

ISSN 2410-0951

COMSt  
Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies  
COMSt  
Bulletin

Volume 2 • Numbers 1 and 2 • Spring and Autumn 2016

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COMSt

*Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* is the biannual on-line and print-on-demand journal of the European research network Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. Starting from 2016 the network is part of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (<http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/>). All issues are fully accessible at <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/bulletin.html>.

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The publication of this issue has been supported financially by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Universität Hamburg.



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Publication date December 2016

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ISSN 2410-0951

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## Editorial

Starting from 2016, the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* network has become affiliated to the Hamburg University Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC). Established on the premises of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950: Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe, the CSMC has grown to one of the most active institutions for manuscript studies in Europe and world-wide and the *COMSt* network has now a safer basis, for some years to come at least.

The present issue merges articles accepted for the first and the second 2016 instalments of the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*. Some of the papers in this issue were originally presented at the international conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* (Hamburg, 26 September 2016, co-sponsored by the CSMC; see the report in this issue). The issue is, however, far from being a *Proceedings* volume: it contains materials that were not presented during the conference, and some of the conference papers shall be published in the subsequent *Bulletin* issues.

The conference was a yet another witness to the value of the *COMSt* network as an exchange platform for scholars conducting research in manuscript studies. And it is exactly this scope, of constant exchange, that is the strength of the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, one of the few recognized periodicals in the field that publishes, with very short waiting lists, not only research articles *strictu sensu*, but also summaries of planned or ongoing projects, dissertation abstracts, reports and reviews, and opens floor for discussion on questions that have yet to be answered.

It is with great satisfaction that we can also note the international recognition of the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*. In 2016, the *Bulletin* was accepted in the academic journals database of the European Research Council, and the publications can therefore be considered for ERC academic reporting. As an Open Access periodical, the *Bulletin* is particularly well seen by the European Union and national foundations, since providing Open Access has now become an often indispensable requirement for research results obtained with public funding. We also hope that in 2017 the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* shall enter the list of the scientific journals recognized by the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of the University and Research Systems, as it has previously happened for the *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*.

We look forward to receiving your articles, project descriptions, conference reports, and book reviews for the forthcoming *Bulletin* issues.

# Articles and notes

## The Syriac Galen Palimpsest: Research Methods and Latest Discoveries\*

*Naima Afif, University of Manchester,  
Siam Bhayro, University of Exeter,  
Peter E. Pormann, University of Manchester,  
William I. Sellers, University of Manchester,  
and Natalia Smelova, University of Manchester*

### Summary

In this article, we provide an update on the progress of the AHRC-funded *Syriac Galen Palimpsest Project*, which is directed by Peter E. Pormann at the University of Manchester. We also present a newly identified folio from Book 3 of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*—a book hitherto not known to be represented in the manuscript. We offer some preliminary conclusions about the original medical manuscript's codicological structure, particularly the composition of its quires and the sequence of hair and flesh sides of parchment. Finally, we outline our approach to analysing the undertext's palaeography, with reference to the methodology devised by Ayda Kaplan.

The Syriac Galen Palimpsest (SGP) project is a major ongoing research project funded by the United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) at the University of Manchester under the auspices of its Principal Investigator Peter E. Pormann.<sup>1</sup> Work on SGP started in 2009 at the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, MD), where its private owner had deposited it for conservation and research. Sebastian Brock identified it as containing a Syriac translation of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*. This was subsequently confirmed by Siam Bhayro, who proposed to name the manuscript the 'Syriac Galen Palimpsest'—this has since been commonly used.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the launch of the Manchester SGP project in September 2015, a number of identifications of individual folia from Books II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, and IX were made, principally by Robert Hawley and Grigory Kessel.<sup>3</sup> This

\* This is the written version of a paper read by N. Smelova and N. Afif at the conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back—Looking Ahead*, Hamburg, 26 September 2016.

1 Full title: *The Syriac Galen Palimpsest: Galen's On Simple Drugs and the Recovery of Lost Texts through Sophisticated Imaging Techniques* (September 2015 to February 2020); AH/M005704/1.

2 Bhayro and Brock 2012/2013.

3 Bhayro et al. 2012; Bhayro et al. 2013; Hawley 2014; Kessel 2016, 488–490.

process of identification was greatly facilitated by the use of the latest imaging technologies. SGP was disbound and conserved by staff at the Walters Art Museum, after which a set of high-resolution multispectral images for each individual bifolium was produced by a team of imaging scientists. This included pseudo-colour treatment and spectral imaging with the application of UV illumination and monochrome or colour filters (red, green or blue). The computational post-processing method used was Principal Component Analysis (PCA).<sup>4</sup>

Within the framework of the Manchester project, the application of Canonical Variate Analysis (CVA) by William Sellers considerably improved the readability of the undertext, not only in the gutter region but also directly beneath the overtext.<sup>5</sup> Software developed subsequently by Corneliu Arsene enables relatively quick CVA processing and eases adjusting the images and enhancing particular areas in order to aid further identifications and transcriptions of the undertext.

This article presents the latest philological and codicological research done on SGP and outlines a proposed approach to the study of its palaeography.

### Identifications

Several folios from Books VI–VIII have been identified with the aid of a transcription of BL Add. 14,661, which also contains Sergius of Rēš ‘Aynā’s Syriac translation of Galen’s *On Simple Drugs*.<sup>6</sup> This transcription was produced by Robert Hawley within the framework of the ERC-funded Floriental project, which is based in Paris.<sup>7</sup> Various recent studies have demonstrated that both manuscripts contain the same version of Books VI–VIII, but with minor variants.<sup>8</sup> However, the person responsible for the Syriac translation of Books I–V, i.e. the first ‘theoretical’ part of the treatise, remains unclear. Bhayro and Brock concluded, on the basis of Sergius’s own account, that Sergius must have translated both parts of Galen’s *On Simple Drugs*—something that apparently escaped Ḥunayn’s knowledge.<sup>9</sup> The Manchester project, therefore, is currently focussing on identifying and transcribing over one hundred folios whose text is not paralleled by BL Add. 14,661.

4 These results are openly accessible on the Digital Galen web domain hosted by the University of Pennsylvania Libraries; <<http://digitalgalen.net>> (accessed 14 October 2016).

5 Bhayro et al. 2013.

6 For the most complete list of identifications made between March and July 2016, see Afif et al. 2016.

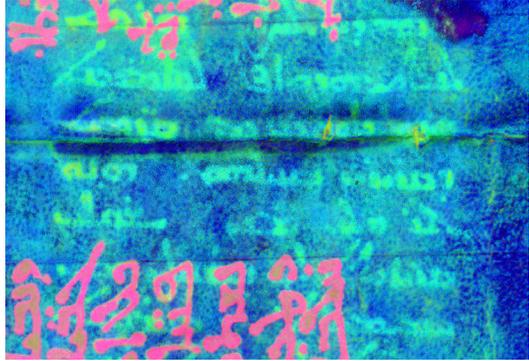
7 Full title: *Floriental—From Babylon to Baghdad: Toward a History of the Herbal in the Near East* (September 2011 to August 2017); ERC-2010-StG-263783.

8 Bhayro and Brock 2012/2013, 32 ff.; Hawley 2014; Bhayro and Hawley 2014, 293–297.

9 Bhayro and Brock 2012/2013, 40.



Fig. 2. SGP, ff. 9v-12r, col. A, gutter region (CVA processed image).



Although this portion is only partially legible, some Syriac words definitely match the Greek text. The gutter region, on the other hand, is rather more legible and provides the evidence for the identification from Book III. The Syriac text reads: ‘It is also necessary to remind in this place of the medicines that are considered (lit. called) by elders cold by nature...’ (see Table 2).

**Table 2. Book III, chapter 20**

<p><u>μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷδε κάκεινον</u>  <u>μεμνήσθαι χρῆ, τοῦ καὶ τὰ</u>  <u>ψυχρὰ τῇ φύσει φάρμακα</u>  <u>δεόντως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰρησθαι</u>  <u>δυνάμει ψυχρά.</u>  <u>λαμβάνει γάρ πως καὶ ταῦτα</u>  <u>τὸ ψύχειν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ</u>  <u>τὸ θερμαίνειν τὰ θερμά.</u>          Kühn, XI, 602 (Book III, chapter 20)</p>	<p>ܟܘܝܢ ܟܠܝܢ ܩܝܢ ...          ܟܘܝܢ ܟܠܝܢ ܩܝܢ ...</p>
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**Codicology of the original manuscript**

The dimensions of SGP in its present form are 175 mm x 127 mm. The bound manuscript consists of 225 leaves (the last folio number is 226 as a misfoliation occurred after f. 209). A further six folios were identified by Grigory Kessel in the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Library of the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, and the Houghton Library of Harvard University. This makes a total of two hundred and thirty-one leaves, organised in twenty-nine quaternions, as demonstrated by Kessel.<sup>10</sup> In order to produce the codex, the original bifolia were trimmed on the sides, cut in half in the gutter field, rotated by ninety degrees and then folded up, so that one bifolium

<sup>10</sup> See Kessel 2016, 473 and the table on 481–482; see also Afif et al. 2016.

would provide two bifolia, or four folios of the secondary manuscript.<sup>11</sup> The ruling for the new manuscript was made with a dry hard point marking the horizontal borders of the first and the last lines as well as the vertical borders. Various portions of the text often stray beyond these borders.

The codicology of the original medical manuscript can be assessed using the multispectral and processed images of each folio. Although the original ruling can be difficult to discern, the text layout is clearly visible. There are two columns per page, with the writing justified on the right-hand side. Some initial letters in the right-hand column (col. A), however, such as ,  $\sphericalangle$  and  $\sphericalangle$ , are often extended further into the margin. The number of lines per column varies typically between thirty-nine and forty-three. In ff. 34r–35v, which contains a list of plants from Book VI, the approximate number of lines per column is thirty-three. Free space on these lines is filled with ornamental dots, something that can also be observed on ff. 16r–21v.

Preliminary conclusions regarding the structure of the quires can be made by examining the parchment and identifying its flesh and hair sides.<sup>12</sup> This is particularly relevant for sets of consecutive bifolia identified throughout the manuscript, especially within Books VI and VIII (see Table 3).

**Table 3. The Skeleton.**

Book of Galen's <i>On Simple Drugs</i>	Kühn's edition	SGP	Flesh or hair
One	XI 379–458	not represented	
Two	XI 459–473		
	XI 474–475	10r–11v	hair
	XI 476–478	10v–11r	flesh
	XI 478–479	8r–13v	hair
	XI 479–481	8v–13r	flesh
	XI 482–503		
	XI 504–505	23v–30r	hair
	XI 505–506	23r–30v	flesh
	XI 507–508		
	XI 509–510	225r	flesh
	XI 511–539		
Three	XI 540–601		
	XI 602–603	9v–12r	hair

11 Exactly the same process was applied while making the Archimedes Palimpsest, as described in Netz et al. 2011, I, 44.

12 This was made possible by the availability of the colour photographs of SGP that were produced at the Walters Art Museum before its disbinding and conservation; <<http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/OtherCollections/html/PC4/>> (accessed 14 October 2016).

	XI 603–606 XI 607–618	9r–12v	flesh
Four	XI 619–651 XI 652–654 XI 655–657 XI 657–659 XI 660–669 XI 670–672 XI 673–703	18v–19r 18r–19v Vat. sir. 623, 227v–Houghton Library syr. 172, 1r 40r–45v	hair flesh flesh flesh
Five	XI 704–757 XI 758–760 XI 760–762 XI 763–775 XI 776–(778) XI (778)–781 XI 782–785 XI 786–788	7r–14v 7v–14r 15r–22v 15v–22r 48r–53v	flesh hair hair flesh hair
Six	XI 789–791 XI 791–792 XI 792–794 XI 794–796 XI 796–798 XI 798–800 XI 800–802 XI 802–804 XI 804–805 XI 806–854 XI 855–856 XI 857–859 XI 860–869 XI 870–872 XI 872–(875) XI 876–877 XI 878–881 XI 882–884 XI 884–886 XI 887–(888) XI 889–892	48v–53r 34v–35r <b>34r–35v</b> <b>16r–21v</b> 16v–21r 157r–164v 157v–164r 17r–20v 17v–20r 1v–4r 1r–4v Vat. sir. 647, ff. 38v–6r Vat. sir. 647, ff. 38r–6v 109v–116r 109r–116v 176r–177v 176v–177r 55r–60v <b>55v–60r</b> <b>104v–105r</b> 104r–105v 41r–44v	flesh hair <b>flesh</b> <b>flesh</b> hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh hair flesh

Seven		118v–123r	flesh
		118r–123v	hair
		198r–203v	flesh
	XII 1–4	198v–203r	hair
	XII 4–7	70r–77v	flesh
	XII 7–9	<b>70v–77r</b>	<b>hair</b>
	XII 9–12	<b>112r–113v</b>	<b>hair</b>
	XII 12–14	112v–113r	flesh
	XII 14–17	159v–162r	hair
	XII 17–19	159r–162v	flesh
	XII 19–21	200v–201r	hair
	XII 21–(24)	200r–201v	flesh
	XII 24–27	Vat. sir. 647, 39v–5r	hair
	XII 28–41		
	XII 42–44	102r–107v	flesh
	XII 44–46	102v–107r	hair
	XII 46–49	165r–172v	flesh
	XII 49–51	165v–172r	hair
	XII 52–55		
	XII 56–59	96v–97r	flesh
	XII 60–62	96r–97v	hair
	XII 63–66		
	XII 67–(68)	47r–54v	hair
	XII 69–72	47v–54r	flesh
	XII 72–75	72v–75r	hair
	XII 75–77	72r–75v	flesh
XII 77–80	101r–108v	hair	
XII 80–82	101v–108r	flesh	
Eight	XII 83–84	192v–193r	flesh
	XII 85–88		
	XII 89–92	57v–58r	flesh
	XII 93–99		
	XII 100–103	173v–180r	flesh
	XII 104–106	<b>173r–180v</b>	<b>hair</b>
	XII 106–108	<b>136v–137r</b>	<b>hair</b>
	XII 109–111	136r–137v	flesh
	XII 112–120		
	XII 121–123	160r–161v	hair
	XII 123–125	160v–161r	flesh
	XII 126–140		
	XII 141–143	183v–186r	flesh
	XII 143–145	<b>183r–186v</b>	<b>hair</b>

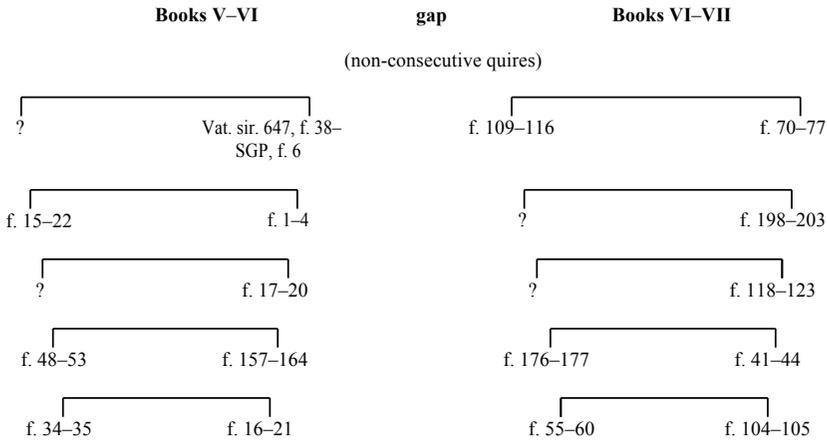
	XII 145–148	<i>166v–171r</i>	<i>hair</i>
	XII 148–150	166r–171v	flesh
	XII 150–153	214r–221v	hair
	XII 153–156	214v–221r	flesh
	XII 157–158		
Nine	XII 159–171		
	XII 172–173	73r–74v	flesh
	XII 174–185		
	XII 186–(187)	49v–52r	flesh
	XII 188–197		
	XII 198–201	128v–129r	hair
	XII 201–203	2r–3v	flesh
	XII 203–206	2v–3r	hair
	XII 207–208		
	XII 209–212	BnF syr. 382, 10v–88v	hair
	XII 213–214		
XII 214–217	206v–212r	hair	
XII 218–244			
Ten	XII 245–309	not represented	
Eleven	XII 310–377	not represented	

This analysis has revealed the following consistent structure: a flesh side is always facing a hair side. Although this contradicts Gregory’s rule, it is a common feature with most Syriac parchment manuscripts.<sup>13</sup> We would suggest, therefore, that the leaves were folded flesh side inwards, and two flesh sides facing each other would thus mark the middle of a quire and a single bifolium. Two such occurrences have been identified in Book VI (ff. 34r–35v + ff. 16r–21v, and ff. 55v–60r + ff. 104v–105r). Likewise, when there are two hair sides facing each other, this would represent the last and the first leaves of two adjoining quires. There are three examples of this: one in Book VII (ff. 70v–77r + ff. 112r–113v), and two in Book VIII (ff. 173r–180v + ff. 136v–137r, and ff. 183r–186v + 166v–171r). Following this approach, it would appear that, at present, we have at least four partially preserved but well-defined quires and ten bifolia of the original medical manuscript (see Scheme 1).

The standard type of quire in the original medical manuscript is quinion (i.e. made up of five bifolia, or ten folios).<sup>14</sup> As Sebastian Brock has demon-

13 Borbone, Briquel-Chatonnet, and Balicka-Witakowska 2015, 255–256.

14 It is possible, however, that, in the section covering Book VIII, there is at least one quaternion, whose outer leaves are ff. 136v–137r and 183r–186v. Therefore the manuscript may have had a mixed quire structure, which is not unknown in the Syriac tradition. See Borbone, Briquel-Chatonnet, and Balicka-Witakowska 2015, 226. Further identifications from Book VIII in SGP should shed more light on this.

**Scheme 1. Selected quires of the original medical manuscript (provisional).**

strated, such an arrangement is very common for Syriac manuscripts, particularly those created in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> We hope that future discoveries of parallel creases and other shared features on the parchment will further research on the original bifolia of SGP.<sup>16</sup>

**Palaeography of the original manuscript**

We propose to produce a palaeographical analysis of SGP, which will be based on the method developed by Ayda Kaplan in her PhD thesis at the Catholic University of Louvain in 2008.<sup>17</sup> Kaplan revised the traditional classification of Syriac scripts and presented a new categorisation comprising four major variants. Her categories relate to the morphology of letter variations and their frequency in the same graphic context.<sup>18</sup> Some categories include a combination of monumental and cursive elements and represent an evolution in Syriac writing. Kaplan's approach, which is based on a comparative examination of a large corpus of manuscripts, is particularly relevant to the palaeographical study of the undertext of SGP, because it provides a solid basis for dating manuscripts that lack a colophon.

15 Brock 2015, 159; Briquel-Chatonnet 1998, 155–162; Borbone, Briquel-Chatonnet, and Balicka-Witakowska 2015, 225–226.

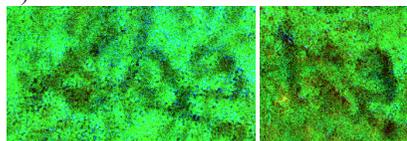
16 Compare the codicological analysis of the Archimedes Palimpsest; see Netz 2011, I, 58.

17 Kaplan 2008; see also Kaplan 2013; Kaplan 2015.

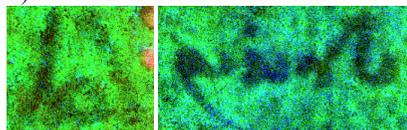
18 Kaplan 2015, 314–315.

Our initial examination shows that SGP displays features of both the cursive and formal Estrangelo scripts, with some letters showing both a cursive and monumental form. The following examples are taken from ff. 7v–14r (Book V), left-hand column (col. B; the images are CVA processed). The following observations are instructive:

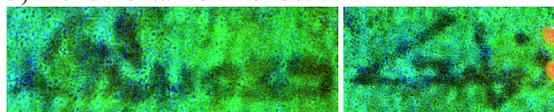
1) both monumental and cursive forms of *alaf*



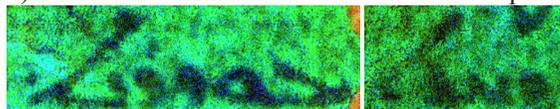
2) both monumental and cursive forms of *taw*



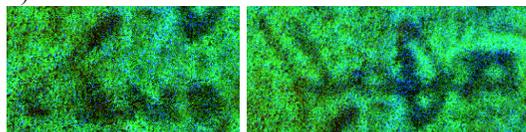
3) monumental form of *beth*



4) rounded *dalat* and *resh* of the cursive script



5) cursive final form of *lamad*



Our preliminary observations indicate that, according to Kaplan's typology, the script of SGP's undertext corresponds to an intermediary stage in the evolution of Syriac writing, and should be dated to around the mid-ninth century.<sup>19</sup> A more extensive analysis will be undertaken, so this remains a tentative conclusion at this point.

## References

<sup>19</sup> Kaplan 2013. A ninth-century date for SGP's undertext was first proposed in the Hiersemann sales catalogue; see Hiersemann 1922, 13–14, pl. XI; see also Bhayro et al. 2012, 261, n. 1.

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# The Accidents of Transmission: On a Surprising Multilingual Manuscript Leaf\*

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## Summary

A finely illuminated Ethiopic Psalter dating to the fifteenth-sixteenth century, sold on auction in 1983 and still in the possession of an unknown private collector, was made the object of two distinct publications in 1986. Ewa Balicka-Witakowska focused on the art-historical importance of the manuscript, while Richard Pankhurst dealt with its guard-leaves containing additional notes in Portuguese and Latin and their significance. Almost unnoticed or largely misunderstood remained a small Ethiopic text belonging to the primitive layer of the fly-leaves, that probably held the last place in a larger multiple-text manuscript, of which one loose leaf might have survived. So far unpublished, the text is the Ethiopic version of the *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Arii damnatione* (CPG nos 2041 = 8519). Along with the Ethiopic version of the *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad ecclesiam Alexandrinam* (CPG no. 8517), unpublished as well, the former is also attested by the earliest Ethiopic canonico-liturgical collection known as the *Aksumite Collection*.

The occasion of the auction sell at Sotheby thirty-three years ago on 20 June 1983—stated as ‘recently’ in 1986—of a ‘remarkable, finely illuminated, Ethiopic, or Ge‘ez, manuscript of the Psalms, Biblical Hymns, Song of Solomon and Horologium’, occasioned two interesting contributions: the first by one of the most outstanding historians of modern Ethiopia, Richard Pankhurst, published in *The Book Collector* of 1986; the second one, by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, a renowned art historian specializing on Ethiopic manuscripts, in a *Festschrift* monographic triple issue of *Orientalia Suecana*, actually also published in 1986.<sup>1</sup> As happens, the two authors wrote independently on the same manuscript on the occasion of the auction sell, focused on completely

\* I am profoundly indebted to Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, who has generously put at my disposal a complete microfilm set and prints of the first leaves of the manuscript that is largely the subject of this note. For advice and encouragement I am very grateful to Alberto Camplani. – This research has been funded by the European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Advanced Grant agreement no. 338756 (TraCES), 2014–, as well as by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft through the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 (Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa), 2011–. Important materials were provided in the course of time by field-researches carried out by Jacques Mercier, 1999–; Antonella Brita, within the framework of her PhD research at the University of Naples ‘L’Orientale’, 2005–2006, and since 2011 in the Sonderforschungsbereich 950; and Denis Nossitsin, within the framework of the ERC project Ethio-SPaRe, 2009–2015.

different aspects, and inevitably ignored each other. Interestingly enough, while their own points of view are dealt with at large and in-depth—respectively, the relevance to sixteenth century Ethiopian history on the one hand, and the art historical significance of the artefact on the other—both disregarded an aspect connected with textual transmission, which is resumed here.

Pankhurst dated the manuscript judging from its ‘script and illuminations’ to the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, a time when the first Portuguese-Ethiopian contacts took place. The same dating is proposed independently on art-historical grounds by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska.<sup>2</sup> Pankhurst goes on with the history of the manuscript stating that

Nothing is known of the manuscript’s provenance or history until the mid-twentieth century when it was in the possession of the Second Baron Rennell of Rodd, K.B.E., C.B. (1895–1978) who was in charge of British Military Administration in the Middle East, including Ethiopia, at the close of World War II. It has, however, proved impossible to establish whether he acquired the volume in its country of origin or elsewhere. All that is certain is that he had it auctioned by Sotheby’s on 10 November 1952 (lot 49), that it was purchased by the Armenian collector, Hagop Kevorkian, and was later sold again, once more by Sotheby’s, on 20 June 1983 (lot 170). The work is now in the possession of an anonymous private collector.<sup>3</sup>

By personal communication of Balicka-Witakowska (March 2016), I know that the anonymous private collector was at the time Henri Schiller, from Paris, who has presumably died in the meanwhile: it is unknown who owns the manuscript at present.

According to the more detailed description by Balicka-Witakowska,<sup>4</sup> the manuscript is composed of 205 leaves (numbered 1–205) plus two guard leaves at the beginning (numbered I–II). Pankhurst’s description<sup>5</sup> mentions the 205 leaves (those with ‘Psalms, Biblical Hymns, Song of Solomon and Horologium’), which, however, are said to be ‘preceded by *three* initial, torn and badly stained leaves of different sizes and apparent provenance’ (emphasis is mine):

The first of these sheets is almost entirely blank, but the other two contain interesting passages in both Latin and Portuguese. They are written clearly, almost in a ‘copy-

1 Pankhurst 1986; Balicka-Witakowska 1986. Note that both studies, along with the remarks by Ricci 1987, did not escape the sagacity of the too much regretted Gianfranco Fiaccadori, who mentioned the illustrated manuscript as well as others and collected the relevant bibliography in his major contribution on illuminated Octateuchs, Fiaccadori 1994, 100, n. 66.

2 Balicka-Witakowska 1986, 21.

3 Pankhurst 1986, 463.

4 Balicka-Witakowska 1986, 17–19.

5 Pankhurst 1986, 463.

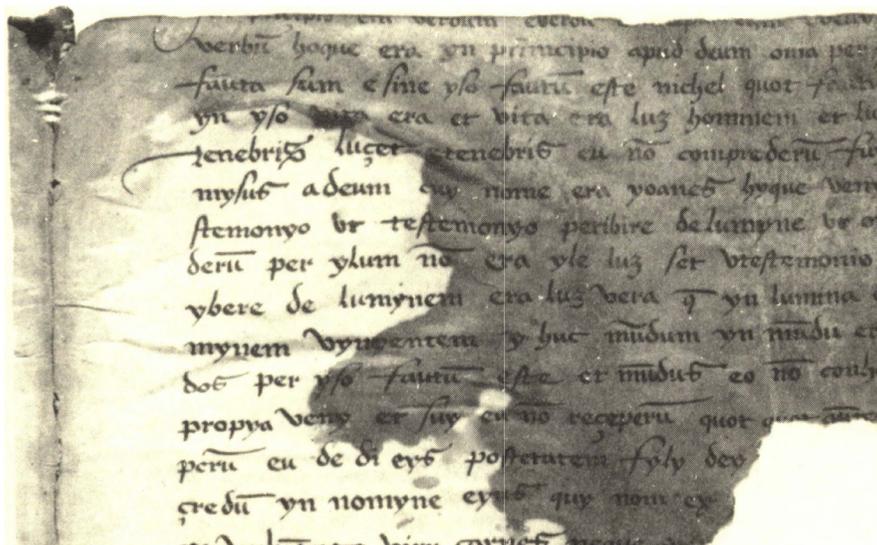


Fig. 1. MS Schiller Psalter ( $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$ ), f. 1r, from Pankhurst 1986, 468, plate 1, f. 2r = Balicka-Witakowska 1986, f. 1r: on the left, stitches and a preceding leaf are visible.

book' hand, and would seem like exercises, painstakingly written by someone learning, or at least not fully conversant with the languages in question.<sup>6</sup>

Balicka-Witakowska does not number her two guard leaves, but in her description she numbers 'f. 1' the first of the last 205 leaves which constitute the main body of the manuscript. It is therefore convenient here to mark with Roman numbers 'I–II' her two guard-leaves (fig. 1). Basing on the contents,<sup>7</sup> Balicka-Witakowska's ff. I–II clearly correspond to Pankhurst's ff. 2–3.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently, the descriptions of the two authors correspond but in one point, namely that Pankhurst places one more leaf at the beginning ('The first of these sheets is almost entirely blank'), which is not recorded by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska.<sup>9</sup> The existence of one more blank guard leaf at the beginning is a detail that does not affect the substance of my contribution.

6 *Ibid.*

7 'feuilles de garde: fragment de textes en latin et en portugais ainsi qu'une lettre de Constantin au sujet du brûlement des écrits d'Arius', Balicka-Witakowska 1986, 17. I will come back later to the latter important point of the description.

8 Pankhurst 1986, 465–486, plates I–IV, containing respectively ff. 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v (= Balicka-Witakowska 1986, ff. 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v). Pankhurst numbers continuously the guard-leaves plus the 205 leaves.

9 The verso of this leaf seems to appear in the microfilm documentation generously provided to me by Balicka-Witakowska, even though the first leaf itself was not filmed, aside from the binding area. Disregarding for the moment being the question



Fig. 2. MS Schiller Psalter ( $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$ ), f. IIv, from Pankhurst 1986, 468, plate 4, f. 3v = Balicka-Witakowska 1986, f. IIv, guard leaf (left), here printed upside-down: in the left column, upper side, Ethiopic version of the *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Arii damnatione* (right).

Coming back to the content, Pankhurst details as follows on the two guard leaves covered with writings:

The second leaf contains St John's Gospel, I, 1–14, in Latin and the Apostle's Creed in Portuguese on one side, and Psalm 51 'Miserere mei', 3–19, in Latin on the other. The third and most interesting, leaf<sup>10</sup> is largely devoted to a series of linguistic exercises.

Pankhurst further details on the nature of these linguistic exercises, which consist of the Portuguese alphabet, followed by a series of syllables in Latin script (*ba*, *be*, etc.), apparently a rendering of the Ethiopic syllabic script in Latin; five lines of European Christian names (*Pedro*, *Paulo*, *Yoane*); the Portuguese names of the months and days of the week; a set of numerals written in Arabic characters as used in Europe; and the opening words of the *Ave*

of the first guard leaf—only possible to ascertain when the actual codicological state of the manuscript will be accessible and directly verifiable, not without excluding that loose leaves might have moved or even gone lost—I will number the published guard-leaves according to the system by Balicka-Witakowska, namely ff. I–II (corresponding to Pankhurst 1986, ff. 2–3).

10 Pankhurst 1986, f. 3 = Balicka-Witakowska 1986, f. II. Cf. here fig. 2.

*Maria* in Latin. In the lower margin, Ethiopic characters were added later, an attempt at transliterating the Portuguese names of the numbers.<sup>11</sup>

As to the last page of the guard leaves (fig. 2), Pankhurst states:

The second side of the folio is mainly devoted to the Lord's Prayer in Latin and to some philosophical remarks in Portuguese. An empty space is occupied by an Ethiopic hymn, inadvertently written upside down, which praises the orthodoxy of the great Ethiopian Emperor Za'ra<sup>12</sup> Ya'qob referred to by his regal name Qostāntinos, or Constantine, whose long reign (1434–1468) may well have ended within a few decades of the manuscript's completion.<sup>13</sup>

Here, again, there is disagreement on the contents of f. Iiv: according to Pankhurst it would contain a 'hymn, inadvertently written upside down', praising the orthodoxy of the Ethiopian King Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468), whose reign's name actually was Constantine (Q<sup>w</sup>astāntinos),<sup>14</sup> while according to Balicka-Witakowska it is a letter by the Emperor Constantine (d. 337 CE) concerning the burning of writings by Arius (the famous heretic). We can anticipate here that the latter's opinion is the right one, but let us have a closer look at the guard leaves.

As early recognised by Lanfranco Ricci,<sup>15</sup> there is clear evidence that these initial leaves<sup>16</sup> have undergone a threefold passage of status. If we look at them chronologically, we can reconstruct the single phases as follows:

(1) ff. I–II or at least f. II, once belonged to a manuscript devised to host Ethiopic (Gə'əz) texts: the letter by the Emperor Constantine concerning the burning of Arius' writings was not written incidentally; it is written very carefully, with rubrications, in the first (left) column of an originally recto leaf,<sup>17</sup> as a continuation of a text that is lost: the first word in the first line of the text

11 Pankhurst 1986, 464.

12 *Sic*.

13 Pankhurst 1986, 464.

14 Cp. Buzi and Bausi 2013, 413b–415a for the fortune of Constantine as a royal name in the Ethiopian tradition.

15 In a short, but dense note reacting to Pankhurst 1986, Ricci 1987, esp. 254–255 (Ricci did not yet know of Balicka-Witakowska 1986). Ricci rightly pointed out that the Portuguese and Latin notes on the leaves in the manuscript are secondary writings, which have nothing to do with the earlier layer of the Gə'əz text: this latter, originally placed in the upper left corner, was eventually turned upside down in order to make as much free space as possible, confining the older text in the lower right corner. Ricci also highlighted that the leaf with the Gə'əz text (which he did not identify) was originally the last one of a manuscript or of a quire at least, so that what remains is nothing else but the end of a more extended piece.

16 It does not matter whether three or two, actually two are those which bear clear positive evidence of this.

17 This hypothesis, that cannot be verified at the moment, presupposes that the leaf is a single leaf at present.

is not complete and must have started in the (now lost) preceding leaf. It is difficult to say if the text was part of a more extensive collection of which it occupied the last position, as usual, much more exposed to material loss. This appears extremely likely, but the present state of documentation does not allow to go so far. If the letter of Constantine was not secondarily written down in this manuscript leaf, the other notes in Portuguese and Latin are secondary writings, added after the leaf had been detached from where it originally belonged and re-used; this also implies that the present sequence of ff. I–II does not represent the primary sequence of these two leaves and that they could even have a different provenance;

(2) whatever the respective original destination of each of the two leaves was, f. II, the one with the letter of Constantine, was at a certain time re-used and became part of a note or exercise book for noting texts in Portuguese and Latin;

(3) finally, as we find them, ff. I–II were used as guard leaves of a manuscript datable to the fifteenth/early sixteenth century. The script of the letter of Constantine on f. II is also datable to this period, but no possibility can be excluded: the leaf could be older or even younger, in the latter case being used as a guard leaf when the manuscript was rebound time after its early production and binding.

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Before coming to relevant points, a short explanation at least on the significance of the Portuguese and Latin scripts on the guard leaves must be given. This is definitely not a minor part of the environment where probably one of the last stages of the transmission of the letter of Constantine took place, and more likely than not, also came to an end. The re-use of a parchment leaf with a letter of Constantine as an exercise book is something of a very emblematic character for the kind of changes and challenges the Christian Ethiopia was facing in the sixteenth century, with the irreparable loss of a previous layer of literary knowledge under the urgency of the confrontation with Catholicism.

In his contribution, Pankhurst detailed on the point of the European scripts: he proposed to connect this small multilingual document with the practices, skills, intellectual curiosity, and in the end the personality of one of the most outstanding character of the second end of the fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century, namely the *əççage* (head of Ethiopian monasticism) ʿĒnbāqom (Ethiopian form for Habakkuk). ʿĒnbāqom (c. 1470–c. 1560) was a major character of his times, with a unique career: born in Yemen from a Jewish mother, he eventually came to Ethiopia (c. 1489), converted to the Christian faith and some decades after (c. 1523) became the abbot of Dabra Libānos (during the reign of Ləbna Dəngəl, 1508–1540), with the title and function

of *aččage*. Accused and sentenced to death by some dignitaries c. 1527–1528, he was in exile in various places, until he was called to court by the new king Galāwdewos (1540–1559), also resuming his position in Dabra Libānos at the death of Galāwdewos, on bequest of the successor Minās (1560–1563). ‘Ēnbāqom in fact is known, not only for his career, but also for his literary activity, being responsible for composing or translating into Ethiopic (Gə‘əz) several important works, from the authored *ʿAnqaša ʿamin*, to the *Baralām wayəwāsəf* and *ʿAbušākir*, to various patristic and monastic writings. According to a reasonable hypothesis advanced by Solomon Gebreyes, following Ignazio Guidi, he could have also been the author of the peculiar *Chronicle of Galāwdewos*.<sup>18</sup>

According to the Portuguese sources, ‘Ēnbāqom was also well versed in several languages: besides mastering Arabic and Gə‘əz (and we must certainly add Amharic), he studied Coptic and Portuguese, and also ‘wrote ‘in his own writing’ the Gloria of the Holy Mass, the Credo, the Pater, the Ave Maria, the Creed of the Apostles and the Salve Regina, and [...] he knew them in Latin’; he might have known Armenian and almost certainly also Italian, probably (the script at least) Hebrew and Syriac.<sup>19</sup> On this basis Pankhurst proposed that ‘Ēnbāqom might have been responsible for these writings.

On the other hand, Ricci is much in favour of the hypothesis of a Portuguese, considering the calligraphic character of the script. He arrives even to think of Francisco Alvarez, the first European envoy to the Ethiopian court to have written a lengthy and influential report on his journey, printed in Lisbon in 1540.<sup>20</sup>

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Let us finally come to the point of the nature and content of the letter of Constantine. Rightly understood in its contents by Balicka-Witakowska, the letter is the Ethiopic version of a text that is relatively well known to the specialists of patristic writings, although its precise identification escaped the attention of several Ethiopianists.<sup>21</sup> After being edited several times, a comprehensive

18 See Solomon Gebreyes 2016.

19 See ‘‘Ēnbaqom’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 280a–282a (E. van Donzel), for all references (but unfortunately Pankhurst 1986, Ricci 1987, Balicka-Witakowska 1986, and Fiacca-dori 1994 are ignored).

20 See ‘Alvares, Francisco’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 213b–215a (M. Kleiner). For the same period, some multilingual documents are known from the Jesuit archives, see for example the interesting case illustrated by Martínez d’Alòs-Moner and Cohen 2015.

21 Ricci, however, keenly remarked that it is probably not an original text, on the basis of its language and syntax in particular. It could be hardly mentioned in the overview encyclopedic article ‘Arius’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 339b–340a (D. Notsnitsin), where most

re-edition of the original Greek, along with two Latin versions and an ancient Syriac one<sup>22</sup> was finally included in the classical collection of testimonia to the Arian controversy published by Hans-Georg Opitz for the first part of the third volume of Athanasius' works, where it is the document no. 33, 'Das Edikt gegen Arius'.<sup>23</sup> It was eventually listed as *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Aarii damnatione* in the standard repertory of CPG where it appears twice, as nos 2041 and 8519.

I happened to come across the same Ethiopic version of this text preserved in a completely different context: the *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Aarii damnatione* is actually transmitted in a fully-fledged canonical liturgical archaic collection attested so far in this form by a *codex unicus* to be probably dated around or before the thirteenth century. As I have remarked on several occasions, this collection—that I have proposed to name *Aksumite Collection*—is of great interest for the philological phenomenology and its actual contents, since most if not all of its texts appear to be based upon a Greek *Vorlage*.<sup>24</sup> The letter, on the present ff. 79vb–80ra of the manuscript (fig. 3), follows another letter of Constantine on ff. 78va–79vb (*Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad ecclesiam Alexandrinam*, CPG no. 8517) and precedes the *Epistula ad Epictetum*.<sup>25</sup>

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of the traditions mentioned are to be referred to their early sources. The first identification of the text was proposed by Bausi 2006, 52, n. 17, and 63 (no. 15, 'Epistola sulla condanna di Ario di Costantino'); see also Buzi and Bausi 2013, 413b–414a; Bausi and Camplani 2013, 222–223, where the importance of the occurrence of this letter in an ancient Latin version in the ms Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LX (58), f. 113v ('Ver.' in Opitz 1934–1935), is duly stressed; on the ms Codex LX (58), see Camplani 2006. More details will be hopefully presented in a publication by myself and Alberto Camplani, that is in preparation; see also Camplani 2015.

22 As first edited by Schulthess 1908, 1–2.

23 Opitz 1934–1935, 66–68 ('Urkunde' no. 33); with German translation in Brennecke et al. 2007, 116, 'Dok. 28' = 'Urkunde 33'.

24 For a first orientation on this collection and the state of publication of its single texts, as well as for further references, see Bausi 2006, 2015a, 367–372, and 2015b, this latter particularly on the circumstances of its discovery and subsequent digitization and restoration, that was carried out in various phases and within the framework of more projects (the manuscript is preserved in Ethiopia, Tigray, 'Ura Mäsqäl Church, C3-IV-73, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039), and Bausi and Camplani 2013; on the importance of the 'List of apostles and disciples', published by Bausi 2012, see now Guignard 2015; on the list of Nicaean fathers published in Bausi 2013, see now Voicu 2015.

25 See now Savvidis 2016, 634–635 and 703–735, where also readings from the Ethiopic version were noted; see also 'Athanasius', *E Ae*, I (2003), 392a–393b (W. Witkowski).

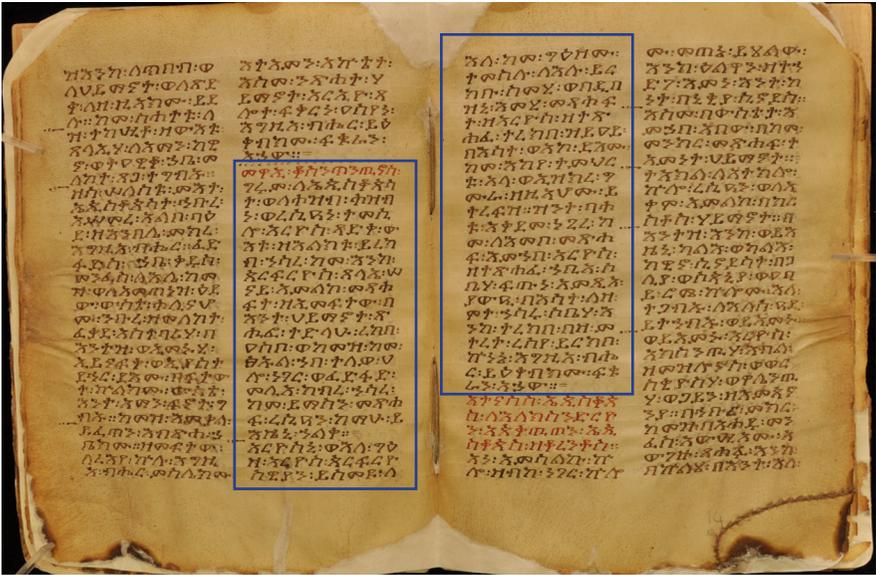


Fig. 3. MS ‘Ura Mäsqäl Church, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 (after restoration), the *Aksumite Collection*: on ff. 79vb–80ra Ethiopic version of the *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Arii damnatione*, preceded by the Ethiopic version of the *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad ecclesiam Alexandrinam*, and followed on ff. 80ra–b by the *Epistula ad Epictetum*.

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It is clear that the two manuscripts—I will indicate with the siglum  $\Sigma$  the *Aksumite Collection* and with  $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$  (‘Schiller Psalter’) the guard leaf—witness to one and the same translation and go back to one archetype. The text is heavily corrupted in both manuscripts and not easy to reconstruct. There are separate errors in both manuscripts and those in  $\Sigma$  demonstrate that  $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$  is not derived from  $\Sigma$  and actually attests to an independent transmissional branch. That  $\Sigma$  was copied from  $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$  is manifestly excluded by palaeographical reasons, namely  $\Sigma$  is apparently much older than  $\psi^{\text{Sch}}$ .

The critical edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Lex lata Constantini Augusti de Arii damnatione* is forthcoming in the following issue of *Adaman-tius*, 22 (2016), on the bases of the only two manuscript witnesses known so far—to my knowledge at least—together with that of the other aforementioned Constantinian letter (*Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad ecclesiam Alexandrinam*)<sup>26</sup> preceding in the manuscript.

26 The purported reference (‘CPG II 8517’) assuming a Syriac version in Kaufhold 1999, 119, n. 3, is due to a typo for ‘CPG IV 8515’.

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# Open Recensions, *Textus Recepti*, and the Problems of Edition

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## Summary

The paper surveys the concept and practice of correction (διόρθωσις, emendatio) in classical and mediaeval times as evidence for the belief in a “correct” text and the possibility of maintaining it. This leads to controlled transmission of texts, open recensions and the impossibility of reconstructing an archetype. The actual effects of this are illustrated through the Slavonic text of the Catholic Epistles. The paper ends with a discussion of the implications for editorial practice, and a plea for the sharing of experience across disciplines.

Scribes make mistakes. This is known to anyone who has copied a text, and is certainly well known within any literate culture. The concept of scribal error was definitely familiar to European antiquity, and so was the concomitant concept of correction, διόρθωσις: the idea that a text may be corrected, that it regularly *is* corrected, and that a scholar ought to be capable of correcting it.

This was especially true of culturally important texts (obviously if a text was not highly regarded, and variation within it therefore tolerable, not only was there little impulse to correct, there was freedom to modify *ad libitum*). For antiquity, the most important text was that of Homer, and the διόρθωσις of the Iliad was a normal feature of cultural life.<sup>1</sup> Historically it can be traced back as far as the third century BCE and Zenodotus. Traditionally, the correction of this text goes back even further, to the sixth century BCE and Pisistratus. This may or may not be historical, but the authority for the tradition is a remark by Cicero in the third book of his *De Oratore*, where he says, ‘Quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus.’ From this we may learn, firstly, that Pisistratus’s activity was commonly believed in in Cicero’s time (‘dicitur’). Secondly, if Pisistratus is thus held up as a model of learning, we may infer that editorial scholarship was regarded as normal activity for a learned man (Pisistratus’s pre-eminence consisting in his seminal work on such an important text). And finally, we discover that the established text of Homer was held to have been created in the sixth century out of previous confusion, which gives an interesting insight into how classical antiquity viewed the genesis and maintenance of its canonical texts.

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1 ‘The schoolmaster, however, ‘corrected’ his Homer [...] and the implied ideal is ὁρθότης.’ – West 2001, 25.

Διόρθωσις, or *emendatio*, is a broad concept, and could mean anything from the proof-reading of a new copy to full-scale editorial activity. Nevertheless, the very fact that it took place is proof that people had a concept of the ‘right’ text and that manuscripts were liable to correction to make them conform to it. It would not be going too far to say that a good scribe was not only permitted to correct his text, he had a duty to do so (at the absolute minimum, to eliminate his own mistakes).<sup>2</sup> The process had two aspects—the establishment of a text and the maintenance of a text, and the second is, of course, dependent on the first. There is ongoing debate among classicists regarding the extent to which the Alexandrian scholars were dependent on *divinatio*, and to what extent on collation of manuscripts. This latter undoubtedly did take place in antiquity. Perhaps the earliest datable evidence for the practice comes again from Cicero, not this time speaking *in propria persona*, but having himself become a classical author whose texts were liable to correction. The *subscriptio* of Statilius Maximus, written in the second century CE, to his copy of Cicero’s *De lege agraria* reads ‘Statilius Maximus rursus emendavi ad Tironem et Laecanianum et Domitium et alios veteres iii. oratio eximia’.<sup>3</sup> This evidently means that Statilius had collated the text against six ‘old’ witnesses, of which three were believed to have a known provenance, in an evident effort to restore a text as close as possible to the original. How typical his approach was it is impossible to say, but it is hard to believe that it was wholly exceptional.

However it was obtained, though, the *result* of the labours of the editors of antiquity is clear: a massive reduction in variation, and a ‘bottleneck’ in transmission. A similar effect, for Greek texts, is held to have been produced by the μεταχαρακτηρισμός of the ninth century, in that once a minuscule text had been produced, the old uncial manuscripts were much less likely to be copied from. Perhaps the most radical example is that of the Qur’ān: according to tradition, the Caliph ‘Uthmān not only assembled a standard text from the fragments in circulation, but then ordered the destruction of all other copies to prevent the re-introduction of variants that had been eliminated.<sup>4</sup>

The result of such processes is a new *Ausgangstext*: variants in the extant manuscript tradition are, with few exceptions, later than this, and it is more or less impossible for textual scholars to look beyond it into the earlier history of the text. Moreover, once it is established, efforts are made to maintain it free from any new variation, which usually means a controlled transmission,

2 Similar remarks were made in their contributions to the conference by Malachi Beit-Arié regarding Hebrew scribes and Evren Sünnetçioğlu on the Ottoman legal tradition.

3 Reynolds and Wilson 1991, 31.

4 See, for example, Gillot 2006, especially p. 49.

in which correction is part of the process of creating a new manuscript, and typically involves multiple antigraphs. Of course, not every single manuscript will be copied as part of a controlled transmission, because controlled transmission requires certain conditions, which are, primarily, the availability of manuscripts and a certain professionalism on the part of the scribes, conditions which were fulfilled by the scholarly communities of antiquity and by the scriptoria of the Middle Ages. It does, however, shape the overall transmission of culturally important texts. For example, it privileges majority variants, as scribes will naturally prefer readings in which their manuscripts concur, and this is why, for example, the Byzantine text-type of the Greek New Testament becomes 'more Byzantine' with the passage of time. Furthermore, controlled transmission necessarily results in an open recension; and this, in turn, means that not only can we not get past the *Ausgangstext*, we cannot even reconstitute that.

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Now let us see how these considerations apply to the Slavonic New Testament, and more specifically to the Acts and Epistles. Simplifying somewhat, these were translated three times: twice in the ninth century (the First and Second Redactions), and once in the fourteenth (the Fourth Redaction).<sup>5</sup> It should be noted, of course, that retranslation is in itself a form of *emendatio*, the aim of which is to produce a Slavonic text that conveys more exactly the sense of the original (whether this means a more accurate rendition of the Greek or a closer adherence to an accepted Slavonic linguistic norm).

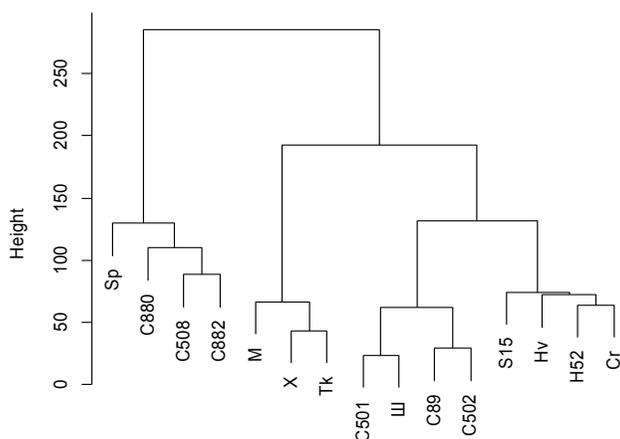
Although the conditions for controlled transmission certainly existed in tenth-century Bulgaria, this ceased to be the case after the conquests of Basil II (completed at the beginning of the eleventh century), and they were not re-established until about the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the rise of the Second Bulgarian Empire, of the Nemanjid dynasty in Serbia, and of a well-organised ecclesiastical administration, with major monasteries, in the East Slavonic lands. In principle, therefore, we could expect the Fourth Redaction to have had a controlled transmission for all of its existence, and the other two to have acquired it after a period of uncontrolled copying.

The evidence of the manuscripts does indeed agree with just such a history. This is well illustrated by a dendrogram of the menaion text (fig. 1)<sup>6</sup> of the Catholic Epistles according to the First Redaction. (It must be remem-

5 There is a Third Redaction, but since it consists of two almost identical manuscripts, it is of no relevance to textual criticism.

6 Since the Catholic Epistles are appointed to be read during the six weeks preceding Lent, their text is not included in the short lectionaries, with the exception of the four passages appointed for particular feast days, which are to be found in the menology which forms the second part of the lectionaries.

Fig. 1. Menaion Text of the Catholic Epistles, First Redaction: dendrogram.



James v 10-20, II Peter i 10-19, I John i 1-7, iv 12-19

bered that this is a dendrogram, not a stemma: in other words, it illustrates the degree of similarity between manuscripts, but not its origin, and the nodes do not represent hyparchetypes.<sup>7)</sup>

This shows well the position of what may be termed the Early Bulgarian Short Lectionaries, i.e. the four manuscripts that represent the left-hand branch of the dendrogram. These are not a text-critical group: though they are markedly different from the other manuscripts, they are not particularly similar to each other. They are, however, a codicological group: they are all early (the latest, **Sp**, is dated 1313, the others are considerably earlier), they are all small-format manuscripts, all with archaic features and all incorporate a significant amount of liturgical material. This all indicates that they come from a relatively impoverished, provincial milieu, in other words, precisely the sort of milieu where controlled transmission is not practical. This is reflected in the high number of singular variants that their texts contain. The two manuscripts with commentary, **X** and **Tk**, also represent a discrete branch, reflecting the revision of the text which appears to have taken place when the commentary was added.<sup>8)</sup>

7 For the principles of constructing dendrograms, and also the sigla of the manuscripts, see Cleminson 2014.

8 **M**, the Maticin Apostol, which is associated with them here, has a notoriously anomalous text, and in fact evidently represents a deliberate construction of an eclectic text on the basis of the First, Second and Commentated First redactions. In these particular passages it is closest to the last; elsewhere the others predominate.

For the rest, the manuscripts fall into two groups, which are consistent across the whole of the Catholic Epistles. (There are also other manuscripts, not shown in the dendrogram, which are associated with one or other of them.) Neither group appears to be united by any particular common local or chronological factor, but given the consistency of their text, we may infer that they are the product of controlled transmission. As one might expect, no stemma can be constructed, confirming that this is an open recension; we may thus, in fact, be dealing not with one, but two *textus recepti* for the First Redaction.

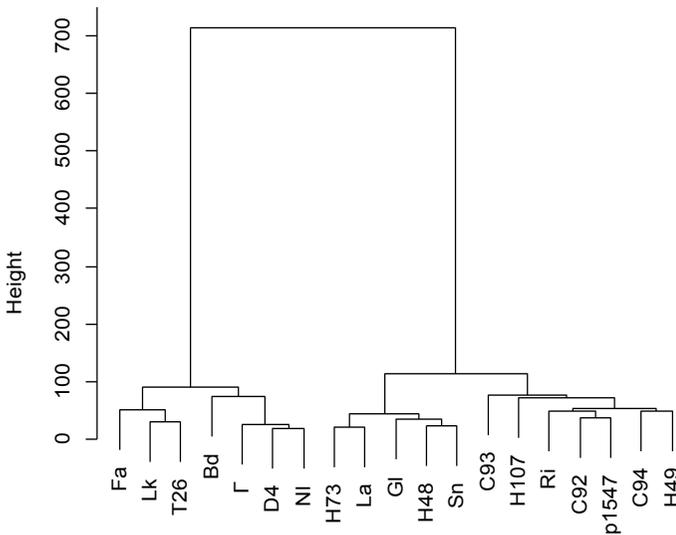
Admittedly, much of the above is inference, but this is inevitable: by its very nature, a process designed to ensure textual homogeneity does not leave direct traces. In particular, the use of multiple antigraphs is impossible to see when they all have very similar texts. That multiple antigraphs were used in the tradition of the Slavonic Apostolos is demonstrated by the rare occasions when they belonged to different text types. There are two examples: the Karpinski and Karakallou Apostoloi.<sup>9</sup> These are both old (though by no means as rustic as the Early Bulgarian Short Lectionaries), and have texts which alternate between the First and Second Redactions (in some parts the text is predominantly of the First Redaction, but with Second-Redaction variants, while in others the situation is reversed). They probably represent the very beginnings of attempts at controlled transmission, using only two or three manuscripts. Once a tradition of controlled transmission is established, such obvious contaminations no longer occur: obviously, a scribe who had a clear idea of the established text, or several First-Redaction manuscripts at his disposal, would normally recognise a Second-Redaction manuscript as divergent and not use it. Nevertheless, the fact that such examples exist corroborates the use of multiple antigraphs within the controlled tradition.

Turning to the Fourth Redaction, where we postulate a controlled transmission from the beginning, again the evidence from the manuscripts is entirely in accord with the hypothesis. This may again be illustrated by means of a dendrogram (fig. 2), this time for the Epistle of James (though other portions of the text show just the same pattern).

The dendrogram reveals two distinct groups of manuscripts. Within each group the manuscripts are all very similar to each other; moreover, the manuscripts in one group (on the left-hand side of the dendrogram) are all East Slavonic, and those in the other are all South Slavonic. The South Slavonic group almost invariably presents the better text (in the sense of being closer to the Greek), suggesting that the East Slavonic group is derived from it. Some insight into this process may be gained by focusing on the oldest of the East Sla-

9 Moscow, Historical Museum, MS Chludov 28 and Athos, Mone Karakallou, MS 294.

Fig. 2. Epistle of James, Fourth Redaction: dendrogram.



vonian manuscripts, **T26**, written in the fourteenth century. This still has some features in common with the South Slavonic manuscripts, and thus represents an early stage in the development of the East Slavonic text-type. It also has marginal corrections, and the effect of these is to eliminate ‘South Slavonic’ readings, and thus bring the text more into line with the East Slavonic norm as it had developed in the years after **T26** was written. It is equally noteworthy that some of these corrections also eliminate East Slavonic minority readings, which of course has the same effect. This manuscript thus provides a rare glimpse into the establishment of a *textus receptus*.

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What are the implications of the above for editing the text? Where the Fourth Redaction is concerned, one would probably want to edit a South Slavonic text, while indicating all the distinctively East Slavonic readings in the apparatus. This still leaves open the question of what to print as a base text. Given that it is an open recension, there is no possibility of a Lachmannian reconstruction of the archetype; nor is there any one obvious ‘good’ manuscript to encourage a Bédieriste approach. However, one can generally distinguish ‘good’ readings<sup>10</sup> from ‘bad’, where one reading has the support of the Greek

10 As Alessandro Bausi pointed out in the discussion after the paper, the concept of a ‘good’ reading is a highly controversial one. It is, however, implicit in the very fact of *emendatio*. What constitutes a good reading is therefore dependent on the nature of the ideal text, however that is conceived by the *emendator* or editor. As an example, Stephen Emmel cited Coptic translated material preserved in such

and the other does not. Moreover, the good readings usually have the support of the majority of the manuscripts. There are, however, a few occasions when they do not, and in such cases the majority reading should certainly be indicated in the apparatus. Readings supported neither by the Greek, nor by a significant number of manuscripts, can probably safely be disregarded.

It is highly probable that a base text so constructed will in fact approximate quite closely to the original translation, even though this is in principle unknowable. Certainly such a base text, taken in conjunction with the apparatus, will provide a very good idea of the textus receptus recognised by the scribes (or textus recepti—though in fact the South Slavonic and East Slavonic texts are not widely divergent).

However, the Fourth Redaction provides an easy case. The First Redaction presents many more difficulties for the editor. Not only is the archetype lost beyond all hope of recovery (both in theory and in practice), there is no prospect of reconstructing a hyparchetype for either of the two groups of manuscripts that can be identified, either. The problem of the base text is thus even more acute, though it is at least clear that the Early Bulgarian Short Lectonaries need not be taken into account.

The selection of an individual manuscript could only be done on a quite arbitrary basis, and this would, indeed, be very much within the tradition of Slavonic editing. The results of this have not always been fortunate, in that a manuscript, once published, begins in practice to function as a sort of textus receptus in the scholarly tradition, to be perceived as ‘the text’. A case in point is Kałużniacki’s edition of **X**,<sup>11</sup> which seems to have been taken by the United Bible Societies as ‘the Slavonic text’ even though, as a commented (and therefore revised) manuscript, it is not a particularly good witness to the earliest state of the Slavonic version, and even though the edition fills in the lacunae in **X** with material from other manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the early emergence of **M**, with its highly eclectic text, in the study of the Slavonic Apostolos,<sup>13</sup> despite the masterly quality of the publication, has done more to confuse our understanding of the history of the text than to elucidate it. More recently, the Strumica Apostolos has been published with an apparatus which may help to explain the readings of this highly corrupt manuscript, but

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fragmentary sources that any edited text is necessarily a mosaic: *a priori*, readings agreeing with the original are considered good, and other readings from a source in which such readings prevail are also, *ceteris paribus*, to be regarded as ‘good’ readings.

11 Kałużniacki 1896

12 See Bakker 1995. It must be stressed that Kałużniacki, as editor, is not to blame for this, as he makes it perfectly clear what he has done.

13 Jagić 1919–1920.

contributes nothing to our understanding of the text as a whole or its transmission.<sup>14</sup>

The alternative would be for the editor to construct a ‘neutral’ text, one that does not depend on a single manuscript, but is as close as possible to all. This would, obviously, be an entirely artificial construct—but no more so than the scholarly editions of the Greek New Testament to which we are accustomed. An editor undertaking such a task would have to make this very clear, and also that his text is in no way intended as a reconstruction of the archetype. It would nevertheless be a safer point of reference than an actual manuscript: in comparing a new manuscript with such a neutral text, the differences would in all probability be distinctive features of that manuscript, whereas a comparison between two manuscripts will reveal differences, but will not reveal which of them are peculiar to either manuscript. Perhaps, besides, such a text would be close to the scribes’ ideal: not a text that actually existed, but one that theoretically ought to have existed, the form towards which controlled transmission was aspiring. This in itself might be a justification for it: an editor is within his rights to realise a *textus receptus*, if a *textus receptus* was the guiding light of textual transmission during the manuscript period.

To the best of the present writer’s knowledge, such an approach has never been taken in editing a Slavonic text, and, as a radical departure from tradition, it is not likely that it would be universally welcomed. It would be interesting to know whether other traditions have, in the face of similar problems, attempted such a solution, and if so, whether the attempt was judged successful. An initiative such as *COMSt* provides an excellent opportunity for sharing experience across subject areas which often have little mutual awareness, and many Slavists would be glad to know that the considerations set out above have already been taken into account in the editorial practice of other traditions. Such editions could then be taken as models for new publications in our own discipline, saving the labour and potential pitfalls of re-inventing the practice.<sup>15</sup>

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14 Bláhová and Hauptová 1990. The edition is entirely linguistic in its focus and does not aim to address issues of textual criticism.

15 The paper as delivered at the conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back—Looking Ahead*, Hamburg, 26 September 2016 ended with an appeal for people to share examples of such an editorial approach from their own disciplines; but nobody did.

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# **New Evidence in Armenian Codicology: the Reconstruction of an Unknown Sewing Structure\***

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## **Summary**

This essay focuses on the analysis of an Armenian illuminated manuscript, discovered in 2014 in the Museo Cappuccini in Reggio Emilia and now property of the Library of the same Order in Bologna. The results of the codicological and scientific analysis of MS FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2 confirm the provenance from the fourteenth century Cilicia: the manuscript has a typical Armenian leather binding, blind-tooled with residues of the fore-edge flap and of the fastening (of the leather strips and wooden pegs type). A particular Armenian sewing structure is illustrated here for the first time: a herringbone stitch with supported kettle stitches.

In 2014, two Armenian manuscripts were accidentally discovered in the Museo Cappuccini in Reggio Emilia: an illuminated Gospel book from the fifteenth century and a liturgical manuscript from the fourteenth century. Both are now property of the Library of the same Order in Bologna. The codices were extremely deteriorated and there was a high risk of loss both of the text and of the binding elements. In March 2015, the manuscripts were taken to the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Archivistico e Librario (ICRCPAL) in Rome for analysis and conservation.

The first part of the project, involving the codicological analysis and the conservation of the liturgical manuscript, FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2, was concluded in April 2016. The conservation treatment was used as an occasion to learn more about Armenian medieval bindings and to investigate the materials and the techniques used by Armenian craftsmen, thanks to the cooperation with the conservation and the scientific department of ICRCPAL, with professors Gabriella Uluhogian and Anna Sirinian, with the librarian Elisabetta Zucchini, and the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran), Yerevan.<sup>1</sup> The present paper summarizes the results of this research.

## **Manuscript FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2**

The manuscript FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2 is a richly decorated copy of the *Maštoc*<sup>2</sup>, the liturgical book that contains different rites of the Armenian church (Ritual,

\* This is the written version of a paper presented by Marta Silvia Filippini at the international conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back—Looking Ahead*, Hamburg, 26 September 2016.

1 We would also like to remember Luca Richard De Bella, a wonderful person and an incredible restorer who left us in October 2015, without whom this work could not have been possible.

or Euchologion): the content varies depending on whether the codex is for a priest, a bishop or for the Catholicos (the chief bishop and spiritual leader of Armenia's national church). The manuscript stands out not only for the quality and richness of illuminations, but also for the cultural relevance of the finding. The codex escaped destruction when three Mekhitarist monks entrusted it to the Capuchin missionaries in Trebisond before losing their lives in Turkey in 1915 during the massacre of Christian Minorities.<sup>2</sup>

Further information on the history of the manuscript may be found in the colophons. FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2 has three colophons, two of them by the scribe, Yovanēs, where the name of the person who commissioned the manuscript is reported: Step'annos, the Archbishop of Kastalōn and Anazerbo.<sup>3</sup> The third colophon, in a later hand,<sup>4</sup> attests the restoring and the re-binding of

2 As is reported in a descriptive note by Giorgio Bonsanti (Sovrintendenza Gallerie, Modena) and Sesto Bertagni (Cappuccini) from 15 October 1975 and confirmed by the studies of Gabriella Uluhogian, see Uluhogian 2014–2015.

3 Here quoted with the translation by Uluhogian, *op. cit.*:

(ff. 76v–77r) Հաւատա՞մք և ի Սուրբ Հոգին որ ի Հարէ ելանէ և ընդ Հար և ընդ Որդոյ երկրպագակից և փառաբանակից, որ խաւսեցաւ յարէնս և ի մարգարէս և յաւետարանս, որ էջն ի Յորդանան, քարոզեաց յառաքեալսն, բնակեցաւ ի սուրբսն [...] ‘Crediamo anche nello spirito santo che esce dal Padre, e col Padre e col figlio [è] co-adorato e conglorificato, che ha parlato nella Legge e nei Profeti e nei vangeli, che scese sul Giordano, ha proclamato negli apostoli e ha abitato nei santi.’

(f. 176v) Հաւատա՞ս յաւենասուրբ Երրորդութիւն, ի Հայր և յՈրդի և ի Սուրբ Հոգին, յերեք անձինքն և ի մի բնութեան, մի աստուածութիւն և մի թագաւորութիւն, և ի բնաւ տնարէնութիւն որդոյն Աստուծոյ, ի ծնունդն և ի մայր Աստուածածին, ի մկրտութիւն, ի խաչելութիւն և ի խաչն Աստուծոյ <խաչ>, ի թաղումն, ի միւս անգամ գալուստն իւրով մարմնով, և ի յարութիւն մեռելոց, ի դատաստանն յաիտենական հոգւոց և մարմնոց, ի պսակն սրբոց մշտենջենաւոր և ի կորուստ մեղաւորաց, ‘Credi nella santissima trinità, nel Padre e nel figlio e nello spirito santo, nelle tre persone e nell’unica natura, unico Dio e unico regno, e nell’intera economia del figlio di Dio, nella nascita e nella madre, Genitrice di Dio, nel battesimo, nella crocifissione e nella croce di Dio, <croce>, nella sepoltura, nella sua seconda venuta col suo corpo e nella resurrezione dei morti, nel giudizio eterno delle anime e dei corpi, nell’incoronazione eterna dei santi e nella perdizione dei peccatori?’

4 Here quoted with the translation by Uluhogian, *op. cit.*:

(f. 187r) Յիշեցէք ի սուրբ և արժանաւոր յաղաթս ձեր զառաջնորդ Սուրբ Փրկչի վանացս զո՞ւր Աստուածատուր կրանաւոր և զՈվանէս վարդապետն որ ետուն զսուրբ Մաշտոցս, որ է Գիրք ձեռնադրութեան, վերստին նորոգել և կազմել իւրեանց հոգոյն յիշատակ: Զձեզ աղաչեմք, ով ընդերձաւորք, որ մէկ Հայրմեղայիւ <մի> յիշել ի Տէր: Ով որ յիշէ յիշեալ լիցի ի Քրիստոս Աստուծոյ մերոյ. ամէն: Եւ է սայ յիշատակ ի դուռն Սուրբ Փրկչին. ամէն: Հայր մեր որ յերկ, ‘Ricordate nelle vostre sante e degne preghiere tēr Astuacatur monaco,



Fig.1. Bologna, Bibliotheca Capuccini, Ms. Arm. 2.

the codex and confirms that the actual binding was realized in the Armenian area, or at least by Armenian craftsmen, as supported by the codicological analysis.<sup>5</sup>

When the manuscript arrived at ICRCPAL, it was described in detail, providing documentary and photo-

graphic evidences for every page and every item of the binding. As the Italian terminology for bookbinding was lacking technical terms for the description of some elements of the Armenian binding, specific terminology was proposed and used for description (figs 2, 3).

The archaeological examination of the FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2 involved the use of non-destructive scientific techniques for the analysis of all the components of the manuscript, including parchment, pigments, inks, leather, threads, textiles, and wood. At the end of the study, the manufacturing process of the codex was clarified and the provenance of the codex from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia of the fourteenth century was confirmed.

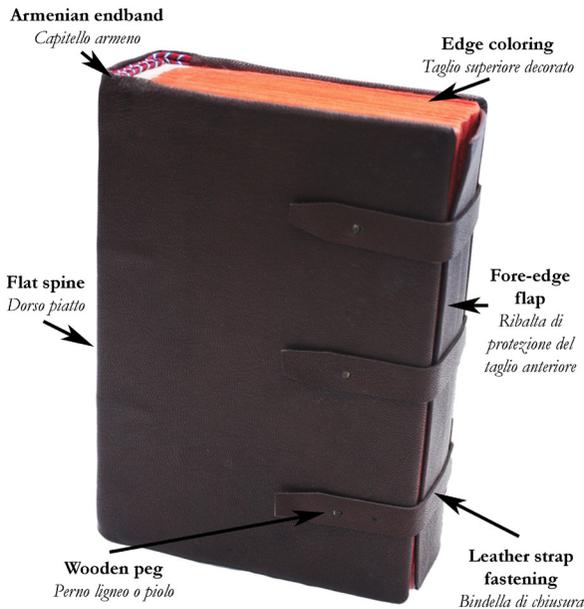
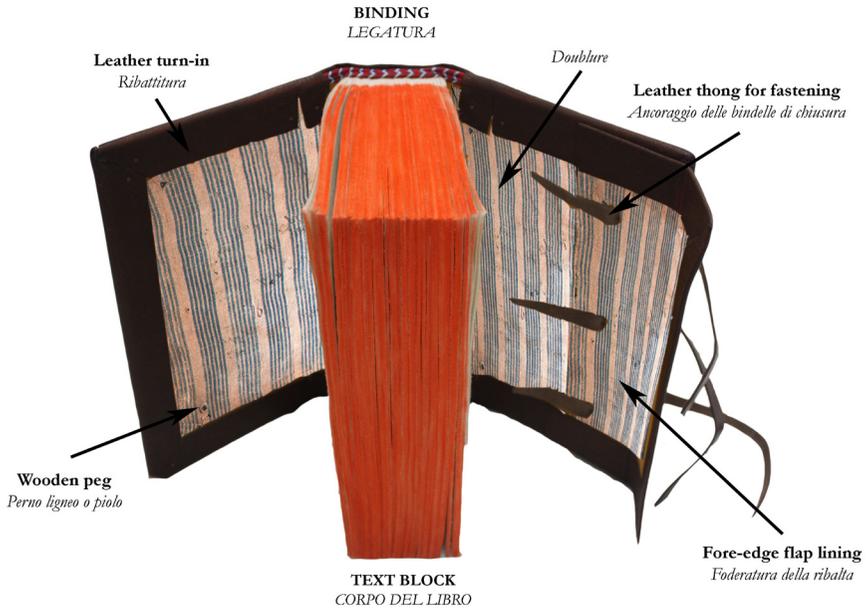
#### *The text block: parchments, inks and pigments*

The *Maštoc*<sup>6</sup> is a parchment manuscript, made from sheep and goat skins, following Armenian manufacturing techniques. It currently measures 215 x 165 mm, but the text block had been trimmed during an ancient rebinding. It is composed of 188 leaves: 17 irregular gatherings and two endleaves made with reused parchment. The manuscript has the following quire structure: P<sup>2</sup> (ff. 1r–2v), 1<sup>10-1</sup> (ff. 3r–3bis–10v), 2–5<sup>10</sup> (ff. 11r–50v), 6<sup>10-1</sup> (ff. 51r–59v), 7<sup>10</sup> (ff. 60r–69v), 8<sup>12</sup> (ff. 70r–81v), 9<sup>10</sup> (ff. 82r–91v), 10–15<sup>12</sup> (ff. 92r–163v), 16<sup>10</sup> (ff. 164r–173v), 17<sup>14-1</sup> (ff. 174r–186v), f. 187.

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superiore del monastero di s. P'rkic', e ovanēs vardapet, che fecero restaurare di nuovo e riordinare questo santo *Maštoc*<sup>6</sup> (Rituale) che è il *Libro dell'Ordinazione*, a ricordo delle loro anime. vi supplico, o lettori, di ricordarci al signore con un *Padre, ho peccato*. E chi ricorda sia ricordato da Cristo nostro Dio, amen. E questo è [a] ricordo presso la chiesa di s. P'rkic', amen. *Padre nostro che [sei] nei cieli*<sup>7</sup>.

5 Indeed, no evidence of a further re-binding was found.



Figs 2, 3. English-Italian terminology for Armenian mediaeval bookbinding.

An inspection of the gatherings revealed that all the pages had been repaired with paper during an ancient conservation treatment. A particular feature is that in the gatherings from u (1) to p̄ (8), ff. 3–81, the bifolia are made of two paired single leaves, glued at the fold.

All the leaves are ruled with a hard point; few leaves with a light gray carbon line. The pricking was detected only in the outer margins of few leaves, because in most cases it was cut off when the margins were trimmed. The layout of the page is the same in the whole manuscript, so the complete *mise en page* diagram (fig. 4) was reconstructed combining the evidence found in different pages.

After the parchment was pricked and ruled, the text was written by the scribe in *bolorgir*, Armenian cursive writing. The writing surface is justified to 165 x 105 mm and the text is written in one column, on 16 lines. Headings and rubrics are in blue (natural ultramarine), red (cinnabar) and gold. Raman spectroscopy evidenced the presence of two different inks: the original one, used by the scribe, and the one used during the ancient restoration to rewrite the missing text. Often Armenian inks have been identified as carbon based inks, because of their deep black colour; yet, the analysis conducted confirmed the absence of carbon and the use of iron gall ink.

The manuscript has gilded illuminations in Cilician style: brightly coloured headpieces, marginal arabesques, birds, and decorative letters. Occasionally, marginal figures that are directly connected with the text are represented, for example a bishop, a seven-armed candelabrum, and a cross. Some of the miniatures and marginal figures were cut off and are now lost. Non-destructive analysis (microscopic examination, multispectral imaging, FORS and Raman spectroscopy, and Energy Dispersive X-ray Spectrometry) was undertaken to provide a description of the pigments used by the artist.

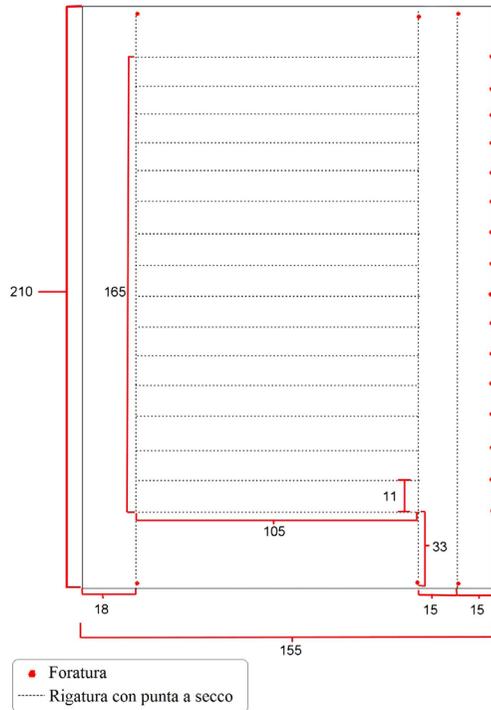


Fig 4. FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2, *mise en page*.

The absence of a ground layer was detected, and the entire palette was reconstructed: the wide use of natural ultramarine (pigment extracted from lapis lazuli), red lake, cinnabar, white lead and gold was documented. The absence of green pigments is significant; indeed all the green areas were painted with a mixture of indigo (blue) and orpiment (yellow pigment). The resulting palette was compared with those attested in other Armenian manuscripts<sup>6</sup> and it is compatible with the origin in the Cilician Kingdom during the fourteenth century.

### *The Armenian binding*

The codex is bound on the left side with a typical Armenian leather binding, blind-tooled with geometrical motives on the boards and ruled with parallel vertical lines on the spine. The boards are of the same size as the text block, and the spine is flat. Prior to restoration, remains of two raised embroidered endbands were hanging at the two ends.<sup>7</sup>

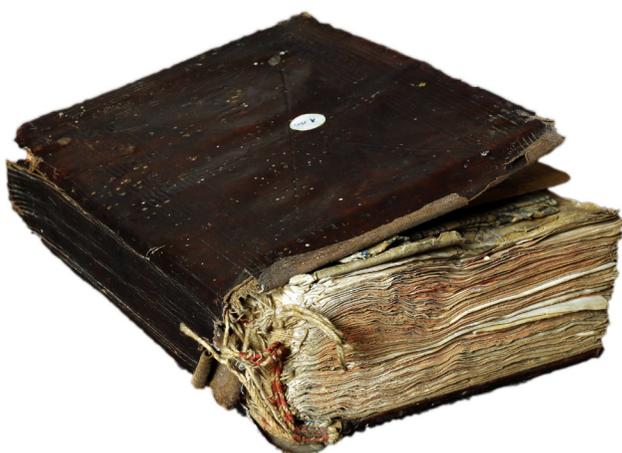


Fig 5. FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2, binding.

The deterioration of the binding provided a unique chance to study the codicological structure of the codex: the leather cover, the lining and the back doublure were almost completely detached from the boards, allowing us to investigate also the board attachment and the sewing structure. The inside front and backboards were covered with linen doublures and we detected the residues of the fore-edge flap, of the fastening (of the leather strips and wooden pegs type) and of the Armenian headbands were observed.

### *Grecquage and sewing*

Going back to the manufacturing process of the codex, when the illustrations were completed, the bifolia were assembled into quires and the book

<sup>6</sup> Orna 2013; Merian 1994, 136, 138; Brostoff et al. 2010.

<sup>7</sup> The Armenian binding structure is meant for flat storage, which explains the raised endbands and the absence of the squares.

was ready to be sewn. To facilitate sewing the binder realized four V-shaped notches in the fold of each quire, one at each sewing station. No evidence of the earlier binding remains, except for the central notch (*grecquage*), cut in V-shape, in the fold of all the gatherings, that is no longer in use in the actual sewing system.

Finally, the quires were ready to be sewn. Sewing systems can be distinguished in two great groups: (1) supported sewings, in which the quires are linked to each other and to a support; (2) unsupported sewings, in which the quires are simply linked to each other, without the use of cords. Virtually all oriental binding traditions made use of unsupported link-stitch sewing, all but the Armenian, which was instead based on supported sewing. While the sewing structure most frequently reported in literature on the Armenian tradition<sup>8</sup> is a herringbone sewing on double cords, a different system was observed in the *Maštoc*<sup>6</sup>, a herringbone sewing with supported kettle stitches, realized using a sewing frame. This structure has four cords: the herringbone is sewn on two double cords, while the kettle stitches are executed on two single cords.

At a first glance, it seemed that in the change-over stations, the thread simply came out from one quire and then entered the next one, passing over a single cord (fig. 6). On a more careful observation, we could attest that before entering the next quire, the coming out thread passed under the previous quire. For this reason we identified this procedure as a supported kettle stitch sewing (fig. 7). As far as we know, it is the first time such thread passages have been described. Moreover, thanks to the colophons, it is possible to claim that this structure was made by an Armenian binder.



Fig 6. The herringbone sewing with supported kettlestitches.

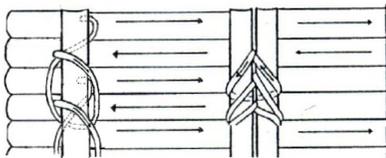


Fig 7. A diagram of the herringbone sewing with supported kettlestitches.

<sup>8</sup> Szirmai 1999, 87–90; van Regemorter 1953, 1954.

### *Boards*

The two wooden boards are made of very thin tangential section of poplar wood with the grain running horizontally, contrary to what usually happens in western bindings. Both boards were attached to the text block with the same method: the double cord was threaded through a hole drilled in the board and knotted at joint (fig. 8).

### *Spine lining*

After the sewing and the board attachment, the spine was lined with a single linen beige cloth glued with starch. The spine lining covered also the outer side of the boards for 25–30 mm.

### *Endbands*

Analyzing the remains of the endbands, we reconstructed the technique of the sewing of Armenian raised headbands as a ‘S’ variant, five needles-sewing. The primary embroidery was realized with a white cotton thread, while the secondary one with silk threads of red, white and black colors.

### *Doublures*

The inside of the boards was covered with white and blue striped linen doublures, pasted with starch glue. In the front doublure later annotations written with different inks were observed.



Fig 8. The binding of FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2, almost detached from the textblock.

*Leather cover*

The codex was finally covered with a vegetable tanned calfskin, in a reddish brown color. The leather was turned inside the boards and pasted with starch glue. Near the inner joint, small slits were made on the leather, to allow the turns in the covering of the raised endbands. Small wooden pegs were used to fix the turns-in and at the end the manuscript had neatly mitered corners on the inside boards. The cover had finally been blind-tooled with geometric motif while the spine was ruled with the typical vertical lines. Only few traces of the fore edge flap and the three leather clasps were detected.

*Red edge colouring*

The edges of the text block were trimmed during the ancient rebinding of the codex and in that occasion the edges were also colored with a red pigment, minium, that stopped few millimeters before the endbands, leaving a horse-shoe shape uncolored area.

**Conclusions**

The conservation survey and treatment are always a valuable occasion for a research of the archaeology of mediaeval codices. In the case of FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2, not only it was possible to confirm what was already known concerning Armenian codicology, but new findings could be made, including the composition of the inks (the prevalence of iron gall ink) and the particular sewing technique (herringbone and kettle stitch). The analysis and conservation of the second Armenian manuscript of the Bibliotheca Cappuccini in Bologna, the fifteenth century illuminated Gospel book, shall be conducted during 2017. It remains to be seen whether the findings from that manuscript shall be similar or different from those observed in FMBCap Ms. Arm. 2.

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# Stone by Stone: Building the Graeco-Arabic Edition of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, Book IX\*

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## Summary

In the last two years, we have been working on a Graeco-Arabic edition of Book IX of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, which also takes into account an abridged Syriac version. The starting point was a non-negotiable complete recension of all the manuscript witnesses. Our aim is to look for the point of contact between the Greek and the Arabic traditions, understanding the complex process that brought about the translation, and from there to reach the most ancient stage of the Galenic tradition that it is possible to attain. This approach opens new dimensions for stemmatological and editorial discussion that deserve to be cautiously explored.

Two years ago, we embarked on a joint philological enterprise aimed at producing a critical edition and English translation of the Greek and Arabic versions of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, Book IX on minerals drugs.<sup>1</sup> We shall share here some aspects of the methodological approach that have oriented our work, together with the new ideas and intuitions that have emerged during our perusal of the text. Three crucial aspects of our research will be touched upon in this contribution: (1) the study of the two textual traditions in their own independent development; (2) the way in which these two traditions entered into contact and communicated with each other; (3) the selection of the variants in the larger historical context of the Graeco-Arabic textual tradition.

It is not the first time that the Greek and the Arabic tradition of a Galenic text have been considered together.<sup>2</sup> The aim of our investigation is the *constitutio textus*, *id est*, *Graeci ac Arabici textus*, the critical value of which depends upon a parallel and balanced use of both traditions.

\* This is the written version of a paper presented at the conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back—Looking Ahead*, Hamburg, 26 September 2016. We would like to thank Philip van der Eijk (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Mark J. Geller (Freie Universität Berlin), and Roland Wittwer (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) for their constant support and encouragement.

1 The Greek text (usually referred to with the Latin title *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*) has no critical edition and remains available only in the nineteenth-century edition by Karl G. Kühn: Kühn 1826, XII.159–244. The Arabic text remains completely unpublished.

2 This is the spirit, for instance, of the dictionary of Graeco-Arabic translations compiled by Manfred Ullmann, where the Galenic text represents the main source for the lemmata: see Ullmann 2002 and 2006. For an interesting case study from Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, Book VI, see Pormann 2012.

We do not believe that an occasional and uncritical appeal to either tradition, neither of which allow for any unambiguous editorial decision, represents a productive philological practice.

Here, the problem is not only the ancillary role or subordination of one tradition to the other, but also the risks of relying on one random—sometimes simply the only available—witness (either a manuscript or an unreliable edition), which merely represents an external element that is supposed to solve, as if by magic, complex textual cases.

Thus, the starting point of our investigation was a complete *recensio* of the Greek and Arabic manuscript traditions, as the first necessary step towards their punctual comparison.<sup>3</sup> We decided to consider the Greek and the Arabic as two distinct streams of tradition, strongly linked at the moment of the translation, but otherwise leading an independent life.

It is well known that Syriac played a paramount role (as stated in Ḥunayn's *Risāla*) in the translation process.<sup>4</sup> Regrettably, the complete Syriac translation of Galen's *On Simple Drugs*, Book IX, is currently not available, even though our hopes are revived by the recent discovery of the Syriac Galen Palimpsest.<sup>5</sup> We are, however, working on the abridged version, transmitted under the name of the Graeco-Egyptian alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, in a historical perspective, the Arabic translation of Galen was not only a highly refined technical process, it represented a great intellectual operation, which the *Risāla*, by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, tells of in detail. In addition to the application of sophisticated translation techniques—the tendency to make explicit everything that is implicit in Greek, and the use of hendiadys to render in Arabic the two main lexical spheres of a certain Greek word—one can observe a great attention to the readership in the work of Ḥunayn. This led to a re-contextualization of the Greek text into a different cultural environment. For instance, the Greek MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), *Urbinas gr.* 67 (see below) offers a remarkable example. It preserves a long section that discusses both the names of the Armenian earth in different languages and the toponyms of its extraction sites. Giving the spelling of the city *Bagawana* (Greek βαγαουάνα), Galen introduces an erudite discussion on the archaic Greek letter *digamma*. The Syriac and Arabic translators mention the different names of the earth (the same part

3 The methodological inspiration comes from neo-Lachmaniann philology, although this has not specifically addressed multilingual traditions. See, for instance, Pasquali 1952; Trovato 2014, 243–274.

4 Ullmann 2002, 28–32; for a new edition and English translation see Lamoreaux 2016, 66–67.

5 See Bhayro-Hawley-Kessel-Pormann 2013; Hawley 2014.

6 MS Cambridge Mm. 6.29. See Martelli 2010 and 2014, 208–211.

included in the Byzantine medical encyclopaedias as well), but they omit all the linguistic remarks on the *digamma*, which would have meant very little to an Arabic reader.<sup>7</sup> Other traces of this attitude can be detected in the text, such as the choice to translate *oi Ellēnes* (οἱ Ἕλληνες, ‘the Greeks’) with *al-nās* (الناس, ‘the people’), meant as an inclusive nod to the new readership of the Arabic translation.

### A survey of the manuscript traditions

Galen’s treatise *On Simple Drugs* includes eleven books, and has been divided into two main blocks: the first includes Books I–V, which is the theoretical section of the treatise; while the second contains Books VI–XI, which represent its more practical part. Both the Greek and the Arabic manuscript traditions mirror this twofold structure of the work.<sup>8</sup>

As far as the Greek tradition is concerned, the earliest Byzantine codices transmit Book IX along with other books from the second part.<sup>9</sup> The earliest manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, gr. 284 (*Vaticanus gr. 284*), dates to the tenth century CE, and it hands down a compendium of Galen’s *On Simple Drugs* (Books VI–XI), in which an abridged version of Galen is combined with relevant passages from Dioscorides’ *De materia medica*.

The earliest manuscript preserving the complete text of Galen’s Book IX is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 469 (*Monacensis gr. 469*, ff. 60r–89r; late twelfth or early thirteenth century).<sup>10</sup> The book has no title, but the *pinax* is introduced with the sentence: ‘In this book the properties of the substances from mines and of any earthy substance are described as follows’ (ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων ὕλης καὶ πάσης τῆς γεώδους αἰδυνάμεις λέγονται κατὰ τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην τάξιν).

Another complete manuscript is *Urbinas gr. 67* (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century), where the book on minerals (ff. 233v–248v) is introduced with the title: ‘Beginning of book IV’ (ἀρχὴ τοῦ τετάρτου λόγου). Book IX, in fact, is the fourth book of the second and practical part of the treatise, which gives a description of simple drugs one by one.

The fourth manuscript is Vatican City, BAV, *Palatinus gr. 31* (fourteenth century), where Book IX (ff. 138r–157r) is introduced by the same title at-

7 Martelli 2012.

8 Petit 2010.

9 According to the research carried out so far, there are four manuscripts that can be singled out as carriers of the tradition. We can count, however, more than 20 *descripti*. Their number gives an idea of the diffusion and the success of the work. For a more detailed description of the four main Greek manuscripts, see Martelli 2012, 131–133 (with further bibliography).

10 The date of this manuscript is controversial: I follow Mondrain 1998, 36.

tested in the *Monacensis* (ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων ὕλης καὶ πάσης τῆς γεώδους αἱ δυνάμεις λέγονται κατὰ τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην τάξιν; then, after the *pinax*, a second heading reads: Γαληνοῦ περὶ ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεως βίβλος θ').

Regarding the Arabic, it counts four witnesses, all of Andalusian origins, probably produced between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century: MSS Escorial, Ar. 793, Ar. 794, Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III 2083, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (BML), Or. 193.<sup>11</sup> Excerpts from Book IX—selections of pharmacological prescriptions freed from theoretical passages—are also preserved in two abridgements, one from al-Andalus too (MS Escorial, Ar. 802), the other from the East (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2857).<sup>12</sup>

### Stemmatological issues

The logical step following the *recensio* is an attempt to define possible relations among the witnesses of the Greek and the Arabic tradition considered separately.

Starting with the Greek, the relation of MS *Vaticanus* with the other three manuscripts is very difficult to assess, since the transmitted text is a collage of writings stemming from different traditions.

The *Monacensis* and *Palatinus* manuscripts seem to belong to the same branch of the manuscript tradition, and could stem from a common sub-archetype. However, in some cases, *Palatinus* seems to have better readings, which are in contrast with all the three other manuscripts, usually in agreement with the Arabic tradition (see example 1).

Finally, the *Urbinas* manuscript seems to belong to a second branch of the manuscript tradition. In some instances, it offers a more complete text, as in the context of the *digamma* discussion (see above). A marginal note from the hand of the copyist stresses the completeness of the passage, casting the shadow of contamination already on the Greek tradition. In fact, in the margin of the passage on the different names of the Armenian earth (only preserved by the *Urbinas* manuscript among the four witnesses mentioned above), the copyist noted 'it is complete' (ὅλον ἐστί; see fig. 1). He could probably compare different codices, some of which did not include this portion of text.

The Arabic tradition, on the other hand, does not appear to be organized in a coherent net of genealogical relations. The manuscript witnesses show signs of extensive contamination. The MS BML Or. 193, for instance, carries

11 Ullmann 2002, 24–28; for the Escorial MSS see Derenbourg 1884, II.2, 3–4. For the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, see Assemani 1742, 361; Garofalo 1985; and Arvide Cambra 1992.

12 Ullmann 2002, 26–27; Derenbourg II.2, 15–17; De Slane 1883, 514.

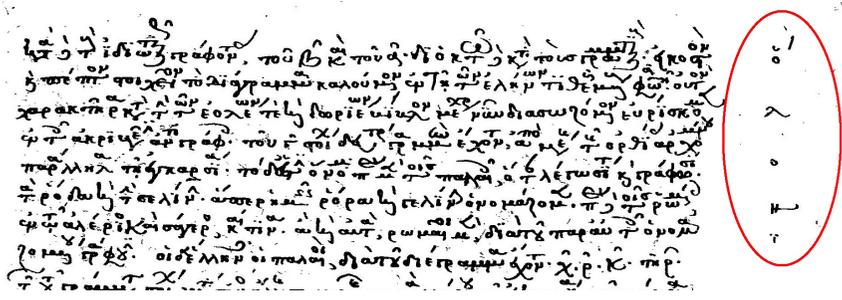


Fig. 1. MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Urbinas gr. 67*, f. 241v. Galen’s discussion on the Armenian earth: marginal note (“it is complete”).

traces of at least four different hands that annotated and corrected the text on the basis of other copies. Moreover, the manuscripts BML Or. 193 and Escorial Ar. 794 are endowed with collation notes that offer a glimpse of the complex intellectual history and scholarly approach connected to the Galenic tradition.<sup>13</sup>

The collation note in the MS BML Or. 193 states that the copy in question originated from the manuscript that belonged to the Banū Zuhr family, adding that the forefather of this prestigious

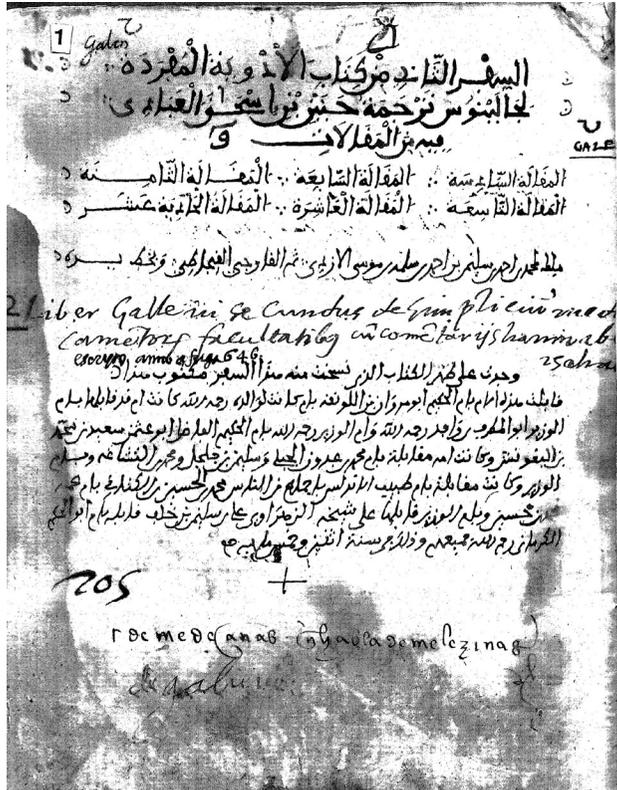


Fig. 2. MS Escorial, Ar. 794, f. 1r. Frontispiece of the second tome of Galen’s *Kitāb al-adwīya al-mufrada*, collation note under the title.

13 Ullmann 2002, 25–27.

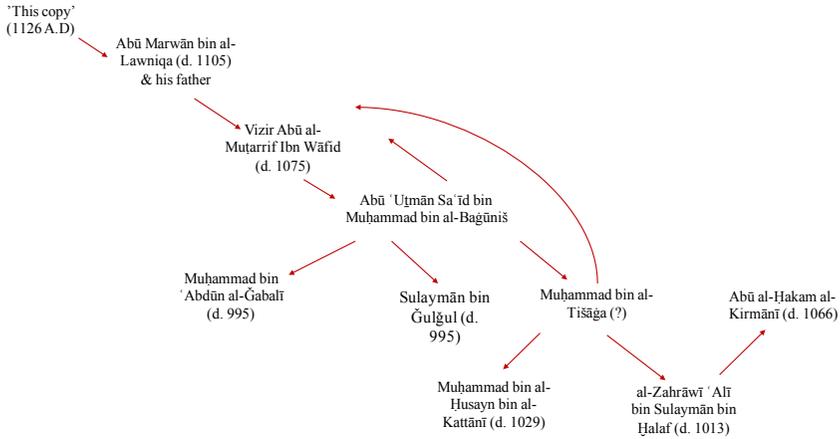


Fig. 3: Diagram of the crossed-collations carried out in al-Andalus in the tenth to eleventh century, as related by the collation note in MS Escorial, Ar. 794, f. 1r.

lineage of physicians copied the text in Egypt from the autograph leaves of Ḥunayn himself.<sup>14</sup>

The collation note in MS Escorial Ar. 794 (fig. 2) delineates a complex network of the most prestigious Andalusian physicians and pharmacologists from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, who apparently used to cross-check the version of the text in their possession against other prestigious copies (fig. 3).<sup>15</sup>

In this perspective, the working hypothesis of contamination becomes quite solid: it is a technical and intrinsic aspect of the manuscript tradition, and not a dismissive solution in the evaluation of the witnesses.

In this environment of contamination, all the manuscript witnesses are equally useful in the reconstruction of the text. In spite of the concrete differences among the copyists and their working style, none of them can be assigned the role of the most representative carrier of the Arabic tradition.

### Editorial output, selection of the variants, visibility of errors.

Understanding the two manuscript traditions at the moment of their direct contact, i.e. the Abbasid translation, is crucial for defining the relation between Greek and Arabic. This answers the theoretical question that floats in the air above the stemmatic field: what is the *Ur-Text* that each one of us

14 MS BML Or. 193, f. 218v.

15 MS Escorial Ar. 794, see Ullmann 2002, 26. From this collation note, one can infer that, between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, at least ten copies were circulating in al-Andalus.

is aiming to reconstruct? And how does the close communication between Greek and Arabic work?

The historical textual layer that we are trying to reconstruct is the one circulating at the moment of the translation from Greek into Arabic, via Syriac (that is, the actual moment of contact between the two traditions). If, for the Arabic, this stage represents the pristine core (the Arabic text, in fact, simply did not exist before the translation), for the Greek, this textual layer is the platform from which the philologist can attempt the leap towards the reconstruction of more ancient strata of the Galenic text. We will now provide a few examples of how the historical reconstruction of the textual transmission allowed us to zoom in on specific and particularly meaningful variant readings that would otherwise appear less relevant or difficult to interpret.<sup>16</sup>

*a) An invisible error in Greek*

In some cases, the advantage of the Graeco-Arabic approach is particularly striking. The comparison of the two traditions brings to the surface mistakes and variants that would be hardly detectable in the context of a single tradition. This may concern palaeographic errors as well, which have no occasion to be produced and sit in the frame of a different script. For instance, in the course of a detailed discussion about the differences between astringent (στυφοντα φάρμακα) and pungent drugs (δριμέα φάρμακα), Galen contrasts the properties of the two groups in general terms (Kühn XII.161): the latter are vasodilators that warm the body, whereas the former are vasoconstrictors that contract and cool down the body. What seems to be the correct reading (ψύχειν, ‘to cool down’) is only preserved in the *Palatinus* manuscript, whereas the rest of the tradition reads στυφειν (‘to be astringent’).

The Arabic translator seems to have read ψύχειν (‘to cool down’) in the Greek (translated with **دبر**), suggesting that this variant is probably much earlier than the fourteenth century, when the *Palatinus* was produced. Looking at the Greek tradition in isolation, this reading may seem a late error, since it occurs in only one testimony of one branch of the tradition. The comparison with the Arabic, however, leads to a completely different evaluation of this variant’s weight: the Arabic strongly suggests that this reading was already attested in the layer of the Greek tradition used as basis for the translation into Arabic.

16 The Greek and the Arabic texts of the examples are taken from our work in progress on the edition, the apparatus is slightly simplified and only given with reference to the core elements of the example. For the Greek, the Kühn edition provided the starting text, which has been amended (words in bold) according to the results of our complete recension.

Kühn XII.161,15–17

τὰ στύφοντα δ' ἀποκρούμενα τὸ  
περιεχόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς τῷ ψύχειν τε  
καὶ συνάγειν καὶ πλεῖν πέφυκεν

ψύχειν *Palatinus* : στύφειν *Monacensis, Urbinas*

On the contrary, astringent medicines naturally drive away (the blood) contained in these parts by **cooling down**, bringing together, and closing up.

واما الادوية القابضة فتجدها تجمع وتودع الدم الحاصل  
في العضل الذي توضع عليه لان من شاتها ان تبرد  
وتجمع وتلزد

As for the astringent drugs, they are found to hold and leave the blood collected in the part on which they are applied, because it is part of their character to cool, bring together, and firmly tie the substance of the part.

### b) Combinatory variants

In less extreme cases, the comparison with the Arabic orients the choice of the variant readings towards one branch of the tradition rather than another.

For instance, in the passage in which the Armenian earth is compared to lime, only the *Urbinas* manuscript specifies that the lime is ground. The Arabic and the Syriac (in this case available) support the choice of this reading, which could otherwise only be solved *ope ingenii*.

Kühn XII.189,11–12

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡςπερ ἐκεῖνης  
λειουμένης οὐδὲν  
ἐμφέρεται ψαμμῶδες,  
οὕτως οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

λειουμένης *Urbinas* : omittit *Monacensis, Palatinus*

But, as no sandy residue is contained in this (rock) **when pounded**, likewise in the Armenian earth.

Cambridge Mm. 6.29

و كما ان النورة اذا سُحقت لم يوجد  
فيها شيء رملي كذلك لا يوجد في  
هذا الطين الارمني شيء من الرملية  
وحيثما.

As nothing sandy is found in lime, when pounded, likewise in this earth from Armenia.

Like in the lime, there is no sandy component, if pounded, likewise there is no sandy component in this Armenian earth.

### c) Proper names and heavy corruption

As for the Arabic tradition, the variant readings are often *adiaphorae*, and only a very careful application of the *usus scribendi* criterion may be of some help here, but it does not offer a universal solution.

For instance, transliterated names from the Greek cultural context tend to a quick and dramatic degeneration in the process of copying. In these cases, the Greek text guides the reconstruction of the reading, which is often diffracted *in absentia*.<sup>17</sup> A representative case is the quotation of some verses

17 Contini 1986, 102–103; Trovato 2014, 119–124.

from the *Theriaca* composed by the Hellenistic poet Nicander, that refer to a river in Thrace (Nic. *Th.* 45–49). Both the name of the poet and the toponyms (Thrace and Pontos) can be safely reconstructed on the basis of the Greek.

Kühn XII.204,1–7

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις λίθος, ἧς καὶ Νίκανδρος  
μέμνηται γράφων οὕτως.

Ἦε σύ γε Θρήϊσσαν ἐνιφλέξαις πυρὶ λάαν·  
ἢ θ' ὕδατι ῥανθεῖσα σελάσσεται, ἔσβεσε δ' αὐγὴν  
τυτθὸν ὅτ' ὀσμῆσηται ἐπιῤῥανθέντος ἐλαίου,  
τὴν ἀπὸ Θρηϊκίου νομέες ποταμοῖο φέρουσιν,  
δὸν Πόντον καλέουσιν.

There is also another stone that Nicander mentioned, writing as follows (Nic. *Th.* 45–49):

or you could kindle in the fire the Thracian stone,  
which glows when sprinkled with water, yet  
quenches its

brightness at the least smell of drop of oil.

Herdsmen gather it from the river of Thrace,  
which they call Pontus.

وقد ذكره نيقاندروس في كتابه حيث قال  
انه يطرّد الهوام اذا احرق بالنار وهو الحجر  
الذي اذا رش عليه الماء اشتغل واذا صب  
عليه قليل من الزيت انطفأ والرعاة ياتون  
بماذا الحجر من النهر الذي ثراقيا يقال له  
بنطس

وقد ذكره نيقاندروس في كتابه حيث قال  
انه يطرّد الهوام اذا احرق بالنار وهو الحجر  
الذي اذا رش عليه الماء اشتغل واذا صب  
عليه قليل من الزيت انطفأ والرعاة ياتون  
بماذا الحجر من النهر الذي ثراقيا يقال له  
بنطس

Esc. 793, Esc. 794, Saray Ahmet  
III 2083 : سقاندروس : BML. Or. 193  
Esc. 793, Esc. 794 : تراقي [ثراقيا]  
Saray Ahmet  
III 2083: براقى : BML. Or. 193  
Esc. 793 : نبطس [بنطس]  
Saray Ahmet III 2083, BML. Or. 193

And here also another stone that Nicander mentioned in his writings, in which he says that it chases vermin off, if it is burnt with fire. This is the stone that lights up if some water is spattered on it, if instead some oil is poured on it, then it extinguishes. The shepherds bring this stone from the river that in Thrace is called Pontus.

### Concluding remarks

As Varvaro reminds us, in its own peculiar way, any edition is a scientific compromise between the editor's scholarly *desiderata* and the readership he wants to address.<sup>18</sup> This idea implies a number of technical choices (e.g. inclusivity of the critical apparatus, layout, extension of the comment) whose definition is in progress. However, it clearly emerges from the examples that our understanding of both Greek and Arabic traditions profits from the thorough comparison that has been carried out so far. In terms of methodology, this consists of the non-mechanical selection of variant readings in their context. The Galenic text that we would like to offer to the readers is intended to mirror the complexity of this multilingual textual tradition and, at the same time, constitute a reliable and easily accessible source for any further interpretation.

<sup>18</sup> Varvaro 2012, 42-47.

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# Research in manuscript studies

## A Diplomatic Edition of Mishna-Codex Kaufmann (A50)

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Hebrew philology is built on two fundamental pillars: the study of Biblical Hebrew (BH) and that of Rabbinic Hebrew (RH). In terms of the material basis for their study, these two fields have had and continue to have quite different trajectories. BH is set on a firm textual, lexicographical and grammatical basis, with an agreed-upon, expertly edited textual tradition on which depend several authoritative lexicographical works and grammars. This is not so with the foundational RH text, the Mishna, which lacks all three: 1) a complete critical text that is the object of scholarly consensus, 2) a scientific, all-encompassing lexicographical treatment, and 3) an authoritative, complete grammatical description. Instead, research in the field is conducted on a piecemeal basis—critical editions of individual tractates, and specialized lexicographical and grammatical studies (to replace/supplement studies that are founded on an inferior textual basis). This situation is the background for a new research project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK), which will be undertaken over the course of the academic years 2016–2019 at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge. The aim of the project is to produce a full diplomatic edition of the single most important textual witness to the Mishna—ms. Kaufmann A50. The edition will attempt to establish a Mishna text that will provide a holistic description of (an important branch of) the RH language tradition, in a way that will in turn serve as a basis both for a sound grammatical/lexicographical description, as well as for comparison to related traditions of Hebrew (and Aramaic). The project team are: Dr Michael Rand (Principal Investigator), Dr Aaron Hornkohl (Co-Investigator), and Dr Shai Heijmans (Researcher). The team will be advised by Prof. Geoffrey Khan, and in its second and third years we also expect to be joined by an additional researcher.

The wellspring of the desiderata described above is the lack of a firm textual foundation—there exists no critical text of the Mishna on which an authoritative, holistic analysis may be based. There are a number of specific causes for this state of affairs. Within the Jewish tradition itself, there exists no single, uniquely authoritative recension of the Mishna text. Rather, the textual tradition may be divided into three main categories, each of them (at least potentially) equally valid: 1) a ‘Palestinian’ tradition of manuscripts containing

the free-standing text of the Mishna, 2) a ‘Babylonian’ textual tradition in which the Mishna has been copied as part of the Babylonian Talmud, and 3) the branch of the early printed editions, representing an attempt to bring the Palestinian textual tradition into closer conformity with that of the prestigious Babylonian Talmud, and associated with the name of Maimonides. Furthermore, with regard to the first two branches, it has not yet been firmly established which has the best claim to absolute historical priority—

i.e., which one more closely represents the ‘original’ text of the Mishna. This lack of clear-cut priority holds in the textual as well the linguistic spheres, since the Babylonian branch sometimes preserves authentic and ancient RH forms. It is, in any case, *a priori* clear that both recensions/branches are ultimately rooted in Palestine, the cradle of Rabbinic culture. This already-entangled textual/linguistic picture is further complicated by the existence of a fairly large number of Genizah fragments (G. Birnbaum analyses 51 fragments in his *The Language of the Mishna in the Cairo Genizah*), which are potentially of great importance due to their age and eastern provenance. However, their contribution is seriously limited by their fragmentary state, as a result of which not only is the amount of Mishna text attested in them restricted, but it is also difficult to sort them with regard to the Palestinian-Babylonian divide in the textual tradition.

In the wake of the pioneering philological research on RH conducted by E.Y. Kutscher in the second half of the previous century, it has become common practice to attempt to circumvent, or at least ‘contain’ this meth-



Fig. 1. MS Kaufman A50, f. 1v, *Mishna Berakhot* 1:1–5.

odological problem by means of establishing, in the case of a given Rabbinic work, an exemplary text (Kutscher's Hebrew term is *av-tekst*) that preserves to as great a degree as possible the pristine language of the original. Using his newly-developed methodology, Kutscher was able to establish ms. Kaufmann A50 of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—which represents the 'Palestinian' branch of the Mishna tradition—as the foremost exemplary text of the Mishna, and a prime witness to the western branch of RH. It is important to note that Kutscher's orientation was philological, and the linguistic authority claimed for this codex need not automatically be understood as implying superior authority in terms of the Mishna text, which must be established independently. Notwithstanding, it remains the case that, because of its comprehensiveness together with its (relative) antiquity, ms. Kaufmann is also an outstanding representative of the 'Palestinian' recension.

This codex, which contains an almost-complete Mishna text, was produced in Italy in the eleventh or twelfth century (fig. 1). A facsimile edition of the codex was published in 1929, and the monumental research of J.N. Epstein, Kutscher and others has established it as a source of nonpareil significance in the study of the Mishna, both textual as well as philological, with a plethora of editions and studies being dependent on its text. And yet, no complete critical edition of the text contained in this manuscript has yet been produced. This is the lacuna that our project seeks to fill.

The most basic aim of the project is therefore to produce a standard and comprehensive edition of ms. Kaufmann, on which all studies employing this source might be based and to which they might refer. One might argue that such an edition is unnecessary, as the manuscript is available not only in facsimile, but also on-line, in the form of high-quality digital scans (<<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/ms50/ms50-coll1.htm>>), and a consonantal transcription produced by the Historical Hebrew Dictionary of the Academy of the Hebrew Language (<<http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>>). However, from the palaeographical perspective this is a highly complex manuscript, which comprises two separate traditions—the consonantal and the vocalic—and moreover contains a plethora of erasures, marginal corrections, additions, etc. The purpose of the diplomatic edition, therefore, is not simply to represent the textual data in typeface, but to interpret them palaeographically and philologically with the help of a critical apparatus.

As indicated above, ms. Kaufmann lies at the heart of much research on the Mishna and its language—it is frequently used as a base text in editions of individual tractates, and its linguistic data are employed in an extensive array of specialized lexicographical, phonological, morphological and syntactic studies. A diplomatic edition of this codex will therefore furnish a common, easily accessible basis for all such work in the future. Furthermore, the pal-

aeographic analysis of the text will represent an interpretation of the linguistic information that it contains, which scholars will be in a position either to verify or to falsify, such activity facilitating the emergence of a consensus regarding the palaeographic interpretation of the codex, which cannot be taken for granted. In particular, our edition will be the first to fully and systematically grapple with the vocalization of the codex, which constitutes a fundamental aspect of its contribution to the study of RH.

We intend for our edition, which will be prepared by Dr Heijmans, to be published as a printed edition, as well as to be made available in Open Access format as a fully-searchable PDF document. Finally, we will cooperate with two other, related projects that focus on the Mishna text: the CT-Mishna (<<http://mishna.huma-num.fr>>) and the Digital Mishna (<<http://www.digital-mishnah.umd.edu>>). As a long-term goal, both projects aim at comprehensive digital presentations of the manuscript witnesses to the Mishna, which will of course include ms. Kaufmann. Our work, which we will share with these two projects on an on-going basis, will help them to present a text of ms. Kaufmann that is maximally accurate from the palaeographical point of view, the greatest benefit coming from our work with the vocalization of the codex.

## ParaTexBib: an ERC Project Dedicated to Paratexts in Greek Manuscripts of the Bible

*Patrick Andrist and Martin Wallraff, University of Basel*

At the end of the summer of 2013, the project *ParaTexBib: Paratexts of the Bible: Analysis and Edition of the Greek Textual Transmission*, an initiative called into life in 2012 by Martin Wallraff in collaboration with Patrick Andrist, received an Advanced grant from the European Research Council.<sup>1</sup> While the interest of its initiators is to locate, study and publish all paratexts in biblical manuscripts, the *ParaTexBib* project currently focuses on the approximately 2,300 Greek manuscript witnesses of the Gospels, up to the end of the sixteenth century. As can be imagined, our project raises many theoretical and methodological questions, some of which are briefly outlined here.

### What is a biblical paratext?

First of all, what is it meant by biblical paratexts? A short preliminary definition could be ‘all contents in biblical manuscripts, except the biblical text itself, are *a priori* paratexts’. Within the scope of the ParaTexBib project, this encompasses all the material accompanying the biblical texts in Byzantine Gospels.

‘All contents’ is a loaded expression. It is not just limited to texts but can also include pictures, musical notation or graphic elements. But is not simply a catch-all term for anything written in the codex either. For example, purely decorative elements and codicological features such as the page numbers or quire signatures are *not* considered paratexts, even though they may have a paratextual valence.<sup>2</sup> Physical features such as the writing material or the page rulings are also to be excluded from the category of paratexts.

‘*A priori*’ because, if someone uses the empty pages of a worn Bible to jot down some mathematical exercises or write an alphabet as *probatio calami*, this is definitely a small piece of content in the codex but it is not a paratext of the Bible.

From a book-historical perspective, paratexts can be divided into two classes; (1) manufacturers’ paratexts that include every paratext that was included in the book by the people who manufactured it. These can be separated into traditional and non-traditional paratexts. This means, in the first

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1 See Wallraff and Andrist 2015. The project was effectively launched at the beginning of 2015 in Basel with a team of six people: Emanuele Castelli, Saskia Dirkse, Sergey Kim, Ann-Sophie Kwass, Agnès Lorrain and Ulrich Schmid. Andrea Mele joined them in 2016.

2 Andrist forthcoming.



Fig. 1. Basel, Cod. AN IV 2, ff. 4v–5r.

subgroup, all the traditional paratexts whose presence is standard in a Byzantine codex, such as the title at the beginning of the Gospels; it also includes the more ‘optional’ traditional paratexts, such as subscriptions or evangelist portraits. In the second subgroup we find non-traditional paratexts which are unusual or even unique to a particular codex; examples of this type of paratexts are dedicatory epigrams and colophons. The presence of these paratexts is the result of a deliberate choice on the part of the codex’s manufacturers and they determine the character of this ‘publication’; (2) all the so-called ‘post-manufacture’ paratexts, meaning every piece of content which was added to the book *after* it was already in circulation. These paratexts were not part of the initial project behind the book.

In fig. 1, we clearly see the difference between the main text (outlined in red) and the two classes of paratexts. The yellow boxes indicate the manufacturers’ paratexts, including the title, the end of a traditional prologue, the first capitulum in the series attributed to Euthalius, the headpiece, information

relating to the liturgical reading of the biblical text and an unusual initial. In orange we have two pieces of liturgical information added by a later hand.

With the exception of art historians concentrating on the paintings and decoration, scholars have overlooked much of this paratextual material, especially biblical scholars, because historically they have focused their attentions almost exclusively on the reconstruction of the biblical *Urtext*. The project *ParaTexBib* represents a first and major step towards remedying this omission.

### **Goals, purposes and their link to the database**

From its inception the project has had three goals: (1) Identify the paratexts in the manuscripts and record them in a database; (2) Study and publish the most interesting among them, both online and in print; (3) Prepare an electronic *clavis* of the biblical paratexts as a finding aid for those who wish to venture into the ‘paratextual jungle’. These three goals of the project are to be achieved by means of a smart database that forms the heart of the project. This is where we enter our data and through which future users would find information and sometimes links to images of the manuscripts described by the team. Additionally, the database would serve as a basis for the e-Clavis and as a central tool for gathering and organizing material for editions and studies.

As we were planning the project, we explored several possibilities for the database and concluded that the best option would be to develop no new database. The thinking behind this was that we would save a lot of time, money and trouble if we could adapt an already existing database to our requirements, rather than creating everything from scratch. The challenge, however, was to find a database that could answer most of our needs and was run by people with whom we could establish a good working relationship.

We have found an excellent partner in the Pinakes<sup>3</sup> database, whose research goals and philosophy align closely with our own.<sup>4</sup> In 2014, we reached an agreement with the IRHT in Paris to share and adjust Pinakes by adding new fields specific to paratext studies, new internal functions, and to enter our data in their database.

As a result, we are now working on the same back end and the same files with the same inputting principles. We are able to access directly all the data entered by the people at the IRHT and they, in turn, have access to the data that we have entered. Nevertheless, each team remains ‘owner’ of its own data. Users of the Pinakes database also have access to most of these data, with the exception of the new fields, which will be available through our own

3 See <<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>>, last accessed 30 October 2016.

4 For an overview of the theoretical framework that underpins this project, see Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013.

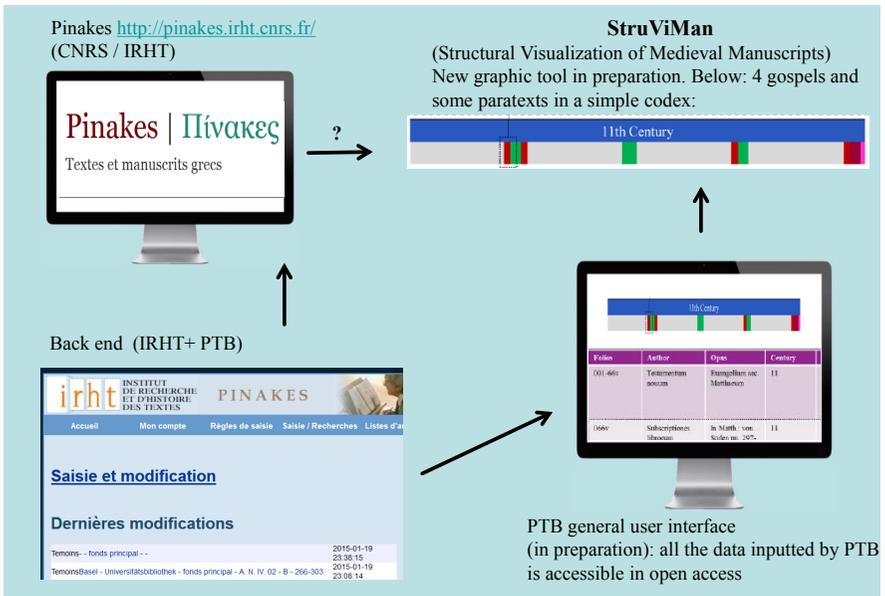


Fig. 2. Planned scheme of Pinakes and the PTB public interface.

public interface when it is launched online. The name(s) of the author(s) of each manuscript description, as well as the team behind it, are also visible in the public environment.

A few weeks ago we received more good news from the ERC; they accepted our supplementary proposal for a proof-of-concept extension of the project. With these additional funds we will build a tool called StruViMan,<sup>5</sup> which will create a visual representation of a manuscript in the form of a bar (see below) with colours corresponding to particular types of texts. In the example in fig. 2, the gospel texts are in grey, while different types of paratexts are in colour. Significantly, StruViMan will be entirely customizable—including the colour code—and will be available on an open access platform with a Creative Commons license. Any project working with manuscripts or even standard printed books will be able to use it free of charge and can adjust it to their own interface. This last aspect in particular proved decisive for its success in obtaining the additional ERC grant.

### Source of data

As noted above, we plan to survey all of the *c.*2,300 Gospel manuscripts in Greek,<sup>6</sup> hunting for particularly interesting paratexts and instances of para-

<sup>5</sup> Structural Analysis and Visualization of Medieval Manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> Lectionaries are excluded.

textual organisation within each the codex. We call this fast-tracking. Our aim is that every manuscript be evaluated by at least two different people, in order to diminish the chances for errors and prevent any interesting data from being overlooked. We have at this time already had a first look at *c.*1,300 manuscripts.

In cases where printed catalogues recorded biblical paratexts, it is sometimes possible to use them for fast-tracking. But this is not always the case, especially—but unfortunately not exclusively—in older catalogues. Our principal source of information are therefore photographs of the codex, mostly in electronic form. Some of these are available to the public through various library websites and portals, but biblical scholarship is privileged to have specific databases for ancient manuscripts of the Bible online. For the New Testament the most important place is the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR), run by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster (INTF),<sup>7</sup> perhaps best known for their critical editions of the Greek New Testament. More importantly for our purposes, the INTF owns a microfilm copy of nearly every extant manuscript witness of the New Testament in Greek and are in the process to making them available online. More material is put at users' disposal by the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM).<sup>8</sup> When a manuscript is not available online and its best available catalogue entry is lacking or unsatisfactory, we sometimes visit libraries to inspect the manuscripts in person, especially when there are several manuscripts to be viewed in the same library.

In the database, the information resulting from a fast track is often not longer than a title line. It mentions the kind(s) of paratexts found in the manuscript without going into further detail. For example, 'Tetraeuangelium cum prologis, capitulis, subscriptionibus et epigrammatis' or 'Tetraeuangelium cum capitulis et subscriptionibus; Praxapostolus cum Apocalypse' or 'Tetraeuangelium (fragm. ex Luc., 2 f.)'. If there are no paratexts or if they all belong to a list of paratexts that we have determined to be standard, the codex will not be described further and the information stays as is.

If there are unusual paratexts (or an unusual configuration of paratexts) the codex is marked as 'to be described.' In such a case we exclusively use NTVMR as a source, as we have created an electronic 'bridge' between NTVMR and Pinakes. This bridge allows us to annotate paratexts on the images in NTVMR and it automatically imports the data into Pinakes entry for the manuscript in question in a pre-formatted way. If the manuscript is not

7 <<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/home>>; <<http://egora.uni-muenster.de/intf/>>, last accessed 30 October 2016.

8 <<http://www.csntm.org/>>, last accessed 30 October 2016.

in NTVMR, our colleagues in Münster have kindly agreed to expedite the manuscript's digitisation process for us and make it available online. The description in Pinakes focuses on the content of the codex: every piece of content, including the Gospels and all the paratexts around them, is identified and registered in a specific record, while other biblical books (or other types of content) are listed as a group. If the text is not standard, the title, *incipit* and *desinit*, and other important information, such as the biblical book it is a paratext of, are also recorded. For obvious reasons, the manuscript's physical features are mostly left to the side.

### Conclusion

While it is still early days and perhaps too early still to draw any lasting conclusions, it is our hope that the *ParaTexBib* project will represent a milestone in the study of the Greek Bible and its reception. Through a novel approach to manuscript descriptions which incorporates both traditional and highly innovative technology and methodology, and subsequently through the publication of studies and editions of their paratextual material, we hope to shed a necessary light on an important part of the biblical tradition that has lingered in obscurity for far too long.

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## **New (and renewed) resources in the field of manuscript description (the ‘Syntaxe du codex’ and more ...)\***

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Marilena Maniaci, Università degli Studi di Cassino  
e del Lazio Meridionale*

### **A new resource for manuscript cataloguing**

The idea of an introduction to manuscript cataloguing stems from a series of scholarly achievements, conceptual inputs, and methodological debates which in the last few decades have concerned research on archaeology, history and the description of mediaeval books.

We can mention, first of all, a recent and intensive production of new handbooks and introductions to manuscript studies, not confined to the most well-known and documented manuscript cultures (that is, the Greek and the Latin ones), but open to a comparative evaluation of other and less-investigated traditions, even in terms of a sheer quantitative census and summary description of their manuscript witnesses.<sup>1</sup>

In parallel to this, there has been significant progress in the study of the constituent materials and the structural components of the codex, which may greatly affect descriptive practices. In particular, among the new trends in contemporary codicology the recognition of the ‘complex structure’ of mediaeval manuscripts stands out as one of the most significant achievements. This implies an awareness that the exact delimitation of the constituent parts of a codex is one of the most crucial tasks for a correct interpretation of its genesis and historical evolution (see below).

In the meantime, the traditional form of the printed catalogue is still popular and vital, but it is triggered by a persistent contradiction between the

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\* Our contribution, conceived in close collaboration between the two authors, is organized in two sections: the first (by Marilena Maniaci) is the first official anticipation of an ongoing project, concerning the preparation of a new *Introduction to manuscript cataloguing*; the second (by Patrick Andrist) announces the forthcoming publication of an updated English version of our monograph on *La syntaxe du codex*, which will appear hopefully in 2017. — We wish to thank Roderick Saxey for revising our English text.

1 A brief and non-exhaustive list includes Mazal 1986; Ruiz García 1988 and 2002; Lemaire 1989; Déroche et al. 2000 (most recent revised edition, in Italian, Déroche and Sagaria Rossi 2012); Maniaci 2002 and 2005; Agati 2003; Clemens and Graham 2008; Agati 2009; *COMSt* 2015; Cursi 2016.

increase in ‘codicological awareness’—which is reflected in more and more detailed and burdensome descriptive protocols—and the troubling awareness of how many yet uncatalogued or inadequately catalogued manuscripts still exist.

As we have looked for a way out of this *impasse*, printed physical catalogues have been gradually complemented or replaced by electronic or intangible ones, which are increasingly numerous and varied as regards their features, their promoters, and their quality. These catalogues were initially saved on mass storage devices, then more and more often compiled and disseminated through the Internet in the form of ‘closed’ databases, *in-progress* descriptions, or portals and hypercatalogues, complemented by galleries of digital images, bibliographies, discussion forums.

This picture’s dynamic nature is counterbalanced by a lack of updated handbooks and introductions which would give an account of the most recent developments of cataloguing theory and would offer practical advice for the cataloguers’ work. The few exceptions include useful works whose diffusion is mostly limited to single national contexts<sup>2</sup> or a wide range of other contributions with more limited targets and ambitions, such as the sets of rules connected to specific cataloguing projects.<sup>3</sup>

The volume we are preparing together with Paul Canart aims to fill, at least partially, this gap. Who are its potential readers? First of all, ‘*militant manuscript cataloguers*, whatever the category they belong to, be it manuscript librarians, professors and researchers, established and apprentice scholars, or other professionals. Manuscript cataloguers ought to have a good training in the fields of palaeography and codicology, solid knowledge of literary history (which is particularly vast in the case of the so-called ‘general’ catalogues) and art history; we can add to that, nowadays, a familiarity with IT languages and architectures: basic knowledges and skills that only a long and patient practice allows one to strengthen and refine. Manuscript cataloguing is therefore also a highly formative research activity, which in turn can bring out unexpected discoveries and stimulate new research. Manuscript cataloguers are always faced with the need to make a series of choices, such as: (1) Which features are to be described and which ones are not? (2) How minutely must each feature be described? Which aspects thereof should be addressed? (3) According to which formal rules do they have to be presented? Even in

2 Petrucci 1984 (2nd edn 2001); Géhin 2005; again AA.VV., again *COMSt* 2015 (chapter 4. *Cataloguing*).

3 Among which, to cite a few examples, [Beaud-Gambier and Fossier] 1977; Iemolo and Morelli 1990; *DFG. Richtlinien* 1992; *Norme per la descrizione uniforme* 2000; Pass 2003; *Guida a Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* 2006; De Robertis et al. 2007; Andrist 2007.

a highly unstandardized field, the ultimate goal of the cataloguers' choices should be to produce a description in which the systematic and coherent presentation of the data is accompanied by, but clearly distinct from, their subjective interpretation; this, in order to provide its users with all the elements necessary for understanding as accurately as possible the genesis and structure of the manuscript and to develop a personal judgment on it.

Besides cataloguers, this volume will address the wider and diverse audience of *catalogue users*: not only palaeographers and codicologists, but also philologists and students of manuscript traditions and of ancient and medieval texts and cultures, art historians, and all those who need to read and interpret a manuscript description correctly, so that they may not only find the information they are looking for, but also correctly evaluate its quality and reliability.

Potential users also include, of course, *students and young scholars*: our book aspires to increase their awareness of the importance of manuscript descriptions for the safeguarding of our handwritten heritage—since undescribed or badly described books are particularly exposed to the risk of theft and mutilation—and also aspires to help them develop a critical approach towards the popularizing of manuscript books, which should not be limited to the 'spectacularization' of the richest and finest specimens by imprisoning them in display cases and reducing their exhibition to a single two-dimensional opening.

We also hope that our work may receive the attention of *conservators and restorers of manuscripts*, who are ever more aware that the capacity to make a careful analysis and scholarly description of a manuscript is essential to checking its conditions, to critically evaluating any need for restoration, to defining the most appropriate ways to effect such, and to documenting as clearly and completely as possible each step of the intervention and its final results.

The text of our new *Introduction* is divided into four main sections (fig. 1): — The first section aims to give a critical overview of the basic features and issues of modern catalography, both in printed and electronic form, concentrating on its most recent achievements and on the major open issues: we briefly treat the main 'models' and 'categories' of catalogues and we give a critical review of the advantages and limits—the 'dreams' and 'nightmares'—of digital catalogues. Although recent catalography has been accused of investing most of its energies in methodological reflection and the development of cataloguing rules rather than in the actual practice of manuscript cataloguing, we believe that there is still a need for theoretical reflection, perhaps even more than in the past. On the one hand, descriptive standards, including the most recent and rigorous ones,

<b>Introduction</b>
<b>1. Theory of cataloguing</b>
1.1 Why cataloguing? and for whom?
1.2 Categories of descriptions
1.3 Categories of catalogues
1.3.1 Collection catalogues
1.3.2 Thematic catalogues
1.3.3 Digital catalogues
1.4 The ‘digital manuscripts’
1.5 A new codicological awareness
<b>2. Before describing</b>
2.1 ‘Understanding the codex’
2.2 Syntactical descriptions
<b>3. Practice of cataloguing</b>
3.1 The ‘identity card’ of a manuscript
3.2 The description of the contents
3.3 Physical features
3.4 History of the codex
3.5 Special cases
3.6 Helps and hints
<b>4. Present and future of manuscript description</b>
<b>Appendix – Study cases (examples from catalogues)</b>
<b>Reasoned bibliography</b>

Fig. 1. Provisional table of contents of the English version of *La syntaxe du codex*

do not seem to have been fully acknowledged and translated into practical guidelines; and this holds also for some important achievements in codicological research, such as the aforementioned recognition of the structural complexity of the mediaeval codex. On the other hand, the technological evolution which began at the end of the twentieth century has produced a rapid, as well as chaotic, explosion of projects concerned with the digital conversion of existing printed catalogues, and a more timid yet growing emergence of new and fully digital catalographic enterprises; yet the transition from printed to electronic catalogues cannot be considered fully nor satisfactory accomplished.

- A second section is devoted to what we identify as a ‘new codicological awareness’ which has led scholars to look at the codex as a ‘complex’ object (see below).

- A third and more ‘practical’ section illustrates methods and techniques which may be applied to the description of the so-called ‘external’ features of the manuscript book (codicological, physical), its ‘internal’ features (textual, visual) and its ‘historical’ features. We will offer examples of ‘good practices’—without seeking to impose unique solutions—and a (not exhaustive) overview of existing tools (handbooks, dictionaries, introductions to specific categories of manuscripts, collections of texts, repertories of various kind, and so forth). Despite the existence of old and prestigious cataloguing traditions, reflected in rigorous and comprehensive operational standards, one is in fact struck by the extreme level of heterogeneity in the descriptive solutions regarding the physical features of the manuscripts, even for the more basic features (such as the dimensions or the ruling types); this is striking when one considers that the features described are essentially the same in almost all the manuscripts and the various cultural areas, and yet the solutions employed are not all equally convincing. The same is also true for the description of the contents, still quite lacking in regard to the consistent representation of author’s names and titles of their works. By sharing remarks and illustrating a few solutions among many possible options, our goal is to make cataloguers aware of the various possibilities and encourage them to define their own practice more coherently, use it systematically, explain it clearly to their readers, and, as a result, more efficiently communicate the book’s original structure (including the related contents) and the evolution it has undergone in the course of time.
- The final section returns to the issues and challenges of online catalogues and addresses this from a more technical point of view, in order to draw a picture of the available instruments and possibilities and to give an insight into their further, dizzying developments. An appendix offers a selection of what we consider representative examples of older and more recent catalogues, in both paper and electronic forms.

Although our presentation of the challenges of manuscript cataloguing and the choice of examples will be primarily based on the Greek and Latin traditions, which are most familiar to us, we hope that the volume can also serve as a useful reference tool for those dealing with the description of codices belonging to a wider range of book cultures. Among the stated aims of our work there is in fact that of stimulating a common debate and reflection and a profitable sharing of best practices in order to enable the technically less advanced cataloguing traditions to bridge the gap, but also to stimulate the more established traditions to face new issues and problems.

### The English syntax of the codex

It was for a number of reasons that we began to consider publishing a revised English edition of our recent *La syntaxe du codex*.<sup>4</sup> First of all, about a year after the book was printed, we were surprised to receive word from Brepols that it had sold out, mainly because Brepols did not believe the book would garner a great deal of attention and printed a rather limited run.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, we received some interesting and valuable comments from readers or reviewers, which helped us understand that certain points required further clarification and illustration or improvement. Thirdly, we realised that our French prose was not entirely clear to some non-native speakers, to the degree that in some publications our statements were misinterpreted. We wanted therefore to avoid misunderstandings and to broaden the circle of our readership by preparing an English translation of the book. Lastly, the *COMSt* network gave us the opportunity to deepen some points in our reflection. To give but one example, let us mention the typology of the production unit as a tool for arriving at a more nuanced understanding of the history of the codex.

Structural codicology sees the codex as a complex book-object which needs to be understood both from a genetic constitutive perspective (which in our book we analyse on the basis of various ‘production units’ of a codex, UniProd) and in terms of its subsequent history (based on the retrievable ‘circulation units’, UniCirc). Each UniProd was once a part of a UniCirc.

We would like to use a simple, fictitious example (fig. 2) to illustrate the potentials of this approach. Let us imagine the following situation:

- Two codices were copied by two different scribes, including blanks at the end of them, on two different kinds of paper. Each codex circulated independently of each other. In our system this would mean that there are two production units and two circulation units, each with its own content and material writing support.
- At a later stage, someone joined the two units into a single new codex, but did not add any new written content. Apart of the new binding, there is no new production unit (neither new content nor new material support), but there is a new circulation unit.
- Later, someone used the blanks at the end of the two original production units to write some poems. This time, we have both a new circulation unit *and* a new production unit, in two parts, including a new hand and two new pieces of content, but no new material writing support.

4 Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci 2013; see also Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci 2010.

5 Needless to say, we are very grateful to all the members of *COMSt* (among others) who convinced their library to purchase a copy of our volume.

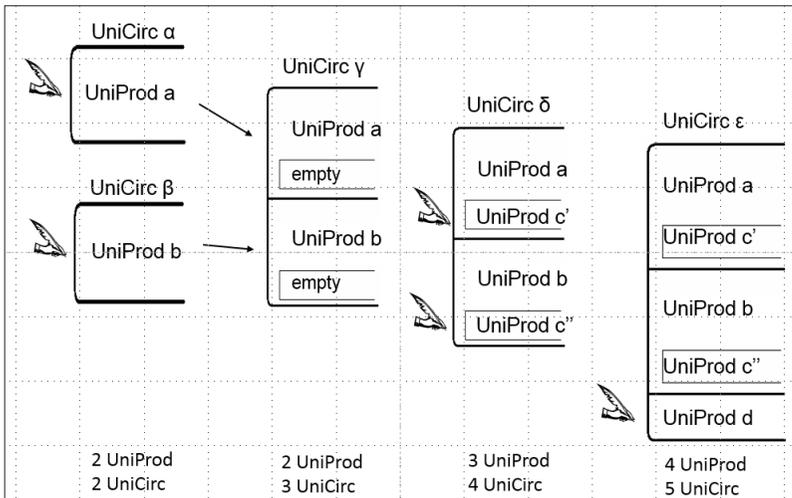


Fig. 2. The transformations of a codex: a fictitious example

— Finally, a while later, someone decided to add a table of contents to the entire codex on a few supplementary folia. This table of contents depends, of course, on the content which already existed in the codex. Thus, there is a new circulation unit (the resulting new book) and a new production unit (the table of contents), including a new hand, a new piece of content, and some new material support.

The important point here is that the four UniProd exemplify three different types of UniProd: (1) UniProd a and UniProd b have their own autonomous materiality, as well as autonomous texts; (2) UniProd c has autonomous texts but no material of its own; (3) UniProd d has its own materiality but no autonomous texts.

In *La syntaxe du codex* we argue that a study of the main discontinuities in the codex should, in most of the cases, allow one to recognize the various probable production units in the codex. Should we come across the codex from our example case, it would be fairly straightforward, since the UniProds can be distinguished according to their hand and sometimes also according to their material support. The goal is now to reconstruct, as far as reasonably possible, the probable stages of the history of this codex by analysing the types of its production units, even when we cannot assign a date to the material support or the writing. In our example case:

— The fact that the content of UniProd d depends upon the rest of the codex implies that it is the last production stage of the codex. In spite of its hav-

ing its own material writing support, there is little chance that it circulated independently because its content cannot stand on its own.

- The fact that both parts of UniProd c occupy the empty spaces at the end of UniProd a and b indicates that they were written *after* the main content of each unit. But why could not UniProd c' be written before UniProd b and UniProd c'', or UniProd c'' before UniProd a and UniProd c'? Or the three of them as one single production unit? Before we answer this question, we need to clarify the relation between UniProd a and UniProd b.
- The fact that both the hands and the material writing supports of UniProd a and UniProd b are different means that they probably were not produced at the same time. This can be possibly further substantiated by the differences in their layout and the ruling pattern. If UniProd a and UniProd b were produced separately, the chances that UniProd c was produced at a later date are much higher than that two scribes together produced one codex in two parts, including some poems by the third hand. Yet, this does not exclude the scenario where the scribe of UniProd c was for example the owner of UniProd a and UniProd b separately, and also added the poems separately. In this case, UniProd c should be split into two UniProd.
- As to the final question, whether we can be sure that UniProd a and UniProd b circulated independently of each other, the answer is unfortunately no. We cannot exclude the possibility that one of them originally circulated as an independent unit, and the other was written later and immediately joined to it, without having ever circulated independently. The analysis of the layout and the quire signatures could give some hints whether this may have been the case or not.

We must stress the fact that these are *probable* stages. If no chronological clues can be obtained from the writing hands or the material support, or if it seems likely that the hands and/or the material support date from around the same time, and if there is an overall coherence in content and layout, one could even argue that what one finds here is four scribes working as a team, three of them using their own stocks of paper.

While it is often possible to reconstruct the history of a codex up to a given point, other details of its past will remain elusive and uncertain. When reconstructing the manuscript history, one should therefore always proceed with caution and avoid jumping to hasty conclusions.

We are having a lot of fun with our new 'LEGO-set', and we cordially invite everyone join us in this stimulating and fascinating game.

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# Conference reports

## **ATTEST — Approaches to the Editing of Slavonic Texts. Tradition and Innovation in Palaeoslavistic Ecdotics**

**Regensburg, 11 to 12 December 2015**

The intent and outcome of the earlier ATTEMPT workshop (*Approaches to the Editing of Texts with a Multilingual Tradition*, King's College London, 18-20 Dec. 2013, see *COMSt Newsletter* 8 (2014), 8–9) kindled the idea of a new workshop along the same lines, this time devoted entirely to palaeoslavistic text editing. The ATTEST workshop was initiated by Jürgen Fuchsbauer (University of Regensburg), co-organized by Vittorio Tomelleri (University of Macerata) and Lara Sels (University of Leuven), and supported by the *DFG*, the *Hans Vielberth Stiftung* and the association *Graecitas christiana*. The workshop, hosted by the Regensburg Department of Slavic Studies, shared much with its predecessor ATTEMPT: its concern to stimulate the debate on the aims and methods of text editing; its intention to move from the experience of individual text editors to the discussion of common problems and perspectives; its focus on the possibilities of the digital and on the relationship between traditional ecdotics and computerized approaches. However, ATTEST bore its own distinctive mark and many of the addressed issues pertained to the particularity of Slavonic textual traditions (for instance, the problem of the different alphabets Glagolitic and Cyrillic, and of orthographical variability in Slavonic) or to the particularity of the various scholarly traditions that coexist within the field (viz. Russian *tekstologija* and western oriented textual criticism).

The opening of the workshop was marked by the celebration of the career of the renowned slavist-medievalist Francis Thomson on the occasion of his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. After a brief word of welcome by the Dean of the Faculty of Linguistics, Literature and Cultural Studies, Prof. Dr Volker Depkat, the guest of honour took the floor for his opening address, a general paper on the difficulties and pitfalls of editing Slavonic translations—also the main subject of one of the afternoon sessions (and a reminder of the ATTEMPT concern with multilingual traditions). Likewise entertaining and enlightening was the laudatory address by Roland Marti, which highlighted the career of Francis Thomson from the middle ground between bio-bibliography and light-hearted eulogy.

The main part of the meeting consisted of seventeen presentations, organised in six sessions. Focus of the second session was on the intricacies of textual transmission in Slavonic. William Veder elaborated on the contested notion of ‘flat tradition’, whereby a single authoritative Glagolitic exemplar is copied into multiple Cyrillic copies. The ensuing lively discussion was followed by the presentation of Jürgen Fuchsbauer, who discussed the complications in turning manuscript based editions into searchable digital text, e.g. for incorporation in larger diachronic corpora, stressing the role and responsibility of the critical editor in this process. Susana Torres Prieto then tried to make sense of the abundant and complex tradition of the Slavonic Gospel of Nicodemus, emphasizing the ways in which this kind of textual tradition—with addition, suppression and rearrangement as main features of scribal intervention—defy traditional modes of critical text editing, and giving prominence, in her own approach, to the study of the selection and ordering of the variable text segments or ‘building blocks’.

Header of the following session was *Exemplary Editions*, which opened with a thought-provoking paper by Ralph Cleminson on the impossibility to make a critical edition of the Slavonic *Apostolos*, all redactions of which are *recensionis aperte* that cannot be joined together in an all-embracing text. Giorgio Ziffer discussed the existing (diplomatic, copy-text, reconstructive) editions of the monk Chrabr’s treatise *On the Letters*, to proceed to the discussion of his edition in preparation, which draws on a fuller knowledge of the manuscript tradition than was previously the case. The announced paper by Anisava Miltenova and Adelina Anguševa-Tihanov, *Editing Slavonic Texts with Fluctuating Traditions: The Case of The Account of the Twelve Fridays*, was unfortunately cancelled.

The fourth session concluded the first workshop day with four papers on *Editing Translated texts*. With the *Life* of Andreas Salos as an example, Anna Pičhadze discussed the many problems that inhere in the editing of translated texts, such as the search for the relevant Greek source text version and the question of the value of (the) existing edition(s) of the Greek for the study of the Slavonic translation. The next speaker, the author of this brief report, used the example of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257) to discuss how the Greek source text tradition can help disentangle the knots of a conflated tradition, while Lora Taseva went into the necessity and the limitations of adding a Greek *apparatus criticus* to the edition of a Slavonic translation to clarify the relations with its source text(s). The session was concluded with the contribution of Margaret Dimitrova, who discussed the case of a translated Slavonic catena with commentaries on the *Song of Songs* (Theodoret of Cyrillus, the Three Fathers and Michael Psellus)—an

example of a single-manuscript-based edition (based on the fifteenth-century *codex Rilensis 2/24*).

The Saturday sessions opened with one general and one very specific and specialized paper: Vittorio Tomelleri addressed the overarching questions concerning text edition and methodology, viz. questions of intended readership and editorial orientation (viz. toward the manuscript or the text, towards the origins or the textual history, towards Western *Textkritik* or Russian *tekstologija*) and questions concerning the relation between text editing and linguistics and text editing and lexicography. In the ensuing presentation, Irina Podtergera introduced the audience to the epistolary corpus of the Belarussian-born poet, scholar and churchman Symeon of Polotsk (1629–1680). Over 250 letters and epistles, written in six language varieties (Polish, Latin, Ruthenian, Ruthenian Church Slavonic, Russian Church Slavonic and Russian) and relevant not only from a historical (biographical) but also from a literary and linguistic point of view, pose a real challenge to any editor wishing to disclose the material to the widest possible circle of researchers while retaining linguistic information of the one hand and improving the readability of the letters for non-linguists on the other.

The next session dealt with the promising but also often problematic interaction between traditional text editions and electronic linguistic corpora. Viktor Baranov discussed and demonstrated the problems and possibilities of electronic full-text databases with reference to the *Манускрипт* corpus (<<http://manuscripts.ru>>), while Ruprecht von Waldenfels traced the steps *From edition to basic historical corpus*, with as examples his work together with Achim Rabus on the Freiburg *Velikie Minei Čet'i* edition (<<http://www.vmc.uni-freiburg.de>>) and his work together with Lora Taseva on the Greek-Slavonic word lists to the ‘palamite’ codex Dečani 88. The session continued with the presentation of Roman Krivko, assisted by various collaborators, of the pioneering project that aims to turn the *Dictionary of the Russian Language of the 11th–17th Centuries* into a lexicographic database. To conclude the session, Aleksandr Moldovan discussed the representation of historical texts in corpora, viz. Old Russian texts in the *National corpus of the Russian Language* (*Nacional'nyj korpus ruskogo jazyka*, <<http://www.ruscorpora.ru>>) and the texts included in the *Манускрипт* corpus.

*Editing in the Digital Age* was the subject of the last workshop session, with a paper by David Birnbaum on the integration of textual, orthographic, and linguistic information within a digital edition, followed by Andrej Bojadžiev's exposition on the electronic editing of South Slavonic mediaeval parchment fragments. With the project presentation by Barbara Sonnenhauser, *Diachronic text linguistics digital. The Life of Petka Tärnovska from*

*Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic to Balkan Slavic*, the final session of the workshop was brought to a close.

The concluding address by the undersigned stressed the richness of approaches and methodologies in palaeoslavistic text editing, in a field that tends to hesitate between the critical and the diplomatic. A plea was made for more explicit theorizing and for an exchange of ideas, stressing that even when dealing with different textual traditions, we attend to common problems for which we may be able to find common solutions.

For the full programme visit < <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/sprache-literatur-kultur/slavistik/aktuelles/attest/index.html>>.

Lara Sels  
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## Natural Sciences and Technology in Manuscript Analysis

**Hamburg, 29 February to 2 March 2016**

From February 29 to March 2 2016, the Second international conference on *Natural Sciences and Technology in Manuscript Analysis* organized by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) convened scholars and scientists from the fields of the humanities, informatics, chemistry, physics, and biology. The conference provided a forum for discussing a multi-faceted interdisciplinary approach dedicated to the fast developing research of manuscripts. Forty contributions included in the programme presented new results from the research in areas of material analysis of manuscripts, spectral analysis to recover lost writing, as well as digital methods of image and text analysis. For the first time, the conference allocated time for a Round Table discussion addressing the vital questions of designing and funding interdisciplinary research.

The first session, on February 29, chaired by H. Sigfried Stiehl was dedicated to material analysis of manuscripts. In her key-note lecture on *Hard science and history*, Marina Bicchieri described multi-instrumental comparative approach for the correct characterization of the manuscript under study capable of reconstructing the history of its production and deterioration, and of predicting the expected further changes. Other papers presented non-invasive techniques that can assist the scholars in understanding the composition of writing materials (M.M. Khorandi, M. Gulmini, M. Aceto, A. Agostino, and H. Sayyadshahri; P. Çakar). Manfred Mayer demonstrated a simple method to reveal watermarks in medieval paper manuscripts. Reports of the projects conducted jointly by philologists, codicologists and scientists (M. Geissbühler; M. Delhey; D. Nosnitsin and A. Brita) elucidated the interdisciplinary approach adopted by the CSMC.

The second session, chaired by Ira Rabin in the morning of 1 March, focused on techniques for recovery of lost or damaged writing. Key-note lecture delivered by Vito Mocella presented the strength and limits of the newly developed X-ray phase contrast tomography capable of discerning hidden texts written with carbon inks (V. Mocella, E. Brun, C. Ferrero, and D. Delattre). Papers that followed included conventional X-ray tomography for reading unopened volumes containing inscriptions in metal-based inks (F. Albertin, E. Peccenini, M. Bettuzzi, R. Brancaccio, M. P. Morigi, A. Patera, I. Jerjen, S. Hartmann, and R. Kaufmann), multi- and hyperspectral imaging of the damaged manuscripts and data processing (K. T. Knox; C. T. C. Arsene, P.E. Pormann, W. I. Sellers, and S. Bhayro; V. Lorusso, and B. Pouvkova; T.

Łojewski, and D. Chlebda) and description of a special center for image and material analysis recently established in Vienna (M. Schreiner, H. Miklas, C. Rapp, R. Sablatnig, W. Vetter, B. Fruehmann, and F. Hollaus).

The third, evening session held in the afternoon of 1 March and chaired by Christian Brockmann highlighted the achievements of computational techniques in the image and text analysis. Here, Peter Stokes presented the state of the art in digital palaeography in his key-note lecture. The rest of the session was divided between segmentation-free word spotting (Y. Elfakir, G. Khaisidi, M. Mrabti, M.A. El Yaccoubi, Z. Lakhliai, and D. Chenouni; S. Sudholt, L. Rothacker, G.A. Fink; T. Konidaris, A. L. Kesidis, and B. Gatos), text/image alignment (D. Stutzmann, T. Bluche, Y. Leydier, F. Cloppet, V. Eglin, C. Kermorvant, and N. Vincent; R. Cohen, K. Kedem, and J. El-Sana) and segmentation-based extraction of salient features (E. Arabnejad, H. Ziaei Nafchi, E. Treharne, C. Allen, and M. Cheriet).

The fourth and the last session chaired by Volker Märgner in the morning of 2 March included a key-note lecture by Leif Glaser who reported on the last technical developments of the synchrotron applications in material analysis and imaging techniques. His comparison of the radiation output from conventional and synchrotron sources suggested that the general belief in absolute safety of the radiation use in the studies of the manuscript should be revised. The rest of the papers of this session presented case studies using various computational methods of text analysis (A. Garz, M. Seuret, A. Fischer, and R. Ingold; R. Hedjam, M. Kalacska, S.S. A. Al-ma'adeed, and M. Cheriet; A. Santoro, A. Marcelli, and F. Carillo) or combinations of material and imaging techniques (F. Kergourlay, C. Andraud, A. Michelin, A. Histace, B. Lavédrine, and I. Aristide-Hastir, R. Lheureux).

The session ended with a round table discussion dedicated to facilitation of interdisciplinary research, moderated by Oliver Hahn. Besides various funding strategies, the conference participants suggested to improve the visibility and accessibility of the tools for manuscript analysis that are being constantly developed in the fields of natural sciences and digital humanities by means of summer schools or special courses. The latter topics arose from the great success of the manuSciences '15, the German-French summer school for exhaustive manuscript studies held in September 2015 in Chimsee, Germany. The series of such summer schools is planned for the next years in Germany, France, and the USA.

For the full programme and abstracts of the conference, visit <[http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/natural\\_sciences\\_2016.html](http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/natural_sciences_2016.html)>.

Ira Rabin  
BAM Berlin and Universität Hamburg

## **Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies *Looking Back, Looking Ahead***

**Hamburg, 26 September 2016**

The one-day conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* (Hamburg, 26 September 2016) provided a forum for reflections on the advances in oriental manuscript studies. Twenty-two speakers had the possibility to speak about the latest research projects conducted in France, UK, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Israel, and Egypt. The conference was co-funded by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures and two projects based at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies at Universität Hamburg, *TraCES: From Translation to Creation: Changes in Ethiopic Style and Lexicon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (funded by the European Research Council) and *Beta maṣāḥəft: Christian manuscripts of Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Hamburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities).

The language traditions covered included Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Turkish, and the problems addressed ranged from manuscript illumination to critical text editing, from cataloguing to material analysis. Several talks (Stephen Emmel, ‘*Foliation by Opening*’ (*P. Gumbert 2010*, §316.12) and *How to Refer to It*; Ralph Cleminson, *Open Recensions, Textus Recepti, and Problems of Edition*) dealt with the fundamental issues insufficiently addressed in the handbook *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction*.

A number of papers and posters updated the international community on the progress in the projects that were already known but have since advanced significantly. Among these, Malachi Beit-Arié spoke of *SfarData – The codicological database of all the Hebrew medieval dated manuscripts: Presentation of its methodology and demonstrating its website retrieval system*, and Marilena Maniaci commented on her poster *MaGi: Manoscritti Greci d’Italia*. Patrick Andrist and Marilena Maniaci also gave a talk on their ongoing research on *New (and renewed) resources in the field of manuscript description (Syntaxe du codex and more ...)* (see this issue pp. 68–77).

The main aim was to give the floor to those projects that have not yet been made widely known to the COMSt community. Thus, Patrick Andrist introduced the European Research Council project *ParaTexBib*, dedicated to paratexts in the Greek manuscripts of the Bible (see this issue pp. 62–67), Stefania Silvestri and Renate Smithuis presented the new project *HeSMaC: Catalogue of the manuscripts in Hebrew Scripts from the John Rylands Library*, Élodie Attia-Kay spoke of the project *Manuscripta Bibliae Hebraicae: Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in Western Europe (England, France, Germany,*

Italy) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: A Material, Cultural and Social Approach, and Alessandro Bausi (with Eugenia Sokolinski) spoke of the new project *Beta maṣāḥaft*. The poster project presentations included *TraCES* (Alessandro Bausi) and *IslHornAfr: Islam in the Horn of Africa, A Comparative Literary Approach* (Alessandro Gori).

Syriac studies were significantly represented with the talks by Gregory Kessel on *Transmission of Classical Scientific and Philosophical Literature from Greek into Syriac and Arabic*, and by two papers dealing with Galenian corpus, Robert Hawley on *The Syriac manuscript BL Add 14661 and the Greek text of Galen's Simples*, and Natalia Smelova and Naima Afif, *The Syriac Galen Palimpsest Project: research methods and latest discoveries* (see this issue pp. 5–16). The Arabic tradition of the Galen's text was discussed by Matteo Martelli and Lucia Raggetti in their talk *Stone by Stone: Building the Graeco-Arabic Edition of Galen's On Simple Drugs (Book IX)* (see this issue pp. 47–57). The talk by Konrad Hirschler on *Text Reuse in Medieval Syrian Manuscripts* focused on the vicissitudes of Arabic books from Damascus mediaeval library.

The conference was of particular value for researchers who are still working on or have just completed their dissertations and have had limited opportunity to discuss their research results with a wide academic audience. Among them were Rouzanna Amirkhanian-Mézrakian, *Les Tables de Canons et l'iconographie de la Jérusalem celeste. Nouvelles perspectives de recherche sur le décor des Tables de Canons d'Eusèbe, basées sur l'étude des manuscrits arméniens enluminés du Moyen Âge*, Marta Silvia Filippini, *New Evidences in Armenian Codicology: Analysis of a Recently Discovered Armenian Manuscript from the Fourteenth century* (see this issue pp. 38–46), Claudia Colini, *Bound by Tradition. New ways and old paths in Yemeni bookbinding workshops in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*, Hassan Ebeid, *The Materials and Techniques Used in the Colouring and Preventive Protection of Mediaeval Islamic Paper*, Shiva Mihan, *Hidden from Scholarly Eyes for a Century: An unknown Bāysunghurī manuscript sheds new light on his court and library*, and (as a poster presentation), H. Evren Sünnetcioglu, *Reading and Archiving Practices of Ottoman Imperial Law: A Case Study of the Juridical Opinions of Şeyhülislam Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi (1561–1644)*.

The slides of most of the presentations have been published online at <<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/conferences/comst2016.html>>; selected papers have been published in the present Bulletin issue.

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## **The Emergence of Multiple-text Manuscripts Hamburg, 9 to 12 November 2016**

The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Hamburg University organized a four-day conference dedicated to the ‘multiple-text manuscript’ from 9 to 12 November 2016. It was a next step from the conference ‘One-Volume Libraries. Composite Manuscripts and Multiple Text Manuscripts’ (7 to 9 October 2010, see conference report in COMSt Newsletter 1 (2011), 16), whose proceedings have now been published with the De Gruyter and are available online at <<https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/476788>>.

The conference illustrated the wide range of what can be defined as a ‘multiple-text manuscript’ (MTM) in various traditions, from Ancient Mesopotamia to India, from Coptic Egypt to China, from Bohemia to England, from Ethiopia to Russia.

Several speakers focused on the changes of the composition of miscellaneous manuscripts in time. Paola Buzi (Rome) in her talk *The Ninth-Century Coptic Book Revolution and the Emergence of MTMs* showed how the number of multiple-text manuscripts was an exception limited to apocryphal collections prior to the sixth century and became a norm in Coptic manuscripts after the ninth century, the time which also coincided with parchment replacing papyrus as the main medium. Konrad Hirschler (Berlin), *Composing / Editing Arabic Multiple-Text Manuscripts in the Late Medieval Period*, focused on how the historical library catalogues help us understand the way the MTMs became the default format in Arabic literature.

The issues of canonization of multiple-text collections were touched upon in the talks of, among others, Lara Sels (Leuven), *The Emergence of MTMs in Slavonic: On Mixed Content Manuscripts and Erotapokriseis*, Francesca Maltomini (Florence), *Poetic MTMs in the Byzantine era*, Lucia Raggetti (Berlin), *Rolling Stones Do Gather: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 and Its Collection of Mineralogical Texts*, and Alessandro Gori (Copenhagen), *Text Collections in the Arabic Manuscript Tradition of Harar: the Case of the Mawlid Collection and of šayḥ Hāšim’s al-Faḥḥ al-Raḥmānī*.

Several speakers also considered the compilers and their intentions when creating anthologies, among them François Déroche (Paris), *The Prince and the Scholar. About the Use of Miscellanies in Late Medieval Marocco*, Nuria Martínez de Castilla (Paris), *Morisco Single Volume Libraries*, Lucie Doležalová (Prague), *Selection, Association, and Memory: Personal MTMs in Late Medieval Bohemia*, and Alexandra Gillespie (Toronto), *Bookbinding as Codicology – Medieval English Manuscripts and the Case of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales*.

The margins of the definition of a ‘multiple-text manuscript’ were explored and expanded by Niek Veldhuis (Berkeley), *Multiple-Composition School Extracts from Mesopotamia*, Andreas Lehnardt (Mainz), *Hebrew and Aramaic MTMs Discovered in Binding Fragments*, and Nikolay Dobronravyn (St. Petersburg), *A Fluid Standard: Text Selection in the kundi Manuscript Books in Brazil*.

Biblical manuscripts were approached as ‘multiple-text manuscripts’ by several speakers. Ronny Vollandt in his talk on *MTMs in the Judaeo- and Christian Arabic Tradition* showed that the Old Testament manuscripts were frequently composed of distinct blocks, written by different hands. Matthew Crawford (Melbourne) spoke of *The Eusebian Canon Tables as a Corpus-Organizing Paratext within the Multiple-Text Manuscript of the Fourfold Gospel*.

The final discussion (led by Marilena Maniaci, Cassino) tried to approach and where possible normalize the multiple terminology used by the speakers. A multiple-text manuscript should be seen as a complex, or a miscellaneous, manuscript with more than one text, irrespective of the circumstances in which this multiplicity evolved. Both codicologically simple and composite manuscripts may be both single- or multiple-text ones. Multiple-text manuscripts may present either an unbroken sequence of texts, or a set of combined units, may be unitary or non-unitary. In defining a multiple-text manuscript one should always consider the structure of the manuscript, and distinguish the various codicological and textual layers. Among other things, this understanding would mean that multi-block manuscripts (such as the Old Testament ones mentioned above) are not necessarily multiple-text manuscripts and should not be treated as such. Also the Four Gospels, once they have been organized in one manuscript with the Canon tables, should not be regarded as a miscellaneous manuscript. Polyglot manuscripts, or manuscripts where interlinear or marginal translation was provided, can only be regarded as multiple-text manuscripts if the translation was not part of the original scribal project. Finally, a holistic approach is necessary when analysing multiple-text manuscripts. While a universal taxonomy is not possible, a deep understanding of all the phenomena involved and a sensitivity are very much desired.

For the full programme and presentation abstracts visit [https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/cal-details/CSMC\\_2016\\_Emergence\\_MTM\\_programme.pdf](https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/cal-details/CSMC_2016_Emergence_MTM_programme.pdf). Proceedings shall be published in the Studies in Manuscript Cultures monographic series.

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# Reviews

Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La Genèse de la méthode de Lachmann*, tr. Aude Cohen-Skalli and Alain Philippe Segonds, L'âne d'or, 51 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016). Paperback. XXXVIII + 228 pp. Index. Bibliography. ISBN-10 2-251-42060-6. ISBN-13 978-2-251-42060-8. € 29.

Sebastiano Timpanaro (1921–2000), an outstanding intellectual of the twentieth century, classical philologist, historian of culture (materialism, Marxism, and classicism in particular), also profoundly engaged in the debate on psychoanalysis and politics, remains one of the very few Italian scholars of the second half of the twentieth century to have been influential and widely translated abroad.

This translation appears fifty-seven years after the publication of the first edition of *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (hereafter, *GML*) in the form of a double-issue journal article in 1959–1960<sup>1</sup> and is the last step of the remarkable fortune of a classic. The *GML* has in fact deeply marked the thinking and re-thinking of text-critical editing in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond. Timpanaro focuses in this essay on the question of which was exactly the role of Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) in the development of the so-called *method of Lachmann*—an expression that according to Michael Reeve was rightly put in inverted commas only in the first edition, while inverted commas unfortunately went lost in the title of the later ones, starting from that of 1963<sup>2</sup>—with an admirable selection of examples and a total command of the subject, an extremely lucid mind and an astonishingly clear expression. In so doing, Timpanaro continuously approaches central questions of the history and method of textual criticism. His conclusion—that has been eventually further specified by the important book of Giovanni Fiesoli<sup>3</sup>—is that while *emendatio* was practised since Antiquity and kept on being applied

- 1 See S. Timpanaro, 'La genesi del «metodo del Lachmann»', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 31 (1959), 182–228, and 32 (1960), 38–163.
- 2 See M. Reeve, 'Shared innovations, dichotomies, and evolution', in A. Ferrari, ed., *Filologia classica e filologia romanza: esperienze ecdotiche a confronto. Atti del Convegno Roma 25–27 maggio 1995* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998), 445–505, here p. 445, n. 2; repr. in Id., *Manuscripts and Methods. Essays on editing and transmission*, Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e testi, 270 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011), 55–103.
- 3 G. Fiesoli, *La genesi del lachmannismo*, Millennio medievale, 19 (Firenze: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000).

in re-editing *vulgata*-based texts for centuries, either *ope ingenii* (by conjecture) or *ope codicum* (collating manuscript witnesses), it is the *recensio* that emerges as the new decisive acquisition of the nineteenth century textual criticism. Within the various methodological sections of the *recensio*, Lachmann's contribution is (1) to have re-confirmed the importance of the systematic use of manuscripts, even though this had already been proposed by other philologists; (2) to have limited the use of later manuscripts (a point later challenged by Neo-Lachmannians); (3) to have adopted the reconstruction of the genealogical relationship of the witnesses, although certainly not for the first time and not even with the best method; (4) to have indicated for the first time criteria for the mechanic determination of the readings of the archetype.

With the last chapter dedicated to the parallels between philology and linguistics, and the appendix C (first appeared in the enlarged 1981 edition) on the thorny questions of bipartite stemmata upon which Joseph Bédier built up his criticism of Lachmann's method,<sup>4</sup> Timpanaro's book imposed itself as one of the founding texts of the so-called *Neo-Lachmannian method*, after Giorgio Pasquali's path-breaking *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* and along with Gianfranco Contini's many fundamental contributions on Italian and Romance philology.<sup>5</sup>

After a series of substantial re-editions—in 1963, 1981 and 1985—and translations—into German in 1971 and English in 2005<sup>6</sup>—this French

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- 4 See on this point V. Guidi and P. Trovato, 'Sugli stemmi bipartiti. Decimazione, asimmetria e calcolo delle probabilità', *Filologia italiana*, 1 (2004), 9–48.
- 5 See G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1934, 2nd ed. 1952; last repr. Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1988); G. Contini, *Frammenti di filologia romanza. Scritti di ecdotica e linguistica*, ed. G. Breschi, I-II, Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, Fondo Gianfranco Contini, Archivio romanzo, 11 (Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2007). For a clear and thorough presentation of the Neo-Lachmannian text-critical approach see now P. Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method. A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text* (Padova: Libreria universitaria, 2014).
- 6 S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1963); *Id.*, *Biblioteca di cultura* (Padova: Liviana Editrice, 2nd ed. 1981); *Id.*, *Prima ristampa con alcune aggiunte* (Padova: Liviana, third ed. 1985); *Id.*, *Con una Presentazione e una Postilla di Elio Montanari*, UTET Libreria (Torino: UTET, 2003; repr. Torino: UTET and Novara: De Agostini Scuola, 2010); German tr., *Die Entstehung der lachmannschen Methode*, ed. D. Irmer (Hamburg: Buske, 1971, repr. 1998); Engl. tr., *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, ed., tr. G.W. Most (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

translation,<sup>7</sup> now appeared in a prestigious series,<sup>8</sup> planned long ago and finally realized—comes as a sort of definitive consecration of this book. Portions of the third edition of the *GML* were also reprinted, with interventions by the author for the occasion, in an authoritative Italian reader in textual criticism edited by Alfredo Stussi: a mandatory reading for most students in classics and textual criticism in Italian universities, the reader substantially contributed to transmit Timpanaro's ideas and determine their influence on several generations of scholars.<sup>9</sup>

An extremely retired man and never a professional university academic, Timpanaro was always helpful to younger and senior scholars who asked him for advice. He entertained in the course of his life an immense correspondence, the exploration of which has just started (his archive is preserved in the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, where he studied and where he always felt at home). Although as a student I cannot claim to have entertained any special relationship with Timpanaro, at variance with colleagues of my generations also studying at the University of Florence, I witnessed to Timpanaro's daily presence in the libraries of the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità 'Giorgio Pasquali' and of the Dipartimento di Linguistica and Lingue Orientali in the last years of his life. Not the least merit of this French translation of the *GML* is certainly that of providing an extensive introduction (pp. xi–xxxvii), that is the most updated and comprehensive characterization of Timpanaro's extremely rich and complex personality.<sup>10</sup>

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7 Based upon the first posthumous 2003 edition by Elio Montanari.

8 In the same series and with substantial affinities with Timpanaro's approach, see the remarkable collection of essays by J. Irigoin, *La tradition des textes grecs. Pour une critique historique*, L'âne d'or, 19 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003).

9 See S. Timpanaro, 'Appendice C. Stemmi bipartiti e perturbazioni della tradizione manoscritta' ('per l'occasione rivisto dall'Autore'), in A. Stussi, ed., *La critica del testo*, Strumenti di filologia romana (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985), 199–227 (= repr. of pp. 123–150 from the third ed. of *GML*); repr. in A. Stussi, ed., *Fondamenti di critica testuale*, Strumenti, Linguistica e critica letteraria (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998), 251–286; repr. in A. Stussi, ed., *Fondamenti di critica testuale*. Nuova edizione, Manuali, Filologia e critica letteraria (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006), 131–166.

10 There is only to add the bibliography by E. Narducci and A. Russo, 'Bibliografia degli scritti di Sebastiano Timpanaro', in E. Narducci et al., eds, *Sebastiano Timpanaro. Contributi di Filologia Greca e Latina*, Studi e Testi, 25 (Firenze: Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità 'Giorgio Pasquali', 2005), 473–504.

*Skies of Parchment, Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Marc Michael Epstein, with contributions by Eva Frojmovic, Jenna Siman Jacobs, Hartley Lachter, Shalom Sabar, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Ágnes Vető, Susan Vick, Barbara Wolf, and Diane Wolfthal (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015). Hardcover. X + 276 pp., 287 colour illustrations. ISBN-13: 9780691165240. \$ 60.00 | £ 44.95.

‘Let your bookshelves be your gardens’—with these words the medieval scholar Rabbi Judah ibn Tibbon expressed the general attitude of the Jews towards their books. Covering nearly a millennium of Jewish book production from the Middle Ages to the present day, Marc Michael Epstein’s edited volume focuses on the finest specimens from these ‘gardens’—the illuminated manuscripts. The volume marks a new departure in representing Jewish manuscript illumination. Unlike the majority of studies in this field structured chronologically, geographically, or according to the subject matter of the texts and literary genres, the work is arranged thematically. It is divided into thirteen thematic chapters which touch upon many aspects of the illuminated codices from their production to reception in the Jewish communities. Each chapter engages in a survey of iconography, its distinctive features, and differences between East and West and Jewish and non-Jewish elements. Together they treat a wide range of topics and ongoing discussions related to the interaction of the Jews with their non-Jewish neighbors, Jewish beliefs and religious rites, education, and everyday life. Many of the chapters are supplemented with ‘focus’ essays that offer an in-depth single-topic discussion or a relevant case study. The book is written ‘in the most engaging and colorful manner’ (vii) which best serves Epstein’s purpose of telling the story of manuscript illumination to non-experts. Successfully balancing between scientific content and plain style of writing, the book is accessible to a broad audience.

First, a word about the book’s title. Previously avoided by the manuscript scholars, the designation of the manuscripts as ‘Jewish’ best suits to Epstein’s goals. As he explains in his *Introduction* (Chapter 1), in contrast to the somewhat technical term ‘Hebrew illuminated manuscripts’ which is routinely used in the scholarly literature on the basis of the manuscripts’ linguistic component, the term ‘Jewish illuminated manuscripts’ better describes the function of the manuscripts among the Jews. By choosing to use the ‘J word’ (4), Epstein signals the reader that this book is not only about texts written in Hebrew and their illustrations, but about the manuscripts as a product of Jewish culture, commissioned by Jewish patrons for Jewish audience. In all sections of the book Epstein underlies the centrality of patronage, function, and audience of the illuminated manuscripts and addresses historical and

socio-cultural context of their production and use. A result of the high costs, lavishly decorated and illustrated codices were a domain of wealthy, urban, and educated elite. The world depicted in their illuminations reflects therefore the perspective of this narrow socioeconomic stratum.

In the *Introduction* Epstein takes the reader by the hand through basic terms of the discipline, providing him with a necessary means for understanding manuscript illumination. On the basis of the reconstruction of medieval Jewish bookshelves in Chapter 2, Epstein examines the range of illuminated Jewish texts from the Bible to scientific literature and elucidates their role in private and communal life of the Jewish communities. Chapter 3 is devoted to the parties involved in the production of such manuscripts—scribes, illuminators, and patrons—as well as to the techniques and methods of illuminating. Chapter 4 sets the stage for two notional directions of Epstein's book: the world as seen by pre-modern Jews and their world as conceptualized by us via its representation in the illuminated manuscripts. The first direction elaborates on a Jewish vision of material reality and spiritual spheres, as they are shown in the illuminations of the East and West. It includes Jewish conceptions of geography and the key role played by Jerusalem, Temple, and Tabernacle—the center of Jewish earthly history and messianic times, further treated in Chapter 10 by Shalom Sabar. Both the mundane level (Jewish way of life, life cycle, and liturgical year) and divine mysteries of non-material world were closely connected in Jewish consciousness and constituted an important part of Jewish imagination, as demonstrated in Chapters 8 and 9. The second direction taken by Epstein relates to Jewish approaches to the visual culture in different areas of Jewish diaspora. On the basis of the illustrations to the biblical narrative, Chapter 6 concentrates on iconographical distinctions between Ashkenaz, Sepharad, and 'Arav. Given the diversity of styles and visual traditions, Chapter 4 deals with the question of Jewish 'National style'. Eva Frojmovic and Epstein offer multifaceted analysis of the issue and the history of its development, summarizing that styles can mean different things: 'participation and resistance to the local cultures, imitation and appropriation', but they are not owned by a nation or a state (87). This question is further elaborated in Chapter 7 which discusses various visual motifs appropriated from the surrounding cultures and adapted by Jews to serve their own purposes. The dynamics between Jewish visual traditions and those of the surrounding cultures, and the related question of Jewish aniconism represent a focus of Chapter 5. The 'focus' essay at the end of this chapter treats an intriguing phenomenon of deliberate distortion of human figures in the thirteenth and fourteenth-century Ashkenazi manuscripts, long discussed by art historians. The last chapters of the book (Chapters 11–12) are devoted to the manuscripts

produced in the age of print and modern world. The authors of this section emphasize the continuity of visual traditions and the role of patronage and audience in forming new trends in manuscript illumination. The book ends with an extensive annotated bibliography that aids the reader to broaden his knowledge in the field of Jewish illuminated manuscripts.

The book is written from an art historian's perspective that forms its conceptual framework. Hundreds of high-quality reproductions, many published for the first time, are integrated within the discussion. Not only the figures are accompanied by captions, many are also explained verbally. The book is a valuable addition to any library, both as a repository of knowledge and as a beautiful material object in its own right.

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Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015). Hardcover. XVIII + 332 pp. ISBN-13 978-3-16-154172-8. € 89.

*The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* holds no surprises for readers, since the title maintains its promises to the full. From the first lines of the volume what the two authors intend to demonstrate is crystal clear:<sup>1</sup> the Nag Hammadi codices have been produced and have circulated not in an urban or private library belonging to an erudite person or coterie, but in a monastic context. Moreover, the admirable systematic structure of the ten chapters comprising the volume, each ending with a sort of summary that functions as a ‘temporary conclusion’, accompanies the reader step by step to the subsequent phase, which argues that the most probable monastic milieu to be associated with the Nag Hammadi library is the Pachomian one, a theory that, as is well known, is not new, but that is here systematically corroborated by a careful re-examination of the available data.

The architecture of the volume is based on two axioms. On the one hand, there is the need to demolish the ‘misleading caricature of the Nag Hammadi Codices as a kind of ‘Gnostic Bible’ standing in opposition to the Christian Bible’ (p. 84), while on the other there is the aim of demonstrating that the contents of the Nag Hammadi Texts are compatible with early Egyptian monasticism.

The first chapter (‘The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics?’) is dedicated to a general overview of the matter, including the problem of the dating of the codices and the place of their discovery. The different theories concerning the possible owners of the famous papyrus codices are analyzed briefly (but they are dealt with again in the following chapters), specifying that they can be summarized as follows: the library belonged either to 1) a Gnostic community (Jean Doresse, Alastair Logan, among others), or 2) to a wealthy individual (Alexandr Khosroyev, Martin Krause, Armand Veilleux, Nicola Denzey Lewis and Justine Ariel Blunt) or lastly 3) to Christian monks,

1 ‘The purpose of the present study is to critically examine the arguments against the theory of the Nag Hammadi Codices’ monastic origins, as set forth by Khosroyev and others, and to demonstrate by a thorough examination of all the available evidence, the plausibility that they were produced and read by Egyptian monks’ (p. 4); ‘[...] the monks who owned the Nag Hammadi Codices need not to be regarded as Gnostics’ (p. 7); ‘We intend to demonstrate that a monastic setting provides the most compelling explanation of the available evidence, including the location of their discovery, the scrap papyri used to stiffen their leather covers, and the terminology used by the scribes in the colophons’ (p. 8).

whether Pachomian or not (Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Frederik Wisse). It is immediately clarified that the category of Gnosticism will be abandoned by the authors in favour of a more nuanced reading of the real data.

The description of what we know about the discovery is very accurate, although in my opinion it remains rather implausible that *sebakhin* could have found the jars containing the codices in a tomb cut into the cliff rock, where certainly there was no *sebakh*.<sup>2</sup> The story of the finding remains unconvincing, but of course these mysterious aspects of the discovery do not depend on the authors of the volume. However, it cannot be ignored that this uncertainty in identifying the place of discovery makes it more difficult to evaluate the context of production and circulation of the codices.

The second chapter ('Monastic Diversity in Upper Egypt') surveys the different forms of monasticism of fourth to fifth century Egypt and in particular those documented, literally and archaeologically, in the Thebaid and above all in the so-called Dishna plain. The results of the excavations carried out by James Robinson in the Gebel el-Tarif, in the supposed area of the discovery, are also taken into account.

In the third chapter ('Gnostics?') the authors discuss and criticize in greater detail the conceptual and religious categories of 'Gnosticism' and 'Gnostics', demonstrating how everything seems to suggest that there were no Gnostic groups at all in the fourth to fifth centuries, since such a cult movement is never referred to by any of the main authors (Athanasius, Theophilus, Discorus, Shenoute) who polemicized with heterodox groups.

In the fourth chapter ('Contrasting Mentalities?') the attention shifts to monasticism in an attempt to prove that the 'syncretistic mentality' (Doresse) and the 'semi-philosophical character' (Khosroyev) of the Nag Hammadi texts do not necessarily lead to a urban intellectual middle-class owner, but rather may be referred to early, though not necessarily Pachomian, monasticism whose orthodox character in the fourth to fifth centuries was still in formation and where therefore, for different reasons (donated books, themes compatible with orthodox *forma mentis*, works collected in order to criticize them, etc.), there might have been space for readings of this kind.

The documents used as cartonnage for the bindings is the theme of the fifth chapter ('The Cartonnage'). A detailed survey is made of the different texts found in this re-used material (commercial documents, official accounts,

2 I think that, if the theory of the Nag Hammadi codices as *Books of the Dead* proposed by Nicola Denzey Lewis and Justin Ariel Blount is not acceptable, they are perfectly right to be suspicious with some elements of the narrative concerning the place and the modalities of the discovery. N. Denzey Lewis and J.A. Blount, 'Rethinking the Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 133/2 (2014), 399–419.

possible imperial ordinances, private letters, and a fragment of Genesis). Much attention is dedicated, as is obvious, to the figures of Pachome and Papnoute mentioned in the cartonnage of the cover of NH VII, which the authors are inclined to identify with the famous abbot and his *oikonomos*. Lundhaug and Jenott are of course aware that if the cartonnage material comes from a (Pachomian) monastic milieu this does not necessarily mean that the codices too belonged to the same environment. Despite this awareness, they are inclined to connect the codices to the Pachomian environment, discarding the possibility that the cartonnage may come from the waste paper market, as for instance Ewa Wipszycka had reasonably suggested.<sup>3</sup> Concerning the dimensions of the covers, interesting observations are made that perfectly correspond to those of the codices, suggesting that they were created for the Nag Hammadi codices and were not reused, a fact that would contribute to disqualifying the hypothesis that monks may have produced the covers—as the materials contained in the cartonnage may suggest—while the codices were created by somebody else.

The sixth chapter ('Apocryphal Books in Egyptian Monasteries') focuses on the profile of the fourth and fifth-century monks, about whose readings we do not know much. We have no idea of what kind of books were preserved in early monastic libraries, and therefore it is impossible to exclude the possibility that texts like those preserved in the Nag Hammadi codices were not read by coenobitic monks. The discovery of apocryphal texts in the libraries of mediaeval monasteries—albeit not exactly comparable to those of Nag Hammadi—demonstrates the long-lasting success of this kind of literature. Monks 'continued to read and copy such books long after Athanasius established his biblical canon' (p. 177).

The seventh chapter ('The Colophons') deals with the well-known scribal notes—a more appropriate definition than *colophons* in the case of the Nag Hammadi codices—that appear in NH II, NH III, NH VI, and NH VII. If the final note of the *Three Steles of Seth* in NH VII mentions a 'fatherhood' that may refer to a monastic milieu, the authors suggest that the strange additional note of NH VI<sup>4</sup> is further proof of a context of literary exchange again compatible with early monastic environments.

3 E. Wipszycka, 'The Nag Hammadi Library and the Monks: A Papyrologist's Point of View', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 30 (2000), 188–189.

4 'I have copied this one text of his. Indeed, very many of his (texts) have come to me. I have not copied them, thinking that they may (already) have come to you. For truly I hesitate to copy these ones since they may (already) have come to you, and the matter burden you. For the texts of that one which have come to me are numerous' (p. 197).

Chapter eight ('The Codices') provides a detailed codicological analysis of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts and of the sub-groups in which James Robinson has already divided them, leading to the conclusion that although they 'can be analyzed into sub-groups, the similarities among them are arguably more pronounced than the differences when compared to other codices' (p. 210). A section of the chapter is also dedicated to a very detailed and well-documented comparison between the Nag Hammadi Codices and a group of early biblical manuscripts (Codex Glazier, Codex Scheide, BL Or. 7594), in order to demonstrate that 'biblical manuscripts contemporary with the Nag Hammadi Codices do not necessarily display greater care in their manufacture, or greater dialectal 'purity'' (p. 223). The analysis of the so-called Dishna Papers and the association of them with the Nag Hammadi codices is, as we shall see, less convincing.

The ninth chapter ('The Monks') surveys the typologies of early monasticism and of those groups destined to be considered heretical, such as the Melitians and the Origenists. The authors maintain that some of the Nag Hammadi texts could have found reception among this last group, whose exponents, however, in the fourth and fifth centuries could be 'found in various quarters of Christian Egypt, including the Pachomian monastic federation' (p. 246).

The last chapter ('The Secret Books of the Egyptian Monastics') claims that until now the two main obstacles in associating the Nag Hammadi texts with early Egyptian monasticism were the *topos* of the illiterate monk, who would not have been able to understand such complex philosophical constructions, and at the same time the classification of the Nag Hammadi texts as gnostic and therefore 'somehow alien to 'authentic' Christianity' (p. 264).

Although the authors repeatedly affirm that the 'monastic hypothesis for the provenance of the Nag Hammadi Codices is not synonymous with the Pachomian hypothesis' (p. 55), it is clear that this is precisely what they think. At this point, it is opportune to clarify that I consider the monastic origin of the Nag Hammadi codices certainly a serious possibility and that the arguments used by Lundhaug and Jenott in support of it are very well documented. At the same time, however, I believe that all the elements used to substantiate this hypothesis are not strong enough to discard other options.

If it is true that we do not know almost anything about early monastic libraries and therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that texts similar to those of Nag Hammadi found a place on their shelves—and on the shelves of the Pachomian libraries in particular –, the same reflection is valid for urban libraries, where, above all in the fourth and fifth centuries several erudite individuals may plausibly have owned collections of books. We have a good

example of this kind of intellectual in the figure of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, whose library preserved his autograph compositions alongside the works of Homer and Menander, testifying to the classical education of this exponent of a well-to-do Upper Egyptian family. One could object that Dioscorus' library did not include works comparable with those of Nag Hammadi, but it is easy to imagine that two centuries before Dioscorus the phenomenon of private libraries belonging to a rich man of letters was even more widespread. It is plausible to imagine that these libraries also included heterodox texts. Moreover, despite the fact that the Nag Hammadi codices are few enough in number not to exclude the possibility that they belonged to a single owner, it is absolutely plausible that they could have belonged to a philosophical school or to a non-monastic community. In fact such a hypothesis would answer a series of unsolved questions posed by the two authors. In describing the activity of copying the Nag Hammadi texts by some monks, for instance, the authors ask themselves: 'What is less clear is whether this network was understood to be a completely legitimate one, or whether we are witnessing the 'underground' activity of people who were trying to pass under the radar of the monastic authorities' (p. 205).

The authors are certainly right when they say that 'Even if the individual codices or sub-groups were produced independently from each other in different workshops, as Khosroyev and Wipszycka maintain, it is not clear why this scenario would preclude monks, Pachomian or otherwise' (p. 211), but again this argument is not strong enough to exclude other possibilities. The same holds true for the sentence 'the small-scale collaboration between scribes is what one might expect in coenobitic monasteries like those of the Pachomians' (p. 213). Why should this not be true of urban erudite circles or Christian philosophical schools? And, even more importantly, why do we not find any trace of such texts in subsequent Pachomian production?

A weak point of the reconstruction by Lundhaug and Jenott is the simplistic way they deal with the so-called Dishna Papers or Bodmer Papyri, which, according to them, would represent 'some of the best comparanda for the Nag Hammadi codices', because they 'were discovered in the same region and might have belonged to the Pachomian federation headquartered at Pbow' (p. 231).<sup>5</sup> Such an affirmation is based on the fact that the two authors accept Robinson's opinion and are therefore convinced that 'letters written by Pachomius and his successors Theodore and Horsiesios were found among them' (p. 224). However, they do not mention the still ongoing debate concerning

5 The authors admit however that 'There is considerably greater consistency in codicology and scribal styles across the Nag Hammadi Codices than there is, for example, across the various codices of the Dishna Papers' (p. 210).

the nature of this ‘library’ and above all its real composition. A large part of the scholars who have dealt with these manuscripts do not think that the Pachomian letters and documents are to be included in the library.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the materials re-used in the cartonnage of the covers of the Bodmer Papyri or Dishna Papers, mainly related to the environment of Panopolis, exclude a common origin with the Nag Hammadi codices, at least as far as this phase of the manuscript production is concerned. Lastly, there is no need to stress that the Bodmer Papyri include works, also in Latin, that by their nature and contents are very distant from what we find in the Nag Hammadi codices.

Personally, I find this un-nuanced description of the Dishna plain, where any communitarian phenomenon is attributed to Pachomian monasteries, unconvincing and unrealistic. The discovery of several groups of documents at a few kilometres from one another is not enough to relegate all of them to a single origin and milieu. The geo-cultural situation of an area such as the Dishna plain was certainly much more multiform. Lastly, even if we leave aside the complete deconstruction of the category of ‘Gnostics’ operated in the volume, which several scholars do not share, at least in these extreme terms (Manlio Simonetti and Christoph Marksches, among others), it is striking that the authors never mention the Manichaean community as one of the possible milieux in which texts like those of Nag Hammadi could have circulated.

These observations, however, do not affect the admirable work done by Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, who, thanks to an extremely accurate analysis and a meticulous re-examination of all the available data, will surely represent a new starting point in the study of the Nag Hammadi library, a fact we should all be very grateful for.

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6 For a *status quaestionis* of this debate see the theme section of *Adamantius* 21 (2015), 6–172, and in particular the contributions of Jean-Luc Fournet, Paul Schubert and Paola Buzi.