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Steering Committee for the Humanities (SCH)

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In this issue

In place of an editorial

We believe that the following note is more eloquent than any introduction to this issue of the COMSt Newsletter we could offer and are very grateful to J.P.Gumbert for letting us use it instead of an editorial.

Some "Western" Notes on "Eastern" Codicology

It is a pleasure, for a student of Latin manuscripts, to look over the fence and see the neighbours cultivating their patches and coming up with delicious fruit.

In the *Notes on Armenian Codicology* by Dickran Kouymjian (*Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 4, 2012, 18–23) I found several interesting points (including the existence of a dated manuscript on paper of the late tenth century). One thing that struck me was the graph on p. 20, that not only illustrates vividly how high the percentage of dated manuscripts is (much higher than it ever was in any region of the West), but also how constant it is in all the relevant centuries. And also I was interested to see, in the table on p. 19, that there is a small, but not negligible contingent of manuscripts consisting of thick quires (of 7 to 10 bifolia). Such quires are well known to be found in the West in the pocket bibles of the thirteenth century; but they are also found, as is less well known, in other contexts, and it is a phenomenon which deserves further study. The fact that such thick quires also play a role in Arabic codicology and are now attested in Armenian manuscripts makes such study even more relevant.

In the article on *The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Maʿṣo* by Denis Nosnitsin (*Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 4, 2012, 24–31) my attention was drawn by note 8 on p. 25: of the 18 quires of the manuscript, no less than six contain two single leaves instead of a bifolium, and in all cases they are leaves 3 and 6, which play the role of a bifolium 3^6. This is the practice which I have called 'coupled leaves', and which is far from rare in Western manuscripts up to the twelfth century, although this subject too needs further study. Neil Ripley Ker describes it (*Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford University Press, 1957, p. xxiv): "The use of a pair of half-sheets in place of one sheet is common. The half-sheets are usually the third and sixth or the second and seventh leaves in the quire of eight (…)". It is also found in Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts, and it is very nice to be able to add Ethiopia to the list.

All this goes to underscore once more how necessary it is for codicology to be comparative.

J. Peter Gumbert

Projects in manuscript studies

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e-ktobe: a Database for Syriac Manuscripts

E-ktobe (from Syriac *ktobe*, 'books' or 'manuscripts') is a growing EAD-encoded database dedicated to Syriac manuscripts, both from textual and codicological point of view. Its first aim is to help researchers to find manuscripts that contain the texts they want to study (like *Pinakes* for Greek texts). But that is only one aspect of *e-ktobe*. The main scientific goal is to give insight into the cultural history of Syriac communities, especially by giving particular attention to historical information contained in colophons and notes. Furthermore, the multi-criterial research on physical elements will help to write a Syriac codicological handbook. Another aim is to contribute to a better understanding of the transmission of ancient texts (in Greek, Coptic, Arabic, as well as those written directly in Syriac) in the Mediterranean area. The project was instigated by two French CNRS teams (IRHT Section grecque and UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée – Mondes sémitiques) composed by A. Binggeli, F. Briquel Chatonnet, M. Debié and A. Desreumaux as part of the SYRAB project. Currently the database is being fed by F. Ruani and E. Villey (IRHT Section grecque).

E-ktobe database is in free access (*www.mss-*

syriaques.org), and is hosted on the portal *e-corpus* developed by S. Ipert and his team at the Centre de Conservation du Livre, Arles. The portal aims at connecting different virtual libraries specialised in the Euro-Mediterranean cultural heritage. *E-ktobe* answers to the need for electronic tools in the field of Syriac studies. It shall soon form part of a cluster of databases specialised in Syriac studies. In a near future, these databases will be linked together around the *Syriac Reference Portal* (*www.syriac. ua.edu*, in progress). Three of these databases are already operational, *e-ktobe*, *Hill Museum and Manuscript Library* (*http://www.hmml.org/*, described in the previous Newsletter issue) which notably contains a great number of Syriac manuscript photographs, and the *Comprehensive Bibliography on Syriac Christianity* developed by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (*http://csc.org.il/db/db.aspx?db=SB*). Three more databases are planned: the electronic *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca*, the Syriac equivalent of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*http://cpart.byu. edu/?page=113&sidebar*) and, in a more distant future, a *Clavis syriaca* devoted to Syriac authors.

Structure of the database

In *e-ktobe*, the visitor can search in any of the twenty different research fields concerning Syriac manuscripts. Some of these fields allow full text search (e.g., scope content, physical description, colophon and notes); others offer a multiple choice search (material, size, number of columns, scripture, binding, etc.); finally, some fields have a list of entries which appear in a drop-down menu: it essentially concerns persons ("persnames") and places ("geognames") named in manuscripts; these can be scribes, binders, possessors, places of copy or of conservation, but also authors, saints mentioned in a text, etc. This last kind of research is possible thanks to authority lists, for which spelling of names ("persnames" and "geognames") has been rigorously homogenised by following always the same method of transcription. It is one of the team's main efforts to impose transcription rules for Syriac names (so far in different books and catalogues, different transcriptions of the same word can be found, which often causes confusion). Of course the fields can be combined, so that multi-criterial research is possible.

Any search will produce a list of manuscripts with only essential elements of description (general title, date of copy – if any –, location and shelf-mark). The list can be sorted by shelf-mark, date of copy, etc. Clicking further, one gets to the full description of the selected manuscript. Every manuscript has a single description in three parts: texts, material description and historical elements. Each text is identified by its title, *incipit*, *desinit* and *explicit*; an updated bibliography (edition and translation) is also given. The material description includes characteristics of scripture, layout of page, quires, material, a special attention to binding, etc. Finally, the colophons and notes are fully transcribed in Syriac, and historical elements mentioned in the manuscript (like the date of composition, names of scribes, places of copy, etc.) are noted. When different codicological units were put together in the same binding, the team chose to create a separate description for each unit.

Contents and sources

To date, the database includes more than 250 Syriac manuscripts accurately described: a large part of these come from the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and from the Syro-catholic monastery of Charfet (Dar'un-Harissa, Lebanon). It also includes 38 voluminous hagiographical manuscripts from all over the world, dated from the seventh up to the nineteenth century. Main information is taken from catalogues. But some descriptions come also from unedited catalogues and direct observation. For example, *e-ktobe* benefits of the work made by the CNRS team on the Syriac manuscripts preserved in Charfet. Furthermore, as often as possible, members of the team go to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in order to supplement the material description and to transcribe the full text of colophons. And finally one of our team member has been sent to Rome in order to describe some of the hagiographical manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The final objective of the team is to integrate information about all Syriac manuscripts known. In order to achieve this objective, the project needs collaborators, scholars having an easy access to Syriac manuscripts all over the world. The project presentation during the latest *Symposium Syriacum* in Malta (July 2012) resulted in the first propositions of collaboration, which fills the team with hope for the success of this ambitious undertaking.

Until now, those who wanted to enquire about a particular copyist had to spend a lot of energy searching through the indexes of Syriac catalogues. *E-ktobe* will make it easier not only by allowing trans-collection research, but also by "tagging" every name of every Syriac manuscript. Now, if someone wants to identify other manuscripts written by a same copyist, he just has to click on the selected name.

Text: André Binggeli, Flavia Ruani and Emilie Villey. Web: www.mss-syriaques.org.

Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research

The relative ancient age and importance of the Ethiopian written tradition has been known to scholars for

a long time. In the past decades, the awareness has grown, however, of the importance of manuscripts kept in the numerous hardly known churches and monasteries of the country, along with the understanding that many are gradually disappearing due to insufficient storage facilities and international illegal art traffic. These as yet undiscovered and unstudied artefacts may be important witnesses for understanding textual transmission of different works, and also contain large amount of other data, and therefore action must be taken to secure and analyse the information they contain.

With this in mind, the project Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research was called into life at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies of Hamburg University. Supported by the European Research Council (EU Seventh Framework Programme: Starting Independent Researcher Grant) and headed by Dr. Denis Nosnitsin, the winner of the grant, an international team of researchers has been dedicating considerable efforts to securing and analyzing the written heritage of Christian Ethiopia since the project launch in December 2009.

Ethiopian manuscripts written in Gəʿəz, the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church which has been in literary use ever since the introduction of Christianity in the fourth century AD, are in the focus of attention. In the first two project years, in the course of four field research missions of five to six weeks each, over one hundred ecclesiastic collections have been identified and surveyed, and well over 1,700 manuscripts have been fully digitised. Mission reports are available on the project website. Book restorers have been invited to protect several particularly valuable and endangered codices from further deterioration.

The project team is now concentrating efforts on electronically cataloguing the digitised manuscripts. The current cataloguing database has been programmed at Hamburg University using the open source MyCoRe database software (www.mycore.de) and offers a highly developed XML data model (with over 100 metadata fields for each manuscript); TEI compatibility is foreseen. The distribution of information into the detailed pre-structured fields facilitates not only targeted search (full-text boolean search in all fields is also possible) but also complex multi-parameter search and statistical enquiry. Besides offering manuscript cataloguing interface, the database includes descriptions of the relevant ecclesiastic libraries (mapped geographically with the help of GPS coordinates so that manuscript search directly from a map is possible) and the various precious non-manuscript objects as well as bibliography. A subdatabase on persons (scribes, authors, commissioners, etc.) is planned. Over 500 manuscripts have been catalogued in detail in the course of the project. Several printed catalogue volumes shall be produced by the end of the project.

The previously unknown materials recovered in the course of the project are being prepared for publication. A volume collecting field notes and presenting the most interesting findings is being finalised. Some of the findings have appeared on the pages of the *COMSt Newsletter*.

A considerable share of attention is paid to the history of the unknown ecclesiastic libraries, Ethiopian scribal culture and the history of bookmaking as so far largely disregarded integral part of Ethiopian cultural history. Some of the first results have been presented at the COMSt Codicology team workshops (2011, 2012), the Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 14 seminar (2012) and during the 18th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (2012).

The project convenes yearly conferences to ensure academic feedback: two workshops were held in 2011 and 2012; a third is planned for 2013. The proceedings of the first Ethio-SPaRe workshop are being prepared for publication.

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Web: http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIOSPARE.

Ethio-SPaRe team surveying the library of Tänsəḥe Kidanä Məḥrät *gädam*, Təgray, Ethiopia, photo by Stéphane Ancel, May 2012.

Greek Manuscripts in Sweden

A new cataloguing project for Greek manuscripts is going ahead at Uppsala University Library thanks to funding from The Central Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. During the next couple of years a web-based catalogue will be created and the catalogue records linked to fully digitised copies of the manuscripts. The project involves two full-time researchers, Dr. Eva Nyström and Dr. Patrik Granholm, as well as the university library's own expertise in digital photography and electronic publishing. Although the project is based at Uppsala, the venture includes all the Greek manuscripts held in Swedish public collections.

Some of the Greek manuscripts at Uppsala University Library, photo by Magnus Hjalmarsson

There are, as far as we know today, in total about 120 Greek manuscripts in Swedish libraries, museums, and archives. They are distributed in the following way: Uppsala University Library (74), Linköping Diocesan Library (29), Lund University Library (5), The Royal Library, Stockholm (5), Gothenburg University Library (4), Skokloster Castle Library (3), and the National Gallery, Stockholm (1). The manuscripts, ranging from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries, are for the most part bound paper and parchment volumes containing ancient and Byzantine texts. A new catalogue for these collections has been a desideratum for a long time. Professor Stig Y. Rudberg began to prepare notes for this purpose already in the 1960s, but still the only comprehensive catalogue available is the by now largely outdated publication which was prepared by Charles Graux in 1877 and printed a decade later (Ch. Graux & A. Martin, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de Suède*, Paris, 1889). Since then, only a handful of manuscripts have been described in more detail (e.g., in T. Kleberg, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum et Latinorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Gothoburgensis*, Göteborg, 1974, pp. 10–22, and in St. Laurentius Digital Manuscript Library, http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/, items MH 54 and MH 57).

We will prepare the catalogue using the manuscript description module in TEI P5 (Text Encoding Initiative). This XML-based metadata encoding will serve both as the basis for the HTML presentation on the web and for a PDF printable version, for those who still prefer the hands-on option. The online catalogue and the digitised material will eventually be made freely accessible via the Uppsala University Library digital platform. During the project period there will also be some preliminary material posted at the project homepage as we go along (www.manuscripta.se/), and we are grateful for any comments or suggestions from fellow researchers on those items. Among the great advantages with digitally based catalogue descriptions are, after all, the wide accessibility in combination with the possibility to improve and update the descriptions and perhaps deepen the analysis at a later stage.

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Web: http://www.manuscripta.se/.

SYRAB: Writing and Script in the Formation of Identities in Syriac and Arabic World (3rd-7th Centuries)

Over the centuries which mark the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages, two major learned traditions took shape and attained considerable prestige in the Near East: the Syriac tradition (that is, Christian Aramaic), which is still the culture of learning and liturgy for Christians from the Mediterranean to India, and the Arabic tradition, which, though often assimilated to that of Islam, has in fact long been shared by all peoples living in the Near East.

Syriac studies, and notably those dedicated to the West Syrian world, have been essentially concerned with the mere content of the texts; for the task of defining the West Syrian world as a culture in terms of its graphic manifestations, virtually no synthetic work had yet been attempted. Yet, Syriac culture played a decisive role in the great controversy within the Imperial Church in the fifth century. Did this division between the two Churches also trigger equally distinc-

tive specificities in the written domain? What were the particular aspects of these Semitic language communities at once deeply rooted in Greek Christianity but also firmly opposed to Constantinople Christology? How was such a "double culture" able to survive and flourish after the Arab conquests?

In Arabia, parallel to the emergence of an Arab identity, a distinctly Arab culture also emerged in the third century. If the Syriac world provided the "matrix" for this culture, it nevertheless quickly developed its own characteristics, culminating in the seventh century with the emergence of a new religion, with Arabic as its sacred language. This latter Arabic culture supplanted the other rival antique Arabic cultures, which later Arabo-Islamic tradition would reject as the Age of "Ignorance" (*Ǧāhiliyya*), but such a simplistic historical vision cannot do justice to the great variety, and the highly sophisticated character, of the various written traditions attested throughout the Arabic peninsula in the centuries which preceded Islam.

To respond to these research questions and study the birth of these two written traditions, the SYRAB project was called into life. It proposes a study of the formation of these cultures, with the goal of sketching a comparative history emphasising their centuries-long rivalry and highlighting their numerous shared characteristics and the profound cultural cross-pollination which they mutually experienced. Funded by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) in France for four years (2009-2013), it combines several complementary approaches: (1) Writing in its geographical context, Syria and Arabia: Through the systematic survey and publication of the extant Syriac inscriptions, we propose to establish the geographical distribution of Syriac writing, and to confront the question of its relation with the geography of the Syrian Orthodox Church. For Arabia, a comparable "geography of writing" will be undertaken for the North and South Arabian languages: a detailed survey of the geographical distribution and distinctive lexical characteristics will provide the basis for an improved definition of the dialects of the region. (2) Writing in its material context: Studying of the social and cultural associations of the material remains of writing. It includes, of course, the study of the inscriptions in their archeological context, but also the attempt to define the cultural and social contexts in which the written cultures behind them developed: sedentarism and nomadism as subsistence strategies, the respective cultures of the town and of the countryside, possible links between the written remains and particular ethnic, social or religious groups, etc. (3) Manuscripts as a manifestation of culture: For the Syriac communities, it is essentially through manuscripts that cultural

identity is to be recognised. Yet, the description and scientific analysis of manuscripts as objects (as subjects of the methods of codicology) is still in its infancy for the field of Syriac studies, and still largely unpracticed by modern scholars. The development of this field is thus one of the priorities of this project. This approach is equally necessary for manuscripts of the Qur'ān: this project will attempt to sketch the redaction history of the text, not on the basis of Tradition as has been done until now, but rather on the analysis of the material record, and especially through the edition of the oldest manuscript witnesses, which have remained largely unpublished until now. (4) Writing and Script: The birth and development of the Syriac and Arabic scripts are still subjects of lively debate. The classic presentation of the birth of the Syriac scripts must be completely revised in the light of the recent discovery of Edessene documents in cursive script, and the information contained in manuscript colophons. The analysis of the oldest documents, manuscript as well as epigraphic, promises to produce a new model. Similarly, a renewed synthesis of all of the available data for the Nabatean, Syriac and Old Arabian documentation must be taken into account in studying the appearance of the Arabic script.

Directed by Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, the project is conducted at two laboratories of the CNRS, Orient & Méditerranée (Paris) and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris). It is organised in two sections: Syro-Occidental cultures (coordinator: Muriel Debié) and Arabia (coordinator: Laila Nehmé).

The first section has three main tasks. (1) Study of monumental writing, with the main scope of completing the Recueil des Inscriptions Syriaques by producing catalogues for the inscriptions from Syria and Lebanon (two volumes for the Syriac inscriptions of Kerala (India) and Iraq have been already published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris; see http://www.aibl.fr/publications/collections/recueil-des-inscriptions-syriaques/). Volumes dedicated to the inscriptions of the Limestone massif in Syria (field research completed in 2010; further field research has been so far suspended) and Lebanon are in preparation. (2) Study of the manuscript as a place and object of constitution of an identity. Here, the focus has been on the preparation of the catalogue of Syriac and *garšūnī* manuscripts preserved in the Syro-Catholic patriarchate in Charfet (Lebanon). The first volume will be published at the beginning of 2013, the second is in preparation. (3) Study on Syriac book writing and book making, based on a detailed database of Syriac manuscripts. The database *e-ktobe* (s. above) is now on-line.

The second section has four main tasks: (1) Study

of the population history of Arabia and its cultural areas: a SIG of the Arabian peninsula has been elaborated which contains different groups of geo-referenced maps. The whole archaeological data published by the Saudi Arabian Department of Antiquities in Aṭlal has been integrated. This SIG is compatible with the one previously done on Yemen. (2) Study of the geography of writing in Arabia and the constitution of a literary language: every site where inscriptions have been found has been integrated in the SIG. Presently, all Sabaic texts are being integrated in the database Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions (*http://csai.humnet.unipi.it/csai/html/jor/index.html*) of the University of Pisa. It will be the basis for a new Sabaic grammar.

(3) Critical edition of the first Qur'āns: this task, on the very old Qur'āns of Ṣanʿāʾ, has been transferred to another project, Coranica, sponsored by the ANR and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. (4) From Nabataean to Arabic: the publication of 800 Nabataean and transitory texts from North-West Arabia is in print.

A common workshop on scripts in the Middle East and Arabia during the centuries studied will be organised in April 2013 to stimulate exchanges on the results of the project and on the question of script. Contact: Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, francoise.briquel-chatonnet@ivry.cnrs.fr.
Web: http://www.orient-mediterranee.com/spip.php?rubrique239.

Individual research in manuscript studies

In this issue:

The Christian Mediaeval Iranian Codicology: an Unexplored Territory

The Christianisation of large parts of central and south-central Asia goes back to the latter part of the fourth century reaching – at the latest from the beginning of the eighth century – the Turfan oasis,[1] as testified by the discovery of Christian texts coming from the ruins of the monastery of Shüï-pang near Bulayïq, approximately ten kilometres north of Turfan. These texts consist chiefly of fragments[2] dating from the ninth and tenth centuries in Syriac (the official language of the so-called Church of the East), Sogdian and Old Turkish (local vernaculars were also permitted in the Church service)[3] in Nestorian, secular Sogdian and Uygur script, New Persian in Nestorian script, Middle Persian in Pahlavi script, and one line of the psalter in Greek. Briefly, they include religious works, psalters, hymn-books and service books as well as secular documents from those religious and monastic communities.[4]

The Sogdian material[5] consists of circa 500 fragments in the Sogdian language in Nestorian (East Syriac) script[6] and nearly 50 fragments in the Sogdian language in secular Sogdian script.[7] The first part of the corpus, in Nestorian script, contains the so called Sogdian Manuscript *C 2*[8] published by Nicholas Sims-Williams in 1985 and concerning the story of life, conversion and death of several martyrs; a Gospel lectionary comprising substantial portions of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John in Sogdian with the rubrics in Syriac and nine instances where the original Syriac text is immediately followed by the Sogdian translation (a peculiarity which we do not find in other Chistian Sogdian manuscripts); several bilingual Gospel lectionaries, in which the original Syriac and the Sogdian translation alternate phrase by phrase; two small fragments from a single page, the verso of which contains the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew in Syriac and Sogdian; a bilingual lectionary of the Pauline Epistles, with rubrics indicating the psalm verses to be sung before and after each Epistle; a psalter with headings in which the first verse of each psalm is given in Syriac as well as in Sogdian; and a unique fragment containing part of Psalm 33 (32 of the Septuagint), with headlines in Greek. It is

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[1]   It is one of the three branches of the northern Silk Road, in present-day Xinjiang, Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China.

[2]   Concerning the Sogdian material, please note that none of the Christian Sogdian texts has survived in a complete form: it means that we have no colophon (which in Syriac tradition is generally put at the end of a manuscript).

[3]   Because of the intensive commercial activities of the Sogdian traders along the Silk road, the Sogdian language was adopted by the "Church of the East" to spread its own message in Central Asia.

[4]   See *www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung* for an overview. This material was found at the beginning of the twentieth century by four German archaeological expeditions and is currently preserved at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. On the expeditions, see Sundermann 2004.

[5]   I intentionally omit the discussion of the origin of the Middle Persian material in Pahlavi script, i.e., the thirteen fragmentary pages of the so-called Pahlavi psalter, as it is part of an independent research carried out by Durkin-Meistererrnst. See Durkin-Meistererrnst 2006:1–19.

[6]   See Barbati 2012:177–201; and Sims-Williams 2012.

[7]   See Schwartz 1974:257–61; and Reck 2008:191–205.

[8]   *E 27* in the new classification system: Sims-Williams 2012:99, where *E* means "[Church of the] East", ibidem 16.

revealing for our discussion that the first catalogue of the manuscript fragments in Iranian languages in Syriac script coming from the Turfan oasis was published by Sims-Williams only in 2012.[9]

The second part of the corpus, in secular Sogdian script, consists of the *Creed*, published by Friedrich Müller in 1913 and the end of an as yet unidentified prayer with a shortened version of the final *Gloria Patri* "in the will of the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, amen", which usually follows psalms; some pages of the Book of Psalms, edited by Martin Schwartz in 1974, and in 1982 in the second revised edition;[10] two fragments of a Melkite Book of Psalms, several fragments of different contents (prayers, homilies, and secular texts, like commercial transactions, in which the priest takes an active part) and twenty eight fragments belonging to a single manuscript (judging from the identical handwriting) with yet unidentified contents.

Ever since the discovery of this corpus, the main issues have been its digitisation and edition. This implies an extraordinary philological-linguistic work that has been carried out by some of the most distinguished scholars in Iranian studies.[11] It is now time, however, to take a further step and to consider these texts *in toto* in the cultural-historical context from which they arose. This calls for approaches from several sides. The translational dimension of this corpus is the most obvious: Christian Sogdian literature aims at very close formal and semantic correspondence to the Syriac Vorlage. It testifies that the Christianisation of Central Asia passed through an intensive translational activity, which included making choices of language, script and images. This leads to a codicological approach, which is highly relevant but has so far never been applied to this material. Other important aspects include the transfer of texts and knowledge and cultural encounter and exchange. The Christian Sogdian corpus can help to elucidate the missionary history of Central Asia and in particular the relations between the centre and the peripheral regions of the "Church of the East". Beyond this Christian context it is important to keep in mind that the Sogdian Christian communities along the Silk Road in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages co-existed in an heterogeneous environment with Manichaean and Buddhist communities.

Of all the aforementioned points, codicology seems to be the most neglected one. There has been no at-tempt at a complete codicological survey of the Christian Sogdian material. The state-of-the-art in this field consists in isolated observations on various particular questions, but there is no cohesive, inclusive and systematic study. Christian Iranian[12] codicology is an unexplored territory, a field which has yet to be developed, and one that can not be separated from Syriac codicology. On the one hand, the Christian Sogdian material urgently calls for a codicological survey in its own right. On the other hand, and just as urgently, it calls for an investigation in connection with the Syriac manuscript tradition. In other words, it is time to try to answer the question: which kind of manuscript tradition *lato sensu* emerges from the surviving corpus of Christian Middle Iranian texts?

In 1974, 1975 and 1981, Werner Sundermann edited the Sogdian Gospel lectionary *C 5*[13] in three articles providing transliteration,[14] translation, and philological-linguistic commentary and adding a draft of the number of the lines as well as of the numbering of the quires in this text and, generally, in Christian Sogdian manuscripts.[15] In his 1985 publication of the Sogdian manuscript *C 2*, Sims-Williams offered interesting considerations on the numbering of the quires at the Bulayïq scriptorium, taking into account at the same time the Syriac tradition as well as a possible influence of the Manichaean tradition.[16] In 2008, Christiane Reck published an article on Christian Sogdian fragments in Sogdian secular script in the Berlin Turfan collection outlining the use of brown or black ink for writing the text and the use of coloured inks for titles and punctuation marks as well as the presence of a cross on the outer margin of the verso side.[17] Also in 2008, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst published an article on the Manichaean manuscript tradition which has important comparative implications for our discussion.[18] Regarding the nature of the Manichaean manuscript tradition the scholar asserts that "it is very difficult to answer whether the Manichaean books represents an Iranian or a Syriac tradition"[19]. Sims-Williams's excellent new 2012 catalogue of the Iranian[20] manuscripts in Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan collection contains important codicological information on each fragment including

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[9] See Sims-Williams 2012. The catalogue of the Syriac texts coming from the Turfan oasis by Hunter-Dickens is forthcoming.
[10] It is noteworthy that this text is not written in the Nestorian script but in Sogdian script. In this way it was readable for a wider public which was familiar with the script. See Reck 2008:197.
[11] I allow myself to remember the late Werner Sundermann.

[12] I am focusing on Christian Sogdian but that is true for Christian Middle Persian and Christian New Persian material, too.
[13] *E 5* according to the new classification system: Sims-Williams 2012:28 where *E* means "[Church of the] East", ibidem 16.
[14] In Sogdian studies, we do not have an accepted system of transcription.
[15] See Sundermann 1981:85–87.
[16] See Sims-Williams 1985:14–16.
[17] See Reck 2008:194.
[18] See Durkin-Meisterernst 2008:1–15.
[19] Durkin-Meisterernst op. cit. 13–14.
[20] Mostly in Sogdian with the exception of two manuscripts in New Persian.

physical description, dimensions and written area.[21] In a recent article on the allographic phenomenon within the Christian Sogdian tradition, I have given some data on the formal aspects including writing materials, ink, headlines, decorative punctuation points, punctuation, columns, ornaments, colophon, dating and quires, trying to contextualise these aspects.[22] Currently, I am preparing a monograph based on my PhD dissertation, *Il manoscritto sogdiano cristiano C 5. Una nuova edizione*[23], in which I try to discuss such aspects in a broader way. Among the most peculiar features of the of the Bulayïq scriptorium is, according to my opinion, the drawing of a cross appearing on the upper outer margin of the verso side of each page (s. fig. 1). I am currently working closely on this topic, trying to find explanations as to the varying shapes of the cross and to its function in the manuscripts.

We are still far from a comprehensive codicological study of Christian Iranian manuscript fragments coming from the Turfan oasis. Many fundamental questions remain to be answered. What about the *mise en page*? the size, proportion, layout, lines of writing, columns? the structuring of contents: titles, rubrication, decoration? Why does the cross seem to be the only decorative element besides combinations of red and black dots? Is this a "cultural question", as Alain Desreumaux suggested regarding decorative aspects of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscripts during the COMSt workshop held in Arles on 9–13 October 2012? And if it is so, what is the relevant cultural context, considering that the Manichaean and the Syriac manuscripts attest richer decorative traditions? Finally, what about the relationships between this tradition, the Syriac one and the particular Central Asia milieu in the time from the eighth to eleventh century in connection to all these questions?

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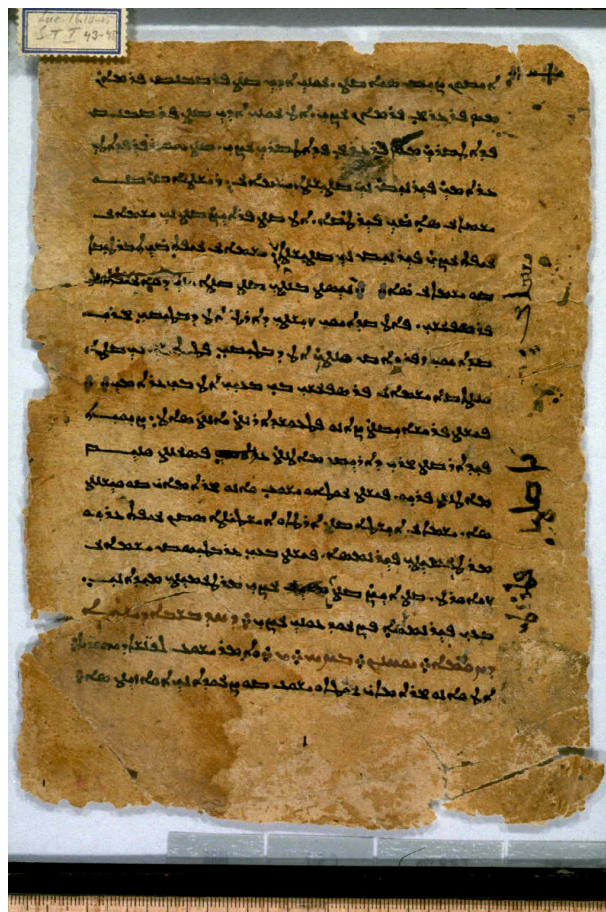Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond, "Aspects of the Organization of Manichaean Books", *Gazette du livre médiéval,*

Fig. 1. Sogdian Gospel lectionary Ms. *C 5* (*E 5* according to Sims-Williams 2012:28-43), fol. 153v. Holdings of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities in the State Library Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo courtesy of the Turfan-forschung Digital Archive, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

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[21]   See Sims-Williams 2012:11–18.

[22]   Barbati 2012:193–97.

[23]   Barbati in preparation.

The Topos *of Epiphanius in Western Thebes (Egypt): a New Chronology Based on Coptic Documents*[1]

Within the framework of my Ph.D. research on the *Episcopal Social Networks and Patronage in Late Antique Egypt*, which focuses on the social involvement of Abraham of Hermonthis and Pesynthios of Koptos as reflected in their professional archives, I have been working on establishing a new relative chronology of the so-called "Monastery" of Epiphanius, a settlement of hermits closely connected to both the bishops.

The site is situated on the northern slope of the hill of Sheikh Abd al-Qurna, in and around the ancient tomb of Daga (TT 103), and is often referred to as the "Monastery of Epiphanius" on account of its best known inhabitant, who lived in the first half of the seventh century (Fig. 1). In fact, it was originally called a *topos*, (in this context) a 'place' inhabited by holy men, and Epiphanius was not the first anchorite who dwelled in the tomb.[2]

Fig.1: The *Topos* of Epiphanius, photo by Renate Dekker, 2008.

The *Topos* was excavated by Herbert A. Winlock and his team of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) in 1911/12 and 1913/14 and published in 1926. Walter E. Crum edited the Coptic texts, and Hugh G. Evelyn-White did the same for the Greek ones.[3] The texts included literary and documentary texts, which were mainly written on papyrus or ostraca, and inscriptions written on, or carved in, the walls of the tomb.[4]

Several Coptic documents from the site relate to Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos, who – according to literary tradition - left his diocese and withdrew to this area during the Persian invasion of Egypt in ca. July 619.[5] Other Coptic documents refer to Abraham of Hermonthis, the bishop in whose diocese the *Topos* was situated and who lived at a few hundred metres distance, at the Monastery of St. Phoibammon (on top of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Dayr al-Bahri).[6] He was also abbot of that monastery. On account of the close ties between the bishops and the hermits, it is rewarding to combine episcopal and monastic texts, not only for reconstructing the bishops' networks, but also for tracing the history of the *Topos*.

Previous comments on the history of the monastic site were based on the architectural development of the buildings,[7] or on the Coptic will of Jacob and Elias, the date of which is lost.[8] According to this document, the order of the leaders of the *Topos* was as follows: unnamed early leaders, Epiphanius, Psan, Jacob and Elias, and probably Stephen, whom the testators had chosen as the future owner of the settlement. It was suggested that Epiphanius' predecessors included John, Enoch, Victor and Moses, but their exact relation to the *Topos* remained unclear.[9] As for dating, Epiphanius and Psan were the only leaders who could be situated in time, because of their contact with Bishop Pesynthios. In short, although the *Topos* is well documented, its history still needs to be reconstructed.

While examining the ties between the bishops and Epiphanius' community, I started to reconstruct a relative chronology based on monastic as well as episcopal texts, which enabled me to identify earlier and later leaders and to propose dates for some of the texts.

The backbone of my chronology is the sequence of the leaders of the *Topos*, which is based on the above-mentioned will and on letters featuring "anchorites" and "disciples". It turns out that, as long as Epiphanius lived, Psan was called his "disciple", but when the former had died, Psan became the new leader and was addressed respectfully as "the anchorite".[10] The same

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[2]   Winlock – Crum 1926:29, 219–20; Timm 1984–92, vol. 3, 1336–38; Wipszycka 2009:184–87.
[3]   Winlock – Crum 1926; Crum – Evelyn-White 1926.
[4]   On writing materials in Christian Egypt, see Buzi 2011:10–16.

[5]   Van der Vliet 2002:61–72; Dekker 2011:36–38.
[6]   Winlock – Crum 1926:134; Krause 1956.
[7]   Winlock – Crum 1926:44–45.
[8]   *P.KRU* 75; cf. Crum and Evelyn-White 1926:343–48.
[9]   Winlock – Crum 1926:xxvi, 29.
[10]   *P.Pisentius* 11; *P.Mon.Epiph.* 172. Since the title 'anchorite' does not appear in the will of Jacob and Elias, it seems to be a honorary title rather than a legal one.

Phase	Monastic leaders	Documents (selection)	Direct contacts
1a	Isaac I, "the anchorite"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 105	Joseph (of no. 245)
1b	Isaac I and John	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 245, cf. 501; *O.CrumCO* 313	Joseph (of no. 245), Bishop Abraham
2a	John, "the anchorite"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 422, cf. 367, 501	Victor (of no. 107), Euprepius
2b	John and Enoch, "the anchorites of the hill of Jeme"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 185, cf. 107, 116, 124 (incl. Epiphanius!).	Joseph (of no. 245), Victor (of no. 107), Euprepius
3a	Enoch, "the anchorite"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 383	Joseph (of no. 245)
3b	Moses and Epiphanius	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 444	Euprepius, Joseph?
4a	Epiphanius, "the anchorite"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 131, 133, 142…, 466	Bishop Pesynthios, (Bishop) Abraham
4b	Epiphanius and Psan	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 123, 417, 482 …	Mark (of no. 84, 482)
5a	Psan, "the anchorite"	*P.Pisentius* 22	Mark (of no. 84, 482), Bishop Pesynthios
5b	Psan and Jacob	*P.KRU* 75	
5c	Psan, Jacob and Elias I	*P.KRU* 75	
6	Jacob and Elias I	*P.KRU* 75	
7	Stephen?	*P.KRU* 75	
8	(…)		
9a	Isaac II and Elias II, "the anchorites of the hill of Jeme"	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 211, cf. 188, 247, 279, 401	Paul, Frange, the deacon Peter, Jakob
9b	Isaac II and Ananias	*P.Mon.Epiph.* 118, (119), 356	Besamon, (Frange)

Table 1. Sequence of the monastic leaders of the *Topos*.

holds for John, who first appeared as Isaac's disciple, then as "the pious anchorite".[11] In general, if a letter was sent to two "anchorites of the hill of Jeme", the elder was named first, for instance "John and Enoch" or "Isaac and Elias".[12] Such combinations of names were added to the list of names derived from the will, which resulted in an almost continuous sequence (Table 1). The coherence of this sequence is confirmed by the fact that consecutive leaders shared the same contacts, who are recognisable by their unusual names (Euprepius, Frange) or by handwriting (Victor of *P.Mon. Epiph.* 107, Joseph of no. 245, Mark of no. 84).[13]

This method proved to be effective for distinguishing homonymous leaders. Isaac (I), John's predecessor, was not the same person as Isaac (II), the companion of Elias (II), for the former was a contemporary of Bishop Abraham, who lived in the seventh century, whereas the latter was acquainted with the monk Frange, who lived in the eighth century.[14] Likewise, Elias (I), one of Psan's disciples, can be distinguished from Elias (II), the companion of Isaac (II), on the basis of their distinctive social networks.

The relative chronology demonstrates that there were two periods of settlement. The first period coincides with the episcopates of Abraham and Pesynthios and covers about 40 years, from ca. 600-640; the second period dates to the first half of the eighth century. The phases of the chronology can be dated more precisely by taking into account monastic and episcopal texts that include indiction years, but in view of the complexity of this process, I will postpone its discussion to a later publication.

The chronology provides a starting point for trac-

ing the history of the *Topos*, but can also be used for establishing a similar chronology for other monastic sites in the Theban area, provided that the inhabitants of those sites can be linked to leaders of the *Topos*. Just to give an example: the community at TT 29, on the south-eastern side of the hill of Sheikh Abd al-Qurna, included Moses, a contact of Epiphanius and Psan, and Frange, a contemporary of Isaac II and Elias II. These monks must have lived in the seventh and eighth centuries respectively, in view of their connection with the *Topos*, and in turn, any individual connected to them can be also be situated in time. Such observations, combined with archaeological criteria for dating, may shed new light on the development of this site and other ones nearby.

To sum up, being developed as a tool for facilitating the reconstruction of the social networks of the Theban bishops, the relative chronology of the *Topos* of Epiphanius can also be used as a tool for reconstructing local monastic networks in the course of time.

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[11] *P.Mon.Epiph.* 245 and 422

[12] *P.Mon.Epiph.* 185 and 211.

[13] Crum distinguished these scribes on the basis of their script (and names).

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Constantin Tischendorf and his Greek Manuscripts

The aims of my long-term research project are to identify, explore, and analyse all Greek manuscripts that were brought to Europe by Constantin Tischendorf, a nineteenth-century German Biblical scholar and palaeographer. I aim at producing their detailed descriptions according to current methods practised in manuscript studies; and at researching histories of single manuscripts as well as the history of the whole collection, in order to establish their place in the broad historical context of production and circulation of books and texts in the Greek-speaking Near East.

Context and importance

Lobegott Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf (b. 1815, d. 1874) made three journeys to the remote libraries in the Near East (1844, 1853, and 1859) searching for manuscripts, mainly Greek, Biblical, and written in majuscules. The manuscripts thus collected (about 70) were subsequently donated or sold by him to libraries in Europe, in order to fund his future trips and to secure sponsorship for his research projects. Despite extensive descriptions of his journeys, Tischendorf was often vague as to the provenance of the manuscripts and to their details, possibly because the means by which he obtained the manuscripts were sometimes dubious.

Currently, the Tischendorf manuscripts are dispersed between at least five libraries: the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, and the National Library of Russia (RNB) in St. Petersburg. All these libraries have out-of-date catalogues, which neither describe the history of their collections properly nor document their manuscripts adequately. Frequently, the entries do not match Tischendorf's descriptions. In some cases, parts of the same manuscript are stored under separate shelf-marks within one library, or even split between several libraries.

Tischendorf's manuscripts represent a heterogeneous group as to their contents, dates, and types of scripts. Most manuscripts contain Christian texts (Biblical, patristic, theological, liturgical), but some are secular. Their dates range from the sixth to the sixteenth century, they are written on parchment and on paper, both Oriental and Western, in a variety of majuscule and minuscule scripts. The unifying factor is their provenance: most of the manuscripts not only come from monastic libraries in the Near East, but were in all likelihood produced in the region — and herein lies the importance of the collection.

Although scholars have begun paying attention to evolution of the Greek scripts in the Medieval Near East, a comprehensive story has yet to be written. A main difficulty in undertaking such an investigation lies in the discrepancy between the vast amount of material coming from Egypt and the relative scarcity of manuscripts from other areas, such as Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. Since many of the Tischendorf manuscripts have a strong probability of having been copied and read in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire or in the areas under Arab rule where Greek was widely used, they can help in clarifying which texts were copied and circulated, what types of Greek scripts were used, and when and where the books were produced in these areas. Indeed, it has been suggested that from the late sixth to eighth centuries, such Eastern regions played the leading role in the transmission of Greek texts.

Tischendorf's collection of manuscripts, containing some important and rare specimens, has never been investigated, although studies exist on single manuscripts (most notably the Codex Sinaiticus). The lack of accurate documentation makes it difficult

to assess and exploit the contents of the collection. The comprehensive inventory of these manuscripts that I intend to compile, making full use of the progress achieved in the analysis of the properties of manuscripts in the last thirty years, will offer an easy access to detailed descriptions of the manuscripts, provide means of identifying the common origins of dispersed fragments, and thereby enhance the value of the manuscripts for classicists, mediaevalists, and historians.

Methodology

The project involves two parallel activities: research into histories of the manuscripts; and analysis and description of the contents and physical properties of the manuscripts.

I began research on the Tischendorf collection in 1999-2000. In the course of my doctoral thesis on Greek palimpsests in Cambridge, I examined the Greek palimpsests in the Cambridge University Library that once belonged to Tischendorf and some of his palimpsests kept in the RNB in St. Petersburg and in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. I established connections between some of these palimpsests, briefly described them, deciphered, analysed, and identified their lower scripts where it was possible, using digital image enhancement. Later, in 2007-09, in the course of a project supported by the British Academy, I examined in situ all the Tischendorf manuscripts in Germany, Russia, and the UK, compiled their short descriptions, identified their contents where possible, and conducted preliminary research into their histories.

By now, I have identified all Tischendorf manuscripts kept in Cambridge, Oxford, London, Leipzig, and St. Petersburg (although additional findings cannot be excluded) as well as gathered bibliographical data on many of the manuscripts. The current plan is to study and evaluate Tischendorf's own writings, often dispersed in periodical editions of his time; examine available correspondence and evidence of his contemporaries (for example, Russian scholars and officials who were involved in or witnessed his activities in St. Petersburg in the 1850s) in order to gather additional information on the manuscripts. I will then map this information onto descriptions in the existing catalogues, and compare the two with the data gathered from my inspection of manuscripts in situ.

The history of the collection is enigmatic. A prolific writer, Tischendorf left extensive descriptions of his travels and of the manuscripts that he brought back. However, he was vague as to the provenance of the manuscripts, merely indicating that they had been "brought from the East". Various factors could account for such vagueness. Sometimes, Tischendorf deliberately omitted the origin of a fragment because he

would hope to locate the entire manuscript on a subsequent visit and was afraid of potential competitors. Sometimes, the means by which he obtained the manuscripts were not straightforward: while some manuscripts were donated or sold to him, others, especially fragmentary manuscripts, were apparently stolen. Such questionable methods were not uncommon in his time and were frequently justified by mentioning ignorance, indifference towards the holdings in the monastic libraries, hostility towards researchers, and the lack of necessary expertise – not without foundation.

Tischendorf's accounts leave many questions unanswered. Which manuscripts did he possess but omit from his descriptions, and why? Were they merely "fragments of no value, interesting only for palaeography", as he claimed? Were they used as specimens for the purpose of experimenting with different chemicals to read the lower scripts? Does this dearth of information points to illegal acquisition? Or did Tischendorf conceal details about some manuscripts in order that he might split them and sell the parts as unique items? In the course of my research into history of the collection, I will attempt to find answers to these questions.

Parallel to this historic research, I will analyse and describe each manuscript following a pattern adapted from the catalogues of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the volume *Aristoteles Graecus*, which are among the most successful catalogues currently available. Each entry will include bibliographical references.

Apart from analysing and describing all Tischendorf manuscripts one by one, I have identified some broader issues to address.

One is unification of dispersed items. It is known that Tischendorf had a tendency to split one manuscript into several parts and offer them to different libraries. I already established numerous connections between fragments in the Cambridge University Library, the RNB, and the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig. This research is particularly important for the fragments kept in the Cambridge University Library, as we lacked means of investigating their contents, scripts, and histories and of assigning dates and locations, because of their fragmentary nature. Now, these tasks become possible since I have linked these fragments to their mother manuscripts elsewhere. In many cases, sources point to the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, which Tischendorf visited on three occasions, and here lies a promising avenue for research. The Sinai library is extremely rich in Greek manuscripts but is poorly catalogued and was not easily accessible to scholars for a long time in the twentieth century. As Tischendorf was not the only visitor who returned from Sinai

with manuscripts, I will extend my investigation to his contemporaries and often competitors, such as P. Uspensky and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. This makes sense, as sometimes parts of the same manuscript were brought to Europe by different persons and are now catalogued separately from each other. I will attempt to unite Sinaitic fragments that were brought to Europe by Tischendorf and other travellers, who visited the monastery, and which are now dispersed everywhere in Europe, to the collections still kept in the monastery itself.

Particular attention will be given to analysis of scripts, many of which are rare and unusual. Some do not correspond precisely to the typologies known in Greek palaeography; particularly interesting are instances of semi-cursive majuscules and early minuscules. Trying to find parallels among other manuscripts produced in the same period, and to understand the evolution of these scripts will be part of the research process.

Another issue is the provenance of the manuscripts. It is directly connected to the research into the history of the Tischendorf collection, as I might be able to draw a better picture as to where these manuscripts were originally produced. I expect numerous Tischendorf manuscripts to originate from the Near East, the region of increasing importance for the study of the evolution of Greek script, as the new finds in St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai demonstrate.

The next issue is identification of texts. For many of the Tischendorf manuscripts, particularly in the RNB and fragments in the Cambridge University Library, contents have not been previously identified or have been identified incompletely. My examination revealed that some manuscripts contained rare or unusual texts, mostly Byzantine, which now need to be exactly identified, analysed and described according to the standards adopted in Byzantine studies.

The next important task is decipherment and identification of palimpsests. Among the Tischendorf manuscripts there is a high number of them. Some had not been known as such, but for those known, often their lower texts had not been read and identified, and the scripts of those lower texts had not been analysed. I succeeded in establishing a comprehensive list of all Tischendorf palimpsests; I read samples of texts of all the lower scripts (except in the cases, where these had been damaged and hence impossible to decipher), and I identified the majority of these texts. Now, I intend to identify the rest, to conduct a detailed analysis, and to compile a description of these texts, some of which are rare and must have circulated in the Near East only for a limited period of time. Understanding the nature of these texts and the types of

scripts used for their production would advance our knowledge of literacy, literary activity, and book production and circulation in the region.

Finally, some of the Tischendorf manuscripts are bilingual, including alongside Greek texts words, lines, paragraphs, or texts in Arabic, Georgian, Syriac, or Slavonic languages. Some of these bilingual manuscripts are palimpsests. This variety of manuscripts, containing Oriental scripts, which often can be dated and located, offers a promising area of research. The Greek texts of such manuscripts have a strong probability of being copied and read in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire or in areas under Arab rule where Greek was widely used. These regions, such as Egypt and Palestine, are of increasing importance for the study of the evolution of Greek script. Greek-Oriental manuscripts can clarify which texts were copied and circulated, what types of Greek script were used, and when and where the books were produced in these areas. On this issue, my participation in the COMSt events has been beneficial – contacts established with experts in Oriental manuscripts would be of great help in understanding the context in which these manuscripts were produced.

The final outcome of the project will be a monograph dedicated to Greek manuscripts that once belonged to Constantin Tischendorf, including their descriptions and individual histories, and preceded by an introduction on Tischendorf as manuscript collector. An online catalogue of the collection is also envisaged.

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Conference reports

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COMSt workshops

Oriental Textual Traditions and 21st-cent. Philology: New Challenges

The third workshop of the COMSt team Philology was convened by Caroline Macé and Tara Andrews at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven on 5-7 September 2012. The focus of the meeting, attended by forty scholars, was on the particularities of Oriental textual traditions (Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Greek, Slavonic, Syriac) and on the possibilities offered by the increasing use of computer methods in philology and its possible impact on our methodology.

The workshop was opened by a greeting from the organisers and the programme Chair, A. Bausi. The

scientific discussion was then launched by Sever Voicu who presented the complex tradition of John Chrysostom's homilies, transmitted in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian. He underlined the methodological problems posed when dealing with such a variety of languages and a corpus extending over such a large geographical and temporal span. V. Calzolari and E. Bonfiglio presented the issues at stake in editing apocryphal literature, especially in Armenian. V. Calzolari gave a general and methodological overview, while E. Bonfiglio concentrated upon the specific case of the apocryphal Martyrium of Philip. At least in the case of Armenian, apocryphal literature is "non-authorial" and is more likely to be freely adapted and revised. In contrast, C. Macé offered a synthetic overview of the Greek tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus's homilies, which is a case of a very authoritative text. The huge corpus and low level of variation and contamination pose a significant challenge in the classification of witnesses, in particular in a situation when the oldest available manuscripts (eighth century) date much later than the time of composition (fourth century). Taking the example of Syriac monastic anthologies, G. Kessel showed that many texts were preserved only or mainly in florilegia. It is important to understand the historical, sociological and religious contexts in which those florilegia were produced in order to be able to better evaluate the complex process of "anthologising" those texts. After having discussed the practices of editing Syriac in the early history of the CSCO (up to the death of Draguet) during the first Team 2 workshop (in 2010), A. Mengozzi now turned to the methodological and editorial choices made by S. Brock in his editions of Syriac dialogue poems. L. Sels and D. Birnbaum, working together on a digital edition of a medieval Slavonic multiple-text manuscript containing the lives of female saints translated from Greek texts of various origin, showed the difficulties when dealing with texts where the original Greek is not always identified (and almost never critically edited). The interface developed for this digital edition should facilitate the comparison between the Slavonic texts and their potential Greek source(s), and should allow scholars to see the different texts in themselves, but also within the collection they belong to.

In his lecture, J.J. Witkam turned back to his influential 1988 article "Establishing the stemma: fact or fiction?". He explained the circumstances of this article and the background behind the pragmatic decisions he had to take. This experience can be profitable to other scholars, since in every case we need to compromise between the (unreachable) ideal and concrete circumstances.

Much time throughout the workshop was allocated

to discussion. The main topics of the Round Table were the necessity of stemmatology; the relationship between a critical and a diplomatic edition; the relationship between a digital and a "traditional" approach to text editing. Extra space was allocated to junior scholars (COMSt grantees or scholars participating at their own expenses, including S. Dege, Gidena Mesfin, A. Fedeli, L. Raggetti, M. Lacinakova, C. Berthold) who could show the first results of their research and receive feedback from the participants.

The second part of the workshop was organised in collaboration with the Interedition project (*http://www.interedition.eu/*) and was dedicated to presenting the various tools that have been developed to assist work with texts and manuscripts. S. Hagel showed the last developments in the "Classical Text Editor", which is widely used for the edition of texts in several languages. The features include XML output in TEI, generating fulltext from the apparatus, sigla management and export to a phylogenetic software. Finally, a few training sessions were led by members of the *Interedition* project (T. Andrews, T. Griffitts, G. Middell, F. Willems, J. van Zundert). They presented tools that facilitate the transcription process in connection with manuscript images (T-Pen, eLaborate), collation of witnesses (CollateX, Juxta), stemmatic analysis (Stemmaweb), stylistic analysis (Delta3D). Two digital research environments were then presented, the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, where a workflow has been set up for workflow for manuscript collection, indexing, transcription, and collation, and DARE, managing very large amounts of textual data. While L. Sels and D. Birnbaum's digital edition was a diplomatic one, T. Andrews displayed what a digital critical edition could look like.

The discussion as to the feasibility of switching to digital concluded that for now we best regard the electronic edition rather as a working environment offering us exciting new possibilities and insights when preparing our editions, but not as a final product that is meant for posterity.

Caroline Macé
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

The Oriental Book. The Shaping of the Page, the Scribe and the Illuminator at Work - The Making of Oriental Bookbindings and their Conservation

The workshop *The Oriental Book*, jointly organised by COMSt Team 1 and Team 5, took place in Arles, Centre de Conservation du Livre, on 9-13 October 2012, under the scientific coordination of Marilena Maniaci and Stéphane Ipert, in cooperation with Françoise

Briquel Chatonnet and Laura Parodi. It was attended by 34 scholars.

The first two days (9-10 October), in charge of Team 1, carried the title *The shaping of the page, the scribe and the illuminator at work*. Individual sessions focused on page layout (size and proportion of the page and of the written area; layout canons and recipes; layout formats and text types); the structuring of contents (initial letters, titles and rubrics; indexes and tables of contents; running titles and other elements; decoration and illumination as 'codicological features'); the scribe and the illuminator at work (agencies; places; methods of work; colophons). The workshop was organised in the form of a round table, with representatives of all the major cultural and geographic areas of relevance for COMSt contributing to each sub-topic: L. Parodi, V. Sagaria Rossi, A. Vernay-Nouri (Arabic and Persian); D. Kouymjian (Armenian); P. Buzi (Coptic); S. Ancel, E. Balicka Witakowska, A. Bausi, C. Bosc-Tiessé, M. Krzyżanowska, D. Nosnitsin (Ethiopic); J. Gippert (Georgian); P. Andrist, P. Canart, M. Maniaci (Greek); M. Beit-Arié (Hebrew); P. Borbone, F. Briquel Chatonnet (Syriac); A. Desreaumaux (Palestinian Aramaic); R. Cleminson (Slavonic).

In a comparative perspective, it is particularly interesting to observe that the solutions given by book artisans to the same problems (how to shape the page and how to visualise the organisation of written and unwritten spaces onto its surface; how to employ structuring and navigating devices to enhance the legibility of the text; how to distribute decoration and illumination in close relationship to the text; how the author of the transcription stated himself and the conditions of his work) show both similarities and differences among the different book civilisations: some of them may be at least tentatively explained by geographical proximity and/or cultural contacts, while for other cases the reasons remain to be more deeply explored. The best known example is obviously that of Hebrew codices, which can usually be easily distinguished according to the geographical area – and thus the sphere of cultural influence – in which they were manufactured.

The second part of the workshop, *The Making of Oriental Bookbindings and their Conservation*, was managed by Team 1 and 5 (11 October) and Team 5 (12-13 October). The joint session was devoted to the history of bookbinding materials and techniques. After defining the commonalities in bookbinding across the whole Oriental cultural area (S. Ipert) and the discussion of the question of the necessity and meaning of the codicological binding description (P. Canart), the round table on the archaeology of bookbinding took place. Its sessions covered such topics as boards

(materials and construction), sewing techniques and headbands, cover manufacture and decoration.

A presentation of the newly published handbook by F. Déroche – V. Sagaria Rossi, *I manoscritti in caratteri arabi*, Roma: Viella, 2012, was also included in the workshop programme as well as the presentation of two relevant databases: *e-corpus* (*http://www.e-corpus.org/*) which contains 2,250,000 digitised pages of books and manuscripts (S. Ipert) and *e-ktobe* (*www.mss-syriaques.org*) for the description of Syriac manuscripts (content, history, codicology; E. Villey).

The final two days, dedicated to the conservation and preservation of Oriental bindings, were organised by Team 5 in a conventional conference manner. Several condition surveys were presented: of Byzantine manuscript bindings in Vienna (E. Gamillscheg), of Greek manuscript bindings in Athens (M.L. Agati, K. Houlis), of Persian bindings in Romania (G. Dumitrescu). Subsequently, conservation experiences were discussed: in Charfet (Y. Dergham), Qatar (A. Couvrat Desvergnes), Paris (P.J. Riamond). Two more conservation examples were provided by P. Hepworth and S. Ipert.

Several relevant research projects introduced the study of Byzantine bindings of Slavonic manuscripts in Moldavia (L. Kovari), Serbian bindings in Hungary (F. Lili Eszter) and the role of images and texts in reconstructing Byzantine bindings (N. Tsironis). K. Houlis and P. Canart dedicated their papers to the assessment of results and perspectives in Byzantine binding studies.

The programme included the presentation of two more databases: *Studite* (*http://www.studite.net*) for Byzantine bindings (F. Vinourd) and *Khartasia* (*http://khartasia-crcc.mnhn.fr/*) for Oriental paper (C. Laroque). The discussion of paper and watermarks was supplemented by the demonstration of the possibilities offered by infra-red photography of watermarks (M. Mayer).

A video recording of the conference is expected to appear on the *e-corpus* web site. For a detailed conference report, visit *http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/meet1-3and5-4.html*.

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Conference and workshops in manuscript studies

The Eighth Islamic Manuscript Conference. The Science of Manuscript; the Manuscripts of Science

The eighth yearly meeting of TIMA (The Islamic Manuscript Association) took place in Cambridge, from 9 to 11 July 2012. As the chiastic title alludes to, the main topics of the meeting were, on one side the works dealing with the sciences and preserved

in Islamic manuscripts (with some excursus into the perception of manuscripts' material aspects in Islamic Middle Age), on the other the application of the modern scientific techniques to the different aspects of manuscript studies. The two announced complementary pillars left room for different happy combinations.

The web site of TIMA offers a page dedicated to the past conferences, which also hosts a programme of the 2012 meeting (it is to be hoped that additional materials shall be added soon). In order to avoid any repetition, this brief report will offer a sketched summary of the contents.

The two panels of the first day definitively resolved the dichotomy. The morning session (Manuscripts of Science) offered several contributions on astronomical works and their organisational criteria in multiple-text manuscripts, together with some minor notes on medical works. The four papers that followed (The Science of Manuscripts) focussed on the preparation of traditional inks and the practice of stain removal, considering both the historical and experimental aspects.

The whole second day of the meeting (Collections and Cataloguing) was devoted to the presentation of previously uncatalogued, if not forgotten, collections, such as the one in Matenadaran, different projects and approaches to the digitisation and the displaying of Islamic manuscripts, together with the latest tools developed for the study of medieval manuscripts and their inner structure. One of the papers approached also the question of a particular approach and technique for cataloguing and digitising scientific manuscripts, presenting the case of Ibn Raqqām's botanical work.

Then a miscellaneous panel (Research) gave room to single research projects, devoted to particular authors (al-Būnī and al-Umarī) or to broader historical and aesthetic questions.

The last session (Conservation) was dedicated to the technical remarks of book conservators working on the preservation of different collection (University of Michigan Library, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and the Library of Congress). It emerged from the presentations that the general practice and attitude of conservators combines the close examination of the material supports with the attention to the role played by the text, offering some examples of a well balanced approach to the artefact as a whole.

Before the conclusive remarks, the presentations were crowned by the report of the artistic research and work that Ms Chowdry, a visual artist, did on the Iranian manuscripts and their illuminations: the activity of an artist that, on the basis of primary sources and empirical experimentation, tries to understand the origins of a manuscripts artefact and discloses new ways to the research.

In the name of several young researches, an acknowledgment is due to TIMA for the great support and attention that it offers to junior scholars, welcoming them at the meeting.

The Ninth Conference will be held from 2 to 4 September 2013 and will be dedicated to the Manuscripts of the Mamluk Sultanate and its Contemporaries.

For the full conference programme visit *http://www.islamicmanuscript.org/conferences/2012conference/ConferenceProgramme1.htm*.

Lucia Raggetti
Free University Berlin

XI Symposium Syriacum: Manuscript Session

The Symposium Syriacum is an academic conference devoted to Syriac Studies that takes place every four years and gathers scholars in the field from all over the world. More than 200 of them were present in the University of Malta at Valletta on 16–18 July 2012 (the Symposium Syriacum was followed by the IX Conference on Christian Arabic Studies on 19–21 July 2012). A special session dedicated to manuscripts was organised by Françoise Briquel Chatonnet (CNRS, Orient et Méditerranée, Paris) and Muriel Debié (CNRS, Institut de recherches et d'histoire des textes, Paris). It aimed at giving an overview of the present state of research in relation to Syriac Manuscripts. A total of thirteen papers were given in one of the three panels: codicology, manuscripts and their texts, collections and cataloguing enterprises. Three young scholars had the opportunity to attend and present thanks to travel grants awarded by the COMSt network.

The Codicology session was opened by Youssef Dergham (Charfet) and François Vinourd (Arles) who presented the Syriac bindings of the Charfet collection in Lebanon, placing the techniques used in a comparative perspective against those known from other Oriental traditions (Byzantine, Armenian and Islamic). Alain Desreumaux (Paris) spoke then about the inks in Syriac manuscripts. After a short break, Françoise Briquel Chatonnet (Paris) presented the first results of a survey on the transition from parchment to paper in Syriac manuscript tradition. The panel was concluded by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska (Uppsala) who provided preliminary observation on the layouts applied in Syriac manuscripts.

The panel dedicated to Manuscripts and their Texts was opened by Emilie Villey and Flavia Ruani (Paris) who presented their research on Syro-Occidental and Syro-Oriental manuscript traditions of the History of the Apostle Philip. The electronic database for Syriac manuscripts *e-ktobe* was then presented by a team including André Binggeli (Paris), Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux and Stéphane

Ipert (Arles). The survey of collections and cataloguing initiatives was continued by Kristian Heal (Provo, UT) who reported on the Syriac projects of the Centre for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts at Brigham Young University. Ayda Kaplan (Brussels) spoke about approaches to the Syriac palaeography in a digital age. Columba Stewart and Adam McCollum (Collegeville, MN) presented in cooperation with Fr. Nageeb Michaeel (Baghdad) the work that the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library has been conducting in manuscript digitisation and cataloguing in the Middle East and India.

The cataloguing overview was continued in the afternoon by André Binggeli, Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Muriel Debié, Youssef Dergham and Alain Desreumaux reporting on cataloguing Syriac manuscripts in Charfeh, Lebanon; by Gregory Kessel (Marburg) who has been working with the manuscript collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Meryem Ana in Diyarbakir; by Kristian Heal who spoke about the acquisition history of the Mingana Sinai Fragments and other Syriac Manuscripts between 1931-38. Finally, Erica Hunter (London) reported on her work with Syriac manuscripts from Turfan.

The conference experience has confirmed that this long largely neglected field of research has been recently fascinating scholars more and more. The attention the Manuscript Session attracted was so wide that there were not enough seats in the room to accommodate all those interested. In particular, the field of codicology deserves more study. A fascinating research on bookbinding showed that a distinct form can be identified, that is somehow different from Byzantine, Armenian or Islamic binding and specific to Syriac manuscripts. The conference also illustrated the growing number of projects that deal with digitisation, cataloguing, databases and digital studies.

The papers of this session as well as others dealing with manuscripts from other sessions or prepared by scholars who could not attend the Symposium will be published next year as a volume of the series Cahiers d'études syriaques (*http://www.etudessyriaques.org/public.php#ces*).

For the complete conference programme visit *http://www.um.edu.mt/events/ss-ccas2012/syriacprogram*.

Françoise Briquel Chatonnet,
Muriel Debié, CNRS, Paris

IV Incontro di Filologia Digitale: *Constitutio textus* : la 'ricostruzione' del testo critico

The latest meeting of the Filologia Digitale group was organised jointly by Adele Cipolla (University of Verona), Marina Buzzoni (Ca' Foscari University of Venezia), Odd Einar Haugen (University of Bergen), and Roberto Rosselli Del Turco (University of Torino) on 13–15 September 2012 in Verona. The topic *Constitutio textus* might seem at first sight not really suitable for a congress of digital philology, since, to the best of my knowledge, there are no computerised tools allowing to "establish the critical text". Such tools do exist for the steps before the *constitutio textus* (transcription, collation, classification of the manuscripts), and there are also existing computerised tools to help scholars making their editorial choices (linguistic analysis tools for example) and designing the layout of the critical edition. A crucial part of the intellectual activity of the *constitutio textus* relies however on human judgement and expertise (with their part of subjectivity), since a critical text is always something different than the mathematical application of the editorial principles stated in the introduction (the *ratio edendi*) to the setting of the text. The main issue at stake in this regard is to optimise the objectivity of this delicate process of thought and one way of doing this is precisely to try to formalise as many elements as possible.

Because of the challenges offered by this topic and also because of a good balance between junior and advanced scholars, this workshop happened to be extremely stimulating and fruitful and showed the dynamism of Italian scholarship in an international context (the workshop was held entirely in English).

Besides some interesting case studies or attempts at developing new tools, a few papers were devoted to merely methodological reflections, questioning the validity of some assumptions behind what is called "scholarly digital editing" (P. Trovato, F. Stella, C. Macé), or asking why there are so few digital editions of classical (Greek and Latin) texts (P. Monella). The advantages and shortcomings of cladistic or phylogenetic algorithms used in stemmatology, and the necessity of refining computerised stemmatic tools were demonstrated by the papers of T. Heikkilä and W. Robins. M. Burghart's paper stated that TEI is not yet ready for the needs of critical editions, but she also explained that the TEI consortium is aware of this problem and willing to work on it, but would need the involvement of more people dealing with critical editions.

Caroline Macé
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo

On 12–13 October 2012, Anna Sirinian (Alma Mater University of Bologna) organised a stimulating workshop dedicated to a comparative view on colophons in

the various Oriental manuscript traditions. The workshop, which took place in the Dipartimento di Storia, Culture, Civiltà, in the fascinating architectural complex of San Giovanni in Monte, offered the occasion for scholars of different areas of Oriental manuscripts to share their experience in analysing this recurring but often difficult to classify (para)textual element.

The first part of the workshop was dominated, as expected, by the description of the Armenian colophons, which – with their rich and extremely elaborated texts – represent a literary genre in their own right: Anna Sirinian (Bologna), *Principali caratteristiche dei colofoni armeni e un gruppo in particolare: i colofoni della critica alle autorità politiche e religiose*; Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan (Yerevan), *Le nuove raccolte di colofoni in preparazione presso il Matenadaran di Yerevan* (in Armenian); Theo van Lint (Oxford), *I colofoni armeni in rima*; Marco Bais (Rome), *Notizie sulla tassazione mongola nei colofoni armeni*; Alessandro Orengo (Pisa), *Scribi armeni di periferia: il caso di Livorno*.

After a first discussion, reports on other Oriental traditions followed. These included, on the first day, Greek: Chiara Faraggiana (Bologna), *Colofoni nei gerontika: alcune osservazioni*; Georgian: Gaga Shurgaia (Venice), *A proposito di alcuni colophon georgiani* and Ketevan Asatiani (The National Archives of Georgia), *The types of Georgian colophons in the Georgian and Armenian manuscripts*; Syriac: Emidio Vergani (Roma), *Colofoni siriaci della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* and Pier Giorgio Borbone (Pisa), *Colofoni siriaci e garshuni dal VI al XVII secolo, conservati nella collezione siriaca della Biblioteca medicea laurenziana*; Coptic: Paola Buzi (Rome), *Titoli e colofoni: riflessioni sugli elementi paratestuali dei manoscritti copti* and Philippe Luisier (Rome), *I colofoni dei manoscritti boairici della Vaticana. Un primo sguardo sui cataloghi*; Ethiopic: Alessandro Bausi (Hamburg, read in absentia), *I colofoni dei manoscritti etiopici*.

The second day of the workshop continued with a session on Arabic mauscripts, both Christian Arabic: Davide Righi (Bologna), *Le sottoscrizioni nei manoscritti arabo-cristiani. Esame di alcuni manoscritti del monastero di S. Caterina del monte Sinai* and Islamic Arabic: Arianna D'Ottone (Rome), *Le sottoscrizioni nei manoscritti arabo-islamici. Alcune note*. Finally, such traditions were covered as Persian: Angelo Michele Piemontese (Rome), *La geometria scrittoria in colophon di codici persiani*; Ancient Iranian: Antonio Panaino (Bologna), *I più antichi colofoni nei manoscritti avestici*; and Hebrew: Mauro Perani (Bologna), *I colofoni dei manoscritti ebraici: tipologia, formule e caratteri specifici*.

During the final discussion it was acknowledged

that – although there are some common textual elements in all the scribal subscriptions of Oriental manuscripts (date of the copy, name of the donor, name of the donee, formulas of blessing, etc.) – Syriac manuscripts are those whose colophons resemble more the Armenian ones. One of the main results of the workshop, however, was the common conviction that all the tentative definitions elaborated until now, above all in Western codicology, to describe the function, structure and purpose of a colophon, besides the relation to the text it is attributed to, are not satisfactory. New opportunities of comparison and discussion among scholars of different language areas on the same topic or related ones have been planned for the near future. The proceedings of the workshop are in preparation.

For the workshop programme see http://www.dpm.unibo.it/DPM/Bacheca/Eventi/2012/10/Workshop_Colofoni_armeni_a_confronto.htm

Paola Buzi
"Sapienza" University of Rome

Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 14

The 14th international seminar on the care and conservation of manuscripts was held in Copenhagen from the 17th to the 19th of October 2012, organised by the Arnamagnæan Institute at the University of Copenhagen in collaboration with the Royal Library of Denmark.

There were 32 papers presented at the seminar and about 150 attendees altogether. The programme was highly diverse, with papers on a wide variety of subjects pertaining to the conservation and use of manuscripts and other primary source materials.

There was one session specifically devoted to Islamic manuscripts, with presentations by Karin Scheper of Leiden University Library (a member of COMSt) on the general but in her view incorrect perception of Islamic manuscript structures as weak and simple, Marco Di Bella and Nikolas Sarris on their field conservation experiences in Ethiopia (with the Ethio-SPaRe project introduced on pp. 4-5 above) and Paul Hepworth (also a COMSt member) on illuminated endowment deeds of Ottoman royal women.

The full programme (with abstracts) is still available on the seminar website: http://nfi.ku.dk/cc/programmecc14/.

One of the strengths of the seminars has always been that they bring together different groups of manuscript users, from scholars to conservators and curators, from both large and small institutions or independent. The overall aim is to get these groups together, both in the lecture halls and in more relaxed surroundings over dinner and a glass of wine in the

"Monks' cellar" in the main building of the University of Copenhagen.

In keeping with tradition, the proceedings from the 13th seminar – at nearly 600 pages, the biggest yet – were published to coincide with the seminar this year and are available from Museum Tusculanum Press: http://www.mtp.hum.ku.dk/details.asp?eln=203452.

Matthew Driscoll
University of Copenhagen

18th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies

On 29 October - 2 November 2012, the 18th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies took place in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, organised by the Centre Français des études éthiopiennes in collaboration with the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University. For the first time, such a conference took place in Ethiopia in a regional university and not in the capital. Moreover, it was structured in the form of workshop-like thematic panels, one of which was particularly relevant for the COMSt network: 'Manuscript studies', organised and chaired by A. Bausi and D. Nosnitsin. It collected papers of two types: presentation of manuscripts and manuscript collections and palaeographical and philological observations, whether on text transmission history or on linguo-stylistic particularities of specific literary works.

In the first group, E. Gusarova presented an overview of Ethiopian manuscript collections of Saint-Petersburg, paying a particular attention to the decorative elements. E. Sokolinskaia introduced a recently discovered composite manuscript containing Amharic texts of historical character, many of them unedited. An interesting feature was the inclusion of a manuscript copy of a text that had been printed previously.

Of the second type was the presentation by A. Bausi who spoke about the problem of the editions of Gəʿəz texts produced in Ethiopia in a traditional environment and to their relationships to manuscripts, manuscripts usage, and scholarly practice, on the example of the recent publication of the *Book of Clement*. A. Brita discussed the challenges of working with the transmission history of a lengthy and multiple-layered hagiographic collection (in this case, *Gädlä Sämaʿtat*) when neither the selection and the sequence of text elements are fixed, nor their linguistic *Vorlage* are the same. P. Zarzeczny presented his work towards an edition of the Ethiopic version of the Life of St. Anthony, and the particularities of dealing philologically with "magic" texts traditions were illustrated by B. Burtea. Challenges in the work of a critical editor were addressed by S. Hummel (editing a text known from a single witness), while Yosef Demissie focused on erasing and emending in Ethiopian

manuscript culture. Particular cases of concept and lexicon in Ethiopic texts were presented by Gidena Mesfin (*asmat* in "magic" texts) and Daniel Assefa ('*aläm* in the Book of Enoch).

Some papers involving manuscript work were presented in other conference panels. Thus, in the panel dedicated to the 'Restoration and preservation of Ethiopian heritage', D. Nosnitsin spoke about the lesser known features of an Ethiopian codex, based on his fieldwork findings, and in the panel 'History of carthography' S. Dege presented manuscript evidence of Ethiopian cosmological models and of visualisations of the paradisiacal garden. Several of the papers in the panel 'Ulamas on the move: Scholarly trends in Ethiopian Islam from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 21st century' dealt with analysis and edition of Ethiopian Islamic manuscripts (in Arabic or '*ağāmī*: Amira Abdulkadir, Hassen Muhammed Kawo, Kemal Abdulwehab, Muna Abubakar, A. Gori).

For the programme overview and panel abstracts visit *http://ices18.org*.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia
Hamburg University

Manuscripts in Motion

The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Hamburg University organised a conference entitled "Manuscripts in Motion" on 15–17 November 2012. The focus of the meeting convened by H. Isaacson was on the "travel history" of manuscripts throughout centuries and on the traces this history left in manuscripts themselves and in external sources.

A significant share of papers dealt with Asian manuscript cultures (Indian: M. Delhey, Tibetan: O. Almogi, Chinese: M. Fölster, Tamil: E. Wilden); the COMSt-relevant traditions were also well represented. For Greek, G. De Gregorio reconstructed the travel history of ms. Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 125 (Maximos Planudes) from Constantinople to Salonica and back and then to Rome; V. Lorusso focussed on the circulation of ancient Greek philosophical and medical works; B. Pouvkova traced the journey made by the ms. Metochion Panagiu Tafu 462 which obviously accompanied its owner, who used the margins and blanks for taking important notes. For Arabic, D. Bondarev spoke about the dynamic life of West African Qurʾān manuscripts as evidenced by glosses and interlineal notes, and T. Seidensticker presented an overview of formation of German library collections of Arabic manuscripts. J. Gippert illustrated on several examples the typical routes travelled by medieval Georgian manuscripts (between Jerusalem, Sinai, Athos and Georgia).

A special guest talk was given by A. Camplani and

A. Suciu who spoke about dispersed Coptic manuscript fragments taking up a very particular case: a strip of papyrus that very recently, during the 10th International Congress of Coptic Studies in September 2012 in Rome, was presented by K. King as a fragment of the "Gospel of Jesus' Wife" (*http://www. hds.harvard.edu/faculty-research/research-projects/ the-gospel-of-jesuss-wife*), causing an academic sensation. A. Suciu demonstrated that the fragment is most likely a forgery, for several reasons: it seems to be written with a tool (brush?) not available in the fourth century, the alleged dating of the fragment; the text seems to be a collage of passages from the well-known gnostic Gospel of Thomas, and, finally, the error reported in the text is identical with the typo which occurred in the online edition of the latter text, only available since 1997. A. Camplani additionally illustrated that, even should the controversial fragment be original, the text does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the gnostic Christians believed Jesus had a wife, rather it uses terminology typical for other texts from the milieu. A. Suciu subsequently showed how work around manuscript fragments should be organised: the first must is to try to discover whether there are other fragments belonging to the same manuscript. This has been his approach to the work he is conducting for the Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari project (*http://cmcl.aai.uni-hamburg.de/*), and a successful one in many cases.

The discussion addressed the approaches to defining the very notion of motion itself and the value of understanding the history of each manuscript for manuscript research, including text history, but also for the investigation into the general cultural history of the traditions involved.

Full programme and selected abstracts are available at *http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg. de/cal-details/2012_mim.html*.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia
Hamburg University

NeDiMAH Expert Seminar

The ESF Research Networking Programme NeDi-MAH: Network for Digital Methods in the Arts and Humanities (*www.nedimah.eu*, funded by the ESF from May 2011 until May 2015) organised an Experts' seminar in the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, in The Hague, on November 21, 2012.

NeDiMAH is organised around six thematic working groups: 1. Space and Time; 2. Information Visualisation; 3. Linked Data and Ontological Methods; 4. Building and Developing Collections of Digital Data for Research; 5. Using Large-Scale Text Collections for Research; 6. Scholarly Digital Editions; and two cross-team workgroups: 1. Development of the ICT methods taxonomy, and 2. Impact of ICT research methods on scholarly publishing.

This specific workshop, although not dealing at all with Oriental languages and very little with ancient or medieval traditions, offered some interesting insights about what scholarly digital editions may be, what they may offer to the readers and the scholars, and what is still needed to be able to produce, use, assess and catalogue those digital editions.

The talks included, P. Sahle (Cologne), *What is a scholarly digital edition*?; M. Buzzoni (Venice), *A 'protocol' for digital scholarly editions? The Italian point of view*; G. Franzini (London), *A catalogue of digital editions*; D. van Hulle (Antwerp), *Digital genetic editing and manuscript literacy*; R. Rosselli Del Turco (Turin),*The battle we forgot to fight: Should we make a case for digital editions*?; J. van Zundert (the Hague), *The practice of theory and tools: A theoretical framework for quality assessment of tools for digital scholarly editing*; C. Damon (Pennsylvania), *A digital workspace for Latin textual criticism*; J. Lo (London), *Dimensionality in print and digital editions of Henslowe's Diary*; C. Desenclos (Paris), *Rethinking digital editions for early modern correspondences: A new approach to edition at the École nationale des Chartes*; K. S. G. Rasmussen (Copenhagen), *Reading or using a digital edition? Reader roles in scholarly editions*; and R. Siemens (Victoria, Canada), *Foundations of the social edition*.

Caroline Macé
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Editing Fundamentals: Historical and Literary Paradigms in Source Editing

The ninth conference of the European Society for Textual Scholarship was held in Amsterdam from the 22nd to the 24th November 2012. Under the title "Editing Fundamentals: Historical and Literary Paradigms in Source Editing", the organisers wanted to ask the following questions: Do we edit sources for literary studies as we edit sources for historical studies? To what extent does the way we consider a text (as a literary work or as a historical material) influence the manner in which we are going to edit it? Is it possible to produce editions which would satisfy all needs of all possible readers and scholars? And does the digital revolution change make this goal more achievable?

The conference was well attended, with six plenary sessions and nine parallel sessions (about 50 speakers in total), illustrating different schools of scholarly editing (critique génétique, "documentary" approaches, corpora, archives, critical edition…) and dealing with texts in different languages (Dutch, English, Finn-

ish, French, German, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Spanish…). Apart from some presentations of tools and some general methodological discussions, most of the papers consisted in case studies. It is always interesting to see concretely how scholars in different fields or from different perspectives deal with texts and manuscripts, but in the end the questions posed at the beginning of the conference were not really answered.

Caroline Macé
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Series Catalogorum: 3ème Journée d'études

On 6–7 December 2012, University of Naples "L'Orientale" in collaboration with the Istituto per l'Oriente "C.A. Nallino" (Rome) and the CNRS – Mondes Iranien et Indien (Paris), hosted the 3ème Journée d'études of the Series Catalogorum (an Italian-French project of cataloguing of manuscripts written in Arabic alphabet) entitled "Codex and Text. The Use of Codicology, Palaeography and Illumination for Textual Studies".

Unlike the first two workshops in the series, held in Paris in 2009 and 2011 and involving only a few scholars, this time the Series Catalogorum organised a two-day conference with scholars from European institutions, USA, Canada, South Africa, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Japan. Young researchers as well as such renowned scholars as Francis Richard (Paris), Angelo Piemontese (Rome), Maria Szuppe (Paris), François Déroche (Paris), Annie Vernay-Nouri (Paris) presented papers spanning from codicology to palaeography, from art history to traditional techniques of restoration, from textual criticism to cataloguing. While the bulk of the presentations focused on manuscripts from the Arabian, Persian and Turkic regions, some interesting contributions were dedicated to some areas usually perceived as marginal to the Muslim world, such as West Africa, post-Reconquista Spain and Bangladesh.

Forthcoming issues of the Series Catalogorum were announced during the conference, including the catalogue of the Fonds de Gironcourt of the Institut de France by Mauro Nobili, the catalogue of the "Supplément persians" of National Library of France by Francis Richard, and the catalogue of the manuscript collections from the Regional Museums of Ferghana and Marghilan (Uzbekistan) by Maria Szuppe and Shovosil Ziyodov. Furthermore, François Déroche and Valentina Sagaria Rossi presented the new book *I manoscritti in caratteri arabi*, already introduced to the COMSt community during the workshop on 'The Oriental Book' in Arles on 9–13 October (see above). Unlike the English and Arabic translations of Déroche's

2000 *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, the Italian version is a completely new and updated edition of this seminal manual.

For the full programme visit http://www.iran-inde.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article462.

Mauro Nobili
University of Cape Town

Textual Transmission and Manuscript Culture: Textual Fluidity, "New Philology," and the Nag Hammadi (and Related) Codices

On December 11–12, the first major workshop of the ERC-financed project *New Contexts for Old Texts: Unorthodox Texts and Monastic Manuscript Culture in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt* (NEWCONT) was held at the University of Oslo, Norway. The NEWCONT-project, which is led by ERC Starting Grant holder Hugo Lundhaug at the University of Oslo, seeks to recontextualise the Nag Hammadi (and related) codices in light of fourth- and fifth- century Egyptian monasticism, using a methodology inspired by "New Philology". The theme of the workshop was accordingly "new philology" and textual fluidity in relation to the Coptic Nag Hammadi-codices and related codices. There was a focus on questions of methodology, a selection of case studies, and a comparative perspective.

The workshop was opened by H. Lundhaug, who presented the theoretical and methodological foundations of the NEWCONT-project, with an emphasis on "new philology" and textual fluidity and their relevance in relation to the study of the Nag Hammadi (and related) Codices, arguing that it is necessary to study these codices and their texts in the context of their production and use. The most likely context of production and use, he argued, stressing the difficulties of dating the Nag Hammadi Codices, is that of fourth- and fifth-Century Upper Egyptian monasticism. The second paper was by S. Emmel (Münster), who presented and discussed a preliminary list of third- to fifth-century Coptic literary manuscripts, in order to give an overview as comprehensive as possible of the relevant materials for a comparison of the Nag Hammadi Codices with contemporary Coptic materials. Emmel underlined the great difficulties and uncertainties connected to the dating of Coptic manuscripts from this period.

In the first of the workshop's case studies, R. Falkenberg (Aarhus) applied a "new philology" approach to Nag Hammadi Codex III, focusing especially on the work of the scribe. Falkenberg analyzed the scribal corrections, titles, colophon, and page layout, and discussed possible readers, demonstrating the richness of the codex as a source for in depth study. This

close analysis of Codex III was then followed by an analysis of the texts of Nag Hammadi Codex II, understood as a collection, by I. Gilhus (Bergen), focusing on overarching themes and likely reading strategies, especially from an ascetic point of view.

After these papers on the Nag Hammadi Codices, S. Rubenson (Lund) talked about the phenomenon of textual fluidity in Early Monastic Sources in several languages, focusing in particular on the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and related traditions. Rubenson argued, inter alia, that the manuscript evidence of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is too late, and the textual fluidity too great, for it to be viable evidence of the early phases of monasticism in Egypt. Continuing the theme of textual fluidity, A. Suciu (Hamburg / Laval) gave an overview of different types of textual fluidity to be found in Coptic manuscripts, from mere orthographical variation, via different translations, to theologically motivated rewriting, again highlighting the problems inherent in trying to analyze hypothetical originals of the preserved Coptic texts.

Changing the focus to New Testament manuscripts, C. Askeland (Wuppertal) then presented various useful digital tools, in various states of development, for use in the identification and study of Coptic texts. Askeland showed examples from his ongoing work on the Coptic manuscripts of the *Book of Revelation*, but also pointed to developments and desiderata regarding digital tools in the study of Coptic manuscripts in general. New digital tools are constantly changing the way we study Coptic texts, and what Askeland showed gave grounds for optimism regarding future possibilities.

The penultimate paper of the first day again brought the discussion back to the Nag Hammadi codices. J. Hyldahl (Aarhus) used a "new philology" approach to analyze the theological tendency of the texts of Nag Hammadi Codex V in the light of general traits of the texts in the codex and a comparison with other extant versions of two of its texts, namely (the *First Apocalypse of*) *James and Eugnostos the Blessed*, focusing on the fact that Jesus Christ is never mentioned in Nag Hammadi Codex V. Hyldahl pointed to textual fluidity and intentional theological rewriting. In the final paper of the day, L.I. Lied (Oslo) demonstrated a "new philology" approach as applied to Syriac manuscripts, focusing on the transmission of the pseudepigraphical work *Second Baruch* in various late manuscripts of different types, again showing how content is related to form and context, and the potential of manuscript studies using "new philology."

The second day started with a paper by K. Brix (Berlin) who spoke about the two witnesses to the *Gospel of Truth* in the Nag Hammadi Codices, arguing that despite the effort of modern scholars, the two versions in Codex I and XII respectively cannot easily be brought into harmony with one another. Brix showed how scholars in their reconstructions of the lacunae of Codex XII have displayed a clearly harmonising tendency and thus stand in danger of distorting the evidence. She also showed that the uncertainties of transmission and the differences between the versions speak against any simplistic view, or reconstruction, of a hypothetical common Greek ancestor.

Taking a more historical approach, U. Tervahauta (Helsinki) analyzed some interesting similarities between the imagery of Asclepius, in its Nag Hammadi Codex VI version, and archbishop Athanasius of Alexandria's *Vita Antonii*, thereby showing the relevance of analyzing the Nag Hammadi texts in comparison with later texts than is usually the case. Historical contextualisation was also the theme of the following paper, by L. Jenott (Princeton). Focusing on the fourth and fifth centuries and Egyptian Christianity, he compared the texts of Nag Hammadi Codex XI with the theology of Evagrius Ponticus and the doctrinal controversies around the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. Jenott has recently been hired by the University of Oslo as a post-doc in the NEWCONT project, starting February 2013. Continuing the focus on Nag Hammadi Codex XI and the fourth and fifth centuries, D. Burns (Copenhagen, soon joining the DDGLC-project at the University of Leipzig) argued that the Nag Hammadi tractate Allogenes fits better into the context of later Greek philosophy, i.e. in the wake of Iamblichus and Proclus, than that of Plotinus, as commonly asserted. Finally, C. Bull (Bergen) gave a fascinating overview of the papyrus manuscripts, including Nag Hammadi Codex VI, attesting to the Hermetic tradition, including unpublished materials.

The workshop gathered together scholars specialising in a variety of fields, materials, and methods, all focusing on the topics of "new philology" and textual fluidity. The papers were all followed by lively discussion and a free exchange of ideas and perspectives in the spirit of truly collaborative scholarship.

For the complete workshop programme, see http://www.tf.uio.no/english/research/projects/newcont/events/other/2012/textual-transmission-and-manuscript-culture.html.

Hugo Lundhaug
University of Oslo

Miscellanea

In this issue:

The Production and Transmission of Hebrew Miscellanies on Greek Geometry: A Case Study of MS Madrid, BNE 5474[1]

Of all Hebrew miscellanies on Greek geometry, MS Madrid, BNE 5474 is the only one containing a set of works which includes Euclid's *Elements*, *Data* and *Optics*, besides *On mirrors*, often attributed to him, Theodosius of Bithynia's *Spherics*, Menelaus of Alexandria's *Spherica* and Autolycus of Pytane's *On the Moving Sphere*. Moreover, the manuscript also contains the anonymous treatise *On Two Asymptotic Lines* and a fragment of Abraham bar Hiyya's *Foundations of Understanding and Tower of Faith*. The whole manuscript appears to have been written by one sole

Fig. 1. MS Madrid, BNE 5474, ff. 159v-160r, © Biblioteca Nacional de España.

scribe and it can therefore be described as a monogenetic miscellany. [2] This fact will prove to be crucial to my main concern here: are there traces in Hebrew manuscript production of a tradition of copying a cer-tain set of works on Greek geometry in a particular order? In other words, does this manuscript reflect a tradition of production of miscellanies on Greek geometry? And if so, has this tradition to be attributed to the Jewish scholars who translated these works from Arabic, particularly members of the Ibn Tibbon family, or is it borrowed from the Islamic tradition?

The textual tradition of some of the works contained in this miscellany has been thoroughly studied. For example, the Hebrew text of Euclid's *Elements* has been Tony Lévy's subject in some articles, where he has paid particular attention to the different Hebrew versions of the text, their authors and their relations.[3] Also, the anonymous treatise *On Two Asymptotic Lines* has been examined in detail by Gad Freudenthal, who has traced both the history of the transmission of this text and the impact in Western Europe of this work presumably written in Arabic and later translated into Hebrew.[4] Both authors have examined the medieval sources of the mentioned texts, and a list of all the manuscripts containing them is to be found in their studies. However, they only refer to the folios in which the particular text they are studying is to be found, and no mention of other contents of the manuscript is made, except for some particular cases.[5]

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[2]   On the terms "monogenetic", "homogenetic" and "allogenetic", see Gumbert 2004 and 2012.

[3]   See Lévy 1997a and 1997b.

[4]   See Freudenthal 1988.

[5]   In the list of manuscripts containing *On Two Asymptotic Lines*, Freudenthal 1988:138 mentions MS Madrid, BNE 5474, and exceptionally specifies that the text is inserted after Euclid's *Optics* and *De speculis* (*On Mirrors*).

fols.	Content	Quire	fols.	Bifolia: fols. in quire [fols. missing]
1r-190v	Euclid's *Elements*	1	1	VI: 12 [11]
		2	2-12	VI: 2-12 [1]
		3	13-24	VI: 1-12
		4	25-36	VI: 1-12
		5	37-48	VI: 1-12
		6	49-60	VI: 1-12
		7	61-72	VI: 1-12
		8	73-84	VI: 1-12
		9	85-96	VI: 1-12
		10	97-108	VI: 1-12
		11	109-120	VI: 1-12
		12	121-132	VI: 1-12
		13	133-142	VI: 1-10 [2]
		14	143-153	VI: 1-7; 9-12 [1]
		15	154-165	VI: 1-12
		16	166-177	VI: 1-12
		17	178-189	VI: 1-12
191r-232v	Theodosius of Bithynia's *Spherics*	18	190-200	VI: 1; 3-12 [1]
		19	201-212	VI: 1-12
		20	213-224	VI: 1-12
233r-284v	Menelaus of Alexandria's *Spherica*	21	225-236	VI: 1-12
		22	237-248	VI: 1-12
		23	249-260	VI: 1-12
		24	261-272	VI: 1-12
		25	273-284	VI: 1-12
285r-309v	Euclid's *Data*	26	285-295	VI: 2-12 [1]
		27	296-307	VI: 1-12
309v-327r	Euclid's *Optics*	28	308-319	VI: 1-12
327r-330r 330r-333r	Euclid's (attrib.) *On Mirrors* *On Two Assimptotic Lines* (anonymous)	29	320-330	VI: 1-8; 10-12 [1]
333v-340r 340v-342v	Autolycus of Pitane's *On the Moving Sphere* Abraham bar Hiyya's *Foundations of Understanding and Tower of Faith* (fragment)	30	331-342	VI: 1-12

Table 1. MS Madrid, BNE 5474: schematic collation of quires.

Their interest is then focused on the transmission and reception of one particular text, regardless of the unity of production where every particular copy is found. In other words, no mention is made of the production of manuscripts as cultural objects, and the codices are listed just as mere bearers of texts. Attention is therefore focused on a specific text theoretically conceptualised as an independent unit.[6]

In order to complement such approach, the following case study will focus on one particular manuscript as a cultural object, and on the concept of miscellany as an intellectual product. It is my hypothesis that the choice and order of works in a monogenetic miscellany are not random, and that they are the product of an intellec-

tual tradition which considers such a choice significant and meaningful. Moreover, this kind of approach might contribute to the debate on textual connections among the different Hebrew versions of Euclid's *Elements* and other works, by providing material relations between manuscripts where the texts have been copied.

First and foremost, a detailed codicological analysis must be provided, both to exclude the possibility of later additions to the original concept of the miscellany and to localise the production of the manuscript in place and time, thus helping us to locate this particular tradition within Hebrew manuscript production. The schematic collation of quires, given in Table 1, needs some clarification:

– The original composition was made up of at least thirty-one quires, all of them senions of parchment. Some folios have been lost, resulting in the lack of parts of text: the initial eleven folios in quire 1, one folio in quires 2, 14, 18, 26 and 29, two folios in quire 13, and at least one complete quire at the end.

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[6] This vision of medieval texts with no relation to their materiality is both the result of traditional positivist approaches and of a post-structuralist conceptualisation of the text as a living entity outside its context of production. For a different view, see Dagenais 1994, esp. "Introduction: The Larger Gloss". On the importance of the materiality of manuscripts in editing medieval texts, see Sirat 1992.

Fig. 2. MS Paris, BNF héb. 684, ff. 85v-86r, © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

tion and colours of the titles are the same in both manuscripts. The Paris manuscript has a colophon, which states that it was copied in Mallorca in 1352 by Shelomo ben Yitzhak ben Moshe ibn Farḥi. It can therefore be surmised that the Madrid manuscript was copied around that same date in the cultural area to which Mallorca belonged at that time, which is the Crown of Aragon, including Catalonia and Provence. This assumption seems to be reasonable not only for the scribal features of the Madrid manuscript,

– The end of the manuscript is missing, and there is thus no scribe's colophon. Nevertheless, the translators' colophons have been copied at the end of some of the works: in fol. 190v (Euclid's *Elements*), fol. 232v (Theodosius of Bithynia's *Spherics*), 309v (Euclid's *Data*), 327r (Euclid's *Optics*), and 340r (Autolycus of Pytane's *On the Moving Sphere*).[7]

– A quire signature is visible at the beginning of each quire, except in those quires lacking the first folio/s: quires 1, 2 and 26.

– The missing folio in quire 26 contained the beginning of Euclid's *Data*. As this was the first folio of this quire and therefore no quire signature is present, I wrongly interpreted in a previous study that a new, independent codicological unit written by the same scribe might start at this point.[8] Nevertheless, a detailed codicological analysis has proved that the whole manuscript is one monogenetic unit.

The unknown scribe wrote the manuscript with a uniform Sephardic semi-cursive script.[9] Apart from the diagrams and figures illustrating the text, the only remarkable characteristic of the script lies in the titles: these are copied in Sephardic square script using red and blue inks, in a style strongly reminiscent of other Sephardic manuscripts from the fourteenth century. As an example, the resemblance between this miscellany and MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France héb. 684 is noteworthy (see Figures 1 and 2). The type of script is almost identical, and the execu-

but also for the type of miscellany which the codex is transmitting. As is well-known, the Ibn Tibbon family, author of most of the translations into Hebrew which the manuscript comprises, was active in Provence during the thirteenth century, and among the Hebrew manuscript production of fourteenth-century Provence and Aragon – including Catalonia and the Balearic Islands – there are several codices containing not only the Euclidean and Greek mathematical tradition in Hebrew, but also other scientific and philosophical works, particularly Maimonides and Averroes' *Epitomes* on Aristotle.

As far as the works in this miscellany are concerned, I have tried to trace the particular tradition of copying the Euclidean *corpus* and the other works present in this manuscript. In order to look for codices transmitting a similar tradition, three basic criteria have been followed in the selection of manuscripts. First, the set of works should be included in the same codicological unit; second, there should be at least three of the works which appear in the Madrid miscellany; and third, at least two different authors from the Madrid codex are to be present.[10] As shown in Table 2, there are just five manuscripts subject to these criteria, besides our manuscript in Madrid: MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 16; MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. III 137; MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ebr. 400; MS Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 8°3915; and MS Paris,

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7   For the Hebrew text of the colophons, see Del Barco 2003–2006, vol. 2, 191–93 (no. 113).

8   See Alfonso et al. 2012:332–33 (no. 38).

9   On the terminology of Hebrew scripts, see esp. Beit-Arié 1993.

10   These criteria have been checked by using the online catalogue of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in the National Library of Israel (http://aleph.nli.org.il). Table 2 and the results of its analysis are also based on the information provided by the same online catalogue.

Works	Oxford	Florence	Vatican	Jerusalem	Paris	New York	Madrid
Elements	1	1					1
Spherics	2					1	2
Spherica	3					4	3
Data		3		1		2	4
Optics			1	2			5
On Mirrors			2		3		6
On Two Lines		2			4		7
Moving Sphere		4	3	3	6	3	8
Foundations			6		5		9
Date	15th cent.	15th cent.	14th-15th cent.	1473	16th cent.	1346	14th cent.
Script	Sephardic	Byzantine	Sephardic	Sephardic and Italian	Italian	Sephardic	Sephardic
Place of production	Sepharad	Italy?	Sepharad	Mantova	Italy	Sepharad	Sepharad
More Works in the MS	No	No	Two[11]	No	Five[12]	No	No

Table 2. Hebrew manuscripts of Euclidian works.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, héb. 1021. In addition, there is one manuscript, MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2620, which only contains at present Menelaus of Alexandria's *Spherica*, but according to its colophon was copied together with Theodosius of Bithynia's *Spherics*, Euclid's *Data* and Autolycus of Pitane's *On the Moving Sphere*. Table 2 requires some explanations:

– All these manuscripts are either monogenetic or homogenetic miscellanies and not composite manuscripts. The only exception is the Paris manuscript, which contains two different codicological units. However, in that manuscript all the works indicated belong to the same codicological unit.

– The Oxford and Paris manuscripts seem to reproduce exactly part of the tradition transmitted by the Madrid manuscript: Oxford includes the first three works, and Paris the last four, with an almost identical order to that in the Madrid manuscript.

– Autolycus of Pitane's *On the Moving Sphere* is present in all the manuscripts, except that in Oxford. These are all the extant manuscripts containing this work, apart from another manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. Qu. 175, a composite miscellany which has not been taken into account because the present place of this work in the manuscript does not reflect the original conception. We should therefore attribute the Hebrew transmission of *On the Moving Sphere* solely to the Sephardic tradition.

– This *corpus* of manuscripts was produced either in the Iberian Peninsula or in Italy. The earlier codices (Vatican, New York and Madrid) are Sephardic, while those produced in Italy are fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscripts. It is clear that the tradition of copying this set of works (or a part of it) originated in the Sephardic area, probably in Provence and Catalonia, and later extended to Italy.

As a matter of fact, the Madrid manuscript itself followed this route from the Iberian Peninsula to Italy. Having been produced in the Crown of Aragon (Mallorca?), the Madrid manuscript has some traces of having belonged to at least one Italian reader in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. This reader was especially interested in Euclid's *Elements*, as is proved by his many marginal annotations throughout the folios with the text of this work. These annotations, written in an Italian cursive script, are all of an explanatory nature, explaining either some terms in the text translated by Ibn Tibbon, or other marginal annotations written by the copyist of the manuscript in the fourteenth century.[13] Interestingly, the Italian reader did not only attempt to understand the Hebrew terminology used by Ibn Tibbon by explaining the text in marginal annotations. He also copied a list of some of the geometrical terms used throughout the work in the only, original flyleaf remaining at the beginning of the codex. The list, as shown in Table 3, is a bilingual lexicon in which the Hebrew term is given first, followed by the Italian term in Hebrew letters.

As examined in Table 2, the data suggest that the tradition of producing and copying a miscellany containing Euclidean works and other related geometrical treatises started in the Sephardic area, probably in Provence, and extended during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to Italy, where some other manuscripts belonging to the same tradition as the one reflected in the Madrid manuscript were copied. In-

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[11] שאלות בהנדסה (*Questions on Geometry*) and Abraham bar Hiyya's חבור המשיחה והתשבורת (*Treatise on Measurement and Calculation*).

[12] This manuscript is a composite one; the information regarding date, script and place of production refers only to the codicological unit containing the works in the table. The other five works in this manuscript are a part of a different codicological unit.

[13] These two different hands in the marginal annotations are easily discernible: one is Sephardic cursive script, and the other is Italian cursive. Both are very homogeneous and probably belong to two different persons only.

deed, a large number of codices left the Iberian Peninsula with their owners for a safer place in Italy, following massive migrations of Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula to Italy, especially after 1391 and 1492. This route was not only an intangible path for abstract texts, but an actual flow of particular manuscripts which were pivotal agents in the transmission and reception of different texts and sets of works, as proven by the Madrid manuscript itself.[14] With this case study, I have attempted to approach the tradition of producing and copying a particular set of works within a miscellany. In such an attempt, the concept of miscellany, either monogenetic or homogenetic, is a keystone to determining and studying different traditions of medieval miscellanies and sets of works. Many other questions still remain unanswered, particularly those concerning the origin of the tradition. Besides the clear thematic relation among the different works in this kind of miscellany, were the Ibn Tibbons responsible for the choice of the works? Did it originate with them or did they take up a tradition that already existed in Arabic manuscript culture? I hope to receive the help of those working with Arabic manuscripts to answer this question.

Translation	Italian term in Hebrew letters	Hebrew term
Point	פונטו	נקדה
Line	ליניאה	קו
Surface	סופירפיציאו	שטח
Square	קוודראטו	מרובע
Center	ציטנרו	מרכז
Circle	צירקולו	עגול
Diameter	דיאמטרו	קוטר
Angle	אנגולו	זוית
Triangle	טריאנגולו	משולש
?	באסה	תר--
Sides	לאטי	צלעות
Acute angle	אנגולו אקוטו	זוית חד
Obtuse angle	אנגולו אוטוסו	זוית נרוח
Right angle	אנגולו ריטו	זוית נצב
Equidistant	איקוידישטאנטי	?
? angle	אנגולו קואילטירנה	זוית -----רת
Opposite angles	אנגולו אופוסיטי	זוית מתנגדות
Exterior angles	אנגולו סטרינסיקו	זוית ח[י]צונה
Interior angles	אנגולו אינטרינסיקו	זוית פנימית
Semicircle	סימי צירקולו	חצי עגול
Major arc	פרוציא-- מייורי	יותר מחצי עגול
Minor arc	פרוציא-- מינורי	פחות מחצי עגול
Compound	קונפוסטו	מורכב
?	מוטואי	יקות---
Antecedent and consequent	אנטיצידינטי אקונסיגוויינטי	קודם ונמשך
Adjacent	קומוניקאנטי	משותפים
Non-adjacent	אינקומוניקאנטי	בלתי משותפים
? line	ליניאה ראציאונאל אי--------	קו מרכ--
Adjacent Line?	ליניאה קומוניקאנטי ---פוטיינטי	קו משותף בכח

Table 3. MS Madrid, BNE 5474: lexical notes on the flyleaf by an Italian reader.

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[14]   On the impact of Kabbalistic literature in sixteenth-century Italy as reflected in the production of two particular miscellaneous manuscripts, see Del Barco 2012.

ʿĪsà the Prophet: Some Turkish Anecdotes not Found in the Arabic Tradition. Part 3: A Context-based Approach: Central Asian Collections

The text below is the third instalment of a series of research notes concerning the Turkic ʿĪsà corpus. The first two parts (published in the *COMSt Newsletter* issues 2 and 3, 2011), dealt with the particular "Märchen-Typen" found in the Turkic tradition, including the *Long-living Worshipper* story, the stories of the *Talking Frog* and the *Talking Mountain* (s. also Appendix below for some additional observations). In the third instalment, I change the approach from looking at particular motifs to looking at text collections in which these and other similar stories are transmitted. The occasion is used to introduce more previously unstudied texts to the broad academic community. For a general introduction on the popular motifs in the Turkic ʿĪsà tradition, as well as for an explanation of the transliteration convention used in this article, s. *COMSt Newsletter* 2, July 2011, p. 25. For further remarks on the transliteration system here adopted, cp. now Proverbio 2012.

The *mecmūʿᴅ-ı ḥikāyāt* of Ms Vat. turc. 431

Ms Vat. turc. 431 was acquired by the Vatican Library in 2007. It is a paper booklet (ff. I +124 + I; dimensions in mm 175 x 217 [h] [÷ 0.80 ≅ √2/√3]; ⊂ ≅ mm 0.11/0.12) with a brownish leather binding. A dry-stamp of the paper-mill of Uglič' – «Углицкая бумажная фабрика | Н с П |» – is impressed on ff. 51, 75 and *passim*.[1] On ff. 38, 39 and *passim* the watermark bears the date 1833.

On f. 1v, before the bismillah: اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم (Qurʾān XVI 98b, with the variant reading أَعُوذُ instead of إشتَعَذ). From a palaeographic point of view, this manuscript exhibits a semi-cursive, quite neutral Central Asian *nastaʿlīq*.

As far as the orthographic peculiarities are concerned, aside from ‹چ› and ‹پ› (‹ڭ› for [g] occurs only exceptionally), the graphemes list includes also ‹ۋ› for [v] (cp. ff. 31v l.3: داۋد ‹Dāvud›; 91r l. 1: يۋار ‹yuvār›; 91v l. 3: ۋيردى ‹vērdï›), a figure which is completely extraneous to Anatolian tradition.[2]

The language is somewhat mixed: it shares certain features with Çaġatay acrolect, but also shows morphological and lexical traits which clearly belong to Anatolian domain. The lexeme #Tëngrï#[3] occurs as normal Central Asian counterpart of Anatolian #Teŋrï#, but the syntagm #ĕl-ï# (to be found on f. 5r, for example) *versus* Çaġatay #ëlig-ï# is decidedly Anatolian. On the same f. 5r occurs the pronominal syntagms #bënï#, #bangā#, #būnd(ï)n# *versus* Çaġatay #mënï#, #manga#, #mūndïn#, alongside

with the interrogative adverb #niyö# *versus* #nëgä#, but throughout the *mecmūʿᴅ* #ȧngā# occurs instead of Anatolian #ȧŋā#; the syntagm #bār ʾĕrdï#, occurs on ff. 90v-91r and *passim*, is clearly a Çaġatay feature *versus* Osmanlî #vārdī#; and so on. Certain phonetic developments (cp. the occurrence of 'ȧrturāq', f. 63r l. 7, < Çaġatay 'ȧrtuġrāq') are indicative of a later transmission.

The *mecmūʿᴅ-ı ḥikāyāt* extends from folio 1v to folio 85r. Few *ḥikāyāt* are scattered throughout the second (folio 85v to 116v) as well as the third section of the Ms (folio 116v to 120v). The collection is not so markedly Central Asian in content, though it begins with a bulk of *ḥikāyāt* focusing on the righteousness of Ibrāhīm (b.) Adham, the Sufi saint, former king of Balḫ (ff. 1v-5r l. 2).[4] The manuscript contains three texts relating to ʿĪsà, as the following synopsis shows:

Text 1: f. 5r ll. 5-10	ʿĪsà saw a man who was blind, handless and footless
Text 2: f. 63r, ll. 5-11	ʿĪsà saw an ascetic man of the Mosaic religion who had worshipped in a mountain for more than two hundred years (i.e. a short variant of the *Long-living Worshipper* tale)
Text 3: ff. 90v l. 13 – 91r l.2	A very short, enigmatic pericope, in fact, only the first part of a much longer account

Text 1, Vat. turc. 431, f. 5r ll. 5-10:

|₅ […] ḥikāyet ʿĪsà payġambar ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām bir kūn këčürdï bir âdamī kōrdï ïkkï ʾilï vä-ʾïkkï |₆ âyāġï käsik ʾïkkï kōzï yōq täninö qūrīlār dūşmiş yatūr |₇ الحمد ‹ل›له عافانى من البلاء yaʿnī şükr ȧydūr ʾōl tängrï-yö kim bënï ʾōl bälälār-din ȧmïnö qïldï dëdï ʾĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām ȧyïtdï ȧy darvīş niyö şükr ȧydār sän |₈ nēcö bälälār kim sëndö dūr dëdï darvīş ȧydï yā ʿĪsà rūḥ-uʾllᴅ ȧllᴅ taʿālïning ḫazīnalārında bangā vār |₉ dūr-kï bälälār-din daḫī badtar bälä vārmay#dūr dëdï ʾĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām ȧyïtdï küfr sōzï sōylämäk būndïn bad|tar dūr ȧndan ʾōl yigit ȧydī har bälä kim küfr kälimö-din ĕrūr ʾōl äsnälik dür yā ʿĪsà dëdï […]|₁₁

This text is at least thematically related to the well-known excerpt from the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* by Ġazālī.[5] The main difference lies in the issue of the dialogue between ʿĪsà and the human torso, and in the fact that at the end of it no salvific healing took place. Here are the last words of the dialogue:

'The speech of the unbeliever is worse than all these misfortunes' quoth ʿĪsà; 'Any evil, which comes from the speech of the unbeliever, is the (true) healing', stated the young man [!].

The motif of blind, handless and footless worshipper is treated in another, much more developed, Turkic (Osmanlı) text, which is to be found in the *Acāᵬibü-ʾl-meȧśir ve-ġarāᵬibü-ʾl-nevādir* by Süheylî Ahmed bin Hemden (d. 1632).[6] The *Story about Jesus and*

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1   The Paper-Mill of Uglič was founded in 1735, cp. Uchastkina 1962:74–77.

2   For an overview concerning its diffusion in Çaġatay tradition, one may consider, among others, the text of the *Nehcüʾl-feradis*, published in a fac-simile edition by Eckmann (1956).

3   Regarding the graphemic triplet ‹ä›, ‹ë›, ‹ï›, cp. Proverbio 2012, note 16.

4   Cp. at least Jones 1969.

5   Cp. Khalidi 2001:177 and foll., no. 225; Chialà 2009:109, no. 292.

6   Concerning Süheylî and his *Acāᵬibü-ʾl-meȧśir* cp. Kavruk

the pure woman,[7] which differs in many details, and dramatically in length from Ġazālī's anecdote – and also from the *ḥikāyet* embedded in the *mecmūʿp* of Ms Vat. turc. 431, – may be read in the *Turkish Evening Entertainments*, published in 1850.[8] John P. Brown, Dragoman of the United States Legation at the Ottoman Port, translated the *ʿAcāɓibü-ʾl-meaṡir* into English from the *editio princeps* of 1840,[9] at the time freshly issued in Constantinople.[10] A similar theme is exploited in the account of the woman attacked with leprosy, immediately preceding the *Story about Jesus and the pure woman*, which is said to be taken from the المُنْتَظَمْ فى تأريخ الأمم by Ibn Ġawzī (d.1200/01).[11]

Text 2, Vat. turc. 431, f. 63r, ll. 5-11:

Incipit: |₅ […] ʿĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-ṣalɒp va-ʾl-salām künlārdö bir kün kaẕā yürürdī kördī tāġdɒ bir zāhid ṭaʿat |₆ qīlā turūr ʿĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām sōrdī yā zāhid nĕcö yīl bōldī sēn bū ṭāġdɒ ṭaʿat qīlūr sän yĕtdī ʾōl |₇ zāhid ʾĕtdī mĕn Mūsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām ummatī tūrūr män ʾĭkkī yūz yīl ʾârturāq bōldī yĕtdī ʿĪsà ʾa(layhi-ʾl-salā)m ʾĕdī yā ilāha ʾl-ʿālamīn |₈ sĕn ʾaytūr sän Muḥammad ummatī afẕal ʾĕrūr[12] tĕp ʾōṣ Mūsà ʾa(layhi-ʾl-salā)mnïng ummatī-nïng birisī ʾĭkkī yūz yīl ṭaʿat qīlūr ʾĕtdī | […]

1998:140-43; Yağcı 2001; Yağcı Yalçınkaya 2010. Kavruk 1998:43, note 13, provides a provisional list of manuscripts. Here is a more comprehensive list: (1) Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi, A 238; (2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms or. fol. 3130 (Fleming no. 441); (3) İstanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Mehmet Asım Ktb., 468; (4) İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 4117; (5) İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 4357; (6) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Ktb., 2837; (7) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa Ktb., 606 (apodous); (8) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa Ktb., 607 (acephalous); (9) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Tercüman Gazetesi Ktb., Y-359; (10) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Bağdad Köşkü, 180; (11) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine Ktb., 1145; (12) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine Ktb., 1622 (1744-45); (13) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Emanet Hazinesi Ktb., 1331 (1715); (14) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Emanet Hazinesi Ktb., 1332; (15) Kastamonu İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 3818; (16) London, British Library, Or. 6417 (1115 H = 1704); (17) Manchester, John Rylands Library, no. 133 (1181 = 1768); (18) Paris, BN, turc, ancient fond 153 (1099 H = 1688); (19) Paris, BN, turc, supplément 402 (1224 H = 1809); (20) al-Qāhira, دار الكُتُب المصرية, Talʿat 63; (21) al-Qāhira, دار الكُتُب المصرية, Talʿat 146; (22) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. turc. 90. For earlier bibliography, cp. the still valuable Rossi 1953:72 and foll.

[7] The *Story of ʿĪsà and the pure woman* is transmitted in the manuscripts Vat. turc. 90, ff. 150r, l. 18 – 151r, l. 1; Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi, A 238, ff. 184 [185]r, l. 16 – 185 [186]r l. 6; and published in Süheylî 1840: 350 and foll.; Süheylî 1859: 349 and foll.

[8] Brown 1850:365 and following.

[9] Curiously, the only extant modern Turkish translation (Kutlu 1976) omits the *ḥikāyet* concerning ʿĪsà.

[10] Cp. Brown 1850:[iii] and 378.

[11] Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi, A 238, ff. 183 [184]v, l. 5 – 184 [185]r, l. 16; Vat. turc. 90, ff. 149v, l. 10 – 150r; Süheylî 1840:348 and foll.; Süheylî 1859:347 and foll.; Brown 1850:363.

[12] It was from the structure of the wordplay "ârturāq bōldī → afẕal ʾĕrūr", "it has been more than (two hundred years) → (Islam) is 'more' (*viz* of higher rank) than" that I inferred the lateness of ârturāq < ârtuġrāq.
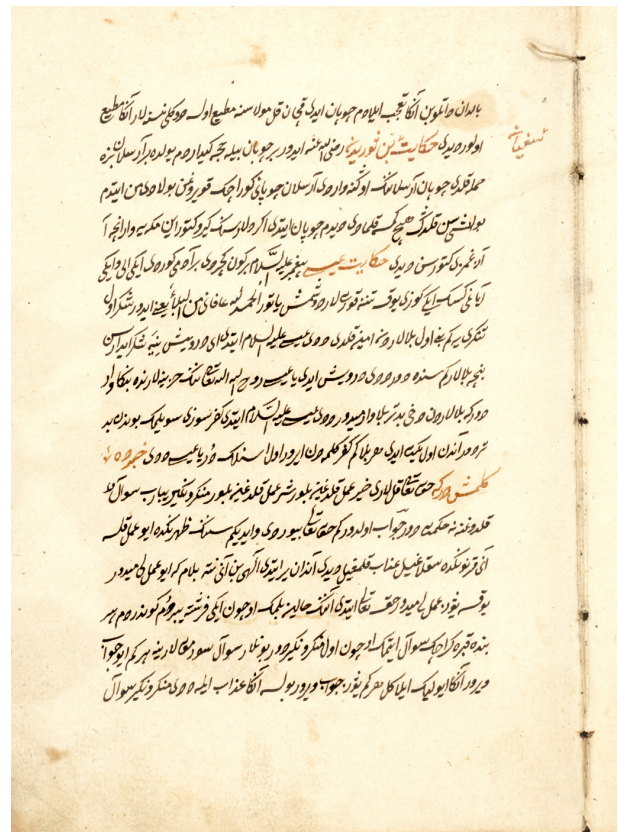

Fig. 1. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. turc. 431, f. 5r (© BAV).

Text 3, Vat. turc. 431, ff. 90v l. 13 – 91r l. 2:

Incipit: |₁₃ […] künlārdö bir kün ʿĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-salām yārānlārī |₁₄ birlö ʾōltūrūr ʾĕrdī birāv ʾüzüb kitdī qōltuġïndä bir bōqcɒsī bār ʾĕrdī bōqcɒsïdɒ külmäk ʾaṣṭānī |₁₅ bār ʾĕrdī bes ʿĪsà ʾa(layhi-ʾl-salā)m yārānlārɒ ʾaytïtdī tüṣ vaqtïndɒ bū kişïning cināzɒsïnɒ ḥāżïr bōlung |₁₆ dĕdī bes tüṣ vaqtī bōldī ʿĪsà ʿalayhi-ʾl-ṣalɒp va-ʾl-salām camāʿat#ilö ʾōl kişïning külmäk ʾaṣṭānī ||₁ yuvġān yĕrïnö bārdī ʾōl şahr camāʿatīnïng külmäk ʾaṣṭānïnī yuvār ʾĕrdī bes ʿĪsà ʾalayhi-ʾl-salām ʾōl kişī |₂ tärk kördī ʿacab-gā qāldī […]

[…] ʿĪsà was with his friends. One of them, who had under his armpit a wrapped bundle in which there were (some) jubbahs (*külmäk ʾaṣṭānī*), died. ʿĪsà said to his friends: "Be present at the funeral of that man at noon!". It was midday and ʿĪsà, accompanied by the followers, went to the place where that person washed jubbahs. It was the place where the town's community washed their jubbahs. Then ʿĪsà got a quick glance at the (dead) man and remained perplexed […]

Turkish translations of the *Cevāmiʿ ü-ʾl-ḥikāyāt ve-levāmiʿ ü-ʾl-rivāyāt*[13] by ʿAwfī

Regarding the famous collection of accounts and anecdotes by Persian writer ʿAwfī (b. 1171 – d. 1242), of the at least three Turkish translations mentioned by Kâtip Çelebi in his *Keşfü ʾẓ-ẓunūn*,[14] only the third (in chronological order, by Celāl-Zādɒ Ṣāliḥ Çelebî, b. 1493/99 – d.

[13] Cp. Nizāmu'd-Dīn 1929:31 and foll., 315 and foll.; Yazıcı 1993.

[14] Flügel 1837:510 and foll., no. 3899; Balcı 2007:458. Ms. to be checked: Wien, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Neuer Fond 201 [Flügel no. 423], cp. Flügel 1865:413: "Eine des türkischen übersetzungen des genannten Werkes, deren Ḥâdschî: Chalfa drei angiebt, ohne dass sich mit Zuversicht bestimmen liesse […]".

1565[15]) is widely represented in manuscript circulation. As far as Şihābü'd-Dīn İbn ʿArabşāh (d. 1450)[16] is concerned, his *tercüme* survives only in few testimonies.

The manuscripts are: of İbn ʿArabşāh's translation: İstanbul, Ayasofya Kütüphanesi, 3167[17]; of Celāl-Zādǝ Ṣāliḥ Çelebî: Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, B 479, Antalya, Tekelioğlu İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 756 (964 H = 1556 CE), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms or. fol. 4109 (I), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms.or. quart. 980 (II), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms.or. fol. 3043 (I), Bratislava, Univerzitná Knižnica, TC 16 (I)[18], Hüsrev Paşa Halk Kütüphanesi, 499-500[19], İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 3232 (1088 H = 1677 CE), İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 3274 (1066 H = 1655 CE), İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüzrev Paşa 432, İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R. 1085, İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R. 1086, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi, 283, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Ind. Inst. Turk. 11/1, ff. 44r–188v, 229v–294r[20], and al-Qāhira, دار الكُتُب المصرِيّة, الادب التركي, pp. 188–89.

For the following synopsys of the texts relating to ʿİsà, I have used the manuscripts Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, B 479 (the name of the translator occurs on f. 3v l. 23) [sygla **Z**], Paris, BN, Suppl. turc. 403 (f. 229r: fī ėvāḫir-i şevvāl senǝ 1046 H = March 17-26, 1637 CE) [sygla **Y**], and Paris, BN, Suppl. turc. 451 (f. 443r: fī ġurrǝ-i şehr-i recebi-ʾl-mürecceb senǝ 1041 H = January 23, 1632 CE) [sygla **X**].

Z, ff. 22v l. 25 – 23r l. 11 **Y**, ff. 41v, l. 13 – 42r l. 5 **X**, ff. 18v l. 29 – 19r l. 4	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 1929: 142, no. 45 (Persian text: Paris, BN, persan 75, f. 30r; suppl. persan 906, f. 12r).
Z, ff. 23r l. 11 – 23v l. 9 **Y**, ff. 42r, l. 6 – 42v, l. 11 **X**, ff. 19r l. 5-25	The Pardoner's Tale, Recension **D**: cp. *COMSt Newsletter* 3, January 2012, p. 23a.
Z, ff. 23v l. 9 – 24r l. 15 **Y**, ff. 42v, l. 12 – 43r l. 4 (7) **X**, ff. 19r l. 25 – 19v l. 18	ʿİsà saw a young man who was weeping upon a grave where his wife had been buried. It is another variant of the story embedded in the *Forty Vezirs* framework (Recension **B**): cp. *COMSt Newsletter* 2, July 2011, p. 30b.[21] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 1929: 231, no. 1775: "The Prophet relates the story of a woman's faithlessness to her devoted husband and the miraculous intervention of Christ" (Persian text: London, BritLib, Or. 2676, f. 281r; Paris, BN, suppl. pers. 906, f. 285r).

Z, ff. 24r l. 17 – 26r l. 1 **Y**, ff. 43v, l. 7 – 46v l. 3 **X**, ff. 19v l. 19 – 20v l. 21	ʿİsà sent two Apostles, whose names were *Qārūs* and *Kārūs* respectively, to Antioch; then he sent a third man: Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 1929: 142, no. 48 (Persian text: Paris, BN, pers. 75, f. 30v; suppl. pers. 906, f. 12v).

According to the website of the T.C. Kültur ve Turizm Bakanlığı (www.yazmalar.gov.tr), which relies upon the *Türkiye Yazmalari Toplu Kataloğu*, vol. 07,[22] there is at least another testimony of the *Cevāmiʿü-ʾl-ḥikāyāt* by Ṣāliḥ Çelebî: MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 8044 (dated on *cemāziyü ʾl-àḫır* 3, 1183 H = October 4, 1769 CE, cp. f. 231r). In fact, the aforementioned manuscript contains a different collection. Notwithstanding the fact that the scribal vocalism is clearly later (post-classical), the text appears to be archaic.

pp. *22 l. 5 – *23 l. 6:	Theme of talking objects: an interesting variation on the motif of the bitter water, which is to be found in Velî's *Maqālāt* (cp. *COMSt Newsletter* 3, January 2012:19, and *infra*), with a different etiology, explained by the water itself. Therefore, two different motifs are conflated in the *Talking Mountain*: the motif of the bitter water (Thompson's Motif Index: D1658.1.3. *Bitter water grateful for being praised*. [Cf. D1242.1.: *Magic water*] Type 480; *Köhler-Bolte Zs. f. Vksk. VI 63 [to Gonzenbach No. 13]) and the motif of the talking rock (cp. *COMSt Newsletter* 3, January 2012, p. 20a).
pp. *208 l. 11 – *209 l. 3	ʿİsà raises a dead man back to life, and this latter makes known to his mother his current condition. Not attested elsewhere.
pp. *500 l. 14 – *503	The fatal ingot of gold = the *Pardoner's Tale*, Recension **B**: *COMSt Newsletter* 2, July 2011: 26a, 30b; *COMSt Newsletter* 3, January 2012: 23b. Cp. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 1929:142, no 46.
p. *585 ll. 5-10	A close variant of the short account reported by Ġazālī:[23] ʿİsà met Şeyṭān, who was carrying ashes in one hand and honey in the other.

A 8044, ff. 11v (p. *22) l. 5- 12r (*23) l. 6:

|5 […] ḥikāyet ʾōlunur-ki̇̂ ʿīsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām |6 bir yerdǝ gi̇̂derdi̇̂ bir irmāq kenārındǝ bir muşluġǝ yetişüb şū içdi̇̂ |7 gōrsēdi̇̂[24] şuyšu-àcī ʿīsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām àydur yā rabb belürmegǝ bū muşluġuŋ şūyı |8 irmāqdan d‹a› niçün irmāq şūyı ṭatlū bū şušu-àcī didi̇̂ Àllāh taʿālà |9 vaḥy ėyledi̇̂#ki̇̂ yā ʿīsà muşlūġǝ ḥaber şōrdur ʿīsà ḥaber şōrdi̇̂ |10 Àllāh taʿālà vaḥy ėyledi̇̂ àydur yā rūḥuʾllāh ben bir kimse#ydüm ʾöldükdän şoŋrǝ |11 ʾüç yǖz yıl yerdǝ ṭopraqdǝ yetdüm àndan şoŋrǝ beni̇̂ bir kimesnǝ gezi̇̂ç‹i› |12 kesūb bir pādişāh

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15   Sohrweide 1974:279 and foll.; TDEA 1977; TDİA 1993b:263c; Kavruk 1998:146 and foll.
16   Cp. Yuvalı 1999.
17   Cp. Ayasofya 1887:190. Cp. Kavruk 1998:147 note 6.
18   Blaškovič 1961:368 and foll.
19   Cp. Hüsrev 1892:36.
20   Scattered tales, cp. Kut 1994:157, no. 221.
21   *Auctarium* to Proverbio 2010:71-73: İstanbul, Türk Dil Kurumu, A 142, ff. 323r-323v.
22   Cp. vol. 07/4, 1984, p. 267 no. 4000.
23   Cp. Khalidi 2001:185, no. 240; Chialà 2009:113, no. 307.
24   #gōrsē#(-#mek#) is a lexical fossil (cp. ancient Çağatay *körse-*) which stems from Ancient Turkic *körügsa-* 'sehen vollen', and in which the voiced velar segment underwent the usual weakening, cp. Gabain 1941:68 § 97. The form *görsǟt- > görsit-* is due to a later development – the two forms *körse-* and *körset-* coexisted already in ancient Çağatay.

sarāyınɒ yapdī ʾūç yüz yıl daḫī ȧndɒ ʾōldum pādişāh |₁₃ ʾōlüb sarāy ḫarāb ʾōlūb ʾūç yüz yıl daḫī ṭoprāḳdɒ yetdüm ȧndan ṣoŋrɒ |₁₄ bir kişī daḫī benī kūb ėyleyūb bū ȧrmāġuŋ kenārındɒ muṣluq ėyledīler yüz |₁₅ yıl#dur-ki bendɒ ṭururum didī ʿĪsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām ȧydur yā ṣūyuŋ neden ȧcī-dur |p. 23|₁ didī muṣluq ȧydur ʾAzrāɞil cānumī bir şiddet#lɒ ȧldī#kī bīŋ yıl#dur daḫī ṭoprāġumdan |₂ ʾōl ȧcī çıqmaz bū ṣūyuŋ ȧcılīġī ȧndan-dur didī ʿĪsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām ȧydur günāhuŋ |₃ nɒ ʾīdī-ki bȫylɒ ȧẓāblɒ cān v(ë)rdüŋ didī muṣluq ȧydur bir gün bāzārdɒ |₄ ʾōtururken bir kimesnɒ ȧrqāsınɒ bir yūk diken ȧlmış ʾīmiş ȧndan bir degn²⁵ ȧlıb dëşim²⁶ |₅ qardëmişdümª ʾōl kimesnüŋ rıżāsī yōġ#iken ȧŋā ẓulm ėyledüŋ diyū ʾAzrāɞil |₆ bir şedit#lɒ cānım ȧldī#kī daḫī ȧnuŋ ȧcısī#dur-ki ṣūyum ȧcī#dur dëdī […]

a Instead of the expected *qardeş(ü)mdüm*.

In the end, the text appears to be somewhat defective and corrupt, a fact which could be the evidence of a long transmission:

> On his arrival near a drinking trough on the border of a river, Isa drank (some) water. But on better scrutiny (he realised that) the water was bitter. Quoth Isa: "O Lord, apparently the water of such trough come from the river: why is the river water agreeable to the taste while this is bitter water?" God the most High inspired him: "Ask the trough". Isa asked the trough and God the most High inspired him: "O Spirit of God, I was once a man. After my death I stayed on earth under ground for three hundred years, but then, a wanderer having excavated me, a king built his palace (here). I remained here for three hundred years, and again, after the king had died and the palace had been ruined, I stayed three hundred years under ground, and then someone made a trough on the border of this river by transforming me in a jar. (Until now) it has been one hundred years that I lie here". Quoth Isa: "From what comes forth the bitterness of the water?" The trough answered: "Azrael (the Angel of Death) took away my soul with such a violence that for one thousand years that bitter(ness) did not abandon my ground: from this (fact) comes forth the bitterness of the water". Isa said: "What was your sin that You returned (your) soul so painfully?" The trough answered: "One day, while I was in a bazar, a man was carrying a burden placed on his back. (Then), while he was carrying a vessel (I exclaimed): 'My comrade! My brother!'. (But) since there was no sign of compliance on his part, Azrael, having said: 'You committed cruelty in respect of him', took away my soul painfully, so that from this issued the bitter(ness): that is why my water is bitter".

A 8044, pp. *208 l. 11-*209 l. 3:

|₁₁ ḥikāyet ʾōlunūr-ki ʿĪsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām zemānındɒ bir kimsɒ vār-dī ȧnāsınɒ ʿāṣī idī |₁₂ ȧcel-i yetişibª ʾōldī ȧnāsī ʾōġlanuŋ bū vechi#lɒ ʾōldugunɒ İçīyibª ʾĪsàyā gelūb |₁₃ ȧyıtdī yā rūḥu-ʾllāh duʿā ėylɒ ʾōġlancaġum derilsün gȫreyim ḫālī ne#dür didī ʾĪsà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām |₁₄ duʿā ėyledī Àllāh taʿālā ȧmrī#lɒ meyyitɒ cān gelüb ṭarūª geldī ȧnāsī ȧydur ʾōġul ḫāluŋ |₁₅ nicesī ʾōldī ʾōġlān ȧydur ȧnācaġum hergāh-kib qatī qatī sīlmişdüm her sīldügüm |209|₁ bāşınɒ cehennem mālikī yüzümɒ bir kerrɒ hāyqırdugɒ ṭūt(tu)kɒ maġrib maşrıq ȧhlī

²⁵ *Deg(e)n*, a very archaic (and perhaps corrupted) form of late Osmanlı *tekne* 'trough', cp. Clauson 1972:484a.
²⁶ *Dëş* 'companion, comrade' is another lexical fossil.

ʾūzerümɒ |₂ hāyqırırler ‹di›dī ve-daḫī ḥaẓer ėylemek gerek ȧtānuŋ ȧnānuŋ qalbın İncidüb ḫuṣūṣā |₃ ʿavretler sȫzünɒ ʾūyub ȧtā ȧnā rıżā-sin terk ėylemekden نعوذ بالله […]

a Instead of the expected *yetmiş*. Originally the scribe wrote *yet(ü)b*, badly corrected in *yetşb*. **b** Instead of the expected *ȧçıy(ü)b*. **c** Instead of *ṭarī* (< Arabic *ṭariyy*).

> Summary: A man, who had been rebellious to his mother, died. The sorrowful woman asked ʿĪsà to recover her son in order to know what was his current condition. And thus spoke the refreshed corpse, after having recovered its soul: "Whenever I wash (away my sins) vehemently, at each washing, after the king of the Gehenna has shouted in my face one time, Western and Eastern people shout over me".

A 8044, p. *585 ll. 5-10:

Incipit: |₅ […] ḥikāyet |₆ ʾōlunūr-ki ʿĪsà ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m yā ḫūd Yaḥyà ʿaleyhi-ʾl-selām birīsī birīsī bir yerdɒ giderken |₇ gȫrsēdī Şeyṭānū {ʿaleyhi} ʾl-laʿīnüŋ bir ėlindɒ kül ve-bir ėlindɒ bāl ȧlub gider ʿĪsà |₈ ȧydur yā ȧduvvü-ʾllāh bū ėlüŋdɒ-kī-ler ne#dür didi Şeyṭān ȧydur […]

Anatolian Collections. Tales from the *Ḥikem ve-ḥikāyāt* by İbn Quṭṭāb Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafà

Regarding İbn Quṭṭāb Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafà, we virtually know nothing, except for very little information to be found at the beginning of a work contained in MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135 (17th/18th century), ff. 153v – f. 189v: f. 153v l. 13 and foll. According to this introduction, this work was (pretendedly?) translated from Arabic into Turkish by a certain İbn Quṭṭāb. Herewith a synopsis of the content relating to ʿĪsà:

Text 1: ff. 179v l. 13 – 180r l. 5	ʿĪsà saw a worshipper half-immersed in a blood pool. A variation on the theme of the man who worships standing on a rock.
Text 2: ff. 180r l. 9 – 180v l. 2	ʿĪsà saw a young man who was weeping upon a grave. The *incipit* of the brief tale recalls the account of the faithless wife who died twice, as we can read in the "Forty Vezirs" (*vide supra*). In fact the story shows a very different issue.
Text 3: ff. 183v l. 4 – 184r l. 6	ʿĪsà saw a man who was cultivating his orchard. Cp. *COMSt Newsletter* 3, January 2012, p. 23a.
Text 4: ff. 186v l. 1 – 188r l. 8	*The Pardoner's Tale*, recension *F*: a folkloric version of the usual prologue of the *Pardoner's Tale*, in which the motifs of the magic rod is merged with the motif of the trials to prove the aspirant's aptitude (cp. Chauvin 1904:101). The theme of drinking sea-water is specular to the *hadīṯ* on the same subject.²⁷

Text 1, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135, ff. 179v l. 13 – 180r l. 5:

Incipit: |₁₂ […] ḥikāyet |₁₃ rivāyet ʾōlunūr-ki ḥażret-i ʿĪsà ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m bir vādī dɒ Allāhu taʿālānuŋ ʿismetīnuŋ |₁₄ fikr ʾēdūb yūrürken nāgāh gȫrür-ki bir ṭāş ʾūzerɒ bir kimesnɒ ʿibādet |₁₅ ʾēder ʾōl kimesnɒnuŋ

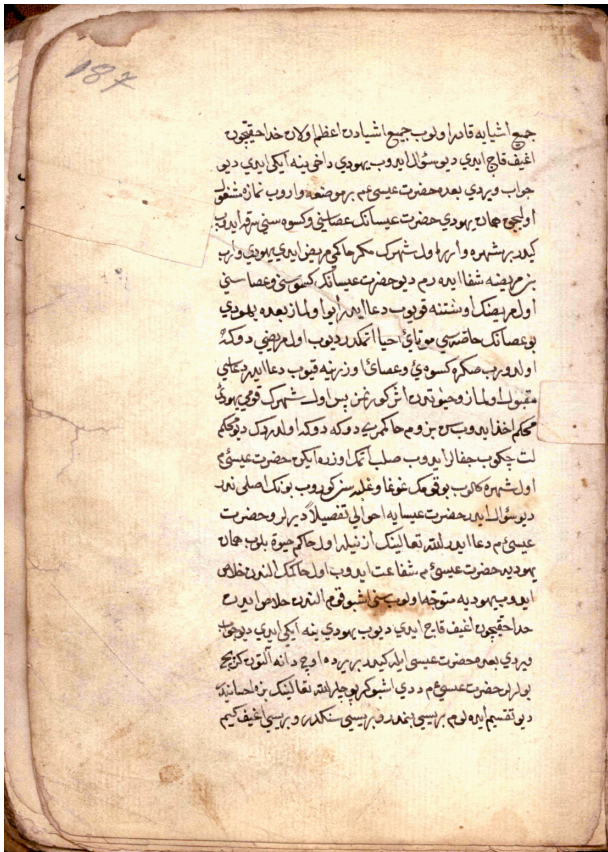²⁷ Cp. Wismer 1977: p. 95, no. 255; Khalidi 2001: 116, no. 115.

Fig. 2. Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135, f. 187r.

ėṭrāfī qānᴅ müstaġraq ʾōlmış pes ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m |₁₆ ʾōl kimesnᴐyᴐ yaqīn gelüb yā şāliḥ ėṭrāfındᴅ ʾōlān bu qānlar neden#dür diyü |₁₇ suᵴal ʾētdükdᴐ ʾōl kimesnᴐ dāḫī yā rūḥu-ʾllāh qalbumᴅ cehennem qūr(u)sī ḥavf gelüb |₁₈ iżṭirābumdan cesedum pārᴐ pārᴐ ʾōlüb iṣbū qānlar benum cesedumdan çıqmış#dur |₁₉ […]

Text 2, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135, ff. 180r l. 9 – 180v l. 2

|₉ […] ḥikāyet rivāyet ʾōlūnur-ki ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m bir gün |₁₀ qabir ʾüzerᴐ bir ʾōġlāncaq ġōrüb aġlayüb feryād u-fiġān ʾēder pes ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m |₁₁ ʾōl ʾōġlāncaġᴅ merḥamet ʾēdüb mücerred ḫāṭırcaġını tesellī ėtmek ʾīçün ʾōl |₁₂ ʾōġlāncaġᴅ ḫiṭāb ʾēdüb bū qabirdᴐ ʾōlān senüŋ nüŋ#dür-ki tā bū mertebᴐᵇ-i|₁₃ feryād u-fiġān ʾēdersin diyü suᵴal ʾētdükdᴐ ʾōl ʾōġlāncaq dāḫī ḥażret-i |₁₄ ʾĬsāᴅ cevāb vērüb hīç nesnᴐ degil#dür lakin ben kendü nefsüm ʾīçün aġlāram |₁₅ ki bir kimesnᴐ kendü ėvindᴐ yālnuz qalsᴅ ʾīdī ḥīlᴐ-i-vaḥşet gelüb |₁₆ yālŋüzluqdan perīşān ḥāl ʾōlür yā bir qarāŋlıq qabir ʾīçindᴐ gīrīcek bizüm |₁₇ ḥālmuz nīcᴐ ʾōlür didī pes ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m bildī#ki ʾōl ʾōġlāncaq Cenāb-ı |₁₈ Ḥaqdan hidāyet ʾōlüb bū maqūlᴐ-i-aḥvāl-ı-āḫiretī fikr ʾēdüb aġlār ba'dᴐ |₁₉ ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m ʾōl ʾōġlāncaġᴅ ḫiṭāb ʾēdüb baŋa yōldāş ʾōlür-mı#sın |₂₀ diyü ʾōl ʾōġlāncaq cevāb vērüb yōldāş ʾōlayım şōl şarṭ#ǐlᴐ-ki {sen} |₂₁ siz yeyüb ʾīçün ʾüyüyüb benī kendü ḥālımdᴅ terk ʾēdüb yemeyüb ʾīçmeyüb | 180v |₁

üyümayım didī pes ḥażret-i ʾĬsà bildī#ki ʾōl ʾōġlāncaq ėvliyāᵇu-ʾllāh |₂ dan#dur […]

One day ʾĬsà saw a youngster who was crying and weeping upon a grave. Having been moved with compassion for this young man, and in order to console this little lonely soul, he asked, addressing the juvenile: "Why are You crying in such a degree, laid upon a grave?". The youngster answered: "I am weeping for nothing but for myself. What could be our condition after having entered a dark grave, if someone, who has been left in solitude at home, turns to be disturbed by loneliness when the treacherous melancholy takes over?". Having realised that the young man was guided by God, ʾĬsà wept at the thought of the other-world conditions. Then he said, addressing the young man: "(Would you like to) be my companion?". The youngster answered: "I will be (your) companion under this term: that (even if) you will eat, drink and sleep, you will leave me in my condition. I will not eat, I will not drink, I will not sleep". ʾĬsà realised that the youngster was a saint.

Text 3, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135, ff. 183v l. 4 – 184r l. 6

Incipit: |₄ […] ḥikāyet rivāyet ʾōlūnur-ki ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m bir gün |₅ gīdᴐrīken būstaninī terbiyᴐ ʾēder bir kimsᴐ ġōrüb […].

Text 4, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135, ff. 186v l. 1 – 188r l. 8

Prologue: |₁ […] ḥikāyet ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m zemānındᴅ bir yahūdī niyyet |₂ ʾēder-ki keᴄᶾb ve-ḥīlᴐ ėylᴐ ḥażret-i ʾĬsānuŋ ʾaşāsını ve-kisvesinī seriqᴅ |₃ ʾēdüb mevtā#ī iḥyā ėtmek ʾīlᴐ nīcᴐ māl ve-menāl taḥṣīl ʾēdüb pes |₄ ʾōl yahūdī tebdīl-i ṣūret ʾēdüb ḥażret-i ʾĬsāᴅ gelüb ben bir faqīrim |₅ ėhlüm ve ʾayālum yōq#dı dīlerem#ki benī ḥidmetkārlıġᴅ qabūl ʾēdᴐsiz dīdükdᴐ |₆ ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m dāḫī qabūl ʾēdᴐrem eger keᴄb ėtmeyüb ve-keᴄb |₇ ʾüzerᴐ yemīn ėtmezsin diyüb ʾōl ʾahdiylᴐ yahūdī#ī qabūl ʾētdī ḥażret-i |₈ ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m yahūdīlᴐ bir cānibᴐ müteveccih ʾōlüb gīder bir ʾazīm şūyᴅ gelüb |₉ yahūdī şū#ī geçmekᴐ qādir ʾōlmayüb ḥażret-i ʾĬsà yahūdīnüŋ ėlünī âlüb |₁₀ şū dek geçürdī ba'dᴐ yahūdī âç ʾōlüb ḥażret-i ʾĬsāᴅ ḥālını 'arż |₁₁ ʾēdüb ḥażret-i ʾĬsà dāḫī bir pāt âlüb deryādan şū âldī yahūdīᴐ |₁₂ ʾīç diyü yahūdī ʾīçer ġōrür ʾōl mertebᴐ lezīz ve-a'lā-dur-ki vaşfᴅ qābil |₁₃ degil#dür pes ḥażret-i ʾĬsà yinᴐ yahūdīᴐ müteveccih ʾōlüb iṣbū deryādan |₁₄ senī dātlü şū ʾīlᴐ şū ârān Ḥudā-ı-ḥaqq#īçün aġyaf qāç ʾīdī diyü suᵴal |₁₅ ʾēdüb yahūdī dāḫī ʾīkī ʾīdī diyü cevāb vērdī ba'dᴐ deryāᵇ-ī geçmek |₁₆ murād ʾēdinüb yahūdīᴐ âmir ʾētdīgī sen aġāġını deryā ʾüstindᴐ benim aġāġum |₁₇ qāldūġī yerᴐ qō diyü buyürdī dāḫī aġāġını ḥażret-i ʾĬsānuŋ aġāġī qālqduġī |₁₈ yerᴐ qōmaq ʾīlᴐ deryānuŋ ʾōrtāsınᴅ vārüb bū ḥāl ʾüzerᴐ deryānuŋ |₁₉ ʾōrtāsındᴅ ʾīken ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m yahūdīᴐ müteveccih ʾōlüb senī iṣbū deryādan |₂₀ getüren Ḥudā-ı-ḥaqq#īçün aġyaf qāç ʾīdī diyü yahūdī dāḫī yinᴐ ʾīkī ʾīdī |₂₁ diyü cevāb vērdī ba'dᴐ deryādan çıqüb ḥażret-i ʾĬsà ʾa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m yinᴐ yahūdīᴐ | 187r |₁ cemī'-i ėşyāᴅ qādir ʾōlüb cemī'-i ėşyādan a'ẓam ʾōlān Ḥudā-

ı-ḥaqq#įčün aġyaf |₂ qāç ʾįdį diyǖ suᶻal ʾēdŭb yahūdį dāḫį yinə ʾįkį ʾįdį diyǖ |₃ cevāb vērdį baʿdə ḥażret-i ʾİsā ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m bir mevżiʿə vārüb namāzɒ meşġūl |₄ ōlīcaq hemān yahūdį ḥażret-i ʾİsānuŋ ʿaṣāsını ve-kisvesinį seriqɒ ʾēdŭb |₅ gįder şehrə vārur ʾōl şehrüŋ meger ḥākimį marįż ʾįdį yahūdį vārub |₆ ben marįżə şifā ʾēdərem diyǖ ḥażret-i ʾİsānuŋ kisvesinį ve-ʿaṣāsını |₇ ʾōl marįżüŋ ʾüştinə qōyüb duʿā aydur eyǖ ʾōlmāz baʿdə yahūdį |₈ bū ʿaṣānuŋ ḫaṣṣɒsı mevtāʾį aḥyā ētmek-dür diyǖb ʾōl marįżį dōgə |₉ ʾōldürüb ṣoŋrɒ kisvəʾį ve-ʿaṣāʾį ʾüzerįnə qoyüb duʿā aydur duʾāsı |₁₀ maqbūl ʾōlmāz ve-ḥayvātdan iş görünmez pes ʾōl şehrüŋ qavimį yahūdįʾį |₁₁ muḥkem aḫẕ ʾēdŭb sen bizüm ḥākimüzį dōgə dōgə ʾōldürdüŋ diyǖ muḥkem |₁₂ let çeküb cefālar ʾēdŭb ṣalib ʾētmek ʾüzerə ʾįken ḥażret-i ʾİsā ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m |₁₃ ʾōl şehrə gelüb bū qavimüŋ ġavġā ve-ġaləbəsin gōrüb būnuŋ aṣlī ne#dür |₁₄ diyǖ suᶻal ʾēder ḥażret-i ʾİsāyɒ aḥvālį tafṣįlan dėrler ve-ḥażret-i |₁₅ ʾİsā ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m duʿā aydur àllāhu taʿàlànuŋ İżiniylə ʾōl ḥākim ḥayvat bolüb hemān |₁₆ yahūdiyə ḥażret-i ʾİsā ʿa(leyhi-ʾl-selā)m şefāʿat ʾēdŭb ʾōl ḥākimuŋ ėlinden ḫalāṣ |₁₇ ʾēdŭb yahūdįyə mütevecciḥ ʾōlüb senį ʾişbū qavim ėlinden ḫalāṣ ʾēden |₁₈ Ḫudā-ı-ḥaqq#įčün aġyaf qāç ʾįdį diyǖ yahūdį yinə ʾįkį ʾįdį diyǖ cevāb |₁₉ vērdį baʿdə ḥażret-i ʾİsā ʾİlə gįder bir yerdə ʾüç dānə âltūn kerpuç |₂₀ bōlurlar […]

Summary: An aspirant-disciple, who was in fact a Jew whose only purpose was to steal ʾİsà's magic rod and garment, wished to pass a huge lake but he was not able to. Then he felt thirsty: Isa took a *pat* and got some water from the ocean. The Jew drank and saw that it was tasty and agreeable to inconceivable degree. Then ʾİsà addressed the Jew: "For the sake of the True God who made you drink this tasty water from this sea, how much agreeable was it?" The Jew answered: "The double (than expected)". Then, since the Jew wished to pass the ocean, he ordered the Jew: "Put your foot on the surface of the ocean in the place where my foot stays". After having executed the order, again ʾİsà asked: "For the sake of the True God who made you pass the ocean, how much comfortable was it?" The Jew answered: "The double (than expected)". Having undergone a series of trials, the Jew was asked regarding the most challenging of them: "For the sake of the True God who can do everything and is the highest, how much agreeable was it?" He answered: "The double (than expected)". Then, while ʾİsà was intent on worshipping, the Jew stole his rod and garment. Now, the ruler of the city was ill. The Jew, disguised with Isa's garments, visited the ruler. But in spite of the magic rod which can resuscitate corpses, his prayers were rejected and the ruler died. The tumultuous inhabitants of the city seized him, but after ʾİsà's intervention, the ruler was recalled to life. ʾİsà addressed the Jew: "For the sake of the True God who delivered you from the crowd, how much comfortable was it?" The Jew answered: "The double (than expected)".

The above text is clearly a folk-tale, written in a colloquial register which makes extensive use of direct speech – the syntagm #diyǖ(b)# occurs at least fifteen times – and of gerundial clauses, even not embedded into a main-clause frame (for example, on ll. 1-7). Furthermore, it renders the rhythm of everyday speech through prolix repetitions – the following syn-

tagms occur four times: #(ḥażret-i ʾİsà yinə) yahūdįyə mütevecciḥ ʾōlüb#; #Ḫudā-ı-ḥaqq#įčün aġyaf qāç ʾįdį diyǖ suᶻal ʾēdŭb yahūdį dāḫį ʾįkį ʾįdį diyǖ cevāb vērdį#; the following syntagms occur two times: #ḥażret-i ʾİsānuŋ ʿaṣāsını ve-kisvesinį seriqɒ ʾēdŭb#; #ėlinden ḫalāṣ ʾēd=#.

Appendix: Further observations and bibliographical complements

→ *Cāmiʿü-ʾl-ḥikāyāt* by Muhlis: a further testimony: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mixt 886.

→ *Long-living Worshipper* tale: a further testimony: A 8261, ff. 190r, l. 1 - 190v l. 5 (= Recension Ab in *COMSt Newsletter* 2, July 2011:27a).

→ *Pardoner's Tale* (Aarne-Thompson no. 763): additional references: Marzolph 2004 must not be neglected.

→ *Maqālāt* by Ḥācı Bektāş Velî: additional references: Coşan 1996, particularily p. 202 (*Makâlât'ın Ankara Nüshası hakkında*); Yılmaz 2007, particularily pp. 22-26 (*Makālāt'ın Nüshaları*): p. 23, note 31; Velî's *Maqālāt* in prose version: Coşan 1996: ←198, ←197 (Ankara, Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Eski Eserler Bölümü, 355, ff. 2v l. 9 – 3r); Yılmaz 2007: 47 and foll. (Copy from the Veliyyettin Ulusoy's Private Library, ff. 2v-3r); Özkan – Bankır 2010: 494, 496, 498 (ff. 3r-4r): Osmanlı text; 495, 497, 499: transliteration and modern Turkish translation.

→ *Talking Frog* tale: additional references: cp. Ritter 1955:214 = Ritter 2003:222:[28] the story of the worm living in the black stone, told by *Farīd al-Din ʿAṭṭār* in his *Maẓhar al-ajāʾib* (Ms. Nuruosmaniye 4199, fol. 181v) is somewhat linked to the 247th tale of the anonymous *Libro de los enxemplos* (mentioned by Wesselski 1925:224; cp. Gayangos 1860:508a). In this story a philosopher, sold as slave to a soldier, related that: "[…] en el contado de Pisa cayeron piedras preciosas del haltura, entre las cuales vino una penna grande, é fendiéronla por medio, é faliaron una rana chica, que tenie un logar onde staba, maravillosamente fecho […]". Finally, an anecdote is included in the legendary collection of the MS Möll. 285 (Pertsch 1801) held in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (formerly Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha), according to Weil 1845, p. 189 = Weil 1855: 168. There it is related that Moses, after having lift up his staff over the waters of the Red Sea, and instantly the sea being divided, beheld in the midst thereof a huge black rock. When he came near it, Allah cried to him: "Smite it with thy staff". He smote it; the rock was cleft in twain, and he saw beneath it, in a sort of cave, a worm with a green leaf in his mouth, which cried three times: "Praised be Allah, who doth not forget me in my solitude! Praised be Allah, who hath nourished and raised me up!"

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28 Reference kindly signalled to me by Ulrich Marzolph to whom I am deeply indepted.

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Early Slavic Hagiography Translation in the Vidin Miscellany[1]

For decades paleoslavists from around the world have known the inconspicuous, relatively small codex kept in the Ghent University Library in Belgium – the *codex gandavensis slavicus* 408[2] – as the book that was once commissioned and perhaps owned by Anna, the wife of Tsar Ivan Stratsimir (John Sracimir, r. 1356–96) who ruled over the Bulgarian secessionist principality of Bdin, present-day Vidin. That is at least what is suggested in the colophon of this manuscript, which is written in Church Slavonic and which specialists know as the *Bdinski sbornik* or *Vidin Miscellany* (henceforth *VM*): "[…] the orthodox and holy-born Tsaritsa Anna took care and at her royal request had this book written under the title 'Collection [of Lives] of holy, blessed and martyred women' […] and [this book] was written in the town of Bdin in the year 6868 [viz. 1360]."[3] Indeed, the manuscript contains a series of pre-metaphrastan female saints' Vitae translated from Greek, together with a short topography of Jerusalem for which no Greek model has been traced.[4]

1). The story of Mary, Abraham's niece, actually the second part of the Life of the hermit Abraham of Qidun (ff. 1-17v; ~ BHG 5-7)

2). St. Theodora of Alexandria (ff. 17v-39; ~ BHG 1727)

3). St. Thecla (ff. 39-58; ~ BHG 1710)

4). St. Petka (Parasceve) of Rome (ff. 58-72; ~ BHG 1420d)

5). St. Barbara (ff. 72-77; ~ BHG 213-214)

6). St. Marina (ff. 77-106v; ~ BHG 1165)

7). St. Thais (ff. 106v-111; ~ BHG 1695-7)

8). Four short synaxarion notes, misleadingly gathered under the single name of St. Theophano (ff. 111-114v)

  a. St. Theophano
  b. SS Agape, Chione and Irene
  c. St. Theodota
  d. St. Eugenia

9). St. Euphrosyne (ff. 114v-125; ~ BHG 625)

10). St. Catherine (ff.125v-143; ~ BHG 30)

11). St. Juliana (ff. 143v-162; ~ BHG 962z)

12). St. Mary of Egypt (ff. 162-191; ~ BHG 1042)

13). St. Eupraxia (ff. 191-234; ~ BHG 631b)

14). Description of the Holy Places (ff. 234-241).

In all probability, however, the colophon was copied in the fifteenth century – after the principality of Bdin had fallen to the Ottomans in 1396 – from a now lost original, together with the rest of the texts. It is only one of the detours in the scholarly history of the *VM*. In the 1970s two editions of the Ghent codex were published, viz. the *Variorum Reprints* facsimile edition of 1972 and the transcription with critical annotations by the Belgian scholars Jan Scharpé and Frans Vyncke of 1973. At the time of publication it was assumed by the editors, first, that the Ghent manuscript was indeed the original written for Anna of Vidin, and second, that it was made by a *translator-compiler* who selected the texts, possibly from a multi-volume conservative Greek menologion, to be translated into Slavonic for this particular compilation.[5] The general understanding of the *VM* and its collection has changed drastically since then. In one of the many reviews that appeared within three years after the publication of the editions, Dietrich Freydank posed a central question, viz. that of the distance – both in time and in place – between the translation of the texts, the compilation of the collection, and the copying of the particular manuscript.[6] The editors' assumption of simultaneous selection, translation and compilation was proved untenable: reviewers pointed to the existence of an earlier parallel tradition for some of the entries, indicating that the *VM* had been conceived as a collection of Vitae that already existed in Slavonic translation. Crucial was the contribution by Helmut Keipert, who was the first to start listing references to variant texts for each of the individual Vitae – Vitae that he was able to ascribe to an early stratum of Slavic hagiography translation.[7] In recent years this work has been furthered consid-

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1   This short report is a compact presentation of three papers on the Vidin Miscellany, its scholarly history and the plans for a new digital edition, read at the Workshop on the Codex Suprasliensis, Sofia, Aug. 2011 (together with Dieter Stern), COMSt Team 2 Workshop, Leuven, Sept. 2012 (together with David J. Birnbaum), and Paläoslavistentreffen, Freiburg, Oct. 2012.

2   It is a paper codex in octavo (130x200 mm), consisting of 31 quires, the surviving 242 folia of which are well preserved. The first and the last two folios of the codex (which did not contain parts of the main text) have disappeared, as well as the last folio of the first quire (between f. 5 and f. 6) and the first folio of the fourteenth quire (between f. 101 and f. 102). The codex was bought by the Ghent University Library at an auction in 1818, after which it was included in Jules de Saint-Genois's (b. 1813, d.1867) *Catalogue méthodique* … 1852:184–87 (no. 171). For a general description, see Voordeckers 1964a-b.

3   For the full text of the colophon, see Petrova-Taneva 2001: 117 (Slavonic text in note 8).

4   This last entry has attracted ample scholarly attention because of its unknown origin and its seeming independence from the rest of the collection. However, scholars have pointed to the 'feminine' bias of the text, viz. the extraordinary emphasis on places connected with holy and biblical women – see Petrova – Angusheva 1993–94.

5   The editors' assumption was based on the unsubstantiated claim that "none of the extant texts appears before the middle of the fourteenth century in other Slavonic manuscripts" and their impression that "the idiom of the Ghent Zbornik is very homogeneous and fits completely to the geographical and cultural context of Vidin in the middle of the fourteenth century" – see Scharpé – Vyncke 1973:39–40.

6   Freydank 1974:716–17.

7   Keipert 1974 and 1975.

<oo>→<bs> *Bdinski sbornik*

Maintained by: David J. Birnbaum (djbpitt@gmail.com)
Last modified: 2012-07-05T21:07:41+0000

Bdinski sbornik

Manuscript and text

Go to page: (choose) ▾

Text	Folios	Html		Raw xml	Editor
		Continuous	**First page**		
Abraham	1r1–17v11	Abraham	1r	abraham.xml	Sels
Colophon	242r1–242r19	Colophon	242r	colophon.xml	Birnbaum
(Other texts coming soon)					

Supporting materials

- Bibliography
- High-resolution scans (hosted by the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Development reports

- Optical character recognition
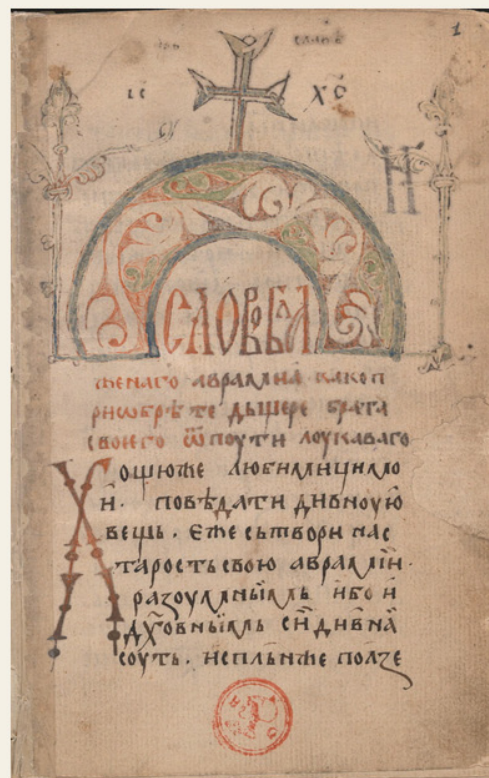- Encoding guidelines

Development files

- Schema: bdinski.rnc

Fig. 1. *Bdinski sbornik*, project homepage (http://bdinski.obdurodon.org/) showing folio 1r of the manuscript.

erably by the Bulgarian scholar Maya Petrova, who defended her PhD on the Ghent miscellany at the Central European University of Budapest in 2003.[8] It was also Petrova who, in 2001, proved beyond doubt that the Ghent codex is indeed a copy of a lost original by means of a fresh analysis of the manuscript's paleographic and orthographic features and a new examination of the watermarks, which allowed for an unambiguous dating of the paper to the period between 1400 and 1410.[9] Since the edition of 1973 the whole picture of the *VM*'s origin has changed: the image of some fourteenth-century translator-compiler has shifted towards that of a fifteenth-century scribe copying the fourteenth-century work of a compiler of earlier Slavonic Vitae, some of which were translated as early as the tenth century from very early versions of their Greek counterparts.

With many questions on the origin and the sources of the Ghent manuscript still open and a growing awareness that the VM should not be approached solely as an isolated product of a fourteenth-century provincial scriptorium, plans have taken shape in the Slavic Department of Ghent University for a new edition project under the direction of Prof. Dieter Stern. The initial idea was further elaborated at a workshop in Sofia in August 2011,[10] together with members of the working team of the codex Suprasliensis project,[11] Prof. Anisava Miltenova, Prof. David J. Birnbaum, and *VM* specialist Dr. Maya Petrova. Each edition somehow conveys its editors' way of conceptualising the text. Whereas the 1973 edition presented the *VM* as a unified entity, the newly envisaged edition will have to reflect the *VM* as a multilayered reality, with different moments of interest and different possible research questions attached to each layer. The label '*VM*' does not only cover the fifteenth-century codex as a physical and – as a whole of linguistic and bibliographical codes – as a meaning-bearing object, it also refers to the purposefully organised 'feminine' text collection that belongs to the fourteenth-century and to which the Ghent codex is a unique text witness. Furthermore, '*VM*' also refers to a piece of evidence for earlier stages of Slavic hagiography translation in that it is one of many text witnesses for each of its entries, viz.

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[8] Besides Petrova's unpublished thesis she wrote a number of fundamental articles on the *VM* and related subjects.
[9] Petrova-Taneva 2001; see for the watermarks esp. pp. 122–23 and 140–41.

[10] Workshop *Rediscovery: The Tenth-Century Cyrillic Manuscript Codex Suprasliensis*, Sofia, August 19-20, 2011.
[11] For the UNESCO-funded project on Codex Suprasliensis, see http://csup.ilit.bas.bg/
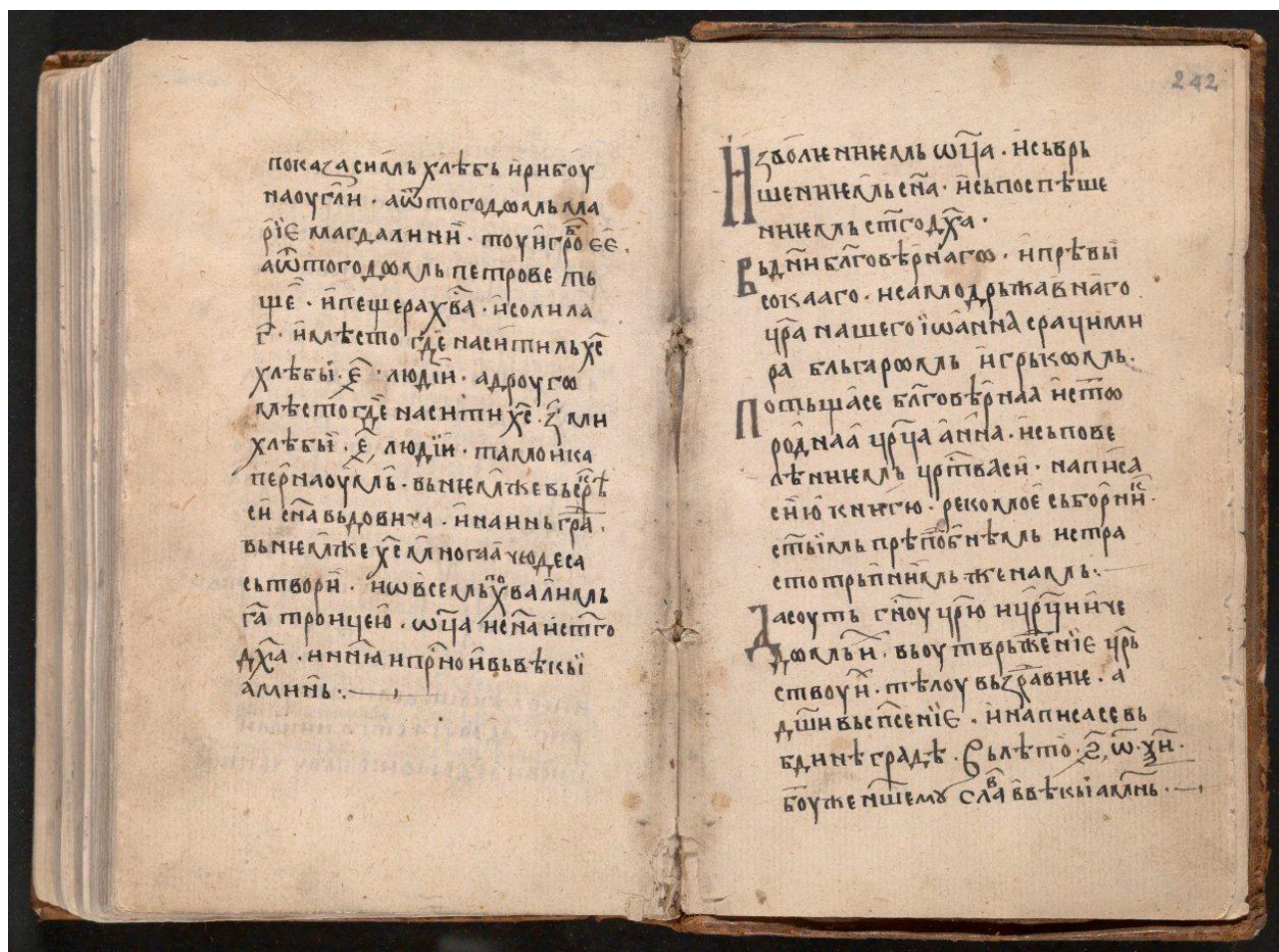
Fig. 2. *Bdinski sbornik* ff. 241v–242r, with the colophon on fol. 242r.

for each individual Vita, translated from Greek into Slavonic at some point in the tenth century or later. And if we push this line of reasoning even further, it is a piece of evidence not only for the textual traditions of the Vitae's Greek source texts, but even for the larger and complex multilingual traditions to which these hagiographies belong. Although the manuscript is the common artifact from which everything starts, it is certainly not the common immediate object of study – that could be the *VM*'s language, the *VM* as a text collection, a particular Slavonic Vita, or even that Vita as a general concept informed by the whole of the extant attestations of that work in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Old Church Slavonic, etc. An edition that accommodates this complexity and that answers to variegated ways of user engagement with the material is not likely to be captured on the paper page. That is one good reason to create a digital edition. The desire for a multipurpose edition – a place to document and archive, to report on research, to offer a reading[12]… and perhaps even a place for work to be done

and research efforts to be joined – is another.

The digital *VM* project is still in the embryonic stage where the basis for the edition – which is a minimal edition in itself – is prepared first and foremost as a documentation of the material evidence.[13] Full color high resolution scans of the codex have been made freely available, both on the homepage of the Ghent University Library[14] and on the project development site, enabling scholars from all over the world to conduct philological research on the manuscript's digital surrogate. An accurate transcription of the full text collection is being prepared to be presented in a dialectical relationship with the scans, and, in a later stage of the project, to be enhanced with linguistic markup.[15] A

[12] A desire that can be recognised in the way in which the editors of the 1973 edition (and many others) tried to merge a diplomatic edition (by adopting the manuscript's orthography), a reading text (by introducing capitals, modern punctuation, paragraphs, expanded abbreviations), and a critical edition (by making emendations and inserting critical notes) into one.

[13] Cf. the project development site, constructed and maintained by David J. Birnbaum: http://bdinski.obdurodon.org.

[14] Via http://adore.ugent.be – Fortunately the VM project plans coincided with the Ghent University Library's intention to digitise a part of its manuscript collection. The project team owes many thanks to the Library's collection manager Hendrik Defoort for his kind cooperation.

[15] The transcription was prepared by scanning the existing typeset edition with ABBYY finereader, converting it first to Unicode plain text through optical character recognition (OCR) and then to (high-level eXtensible Markup Language) XML, after which the diplomatic text was manually restored and provided with diplomatic markup. A preliminary description of the OCR process is available on the development site.

digital documentary edition of the *VM* – of the manuscript and its particular content – is indeed what has been aimed at so far,[16] which makes perfect sense: As far as the text collection as a whole is concerned, the Ghent manuscript is a codex unicus; identical or similar collections are not found in other Slavonic (or Greek) manuscripts. However, it does not stop there. To understand more fully the principles of selection, adaptation and compilation that have shaped the *VM* collection as a whole, research into the sources, the genesis, and the transmission of each individual *VM* entry cannot be dismissed. The new possibilities of digital technology to access, store, display, search and share should make it easier to meet the challenge of collecting and collating as many variant texts of *VM* Vitae as possible, and comparing those to the Greek material, as was already suggested by Keipert in the 1970s.[17] At some point, the new edition will come to reflect, in a transparent way, the source material, the process and the outcome of the text-critical inquiry into the individual saints' Lives, as digital critical editions[18] of these particular hagiographical works, on top of – and dynamically linked to – the documentary edition of the manuscript described above. Truly a "site of textual complexity".[19]

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[16]   Consistent with Elena Pierazzo's notion of a digital documentary edition of a manuscript – see Pierazzo 2011.

[17]   "Es ist also in erster Linie erforderlich, durch den Vergleich von Handschriften sozusagen eine Art 'Normalversion' der jeweiligen slavischen Vitenübersetzung zu ermitteln und an ihrem Bestand den Wortlaut des Bdinskij sbornik zu messen. […] Wenn so die Verhältnisse im Slavischen wenigstens annähernd geklärt sind und man z.B. sicherer zu unterscheiden vermag, was individuelle Besonderheit der Bdyner Handschrift ist, und was gemeinsame Lesart aller slavischen Kopien, dann kann man dazu übergehen, den griechischen Text der jeweiligen Viten einschließlich der Varianten in die Betrachtung einzubeziehen." Keipert 1975: 283.

[18]   For a rationale of digital critical editions, see e.g. Bodard – Garcés 2010.

[19]   Cf. Shillingsburg 2006: 24.

John Chrysostom in the Oriental Languages

Introduction. Some statistics, with a sketch of ancient Patristic translations

Why John Chrysostom? Because he has left a substantial corpus of authentic writings. His systematic commentaries cover most of the Antiochene New Testament,[1] and account for 485 homilies.[2] Another 133 homilies were devoted to Genesis and Psalms.[3] To this total of almost 620 homilies, one should add a plethora of other homilies, some treatises and more than 200 letters. Besides, beginning from the early fifth century,[4] many spuria have been credited to him, totalling perhaps some 1500 works.[5]

As to the linguistic aspect, Greek Patristic works were translated into at least twelve ancient and medieval languages.[6] Incidentally, Greek Patristic texts are also echoed in many other Oriental languages, as Old Turkish,[7] and Pahlavi.[8] But, seemingly, entire works were never translated into these languages; rather they transmit reworkings made in other source languages.

Texts attributed to Chrysostom have been transmitted in ten linguistic areas; but two languages shall be left aside, both with dozens of attributions: Latin, which conveys the earliest known translations,[9] and, reluctantly, Old Church Slavonic, with a tradition which extends well beyond the Middle Ages.[10] No Chrysostom was ever translated into Gothic[11] and none has been detected so far in Sogdian.[12] Thus, texts credited to Chrysostom surface in eight Oriental languages, but two of them, namely Nubian[13] and Christian Aramaic[14] only transmit each one spurium.

The Greek situation

Before we face the Tower of Babel and try to say something sensible about Chrysostomian texts in six languages, it might be appropriate to sketch some peculiarities of the Greek tradition which highlight the importance of the Oriental versions.

The history of Greek manuscript writing is sharply divided into two periods by the transliteration, that is to say the creation of minuscule codices from capital models. This process[15] was rather complex, since it involved decisions about word parsing, the restoration of the diacritical signs and rectifying the spellings corrupted by iotacism. As far as we know, it was undertaken in few areas: first of all, beginning around the year 800, in Constantinople and its whereabouts; later, probably in the tenth century, in Southern Italy;[16] also, perhaps on a reduced scale, in Palestine.[17]

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[1] That is to say 16 writings out of 22, since the Antiochene tradition never accepted the four minor Epistles and Revelation (see Voicu 2007:39–42). A New Testament canon of 27 books was used by Severus during his episcopacy (512–18), but his was a personal stance which did not alter substantially the Antiochian usage.

[2] Matthew (90), John (88), Acts (55), Romans (1 + 31), I Corinthians (1 + 44), II Corinthians (1 + 30), Ephesians (1 + 25), Philippians (1 + 15), Colossians (12), I Thessalonians (11), II Thessalonians (5), I Timothy (1 + 18), II Timothy (10), Titus (6), Philemon (1 + 3), and Hebrews (1 + 34). Romans poses a special problem, since what has been published as hom. 10 is the conflation of two homilies according to some manuscripts.

[3] Genesis (67 + 8), and Psalms (58). Psalms has many gaps, but it cannot be proved that a complete commentary of the Psalter ever existed (see Baur 1908). However, the indirect tradition delivers several fragments of commentaries on 4 additional Psalms (see Malingrey 1987).

[4] See Voicu 2004.

[5] This figure includes also derived texts (i.e. extracts circulated as independent texts), but it is little more than an educated guess. No reliable figures exist.

[6] Arabic, Coptic, Gǝʿǝz, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Latin, Nubian, Old Church Slavonic, Palestinian Aramaic, Sogdian, and Syriac.

[7] Fragments of the story of Thecla have been identified in Old Turkish (see Zieme 2002).

[8] See Müller 1905. Pahlavi admittedly played a prominent role in the migration westwards of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. But this is another story.

[9] Concerning the texts translated from Greek, see Voicu 1993. Besides, already from the beginning of the fifth century many original Latin texts were attributed to Chrysostom, but an authoritative list is still lacking.

[10] See the enormous, albeit incomplete, list of Granstrem & al. 1998.

[11] As far as we know, translations from Greek into Gothic were made some time in the second half of the 4th century, more or less when Chrysostom was beginning his career. The only patristic text translated into Gothic was the famous *Skeireins*, the Commentary on John of Theodorus of Heraclea (see Schäferdiek 1996).

[12] Translations into Sogdian were made upon Syriac models, but apparently there is no updated list (however, see Hansen 1968).

[13] See Browne 1984, for *In uenerabilem crucem sermo*. According to CPG 4525, this homily was translated into at least five languages: besides Nubian, also Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Old Slavonic.

[14] See Brock 1999, for *In parabolam de filio prodigo* (PG 59, 515–22).

[15] About the probable Western influence upon the creation of Greek book minuscule, see Mango 1977.

[16] Two Italo-Greek manuscripts convey parts of a special collection of homilies for the Holy Week, which is otherwise unattested. One of them, Vat. gr. 2061A is a capital manuscript, the other Vat. gr. 2013 a minuscule. That means that the transliteration process took place in Southern Italy (see Voicu 1982–83).

[17] It is difficult to be affirmative in this instance, since most of the exclusive or rare texts transmitted by Palestinian manuscripts – like some homilies of Hesychius of Jerusalem – survive in capital manuscripts without known descendants. Out of the 14 authentic homilies of Hesychius, a Palestinian minuscule tradition may be postulated, not without hesitations, only for *Homily 2. De Hypapante* (see Aubineau 1978–80, vol. 1, pp. 53–55). We disregard here the so called Hagiopolite and mixed writings, which were certainly devised in an Arabic-speaking area perhaps around the mid-eighth century (see D'Aiuto 2008, especially pp. 9–13). These writings appear as niche phenomena or dead-end streets and their relevance for the transmission of Patristic texts has never been gauged.

Difficult as it may have been, transliteration was accomplished in little more than a century and totally displaced capital writing. The latter was used for some time in marginal glosses and, as *Auszeichnungsschrift,* in titles, but eventually was confined almost only to luxury Gospel lectionaries. Moreover, capital manuscripts vanished from Greek libraries,[18] provoking also the loss of many texts which had not been transliterated.[19]

In fact, only one capital manuscript transmits a sizeable amount of Chrysostom's works: a selection of *Homilies in Matthew* is kept in Wolfenbüttel, *Helmst.* 75a, which is conventionally dated to the sixth-seventh century.[20] Other capital manuscripts, as *Escorial* F.III.20[21] or *Sinaiticus gr.* 491–492,[22] transmit individual homilies, mostly spurious. Additional texts, both authentic and spurious, have been identified in capital fly leaves or the lower stratum of palimpsests.[23]

We may also recall that several early translations into Old Church Slavonic were made from capital manuscripts which later perished.

Thus, Greek capital witnesses are very rare, but also ancient minuscule manuscripts are uncommon, since most of them are later than the mid-tenth century. In fact, only occasional copies which are not remote from the transliteration process are known.

Even when a text survives in many Greek manuscripts, often their similarities indicate that they are almost certainly derived from one and the same transliteration process. Two critical editions may exemplify this situation. The homily *In incarnationem Domini* of Severian of Gabala – which, like most of his homilies is transmitted only under John Chrysostom's name[24] – appears in at least 28 Greek manuscripts, of which 25 were actually used in the edition.[25] In fact, only two

witnesses (one of them lost and reconstructed) are relevant for the constitution of the text, they are by and large very similar, and no distinctive variants indicate that they were produced by two different transliterations. To compound the matter, around the mid-ninth century Photius quoted twice[26] extensively from *In incarnationem Domini* and his quotations show some intriguing differences from the direct tradition.[27] Even if these variants have been attributed to Photius himself, some of them contradict his main purpose of summarising the homily since they are expansions. The problem deserves further study, but it is not implausible that Photius used a capital manuscript derived from an independent strand of the tradition.

The critical text of the three authentic homilies *De Dauide et Saule* is based on 40 Greek manuscripts.[28] Again, these witnesses are very homogeneous, but some original readings missing from the direct tradition are echoed by a derived spurious homily in conjunction with the Coptic translation.[29]

This state of affairs is easily explained in its general lines: given its complexity, only in exceptional cases the transliteration process might have involved the same text more than once. A notable exception is another homily by Severian of Gabala, but credited to Chrysostom, *De lotione pedum*, which appears in several Italo-Greek manuscripts, in the Byzantine tradition, and in a capital witness produced in Palestine.[30] It was transliterated twice not as a standalone text, but as an element of two different homiletic collections.

So, probably, the standard situation in Greek is that even when a Patristic work survives in many manuscripts, more often than not they all derive from one late-antique witness, which was funnelled through the transliteration process. This fact underscores the importance of the Oriental translations, which often were made prior to the transliteration period.[31]

The Oriental language traditions

Now it is time to sail towards six Oriental linguistic areas to explore some aspects of the transmission of these texts. There is an important caveat: often, in the case of Chrysostom, the inventory of the texts is far from comprehensive. This should not be construed as a criticism to the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*

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18   However some may have been the models used for the earliest Slavic translations, as those of Methodius of Olympus, which have saved several writings which are lost or fragmentary in the Greek tradition. The same situation applies also to Chrysostom. For instance, an otherwise unknown (spurious) homily is kept by the ancient *Codex Suprasliensis* (see Zaimov – Capaldo 1982, II: 470–79; Helland 2007).

19   This fact can be certified from Photius' *Bibliotheca* (see, for classical authors, the figures given by Hägg 1975). However, also Christian texts, including those attributed to Chrysostom, underwent heavy losses.

20   See CCG II: 82, no. 100; Mazal 1985; Harlfinger 2000, I: 153–54; [II]. Taf. 1–2 & 3a.

21   See CCG III: 75–76, no. 80.

22   Ehrhard 1936–52, I: 195–97 & 134–37.

23   Several capital Chrysostomian fragments from Vienna are described by Grusková 2010. Remakably, 48 palimpsested capital folia of the first tome of *In Iohannem homiliae*, survive in Vat. gr. 2400 (see CCG VI: 261–62, no. 333).

24   About the process leading to the inclusion, some time around the second half of the sixth century, of the entire corpus of Severian's homilies under Chrysostom's name, see Voicu 2006.

25   See Regtuit 1992: 5–38.

26   See *Bibliotheca*, cod. 277 and *Amphilochia* 161–64.

27   See Regtuit 1992: 116–25.

28   Barone 2008. However, several witnesses are incomplete, and a very small capital fragment, probably Palestinian, is kept in Mount Sinai.

29   See Barone 2008:LXXII–LXXV.

30   See Voicu 1994.

31   This applies also to the earliest Slavonic translations; see above fn. 18.

which devotes in volume II almost 200 pages (out of 670) to John Chrysostom, not to mention considerable encroachments with other authors, like Severian of Gabala, Greek Ephrem and, in volume III, Proclus and Leontius of Constantinople. Some additional 80 pages are reserved to Chrysostom in the 1998 *Supplementum*. But scores of unpublished or poorly published texts and hundreds of quotations scattered through florilegia and catenae have never been properly identified.

Coptic

In 2011 I published a paper on what had been identified in Coptic under Chrysostom's name.[32] It was supposed to be somehow a comprehensive overview, but within a few months, it became merely a progress report, since new texts were identified by Alin Suciu first in an article,[33] and later in his blog.[34]

Coptic is a convenient label which covers a complex situation, made up of at least four different phenomena: 1) translations from Greek into Sahidic; 2) translations from Greek into Bohairic; 3) original Sahidic spuria attributed to Chrysostom; 4) original Bohairic spuria. Available data do not allow to affirm a fifth case which is known to have existed in Coptic, namely translations from Sahidic into Bohairic.

At least 17 texts (but the figure is on the increase thanks to Suciu) were translated from Greek into Sahidic, most probably during the fifth century.[35] The original of three of these texts has not been identified and one appears to be very different from the Greek form. No less than 46 items were translated from Greek into Bohairic, perhaps around the year 700; at least one of them seems lost in Greek. Interestingly, the Bohairic tradition is the earliest known witness of the so-called *ethika,* that is to say moral extracts made from Chrysostom's exegetical homilies,[36] which are also known in Greek and Armenian. An additional feature of both the Sahidic and the Bohairic traditions is the composition of some 10 spuria devoted to typical Coptic themes which were placed under Chrysostom's name.[37] With all its limitations, the Coptic tradition has much to say about the transmission of Chrysostom. But it cannot compete with Syriac.[38]

Syriac

A comprehensive list of patristic translations from Greek was published in 2007,[39] showing a complex landscape, with sizeable differences from Coptic. Translations from Greek began already in the fifth century. This is witnessed by the florilegium appended around the year 500 to the *Memre* against Habib of Philoxenus of Mabbug, where Chrysostom is quoted 32 times. Since Philoxenus knew no Greek, his sources were previous Syriac translations which account for at least 6 different works.[40] A few years later, Severus of Antioch authored an extensive Greek corpus of homilies, letters and polemical treatises, which survives mostly in Syriac, thanks to translations made before the mid-sixth century. Severus quotes Chrysostom perhaps more than one hundred times. His long quotations have almost never been studied. Among them there is a little precious item: an authentic fragment on Psalm 104 which is lost in the Greek original.[41]

Syriac translations are admittedly important for recovering Greek texts. In the area of Chrysostom, I will recall the edition of the spurious *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*: the Greek text had been published from a manuscript in poor condition and tampered with, and the comparison with Syriac allows substantial improvements.[42] Syriac may be important also for recovering texts produced in Greek which are otherwise lost.[43]

A distinctive feature of the Syriac tradition is the large number of old Chrysostom manuscripts it has preserved.[44]

Apparently most of the Chrysostom translations, with the addition of local spuria,[45] were made before the end of the 8th century. However, since late authors, like Barhebraeus (d. 1286) and Ebedjesu (d. 1318), were acquainted with Greek sources, it is difficult to propose a terminus ad quem.

Armenian

No satisfactory inventory of translated Chrysostomica exists in Armenian, a language with another set of problems and opportunities, and apparently most

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[32] See Voicu 2011.

[33] See Suciu 2011.

[34] See *www.alinsuciu.com* (20 November 2012).

[35] This figure does not include the homilies of Severian of Gabala (at least 8), which in Greek were attributed to Chrysostom towards 550.

[36] Perhaps Bohairic has also transmitted the earliest known instances of secondary texts composed from Chrysostomian materials.

[37] See Voicu 2011:594–96.

[38] In fact, no other language, except perhaps Old Church Slavonic, can compete with Syriac as far as Chrysostom is concerned.

[39] See [Gonnet] 2007: 201–03; see also Sauget 1978.

[40] But some quotations are extracted from two extensive Commentaries, on Matthew and on John, and some have not been identified. Florilegia are fairly common in Syriac, but few have been published. See, for instance, the *Plerophoriae* of the Patriarch John Sedra (around 630–648), with several quotations attributed to Chrysostom (Martikainen 1991, not wholly reliable).

[41] See Voicu 2000a.

[42] See Chahine 2002.

[43] A Syriac homily attributed to a "bishop John" (probably Chrysostom) was published by Sauget 1975–76.

[44] See Hatch 1946, plates XXI (550/1), XXIV (557), XXX (569), XXXIII (584), XXXV (593), etc.

[45] See a probable example in Sauget 1988.

of the information has to be gathered from the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*.[46]

Usually, translations into Armenian have been classified according to a tripartite scheme: "golden translations" (first half of the fifth century), "silver translations" (second half of the fifth century) and "Hellenophile school" (sixth century). Granted that several Chrysostomian translations were made during the "golden age" and none during the "silver age",[47] many works remain unclassified, since their literalism does not fit within the peculiarities of the Hellenophile school. Admittedly, they have not elicited much research.[48] Perhaps their publication in a nationalistic perspective, with few if any notes in modern Armenian, has been a contributing factor.[49]

Anyway, Armenian conveys several texts which seem lost in Greek and has an important tradition of florilegia.[50] The *terminus ad quem* for translations from Greek is not earlier than the late twelfth century.[51]

Georgian

Georgian translations from Greek show a complicated picture. The earliest ones were made in Palestine during the late fifth century,[52] and we may disregard them, since no Chrysostom was involved. Further translations were produced mainly from Armenian[53] and, later, from Arabic.[54] Both categories are already visible in 864,[55] in the earliest dated *mravalthavi*.[56] By the end of the tenth century, translations were made again from Greek in the Monastery of Iviron (Mount Athos).

Although many Chrysostom texts have been published (but there is no updated list[57]), very few have been made accessible to Western readers and none has been used critically, even if Georgian has kept several intriguing homilies.[58]

Arabic

Arabic appears as a translation language fairly late, but with a pivotal role.[59] Scores of Chrysostom translations were made mainly from Greek and Syriac, but also from Coptic and Christian Aramaic. From Arabic, which was enriched with its own spuria,[60] several homilies were translated into Georgian and Ethiopic. All this makes an amazingly complex picture, which has been barely explored. Suffice to note that one of the earliest Greek spuria, *In parabolam de ficu*, was translated five times into Arabic.[61]

Ethiopic

Ethiopic presents a confusing situation: while there is a long list of late translations made upon Arabic models,[62] the existence of early Chrysostom translations made in the Axumite period upon Greek models remains a mere hypothesis.[63]

Conclusions

As you might have guessed, this short outline is rather a request of help: whenever you have an opportunity, please turn a benevolent eye on John Chrysostom in the Oriental tradition. It will be rewarding.

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[46] For an outdated overview, see Voicu 2000b:605–06.

[47] In fact most of the "silver" translations have definite links with Jerusalem, in a period when Chrysostom was almost exclusively a Constantinopolitan and Antiochian affair.

[48] A promising avenue has been opened by Chétanian 2004; see also Chétanian 2010. Previously some Armenian versions were used in an unsystematic way; see, for instance, Piédagnel 1990:104–06 (collation by A. Renoux); Malingrey 1994:70–71 & 90–91 (collation by B. Outtier). About the two Armenian translations of the homily *De Chananaea* of Severian of Gabala (but Pseudo-Chrysostom too), see Lehmann 1993.

[49] In 1862 several homilies attributed to Chrysostom were published as an appendix to the Armenian Venice edition of his (authentic) commentaries on Paul. They were simply forgotten until the very day when volume II of *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* appeared (1974).

[50] See, for instance, Lebon 1929.

[51] See a late example in Renoux 1985.

[52] This date has been hypothesised for some hanmeti fragments; see Gippert 2008:xxvi–xxxi.

[53] See the homily *De recens baptizatis* (CPG 3238), where a mistaken attribution of the Armenian tradition is carried over by the Georgian translation (Bonnet – Voicu 2012, vol. 2, pp. 89–95). Several additional examples in van Esbroeck 1975.

[54] See Outtier 1996.

[55] See Sauget 1970:440 and fn. 1, no. 27.

[56] See Šanidze 1959. Although in Latin, Garitte 1956:72–97 remains the only entry point to this collection for those who are not familiar with Georgian. Garitte's description was updated by van Esbroeck 1975:121–32.

[57] See Peradze 1928–33, vol. 3/6, pp. 97–107.

[58] See van Esbroeck 1975, *passim*.

[59] See Graf 1944:337–54.

[60] Some of them were originally anonymous texts, which later were attributed to Ephrem and/or Chrysostom; see Sauget 1970:391–475: pp. 437–38, no. 23; pp. 438–39, no. 26; pp. 441–42, no. 30, etc.

[61] See Proverbio 1998.

[62] See Proverbio 1998:59–90; Lusini 1988:479–84.

[63] See Proverbio 1998:39.

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Book reviews

The Technological Study of Books and Manuscripts as Artefacts. Research Questions and Analytical Solutions. Edited by Sarah Neate, David Howell, Richard Ovenden, A. M. Pollard. Oxford: Archaopress, 2011 (British Archaeological Reports [BAR] International Series 2209). 100 pp. A4 format, 2 columns. ISBN 1407307673.

With the rise of the digital humanities and the ever increasing availability of digital archives of books and digitised versions of manuscripts and other documents, scholars, and particularly new graduate students, as the introduction to this study rightly points out, are being exposed less and less to the physical object itself – the book in its widest sense as material artefact with a definite existence, history, and occupation of time and space.

One might argue that for editors of texts, who may gather any number of digital copies of one manuscript work or another on their hard drives in order to create their editions, this has been a boon. However, without the accompanying study of the physical book there will be ramifications and losses when it comes to assessing, for example, the history, authenticity, and validity of the texts themselves.

In order to address this issue and investigate the technological study of the book as composite artefact rather than simply its separate components, a series of workshops and symposia were organised by the BookNET research cluster throughout 2009. The volume here under review documents these workshops and symposia and provides a statement of the current state of research into the materiality of the book (in its widest sense), and proposes a research framework for future study.

Focussing on manuscripts, this book is divided into three sections: (1) research questions – what would be useful to investigate using analytical techniques? (2) an introduction to the analytical techniques themselves, and (3) analytical solutions to the research questions.

The manuscript research questions are divided into curatorial issues [Chapter 1] and conservation issues [Chapter 2]. Curatorial issues relate to questions of dating, provenance and localisation, as well as a host of other features relating to the history of an object. Questions for possible investigation using technological methods include circumstances of manufacture not mentioned in any scribal colophon – for example, linking text and illumination to a single person or workshop by analysis of ink and pigment; issues of wider provenance and subsequent ownership – for example, using techniques to decipher faded or erased inscriptions or owners' marks; questions relating to the history of the binding which is often not contemporary with the text, many books having been trimmed and rebound at various times in their history. Additionally, there is scope to study the broader question of manuscript production as a whole with research into identifiable differences in materials and techniques on a regional level, and even at the level of single workshops. However, we do not have complete knowledge about whether differences between, say, inks, papers, and pigments used by different workshops are actually significant and measurable, and any technique used must be capable of detecting them where they exist.

Conservation research questions, on the other hand, are questions which relate to understanding an object with a view to preserving it for future generations of scholars. There is scope for analysis to be carried out on mediaeval manuscripts, for example, for condition assessment to determine whether intervention should take place to prevent further decay on an item already decaying, or to assess how pigments react to exposure to light during an exhibition, or to provide information on skin and parchment media including species and age of animals used, and even to read damaged, carbonised, or unopened books and scrolls. The use of analytical techniques, however, often presents a number of challenges to conservation departments of libraries and archives – many of which have a policy of non-intervention. Any process carried out should be, as far as possible, reversible, non-invasive and non-contact, damage free, and justifiable in terms of allocation of budget. There is always an element of risk, however small, in any intervention or process. However the benefits that can be gained by analytical methods can be significant – often information is gained through a single test that would have taken many years of conventional curatorial time to achieve.

Sections (2) and (3) of this book document the state of current research and knowledge of a number of analytical techniques with a variety of uses ranging from methods of assessing paper degradation and the effects of ink and other media on paper, the use of spectral imaging and optical coherence tomography for, among other things, reading hidden writing, ion beam analysis of paper, ink and pigment, and ra-

dio carbon dating. Each technique is explained often in some technical detail and often with case studies, and each chapter contains a rich and useful bibliography of sources for reference and for further reading.

Although, by their very nature, some of the discussions of techniques and case studies in this document are highly technical, and it would have been useful to have an afterword drawing all the diverse strands together and presenting some general con-

clusions, this document provides an excellent overview and explanation of a variety of advanced analytical techniques and how they relate to and may enrich manuscript studies. This document will be welcomed as an important source book by archivists, conservators, curators, and all those concerned with the history of the book.

Alasdair Watson
Bodleian Library

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