. 11), a copy of an oration of Favorinus written on the back side of a roll of papyrus documents of the late second century. A stray dating formula in a different hand (the twenty-third year of Caracalla) appears in the middle of the oration, and the oration seems to have been copied in a way that intentionally avoids overlapping this formula, which may indicate a date for copying the Favorinus not long after 215 CE (image online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Vat.gr.11). The two palaeographically dated pieces Roberts mentioned were BKT 9 58 (P. Berol. inv. 11910), a copy of the *Iliad,* the back side of which is said to have been reused for a document, but, to the best of my knowledge, no information about that document has been published (image online at https://berlpap.smb.museum/03391/?lang=en), and P. Ryl. 3 489, a leaf of a papyrus codex containing works of Lysias (image online at https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/6onic1). Roberts also referred to an interlinear correction of five letters written in what he described as "a slanting hand often found in documents of the earlier part of the third century," but the letter forms are entirely generic in character and also found in later periods.

20 E.G. Turner, "Towards a Typology of the Early Codex (3rd–6th Centuries A.D.)," in *La paléographie hébraïque médiévale*, ed. J. Glénisson and C. Sirat, Paris 1974, 137–152, at 150. The evidence for Turner's view is mixed in *The Typology of the Early Codex*. On pp. 39, 42, and 94 Turner appears to consider P. Ant. 1 27 as a codex of the third century. Yet on pp. 27 and 104, the date appears as "III?", indicating some lingering hesitation.

21 See Sardone, "P. Ant. I 27," 872–875 and Sardone, *I papiri del* De corona *di Demosthene*, 136. The securely dated manuscripts cited by Sardone are P. Fay. 1 87 (155 CE) and P. Oxy. 3 473 (138–160 CE). Sardone's appeals to palaeographic parallels in manuscripts that have themselves been dated only by palaeographic comparison demonstrates the drawbacks of this practice; in both studies mentioned here, Sardone cites the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline epistles,

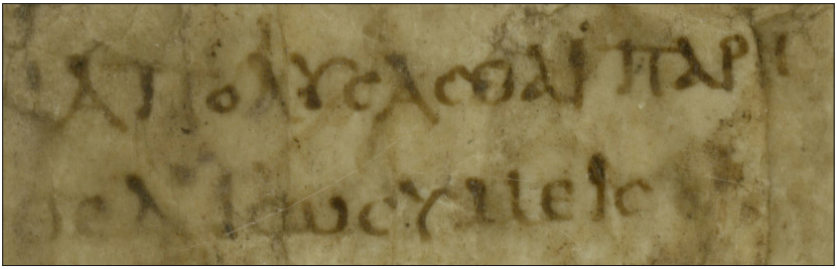

Figure 5: Script of P. Ant. 1 27; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (© Egypt Exploration Society)

The hand of P. Ant. 1 27 defies easy classification into any of the generally accepted "styles" of Greek literary writing of the Roman era. It is true that some of the letter forms (mu, occasionally nu, upsilon, and chi) resemble forms typical of the Alexandrian Majuscule, but the overall appearance of the script does not support the thesis of a direct relationship with the Alexandrian Majuscule. The variation in size between the round letters (small epsilon, theta, and sigma; extremely small omicron that often floats midway between the upper and lower notional lines) and the letters with vertical strokes (tall pi, tall mu, tall nu, tall iota), combined with periodic occurrence of a curiously formed alpha with three strokes, leaves an overall impression of awkwardness [Figure 5].

I confess that I am at a loss to provide a fully convincing securely dated parallel for this script, but I am hesitant to push the codex back to the second century. Two main reasons lead to this caution. First, the overall profile of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew material excavated during Johnson's 1913–1914 campaign at Antinoopolis does

once citing it as a product of the second century and once citing it as third century. And indeed others have proposed a date range for this codex that extends into the fourth century. See S.R. Pickering, "The Dating of the Chester Beatty-Michigan Codex of the Pauline Epistles (P46)", in *Ancient History in a Modern University*, ed. T.W. Hillard et al., Grand Rapids 1998, vol. 2, 216–227. The words of Peter Parsons cannot be repeated frequently enough: Using a manuscript dated only on the basis of palaeography to assign a palaeographic date to another undated manuscript results in "jelly propped up with jelly." See P. J. Parsons, review of G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano*, Naples 1983 in *Classical Review* 39 (1989), 358–360, at 360.

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not favor a date in the second century.[22] Of the roughly 200 Greek and Latin pieces published from Johnson's excavations, there is precious little that is datable with certainty to the period before the third century CE.[23] The bulk of the material (94 %) has been assigned to dates between the third century and the seventh century. Second, a more specific find context of P. Ant. 1 27 can be identified, and it points to a relatively late date of deposition. Johnson mentioned that his team spent twelve days excavating mound N (in the eastern part of the city, near the temple of Isis) and noted that "the recovery of several papyri from the lower strata dated in the reign of Flavius Justinus was sufficient indication of the lateness of the accumulations."[24] A

22 To the best of my knowledge, the majority of the Coptic material from Johnson's excavations remains unpublished.

23 The Greek, Latin, and Hebrew manuscripts from Johnson's excavation have been published chiefly in the three volumes of the *The Antinoopolis Papyri* series. In the preface to the first volume in that series, Roberts notes the bibliographic details of nine pieces published in other venues. Roberts' reference to Johnson, "A Botanical Papyrus", is an error; the Antinoopolis botanical fragments were published by C. Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), 1–52, at 31–33. Of the fourteen excavated documents with a precise date, only 7% are from the second century (that is, one document, P. Ant. 3 187, copied in 198 CE). Otherwise, there are three precisely dated documents from the third century, eight from the fourth century, one from the fifth century, and one from the sixth century. Among the pieces that have been assigned dates based on palaeography or contents (in the case of documents), the breakdown is as follows (pieces described in the editions as borderline—"second-third century," etc.—have been divided by two and distributed to the counts for each of the relevant centuries): second century: 11; third century: 43; fourth century: 44; fifth century: 27; sixth century: 52; seventh century: 15. In this instance about 6% of the pieces are assigned to the second century. This latter count is of course open to revision. Two examples: A glossary to the *Iliad* (P. Ant. 3 150) has recently been re-assigned from the late second century or early third century CE to the late first century BCE or early first century CE; see D. Colomo, "Glossary to *Odyssey* VIII in a New Papyrus fragment from the Leipzig Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung", in *Approaches to Greek Poetry*, ed. M. Ercoles et al., Berlin 2018, 61–79, esp. 74–75. On the other hand, P. Ant. 1 12, a fragmentary parchment folium containing 2 John, has been reassigned from the third century to the fifth century CE; see G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, London 1987, 22–23. Such changes will likely balance out across the corpus.

24 Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri", 177.

sixth-century *terminus post quem* for the lower part of the mound is thus established. It is worth quoting his description of the finds in the mound at length [with publication numbers added in brackets when they can be identified with confidence]:

> In quantity Greek fell much below Coptic, and though some eighteen tin boxes were filled in all, the percentage of the useful was very low, a fact due to the broken state of the papyrus and the corrosive action of the sherds on the ink. Numerous scraps of vellum were obtained, including a fragment of Xenophon's Symposium [P. Ant. 1 26], and in a complete leaf of four columns, crumpled into a dry ball, mentions of Philip, Alexander and Aeschines could be seen [P. Ant. 1 27]. Among other literary or semi-literary finds here may be mentioned a page of a grammar somewhat similar to that already described, a charm (therapeutic magic), and a delightful illustration in colour, strangely modern in colour and feeling, in which stand a group of boys, one of them with a whip, in the picturesque dress of the time [the Antinoopolis Charioteers papyrus]. A fragment of Hebrew on brown leather attested the presence of the Jewish element [P. Ant. 1 49 and 1 50]. The documentary side was mainly unofficial and included a roll with an account of the incomings and outgoings of corn in certain τόποι [P. Ant. 3 190] and several letters.[25]

The "complete leaf of four columns" that mentions Philip, Alexander, and Aeschines can be nothing other than our folium of Demosthenes' *De corona*. Some of the other materials from the mound are potentially informative. The papyri of the age of Justinian found at the bottom of the mound probably included P. Ant. 1 42 (542 CE), which mentions Justinian by name. P. Ant. 3 190 is a document assignable on the basis of its contents to the sixth or seventh century. Johnson's overall assessment of the material from this mound was that it dated from the late fourth century through the sixth century.[26] The excavation report also adds another element

25 ibid.

26 See S.J. Gasiorowski, "A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), 1–9, at 1: "This fragment [the Antinoopolis Charioteers] was discovered by Dr. Johnson in 1914 among a number of late papyri in a mound at Antinoë. He tells me that the material which came out of this rubbish mound ran from late fourth century onwards to sixth."

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to the discussion: The earlier manuscripts found during this campaign—second century and third century—came mostly from a different mound, G, located half a kilometer south of N.[27] If our folium of Demosthenes was found in a mound with a *terminus post quem* in the sixth century for deposition, and which consisted of material mostly produced in the late fourth century through the sixth century, we should probably be reluctant to assign the production of P. Ant. 1 27 to an extremely early period. We may nevertheless imagine that a nicely laid out parchment codex such as this had a fairly long useful life before being discarded. A date of production in the late third or fourth century for P. Ant. 1 27 would be more in keeping with the general profile of this excavated material and would not, I think, run far afoul of the ambiguous palaeographic evidence. The script simply does not allow for the production of the codex to be restricted within a narrow range of dates. Even with this wider and more realistic range of possible dates, P. Ant. 1 27 still would move the evidence for this kind of layout back by at least a century, and perhaps more.

Conclusions

That the exact aesthetic of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* is attested so early in the history of the codex format is in itself intriguing and invites further investigation. It could prove illuminating to revisit the remains of early papyrus and parchment codices found in Egypt with a focus on questions of layout to see more exactly what forms of continuity might exist between the Egyptian papyrological corpus and the later medieval European productions.[28] As we have seen, the study of this material does present certain challenges. The dating

27 Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri", 180: "Although the whole area [of the 1913–1914 excavation] seems to have been inhabited from the earlier days of its foundation, only at *G* did the strata of this period retain the properties which might have conserved papyri; elsewhere they had coagulated into a hard and concrete-like mass which was fatal to our quest".

28 There have been preliminary attempts at this kind of study. See, for instance, R. Marichal, "Du *volumen* au *codex*", in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. H.-J. Martin and J. Vezin, Paris 1990, 45–54; G. Menci, "L'impaginazione nel rotolo e nel codice: alcune note", in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, ed. B. Kramer et al., Stuttgart 1997, vol. 2, 682–690;

of early papyrus and parchment codices is a fraught enterprise—no dated colophons can ground the comparative palaeographic exercise; other objective criteria for dating are rare.[29] In addition, the material remains from Egypt are often highly fragmentary and fail to supply the relevant measurements and dimensions. Nevertheless, I am convinced that a disciplined investigation could still potentially generate useful insights.[30]

and several of the essays collected in N. Pellé (ed.), *Spazio scritto e spazio non scritto nel libro papiraceo*, Lecce 2017.

29 See the discussion in B. Nongbri, "Palaeographic Analysis of Codices from the Early Christian Period: A Point of Method", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (2019), 84–97.

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