

ISSN 2410-0951

COMSt
Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies
COMSt
Bulletin

Volume 8 • 1 • 2022

Edited by
Alessandro Bausi, Paola Buzi, Javier Del Barco,
Emiliano Fiori, Marilena Maniaci,
Eugenia Sokolinski

COMSt

Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin is the biannual on-line and print-on-demand journal of the European research network Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. Born in 2009 as a European Science Foundation Research Networking Programme, the network has been affiliated to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (<http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/>) since 2016.

Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin welcomes articles, project descriptions, conference reports, book reviews and notes on all topics connected with the written cultures of the Mediterranean Near and Middle East and related traditions or offering a comparative perspective. Contributions should be sent to Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1, 20354 Hamburg, Germany; eugenia.sokolinski@uni-hamburg.de. For submission guidelines and former issues visit <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/bulletin.html>.

Editorial Board

Alessandro Bausi, Hamburg, Germany

Paola Buzi, Rome, Italy

Javier Del Barco, Madrid, Spain

Emiliano Fiori, Venice, Italy

Marilena Maniaci, Cassino, Italy

Editorial Secretary

Eugenia Sokolinski, Hamburg, Germany

Advisory Board

Tara Andrews, Vienna, Austria

Patrick Andrist, Munich, Germany

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, Uppsala, Sweden

Malachi Beit-Arié, Jerusalem, Israel

Pier Giorgio Borbone, Pisa, Italy

Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Paris, France

Valentina Calzolari, Genève, Switzerland

Ralph Cleminson, Winchester, UK

Matthew Driscoll, Copenhagen, Denmark

Alessandro Gori, Copenhagen, Denmark

Dickran Kouymjian, Fresno, USA – Paris, France

Marco Palma, Cassino, Italy

Ira Rabin, Berlin – Hamburg, Germany

Lara Sels, Leuven, Belgium

Gaga Shurgaia, Naples, Italy

Jan-Just Witkam, Leiden, The Netherlands

Copyright © COMSt (Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies) 2022

Publication date December 2022

This journal is published under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International license (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) www.creativecommons.org.



ISSN 2410-0951

Contents

Christian Oriental Colophons: towards a Structural Analysis (ed. Paola Buzi)

<i>Christian Oriental Colophons: Notes for a Structural Analysis (with a Look to the Past): A Preface</i> (Paola Buzi)	7
<i>A Short History of the Greek Colophon from the Beginnings to Modern Times</i> (Francesco Valerio)	19
<i>The Structure and the Formulary of the Coptic Colophons, With a New Colophon from Dayr al-Abū Maqār</i> (Agostino Soldati)	73
<i>Towards a Structural Analysis of Armenian Colophons</i> (Anna Sirinian)	91
<i>Ethiopic Colophons: An Update</i> (Alessandro Bausi)	121
<i>Preliminary Reflections for a Comparative Analysis of Colophons</i> (Marilena Maniaci)	199

Regular Issue

Articles and notes

<i>The Limits of Paratexts/Paracontents in Manuscripts: Revisiting Old Questions and Posing New Ones</i> (Patrick Andrist)	213
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Research projects

<i>The Bohairic Coptic Version of the Homily De ieiunio I by Basil of Caesarea</i> (Marta Addressi)	233
<i>Pahlavi Texts from Codex MK. Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary</i> (Carlo Marchetti)	241
<i>The Gə'əz Version of the Passio of St Cyricus (Gadla Qirqos): A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary</i> (Vitagrazia Pisani)	249

Conference reports

<i>Recipes and Recipe Books Across Manuscript Culture, Hamburg</i> (online), 12–13 April 2021 (Red.)	257
<i>Editing the Greek Psalter, Göttingen</i> , 1–3 December 2021 (Red.)	260
<i>Scribal Identity and Agency: Scribes at Ugarit and Ancient Rome, Medieval Christianity and Islam, Monasticism in Ethiopia and Tibet</i> , Oxford (online), 16–17 December 2021 (Red.)	262
<i>New Light from the East: Linguistic Perspectives on Non-Literary Papyri and Related Sources</i> , Ghent, 2–4 February 2022 (Red.)	266
<i>Living Bodies of Texts: Organising a Literary Corpus in the Middle Ages. The Corpus Nazianzenum and the Corpus Dionysiacum</i> , Göttingen, 27–29 April 2022 (Red.)	271

<i>Mixing Languages and Scripts: Material from Manuscripts and Inscriptions</i> , Hamburg, 19–20 May 2022 (Red.)	276
<i>Bibles and Scholars: a Tribute to Paul Kahle and Gérard Weil</i> , Aix-en- Provence, 9–12 June 2022 (Élodie Attia)	279
<i>Illuminating the Eastern Christian World: Manuscripts, Illuminators and Scribes</i> , Hamburg, 30 June–1 July 2022 (Red.)	287
<i>Middle and Mixed Arabic: A Typology of Genres and Intended Recipients</i> , Bratislava, 20–23 September 2022 (Zuzana Gažáková)	290
<i>Identifying Models and Copies on the Basis of Material Evidence: At the In- tersection Between Manuscript Studies and Philology</i> , Hamburg, 10–11 November 2022 (Red.)	293

Section 1

**Christian Oriental Colophons:
towards a Structural Analysis**

**edited by
Paola Buzi**

Christian Oriental Colophons: Notes for a Structural Analysis (with a Look to the Past): A Preface

Paola Buzi, Sapienza Università di Roma

The articles collected in this ‘thematic section’ of the present issue of the *COMSt Bulletin*, dedicated to Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic and Armenian colophons, represent an outcome of the round table *I colofoni cristiani orientali: per un’analisi strutturale*, which took place at Sapienza University of Rome on 14 February 2020, as the fourth annual conference organised by the ‘PATHs’ project.¹ The round table also included interventions on colophons of the Syriac, Christian Arabic, Georgian and Slavonic manuscript traditions, which however are not published here.

It was certainly not the first scientific meeting dedicated to colophons, and to oriental colophons in particular,² but compared to the previous occasions its purpose was very targeted, aiming to a strict comparative analysis of the structural elements that compose the colophons of the various Christian oriental traditions and trying to answer questions like: Which are the ‘basic elements’ for a colophon to be considered as such? Within the various traditions of the Christian Near East, is it possible to identify a sort of ‘standard colophon’? What denomination is it possible to attribute to the textual sec-

- 1 See <<http://www.paths.uniroma1.it>>, where a detailed programme is also available. The three previous meetings—the conference *The Coptic Book between the 6th and the 8th Century*, Sapienza Università di Roma – Academia Belgica, 21–22 February 2017, the round table *Linking Manuscripts from the Coptic, Ethiopian and Syriac domain: Present and Future Synergy Strategies*, organised in collaboration with the projects *Beta mašāḥaft* and *TraCES* (Hamburg), Universität Hamburg, 23–24 February, and the conference *Coptic Literature in Context. The Contexts of Coptic Literature. Late Antique Egypt in a Dialogue between Literature, Archaeology, and Digital Humanities*, which took place at Sapienza Università di Roma on 25–27 February 2019—have been published respectively in *Adamantius*, 24 (2018), 6–210, *COMSt Bulletin*, 4/1 (Spring 2018 = *Linking Manuscripts from the Coptic, Ethiopian and Syriac Domain: Present and Future Synergy Strategies*), 39–58, 69–78, 115–120; and Buzi 2020.
- 2 The notion of ‘oriental’ follows the reflections and terminological choices of the COMSt project (and consequently of this journal). It therefore ‘embraces all non-Occidental (non-Latin-based) manuscript cultures which have an immediate historical (‘genetic’) relationship with the Mediterranean codex area. This definition first excludes all East-Asian manuscript cultures, which are also ‘oriental’ in a broader sense but which do not share the relationship with the Mediterranean codex area’. Bausi and Gippert 2015, 2–3.

tions that compose it? Is it possible to follow the formal evolution over the centuries of this textual element within a specific oriental culture? Are there points of contacts between two or more oriental traditions, as some recurring formulas seem to suggest? Are there any original ancient terms designating these textual categories in the individual manuscript traditions?

In a few words, the meeting was not a free topic conference, dedicated to colophons in general, but a compelling comparison on what the different manuscript traditions of oriental Christianity have or do not have in common regarding their structure and function, and, at the same time, an in-depth analysis of the specificities of each tradition.³

The structural architecture of colophons—or their syntax, to quote the title of a recent conference on Southern, South-eastern and Central Asian colophons⁴—was therefore at the core of the discussion among specialists—speakers and discussants—of Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Christian Arabic manuscript traditions.

As always happens in challenging enterprises, only few questions could be properly answered, while some others emerged, and old ‘comfortable’ concepts and categories had to be reformulated, as the contribution by Marilena Maniaci clearly shows.

Studies on Oriental Colophons: A Short History of the Last Thirty Years

It is probably not useless to re-trace some of the steps in the reflection on colophons—not necessarily Christian and not exclusively oriental—so far.

It is mainly from the 1990s that scholars have started to more or less systematically investigate this paratextual category,⁵ and it is not surprising that such enquiry moved its first steps in the field of Greek and Latin manuscript studies.

In 1995 Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio edited the volume *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, that collected the proceedings of a conference which had taken place two years earlier in Erice.⁶ The volume included a certain number of articles

3 In order to stimulate an effective dialogue the speakers had received in advance a list of the structural aspects of colophons that would have been discussed, in a comparative way, during the meeting.

4 See below.

5 The definition of ‘paracontent’ instead of ‘paratext’ has been recently proposed as an ampler category. See Ciotti, Kohs, Wilden and Wimmer 2018.

6 Condello and De Gregorio 1995.

dedicated to oriental traditions—Greek, Slavonic, Armenian, Hebrew—, but it did not envisage a real comparison among them.⁷

About fifteen years later, in 2009, at Hamburg University an interdisciplinary conference entitled ‘On Colophons’ was organized. For the first time a very wide range of disciplines was involved, from mediaeval Latin and Ethiopic traditions to those of the far East, such as the Tibetan, the Japanese Buddhist and the Chinese. Unfortunately, the proceedings were never published, but the concept of the scientific meeting envisaged a comparative approach focused on some of the most stimulating issues related to the study of this textual category, as the organizer, Jörg B. Quenzer, explained in a report of the event:

...Taking into consideration the enormous differences between the various manuscript cultures, the main objective of the conference was not to arrive at a general characterisation, but to present and discuss the individual traditions. A number of guidelines, however, were provided to the participants in advance, as for example, the genesis of the genre, typological and systematic standards, particularities of native terminology, and specifics of usage... Strong emphasis was placed on the difference between textual and codicological approaches to the phenomenon of colophons. Various misunderstandings could be traced back to inconsistency of terminology in this regard. Close relations to other paratexts were observed in several manuscript cultures, especially with regard to titles.⁸

Within the activities of the networking project *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, funded by the European Science Foundation, the team dedicated to Codicology, coordinated by Marilena Maniaci, organized a workshop in Arles (9–13 October 2012) entitled ‘The Shaping of the Page, the Scribe and the Illuminator at Work, The Making of Oriental Bookbindings and their Conservation’. Colophons were also dealt with, although not in a systematic way, since in that context, mainly for a matter of time and space, they were taken into consideration together with many other aspects of the manufacture of a manuscript. The results of the workshop converged in the manual produced at the end of the project.⁹

Also in 2012, the conference *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie*

7 Section ‘VII. Scribi e colofoni in aree geografiche non latine’ included E. Gamillscheg, ‘Struktur und Aussagen der Subskriptionen griechischer Handschriften’; N. Golob, ‘A Few Comments on Glagolic Colophons (14th and 15th Centuries)’; M.E. Stone, ‘Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts’; A.M. Piemontese, ‘Colophon persiani fioriti e illustrate’; M. Beit-Arié, ‘Colophons in Hebrew Manuscripts: Source of Information on Book Production and Text Transmission’.

8 Quenzer 2009.

9 Bausi A. et al. 2015 (Chapter 1 – Codicology, edited by M. Maniaci).

del mondo mediterraneo, organized at Bologna University by Anna Sirinian, took place. It resulted, four years later, in the first systematic collection of studies on oriental colophons.¹⁰ The meeting aimed at a specific objective, that is investigating whether the use of Armenian copyists to add extremely long and textually rich colophons found elements of comparison in other written cultures of the Mediterranean world. The ‘Armenocentric’ perspective found justification in the remarkable diffusion of the colophons in the Armenian manuscript tradition, in which this paratext appears as a real literary genre in itself.¹¹

The *Hugoye Symposium III. Colophons in the Syriac Tradition*, which took place in the Beth Mardutho Research Library, Piscataway (NJ), on 16 May 2014, was exclusively dedicated to Syriac colophons, as its title suggests. Most of the papers dealt with specific texts and literary genres or newly established databases. Some of them have been published in *Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18 (2015).¹²

Lastly, an attempt to analyse the structural features of the colophons of a determined tradition was represented by *The Syntax of South, Southeast and Central Asian Colophons: A First Step Towards a Comparative and Historical Study of Manuscripts in the Poṭhi Format*, a conference that took place, once more, at Universität Hamburg (11–13 October 2018). Again, the concept of the conference was very meaningful:

The expression ‘syntax of colophons’ in the title of this workshop refers to the questions of which basic elements can be distinguished in colophons (e.g. dates, names of scribes, places of copying, scribal maxims and other formulaic expressions in the case of scribal colophons) and in which order they are arranged. We also include formulas which signify that the text or one of its sections is completed (in this case, one may use labels such as ‘sub-colophon’ or ‘chapter colophon’). Worthwhile are also attempts to distinguish and characterize heterogeneous colophons in the end of manuscripts or xylographs, in particular colophons of different actors involved in text production and transmission, and examinations of their arrangement, interplay and degrees of authenticity...¹³

10 Sirinian, Buzi and Shurgaia 2016.

11 Sirinian 2016, 7.

12 See e.g. McCollum 2015, Boero 2015, Carlson 2015, Muraviev 2015, Brock 2015.

13 Programme Abstracts (see the web cache version at <<https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ROgczrPGJ5gJ:https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/cal-details/Programme%2520Abstracts%2520The%2520Syntax%2520of%2520Colophons%25202018.pdf>>, last accessed 15 February 2022).

‘The question of which basic elements can be distinguished in colophon’ was also the crucial issue that has inspired the round table of Rome.¹⁴ The decision to limit the comparative analysis to Christian late antique and mediaeval oriental cultures was determined by the desire to have, as far as possible, a common ground of comparison. Even in these circumstances, however, the specific features of each manuscript culture emerged.

At the same time, the meeting was the occasion to reflect on the terminology, starting from the same definition of ‘colophon’.

The Persisting Difficulty in Defining What a Colophon is

Even before attempting a comparative trans-tradition analysis, the effort of defining what a colophon is represents a challenge in itself, since even about the appropriateness of the term, which is generally used to designate this textual element, there is a lively debate and certainly not a total agreement.¹⁵

As is well known, the notion of ‘colophon’ originally belonged to the phenomenon of early typography, indicating a ‘subscription’ at the end of a book, used especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to provide the title or subject of the work, its author, the name of the printer, and the date and place of publication (or only some of these data).¹⁶ Only later, from the eighteenth century onwards, the term was applied to manuscripts.

To make things even more complex, it won’t be useless to recall that the term ‘colophon’ is not used only in classical—i.e. Greek and Latin¹⁷—and Christian oriental manuscripts studies, but is largely employed also in disciplines that deal with ancient oriental studies, such as Assyriology, Sumerology, Egyptology, Hittitology, and so on, with their related manuscript features.¹⁸

14 A conference entitled *Colophons in Middle Eastern Manuscripts*, organized by Sabine Schmidtke and George A. Kiraz, took place at the Institute for Advanced Study of Princeton University on 2–3 September 2021.

15 See again the contribution of Marilena Maniaci for sharp reflections on the terminological matters.

16 Spencer Kennrad 1902.

17 Reinhout 2006.

18 Leichty 1964, 147–155; Hunger 1968. It is noteworthy that within the scientific activities of the Research group D05–Formatting Contents of the Cluster of Excellence ‘Understanding Written Artifacts’ at Universität Hamburg, a project, coordinated by Szilvia Sövegjártó, is dedicated to *Colophons in Sumerian and Akkadian Literary Manuscripts from 3rd and 2nd Millennium BCE Mesopotamia* and pays particular attention to colophons of literary works. The aim of the project is to investigate the intertwining of literary production and the scribal practice of inserting colophons during the third and second millennium BCE (<<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/written-artefacts/research-fields/field-d/rfd05.html>>).

If on the one hand it is a widely shared opinion that classical, late antique and mediaeval colophons represent a different phenomenon compared to the ‘ancestors’ of ancient Near East, on the other hand it is undeniable that there are some points of similarities in the construction of colophons of so different (and chronologically distant) traditions that in part justify the use of the same term.

It is a matter of fact that these paratexts were not an invention of the ‘cultures of the codex’ and that the necessity ‘to actualize’ the text, assigning to it some additional coordinates, goes back at least to the second millennium BCE.

To make an example, Ancient Mesopotamian scribes frequently appended a colophon to their copies, above all if the texts were scientific and mathematical (less frequently to literary texts).¹⁹ This practice was more common in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, but more simple colophons were used also in earlier times (Old Babylonian period, c.2000–1600 BCE).²⁰

In the first millennium BCE, for instance

Mesopotamian scribes used to add highly developed colophons to their works, especially when writing scholarly texts, for example, on medicine, divination or astral sciences. This kind of postscript, often located at the end of the text, provides modern historians with a plethora of information relative to the scribe who wrote the text, the place where he composed it, the content of the composition, the original document copied (if any), and the owner of the tablet. Other writing practices are particularly remarkable, such as noting long compositions on series of dozens of numbered tablets, in the same way as we number the pages of a book. These practices reflect a very specific context of that time: that of the creation, enrichment, management and maintenance of large libraries. Organization into series, the presence of colophons, as well as the existence of catalogues, are considered as the three criteria for determining that a set of documents comes from a library.²¹

19 Colophons added to literary texts are much less common. See Lambert 1957, 1–14.

20 ‘Old Babylonian colophons are much less systematic, codified, and informative than they are in the first millennium. In the mathematical documents, colophons are generally placed at the bottom of the reverse of a tablet, and are separated from the main text by a blank space, a single line or a double line. The colophon can also be located on an edge of the tablet. Some additional information is sometimes included in the text itself. This is the case, for example, for catchlines, incipits, or labels [...] Another important component of colophons is what one might call a ‘title’ or a ‘label’, that is, a key word or short phrase that indicates the content of the text to which the colophon is attached. The label may also be included in the text, as an incipit or as an entry of the items, or noted in a postscript. [...] Other components of the colophons can be the number of items such as lines (m u), procedures (*kibsu*) or sections (i m - šu)’ (Proust 2012, 127). Very frequent are also the colophons from Uruk written between 250 and 150 BCE.

21 Proust 2012, 123–124.

In ancient Mesopotamia the colophon has also the task to order the clay-tablets within a library or an archive, a fact that, due to the book form, is an indispensable necessity, because often the tablet is part of a series, many compositions requiring more than one tablet to be contained.

Even though the Mesopotamian colophons are devoid of the ideological and votive features that are proper of the finalities of a Christian oriental colophon, they contain elements that we can compare to later manuscript traditions:

‘Maximally, a colophon might contain all the following information:

1. The catch-line
2. The name of the series and number of the tablet
3. The number of lines on the tablet
4. The source of the copy
5. The name of the owner of the tablet
6. The name of the scribe making the copy
7. The reason for making the copy²²
8. The course of blessing
9. The date
10. Disposition of the copy

Minimally, a colophon might contain only one of the above categories’.²³

The Mesopotamian colophon, therefore, normally includes the name of the scribe responsible for the copy, together with his title and genealogy, up to the fourth generation.

Another element that frequently appears is the declaration of completeness of the text. Expressions like ‘according to its original, written, checked, and copied’ are quite common, a fact that recurs also in ancient Egyptian colophons, although in this tradition the name of the scribe is seldom mentioned, at least until the eighteenth dynasty.

The extant ancient Egyptian colophons²⁴ date from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period—although more than half of them date back to the Ramesside Period and has been found in Deir el Medina (Western Thebes)—and most of them seem to have the main aim to certify the authoritativeness, completeness and therefore reliability of the text.

22 On the terminology of first millennium colophons and the reasons why a text was copied see Pearce 1993, 185–193. According to colophons, scribal training and practice, and reading for a pupil are among the most frequent finalities of a copy of a text. It is possible to follow the carrier of a scribe through the colophons that he has copied. See Verderame 2008, 51–67.

23 Leichty 1964, 147–148.

24 For Egyptian (pharaonic) colophons in general see Lenzo Marchese 2004, 359–376; Luiselli 2004, 343–360.

The *Teaching of Amenemhat I* and the *Tale of Sinuhe*, in some of the manuscripts that convey them, have a colophon that reads ‘This is *finished* from *its beginning* unto *its end*, as it was *found*’.

Not differently, the *Tale of the Shipwrecked*, preserved by one manuscript only, St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, *P. Leningrad 1115*, is closed by the following colophon, that also includes an auspice of good health for the scribe because of his merits:

This is *finished* from *its beginning* unto *its end*, as it was *found* in a writing. It is written by the scribe of cunning fingers, *Ameni-amenaar*; may he live in life wealth and health!

Ancient Egyptian colophons never include references to the total number of lines, the storage location or the provenance of the antigraph. Moreover, they are not necessarily located to the end of a roll. In MS London, British Museum, *P. Anastasi III* the colophon precedes the last three passages:

It has come (at the end) well and with satisfaction. For the benefit of the prince (who is) in his office, much praised by his city, messenger of the king in every foreign country, who commands over the plain and hills, Amenemope, may he be triumphant. Made for him in year 3 [...], on day 28.

In the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties (c.1320–1080 BCE) the Egyptian colophon seems to become more or less standardized, as Giuseppina Lenzo Marchese observes:

Avec l'époque Ramesside, survient une série de changements :

- la souscription finale est désormais *jw=s pw nfr m Htp* « c'est venu parfaitement en ordre » avec l'adoption systématique du suffixe féminin *=s*;
- le nome de copiste est mentionné dans plusieurs exemples ;
- de nombreux manuscrits sont dédiés par des scribes assistants à leur maîtres introduit parfois par *jr n*, il est souvent question de l'auteur de la composition et non du copiste ;
- dans quelques cas, la mention de la date à laquelle le manuscrit a été copié apparaît.²⁵

Lastly, in Demotic literature (sixth century BCE – third century CE) more attention is devoted to the date of the copy and some variants of the above described formula are elaborated.²⁶

This brief *excursus*, beyond reminding us that the use of colophons is more ancient than one may think, allows us to deduce that in the ancient Near East the need to certify the correctness of a copy—by means of the mention of the scribe's name and career (Mesopotamia) or by declaring to have respected a 'model' (Egypt)—was perceived as an important requisite for the reliability of a text, regardless of its typol-

25 Lenzo Marchese 2004, 375.

26 Ibid. 368.

ogy, although other necessities have also their role in the use of colophons, such as the formation of a scribe or the arrangement of a library or an archive (above all in the case of ancient Mesopotamia). On the contrary, the hand of Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribes does not seem to be moved by purely devotional reasons.

Differently from these ancient examples, most of the colophons of Christian oriental manuscript traditions normally do not seem to include, within their structural elements, the ‘seal of guarantee’ of the respect of the length of the antigraph. In the Coptic manuscript tradition, for instance, and in particular in Bohairic biblical manuscripts, this task is accomplished by another paratext, that is the title, that specifies the length of the copied text (and therefore the respect of its authoritativeness).²⁷

On the other hand, expressions of devotion, prayers in order to safeguard the soul of the copyist or the commissioner (or both), eulogies, and invocation to the Trinity are among the recurring elements of Christian oriental colophons, although each tradition has also developed its own motives and combination of patterns, that may also include the date and/or place of the copy, the name of the commissioner, the destination of the manuscript, the name of the patron, and so forth.

Particularly interesting is the motif of the *excusatio* for the supposed corruption of the model, that determined the quality of the copy—an element that recurs in Greek, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian and Christian Arabic manuscripts²⁸—or the use of metaphors like the conclusion of the work of copying compared to the arriving of a ship in a safe harbour.

Rarer seems to be the presence of ‘technical terminology’ that identifies the book and its constitutive parts (quires, chapters, etc., including the colophon itself),²⁹ the rhythm of copy, the place of work, and so on.

Lastly, sometimes colophons, from copy to copy, weld to the text (for instance, in the Georgian tradition), losing the function of paratext and transforming into part of the work, a phenomenon which however is not infrequent also in the ancient Egyptian manuscript tradition.

27 Buzi 2017, 15–16.

28 Other forms of *excusationes* are of course possible. Particularly interesting is the formula ‘It was written in Jerusalem in the winter season and in a hurry, so the letters mostly appear actually arranged in a disordered way’ of the Coptic tradition. See the contribution of Agostino Soldati.

29 For one of the few exceptions see the Greek MS Athens, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados, 56 (Gregory-Aland Minuscule 773, von Soden A¹⁴), tenth century, Constantinople, whose colophon reads: ‘This venerable and divine book of the Gospels contains in all 36 quaternions’ (f. 1r). For more details, see the article of Francesco Valerio below.

Next Desirable Steps toward an Effective Structural Analysis of Colophons

While it is evident that, despite their differences and cultural specificities, several—if not all—manuscript traditions have felt the necessity to equip their literary (and sometimes documentary) texts with additional data, in a way or another related to the act of copying (data arranged in recurrent ‘information blocks’, which in turn were organized in ‘functional blocks’, to use Marilena Maniaci’s effective definitions in her contribution), what is still missing is a shared terminology, that represents the *conditio sine qua non* for a real and efficacious comparative structural analysis.

The task of defining such a shared terminology is so challenging that only a long-lasting collaborative project, involving specialists of different disciplines, would likely permit to reach this ambitious goal.

At the same time, it would be necessary to have, for each manuscript tradition, a systematic and easily searchable collection of the respective corpus of colophons, which should include the complete text with the related translation, and the marking-up of meaningful textual elements, such as the name of scribe, the commissioner, the donor, the date of copy and any significant recurring formula. Geographical references, prosopography elements and technical terms related to the manufacture of the book should also be ‘isolated’, so as to contribute to the codification of the structural elements of a colophon, at least within a specific tradition.³⁰

Much remains to be done in this respect, but hopefully the articles that follow—and the round table from which they derive—represent a first step toward a real and systematic study of the colophon’s structure.

References

- Bausi, A., and J. Gippert 2015. ‘General Introduction’, in A. Bausi, P. G. Borbone, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, P. Buzi, J. Gippert, C. Macé, M. Maniaci, Z. Melissakis, L. E. Parodi, W. Witakowski, and E. Sokolinski, eds, 2015. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: COMSt, 2015), 2–3.
- Boero, D. 2015. ‘The Context of Production of the Vatican Manuscript of the Syriac Life of Symeon the Stylite’, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/2 (2015), 319–359.
- Brock, S. 2015. ‘Fashions in Early Syriac Colophons’, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/2 (2015), 361–377.

30 For the complete census of Coptic colophons, see the sections ‘Colophons’ <<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons>> and ‘Persons attested in colophons’ <<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/persons>> of the *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature*.

- Buzi, P. 2017. 'Preliminary Remarks on Coptic Biblical Titles (from the Third to the Eleventh Century)', *COMSt Bulletin*, 3/1 (2017), 5–22.
- 2020. *Coptic Literature in Context (4th–13th cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production and Manuscript Archaeology. Proceedings of the Third Conference of the ERC Project 'Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context ('PATHs')*, PaST - Percorsi, strumenti e temi di archeologia, 5 (Rome: Quasar, 2020).
- Carlson, T. A. 2015. 'Formulaic Prose? Rhetoric and Meaning in Late Medieval Syriac Manuscript Colophons', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/2 (2015), 379–398.
- Ciotti, G., M. Kohs, M. E. Wilden, H. Wimmer, and the TNT Working Group 2018. 'Definition of *Paracontent*', *Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures Occasional Paper*, 6 (November 15, 2018) <DOI: 10.25592/uhhfdm.9814>.
- Condello, E., and G. De Gregorio, eds, 1995. *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice, X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23–28 ottobre 1993)*, Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria, 14 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995).
- Hunger, H. 1968. *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Berker Kevalaer, 1968).
- Lambert, W.G. 1957. 'Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 11 (1957), 1–14.
- Leichty, E. 1964. 'The Colophon', in R. D. Biggs, and J. A. Brinkman, eds, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964), 147–155.
- Lenzo Marchese, G. 2004. 'Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 104 (2004), 359–376.
- Luiselli, M. 2004. 'The Colophons as an Indication of the Attitudes towards the Literary Tradition in Egypt and Mesopotamia', *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, 17 (2004), 343–360.
- McCollum, A. C. 2015. 'The Rejoicing Sailor and the Rotting Hand: Two Formulas in Syriac and Arabic Colophons, with Related Phenomena in Some Other Languages', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/1 (2015), 67–93.
- Muraviev, A. 2015. 'Reconstructed Colophon in the Text of the Syriac Julian Romance as a Clue to the Mystery of its Author', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/2 (2015), 399–407.

- Pearce, L. E. 1993. 'Statements of Purpose: Why the Scribes Wrote', in M. E. Cohen, D. C. Snell, and D. B. Weisberg, eds, *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda: CDL, 1993), 185–193.
- Proust, C. 2012. 'Reading Colophons from Mesopotamian Clay-Tablets Dealing with Mathematics', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, 20 (2012), 123–156.
- Quenzer, J. B. 2009. 'MCAA International Conference On Colophons 3-5 December 2009', *Manuscript Cultures*, 3 (2009), 41–42.
- Reynhout, L. 2006. *Formules latines de colophons*, I: *Texte*; II: *Annexes*, Bibliologia, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
- Sirinian, A. 2016. 'Introduzione', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 7.
- Sirinian, A., P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaia, eds, 2016. *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scritte del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale, 12–13 ottobre 2012*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016).
- Spencer Kennrad, J. 1902. *Some Early Printers and their Colophons* (Philadelphia: G.W. Jacobs, 1902).
- Verderame, L. 2008. 'La formazione dell'esperto (*ummānu*) nel periodo neo-assiro', *Historiae*, 5 (2008), 51–67.

A Short History of the Greek Colophon from the Beginnings to Modern Times*

Francesco Valerio, Sapienza Università di Roma

This paper focuses on that kind of paratexts usually called colophons (that is to say, the scribes' signatures), as they occur in Greek manuscripts. Our inquiry follows a diachronical and a synchronical path: on the diachronical level, we sketch the history and development of this 'genre' from the first instances in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique ages down to its canonization and most widespread dissemination in the Byzantine age (including also some modern imitations); on the synchronical level, we analyse the structure of these paratexts, taking into account their various components and the ways in which they are expressed and arranged together. The theoretical discussion is rooted on a vast range of examples, which are not only quoted and commented upon in the paper, but are also conveniently assembled in an appendix, where we offer a fresh edition of the Greek texts, English translations and detailed critical apparatuses with bibliographical references.

Und das möge nun über die griechischen Unterschriften genügend. Leicht könnte man davon ein ganzes Bändchen sammeln, aber es würde sehr eintönig und ermüdend ausfallen (Wattenbach 1896, 494)¹

De minimis curat palaeographus; en paléographie, certains détails à première vue sans importance peuvent avoir une signification et jeter une lumière, parfois inattendue, sur l'histoire des manuscrits, voire sur la culture du milieu où vivaient les copistes. Les souscriptions peuvent receler des détails de ce genre (Garitte 1962, 389)

The label 'Greek colophons' refers to the language in which these texts, or rather paratexts, were written. However, if we take into account their historical, cultural and geographical context, it would be better to label them 'Byzantine colophons': indeed, the earliest dated colophon in Greek dates back

* This study was carried out within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant (2015) 'PATHs – Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage', directed by Paola Buzi and hosted by Sapienza University of Rome (grant no. 687567). The author wishes to express his warmest thanks to the other speakers and the audience of the Rome workshop, for the fruitful debate; to Prof. Claudio De Stefani, Prof. Lucia Floridi and Dr Francesca Potenza, for a critical look at the paper in advance of publication; to Dr Paolo Vian (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano), for a palaeographical suggestion; to the staff of the Real Biblioteca del Escorial and to Dr Elisabetta Lugato (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice), for the supply of digitized images of two manuscripts.

1 Quoting only 8 examples.

to the year 800, in the midst of what is usually called the ‘Byzantine age’. It is fascinating and almost symbolic that such colophon inaugurated the ninth century, although it is obviously only a coincidence, since the chronological system used at the time does not coincide with ours: the Byzantine dates are expressed according to the ‘annus Mundi’, the year of the creation of the world, which was believed to have occurred in 5508 BCE.²

It is precisely with this colophon that we can start our inquiry (see below Appendix 4.1). It can be read in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1666, a very famous parchment codex containing the Greek translation of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*. This translation is traditionally assigned to Pope Zachary, who reigned in the mid-eighth century (741–752), just half a century before the transcription of Vat. gr. 1666, which is dated, as we have said, to the year 800.³ The codex is written in a biblical majuscule in its phase of extreme ‘decadence’ and was copied in Italy, apparently in the area of Rome, as argued first by Pierre Batiffol (1861–1929) and then by Guglielmo Cavallo:⁴ not surprisingly, after its first publication in 1880 by the abbot Giuseppe Cozza Luza (1837–1905), its date, place of transcription and script have earned this manuscript a mention in every manual of Greek palaeography and inclusion in almost all collections of manuscript facsimiles.⁵

Besides the colophon, we should first mention an acrostic epigram in 33 dodecasyllables (*BHG* 1445z, *DBBE* type 4439), inscribed on f. 1r, which is in fact a book epigram, celebrating both Gregory the Great and his Greek translator Zachary.⁶ Though not part of the colophon (it was clearly copied in Vat. gr. 1666 from its antigraph, together with the text of Gregory’s *Dia-*

- 2 See Grumel 1958, 111–128. For the sake of completeness, we should however notice that the earliest dated Greek colophon known to us is in fact that of the (lost) archetype of the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1115, a theological collection (see *Diktyon* 50711, *RGK* II 330, Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 100–101, no. 335, Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 178, no. 32): its colophon is dated to the year 1276 but states that the manuscript was transcribed from an antigraph dated to the year 774/775 (on the topic, see the huge monograph by Alexakis 1996).
- 3 On Pope Zachary’s Greek translation, see most recently Delouis 2015, 82–85, and also below, n. 8.
- 4 See the relevant bibliography quoted in the first apparatus of Appendix 4.1 and most recently Ronconi 2021.
- 5 In addition to the bibliography quoted in our Appendix, see the digital catalogue of the Vatican Library (<<https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1666>>), containing several bibliographical references and a complete digitization of the manuscript.
- 6 Not included in the Appendix below. See the edition by S. G. Mercati (1919) and most recently Bernard and Demoen 2019, 411 (who oddly enough report that the Vatican manuscript is ‘from the year 748’, pointing out in n. 43 that Canart and Lucà ‘date the manuscript to 800’) and Ronconi 2021, 620 n. 12. The acrostic

logues), it deserves a mention because it contains some terms and ideas which (as we will see below) can be regarded as typical of the colophons of the subsequent centuries: I mean the phrase ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τῇ βίβλῳ, ‘the person who uses the book’ (i.e. the reader) and the reference to the πόθος, the ‘love’, the ‘desire’, which inspires the client or the scribe of a book.⁷

Moreover, in a later witness of Gregory’s *Dialogues* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 69 sup., *Diktyon* 42555, fourteenth century), our epigram is followed by another acrostic epigram in 14 dodecasyllables (ff. 43r–44r, *BHG* 1445z, *DBBE* type 4441), which is written by the person ‘who wrote this whole book with a reed’ (v. 9 ὄλην τὴν βίβλον ταύτην δόνακι γράψας) and declares that it was Zachary himself who gave the ‘order’ (κέλευσις, v. 8) to transcribe the book.⁸ This epigram is also significant for our inquiry, because one may notice further typical formulas of the colophons, namely the previously mentioned reference to the ‘order’ given to the scribe (v. 8); the so-called ταπείνωσις (‘humiliation’) of the scribe, who calls himself ὁ τάλας, ‘wretched’ (v. 5); the prayer for the salvation of the scribe’s soul from the eternal damnation.⁹

Now, if we turn our attention to the colophon of the Vat. gr. 1666 (Appendix 4.1), we may first observe that, in the middle of the work, at the end of the second book of the *Dialogues* (f. 82r), below a decorative frame and the final title, the scribe has penned a prayer, which is noteworthy for its cruci-

reads Γρηγορίου βίβλος Ζαχαρίου Πατριάρχου, ‘Gregory’s Book of Zachary the Patriarch’.

- 7 See vv. 1 γάνονται πᾶς ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τῇ βίβλῳ, ‘whoever uses the book is glad’, and 24–25 πόθος δὲ θεῖο καὶ ἐναρέτω ζήλω | ἀγόμενος ὁ πάνσοφος Ζαχαρίας, ‘the most clever Zachary, incited by a divine love and a virtuous zeal’. The literal meaning of the phrase ἐντυγχάνειν βίβλῳ is ‘to light upon a book’ (the verb contains indeed the root of τύχη, ‘fate, chance’), but it is already used as a metaphor for the act of reading in many classical Greek authors, from Plato onwards (see LSJ, s.v., III).
- 8 See the edition by S.G. Mercati 1919. The acrostic reads Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ and it is reasonable to assume that ‘John the monk’ was the author not only of this epigram, but also of the longer epigram previously mentioned. Mercati believed that John was just the copyist who worked by order of Zachary, but Lauxtermann 2003, 355 (no. 8), has suggested that John was instead the actual translator of the text of the *Dialogues* (‘it was John the Monk who did the actual translating, and not the pope who will have had more important matters to attend to’).
- 9 See vv. 12–14 Χριστὸν δὲ δυσωπῶ ταῖς τούτου πρεσβείαις | ὅταν ἐν τῇ κρίσει μέλλω παρεστάναι | ὑπέρτερος εὐρεθῆναι καταδίκης, ‘with his [i.e. Zachary’s] intercessions, I beg Christ, when I will appear before the (heavenly) court, to be victorious in the judgment’. A close parallel to this idea can be found in the colophon of the Uspenskij Gospel (Appendix 4.2), which we are going to discuss.

form layout and for the mixture of Latin and Greek, both written in the Greek alphabet.¹⁰

Finally, at the end of the fourth book of the *Dialogues*, on the last leaf of the codex (f. 185v), there is the very colophon, which contains almost all the typical elements of the Byzantine colophon, namely:

- the *explicit* (statement of the end of the copying job), expressed with a verb in the passive aorist (ἐτελειώθη/ἐπληρώθη, ‘it has been completed’, ἐγράφη, ‘it has been written’), or with the formula τέλος/τέρμα εἴληφε, ‘has come to an end’,¹¹ the subject of which is always the book;
- the mention of the book, generic, as here (βίβλος/βιβλίον, or also δέλτος¹²), or with a precise indication of the author and/or work included in the codex;
- the date, expressed here with day, month and year, but normally including also the indiction and sometimes even the day of the week and the hour¹³—and in some cases supplemented by historical references, such as the mention of sovereigns ruling at the time.¹⁴

Most likely, the f. 185v of the Vat. gr. 1666 also contained another prayer for the scribe, similar to the one inscribed on f. 82r, but unfortunately, being the last leaf of the codex, it is now badly damaged and only the last letters of the participle γράψαντος (‘who has written’), inscribed vertically, are visible above the colophon, together with a staurogram.¹⁵ However, the damage was

10 On such bilingual and monographic texts, see e.g. Valerio 2011, 232 and n. 15.

11 Compare Appendix 5.3.2, 7.2, 11.2.

12 Compare Appendix 5.2.1, 5.4.1, 7.2.

13 Compare Appendix 5.1.2 (day of the week and hour), 5.2.1 (day of the week), 5.4.2 (day of the week, with a pun between the name of Saturday, σάββατον, and the cognate verb σαββατίζειν, ‘observe the sabbath’, i.e. ‘take rest’—a similar pun also in the colophon of the well known hagiographic and homiletic miscellany Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1470, f. 248v, written in the year 890 by Anastasios: see at least *Diktyon* 51087, Lake IV 134, *RGK* II 19, Follieri 1977, 145, Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 123–124, no. 10, Constantinides 1993, 321 and n. 3, Constantinides 2003, 170 n. 4, *DBBE* occurrence 18694), 8.2 (hour).

14 Compare Appendix 8.1 (colophon of a codex transcribed in Crete, which mentions the ruling Byzantine emperor and the tax collector then operating on the island), 8.2 (of a codex from the Southern Italy, in which, not by chance, the sovereign mentioned is not the Byzantine emperor but the *stupor mundi*, Frederick II), 10.1 (of a Constantinopolitan codex, mentioning the ruling Byzantine emperor).

15 A fresh inspection of the leaf, with the aid of a UV lamp, did not bring any improvement to the reading. The staurogram is centred above the colophon, the participle γράψαντος is vertically aligned with its right margin, while some faded and illegible letters are visible on the opposite side, vertically aligned with the left margin of the colophon (Cozza Luzi 1880, xxiv, claimed to have read here the final title, βιβλίον δ’).

already ancient, as attests the sixteenth-century apograph made in the Vatican Library by the copyist Manuel Provataris (now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 608, *Diktyon* 67239), in which the text of the last page of the Vat. gr. 1666 is transcribed only in part.¹⁶

We can now examine the second dated colophon (Appendix 4.2), which takes us from Roman Italy, strongly imbued with Greek culture, to the capital of the Byzantine Empire, precisely in the monastery of St John the Baptist τῶν Στουδίου (in short, the Stoudios monastery), one of the most important cultural centres of the middle Byzantine age.¹⁷ This colophon is dated to the year 835 and is found at the end of a copy of the Four Gospels, known as the Uspenskij Gospels, in honour of the archimandrite Porfirij Uspenskij (1804–1885), who brought it to St Petersburg from the monastery of St Saba in Jerusalem (now Saint Petersburg, Rosijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, gr. 219). The codex is written in a minuscule script which, due to its place of production, is usually called 'Stoudite minuscule'. In this colophon we find the three elements previously highlighted in the colophon of the Vatican Gregory (*explicit*, mention of the book, date—in this case with the indiction expressed), but we also notice two further typical elements of the Byzantine colophon, namely:

- the mention of the copyist (in this case the monk Nicholas), who invariably uses the (previously recorded) artifice of the ταπεινώσις, that is the

16 On the Vat. gr. 608, see Canart 1964, 247 (no. 61). On f. 133r, the copyist transcribes the text up to the end of f. 185r of the Vat. gr. 1666, then leaves 2 unwritten lines (with a ζήτηι in the margin) and transcribes only the text of col. II of f. 185v (now barely visible, the text of col. I being, then and now, completely lost). Finally, after 4 blank lines, there is the following colophon: ἡ βίβλος αὕτη μετεγράφη ἐκ παλαιστάτου πρωτοτόπου γεγραμμένου, ὡς ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς βίβλου, ἐν ἔτει ,ςτη', ἀπριλλίου κα' (‘The present book has been transcribed from a very ancient model written, as it says at the end of the book, in the year 6308 [= 800], on April 21st’). The Vat. gr. 608 was already known to Cozza Luzi, who ventured the hypothesis that it had been written by Leone Allacci (1586–1669): see Cozza Luzi 1880, xxii (in the Vatican copy of this volume, the words ‘Leo Allazio’ are underlined and accompanied in the margin by a blunt pencil note, ‘*nemmeno per idea!*’, which could be by the hand of cardinal Franz Ehrle [1845–1934], as kindly suggested to me by Dr Paolo Vian).

17 On which see at least the classical treatment by Janin 1969, 430–440 (no. 31). For the manuscript production, see Fonkič 1980–1982, 83–92 (§ I), Perria 1993, Fonkič 2000.

self-attribution of derogatory epithets,¹⁸ or of the phrase *τάχα καὶ μοναχός*, ‘perhaps not even worthy of the name of monk’,¹⁹

- the prayer addressed by the copyist to the readers (here we find again *οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες*, otherwise the technical and usual term is *οἱ ἀναγι(γ)νώσκοντες*, ‘the people who read’).²⁰

The prayer can be either generic (‘pray for me / for the person who wrote’, as in the Vat. gr. 1666, f. 82r),²¹ or more detailed: besides the Uspenskij Gospels, where we have a reference to the Last Judgment,²² one could quote the colophon of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 44 (Appendix 5.2.1), a Psalter with catenae written in the Peloponnese at the end of the ninth century, where the copyist hopes to ‘escape the fire of Gehenna’.

All in all, the first two dated colophons are perfect examples of what we can regard as the five pivotal elements of the Byzantine colophon, namely: (a) the *explicit*, (b) the mention of the book, (c) the mention of the copyist, (d) the date (which is often combined with the place),²³ (e) the prayer.

Now, Byzantine colophons as such have been extensively studied from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Besides the manuals of Greek palaeography and codicology,²⁴ we can rely on useful collections of texts, such as the three volumes of Florentia Evangelatou-Notara,²⁵ and also on extensive collections of facsimiles, like those of Kirsopp (1872–1946) and Silva (1898–

- 18 Here, and in many other instances, we find *ἁμαρτωλός*, ‘sinner’, while another suggestive term is *χωρικός* or *χωρικογράφος*, ‘unskilled scribe’ (such epithets are often combined): compare Appendix 5.2.3, 6.2, 7.2, 8.2. On the *ταπείνωσις*, see Wendel 1950 and (for Christian Oriental parallels) McCollum 2015, 91 and n. 43.
- 19 Compare Appendix 6.2, 9 (on this phrase, see Drescher 1969, 96–97 and Lee 1970). At times the scribe gives way to imaginative formulations, like the copyist Constantine (Appendix 5.2.2), who calls himself ‘rich in sins but poor in righteousness’ (an echo of LXX Prov. 19.22 *κρείσσων δὲ πτωχὸς δίκαιος ἢ πλούσιος ψεύστης* ?). Otherwise, the self-consciousness seems to prevail and the copyist rewards himself with the title of ‘calligrapher’ (Appendix 5.1.2, 8.2, 10.1).
- 20 On the verb *ἐντυγχάνω*, see above p. 23 and n. 7.
- 21 Compare Appendix 7.2, 8.1, 8.2.
- 22 See above, n. 9.
- 23 See Appendix 5.1.2, 5.2.3 (place of residence of the donor), 5.2.1, 5.3.2, 5.4.1 (place of residence of the scribe), 5.3.1, 7.2 (place of residence both of the donor and the scribe), 7.1 (mention of the donee institution), 8.1 (mention of an official operating in a specific place), 9 (explicit mention of the place of copying).
- 24 From Wattenbach 1896 and Gardthausen 1911–1913 onwards.
- 25 See Evangelatou-Notara 1982, Evangelatou-Notara 1984, Evangelatou-Notara 2000.

1983) Lake, of Alexander Turyn (1900–1981), and many others.²⁶ Furthermore, starting with the groundbreaking contributions of Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) and Branko Granić, the curious reader has at his disposal a plentiful supply of secondary literature, focusing both on the structural aspects of the colophons and on their historical and social context.²⁷

However, attention has almost always been paid to the proper Byzantine colophons, as if there were nothing else before the emblematic Vatican colophon of the year 800. Yet, if we go back in time, when the Greek book still did not have the form of a parchment codex, but of a papyrus roll, we will reach as far as the Ptolemaic age, at the end of the third century BCE, and find what can be regarded as the first Greek colophon, or at least its most direct ancestor. It is found in a fragmentary papyrus roll, now in the collection of the Sorbonne, extracted from a *cartonnage* and containing a comedy of Menander, *The Sicyonians* (P.Sorb. inv. 72 + 2272 + 2723, see Appendix 1.1). At the end of the text, after the final title and the stichometric note, there are 3 fragmentary lines, each of them corresponding to an iambic trimeter: in the first verse, the readers are requested not to jeer at the script; in the second verse, the same request is formulated with reference to the leg; the third verse, which is separated from the first two by a paragraphos, had been misread and misinterpreted by the first editors of the papyrus, but was then brilliantly restored by Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou, thanks to the comparison with the colophon of an early eleventh-century codex, now in Jerusalem.²⁸ It is certainly fascinating, and might appear at first surprising, to detect a perfect correspondence between a text of the third century BCE and another one of more than a millennium later, but it cannot be regarded as an unexpected phenomenon in the context of the Greek civilization, which in its millennial development has always shown a strong unity and continuity, a profound ‘spiritual’ cohesion.

Anyway, this proto-colophon is interesting because it contains multiple references to the act of copying: in vv. 1–2, the ‘writing’ (γραφή) and the leg (σκέλος—due the Egyptian scribes’ habit of using the legs and the tunic as

26 See Lake, Turyn 1964, Turyn 1972, Turyn 1980, and also *RGK*, Follieri 1969, Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, Spatharakis 1981, Constantinides and Browning 1993 (to mention just the works directly quoted in the present paper).

27 See (at least) Krumbacher 1909, Granić 1922, Granić 1924, Bassi 1938, Wendel 1950, Garitte 1962, Treu 1966, Rudberg 1966, Treu 1970, Follieri 1973–1974, Wilson 1975, Treu 1977, Treu 1978, Eleuteri 1980, Cutler 1981, Manfredini 1984, Atsalos 1991, Constantinides 1993, Gamillscheg 1993, Gamillscheg 1995, Constantinides 2003, Ronconi 2012, Ronconi 2014, Dobrynina 2018a.

28 Complete references in the apparatus of Appendix 1.1.

their working surface),²⁹ and, in the last verse, ‘the three fingers’, that are the very instrument of writing. Furthermore, this text, though small and fragmentary, already shows many typical and topical elements of the subsequent Byzantine colophon.

The correspondence between v. 3 of the Menander colophon and the colophon of the Jerusalem codex can be regarded as a sort of anticipation of a noteworthy feature of the Byzantine colophons, namely the use of formulas: stock phrases, freely used and rearranged by the scribes, for the most part composed in dodecasyllables, the chief verse of Byzantine poetry, which derives from the classical iambic trimeter. Section 5 of the Appendix collects selected instances of the most frequent formulas:

- Appendix 5.1 (and 5.4.1): the formula that contrasts the transience of the scribe’s hand with the eternity of writing. In the two earliest instances it is attested in a somewhat brachylogical version of a single verse (Appendix 5.1.1), then it occurs in versions of 2 (Appendix 5.1.2, 5.4.1), 3 (Appendix 5.1.3), or more verses.³⁰
- Appendix 5.2 (and 6.2): the formula that compares the completion of the scribe’s work to the end of a journey or some other enterprise. This formula is also attested in versions of 2 (Appendix 5.2.1), 3 (Appendix 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 6.2), or more lines.³¹
- Appendix 5.3 (and 7.2): the invocation (in a single verse), to God as *συντελεστής*, ‘the person who accomplishes’, which is attested in two different versions with different objects, either *τὰ καλά*, ‘the good works’ (Appendix 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 7.2), or *τὰ ὅλα*, ‘all’ (Appendix 5.3.2).³²
- Appendix 5.4 (and 6.2): the etymological figure *ὁ γράφων παραγράφει*, ‘the scribe goes wrong’.³³
- Appendix 5.5: a 3 line prayer for the scribe, the client and the reader, which will be discussed in detail below.³⁴

29 See Parássoglou 1979.

30 Special studies: Garitte 1962 (with Coptic, Arabic and Syriac parallels) and Atsalos 1991. See also Wattenbach 1896, 493, Gardthausen 1913, 433, G. Mercati 1941, 76, Rudberg 1966, Treu 1970, Treu 1977, 473 n. 3, Eleuteri 1980, 81–82. Armenian parallels are offered by Sirinian 2014, 90–92, Syriac and Arabic (Garšūnī) parallels by McCollum 2015, 86–91.

31 Special study: Treu 1977. See also Wattenbach 1896, 278–279, 493, Gardthausen 1913, 433, Eleuteri 1980, 82–86, Manfredini 1984. Armenian parallels are offered by Sirinian 2014, 93–95, Syriac parallels by Brock 1995, Syriac and Arabic (Garšūnī) parallels by McCollum 2015, 79–85.

32 See Wattenbach 1896, 494, Meesters 2020.

33 Special study: Atsalos 1991–1992. See also Turyn 1964, 54.

34 See Wattenbach 1896, 493, Krumbacher 1909, 399 and n. 1, Gardthausen 1913, 432.

- Appendix 5.6 (~ 5.3.1, 8.2): a 1 line prayer from the scribe, to obtain Christ's favour.

At the structural level, we observe in the Menander colophon a composite structure, as it is formed by two separate sections (vv. 1–2 first, then v. 3), even materially separated by the insertion of a paragraphos. Now, it is very common to come across Byzantine colophons which are not coherent, but are formed by the juxtaposition, sometimes even in an inconsistent way, of distinct elements: section 6 of the Appendix shows two examples of these hotchpotch colophons, to which one can add (e.g.) the colophon of an early twelfth-century codex written in Reggio Calabria (now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1646, Appendix 5.4.1). Here we may observe, one after the other: (a) the 'signature' of the scribe, with the usual elements previously highlighted (*explicit*, mention of the book, name of the scribe, *ταπεινώσις*, date), (b) the formula of the rotting hand (see above), (c) the prayer for the copyist, which contains within it another formula ('the scribe goes wrong': see above), and (d) the prayer for the client (another important figure which will be discussed below).

Still on the structural level, the Menander proto-colophon attests the use of the metrical form, which is another typical feature of the Byzantine colophon. Besides the metric formulas just discussed, we have many colophons composed entirely in verse.

Picking out from the Appendix, we may mention for example the colophon of the *Suda* lexicon Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1296 (Appendix 5.4.2), in dodecasyllables,³⁵ or that of the metaphrastic Menologion Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1553 (Appendix 5.1.3), which combines the hand-formula in three dodecasyllables with a prayer in six political verses.³⁶ But the most striking case is perhaps a colophon com-

35 The layout of this colophon is also noteworthy (see Turyn 1965, tab. 160 and the digitization of the manuscript provided by the Vatican Library at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1296.pt.3>): the lines do not correspond to the metrical units, but are arranged in order to form a cross and are written alternating black and red ink.

36 The political verses are somewhat irregular, but still recognizable as such. As far as I can see from the digitized images of the codex (available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723346q>>), the hand that penned this metrical colophon is the same hand that added in the margins of many leaves, throughout the manuscript, prayers, invocations, notes, glosses and corrections (see ff. 17v, 30r, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 36v, 40r, 44v, 45r, 65v, 68r, 69r, 71r, 79r, 88r, 104r, 114r, 115r, 122r, 125r, 128r, 137r, 147r, 150v, 156v, 161r, 164r, 167v, 168v, 173v, 174v, 184r, 185r, 191r, 192v, 193r, 195v, 202r, 215r, 216v, 217r, 219v, 223r, 224r, 229r, 229v, 239v, 241r, 242r, 245r, 250r, 250v, 252r, 252v, 256r, 283v, 287v, 299v, 300v). Though, in many invocations, this scribe calls himself *γραφεύς*, his hand is quite different from the

posed by the monk Maximos Planoudes (c.1255–1305), the most famous ‘scribe and scholar’ of the Palaeologan age (Appendix 11.1):³⁷ it is indeed a short poem in 27 hexameters which however, on account of a curious hazard of the tradition, is no longer preserved within the manuscript for which it was composed (a nomokanon, now lost), but is contained in three later miscellaneous manuscripts. Though expressed in stylized terms and in a bombastic tone, all the components of the Byzantine colophon are clearly recognizable in this text: the *explicit* (vv. 1–3), the mention of the book (vv. 4–6 and again 18–21), the mention of the client (vv. 7–17), the prayer, ending with the mention of the scribe (vv. 22–27).

But there are also many instances of prosimetric colophons, in which a text in prose is accompanied by the usual metrical formulas.³⁸

Finally, on a topical level, we stumble here upon the first occurrence of the *topos* of the copyist’s *excusatio*, the ‘justification’.³⁹ This *topos* is usually part of the prayer and is often accompanied by the formula ‘the scribe goes wrong’, with which it is clearly connected.

In its simplest form, it is a request for forgiveness for mistakes (σφάλματα) made during the copy: compare for example the colophon of a late eleventh-century Gospel Lectionary, probably copied in Greece (now Athens, Εθνική βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 180, Appendix 5.1.2), in which the scribe Andrew, though calling himself a ‘calligrapher’, apologizes for every error occurring in the text, ‘even a slight one’.

Otherwise, the request for indulgence may be accompanied by an invitation to the readers to correct (διορθῶ) the errors themselves, as in the colophon of a codex containing the *Homilies on the Genesis* by St John Chrysostom, probably copied in Southern Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century (now Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 209 inf., Appendix 6.2): ‘And you who read, if any error occurs, correct it and do not curse in the name of the Lord, because the scribe goes wrong’.⁴⁰

Sometimes, the *excusatio* can take on, one could say, baroque nuances (by no means alien to the Byzantine culture), as in the colophon of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 648 (Appendix 9), containing the *Commentary to the Pauline Epistles* by Theophylact of Bulgaria: the scri-

hand of the main text: therefore I am inclined to suppose that the ‘John the priest’, author both of the colophon we are dealing with and of the marginal notes, was not the scribe of the codex, but a reader or corrector.

37 A recent overview on Planoudes is provided by Pontani 2015, 409–415 (§ 4.4).

38 Compare Appendix 5.1.2, 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.4.1, 6.2, 7.2, 8.2.

39 Compare v. 1 of the Menander colophon (Appendix 1.1): ‘Do not jeer at the script [...]’.

40 Note the use of the formula ὁ γράφων παραγράφει.

be, native of Rhodes, worked in Jerusalem during the winter of 1232 and complains about the poor quality of his script ascribing it to the unfavourable wintry season and to the haste with which he had to work, and then, in a cryptographic note, he even blames the scribe of the antigraph for the great pain caused by his carelessness.⁴¹

Let us now leave the Menander colophon and consider instead a frequent element of the Greek papyrus rolls, which is not a part of the text but a critical sign: the so-called coronis (κορωνίς), the ‘marginal flourish’ which was used to mark the end of a work or a section of a work.⁴² The coronis deserves to be mentioned here because, on at least two occasions, it has become, one could say, a part of the text in its own right.

I refer first of all to an epigram by Meleager of Gadara (*Anthologia Palatina* 12.257, Appendix 1.2), a late Hellenistic poet, author of epigrams and editor of a collection of epigrams by himself and by other poets, named Στέφανος (‘Garland’). This epigram must have concluded the *Garland* and contains some elements which we have previously identified as typical of the colophon, such as the *explicit* (v. 1) and the mention of the author and the work (vv. 3–6).

The other text is a humbler epigram in four iambic trimeters (Appendix 1.3), inscribed at the end of an opistograph papyrus roll now in London (P.Lond.Lit. 11 = P.Lond. inv. 136): the recto (along the fibres) contains some accounts of the Augustan age, while the verso (across the fibres) has been reused for the transcription of books 3–4 of the *Iliad* and of our epigram.⁴³ The coronis, speaking in the first person as in Meleager’s epigram, calls itself ‘guardian of letters’ (γραμματῶν φύλαξ, v. 1) and this phrase clearly echoes the beginning of Meleager’s epigram (έρκοῦρος γραπταῖς πιστοτάτα σελίσιν, ‘most trusty keeper of the bounds of written columns’, v. 2), where the idea is the same, but is expressed in a more convoluted turn of phrase and with a more refined lexicon.⁴⁴ The second verse of the papyrus epigram contains a

41 The codex is indeed written in a small and compressed hand, rich in ligatures and abbreviations (see Turyn 1964, tab. 6, Follieri 1969, tab. 49).

42 See the pivotal study by Stephens 1959 (quotation from p. 3). See most recently Albrecht and Matera 2017, 8–10 (further bibliography in n. 6) and Dobrynina 2018b.

43 It is however to be stressed that the epigram is written on an additional papyrus sheet pasted at the end of the Homeric roll but detached from another roll (the accounts on its recto are different from those on the recto of the Homeric text): see Milne 1927, Schironi 2010, 112.

44 No wonder Meleager’s epigram is composed in ‘solemn’ elegiac distichs, while the papyrus epigram is in iambic trimeters, which was traditionally regarded as a ‘colloquial’ metre (Aristot. *Poet.* 1449a.25). In v. 2 of Meleager’s epigram, the *codex unicus* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. gr. 23, *Diktyon* 32453, tenth century) has the *vox nihili* ορκουρος and the editors have unanimously accepted the

reference to the copying activity ('the reed wrote me, the right hand and knee'),⁴⁵ while vv. 3–4 provide us with the first attestation of another *topos* of the Byzantine colophon, the anathema, the curse hurled against whoever damages or steals a book.⁴⁶ Among the many possible instances, one could recall the colophon of a Cypriot Menologion of the early twelfth century (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1531, Appendix 7.2): it is noteworthy for its composite and prosimetric structure, starts with one of the standard formulas and ends with a furious anathema, which sends every possible thief down to hell, 'with Jude the traitor and the other apostates'.

A chapter in the prehistory of the Byzantine colophon, which requires now at least a brief mention, is that of the late antique biblical codices, namely the *Sinaiticus* (Appendix 2.1), containing the Old and New Testament, the *Marchalianus* (Appendix 2.2), containing the Prophets, and the *Coislinianus* (Appendix 2.3), containing portions of the Pauline Epistles (the codex is fragmentary and heavily damaged). The *Sinaiticus* is usually assigned to the fourth century and is regarded as the most perfect instance of the canonical biblical majuscule,⁴⁷ while the *Coislinianus* is assigned to the sixth century and exemplifies the later development of the biblical majuscule (the so-called phase of decadence of the canon).⁴⁸ The *Marchalianus* is written in a stylized

emendation ἐρκοῦρος, proposed by Claude de Saumaise (Salmasius, 1588–1653), which however is a *hapax*. Yet the emendation οἰκουρός ('housekeeper'), proposed by Gigante 1978, is equally fitting from the palaeographical point of view and provides an adequate sense without being a *hapax* (it is also interesting to observe that in the ancient lexicography the term οἰκουρός is explained with φύλαξ, that is the term used in v. 1 of the iambic epigram as an equivalent of the Meleagrean ἐρκοῦρος/οἰκουρός; see *Synagoge* o 47 Cunningham).

- 45 To be compared with vv. 1–2 of the Menander epigram, discussed above (Appendix 1.1).
- 46 Special study (covering both the Greek and the Latin Middle Ages): Drogin 1983.
- 47 See at least the recent overview by Parker 2010. Brent Nongbri has most recently argued for a dating within a time span between the early fourth and the early fifth century, but the dated early fifth-century examples of 'cursive' scripts, that he quotes for comparison, do not seem to me very similar to the 'cursive' marginal notes inscribed in the Codex Sinaiticus: see Nongbri 2022 (especially figs. 3–4).
- 48 See Cavallo 1967, 82 and n. 5. Archaeometric analyses recently carried out on the manuscript revealed that its diacritics have been inscribed by the first hand and not, as was previously supposed, by the hand of the later restorer: therefore Elina Dobrynina maintains that 'using a systematic approach for dating majuscule manuscripts on the basis of diacritical marks as proposed by Boris L. Fonkich, the lower text [i.e. the first hand of the text] should be assigned to the period from the end of eighth to the end of ninth century' (Dobrynina 2020, 147). The issue needs perhaps some further inquiry and for the time being I rely on the traditional sixth century dating.

and calligraphic bimodular Alexandrian majuscule and can be dated with a fair degree of certainty between the seventh and the eighth century.⁴⁹

The colophons of the *Sinaiticus* and the *Marchalianus* are very well known texts and have been thoroughly studied by many scholars, above all the cardinal Giovanni Mercati (1866–1957).⁵⁰ Therefore this is not the place to dwell on them and to stress again their importance for the reconstruction of the philological activity of Eusebios and Pamphilos, who worked in Caesarea of Palestine resuming the biblical studies of Origen. We could just point out the presence in these texts of many technical terms of the philological domain, such as ἀντιβάλλω (‘to collate’), μεταλαμβάνω (‘to transcribe’), διορθῶ (‘to correct’), ὑποσημείωσις (‘annotation’), ἀντίγραφον and σχόλιον, which do not need translation.

The colophon of the *Coislinianus* (Appendix 2.3) deserves a closer inspection because, after the first section devoted to the transcription of the codex,⁵¹ there are two short texts, both introduced by a title written in red ink. At a first glance, it is evident that the first text, the προσφώνησις (the address of the book to the reader), is nothing more than a heavy, yet still recognizable, reworking of the iambic epigram on the coronis, contained in the London papyrus:⁵² indeed, we have here another early example of a composite colophon, including some formular expressions. The second text, the ἀντίφρασις (the reader’s reply to the book), is incomplete at the end, because it continued on the next leaf of the codex, which unfortunately is now lost. Yet, after the edition of the fragments of the *Coislinianus*, provided in 1890 by Henri Omont (1857–1940), Albert Ehrhard (1862–1940) pointed out in 1891 that the dialogue between the book and the reader is preserved in its entirety in a thirteenth-century Gospel codex, copied in Sicily and now in Naples.⁵³ Then, in 1925, Ernst von Dobschütz (1870–1934), exploiting the *Nachlass* of Caspar René Gregory (1846–1917), was able to add another witness of this cu-

49 See Cavallo 1975, 48, 51.

50 See G. Mercati 1941, 1–48.

51 In which note the occurrence of at least two canonical elements of the colophon: the mention of the book (‘I have written [...] this book of the Apostle Paul’) and the scribe’s prayer (‘I apologize for my daring act, in order to obtain the indulgence by means of the prayer for me’). On the connection of this colophon with the biblical studies of Euthalios, see the classical treatment of Robinson 1895 and, most recently, Willard 2009 and Blomkvist 2012.

52 See Appendix 1.3 and above. Robinson 1895, 4, many years before the publication of the London papyrus (Milne 1927), analysing the colophon of the *Coislinianus*, shrewdly observed that the words of the προσφώνησις ‘look like the adaptation of some earlier iambics’—which in fact they are.

53 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II A 7 (*Diktyon* 45985, GA 88). For its localization, dating and script, see Lucà 2009, 296–297.

rious text, a tenth–eleventh-century Gospel (now Athens, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 56, Appendix 6.1, hereafter referred to as A), which will now retain our attention.

This codex was probably produced in Constantinople and its ornamentation combines the so-called *Laubsägestil* and *Blutenblattstil*.⁵⁴ What we can take as its ‘colophon’ is inscribed on f. 1r and once again shows a composite structure: (a) the dialogue between the book and the reader (the address and the reply are preceded by the respective titles, in red ink); (b) a short text, entitled ‘epigram’ (ἐπίγραμμα, in red ink), which will be discussed below; (c) a donation note, to the monastery ‘of the Mother of God in Skoutari’ from a retired state official, named John.⁵⁵ The same person appears as donor of four further manuscripts (now scattered between Moscow, Venice, El-Escorial and the Sinai, hereafter referred to as M, V, E and S), containing similar (in fact parallel) notes, all addressed to the same monastery of Skoutari.⁵⁶ Moreover, this John has been identified with John the Orphanotrophos (d. 1043), an influential Byzantine politician operating in the Macedonian period, during the reigns of the emperors Basil II, Romanos III, Michael IV (who was his brother) and Michael V (his nephew).⁵⁷

Leaving aside the issue of the identification, which is not certain,⁵⁸ we can concentrate on the text of the five notes. It is remarkable that the notes of M and E are preceded by the same texts contained in A, i.e. the dialogue

54 See Weitzmann 1935, 21, 23, Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, 24–25.

55 He is qualified as ‘monk and syncellos’ and former πρωτοσπαθάρσιος (a dignity of the imperial hierarchy: Oikonomidès 1972, 297 and nn. 55–57) and πρωτονοτάριος of the δρόμος, i.e. first secretary (in fact an assistant director) of the mail service (Oikonomidès 1972, 311 and nn. 137–138). The donee monastery has been identified with the Philippicus monastery of Chrysopolis/Skoutari (Janin 1975, 24–25, no. 1): see Le Léannec-Bavavéas 2002, 217 and n. 15, Kotsabasi 2004, 14.

56 Besides A, the other codices are: (a) M = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej, Sinod. gr. 14 (Vlad. 128, *Diktyon* 43639), Basil of Caesarea, *Homilies* (the note on f. 268r); (b) V = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 567 (*Diktyon* 70038), John Chrysostom, various works (the note on f. 2v); (c) E = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Ψ I 11 (*Diktyon* 15203), Gregory of Nazianzos, *Orations* (the note on f. VIv); (d) S = Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 556 (*Diktyon* 58931), Tropologion (the note on f. 269r). The notes have been (independently) collected and commented upon by Le Léannec-Bavavéas 2002 and Kotsabasi 2004, 14–26 (nos 2–5). The latter scholar however misses codex S.

57 The identification has been suggested by Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, 25–26. See also Le Léannec-Bavavéas 2002, 215–217, Kotsabasi 2004, 14.

58 The two Johns have received separate entries in the *PMBZ* II: the donor of the manuscripts is no. 22987, the Orphanotrophos is no. 23371, but the reader is warned

between the book and the reader and the epigram, though with some minor variants.⁵⁹ V, in turn, contains only a short paraphrase of the dialogue, incorporated in the note.⁶⁰ Moreover, besides the five codices so far recorded (the *Coislinianus*, the Naples Gospel II A 7, and A, M, E), the second part of the dialogue (the reader's reply to the book) is attested at least in a further manuscript, the codex 591 of the Transfiguration monastery on the Meteora, containing John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* and copied in Bithynia in the year 861/862.⁶¹ Indeed, the little coronis epigram of the London papyrus (Appendix 1.3) has made a very long journey throughout the centuries and the Greek-speaking world!⁶²

John's notes are noteworthy also for the codicological details they contain: just like a modern catalogue entry, each note records the exact collation of the respective codex, mentioning with fastidiousness the total number of quires and leaves, the number of written and unwritten leaves, the presence of guard leaves, pastedowns and even of a decorated frontispiece. For instance, A is described as being made up of 36 quaternions, the *παράφυλλα* (i.e. the 'guard leaves'), and 'the leaves pasted to the woods' (i.e. the pastedowns, attached to the wooden covers), whereas the note of E records the quaternions (50 in number), the title-index (*πίναξ*), the *παράφυλλα*, the leaf 'containing the painted icon of St Gregory' (τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἱστορημένην) and finally the number of written and unwritten leaves.⁶³ Such codicological concern is not unparalleled, yet it is by no means customary (at

about the possible identity of the two and/or two other coeval Johns (nos 22864 and 23128).

- 59 In E (Kotsabasi 2004, 20–21, no. 3, Martínez Manzano 2021, 399–400), the beginning of the address is βίβλος εἰμί δογμάτων θεολογικῶν καὶ θείων διδάσκαλος ('I am the book teacher of theological and holy doctrines'), the title of the reply is ἀντιφώνησις τοῦ κεκτημένου ('reply of the owner') and the title of the epigram is εὐχή ('prayer'). In M (Kotsabasi 2004, 25, no. 4), the title of the address is προσφώνησις τῆς βίβλου ('address of the book') and the title of the epigram is εὐχή ('prayer').
- 60 Kotsabasi 2004, 26 (no. 5): ἄνευ δὲ ἀξιολόγου ἀντιβιβλου χρήσης τινὶ μηδαμῶς, 'without a noteworthy book in exchange you will lend absolutely to none'.
- 61 Meteora, Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως, 591, on which see (at least) *Diktyon* 42002, Follieri 1977, 144, Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 122–123 (no. 5), Fonikč 2000, 171 nn. 10 and 12, 174–175, 179, Parpulov 2015, 167 n. 29, 170 (no. 4). The occurrence of the reader's reply (f. 1r) is pointed out by Atsalos 2000, 449 and n. 10.
- 62 Compare the similar sort of the Menander colophon (Appendix 1.1), above.
- 63 See the text in Le Léanec-Bavanéas 2002, 219, Kotsabasi 2004, 20–21 (no. 3) and Martínez Manzano 2021, 399–400. On the term *παράφυλλον* ('guard leaf'), see Atsalos 1968, 258, quoting precisely A (though with wrong shelfmark: 57 instead of 56) and E.

least to this extent). Moreover, notes containing similar details are often later additions rather than part of the colophon itself.⁶⁴

This leads us to the last point to be taken into account in the discussion of John's notes, that is the palaeographical side. As Sofia Kotsabasi has pointed out, in A, M and E the note, as well as the preceding texts (the dialogue and the epigram), have not been inscribed by the main copyist of each codex, but have all been added by a single scribe, who is revealed to be the scribe both of the note and the main text in V.⁶⁵ It is also noteworthy that—in A, M and E—the script of the note is more cursive and richer in abbreviations than that of the dialogue and the epigram.⁶⁶ In S (unknown to Kotsabasi) the note is written by the main scribe, with the Alexandrian majuscule used throughout the manuscript as display script, but I would suggest identifying the scribe of S with the scribe of V (and of the notes in A, M and E).⁶⁷ Now, just one last piece of evidence needs to be mentioned in order to try to sketch a possible scenario for the production of these codices. The texts of the five notes are in fact parallel, though not identical in every respect: among other things,⁶⁸ in the notes of E, V and S, John is referred to as 'the late' (μακαριώτατος), the-

64 Some examples (both of 'original' and 'additional' notes) are collected by Gardthausen 1911, 159–161. See also Atsalos 1968.

65 See Kotsabasi 2004, 20, 26. For A, see Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, 19, Kotsabasi 2004, πίν. 2, and the complete digitization of the codex available at <http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_773> (last accessed 28 November 2022). For M, see Kotsabasi 2004, πίν. 4. For E, Kotsabasi 2004, πίν. 3 (I have also profited from excellent digitized images of ff. VIv and 1r–v, kindly provided at my request by the Real Biblioteca del Escorial). As regards V, to the best of my knowledge, the only published image is a page reproduced by Mioni and Formentin 1975, tav. XXV (f. 142r), but I have also examined digitized images of ff. 2v, 3r and 185r, generously put at my disposal by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

66 The same cursive script is also used in the note of V which, in the Venice catalogue (Mioni 1985, 471), is oddly assigned to a thirteenth-century hand (it was clearly its cursive character that led astray Mioni's palaeographical judgement). On her turn, Le Léanec-Bavavéas 2002, 220 n. 34 (who has inspected a microfilm of V) comments: 'E. Mioni date cette note du 11^e siècle, mais elle remonte visiblement au 13^e siècle'. Since Mioni, as we have said, dated the note to the thirteenth-century, this remark should be corrected as: 'E. Mioni date cette note du 13^e siècle, mais elle remonte visiblement au 11^e siècle'.

67 A complete digitization of S is available at <<https://www.loc.gov/item/0027938085A-ms/>> (last accessed 28 November 2022). For V, I can rely only on the sample of images quoted above (n. 65), but the identification seems to me tenable.

68 E and S omit the title of πρωτοσπαθάριος but (together with V) add to the title of πρωτονotáριος that of λογοθέτης of the δρόμος (i.e. 'director': Oikonomidès 1972,

refore it is likely that the donation of the codices to the monastery of Skoutari had been arranged by him as a bequest.⁶⁹ Thus, we could suppose that A, M and E might have been codices already in John's possession, while V and S were copied after his death, directly for the donation, by a single scribe, who also added the donation note in the former codices.

To sum up (and conclude on this point), comparing them with the examples collected in the first part of this paper, it appears that John's notes are quite exceptional as colophons, because only two of them are written by the same scribe of the respective codex (S and V) and all lack some important elements of the canonical colophon, namely the *explicit*, the date and the mention of the copyist. However, they contain other typical elements, like the mention of the book and the prayer, which we have discussed above, but also an element so far just hinted at, the mention of the client, on which we will now focus.

The best way to start the discussion on the issue of the client of a manuscript is to take a closer look at the previously mentioned 'epigram', the short text which follows the dialogue of the book and the reader in the aforementioned codices A (Appendix 6.1), M and E: it is a prayer or wish addressed to three persons, the scribe, the client and the reader.

This sort of wish must at first be compared with some colophons of what we have called the 'prehistoric' phase of the genre. One of them occurs at the end of a late antique papyrus codex, containing the oration *On the crown* by Demosthenes and assigned to the fifth–sixth century (P.Ryl. 1.58, Appendix 1.5): the wish of 'good luck' (εὐτυχῶς) is addressed to the scribe, the owner and the reader.⁷⁰

The others can be found in the so-called *Bodmer Composite Codex* (P. Bodmer C [= P.Bodmer V + X + XI + VII + XIII + XII + VIII] + P.Bodmer P [= P.Bodmer XX + IX], Appendix 1.4), a papyrus codex assigned to the third–fourth century and containing a miscellany of biblical, apocryphal and patristic writings. This codex is in fact formed by three main codicological

311 and nn. 134–136). The final prayer is omitted in S and has a slightly varied wording in the other witnesses.

69 As suggested in the *PMBZ* II, under no. 22987.

70 The Greek term translated here with 'owner' is the participle ὁ λαμβάνων, which is somehow vague, as its literal meaning is 'the person who holds'. A similar wish of good luck is expressed at the end of a papyrus codex containing school texts, the so-called 'Cahier d'écolier' (P.Bouriant 1 = P.Sorb. inv. 826, quoted in the apparatus of Appendix 1.5; see also the codicological reconstruction provided by Carlig 2016), where the persons addressed are very particular and specifically connected to the kind of text: indeed we have 'the owner' (ὁ ἔχων), the reader (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, the standard term) and finally 'the insightful' (ὁ νοῶν).

units, which at some time were bound together: the first and greatest unit contains, the one after the other, the *Nativity of Mary* (= P.Bodmer V), the third (apocryphal) *Epistle to the Corinthians* of Paul (= P.Bodmer X), the 11th *Ode* of Solomon (= P.Bodmer XI), the *Epistle* of Jude (= P.Bodmer VII), the *Homily on the Passover* of Melito (= P.Bodmer XIII) and a hymn (= P.Bodmer XII); the second unit contains the *Apology* of Phileas (= P.Bodmer XX) and *Psalms* 33–34 (= P.Bodmer IX); the third unit contains the two *Epistles* of Peter (= P.Bodmer VIII). Five hands can be detected in the three units: in unit 1, hand A transcribes the text of the *Nativity of Mary*, hand B the *Epistles* of Paul and Jude and the *Ode* of Solomon, hand C Melito and the hymn; in unit 2, hand D copies the *Apology* of Phileas, while hand E the two *Psalms*; unit 3 (the *Epistles* of Peter) is again written by hand B of unit 1.⁷¹ The wishes of ‘peace’ (εἰρήνη) are five in total and occur at the end of the following works, each of them being inscribed by the hand of the preceding text: (a) the *Nativity of Mary* (unit 1, hand A = P.Bodmer V, p. 49); (b) Melito’s homily (unit 1, hand C = P.Bodmer XIII, p. 63); (c) Phileas (unit 2, hand D = P.Bodmer XX, p. 17), (d–e) the two *Epistles of Peter* (unit 3, hand B = P.Bodmer VIII, pp. 22 and 36). (c) is the most simple and is generically addressed to the ἄγιοι, the ‘pure people’; (a), (d) and (e) are identical and addressed to the scribe and the reader (two out of the three ‘canonical’ figures, as we will see);⁷² (b) adds to the scribe and the reader a third element, the believers (described with an elaborated periphrasis).

Now, if we go down to the Byzantine age, we notice that the scribe, the client and the reader are in fact the key figures throughout the entire process of book production and, as such, they appear countless times and in countless forms in the Byzantine colophons. The scribe is the medium, the person who physically creates a book; the client is the *primum mouens*, the person who boosts the creation of a book; the reader is the ultimate user, the person for whom a book is created.

The three figures are grouped together in a specific formula, in three dodecasyllables, which can be regarded as the direct descendant of the type of colophon/wish preserved in the Demosthenic and the Bodmer codex. This formula, with a typically Byzantine flavour, establishes a correspondence between the ‘wordly’ trinity (scribe, client and reader) and the Holy Trinity, the

71 The stratigraphy of this codex is quite complex and much debated: what we offer here is just a sketch. On the topic, see most recently Nongbri 2016, Nongbri and Hall 2017, 576–583, Orsini 2019, 37–43.

72 Besides the presence of the same hand (B), another link between unit 1 and unit 3 could be detected precisely in the occurrence of the same type of colophon, though written by different hands (A in unit 1, B in unit 3).

latter being invoked as protector of the former:⁷³ an example can be found in the previously mentioned colophon of the Chrysostomic codex Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 209 inf. (Appendix 6.2), from the early fourteenth century.⁷⁴

The scribe and the reader have appeared many times in the colophons we have examined so far, therefore, to conclude our overview, all that remains is to talk about the role of the client: he is usually defined as ὁ κτησάμενος, ὁ κεκτημένος or κτήτωρ (terms which literally mean ‘the person who has acquired’, ‘the owner’),⁷⁵ and is described as being moved by a ‘zeal’ or ‘desire’ (πόθος) of acquiring a book, to which purpose he gives the ‘order’ (κέλευσις) to the scribe and bears the due ‘expenses’ (ἔξοδοι or—metaphorically—κόποι, ‘exertions’, συνεργία or συνδρομή, ‘co-operation’).⁷⁶

However, the oldest documented example of book commission in the Greek world takes us back again (and for the last time) to the ‘prehistory’ of the Byzantine colophon, putting us in front of one of the most beautiful and luxurious Greek manuscripts, the so-called Juliana Anicia’s Dioscorides, or Vienna Dioscorides (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Med. gr.

73 Not by chance, the formula, in its standard version, is composed of 3 verses.

74 By the way, it is interesting to remark that this ‘tripartite’ wish can be found in other Christian Oriental traditions. In Coptic, it occurs in at least three Bohairic manuscripts from the Monastery of St Macarius (Wādī l-Naṭrūn) now in the Vatican Library (see Luisier 2016, 227 and n. 47): (a) Vat. copt. 63¹ (CLM 119), second half of the ninth century, Theodosios of Alexandria, *Homily on St Michael* (CC 0387), f. 27r; (b) Vat. copt. 67¹ (CLM 142), ninth–tenth century, Benjamin of Alexandria, *Homily on the Wedding at Cana* (CC 0085), f. 33v; (c) Vat. copt. 60⁴ (CLM 95), twelfth–thirteenth century, *Life of John Kamé* (CC 0417), f. 125r. In the version of the Vat. copt. 63¹ it reads: οὐνηι μφη εταφρβα [ετφρβα Vat. copt. 67¹ and 60⁴] αμνη | οϋριρνηι μφη ετωρ αμνη | οϋκατ ρνη [μφη Vat. copt. 60⁴] ετφρτεμ αμνη, ‘Mercy to the one who has written [or: ‘writes’], amen. Peace to the one who reads, amen. Sagacity to the people who listen [or: ‘to the one who listens’], amen’. This Coptic prayer is clearly derived from a Greek original quite similar to that attested in the Athens Gospel (Appendix 6.1): ‘Mercy [Greek ἔλεος is the exact parallel to Coptic ηαι] and health to the person who wrote, | glory and praise to the person who commissioned, | wisdom and sagacity [Greek σύνεσις corresponds to Coptic κατ] to the people who read’. Moreover, Armenian parallels for this prayer are collected by Sirinian 2014, 93.

75 From the verb κτάομαι, ‘to acquire’. See Appendix 5.4.1, 6.1, 6.2, 8.2 and the special study by Krumbacher 1909.

76 See Appendix 5.4.1 and 8.1 (πόθος), 5.2.2 (συνεργία and κέλευσις), 5.1.2 and 5.2.3 (ἔξοδοι), again 8.1 (κόποι), 7.2 (συνδρομή). On the πόθος and the ‘order’ given to the scribe, see also the dedicatory epigrams of the Greek version of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* (discussed above). On the συνδρομή, see Krumbacher 1909, 410 and n. 1, Gardthausen 1913, 430 (§ 2).

1, Appendix 3): it is a copy of the botanical treatise by Dioscorides Pedanius, written in a stylized biblical majuscule and decorated with more than 500 full-page miniatures.⁷⁷

One of the introductory miniatures, contained in the initial leaves (f. 6v), portrays an enthroned female figure, who can be identified with Juliana Anicia (c.463–527), a very prominent personality, and patroness of the Arts, in Constantinople between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century.⁷⁸ She is flanked by two further female figures, inscribed *Μεγαλοψυχία* ('Magnanimity', on the right) and *Φρόνησις* ('Prudence', on the left), and 'with her right hand she throws some coins onto an open book, presumably the codex itself, offered to her by a little genius inscribed *Πόθος τῆς φιλοκτίστου*' (i.e. 'Love for the building lover').⁷⁹ The portrait is framed by 'an octagonal star, formed by two superimposed squares'⁸⁰ and in the inner side of the octagon, painted in black, there is a small acrostic inscription, written in white ink. It is alas no longer legible, but it was deciphered at the beginning of the twentieth century by Anton von Premerstein (1869–1935).⁸¹ The acrostic reads *Ἰουλιάννα* and in the text of the inscription the inhabitants of Honoratae (a suburb of Constantinople) celebrate a princess (*ἄνασσα*) of the family of the Anicii (*Ἀνικηῶρων γένος*),⁸² who with her magnanimity (*μεγαλοψυχία*) had sponsored the construction of a church.⁸³ The entire story finds a fitting and welcome confirmation in a passage of Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronography*, according to which Juliana (Anicia) had built

77 The bibliography on the manuscript is immense. To the selected items quoted in the apparatus of Appendix 3, add at least the two colour facsimiles produced in the second half of the twentieth century, the first one in full-scale (Gerstinger 1965–1970), the second one in reduced format (Mazal 1998–1999): a direct appreciation of this masterwork is more rewarding and telling than any comment or interpretation.

78 She was daughter of the Western emperor Flavius Anicius Olybrius and wife of the *magister militum* Flavius Areobindus Dagalaifus: see *PLRE* II, s.v. '(Anicia) Iuliana', no. 3 (pp. 635–636).

79 Quotation from Spatharakis 1976, 145–146. Note the occurrence of the *πόθος*, the 'love' (i.e. of the client towards the donee, as we will see in a moment), in this context aptly personified.

80 Again Spatharakis 1976, 145.

81 See Premerstein 1903, 111, with Taf. XXV (the inexorable deterioration of the inscription is evident from the comparison of this early twentieth-century plate with the corresponding images of the later facsimiles, Gerstinger 1965–1970 and Mazal 1998–1999).

82 The text needs no emendation: see the apparatus below in the Appendix.

83 Note the presence of the magnanimity both in the text of the inscription and also as a personified character in the miniature.

a temple in the Constantinopolitan district of Honoratae.⁸⁴ Therefore it is clear that the lavish Dioscorides codex was commissioned by the residents of Honoratae as a gift to Juliana, in order to reciprocate her act of evergetism. In this case, the client is thus a donor, who commissions a codex and, for some reason, presents it to a donee.

Now, if we go down to the Byzantine age, we see that the donor-donee intercourse is indeed very frequent: in most cases the donee is a church or monastery and the reason for the donation (another typical element of the colophon in its own right) is the desire to obtain ‘the remission and forgiveness of sins’ (ἄφεσις καὶ ἄνεσις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων).⁸⁵ The act of donation is expressed through verbs like ἀνατίθημι, προστίθημι, δωρέω, ‘donate’, used in the passive aorist with the book as subject.⁸⁶

Besides the Athens gospel and the other codices donated to the Skoutari monastery by John the syncellos (Appendix 6.1, and above), we can pick up from the appendix two further instances of such pious donations: (a) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1675 (Appendix 7.1), a deluxe codex containing various works by Gregory of Nazianzos, donated in 1018 to the Stoudios monastery by a state official named Nicholas;⁸⁷ (b) the Cypriot Menologion previously mentioned (Paris. gr. 1531, Appendix 7.2), donated in 1112 by the hegumen of the Cypriot monastery of the Priests (μονὴ τῶν Ἱερέων) to the monastery itself.

Otherwise, the scribe is his own client, that is, he writes a volume in his own hand for personal use: see for instance the scribe Constantine, who in

84 The text is quoted in the apparatus of Appendix 3. The Chronographer mentions Juliana with reference to events occurred in the year 512/513, yet (as pointed out by Müller 2012) this year cannot be regarded as a fixed term for the construction of the church and therefore for the transcription of the codex: both must have occurred during the heyday of Juliana’s cultural and artistic patronage, between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century (Müller 2012, 109, proudly states that, having questioned the dating of the codex to the year 512/513, ‘ein vermeintlich exakt datierbarer „Fixpunkt in der Betrachtung der Entwicklung der Bibelmajuskel” sich in Nichts auflöst’. However, since the connection of the codex with Juliana is unquestioned, and unquestionable, a generic dating within Juliana’s life span, rather than the dating *ad annum* which was customary so far, does not affect in any way the pivotal role of the codex in the history of Greek script and miniature).

85 See Appendix 5.4.1.

86 See Appendix 6.1 (ἀνετέθη), 7.1 (ἔδωρήθη), 7.2 (προσετέθη). Compare the *explicit* formulas ἐτελειώθη and so on (above).

87 Note the cruciform layout of the colophon, inscribed in a quatrefoil-shaped frame: see the digitization provided by the Vatican Library (<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1675>) and Lake VII, plate 496.

1167 transcribes Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 13 (Appendix 8.1) ‘by (his) desire and at his own expense’ (ἐκ πόθου ... καὶ κόπων ἰδίων), or the aforementioned Maximos Planoudes (Appendix 11.2), who transcribes his own collection of Greek epic and didactic poetry (it is the well known codex now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 32.16), and then ‘signs’ it with an epigram in three dodecasyllables.⁸⁸

In further instances, the client orders a book from a professional scribe for his own use: this is the case of Theoctistos, metropolitan of Adrianople, who commissioned to Maximos Planoudes a nomokanon for his use, for which Planoudes himself composed the hexametric colophon previously mentioned (Appendix 11.1).

But the most striking case of book commission for personal use are the colophons (or it would be better to say ‘ownership notes’) of another renowned Byzantine scholar, Arethas of Patras (c. 860–after 932), archbishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia (Appendix 10):⁸⁹ they do appear in all respects as colophons (containing the canonical elements of *explicit*, mention of the copyist, mention of the client, date), yet they have been inscribed not by the copyist, but by the client himself, who each time has also meticulously recorded the amount paid for the parchment and the transcription.⁹⁰

Our Appendix is concluded by two rather unusual groups of colophon.

The first one is a ‘restoration’ colophon, contained in a tenth-century codex of Plutarch’s *Lives* (now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 69.6, Appendix 12). At some point, some leaves of this codex were lost or became too damaged, therefore in the fourteenth century they were replaced by a scribe, who has been identified as one of the collaborators of another

88 This epigram starts with the *explicit* formula εἰλήφει πέρας (v. 1), then mentions the name of the owner (who is also the scribe: v. 2) and ends with a thanksgiving to God (v. 3).

89 For the sake of brevity, the Appendix below includes only two out of the four extant codices containing Arethas’ colophons. The other two are: (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library, D’Orville 301 (*Diktyon* 47906, Lake II 51, *RGK* I 365), year 888, parchment, Euclid (see at least Follieri 1977, 144 and n. 13, Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 123, no. 9, Aletta 2004, Parpulov 2015, 170 no. 9); (b) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 35 (*Diktyon* 66502, Lake IX 333, *RGK* III 147), end of the ninth century, parchment, Aristotle, *Organon* (see at least Follieri 1969, 28–32, no. 18, Follieri 1977, 146 and n. 35, Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 125 no. 19). On the topic, see at least Follieri 1973–1974 and Fonkič 1980–1982, 99–108 (§ III). For a recent overview on Arethas’ scholarship, see Pontani 2015, 342–345 (§ 2.5).

90 On the costs of the Byzantine codices, as can be reconstructed by the extant colophons containing indications of price, see Wilson 1975, 1–4 (§ II), Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 5–29, and Schreiner 1990.

famous scholar of the Palaeologan age, Nicephoros Gregoras (c. 1290–1361).⁹¹ The restorer, when rewriting the final leaf of the codex, transcribed not only its text, but also the original colophon (dated to the year 997), though inserting in its wording a significant sentence (‘except the rewritten leaves’), which makes overt and unambiguous the intervened restoration. Such a philological concern is commendable, and looks like very ‘modern’, but it cannot be too surprising in the context of Gregoras’ intellectual and cultural environment.

The second (and final) group contains in turn two ‘modern’ colophons (Appendix 13), composed by twentieth-century scholars as playful imitations of the ancient Byzantine colophons. It is significant that both volumes, for which these colophons were composed, are collections of dated Greek manuscripts, that is, works based mainly on the evidence provided by the colophons themselves.⁹²

Spatharakis’ colophon (Appendix 13.1) is canonical in every respect, since it contains the *explicit* (both ἐγράφη and ἐτελειώθη), the place of ‘copying’ (Leiden), the name of the scribe (in fact, the author, whose name is given an ancient Greek form: Spatharakis becomes ὁ μικρὸς σπαθάριος), the client (the Dutch), the date (including day of the week and indiction), the mention of the ruling sovereign (Queen Juliana of the Netherlands) and a final prayer to the ‘users’ (οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες). Yet a modern intrusion in such a perfect imitation of ancient models is represented by the dedication, which is not addressed to an ecclesiastical institution and is not to be intended in a concrete sense, as it is rather a dedication in a modern, metaphorical, sense, to three senior colleagues of the author, Frederick van der Meer (1904–1994), Herman Hennephof and Kurt Weitzmann (1904–1993).

The colophon by Costas Constantinides and Robert Browning (1914–1997) is also canonical, as it contains the *explicit* (εἴληφε πέρας, v. 1), the mention of the book (vv. 1–2) and the scribes/authors (vv. 2–5), the date (vv. 6–8) and place of copying (v. 9) and a prayer (v. 10). Moreover, it is versified (in 13 dodecasyllables) and the poetical form implies, as usual, a more convoluted wording and lexicon: compare for instance the periphrasis qualifying

91 See Bianconi 2011, 117–118, 124. On Gregoras, see the recent overview by Pontani 2015, 431–434 (§ 4.8).

92 Spatharakis 1981 (*Corpus of Dated Illuminated Manuscripts to the Year 1453*) and Constantinides and Browning 1993 (*Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*). An interesting (and earlier) parallel, in the cognate field of Coptic studies, is provided by the Coptic colophons composed by Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli (1722–1793) and subjoined to his pioneering catalogue of the Coptic fragments in the Nani collection: see Mingarelli 1785, lxxviii, ccxvii and cccxlvi (on Mingarelli, see Buzi 2011).

Cyprus (v. 5) and the expression of the year in words, not in digits (vv. 7–8).⁹³ The three final lines contain also one of the traditional formulas, ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... (Appendix 5.2).

And now, echoing just the same formula, it is time to conclude our journey through the vast Ocean of the Greek colophons and to sail, to a peaceful harbour, the small vessel of my paper.

References

Abbreviations

BHG = F. Halkin, ed., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I–III (3rd edn), Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957).

CC = *Clavis Coptica* (<http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

CLM = *Coptic Literary Manuscripts* (<<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

DBBE = *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (<<https://www.DBBE.ugent.be/>>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

Diktyon = *Diktyon* ID (<<http://www.diktyon.org/en/>, searchable through <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

GA = K. Aland et alii, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 1 (Berlin–New York, NY: De Gruyter, 1994²).

Lake = K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, I–X, Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, First Series (Boston, MA: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934–1939; <<http://pyle.it/facsmiles/lake-online/>>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

LDAB = *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<<https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>>, last accessed 28 November 2022).

LSJ = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott et alii, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940⁹).

PLRE II = J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

PMBZ II = R. J. Lilie et alii, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Zweite Abteilung (867–1025)*, I–VIII (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013).

RGK = E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, and P. Eleuteri, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, I–III (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997).

93 As is the case in the metrical colophon of ms Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 1296 (Appendix 5.4.2).

References

- Albrecht, F. and M. Matera, 2017. 'Testimonianze di παράγραφοι «a coda ondulata» in alcuni manoscritti greci e copti', *Νέα Πώμη*, 14 (2017), 5–35.
- Aletta, A. A. 2004. 'Su Stefano, copista di Areta', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, n.s. 41 (2004), 73–93.
- Alexakis, A. 1996. *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its Archetype*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 34 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996).
- Anderson, D. 2014. 'Location and Motif in Meleager's Coronis (A.P. 12.257)', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 73 (2014), 9–23.
- Atsalos, B. 1968. 'Φύλακες. Un terme paléographique mal compris', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 61 (1968), 254–260.
- 1991. 'Die Formel Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράψασα... in den griechischen Handschriften', in G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio, M. Maniaci, eds, *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, II, Biblioteca del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia», 5 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), 691–750.
- 1991–1992. 'Ἡ φόρμουλα ὁ γράφων παραγράφει στα ελληνικά χειρόγραφα', *Ελληνικά*, 42 (1991–1992), 21–59.
- 2000. 'Termes byzantins relatifs à la décoration des manuscrits grecs', in G. Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito, Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998)*, *Papyrologica Florentina*, 31 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 2000), 445–511.
- Bassi, D. 1938, 'Le sottoscrizioni dei codici greci Ambrosiani', in *Scritti vari dedicati a Mario Armanni in occasione del suo sessantesimo compleanno* (Milano: Hoepli, 1938), 1–10.
- Batiffol, P. 1888. 'Librairies byzantines à Rome', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 8 (1888), 297–308.
- Bernard, F. and K. Demoen 2019. 'Byzantine Book Epigrams', in W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby, and N. Zagklas, eds, *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, 4 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 404–429.
- Bianconi, D. 2011. 'Un nuovo Plutarco di Planude', *Segno & Testo*, 9 (2011), 111–130.
- Blanchard, A. 2009. *Ménandre, Les Sicyoniens*, ed., tr., Collection des Universités de France, Série grecque (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2009).
- Blanchard, A. and A. Bataille, 1964. 'Fragments sur papyrus du Σικυόνιος de Ménandre', in *Recherches de Papyrologie*, III (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 103–176.

- Blomkvist, V. 2012. *Euthalian Traditions. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 170 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2012).
- Brock, S. 1995. ‘The Scribe Reaches Harbour’, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (1995), 195–202 = Id., *From Ephrem to Romanos. Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 664 (Aldershot–Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), chapter XVI.
- Buzi, P. 2011. ‘Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli e il “primo tentennare per vie nuove”. Gli studi copti a Bologna e in Italia nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo e la nuova stagione dei caratteri tipografici copti’, in P. Buzi, D. Picchi, and M. Zecchi, eds, *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 33–57.
- Canart, P. 1964. ‘Les manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Provataris’, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, VI, Studi e testi, 236 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 173–287 = Id., *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, I, Studi e testi, 450 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 33–147.
- Carlig, N. 2016. ‘P.Bour. 1 (P.Sorb. inv. 826 = MP³ 2643): reconstruction codicologique’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 198 (2016), 196–201.
- Cavallo, G. 1967. *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia, 2 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967).
- Cavallo, G. 1975. ‘Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρῖνα’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 24 (1975), 23–54 = Id., *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall’età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio*, Papyrologica Florentina, 36 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 2005), 175–202.
- 1979. ‘Interazione tra scrittura greca e scrittura latina a Roma tra VII e IX secolo’, in P. Cockshaw, M.-C. Garand, and P. Jodogne, eds, *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, Les Publications de Scriptorium, 8 (Gand: Story–Scientia, 1979), 23–29.
- Cohen-Skalli, A. 2020. ‘Introduction’, in Ead. et alii, eds, *Eusèbe de Césarée. La Chronique*, I, La Roue à Livres, 88 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2020), 7–69.
- Constantinides, C. N. 1993. ‘Poetic Colophons in Medieval Cypriot Manuscripts’, in A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides, eds, *The Sweet Land of Cyprus. Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Birmingham, March 1991)* (Nicosia: The University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies and Cypriot Research Centre, 1993), 319–380.
- 2003. ‘A Formulaic Poetic Colophon: Πρόσταγμα πεπλήρωκα τοῦ φιλουμένου’, in A. Abramea, A. Laiou, and E Chrysos, eds, *Βυζάντιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία*.

- Μνήμη Νίκου Οικονομίδη* (Αθήνα: Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2003), 169–177.
- Constantinides, C. N. and R. Browning 1993. *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 30 / Texts and Studies on the History of Cyprus, 18 (Washington, DC and Nicosia: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection and Cyprus Research Centre, 1993).
- Cozza Luzzi, I. 1880. *Historia S. P. N. Benedicti a SS. Pontificibus Romanis Gregorio I descripta et Zacharia Graece reddita*, ed. (Tusculani: Typis Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae, 1880).
- Cutler, A. 1981. ‘The Social Status of Byzantine Scribes, 800–1500. A Statistical Analysis Based on Vogel-Gardthausen’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 74 (1981), 328–334.
- D’Agostino, M. 2013. ‘Furono prodotti manoscritti greci a Roma tra i secoli VIII e IX? Una verifica codicologica e paleografica’, *Scripta*, 6 (2013), 41–56.
- De Gregorio, G. 2010. ‘Teodoro Prodromo e la spada di Alessio Contostefano (*Carm. Hist.* LII Hörandner)’, *Νέα Πόμψη*, 7 (2010), 191–295.
- Delouis, O. 2015. ‘Saint Benoît de Nursie à Byzance’, in S. Excoffon, D. Hurel, and A. Peters–Custot, eds, *Interactions, emprunts, confrontations chez les religieux (Antiquité tardive–fin du XIX^e siècle). Actes du colloque du CERCOR, Saint-Étienne, 24–26 octobre 2012* (Saint-Étienne: PUSE, 2015), 73–92.
- Dobrynina, E. N. 2018a. ‘Colophons and Running Titles. On New Terminology in Describing Greek Manuscripts of the Ninth–Tenth Centuries’, in P. Degni, P. Eleuteri, and M. Maniaci, eds, *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing. Past, Present and Future*, Bibliologia, 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 239–251.
- 2018b. ‘Rudimenty ‘koronisa’ v hudožestvennom oformlenii grečeskikh rukopisej IX–X vv. v rossijskikh sobranijah (‘The Vestiges of Coronis in the Ninth–Tenth Centuries Greek Manuscripts in Russian Collections’), *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 102 (2018), 271–278.
- ‘On the Dating of Codex H (Epistles of the Apostle Paul)’, in M. Cronier and B. Mondrain, eds, *Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IX^e Colloque international de Paléographie grecque, Paris, 10–15 septembre 2018*, Travaux et Mémoires, 24/1 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2020), 137–149.
- Dobschütz, E. von 1893. ‘Ein Beitrag zur Euthaliusfrage’, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 10 (1893), 49–70.
- 1925. ‘The Notices prefixed to Codex 773 of the Gospels’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 18 (1925), 280–284.
- Drescher, J. 1969, ‘Graeco-Coptica’, *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969), 85–100.

- Drogin, M. 1983. *Anathema! Medieval Scribes and the History of Book Curses* (Totowa and Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983).
- Ehrhard, A. 1891. 'Der codex H ad epistulas Pauli und 'Euthalios diaconos'. Eine palaeographisch-patrologische Untersuchung', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 8 (1891), 385–411.
- Eleuteri, P. 1980. 'Altri manoscritti con i versi Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράψασα..., Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... e simili', *Codices Manuscripti*, 6 (1980), 81–88.
- Evangelatou-Notara, F. 1982. «Σημειώματα» ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204, Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου, 47 (Ἀθήναι: Ἐθνικὸν καὶ Καποδιστριακὸν Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν, Φιλοσοφικὴ σχολή, 1982).
- 1984. *Συλλογὴ χρονολογημένων «σημειωμάτων» ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων 13ος αἰ.* (Ἀθήνα: n. p., 1984).
- 2000. *Χορηγοί—Κτήτορες—Δωρητές, σέ σημειώματα κωδίκων. Παλαιολογικοὶ χρόνοι*, Περιοδικό «Παρουσία»—Παράρτημα, 49 (Ἀθήνα: Αργυρόπουλος, 2000).
- Follieri, H. (E.) 1969. *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti temporum locorumque ordine digesti commentariis et transcriptionibus instructi, Exempla scripturarum, edita consilio et opera Procuratorum Bibliothecae et Tabularii Vaticani*, 4 (In Civitate Vaticana: Apud Bibliothecam Vaticanam, 1969).
- 1973–1974. 'Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato: il *Vat. Urb. gr. 35*', *Archeologia classica*, 25–26 (1973–1974), 262–279 = Ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, Storia e Letteratura, 195 (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 1997), 187–204.
- 1977. 'La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine. Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, no. 559 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), 139–165 = Ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, Storia e Letteratura, 195 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), 205–248.
- Fonkič, B. 1980–1982. 'Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive di ricerca', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 17–19 (1980–1982), 73–118.
- 2000. 'Aux origines de la minuscule stoudite (les fragments moscovite et parisien de l'œuvre de Paul d'Égine)', in G. Prato, ed., *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito, Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998)*, Papyrologica Florentina, 31 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 2000), 169–186.
- Gamillscheg, E. 1993. 'Subskriptionen griechischer Handschriften als historische Quellen', in F. Berger et al., eds, *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger*

- (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1993), 293–306 = Id., *Manuscripta Graeca. Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Buches in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Codices Manuscripti, Supplementum, 3 (Purkersdorf: Hollinek, 2010) 23–32.
- 1995. ‘Struktur und Aussagen der Subskriptionen griechischer Handschriften’, in E. Condello and G. De Gregorio, eds, *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa, Atti del seminario di Erice, X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23–28 octobre 1993)*, Biblioteca del «Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici in Umbria», 14 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1995), 417–421.
- Gardthausen, V. 1911, 1913. *Griechische Palaeographie*, I, II, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1911, 1913).
- Garitte, G. 1962. ‘Sur une formule des colophons de manuscrits grecs (ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα)’, in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem A.M. Card. Albareda*, I, Studi e Testi, 219 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 359–390 = Id., *Scripta disiecta 1941–1977*, I, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 21 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1980), 394–425.
- Gerstinger, H. 1965–1970. *Dioscurides. Codex Vindobonensis Med. gr. I der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I–II, Codices selecti phototypice impressi, 12–12* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965–1970).
- Gigante, M. 1978. ‘Meleagro A.P. XII 257, 2’, *La Parola del Passato*, 33 (1978), 58–59.
- Granić, B. 1922. *Die Subscriptionen in den datierten griechischen Handschriften des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Karlovci: Serbische Klosterbuchdruckerei, 1922).
- 1924. ‘Der Inhalt der Subscriptionen in den datierten griechischen Handschriften des 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts’, *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 251–272.
- Grumel, V. 1958. *La chronologie*, Traité d’études byzantines, 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958).
- Janin, R. 1969. *Les Églises et les Monastères*, Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin, 3 (Paris: Institut Français d’études byzantines, 1969²).
- 1975. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)*, Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin, 2 (Paris: Institut Français d’études byzantines, 1975).
- Kotsabasi, S. 2004. *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα από τα μοναστήρια της Μικράς Ασίας* (Αθήνα: Εφεσος, 2004).
- Krumbacher, K. 1909. ‘Κτήτωρ. Ein lexikographischer Versuch’, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 25 (1909), 393–422.

- Lauxtermann, M. D. 2003. *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, I, Wiener Byzantinische Studien 24/1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003).
- Le Léanec-Bavavéas, M.-T. 2002. 'Jean, logothète du drome au 11^e siècle', *Revue des études byzantines*, 60 (2002), 215–220 .
- Lee, G. M. 1970, '«Perhaps» in Greek and Coptic', *Le Muséon*, 83 (1970), 137–138.
- Lucà, S. 2009. 'Sulla sottoscrizione in versi del *Vat. gr. 2000* (ff. 1–154)', in C. Braiddotti, E. Dettori, and E. Lanzillotta, eds, *Où πᾶν ἐφήμερον. Scritti in memoria di Roberto Pretagostini* (Roma: Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata», Dipartimento di Antichità e Tradizione Classica), 275–308.
- Luisier, P. 2016. 'Les colophons des manuscrits bohairiques conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Notes de lecture', in A. Sirinian, P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaia, eds, *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scritte del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale (Bologna, 12–13 ottobre 2012)*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016), 219–231.
- Manfredini, M. 1984. 'Ancora un codice con la formula "Ὠσπερ ζένοι"', *Codices manuscripti*, 10 (1984), 72.
- Marava-Chatzinicolaou, A. and C. Toufexi-Paschou 1978. *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, I (Athens: Bureau of the Academy of Athens, 1978).
- Martin, V. 1964. *Papyrus Bodmer XX: Apologie de Philéas évêque de Thmouis*, ed. V. Martin (Cologny and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1964) = M. Bircher, ed., *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana. La collection des papyrus Bodmer: manuscrits des textes grecs classiques, grecs et coptes bibliques et de littérature chrétienne, du 2^e au 9^e siècle*, IV (München: Saur, 2000), 1513–1575.
- Martínez Manzano, T. 2021. 'Fisionomía del Fondo Giustiniani de manuscritos griegos de El Escorial', in M. D'Agostino and L. Pieralli, eds, *Φιλόδωρος ἐὺμενείας. Miscellanea di studi in ricordo di Mons. Paul Canart*, *Littera Antiqua*, 21 (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2021), 391–411.
- Mazal, O. 1998–1999. *Der Wiener Dioskurides. Codex medicus graecus I der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I–II, *Glanzlichter der Buchkunst*, 8/1–2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1998–1999).
- McCollum, A. C. 2015. 'The Rejoicing Sailor and the Rotting Hand: Two Formulas in Syriac and Arabic Colophons, with related phenomena in some other Languages', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18 (2015), 67–93.

- Meesters, R. 2020, ‘The Visual Representation of the Formulaic Colophon Verse τῷ συντελεσθῆ τῶν καλῶν θεῶ χάρις’, in C. Brockmann, D. Deckers, D. Harlfinger and S. Valente, eds, *Griechisch–byzantinische Handschriftenforschung. Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege*, I (Berlin–Boston, MA: de Gruyter, 2020), 333–347.
- Mercati, G. 1941. *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, Studi e Testi, 92 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1941).
- Mercati, S. G. 1919. ‘Sull’epigramma acrostico premesso alla versione greca di S. Zaccaria papa dal “Liber dialogorum” di S. Gregorio Magno’, *Bessarione*, 23 (1919), 67–75 = Id., *Collectanea Byzantina*, I (Bari: Dedalo, 1970), 165–173.
- 1919–1920. ‘Sull’ Ἀνικηῶρων γένος dell’acrostico di Giuliana Anicia nel codice viennese di Dioscoride’, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 8 (1919–1920), 427–431 = Id., *Collectanea Byzantina*, II (Bari: Dedalo, 1970), 7–10.
- Milne, H. J. M. 1927. ‘An Early Metrical Colophon’, *The Classical Review*, 41 (1927), 60.
- Mingarelli, G. L. 1785. *Aegyptiorum Codicum Reliquiae Venetiis in bibliotheca Naniana asseruatae*, I–II (Bononiae: Typis Laelii a Vulpe, 1785).
- Mioni, E. 1985. *Bibliothecae Diui Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti. Thesaurus antiquus*, II, Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova serie, 6 (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1985).
- Mioni, E. and M. Formentin, 1975. *I codici greci in minuscola dei sec. IX e X della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Descrizione e tavole*, Studi bizantini e neogreci, 8 (Padova: Liviana, 1975).
- Müller, A. E. 2012. ‘Ein vermeintlich fester Anker. Das Jahr 512 als zeitlicher Ansatz des “Wiener Dioskurides”’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 62 (2012), 103–109.
- Nongbri, B. 2016. ‘The Construction of P.Bodmer VIII and the Bodmer “Composite” or “Miscellaneous” Codex’, *Novum Testamentum*, 58 (2016), 394–410.
- 2022. ‘The Date of Codex Sinaiticus’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 73 (2022).
- Nongbri, B. and S. G. Hall, 2017. ‘Melito’s *Peri Pascha* 1–5 as Recovered from a “Lost” Leaf of *Papyrus Bodmer XIII*’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 68 (2017), 576–592.
- Oikonomidès, N. 1972. *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Le Monde Byzantin (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972).
- Olsson, B. 1934. ‘Der Kolophon in den antiken Handschriften’, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 51 (1934), 365–367.

- Omont, H. 1890. 'Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec en onciales des Épîtres de Saint Paul, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale (H ad Epistulas Pauli)', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 33 (1890), 141–192.
- Orsini, P. 2019. *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 15 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019).
- Parássoglou, G. M. 1979. 'Δεξιὰ χεῖρ καὶ γόνυ. Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans when writing on Papyrus Rolls', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 3 (1979), 5–21.
- Parker, D. C. 2010. *Codex Sinaiticus. The Story of the World's oldest Bible* (London: The British Library and Hendrickson Publishers, 2010).
- Parpulov, G. R. 2015. 'The Codicology of Ninth-century Greek Manuscripts', *Semitica et Classica*, 8 (2015), 165–170.
- Paton, W. R. 1918. *The Greek Anthology*, ed., tr., IV, Loeb Classical Library, 85 (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918).
- Perria, L. 1993. 'Scrittura e ornamentazione nei manoscritti di ambiente studita', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 47 (1993), 245–280.
- Pontani, F. 2015. 'Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)', in F. Montanari, S. Matthaios, AND A. Rengakos, eds, *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, I, Brill's Companions in Classical Studies (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 297–455.
- Prato, C. 1991. 'Manoscritti greci in Grecia', in G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio, M. Maniaci, eds, *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, I, Biblioteca del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia», 5 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), 3–24 = Id., *Studi di paleografia greca*, Collectanea, 4 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), 151–169.
- Premmerstein, A. von 1903. 'Anicia Iuliana im Wiener Dioskorides-Codex', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 24 (1903), 105–124.
- 1906. 'De Codicis Dioscuridei Aniciae Iulianae, nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I, Historia, Forma, Argumento', in I. von Karabacek, ed., *De codicis Dioscuridei Aniciae Iulianae, nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I, Historia, Forma, Scriptura, Picturis* (Lugduni Batavorum: Sijthoff, 1906), 1–228.
- Robinson, J. A. 1895. *Euthaliana. Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles and the Armenian Version*, Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 3/3 (Cambridge: University Press, 1895).

- Ronconi, F. 2012. 'La main insaisissable. Rôle et fonctions des copistes byzantins entre réalité et imaginaire', in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 28 aprile – 4 maggio 2011*, Settimane di Studio della Fondazione 'Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo', 59 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012), 627–668.
- 2014. 'Essere copista a Bisanzio. Tra immaginario collettivo, autorappresentazione e realtà', in D. Bianconi, ed., *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, Bollettino dei Classici. Supplemento, 29 (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2014), 383–434.
- 2021, 'Analyse stratigraphique du *Vat. gr. 1666*', in M. D'Agostino and L. Pieralli, eds, *Φιλόδωρος εὐμενείας. Miscellanea di studi in ricordo di Mons. Paul Canart*, *Littera Antiqua*, 21 (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2021), 617–646.
- Rudberg, S. Y. 1966. 'Note sur une formule des colophons de manuscrits grecs', *Scriptorium*, 20 (1966), 66–67.
- Sakkellion, I. 1890. Πατριακή βιβλιοθήκη (Αθήνησιν: ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου Ἀλεξάνδρου Παπαγεωργίου, 1890).
- Schironi, F. 2010. Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον. *Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry*, *The American Studies in Papyrology*, 48 (Durham, NC: The American Society of Papyrologists, 2010).
- Schreiner, P. 1990. 'Kosten der Handschriftenherstellung in Byzanz', in *Buch und Bibliothekswissenschaft im Informationszeitalter. Internationale Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 65. Geburtstag* (München–New York, NY: Saur, 1990), 331–344 = Id., *Byzantinische Kultur. Eine Aufsatzsammlung*, II (*Das Wissen*), *Opuscula Collecta*, 6 (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2009), chapter XI.
- Sirinian, A. 2014. 'On the Historical and Literary Value of the Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts', in V. Calzolari, ed., *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era. From Manuscript to Digital Text*, *Handbook of Oriental Studies = Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VIII: Uralic & Central Asian Studies, 23/1 (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 65–100.
- Skeat, T. C. 1956. 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book Production', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 42 (1956), 179–208 = *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 113 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 3–32.
- Spatharakis, I. 1976. *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, *Byzantina Neerlandica*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1976).
- 1981. *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, I–II, *Byzantina Neerlandica*, 8/1–2 (Leiden: Brill, 1981).
- Stephen, G. M. 1959. 'The Coronis', *Scriptorium*, 13 (1959), 3–14.

- de Strycker, E. 1961. *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques. Recherches sur le Papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 33 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1961).
- Taxidis, I. 2017. *Les épigrammes de Maxime Planude*, ed., tr., *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 32 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017).
- Testuz, M. 1958. *Papyrus Bodmer V: Nativité de Marie*, ed. M. Testuz (Cologne and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958) = M. Bircher, ed., *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana. La collection des papyrus Bodmer: manuscrits des textes grecs classiques, grecs et coptes bibliques et de littérature chrétienne, du 2^e au 9^e siècle*, II (München: Saur, 2000), 581–705.
- 1959. *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX: L'Épître de Jude, les deux Épîtres de Pierre, Les Paumes 33 et 34*, ed. M. Testuz (Cologne and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959) = M. Bircher, ed., *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana. La collection des papyrus Bodmer: manuscrits des textes grecs classiques, grecs et coptes bibliques et de littérature chrétienne, du 2^e au 9^e siècle*, II (München: Saur, 2000), 707–785.
- 1960. *Papyrus Bodmer XIII: Mélicon de Sardes, Homélie sur la Pâque*, ed. M. Testuz (Cologne and Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1960) = M. Bircher, ed., *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana. La collection des papyrus Bodmer: manuscrits des textes grecs classiques, grecs et coptes bibliques et de littérature chrétienne, du 2^e au 9^e siècle*, III (München: Saur, 2000), 863–1013.
- Treu, K. 1966. 'Griechische Schreibernotizen als Quelle für politische, soziale und kulturelle Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit', *Byzantinobulgarica*, 2 (1966), 127–143.
- 1970. 'Weitere Handschriften mit der Schreibformel Ἡ μὲν χεῖρ ἡ γράψασα...?', *Scriptorium*, 24 (1970), 56–64.
- 1977. 'Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den versen Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... und ähnlichen', in Id. et alii, eds, *Studia codicologica*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 124 (Berlin: Akademie, 1977), 473–492.
- 1978. 'Die Schreiber der datierten Byzantinischen Handschriften des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts', in V. Vavřínek, ed., *Beiträge zue byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Praha: CSAV, Kabinet pro studia řecká, římská a latinská, 1978), 235–251.
- Turyn, A. 1964. *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi*, 28 (In Civitate Vaticana: Ex Bybliothecha Apostolica Vaticana, 1964).
- 1972. *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, I–II (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

- 1980. *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 17 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies and Trustees for Harvard University, 1980).
- Valerio, F. 2011. ‘Planudeum’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 61 (2011), 229–236.
- Wattenbach, W. 1896. *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896).
- Weitzmann, K. 1935. *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1935) [new edition with a second volume of addenda: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch–historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 243–244 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996)].
- Wendel, C. 1950. ‘Die ταπεινότης des griechischen Schreibermönches’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), 259–266.
- Willard, L. C. 2009. *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 41 (Berlin–New York, NY: de Gruyter, 2009).
- Wilson, N. G. 1975. ‘Books and Readers in Byzantium’, in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies and Trustees for Harvard University, 1975), 1–15.
- Wifstrand, A. 1933. ‘Ein metrischer Kolophon in einem Homerpapyrus. Zugleich über eine seltene Art von Koordination’, *Hermes*, 68 (1933), 468–472.

Appendix: A Short Anthology of Remarkable Greek Colophons*

1. The prehistory: coronides, final titles and early colophons

1.1. P.Sorb. inv. 72 + 2272 + 2723 (LDAB 2738), end of third century BCE, papyrus roll, Menander, *The Sicyonians*, with final title and colophon (P.Sorb. inv. 2272e)

μη καταγελάτε τῆς γραφῆς [×—υ—] Do not jeer at the script [...]
 τοῦ κα[τ]αγελῶντος τὸ σκέλο[ς ×—υ—] of the person who jeer at the leg [...]

[ὡς ἡδέ]ως ἀνέπαυσα τοὺς τρε[ῖς] δακτύλους.] [How happily] I gave rest to the three [fingers!]

Vd. Blanchard and Bataille 1964, 160–163 (fr. XXI), pl. XIII; Parássoglou 1979, 17–18; Drogin 1983, 54; Blanchard 2009, cxiii–cxiv, 29.

3 suppléuit Tsantsanoglou (apud Parássoglou 1979, 18), collata subscriptione codicis Hierosolymitani, Πατριαρχική βιβλιοθήκη, H. Saba 144 (*Diktyon* 34401, Lake I 4, Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 148, no. 138, *DBBE* occurrence 20639), a. 1019, ὡς (ὡς cod.) ἡδέως ἔπαυσα τοὺς τρεῖς δακτύλους | καὶ τὸ τράχηλον σὺν τῷ δεξιῷ (-ὄν cod.) γόνει | ἰδῶν (εἶδον cod.) τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον στίχον (στεῖχον cod.) : οὐ]κ ἀνέπαυσα τοῦ στρε[βλοῦν (uel sim.) Blanchard et Bataille 1964.

1.2. Meleager of Gadara, *Anthologia Palatina* 12.257 = epigram 129 Gow–Page

ἀ πύματον καμπτήρα καταγγέλλουσα κορωνίς,
 ἔρκοῦρος γραπταῖς πιστοτάτα σελίσιν,
 φραμί τὸν ἐκ πάντων ἠθροισμένον εἰς ἓνα μόχθον
 ὑμνοθετᾶν βύβλω τᾶδ' ἐνελεξάμενον 4
 ἔκτελέσαι Μελέαγρον, ἀείμνηστον δὲ Διοκλεῖ
 ἄνθεσι συμπλέξαι μουσπολόλον στέφανον.
 οὐλα δ' ἐγὼ καμφοθεῖσα δρακοντεῖοις ἴσα νότοις
 σύνθρονος ἴδρυμαι τέρμασιν εὐμαθίας. 8

I, the coronis that announce the last lap's finish, most trusty keeper of the bounds of written columns, say that he who had completed his task, (4) including in his roll the work of all poets gathered into one, is Meleager, and that it was for Diokles he wove from flowers this wreath of verse, whose memory shall be evergreen. Curled in coils like the back of a snake, (8) I am set here enthroned beside the last lines of his learned work.

Transl. Paton 1918, 411–413 (slightly adapted). Vd. Stephen 1959, 12–13 (Appendix II, § a); Anderson 2014, 17–23.

2 ἔρκοῦρος Salmasius : ορκουρος codex Palatinus : οικουρός Gigante (haud male).

- * The heading of each entry reports: shelfmark (including, if that is the case, alias, sigla and reference to the standard repertories, namely *Diktyon*, Lake, *RGK*, *LDAB*, *GA*, *DBBE* – papyrological publications are quoted according to the abbreviations of the *Checklist* <<http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>>), dating, place, book form, author and/or work, leaf in which the colophon occurs. Each text is usually followed by two apparatuses: the first one including (selected) bibliographical references, the second one being the critical apparatus. For practical reasons, in the edition of the texts, the accentuation has been normalized and the abbreviations have been resolved. If not otherwise stated, the datings are intended as CE. The author's translations are intended solely as an aid to the reader, without any literary pretension.

1.3. P.Lond.Lit. 11 = P.Lond. inv. 136 (LDAB 1957), first century, opistograph papyrus roll, accounts (→) / Homer, *Iliad* 3–4, with final title and colophon (↓)

ἐγὼ κορωνίς εἰμι γραμμαῶτων φύλαξ· κάλαμός μ' ἔγραψε δεξιὰ χεῖρ καὶ γό νυ. ἂν τινί με χρῆ σις, ἕτερον ἀντι λάμβανε· ἐὰν δέ μ' ἀλείφῃς, διαβαλῶ σ' Εὐρύπιδη. ⁴ ἄπεχε.	I am the coronis, guardian of letters. The reed wrote me, the right hand and the knee. If you lend me to someone, take another in exchange; but if you rub me out, I will denounce you to [Euripides! Go away!
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Vd. Milne 1927; Wifstrand 1933, 468; Olsson 1934, 366; Skeat 1956, 183–184; Stephen 1953, 13 (Appendix II, § b); Parássoglou 1979, 18–19; Drogin 1983, 55–57, pl. 17; Schironi 2010, 112–113 (no. 14); Anderson 2014, 16; infra §§ 2.3, 6.1, 7.2.

2 dispexit Wifstrand 1933, 468 : Καλλῖνός μ' ἐξέγραψε δεξιᾷ χεῖρι | καὶ τὸν δ legerat Milne (P.Lond.Lit.), unde καὶ γονά pro καὶ τὸν δ ad finem coniecit Croenert (apud Milne).

1.4. Bodmer Composite Codex (GA Ɔ⁷², LDAB 2565 + 22465): P.Bodmer C (= P.Bodmer V + X + XI + VII + XIII + XII + VIII) + P.Bodmer P (= P.Bodmer XX + IX), third or fourth century, papyrus codex, miscellany of Biblical, apocryphal and patristic writings

(P.Bodmer V, p. 49 ~ P.Bodmer VIII, p. 22 ~ P.Bodmer VIII, p. 36)

εἰρήνη τῷ γράσαντι καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι.	Peace to the person who wrote and to the person who reads.
------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------

(P.Bodmer XIII, p. 63)

εἰρήνη τῷ γράσαντι καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Κύριον ἐν ἀφελότητι καρδίας.	Peace to the person who wrote and to the person who reads and to the people who love the Lord with simplicity of heart.
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(P.Bodmer XX, p. 17)

εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀγίοις πᾶσι.	Peace to all pure people.
--------------------------	---------------------------

Vd. Testuz 1958, 126; Testuz 1959, 29–30, 56, 70; Testuz 1960, 152; de Strycker 1961, 190–191, 216–217 (§ 3); Martin 1964, 7, 52; infra, §§ 1.5, 5.5.

Α' ΝΑ ΤΙΝΩΚΚΟΝΤΙ P.Bodmer VIII, p. 36 | ΙΡΗΝΗ P.Bodmer XIII, p. 63 | ΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΕΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΧΕΙ P.Bodmer XX, p. 17.

1.5. P.Ryl. 1.58 (LDAB 758), fifth or sixth century, papyrus codex, Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, with final title and colophon (f. 6v)

[εὖ]τυχῶς τῷ γράσαντι[ι] καὶ [λα]μβάνον[τι] καὶ ἀναγινώ- σκοντι.	Good luck to the person who wrote and to the person who holds (the book) and to the person who reads.
------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Vd. Gardthausen 1913, 431–432; Olsson 1934, 367; infra § 5.5.

Cf. P.Bouriant 1 = P.Sorb. inv. 826 (LDAB 2744), fifth–sixth cent., papyrus codex, school text, f. 11r, [ε]ὐτυχῶς τῶ | [ἔ]χοντι καὶ τῶ | [ἀν]αγινώσκοντι | [μᾶλ]λον δὲ τῶ | [vo]οῦντι.

2. The colophons of the late antique biblical codices

2.1. Codex Sinaiticus (S / Ⲛ, GA 01, LDAB 3478): London, British Library, Add. 43725 (*Diktyon* 39225) + Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. gr. 1 (*Diktyon* 38316), etc., fourth century, Palestine (Caesarea) (?), parchment, Old and New Testament

2.1.1. The colophon to 2 Esdras (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. gr. 1, f. 13r, hand C^{Pamph}, sixth–seventh century)

ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώ-
τατον λιαν ἀντίγραφον
δεδιωρθωμένον χειρὶ τοῦ
ἀγίου μάρτυρος Παμφίλου,
ὅπερ ἀντίγραφον πρὸς τῶ
τέλει ὑποσημείωσὶς τῆς
ιδιόχειρος αὐτοῦ ὑπέκειτο
ἔχουσα οὕτως·
μετελήφθη καὶ διωρθώθη
πρὸς τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ Ὠριγένους·
Ἀντωνῖνος ἀντέβαλεν,
Πάμφιλος διώρθωσα.

Collated against an extremely old copy corrected in the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilos, which copy at the end has a signature in his own hand, reading thus: ‘Copied from and corrected against the Hexapla of Origen. Antoninos collated. I, Pamphilos, corrected’.

Transl. Parker 2010, 81. Vd. G. Mercati 1941, 14–15; Skeat 1956, 193.

2.1.2. The colophon to Esther (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. gr. 1, f. 19r, hand C^{Pamph}, sixth–seventh century)

Vd. Gardthausen 1913, 127; G. Mercati 1941, 18–19; Skeat 1956, 193–194; Parker 2010, 81.

2.2. Codex Marchalianus (Q, *Diktyon* 68755, LDAB 3393): Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2125, seventh–eighth century, Egypt, parchment, Prophets

2.2.1. The colophon to Isaiah (p. 171, added by a second hand in a blank page at the beginning of the book)

Vd. G. Mercati 1941, 8 n. 3.

2.2.2. The colophon to Ezekiel (p. 568, like the previous one)

μετελήφθη δὲ ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου τοῦ
ἄββᾶ Απολιναρίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου ἐν ᾧ
καθυπε<τέ>τακτο ταῦτα· μετελήφθη ἀ-
πὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις Ἑξαπλῶν καὶ
διωρθώθη ἀπὸ τῶν Ὠριγένους αὐτοῦ Τε-

Copied from the antigraph of the abbot Apolinarios, the cenobiarch, in which at the end the following words had been inscribed: ‘Copied from the Hexapla, according to the editions and corrected against Origen’s own Tetrapla, which

τραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ διώρθω-
το καὶ ἐσχολογράφητο· ὅθεν Εὐσέβειος ἐγὼ
τὰ σχόλια παρέθηκα, Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέ-
βειος διωρθώσαντο.

had been corrected and annotated by Origen's
hand. Hence I, Eusebios, added the notes, and
Pamphilos and Eusebios corrected'.

Vd. Gardthausen 1913, 427; G. Mercati 1941, 8 n. 3; Cohen–Skalli 2020, 12 and n. 16.

5 ΔΙΟΡΘΩΘΗ, 6–7 ΔΙΟΡΘΩΤΟ, 9 ΔΙΟΡΘΩCANTO cod.

2.3. Codex Coislinianus (H^p, GA 015, LDAB 7152): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 1074 (*Diktyon* 53738) + Coislin 202 (*Diktyon* 49341), etc., sixth cent., parchment, *Pauline Epistles*, with colophon (Coislin 202, f. 14r–v)

(recto)
[.....]
ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην κα-
τὰ δύναμιν στιχηρὸν
τόδε τὸ τεῦχος Παύλου
τοῦ ἀποστόλου, πρὸς εὐ-
γραμμον καὶ εὐκατάλημ-
πτον ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν κα-
θ' ἡμᾶς ἀδελφῶν, παρ' ὧν
ἀπάντων τόλμης συγ-
γνώμην αἰτῶ, εὐχῆ τῆ
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν συμπε-
ριφορὰν κομιζόμενος.
ἀντεβλήθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος
πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἀντί-
γραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης
τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου χειρὶ

(verso)
γεγραμμένον.
προσφώνησις
κορωνίς εἰμι δογμα-
των θεῶν διδάσκαλος.
ἂν τινὶ με χρήσης ἀντί-
βιβλον λάμβανε· οἱ γὰρ
ἀποδοταὶ κακοί.
ἀντίφρασις
θησαυρὸν ἔχων σε
[πνευματι-
κῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις ποθητὸν
ἁρμονίαις τε καὶ ποικί-
λαις γραμμαῖς κεκοσμη-
μένον, νῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
οὐ δώσω σε προχείρως
τινὶ οὐδ' αὖ φθονέσω τῆς

[...] I have written and arranged in
stichic form, as far as possible, this
book of Paul the Apostle, in view of a
neat and easy reading for our brethren:
to all of them I apologize for my daring
act, in order to obtain the indulgence by
means of the prayer for me.

The book has been collated against a
copy in the library of Caesarea, written
in the hand of the holy Pamphilos.

Address

I am the coronis, teacher of holy doc-
trines. If you lend me to someone, take
another book in exchange: for borrow-
ers are evil.

Reply

Keeping you as a treasure of spiritual
goods, longed for by all men, adorned
with fastenings and decorated letters, I
really will not put you in anyone's hand,
yet I will not be jealous of [...]

Vd. Omont 1890, 189; Ehrhard 1891, 388–390; Dobschütz 1893, 59–60; Robinson 1895, 3–4, 69–71; Gardthausen 1913, 427; Dobschütz 1925, 283–284; Atsalos 2000, 449–450; Willard 2009, 83–92; Blomkvist 2012, 5–6, 16; supra § 1.3, infra § 6.1.

recto, 3 CTEIXHPON cod. | 5–6 ΕΓΓΡΑΜΜΟΝ cod. : corr. Blomkvist | 9–10
CYNΓΝΩΜΗΝ cod. (N¹ in Γ corr. manus altera) | 11 ἡμῶν] ΕΜΩΝ cod. | 11–12
CYNΠΕΡΙΦΟΡΑΝ cod. | 13 ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ cod. | verso, 16 post THC deficit cod. :
quae sequebantur quaere, inter alios, in codice Atheniensi, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς
Ἑλλάδος, 56 (de quo infra § 6.1).

3. The dedication of Juliana Anicia's Dioscorides: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Med. gr. 1 (Diktyon 71026, LDAB 10000), end of the fifth–beginning of the sixth cent., Constantinople, parchment, f. 6v

Ἰοῦ, δόξαισι[ν, ἄνασσα,

[Ὀν]ωρᾶτ[αί σ'] ἀ[γα]θ[αῖς] π[ά]σ[αις]

Ἰμνοῦσιν καὶ δο[ξάζουσιν.]

Λαλήσαι γάρ εἰς πᾶσα[ν] γῆν

[Ἰ]ησ' ἢ μεγαλο[ψ]υχία·

Ἀνικηῶρων γένο[ς] πέλεις·

Ναὸν [δὲ] κ[υρ]ίου ἡγεῖρας

Ἄνω [προεκβ]άντα καὶ καλῶς.

Hail, o princess, the people of Honoratae extol and glorify you with all fine praises; for Magnanimity allows you to be mentioned over the entire world. You belong to the family of the Aniciae, and you have built a temple of the Lord, raised high and beautiful.

Transl. Spatharakis 1976, 147. Vd. Premerstein 1903, 111; Premerstein 1906, 13; Gardthausen 1913, 135–136; S. G. Mercati 1919–1920; Spatharakis 1981, I, 5–6 (no. 1); II, figs. 1–6; Orsini 2019, 148 (no. 2); *infra* §§ 6.1, 7, 11.1.

Cf. Theophan. Conf. *Chronogr.* I, p. 157 de Boor (year 512/513), Ἰουλιὰνα δὲ ἡ περιφανεστάτη, ἡ κτίσασα τὸν ἱερὸν ναὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Ὀνωράτοις...

1–2 Ἰοῦ, δόξαισι[ν, ἄνασσα, | Ὀν]ωρᾶτ[αί σ'] ἀ[γα]θ[αῖς] π[ά]σ[αις] Premerstein

1903 : Ἰοῦ, δόξαισί σ' [ἄνασσα, | Ὀν]ωρᾶτ[αῖ] ἀ[γα]θ[αῖς] π[ά]σ[αις] Premerstein

1906 | 4 ΛΑΛΙΚΑΙ et 7 ΗΓΙΡΑC cod. | 6 ΑΝΙΚΗΩΡΩΝ cod. (suo uterque Marte de-

fenderunt S.G. Mercati et Spatharakis) : Ἀνικηῶν ὧν perperam coniecit Premerstein

| 7 [δὲ] Spatharakis : [γάρ] Premerstein.

4. The earliest dated colophons, between centre and periphery of the Byzantine Empire

4.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1666 (Diktyon 68297, LDAB 7153), year 800, Italy (Rome), parchment, Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* (pope Zachary's Greek translation)

(f. 82r, end of Book 2)

Π
Ο Ρ Α
Ο
Μ
Ε

ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΣ

Pray for me who have written.

(f. 185v, end of Book 4)

ἔτελειώθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος
αὕτη μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ
εἰκάδι α' ἔτους ,ζτθ'.

2 ΑΙΠΗΛΙΩ, 3 ΗΚΑΔΗ cod.

This book has been completed on April 21st of the year 6308 [= 800].

Vd. Cozza Luzi 1880, xxiv; Batiffol 1888, 302; Gardthausen 1913, 428; Follieri 1969, 20–21 (no. 11); Cavallo 1979; Spatharakis 1981, I, 6 (no. 2); II, fig. 7; D'Agostino 2013, 42 and n. 12, 56; Parpulov 2015, 170 (no. 1); Orsini 2019, 68, 79, 81.

4.2. Uspenskij Gospel: Saint Petersburg, Rosijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, gr. 219 (*Diktyon* 57291, Lake VI 234, GA 461), year 835, Constantinople (Stoudios monastery), parchment, Gospels, f. 344v

ἐτελειώθη Θεοῦ χάριτι ἡ ἱερὰ | αὕτη καὶ
θεοχάρακτος βίβλος | μηνὶ μαῖω ζ' ἰνδικτιῶνος
| ἰγ' ἔτους κόσμου ,ςτμγ'. δυ|σωπὼ πάντα τοὺς
| ἐντυγγάνοντας μνεῖαν | μου ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ
γρά|ψαντος Νικολάου ἀμαρτωλοῦ | μοναχοῦ,
ὅπως εὖροιμι ἔλεος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. | γένοιτο
Κύριε ἀμήν.

This holy book, written with divine assistance, has been completed by the grace of God on May 7th, 13th indiction, of the year of the world 6343 [= 835]. I beg all people who use it to remember me, the scribe, Nicholas, the sinner monk, so that I can obtain mercy in the Day of Judgement. So be it, Lord, amen.

Vd. Gardthausen 1913, 428, 429, 432; Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 122 (no. 3); Pappulov 2015, 170 (no. 3).

5. Formular colophons (in verse and prose)

5.1. ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα... ('The hand that wrote...')

Vd. infra § 5.4.1.

5.1.1. Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, B.a.4 (*Diktyon* 17546, Lake X 383, *DBBE* occurrence 18416), tenth century, Southern Italy, parchment, Maximos the Confessor, f. ? ~ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1809 (*Diktyon* 68438, *DBBE* occurrence 17853), tenth century, Southern Italy, parchment, Maximos the Confessor etc., f. 194v

ἔγραψα χεὶρὶ σήπεται γραφὴ μένει.

I have written with the hand; it rots; the script remains.

Vd. Garitte 1962, 364 (no. 17), 371–372 (no. 41); Atsalos 1991, 702 (no. 54), 709 (no. 129).

5.1.2. Athens, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 180 (*Diktyon* 2476, Lake I 38, GA 1 402, *DBBE* occurrence 17015), year 1089, Greece (Peloponnese) (?), parchment, Gospel Lectionary, f. 393r

ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφο,
τὸ δὲ γράμμα μένει | εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους.
ἐπληρώθη σὺν Θεῷ μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ κγ' ἡμέρᾳ
παρασκευῆ ὥρα β' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ' | τοῦ ἔτους ,ςφθζ'
διὰ χειρὸς Ἀνδρέου νοταρίου καὶ καλλιγράφου | καί,
εἴ τι ἐγένετο ἄχρι ψιλοῦ σφάλματος, διὰ τὸν Χρι-
στον συγχωρεῖτέ μοι. |
ἐγένετο ἡ ἔξοδος παρὰ Θεοφυλάκτου μοναχοῦ
καὶ ἱερέως | τοῦ Νυκλιώτου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου
Νικολάου τῆς Βάλτας | καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες
εὐχέσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ.

The hand that wrote rots in the tomb,
but the script remains for a very long time.
Completed with the aid of God on Friday, Febru-
ary 23rd, in the second hour, 12th indiction, of the
year 6597 [= 1089], by the hand of Andrew, sec-
retary and calligrapher. If any error occurs, even a
slight one, in the name of Christ forgive me.
The expense has been charged to Theophylact
of Nyclis, hieromonachos of the monastery of
St Nicholas of Valta, and you who read pray for
him.

Vd. Garitte 1962, 361–362 (no. 6); Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, 125–127 (no. 29; figs. 269–277); Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 176 (no. 266); Prato 1991, 21; Atsalos 1991, 698 (no. 14).

1 σήπετε, 2 μένη, 6 ἄχρη, 8 Θεωφυλάκτου, 9 Νηκλήτου, 10 ἀναγινώσκοντες cod. | 8–11 ab alia manu (ipsius Theophylacti ut uidetur).

5.1.3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1553 (*Diktyon* 51171, RGK II 276, *DBBE* occurrence 21494), fourteenth century, paper, Menologion, f. 301r

ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα τήνδε τὴν βίβλον σαπήσεται φεῦ καὶ γενήσεται κόνις τάφῳ προσεγγίσει τε σωματο φθόρῳ. ὕμεις δὲ ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μερίδος εὐχέσθε πρὸς Κύριον εὐρεῖν σφαλμάτων ναὶ δυσωπῶ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ δέξασθαί μου δέησιν οἰκτράν, ὃ θείσος ἀγία· Ἰωάννης κέκλημαι, φεῦ μοι καὶ τοῦτο μέγα· κέκλημαι δὲ καὶ ἱερεῦς, τῆ κλήσει οὐ τῆ [λύσιν ‘· [of sins. [πατέρες, that you, holy confraternity, may accept my [piteous request. [χρίσει. but I am also called priest, by name, not by [ordination.	The hand that wrote this book, alas, will rot and become dust and will reach the tomb, destroyer of corpses. But you all, followers of Christ, pray the Lord that I may obtain the remission Yea, I pray in tears, brethren and fathers, that you, holy confraternity, may accept my My name is John and, alas, even this is too [much for me, but I am also called priest, by name, not by [ordination.
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Vd. Garitte 1962, 369 (no. 32); Atsalos 1991, 706 (no. 98).

5 εὐχέσθαι, 6 νὲ, 7 θείσος, 9 χρίση cod.

5.2. ὄσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... ('As the foreigners rejoice...')

Vd. *infra* §§ 6.2, 13.2.

5.2.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 44 (*Diktyon* 65777, Lake VII 259, RGK III 384, *DBBE* occurrence 18695), year 898, Greece (Peloponnese), parchment, Psalter, f. 245v

ὡς ἡδὺ τοῖς πλέουσιν εὐδιος λιμὴν, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ὕστατος στίχος ἐγράφη οὖν ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος τοῦ ἐρμηνευτοῦ ψαλτῆρος διὰ χειρὸς Λέοντος ταβουλαρίου Μονοβασίας μηνὶ ἀγούστῳ κη' ἡμέρα β' ἰνδικτιῶνος <α'> ἔτους ,ϋσε'. ὁ ἀναγινώσκων εὐχου μοι διὰ τὸν Κύριον, ὅπως λυτρωθῶ τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς Γεέννης.	As sweet is a peaceful harbour to sailors, so is the last line to the scribes. The present book of the Psalter, with commentary, has thus been written by the hand of Leo, notary of Monembasia, on Monday, August 28th, 1st in- diction, of the year 6405 [= 898]. You who read pray for me in the name of the Lord, so that I may escape the fire of the Gehenna.
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Vd. Follieri 1969, 27–28 (no. 17); Treu 1977, 475; Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 124 (no. 13); Prato 1991, 5–6, 18; McCollum 2015, 72–73 (no. 2).

1 ἰδὸν, 4 λέοντος, 8 γαιάννης cod. | 6 <α'> Grumel (*uide* Follieri 1969, 27 n. 58).

5.2.2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1755 (*Diktyon* 68384, *RGK* III 373, *DBBE* occurrence 17846), year 1294, parchment, Gregory of Nazianzos, Discourses, f. 317v

ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν πατρίδα φθάσαι
καὶ οἱ | θαλαττεύοντες εὐρεῖν λιμένα,
οὕτως καὶ οἱ | γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος. |
χειρὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις πλουσίου, | ἐν δὲ
δικαιοσύνη πτωχοῦ Κων|σταντίνου τάχα τε
καὶ ἱερέως. |
[ἐπ]ληρώθη ἐν ἔτει ,σωβ' ἐν μηνὶ ἰαν[ου]αρ-
ίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐβδόμης, δ[ι]ὰ | συν]εργίας
καὶ κελεύσεως κυροῦ Κο[.]του κυρ
Βασιλοπούλου, ἀμήν.

As the foreigners rejoice in returning to their
[own country,
and the seafarers in finding a harbour,
so also the scribes (in finding) the end of a book.
By the hand of Constantine, rich in sins but poor
in righteousness, and probably not even worthy of
the name of priest.
Completed in the year 6802 [=1294], in the month
of January, 7th indiction, with the cooperation and
by order of Co[...] Basilopoulos, amen.

Vd. Turyn 1964, 85–86 (tabb. 51, 177a); Treu 1977, 479; Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 161 (no. 534); Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 196–197 (no. 98).

4 ἐν ἁμαρτίαις πλουσίου, nunc euanidum, sed a duabus manibus recentioribus in imo folio bis transscriptum | 9 Κο[.]του legit Canart (uide Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 161) : Καλλι[ς]του legerat Turyn 1964, 85.

5.2.3. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2372 (*Diktyon* 9726), year 1312, Crete, paper, Gregory the Great, Dialogues (pope Zachary's Greek translation), f. 185r

ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν εἰδεῖν πατρίδα |
καὶ οἱ κινδυνεύοντες εὐρεῖν λιμένα, |
οὕτως καὶ οἱ γράφοντες εὐρεῖν βιβλίου τέλος.
ἐ|γράφη[[v]] τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον, διὰ
χειρὸς καμοῦ | τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, Λέωντος
ἀναγνώστου τοῦ Εὐγενι|άνου, ἐν μηνὶ ἰουλλίῳ
ἰδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰ' ἔτους ,σωκ', | καὶ ὅσοι ἀνα
χειρὸς λάβεται αὐτὸ εὐχες<θε> | τὸ γράψαντι
ὅτι χωρηκὸς ἦμην τῆς τέχνης | ταύτης:
ἐγράφη[[v]] δὲ δι' ἐξεδρωμῆς καὶ | ἐξώδου τοῦ
πανεύγενεστάτου ἀρχόντος, καὶ | γραμματικοῦ
τοῦ παλλατίου Κρήτης, κυροῦ Ἀγγέλου
Χαριῶλα:

As the foreigners rejoice in seeing their own
[country
and those who are in peril in finding a harbour,
so also the scribes in finding the end of a book.
The present book has been written by the hand
of mine, a sinner, Leo Eugenianos the reader,
on July 14th, 10th indiction, of the year 6820 [=
1312], and whoever takes it in hand pray for the
scribe, because I was unskilled of this task. It has
been written by order and at the expense of the
most noble sir, and Chancellor of the Palace of
Crete, Angelos Chariolas.

Vd. Turyn 1972, 116–117 (pll. 89, 236a); Treu 1977, 479; Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 210 (no. 150).

Permulta nouaque scriptionis uitia hic tantum corrigere me taedet.

5.3. τῷ συντελεστῇ... ('To the person who accomplishes...')

Vd. infra § 7.2.

5.3.1. Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 136 (*Diktyon* 54380, Lake I 16, *DBBE* occurrence 21632, 30621), year 962, parchment, John Chrysostom, Homilies on Matthew, f. 328v

<ᾠ> Χριστὲ δίδου τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις χάριν. | Christ, may you grant your favour to my labours.
 τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ χάρις. | Thank God, who accomplishes the good works.
 ἐγράφη ἡ βίβλος | αὕτη Παύλῳ τῷ This book has been written on behalf of Paul, the
 εὐλαβεστάτῳ μοναχῷ καὶ ἡγουμένῳ | venerable monk and hegumen of the monastery of
 λαύρας τοῦ [...] χειρὶ Ἰλ[αρί]ωνος [...] by the hand of Hilarion, monk and hegu-
 μοναχοῦ καὶ | ἡγουμένου λαύρας τοῦ κα| men of the monastery of [...], on April 18th,
 [...] | μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ | η' ἰνδικτιῶνος 5th indiction, of the year 6470 [= 962].
 ε' ἔτους ,ςυο'.

Vd. Sakkellion 1890, 78; Treu 1977, 472 n. 2; Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 132 (no. 53); infra § 5.6.

5.3.2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. gr. 344 (*Diktyon* 65587, Lake VIII 324, *RGK* III 83, *DBBE* occurrence 18729), year 1177, Southern Italy (Otranto), parchment., Euchologium, f. 232v

τέλος εἴληφεν ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος αὕτη χειρὶ | This holy book has come to an end through the
 ἐμῆ Γαλακτίωνος ἐλαχίστου πρεσβυτέρου hand of mine, Galaktion, humblest presbyter and
 καὶ δευτεροψάλτου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας second chantor of the great church of Otranto, on
 Ἰδρούσης μηνὶ ἰανουαρίῳ | κθ' ἔτους ,ςχπε'. January 29th, of the year 6685 [= 1177].
 τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ χάρις. | Thank God, who accomplishes all.

Vd. Follieri 1969, 59–60 (no. 39); Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 211 (no. 441).

5.3.3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi I (*Diktyon* 15777, *DBBE* occurrence 18649–18650), year 1367/1368, Constantinople (Hodegon monastery), paper, Gregory the Great, Dialogues (pope Zachary's Greek translation), f. 326v

ἔτους ,ςωος' ἰνδικτιῶνος ς^η. | In the year 6876 [= 1367/1368], 6th indiction.
 Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνοσ | Ἰωασάφ. | A gift of God and a work of Joseph.
 τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ χάρις. | Thank God, who accomplishes the good works.

Vd. Wattenbach 1896, 494; Gardthausen 1913, 436; Turyn 1972, 234 (pll. 189, 258d); Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 246 (no. 282).

5.4. ὁ γράφων παραγράφει ('The scribe goes wrong')

Vd. infra § 6.2.

5.4.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1646 (*Diktyon* 68277, *RGK* III 524, *DBBE* occurrence 17885), year 1118, Southern Italy (Reggio Calabria), parchment, Maximos the Confessor etc., f. 278v

ἐγράφη αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ διὰ χειρὸς | Νικολάου
χθαμαλοῦ Ῥηγινου ἐν μηνί | ὀκτωβρίῳ κδ' τοῦ
,ςχκζ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ' . |

<ἦ> χεῖρ μὲν ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ, |
γραφή δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους ἀπεράντους. |

πάντες δὲ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ
μεταγράφοντες εὐχέσθε | διὰ τὸν Κύριον ὅτι
καὶ ὁ γράφων παραγράφει· ὁ γὰρ μὴ πταίων ἐν
λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, | ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ τέλειος. |
μνήσθητι Κύριε τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου
μοναχοῦ τοῦ πόθῳ κτησαμένου | τήνδε τὴν
δέλτον ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως | καὶ ἀνεσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ
ἀμαρτημάτων, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

This book of our holy father Maximos the Con-
fessor has been written by the hand of the hum-
ble Nicholas from Reggio on October 24th of
the year 6627 [= 1118], 12th indiction

The hand that wrote rots in the tomb,
but the script remains for an endless time.

And you all, brethren, who open and transcribe
(the books), pray the Lord, because the scribe
goes wrong: for he who does not make a mis-
take either in the words or in the actions, is re-
ally a perfect man.

Lord, remember of our father Gregory the
monk, who with love has commissioned this
book because of the remission and the forgive-
ness of his sins, now and always, forever and
ever, amen.

Vd. Garitte 1962, 371 (no. 39); Follieri 1969, 56–57 (no. 37); Spatharakis 1981, I, 40 (no. 130); II, fig. 245; Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 195 (no. 370); Atsalos 1991, 709 (no. 127); Atsalos 1991–1992, 35–36 (no. 35); supra § 5.1.

8 μεταγράφοντες et εὐχέσθαι, 9 γράφον et πταίων, 12 πόθου, 13 ἀναίσεως cod.

5.4.2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1296 (*Diktyon* 67927, *RGK* III 443, *DBBE* occurrence 18502), year 1205, Southern Italy (?), paper, Suda, f. 551r

ἡ βίβλος | αὕτη σαββάτῳ | σχοῦσα | τέλος |
δέδωκεν | ἡμῖν | σαββατίσαι | τοῦ πόνου |
εἰς τὰς εἴκοσι τοῦ | μηνὸς τοῦ αὐγούστου |
ἰνδικτιῶνος ὀγδόης ἰσταμένης. |

Ματθαῖος ὁ γράψας | γὰρ τὴν βίβλον ταύτην. |⁵
οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχέσθε πάντες |
ὅτι ὁ γράφων καὶ πάλιν παραγράφει· |
ἐτῶν γὰρ συντρεχόντων ἐν οἷς ἐγράφη |
ἕξ χιλιάδων ἑπτὰ | ἑκατοντάδων
σὺν | τοῖς τρισὶ | καὶ δέκα, | τῷ Θεῷ δόξα. |¹⁰
ἀμήν.

This book, having come to an end on Saturday,
allowed us to take a rest from the labour
on the twentieth day of the month of August,
during the eighth indiction.

Matthew is indeed the person who wrote this
[book.]

You all who read pray,
because the scribe in his turn goes wrong,
in the course of the year in which it was written,
with three and ten [= 6713 AM = 1205], glory

[to God.]

Amen.

Vd. Turyn 1964, 21–23 (tabb. 2, 160); Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 11 (no. 36); Atsalos 1991–1992, 34–35 (no. 32).

3 ἦκωσι, 6 εὐχέσθαι cod.

5.5. τὸν δακτύλους γράψαντα... ('The person who wrote with the fingers...')

Vd. supra §§ 1.4, 1.5; infra § 6.2.

5.6. ὦ Χριστέ δίδου τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις χάριν ('Christ, may you grant your favour to my labours')

Vd. supra § 5.3.1; infra § 8.2.

6. Composite colophons

Vd. supra § 5.4.1.

6.1. Athens, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 56 (*Diktyon* 2352, GA 773), tenth or eleventh century, Constantinople, parchment, Four Gospels, f. 1r

προσφώνησις τῆς βίβλου |
κορωνῆσις εἰμι δογματῶν θεῶν | διδάσκαλος.
ἂν τινί με | χρήσης ἀντίβιβλον λάμβα|νε· οἱ
γὰρ ἀποδοταὶ κακοί. |

ἀντιφώνησις |
θησαυρὸν ἔχων σε πνευμα|τικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ
πᾶσιν ἀν|θρώποις ποθητὸν ἀρμω|νίας τε καὶ
ποικιλίας ἄγραμ|μαῖς κεκοσμημένον, νῆ τὴν
ἀλή|θειαν, οὐ δώσω προχειρῶς | τινὶ οὐδ'
αὖ φθονήσω τῆς ἀ|φελείας· χρήσω δὲ τοῖς
φίλοις, | ἀξίωστον ἀντίβιβλον λαμβάνων.

ἐπίγραμμα |
ἔλεος καὶ ὑγεία τῷ γράψαντι, |
δόξα καὶ ἔπαινος τῷ κτησαμένῳ, |
σοφία καὶ σύνεσις τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν. |
αὕτη ἡ σεβασμία καὶ θεία βίβλος | τῶν
εὐαγγελίων ἔχει τετραδάς τὰς | πάσας ἐξ
καὶ τριάκοντα χωρὶς | τῶν παραφύλλων καὶ
τῶν ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις | κεκολλημένων. ἀνετέθη
τῷ ναῶ | δὲ τῆς μονῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου
| τοῦ Σκουταρίου παρὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ κυροῦ
Ἰωάννου καὶ | συγκέλλου τοῦ γεγονότος
πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ πρωτονοταρίου | τοῦ
δρόμου, ὃν ἀξίωσε τῆς βασιλείας | αὐτοῦ
ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τοὺς εὐλαβῶς καὶ πιστῶς |
ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς γεγραμμένοις | σώσει ὡς
ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλό|θρωπος, | ἀμήν.

Address of the book

I am the coronis, teacher of divine doctrines. If you lend me to someone, take another book in exchange: for those who have to return anything are mostly bad.

Reply

Keeping you as a treasure of spiritual goods, longed for by all men, adorned with fastenings and decorated letters, I really will not put you in anyone's hand, yet I will not be jealous of your advantage: indeed, I will lend you to the friends, taking a trustworthy book in exchange.

Epigram

Mercy and health to the person who wrote, glory and praise to the person who commissioned, wisdom and sagacity to the people who read.

This venerable and divine book of the Gospels contains in all 36 quaternions, except the guard leaves and the leaves pasted to the wooden covers. It has been offered to the church of the monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God in Skoutari, by the monk and syncellos John, formerly *protospatharios* and first secretary of the mail service. May God think him worthy of His kingdom, and He will preserve the people who piously and faithfully use the scriptures, because He is good and benevolent, amen

Vd. Dobschütz 1925; Marava–Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi–Paschou 1978, 17–27 (no. 1; p. 19 and figs. 1–10); Spatharakis 1981, I, 73 (no. 298); II, fig. 524; Atsalos 2000, 449–450; Le Léannec–Bavanéas 2002, 218–219; Kotsabasi 2004, 15–17 (no. 2); Willard 2009, 86, 87, 91; supra §§ 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 2.3, 3.

6 πνευματικῶν ἀγαθῶν cod.

6.2. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 209 inf. (*Diktyon* 42482, *DBBE* occurrences 18548, 18571, 18581), year 1301/1302, Southern Italy (?), parchment, John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Genesis*, f. 325r

ὁ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν Θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα. |
 ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδα
 καὶ | οἱ θαλασσοεῦροντες εὐρεῖν λιμένα,
 οὕτως καὶ | οἱ γράφοντες ἰδεῖν βιβλίου τέλος. |
 ἐγράφη χειρὶ Ὑακίνθου ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ |
 τάχα μοναχοῦ, χωρικογράφου δέ, καὶ οἱ ἀνα-
 γινώσκοντες, εἴ τι ἂν σφάλμα εὑρηται, διορ-
 θώσατε | καὶ μὴ κατήρασθε διὰ τὸν Κύριον,
 ὅτι ὁ γράφων παραγράφει | καὶ ὁ Κύριος σώ-
 σει πάντας ἡμᾶς, ἀδελφοί. |
 ἀμήν, ἀμήν καὶ ἀμήν.
 ἔτος ,ζωι' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε'. |
 τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα σὺν προθυμίᾳ,
 τὸν | δακτύλοις γράψαντα, τὸν κεκτημένον,
 φύλαττε τοὺς τρεῖς ἢ Τριάς τρισολβίως.

God, who accomplishes all, is our glory.
 As the foreigners rejoice in seeing their own country
 and the seafarers in finding a harbour,
 so also the scribes in seeing the end of a book.
 Written by the hand of Hyacinth, a sinner and
 probably not even worthy of the name of monk,
 and also unskilled writer. And you who read, if
 any error occurs, correct it and do not curse in the
 name of the Lord, because the scribe goes wrong
 and the Lord will save us all, brethren.
 Amen, amen, amen.
 Year 6810 [= 1301/1302], 15th indiction.
 The person who reads with eagerness,
 the person who wrote with the fingers, and the
 [person who commissioned:
 Trinity, may you protect all three thrice happily.

Vd. Bassi 1938, 4, 7; Turyn 1972, 101–102 (pll. 80, 234a); Treu 1977, 487; Atsalos 1991–1992, 32 (no. 25); Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 206 (no. 132); supra §§ 1.4, 1.5, 5.2, 5.4.

4 οὗτος, 7 ἦτι, et εὔρηται, 9 παραγράφει, 9-10 σόση cod.

7. Dedications and anathemata

Vd. supra §§ 1.3, 3.

7.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1675 (*Diktyon* 68306, Lake VII 275), year 1018, Constantinople (Stoudios monastery), parchment, Gregory of Nazianzos, various works, f. 333v

ἐδωρήθη ἡ βί-
 βλος αὐτῆ τῆ εὐ-
 αγεστάτῃ μονῇ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Ἰωάννου
 τοῦ προφήτου
 προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ τῶν Στουδίου
 παρὰ Νικολάου πριμικηρίου καὶ ἄρχοντος
 τοῦ χρυσοχοῦ, ἐπὶ Νικολάου τοῦ εὐλα-
 βεστάτου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἡγουμένου
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγιωτάτης μονῆς, μηνὶ μαρτίῳ
 ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης ἔτους ἀπό κτί-
 σεως κό-
 σμου ἑξακίς-
 χιλιοστοῦ πεν-
 τακοσιοστοῦ εἰ-
 κοστοῦ ἕκτου.

This book has been donated to the holy monastery of St John prophet, precursor and baptist, of Stoudios, by Nicholas, head and governor of the imperial goldsmith's workshop, at the time of Nicholas the most venerable monk, presbyter and hegumen of the same holiest monastery, in the month of March, 1st indiction, of the year since the creation of the World six thousandth, five hundredth, twentieth and sixth [= 1018].

Vd. Follieri 1969, 39–40 (no. 24); Oikonomides 1972, 317 and n. 175; Spatharakis 1981, I, 18 (no. 41); II, figs. 80–81.

7.2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1531 (*Diktyon* 51149, Lake V 183, *RGK* II 303, *DBBE* occurrence 22013), year 1112, Cyprus, parchment, Menologion, f. 309v

τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ χάρις. |
 γλυκὸ τὸ γράφειν βιβλίου | τέλος ἅπαν· |
 Χριστέ παντάπαξ τῶν καλῶν ἡ ἀκρότης |
 πρεσβείαις τῆς σε τεκούσης τῷ γράψαντι |
 πάρασχε λύσιν ἀμπλακημάτων.
 ἔλαβε τέλος ἡ παροῦσα ἱερά | δέλτος αὕτη
 διὰ συνδρομῆς | καὶ πολλοῦ πόνου τοῦ
 εὐσεβεστάτου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Γερασίμου
 καθηγουμένου | τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τῶν
 Ἱερέων. | ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ χειρῶν τοῦ εὐτελοῦς
 Κλήμεντος μοναχοῦ καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦ | καὶ
 προσετέθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς |
 εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτοῖς μηνὶ | ἀπριλλίῳ
 ἰνδικτιῶνος ε΄ ἔτους .σϞς´ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες
 εὐχεσθε | ἀμφοτέρωιν, ἀμήν. |
 ὅστις οὖν βουληθῆ ἄρ[αι] τήνδε | τὴν βίβλον
 ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης | μονῆς, ἢ εὐλόγως ἢ
 ἀνευλόγως, | [ὄς] ἐν πρώτοις μὲν κληρονομεῖ
 | τὸ ἀνάθεμα, τὴν ἀρὰν τῶν | ἀγίων θεοφόρων
 πατέρων καὶ | ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰούδα τοῦ
 | καὶ προδότου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστατῶν.

Thank God, who accomplishes the good works.
 It is sweet to write every end of a book:
 Christ, summit of every good work,
 with the intercessions of She who brought you
 [forth,
 may you grant to the scribe the remission of the
 [sins.
 The present holy book has come to an end thanks
 to the co-operation and the many efforts of the
 most pious monk Gerasimos, hegumen of the
 holiest monastery of the Priests. It has been writ-
 ten by the hands of the humble Clement, monk
 and sinner, and has been offered to the church of
 the same monastery, in memory of them, on the
 month of April, 5th indiction, of the year 6620 [=
 1112]. You who read pray for both, amen.

Whoever wishes to remove this book from such
 monastery, with or without a good reason, he does
 receive as first the anathema, the curse of the holy
 fathers inspired by God, and his allotment is with
 Jude the traitor and the other apostates.

Vd. Gardthausen 1913, 433–434; Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 192 (no. 356); Constantinides 1993, 320 n. 2; Constantinides and Browning 1993, 71–74 (no. 6; pl. 10, 175); supra § 5.3.

5 ἀμπλακιμάτων, 16 βουλιθῆ cod. | 17–18 κληρονομεῖ τὸ κληρονομεῖτω Montfaucon (haud male).

8. Colophons with historical references

Vd. infra § 10.1.

8.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 13 (*Diktyon* 65746, Lake VIII 319, *RGK* III 105), year 1167, Crete, parchment, *Basilika*, f. 349v

ἐτελειώθη τὸ βιβλίον κατὰ τὴν ις´ τοῦ μαρτίου
 μηνὸς τῆς ιε΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος | τοῦ .σϞςε΄ ἔτους,
 βασιλεύοντος τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου καὶ |
 ὀρθοδόξου βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ
 Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ πορφυρο-
 γεννήτου, ἐν Κρήτῃ πρακτορεύοντος

The book has been completed on the 16th day of
 the month of March, 15th indiction, of the year
 6675 [= 1167]—during the reign of the most Chri-
 stian and orthodox emperor of the Byzantines,
 sire Manuel Komnenos Porphyrogenetos, while
 his beloved cousin, sire Alexios Kontostephanos,

τοῦ | περιποθήτου ἀνεπιου αὐτοῦ κυροῦ operated as tax collector in Crete—by desire of
 Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου, | ἐκ πόθου τοῦ George Kamarenos and at his expenses, and you
 Καμαρηνοῦ Γεωργίου καὶ κόπων ἰδίων, καὶ | who read pray, amen.
 εὐχεσθε οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἀμήν.

Vd. Follieri 1969, 43–44 (no. 28); Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 207 (no. 421); De Gregorio 2010, 246.

8.2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 772 (*Diktyon* 67403, *RGK* III 439, *DBBE* occurrence 18620), year 1220/1221, Southern Italy, paper, *Paracletic*

(f. 115v)
 ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῶν ἠ΄ ἠχῶν
 διὰ χειρὸς Μαρτίνου ἱερέως ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ
 καλλιγράφου | ἐπὶ ἔτους ςψκθ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος θ΄
 ἡμέρα δ΄ ὥρα δ΄. | οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθε
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Κύριον. |

ἐν τῷ α΄ ἔτει [[τῆς βασι]], ὅτε ἐστεφάνωσεν ὁ
 μέγας | ἐν βασιλευσιν, Φρενδερίκου βασιλέως
 καὶ εἰς | πολλὰ χρόνια,
 ὃ Χριστὲ δίδου τοῖς ἐμοῖς πόνοις χάριν.

(f. 118v)
 μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου σου Ἀνδρέου ἱερέως τὸν
 κτίσαντα τὸν | βίβλον τοῦτον.

Vd. Turyn 1964, 25 (tabb. 4, 159b); Follieri 1969, 80–81 (no. 56); Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 22 (no. 74–75); supra § 5.6.

115v, 2 ἱερέως, 4 εὐχεσθαι, 7 βασιλευσιν, 8 πολλή cod. | 6 ἐστεφανώθη debuit | 118v, 2 κτίσαντα ex κτή- correctum ('qua nota librarius, ut erat grammatices imperitus, Andream sacerdotem libri possessorem indicauit' Turyn 1964, 25).

9. *Difficult stuff: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 648 (Diktyon 67279, RGK III 587, GA 1992), year 1232, Jerusalem, paper, Theophylact of Bulgaria, Commentary to the Pauline Epistles, f. 338r*

ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα ἱερὰ βίβλος, εἶπουν αἱ τοῦ
 ἁγίου Παύλου ἐπιστολαί, χειρὶ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ |
 Συμεῶν ἢ Σάβα (λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερα)
 τάχα καὶ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου Ῥόδου,
 οὗ τὸ | ἐπὶ κλην τοῦ Κόρακος, μηνὶ μαρτίῳ
 ἰνδικτιῶνος ε΄ ἔτους ςψμ΄. ἐγράφη δ΄ ἐν
 Ἱεροσολύμοις | καιρῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ κατὰ
 σπουδῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ γράμματα πῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
 πλεῖστον ἀσύντακτα φαίνονται | κείμενα.

(f. 115v)
 The present book of the eight echoes has been
 completed by the hand of Martin, priest, sinner
 and calligrapher, in the year 6729 [= 1220/1221],
 9th indiction, on the 4th day at the 4th hour. You
 who read pray the Lord for him.

In the first year [[of the reign]]—when the great
 among the kings was crowned—of king Freder-
 ick, and for the years to come,

Christ, may you grant your favour to my la-
 bours.

(f. 118v)
 Remember of your servant, Andrew the priest,
 who commissioned this book.

The present holy book, namely the Epistles of St
 Paul, has been written by the hand of the humble
 Simon or Saba (for let he be called both ways),
 perhaps not even worthy of the name of monk,
 from the island of Rhodes, whose surname is Ko-
 rax, in the month of March, 5th indiction, of the
 year 6740 [= 1232]. It has been written in Jerusa-
 lem, during the winter and in a hurry: this is the
 reason why the letters appear for the most part

ὁ τὸ ἀντιβόλαιον γράφας ἀπρόσεκτος ἦν ὡς
 ἔοικε | καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μοι τὸν κόπον προεξέτισε
 μέγιστον, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς | ἔγωγε παρὰ τοῦτον
 ἀπρόσεκτος πέλω πολλαπλασίως.

arranged in an untidy way.

The scribe of the antigraph was, as it seems,
 careless and therefore caused me great pain, if I
 myself are many times careless because of him.

Vd. Turyn 1964, 26–27 (tabb. 6, 162c); Follieri 1969, 72–73 (no. 49); Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 32 (no. 104–106); Kotsabasi 2004, 158–159 (no. 57).

10–13 cryptographic scripsit librarius.

10. ‘*E io pago!*’: *Arethas’ ownership notes (c.860–after 932)*

10.1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarke 39 (*Diktyon* 47776, Lake II 52, *RGK* I 193), year 895, Constantinople, parchment, Plato, *Tetralogies* I–VI, f. 418v

ἐγράφη χειρὶ Ἰωάννου καλλιγράφου |
 εὐτυχῶς Ἀρέθα διακόνου Πατρειῆ νομισμάτων
 βυζαντιῶν δέκα καὶ τριῶν, μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ
 ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ’ ἔτει κόσμου | ,ςυδ’, βασιλείας
 Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου υἱοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ
 ἀειμνήστου.

Written with a good luck by the hand of John the
 calligrapher, for Arethas, the deacon of Patras,
 for 13 Byzantine nomismata, in the month of
 November, 14th indiction, in the year of the
 world 6404 [= 895], during the reign of the lov-
 ing Christ Leo, son of Basil, had in everlasting
 remembrance.

ἔδόθη | ὑπὲρ γραφῆς νομίσματα ἰγ’, ὑπὲρ
 περγαμηνῶν νομίσματα ἦ’.

Paid 13 nomismata for the transcription, 8 nom-
 ismata for the parchments.

Vd. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 124 (no. 12); Parpulov 2015, 170 (no. 11); supra § 8.

10.2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 451 (*Diktyon* 50025, Lake IV 136, *RGK* I 30 = II 43), year 913/914, Constantinople, parchment, Apologetic miscellany, f. 401v

ἐγράφη χειρὶ Βαάνους νοταρίου | Ἀρέθα
 ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας | Καππαδοκίας
 ἔτει κόσμου | ,ςυκβ’.

Written by the hand of Baanes the secretary, for
 Arethas, archbishop of the Cappadocian Caesar-
 ea, in the year of the world 6422 [= 913/914].

νομισμάτων κ’, περγαμηναὶ νομισμάτων ζ’.

20 nomismata, the parchment at 6 nomismata.

Vd. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 125 (no. 20).

11. *Scribe and scholar... and poet: Maximos Planoudes’ colophons (c.1255–1305)*

11.1. The dedication of a *nomokanon* (epigram 4 Taxidis, year 1283)

ὁ τήνδε γράφας τὴν βίβλον γράφει τάδε
 ἄλλον ἐγὼν ἐμόγησα πανέξοχον οἶον ἀπ’ ἄλλων
 γράφας ἐν πισύρεσσι περιπλομένησι σελήναις,
 καίπερ ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀνακτορέοις προσεδρεύων,
 τήνδε σοφῶν κανόνων ὑποδέγμονα πυκτίδα

[πᾶσαν

The person who wrote this book writes thus.

I have accomplished an eminent work, like
 nothing else, having written in the turn of
 four moons, although I served in the imperial
 palace, this whole book collecting the wise
 canons, (5) that the synods and the fathers,

τοὺς σύνοδοι πατέρες τε θεοῦδées ἱεροφάνται 5
 ἔκθεσαν ἡμερίοισι μετεσομομένοις μέγαν ὄλβον.
 γράμα δ' ἔφημοσύνησιν ἀγακλέος ἀρχιερέως,
 ποιμένος εὐσεβέων προβάτων, ἱεροῦ Θεοκτίστου,
 τὸν λάχεν Ἀδριανοῖο πόλις κλυτὸν ἡγεμονῆα,
 δόγματος ὀρθοτόμου σοφὸν ἴδμονα καὶ διδαχάων 10
 τοῖσι συναπτόμενος βίος ἔνθεος, οὐκ ἐπίληπτος,
 κυδάλμιον φαίνει τε καὶ ἡγάθεόν μιν ἐόντα.
 οὗτος ἐπεὶ δύναμιν θείων κανόνων σάφα οἶδεν,
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ χρήσεται οἷα μαθήσει τοῖσδε,
 μᾶλλον ἀναμνήσει δέ· τὸ γὰρ πλέον αὐτὸς 15
 [ἐνίσπω,
 ὃς σοφίης τούτου καὶ ἐχέφρονος ἔξοχα γνώμης
 πειρήθην καὶ θάμβος ἐνὶ πραπίδεσιν ἐδέγμην.
 πρὸς δέ, καὶ οἷα περ ὄπλον ἢ ὄργανον ἀρχιερέως
 τοῖσδε φιλοῦσι μάλιστα φέρειν ἐς αἰεὶ μεθ'
 [ἐαντῶν,
 ὄφρα κε τοὺς Βελίαρ μὲν ἀποτροπέωσιν ὀμίλους 20
 ἐργάζονται πάλιν δε Θεῶ τάπερ ἐστὶν ἀρεστά.
 ἀλλὰ πάτερ πανάριστε Θεοῖο τε γνήσιε θῦτα,
 ζῶσ' ἀρετῶν στήλη, ἀριτρεπέδ' ἐν ἱεράρχαις,
 εἶγε Θεῶ προσάγεις ἐντεύξεις εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο,
 σοὶ χάρις ἔσεται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ σέο φίλτρῳ 25
 ἔμβalon ἐν καμάτοισιν ἀπειρήτοισιν ἐμαυτὸν,
 ὃς ῥα Μανουὴλ οὖνονμ' ἔχων λέγομ' ἠδὲ
 [Πλανούδης.

the priests inspired by God, have arranged
 as a great happiness for the mortals to come.
 I wrote by order of the glorious prelate, the
 shepherd of the pious flocks, the holy Theoc-
 tistos, whom the city of Hadrian has obtained
 by lot as its renowned guide, (10) a wise ex-
 pert of the orthodox dogma and the doctrines:
 a pious and irreproachable life, adhering to
 these precepts, makes him appear glorious
 and most holy. Since he is well aware of the
 strength of the divine canons, he will certain-
 ly use this book not to learn them, (15) rather
 to go through them again: indeed, I say thus
 myself, having experienced his wisdom and
 his sensible mind, and having taken wonder
 in my soul. Furthermore, the prelates above
 all love to carry these canons always with
 them, like a weapon or an instrument, (20) so
 that they may drive out the hordes of Belial
 and, on the contrary, perform acts pleasing
 to God. Now, excellent father and genuine
 priest of God, living monument of virtues,
 very distinguished among the prelates, if you
 address prayers to God for me, (25) I will
 thank you, for I myself for your sake have
 launched myself into unattempted labours, I
 who, having the name Manuel, am also called
 Planoudes.

Vd. Taxisidis 2017, 10, 46–48, 81–87; supra § 3.

seorsum tradunt codices Mediolanenses, Ambrosiani A 119 sup. (*Diktyon* 42225), saec. XIV, f. IIIr, et O 52 sup. (*Diktyon* 43065), saec. XV, ff. 19v–20r, necnon Mosquensis, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskiy Muzei, Synod. gr. 315 (*Diktyon* 43940), saec. XVI, f. 40r | titulus codicis Mosquensis εἰς νομοκάνωνον ὄπερ ἔγραψεν ὁ Πλανούδης ὃς καὶ γράφει τάδε ‘ὁ τήνδε γράψας τὴν βίβλον γράφει τάδε’· κατὰ μῆνα ἀπρίλιον ἰ ἐν ἔτει ,σψτᾶ | 15 ἐνιστῶ codd. : correxi.

11.2. Planoudes' miscellany of epic and didactic poetry: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 32.16 (*Diktyon* 16280, *DBBE* occurrence 19393), year 1280–1283, Constantinople, paper, f. 8v = epigram 12 Taxisidis

εἴληφε καλῶς ἡ βίβλος αὐτῆ πέρας
 τοῦ πρὶν Μανουὴλ ἀρτίως δὲ Μαξιμου,
 Θεὸν βοηθὸν τῆδε συγκεκτημένου.

This book has beautifully come to an end,
 the book of the person who was first Manuel and
 [just now is Maximos,
 and who got for it the help of God.

Vd. Turyn 1972, 28–36 (pll. 16–23, 223c); Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 108–109 (no. 362–364); Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 181 (no. 43); Taxisidis 2017, 109–110.

12. Philological restorations: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 69.6 (Diktyon 16533, Lake X 368), year 997 / fourteenth century, Constantinople, parchment, Plutarch, Parallel Lives, f. 288v

ἐγράφη χειρὶ Γρηγορίου Κουβουκλεισίου, πλὴν ἑξ ἑσῶν μεταγραφέντων φύλλων, μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ἰνδικτικῶνος ι´ | ἔτους ,ςφε´.

Written by the hand of Gregory Kouboukleios, except the rewritten leaves, in the month of June, 10th indiction, of the year 6505 [= 997].

Vd. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 140 (no. 94); Bianconi 2011, 117–118, 124, 128.

codicis ff. 2r–3v, 9r–v, 286r–v, 288r–v suppleuit librarius anonymus saeculi XIV ineuntis, iussu, ut uidetur, Nicephori Gregorae.

13. The ‘latest’ Greek colophons

13.1. Spatharakis 1981, I, 3

ἐγράφη ἐν λουγδούνῳ τῶν βαταύων χειρὶ ἰωάννου τοῦ καὶ μικροῦ σπαθαρίου, δι’ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν κατοχωριανῶν. ἀφιερῶνται δὲ ὑπάτοις φιλοσόφων φρειδερίκῳ βανδερμερίῳ, ἐρμάνῳ ἐννεπορίῳ καὶ κουρτίῳ βαϊτζμάνῳ.
ἐτελειώθη ἡμέραν δευτέραν, μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ λ´, ἰνδ. β´, ἔτους ,ζυπζ´ ἐπὶ τοῦ λα´ ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας ἰουλιάννας τῶν κάτω χωρῶν, ἀγούσης τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας.
οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες εὐχεσθε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε.

Written in Leiden by the hand of Ioannis Spatharakis, by order and at the expense of the inhabitants of the Netherlands. Dedicated to the highest scholars Frederick van der Meer, Herman Hennephof and Kurt Weitzmann.

Completed on Monday, April 30th, 2nd indiction, of the year 7487 [= 1979], in the 31st year of the reign of Juliana of the Netherlands, aged 70.

You who read pray and do not curse.

13.2. Constantinides and Browning 1993, 448

εἴληφε πέρας βίβλος ἡ ποθουμένη
χερσὶ γραφεῖσα τῶν ταπεινῶν γραφέων
Ρομπέρτου Μπράουνιγκ ἐκ Βρετανίας
καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κωνσταντινίδη
ἐκ τῆς περιωνύμου Κυπρίων νήσου,
μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τε ἡμέρα πρώτη
τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ ἐννεακοσιοστοῦ
καὶ ἐνενηκοστοῦ τρίτου ἔτους Χριστοῦ,
ἐν νήσῳ Κύπρῳ καὶ πόλει Λευκωσία
καὶ οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες εὐχεσθαι ἡμῖν.
ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδα
καὶ οἱ θαλαττεύοντες εὐρεῖν λιμένα
οὕτω καὶ οἱ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος.

The beloved book has come to an end,
having been written by the hands of the humble
[scribes

Robert Browning from Britain
and Kostantinos Konstantinides
from the far-famed island of Cyprus,
on the first day of the month of December,
of the thousandth, nine hundredth,
ninetieth and third year of Christ,
on the island of Cyprus, in the town of Leucosia,
and you who use (the book) pray for us.
As the foreigners rejoice in seeing their own
[country
and the seafarers in finding a harbour,
so also the scribes (in finding) the end of a book.

*Manuscript index***- Papyri**

- P.Bodmer C = P.Bodmer V + X + XI + VII + XIII + XII + VIII: **1.4**
 P.Bodmer P = P.Bodmer XX + IX: **1.4**
 P.Bouriant 1 = P.Sorb. inv. 826: appar. ad **1.5**
 P.Lond.Lit. 11 = P.Lond. inv. 136: **1.3**
 P.Ryl. 1.58: **1.5**
 P.Sorb. inv. 72 + 2772 + 2773: **1.1**

- Codices

- Athens, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 56: **6.1**
 180: **5.1.2**
- Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
 ms. 2372: **5.2.3**
- El-Escorial, Real Biblioteca
 Ψ I 11: n. 56
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
 Conventi Soppressi 1: **5.3.3**
 plut. 32.16: **11.2**
 plut. 69.6: **12**
- Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale
 B.α.4: **5.1.1**
- Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
 Pal. gr. 23: n. 44
- Jerusalem, Πατριαρχικὴ βιβλιοθήκη
 Hagiou Saba 144: appar. ad **1.1**
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
 Cod. gr. 1: **2.1**
- London, British Library
 Add. 43725: **2.1**
- Meteora, Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως
 591: n. 61
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
 A 119 sup.: **11.1**
 D 69 sup.: p. 23
 O 52 sup.: **11.1**
 C 209 inf.: **6.2**
- Moskva, Gosudarstvennyi Istoričeskij Muzei
 Synod. gr. 14: n. 56
 Synod. gr. 315: **11.1**
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
 II A 7: n. 53
- Oxford, Bodleian Library
 Clarke 39: **10.1**
 D'Orville 301: n. 89

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Coislin 202: **2.3**

gr. 451: **10.2**

gr. 1115: n. 2

gr. 1470: n. 13

gr. 1531: **7.2**

gr. 1553: **5.1.3**

Suppl. gr. 1074: **2.3**

Patmos, Μονή τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου

136: **5.3.1**

Saint Petersburg, Rosijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka

gr. 219: **4.2**

Sinai, Μονή τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης

gr. 556: n. 56

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Ott. gr. 344: **5.3.2**

Pal. gr. 13: **8.1**

Pal. gr. 44: **5.2.1**

Urb. gr. 35: n. 89

Vat. copt. 60⁴: n. 74

Vat. copt. 63¹: n. 74

Vat. copt. 67¹: n. 74

Vat. gr. 608: p. 28

Vat. gr. 648: **9**

Vat. gr. 772: **8.2**

Vat. gr. 1296: **5.4.2**

Vat. gr. 1646: **5.4.1**

Vat. gr. 1666: **4.1**

Vat. gr. 1675: **7.1**

Vat. gr. 1755: **5.2.2**

Vat. gr. 1809: **5.1.1**

Vat. gr. 2125: **2.2**

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

gr. 567: n. 56

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Med. gr. 1: **3**

The Structure and the Formulary of the Coptic Colophons

With a New Colophon from Dayr Abū Maqār

Agostino Soldati, Sapienza Università di Roma

The article aims to define the usual structure of Coptic colophons by identifying the main sections into which these texts are divided. It also proposes the identification of the Coptic term that probably designated the colophon.

Since its dawn, the greedy *quête* of ancient Christian manuscripts in Egypt had to face the incorporeal resistance exerted by plenty of concise texts, half-way between a *Schenkungsurkunde* and a *devotio*, usually designed by western scholars as colophons.

‘On me dit qu’il y a l’excommunication d’en oster un des lieux’: thus, in July 1634, the French Capuchin Agathange de Vendôme, at that time missionary in Cairo and a few years later martyr in Gondar, wrote to Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, trying to excuse himself for the delay in sending what he had promised.¹ Peiresc had entrusted Agathange with the earliest purchases of Coptic manuscripts by a western collector.² In his letter, the friar complained about the sometimes insurmountable obstacles he had met in persuading a monastic institution to sell an ancient codex, with a clear hint at the obstructing power of the anathema often inserted in the final subscription of a manuscript. For instance, the colophon of a manuscript belonging to the library of the White Monastery dated to 1035–1036 CE³ contains a ruthless curse against whoever would dare to purloin the book from the monastery: $\tau\epsilon\pi\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \iota\eta\epsilon\ |\ \xi\rho\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\ |\ \tau\acute{\iota}\xi\eta\pi\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\varphi\upsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\varphi\mu\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ |\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \xi\eta\pi\omega\eta\eta\ \mu\pi\omicron\eta\zeta\ \prime$ ‘might God bring upon his head all the curses that are in the (book of) Law (νόμος) and that (the thief) could not take his part (μέρος) in the tree of the life’. An identical sternness and an itemized precision about the restrictions applied to the use of a monastic library book is shown, for example, by a much later subscription written in his own hand by the patriarch of Alexandria Gabriel (occupying the see of Mark from 1268 to 1271 CE) on the opening leaf of a Copto-Arabic Evangelary:⁴

1 Apollinaire de Valence 1892, 69.

2 See, at least, Volkoff 1970, 35–42.

3 Ms London, British Library, Or. 3581 B f. 89 = van Lantschoot 1929, 169–170, C, ll. 35–38.

4 Ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt. 9, f. 1, ll. 7–14 = Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 31. See also <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.copt.9>.

(...) وكاتب هذا الاسطر ...and the one who wrote these lines, | the
المسكين غريبال المدعو برحمة الله واحكامه التي لا تترك بطريك مدينة
الاسكندرية وما معها يمنع ويحرم كل من يخرج هذا الكتاب المقدس
من كنيسة هذا الدير المذكور ولا يطلع به الى الجوسك مثل بقية الكتب ولا
يخويه بل يكون في الكنيسة مع الكتب ويقرأ فيه في الحدود والعياد
في صلاة عشية ويأكر ووقت المقدس ومن اراد من الرهبان ان ياذه
الى قلابته يكشف منه او يقابل به فلا يمنع من ذلك بل اذا فرغ بشغل
يعيده الى الكنيسة (...)

the miserable Gabriel, the one called by the mercy of God and by His unfathomable decrees to (the role of) patriarch of the city | of Alexandria and of what is with it, bans and damns everyone who takes this holy book out | of the church of the abovementioned monastery: neither let it be taken out in the tower as the other books, nor | let it be hidden but let it remain in the church with the books in order that it could be read in it on Sundays and on holydays, | during the vespers and the matins, and during the masses, and who among the priests would bring it | to his cell for excerpting from it (*yakšifa minhu*) or for collating (another manuscript) with it (*yuqābila bihi*), let him not be forbidden from that, as long as, once finished the work, would return it to the church...

Actually, colophons constitute a peculiar category of documentary texts, intrinsically—and also physically—connected with the object whose ownership they substantiate. Much more sturdily than any other documentary type, the validity of their provision lasts undiminished for centuries, as it is proven by the superstitious demurrals of the monks albeit enticed by the prodigal offers of the Western collectors of ancient oriental manuscripts.⁵

The unusual duration of such peculiar contracts is entailed by the priceless income they pledged, something immeasurably more valuable, for the Coptic man, than the revenue warranted by any other contractual typology: the salvation of the soul secured by the prayers of the users of the book. This primary purpose of the colophon, beside its expression of the lawful ownership exerted by a monastic library and the attestation of the professional service of a copyist, is tellingly stated by the very word through which the Coptic language in all likelihood designated the colophon. It has been observed that in a far-away domain of the Christian East, Armenia, the same textual type is named *yišatakaran*, i.e. ‘place of the memory’.⁶ With a noteworthy analogy, the wording itself of many Boḥairic colophons discloses how that kind of subscriptions were named: ⲩⲛⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉϥⲓ, literally ‘occasion of remembering’. The word is an univervation of ⲩⲛⲉ, plausibly the outcome of the ancient *hrt* ‘oc-

5 For a thorough analysis of Coptic colophons, with exhaustive bibliography and important terminological considerations see Buzi 2016. For texts from Sketis see Luisier 2016.

6 Sirinian 2016, 14.

casions', annexed to the paraphrastic verb ερ-φμεγι 'remember'. Most often, the word appears within the formulaic phrasing αρωωπι ιχπεωενερφμεγι ιτρεπαλχωμ εβολ ριτοτϑ 'It took place the occasion of the remembering of this book by the hand of...', introducing, with congruous pronominal suffix, the mention of the donor in Bohairic colophons. At a first glance such an expression could be interpreted as a mere hint at the liturgical commemoration on behalf of either the donor or his or her dead relative. Yet, one of the rare Ṣa'īdic instances of the word revealingly seems to confirm its value as *terminus technicus* designating the final subscription of a manuscript. It occurs within the earnest apostrophe of the colophon preserved in a collection of tenth-century fragments from the White Monastery kept in Paris.⁷

After having recalled, in an alliterative phrasing obtained by resorting to an A L F form σαγρϑ, the praiseworthy dedication of a certain Basile, who searched for some manuscripts of the digest of sermons preserved by the Parisian codex in various monastic libraries and caused them to be copied ([ε]ρωωινε ρημοναδ(20)[τ]ηριον καταμα | ωαντεφσαγροϑ (A) | ερωι νφραιοϑ, 'searching (for them) in the monastery (μοναστήριον), place by (κατά) place, in order to gather them and to have them copied'), the copyist invokes explicitly the reader in these very terms: [ε]τβεπαι ογον νιμ | [ε] τναωω μπρπεμ(25)εγε εφεχοοϑ χεερε|πχοειϑ σμοϑ εροϑ κτλ., 'therefore, everyone who will read this *ερπεεε*, might he say 'might God bless him etc.'. Although the Ṣa'īdic through its customary pithiness chooses the simple substantivized infinitive πρπεμεγε rather than the wordier Bohairic φενερφμεγι, both instances converge exactly. Thus, Β φενερφμεγι, Σ πρπεεγε seem to correspond accurately with the Armenian *yišatakaran* as well as to the Persian loan from Georgian *anderzi*,⁸ although the latter is not likewise semantically coincident. If such an inference is correct, a regrettable gap lamented by Coptic lexicography could be acceptably bridged, whilst the original designation of the colophon in other languages of the Christian Orient is still missing.⁹

As shown before, the paramount importance of the intercession entailed by liturgical commemoration as well as by private prayer of suffrage is unveiled by the plausible original denomination of the colophon itself. The fact that the intercession was the disembodied aim of the praeternatural agreement sanctioned by colophons—to use the very wording of many of them, ἱνατππ·

7 Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 132¹, f. 66r = van Lantschoot 1929, 127–131, LXXVII. See also <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b52506755c/f137.item>>. This and other URIs last accessed 20 November 2022.

8 See Shurgaja 2016, 113–116.

9 It is, for instance, the case of Ethiopic *'anqaṣ*, see Bausi 2016, 251, n. 52.

ἡσῶβιω ἡναπκαρ· μωραενερ· επιμα ἡνιπροσογοειω ‘the things of sky in return for the ones of earth, the eternal things in the place of the ones fleeting (πρός +)’—is eloquently upheld by the theological validation of many *loci* of Patristic texts preserved in Coptic version. A good example is this illustration of the connection between the gift of a manuscript to a religious institution and the salvation of the soul of the donor offered by Cyril of Alexandria, *De hora mortis* 118 Amélineau:

εταλχεναι τηρου ετετεναγαπη ω πλλαο
 ἡμαἱρς ογορ μωρηι ντετκαθολικη
 νεκκλησια εωβενη ετωωπ ἡμλχωμ νωω
 εγτ μνωου εβογν επι ηφτ καν ογκοχχι
 πε καν ογνιωτ πε ογωε νερφνεγι
 ραενερ πε ενατκην ηενπνη ηφτ. †χω
 δε μνος νωτεν ω πλλαο ἡμαἱρς
 χερωμ νιβεν εωραφωπ νογχωμ
 ντεφτην εβογν επι ηφτ ιχενππηαγ
 ετογναωω ηητηγ ηεντεκκλησια
 εωωπ πρωμ ετεμναγ οηβ ηεντογνογ
 ραγςβαι μπεφραν επχωμ ἡπωηβ
 νσετ ναγ ντεφπροσφορα ηζ κκωβ
 νσοπ ηενογμογ. εωωπ δε οη πρωμ
 εταφωππλχωμ αφι εβολ ηενσωμα
 εωωπ αφιρι νογκοχχι ἡνωι ογορ αγριτγ
 ενικολασις ιχενππηαγ ετογναωω
 ἡπλχωμ ηεντεκκλησια σεναενγ επωωι
 ηεναμεντ (λβ) ηεννικολασις ετεφωωπ
 ηητηογ σεναηαι ναγ ηεντογνογ.

I said all such things for charity (ἀγάπη) toward you, o Christ-loving laymen (λαός) and sons of the catholic (καθολική) church (ἐκκλησία), for those who buy books for reading and donate them to the house of God, whether (κἄν) they are of small size or big, there shall be an eternal and unceasing memory in the house of God. Thus, I say to you that, o Christ-loving laymen, if any man buys a book and donates it to the house of God, from the moment it is read in the church, if that man is alive, immediately his name is written on the book of life and his offering (προσφορά) will be rendered back to him in blessing multiplied by seven. But if the man who bought the book has left his body (σῶμα), if he committed a little sin and was brought toward the punishments (κόλασις), from the moment the book is read in the church, he will be lifted from hell, from the punishments he will have suffered there, and he will obtain mercy immediately.

Beside its direct hint at the theological premise underlying colophons, the passage is noteworthy for its lexical choice echoing the formulaic phrasing of many subscriptions: the occurrence of the abovementioned technical term *φενερφμεγι* as well as the resorting to many topical motifs almost fixed in colophons formulary in every area and period. I am referring to the *figura* of the *χωμ ἡπωηβ*, the ‘book of life’,¹⁰ on whose pages the names of the redeemed men are written, and that of the sevenfold reward (ηζ κκωβ νσοπ). As far as the latter is concerned, the amount of the requital, the collection of which is located by the majority of colophons in the ‘heavenly Jerusalem’, increases from seven- to hundredfold, to a hyperbolic myriad—or even to the evangelic *gradatio* ‘thirty, sixty, hundred times’ occurring with variations of the order of the ciphers in the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:1–23, Mark 4:1–20, Luke 8:4–15 and the Gospel of Thomas, logion 9). With his habitual subtlety, van Lantschoot instituted a relation between such expression of

10 See van Lantschoot 1929, I.2, 18.

otherworldly profit and the poetic custom in the language of colophons to designate the manuscript as καρπός.¹¹ Another motif strongly suggestive of a purely contractual wording is the usual metaphor of the deletion of debt certification of sins (ἡτεπνογτε παρ ἡπεχιρογραφον ἡνεκνοβε τηροϋ, ‘ translate ’) which God will effect on behalf of the beneficiary of the prayers of the readers. The motif is clearly related to the Pauline ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον (‘ translate ’, Col. 2.14).

Regardless of the plenty of combinatorial possibilities allowed by the formulaic repertoire available to copyist, if one observes the most frequently attested structural order, an abstract pattern of colophon consists of the following elements:

Invocatio

It is the unavoidable opening of each deed in Byzantine *Urkundenwesen*. Among the most widespread formulations there are the concise Greek *σὺν θεῷ*, sometimes amplified through the addition *ἡγορη ὡν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα ἡπνογτε ἡἡνεκῶν ἡτεπνογτε ἡθεοτοκος ἡαγια ἡαρια*, ‘with God, first and foremost, and by means of the divine Ghost (πνεῦμα) and of the prayers of our Lady the Mother of God (θεοτόκος), Saint (ἁγία) Mary’. Within a wordier phrasing, some auspicious priamels such as *ζετῆ ριπραϋε ἡἡπτεληλ ἡἡτεγφροςῶν ἡἡτδικαιοῶν ἡἡπογνοϋ*,¹² ‘sleekness¹³ and gladness and joy and mirth (εὐφροσύνη) and justice (δικαιοσύνη) and pleasure’ are noteworthy; similarly, the partially overlapping *σιτορῆ ἡμοϋ ἡἡπραϋε ἡἡπογνοϋ ἡἡπῶεληλ*,¹⁴ ‘redolence / gain (?)¹⁵ to him and gladness and pleasure and joy’; *ωνεζ σε*

11 Van Lantschoot 1929, I.2, 9.

12 Ms New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 633 (1) = van Lantschoot 1929, II, 13–16. See also <<https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/214178>>.

13 The word *ζετῆ* is one of the *hapax legomena* occurring in scribal subscriptions. It is patently a deverbative in -q built with a not otherwise attested *status nominalis* of *ζετα(ε)ι* ‘become, be fat’. Semantically, it can be compared to Greek adjective *λιπαρός*, lit. ‘oily; fat’, metaphorically ‘sleek, comfortable’.

14 Ms London, British Library, Or. 3581 B (70) r = van Lantschoot 1929, 169–170, C, ll. 17–19.

15 *σιτορῆ* apperas at a first glance mysterious. I wonder whether it could be interpreted as a compound consisting of the F *status nominalis* of *χι* (or an improper *st. pron.* *σιτ(ε)?*) and *ωρς* ‘harvest’, lit. ‘taking the harvest’ with allusion to a spiritual crop, or, perhaps better, to the same F *st. nom.* of *χι* / the prefix *σι(η)-* and *τωρς*, ‘μυρίζειν’, i.e. the ‘spreading abroad sweetness’ (Lampe 1961, 888b, s.v. *μυρίζω*, B) upon the donor of the book, if not a concrete anointing through *μύρον*, cp. Crum 1939, 461b, s.v. *τωρς*, *praesertim* B *χιηωρς*.

ΜΟΥΣ ΖΗΠΡΑΘΕ ΜΗΤΕΡΗΝΗ,¹⁶ ‘life, surfeit, water (i.e. relief) and gladness and the peace of the holy Church’.

In other cases the text begins with the eulogy ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ἸΝΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΩ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ἸΝΕΣΜΟΥ Ε-, ‘the God of the spirits (πνεῦμα) and the lord of every flesh (σάρξ) might bless’, introducing the mention of the donor. Sometimes the divine apostrophe is amplified through a relative clause which could be defined a *historiola*: ΠΕΝΤΑΧΧΙ ἸΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΑΒΕΛ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΜΗΤΕΘΥΣΙΑ ἸΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΑΓΩ ΠΛΕΠΤΟΝΣΝΑΥ ἸΧΗΡΑ ΕΚΕΧΙ ΚΤΛ.,¹⁷ ‘the one who received the gifts of Abel the righteous (δίκαιος) and the sacrifice (θυσία) of our father Abraham and the two obols (λεπτόν) of the widow (χήρα), might you receive ...’, followed by the mention of the manuscript and its donor. Further possible auspicious tournures introducing the name of the donor are ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΗΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΣΕΣΜΟΥ ΑΓΩ ΝῪΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΩΝΕΖ Ν-, ‘might the Father with the Son with the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα) bless and protect the life of ...’, as well as ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΝΑΛΗΘΗΝΟΣ ἸΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΕΣΕΣΜΟΥ ΑΓΩ ΝῪΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΩΝΕΖ Ἰ-, ‘might the Lord Jesus the Christ, our truthful (ἀληθινός) God bless and protect the life of ...’; a further variant: ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΧΧΙΣΑΡΞ ΖῪΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΣΕΣΜΟΥ ΑΓΩ ΝῪΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΩΝΕΖ Ν-, ‘the Lord Jesus the Christ, the Word (λόγος) which took flesh (σάρξ) through the holy Virgin (παρθένος) Mary, might bless and protect the life of ...’. Rather than a request of blessing and protection, many *invocaciones* contain an entreaty for the divine mercy upon the donor: ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΡΟΥΝΑ ΜΗΤΕΥΧΧΗ ἸΠΕΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΓΤΕ Ἰ-, ‘the Lord Jesus the Christ, have mercy on the soul (ψυχή) of our God-loving...’; or ‘a great mercy’: ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΟΘ ἸΝΑ ΜΗΠΕΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΓΤΕ ἸΣΟΝ ΕΝΤ-. When the donor for humility’s sake as well as for confidence in divine omniscience wants to conceal his identity, the copyist resorts to an *invocatio* as ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΤ-, ‘might the Lord Jesus the Christ bless the man which...’ followed by the details about the copying and the gift of the manuscript.

An even more usual beginning is the Christian *basmala* ΖῪΠΡΑΜ ἸΠΩΤ ΜΗΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΗΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ‘in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα)’ enhanced through mentions of the saint and the Virgin juxtaposed *per anacoluthon* with an optative ΜΗΝΕΩΛΗΛ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΗΤΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΗΡῪ ΤΕΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΣΕΣΜΟΥ Ε- ‘and the prayers of the saints and the Lady of all us, the Mother of God (θεοτόκος),

16 Ms Leiden, Rijksmuseum, Insinger no. 92, f. 8r = van Lantschoot 1929, 111–1712, LXVII, ll. 1–2.

17 Ms New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 573, f. 79v = van Lantschoot 1929, 48–49, XXVII, ll. 4–9. See also <<https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77275>>.

saint (ἄγία) Mary'. Other possible openings are the more concise ϩ̅ⲓⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲓⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲓⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓⲡⲉⲡⲛⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̅ⲗⲟⲙⲟⲟϩⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲡⲱⲣⲁ, 'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα), the consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) undivided Trinity (τριὰς)', or the syntactically more appropriate ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲓⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓⲡⲉⲡⲛⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲥⲟⲙⲟϩ ⲉ-, 'May Father and Son and Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα) bless ...' introducing the name of the donor. The most terse verbiage of the *basmala*, copiously attested in the opening of any kind of document, is ϩ̅ⲓⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲓⲡⲛⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲗⲟⲣⲣⲓ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ, 'in the name of God first of all'. A well-known regional variant, is the invocation often occurring in colophons of manuscripts pertaining to the White Monastery: ϩ̅ⲓⲡⲣⲟϩⲱϩ ⲓⲡⲛⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓⲛⲉϩⲱⲛⲓⲗ ⲓⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ ⲓⲡⲣⲟⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲁϩⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲣⲉⲛⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̅ⲓⲛ̅ⲓⲧⲡⲁⲓⲣⲟⲟϩⲱ...¹⁸ 'through the will of God and the prayers of our Lord, holy father, prophet (προφήτης), the saint (ἅγιος) Aṗa Šenoute, the archimadrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and the taking care of ...' followed by the mention of the donor.

Intercessio

In most cases the *invocatio* is followed by a fervent request of praying on behalf of the donor, sometimes blended with the *intercessio*. The usual wording is ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲁϩⲁⲡⲏ ... ϩⲗⲏⲗ ⲉϫⲛ- / ⲁⲣⲓⲡ()ⲙⲉⲉϩⲉ / ⲥⲟⲙⲟϩ ⲉ-, 'as an act of charity ... pray for ... / commemorate ... / bless ...'. Besides the donor, beneficiary of the *intercessio* are often his relatives, dead or alive, sometimes even his livestock (ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟϩⲉ), the crop of his parcel (ⲥⲱϩⲉ) or his properties (ⲛ̅ⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲓ ⲛⲁϩ). The apostrophe to the addressee of such request always contains an indefinite pronoun accompanied by a relative clause specifying the manner of his coming across the book: ⲟϩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲱϩ, 'everyone who will read' / ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ, 'who will attend to / declaim'¹⁹ / ⲉⲧⲛⲁϫⲓⲥⲱ ϩ̅ⲓⲡⲉⲓϫⲱⲙⲉ, 'who will acquire knowledge from this book'. Also in the cases where the name of the donor is withheld *per aposiopesin*, his indefinite mention is customarily combined with epithets describing his devotion and his charity: in the majority of the cases they are compound adjectives whose first member is

18 Ms Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana e dei Lincei, Or. 224, f. 2v = van Lantschoot 1929, 150–151, LXXXVIII, ll. 1–3.

19 Rather than the individual study, the verb ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ would hint, according to van Lantschoot interpretation, at the action of reading aloud, see van Lantschoot 1929, I, 2, 20–21, n. 1. The same action is expressed in the colophon of MS London, British Library, Or. 8799, f. 79v, through the rarer synonymic tournure ⲉⲑⲣⲟϩⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲥⲏⲧⲓⲧⲓⲛ. In another text (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 129¹², f. 42 (<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100896172>>) + Cairo, IFAO, fr. 3 = van Lantschoot 1929, 170–177, CII, ll. 13–14, the request of prayer employs the explicit verbiage ⲡⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̅ⲓⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟⲓⲡⲟⲗⲟϩ, 'the movement of your lips'.

the *participium coniunctum* of με as μαίνογτε ‘God-loving’, μαίαγαπη ‘charity(ἀγάπη)-loving’, μαίπροσφορα ‘eucharist(προσφορά)-loving’ and so on.

Narratio

The canonic wording describing the gesture of the donor, sometimes introduced by a causal-relative χεντ-, is αϕιπροσϕω ἱπειλωμε εἰνεϕρισε ἡμιν ἡμοϕ, ‘he took care of this book through his own efforts’, that is to say ‘at his own expenses’. In other cases the chosen syntagm sounds αϕσμῆπειλωμε, ‘he provided this book’ with the ancient causative of μογν, which in the formula of colophons is employed as *terminus technicus* rendering the acquiring of books, as an alternative described through a more explicit αϕωϕπ ‘he bought’ or the Grecism συνιστᾶν. Sporadically the copyist resorts to a concrete αϕεραπειλωμε, where the *verbum scribendi* would have a clear causative value, as again van Lantschoot finely observed. The act of the gift is described through an often asyndetically juxtaposed αϕτααϕ ερογν ε-, ‘he gave to...’. In the formulaic use of Isnā we often read the more solemn Grecism αϕΔωριζε ερογν ε-, evoking the very wording of coeval *Schenkungsurkunden* of the Thebaid.²⁰ The following mention of the donee religious institution is, for obvious sake of legitimacy, the only really mandatory element of these texts. Sometimes the eponymous saint or angel of the donee institution is invoked in order to intercede (παρακαλει) before God on behalf of the donor. The order of the elements may vary significantly.

This structure is often further enhanced by and interlarded with eulogies, recurring scriptural quotations and, again, the Christian *historiolae* employed, as already illustrated, in the body of *invocationes*. As far as remarkable contents are concerned, an interesting hint at the main goal as well as the main user of the colophon are the explicit request of commemoration during the liturgical service: αριπενμεεγε |(50) εωων ναγαπη | ναϊοτε ετογααβ | εἰῆβῖ εραῖ ἡ|νε[τε]νσιχ,²¹ ‘remember us, as an act of charity (ἀγάπη), holy fathers, in raising your hands’, or ντετῆῖ|παμμεγε εἰμετνωλη | μῆπῖ εραῖ μετνωσιχ | εγνα μῆογκω εβολ ντε|(30)νανοβε,²² ‘remember me in your prayers and in the raising of your hands for mercy and remitting of our sins’. Beside the aforementioned Grecism Δωριζε, another peculiarity of the col-

20 E.g. in ms London, British Library, Or. 7022, f. 59v = van Lantschoot 1929, 184–186, CVIII, l. 3.

21 Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 129¹³, f. 41v = van Lantschoot 1929, 83–84, LII, ll. 49–53. See also <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b10089618h>>.

22 Ms London, British Library, Or. 3581 B (69) = van Lantschoot 1929, 133–137, LXXX v, ll. 26–30.

ophon of Latopolitan manuscripts is the sober and curt beginning *in medias res* ρΙΤΙΝΔΕΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΜΗΤΙΜΗΤΦΑΙΡΟΥΩ ἡΠΕΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΤΛ., ‘through the zeal (σπουδή) and the taking care of our God-Loving’, without further introductory phrasing. Usually the title of the copied work is not mentioned in the body of colophon, and it is reported in the final title often following its *explicit*. However, in rare cases, the final title is blended with the colophon as in this magniloquent example: ΤΜΕΡΜΗΤΕΝΟΙΟΥΣΕ ΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ | ἡΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ἔΤ|ΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΣΧΩΚ ἘΒΟΛ | (5) ρΗΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ|ΠΗΟΥΤΕ ρΑΜΗΝ | ΔΥΩ ΠΕΙΚΟΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΣΟΠ | ΔΥΩ ΠΕΙΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΟΣ ΕΤ|ΟΥΩ ΔΙΝΠΩΡΟΠ ΦΑΡΡΑΙ | (10) ΕΠΟΟΥΣΟΥ ρΙΤΗΤΗΝΤ|ΒΑΙΡΟΥΩ ΚΤΛ, ‘the second history (ἱστορία) of the holy Church (ἐκκλησία) ends in peace (εἰρήνη) of God, amen. And this dewy orchard (κωμάριον) and this blooming paradise (παράδεισος) from the dawning until today (*scil.* was copied) through the taking care of ...’.²³,

Datatio and subscriptio

The final lines of colophons usually contain a chronological reference to the time during which the book was copied and the very signature of the copyist. The date, often in Greek, mentions the day, the month and the year according to the era of the Martyrs, sometimes beside its correspondence with the *taqwīm al-hiġrī* (ἔτος Σαρακηνῶν). In Bohairic *milieux* we find some isolated examples of overwrought dates: χρόνον Μάρτυρος ψμα = πΧ(ΡΙΤΟ)C ΟΥΩΟΙΖ = †μαρτῖ ἡπεριώτη | ρ̄λγ · πλχινθαμιό ρ̄σιζ (ΟΥΟΡ) Φ = ΠΗΗ Γ = ΠΗΟΡ ΙΕ ΣΟΥΚΕ ΠΑΟΠ | ΔΧΠ̄Δ ἡπιέροου ογέροου ἡπιου ρ̄ενπχ(ΡΙΤΟ)C ἡ(ΣΟΥ)C ΠΕΝΘ(ΟΙ)C ΔΜΗΝ²⁴, ‘Year of Martyrs 741, of Christ 1017, 133rd of the 13th period, from the creation 6017th and 500th, 3rd sun, 13th moon, 25th day of Paope, 11th hour of the day, Tuesday, in Jesus the Christ, our Lord, amen’.

As far as the ὑπογραφή of the copyist is concerned, it may occur both in Greek and in Coptic. In the Coptic phrasing, when the copyist does not chose the anonymity, the mention of the name in subjective form (ΔΝΟΚ followed by name, patronymic and rank) is frequently accompanied by canonic *specimina modestiae* as ΔΤἡΠΩΔ ἡΠΡΑΝ ἡΤΑΥΤΑΛΟΦ ΕΧΩΦ, ‘unworthy of the name which was set on him’, or the rhetoric acknowledgment of inadequacy ἡΤΗΝΟΙ ΚΑΛΩC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΧΙCΒΩ / ΑΛΛΑ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥCΒΟΥΓ, ‘I am not well (καλῶς) learned (νοεῖν), but (ἀλλά) I am learning / I am a pupil’. Besides these mere *flosculi*,

23 Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 129¹⁴, 98v = van Lantschoot 1929, 124–125, LXXV, ll. 7–11. See also <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b10089619z>>.

24 Ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt 66.12, f. 313v = Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1929, 490. See also <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.copt.66>.

in some cases the copyist may add some interesting technical details about the copying as the formula $\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omega\iota$, ‘I wrote it according (κατά) to the model (ἀντίγραφον) in front of me’, or the use of the technicism $\pi\omega\omega\nu\epsilon$ ‘to transcribe’ and the reference to an ancient copy (ἀρχαῖον).

All the instances analysed above are gleaned from the Saʿīdic domain. An informative example of the normative structure after which colophons are patterned in Nitrian *scriptoria* can be offered by the unpublished text preserved by MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1086, f. 31r.²⁵ It is a single leaf belonging to the lot of manuscripts bought in 1844 by Konstantin von Tischendorf at Dayr Abū Maqār. The *verso* preserves the title and, after an extant twisted rope interlace in red and yellow, the *incipit* (first line of text capitalized) of the Bohairic version of Severus of Antiochia *De morte* (fig. 1):

οὐλογοϛ εταϑταοϑοϑ ἰχϵ[π]αγιοϛ
 ϛεϑηροϛ ππατριαρχ[ηϛ] οϑοϑ
 ππαρχηεπισκοποϛ ἱ[τε]αντιοχια
 εϵβεϑβαιῖη ντε(5)πρωμι νενπεϑχωρ
 εβολ | βενπῖραϑ | οϑοϑ χεερεπωϑ
 τηρϑ ἱπρωμι φεϑ ϑαϑβη ἱναϑατϑ
 | οϑοϑ εϵβεπρητον ετϛη(10)οϑτ
 χεαριφμεϑι ντεκβαιῖη | ἱναϑ νιβεν οϑοϑ
 χηαερνοβι | αν | οϑοϑ οη χεϑεπϑημια
 ϑωϑ | ἱφη εϵναχανα νασ νβητϑ |
 (15) χεοϑνωβιϵ εϑβι εϑοϑη εϑφωϑ
 βενοϑϑιρηνη ντεϑϑτ ἀμην: | orna-
 mentum | Νισαχιμεν γαρ εϑταϑχοτοϑ
 ἰχϵηη εϑοϑαβ | (20) εταϑχοτοϑ εβολ
 ϑιτηνϑ|ϛοφια ντεϑϑτ εϵβεϑβαι | ϛεοι
 νρηοϑ ναν εμα|ϑω | ϑεβεχεῖϑωϑ αν
 ετϛαχι ἀλλα | (25) ππῖα εϑοϑαβ ἰτεϑϑτ
 νϑοϑ|πε ετϛαχι ε[β]ολ βενρωϑ.

A sermon (λόγοϛ) which the saint (ἅγιοϛ) Severus, patriarch (πατριάρχης) and archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοποϛ) of Antioch uttered, concerning the end of the man and his vanishing in the tomb, and that every glory of the man attains only the sepulchre, and concerning the saying (ῥητόν) which is written, that ‘remember your end every time and you will not sin’ and, then, that ‘the desire (ἐπιθυμία) is bad for the one who allows place to it in himself’ and that ‘sin is a close relative of the death’, in peace (εἰρήνη) of God, amen.

The words indeed (γάρ) which the saints said were said by the wisdom (σοφία) of God, for this reason they are profitable for us greatly, because there are not they who spoke but the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα) of God, it is that one who speaks [instead of them] in their mouths.

The wholly lost text copied before this homily was sealed by the colophon entirely preserved on the *recto* of the leaf.

The same donor, Domitius (Dōmetios), cantor of Dayr Abū Maqār, is attested in the colophon of Vat. Copt. 69.3, f. 66v, perhaps written by a different hand. We are in the central decades of the tenth century. As far as the textual structure is concerned, it is substantially congruent with that shown by Saʿīdic colophons: the *invocatio* (the Christian *basmala*) is followed by the usual *historiola*. The proverbial examples of pious sacrifices gleaned from the Holy Writings are the touchstone inspiring the offering of the manuscript to

²⁵ Leipoldt 1906, 395–396.

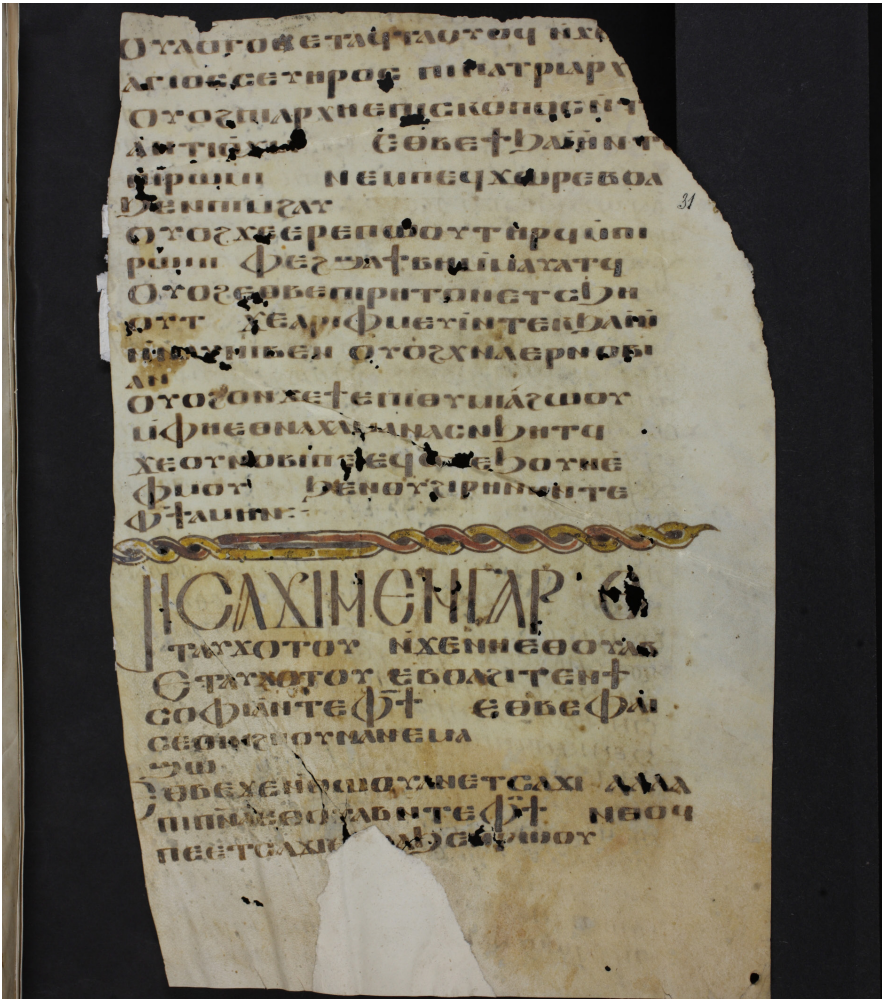


Fig. 1. Ms Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1086, f. 31v

the monastic library, which is explicitly mentioned. The text is concluded by the customary *intercession* (fig. 2).²⁶

[ΒΕΝΦΡΑΝ ΜΦΩΤ ΝΕΜΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΕΜΠΠΠΝΑ
 ΕΘΟΥ][Δ]Β †ΤΡΙΑΣ ΝΟΜΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΦΑΓΓΑΡΡΕ
 [[Φ]† ΑΝΘΝ ΒΑΝΙΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ Φ† Φ[Η ΕΤ]Δ
 ΦΩΠ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΠΩΟΥΩΟΥΩΥ ΙΤ[ΕΑΒΕΛ
 | (5) ΝΕ]Μ†ΘΥΣΙΑ ΝΤΕΠΕΜΙΩ'Τ' ΑΒΡΑΔΗ
 ΝΕΜ†[ΤΕΒΙ] | ΣΝΟΥ† ΝΤΕ†ΧΗΡΑ ΝΘΟΚ ΟΝ
 †ΝΟΥ ΠΕ[Ν]ΝΗΒ ΤΕ†ΖΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΩΠ ΕΡΟΚ
 ΜΠΑΩΦ[ΥΩΩ]ΩΥ ΙΤΕΠΑΙΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΧΩΗ
 ΝΩΩ ΙΤ[ΟΤΦ] | ΜΠΕΜΑΙΝΟΥ† ΝΣΟΝ
 ΠΑΩΤ ΠΠ ΔΩΜΕ[ΤΙΟΣ] | (10) ΨΑΛΜΩΤΟΣ
 ΝΤΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΙΠΕΜΙΩ'Τ' Δ[ΠΑ] | ΜΑΚΑΡΙ
 ΙΤΕΩΡΗΤ ΝΕΜΠΑ.ΣΟΝ ΧΑΗΛ '(ΟΥΟΖ)
 ΓΑΒ[ΡΗΛ]' ΠΕ[ΦΣΟΝ] | ΝΣΑΡΚΗΚΟΝ · ΟΥΟΖ
 ΜΠΠΔ'ΤΙΚ'Ο'(Ν) ΕΥΣΟΠ [ΟΥΟΖ] ΩΗΡΙ ΜΠΠΙΚ'Ο'
 ΜΠΑΩΤ ΠΠ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΕ†[ΝΩΥ†] | ΗΡΙΔΥΩΠΦ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΒΕΝΠΟΥΪΣΙ ΜΗΝΙ (Ι. ΜΗΝΙ ΑΜΟΦ
 ?) Δ[Υ](15)ΤΗΙΦ ΕΒΟΥΝ Ε†ΒΥΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ
 ΙΤΕ†ΕΚ[ΚΛΗ]ΣΙΑ ΝΤΕΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΔΒΒΑ
 ΜΑΚΑΡΙ ΙΤΕΩΡΗΤ | ΕΥΩΕΝΕΡΦΜΕΪ ΝΩΟΥ
 ΝΕΝΝΟΥΙΟ† ΕΤΑ[Υ]ΧΦΩΟΥ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΙΗΣ ΠΟΥΩ[Τ] | ΝΕΜ†ΚΟΥΡΓΙ ΤΟΥΜΑΥ
 ΝΕΝΝΟΥΣΝΗΟΥ |(20) ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΥΡΑΝ
 ΝΟΥΑΙ ΝΙΡΕΜΠΗ Η|ΜΟΥΣΗ ΚΑΤΑΤΟΥΠΑ'Τ'ΡΙΣ
 ΤΕ†ΖΟ ΕΟΥΦ[Ν] | ΝΙΒΕΝ ΘΕΝΑΩΩ ΝΪΗΤΦ
 ΙΕ ΝΗ ΘΕΝΑΣΩ[ΤΕΜ] | ΕΡΟΦ ΙΤΟΥΧΟΣ
 ΧΕΝΝ ΕΤΟΝΒ ΙΤΩΟΥ ΕΡ[Ε]ΠΩΣ ΣΜΟΥ
 ΕΡΩΟΥ ΤΕΦΕΡΠΝΑΙ ΝΕΜΩΟΥ Β[ΕΝ](25)
 †ΚΟΥΧΙ ΝΧΡΙΑ ΙΤΕΠΑΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ (ΟΥΟΖ)
 ΔΥΩ[ΔΗ]ΣΙΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΒΕΝΠΑΒΙΟΣ ΤΕΠΩ
 †ΗΤΟΝ Ν[ΩΟΥ] | ΒΕΝΚΕΝΦ ΙΝΕΝΩΟΡΠ
 ΝΙΟ† ΕΘΟΥΔΒ ΑΒΡΑ[ΔΗ] | ΝΕΜΙΣΑΔΚ
 ΝΕΜΙΑΚΩΒ ΒΕΝΠΠΑΡΑΔΙΣ[ΟΣ Ν]ΤΕΠΟΥΝΟΦ
 ΦΗ ΘΕΝΑΧΟΣ ΧΕΔΜΗΝ ΕΦΕ[ΣΙ](30)ΠΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΔΜΗΝ ΕΣΕΩΩΠΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΤΟΣ Ν[ΝΕ]ΡΛΙ
 ΣΟ'ΧΧΕΦ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΗ[ΕΦ]ΤΗΙΦ ΕΒΟΛ *ornamen-*
tum | (ΟΥΟΖ) ΔΥΩΠ ΠΑΙΧΩΗ Δ[ΥΤ]ΗΙΦ
 ΕΒΟΥΝ Ε†ΒΥΒ[ΛΙΟ]ΘΗΚΗ ΝΑΖΡΑΦ [ΠΕ]ΝΙΩΤ
 ΠΔ† ΣΑΡΑ[ΠΩΝ] | ΠΡΕΦΩΩ ΝΕΜ[ΠΕΜ]Ω'Τ'
 ΠΔ† ΜΕΝΑ Ε[Τ]ΩΠΠ ΝΕΜΑΝ.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), the consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) Trinity (τριάς). This one indeed (γάρ) is God and we are the Christians (Χριστιανός). God, the one who accepted the sacrifice of Abel and the offering (θυσία) of our father Abraham with the two obols of the widow (χήρα), now, our Lord, we beseech you, accept this offering of this little book of reading (from the hand) of our God-loving brother, my father Papa Dometios, psalmist (ψαλμοδός) of the church (ἐκκλησία) of our father Apa Makari of Šihēt with our brother Chaēl and Gabriel (and) carnal (σαρκικός) and spiritual (πνευματικός) at once [...] spiritual son of my father papa Mēna of the Great Cell. They acquired it through their own efforts, he (sic) gave it to the library (βιβλιοθήκη) of the church of our father Abba Makari of Šihēt, in memory of them and of their parents which begat them to the world (κόσμος) Mēna Jesus their father with their mother Tikourgi and their all brethren according to (κατά) their names one by one, the ones of Pēi emmousē, according to their homeland (πατρίς). We beseech everyone who will read in it or those who will listen it, to say that those who are alive of them might the Lord bless them and might have mercy on them in the little business (χρεία) of this world (κόσμος) and, when they will leave this life (βίος) might the Lord grant them the rest in the bosom of our first holy fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the paradise (παράδεισος) of the joy. The one who will say 'amen' might take the blessing, (so) be it. Blessed (εὐλογητός) anyone who will not obliterate it nor will sell it. This book was acquired and was given to the library (βιβλιοθήκη) in the presence of our father the deacon (διάκονος) Sara[ρ...] the reader and our father the deacon (διάκονος) Mēna which are with us.

26 An edition of this text appeared also in Buzi and Soldati 2021, 334–336. For the images of Vat. Copt. 69, see also <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.copt.69>.

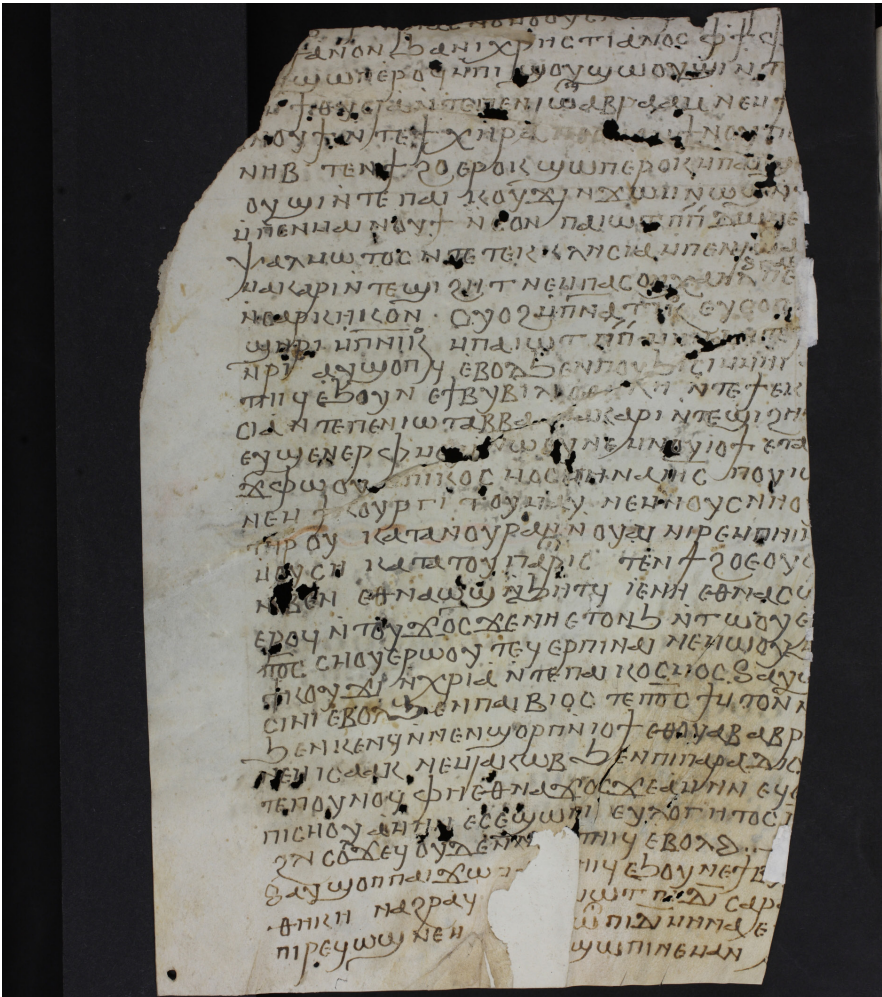


Fig. 2. Ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt. 69.3, f. 66v.

Beside ms Vat. Copt. 69.3, f. 66v, another instance of the explicit quotation of the monastic library of Saint Macarius as donee institution of a manuscript occurs in the colophon of another Vatican fragment, MS Vat. Copt. 61.5, f. 143.²⁷

27 See also <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.copt.61>.

As far as southern manuscripts are concerned, a direct hint at a monastic library as scenery of the activity of the copyist is offered by the colophon of a codex of the White Monastery:²⁸ [Δ.]ΥΩ ΝΤΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΥ | ΜΠΙΚ(Ε)ΦΑΛΛΙΟΝ Ν|ΧΩΜΕ Ν̄СОГІВ̄ | ΜΠΑΩΝΕ · ΕΡΕΠΑСОН | ΠΔΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟС) ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟС Ν̄І(15)ΜΑΪ ΖΝΤΒΙΛΙΟΘΥΚΗ | Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΓΡΑΦΕΥС, ‘and we accomplished (τελειοῦν) this chapter (κεφάλαιον) of book in the twelfth day of Παῶνε, while my son the deacon (διάκονος) Matthew was with me in the library (βιβλιοθήκη) of the scriptorium (+γραφεύς)’. Other Saʿīdic colophons provide further precious details about Coptic *Bibliothekswesen*: in one of them²⁹ the copyist wishes that the manuscript he copied will be preserved 𐤂𐤄𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤎𐤁𐤄𐤓𐤓𐤓 | 𐤂𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤎𐤓𐤓𐤓, ‘in the niche of the books in order to read in it’. Such a *iunctura* echoes the 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤂𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤎𐤄𐤄𐤓𐤓, ‘niche full of books’ of the *Apophthegmata patrum*, manifest Coptic pendant of the θυρίδιον of Byzantine libraries.

From the twelfth century onwards, the colophons of Coptic manuscripts are usually composed in Arabic or exhibit a juxtaposed Arabic version of the Coptic original text. In the majority of cases, the formulary shows a *verbatim* Arabic rendering of the Coptic expressions analysed above. A somehow new motif, if at all, could be discerned in the almost unrelenting care about mistakes and their emendation which these Arabic subscriptions often betray. This idiosyncratic attention fairly surpasses in strength the merely rhetorical request of pardon for an eventual scribal mistake sometimes attested in Coptic colophons. This almost superstitious fear of errors due to erroneous copying, which reflects an overall decreasing mastery of the Coptic language also in clergy, produced a devotional practice unattested in older subscriptions: the indulgence for everyone who would have found a mistake and would have amended it. Since the fourteenth century the divine reward for these alert readers becomes a recurring element in the formulary of Copto-Arabic colophons. In a text dated to 1345³⁰ the copyist wishes for the attentive users of the book he copied والرب الاله بعضهم | عما تفوهون به من الصلاح بيروشلیم السماوية, ‘might the divine Lord reward them (i.e. the readers) for the amendments they made in it in the heavenly Jerusalem’. Such wording lasts for centuries: still in a much

28 Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Copte 1317, f. 35v + 1321, f. 66 = van Lantschoot 1929, 127–131, LXXVII v, ll. 13–16. See also <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10091582w>> and <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52506755c>>.

29 Ms Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale, copte 1, f. 101v = van Lantschoot 1929, 153–155, XCI, l. 25.

30 Ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt. 16, f. 103r = Hebelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 56–57

later text (1712 CE)³¹ the copyist hopes *وومن وجد غلطا واصلحه يصلح الله حاله*, ‘and the one who finds a mistake and amends it, might God amend his condition’. This is perhaps the sole innovation if compared to the formulaic repertory of the colophons written in Coptic, a feature, as far as I know, foreign to the coeval Islamic manuscript culture.

Almost a century after the publication of van Lantschoot’s unbeaten though unfinished *Recueil*, the potential that colophons can offer to a direct knowledge of medieval Egypt is far from being exhausted. A Coptic paratext, for example, can even be an unforeseen source for the history of Turkic languages. In a marginal addition to a colophon preserved on a single leaf,³² an interesting addition informs about the venturesome history of the lost manuscript: *ⲡⲟⲥ ⲥⲨⲠⲟϢ ⲉⲠⲟϤⲧⲧⲟⲠⲣ ⲭⲉⲛⲧⲟϢ ⲁⲢϤⲓ ⲙⲡⲓϤⲱⲙⲉ | ⲛⲧⲟⲧϤ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲃⲟϤϤⲓ ⲁⲢⲧⲁϢ ⲉⲛⲣⲙⲁ | [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲁⲛⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟϤⲧⲉ [ⲛⲉ]*, ‘Might the Lord bless Pouttor because he took this book from the al-Ḥoussi (and) gave it to its places, that is to say to Apa Šenoute’. Amending the interpretation of Henri Munier, who wanted to discern in *ⲁⲗⲃⲟϤϤⲓ* an implausible Arabic anthroponym, van Lantschoot opportunely related the Arabicism *al-Ḥoussi* to the Arabic *al-Ġuzz*, ethnonym of the Turk or Turkmen mercenaries which under the guidance of Širkūh occupied Fatimid Egypt in 1167. Turkish knows of such ethnonym both a *forma plenior oğuz* and an aphaeretic one, *γuzz*, be it or not originally one and the same word. The first form is that attested in Byzantine sources, which, as illustrated by Gyula Moravcsik, show both the rendering *Ὀγούζιοι* and *Οὔζιοι*.³³ The last one reflects the vanishing of the sound which Jean Deny described as *une sorte de rāle sonore ou de bourdonnement guttural*,³⁴ evidently already peculiar of the *Alt-Osmanisch*. The pronunciation of Oriental Turkish rather maintains its prominent guttural nature. Conversely, the languages of Christian Orient borrow the same ethnonym from the form *γuzz*. In the colophon of the seventeenth-century *Gə‘əz* manuscript of the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiou,³⁵ the ethnic name is rendered through *Qəzāwəyān*, where the labiovelar transcribes as usual the *ğayn* of Islamic writings. I believe that the Boḥairic rendering through *ḥāī* is, among all, the linguistically most precious outcome, since it probably preserves a trace of the tendency typical of Oriental Turkic dialects of the Oguz and of the Qıpçak to desonorize the spirant, a detail which Carl Brockelmann lavishly illustrated in his treatise on *Osttürkisch*³⁶

31 Ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt. 29, f. 266 = Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 112

32 Ms Cairo, Coptic Museum, 9296 = van Lantschoot 1929, 170–173, CI, c.

33 Moravcsik 1958, 213–214, s.h.v.

34 Deny 1921, 65.

35 Zotenberg 1883, pp. 222 and 466.

36 Brockelmann 1954, 39.

and which the pious Pouттōr, rescuing the book from the hands of the Oguz, could have heard from their own mouths.

References

- Apollinaire de Valence 1892. *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires et Religieux de l'ordre des Capucins, 1631–1637, recueillie et publiée par Le P. Apollinaire de Valence et précédée d'une lettre-préface par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, libraire-éditeur, 1892).
- Bausi, A. 2016. 'I colofoni e le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti etiopici', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 233–260.
- Brockelmann, C. 1954. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratur-Sprachen Mittelasiens* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).
- Buzi, P. 2016. 'Titoli e colofoni: riflessioni sugli elementi paratestuali dei manoscritti copti saidici', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 203–217.
- Buzi P. and A. Soldati 2021. *La lingua copta*, Lingue antiche del Vicino Oriente e del Mediterraneo (Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, [2021]).
- Crum, W. E. 1939. *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1939).
- Deny, J. 1921. *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*, Bibliothèque de l'École des langues orientales vivantes (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1921).
- Hebbelynck, A. and A. van Lantschoot 1937. *Codices coptici Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*, I: *Codices coptici Vaticani*, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, codices manu scripti recensiti a iussu Pii XI P.M. ([in Civitate Vaticana]: in Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937).
- Lampe, G. W. H., ed., 1961. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
- van Lantschoot, A. 1929. *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, I: *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*, Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1 (Louvain: J.-B. Istas, 1929).
- Leipoldt, J. 1906. *Christliche Literatur in koptischer Sprache*, in K. Vollers, *Katalog der Islamischen, Christlich-Orientalischen, Jüdischen und Samaritanischen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, II (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1906).
- Luisier, P. 2016, 'Les colophons des manuscrits bohairiques conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 219–231.
- Moravcsik, G. 1958. *Byzantinoturcica*, II: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Berliner byzantinsche Arbeiten, 11 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag).

- Shurgaja, G. 2016. 'Colophon e archeologia del codice', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 113–191.
- Sirinian, A. 2016. 'Caratteristiche dei colofoni armeni e un gruppo in particolare: i colofoni della critica alle autorità politiche e religiose', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 13–45.
- Sirinian, A., P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaja, eds, 2016. *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scritte del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale, 12–13 ottobre 2012*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016).
- Volkoff, O. V. 1970. *À la recherche des manuscrits en Égypte*, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, 30 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1970).
- Zotenberg, H. 1883. *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou. Texte éthiopien publié et traduit par H. Z.*, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, 24/1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883).

Towards a Structural Analysis of Armenian Colophons

*Anna Sirinian, Alma Mater Studiorum -
Università di Bologna*

After presenting in schematic format the structural elements that are typical of an Armenian colophon, this article seeks to perform a simple operation: verify their actual presence in three colophons that date to 1266, 1269, and 1432. These colophons were chosen as samples not only because they differ from one another in terms of date, place, context, and personality of the scribe, but also because they represent three different examples of the variegated literary genre of Armenian colophons (the colophon of the copyist-scholar, the colophon focussing on the type of book, and the colophon ‘with external influences’). The positive outcome of this study on the one hand confirms the uniformity that fundamentally unites the Armenian subscriptions, and on the other hand it highlights the adaptability of the scheme to the variability of the contents transmitted by these compositions.

In recent years the study of Armenian colophons has witnessed a resurgence of interest.¹ Researchers have focussed their attention especially on the essential elements of these texts, which are now viewed as a literary genre,² and on the need for a ‘holistic’ approach to them that neither overlooks any part of their texts—so as to privilege only the historical data that they transmit—nor fails to take into account the type of manuscript to which they are attached (i.e. whether one is dealing with a Gospel, a Hymnal, a Homiliary, etc.). Studies have also done much to highlight the dynamic between *imitatio* and *variatio* that every Armenian colophon attests: on the one hand, a colophon is ‘typical’ because it exhibits clear characteristics common to the genre; on the other hand, each colophon is ‘exceptional’ in that it shows signs of innovation and originality even though situated within a genre. We could say that, except for rare cases (among which there figure the short and, in terms of content, repetitive colophons belonging to the late phenomenon of a ‘serial’ production of manuscripts meant for sale³), every Armenian colophon is a unique case,

- 1 Citing only recent works, where a more complete bibliography can be found, we refer readers to: Sirinian 2014; Sirinian et al. 2016; Van Elverdinghe 2018; Harut‘yunyan 2019; Van Elverdinghe 2021; Van Elverdinghe forthcoming (I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see this work that assembles the results of his doctoral thesis defended in 2017 at l’Université catholique de Louvain).
- 2 Sanjian insists on the concept of colophons as a literary genre (Sanjian 1969, 1–41); the same is done by Harutyunyan 2019, 85, 93; Van Elverdinghe 2021, 141; Van Elverdinghe forthcoming.
- 3 This is the case with, for example, the colophons of the copyist Mik‘ayēl T‘o-xat‘ec‘i, one of the most productive Armenian scribes ever, who was active at Con-

because it offers an intimate vision of the place, time, and circumstances of its production as well as obviously the personality and aims of the person who wrote it.

The more obvious specific elements of Armenian colophons include the use of a formulaic language⁴ and the arrangement of content according to pre-established themes, an aspect that we wish to consider in greater depth.

Typical scheme of an Armenian colophon

The most ancient dated Armenian colophon, which belongs to the so-called ‘Lazarean Gospel’ of 887 CE, already shows a selection of notices arranged according to a basic structure that will enjoy success in subsequent years, enriching and extending itself in a process that we might term ‘open codification’.⁵ The *incipit*, for instance, which is marked by the word *P’ark’* (‘Glorry’) that starts the Trinitarian doxology was destined to spread and become more complex in following centuries, with the result that it became the typical opening of an Armenian colophon.⁶ Even the final part containing the request for prayers from the reader—the true culmination of the colophon—will remain a stable element.⁷ It is between these two parts that we find information

stantinople in the years 1606–1658; regarding this scribe, see Harutyunyan 2016a, 14–15; Harutyunyan 2016b, 39–44 and Harutyunyan 2019, 211.

- 4 Special care for the analysis of the formulae of the colophons is shown by the work of Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe (Van Elverdinghe 2018 and Van Elverdinghe forthcoming). Other publications by this scholar on this topic are awaited.
- 5 For the famous Gospel (MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 6200), see Stone et al. 2002, 122–125 (with bibliography). The colophon is analysed in Mat’evosyan 1988, xvii–xviii, who lists its constituent parts in the following manner: 1) opening doxology; 2) the scribe’s request for prayers; 3) type of book; 4) date; 5) mention of the religious and political authorities; 6) name of the scribe and his relatives; 7) request for the pardon of sins. This scholar adds to these seven elements another two as follows: ‘If we consider that the place is not mentioned separately but can be deduced from the geographical appellation of the scribe and his father (Vanandac’i [= ‘of Vanand’]) and that the name of the patron is absent because the scribe himself was the patron, we have a complete example of an ancient model for the Armenian colophon’. The text of the colophon—which has reached us in a mutilated state, lacking four lines after the name of the scribe and his relatives—was published *ibid.* p. 40, no. 49; previously it had been published in the collection of Yovsēp’ean 1951, 83–86 no. 32; see also Harutyunyan 2019, 85–86. As is well known, the colophon of oldest dated Armenian Gospel, the ‘Gospel of the Queen Mlk’ē’, which dates to 862 (MS Venezia, Biblioteca dei PP. Mechitaristi, 1144/86), is lacking as it was erased by a subsequent owner of the codex so as to add his own owner’s note (Gianascian 1989, 46–55).
- 6 Mat’evosyan 1984, 10.
- 7 Sirinian 2017.

that is more clearly historical in nature and anchors the copy of the manuscript in a well defined context.

As of the thirteenth century onward, an epoch that marks the beginning of the flourishing of this genre thanks as well to the increased manuscript production due to the cultural and artistic flourishing of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the structure of a colophon can be schematized in the following manner:

- Trinitarian doxology;
- date;
- place;
- religious authority;
- political authority;
- type of book;
- name of the scribe;
- name of the patron;
- historical *excursus*;
- request that the reader pray for the patron, the patron's relatives and/or fellow religious;
- request that the reader pray for the scribe, the scribe's relatives and/or fellow religious;
- assurance that God will in turn reward the reader ('who remembers will be remembered').

The order of these elements can vary, just as one or more of them can be omitted or added (e.g. the concluding curse upon anyone who removes the manuscript from the place for which it was intended; notices regarding its price; or recommendations regarding its preservation), which is why the descriptions in the modern literature are also variable.⁸ Moreover, some of these parts may be articulated in greater detail. For instance, the place might be indicated according to a sequence *a maiori ad minus* that moves from province to city/village to monastery to church. However, the thematic nuclei transmitted by an Armenian colophon are fundamentally as listed above.⁹

Confirming this process of codification, in the Armenian world, is the intriguing evidence of a colophon model that was meant for apprentice scribes, which has been transmitted in a manuscript copied at Jerusalem in 1476. This is a miscellany codex Yerevan, Matenadaran, 2335, which on f. 181v shows an example of a colophon in which, after the initial Trinitarian doxology, in place

8 Sanjian 1969, 7–9; Sirinian 2014, 75–76; Harutyunyan 2019, 84–197.

9 Most extraordinary, from this point of view, is the geographical sequence that introduces the place of the copying in colophon no. 3 (v. infra): Europe, Italy, Rome, the Armenian hospice near St Peter's.

of all the specific information (date, toponym, name of the scribe, name of the patron, etc.) there appear the generic expressions *ays anun* ‘such a name’, *ays č‘ap* ‘such a date’, which the scribe was to replace on each occasion with the concrete information relating to the specific circumstances of the copy.¹⁰ For instance, in the part in which the name of the place was supposed to appear, the text reads ‘this book was completed [...] in the province having *such a name*, at the time of the patriarch having *such a name*, in the monastery that has *such a name*’ and, a bit further on, ‘by the hand of the sinful and inexpert scribe having *such a name*’ and so forth.¹¹

There is frequent recourse to formulaic expressions in this model, and we limit ourselves citing only a couple examples. If the scribe is defined as ‘sinful and inexpert’, according to the most common epithets expressing humility, for the patron are reserved praises on the order of ‘active and courageous in virtuous works’, ‘nourished by the monastery’, and even ‘raised and educated by (*sc.* the teacher having) *such a name*’. This last is termed ‘a lamp lit within the church’ (Mt 5,15), ‘sweet-smelling incense welcome to God’ (Ex 30,7; Ps 65,15; 140,2), ‘a spiritual swallow dwelling in the middle of the temple’.¹² These are epithets drawn from the Bible or exegetical literature, and

- 10 The text of the model was published in Mat‘evosyan 1988, xviii, note 64, but the credit for having brought it to researchers’ attention goes to Harutyunyan 2016c, 49–50, 68 (pl. 1) and 2019, 201–204 (pl. 27). An English translation is to be found in Sanjian 1969, 8–9, which, however, limits itself to citing the manuscript in a note and omits to specify the nature of the document.
- 11 This colophon model presents the following structural elements in this sequence: 1) opening doxology; 2) type of manuscript (*manrusumn*, or anthology of chants), which is mentioned only here and without further reference in the text; 3) date; 4) name of the region; 5) name of the religious authority; 6) name of the monastery; 7) name of the church at which the codex was written; 8) name of the head of the monastery; 9) name of the scribe; 10) name of the patron; 11) name of his teacher; 12) closing request for prayers for the patron and the scribe.
- 12 The expression *cicarn banawor* (‘spiritual swallow’), which is not to be found in the Bible, is instead present in the work of the exegete and homilist Sargis Šnorhali Vardapet, who lived in the twelfth century. In fact, we find it used in his commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles (in particular, in the first exhortation, or *yordorak*, on 1 Jn) addressed to the apostles, of whom it is said that *banawor cicrunk‘ en‘ or zhogeworn mez awetaranec‘in zgarun* ‘they are spiritual swallows who have announced to us the immaterial springtime’, see Narinean 1828, 498. For this author, see Thomson 1995, 192–193. The image may derive from the Greek patristic tradition: see αἱ λογικαὶ χελιδόνες, αἱ τῶν ψυχῶν εὐαγγελιζόμεναι λογικὸν ἔαρ in the Ps.-Chrysostom *In decem virgines* (CPG 4580; PG 59, 527–532: 529), which is translated as *banawor cicrunk‘n ork‘ zhogwoc‘n awetaranen zgarun* in the ancient Armenian version published by the Mekhitarist Fathers in 1862 (*Yovhannu Oskeberani Meknut‘iwn T‘it‘oc‘n Pawlosi*, II, 744–750: 747). For the correspondence

they underscore the honour attributed to the *vardapet* (learned monks) who played a key role in the long chain of transmission of knowledge from teacher to students that was typical of medieval Armenian monasteries¹³. Of especial interest is the part that refers to the anonymous abbot of the monastery: after the customary praises proposed by the model ('holy in the conduct of his life, mild of character, sweet in speaking, generous of heart, wise as his namesake¹⁴, as hospitable as Abraham [Gn 18,1–15]'), the apprentice scribe read the invitation to add yet others according to desire (*orĉ'ap' or kamis' asay*, 'say as many as you wish')!

The colophon template transmitted by MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 2335 is the only one of its kind to have reached us. Nonetheless, its mere existence has been sufficient to spur scholars in recent years to look for those colophons that display in long stretches of text affinities that are striking enough to lead one to posit a common source (represented either by a model that has not survived or by a colophon used as a point of reference by subsequent scribes). Conducted by comparing texts, this research is giving results that are extremely interesting, for it identifies not only the specific models of a precise *scriptorium* that were repeated by different copyists over the years,¹⁵ but also models that went beyond the borders of place where they were created and found favour also elsewhere.¹⁶ Thus a window is opened onto the dense network of relations created by the travels of scribes, manuscripts, and ideas between the numerous *scriptoria* that dotted the Armenian highlands in the Middle Ages, thereby adding new information to that already known from historical and philological study. Moreover, the investigation of models reinforces our understanding of the dynamics of the evolution of this literary genre in terms of that concept of 'open codification' that we mentioned above.

Adaptability of the scheme

We now wish to proceed to a simple check: using the texts of three colophons that have been chosen as a sample, we wish to verify the presence of those structural elements listed in the foregoing scheme. The sample texts were cho-

of the Armenian *banawor* with the Greek λογικός see NBHL, I, 435; for λογικός as 'spiritual', see Lampe, 1961, 805. I wish to thank Paolo Lucca for having discussed with me the possible origin of this image and for offering important advice on the matter.

13 For other praises of teachers to be found in colophons, see Sirinian-Uluhogian 2003, 4–9.

14 The model offered here, evidently, a parallel with the biblical figure whose name the *vardapet* had.

15 Harutyunyan 2019, 204–207.

16 Van Elverdinghe forthcoming.

sen because they differ from one another not only in terms of place, date, type of manuscript, and personality of scribe, but also because each of them represents a particular type within the vast Armenian production of colophons (as we shall soon try to illustrate). The samples consist of the following three subscriptions:

- 1) MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 823, dated to 1266 CE, ff. 171v–172v: colophon of the copyist-scholar;
- 2) MS Rome, Pontificio Collegio Armeno, 62, dated to 1432 CE, ff. 174v–175v: colophon focussed on the type of book;
- 3) MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 142, dated to 1269 CE, ff. 325r–327v: colophon ‘with external influences’.

For each of these, we offer the bibliography, a brief introduction, and a translation that is as literal as possible. The overall results of the comparison will follow. Since we shall focus our analysis on the formal level, we shall not go into the wealth of information of a historical and literary character that these colophons can offer, including the analysis of the many anthroponyms in which (as is well known) Armenian colophons abound.¹⁷ We shall limit ourselves to short, essential footnotes referring, for further investigation, to the bibliography cited.

17 For the variety of Armenian anthroponyms documented by the colophons and their lexical elements, which often derive from other languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, see the recent contribution of Harutyunyan 2016c.

1) Colophon of the copyist-scholar: MS Yerevan, Matenadaran, 823: Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus. Year: 1266; place: Eznkay; scribe: Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz. Colophon: ff. 171v–172v

BIBLIOGRAPHY: the text of this colophon was published in the collection Mat‘evosyan 1984, 339–340, no. 279; the Armenian text, with slight orthographic corrections and accompanied by an Italian translation, is also in Sirinian 1999, xi–xv (with further bibliography); with short initial cuts it has also been published in Eganean 2007, cols 863–866.

The colophon belongs to a manuscript that was copied at Eznkay (modern Erzincan, a city to the north-east of present-day Turkey) in 1266 and contains the Armenian translation of the *Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus*.¹⁸ We have termed it the ‘colophon of a copyist-scholar’ because the scribe is Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz (c.1230–1293), who was a poet, theologian, and *vardapet* of considerable fame during the Armenian Middle Ages and for that reason invited to lecture in the most important cultural centres of his day, from Greater Armenia to Cilician Armenia (Sis, Drazark, Anavarza, and elsewhere).¹⁹ At the moment of the creation of the colophon, Yovhannēs was still a young deacon (l. 6) and he noted that this was his first work of copying (l. 21). From his teacher, who was also the patron of the book, Yovhannēs asks forgiveness for his mistakes and lack of skill in calligraphy as well as prayers for his former teachers, for the members of his family, for a fellow religious and this individual’s mother, and last of all for himself. It is to be observed that the name of the teacher-patron was erased, according to the practice (not infrequent in Armenian manuscripts) of cancelling the former owner’s name when the manuscript passed to a subsequent owner.

Glory to the most holy Trinity forever and in the centuries to come. Amen. Blessed is the Father, who has no beginning, the only begotten Son, and the truthful Holy Spirit, the indivisible and equal Trinity, which has enabled me—a scribe who is a sinner and unworthy—to complete (this copy) of the Theologian (= Gregory of Nazianzus). And (this book) was written by my hand, which belongs to the despicable and unworthy and guilty individual with the false name of Yovanēs, a bad deacon; and it was written in this city which is in the region of Ekeleac‘ and is named Eznkay, under the protection of the holy Saviour, in the year of the Armenians 715

18 To be precise, this manuscript contains the *Ar nawarkut‘iwn* (‘Ad navigationem’), which is one of the four collections into which the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus were divided in the Armenian manuscript tradition; see Lafontaine and Coulie 1983. The manuscript is especially important for establishing the critical edition of the Armenian text of *Orations* IV and V, which were aimed at Julian the Apostate; see Sirinian, 1999, vii–xxviii.

19 Thomson 1995, 221–222; Thomson 2007, 204–205; Mutafian 2012, 648–650.

(= 1266 CE), during the Catholicate of *tēr* (= lord) Kostandin²⁰ and in the archbishopric of *tēr* Sargis Marhasia the Great²¹, and under our *išxan* (= prince) crowned by Christ, the lord Yohanēs, the servant of the Lord; may he live for a long time to come. Amen.

Therefore, I, a most sinful and unworthy scribe, beg of you, o venerable priest and father <eras.>, remember in your pure and immaculate prayers my spiritual father, the teacher and *vardapet* (= doctor) *tēr* Yovannēs, who was killed by infidels armed with the sword. What bitter grief and inconsolable mourning! Remember, too, my first teacher father Yakob and my honoured father Širin and my deceased mother Sap‘ira, and my brothers Awētšah and Šahnšah, my spiritual brother and fellow disciple Sargis and his deceased mother, and ask the Lord for the remission of (their) sins. I also beg of you, father, to be indulgent with me if there is some mistake in this (book). Rather, forgive the coarse calligraphy of this which is my first book to date, for it is written ‘forgive and you will be forgiven’ (Lk 6,37; Mt 6,14-15; Mk 11,25). And yet again I beg of you, ask for pardon for me a sinner, since it is appropriate to God the benefactor, through the prayers of others, to grant the remission of the sins of others, and he who remembers us, may Christ remember him in his mercy and may he receive recompense from Him who is the Giver of good, which he gives to all in abundance and without contempt for anyone. To Christ God, benefactor and lover of humanity, who looks after (everyone) and holds no grudge, there belong glory, power, and honour now and forever and for eternity in the centuries to come. Amen. May the Lord God grant to the spiritual father, *vardapet*, and my teacher <eras.> to enjoy this (book) for many days. Amen²².

20 Katholikos Kostandin I Barjberde‘i (1221–1267).

21 Father of the *išxan* Yovhannēs who is mentioned immediately afterwards, the archbishop Sargis and his son were prominent figures in Erzrnka in the second half of the thirteenth century, which was a period when (in spite of the Mongolian domination) the city enjoyed a distinct flourishing of the arts and the economy. Both men were murdered in 1276, in the wake of a revolt by the Turkish population; see Mutafian 2012, 647–648 (where this colophon is mentioned); K‘iwrtean 1953, 127–134. The archbishop is also mentioned in the Milione of Marco Polo (ch. XVI), who visited the city in 1272, at the beginning of his travels through Greater Armenia: ‘la più nobile città è Arzinga, e hae arcivescovo’ (‘the most noteworthy city is Arzinga, and has an archbishop’); see Ponchioli 1974, 16.

22 At the colophon’s conclusion, on the lower margin of fol. 172v, there is a representation of Julian the Apostate who (now a cadavre) is dressed in a purple cloak, has a bearded face, and, with a sword by his side, lies prostrate on the ground. A colour reproduction of this miniature has been published in Mutafian 2012, II, pl. 173.

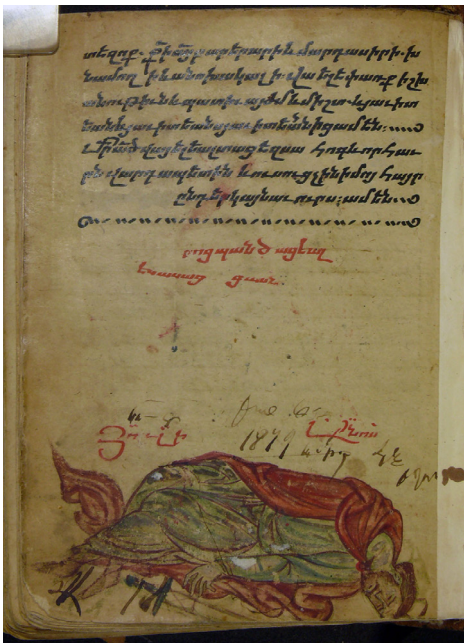
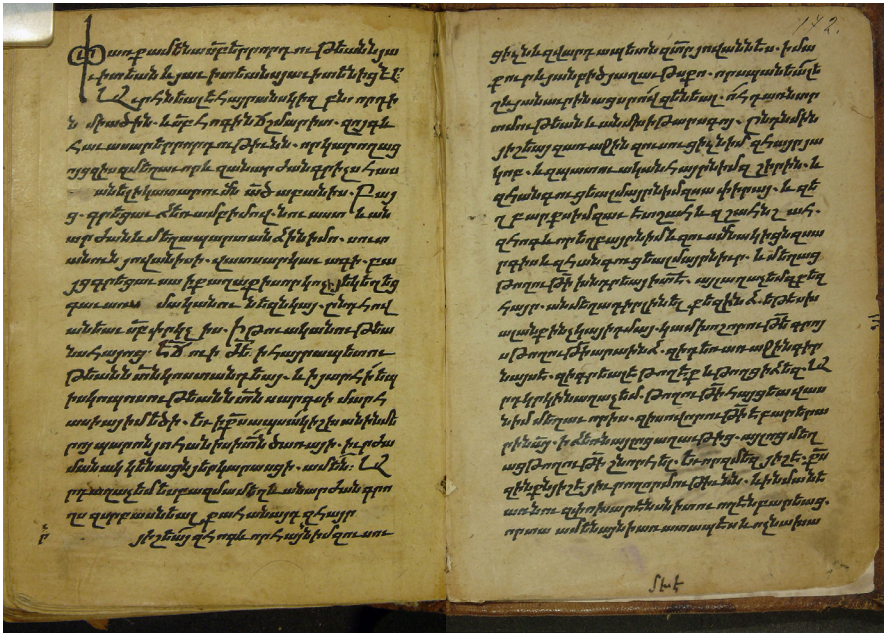


Fig. 1 (a-c). Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 823: colophon, ff. 171v-172v. © Matenadaran.

2) Colophon focussed on the type of book: MS Rome, Pontificio Collegio Armeno, 62: *Maštoc* (Ritual). Year: 1432; place: Arčēš; scribe: Karapet; second scribe: Yovhannēs; binder: Hayrapet; painter: Minas. Colophon: ff. 174v–175v

BIBLIOGRAPHY: the manuscript containing this colophon is part of a large group of codices rediscovered at the Pontificio Collegio Armeno in Rome in 2000 and not yet catalogued; see Sirinian 2003, 81–83. The colophon, however, was already known thanks to an eighteenth-century transcription by the monk and *vardapet* Lewond P'irlalēmean (P'irlalēmean 1888, 100–101, no. 102), who had seen the manuscript in the monastery of Gomk', near Bałēš/Bitlis in 1881, before it disappeared;²³ subsequently the transcription of the colophon passed into the collection Xaç'ikyan 1955, 424–425, no. 455, which was the source of an extract translated into English in Sanjian 1969, 180–181, no. 4. Since neither edition offers an integral version of the colophon,²⁴ we have considered it worth presenting the complete text in an appendix to the present contribution.²⁵

This second colophon was written at Arčēš (modern Erciș, in present-day Turkey, in the vicinity of the northern shore of Lake Van) in 1432 CE by the scribe Karapet. Since it contains much information pertinent both to the manuscript—a *Maštoc* ' or Ritual—and to the artists and artisans who worked to-

- 23 The religious left a note in his own hand in purple ink on the lower margin of the first page of the colophon (f. 174v). In this note he indicates the place and the year in which he saw this codex: in the monastery of Gomk', in the vicinity of Bałēš/Bitlis, in 1881.
- 24 In the introduction to the first volume of his collection of colophons of the fifteenth-century Xaç'ikyan notes—even citing the example of our colophon—that Pirlalēmean had to eliminate from his edition the references to Islamic oppression that were present in the texts; for this reason, in publishing them anew, Xaç'ikyan made use of the collation of the manuscript transcriptions of the *vardapet* preserved in MSS 6273 and 4515 of the Matenadaran (Xaç'ikyan 1955, LVIII–LIX). Notwithstanding the restoration of those passages dealing with the Islamic domination that come from MS 4515 (Xaç'ikyan 1955, 424–425, no. 455), the colophon published by Xaç'ikyan appears all the same to be lacunose in other parts, which is a clear sign that even the transcription of Pirlalēmean had omitted them. These concern the description of the *Maštoc* ' that follows the mention of the book (v. infra, Appendix, ll. 8–11), of other individuals named by the patron and his request for prayers (v. infra, Appendix, ll. 14–29), and even the *explicit* (v. infra, Appendix, ll. 45–49). Xaç'ikyan himself, for his part, focussing on information of a historical nature, eliminated the beginning with its doxology and the initial formulae of humility, which are instead to be found in Pirlalēmean, 1888, 100–101, no. 102 (v. infra, Appendix, ll. 1–7).
- 25 I am very grateful to the Rector of the Pontificio Collegio Armeno of Rome, the Reverend Father Nareg Naamo, for having allowed me to consult the manuscript, to transcribe its colophon, and to publish its images.

gether in creating it, it may be reckoned an example of a ‘colophon focussed on the type of book’. The *Maštoc* ‘is defined as a book which ‘regulates the seven sacraments of the Church and contains set forth in itself the seven grades of the Church and also every spiritual and physical sanctification of our members, which, if you wish, you will find immediately described at the beginning of this book, in the list’ (ll. 8–11). The codex in effect is provided at its beginning with a list of chapters, which are in turn easily identified within the manuscript thanks to the presence of beautiful, vivid miniatures on the margins that serve to indicate textual divisions. In addition to these *marginalia*, there are three full-page miniatures executed by the same hand. Aside from the principal scribe (Karapet, ll. 12–13 and 44–45), reference is also made to the second scribe Yovhannēs, the binder Hayrapet, and the miniaturist Minas. As regards the last-named, a famous painter of the so-called ‘Vaspurakan school’, our manuscript represents his first work, which, before its rediscovery at the Pontificio Collegio Armeno at Rome, was thought to have been lost.²⁶

From a structural point of view, the colophon shows one oddity: even though it was physically written by the second scribe of the codex, Yovhannēs, as is noted by the colophon itself, it was composed in the name of the patron (‘I ... Mkrtič’ ... desired this book’, ll. 5–7). As a result, contrary to the normal practice according to which it is the scribe who showers himself with epithets of humility and praises the patron, we find here an inversion of roles: it is the patron who deprecates himself and praises the scribe.

Glory to the Father who is without beginning, and to the only begotten Son perpetually born of Him, and to the truthful Spirit that (from him) proceeds in eternity, who are united in nature and distinct in their persons, to whom let there be glory from the fiery beings and adoration from the earthly ones,²⁷ now and forever. Amen.

5 I, a sinner amongst the children of the Church, unworthy amongst the ranks of the *vardapet* (= doctors), lowest of the preachers, last amongst the generations of the Church, Mkrtič’, *vardapet* only in name, I desired this book inspired by God, which is called *Maštoc*’ (= Ritual). It regulates the seven sacraments of the Church and contains set forth in itself the seven grades of the Church and also every spiritual and
10 physical sanctification of our members, which, if you wish, you will find immediately described at the beginning of this book, in the list.²⁸

26 Vardanyan 1998–2000, 360–361.

27 For the definition of angels as ‘beings made of fire’ and men as ‘beings made of earth’, see Ps 103:4; Heb 1:7; and 1 Cor 15:47–49. The same adjectives *hrelēn* and *holelēn* in reference, respectively, to angels and men recur in para. 24 of the ancient Armenian catechism known as *Vardapetut’iwn Srboyn Grigori* (*The Teaching of Saint Gregory*), see MH II, 1426–1427 and Thomson 2001, 64–65 (§ 262).

28 As mentioned above, the codex does in fact present at the beginning the numbered list (*c’ank / c’ang* in the manuscript) of the rites that it contains (ff. 1r–2r).

Therefore, with care and zeal I have assigned to our dear spiritual and sanctity-loving brother, the priest Karapet, the task of writing this (book) in memory of myself and my spiritual parents, the religious Karapet and Yakob, as well as my physical parents, Örpēli and Dovlat', and my grandmother Baldat, and my maternal aunt Saġdat', and my sister Xat'un Melik', and my brother-in-law Yakobšin, and their children Simēovn and Nersēs, and the deceased Step'anos, Galust and Yovhannēs, and the son of my maternal aunt Karapet, and also of her who gave me paper, the faithful Sabah and our pious spiritual sister.

For this reason prostrate on the ground and with wretched pleas, I, who am earth in the grave and have arrived at the gate of the Judgement of God, beg and implore you, children of the Holy Church who enjoy the divine table, that when you turn to this (book) for studying or copying or a rapid glance, recite a *miserere* with all your heart and goodwill, with perfect faith, with resolute hope and absolute love and ask our merciful Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of the sins of all those who have been named above in this (colophon), and in the measure in which you will measure us, with that same measure will you be measured. And may He who is generous in bestowing good grant his indescribable mercy and eternal peace to all of us who hope and to you who remember. Amen. I also beg you to remember in the good Christ the blessed and upright rector and light of the universe *rabbuni* (= master) T'ovma, who has given the model (for copying) and shown us many good works.²⁹ And also our spiritual brethren, people instructed in letters: the religious Yovhannēs, who has written seven laws and the colophon (*yišatakaran*) of this book, and the religious Hayrapet who has bound this book, and also my spiritual children Minas *dpir* (= subdeacon), who has illustrated this book,³⁰ and Grigor *dpir*, who untiringly looks after us, and his brother Mkrtič' Mont'; may Christ God inscribe them in the book of life and in writing that cannot be erased. Amen.³¹

And therefore this (book) was written in the year of the Armenians 881 (= 1432), in this wicked and bitter time in which Christian nations are afflicted by various chastisements by hand of the infidels, and with the permission of God on account of the multitude of our sins; during the reign of Sk'andar ruin of the world and insane,³² and in the patriarchate of *tēr* Kostəndin,³³ and in the episcopate of *tēr* Yohanēs, in the region of K'ajberuni, in the city that is called Arčēš, under the protection of the Holy Mother of God and Saint Yakob, by hand of the priest Karapet, upright and wise secretary, whose memory be blessed. And with the prayers and the intercession of all the saints, may Christ God grant the remission (of sins) to all sinners who repented, especially to those named above in this (colophon). And to Him glory for ever and in the ages to come. Amen. So be it.

29 This individual is to be identified with the famous *vardapet* T'ovma Mecop'ec'i (c. 1376–1447); see P'irralēmean 1888, 101, n. 2. For this historian and hagiographer, who was the author of the *History of Tamerlane and his Successors*, see Thomson 1995, 205–206 and Thomson 2007, 202.

30 For the painter Minas, see above.

31 For these themes, see Sirinian 2017, 283–285.

32 This is the Iskandar who was the head of the Turkish dynasty of the *Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu* for eighteen years until 1438, when he was murdered by his son; see Sümer 1978, 609–611.

33 *Katholikos* Kostandin VI Vahkac'i (1430–1439).

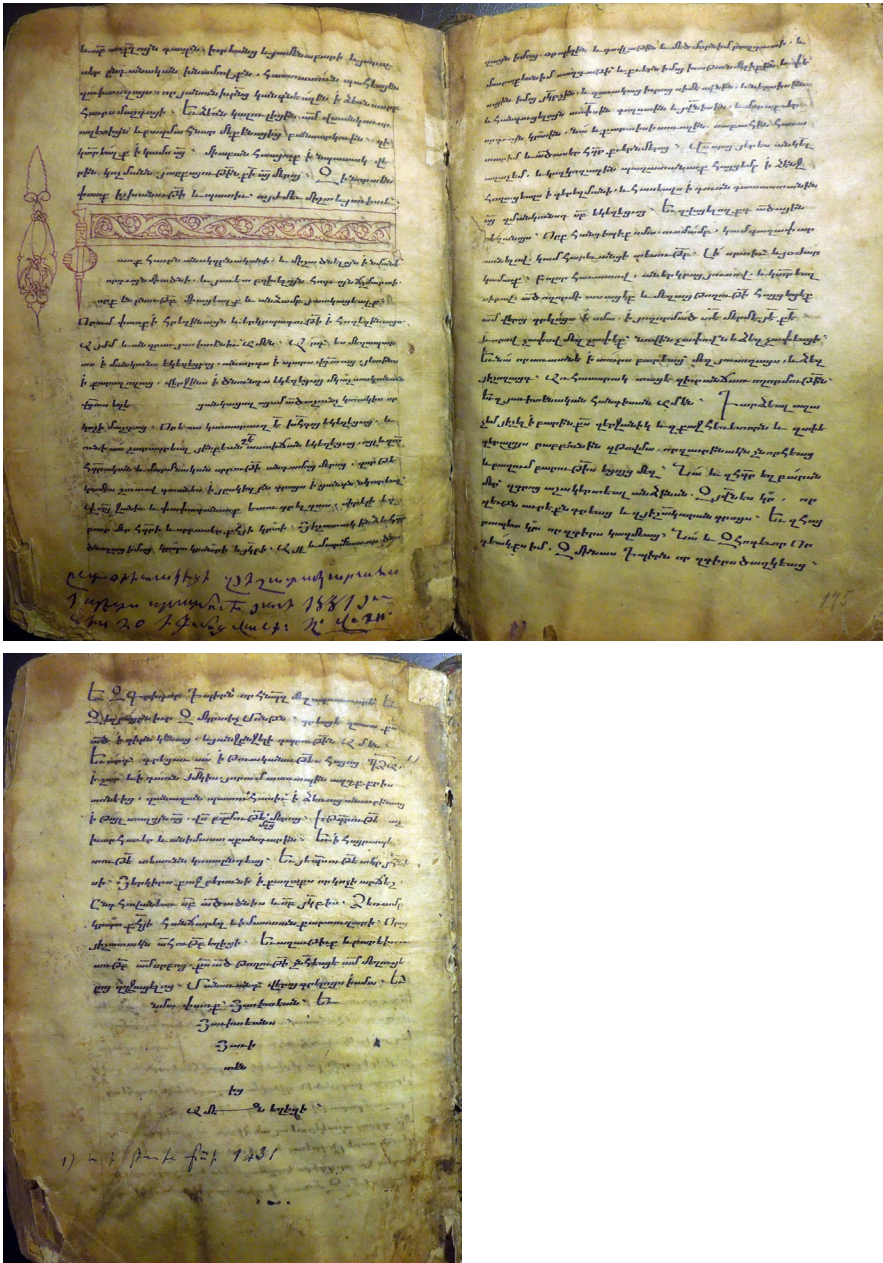


Fig. 2 (a–b). Ms Rome, Pontificio Collegio Armeno, 62: colophon, ff. 174v–175v. Courtesy of the Pontificio Collegio Armeno di Roma.

3) Colophon with ‘external influences’: MS Yerevan, Matendaran, 142: miscellany. Year: 1269; place: Rome; scribe: Margarē. Colophon: ff. 325r–327v

BIBLIOGRAPHY: the colophon has been published (with various cuts) in Eganyan et al. 1984, cols 587–590, as well as complete in Mat’evosyan 1984, 368–372, no. 300; an Italian translation is in Sirinian 2016, 327–334; see also Sirinian 2019, 65–80.

The third colophon is the most unusual of the three because it exhibits ‘external influences’, which are Roman in this instance: codex and colophon, in fact, were written in 1269 at Rome, where an Armenian community had been established in the vicinity of St Peter’s.³⁴ The place where the copy was made was none other than this community’s hospice (*hangstaran*), which hosted pilgrims coming from different parts of Armenia, and amongst these was our copyist named Margarē. The colophon is especially long and quite interesting from a variety of points of view. In its first part are described the inhabitants of the Armenian hospice, for which is furnished here the most complete list of names that we possess, sometimes indicating the ecclesiastical grade, provenance, and even the ‘trade’ (e.g. a baker and a shoemaker). In the second part, the subscription contains instead a long confession of sins by the scribe, rich in concepts and images and rather extraordinary in the Armenian world, which is something to which we shall return.³⁵

Glory to the most holy Trinity, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever and in the age to come and throughout time without end. Amen, amen, amen.

In the year 718 according to the calendar of the Armenians (= AD 1269), when the true vicar of our Illuminator *tēr* Yakobos³⁶ was guiding the orthodoxy of the Christian faith with the authority of superintendent, having been brought to an end, this book inspired by God was completed in this part of the vast region of Europe,³⁷ in the country of Italy, in the very famous and imposing metropolis of Rome, under the protection of the holy apostle and most honorable and sublime [custodian of the keys]³⁸ of the heavenly Jerusalem Peter, cornerstone of the faith, and (under the protection) of the light of the world and benevolent universal father, vase of election,

34 Sirinian 2013–2014 (with previous bibliography).

35 The manuscript exhibits other examples of ‘lesser’ colophons added by Margarē, which have been published in Mat’evosyan 1984, 372 (in part) and in Eganyan et al. 1984, 587, 590; their Italian translation is in Sirinian 2016, 333–334.

36 Yakobos (or Yakob) I Klayec’i, *katholikos* in the years 1268–1286, is here defined as the legitimate successor of St Gregory the Illuminator, who converted the Armenians (third–fourth century CE).

37 To our knowledge, this is the first appearance of the term ‘Europe’ in an Armenian colophon.

38 We read *p’akakali* at this point where the manuscript is damaged and only transmits [±4]*kali* (f. 325 col. b, ll. 20–21).

the holy apostle Paul, in this hospice of the Armenians that was built with the labour of many, poor and wealthy, and all those who have come to venerate these holy apostles have contributed of their own spontaneous volition with (their) earnings to the construction of this residence, some with much and some with little, according to their abilities: to all of these may the Lord, who is all-powerful and most generous in good gifts, offer them a hundred, a thousand, and a million times reciprocation in his kingdom. As for those who were the first to work for this residence—since some of them that worked here before now rest in Christ and yet others have returned to their country—may Christ have mercy on all of them. Those who currently live in this residence (are) the glorious priests, pure and immaculate, the venerable elders Grigor and Arak'eal; and also those young men who are fortifying themselves against the multiple snares of Beliar, Step'annos and Karapet, Xaç'atur and Yovhannēs, T'oros and Eliazar and Vardan Arewelc'i; and also the courageous ascetics who lift up the cross of Christ and follow the illuminated paths of the Lord, Aļekanun and Kostandin, Sargis Surbmarec'i and Step'anos Xlat'ec'i, Kiwrakos and Nersēs, Tiratur and Xaç'er, Yovannēs Arewmtc'i and P'ok'r Xaç'er, Arewik and Vasil, Kostandin Prčik, Vardan P'rnavař (= baker), and also Grigor Ujnac'i and Grigor Kiwlikec'i, Pōlos and Petros Erkayn, Step'annos and Awetik', Yovhan and Yovhannēs, Sirun Kōškar (= shoemaker) and Grigor Arewmtc'i, Grigor and Karapet. These are at the present moment the inhabitants of this residence, who, having left their country and their people, their home and their possessions, have arrived here as pilgrims at the threshold of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and await eternal hope and indescribable rest.

And together with them living in this residence are also honorable women and pious old women, poor and impoverished for the sake of Christ, who sleep on the ground and fast; some of them have taken a vow of virginity while others, virtuously married in this life, have subsequently followed the hope of heaven and await the rest of the just. And the Lord all powerful, Father of good, God of mercy, and Lord of compassion, who is generous in giving and bestowing charisms, pours forth generously his piety upon all of those who have worked for this residence: the first, those in between, and the last, on those who have worked much and those who have worked little, on those who have been liberal with their property and those who have been less so. May God in his compassion have mercy on everyone, on the living and the dead, on those who have gone away and on those who live there, on the priests and deacons, the monks and religious, the laity and the elderly women. May the drops of God's compassion descend upon the bones of the dead who rest here in purgatory. May the Spirit God³⁹ descend into their souls, may this be the will of God all powerful, may the Spirit God give solace to these souls, may the only begotten Son, taking them by the right hand, say: 'Come, my Father's blessed ones, receive the inheritance that has been prepared from the beginning' (Mt 25:34). May the Lord God grant the same solace not only to those who now rest here in purgatory, but also to all of the deceased of Armenian confession.

And with your prayers and with the intercession of the Holy Mother of God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and all the saints on earth and in heaven and Saint John the Forerunner, give peace to our country and set it free from slavery to foreigners, comfort it, make it strong, and make it firm. And may God in his mercy bless the inhabitants of this residence in Rome, may he range its priests with the apostles, refresh the monks together with the ascetics, and crown the elderly women together

39 *Hogin Astuac* in the text, repeated a bit further on.

with the holy *myrophores*. And may the Lord Jesus grant even greater gifts to Vardan
 60 and his parents, father and mother, because he has worked hard to prepare our meals
 and given us much vinegar⁴⁰: to him may the Lord Jesus gave sweet-tasting food and
 joyous quiet, and may he be blessed for the ages.

And I, Margarē, with my many worries, who with hard work have copied this book
 65 of our persons and for the memory of our souls; and I, hapless Margarē, useless and
 clumsy, slothful and wretched, cowardly and petty, shameful and wicked, the most
 evil of the evil and the most hateful of the hateful, someone who has never done good
 and never abstained from evil, which of my sinful deeds unworthy of memory shall I
 70 recall and which shall I write? In fact, my evil deeds are beyond repair and innumera-
 ble, and never have they been listed and numbered. And now I am assailed by doubt
 because, should I write out the multitude of my sins, a vast quantity of parchment
 would be needed to remove them from my wicked self.⁴¹ Now I shall recall them for
 you, holy and religious fathers and brothers, (and) even though I am not worthy to be
 your son and brother, nonetheless I share with you the birth from the holy fount and
 75 the confession and the correct faith in the Holy Trinity, in the Father and in the Son
 and in the Holy Spirit, and I hope in the Lord, so that I too may be able to receive pity
 from the merciful Lord, because He is compassionate. If indeed I remember the evil
 of my thoughts, that of my deeds comes before that of the mind; and if I remember
 the errors of my vision, the sins of my hearing hinder (me) from doing so; and if I
 80 were to remember the sins of the gullet, the numerous evils tied to touch accumu-
 late. Lo and behold, indeed, the two terrible beasts of anger and luxury—calling out
 to one another and having caught me in (their) midst—have reduced to tatters my
 half-dead soul, they have beaten it, they have wounded it, they have taken turns in
 striking it so as to make me altogether despair of the salvation of my soul.

Indeed, standing aside and roaring like a lion and a bear struck by an arrow, anger
 85 without piety and with much fierceness is tearing my soul to pieces. Having found
 only this (to do) among its good deeds, it has struck (me) with ferocity, it has torn
 (me) to pieces, it has beaten (me), and not content with that, having dragged me out
 of the sheepfold and pulled me towards the plain of perversion with its evil, now it
 90 bites me, now it terrifies me, now having seized me with its paws it drags me along
 on the ground and causes me to roll in the filth, hapless me! And it does this not
 merely with its force, but also with my own participation, since the anger that the
 Lord and creator God has placed in the essence of my soul, with which I ought to
 have repelled the attacks of the Evil One, has through my own action become the
 95 support for my destruction, not only because I was [[not]]⁴² wroth with my brother,
 but because of my own volition I killed him and pierced my brother through with my
 treacherous tongue: one I have offended in my thoughts, another I have injured open-
 ly, another I have scorned with mockery, another I have wounded with evil, calling
 him foolish. I have held in contempt those whom I ought to have honoured, I have

40 To be understood as ‘thin wine’, a refreshing drink that consists of water and vine-
 gar.

41 This is an allusion, just as in what follows, to the ‘manuscript’ or ‘receipt’
 (χειρόγραφον) of one’s sins (Col 2:14), an extremely common theme in Armenian
 colophons; see Sirinian 2017, 284–285.

42 This second negation, which is present in the text, is to be considered pleonastic.

100 made life difficult for those to whom I ought to have offered rest, I have saddened those whom I ought to have caused to rejoice, I have persecuted those whom I ought to have cared for, I have scattered those whom I ought to have united, I have been angry at the good. What I ought to have done against the evil I have instead done with my brothers: some I have killed with my thoughts, others with my will; those
105 against whom my forces were insufficient I have intentionally misled.

The beast of luxury, instead, being ready for a direct onslaught, took as allies the cavalrymen of envy and hatred. Together with them they made an imposing formation, and, with this formation and with their sharp weapons, they attacked my naked soul, and they arrogantly boasted of their victory and laughed, and they exulted over and
110 rejoiced in my ruin. Indeed, one of them, having gripped his axe, promptly buried it in my side and another, having grasped a double-edged sword, triumphantly sank it into my undefended heart, and another, seizing his bow, took up a position outside (of the melee) and from afar shot arrows at the whole of my body and soul, and, seizing the effective and heavy club (*peletkinin*) that they call *laxt* in our region and
115 *sarlex* in other places and yet others call *mahak*, yet others approached and struck me mercilessly and wounded the whole of my head.

And these are not the works of Satan, but rather of my personal inclination and will, since that desiderative part that the Creator placed in my living soul, I, having taken hold of it, perverted it, and I have deeply loved indecency since, I admit it, I have felt
120 desire for individuals of another religion and nation. Indeed, I have ardently desired not only natural things, but also unnatural things, for I have fornicated with water, stone, wood, and earth, with fire and water.⁴³ Not only have I dirtied myself and the elements, but even their origins,⁴⁴ for I have turned to the sight of sin these eyes that the Creator had assigned for seeing holiness. Indeed, seeing the pleasures of this life,
125 I have desired them all. I have seen the attractive beauty of gold and silver and that of variegated clothing and I have desired them. I have seen the beauty given by God to women, and I have loved looking at the comely forms of boys, and I have burned with desire. I have been besotted and dirtied myself. I have soiled myself in my soul, and I have been corrupted. With my mind, I have soiled myself. With my sense of
130 touch, I have ruined myself. With my sense of taste, I have prostituted myself. With my hearing, I have become vile. Because of these material things, I have rushed in every way to the doorway of sin. I have become a foreigner and abandoned the laws of God.

Thus and in this way pierced by arrows, struck by the axe, run through by the lance, wounded by the sword, beaten and with broken limbs, with my spirit wounded and infected, gasping and with tears in my eyes, I throw myself on the ground before the all powerful Lord Father, who has care and mercy for all, and the only begotten Son and the most Holy Spirit; I beg, I seek, and I ask that He wish to have mercy and having mercy that He save (me). May He not look⁴⁵ severely upon my person that
140 has wallowed in sin. Rather, may He with sweetness have mercy, and with mercy

43 This expression is to be understood as an allusion to idolatry; see Ciakciak 1837, s.v. *šnam*.

44 Here we are to understand the five senses, which are mentioned shortly afterwards. These were considered the origin of man's knowledge of the world.

45 In the manuscript one reads *ha<y>esc 'i* at this point rather than *hanesc 'i*, which is in the edition of Mat'evosyan.

forgive (me), erase the manuscript of my sins, cleanse my soul of filth (and) colour me a pure white, I who have been obscured (and) dirtied with blackness. May He shed His most pure and holy blood, may He give as food His life-giving and salvific body, so that, having eaten and drunk these, I may be able to vomit forth all the wickedness of my thoughts and will, of my actions carried out or left undone, voluntary or involuntary, thought or spoken; and so that, having taken flight, I may be able to ascend the wagon of clouds, to rise up to the heights before the Bridegroom and Spouse and enjoy the joyous wedding, and with thanksgiving glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit now and forever in the ages to come. Amen, amen.

150 May those charitable Christians who give us food be remembered by the will of Jesus Christ our Lord. May the Lord God grant to them the bread of life and the taste of immortality thanks to the intercession of all the saints, and may they be able to share in the condition of all the saints. Amen.

And now and forever, blessed be the all powerful Father, the only begotten Son, and

155 the truthful Spirit forever and in the ages to come.

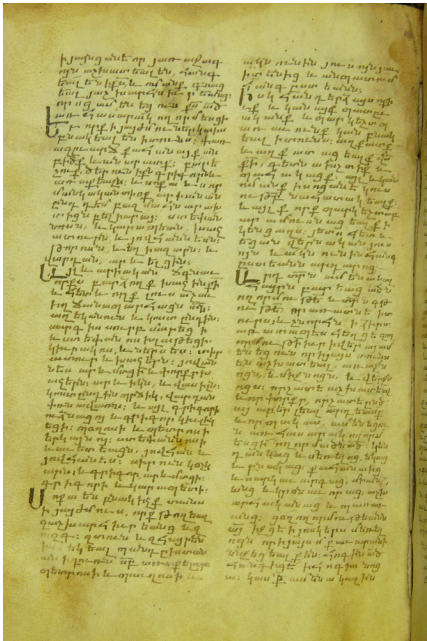
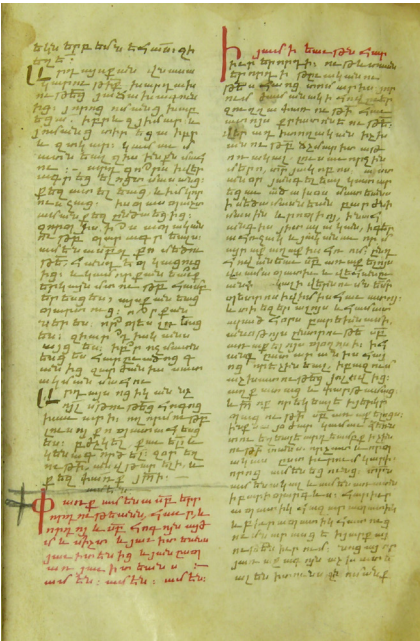


Fig. 3 (a–b). Ms Yerevan, Matenadaran, 142: colophon, ff. 325r–327v, here ff. 325r (a), 325v (b). © Matenadaran.

Summary observations

Now, the search in our three colophons for the twelve structural elements listed in the preceding paragraph confirms their presence, with the following oscillations: six elements appears in all three colophons; four elements in two; and two elements appears attested in only one colophon. In these last cases, when a structural element is absent in one of the three colophons, we shall see, however, that it is possible to identify the cause, or else that it is in reality present in a reduced form that has been adapted to the context, as we shall attempt to show shortly.

Let us summarize in the following table the results of the comparison (the abbreviation ‘ad’ stands for ‘adaptation’):

<i>Element</i>	<i>Colophon 1 Matenadaran 823 (lines in translation)</i>	<i>Colophon 2 PCA 62 (lines in translation)</i>	<i>Colophon 3 Matenadaran 142 (lines in translation)</i>
Trinitarian doxology	1–3	1–4	1–3
Date	8–9	38	4
Place	7–8	42–44	7–12
Religious authority	9–10	42	4–6
Political authority	10–11	41	
Type of book	4–5	7–11	
Name of the scribe	6	13, 32, 44	63
Name of the patron	14, 30 ⁴⁶	7	64
Historical <i>excursus</i>	15–16 ad	39–41	12–20 ad
Request that the reader pray for the patron, his relatives, and/or religious brethren		13–19, 20–26	63–65 ad
Request that the reader pray for the scribe, his relatives, and/or religious brethren	13–20, 23	44–45	63–65 ad
Reassurance of remuneration by God (‘the person who remembers will be remembered’)	25–26	27–29	150–153 ad

46 In colophon no. 1, even though it has been erased (for the reasons discussed above), the name of the patron had been present all the same.

Let us take a closer look at the instances where elements are omitted:

- political authority is not mentioned in colophon 3, but it could hardly be otherwise, as the place of copying was the ‘city of the popes’, i.e. Rome;⁴⁷
- the type of book is not mentioned in colophon 3, but in this case we are dealing with a miscellany, which is less definable by its content than the other two manuscripts;
- the *excursus* or historical description as a self-contained unit, introduced by the typical formulaic expression ‘in this wicked and bitter time ...’ (*i č’ar ew i dařn žamanakis*), is present only in colophon 2 (ll. 39–41); the other two colophons, however, do contain references to historical events: in colophon 1, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i remembers with grief his teacher ‘who was killed by infidels armed with the sword’ (ll. 15–16), alluding to the Turkish-Mongolian invasions, while colophon 3 directly ‘attaches’ the *excursus* to the mention of the place of copying (the hospice at St Peter’s) by means of a reference to its construction by Armenian pilgrims who had come to Rome: ‘in this hospice of the Armenians that was built with the labour of many, poor and wealthy...’ (ll. 12–20);
- as far as the last three elements of the scheme are concerned, we can note, in the first instance, that the explicit request for prayers on behalf of the patron, his relatives, and/or religious brethren is absent in colophon 1 because here it is the young scribe Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i to ask the patron—who, it is to be remembered, was his teacher—for prayers for himself and his relatives as well as forgiveness for the faults of his calligraphy. Again, as regards these final points, it is especially interesting to observe the ‘behaviour’ of colophon 3 (the ‘Roman’ one), which effectively shows itself to be the more eccentric of them. In this colophon the question of the reader’s remembering the scribe and patron (i.e. prayers for the salvation of their souls) is dealt with summarily: ‘I, Margarē [...] have copied this book at the request of our brother Karapet [...] for the benefit of our per-

47 As regards the religious authority, it is to be recalled that the manuscript mentions the *katholikos* Yakob I Klayec‘i, see note 35 above. It is worth remarking that the pope is not mentioned in a single one of the colophons of the group of Armenian manuscripts copied at Rome between 1221 and 1310 (Sirinian 2016); on the other hand, in the course of the thirteenth century, he was often absent from Rome, see Paravicini Bagliani 2003, 3–78 (‘il fenomeno della mobilità della corte papale duecentesca è quantitativamente impressionante [...]: tra il 1198 e il 1304, la corte papale è assente da Roma per quasi il 60% (59,10%) del periodo corrispondente al totale dei singoli pontificati’, *ibid.* p. 5). The first references to the pope in Armenian colophons are instead to be found in the following century, in connection with the proselytising activity of the Dominicans in Armenia (Xaç‘ikyan 1950, 216, no. 273; 245, no. 307) or in manuscripts copied in Italy (*ibid.*, 407–408, no. 488).

sons and for the memory of our souls' (ll. 63–65).⁴⁸ From this moment onwards, the scribe effectively 'opens' the compositional scheme of his colophon so as to insert the unusual confession of his own sins as we have noted, the development of which even exceeds in length that of the first part of the composition.⁴⁹ At the conclusion, divine recompense is called upon not for the person who will pray on behalf of the scribe's soul, but for those who have offered hospitality to him as a pilgrim ('May those charitable Christians who give us food be remembered by the will of Jesus Christ our Lord. May the Lord God grant to them the bread of life and the taste of immortality', ll. 150–153). Why this substitution?

The passionate and detailed confession of his sins that Margarē makes to his fellow Armenians, ardently asking God's forgiveness and begging to become worthy of receiving communion does not have, to our knowledge, any precedent within the rich tradition of Armenian colophons. That the Armenian scribes ask for forgiveness of their sins in the colophons is indeed not surprising—we have seen just how important the request for prayers was—, but normally they do so using a standardized language and without entering into detail. Margarē, instead, certainly does do that. After generic self-accusations of grave faults in thought and action, which are connected to the senses, he focusses on the specific vices of anger and luxury. Without reticence, he vividly describes their manifestations and effects, not omitting to mention shocking details as regards the sin of luxury.

Anomalous within an Armenian setting, this confession instead makes sense, in our opinion, in the Latin world of the thirteenth century. It was a milieu suffused with a new zeal for pastoral care aiming to secure the individual salvation of every member of the universal Church, religious and lay—this latter being the condition that, in view of the absence of any ecclesiastical title whatsoever accompanying his name, we think was the condition of the scribe Margarē—, by means of preaching, the confession of sins, and the sacrament of confession.⁵⁰ The thirteenth century is the age of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which had placed emphasis on the importance of confession, imposing (in its twenty-first constitution) the obligation for every believer (*omnis fidelis*)—under the threat of being prohibited from access to the church

48 For the request of 'memory' as synonymous with a request for prayer, see Sirinian 2017, 280–282.

49 The beginning of the confession ('And I, Margarē, with my many worries [...]', l. 63) is marked in the codex by the rubrication of the first lines of the second column of f. 326r.

50 Within the vast bibliography dedicated to this topic, see Rusconi 2002 for the period being considered here.

and, upon death, from a Christian burial—to confess all their sins (*omnia sua peccata*) to their own priest and to receive communion at least once a year.⁵¹

The thirteenth century is also the age in which the theme of the septenary (i.e. the doctrine of the seven capital sins, which entered the Latin world through the teaching of St Gregory the Great) was most influential.⁵² Many of the passages in the colophon of Margarē indeed seem to be linked to medieval Latin literature and its focus on fighting vices, especially the seven capital sins. This holds true, for example, for the images of anger and luxury, which are likened by the scribe to beasts that tear his soul asunder (almost an anticipation of the three beasts of Dante!). The same can be said of the scene of the armed attack of the vices upon his defenceless soul as well as for other particulars.⁵³ Even the detailed list that Margarē offers for the manifestations of these two sins seem to recall the detailed examination of the *species* of individual vices as they are described in the handbooks written to aid confessors.⁵⁴

On the other hand, it is to be observed that Margarē repeatedly betrays the influence of Latin in his manuscript. At the beginning of the codex, for example, he transcribes in Armenian characters, but in the Latin language, three New Testament passages (Acts 1:1; Mt 18:1–10; 1 Cor 6:15–20). Here and there, moreover, small glosses in his hand transliterate some words from Latin and translate them into Armenian.⁵⁵ We therefore think it possible that even in

51 For this Council, see the recent work of Ciola, Sabetta, Sguazzardo 2016. Some representatives of the Oriental Churches also participated in this Council, and amongst these there may have been the Armenian *katholikos*: his name appears among those listed as present in the Acts, but it does not subsequently reappear amongst those who gave their signature to the canons; see Loda 2016, 492 and n. 5.

52 Casagrande and Vecchio 2000.

53 Casagrande and Vecchio 2000, 184–189 (§ 2: *Le metafore dei vizi*).

54 For example, on the subject of anger, we find the following passage in a manual for confessors composed by Robert of Flamborough at the beginning of the thirteenth century: *Ad iram pertinent ista: impatientia, indignatio, injuria, rixa, contumelia [...] discordia [...] furor [...]*, see Firth 1971, 181; some of our scribe's admissions regarding the sin of luxury, on the other hand, recall the question posed by the confessor *Ad infidelem, scilicet judaeam, gentilem, haeticam (accessisti)?* cited *ibid.*, 197. Even the passage dealing with sins caused by the sense of sight has echoes in that on *concupiscentia oculorum* present in *Speculum penitentis* of William de Montibus, see Goering 1992, 200. – I am very grateful to Joseph Goering, James Long, Roberto Rusconi, and my colleague Iolanda Ventura for the generous advice (which was not limited to questions of bibliography) that they have given me on these topics.

55 For these passages and glosses in *hayatar latinērēn* (Latin transcribed in Armenian characters), see Sirinian 2018, 103–106.

his colophon he displays an affinity for the religiosity of the Latin church at that epoch.

Whether or not there is a Latin influence (as we suggest), there can be no doubt that Margarē uses the second part of his colophon to make a list of his sins and ask for their forgiveness not, as seems, in a future *post mortem* but rather so as to be able to purify himself and take communion *in vita* (ll. 63–149). That might explain why, having arrived at the end of his colophon and therefore in the ‘area’ reserved for the request for divine remuneration, the scribe invokes it not for future readers who will pray for his soul, but rather for his fellow Armenians who are hosting him.⁵⁶

Returning to the structural aspect of the Armenian colophons, it is possible to assert, at the end of our analysis, that each scribe gives evidence of knowing thoroughly the rules for composing a colophon and that at the same time he is able to adapt them to its contents. Those elements of the list that are not present in one of the three colophons analysed have been omitted because they are effectively at odds with the message of that particular composition, or else they have been consciously adapted.

Therefore, we are dealing with a compositional structure that is elastic and adaptable to the different contexts in which a particular scribe was writing and the goals that he had in mind. Thus it would appear that we are able to detect in this specific setting one of the constants of Armenian history and civilization: the elaboration of codes or models of cultural reference that, on the one hand, are clearly recognizable and reproducible and, on the other hand, are able to change and adapt themselves to new situations and new contents.

56 It is interesting to note that, immediately after his colophon, Margarē copies, as the final work in his manuscript, the prayer *Hawatov Xostovanim* (‘I faithfully confess to You’) of the *katholikos*, theologian and hymnographer Nersēs Šnorhali (1166–1173), which, with its repeated request addressed to God at the close of every strophe, *ew otormea inj melaworis* (‘and have pity on me a sinner!’) seems almost to serve as a seal for his confession. Among the many editions of this prayer, which is extremely famous in the Armenian world, we cite that which was published by the Mekhitarist Fathers in 1871 in thirty-six languages, *Preces Sancti Nersetis Clajensis Armeniorum Patriarchae triginta sex linguis editae*, Venetiis, in insula S. Lazari 1871 (repr. Yerevan: EPH Hratarakčut‘yun, 2013). The text of our manuscript presents some variants with regard to this edition, such as the above-cited supplication at the end of every strophe, which in the text published by the Mekhitarist Fathers in 1871 instead reads *ew otormea k’o araracoc’s ew inj bazmamelis* (‘and have pity on these your creatures and on me, a great sinner!’).

Appendix

Complete edition of Colophon 2: MS Rome, Pontificio Collegio Armeno, 62: Ritual (Maštoc'), ff. 174v–175v

NOTE: the abbreviations present in the Armenian manuscript have been quietly expanded; moreover, according to the standard practice in editing Armenian colophons, the exchange of voiced and voiceless consonants has been indicated in cursive.

- (174v) Փառք Հարն անկզբնականի, և միշտ ծնելոյն ի նմանէ Որդւոյն միածնի, և յաւէտ բոլիսելոյն Հոգւոյն ճշմարտի, որք են բնութեամբ միացեալք և անձամբ յատկացեալք, ուրում փառք ի հրեղինացն և երկրպագութիւն հողեղինացս, այժմ և անգրաւ յախտենիւ, ամէն:
- 5 Արդ՝ ես մեղապարտս ի մանկունս եկեղեցւոյ, անարգս ի պարս վարդապետաց, յետինս ի քարոզողաց, վերջինս ի ծնունդս եկեղեցւոյ Մկրտիչ սոսկ անունս վարդապետս, եղէ ցանկացող այսմ աստուածաշունչ կտակիս որ կոչի Մաշտոց: Որ է սա կատարաւդ Է խորհրդոյ եկեղեցւոյ, և ունի սա շարագրեալ յինքեանս զէ աստիճան եկեղեցւոյ, այլ և զամենայն հոգեւորական և մարմնական սրբութիւն անդամոց մերոց, գոր թէ կամիս շուտով գտանես ի յըսկիզբն գրոցս ի ցանճն նկարեալ: Վասն որոյ ջանիւ և փափագանաւք ետու գրել զսա սիրելի եղբար մեր հոգեւորի և սրբասէր քահանայի Կարապետի, յիշատակ ինձ և հոգևոր ծնողաց իմոց Կարապետ կրօնաւորի և Յակոբի: Այլ և մարմնաւոր ծնո(ւ. 175r)ղացն իմոց Օրպելին և Դովլաթին և մեծմօրն 15 իմ Բաղդաստի, և մարաքեռն իմ Սաղդայթի՝ և քւերն իմոյ Խաթուն Մելիքին, և փեսային իմոյ Յակոբչին, և զաւակաց իւրոց Սիմէովնին և Ներսիսին, և հանգուցելոցն Ստեփանոսին, Գալստին և Յովաննիսին, և մօրաքւեր որդւոյն Կարապետին, նաև քարտիսի տուողին Սաբասին՝ հաւատարիմ և աստուածասէր հոգեւոր քւերն մերոյ:
- 20 Վասն որոյ յերես անկեալ աղաչեմ, և կողկողագին պաղատանաւք հայցեմք ի ձէնջ՝ հողացեալս ի գերեզմանի և հասեալս ի դուռն դատաստանին Աստուծոյ՝ զմանկունսղ սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ և զվայելողքդ աստուածային սեղաւոյս, որք հանդիպիք սմա ուսմամբ կամ զաղափար առնելով կամ հարեանցի տեսութեամբ, յի սրտիւ և յօժար կամաւք, բոլոր հաւատով, աներկբայ յուսով և կատարեալ սիրով՝ Աստուած ողորմի ասացէք և մեղաց թողութիւն հայցեցէք 25 ամենայն վերոյ գրելոցս ի սմա ի յողորմած Տեառնէ մերմէ Յիսուսէ Քրիստոսէ. և որով չափով մեզ չափէք՝ նովին չափովն և ձեզ չափեսցի: Եւ նա որ առատն է ի տուրս բարեաց՝ մեզ յուսողացս և ձեզ յիշողացդ առհասարակ տացէ զիւր անճառ ողորմութիւնն և զյախտենական հանգիստն, ամէն: Դարձեալ աղաչեմ յիշել ի բարին Քրիստոս գերջանիկ և զքաց հեռետորն (*sic*) և զտիեզերալոյս րաբբունին գծովմա, որ զաւրինական շնորհեաց և բազում բարութիւնս եցոյց մեզ. նաև զհոգեւոր եղբարսն մեր՝ զգրոց աշակերտեալ անձինսն, զՅովհաննէս կրօնաւոր որ գեւթն աւրէ<ն>քն գրեաց և զյիշատակարան գրոցս և զՀայրապետ կրօնաւորս որ գգիրս կազմեաց, նաև զհոգեւոր որդեակքս իմ՝ զՄինաս Դպիրն, 30 որ գգիրս ծաղկեաց (f. 175v) և զԳրիգոր Դպիրն, որ հանապազ մեզ սպասաւորէ, և զեղբայրն իւր, զՄկրտիչ Մոնթն. գրեսցէ զսոսա Քրիստոս Աստուած ի գիրն կենաց և յանջընջելի դպրութիւն, ամէն:

Եւ արդ՝ գրեցաւ սա ի թուականութեանս հայոց ՊԶԱ, ի չար և ի դառն ժամանակիս, յորում տառապին ազգք քրիստոնէից զանազան պատուհասիւ
 40 ի ձեռաց անաւրինաց, ի թոյլ տալոյն Աստուծոյ վասն բազմութեան մեղաց մերոց, ի թագաւորութեան աշխարհաւեր և անիմաստ Սքանդարին, և ի հայրապետութեան տեառնն Կոստընդեայ, և յեպիսկոպոսութեան տէր Յոհաննիսի. յերկիրս Քաջբերունի, ի քաղաքս որ կոչի Արճէշ, ընդ հովանեաւ սուրբ Աստուածածնիս և սուրբ Յակոբիս, ձեռամբ Կարապետ քահանայի՝
 45 հանճարեղ և իմաստուն քարտուղարի, որոյ յիշատակն արհնութեամբ եղիցի: Եւ աղաթիւք և բարեխաւսութեամբ ամենայն սրբոց՝ Քրիստոս Աստուած թողութիւն շնորհեսցէ ամենայն մեղուցելոց զոջացելոց, մանաւանդ՝ վերոյ գրելոցս ի սմա: Եւ նմա փառք՝ յաւիտեան և յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից, ամէն եղիցի:

References

- Casagrande, C. and S. Vecchio 2000. *I sette vizi capitali. Storia dei peccati nel medioevo* (Torino: Einaudi, 2000).
- Ciackciak, E. 1837. *Dizionario armeno-italiano*, I–II (Venezia: Tipografia Mechitaristica di S. Lazzaro, 1837).
- Ciola, N., A. Sabetta, and P. Sguazzardo, eds, 2016. *Il Concilio Lateranense IV a 800 anni dalla sua celebrazione. Una rilettura teologica. Atti del Simposio della Facoltà di S. Teologia e per gli Istituti ad essa associati in occasione dell’VI-II centenario del Concilio Lateranense IV 1215 – novembre – 2015, Roma 30 novembre–1 dicembre 2015*, Lateranum, 82/2–3 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2016).
- CPG = M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I–V, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987).
- Eganean [= Eganyan], Ծ. 2007. Մայր Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի (*Mayr c’uc’ak hayerēn jeragrac’ Maštoc’i anuan Matenadarani*, ‘Analytical Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran *Maštoc’*’), III (Yerevan: Magalat’, 2007).
- Eganyan, Ծ., A. Zeyt’unyan, P. Ant’abyan 1984. Մայր Յուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի (*Mayr C’uc’ak hayerēn jeragrac’ Maštoc’i anuan Matenadarani*, ‘Analytical Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran *Maštoc’*’), I (Yerevan: Haykakan SSA GA Hratarakč’ut’yun, 1984).
- Firth, J.J.F. 1971. *Robert of Flamborough. Liber poenitentialis. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, Studies and Texts, 18 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971).
- Gianascian, M. 1989. *Miniature Armene* (Venezia: San Lazzaro, 1989).

- Goering, J. 1992. *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213). The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts, 108 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992).
- Harutyunyan, Kh. [= Harut'yunyan, X.] 2016a. Միքայել անվանը ԺԷ. դարի երկու գրիչ. (*Mik'ayel anvamb ŽĒ. dari erku grič*, 'Two Scribes of the 17th Century with the Name of Mik'ayel') (Yerevan: Nairi, 2016).
- 2016b. 'L'attività del copista Mikhayel di Thochath (Tokat), 1606–1658', *Rassegna degli Armenisti Italiani*, 17 (2016), 39–50.
- 2016c. 'Gli antroponomi nei colofoni armeni: gruppi semantici e nuovi nomi', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 47–72.
- [= Harut'yunyan, X.] 2019. Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարանները (*Hayeren jeragreri hišatakarannerə* 'The Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts') (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 2019).
- K'iwrtcan, Y. 1953. Երիզա և Եկեղեաց գաւառ. Պատմական համագրութիւն. Ա. հատոր. սկիզբէն մինչև 1375 (*Eriza ew Ekeleac' gawař. Patmakan hama-grut'awn, A hator (skizbēn minč'ew 1375)*, 'Erznka and the Region of Ekeleac'. Historical Collection, I: from the Beginning to 1375') (Venetik: S. Łazar, 1953).
- Lafontaine, G. and B. Coulie 1983. *La version arménienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Tradition manuscrite et histoire de texte*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 446, Subsidia, 67 (Lovanii: in aedibus E. Peeters, 1983).
- Lampe, G.W.H. 1961. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Loda, N. 2016. 'La legislazione del 1215 del Concilio Lateranense IV. I greci e i cristiani orientali fra tradizione e innovazione del diritto canonico', in Ciola et al. 2016, 491–527.
- Mat'evosyan, A.S. 1984. Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ. ԺԳ դար (*Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner. ŽG dar*, 'Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts. 13th Century') (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Gitut'yunneri Akatemiai Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1984).
- 1988. Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ. E-ԺԲ դդ (*Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner. E-ŽB dd*, 'Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts. 5th–12th Centuries') (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH GA Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1988).
- MH II = Մատենագիրք Հայոց (*Matenagirk' Hayoc*, 'Armenian Medieval Authors'), II (Antelias-Lebanon: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003).
- Mutafian, C. 2012. *L'Arménie du Levant (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)*, I–II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012).
- Narinean, A. 1826–1828. Մեկնութիւն եօթանց Թղթոց Կաթողիկէայց. Արարեալ երանելոյն Սարգսի շնորհալից վարդապետի՝ Հայոց

- իմաստաստիքի եւ քաջ հոկտորի (*Meknut' iwn eōt' anc' T' t' oc' kat' ulikeayc' Arareal eranelwoyn Sargsi šnorhalic' vardapeti` Hayoc' imastasiri ew k' aĵ hĵetori*, 'Commentary on the Seven Catholic Letters by the Blessed Doctor Sargis, Filled with Grace, Theologian, and Extraordinary Armenian Speaker') (I Kostandinupōlis: Hasanp' ašay, 1826–1828).
- NBHL = G. Awetik' ean, X. Siwrmēlean, and M. Awgerean, eds, Նոր Բառգիրք Հայկազգեսն Լեզունի (*Nor Bargirk' Haykazean Lezui*, 'New Dictionary of the Armenian Language'), I–II (I Venetik: i tparani Srboyn Łazaru, 1836–1837).
- Paravicini Bagliani, A. 2003. 'La mobilità della corte papale nel secolo XIII', in S. Carocci, ed., *Itineranza pontificia. La mobilità della Curia papale nel Lazio (secoli XII–XIII)*, Nuovi studi storici, 61 (Roma: Istituto Storico italiano per il Medioevo, 2003), 3–78.
- P'irālēmēan, Ł. 1888. Նօտարք Հայոց (*Nōtark' Hayoc'*, 'Armenian Notaries') (K.pōlis: Nišan K. Pērpērean [1888]).
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeca*, accurate et recognoscente J.-P. Migne, I–CLXI (Parisiis: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866).
- Ponchiroli, D. 1974. M. Polo, *Il libro di Marco Polo detto Milione. Nella versione trecentesca dell'ottimo*, ed., D. Ponchiroli, intr. S. Solmi (Torino: Einaudi, 1974).
- Rusconi, R. 2002. *L'ordine dei peccati. La confessione tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Saggi (Bologna: il Mulino, 2002).
- Sanjian, A. K. 1969. *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480. A Source for Middle Eastern History. Selected, Translated, and Annotated by Avedis K. Sanjian* (Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press, 1969).
- Sirinian, A. 1999. *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Armeniaca*, II: *Orationes IV et V*, editae ab A. Sirinian cum indice a B. Coulie, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 37, Corpus Nazianzenum 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).
- 2003. 'Le nuove accessioni manoscritte armene del Pontificio Collegio Armeno di Roma: un primo report', *Le Muséon*, 116/1–2 (2003), 71–90.
- 2013–2014. 'La presenza degli Armeni nella Roma medievale: prime testimonianze manoscritte ed epigrafiche (con un'iscrizione inedita del XVI secolo)', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 86 (2013–2014), 3–42.
- 2014. 'On the Historical and Literary Value of the Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts', in V. Calzolari and M. E. Stone, eds, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era. From Manuscript to Digital Text*, Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch der Orientalistik, 8: Uralic and Central Asian Studies, 23/1 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014), 65–100.

- 2016. ‘I colofoni dei manoscritti armeni copiati a Roma (secc. XIII–XIV in.). Traduzione italiana con note di commento’, *Nea Rhome*, 13 (2016), 305–338.
- 2017. ‘Libri per il paradiso: aspetti di mentalità nei colofoni armeni del XIII secolo’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 83/2 (2017), 277–292.
- 2018. ‘Interazioni armeno-latine nelle epigrafi e nei manoscritti armeni prodotti a Roma nei secoli XIII–XIV’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 130 (2018), 95–111 (<<https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/4017>>).
- (Širinean) 2019. Հռոմում 1269 թ. գրուած հայերէն ձեռագիրը և նրա յիշատակարանը (Մաշտոցեան Մատենադարանի ձեռ. հմր 142, Ժողովածու) (*Hromum 1269 t'. gruaç hayerēn jeragirə ew nra yišatarana [Maštoc 'ean Matenadaran ijer. hmr 142, žolovacu]*, ‘The Armenian Manuscript Copied at Rome in 1269 and its Colophon [Matenadaran, MS 142]’), in Լեւոն Խաչիկյան. Հարյուրամյակ / *Levon Khachikyan. Centenary. Proceedings of the International Armenological Conference, Dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of Academician Levon Khachikyan's Birth (28–30 June, 2018)* (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 2019), 65–80.
- Sirinian, A., P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaia, eds, 2016. *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale, 12–13 ottobre 2012*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016).
- Sirinian, A. and G. Uluhogian 2003. *Forme di comunicazione nel medioevo. Copisti e miniatori armeni* (Bologna: Alma Mater Studiorum–Università di Bologna, Dipartimento di Paleografia e Medievistica, 2003).
- Stone, M. E., D. Kouymjian, and H. Lehmann 2002. *Album of Armenian Paleography* (Århus: Århus University Press, 2002).
- Sümer, F., 1978. ‘Karā-Ḳoyunlu’, in B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and E. J. van Donzel, eds, *Encyclopédie de l’Islam. Nouvelle édition*, IV: *Iran–Kha* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 607–612.
- Thomson, R.W. 1995. *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, *Corpus Christianorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
- 2007. ‘Supplement to “A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD”’: Publications 1993–2005’, *Le Muséon*, 120 (2007), 163–223.
- 2001. *The Teaching of Saint Gregory. Revised Edition. Translation, Commentary and Introduction by Robert W. Thomson*, AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition, 1 (New Rochelle, NY: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001).
- Van Elverdinghe, E. 2018. ‘Recurrent Pattern Modelling in a Corpus of Armenian Manuscript Colophons’, *Journal of Data Mining and Digital Humanities*,

- Special Issue on Computer-Aided Processing of Intertextuality in Ancient Languages (2018), <DOI: 10.46298/jdmdh.1401>.
- 2021. “‘A Child in Zion’: The Scriptural Fabric of Armenian Colophons’, in R. Ceulemans, and B. Crostini, eds, *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium. Texts, Manuscripts, and Their Readers*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2021), 141–162.
- forthcoming. *Modèles et copies. Étude d’une formule des colophons de manuscrits arméniens (VIII^e–XIX^e siècles)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia (Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming).
- Vardanyan, E. 1998–2000. ‘Catalogue des manuscrits du peintre Minas (XV^e S.)’, *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 27 (1998–2000), 359–378.
- Մաճիկյան, Լ. 1950. ԺԴ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ (*ŽE dari hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner*, ‘Armenian Colophons of the XIV Century’) (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut’yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč’ut’yun, 1950).
- 1955. ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ. Մասն առաջին (1401–1450 թթ.) (*ŽE dari hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner. Masn arajin (1401–1450 t’t’.*), ‘Armenian Colophons of the 15th Century. Part I: AD 1401–1450’ (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut’yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč’ut’yun, 1955).
- Yovhannu Oskeberani Meknut’iwn T’it’oc’n Pawlosi* 1862. Յովհաննու Ոսկերեքանի Կոստանդնուպոլսի եպիսկոպոսապետի Մեկնութիւն թղթոցն Պաւղոսի. հատոր երկրորդ, Մեկնութիւն Հռովմայեցւոց. Հատածք. Ճառք երկրայականք (*Yovhannu Oskeberani Kostandnupōl-si Episkoposapeti Meknut’iwn t’it’oc’n Pawlosi. Hator erkrord, Meknut’iwn Hrovmayec’woc’. Hatack’. Čark’erkbayakank’*, ‘Commentary on St Paul’s Epistles by John Chrysostom, II: Romans, Fragments, Doubtful Homilies’) (Venezia, S. Lazzaro 1862).
- Yovsēp’ean, G. 1951. Յիշատակարանք ձեռագրաց. հատոր Ա (Ե դարից մինչև 1250 թ.) (*Yišatakarank’ jeragrac’, I: E daric’ minč’ew 1250 t’.*, ‘Armenian Colophons, I: from the 5th Century until the Year 1250’) (Ant’ilias: Tpran Kat’ohikosut’ean Hayoc’ Kilikioy, 1951).

Ethiopic Colophons: An Update*

Alessandro Bausi, Universität Hamburg

Ethiopic colophons are still an understudied subject among the broader field of the codex manuscript cultures of East and West. The Christian Ethiopian and Eritrean manuscript tradition in Gəʿəz language provides a rich, still unsystematically studied documentation of colophons. While the earliest extant colophons date to the thirteenth century, the phenomenon is certainly older. In some periods and monastic environments it has enjoyed a particular fortune and shows a tendency to the expansion. As marker of material and/or textual production, the colophon is related and at times overlaps with the phenomenon of the title and supplication.

Introduction

In a 2016 contribution dedicated to Ethiopic¹ colophons I underlined that colophons, subscriptions, and end notes—to use a comprehensive category—of

* This article resumes a paper published a few years ago in Italian (Bausi 2016a) and provides a few updates and additions that take into account contributions of the last years. The research was funded by the Langzeitvorhaben im Akademienprogramm (long-term project in the program of The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities), through a project of the Academy of Hamburg, ‘Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung’ (Bm), at Universität Hamburg (UHH) (2016–2040); by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy, EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures’, project no. 390893796 at UHH (2019–2025); by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, at University of Oxford and at University City, London), by the DFG (at UHH), project no. 672619, ‘Demarginalizing Medieval Africa: Images, Texts, and Identity in Early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270–1527)’, at UHH (2020–2024); and by the DFG (within the framework of the Forschungsgruppe 5138 ‘Geistliche Intermedialität in der Frühen Neuzeit’, at UHH), project no. 680753, ‘Der mediale Status des Körpers – Körper im Bild und Körperbild. König Kāleb und andere äthiopische Heilige in Portugal und Brasilien im 18. Jahrhundert’, at UHH (2022–2025). The research was conducted within the scope of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies (HLCEES) and of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), at UHH. On *Clavis aethiopica* (CAe), see <<https://betamasaheft.eu/#texts>> (last accessed 24 October 2022); for a glimpse at the paratexts encoded by the Bm project, including colophons, see <<https://betamasaheft.eu/paratexts>> (last accessed 24 October 2022).

1 As usual, by Ethiopic I essentially refer here to the Christian Ethiopian and Eritrean manuscript tradition in Gəʿəz language, this latter also indicated as Ancient Ethiopic, Classical Ethiopic, Old Ethiopic, or simply Ethiopic; to this tradition is strictly related the Christian tradition of Amharic language.

Ethiopic manuscripts had not yet received the attention of any specifically dedicated study, either from the point of view of Ethiopian studies or from multidisciplinary contributions on colophons. Several years later, I am afraid I can say that not much has changed and that my modest contribution still remains one of the few comprehensive attempts at delineating some features of colophons in Ethiopic manuscripts.² If it is probably no longer the right time for collections of colophons published, translated, and commented in print, as the experience of several projects in related fields clearly shows,³ yet the fact remains that such undertakings were never attempted for Ethiopic manuscripts, and it is not possible to take them as a reference point. On the other hand, it is undeniable that there has been a substantial growth of the accessible material and that several initiatives have laid down the basis for a fundamentally new understanding of the phenomenon of the colophon as such, including its function of paratext or paracontent.⁴ Moreover, there are many points where the research has benefited from recent contributions, not only in the case of the 'Abbā Garimā Gospels, to give one example, but also in several others.⁵ If the quantitative analysis of the phenomena does not yet appear any more an impossible task even for traditions, like the Ethiopic one,

- 2 Just to remind what has *not* been done in the past, there was no contribution dedicated to Ethiopic manuscripts in the well-known 1993 conference on scribes and colophons that opened up a fertile path of investigation (see for all Cavallo et al. 1991), to some extent, continued also physically (considering the decisive role in all of them of a scholar like Marilena Maniaci) in the 'Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies' (COMSt) project, see n. 13. One may also note that the same isolation and lack of consideration of the Ethiopic evidence happened for the earliest comparative studies of the liturgical homilies, see for example Grégoire 1968, where the Ethiopian tradition is completely neglected.
- 3 See the experience of the project 'PATHs: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature', European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grant (2015–2021), headed by Paola Buzi at Sapienza University of Rome, <<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/colophons>> (last accessed 17 October 2022) for Coptic manuscripts. For the Bm project, see above n. *.
- 4 According to approaches and definitions; see Andrist 2018; Ciotti et al. 2018.
- 5 See Nosnitsin 2020 for the most updated and reliable general overview; see also recent publications, like the large and detailed catalogue by Zarzeczny et al. 2020, that considers 175 manuscripts from two private collections: of these, colophons are mentioned for twenty manuscripts and thirteen are fully edited and translated; see pp. 107 (ed.), 154, 162, 209 (ed.), 253 (ed.), 281, 295 (ed.), 452 (ed.), 493, 528 (ed.), 552–553 (ed.), 575, 641, 649 (ed.), 704 (ed.), 722 (ed.), 768 (ed.), 780 (ed.), 789 (ed.), 791 (ed.); or the printed and electronic online catalogue of the twenty-four manuscripts of the Dayr as-Suryān collection by Nosnitsin and Reule 2021, where colophons are recorded for three manuscripts; see pp. 25–26 (two colophons for the same manuscript), 40–41, and 59; see also there the pragmatic definition of colophon,

where the estimated number of extant manuscripts varies between 100,000 and 1,000,000, we must admit that the statistic distribution of phenomena and a comprehensive understanding of the features of Ethiopic colophons is still to come. It appears nonetheless reasonable, at the cost of some repetitions, to update the discourse on Ethiopic manuscripts integrating new data, providing corrections and additions, and adding a few more examples, with full awareness that this is still far from a comprehensive organic presentation.

An essential starting point is the attempt at defining the colophon and other related elements (titles and supplications) as has been done within the scope of the Bm project,⁶ where the colophon in the narrow sense is understood as follows: ‘A colophon refers to production stages of the entire manuscript only and is usually found to the end, in rare cases to the beginning of the manuscript. Even if this is short and contains no date, it is still a colophon’.⁷ This definition is aimed at a consistent encoding and considers in particular the special connection of the subscription and end note to the titles, as an apparent feature in texts belonging to what I have called ‘the earlier layer’ of the Ethiopic tradition.⁸ This appears to be a particularly prominent feature in the case of multiple-text manuscripts that are the result of an assemblage of pieces created, received, translated, collected, and transmitted in the course of centuries, like hagiographic and homiletic collections, which—very importantly—preserve texts of pre-medieval transmission created in late antiquity.⁹

The necessity of not forgetting the work already done is still an urgent need. The assumption that all essential publications and contributions to be considered are in English is false and misleading, and besides what has been published in other European languages (French, German, Italian, Russian, and possibly others), also the production in Amharic cannot be disregarded.¹⁰ In some cases, the predominant interest for a materiality too radically considered

p. xxvii: ‘A record concerning the process of the manuscript production, usually attending its completion, with the date of completion and/or the name of the scribe’.

6 See <<https://betamasaheft.eu/Guidelines/?q=colophon&id=ColophSupplTit>> (last accessed 17 October 2022). I will only quote the beginning: ‘Colophons, Titles and Supplications. These three concepts and their encoding in manuscript and work records are treated together here as they tend to overlap in discussion. In this page, we will try to clarify our understanding and the way in which we encode each case’. What follows is too long to be quoted, but provides a useful practical guide on how to deal with the subject.

7 See <<https://betamasaheft.eu/Guidelines/?id=colophon>> (last accessed 17 October 2022).

8 See Bausi 2017a.

9 See below for references.

10 See for example the interesting catalogues, Tasfāye ‘Arāge and ‘Ālamu Ḥayle 2010; Salomon Massala and ‘Ālamu Ḥayle 2011.

as opposed to the textual, or better said: philological (text-critical) approach, has affected the quality of some contributions which give the impression of ignoring essential aspects of the past philological research.¹¹

In my 2016 contributions I mentioned three initiatives which appeared to be on the forefront of the research, that is, the project ‘Ethio-SPaRe’,¹² the ‘COMSt’ networking programme with the publication of a handbook in 2015,¹³ and the activities promoted, still at UHH, by the CSMC,¹⁴ that serves

- 11 Some reservations I had expressed towards the contributions collateral to the gigantic project of manuscript digitization undertaken by Steve Delamarter, Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project—see one of its earliest outcome, Delamarter and Demeke Berhane 2007—must be nuanced in the light of adjustments in successive catalogues; see Delamarter and Melaku Terefe 2009; Six et al. 2011; Melaku Terefe, Kesis et al. 2011; Getatchew Haile et al. 2009; and also the reviews by Bausi 2010a; Marrassini 2010a.
- 12 ‘Ethio-SPaRe – Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research’, European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grant (2009–2014), headed by Denis Nonsnitsin; for this cooperative project, see at least Nonsnitsin 2013a; Nonsnitsin 2013b; Nonsnitsin 2015; and the specific study on a manuscript from Dabra Mā’šo, see Nonsnitsin 2012; Nonsnitsin 2013c.
- 13 ‘COMSt: Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies’, European Science Foundation (ESF) Networking Programme (2009–2014); see Bausi et al. 2015; on Ethiopic colophons there, see Balicka-Witakowska et al. 2015, 170–171.
- 14 Initial activities centred on the ‘Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 950 – Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’ (2011–2020), funded by the DFG (at UHH) whereas since 2019 the Cluster within the framework of Germany’s Excellence Strategy, EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts’ (see above) has been established. The SFB 950 also included the project ‘Cross-Section Views of Evolving Knowledge: Canonico-Liturgical and Hagiographic Ethiopic Christian Manuscripts as Corpus-Organizers’ (2011–2015) and “‘Parchment Saints’ – The Making of Ethiopian Hagiographic Manuscripts: Matter and Devotion in Manuscript Practices of Medieval and Pre-Modern Ethiopia’ (2015–2019) directed by myself and with participation of Antonella Brita. An exploration of colophons, also in Ethiopic manuscripts, was undertaken as part of a research on manuscript terminology in a broadly comparative perspective, already in the ‘Forschergruppe 963 – Manuskriptkulturen in Asien und Afrika / Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa’ (2009–2011), funded by the DFG (at UHH). The research included the drafting of a preliminary, unpublished glossary (*Glossary of Manuscript cultures in Asia and Africa*) sorted by key terms (‘binding, book formats, colophon, composite manuscript, copying, corrections, dating, illustration, layout/mise en page, lines, margins/marginalia, multiple-text, navigation aids, scriptorium, segmentation marks’, and others), and also including everything that can be understood under the notion of ‘colophon’. A work-in-progress version updated to 2011 was accessible to members of the SFB 950 on the Intranet of UHH; see Wion 2007; Anaïs Wion herself dealt with Ethiopian colophons in a communication—which followed the glossary note, later supplemented *ex post facto*—at the meritorious international confer-

as a general umbrella for globally comparative research—now expanded to include the Cluster of Excellence ‘Understanding Written Artefacts’. This was not meant to exclude the many other ongoing researches in terms of field works and documentation, but to give the importance it deserved to the consideration of theoretical questions that to some extent are at the centre of the work on colophons. It goes without saying that every project working on cataloguing and documenting manuscripts implicitly contributes to the research. Therefore, the well-established cataloguing team at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), at Collegeville, MN;¹⁵ the French school that has worked at every level—archaeological, art-historical, historical, manuscriptological—in the central and northern highlands of Ethiopian historical regions (Lake Ṭāna and Lāstā in particular) with results of great impact;¹⁶ new projects at the University of Toronto¹⁷ and at Princeton University,¹⁸ as well as newly launched initiatives from the last years, like the Italian CaNameI,¹⁹ all are directly and indirectly contributing to the topic. Other initiatives have also made important contributions.²⁰ Yet, we have to remark once more that

ence ‘On Colophons’ (Hamburg, 3–5 December 2009) promoted at the time by the aforementioned Forschergruppe 963, and coordinated by Jörg B. Quenzer, where papers on the Latin, Hebrew, and Islamic manuscript traditions were followed by others on the Central and Eastern Asian, and Islamic ‘*aḡamī*’ traditions of Africa and South America. The conference proceedings unfortunately remained unpublished.

- 15 See <<https://hmml.org/collections/eastern-christian/>> (last accessed 27 October 2022) and the several contributions by Ted Erho, for example Erho 2017.
- 16 See Bosc-Tiessé 2008; Bosc-Tiessé 2009; Bosc-Tiessé 2010; Bosc-Tiessé et al. 2010; Bosc-Tiessé 2014; Derat 2018; Bausi 2018a; Bosc-Tiessé 2019. In this connection, the dissertation by Martina Ambu has focused on colophons as a privileged viewpoint on the activity of the metropolitan Salāmā and as sources for the study of Egyptian-Ethiopian relationships in the early-Solomonic period, see Ambu 2022.
- 17 See, besides the well-established ‘Māzgābā Səəlat’ project, <<http://ethiopia.deeds.utoronto.ca/about.html>> (last accessed 17 October 2022), the new project ‘Ethiopian Manuscripts and the Global Textile Trade’, headed by Michael Gervers and Sarah Fee.
- 18 See the ‘Princeton Ethiopian, Eritrean, and Egyptian Miracles of Mary Project’, Princeton University, headed by Wendy Laura Belcher, <<https://cdh.princeton.edu/projects/princeton-ethiopian-miracles-mary-project/>> (last accessed 17 October 2022).
- 19 For the project ‘Catalogo Nazionale dei Manoscritti Etiopici in Italia’, see Lusini 2020a; Villa 2022a; and the website with further references and downloadable reports, <<https://www.unior.it/ateneo/20625/1/the-canamei-project.html>> (last accessed 17 October 2022).
- 20 See Heldman and Devens 2005, which remains one of the most valuable contributions on colophons, carried out by a scholar like Marilyn E. Heldman who belongs to a period and a generation that cannot be reproposed in our period. For her legacy,

the manuscripts in Eritrea, notwithstanding various attempts, are still almost completely out of reach.²¹

Included traditionally in the field of palaeography, before being launched as one of the essential sources of the *archaeology of manuscript* approach,²² as a mere appendix to his own palaeographic work, Siegbert Uhlig²³ gave an initial classification of *notes* or *annotations*—thus not only colophons and/or subscriptions—distinguishing on the one hand annotations of any kind bearing chronological data, both internal—eulogies, dedications to the patron, and even subscriptions with indications of data on translation (on which more below)—and external to the texts—properly definable, also from a stratigraphic point of view, as *additiones* or *additional texts*;²⁴ and, on the other hand, the colophon in the strict sense, exclusively concerning the copyist and the time of manuscript production. While for the study of the former—all of which are valid to establish *termini ante quem*—and in particular for the category of documentary texts,²⁵ despite the inevitable divergence of views, there has been a growing interest and progress, research on the colophons and subscriptions of Ethiopian manuscripts has registered great advances,²⁶ but not yet any overall systematic synthesis.

still to be fully exploited, see here below the documents from G^wənāg^wənā; on the great scholar, see Shelemay 2019. On the process of copying, see now also Lusini 2020b; and the interesting cases studied by Villa 2021.

- 21 The little and best still goes back to initiatives of the 1990s that could only partially document a few selected manuscripts, for which see Bausi 1994; Bausi 1995; Bausi 1997; Lusini 1998. Recent attempts have not given any substantial output; for the good proposals, see Bausi and Lusini 2018; Villa 2018. For a recently newly documented ancient manuscript from Eritrea see Bausi 2022a. The Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos has been studied by Marie-Laure Derat and lastly by Nafisa Valieva and Pietro Maria Liuzzo within the framework of a joint cooperation between Hamburg and Paris; see Derat 2018; Valieva and Liuzzo 2021. For an extremely archaic manuscript from Eritrea, the *Computus* of G^wənāg^wənā, see below.
- 22 See the prophetic contribution by Beit-Arié 1995; and the always path-breaking overview by Maniaci 2002, 124, with references to essential contributions by Reynhout 1988; Reynhout 2001; and then Reynhout 2006.
- 23 Uhlig 1986; Uhlig 1988; Uhlig 1990.
- 24 One should remark that the term *additiones* has exclusively a meaning within a descriptive and (pre-)stratigraphic approach; it does not predicate anything on the actual contents of the note itself. With this in mind, the term has been at times misused in some cataloguing descriptions.
- 25 See Bausi 2010b; Fiaccadori 2014; Bausi 2014–2015; Wion 2019.
- 26 See for example the recent already quoted overview by Nosnitsin 2020; and the categorization introduced in Brita and Karolewski 2021, also at the example of Ethiopic manuscripts.

As I have had the opportunity to say on another occasion (providing an overview on cataloguing of Ethiopic manuscripts), the impact of Ethiopian manuscript catalogues compiled between the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century on the history of studies is truly impressive.²⁷ The cataloguers were at the time faced with a largely unpublished body of writing; it was the information that could only be obtained from the catalogues that provided the data for the development of the first syntheses on Ethiopian factual, cultural, and literary history based on written documents, which are still admirable for their sagacity and acumen. Exceptional scholars were able to make the best of at times nothing more than a short *incipit*, notes of *explicit*, at best more or less extensive excerpts, but most of all of colophons and subscriptions attesting copying, translating, and redacting, at times with attributions of names and details on places and institutions. A special role in this held dated inventories—essential for establishing *termini ante quos*—as well as a myriad of additional and documentary texts as evidence of historical importance and essentially used for dating.²⁸ Which means that the pioneering catalogues of the major Ethiopian manuscript collections in Europe edited by August Dillmann from 1847 onwards, then by William Wright and Hermann Zotenberg in 1877, by Boris A. Turaev in 1906, to name just the most important, have very often quoted colophons and subscriptions of Ethiopian manuscripts in full, thus allowing the first comprehensive sketch of the history of literature and literary practice, and still constitute, considering that they catalogued historical funds dating to a few centuries earlier, a documentation of primary importance.²⁹ In addition to these, there are of course

27 See Bausi 2007; Witakowski 2015.

28 For the careful use of ancient and modern inventory lists to trace manuscripts and textual witnesses, see the contributions by Erho 2015; Erho 2017. Note that the pioneering Missione Italiana in Eritrea, besides publishing some ancient ones from the medieval period, has also collected a number of modern inventories from Eritrean churches and monasteries; see for example the reports by Bausi et al. 1993; Bausi et al. 1995. Yet, more are now available.

29 See Dillmann 1847; Dillmann 1848; Wright 1877; Dillmann 1878; Zotenberg 1877. In my 2016 contribution I had also included the catalogue of the Vatican collection—the only analytical catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts—by Sylvain Grébaud and Eugène Tisserant (Grébaud and Tisserant 1935–1936), which however postdates the first analytical sketch, the very first attempt of which is no doubt Carlo Conti Rossini’s list of manuscripts and works, see Conti Rossini 1899a and Conti Rossini 1899b; all subsequent histories of literature (for example Nöldeke 1906; Littmann 1907; Littmann 1909; Harden 1926), including the literature by Ignazio Guidi (Guidi 1932, who made good use of the evidence from Turaev 1906; for one important golden Gospel, see Bausi 2020, 231, n. 40), are tributary to Conti

subsequent cataloguing efforts, some of which have sufficiently documented this phenomenology.³⁰

The only existing collections of colophons and subscriptions, however, originate with an entirely different purpose, and with historical objectives: That of documenting the vicissitudes of Ethiopian communities in Egypt, Palestine, and the Mediterranean, in Enrico Cerulli's classic work *Etiopi in Palestina*,³¹ where colophons and subscriptions are thus brought together with annotations of a completely different kind;³² or that of documenting the process of the acquisition of translation works in literary history, as in Arnold van Lantschoot's contribution dedicated to the notes attesting to translations from Arabic into Ethiopic attributed to Metropolitan Salāmā (1348–1388).³³

The notion of 'colophons' or 'subscriptions' in Ethiopic manuscripts first starts from the assumption of their collocation at the end of a text, yet not necessarily in a separate space below the written area, since in most cases, the Ethiopic colophons, albeit often distinct by graphic devices—lines or dotted lines—continue the layout of the text that precedes them. We could also call them: end notes. Among these texts, essentially defined on material grounds, we can distinguish based on their content those related to the production of the text and those related to the production of the actual manuscript.³⁴ This

Rossini's sketch. On the French historical collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, see Bosc-Tiessé 2022.

- 30 Most of the catalogues for the Ethiopian Microfilm Manuscript Library (see Macomber 1975; Macomber 1976; Macomber 1978; Getatchew Haile 1979; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983; Getatchew Haile 1985; Getatchew Haile 1987; Getatchew Haile 1993) and the series of the *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (see Hammerschmidt 1973; Hammerschmidt 1977; Hammerschmidt and Six 1983; Six 1989; Six 1994; Six 1999), for an evaluation of which see Bausi 2007, 94–95 and 97–100.
- 31 Cerulli 1943–1947, II, 380–432.
- 32 Documents of this collection are going to be re-examined in the forthcoming work by Samantha Kelly on the Ethiopian Roman community, see Kelly in print.
- 33 van Lantschoot 1960; Marrassini 2010b; to integrate for the hagiographic texts with Bausi 2002, 8–12; see also Kaplan 2008; Brita 2020; and now the fresh examination by Ambu 2022.
- 34 For instance, the above-mentioned note by Anaïs Wion, confirmed in her 2009 paper, proposed a classification of Ethiopic colophons into these two types, that is, those that provide information on the tradition of the text, that is, name of the author/pseudo-creator, or pseudo-author/pseudo-creator, translator, commissioner, dating, and other elements relating to the production of the text, independently from its material realization; and 'copy colophons' or 'internal colophons', relating to that single manuscript copy on which they provide information on production, name of the copyist, place and date of execution, time of copying, and other ele-

essential distinction must be complemented keeping in mind some essential aspects of the Ethiopic manuscript culture and manuscript tradition.

The late antique background

Even in the Ethiopian tradition—as in the Greek and Mediterranean traditions, to which the Ethiopian and the Eastern Christian traditions obviously belong, and this belonging, we should never forget, is the very reason for the existence of colophons in Ethiopic manuscripts³⁵—the colophon is a variable, optional and non-mandatory element, quite distinct from the text: its optionality in the Ethiopian tradition is evidenced historically by the absence of the colophon in Ethiopian manuscripts universally recognised as the oldest, such as the three, and particularly the two older Gospels preserved at the monastery at ‘Adwā, Dabra Madarā, ʾĪndā ʾAbbā Garimā,³⁶ as well as from other manuscripts of remarkable age, yet undated.³⁷ The purported existence of a ‘colophon’ in one of the Gospels of ʾAbbā Garimā must be dismissed as due

ments. Anaïs Wion notes that both types of colophons obey the same graphic model: they are copied at the end of the text, sometimes separated from it by a simple line, and are written in the same language as the text.

- 35 Among the most interesting contributions on colophon from the codex area, see the essential Brock 2015, who traces back some peculiarities of scribes’ colophons in Syriac manuscripts to the background of the cuneiform tablets manuscript culture.
- 36 See now McKenzie et al. 2017, which supersedes all previous studies; for a few integrations see Bausi 2017b; and now also Kim 2022, with important updates. The radiocarbon dating evidence of two of the ʾAbbā Garimā manuscripts has been finally published by Jacques Mercier (see Mercier 2021), reporting only the highest percentage probabilities: MS I: Canon 10: 427–570 CE (95.4 %); text: 542–650 CE (95.4 %); MS III: Letter of Eusebius: 528–643 (75.1 %); Luke: 335–475 CE (76.7 %); text: 397–548 (95.4 %); the same essay also provides a fundamental and convincing study on the interpretation of the enigmatic building in MS ʾAbbā Garimā III. On the canon tables see also Gnisci 2020; and on the text, Wallraff 2021. Several different sets of digitizations are freely available for the ʾAbbā Garimā MSS, which does not make their accessibility to non-experts easy, at the HMML, Bm, and Māzgābā Səəlat websites.
- 37 See below for the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection*. Quite to the point is the observation by Stuckenbruck and Erho 2022, 428: ‘The scarcity of colophons in early Ethiopic manuscripts may reflect a widespread scribal reluctance to add anything to their copies not found in the source manuscripts. This might even be extended further to patterns of copying books. There are indications that in earliest times the Ethiopian scribal duty was to copy a manuscript from its beginning to its end, and a general lack of interest in combining or excerpting texts, practices that seem relatively common in other traditions. [...] It seems to have been the scribal duty to reproduce source material as accurately as possible, that is, not to interfere with it even if they considered it to be wrong’.



Fig. 1. MS Ethiopia, Təgrāy, 'Adwā, 'Endā 'Abbā Garimā, Dabra Madarā, Four Gospel 'Abbā Garimā I (correct therefore what is stated in Bausi 2016a, 256, pl. I), ff. 2v–3r according to the foliation by Donald Davies (Davies 1987, 303, fig. 6); after the 2006 restoration, the leaf has become f. 10vb in the same manuscript, 'Abbā Garimā I; originally, it had belonged to 'Abbā Garimā II. Photo by Donald Davies; microfilm copy by Marilyn E. Heldman; personal archive of Alessandro Bausi, Florence; digital elaboration by UHH 2013; <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/AG00001/viewer>> (last accessed 1 November 2022).

to terminological confusion: there is no such colophon; there is instead a note of donation attributed to a King 'Armaḥa, identified with a seventh-century Aksumite king (fig. 1).³⁸

38 See Davies 1987, 293; Kropp 1992, 263; <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/AG00001/main>> (last accessed 1 November 2022). The possibility that the additional note is ancient, advanced by Getatchew Haile on the occasion of the Oxford 2013 conference on the 'Abbā Garimā manuscripts and eventually formulated also in his edition and translation of all additional notes from the 'Abbā Garimā manuscripts (Getatchew Haile 2016, 14–15) must be dismissed, at least in the sense that the note, albeit possibly 'true', is not 'authentic' for codicological reasons: the present f. 10v of the MS 'Abbā Garimā I, containing the documents nos 14–15, originally belonged to the latest of the three 'Abbā Garimā manuscripts, that is 'Abbā Garimā II; it was once displaced in 'Abbā Garimā I already at the time when the man-

The medieval development

In the absence of any analysis carried out on the catalogued collections of Ethiopic manuscripts, it is not possible to establish any relationship between the phenomenology of the Ethiopian tradition and that of the complex Christian Arabic tradition,³⁹ for which, however, an initial study carried out on the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France is available,⁴⁰ and above all whether the Ethiopian tradition retains traces of an independent and earlier tradition of its own.

The note of explicit of the Aksumite Collection (MS 'Urā Masqal, C₃-IV-71/C₃-IV-73, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039)

The canonical-liturgical manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection*,⁴¹ which is presently if not the oldest, definitely one of the oldest and most interesting non-biblical Ethiopic manuscripts,⁴² has a note of *explicit* by the same hand of the copyist on f. 162vb, ተፈጽመ፡ ሲኖዶስ፡, *tafaṣma* (sic, instead of *tafaṣṣama*) *sinodos*, 'It is completed the *Sinodos*'. The note, simple and elegant, is enclosed in a box below the text, tapered downwards⁴³ and ended by a dotted line.⁴⁴ This note by the first hand is followed by a further note of *explicit* by

uscripts were microfilmed for the first time entirely by Donald Davies; the document was at the time on f. 3r according to Macomber's numbering (see Macomber 1979, 2). In this case the 2006 restoration has unfortunately placed the leaves in the wrong order, inverting recto and verso; thus, recto and verso of the present f. 10 should be reversed; see Bausi 2017b, 290, n. 2, also for further corrections on the original location of the additional notes.

- 39 Obviously, for the Coptic as well, for which see Van Lantschoot 1929 (= 1973); already Hyvernat 1903; for the titles Buzi 2005; and the contribution in this issues.
- 40 See Troupeau 1997; see also Vollandt 2012 with the remarks by Gumbert 2012.
- 41 MS Ethiopia, north-eastern-Təgrāy district ('East Tigray Zone') of Gulo Maḳadā, 'Urā Masqal, C₃-IV-71/C₃-IV-73, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 (<<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESum039/main>>, last accessed 1 November 2022). A general description of the physical and codicological features of the manuscript, including an analysis of the ink, along with its content with references to the *Clavis Aethiopica*, is available in a previous collective contribution of this journal, see Bausi et al. 2020, where further references are available. More updates and new stuff provide two contributions, that is Bausi 2021a; and, still in print, Bausi 2022b.
- 42 For other such manuscripts, see also Nosnitsin 2022; and now the fragment studied by Knibb 2022.
- 43 See for the most complete elaboration on this motif, Piemontese 1995. See also Hāshemi-Minābād 2000; Afshar 2007–2008; Gholami and Pouladi 2019.
- 44 Note that a comparable frame is also found in the Octateuch, MS Ethiopia, north-eastern-Təgrāy district ('East Tigray Zone') of Gulo Maḳadā, 'Urā Masqal, C₃-IV-69, Ethio-SPaRe UM-040 (<<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESum040/>

a second hand, the syntax of which is not perfectly clear, but where the place name of Qəfrəyā appears: ተፈጻመ፡ ዘቤተ፡ መስቀል፡ ዘቅናርያ፡ ውሉዱ፡ ክፍለ፡ ማርያም፡ ቀሲስ፡, *tafaṣsama zabeta masqal zaqəfrəyā wəluḍu kəfla māryām qasis*, ‘It is completed (the book) of the Church of the Cross of Qəfrəyā,⁴⁵ his sons, the priest Kəfla Māryām’ (fig. 2). It is very important to remark that such graphic arrangement has a precise correspondence in the oldest Coptic titles.⁴⁶ This possible connections of some of the Ethiopic colophons with the titles is one of the novelties emerged in the last years in the research on Ethiopic colophons, particularly at the examples of texts embedded in the most ancient hagiographical collections.⁴⁷ This imposes a reconsideration of the evidence for colophons taking into account also the evidence for titles.

main>, last accessed 1 November 2022), f. 137va (virtual pagination according to the 1999 microfilming by Jacques Mercier, which provides the only complete documentation of this manuscript; the manuscript was eventually digitized by Antonella Brita in 2006 and by the Ethio-SPaRe project in 2010).

45 On the place name and site of Qəfrəyā, see Bausi et al. 2020, 130–134.

46 As communicated by Paola Buzi (15 August 2012): ‘la nota trova puntuale riscontro (anche grafico: il riquadro, l’uso della stessa scrittura del testo, ecc.) nei titoli copti più antichi (αϣαωκ εβωλ). Perché di titolo a mio parere si tratta e non di colofone. Mi vengono in mente molti casi di opere (contenute in mss. antichi) introdotte da un titolo premesso consistente in una o due parole e concluse appunto dalla formula “è terminato il libro...”. Io credo—almeno per quel che concerne l’Egitto—che un certo tipo di colofone, si sviluppi proprio da questo genere di titolo, quando la *subscriptio* cessa di avere una funzione fondamentale’. The *explicit* note closes the *Canonical answers of Peter of Alexandria* (CAe 2693 actually by Timothy I) on ff. 160v–162v, see critical edition and translation in Bausi 2006a, 56–57, § xiv, from whose apparatus it can be seen that besides the *Aksumite Collection*, indicated there with the siglum σ, four of the other five witnesses transmit the explicit note (further witnesses of this text are known to me in the meanwhile). See already Bausi 2016a, 240 and 257, Pl. 2.

47 This feature was indicated for the first time in Bausi 2016a, 242, n. 36, on the basis of the research carried out by Antonella Brita and myself in the SFB 950 (see above), which has evidence that even in Ethiopic texts, as is also the case in the Coptic tradition, the placement of the title at the beginning is by no means taken for granted; on the contrary, a placement at the end is an important marker of the traditional history of the text; see Bausi 2017a, 223–224; Brita 2020, 265–268, particularly n. 43. For these collections, see Bausi 2017c; Bausi 2019; on one more interesting manuscript witness recently described see Lusini et al. 2022, in particular Villa 2022b.

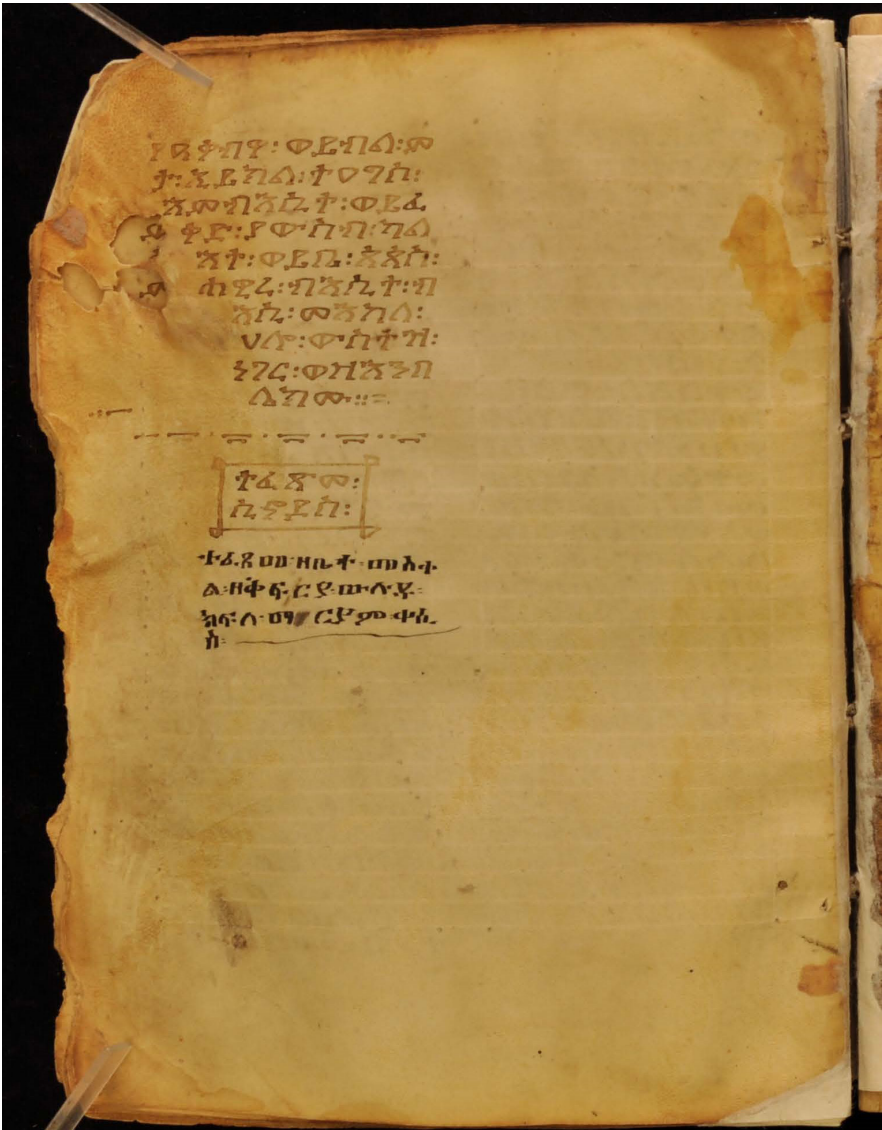


Fig. 2. MS Ethiopia, north-eastern-Təgrāy district ('East Tigray Zone') of Gulo Maḳadā, 'Urā Masqal, C₃-IV-71/C₃-IV-73, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039, thirteenth century or earlier, Aksumite Collection, f. 162v. Photo by the Ethio-SPaRe project, UHH 2012 (see already Bausi 2016a, 257, pl. II).

The Four Gospel manuscript of Lālibālā (ms EMLL no. 6907)

The Gospel manuscript preserved in the church of Lālibālā, Beta Madḥane ‘Alam, digitized as MS EMLL⁴⁸ no. 6907, contains a donation note by King Lālibālā, who reigned at the latest in the earliest decades of the thirteenth century. This note dates the manuscript *non post* the king’s reign. The authenticity of the donation is corroborated by the archaic form of the name of the king, that is ‘Lālibālā’ against the ‘Lālibalā’ later adopted in the hagiographical and historiographical tradition. The note that precedes on f. 208rb, by the same hand of the copyist of the main text of the manuscript (the Four Gospels), is partly damaged by the material loss of the parchment, but it can be reconstructed as follows: ተፈጸ[መ፡ መጽሐፈ፡] ረብዕት[፡ (sic, but reading uncertain, could also be, as expected, ረብዕት፡) ወንጌል፡] በጸጋሁ[፡ (but vowel stroke not readable) ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወጸልዩ፡ ላዕለ፡ ገብርክ[መ፡ ...] taf-aṣṣa[ma maṣḥafa] rabə ‘t[wangel] baṣaggāh[u la ‘əgzi] ‘əna ‘iya[sus krəs]tos waṣa[lləyu lā]la gabrəkkə[mu ...], ‘It is finished the book of the fourth gospel thanks to the grace of our Lord Christ. Pray for your servant ...’.⁴⁹ This note appears to be the oldest subscription note of an Ethiopic manuscript, datable probably within a range of decades, to *non post* the reign of King Lālibālā, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The supplications in the Computus of Gʷənāgʷənā

Extremely important are subscriptions in an archaic manuscript recently studied by Denis Nonsitsin. The manuscript, consisting of only twenty leaves and probably fragmentary, is only known from two distinct series of pictures, and its present whereabouts are unknown. The first series is preserved in Addis Ababa, in the ‘Comboni House’, among the papers of the fund of pictures that belonged to father Emilio Ceccarini; Denis Nonsitsin digitized these pictures and indicated the corresponding manuscript as the ‘Comboni Fragment’. A second series, still unpublished, consists of pictures done *ante* 1994 by Marilyn E. Heldman, who delivered a copy of them to me for study: I indicate the manuscript as the Computus of Gʷənāgʷənā, from the place of conservation

48 Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library. The EMLL manuscripts can be also consulted, along with manuscript from many other collections, in the Reading Room (<<https://www.vhml.org/readingRoom/view/>>) of the HMML, where they are provided with permanent links (here see <<https://www.vhml.org/readingRoom/view/200535>>, last accessed 1 November 2022).

49 See Derat 2018, 59–61 (‘Une donation du roi Lālibālā dans l’évangile de Bēta Madḥanē ‘Alam’), where Marie-Laure Derat disposes of wrong interpretations and provides stimulating proposals. For the integration of the colophon, see already Bausi 2018a, 440.

where Marilyn E. Heldman saw it *ante* 1994.⁵⁰ As noted by Denis Nonsnitsin, the manuscript is remarkable for its contents—a treatise on computus and chronography—as well as for its palaeography. On ff. 18r (fig. 3) and 19ra appears the name of the compiler, that is, Bishop ʿAliyās or ʿAleyās,⁵¹ in two ‘supplications’, as Nonsnitsin styles them, which could also be understood as subscriptions:⁵²



Fig. 3. MS Eritrea, ʿAkkala Guzāy, Šomazānā, Gʷənāgʷənā, ʿĪndā Masqal ʿIyasus, with no shelfmark, thirteenth century or earlier, Computus of Gʷənāgʷənā, f. 18r. Photo by Marilyn E. Heldman *ante* 1994; personal archive of Alessandro Bausi, Florence; digital elaboration by Karsten Helmholz, UHH 2022.

- 50 The manuscript contains a series of Greek numerals from 1 to 1000, with few omissions and one repetition; see Bausi 2021b, 20; also *apud* Nonsnitsin 2022, 49–50, n. 33. On the important historical site of Gʷənāgʷənā see Bausi 2005.
- 51 As noted by Denis Nonsnitsin, this is likely to be identified with the author (Bishop ʿElyās of Aksum) of the homily on Saint Maṭāʾ or Libānos, see for details Bausi 2003, index s.v.
- 52 See Nonsnitsin 2022, whose indication of the leaves as ff. 19rb and 20ra for the two first subscriptions (instead of 18rb and 19ra) is corrected; a few readings are also emended based on the evidence of the second series of pictures. The second and third supplications are published here for the first time.

(f. 18rb) ወዘአንበቦ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ይጻፈ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ በእንተ፡ ትሑት፡ ወምኑን፡ አሊያስ፡ አጲስቆጶስ፡ ሰላም፡ ወጽድቅ፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ ወሠህል፡ ለዘ፡ ጸሐፊሂ፡ ወለዘ፡ ያነባሂ፡ ወለዘ፡ ይትሜሀርሂ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ስረይ፡ ዘገደፍኩ፡ አሜን፡

(f. 19ra) ወዘያነበባሂ፡ ይጻፈ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ በእንተ፡ ትሑት፡ አሊያስ፡ አጶስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ወእግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ የሀብ፡ ለዓለም፡ በዘ፡ ይበጸሕ፡ አሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን፡ ሰላም፡ ወሠህል፡ ወጽድቅ፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ ላዕለ፡ ዘጸሐፊሂ፡ ወላዕለ፡ ዘያነባሂ፡ ወዘይትሜሀርሂ፡ ለዝ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስኮ፡ ለዓለም፡ ስረዩ፡ ሰንኮርሱን፡

(f. 20va) ይቤ፡ እግዚእነ፡ እስመ፡ ኸሉ፡ ዘሰአለ፡ ይነሥእ፡ ወዘኅሠሠ፡ ይረክብ፡ ወለዘሂ፡ ጐድጐደ፡ ያርኅውዎ፡ ሰላም፡ ወሠህል፡ ወጽድቅ፡ እምኃበ፡ እግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ ለዘ፡ ጸሐፊሂ፡ ወለዕለ፡ ዘያነባሂ፡ ወዘይትሜሀርሂ፡ ለዝ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን፡

(f. 18rb) And who read this book let him pray for me, for the humble and contemptible Bishop ‘Aliyās. Peace, clemency, and justice from the Lord to him who wrote it, who reads it, and who teaches it, forever and ever, amen. Forgive me for what I discarded, amen.⁵³

(f. 19ra) And who reads it, let him pray for the humble Bishop ‘Aleyās and let Lord give (him) as much as is enough, amen, let it be, let it be. Peace, clemency, and justice from the Lord on him who wrote and on him who reads it and who interprets this book, from now and until forever, forgive (them), *sankorason* (συγχώρησον, that is ‘forgive’).

53 As an interesting archaic parallel, let us mention here a subscription note in MS EMMML no. 8509, a well-known and still scarcely studied archaic homiletic collection; see the essential references in Bausi 2019. On f. 155va, at the end of a so far unnoticed fragment of the *Gadla ‘Azqir* (ff. 154ra–155ra, for which see Bausi 2017c, § 21 to the end) placed between the texts numbered 53 and 54 by Sergew Hable Selassie 1987–1988, 17—who also notes (p. 10): ‘The largest gap is between folios 153v–154r. Here the beginning of a chapter and a good portion of it is missing’—the following subscription is found (here reproduced without marking the many orthographic peculiarities and giving a transcription): ስረዩ፡ ወአስተሰረዩ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ ወተዘኩ፡ በጸሎተክመ፡ ወጸልዩ፡ ከመ፡ ይክፈለነ፡ መክፈልቶመ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ሰማዕት፡ ዘገደፍኩ፡ ወዘወሰኩ፡ ስረዩ፡ ሊተ፡ ወተዝኩኒ፡ በጸሎተክመ፡ ወወርኩኒ፡ ወበርከተክመ፡ ይብጽሐኒ፡ ስረዩ፡ ሊተ፡ አነ፡ ገበርክመ፡ ሕኢዝዩ፡ ብሱስ, ‘Forgive and let (others) forgive us, and remember in your prayers and pray so that they make us part of the saints martyrs; forgive me for what I have omitted and added, and forgive me in your prayers, and bless me; and let your benediction reach me. Forgive me, I, your servant ዘፅ’izya Bəsus’. The name of the scribe ዘፅ’izya Bəsus (ሕኢዝዩ፡ ብሱስ) is given in a cryptic form—such name does not exist—by alternating the syllabographs of the first and second parts of the name, that certainly was ዘጵzba ‘Iyasus (ሕዝበ፡ ኢየሱስ). The point was completely misunderstood by Sergew Hable Selassie 1987–1988, 25 (placing the colophon on f. 151) and 27, who elaborates on a non-attested name. I am very grateful for this information and the excellent photographic documentation of MS EMMML no. 8509 to Brook Abdu, and to Yikunnoamлак Mezgebu as well.

(f. 20va) Our Lord said: ‘For every one who asked receives, who sought finds, and to him who knocked, they will open’ (Mt 7:8). Peace, clemency, and justice from the Lord on him who wrote (it), on him who reads it, and (on him) who teaches this book, forever, amen.

The supplications in the Gadla qeddusān, Acts of the Saints, of Zwāy (MS EMML no. 7602)

Subscriptions commemorating the commissioning—yet not strictly the copying—of a manuscript are very common. In a manuscript of *Acts of the Saints*, MS EMML no. 7602, from Zwāy, supplications appear at the end of several texts, for example (f. 6vc):

ለዘ፡ አጽሐፎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ይጽሐፍ፡ ስዋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወለዘ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ወለዘአንበቦ፡ ወለዘተርጉሞ፡ ወለዘ፡ ሰ
ምዐ፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ይምሐሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እስከ፡
ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

To King Dāwit, who commissioned this book, may the Lord write his name in the Book of Life. Of those who wrote it, of those who read it, of those who interpreted it, and of those who heard its words, may the Lord have mercy on them in the kingdom of heaven, forever and ever, amen.⁵⁴

The Four Gospel manuscript of Gʷənāgʷənā

The historical place of Gʷənāgʷənā would deserve to be fully explored. Among the other interesting manuscripts which are preserved in the local church, there is a Four Gospel manuscripts from the time of King Dāwit (r. 1379/1380–1413), the colophon of which I owe again to the documentation transmitted to me and to other researchers (I know of Manfred Kropp), by the late Marilyn E. Heldman. I had provided a partial transcription and commentary on the colophon, but I take the opportunity to provide here a complete edition and tentative translation (fig. 4):⁵⁵

- 54 Similar subscription from the same manuscript also in Wion 2007, here with correct translation. The diversity and variability of the subscription formulas can certainly be explained, at least in some cases, by the *horror vacui* and the solutions adopted by virtue of residual space. Note that in one case (f. 130va) the subscription refers to more scribes: *laza ʾaṣḥafo lazəntu maṣḥaf nəḡuś Dāwit yaṣḥaf səmo ʾƏgziʾabəḥer wəsta maṣḥafa ḥəywat walaṣaḥəfəyānihu ḥāṭəʾān wa ʾabbāsəyān*, ‘To King Dāwit, who made write this book, let God write his name in the Book of Life, and to his scribes, sinner and slippery’. See <<https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201129>> (last accessed 1 November 2022).
- 55 See Bausi 2003, xxviii (translation), n. 22; see also Kropp 2012, 211–214, who provides important complementary pieces of information on documents from the same manuscript, received from Marilyn E. Heldman. I cannot give the leaf number of the manuscript.



Fig. 4. MS Eritrea, 'Akkala Guzāy, Šomazānā, Gʷənāgʷənā, 'Endā Masqal 'Iyasus, with no shelfmark, Four Gospel Manuscript of Gʷənāgʷənā. fourteenth/fifteenth century (reign of Dāwit II, 1379/1380–1413). Photo by Marilyn E. Heldman *ante* 1994; personal archive of Alessandro Bausi, Florence; digital elaboration by Karsten Helmholz, UHH 2022.

(col. a) ወተጽሕፈት፡ ሳቲ፡ ወንጌል፡ በጉናጉና፡ መካን፡ ለመስቀለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወዘ
 ጸሐፍክም፡ አነ፡ ገብርክርስቶስ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ወአባሲ፡ በእንተ፡ ፍቅሩ፡ ለመስቀለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
 ወአነሂ፡ እንዘ፡ እነብር፡ መካነ፡ መጣዕ፡ ወሶበ፡ ገባእኩ፡ ኅቤሃ፡ ወርኢኩ፡ ኑባሬ፡ ሥ
 ርዐታ፡ ወማየ፡ ሕይወታ፡ እምነ፡ ቤተ፡ ምሥራዕ፡ ፩ ወጎበ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ፪። ወ
 እስከ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ደጊሃ፡ ፲ወ፪ አንቅዕተ፡ ማያት። ወሶበ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘአልባቲ፡ መንጠላዕተ፡
 ወአልባቲ፡ ልብሰ፡ ለኣኩ፡ አነሂ፡ ኅበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወልደ፡ ሰይፈ፡ አርዐደ፡ ፈራሄ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ከርቲስየ፡ ክርታሰ፡ ወገጸ፡ በረከትሂ፡ ድርሳነ፡ ጳንጠቄስቴ፡ ወሶበ፡ ሰምዐ፡
 ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ አምጽአ፡ ፳፻፲፭፡ መንዘሌ፡ ወቅንጥብ፡ ወልብሰ፡ ታቦት፡ ወብረት፡ (col. b)
 ወሶበ፡ አብጽሓ፡ ንሕነሂ፡ ጸለይነ፡ ሎቱ፡ ምስለ፡ እለ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ምስሌየ፡ መነኮሳት፡ ወ
 ንቤ፡ ይሀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወያኑሳ፡ መዋዕሊሁ፡ በዲበ፡ ምድር፡
 ወአመ፡ ዕለተ፡ ሞቱሂ፡ ይደምሮ፡ ምስለ፡ ኄራን፡ ነገሥት፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ ወአኖርዮስ፡
 ወእስክንድር፡ አሜን።

ወአነሂ፡ ገበርኩ፡ መንጠላዕታተ፡ ወዘተረፈ፡ ጸሐፍኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ተ
 ዝካረ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወአንትሙሂ፡ ካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ጸልዩ፡ ሎቱ፡ በጊዜ፡ መዕጠንት፡
 ወመሥዋዕት፡ ሰርከ፡ ወነግሀ፡ ቀትረ፡ ወሳዕተ። ወሊተሂ፡ ለኃጥእ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘ
 ክሩኒ፡ ዘጸሐፍኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ወለሰብአ፡ ሳቲ፡ መካን፡ ካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወ
 መነኮሳት፡ ያድኅኖሙ፡ እምሐዘን፡ ወትካዝ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

(col. a) And this Gospel was written in G^wəṅāg^wəṅā, place to the (Church of the) Cross of Christ.⁵⁶ Who wrote it is me, Gabrakrəstos, sinner and guilty, for the love of the Cross of Christ. When I was in the place of Maṭā‘ and when I went into (the church), I saw the ‘Arrangement of the Order (*nubāre šar‘at*)⁵⁷ and its Water of Life, one from the Church of Məšrā‘, and one at the Church of the Cross, and until the entrance of the compound, 12 springs of water. When I saw that it did not have curtains and clothes, I sent to King Dāwit, son of Sayfa ‘Ar‘ada, who fears God, having written a document and as for benediction, the Homiliary of Pentecost (*Dərsāna Paṅtaq‘aste*). (col. b) And when the king heard this, he brought ^{፳፻፲፭} *manzule*,⁵⁸ and the wrapper of the ark (*qənṭəb*), clothes for the *tābot*, and silver. When he brought (these things), we prayed for him, with the monks who were with me, and we said: ‘Let the Lord give him the kingdom of heaven and let him prolong his days on earth, and on the day of his death, let him rejoin him with the pious kings Constantine (Q^wastanṭinos),⁶⁰ Honorius (‘Anoryos),⁶¹ and Alexander (‘Əskəndər),⁶² amen’.

- 56 I had tentatively supposed that Masqala Krəstos could be the name of a disciple of the Saint Maṭā‘ or Libānos, to which the place is certainly related, yet without excluding the possibility that Masqala Krəstos had to be understood as a place name (‘santuario della Croce’); I agree with Kropp 2012, 212, that reference is here to the Church of the Cross.
- 57 This appears to be an allusion to the miniature of the Tempietto that closes the Canon Tables in the Four Gospels; see Gnisci 2020, 90. This is evidence that the painting was considered an object of veneration and admiration.
- 58 Character not readable, but certainly a rubricated digit.
- 59 Terms obscure; probably a reference to a kind of fabric or textile.
- 60 On Constantine in the Ethiopian tradition, see Buzi and Bausi 2013.
- 61 On Honorius in the Ethiopian tradition, see Cerulli 1974.
- 62 On Alexander in the Ethiopian tradition, see Lusini 2003.

And I did the curtains and the rest, I wrote this Gospel that it be commemoration (*tazkār*) for the king. And you, priests and deacons, pray for him, in the time of incensing and sacrifice, evening and dawn, day and night. And to me, the sinner Gabra Krəstos, remember me, who wrote this Gospel, and the people of this place. Priests, deacons, and monks, let him heal them from the sorrow and pain, forever and ever, amen.

The Four Gospel manuscript of Dabra Ḥayq ʿĒstifānos (MS EMLL no. 1832)

The most ancient precisely dated subscription note is probably found in a well-known Gospel manuscript from the collection of Dabub Wallo, Dabra Ḥayq ʿĒstifānos monastery, digitized as EMLL no. 1832, on f. 24v. The note, written in the first person, states that the abbot, later a saint, ʿIyasus Moʿa, commissioned the production of the manuscript in 1280/1281 CE and that he made a gift of it to the monastery.⁶³

The colophon and subscription of the Golden Codex of ʿAmbā Gəšan (MS EMLL no. 9002)

Before the time of Zarʿa Yāʿqob (r. 1434–1468), extensive colophons already appear in the time of King Dāwit. The most remarkable example, made known only recently in its integrity through a publication by Manfred Kropp,⁶⁴ is the subscription to the *Codex Aureus, Golden Codex*—so called due to the use of gold ink—of ʿAmbā Gəšan, digitized as MS EMLL no. 9002. The extensive colophon closes the earliest known collection of seventy-five *Ta ʿamməra*

63 Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 293–301, at 295–296, no. 1832; see <<https://www.vhml.org/readingRoom/view/203663>> (last accessed 1 November 2022). The note was partially published, translated and discussed by Tadesse Tamrat 1970, 90–91; then in full by Sergew Hable-Selassie 1992, 245–246; then again by Bosc-Tiessé 2010, 202 and *passim*, in a contribution that raises serious questions but is also unfortunately marred by several errors, from the transcription of the king’s name Yāgbā Şəyon (see Nosnitsin 2014), as is always the case in the earliest Ethiopian tradition and in the notes themselves discussed and published, rendered instead always ‘Yāgbe’ā Şeyon’, to the misunderstanding the nature of some texts (*Acts of Peter of Alexandria*, CAe 6522, and *Acts of Mark*, CAe 4853) elaborated in Dabra Ḥayq ʿĒstifānos, also completely misunderstanding (p. 224, n. 103) what I wrote on the subject (see Bausi 2006b, 541 = Bausi 2012a, 120).

64 See Kropp 2017, 71–72 (text), 72–74 (German translation). This and the following text and translation have been entirely reedited and checked against the microfilm evidence; see <<https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/201729>> (last accessed 1 November 2022).

Mārīyam, Miracles of Mary (CAe 2384),⁶⁵ and precisely dates the duration of the work from 1 Maskaram to 12 Tāhśās 1393 Ethiopian Calendar, that is from 29 August to 8 December 1400 CE:⁶⁶

(f. 281vb) በአኩቱተ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበፍቅረ፡ እግእእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ማሪሃም፡ ንዋየ፡ ድንግልና፡ ሐመር፡ ሐዳስ። አጽሐፈ፡ እንከ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘተሰምየ፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ተአምሮታ፡ ወውዳሴያቲሃ፡ ወስባሕያቲሃ፡ ወወጸሎታቲሃ፡ ወተአምራቲሃ። ወአስተጋብአ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኸሎ፡ በአስተሐምሞ፡ ውስተ፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሴፎ፡ ረድኤተ፡ (f. 282ra) ዚአሃ። ወኮነ፡ ጥንተ፡ ጽሕፈታ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ቡርክት፡ እምአሚሩ፡ ለወርሃ፡ መስከረም፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ርእሰ፡ ዓውደ፡ ዓመት፡ በዕለተ፡ እሑድ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ በኸረ፡ ዕለታት፡ በ፳፻፡ ወ፳፻፡ ወ፯፡ ወ፫፡ እምዓመተ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ቀዳሜ፡ ፍጥረት። ወበ፲፻፡ ወአሐዱ፡ ፻፡ ፲ወ፯፡ እምዓመተ፡ ሰማዕት። ወኮነ፡ ፍጻሜሃ፡ እም፲፪፡ ለወርሃ፡ በበዓለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት። ወኢተጽሕፈ፡ ውስተ፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ኅበ፡ ኸሎ፡ ዘተረክበ፡ ዝክረ፡ ስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ማሪሃም፡ (f. 282rb) በማየ፡ ሕመት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ በቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ወበዘዘ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ኅብረ፡ ቀለማት። ወሥዕላቲሃ፡ አሥዐለ፡ በመንክር፡ ግብረት። አሰርጊዎ፡ በቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ እስከ፡ የኅቱ፡ ብርሃና፡ ከመ፡ ሥርቀተ፡ ከዋክብት። ወከመ፡ ዕንቁ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ዘያበርህ፡ በውስተ፡ ጽልመት። ወህየንተ፡ ዘአጽሐፈ፡ ወአሥዐለ፡ በዘ፡ ከመዝ፡ ጻህቅ፡ ወአስተሐምሞት። ከማሁ፡ ይእቲኒ፡ ትጽሐፍ፡ ስሞ፡ በአጻብሂሃ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ኅበ፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት። እንተ፡ ኢይክሉ፡ ርእዮታ፡ ሰራርያን፡ አንስርት። ወኢይክሉ፡ ቀሪቦታ፡ (f. 282va) ደቂቅ፡ ዝሁራን፡ በትኅይልት፡ ዘኢኪዳ፡ ግሙራ፡ እግረ፡ ትዕቢት። ወትሥዓል፡ መልክዐ፡ ገጹ፡ በየማነ፡ ሣህሉ፡ ለወልዳ፡ ፍቁር። ወታርፍቆ፡ ኅበ፡ ተሠርዐ፡ ምሳሐ፡ ምስጢር፡ ዘዓሠርቱ፡ ምእት፡ ዓመት፡ በደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ሀገር። ወትረሲ፡ ክፍሎ፡ እምዕ፡ ሕይወት። ዘውእቱ፡ ተስፋ፡ ጽድቆሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ጻመዉ፡ በዲበ፡ ምድር። ወታንብር፡ አክሊለ፡ ዲበ፡ ርእሱ፡ ዘእምዕንቅ፡ ክቡር። እስመ፡ ላቲ፡ ይደሉ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ወስብሐታተ፡ መዝሙር። እምአፈ፡ ኸሎ፡ (f. 282vb) ዘፍጡር፡ ወግቡር፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ወዝ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ማሪሃም፡ ፸ወ፭፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ኅይላቲሃኒ፡ ዘከመ፡ አድኅነቱ፡ ለማቲያስ፡ ረድእ፡ በውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ባርቶስ፡ ኢተከሥተ፡ ቀዲመ። በውስተ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንዘ፡ የኅሥሡ፡ ወይፈትዉ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ነገሥት፡ ወጳጳሳት፡ ቀደምት፡ ከመ፡ ይርአዩ፡ ወይስምዑ፡ ወኢረከቡ። በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በወንጌል፡ እስመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ነቢያት፡ ወጻድቃን፡ ፈተዉ፡ ይርአዩ፡ ዘትሬኢዩ፡ አንተመ። (f. 283ra) ወኢርእዩ፡ ወይስምዑ፡ ዘትስምዑ፡ ወኢስምዑ። ወይእዜኒ፡ በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽንዓ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ ወብዝኅ፡ ፍቅሩ፡ ዘያፈቅራ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ማሪሃም፡ በጥቡዕ፡ ልብ፡ ወበውዑይ፡ ፍቅር፡ ተከሥተ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ። ወአብጽሑ፡ ኅቢሁ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ እምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ወልዳ፡ ፍቁር፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እንዘ፡ ጽሕፍት፡ ይእቲ፡ በዓረቢ። ወአተርጐማ፡ እምዐረቢ፡ ለግዕዝ፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሜን። አእግዝእትነ፡ ወመድ|ኅኒትነ፡ (f. 283rb) ህየንተ፡ ዘጽህቀ፡ በአስተሐምሞ፡ ለአጽሕፎ፡ ተአምርኪ፡ መንክር። ጸሐፊ፡ ስሞ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሐ፡ አርያም፡ ወልድኪ፡ ምስለ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወምስለ፡ መንፈሱ፡ ኅበ፡ የኅድር። ሀቢ፡ ለንግሡ፡ ግረተ፡ ፀር። ከመ፡ ይግነዩ፡ ለዕባዩ፡ አጽናፈ፡ ምድር። ወያምጽኡ፡ አምኅሁ፡ ተናብልት፡ እምየብስ፡ ወእምባሕር። ወይትቀንዩ፡ ሎቱ፡ ሰብእ፡ ሮሜ፡ ወምስር። ረስዩ፡ የማኖ፡ ዲበ፡ እለ፡ ዓለውዎ፡ ከመ፡ ጉድብ፡ ዘይሴጽር። ወከመ፡ መፍጽሕ፡ ዘይሰብር። ወከመ፡ መጥባኅት፡ ዘይመትር። ወይብዛኅ፡

65 For every reference to the collection, see the crystal clear and informative article by Reule 2022.
66 See Kropp 2017 for a more detailed commentary.

(f. 283va) በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ሠምረ፡ ገራህት፡ ወፍረያተ፡ ምድር። ወይትከዓወ፡ አስራብ፡ ሐሊብ፡ ወመዓር። ታዕካሁ፡ ወሰራዊቶ፡ አሰርግዊ፡ በፍቅር። ወሎቱስ፡ ከልልዮ፡ በወልታ፡ ሥሙር። ሕፅቢ፡ ርስሐቶ፡ ወአንጽሕዮ፡ እምነውር። ወአምዕዚ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ከመ፡ ምስክ፡ ወጽጌ፡ ረዳ፡ ወዓምበር፡ አርውዬ፡ ጉርዔሁ፡ በወይነ፡ ምሥጢር። ዓሥራተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ንስእዮ፡ እምወልድኪ፡ ኄር። አመ፡ ከብካበ፡ መርዓ፡ ዘሰግያት፡ በየግንኪ፡ ከመ፡ ይንበር። በመኅልየ፡ ወልደ፡ እሴይ፡ ወበስብሐ|ታተ፡ (f. 283vb) መዝሙር፡ ምስለ፡ ማኅበረ፡ በኸርኪ፡ ሰብሐ፡ ከመ፡ ይኅበር፡ አንብሪ፡ እዴኪ፡ ዲቤሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብሊ፡ ዝዘዚአየ፡ ዝዘዚአየ፡ ዘአፍቀረ፡ ስምየ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ ወዘአጽሐፈ፡ ተአምርየ፡ እሙሂ፡ አበሰ፡ ወእመሂ፡ ጌዝየ፡ እመሂ፡ ረስሐ፡ ወተጸብለየ፡ ስረይ፡ ሎቱ፡ አወልድየ፡ ተዘኪረከ፡ ኪያየ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘጸረተከ፡ ከርሥየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ ሰዓማከ፡ ከፍፍርየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ ሐዕናከ፡ አጥባቅየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ ሐቀፋከ፡ እደዊየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ዘአንበርኩከ፡ ዲቤ፡ አብራኪየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ዘሐዘለከ፡ ዘባንየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ (f. 284ra) አንሶሰዋ፡ ምስሌክ፡ አእጋርየ፡ ጌጋየ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ረሲ፡ ንሕሱየ፡ ዘንተ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብሊ፡ አእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ማሪሃም፡ ተንብሊ፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ወሰአሊ፡ በብርሃነ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ድማሁ፡ ከልሊ፡ በዘይተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሥጋሁ፡ አጥልሊ፡ ጥቅመ፡ ኅግውኢሁ፡ አንሕሊ፡ ወዕፀቡ፡ ልቦ፡ አቅልሊ፡ አብእዮ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሕኪ፡ ዘኢይበሊ፡ አልባሰ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ዲቤሁ፡ ጸልሊ፡ በሱራሑ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ሥኖ፡ አጽድሊ፡ ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ አወላዲተ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኸሉ፡ አኩቱት፡ ወክብር፡ ለአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይእ|ዜኒ፡ (f. 284rb) ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወሰዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ አሜን፡ አሜን።=

(f. 281vb) In praise of the Holy Trinity and in love of our Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary Mārihām, vessel of virginity, new ark! King Dāwit, who is called (with throne name) Constantine (Q^wastāntīnos), has had this book of her greetings-hymns (*ta amməḥot*), her praises (*waddäseyāt*), and glorification hymns (*səbbāḥəyāt*) written, as well as (various) prayers to her and her miracles. He brought all this together in this book with diligence and hoping in her help. (f. 282ra) The beginning of the writing of this blessed book was from the first day of the month of Maskaram, which is the beginning of the annual cycle, on a day of Sunday, which is the first-born of weekdays, in 6893 from the year of our (primordial) father Adam, the first of creation; and in 1117 from the year of the Martyrs. Its completion was on the 12th of the month of Tāḥšās, on the feast day of the Archangel Michael. In this book, wherever the mention of the name of our Lady (f. 282rb) the Holy Virgin Mary Mārihām is found, it is not written with soot ink (*māya ḥəmmat*),⁶⁷ but with gold ink, and also with different colours of ink for each of them. He also had her pictures made in wonderful work, having decorated (them) with gold ink until its light shone like the rising of stars, and like a precious pearl that shone in the darkness. For having had this written and painted with such effort and zeal, so let her write his name with her sacred fingers on the golden column in the Heavenly Jerusalem, which even eagles cannot see in flight, and which even arrogant human children cannot approach (f. 282va) by force, and which a foot of pride definitely cannot step on. Let her paint the image of his (King Dāwit) face by the right (hand) of clemency of her beloved Son. So let her

67 On this term for the black soot ink and the possibility that *Qāla ḥəmmat* (but *ḥəmmāt* in the manuscript), ‘Voice (that is ‘speaker’) of soot’ in the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos refers to an officer in charge of the chancery, see Bausi 2008, 523–524; Bausi 2014, 50; tentatively accepted by Derat 2018, 52, n. 87.

make him sit where the banquet of the mystery of 1000 year on Dabra Şəyon,⁶⁸ the Holy City, is prepared; and let her make him take part of the Wood of Life, which is the hope of justice of those who laboured on earth. And let her place on his head the crown of precious stones. To her is due sanctification, praise, and hymns of praise of the Psalms, from the mouth of every (f. 282vb) creature and created one, now and forever, forever and ever, amen. This, miracles of our Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary Mārihām, 75 (miracles), and the book also of her powerful deeds, that is how she saved the disciple Matthias (Mātiyās) in the city of the Parthians (Bārtos), had not been revealed before in the land of Ethiopia, when many previous kings and metropolitans (*pāpāsāt*) sought and desired to see and hear (it), and they did not find (it). As our Lord has said in the Gospel: ‘Many prophets and righteous sought to see what you see and did not see, and heard what you heard and did not hear’ (cf. Lk 10:24). But now it pleased the Lord God, for the strength of his (the king’s) faith and the abundance of his love with which he loves our Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary Mārihām, with a strong heart and burning love, that it was revealed to King Dāwit. They brought to him this book from the land of Egypt (Gəḅṣ) at the behest of her beloved son our Lord Jesus Christ, while it was written in Arabic; and he had it translated from Arabic into Gə‘əz, in the peace of the Lord, amen.

O, our Lady and our salvation, (f. 283rb) for having laboured in zeal for letting write down these wonderful miracles of yours, write his name in the heavenly palace of your Son, where he dwells with his Father and his (Holy) Spirit. Grant his dominion the prostration of the enemy, that to his majesty may submit the ends of the earth, and that the Muslims from land and sea may pay the tribute (they owe to him); that the peoples of Rome (Rome) and Egypt (Məsṛ) may serve him. Make his right (hand) over those who rose against him a splitting axe, a crushing hammer, and a cutting sword! (f. 283va) Let the crops of the fields and the fruits of the earth grow abundantly in his days and streams of milk and honey be poured. In love adorn his court camp (*tā’kā*) and his army! Surround him with an appreciated shield; wash his uncleanness and cleanse him from stains; give his body the fragrance of musk, rose petals, and amber; fill his throat with the wine of mystery; obtain for him the thines of grace from your excellent Son, so that he may sit at your right hand in heaven at the time of the wedding feast, amidst the songs of the son of Jesse (‘Ēsey) and the praises (f. 283vb) of the Psalms, in the assembly of your first-born that he may join the praising! Lay your hand on him while saying: ‘This is mine, this is mine, who has loved my name, who has held my commemoration (*tazkār*), and who has had my miracles written. If he does wrong, if he falls into error, if he is defiled or crumbles into dust, forgive him, O my son, in remembrance of me, for the sake of my body that bore thee, for the sake of my lips that kissed thee, for the sake of my breasts that fed thee, for the sake of my hands that embraced thee, for the sake of my knees on which I made thee sit, for the sake of my back which bore thee, for the sake of my feet that (f. 284ra) walked with thee, make his error a compassionate forgiveness!’ While you say this, O our Lady Holy Virgin Mary Mārihām, intercede for him and intercede (for him)! Crown his head with the light of your Son; anoint his flesh with the oil of faith; tear down the wall of his sins and soften the hardness of his heart;

68 See below for the occurrence of the same concept in another text.

lead him into your palace that does not fall apart; spread your clothes over him; and in the splendour of your Son let his beauty shine forth! Praise be to you, O Bearer of the Lord of all, praise and glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (f. 284vb), now and for the eternity, forever and ever, amen, amen, amen.

This colophon was later integrated by a document, also published by Manfred Kropp, concerning a well-known miracle at the time of King Zar’a Yā’qob, related to the gold ink. The note is by a different, less elegant hand, the same hand that also wrote the fascicle added at the beginning of the codex, containing the so-called Canon of al-Mu‘allaqah: therefore the codex, as non infrequently happens with manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary*,⁶⁹ is a composite.⁷⁰

(f. 284rb) ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወውዳሴሃ፡ እንተ፡ አጽሐፋ፡ አቡየ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ እንዘ፡ ያሜኒ፡ ዝክረ፡ ስማ፡ ወሰርጉ፡ ልብስ፡ ሥዕላ፡ በቀለመ፡ ወርቅ። ወይእቲኒ፡ አርአየት፡ አሜሃ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ጽኑዐ፡ በትንብልናሁ፡ ለመእመና፡ ወፍቁሩ፡ ለወልዳ፡ እግዚእ። ወኮነ፡ በውእቱ፡ ጊዜ፡ ምክር፡ ኅቡእ፡ ከመ፡ ይትከሠት፡ ዕባያ፡ ለእግዝእተ፡ ኰሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ማርያም፡ ተወድአ፡ ቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘይጸሐፍ፡ ቡቱ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ፡ ለዝነቱ፡ መጽሐፍ። (f. 284va) ወነገሮ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘከመ፡ ሐልቀ፡ ቀለመ፡ ወርቅ። ወአዘዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ግብር፡ ካልአ፡ ፍጡነ፡ እስመ፡ እጌንእ፡ እርአይ፡ ተፍጻሜተ፡ ዝነቱ፡ መጽሐፍ። ወሐረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኬንያሁ፡ ለቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ወገብረ፡ በዘኢይደሉ፡ ንዋየ፡ ግብር፡ ወኮነ፡ አርአያሁ፡ ለቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ከመ፡ መሬተ፡ ምድር፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከመ፡ ማሰነ፡ ሐዘነ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ወበከየ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዝእቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ኦእግዚእትየ፡ በእንተ፡ ኅጢአትየኑ፡ ኮነ፡ ዝግብር፡ ወሚመ፡ ኢሠመርኪኑ፡ ይትገበር። ወበይእቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ አስተርአየ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ (f. 284vb) በአምሳለ፡ ሮማዊ፡ ገባሬ፡ ሥዕል፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ለምንትኑ፡ ይቴክዝ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እንዘ፡ ውእቱ፡ ያፈቅራ፡ ለማርያም፡ ጥቀ፡ ወይእቲኒ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ታፈቅሮ። ወአውፅአ፡ እምነ፡ ልብሱ፡ እብነ፡ ጸዐዳ፡ ወአድቀቆ፡ በመድቀቅት፡ አፍልሐ፡ ወርቅ፡ ወወደየ፡ ውስቱቱ፡ ደቃቀ፡ ውእቱ፡ እብነ፡ ወተአተተ፡ ዛሕሉ፡ ወኮነ፡ ጽሩየ፡ ቀለመ፡ ወርቅ። ወእምዝ፡ ነቅሀ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምንዋሙ፡ ወረከበ፡ እብነ፡ ወገብረ፡ ከማሁ፡ ወኮነ፡ ቀለመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ጽሩየ፡ ዘያንጸበርቅ። ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተፈሥሐ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ወአብዝኅ፡ ወዳሴ፡ (sic) ለፍቅርቱ፡ ማርያም። ወአነኒ፡ ወልዱ፡ ዘርአ፡ ያባቆብ፡ (f. 285ra) ዘደለወኒ፡ እንበር፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ወእሰመይ፡ በስመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ ከመ፡ ይኸኖ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ለትውልድ፡ ትውልድ፡ እስከ፡ ኅልቀተ፡ ዓለም። እስመ፡ ውእቱኒ፡ መስቀል፡ ወፅአ፡ እምጽርእ፡ ውስተ፡ ብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ሀገረ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ በዓመተ፡ እብሬተ፡ ንግሡ፡ እስመ፡ ኮነ፡ ኅይለ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ እምገበ፡ እግዝአብሔር። በከመ፡ አቅደመ፡ ርእየ፡ ኅርየተ፡ እብሬቱ፡ ማቱዎስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት። ወዘያወፅአ፡ እምህየ፡ ወይነሥእ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ለአንብቦ፡ ኢንኡስ፡ ወኢዐቢይ፡ (f. 285vb) ይኩን፡ ውፁአ፡ እምዐጸደ፡ ቤቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወይኩን፡ ፍሉጠ፡ እማኅበሮሙ፡ ለአግብርቲሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በከመ፡ ወፅአ፡ ወተፈልጠ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ እማኅበረ፡ መላእክቲሁ፡ ትጉሃን፡ አሜን። = ።

69 See Bausi 2016b, 123–126.
70 See Kropp 2017, 76 (text), 76–77 (German translation), who rightly notes on p.75: ‘von späterer Hand hinzugefügt nach dem Schlußparagrafen der Marienwundersammlung. Die Schrift ist die gleiche wie die des Mu‘allaqa-Kanons am Anfang der Handschrift auf einem später vorgehefteten Faszikel’.

{ወወጉዘ፡ ይኩን፡ በአፈ፡ ኦብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበአፈ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ለዐለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።=}

(f. 284rb) This book of the miracles of our Lady Māryām, as well as her praises, my father Dāwīt, and his throne name was Constantine (Q^waṣtañinos), had made write it while he embellished the memory of her name and the decoration of the clothes of her picture by gold ink.⁷¹ And also she showed at that moment (one of her) mighty miracles through the intercession of her trusted and beloved Son, the Lord (Jesus Christ). At that time it was a hidden decision that the greatness of the Lady of the whole world, Mary, would be revealed: the gold ink, with which this book was written, was used up before the completion of this book. (f. 284va) So the man reported to the king that the gold ink had run out. The king commanded and said to him: ‘Make other (ink) quickly, for I am in haste to see the completion of this book’. Then the craftsman of the gold ink went and made it with inappropriate means. The ink then looked like (dull) dust of the earth. When the king saw that the ink was spoiled, he was very sad and lamented to his mistress (Mary) crying: ‘O my mistress, is it because of my sin that this has happened? Or has it not pleased thee that (this work) is done?’. That night someone who resembled a Roman (*romāwi*) painter (*gabāre šə’l*) appeared to the man (scribe) and said to him: ‘Why then is the king sad, when he loves Mary very much, and she loves him very much?’. He took a white stone from his robe, crushed it in a mortar, brought gold (solution) to the boil, and put the crushed stone inside. Then the dull color lifted off and it was pure shiny gold ink. Later, the scribe woke up from his sleep, found the stone, and did the same, and it became pure bright gold ink. When the king saw this, he rejoiced greatly and praised much his beloved Mary. Also I, his son Zar’a Yā’qob, who was found worthy to sit on the royal throne and my (throne) name is also Constantine (Q^waṣtañinos), made a donation (to the Church on ‘Ambā Gəṣan) to God the Father, so that it would be for me a commemoration (*tazkār*), for the generation of generation, until the end of the world. Actually, also the (relic of the) cross came from Greece (Šər’) to the country of Ethiopia, country of his kingdom, precisely in the period when he took over the reign, because the power of his reign was from God; just as the Patriarch (of Alexandria) Mātewos had previously foreseen in a vision the change of reign. But whoever picks up (this book) for anything other than reading it, whether low or high, let him be cast out of the court of the house of God and separated from the assembly of his saint servants, just as the Devil (Diyābēlos) went out and was separated from the assembly of the watchful angels, amen.

{And let him be accused by the mouth of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and by the mouth of Peter and Paul, forever and ever, amen.}

Colophons of translation: embedded colophons

The two categories of end notes—colophons and subscriptions—are subject to the same phenomena for structural reasons, linked to the material modali-

71 This apparently ungrammatical sentence is in all likelihood a cleft sentence, with ‘anza yāsenni as subject sentence and ‘anta ‘aṣḥafā, as relative verb; there is nothing missing.

ties of the Ethiopian scriptural tradition and the nature of the ‘codex syntax’:⁷² an end note can easily be ‘embedded’ and integrated into the text, becoming part of it and being transmitted with it, either through compositional phenomena or for other reasons, as can be seen in the actual distribution in the manuscripts. A typical case for this phenomenology is that of the collection of the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (*Gadla ḥawāryāt* in Ethiopic, CAe 1461): some manuscripts of an extended recension of the collection have preserved an actual colophon, and one of considerable extent,⁷³ which must have originally marked the end of the oldest recension. Following this, other new texts, at first circulating in isolated form, were later added. Some manuscripts have an ‘embedded colophon’⁷⁴ underneath the text it originally followed, while others have placed it at the end of the collection.⁷⁵

Colophons of translation: authentic and true colophons

There is no formal criterion for determining with certainty that a colophon is ‘authentic’ or even only ‘true’ (the distinction, as is well known, is essential in philology)⁷⁶—that is, to refer historically to the manuscript support on which it would provide information—other than the exhaustive analysis of the manuscript tradition as a whole on the one hand conducted according to the set of operations of the philological method, and codicological analysis on the other, which alone can provide the elements useful to establish, for example, whether or not the colophon was copied from the antigraph; whether the formula follows that of the antigraph colophon with updates; or whether both the formulation and the content data—prosopographical, geographical, chronological—of the colophon are an original innovation; or whether the colophon is a forgery.

72 See the fundamental Andrist et al. 2013.

73 See Budge 1899, VII–VIII and 305–306.

74 Or ‘fossil colophon’, as suggested by Marilena Maniaci as appropriate term to define the phenomenon, still noting that ‘un colophon rimane tale, formalmente, anche se perde la sua funzione originaria e finisce con l’essere più o meno volontariamente incorporato al testo in una fase ulteriore della sua tradizione’ (personal communication). This, however, implies a formal definition of colophon, which is not easy to delimit.

75 See Bausi 2000–2001, 83. In the Bm project all recensions will receive a distinct clavis number, but not all have been yet implemented; the sixth recension is CAe 5818.

76 See Bausi 2016c, 63–64, n. 57.

Colophons of translation: title and colophon

The indication of the author pertains more properly to the titling, usually placed at the beginning and not at the end of the text⁷⁷—typical is the case of the homilies—in contradiction therefore with the general definition of colophon as end note to the text or to the manuscript. Rather, it can be said that such an indication— at least in the Ethiopic tradition, and in the phase that has come down to us—tends to become an integral part of the text and as such is subject to the subsequent process of tradition, thus tending to be invariable and obligatory: it should therefore be kept quite distinct from the phenomenology of the colophon.

Colophons of translation: resilient and removed colophons

End notes referring to translation—that is, as a rule, those indicating the last traditional step of the translation into Ethiopic, since end notes with translation indications in other languages upstream of the Ethiopian tradition are also attested⁷⁸—are frequently embedded and become *de facto* part of the text, not unlike the title; however, it is also the case that the end note is subject to a different interpretation in the manuscript tradition, that is, as a variable element, and as such it is subsequently removed in the copying process. What has already been said applies here, namely that only the combined analysis of philological and codicological data can provide the useful elements for exact historical understanding. Here follows a couple of examples:

(a) The Ethiopian version of the *Gadla Bsoy, Acts of Bsoy* (CAe 6537), edited from the two MSS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d’Abbadie 126, ff. 51ra–73ra, and London, British Library, Oriental 692, ff. 174ra–202vb, mutilated, is also known from the MS EMMML no. 7602, ff. 39ra–56ra, and also from a fourth manuscript attributable to the fifteenth century at the monastery of Beta Pantalewon, near Aksum:⁷⁹ of the four manuscripts, only the last, which I had the opportunity to examine during a mission to Aksum in 2001 by photographing its final folio, contains the footnote, absent from the other witnesses, attesting to the translation and naming its author, Bartalomewos:

መልአ፡ ወተተርጉመ፡ እምግብጻዊ፡ ለግዕዝ፡ በአፈ፡ ኃጥአ፡ በርተሎሜዎስ፡ በእንተ፡
ፍቅረ፡ ኂሩቱ፡ ወገድሉ፡ ለአባ፡ ብሶይ።።

The translation from the Egyptian (*gəbšāwi*) language into Gə‘əz was completed according to the dictation (*ba’afa*) of the sinner Bartalomewos, for the sake of virtue and the spiritual struggle of ‘*Abbā* Bsoy.

77 See above.

78 See the cases indicated in Proverbio 1998, 38–43.

79 See Colin 2002; see my review, Bausi 2004, 237.

The expression rendered as ‘the dictation’ can be literally translated as ‘by (word of) mouth’, and could allude to the process of translation performed orally by Bartolomewos and put in writing by others.

(b) Quite different is the case with the end note in the *Gadla Nob, Acts of Nob* (CAe 5631), attested, among others, by the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et. 264, f. 46r:

ተፈጸመ፡ ገድሉ፡ ለቡሩካ፡ ወተተርገሙ፡ እምዐረቢ፡ ለግዕዝ፡ እምንዋየ፡ አቡነ፡ ትሩፍ፡ ኮከብ፡ ብሩህ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰለሙ፡ (sic) ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወአጽሐፈ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ፍቅረ፡ አባ፡ ኖብ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ሎቱ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ለዐለመ፡ ዐላም፡ አሜን። በ ፲፻፸፱ ወ፴፬ መት፡ እመዋዕለ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ንጹሐን፡ ጸሎቶሙ፡ ተሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኹልነ፡ እስከ፡ ለዐለም፡ ዐለመ፡ አሜን።

The *Acts* of the blessed are finished and have been translated from Arabic (‘*arabi*) into Ethiopic at the expense of our Father, abundant star of light, our Father Salama (sic, for Salāmā), metropolitan of Ethiopia. He had the commemoration (*tazkār*) (for) love of ‘*Abbā* Nob written down, that it might be a commemoration (*tazkār*) for him, forever and ever, amen: in the year 1079 from the era of the pure Martyrs (1362/1363 CE). May their prayer be with us all forever and ever, amen.

This end note with indication of translation was embedded into the transmitted text and is found in several manuscripts of the *Acts of Nob*, but not in all of them. In the absence of other elements, it is of no value for dating the manuscript to 1362/1363 CE, as Arnold van Lantschoot and others with him believed.⁸⁰

(c) An even more striking case is that of the biblical Book of Sirach, the translation of which was long dated to 678 CE, on the basis of an end note text found in several manuscripts, probably corrupted, but embedded and transmitted unchanged in the manuscript tradition.⁸¹

80 See Bausi 2012b, 119–121. On this and other subscriptions related to ‘*Abbā* Salāmā see now the detailed analysis by Ambu 2022, 110–263. The text was edited by Raineri 2011 from MSS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et. 264 and London, British Library, Oriental 686.

81 See Rahlfs 1965, 679–681, who demonstrated that the date of 678 CE must be interpreted in a different way and attests in fact only the much later accomplishment of a medieval exemplar. Already August Dillmann had expressed his doubts and suggested the right solution (see Dillmann 1894, 114, with references to Wright 1877, 17, and Zotenberg 1877, 10): ‘Sententiam Zotenbergi, qui huic anno annum mundi 7170 (vel Christi 1678) substituendum esse censet, equidem non approbaverim; facilius crediderim, anno 678 Ecclesiasticum in Geez versum esse. At in codice Musei Brit. Oriental 494 (in Wrightii cat. p. 17) legitur: ዘተጽሕፈ፡ በ፳፻፱ ወ፴፬ መት፡ i.e. anno mundi 6970 (Christi 1478), quam lectionem si quis potiore habuerit, illo anno aut archetypum quorundam recentiorum apographorum exaratum, aut priscam versionem ex auctoritate libri Graeci reflectam esse existimaverit’. See also Marrassini 2014, 45–46; Bausi 2018b, 81.

The colophon as a production marker (MS Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 2)

In short, it is clear that if one wants to look at the phenomenon of the colophon and end note beyond the historical, cultural, and chronological data that the text—occasionally or even systematically—conveys, as a more general codicological phenomenon, one must consider the dynamics connected to the stratigraphy of the codex,⁸² considering both the colophons and the end notes in relation to the various codicological units that make up the manuscript and to the series of manuscripts that contain the same texts or discrete units. It is also clear that, unlike the titling (whether placed at the beginning or the end of the text), colophons and end notes are identified by sharing exclusively the function of production markers, either of the material artefact and/or of the text.

One of the most emblematic colophon as production marker is that of the MS Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 2 (previously indicated as no. 5), dated to 1438 CE (the manuscript was produced from the month of Yakkātit to the month of Naḥāsi of the ninetieth year of Mercy, that is 1430 of the Ethiopian Calendar): the colophon defines the portions of the Octateuch written by two distinct scribes who cooperated for the realisation of the codex, and a word of gratitude is also spent for the makers of parchment, who clearly appear to be distinct from the scribes (fig. 5):⁸³

(f. 195rb) ተፈጸመ፡ ኦሪት፡ ዘሩት።።።

ወተጽሕፈት፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በ፺ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወተወጠነት፡ በወየከቲት፡
(sic) ወተፈጸመት፡ በወርኃ፡ ነሐሴ፡ ወንጉሥን፡ ዘርእያቆብ፡ ወጳጳስ፡ (sic) አባ፡ በ
ርተሎሜዎስ፡ ወዘአፅሐፍ፡ አቡነ፡ ገብረማርያም፡ ይጽሐፍ፡ ስሞ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኀ
በ፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ በቀለመ፡ ዕንቀ፡ ውስተ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ምስለ፡ ኩ
ሎሙ፡ ደቂቁ፡ ለዓለ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።።። ጥልቀ፡ ወዘዳግም፡ ሕግ፡ ወዮሴዕ፡ መ
ልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ወዘክልኦንስ፡ አነ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ለእመቤ፡ ዘወሰክነ፡ ወክፈልነ። እ
መሢ፡ በአእምሮ፡ ወእመሢ፡ በኢያእምሮ፡ ስረዩ፡ ወባርኩነ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ (sic) አ
ሜን። ወለሰራሕተ፡ ብራና፡ ባርክዎሙ፡ እስመ፡ ጳመወ፡ ብዙኃ።።።።

(f. 195rb) The Book of Ruth from the Octateuch has been finished.

And this book was written in the 90th year of Mercy: it was started in the month of Yakkātit and finished in the month of Naḥāsi, (while) our king (was) Zar'ayā'qob

- 82 See Gumbert 2004, and in the same volume, Maniaci 2004; see also Ronconi 2007; Bausi 2010c; Andrist et al. 2013; Orlandi 2013, with a comprehensive proposal of taxonomy from bibliological to textual units; the relevant sections in Maniaci 2015; Andrist 2015; Friedrich and Schwarke 2016; Bausi et al. 2019; Brita and Karolewski 2021.
- 83 See Fiaccadori 1993, 162–163; Lusini 2002, 161–163; see also for further details on the manuscript Bausi 2008, 522, n. 49; and for the codicological information we can draw on it, see Bausi 2014, 42–43; Bosc-Tiessé 2014, 12; Bausi 2016b, 119–120.

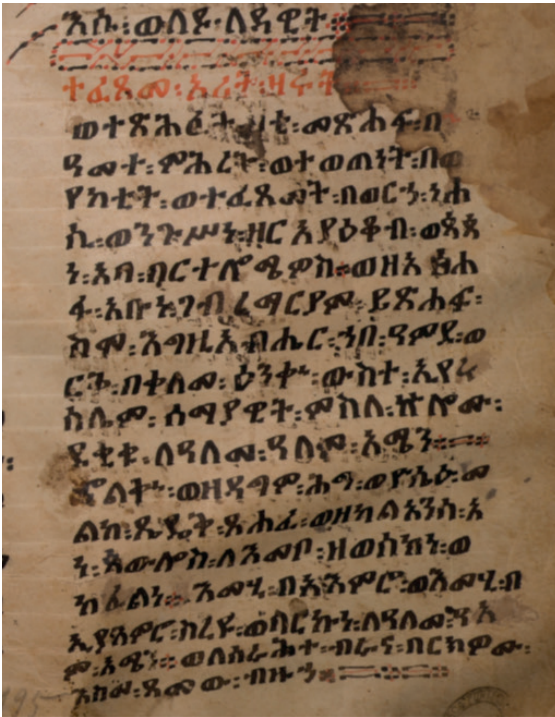


Fig. 5. MS Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 2, 1438 CE, Octateuch, f. 195rb. Photo by the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies and the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, UHH 2018.

(sic) and our Metropolitan 'Abbā Bartalomewos. It was our Father Gabramāryām who had it written: let God write his name on the golden pillar by a bejewelled pen in the Heavenly Jerusalem with all his (spiritual) sons forever and ever, amen. Malka Ṣedeq wrote the Book of Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, while I myself, Pāwlos, wrote the other (books). If we added or omitted anything, either wittingly or not, forgive and bless us forever and ever, amen. And bless the makers of parchment (*śarāhta bārānnā*), because they laboured much.

The reliability of the colophon: colophon of text and colophon of codex

It is worth saying a few more words about the problem of translation: in many cases, the length of the translated texts for which an end note is attested in no way authorises the supposition that that text ever occupied a codex in its entirety on its own; nor is there any certainty that the end notes, in the absence of *explicit* indications, ever referred only to that particular text to which they follow and not to several other texts. In essence, it is not at all clear how and where—in Egyptian monasteries frequented by Ethiopians? in Ethiopia

with the help of Egyptian monks?—took place materially the process that from the *Vorlage*—always Arabic from the medieval period—led first to the translation, perhaps performed orally, then or contextually put in writing by a copyist to whom the translator dictated, and perhaps distinct from him, and finally to the material realisation of a codex, often multi-textual, where texts of different origin, provenance and *Vorlage*—ancient translations from Greek and more recent ones from Arabic—were assembled and organised.⁸⁴ Let us look at two examples:

(a) In the MS London, British Library, Oriental 691, f. 241vb (figure 3), we read for instance:

መልክ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ እንበአቆም፡ ዐቢይ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፰ ለጥቅምት፡ ፲፬፻፸፯፡ ዓመተ፡
ምሕረት፡ በመዋለ፡ ያግባ፡ ጽዮን፡

The great *Book of Habakkuk* (*ʿĀnba ʿəqom*) was completed on the 18th of Ṭəqəmt of the year of Mercy 477, in the time of King Yāgbā Ṣəyon (r. 1285–1294 CE).

The date corresponds to 15 October 1292.⁸⁵ The *Book of Habakkuk* is the first text in the manuscript, which contains several other hagiographical texts—on Eustathius; Cosmas and Damian; George; Mercury; Menna; James the Inter-cised—but the final end note text must apply to all the texts included in the manuscript, identified as a whole as the *Book of Habakkuk* by the first text in it.⁸⁶

(b) A footnote following an *explicit* note in the *Acts of Kaleb* in the MS Zwāy, *Gadla samā ʿiāt*, *Acts of the Martyrs* (different from the manuscript of the *Acts of the Saints* seen above), f. 36va-b (figure 4), which has recently come to the attention of scholars as a witness to a new Ethiopian version of the Greek-Arabic *Martyrdom of Arethas*,⁸⁷ reads as follows (fig. 6):

- 84 To these complex questions, which can only be mentioned here, see Maximous el-Antony et al. 2016; Bausi 2018b; Butts and Erho 2018; Bausi 2019; Bausi 2020; Brita 2020; Lusini 2020b; Bausi 2021a; Nosnitsin 2022.
- 85 See also Mauro da Leonessa 1934, 102, who wrongly indicates 1293 CE instead of 1292 CE.
- 86 See Bausi 2002, 8–9. On the dating of the manuscript to the end of the thirteenth century agrees also Eyob Derillo 2019, 106. See <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BLorient691/main>>; <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_691_f001r> (last accessed 1 November 2022).
- 87 See Bausi 2010d, 249–251; Marrassini 2011a, *passim*; Marrassini 2014, 112 and 356, and *passim*. The manuscript was first noted by Sergew Hable Selassie 1972a (unpublished manuscript), 42a (‘Expedition of Caleb & Nagran’: I owe this reference to Ted Erho); then by Sergew Hable Selassie 1972b, 127; first used by Yohannes Gebre Sellasie 2009. With the siglum ‘Et1’ is referred from my unpublished edition in La Spisa 2021, see also Bausi 2021c. The manuscript belongs to the church of Qəddəst Māryām from the monastery of Dabra Ṣəyon on Lake Zwāy, see Buruk Wolde-Michael 2015, 55–56.



Fig. 6. MS Ethiopia, Lake Zwāy, church of Qəddəst Māryām from the monastery of Dabra Şəyon, fifteenth century, *Gadla samā'īāt, Acts of the Martyrs*, f. 36va–b, explicit and end note to the *Gadla Kāleb, Acts of Kāleb*. Photo by Addis Ababa University 2009 for Paolo Marrassini; personal archive of Alessandro Bausi (see already Bausi 2016a, 259, pl. IV).

ተፈጸመ፡ ገድል፡ ወስምዕ፡ ዘኒሩት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወዘቅዱሳን፡ ሰግዕት፡ ዘናግራን፡ ወዘካሌብ፡
ንጉሠ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ዮስጥፃስ፡ (f. 36vb) ንጉሠ፡ ሮሜ፡ ወ
ጢሞቴዎስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘአልስክንድርያ፡ ወቍርስዮስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘአንጾኪያ።።።
ወተፈከረት፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እምጽርእ፡ ለግዕዝ፡ ስብሐት፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወላዕሌነ፡
ይኩን፡ ምሕረቶ፡ አሜን።

The Acts and the Martyrdom of Saint Arethas (ዘሱር), of the saint martyrs of Nāgrān, and of Kāleb king of Ethiopia, devoted to Christ, in the days of Justin (Yosṯənos), king of Rome (Rome), and of Timotheus (ፕጦቴዎስ) patriarch of Alexandria, and Euphrasios (Qʿərəsyos) patriarch of Antioch, are finished. This book was translated from Greek (ḡəṛ') into Gə'əz. Glory to God and let his mercy be upon us, amen'.

The veracity of the end note to the text is in this case highly doubtful, because there is indubitable evidence of an Arabic *Vorlage* upstream of the Ethiopic: it could be a translation with adaptation of the Arabic *Vorlage*.

The colophon as an opusculum: the Acts of the Martyrs of Dabra Māryām

Without ever becoming a mandatory element of the Ethiopian scriptural tradition, a particular flowering of long colophons and subscription notes occurs in the time of King Zar'a Yā'qob,⁸⁸ with detailed indications of the year of the reign in which they were composed—which does not exclude that long or even very long colophons and end notes also occur later. Already identified in its historical and cultural importance, but still to be studied codicologically, is the phenomenon of colophons elevated to the level of small literary works of hagiographic and celebratory character, in elevated style and sometimes even in rhymed prose. Precise examples can be found in manuscripts produced within the 'Ewostātean communities of medieval Eritrea,⁸⁹ although the lack of statistical data, as well as indications to identify colophons and footnotes belonging to particular scriptoria—if scriptoria are to be postulated, at least in some cases, in Ethiopia—invite caution.⁹⁰

The colophon that occupies approximately four final folios of one of the first quires of a codex (ff. 32va–36ra) of the *Acts of the Martyrs* from the monastery of Dabra Māryām, Q'wāḥayn, Eritrea, consists of a long note, with large sections in rhymed prose, written at the completion of the material redaction of the manuscript, on 21 Ḥamlē 1445 of the Ethiopian calendar, that is 15 July 1453 CE. In this subscription the copyist, who is its author (an unidentifiable Yoḥannes of Dabra Māryām), retraces the history of the community and its abbots with great tension and narrative effectiveness, recalling its alternating events. Length, formal register, style, and also the material accuracy of the text—the name of Yoḥannes, the name, appellations, and feasts of Mary, the names of the monks of the order, the divine names, the name of Zar'a Yā'qob, and the numeral signs are rubricated—reveal the particularly high tone and

88 As rightly also noted by Wion 2007.

89 On the monastic 'Ewostātean movement, see Lusini 1993; Fiaccadori 2005; Tedros Abraha 2007; Tedros Abraha 2008; Tedros Abraha 2009; Gervers 2013; Adankpo 2015a; Adankpo 2015b; Adankpo Labadie 2016; Adankpo Labadie 2017; Bausi and Lusini 2018.

90 See below concerning the 'Ewostātean monastic communities. Perhaps the evaluation of hagiographical evidence for the definition of a practice of monastic scriptoria in Derat 2012 is overly generous and trusting, using above all Lusini 2004; see for similar examples outside the context of 'Ewostātean communities Bausi 2009, 184. An important conceptual contributions on *scriptoria* has now been provided by Bosc-Tiessé 2014.

strong literary intentions of the colophon, which among other things—which is not unusual—also includes an inventory of manuscripts and assimilated goods.⁹¹ The last leaf (f. 36) consists of only one column, either because of a vertical cut from top to bottom, or, perhaps more likely, because the parchment sheet was already originally smaller in size. Unfortunately, there is a lack of codicological data that could have said more about the structural placement of the colophon, whether the well-known *horror vacui* or any other material factors played any role here. Since the note was edited, but only an Italian translation was available, I repropose here the text, with minor revisions and with rubrications underlined> (except punctuation marks that follow non-rubricated names), with an English translation (fig. 7a–b):

(f. 32va) አአንትሙ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ሰማዕታት፡ ለዛቲ፡ ስምዐ፡ ገድልክሙ፡ አነ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብርክሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በእዴየ፡ ለዘ፡ ጸሐፍክዋ፡ ተማኅጸንኩ፡ በክዕወተ፡ ደምክሙ፡ ለነፍስየ፡ ከሙ፡ ትዕቀብዋ፤ ወበእንተ፡ ኅጢአታ፡ ከሙ፡ ኢትመንንዋ፤ እምነይለ፡ ጸላኢ፡ ዕድዋ፤ ከሙ፡ ትመግብዋ፤ ወእምአፉሁ፡ ለተኩላ፡ ከሙ፡ ታምስጥዋ፤ ወእምኩሉ፡ ዘይትቃረና፡ ከሙ፡ ታድኅንዋ፡ ወካዕበ፡ እንትመኅፀንክሙ፡ (sic, for እንትመኅፀንክሙ፡) ለእግዝእትየ፡ ማርያም። በእንቲአየ፡ ከሙ፡ ትስአልዋ፤ ከሙ፡ ትስአል፡ ሊተ፡ ኅበ፡ ወልዳ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት፡ ዘአሰፈዋ፤ ገቢረ፡ ንስሓ፡ ከሙ፡ ይጸግዋ፡ ወዳዲ፡ እንትመኅፀንክሙ፡ በዝኒ፡ ዓለም፡ ማሕፀንትነ፡ ከሙ፡ ትበልዋ፡ ወበዘይመጽእኒ፡ ዓለም፡ ዓሥራተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ከሙ፡ ትንሥእዋ፤ ወውስተ፡ ርስትክሙ፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ከሙ፡ (f. 32vb) ታብእዋ። ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። አሜን። ወአሜን። ለይኩን። ለይኩን።=።

(Dotted line.)

ተወጠነ፡ ወተፈጸመ፡ ዝነቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በደብረ፡ ማርያም፡ በመካኑ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ኤዎስ፡ ምስጢርዎስ፡ ካህን፡ ቀዳሴ፡ ቀሩባን፡ በሰረገላ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወዝኅተ፡ ለአቡነ፡ አብሳዲ፡ መምህረ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘበእማን፡ ንባበ፡ አፉሁ፡ ምዑዝ፡ ከሙ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወይን፡ ወሮማን። ወአቡነ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ በልብሰ፡ የውሆ፡ ክዱን፡ እብነ፡ ባሕሪ፡ ምእዙን፡ ወአቡነ፡ ሮማኖስ፡ መምህረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ፈጻሚ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ለ፬ወንጌላዊያን። ወአቡነ፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ሠናየ፡ ርስአን፡ በአክናፈ፡ መንፈስ፡ ሰራሪ፡ ከሙ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ሶበ፡ ሰደድዎ፡ እስከ፡ ሐማሴን፡ ንጹሕ፡ ከሙ፡ ዕጣን፡ ዘመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አስከሬን፡ ወአቡነ፡ ፈቅጦር፡ በፍቅረ፡ አምላክ፡ ርሱን፡ ከሙ፡ ወርቅ፡ ጽሩይ፡ ወከሙ፡ ብሩር፡ ፍቱን፡ ጥዑም[፡] | (f. 33ra) ክፍፍር፡ ወልሳን፡ ሰባኪ፡ ግ<ዕ>ዛን፡ በቅድመ፡ ጉቡአን፡ ዘኮነ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ በእንተ፡ ምሳሕ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ በቅድመ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወተዐይን። በ፯፡ ዓመተ፡ ምህርሁ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሳብሎም፡ ውእቱ፡ ለአበው፡ ቅዱሳን፡ እለ፡ በአማን፡ መምህራን፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ለነቢያት፡ ሰባኪያን፡ ወለሐዋርያት፡ ፍንዋን፡ ወይፈቱ፡ ዓዲ፡ ትዕግሥቶሙ፡ ወስነ፡ ገድሎሙ፡ ለሰማዕት፡ መዋእያን፡ ወለመዝኅተ፡ መስተጋድላን፡ ዘበሕርየት፡ ካህን፡ ዘሕቱም፡ በቅብአ፡ ሜሮን፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ጽሙዳን፡ አቡነ፡ ብዙኃን። በእንተ፡ ክብራ፡ ወፍቅራ፡ ወዕባያ፡ ለንግሥት፡ እሙ፡ ብርሃን፡ ጸዋሪተ፡ መላኮ፡ ጽደት፡ ያለብስ፡ ዕሩቃን፡ ያጸግብ፡ ርኅባን፡ ወያረዊ፡ ጽሙአን፡ ወያስተፈሥሕ[፡] ነዳያን፡ ወይረድእ፡ ምንዱባን፡ ወይእቲ፡ ድንግል፡ እንተ፡ ያፈቅራ፡ (f. 33rb) በኩሉ፡ ልቡ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ልብስ፡ ወክዳን፡ በምድርኒ፡ ወበሰማይ፡ ነፍሶ፡ ወሥጋሁ፡ ትትመሕፀን። ወበ፲፡ ወ፱ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለዘርአ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ርቱዕ፡ ሃይማኖት፡

91 See Bausi 1994, 47–57 (introduction and annotated Italian translation with further details) and 63–65 (text).



Fig. 7a–b. MS Eritrea, Qoḥayn, Dabra Māryām, 1453 CE, *Gadla samā' iāt*, *Acts of the Martyrs*, ff. 32v–33r and 35v–36r. Photo by Alessandro Bausi for the Missione Italiana in Eritrea (MIE), Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna 1993

ለአክላሳይ፡ ፀሐያ፡ ወለኢትዮጵያ፡ ዕባያ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወሐዋርያ፡ ለባሕረ፡ ኦሪት፡ ቀላያ፡ ለ
 ሐሊብ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘይሰትያ፡ ወይረውያ፡ ሰባኬ፡ ሥላሴሁ፡ ዘምስለ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ መ
 ንፈሴ፡ ለወልደ፡ ማርያ፡ (sic) ዘይምህር፡ ወይገብር፡ ከዊኖ፡ አርአያ፡ ለምባረ፡ እከይ፡
 አባያ፡ ወለሠናይት፡ ሐረያ፡ ለትምህርተ፡ ጠንቋልያን፡ ሠዓራ፡ ወአንደያ፡ ወለሕገ፡ ሃ
 ይማኖት፡ አክበራ፡ ወአሰነያ፡ እስከ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ዓለም፡ ያንግሦ፡ ወልደ፡ አምላክ፡ ኪ
 ንያ፡ ድቀተ፡ ጸላእቱ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሬእያ፡ ምስር፡ ወእስክንድርያ፡ ቆጵሮስ፡ ወ
 አርማንያ፡ ኩርጉ፡ ወርምያ፡ ፋርስ፡ ወእስያ፡ ለክብረ፡ ንግሡ፡ ይሰግዳ፡ ወይግነያ፡ አስ
 ተዓ፡ ወጋዳ፡ እንዘ፡] | (f. 33va) ያወፍያ፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን፡ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ፳፻፬
 ፻፱፡ ፵ወ፳፡ ወመጥቅዕ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ወአበቅቴ፱፡ እም፩፡ ለጽልመት፡ በወርኅ፡ ሐምሌ፡ አመ፡
 ፳ወ፩ በበዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትየ፡ ማርያም፡፡ ወሀብኩ፡ አነ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡
 ገድለ[፡] ሰማዕት፡ ወ፪ወንጌል፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ (sic) ወግጽው፡ ሕብረተ፡ ቃላት፡
 መጽሐፈ፡ ነገሥት፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ኤርምያስ፡ ሕዝቅኤል፡ ኢዮብ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋ
 ርያት፡ ጠማረ፡ ትስብእት፡ ተአምረ፡ ማርያም፡፡ ጉባኤ፡ ቃና፡ ወመዝሙር፡ ወሥዕል፡ እግ
 ዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ፯ ወሥዕል፡ ስቅለት፡ ፩ ወታቦታት፡ ፲ወ፩፡ ወግምዘ፡ ዘኢተቦትክ፡ ፳ወ
 ፩፡ ወልብስ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ዘኢተቦትክ፡ ፱ ወሞጣሕት፡ ግምዛ፡ ፲ወ፩፡ ወሞጣሕት፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ፯
 ወዘነቦ፡ ፪፡ ፋጦት፡ ዘሐሪር፡ ፬፡ ወቀሚስ፡ ውራድ፡ ፱ ወቆብዕ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ፩ ወዘግምዛ፡ ፪፡
 ወልሳስ፡ ጸዓዳ፡ ፯ ወፊቃር፡ ፯ ወብዙት፡ ፭ ወዶቲ፡ ፩ | (f. 33vb) ማኅፈድ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ፩
 ወካልእ፡ ማኅፈድ፡ ፭ ወማሕበስ፡ ፪ ወባረይታ፡ ፭ ጸሕል፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ፩ ወጽዋዕ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ፩
 ጸሕል፡ ዘማህው፡ ፪ ወጽዋዕ፡ ዘማህው፡ ፱ ጸሕል፡ ዘብርት፡ ፫ ወጽዋዕ፡ ዘብርት፡ ፩ ዕርል፡
 መስቀል፡ ዘብርት፡ ፪ ወማህው፡ ፬ ወሙዳየ፡ ዕጣን፡ ሰጣን፡ ፮ መስቀል፡ ፲ወ፯፡ ወማ
 ዕጠንት፡ ፲ወ፭፡ ወመንጦላዕት፡ ዘግምዛ፡ ፪ ወዘዶቲ፡] ፪ ወሥዕል፡ ዘልብስ፡ ፪ ወብሳጥ፡
 ፪ ወዶል፡ ዘብርት፡ ፩ ወቃጽል፡ ፫ ወኩስኩስት፡ ዘብርት፡ ፪ መብራህተ፡ ቀሞጂ፡ ፯ ወመ
 ብራህት፡ ዘማህው፡ ፪ ወሰዋሰው፡ ፪ ወቀንዲል፡ ፩ ወመንባረ፡ ኅዲን፡ ፭ ወዳዊዛ፡ ፲ወ፩
 ወአስቀቀ፡ ደብተራ፡ ፯፡ ወሞጣሕት፡ ዘወትር፡ ዘግምዛ፡ ፱፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዝማራ፡ ፪ ወ
 መጽሐፈ፡ ቍስቋም፡ ፩ ወሲራክ፡ ፩ ወድባብ፡ ፬፡ ወመነሳንስት፡ ዘሐሪር፡ ፯፡ ገይብ፡ ዘ
 ብርት፡ ፩ ወፍያል፡ ዘብርት፡ ፩፡

(Here follow three blank lines until the end of the column.)

(f. 34ra) ዘንተ፡ ኹሎ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ ለእግዝእትየ፡ ማርያም፡፡ ትምክሕተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዳግሚት፡
 አርያም፡ ምእናም፡ ግሩም፡ እመ፡ መለኮት፡ ጸሞሪተ፡ ፍሕም፡ ወለተ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወለተ፡
 አብርሃም፡ መድኅኒቱ፡ ለአዳም፡ አባላቲሃ፡ በድንግልና፡ ሕቱም፡ ዝክረ፡ ስማ፡ እመ
 ድር፡ ጥዑም፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘኢትጸልም፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ ተሥዕሪ፡ ዘቀዳሚ፡ መርገም፡ መ
 ድኅኒት፡ እምስርም፡ ዘጽድቅ፡ ተንከተም፡፡፡ እግዝእትየ፡ ወእመ፡ ለእግዚእየ፡ ተስፋየ፡
 ዘእምንእስየ፡ ኅይልየ፡ ወጸወንየ፡ ረዳኢትየ፡ አመ፡ ምንዳቤየ፡ ትውክልትየ፡ ወምክሕየ፡
 ብርሃን፡ ለአዕይንትየ፡ ወገራ፡ ለርእስየ፡ ጽንዕ፡ ለእገርየ፡ ወማዕተብ፡ ለእደዊየ፡ ቅናት፡
 ለሐቋየ፡ ወድርዕ፡ ለእንግድዳየ፡ ወባዝግና፡ ለክሳድየ፡ ምእመንየ፡ ይእቲ፡ ወፍርቃንየ፡ ከ
 መ፡ ታድኅኒ፡ እምእደ፡ ጸላእየ፡ ወእምትምይንተ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ፀርየ፡ ዘንተ፡ ይቤ፡ ገብረ፡
 ክርስቶስ፡ አቡየ፡፡፡

(f. 34rb) እስመ፡ ያፈቅራ፡ በኹሎ፡ ልቡ፡ ወይትአመና፡ ወይትመሐፀና፡ ወይኤምኃ፡ ወይ
 ሴብሓ፡ ወይገኒ፡ ለክልኤ፡ ድ<ንግ>ልናቲሃ፡ ለድንግልና፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ወለድንግልና፡ ሕ
 ሊናሃ፡ (ሕ in erased text) ወይኤምሕ፡ ኹሎ፡ አባላቲሃ፡ እምስርተ፡ ርእሳ፡ እስከ፡ ጽ
 ፍረ፡ እገሪሃ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ቀዳሙ፡ ኢይትከበር፡ በዓላቲሃ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፱ ዕለት፡ ለለ፡ ዓመት፡
 ወእቡነስ፡ (sic, ቡነ over erased letters) አዘዘ፡ ከመ፡ ናክብር፡ ለለ፡ ወርጉ፡ ኹሎ፡
 በዓላቲሃ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ወሰከ፡ ዲቤሆን፡ ፱ ዕለታት፡ ክቡራን፡ በዓላቲሃ፡ ዘውእቶን፡ ቍጽረታ፡
 ወደብረ፡ ቍስቋም፡ በአታ፡ ወዓዲ፡ በአታ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወኪዳን፡ ምሕረት፡ በዘ፡
 ወሀባ፡ ወይቤ፡ ይኩና፡ እሎ፡ ፱ በዓላቲሃ፡ ከመ፡ በዓላት፡ ወልዳ፡ ዘውእቶን፡ ልደት፡ ወ
 ጥምቀት፡ ወዘንተ፡ ኹሎ፡ ዘገብረ፡ በእንተ፡ ዕባያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ለእመ፡ ፍሥሓ፡ ወይእቲ፡

ድንግል፡ ታቅርቦ፡ ኅቢሃ፡ ወኢታርሕቆ፡ እምኔሃ፡ ትክድኖ፡ አልባሲሃ፡ (f. 34va)
ወትባርኮ፡ በእደሃ፡ ወተአምሖ፡ በአፋሃ፡ አሜን።።

ወውእቱሰ፡ አቡን፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ኢያጻርዕ፡ ወትረ፡ እምሰላማ ለእግዝእትን፡ ማ
ርያም።። ነግሀ፡ ወሰርኮ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ወማዕዓልተ፡ (sic, for መዓልተ፡) ቀትረ፡ ወሰዓተ።
ወካዕቦ፡ በሀገርኒ፡ ወበገዳምኒ፡ ወበቤትኒ፡ ወበመንግድኒ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ኢያጻርዕ፡ አ
ንብቦተ፡ ተአምራቲሃ፡ ወመንክራቲሃ፡ ለእግዝእትን፡ ማርያም፡ በሐረቱ፡ ወበግብአቱ፡ በ
ንብረቱ፡ ወበተንሥኦቱ፡] ኢያጻርዕ፡ ዘክሮ፡ ስማ፡ ለእግዝእትን፡ ማርያም። እስመ፡ ይ
እቲ፡ ተስፋሁ፡ ወትውክልቱ፡ ወይያማኖቱ፡ ወሕይወቱ፡] ወይእቲ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ረድኤቱ፡ ወ
መድኅኒቱ፡ አሜን። ወሶቢሂ፡ ይዲሊ፡ ያነብራ፡ ቅድመ፡ ገጹ፡ ለሥዕለ፡ እግዝእትን፡ ማ
ርያም፡ ወይሰግድ፡ ላቲ፡ ወለድንግልናሃ፡ ክልኤቲ፡ ወይብል፡ ቅድስት፡ ወብዕዕት፡ ወ
ቡርክት፡ አንቲ፡ ወይይክር፡ ስ|ማ፡ (f. 34vb) እንዘ፡ ይበልዕ፡ ወይሰቲ። አእግዝእትየ፡
ማርያም፡ ርስሐተ፡ ኅግጦአሁ፡ አእትቲ። ወኅሐውጺ፡ (sic, for ሐውጺ፡) ኅቤሁ፡ በ
ምሕረትኪ፡ ኢታስትቲ፡ ምክረ፡ ጸላእቱ፡ ንስቲ፡ አንቲ፡ ባሕቲትኪ፡ ድንግል፡ አሐቲ፡
በመዓልት፡ ወበሌሊት፡ ኅበ፡ ሀለወ፡ ሀልዊ፡ ወኅበ፡ ቤተ፡ ቤቲ። አሜን።።

ወሶቢሂ፡ ይይምር፡ በስመ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ይይምር፡ ወበስመ፡ ወልዳ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወይብል፡ እ
እግዝእትየ፡ እመ፡ መለት፡ እምአፉሁ፡ ኢያሰትታ፡ ወእምልቡ፡ ኢያኦትታ፡ ትክድኖ፡ በ
መዝራዕታ፡ ወትባርኮ፡ በአጽባዕታ፡ ኅይለ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ይክልሎ፡ ከመ፡ ሥመር፡ ወልታ።
ወሶቢሂ፡ ይሁብ፡ ንዋየ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አው፡ ለነዳያን፡ አው፡ ለደቂቀ፡ ማኅበር፡ ይ
ብል፡ አቡን፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዝሰ፡ ኢኮን፡ ንዋይየ፡ ወጥራትየ፡ አላ፡ ንዋየ፡ ወጥራታ፡
ለእመ፡ መለት፡ ወሀብተ፡ ጸጋሃ፡ እስመ፡ ኩሎ፡ ብዕል፡ ወመዝገብ፡ ዘዚአሃ፡ ወዘወልዳ፡
እግዚእን፡ (f. 35ra) ክርስቶስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ይብል፡ በትሑት፡ ልብ፡ ወበመንፈስ፡] የዋህ፡
አእሚሮ፡ ከመ፡ ብዕል፡ ወክብር፡ እምኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ በዘ፡ ፈቀደ፡ ያነዲ፡
ወለዘ፡ ፈቀደ፡ ያብዕለ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ያሐስር፡ ወያከብር፡ ያትሕት፡ ወያልዕል። ወበእንተዝ፡
ይሬሲ፡ ኩሎ፡ ንዋየ፡ ለእመ፡ ብርሃን። እስመ፡ ይእቲ፡ አዕባየቶ፡ ወአክበረቶ፡ ወአልዐለቶ፡
ወኩሎ፡ ሠናዶት፡ ጸገወቶ፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ አበዊሁ፡ አንበረቶ፡ እስከ፡ ለምህሮ፡ ነፍሳት፡
አብጽሐቶ፡ በቤተ፡ መንግሥት፡ ኢሐደገቶ፡ ወህመተ፡ ክህነት፡ ቀብአቶ፡ ሥልጣን፡ ጴ
ጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ (sic) አወደቶ፡ ይእስር፡ ወይፍታሕ፡ አብሐቶ፡ ላዕለ፡ ከኒሳ፡ አ
ስለጠኝቶ፡ ወአበ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ረሰቶ፡ ለዘ፡ ተአመና፡ እንበለ፡ አስትቶ፡ ታድኅኖ፡ እምክረ፡
ጸላእቶ፡ ወተሀቦ፡ ኩሎ፡ ተምኔቶ። አሜን።

(Dotted line.)

ወይእይኒ፡ አእምሩ፡ ወለብ|ወ፡ (f. 35rb) ወጠይቁ፡ አአበዊ፡ ወአጋዊየ፡ ዘኮን፡ እም
ቅድመዝ፡ መዋዕል፡ ከመ፡ ተንሥኦ፡ ላዕሌክመ፡ እለ፡ ይቴሐቱክመ፡ ወነሥኦ፡ ሠና
የ፡ ገራውሂክመ፡ ወጸአሉክመ፡ ወይእይሰ፡ ኮን፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለአቡን፡ ገብረ፡ ክር
ስቶስ፡ ትሕትና፡ ወዳኅና፡ ፍቅር፡ ወሰላም፡ ወያከብሩክመ፡ እለ፡ ያስተሓቅሩክመ፡ ወ
ያፈቅሩክመ፡ እለ፡ ይጸልኩክመ፡ ወያሜንዩ፡ ለክመ፡ እለ፡ ያሐስመ፡ ለክመ፡ ምስለ፡
አምኃ፡ ወአስተዓ፡ እስመ፡ ወሀበክመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መምህረ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘተሐርየ፡ እም
ከርሠ፡ እመ፡ ከመ፡ ኤርሚያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ እምከርሠ፡ እምክ፡ ቀድስኩክ፡
ነቢየ፡ ረሰይኩክ፡ ለአሕዛብ። ወዓዲ፡ ኅረዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በከመ፡ ኅረዮ፡ ለዳዊት፡ ገ
ብሩ፡ ከመ፡ ይንገሥ፡ ላዕለ፡ ሕዝቡ፡ እስራኤል፡ እንዘ፡ ንኡሱ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወይሬዒ፡
አ|ቡሁ፡ (f. 35va) እንዘ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ኤልያብ፡ ወናዳብ። ወሳቢቅ፡ ወኩሎ፡ አጋዊሁ። ወ
ይቤ፡ ወአኮ፡ በከመ፡ ይሬኢ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘይሬኢ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰብእስ፡ ገጸ፡ ይሬኢ፡ ወእ
ግዚአብሔርሰ፡ ልበ፡ ይሬኢ። ወሐዋርያትኒ፡ ይቤሉ፡ በግብሮመ፡ ወረከብክዎ፡ ለዳዊት፡
ወልደ፡ ኤሰይ፡ ዘከመ፡ ልብየ፡ ዘይገብር፡ ፈቃድየ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ኅረዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ለአቡን፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወአንበሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ አበዊሁ፡ ከመ፡
ይርዐይ፡ አባግዒሁ፡ በቃለ፡ ዚአሁ። ወውእቱሰ፡ አቡን፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ኢኅ፡ እ
ምአበዊሁ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ሕግ፡ ያነብብ፡ ወይተረጉም፡ በአፋሁ፡ ወየዐቅብ፡ በአልባሲሁ፡

ወይብሎም፡ ለደቂቁ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ተመሀሩ፡ ወነቢያተ፡ ኢትርስዑ፡ እምኦሪት፡ ጸቃውዑ፡ ብልዑ፡ (f. 35vb) ወእምወንጌል፡ ሐሊበ፡ ተወግዑ። ወትእዛዘ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ አጽንዑ፤ ገዩሰ፡ ኅበ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢታጽርዑ፤ መኅበ፡ (sic, with መ deleted) መካነ፡ ትምህርት፡ ተጋብኡ፤ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከመ፡ ትስምዑ፤ አበዊክሙ፡ በከመ፡ ሠርዑ። በረከተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ከመ፡ ትንሥኡ፤ ቢጽክሙ፡ ኢትሕመዩ[፡] ወአጋዊክሙ፡ ኢትጽልኡ። ለባሕቲተክሙ፡ ኢትጽሀ[ቁ፡] በበይናቲክሙ፡ ተራድኡ። አንብቦ፡ ቃለ፡ መለኮት፡ ኢትትሀከዩ፡ ለመልእክተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ጥብዑ። ዘንተ፡ ወዘይመስሎ፡ ይምዕዶሙ፡ ወይምህርሙ፡ እመጻሕፍት፡ ቅዱሳት፡ በውስተ፡ መካነ፡ ትምህርት።።

ስብሓት፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወለወላዲቱ፡ ድንግል፡ ዘወሀበነ፡ ዘንተ[፡] መምህረ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ወክቡር፡ ዘያለብስ፡ ዕሩቃኒነ፤ ወያጸግብ፡ ርኅባኒነ፤ ወያረዊ፡ ጽሙአኒነ። በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ኢሳይያስ[፡] (f. 36ra) ነቢይ፡ ሶበ፡ አኮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባእት፡ ዘአትረፈ፡ ለነ፡ ዘርእ፡ ከመ፡ ሰዶም፡ እምኮነ፡ ወከመ፡ ገሞራ፡ እመሰልነ፡ ሞለኒተ፡ ዝ፡ ወሀበነ፡ እግዚእ፡ ዘንተ፡ መምህረ፡ ወበእንተሰ፡ ሕርዮቱ፡ ወሚመቱ፡ ለምህር፡ ወለክህነት፡ ወዓዲ፡ መክፈልቱ፡ ዘነገሩኒ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በእንተአሁ፡ ዘአይድዖሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ብዙኅ፡ ዘእምተጽሕፈ።።

ወለከሰ፡ አሱነ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ይባርክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በበረከተ፡ ሰማይ፡ በላዕላ፡ ወበበረከተ፡ ምድር፡ በታሕቱ። በበረከተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽርሐ፡ ቅድሳቱ። ወበበረከተ፡ ነቢያት፡ እለ፡ ሰበኩ፡ ምጽኦቱ። በበረከተ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ አርድኦቱ፡ ወበበረከተ፡ ወንጌላዊያን፡ ፬፡ በበረከተ፡ መዋእያን፡ ሰማዕታቱ፤ ወጻድቃን፡ ገባርያነ፡ ስምረቱ። በበረከተ፡ አበዊክ፡ ፮ ወይረሲ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕ<ይ>ወትክ፡ ለዓለም፡ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ፤ ወመክፈልትክኒ፡ ይረሲ፡ በዳግም፡ ምጽኦቱ፤ ምስለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘትፈቱ፤ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። አሜን። ወአሜን።

(f. 32va) O all you martyrs, I, the sinner your servant Yohānnes, who have written this testimony of your spiritual combat (*gadl*) with my own hand, have entrusted myself to the outpouring of your blood so that you may protect my soul,⁹² so that you may not reject it because of its sins, so that you may protect it from the power of its hater enemy, so that you may snatch it from the mouth of the wolf, and so that you may save it from everything that opposes it. And furthermore I entrust myself to you that you may implore my Lady Mary for me, that she may implore for me from her Son the Covenant of Mercy which he has promised her, that he may grant her (the soul) the grace to do penance; and again I entrust myself to you in this world that you may say ‘our care’ for her, and that also in the world to come you may receive for her the tithes of mercy and that you may make her enter (f. 32vb) into your inheritance in gladness. Forever and ever, amen and amen, so be it.

(Dotted line.)

This book was begun and finished in Dabra Māryām, in the place of our Father 'Ewostātewos, the consecrating minister of the Eucharist⁹³ on a chariot of light, and the burial place⁹⁴ of our Father 'Absādi, master (*mamhar*) of the law, the speech of whose mouth is truly fragrant like a vine and pomegranate flower; and our Father Zakāryās, clothed in a robe of persuasion,⁹⁵ a cornerstone of pearl,⁹⁶ and our Father Romānos teacher of saints,⁹⁷ compiler of the word of the 4 Evangelists; and our

92 Rhyme in -wā.
 93 Rhyme in -ān.
 94 For zəḥʿər see Leslau 1987, 635.
 95 Rhyme in -un.
 96 For mə'əzun see Leslau 1987, 52.
 97 Rhyme in -ān.

Father Tawalda Madhən lover of the church, of good old age, traverser on the wings of the Holy Spirit like the Vigilants, when they drove him down to Hamäsen,⁹⁸ pure as incense, casket of the Holy Spirit; and our Father Fiqtor, burning⁹⁹ with the love of God, clean as gold and tried as silver, with tasty lips and tongue,¹⁰⁰ (f. 33ra) a preacher of liberty¹⁰¹ before those assembled in council, who was a witness at the banquet on Dabra Şəyon¹⁰² before the king and the troops; in the seventh year of the mastership of our Father Gabra Krəstos, the seventh of the holy fathers who were in truth masters (*mamhərān*), a lover of the word of the prophets preachers and of the Apostles (who were) sent; and he also desires the endurance and beauty of the spiritual combat of victorious martyrs and fighting monks, minister by election, marked with *meron* oil, chief of pious ministers, father of many. For the honour, love, and greatness of the Queen Mother of Light¹⁰³ the bearer of the fiery divinity, full of grace and beauty, the parent of God the Saviour, by her intercession made safe,¹⁰⁴ clothe the naked, satisfy the hungry, quench the thirsty, make the poor rejoice, help the afflicted; and let that Virgin whom he loves (f. 33rb) with all his heart be for him a robe and mantle on earth and in heaven, take into his care his body and soul. And in the 19th year of the reign of Zar'a Yā'qob, lover of the Lord, orthodox, sun of the Church¹⁰⁵ and greatness of Ethiopia ('Ityopyā), prophet and apostle, who drinks and quenches his thirst from the abyss of the sea of the Octateuch ('*orit*) and the milk of the Gospel, preacher of the Trinity who is united with the Father and the Holy Spirit of the son of Mary,¹⁰⁶ having become a model what he teaches and works, he has rejected the work of wickedness and chosen that of goodness, he has made the doctrine of the sorcerers cease and reduced it to little, he has honoured and beautified the law of faith,¹⁰⁷ the son of God let him reign until the end of the world, the author of the

98 Rhyme in *-en*.

99 Rhyme in *-un*.

100 Rhyme in *-ān*.

101 If it has to be corrected to *gə'zān* for the transmitted *gəzān*.

102 This is probably an allusion to an occasion when millenarism was discussed; see Getatchew Haile 2005.

103 Rhyme in *-nə*.

104 *şəwun* possibly as 'refuge, secure place', like *şawan*, see Dillmann 1865, 1300; Leslau 1987, 566.

105 '*aklāsyā* 'church', not attested in Gə'əz, but to be obviously reconnected to Greek ἐκκλησία, loanword attested in the form '*aqlesyā* or '*aqlasyā* (see Leslau 1987, 35), but the alternation is attested in Christian Arabic, see for example Graf 1954, 12 12 '*klīrs* < κληρος, and p. 11 '*qlīrs* < κληρος. Rhyme in *-yā*.

106 The form *Māryā* is required by the rhyme and is intentional. This is the form that is also found in ancient Gospels, see Lepage 1987, 176–177 (on the Gospels of Dabra Ma'ar and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 32), who vaguely hypothesizes 'un modèle grec, copte ou nubien'; see also Zuurmond 1989, I, 93, n. 6 ('against the complete Syriac and Arabic tradition'), 98, and 103.

107 There is probably an allusion to the content of the second homily in the *Tomāra təsbə'it*, which is cited shortly after in the list of books and in the parallel inventory of the Dabra Māryām Gospel Book (see Bausi 1994, manuscript 1, doc. VI). The *Tomāra təsbə'it* (CAe 2474) is edited by Getatchew Haile 1991, 36–79 (text), 29–

fall of his enemies at the same instant as his eyes see, Egypt (Məṣr) and Alexandria (ʿĒskəndəriyā), Cyprus (Qoṗros) and Armenia (ʿArmānyā), Georgia (Kʷərgʷ)¹⁰⁸ and Byzantium (Romyā), Persia (Fārs) and Asia (ʿĪsyā) prostrate themselves and submit to the nobility of his empire, delivering gifts and presents, (f. 33va) amen. At the time was the year of Mercy 6945, *maṭqə* ʿ 21, epact 9 (= 1453 CE), from the 5 of *ṣəlmat*, in the month of Ḥamlē, the 21, on the feast of our Lady Mary.¹⁰⁹ ʿI, Gabra Krestos, gave this book *Gadla samāʿt*, 2 Gospels, the Apostle, Paul, *Gəṣṣəw*, the *Concordance of Words*, the Book of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, *ʿAfa warq* (Chrysostomos), *Gadla ḥawāryāt*, *Ṭomāra təsbəʿt*, *Miracles of Mary*, *Gubā ʿe qānā*, Psalter, 7 images of our Lady Mary, 1 image of the Crucifixion, 11 *tābots*, 21 intact coloured cloths, 9 intact golden robes, 15 stoles of coloured cloths, 7 golden stoles and 2 *zanabo*, 4 silk sashes, 9 *wərād* tunics, 4 golden and 2 coloured cloth caps, 7 white robes, 7 belts, 5 carded clothes, 1 *doti*, (f. 33vb) 1 golden eucharistic veil, 5 other veils, 2 *māḥbas*, 5 *bāraytā*, 1 golden tray, 1 golden chalice, 2 glass trays, 4 glass chalices, 3 metal trays, 1 metal chalice 2 silver eucharistic spoons, 4 beakers, 6 metal incense receptacles, 16 crosses, 15 thuribles, 2 curtains of coloured cloth and 2 of dowries, 2 fabric paintings, 2 carpets, 1 metal bell, 3 church bells, 2 metal *kʷəskʷəst* vessels, 7 pedestal lamps, 2 glass lamps, 2 ladders, 4 oil lamps, 5 iron bases, 11 straw mats, 7 clothes for the tabernacle, 9 stoles of coloured cloth thread, 2 Books of psalmody, 1 Book of Qʷəsqʷām, 1 Sirach, 4 umbrellas, 7 silk flyswatters, 1 metal *gayb* vessel, 1 metal cup.

(Here follow three blank lines until the end of the column.)

(f. 34ra) All this I have given for my Lady Mary,¹¹⁰ boast of the world, second heaven, marvellous frame, mother of divinity, bearer of embers,¹¹¹ daughter of David, daughter of Abraham, salvation of Adam, her limbs are marked¹¹² by virginity, the memory of her name is sweeter than honey, light that does not darken,¹¹³ in her the initial curse has ceased, salvation from the abyss, bridge of justice; my Lady¹¹⁴ and mother of my Lord, my hope from my childhood, my strength and my garrison, my rescuer in my affliction, my confidence and my boast; light for my eyes and helmet for my head, steadfastness for my legs and ringed seal for my hands, belt for my side, breastplate for my breast and necklace for my neck; she is my trust and my salvation,

63 (translation). For similar glorification of Zarʿa Yāʿqob, followed, however, by the *explicit* citation of the works attributed to him, *Maṣḥafa bərhān* (CAe 1384) and *Maṣḥafa milād* (CAe 1955), see Conti Rossini 1910, 612–613 (from the *Maṣḥafa Kidāna Məḥrat*, CAe 1939, in MS BnF, dʿAbbadie 74).

108 This is the Georgia; the form *Kʷərgʷ* is attested as such in the *Kəbra Naḡəst*, see Bezold 1905, text section, 22 and 109. See also Cerulli 1943, 147 (*Kurz*) and 196–197 (*Kʷərz*); see also the index in Cerulli 1943–1947, II, 518.

109 The Dormition of the Virgin is commemorated every 21 of each month.

110 Rhyme in *-ām*.

111 The text has *ṣawārita fəḥəm*.

112 Rhyme in *-um*.

113 Rhyme in *-am*.

114 Rhyme in *-ya*.

that she may save me from the hand of my hater and from the deceit of Satan, my enemy'. This said Gabra Krəstos, my father.

(f. 34rb) Verily, he loves her with all his heart, trusts in her, he commits himself to her, salutes her, glorifies her, and prostrates himself to her two virginities, virginity of body and virginity of mind, and salutes every part of her body, from the hair of her head to the nails of her feet. And whereas before we did not honour her feasts except 4 days a year, our Father commanded that we honour all her feasts every month, and further he added to them 4 honoured days, which are the Conception,¹¹⁵ the (Entrance to) Dabra Q^wəsq^wām, again her Entrance (to the Temple), and the day on which he granted her the Covenant of Mercy, and said: 'Let these four feasts of hers be as the feasts of her son, that is, Christmas and Baptism', and all this she has done is for the greatness and nobility of the mother of gladness, and may that Virgin bring him near her and not turn him away from her, may she clothe him with her garments, (f. 34va) bless him with her hand and kiss him with her mouth, amen.

Our father Gabra Krəstos never ceases from the *salām* to our Lady Mary: morning and evening, night and day, afternoon and vigils, and moreover while he is in the village¹¹⁶ and in lonely places, at home and on his travels, he does not cease to read the miracles and wonders of our Lady Mary, on his departure¹¹⁷ and on his return, while sitting and while he rises, he does not cease to remember the name of our Lady Mary, so that she may be his hope, his protection, his faith and his life, and may she be his help and his salvation, amen. Also when he prays he places the image of our Lady Mary before his face, prostrates himself to her and her two virginities and says: 'Holy, blessed and blessed are you', and remembers her name (f. 34vb) while he eats and while he drinks. O my Lady Mary, remove the filth of his sins and look upon him with your mercy, do not fail him, destroy the machinations of his enemies, you only virgin be present by night and day where he is present, and pass the night where he passes, amen.

And even when he psalms, he psalms in her name and in the name of her beloved Son, and says: 'O my Lady, mother of divinity', he does not remove her¹¹⁸ from his mouth or remove her from his heart, so that she covers him with her arm and blesses him with her finger, the strength of his prayer girds him with a crown as with a welcome shield. And when he gives the goods to the church or to the poor or to the children of the community our Father Gabra Krəstos says: 'These are not my goods and patrimony, but the goods and patrimony of the mother of divinity and a gift of her grace, for all wealth and treasure is hers and of her son our Lord (f. 35ra) Christ'. This he says with a humble heart and a meek spirit, knowing fully well that wealth and nobility come from the Lord: he who wills reduces to poverty and he who wills enriches, he immiserates and honours, he humiliates and exalts; and therefore he makes all his goods the property of the Mother of Light; for she magnified him,¹¹⁹ honoured and exalted him, and bestowed all his goods upon him, placed him on the

115 For *q^wəsq^wratā* see Leslau 1987, 451.

116 Rhyme in *-ni*.

117 Rhyme in *-tu*.

118 Rhyme in *-tā*.

119 Rhyme in *-to*.

seat of his fathers, raised him up to the mastership of souls, did not abandon him in the palace, anointed him with the office of the priesthood, gave him the authority of Peter and Paul, granted him to bind and loose, gave him authority over the congregation,¹²⁰ made him the father of many, saved without fail those who trusted in her from the machinations of her haters,¹²¹ and may she grant him every vow, amen.

(Dotted line.)

And now know, understand, (f. 35rb) and seek to know, my fathers and my brethren, what happened before these days: that they rose up against you, those who were under you, and took the beauty of your fields and reviled you; and then in the days of our Father Gabra Krəstos there was humility and security, love and peace, and those who despised you honoured you, those who hated you loved you, those who insulted you benefited you with regalia and gifts, because the Lord granted you a holy master (*mamhər*), who was chosen from the womb of his mother, as Jeremiah the prophet, as he said: ‘From your mother’s womb I sanctified you, I made you a prophet to the nations’ (Jer 1:5). And furthermore, the Lord chose him as he chose David his servant to reign over Israel his people, while he was little and was shepherding (the flock of) his father,¹²² (f. 35va) while there were ʿElyāb, Nādāb, Sābeq and all his brothers, and he said: ‘The Lord does not see as man sees, man sees the outward appearance and the Lord sees the heart’ (1 Sam 16:11), and also the Apostles said in their Acts: ‘I have found David the son of Jesse (ʿEsay) according to my heart, who will do my will’ (Ac 13:22). In the same way the Lord chose our Father Gabra Krəstos, and the Lord placed him in the seat of his fathers to shepherd his sheep by his word. And that our Father Gabra Krəstos was not inferior to his fathers, he reads and interprets with his mouth the books of the law, he watches with his intellectual faculties¹²³ and says to his sons: ‘Learn the Psalter of David, do not forget¹²⁴ the prophets, eat honey from the honeycomb from the Octateuch (*ʿorit*), (f. 35vb) drink milk from the Gospel, hold fast the order of the Apostles, do not fail to go early in the morning to church, and gather in the place of instruction to hear the word of the Lord, as your fathers established, to receive the blessing of the Trinity; do not slander your neighbour and do not hate your brothers; do not care only for yourselves, help one another; do not be slothful in reading the word of the Godhead, lend yourselves to the service of the saints’: this and similar things admonishes and teaches them from the sacred scriptures in the place of teaching.

Glory be to the Lord and his virgin Mother, who has granted us this great and noble teacher, who clothes our nakedness, satisfies our hunger, quenches our thirst; as Isaiah (f. 36ra) the prophet said: ‘If the Lord of hosts had not left us a remnant, we would be like Sodom and like Gomorrah’ (Is 1:9): and for this the Lord has given us this master (*mamhər*). And concerning his election, his appointment to the master-

120 The term is the *kanisā*, an Arabic loanword.

121 The form *ṣalāʿto* for *ṣalāʿtu* could be due to the necessity of the rhyme.

122 The word ‘flock’ is probably to be integrated, or, alternatively, we can connect *ʿabuhu* to what follows, ‘while there were his father, ʿElyāb’ and so on.

123 The text has *ba ʿalbābihu*.

124 Rhyme in -ʿu.

ship and the priesthood, and still his fate much could be written about what the Lord made known to the saints about him, which they have told me.

And you, our Father Gabra Krəstos, may the Lord bless you with the blessing of heaven above and the blessing of earth below, with the blessing of our Lady Mary, the cenacle of his holiness, with the blessing of the prophets who preached his coming,¹²⁵ with the blessing of his Apostles his disciples and with the blessing of the 4 Evangelists, with the blessing of the victorious martyrs and the righteous who fulfil his favour, with the blessing of your 6 fathers, establish the days of your eternal life until its fulfilment and also establish your lot at his second coming with our Lady Mary whom you love, forever and ever, amen, amen.

Similar cases are attested for the short work by 'Arkāledəs¹²⁶ and for the short work of Yoštinos,¹²⁷ according to a terminology (*operetta*) that could perhaps be improved upon to indicate the phenomenon of an expanded colophon, grown to a consciously literary dimension.

The colophon as an opusculum: the pandectae of Dabra Bizan

An idea of the literary endeavour and the importance attributed in the Ethiopian tradition to the production of the book can also be gleaned from the unusually long and monumental colophon of a *pandectae* volume from the monastery of Dabra Bizan, in Eritrea, f. 574va–b, dated 1492 CE, whose text and translation I reproduce here (fig. 8):¹²⁸

(f. 574va) በአኩሄተ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ተፈጻመት፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ጥልቁ፡ ፹ወ፩፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ወዕርገተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወአብያተ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ኪዳን፡ ወዲድስቅልያ፡ ወሲኖዶስ፡ ዘሊቃውንት፡ በጽዮወጊዮ፡ ህወጽእምአቡነ፡ አዳም፡ በ፲ወ፫ቀመር፡ አመ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓመታት፡ ፫፻፸ወ፬፡ ወሰንበተ፡ ሄኖክሂ፡ ፬፻፶ወ፰፡ ወ ኢዮቤልሂ፡ ፻፴ወ፰፡ ወሱባዔ፡ ፫፡ ወሰንበተ፡ ሉቃስሂ፡ ፻ወ፰፡ ወእንድቅትዮን፡ ፰፡ ወ ጳጉሜን፡ ፭፡ ወጥንትዮን፡ ፪፡ ወዕለተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ፭፡ ወአጳቅቴ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ጳጳስ፡ አባ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ በ፲ወ፬፡ ዐመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለእስክንድር፡ ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘ ተሰምዮ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ወዘአጽሐፋ፡ አቡነ፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን፡ ወወልዱ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ በዓስር፡ ዓመተ፡ ምህርሁ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን፡ በአምልኮተ፡ እ ግዚአብሔር፡ ምልእት፡ ወበሃይማኖት፡ ፍጽምት፡ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ማርያም፡ እመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወበእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ እለ፡ ተጋብኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ አበውዮ፡ ፊልጶስ፡ ወ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡ ወዮሐንስ፡ ወሠረቀ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወዲጥርስ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ ደቂቆሙ፡ ወ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ኸሎሙ፡ ትዕይንተ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ አነ፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን፡ ለመካነ፡ ደብረ፡ ቢዘን፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያ[ን]፡ ዘማርያም፡ ከመ፡

125 The text has *mās'atu* instead of the expected *mās'ato*, probably due to the rhyme.
126 See Conti Rossini 1927, 512–516.
127 See Lusini 1993, 10 and 11–12; Lusini 1996, 79–92 (text), 56–67 (translation).
128 See Bausi 1995, 35–36 (Italian translation), 39 (text). Contrary to what I stated in Bausi 2016a, 248, the content of this manuscript is not limited to the Octateuch. It was impossible also in this case to carry out the codicological analysis that would be desirable in such cases; for the Greek *pandectae*, see now Andrist 2020.



Fig. 8. MS Eritrea, Dabra Bizan ('Ēndā 'Abuna Filāḥos), 1492 CE, *pandectae* manuscript (Old Testament, New Testament, *Book of Enoch*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, *Testament of Our Lord*, *Didascalía*, and *Sinodos*), f. 574v. Photo by Alessandro Bausi for the Missione Italiana in Eritrea (MIE), Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna 1993.

ይኩን፡ ተዝካረ፡ ለሕያዎን፡ ወለምውታን፡ ወሊተኒ፡ ለተዝካርየ፡ አእሚርየ፡ ከመ፡ የ
 ኅልፍ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ወቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቀዋሚ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ወ
 ይትበደር፡ እምወርቅ፡ ወእምብሩር፡ ወእምኸሉ፡ ፍትወት። እስመ፡ መካን፡ ኅበ፡ ይ
 ዜክሩ፡ መለትት፡ (sic) ህየ፡ ሀሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር። እምኸሉ፡ ክብር፡ ይከብር፡ ቃለ፡ እ
 ግዚአብሔር፡ ወኸሉ፡ ተገብረ፡ በቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወኸሉ፡ ይቀውም፡ በቃለ፡ እግ
 ዚአብሔር፡ ወይትቄደስ፡ በቃለ፡ (f. 574vb) እግዚአብሔር። ወይኩን፡ ምንባሩ፡ ውስተ፡
 ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ውስተ፡ ክርሠ፡ ታቦት፡ በከመ፡ ዓሥሩ፡ ቃላት፡ እለ፡ ወደዮን፡ ሙሴ፡
 በከመ፡ አዘዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ። ከመ፡ ይስማዕ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ስእለተነ፡ በኸ
 ሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወበጊዜ፡ ተማህለልነ፡ በጊዜ፡ ምንዳቤነ፡ ወይኩን፡ ውኩፍ፡ መሥዋዕትነ፡ ወ
 ዕጣንነ፡ ወጸሎትነ። ወይእዜኒ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩ፡ ለአባዊነ፡ ኢትክላእ፡ ቀዋሚ፡
 (sic) ለቤተ፡ ገብርከ፡ ፊልጶስ፡ ዘየዐቅብ፡ ትእዛዝከ፡ ወይቀውም፡ ቅድመ፡ ገጽከ። ወ
 ኢታሕጥኦ፡ ዘይሁብ፡ ለማሳበርከ፡ ሲሳየ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወነፍስ፡ ወዐራዘ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወዐራዘ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሀበነ፡ ኅይለ፡ ከመ፡ ናስምርከ፡ ወንዕቀብ፡ ትእዛዝከ፡ ወምላእ፡ ፍቅርከ፡
 ውስተ፡ አልባቢነ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ከመ፡ ንትፋቀር፡ በበይናቲነ፡ ወፈድፋደስ፡ ሀብ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ማ
 እከለ፡ ናላዊ፡ ወመርዔት፡ ወኢታግሕስነ፡ እምኸሉ፡ ፍናዊከ፡ ወለእመ፡ ተግሕስነ፡ ፍ
 ቡነ፡ ሚጠነ፡ ውስተ፡ ንስሓ። ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ምዕቅብና፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡
 ወለማርያም፡ ወላዲቱ፡ ወለኸሎሙ፡ ትዕይንተ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ወለኸሎሙ፡ አባ
 ዊነ፡ ሕያዎን፡ ወሙታን፡ ወለዛቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀብዋ። ወዝንቱ፡ ቃለ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ይዕቀብ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወለዛቲ፡ ማኅበር፡ እምውዕየተ፡ እ
 ሳት፡ ወእምድልቅልቅ፡ ወእመራደ፡ ጸላኢ። ወእምአንቀልቅሎ፡ ነፋሳት፡ ወእመብረቅ፡
 ወነጎድጓድ። ወእምኸሉ፡ ተጓሕልዎ፡ ጸላኢ። ወዝሰ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ምክሕ፡ ውእቱ፡ ውኅበ፡
 ባዕዳን፡ መካናት፡ ኢይትረከብ፡ ዕቀብዎ፡ በተጠናቅቆ፡ ወበእክብሮ። ወለክቡነ፡ ተወልደ፡
 መድኅን፡ ዘአጽሐፎ፡ በተአምኖ፡ ይኩንዎ፡ ሞገሠ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወሰብእ፡
 ወትትቃወም፡ ምስለ፡ ኸሉ፡ ዘይትቃወሞ፡ ወትምርሖ፡ ውስተ፡ ኸሉ፡ ፍናዊሁ፡ በከመ፡
 መርሐቶሙ፡ ለእስራኤል፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ወ
 ትቀድም፡ ምሕዋረ፡ ሠሉስ፡ ወታኅሥሥ፡ ሎሙ፡ ምዕራፈ፡

(f. 574va) In praise of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This book is finished: (comprising) the number of the 81 (*Canonical Books*), the *Book of Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the houses of the Prophets, the book of the Testament (of our Lord), the *Didascalia* and the *Sinodos* of the Doctors, in (the year) 6758 since our Father Adam; in the 13th cycle (*qamar*) when the years were 374; Sabbath of Enoch 458th (year); Jubilee interval 138th; week 3rd; Sabbath of Luke 108th (year); indiction (*ʾandāqṭyon*) 8th (year); *pagʾmen* 5; *ṭantəyon* 2; John’s day 1; epact 12; and then metropolitan was ʾAbbā Yəshaq; in the 14th year of the reign of ʾEskondər, called Qʾastantinós by the grace of the Lord; and the one who had it written is our Father Tawalda Madhən and his son Gabra Māryām, in the 10th year of our Father Tawalda Madhən’s mastership. With full devotion for the Lord and with perfect faith, for the love of the holy Trinity, for the love of Mary the Mother of Light, for the love of the Prophets and Apostles who are gathered in this book, and for the love of my fathers Filəpos, ʾEwostātewos, Yoḥannəs, Saraqa Bərḥān, Pētros and all their children, and for the love of all the hosts of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, I Tawalda Madhən gave it to the place of Dabra Bizan, to the church of Mary so that it might be a commemoration (*tazkār*) for the living and the dead, and a commemoration (*tazkār*) for me, knowing that everything in the earth passes away and that the word of the Lord endures for eternity, and it is better than gold, silver, and every desirable

thing, because in the place where the divinity is remembered there is the Lord. The word of the Lord is more precious than any nobility and everything was made by the word of the Lord, everything consists by the word of the Lord and is sanctified by the word (f. 574vb) of the Lord. Let its seat be in the church, in the womb of the *tābot* according to the ten commandments that Moses established as the Lord commanded, so that the Lord may hear our request at all times, in the time when we shall plead, in the time of our distress, and our offering, our incense and our prayer may be well received. And now, Lord, God of our fathers, do not hinder the patron of the house of your servant Filāpos, who keeps your order and stands before you, and do not let him lack the food of body and soul, the bodily garments and the garments of the Holy Spirit, which he provides for your community. Give us the strength to please you and observe your order and fill our hearts with your love. Grant us to love one another, and especially grant us the love between shepherd and flock, and do not cause us to stray from all your ways, and if we have strayed turn us at once to repentance. We have given this book into the custody of the Lord, to Mary his parent, to all the angelic and human hosts, to all our fathers living and dead, and to this church that they may guard it. May this word of the Lord guard this church and this community from the burning of fire, from the earthquake and the raging of the enemy, from the shaking of the winds, from the thunderbolt and thunder, and from every fraudulent snare of the enemy. As for this book, it is a source of pride, and it is not found (one like it) in any (other) places. Guard it carefully and with respect. Having faith in our Father Tawalda Madḥon who had it written may they be of favour to him before the Lord and men, and may it (the book) counter anyone who opposes it, and may it guide him in all his ways, as the ark of the law of the Lord guided Israel, as the scripture said: '(The Ark of the Covenant) went before them during the three days' journey and sought for them the resting place' (Nm 10:33).

The long chronological determination fixes the date of completion of the copying of the manuscript at 1491–1492 CE, as the reference to the fourteenth year of King 'Æskandər's reign decides.¹²⁹ Examination of the other determinations yields the following results: the year 'since our father Adam' 6758 corresponds in ordinary computation to the year 1266 CE,¹³⁰ a figure entirely consistent with the year 374 of the 13th cycle ($532 \times 12 = 6384 + 374 = 6758$), with the 458th 'Sabbath' of Enoch ($700 \times 9 = 6300 + 458 = 6758$), with the 138th jubilee interval of 49 years (6713 to 6762) with the 3rd of the 4 'weeks' of the 532-year cycle (266–399), 108th year of the 'week' (cycle) of Luke ($266 + 108 = 374$), with the 8th year of the Indiction ($6758 - 8 = 6750 : 15 = 450$), with the epact 12, and the intercalary month of five days; the *ṭantayon*,¹³¹ which for the year 1266 here appears to be 2—moreover contradicting the 'day of John' 1—should instead be 4. But the year in which the manuscript was finished is undoubtedly 1491–1492 CE, as can be seen from the reference

129 See Bausi 1995, 37–38.

130 See Chaîne 1925, 159.

131 See Sokolinskaia 2010.

to the 14th year of ʿĀskəndər (r. 1478–1494) and Metropolitan ʿAbbā Yəṣṣḥaq. It is certainly difficult to think of an error of a few figures in a text that is so carefully edited and especially in which so many chronological references are so consistent with each other. That at the monastery of Dabra Bizan, at least at certain times, a particular computation was in force, consisting of counting the years from the beginning of the era of Diocletian, has been supposed by several authors,¹³² but the text edited here does not seem to be traceable to it. The different chronological determinations would instead agree with the references to the year of ʿĀskəndər’s reign and the metropolitan Yəṣṣḥaq, assuming that at Dabra Bizan the year of the creation of the world was not 5500 BCE, but a date 226 years later: 5274 BCE.¹³³ The existence of a mighty treatise on computation in Dabra Bizan’s library, the *Maṣḥafa Ḥərəgrāg* or *Ḥassāba Bərḥān*¹³⁴—which explicitly declares its originality and specificity—should warn us against hasty conclusions and make us aware that too many essential sources still elude us.

132 See Mauro da Leonessa 1943, 315, with only one example from MS London, British Library, Oriental 754. Otto Neugebauer (Neugebauer 1979, 26, and 123, n. 29), establishes the correspondence between the current Ethiopian era and that of Dabra Bizan with the formula: B[izan] 6674 = W[orld] 7130, that is B 0 = W 456, which is a well-known equivalence, not limited in fact to Dabra Bizan; see Mauro da Leonessa 1934, 94–103; Otto Neugebauer also notes two further attestations, one that presupposes a correction and another one certainly wrong. Following Otto Neugebauer, see also Uhlig 1988, 377 and 487; Uhlig 1986, 315. See also Neugebauer 1989, 56, uncertain whether to consider the chronology of Dabra Bizan an innovation of the monastery or pre-existing to it. The statement by Siegbert Uhlig (Uhlig 1993, 60) that a computation existed in Dabra Bizan ‘from the foundation of the influential monastery’ is inaccurate. There is no mention of the Dabra Bizan era in Getatchew Haile 2000.

133 I do not know how to justify the choice of this date according to the internal logic of the counting system, but it would perfectly account for the date of birth attributed to Filāḥos of Dabra Bizan in his *Gadl*, that is 6591 from the creation of the world, during the reign of King ʿAmda Ṣəyon (r. 1314–1344), see Conti Rossini 1900, 63, 74 col. a, l. 25, and 154. According to the ordinary date from the creation of the world we get the year 1098–1099, but according to this particular hypothetical date we get 1325–1326, which would fit perfectly. For discussion of Filāḥos birth date according to other sources see Schneider 1978, 138; Lusini 1993, 97.

134 See Bausi 1995, 40–42, MS no. 7, with *incipit*.

The colophon of the Book of the mystery by Giyorgis of Saglā

Comparable in terms of complexity of the chronological determination is the colophon that closes the *Mashafa məštir*, *Book of the mystery* (CAe 1952), by Giyorgis of Saglā.¹³⁵

ወፍጻሜነስ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዘለፋሆሙ፡ ኮነ፡ በጽጌወጳጳጳወጄ፡ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ በሐሳብ፡ ሮማውያን፡ በጽጌወጳጳጳ፡ ወጳ፡ በሐሳብ፡ አፍራቅያ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቀዳሚተ፡ ሮሜ፡ ዘስብከተ፡ ጲጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ በጽጌ፡ ወጳጳጳወጂ፡ በሐሳብ፡ ግብጻውያን፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ እም፡ ስብከተ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ዘሰበከ፡ ሎሙ፡ አመ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለኔሮን፡ ወሄመ፡ ሎሙ፡ አንያኖስሃ፡ ኤጲስቆጶስ፡ በጽጌወጳጳጳወጄ፡ በሐሳብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እንተ፡ አምነቶ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሐዋርያ።

ተፈጸመት፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በግልስ፡ ወርሳ፡ ሐሳብ፡ ዕብራውያን፡ ወበሐሳብ፡ ግብጻውያን፡ በዐሥር፡ ወርሳ፡ አመ፡ ፲፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለይስሐቅ፡ አመ፡ ፳ ወ፯፡ ለወርታ፡ ጵዮን፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሰኔ፡ ወአመ፳፡ በሌሊት፡ ወአመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለወርታ፡ ኃዚራን፡ እም፡ ቅድመ፡ ተሰዕ፡ መዋዕል፡ ለበአተ፡ ተሙዝ፡ ወስመ፡ ወርጉስ፡ ዮልዮን፡ በአውርታ፡ ሮሜ፡ ሳቡረ፡ ሠርቅ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘዕብራውያን፡ በ፲ወ፰፡ አበቅቱ፡ በ፯፡ ጥንትዮን፡ በ፫፡ እንድከትዮን፡ በ፮፡ ጳጉሚት፡ (sic) በ፪፡ ዕለት፡ ዕለተ፡ ዐውድ፡ በመዋዕል፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀሎን፡ በሀገረ፡ ሰግላ፡ በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ ጊዜ፡ ፱፡ ሳዕ፡ ዘመዐልት፡ መልአ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ዘይነግር፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ በእንተ፡ ሥላሴ፤ ወካዕበመ፡ በእንተ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ብእሴ፡ ሎቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘምስለ፡ ውዳሴ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን።

This book refuting their doctrine was accomplished in 6932 of the year of Mercy according to the Roman calendar; in 6924 according to the African calendar, which is the ancient calendar of Rome of the preaching of Peter and Paul; in 6917 according to the calendar of the Egyptians, who are the diocese of the Evangelist Mark, where he preached to them in the seventh year of Nero, and made 'Anyānos their bishop; in 6992 according to the calendar of Ethiopia, which is the temple of God, in which he believed without any apostle. This book ended in the third month according to the Hebrew calendar; in the tenth month according to the Egyptian calendar; in the tenth year of the reign of Yəṣṣḥaq, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Pəyoyon, which is Sane, corresponding to the night of the twentieth day from the beginning of the month; in the twenty-first day of the month of Hāzirān; nine days before the beginning of Tamuz, the month called Yolyon according to the Roman calendar, which agrees in the beginning of the first day of the month with the Hebrew calendar; with epact 18, *təntyon* 7, indiction (*ʿandəkātəyon*) 3rd, *pāgʿəmit* 6, the second day of the cycle of the year of John the Evangelist, while we were in the land of Sāglā, on the Wednesday, at the ninth hour of the day. The *Book of Mystery* is finished, which speaks of faith in the Trinity and, again, in the incarnation of the Son of God who became man, to whom be glory and praise is due; forever and ever, amen and amen.

135 See Hərūy 'Ermyās [Hiruie Ermias] 2009, 485–486, which I follow here; see also, with almost no variant, Yaḳob Beyene 1990–1993, III (text), 312–313, IV (Italian translation), 173–174.

It is quite remarkable that in this subscription resonates the passage of the beginning of the *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria*, § 1, from the *Aksumite Collection*, where the preaching of Mark is placed in the seventh year of Nero: one more evidence that the *Aksumite Collection* was still quite present to Giyorgis of Saglā.¹³⁶

The colophon of the Kəbra nagašt

Among the most famous and most controversial colophons of the Ethiopian scribal tradition there is the embedded subscription transmitted in the manuscripts of the *Kəbra nagašt*, *Dignity of kings* (CAe 1709).¹³⁷

(p. 172a) ወተብህለ፡ በክታብ፡ ዐረቢ፡ አውግእናሃ፡ እመጽሐፈ፡ ቅብጥ፡ ለዐረቢ፡ እ መንበረ፡ ግርቆስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ መምህር፡ አበ፡ ኩልነ። ወአውግእናሃ፡ በ፬፻፡ ወ፱፡ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወሰንሁ፡ ላ ሊበላ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ አባ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ጌር፡ ወአስተተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አውፅአታ፡ ወተርጉሞታ፡ ጎበ፡ ነገረ፡ ሐባሲ። ወሶበ፡ ጎለይኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ለምንት፡ ኢተርጉምዋ፡ አበ ልዕዝ፡ ወአበልፈረግ፡ እለ፡ አውፅእዋ፡ እቤ፡ ዘንተ፡ እስመ፡ ወፅአት፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ዛን፡ ወኢተርጉምዋ፡ (p. 172^b) እስመ፡ ትብል፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እለስ፡ ይነግሡ፡ እለ፡ ኢ ኮኑ፡ እስራኤል፡ ተዐድዖ፡ ሕግ፡ ውእቱ። ወሶበ፡ ይከውን፡ በመንግሥተ፡ እስራኤል፡ እም አውፅእዎ። ወተረክበት፡ በናዝሬት። ወጸልዩ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ለገብርክሙ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ነዳይ፡ ወኢ ትሐሱኒ፡ በእንተ፡ ኢያርትዖ፡ ነገረ፡ ልሳን። እስመ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ጻመውኩ፡ በእንተ፡ ክብራ፡ ለሀገረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ በእንተ፡ ጸአታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ወበእንተ፡ ክብረ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ኢት ዮጵያ። እስመ፡ አነሂ፡ ተስእልክዎ፡ ለመኰንን፡ ርቱዕ፡ ፍቀረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ያዕቢከ፡ እግዚእ፡ ወአፍቀረ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ ግበር። ወገበርኩ፡ እንዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይረድአኒ፡ ወኢ ፈደየኒ፡ በከመ፡ አበሳየ። ለገብርክሙ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ጸልዩ፡ ወለእለ፡ ጻመዉ፡ ምስሌየ፡ በፀ አተ፡ ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እስመ፡ ተመንደብነ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ አነ፡ ወይምሀረኒ፡ አብ፡ ወሕዝበ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወእንድርያስ፡ ወፊልጵስ፡ ወመሓረ፡ አብ። ይምሐሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በመ ንግሥተ፡ (p. 173a) ሰማያት፡ ምስለ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ይጽሐፍ፡ ስዋ ሙ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሕይወት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን።

(p. 172a) In the Arabic text it is said: ‘We have turned (this book) into Arabic from a Coptic manuscript (belonging to) the See of Mark the Evangelist, the teacher, the father of us all. We have translated it in the 409th year of mercy in the country of Ethiopia, in the days of Gabra Masqal the king, who is called Lālibalā, in the days of ‘Abbā Giyorgis, the good bishop. And God neglected to have it translated and interpreted into the speech of Abyssinia’. And when I had pondered this—Why did not ‘Abal‘əz and ‘Abalfarag who edited (or, copied) the book translate it? I said this: It went out in the days of Zāgʿwā, and they did not translate it (p. 172b) because this book says: Those who reign not being Israelites are transgressors of the Law.

136 See Bausi and Camplani 2016, 266–267; for the acquaintance of Giyorgis of Saglā with the *Aksumite Collection* see now Bausi 2021a. There is no reference instead to the precise year of preaching in the *Acts of Mark*, see Lusini 2009; see however the notion of the seventh year of Nero in the long version of the *Acts of Mark*, edited and translated by Andualem Ermias 2020, 192 (text), 293 (translation), § 100.
137 See Bezold 1905, I (text), 172a–173a.

Had they been of the kingdom of Israel they would have edited (or, translated) it. And it was found in Nāzret. And pray ye for me, your servant Yəshaq the poor man. And chide ye me not because of the incorrectness of the speech of the tongue. For I have toiled much for the glory of the country of Ethiopia, and for the going forth of the heavenly Zion, and for the glory of the king of Ethiopia. And I consulted the upright and God-loving governor Yā' bika 'Ēgzi', and he approved and said unto me, 'Work'. And I worked, God helping me, and He did not requite me according to my sins. And pray ye for your servant Yəshaq, and for those who toiled with me in the going out (the production) of this book, for we were in sore tribulation, I, and Yəmharanna 'Ab, and Həzba Krəstos, and 'Ēndəryās, and Filəpəs, and Maḥāri 'Ab. May God have mercy upon them and may He write their names in the Book of Life in the kingdom of heaven, with those of all the saints and martyrs, forever and ever, amen.¹³⁸

As is well known, on the interpretation of this subscription (always and still considered a *colophon* by anyone who has dealt with it)—complicated by the ambiguity of various expressions (the verb rendered here with *edited* (or, *copied*) could also be rendered otherwise)—if not rivers, torrents of ink have been poured: from those who completely denied its authenticity to those who considered it absolutely reliable and trustworthy, as in truth, from important cross-references, particularly on the historicity of Yəshaq and Yā' bika 'Ēgzi', it does not seem to be possible to deny.¹³⁹

The colophon of the pseudo-Clementine dossier containing the Apocalypse of Peter

It does not appear that the Ethiopian tradition has elaborated *explicit* reflections on the colophon or the subscription,¹⁴⁰ or even developed a corresponding specific terminology. The as yet unpublished¹⁴¹ *explicit* note that is published and translated below is peculiar for several notable features, the greatest of which is the strong literary allusiveness to the tradition of an arcane knowl-

138 See Budge 1922, 228–229, whose translation is here resumed with adaptations (partially already in Bausi 2020, 236–238).

139 See Marrassini 2007; Piovaneli 2013; Bevan 2014; Amsalu Tefera 2014. On Yā' bika 'Ēgzi' see also Heldman and Devens 2005, 98. See also Bausi 2016d, 102–106; Derat 2018, 200–204.

140 As far as can obviously be told from what is known. Mersha Alehegne 2011 mentions 'colophon' only for 'anqaṣ (p. 148), literally 'gate, chapter'. 'Colophon' or 'subscription', however, never appear in the lexicon of Guidi 1901, always very attentive to scriptural phenomena in the broadest sense.


141 The masterly catalogue by Hammerschmidt 1973, 163–167 provides only a description, but not the text (p. 166). The microfilm of the Tānāsee collection from which the manuscript is generally known is not always perfectly legible. I am informed by Ted Erho, whom I thank here, that the same Tānāsee 35 manuscript was later photographed as EMLL no. 8294, with better results.

edge not to be divulged, in tone with the strongly esoteric texts supporting the doctrine of universal final salvation (apocatastasis), including sinners, that the dossier appears to support.

The note is found in the multiple-text manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 35 = Kebrān 35, probably of the eighteenth century, at the end of a pseudo-Clementine dossier on ff. 46rb–70va. The dossier consists of the two treatises *The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* (CAe 1127), and *A speech on the glorious and arcane mystery of the judgment of sinners and a dispute concerning this speech* (CAe 2132). Within the former the Ethiopic version of the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* is transmitted on ff. 46rb–51rc.¹⁴² It is an extremely rare text, transmitted by this and one more manuscript only, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d’Abbadie 51, ff. 131ra–157vb, with the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* on ff. 131ra–137rb.¹⁴³ This latter manuscript, however, which is certainly of later date (between fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and exhibiting almost exactly the same text as the other manuscript, was written by more hands and is mutilous probably due to the loss of one leaf, since it misses the portion corresponding to ff. 68vc–70va of MS Ṭānāsee 35, subscription included.

142 After Ernst Hammerschmidt’s catalogue, it was Cowley 1985, albeit with some inaccuracies, who pointed out the importance of the unity of the pseudo-Clementine dossier.

143 It is not possible here other than to mention some of the problems posed by the extremely corrupt and worst-edited text, its witnesses and the entire dossier. The dossier was first published by Grébaud 1907a (preliminary analysis of the two treatises, from MS d’Abbadie 51), Grébaud 1907b and Grébaud 1908 (edition and translation of the second treatise: *A speech on the glorious and arcane mystery of the judgment of sinners and a dispute concerning this speech*), Grébaud 1910 (edition and translation of the first treatise: *The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead*). In several fundamental contributions Montague Rhodes James identified part of the dossier with the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* and provided further fragmentary witnesses to it, see James 1910a; James 1910b; James 1911a; James 1911b, James 1924; James 1931. Subsequently the *Apocalypse of Peter* alone was re-edited and translated and the first treatise retranslated from the first edition. To limit oneself to the most important works, where further bibliography can be found, see Bauckham 1988; Buchholz 1988; Marrassini 1994; Bauckham and Marrassini 1997; Marrassini 1999, 246–251 and 266 (no. 12); Marrassini 2010c; Marrassini 2011b. A re-edition with translation and commentary of the entire Ethiopic dossier is being prepared by the writer in collaboration with Enrico Norelli for the Greek text and commentary, for the ‘Series Apocryphorum’ of the ‘Corpus Christianorum’; see Bausi 2016e. For further updates, see Beck 2019; Norelli 2020; Beck 2021; and the essays collected in the forthcoming Frey et al. 2022.

power of the word—and does not understand completely—is exactly like him. And those who do (like this) and hide (the knowledge) from their neighbor and do not teach their neighbor, they are exactly like him. ‘A speech of wisemen by allusion’,¹⁴⁶ in the knowledge of the Lord. Forever and ever, amen. This book was commissioned by ¹⁴⁷ and ‘Aṣma Giyorgis, the poor, wrote it. Let God have mercy upon them in the kingdom of heaven, amen and amen.

A cryptographic colophon

I conclude with the observation that the colophons and subscriptions of Ethiopian manuscripts represent an extremely promising field of study, with raw documentation immediately available in catalogues and real and virtual libraries that is respectable in terms of quantity and quality, but still in need of even a preliminary overall analysis. It also seems quite clear that no treatment of subscriptions can ignore the issue of titles.

It is clear that once the study has been deepened, this documentation may also reveal some surprises. I present one here, which originates from Antonella Brita’s field research activity. In November 2013, she came into possession of the photographic documentation of a colophon of a hagiographic manuscript from Təgrāy, the location of which unfortunately cannot be further specified (figs. 5–6). The colophon, elegantly inscribed at the end of a text on St George, is found on an unnumbered verso leaf, col. b, ll. 2–9 (fig. 9):

ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ተጽሕፈት፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ በካፋ፡ እምአመ፡ ንግሡ፡ በ፩ዓመት።
በ፪፻ት፡ ፲ወ፰ዓመተ፡ ዓለም። ተፈጸመ፡ መጋቢት። በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አ
ሜን።

This book was written in the time of our King Bakäffä, in the fourth year since he ascended the throne, in the 7018th year of the world. It was completed in the month of Maggäbit, on Wednesday. Forever and ever, amen.

The fourth year of Bakäffä’s reign (r. 1721–1730 CE) would correspond to 1725/1726 CE. The most economical proposal of correction to make unambiguous sense of the indication suggests the omission of a digit in the ‘year of the world’, conjecturing 7<2>18 for 7018, corresponding to 1726 CE.

On the verso of the same leaf, the last five lines of col. a, ll. 11–14, bear a text that continues and concludes with the word አምላክ ‘God’ on col. b, l. 1. Lines 11–14 of col. a are, however, written in a non-Ethiopian, apparently incomprehensible script, as are the last three letters of col. a, l. 6, on a partially erased line. This is undoubtedly a very rare case, to my knowledge, of cryp-

146 Proverbs 1,6 (LXX), νοῖσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνύματα.

147 The name of the original commissioner is erased and it is impossible to read that of the later one, as noted by Hammerschmidt 1973, 167: ‘Ein nachträglich eingefügter Besitzernamen ist in Spuren erkennbar, aber nicht zu entziffern’.

tography in an Ethiopian colophon.¹⁴⁸ I propose to read the text as follows, with some uncertainties in the beginning of the first line and an interpretation that I would give as very probable in the others (in col. a, l. 6 it will accordingly read, **ርቱእ**: *rätu* ‘right’, *scilicet* of faith); in l. 4, **ግዚ** is probably written with a monogram:¹⁴⁹

(col. a, from bottom, l. 5) **ዉ**: የሐልሙ: በቀ(2)ለሙ: ቅብጢ: እንተ: (3) ይእተ: ሙጽ
ሐፈ: (4) ታአምራ: ለእግዚእት(5)ነ: ማርያም: ወላዲተ: (col. b, l. 1) አምላክ:
 ☒☒☒☒ *wu dream (?)*¹⁵⁰ in Coptic (*qebti*) script (*qalam*). Which is the Book of the Miracles of our Lady Mary, Mother of (col. b) God.

References

- Adankpo, O. 2015a. ‘La terre des moines. Revendications foncières, conceptions territoriales et construction patrimoniale au monastère de Dabra Māryām (région du Sarā’ē, Éthiopie, XV^e siècle)’, *Travaux de l’École doctorale d’histoire*, 18 (2015), 213–223.
- 2015b. ‘Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques du *gadla Ēwostātēwos*’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, 127/2 (2015), 407–420.
- (as O. Adankpo Labadie) 2016. ‘Écriture hagiographique et commémoration des saints dans les monastères eustathéens du nord de l’Éthiopie (XV^e siècle)’, in M. Bottazzi, P. Buffo, C. Ciccopiedi, L. Furbetta, and T. Granier, eds, *La società monastica nei secoli VI–XII. Sentieri di ricerca, Atelier jeunes chercheurs sur le monachisme médiéval – Roma, 12–13 giugno 2014*, Collection de l’École française de Rome, 515 (Roma–Trieste: École française de Rome–CERM, 2016), 321–334.
- 2017. *De la prédication hétérodoxe d’Ewostatewos à la formation d’un mouvement monastique puissant: genèses du monachisme eustathéen au nord du royaume d’Éthiopie (début du XIV^e– milieu du XV^e siècle)*, These de doctorat, Paris: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, en partenariat avec Centre d’études des mondes africains (2017).
- Afshar, I. 2007–2008. ‘*Anjāmeḥ-hā-ye safīneh-ye Tabriz* (‘The Colophons of the *Safīna-yi Tabriz*)’, *Nāmeḥ-ye Bahārestān*, 8–9/13–14 (2007–2008), 285–329.

148 There are very few examples of cryptography attested for pre-modern periods, see Conti Rossini 1927, 524–528.

149 The division of words is committed in two cases to the colon, in six to a black cross, in one to a rubricated cross, and in two to a black cross framed by four red dots.

150 Matching the letters in other words would give this word, which does not seem to offer an acceptable sense. I wonder if one should not consider the word an error for **የዐልሙ**: that would give ‘write by signs, sign’, i.e. an acceptable sense in context. It cannot be ruled out at all that the cryptographic attempt was not conducted with the necessary precision and consequentiality and that there are inconsistencies.

- Ambu, M. 2022. *Du texte à la communauté: relations et échanges entre l'Égypte copte et les réseaux monastiques éthiopiens (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Thèse pour l'obtention du titre de Docteur en Histoire, Paris: Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, École doctoral d'histoire, Laboratoire de rattachement: UMR 8167 Orient & Méditerranée, Équipe «Mondes sémitiques» (2022).
- Amsalu Tefera 2014. 'Colophonic Reflections on *Dərsanä Şəyon* and *Kəbrä Nəgəšt'*, *Aethiopica*, 17 (2014), 78–89.
- Andrist, P. 2015. 'Syntactical Description of Manuscripts', in Bausi et al. 2015, 511–520.
- 2018. 'Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts', in L. I. Lied and M. Maniaci, eds, *Bible as Notepad. Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, *Biblica*, 3 (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 130–149.
- 2020. 'Au croisement des contenus et de la matière: les structures des sept pandectes bibliques grecques du premier millénaire', *Scrineum Rivista*, 17/2 (2020), 3–106.
- Andrist, P., P. Canart, and M. Maniaci 2013. *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale*, *Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia*, 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
- Andualem Ermias 2020. *Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Gə'əz Acts of Saint Mark the Evangelist*, Addis Ababa, College of Humanities, Language Studies, and Journalism and Communication, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (2020).
- Balicka-Witakowska, E., A. Bausi, C. Bosc-Tiessé, and D. Nonsitsin 2015. 'Ethiopic Codicology', in Bausi et al. 2015, 154–174.
- Bauckham, R. J. 1988. 'The Apocalypse of Peter: An Account of Research', in W. Haase, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt (ANRW). Rise and Decline of the Roman World*, Teil II: *Principat*, 25/6: *Religion (Vorkonstantinisches Christentum: Leben und Umwelt Jesu; Neues Testament [Kanonische Schriften und Apokryphen])* (Berlin–New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 4712–4750.
- Bauckham, R. J. and P. Marrassini 1997. 'Apocalypse de Pierre', in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, I, *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 442 (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 747–774.
- Bausi, A. 1994. 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [I. Dabra Māryām]', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 38 (1994, pub. 1996), 13–69.
- 1995. 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [II. Dabra Bizan]', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 39 (1995, pub. 1997), 25–48.

- 1997. ‘Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell’Eritrea [III. Dabra Libānos. Dabra Abuna Beṣu’a Amlāk. Dabra Marqorēwos]’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 41 (1997, pub. 1998), 13–56.
- 2000–2001. ‘Alcune osservazioni sul *Gadla ḥawāryāt*’, *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 60-61 (2000–2001, pub. 2002), 77–114.
- 2002. *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla samā’ tāt*, Supplemento agli Annali, 60–61 (2000–2001), 92 (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2002).
- 2003. *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, I: *Textus*; II: *Versio*, ed., tr., Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 595, 596, Scriptorum Aethiopicum, 105, 106 (Lovanii: In aedibus E. Peeters, 2003).
- 2004. ‘Review of Colin 2002’, *Aethiopica*, 7 (2004), 234–242.
- 2005. ‘G^wəṇag^wəna’, in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 943b–944a.
- 2006a. ‘La versione etiopica delle *Risposte canoniche* di Timoteo I attribuite a Pietro di Alessandria (CPG II, nr. 2520)’, in B. Lourié and A. V. Muraviev, eds, *Universum Hagiographicum. Mémoires R. P. Michel van Esbroeck, s.j. (1934–2003)*, *Scrinium*, 2 (Saint-Petersbourg: Société des études byzantines et slaves, 2006), 41–57.
- 2006b. ‘The Aksumite background of the Ethiopic “Corpus canonum”’, in S. Uhlig, M. Bulakh, D. Nosnitsin, and T. Rave, eds, *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg July 20–25, 2003*, *Aethiopistische Forschungen*, 65 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 532–541.
- 2007. ‘La catalogazione come base della ricerca. Il caso dell’Etiopia’, in B. Cenni, C. M. F. Lalli, and L. Magionami, eds, *Zenit e Nadir II. I manoscritti dell’area del Mediterraneo: la catalogazione come base della ricerca. Atti del Seminario internazionale. Montepulciano, 6-8 luglio 2007*, *Medieval Writing, Settimane poliziane di studi superiori sulla cultura scritta in età medievale e moderna*, Collana di studi promossa dal CISLAB (Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi sui Beni Librari e Archivistici), 2 (Montepulciano: Thesan & Turan S.r.l., 2007), 87–108.
- 2008. ‘La tradizione scrittoria etiopica’, *Segno e testo*, 6 (2008), 507–557.
- 2009. ‘Una civiltà del manoscritto’, in G. Barbieri and G. Fiaccadori, eds, *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell’Etiopia cristiana. Ca’ Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009* (Vicenza: Terra Ferma, 2009), 183–186.
- 2010a. ‘Review of Getatchew Haile et al. 2009’, *Aethiopica*, 13 (2010), 236–241.
- 2010b. ‘Wängelä wärq (Golden Gospel)’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 1130b–1132a.

- 2010c. ‘A Case for Multiple Text Manuscripts being “Corpus-Organizers”’, *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter*, 3 (2010), 34–36.
- 2010d. ‘The Massacre of Najrān: The Ethiopic Sources’, in J. Beaucamp, F. Briquel Chatonnet, and C. J. Robin, eds, *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux V^e et VI^e siècles. Regards croisés sur les sources. Le massacre de Najrân II*, Centre de recherche, d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 32 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2010), 241–254.
- 2012a. ‘The Aksumite background of the Ethiopic “Corpus canonum”’, in A. Bausi, ed., *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian*, *Variorum*, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300–1500, 4 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 111–120 (no. 7).
- 2012b. ‘Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. et. 264*’, in P. Buzi and D. V. Proverbio, eds, *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library. A Selection of Coptic, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Manuscripts. Papers collected on the occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies (Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012)*, *Studi e Testi*, 472 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012), 53–60, 117–128.
- 2014. ‘Writing, Copying, Translating: Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture’, in J. Quenzer, D. Bondarev, and J.-U. Sobisch, eds, *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 1 (Berlin–New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2014), 37–77.
- 2014–2015. ‘Documentary Manuscripts and Archives: The Ethiopian Evidence’, in A. Straface, C. De Angelo, and A. Manzo, eds, *Labor limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni*, II, *Studi Magrebini*, Nuova Serie, 12–13 (2014–2015) (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo, 2014–2015, pub. 2017), 63–80.
- 2016a. ‘I colofoni e le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti etiopici’, in A. Sirinian, P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaia, eds, *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scritte del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale. Bologna, 12–13 ottobre 2012*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016), 233–260.
- 2016b. ‘Composite and Multiple Text Manuscripts: The Ethiopian Evidence’, in M. Friedrich and C. Schwarke, eds, *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 9 (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2016), 111–153.
- 2016c. ‘On Editing and Normalizing Ethiopic Texts’, in A. Bausi and E. Sokolinski, eds, *150 Years after Dillmann’s Lexicon: Perspectives and Challenges of*

- Gə'əz Studies*, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 43–102.
- 2016d. ‘La leggenda della regina di Saba nella tradizione etiopica’, in F. Battiato, D. Hartmann, and G. Stabile, eds, *La Regina di Saba: un mito fra Oriente e Occidente, Atti del Seminario diretto da Riccardo Contini, Napoli, Università “L’Orientale”, 19 novembre 2009 - 14 gennaio 2010*, Archivio di Studi Ebraici, 8 (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo, Centro di Studi Ebraici, 2016), 91–162.
 - 2016e. ‘Towards a Re-edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha*, 27 (2016, pub. 2017), 179–196.
 - 2017a. ‘The Earlier Ethiopic Textual Heritage’, in M. Wissa, ed., *Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Antiquity, Late Antiquity and Medieval Islam*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 266 (Louvain: Peeters, 2017), 215–235.
 - 2017b. ‘Review of J. S. McKenzie and F. Watson, *The Garima Gospels: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia*, with Preface and Photographs by M. Gervers and Contributions by M. R. Crawford, L. R. Macaulay, S. S. Norodom, A. T. Reyes, and M. E. Williams, Manar al-Athar Monograph, 3 (Oxford: Manar al-Athar, 2016)’, *Aethiopica*, 20 (2017), 289–292.
 - 2017c. ‘Il *Gadla 'Azqir*’, *Adamantius*, 23 (2017, pub. 2018), 341–380.
 - 2018a. ‘The Enigma of a Medieval Ethiopian Dynasty of Saints and Usurpers’ (review article of Derat 2018), *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 103/6 (2018), 439–447.
 - 2018b. ‘Translations in Late Antique Ethiopia’, in F. Crevatin, ed., *Egitto crocevia di traduzioni*, ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ, 1 (Trieste: EUT Edizioni dell’Università di Trieste, Casa della Vita, Associazione di Volontariato Culturale Trieste, 2018), 69–99.
 - 2019. ‘A Few Remarks on Hagiographical-Homiletic Collections in Ethiopic Manuscripts’, *Manuscript Cultures*, 13 (2019, pub. 2020), 63–80.
 - 2020. ‘Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene: Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception’, in S. Kelly, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2020), 217–251.
 - 2021a. ‘The Treatise *On the One Judge* (CAe 6260) in the *Aksumite Collection* (CAe 1047)’, *Adamantius*, 27 (2021, pub. 2022), 215–256.
 - 2021b. “‘Paleografia quale scienza dello spirito’: Once more on the Gə'əz inscription of Ham (*RIĖ* no. 232)”, in J. B. Quenzer, ed., *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, I, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 25 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2021), 3–33.

- 2021c. ‘Preface’, in P. La Spisa, ed., *Martyrium Arethae Arabice. Le versioni arabe del Martirio di Areta (BHG 166). Edizione critica e traduzione annotata. Presentazione di Alessandro Bausi*, *Aethiopistische Forschungen*, 86 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), vii–ix.
- 2022a. ‘On the Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos (Book of Clement, CAe 1957): News from Eritrea*’, in Frey et al. 2022, forthcoming.
- 2022b. ‘Fratture e interferenze: filologia e linguistica della tradizione testuale etiopica (Uno sguardo retrospettivo sulla ricerca degli ultimi decenni)’, in M. Cennamo, F. M. Dovetto, A. Perri, G. Schirru, and R. Sornicola, eds, *Linguistica e filologia tra Oriente e Occidente. Atti del XLIV Convegno annuale della Società italiana di glottologia (Napoli, 24–26 ottobre 2019). Università di Napoli ‘L’Orientale’, Università di Napoli Federico II, Università di Napoli ‘Suor Orsola Benincasa’* (2022), forthcoming.
- Bausi, A., P. G. Borbone, F. Briquel Chatonnet, P. Buzi, J. Gippert, C. Macé, Z. Melissakes, L. E. Parodi, W. Witakowski, and E. Sokolinski, eds, 2015. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015).
- Bausi, A., A. Brita, M. Di Bella, D. Nosnitsin, N. Sarris, and I. Rabin 2020. ‘The *Aksumite Collection* or codex Σ (*Sinodos of Qəfrayā*, MS C₃-IV-71/C₃-IV-73, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039): Codicological and palaeographical observations. With a note on material analysis of inks’, *COMSt Bulletin*, 6/2 (2020), 127–171.
- Bausi, A. and A. Camplani 2016. ‘The *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria (HEpA): Editio minor* of the fragments preserved in the *Aksumite Collection* and in the *Codex Veronensis LX (58)*’, *Adamantius*, 22 (2016, pub. 2017), 249–302.
- Bausi, A., M. Friedrich, and M. Maniaci, eds, 2019. *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 17 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019).
- Bausi, A. and G. Lusini 2018. ‘The philological study of the Eritrean manuscripts in Gə‘əz: Methods and practices’, in Zemenfes Tsighe, Saleh Mahmud Idris, Yonas Mesfun Asfaha, Senai Woldeab Andemariam, Rediet Kifle Taddese, and Ghebbrhan Ogubazghi, eds, *International Conference on Eritrean Studies 20–22 July 2016 Proceedings*, I: *Literature, Linguistics, Philology, History, Discourse Analysis, Education, Sociocultural Issues, Gender, Law, Regional Dynamics, and Tigrinya Literature* (Asmara, Eritrea: National Higher Education and Research Institute, 2018), 125–141.
- Bausi, A., G. Lusini, and I. Taddia 1993. ‘Materiali di studio dal Sära’ē (Eritrea): le istituzioni monastiche e la struttura della proprietà fondiaria’, *Africa* (Roma), 48/3 (1993), 446–463.
- 1995. ‘Eritrean Monastic Institutions as “Lieux de Mémoire” and Source of History’, *Africa* (Roma), 50/2 (1995), 265–276.

- Beck, E. J. 2019. *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 427 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).
- Beck, E. J. 2021. 'The Apocalypse of Peter: The Relationship of the Versions', in Meron T. Gebreananaye, L. Williams, and F. Watson, eds, *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition*, Library of New Testament Studies, 643 (London–New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2021), 117–130.
- Beit-Arié, M. 1995. 'Colophons in Hebrew Manuscripts: Source of Information on Book Production and Text Transmission', in Condello and De Gregorio 1995, 495–504.
- Bevan, G. 2014. 'Ethiopian Apocalyptic and the End of Roman Rule: The Reception of Chalcedon in Aksum and the *Kebra Nagast*', in J. H. F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher, eds, *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Late Antique History and Religion, 8 (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014), 371–388.
- Bezold, C. 1905. *Kebra Nagast: Die Herrlichkeit der Könige, Nach den Handschriften in Berlin, London, Oxford und Paris, zum ersten Mal im äthiopischen Urtext herausgegeben und mit deutscher Übersetzung versehen von Carl Bezold*, ed., tr., Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 23, Denkschriften, 77 (München: Verlag der K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission des G. Franz'schen Verlags (J. Roth), 1905).
- Bosc-Tiessé, C. 2008. *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Tānā, Éthiopie, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 97 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008).
- 2009. 'Gouverner et définir un territoire. Géopolitique, art et production manuscrite au Lāstā entre 1667 et 1768', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 24 (2009), 87–148.
- 2010. 'Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle. L'image de Iyasus Mo'a dans son Évangile', *Oriens Christianus*, 94 (2010, pub. 2011), 199–227.
- 2014. 'Qu'est-ce qu'un *scriptorium* en Éthiopie? L'organisation du travail des copistes dans le Royaume Chrétien d'Éthiopie', *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography*, 8 (2014), 9–27.
- 2019. 'Géopolitique, art et production manuscrite au Lāstā aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles', in C. Bosc-Tiessé and M.-L. Derat, eds, *Lalibela: site rupestre chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Sites et cités d'Afrique (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2019), 112–143.
- 2022. 'Ethiopian Manuscripts in Old Regime France and the Collection of the French National Library', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Serie terza, 6 (53) (2022), 153–194.

- Bosc-Tiessé, C., M.-L. Derat, E. Fritsch, and W. A. Abullif 2010. ‘Les inscriptions arabes, coptes et guèzes des églises de Lālibalā’, *Annales d’Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), 43–53.
- Brita, A. 2020. ‘Genres of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian Literature with a Focus on Hagiography’, in S. Kelly, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2020), 252–281.
- Brita, A. and J. Karolewski 2021. ‘Unravelling Multiple-text Manuscripts: Introducing Categories Based on Content, Use, and Production’, in J. B. Quenzer, ed., *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, I, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, 25 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2021), 459–490.
- Brock, S. P. 2015. ‘Fashions in Early Syriac Colophons’, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 18/2 (2015), 361–377.
- Buchholz, D. D. 1988. *Your Eyes will be Opened. Study of the Greek-Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, 97 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1988).
- Budge, E. A. T. W. 1899. መጽሐፈ፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት። *The Contendings of the Apostles being the Histories of the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists. The Ethiopic Texts now first edited from Manuscripts in the British Museum, with an English Translation*, I: *The Ethiopic Text*, ed. (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1899).
- 1922. *The Queen of Sheba & her only son Menyelek; being the history of the departure of God & His Ark of the covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the establishment of the religion of the Hebrews & the Solomonic line of kings in that country* (London: Medici Society, 1922).
- Buruk Wolde-Michael 2015. ‘Treasures of the Lake Zway Churches and Monastery, South-Central Ethiopia’, *International Journal of Educational Research and Technology*, 6/1 (2015), 49–60.
- Butts, A. M. and T. M. Erho 2018. ‘Jacob of Serugh in the Ambrosian Homiliary (ms. Ambros. X.198 sup. and its *membra disiecta*)’, *Δελτίο Βιβλικῶν Μελετῶν*, 33B (2018), 37–54.
- Buzi, P. 2005. *Titoli ed autori nella tradizione copta. Studio storico e tipologico*, Biblioteca degli Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia, 2 (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 2005).
- Buzi, P. and A. Bausi 2013. ‘Tradizioni ecclesiastiche e letterarie copte ed etiopiche’, in A. Melloni, P. Brown, G. Dagron, J. Helmuth, E. Prinzivalli, S. Ronchey, and N. Tanner, eds, *Costantino I. Enciclopedia costantiniana sulla figura e l’immagine dell’imperatore del cosiddetto editto di Milano 313-2013*, II (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 2013), 401–423.

- Cavallo, G., G. De Gregorio, and M. Maniaci, eds, 1991. *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (TP) (18–25 settembre 1988)*, Biblioteca del ‘Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell’Università di Perugia’, 5 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1991).
- Cerulli, E. 1943. *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Studi orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale, 1 (Roma: Dott. Giovanni Bardi Editore, 1943).
- 1943–1947. *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, I–II, Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura del Ministero dell’Africa Italiana, 12, Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura dell’Ufficio Studi del Ministero dell’Africa Italiana, 14 (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato–Tipografia Pio X, 1943–1947).
- 1974. ‘Gli imperatori Onorio ed Arcadio nella tradizione etiopica’, in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10–15 aprile 1972)*, I (Sezione storica), Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, 191 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974), 15–54.
- Chaîne, M. 1925. *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l’Égypte et de l’Éthiopie* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1925).
- Ciotti, G., M. Kohs, E. Wilden, H. Wimmer, and the TNT working group 2018. *Definition of Paracontent*, Occasional Paper, 6 (Hamburg: Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, 2018).
- Colin, G. 2002. *La version éthiopienne de l’histoire de Bsoy*, ed., tr., *Patrologia Orientalis*, 49/3 (219) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).
- Condello, E. and G. De Gregorio, eds, 1995. *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice, X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23–28 ottobre 1993)*, Biblioteca del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria», 14 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1995).
- Conti Rossini, C. 1899a. ‘Manoscritti e opere abissine in Europa’, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie quinta, 8 (1899), 606–637.
- 1899b. ‘Note per la storia letteraria abissina’, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie quinta, 8 (1899), 197–220, 263–285.
- 1900. ‘Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan’, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie quinta, 8 (1900), 61–170.

- 1910. ‘Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine’, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie quinta, 19 (1910), 581–621.
- 1927. ‘Di alcuni scritti etiopici inediti. 1. Gli Atti etiopici di San Sebastiano; 2. Arkālēdes e una lista di commemorazioni di discepoli del santo Ewostātēwos; 3. Preghiere tradotte da Marqoryos nel 1540; 4. Il “Nagara liqāwent”, scrittura convenzionale’, *Atti della Reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie sesta, 3/7–10 (1927), 497–528.
- Cowley, R. W. 1985. ‘The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 36 (1985), 151–153.
- Davies, D. M. 1987. ‘The Dating of Ethiopic Manuscripts’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 46 (1987), 287–307.
- Delamarter, S. and Demeke Berhane 2007. *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England. Twenty-three Manuscripts in the Bodleian, Cambridge University and John Rylands University Libraries and in a Private Collection*, *Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement*, 21 (Oxford: Oxford University Press on Behalf of the University of Manchester, 2007).
- Delamarter, S. and Melaku Terefe 2009. *Ethiopian Scribal Practice I: Plates for the Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project*, *Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies Series*, 2 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009).
- Derat, M.-L. 2012. ‘Moines et scriptorium dans le royaume d’Éthiopie aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles’, in Daniel Assefa, ed., *L’Éthiopie chrétienne. Histoire Liturgie Monachisme*, HMC Histoire & Missions Chrétiens, 24 (Décembre 2012) (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2012), 65–78.
- 2018. *L’énigme d’une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d’Éthiopie du xi^e au xiii^e siècle*, *Hagiologia*, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).
- Dillmann, A. 1847. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur, Pars tertia: Codices Aethiopicos amplectens* (Londini: Impensis curatorum Musei Britannici, 1847).
- (C. F. A. Dillmann) 1848. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis, Pars VII: Codices Aethiopici* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico, 1848).
- 1865. *Lexicon linguae aethiopiae, cum indice latino. Adiectum est vocabularium tigre dialecti septentrionalis compilatum a W. Munziger* (Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1865).

- 1878. *Verzeichnis der abessinischen Handschriften*, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 3 (Berlin: Buchdruckerei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (G. Vogt), 1878).
- 1894. *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica in quinque tomos distributa, ad librorum manuscriptorum fidem edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Dr. A. D., Professor Berolinensis. Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Quintus, quo continentur Libri Apocryphi, Baruch, Epistola Jeremiae, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdrae Apocalypsis, Esdrae Graecus. Ad librorum manuscriptorum fidem edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Dr. A. D., Professor Berolinensis* (Berolini: Prostat apud A. Asher et Socios, 1894).
- Erho, T. M. 2015. 'The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia', in P. Nicelli, ed., *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto*, Africana Ambrosiana, 1 (Milano–Roma: Bulzoni–Accademia Ambrosiana, 2015), 97–118.
- 2017. 'The Library and Old Testament Manuscripts of Gundä Gunde', in A. C. McCollum, ed., *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile Presented by his Friends and Colleagues*, Aethiologische Forschungen, 83 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 297–319.
- Eyob Derillo 2019. 'Exhibiting the Maqdala Manuscripts: African Scribes: Manuscript Culture of Ethiopia', *African Research & Documentation*, 135 (2019), 102–116.
- Fiaccadori, G. 1993. 'Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia', *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma*, 7 (1993), 161–199.
- 2005. 'Ewostateans', in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 464a–469a.
- 2014. 'Archives and libraries. I. Archives. a) Introduction; b) Medieval and Modern Archives in Ethiopia and Eritrea', in A. Bausi and S. Uhlig, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, V (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 244a–248a.
- Frey, J., T. J. Kraus, M. Jost, and D. Maier, eds, 2022. *The Apocalypse of Peter: Acts of the workshop 'Die Petrusapokalypse im Rahmen apokalyptischer und christlich-apokrypher Traditionen', 10.–12. September 2021, Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich*, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha (Leuven: Peeters, 2022).
- Friedrich, M. and C. Schwarke, eds, 2016. *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9 (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2016).
- Gervers, M. 2013. 'Finding the Ewostateans', in Nosnitsin 2013b, 49–59.

- Getatchew Haile 1979. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, IV: Project Numbers 1101–1500* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1979).
- 1985. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, VIII: Project Numbers 3001–3500* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1985).
- 1987. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, IX: Project Numbers 3501–4000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1987).
- 1991. *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zär'a Ya 'aqob* (Ṭomarä täsabə't), I: *Textus*; II: *Versio*, ed., tr., *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 522, 523, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 95, 96 (Lovanii: In aedibus E. Peeters, 1991).
- 1993. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, X: Project Numbers 4001–5000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1993).
- 2000. ባሕረ ሐሳብ፡ የዘመን ቁጠራ ቅርሳችን ከታሪክ ማስታወሻ ጋራ። (*Bāhra ḥassāb: yazaman q"atarā qərsāččən katārik māstāwašā gārā*, 'The Sea of Computus: Our Heritage of Reckoning Time, with Notes of History') (Kollegvill, MN: Getatchew Haile, 2000).
- 2005. 'Däbrä Şəyon', in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 43b–44a.
- 2016. 'The Marginal Notes in the Abba Gärima Gospels', *Aethiopica*, 19 (2016, pub. 2017), 7–26.
- Getatchew Haile and W. F. Macomber 1981. *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, V: Project Numbers 1501–2000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1981).
- Getatchew Haile, Melaku Terefe, R. M. Rundell, Daniel Alemu, and S. Delamarter 2009. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, I: Codices 1–105, Magic Scrolls 1–134*, Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts and Studies Series, 1 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009).
- Gholami, S. and M. Pouladi 2019. 'Colophons and Marginal Notes of the Avestan Manuscripts of the Pouladi's Collection in Yazd', *Iranian Studies*, 52/1–2 (2019), 3–59.

- Gnisci, J. 2020. ‘An Ethiopian Miniature of the Tempietto in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Its Relatives and Symbolism’, in A. Bausi, B. Reudenbach, and H. Wimmer, eds, *Canones: The Art of Harmony. The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 18 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2020), 67–98.
- Graf, G. 1954. *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 147, Subsidia, 8 (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1954).
- Grébaut, S. 1907a. ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. I. *La Seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts*. II. *Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs*’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, 12 (1907), 139–151.
- 1907b. ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Texte et traduction du *Mystère du jugement des pécheurs* [I]’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, 12 (1907), 285–297, 380–392.
- 1908. ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Texte et traduction du *Mystère du jugement des pécheurs* [II]’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, 13 (1908), 166–180, 314–320.
- 1910. ‘Texte et traduction du traité *La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts*’, *Revue de l’Orient chrétien*, 15 (1910), 198–214, 307–323, 425–439.
- Grébaut, S. and E. Tisserant 1935–1936. *Bybliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti iussu Pii XI Pontificis maximi. Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus orientalis 2, Rossianus 865*, I: *Enarratio codicum*; II: *Prolegomena, Indices, Tabulae* (In Bybliotheca Vaticana: 1935–1936).
- Grégoire, R. 1968. ‘Les homéliaires liturgiques des Églises d’Orient’, *Meltho*, 4/2 (1968), 37–53.
- Guidi, I. 1901. *Vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente, 1901).
- 1932. *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Pubblicazioni dell’Istituto per l’Oriente (Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente, 1932).
- Gumbert, J. P. 2004. ‘Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex’, in E. Crisci and O. Pecere, eds, *Il codice miscellaneo, tipologia e funzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003)*, Segno e testo, 2 (Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2004), 17–42.
- 2012. ‘A Note of Comment on “The Production of Arabic Multi-block Bibles”’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 4 (2012), 17–18.
- Hammerschmidt, E. 1973. *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, I: *Reisebericht und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel auf der Insel Kebrān*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1973).

- 1977. *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, II: *Die Handschriften von Dabra Māryām und von Rēmā*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/2 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977).
- Hammerschmidt, E. and V. Six 1983. *Äthiopische Handschriften*, I: *Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983).
- Harden, J. M. 1926. *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New York and Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1926).
- Hāshemi-Minābād, H. 2000. ‘Colophons in Islamic and Western Traditions with Particular Reference to Persian Colophons’, *Nāmeh-ye Bahārestān*, 1/1 (2000), 5–10.
- Heldman, M. E. and M. S. Devens 2005. ‘The Four Gospels of Dābrā Mā’ar: Colophon and Note of Donation’, in D. Nonsnitsin, S. Frantsouzoff, L. E. Kogan, and B. Lourié, eds, *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, *Scrinium*, 1 (2005) (Saint Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 2005), 77–99.
- Ḥəruy ‘Ermyās [Hiruie Ermias] 2009. መጽሐፈ ምሥጢር ቅዱስ አባ ጊዮርጊስ ዘ ጋሥጫ እንደደረሰት (1357 ዓ/ም–1417 ዓ/ም) ግእዝና አግርኛ ትርጉም በመምህር ሕሩይ ኤርምያስ (*Maṣḥafa məšṭir qəddus ‘abbā Giyorgis zaGāsəččā ‘əndadarasut (1357 ‘ā/mə–1417 ‘ā/mə) gə’əzənnā ‘amārəññā tərgum bamamhər Ḥəruy ‘Ermyās*), ed., tr. (Qəddus ‘abbā Giyorgis zaGāsəččānnā qəddus ‘abbā Baṣalota Mikā’el ‘andənnat gadām: Maḥbara manakwasātu, 2009).
- Hyvernāt, H. 1903. ‘Le notes de copistes dans les manuscrits orientaux comme instruments de recherche et de critique historique’, *Miscellanea di storia ecclesiastica e studii ausiliarii*, 3 (1903), 93–95.
- James, M. R. 1910a. ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1910), 36–54.
- 1910b. ‘Additional Notes on the Apocalypse of Peter’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1910), 157.
- 1911a. ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter. II’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1911), 362–383.
- 1911b. ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter. III’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1911), 573–583.
- 1924. ‘Apocalypse of Peter’, in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament, being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, with Other Narratives and Fragments*, ed., tr. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1924), 505–521.
- 1931. ‘The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 32 (1931), 270–279.

- Kaplan, S. 2008. 'Found in Translation: The Egyptian Impact on Ethiopian Christian Literature', in I. Gershoni and M. Hatina, eds, *Narrating the Nile: Politics, Identities, Cultures. Essays in honor of Haggai Erlich. A tribute to Professor Erlich on the occasion of his retirement from Tel Aviv University* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008), 29–39.
- Kelly, S. in print. *Ethiopian Experience in Early Modern Rome* (in print).
- Knibb, M. A. 2022. 'Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293) and the Ethiopic Text of Ezekiel 37:23–48:13', in M. Heide and S. Weninger, eds, *Studies on the Ethiopic Old Testament: Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Jeremiah Cycle*, Supplement to Aethiopica, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2022), 65–77.
- Kim, S. 2022. 'New Studies of the Structure and the Texts of Abba Garima Ethiopian Gospels', *Afriques. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire*, 13 (2022), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/afriques.3494>>.
- Kropp, M. 1992. 'Review of Uhlig 1988', *Oriens Christianus*, 76 (1992), 260–266.
- 2012. 'Zwei epigraphische Miszellen, I: Eine ungewöhnliche Grabinschrift aus Äthiopien: Ein Steimetz haut sich ein Garb und schützt es durch eine Fluchinschrift, II: *Amīr Ṭūr* »Der Fürst vom Berge« (Sinai?): die volksetymologische Deutung des Imperator-Titels im jüngst entdeckten Bruchstück einer arabischen Inschrift Kaiser Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen in Akko aus dem Jahre 1299 n.Chr.', *Oriens Christianus*, 96 (2012, pub. 2014), 207–218.
- 2017. 'Die ältest bekannten äthiopischen Sammlungen der Marienwunder im *Codex Aureus* der Marienkirche von Amba Gəṣen und der Bethlehem Kirche bei Däbrä Tabor', *Oriens Christianus*, 100 (2017, pub. 2018), 57–103.
- La Spisa, P. 2021. *Martyrium Arethae Arabice. Le versioni arabe del Martirio di Areta (BHG 166). Edizione critica e traduzione annotata. Presentazione di A. Bausi*, Aethiopistische Forschungen, 86 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021).
- van Lantschoot, A. 1960. 'Abbā Salāmā, métropolitte d'Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)*, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, 48 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), 397–402.
- Lepage, C. 1987. 'Reconstruction d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIV^e siècle', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 35 (1987), 159–196.
- Leslau, W. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English, English-Ge'ez, with an Index of the Semitic Roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987).
- Littmann, E. 1907. 'Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur', in C. Brockelmann, F. N. Finck, J. Leipoldt, and E. Littmann, eds, *Geschichte der christlichen Littera-*

- turen des Orients. Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1907), 185–270.
- Littmann, E. 1909. ‘Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur’, in C. Brockelmann, F. N. Finck, J. Leipoldt, and E. Littmann, eds, *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients. Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen. Zweite Ausgabe mit Berichtigungen*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1909), 185–270.
- Lusini, G. 1993. *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano (secoli XIV–XV)*, Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica, 3 (Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, 1993).
- 1996. *Il «Gadla Absādi» (Dabra Māryām, Sarā’ē)*, I: *Textus*; II: *Versio*, ed., tr., Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 557, 558, Scriptores Aethiopici, 103, 104 (Louvain: Peeters, 1996).
- 1998. ‘Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḥuḥān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā’ē, Eritrea)’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 42 (1998, pub. 1999), 5–55.
- 2002. ‘I codici etiopici del fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia’, *Aethiopica*, 5 (2002), 156–176.
- 2003. ‘Alexander the Great’, in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), 195a-b.
- 2004. ‘Copisti e filologi dell’Etiopia medievale. Lo *Scriptorium* di Dabra Māryām del Sarā’ē (Eritrea)’, *La Parola del Passato*, 59/3 (336) (2004), 230–237.
- 2009. ‘Gli *Atti* apocrifi di Marco’, *Aethiopica*, 12 (2009), 7–47.
- 2020a. ‘Research Project: The CaNaMEI Project: Rediscovering Ancient Manuscripts in Italian Libraries’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Serie terza, 4 (51) (2020), 175–177.
- 2020b. ‘Scribes and Scholars in Medieval Ethiopia’, in A. Brita, G. Ciotti, F. de Simini, and A. Roselli, eds, *Copying Manuscripts: Textual and Material Craftsmanship*, Series Minor, 93 (Napoli: UniorPress, Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”—Universität Hamburg, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, 2020), 59–71.
- Lusini, G., G. Bottari, J. Gnisci, and M. Villa 2022. *Savona, Archivio Storico Diocesano*. Atti dei Martiri, Catalogo Nazionale dei Manoscritti Etiopici in Italia, Report, 3 (Napoli: UniorPress, 2022).
- Macomber, W. F. 1975. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegetown, I: Project Numbers 1–300* (Collegetown, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1975).

- 1976. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, II: Project Numbers 301–700* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1976).
- 1978. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, III: Project Numbers 701–1100* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1978).
- 1979. *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Abbā Garimā, Ašatan (Church of St. Mary), Axum (Church of Zion), Dabra Bizan, Dabra Dāmo, Dabra Libānos, Gunda Gundē, Kebrān, Lālibalā (Church of the Savior of the World; Emmanuel Church), Maqalē, Ura, Kidāna Mehṛat, Monastery of Dabra Dāgā (Church of St. Stephen), Monastery of Lake Zewāy, Dabra Maryam, National Library and Haiq from Microfilms in the Collection of Dr. Donald Davies, De Land, Florida and Godfrey, Ontario, and of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota* (Collegeville, MN: Privately reproduced, 1979).
- Maniaci, M. 2002. *Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente. Con contributi di Carlo Federici e di Ezio Ornato*, I libri di Viella, 34 (Roma: Viella (repr. 2005), 2002).
- Maniaci, M. 2004. 'Il codice greco "non unitario". Tipologie e terminologia', in E. Crisci and O. Pecere, eds, *Il codice miscellaneo, tipologia e funzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14-17 maggio 2003)*, Segno e testo, 2 (Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2004), 75–107.
- ed. 2015. 'Chapter 2. Codicology', in Bausi et al. 2015, 69–266.
- Marrassini, P. 1994. 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro', in Yaqob Beyene, R. Fattovich, P. Marrassini, and A. Triulzi, eds, *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci*, Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica, 1 (Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, 1994), 171–232.
- 1999. 'Gli apocrifi etiopici: alcune osservazioni', in N. Del Gatto, ed., *Corso di perfezionamento in Storia del Cristianesimo Antico diretto da Luigi Cirillo e Giancarlo Rinaldi. Atti. Napoli marzo-giugno 1996*, Serie Didattica, 2 (Napoli: E.Di.S.U. Napoli 2, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1999), 238–266.
- 2007. 'Kəbrā nāgāšt', in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, III (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 364a–368a.
- 2010a. 'Review of Delamarter and Demeke Berhane 2009', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 67/5–6 (2010), 622–623.
- 2010b. 'Sālama', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 488a–489b.

- 2010c. ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 135b–137a.
- 2011a. ‘Frustula nagranitica’, *Aethiopica*, 14 (2011), 7–32.
- 2011b. ‘Scoperta e riscoperta dell’*Apocalisse di Pietro* fra greco, arabo ed etiopico’, in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, eds, *I papiri letterari cristiani. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in memoria di Mario Naldini. Firenze, 10–11 giugno 2010*, Studi e Testi di Papirologia, NS 13 (Firenze: Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», 2011), 147–160.
- 2014. *Storia e leggenda dell’Etiopia tardoantica. Le iscrizioni reali aksumite con un’appendice di Rodolfo Fattovich su La civiltà aksumita: aspetti archeologici e una nota editoriale di Alessandro Bausi*, ed. A. Bausi, Testi del Vicino Oriente antico, 9, Letteratura etiopica, 1 (Brescia: Paideia, 2014).
- Mauro da Leonessa (V. Nardi) 1934. *Dissertazioni cronologiche: cronologia e calendario etiopico* (Tivoli: Officine grafiche Mantero, 1934).
- 1943. ‘Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re ‘Amda-Ṣyon I’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 3/3 (1943), 302–326.
- Maximous el-Antony, Fr., J. Blid, and A. M. Butts 2016. ‘An Early Ethiopic Manuscript Fragment (Twelfth-Thirteenth Century) from the Monastery of St Antony (Egypt)’, *Aethiopica*, 19 (2016, pub. 2017), 27–51.
- McKenzie, J. S., S. F. Watson, and M. Gervers 2017. *The Garima Gospels: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia, With Preface and Photographs by M. Gervers and Contributions by M. R. Crawford, L. R. Macaulay, S. S. Norodom, A. T. Reyes, and M. E. Williams*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Manar al-Athar, 2017).
- Melaku Terefe, Kesis, S. Delamarter, and J. R. Brown 2011. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, VII: Codices 601–654: The Meseret Sebat Le-Ab Collection of Mekane Yesus Seminary, Addis Ababa. With a foreword by Richard Pankhurst*, Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies, 13 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011).
- Mercier, J. 2021. ‘Les deux types d’édicules associés aux Canons d’Eusèbe. Apport des Évangiles d’Abba Gärîma (c. 450–650) à leur histoire et leurs symboliques byzantines et latines’, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 58 (2021), 29–54.
- Mersha Alehegne 2011. ‘Towards a Glossary of Ethiopian Manuscript Culture and Practice’, *Aethiopica*, 14 (2011), 145–162.
- Neugebauer, O. 1979. *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Sitzungsberichte Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 347, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften und Medizin, 22 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979).

- 1989. *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, Sitzungsberichte Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 512 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989).
- Nietzsche, F. 1954. ‘Morgenröte: Gedanken über die moralischen Vorurteile’, in K. Schlechta, ed., *Werke in drei Bänden*, I (München: Hanser, 1954).
- Nöldeke, T. 1906. ‘Die äthiopische Literatur’, in P. Hinneberg, ed., *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele*, Teil I, Abteilung VII: *Die orientalischen Literaturen mit Einleitung: Die Anfänge der Literatur und die Literatur der Primitiven Völker* (Berlin–Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1906), 124–130.
- Norelli, E. 2020. ‘L’«Apocalisse di Pietro» come Apocalisse cristiana’, *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo*, 17/1 (2020), 111–184.
- Nosnitsin, D. 2012. ‘The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Ma‘šo and its Marginal Notes, Part 1: Note on the Commemoration of Patriarch ‘Astona’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 4 (2012), 24–32.
- 2013a. *Churches and Monasteries of Təgray. A Survey of Manuscript Collections*, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).
- ed., 2013b. *Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: History, Change and Cultural Heritage Hamburg, July 15–16, 2011*, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).
- 2013c. ‘The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Ma‘šo and its Marginal Notes, Part 2: An Exercise in Ethiopian Palaeography’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 6 (2013), 29–33.
- 2014. ‘Yagba Şəyon’, in A. Bausi and S. Uhlig, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, V (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 11b–12b.
- ed., 2015. *Veneration of Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Proceedings of the International Workshop Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Literary Sources and Veneration, Hamburg, April 28–29, 2012*, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015).
- 2020. ‘Christian Manuscript Culture of the Ethiopian-Eritrean Highlands: Some Analytical Insights’, in S. Kelly, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2020), 282–321.
- 2022. ‘An Ancient Ethiopic Treatise on *Computus* and Chronology: A Preliminary Evaluation’, in A. Gori and F. Viti, eds, *L’Africa nel mondo, il mondo in Africa. Africa in the World, the World in Africa*, *Africana Ambrosiana*, 5 (Milano: Accademia Ambrosiana, 2022), 41–70.

- Nosnitsin, D. and D. Reule 2021. *The Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Egyptian Monastery of Dayr as-Suryān: A Catalogue*, Supplement to Aethiopica, 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021).
- Orlandi, T. 2013. ‘A Terminology for the Identification of Coptic Literary Documents’, *Journal of Coptic Studies*, 15 (2013), 87–94.
- Piemontese, A. M. 1995. ‘Colophon persiani fioriti e illustrati’, in Condello and De Gregorio 1995, 473–494.
- Piovanelli, P. 2013. ‘The Apocryphal Legitimation of a “Solomonic” Dynasty in the Kəbrā nāgāst – A Reappraisal’, *Aethiopica*, 16 (2013), 7–44.
- Proverbio, D. V. 1998. *La recensione etiopica dell’omelia pseudocrisostomica de ficu exarata ed il suo tréfonds orientale*, Aethiopistische Forschungen, 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998).
- Rahlfs, A. 1965. ‘Die äthiopische Bibelübersetzung’, in *Septuaginta-Studien*, I–III, 2nd edn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 660–681.
- Raineri, O. 2011. ‘Gli Atti Etiopici di Abbā Nob, Martire Egziano’, *Ethiopian Review of Cultures*, 14 (2011), 223–282.
- Reule, D. 2022. ‘Encoding the Ethiopic Miracles of Mary’, *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 15 (2022), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/jtei.3816>>.
- Reynhout, L. 1988. ‘Pour une typologie des colophons de manuscrits occidentaux’, *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 13/1 (1988), 1–4.
- 2001. ‘Codicologie quantitative et paradigmes scientifiques. Une typologie des formules latines des colophons de manuscrits occidentaux’, *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 39/1 (2001), 1–9.
- 2006. *Formules latines de colophons*, I–II, Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia, 25AB (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
- Ronconi, F. 2007. *I manoscritti greci miscellanei: ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII*, Testi, studi, strumenti, 21 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2007).
- Salomon Massala and ‘Ālamu Ḥayle, eds, 2011. ታሪካዊ የብራና መጻሕፍት ካታሎግ መጽሐፍ ቅጽ ፪ (*Tārikāwi yabərānnā maṣāḥaft kātalog maṣḥaf*, Qəṣ 2, ‘Catalogue Book of Historical Parchment Books, II’) (‘Addis’ Ababā: Qərs ṭənāt ṭəbbaqannā ləmmāt bālaśəltān, 2011).
- Schneider, R. 1978. ‘Notes sur Filpos de Dabra Bizan et ses successeurs’, *Annales d’Éthiopie*, 11 (1978), 135–139.
- Sergew Hable Selassie 1972a. *Ya`ityopyā yabərānnā maṣāḥaft dərəḡḡət*. *Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library* (Addis Ababa: n.p., 1972).
- 1972b. *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa: United Printers, 1972).

- Sergew Hable Selassie 1987–1988. ‘An Early Ethiopian Manuscript EMMML 8509 (Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library)’, *Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, 8–9 (1987–1988), 5–27.
- Sergew Hable-Selassie 1992. ‘The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq’, in P. O. Scholz, R. K. P. Pankhurst, and W. Witakowski, eds, *Orbis Aethiopicus. Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata, septuagesimo septimo oblata*, I, Bibliotheca nubica, 3 (Albstadt: Karl Schuler Publishing, 1992), 243–258.
- Shelemay, K. K. 2019. ‘In memoriam Marilyn E. Heldman (1935–2019)’, *Aethiopica*, 22 (2019), 253–261.
- Six, V. 1989. *Äthiopische Handschriften*, II: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/5 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1989).
- 1994. *Äthiopische Handschriften*, III: *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen, und aus Privatbesitz*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/6 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1994).
- 1999. *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, III: *nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften Deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/3 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999).
- Six, V., S. Delamarter, Getatchew Haile, K. Melaku Tefere, J. R. Brown, and E. C. Young 2011. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project*, II: *Codices 106–200 and Magic Scrolls 135–284*, Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts and Studies, 3 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011).
- Sokolinskaia, E. 2010. ‘Ṭəntyon’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 919a–920a.
- Stuckenbruck, L. T. and T. M. Erho 2022. ‘The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses for the Text Tradition of 1 Enoch: Problems and Prospects’, in G. Macaskill, C. M. Maier, and J. Schaper, eds, *Congress Volume Aberdeen 2019*, *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements, 192 (Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, 2022), 416–434.
- Taddesse Tamrat 1970. ‘The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535’, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 8/1 (1970), 87–117.
- Tasfāye ’Arāge and ’Ālamu Ḥayle, eds, 2010. ጥንታዊ የብራና መጻሕፍት ካታሎግ መጽሐፍ ቅጽ ፩ (*Ṭəntāwi yabərānnā maṣāḥəft kātālog maṣḥaf*, Qəṣ 1, ‘Catalogue Book of Antique Parchment Books, I’) (‘Addis ’Ababā: Qərs tənātənnā təbbaqā bālaśəltān, 2010).
- Tedros Abraha 2007. *Il Gädl di Abuna Demyanos santo eritreo (XIV/XV sec.)*. *Edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana*, ed., tr., *Patrologia orientalis*, 50/2 (223) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

- 2008. ‘Controversie sul Sabato e sul Millennio secondo i *Gädl* inediti di Tāwäldä-Mädəhn e di Fiḳəṭor’, *Scrinium*, 4 (2008), 79–102.
- 2009. *I Gädl di Abunä Tāwäldä-Mädəhn e di Abunä Vittore. Edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana*, ed., tr., *Patrologia Orientalis*, 51/2 (227), Brepols (Turnhout: 2009).
- Troupeau, G. 1997. ‘Les colophons des manuscrits arabes chrétiens’, in F. Déroche and F. Richard, eds, *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Études et Recherches (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 223–231.
- Turaev, B. A. 1906. *Ėfiopskija rukopisi v S.-Peterburgě*, Pamjatniki ėfiopskoj pis’mennosti, 3 (St Petersburg: Tipografija imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1906).
- Uhlig, S. 1986. ‘Kolophone und zeitgenössische Vermerke in äthiopischen Handschriften’, *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 94 (N.F. 76) (= *Freundesgabe... B. Spuler zum 75. Geburtstag am 5. Dezember 1986*) (1986), 307–319.
- 1988. *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 22 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1988).
- Uhlig, S. 1990. *Introduction to Ethiopian Paleography*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 28 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990).
- 1993. ‘Ethiopian Manuscripts and Paleography’, in M. E. Heldman, S. C. Munro-Hay, and R. Grierson, eds, *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia* (New Haven, CT–London: Yale University Press, 1993), 57–61.
- Valieva, N. and P. M. Liuzzo 2021. ‘Giving Depth to TEI-Based Descriptions of Manuscripts: The Golden Gospel of Ham’, *Aethiopia*, 24 (2021), 175–211.
- Van Lantschoot, A. 1929. *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte*, I: *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*, Fasc. 1: *Textes*; Fasc. 2: *Notes et tables*, Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1 (Louvain: J. B. Ista, 1929).
- 1973. *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte*, I: *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*, Fasc. 1: *Textes*; Fasc. 2: *Notes et tables*, Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1, ristampa anastatica (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino–La Goliardica, 1973).
- Villa, M. 2018. ‘Monastic Libraries in Eritrea: An Agenda for the Future’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Serie terza, 2 (49) (2018), 157–181.
- 2021. ‘Multiple-Text Manuscripts from the Gondarine Age: MSS BL Or. 818 and BnF Éthiopien 146’, *Aethiopia*, 24 (2021), 78–103.
- 2022a. ‘The CaNaMEI Project: Activities and Preliminary Results’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Serie terza, 6 (53) (2022), 341–344.
- 2022b. ‘Descrizione testuale’, in Lusini et al. 2022, 4–20.

- Vollandt, R. 2012. 'The Production of Arabic Multi-block Bibles. A Case Study of a Coptic-Muslim Workshop in Early Ottoman Cairo', *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 3 (2012), 31–36.
- Wallraff, M. 2021. *Die Kanontafeln des Euseb von Kaisareia: Untersuchung und kritische Edition*, Manuscripta Biblica, Paratextus Biblici, 1 (Berlin–Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2021).
- Wion, A. 2007. 'Colophon', in *Glossary Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa* (Hamburg: Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, 2007).
- 2019. 'L'autorité de l'écrit pragmatique dans la société chrétienne éthiopienne (xv^e-xviii^e siècle)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 74/3–4 (2019), 559–589.
- Witakowski, W. 2015. 'Catalogues of Ethiopic Manuscripts', in Bausi et al. 2015, 484–487.
- Wright, W. 1877. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1877).
- Yaḳob Beyene 1990–1993. *Giyorgis di Saglā: Il libro del mistero* (maṣḥafa mestīr), I, III: *Textus*; II, IV: *Versio*, ed., tr., Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 515, 516, 532, 533, Scriptores Aethiopici, 89, 90, 97, 98 (Lovanii: In aedibus E. Peeters, 1990–1993).
- Yohannes Gebre Sellasie 2009. 'The Martyrs of Nagran and the Acts of Kaleb, king of Aksum: A New Geez Document', in Aklilu Yilma, ed., *Abstracts: 17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 2009), 199.
- Zarzczyński, R., O. Raineri, and J. Gnisci 2020. *Catalogo dei manoscritti etiopici di due collezioni private (Tomasi – Lucchesi) con repertorio di testi. In collaborazione con Mons. Osvaldo Raineri (traduzione italiana degli estratti) e Jacopo Gnisci (descrizione delle miniature)*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 309 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2020).
- Zotenberg, H. 1877. *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Manuscrits Orientaux (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1877).
- Zuurmond, R. 1989. *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels*, I: *General Introduction*, II: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 27 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1989).

Preliminary Reflections for a Comparative Analysis of Colophons*

*Marilena Maniaci, Università degli studi di Cassino e
del Lazio meridionale*

The presence in Christian—and not only Christian—manuscript books of information directly or indirectly related to the circumstances of the copy is a common phenomenon for most of the Eastern manuscript cultures. The same observation applies to the Latin context, which is outside the scope of the round table on *Christian Oriental colophons*, but should certainly be included in a comparative vision of the phenomenon.

However, the appearance and diffusion of ‘colophons’ (alternatively called ‘subscriptions’)¹ varies considerably from one tradition to another: recent approximate estimates show peaks of over 60% of the total number of Armenian manuscripts (with the oldest, relatively late occurrence in 887) and, on the contrary, a 10% average for Greek extant codices (at least until the twelfth century) and 7% for Slavic ones.² These figures must be taken with a pinch of salt, given the absence of systematic censuses or, when they exist, of reliable estimates of the original consistency of the manuscript production of a given culture.

The evaluation of diachronic variations within the same manuscript tradition should be, at least in theory, more reliable, but in fact it has been never systematically attempted, apart from the reference to some general tendencies: as an example, the exponential increase not only in the absolute number, but also in the relative incidence, of subscriptions at the transition between the Early and the Late Middle ages is a well known phenomenon. Synchronic variations are also attested: again, in the Latin tradition, subscriptions become much more frequent in German-speaking countries than in the rest of Europe,³ but again, there are no comparable data for other book cultures.

* I am grateful to Paola Buzi for actively involving me in a round table animated by the attentive and lively participation of a large number of colleagues and students. which was not only very rich of interesting data, but also of stimulating reflections and suggestions. The written version of my concluding speech deliberately preserves its colloquial tone; bibliographic references are therefore reduced to the bare essentials. Further bibliography can be found in the collaborative volume by Bausi et al. 2015, and in the contributions to this same journal issue.

1 On terminological issues see *infra*, 203–205.

2 Estimates are taken from the codicological chapter of Bausi et al. 2015.

3 Ornato 2003, 24.

In general, the presence of subscriptions has never been systematically related to cultural-historical and technical factors—such as, for example, the quality of manufacture, the type of content, the commissioners, or the contexts of the books' circulation and use. Even after the decline of a simplistic vision that saw subscriptions as the 'spontaneous' expression of the psychology and humor of single scribes, they have been mostly read and used as a reservoir of valuable information on individual manuscripts, persons, situations, events related to the circumstances of the transcription: most frequently as a source of information about the scribes, with particular interest in their position within society (as in the synthetic but stimulating contribution dedicated by Anthony Cutler to the social status of Byzantine scribes),⁴ or about other individuals related to the layout of the volume (commissioners, patrons, dedicatees, artists, binders, etc.); about the dating; the rhythms and circumstances of the copy; about episodically recorded events of historical or chronographical relevance. In the Latin tradition, a certain attention, of predominantly anecdotal kind, has also been devoted to the question of 'why' some scribes, and not others, decided to state more or less explicitly and precisely the circumstances of their own work—*Pourquoi les copistes signaient-ils leur manuscrits ?*, to quote the title of a contribution proposed by Albert Derolez at a conference devoted to 'Scribes and Colophons' by the Comité international de paléographie latine in 1993.⁵ It is significant that even in the aforementioned conference, specifically dedicated to the topic, the aspects related to the chronology, prosopography and the sociological connotation of the scribes, as well as the (non-simple) analysis of their work rhythms, have largely overlooked and almost completely obscured—with rare exceptions—long-term investigations devoted to the chronogeographic spread of subscriptions and even more to the study of their structure, of the variable ratio between their constituent elements and of the motivations for which the scribes chose to provide the recipient or the reader of the book with certain details concerning the transcription, their own biography or the context in which they worked—or viceversa to omit them. A significant, but isolated exception is the contribution devoted by Carla Bozzolo to the systematic exploitation of the colophons written by Rhenish scribes, which contains a typology—albeit a summary one—of the categories of information obtainable from subscriptions,⁶ which I will return to later in this presentation.

4 Cutler 1981.

5 Derolez 1995.

6 Bozzolo 1994.

Similar considerations may also apply to the numerous conferences and workshops dedicated to the theme over the last fifteen years, on which it is impossible to dwell on here for reasons of space.⁷

If we adopt a resolutely comparative perspective—as it could not be otherwise in this venue—we need to start from a preliminary and only apparently obvious question: what is precisely a ‘colophon’? Should the term be understood as exactly synonymous of ‘subscription’, or they are instead to be interpreted as two distinct entities? On closer inspection both terms—‘colophon’ and ‘subscription’—show margins of ambiguity. ‘Subscription’ (‘sottoscrizione’ / ‘souscription’ / ‘Subskription’), from Latin ‘subscribo’, is etymologically ‘something written under something else’, that is a text placed under another text: this explains the meaning of ‘signature’, derived from documentary practice,⁸ as well as the codicological connotation of ‘formula in which the scribe mentions his/her name and the place and/or date of the transcription’,⁹ common to the round table’s contributions. But the so-called ‘subscription’, which indeed appears most frequently under the text to which it refers, is also—more rarely but not exceptionally—found in the opening section of the text (incorporated in the initial rubric) or even within the text (as in some Glagolitic codices), or in the margins, or even in any other available empty space. The cases of ‘multiple subscriptions’, placed at the end of the individual sections of a single text (or of the each of the texts copied in a single production campaign), with the aim of marking the stages of its execution, are also not rare (at least in the book traditions I am more familiar with... what about the others?).

In a (not fully successful) attempt to resolve the terminological ambiguity, Muzerelle’s *Vocabulaire codicologique* attributes to ‘souscription’ the alternative meaning of ‘formula in which the scribe indicates his name’¹⁰ and refers the term ‘colophon’—on which I will come back soon—to the ‘final

7 See Buzi 2020, in this same issue, 9–13, with an extensive list of the main conferences and collective volumes devoted to the topic.

8 Muzerelle 1985, 128 (423.03): ‘mention autographe d’un nom apposée sur un document afin de l’authentifier, de signifier un accord, d’en revendiquer la propriété’, resumed in Maniaci 1996 (1998²), 207: ‘menzione autografa di un nome apposta su un documento al fine di identificarlo, di rivendicarne la proprietà, di notificare un accordo...’.

9 Maniaci 1996 (1998²), 227: ‘formula finale in cui lo scriba fornisce alcune indicazioni che lo riguardano, ad esempio il proprio nome, il luogo e/o la data della copia, il nome del committente o del destinatario...’; a similar, but less detailed, definition is given for the word ‘colophon’ in Muzerelle 1985, 136 (435.03): ‘formule finale dans laquelle le scribe mentionne le lieu ou la date de la copie, ou l’une et l’autre’ (see *infra*, p. 204).

10 Muzerelle 1995, 136 (435.04): ‘formule dans laquelle le scribe indique son nom’.

formula in which the scribe mentions the place, or date of the copy, or both'. Apart from the limit unduly implied by the qualifying adjective 'final' for the meaning of 'colophon', both Muzerelle's definitions formally exclude the cases in which the scribe manifests himself/herself without mentioning either the place or date of the copy but merely revealing his/her name or celebrating more or less laconically the end of the work, and optionally adding the request for a blessing or a more prosaic 'material reward' (as in Latin formulae such as *qui scripsit scribat semper cum Domino vivat; explicit iste liber sit scriptor crimine liber; explicit explicet ludere scriptor eat; detur pro penna scriptori pulchra puella* and many others¹¹—as well as similar ones appearing in other book traditions). May we speak, in these cases, of 'colophons' or 'subscriptions'? Or should we rather think that formulae of this kind, without explicit reference to the author and the coordinates of the copy, require separate attention, and therefore also a separate designation?

The term of Greek origin 'colophon'—etymologically meaning 'a summit, top, finishing',¹² and by extension 'completion, conclusion'—calls for a further consideration: in the printed book world, it designates, in a specific technical sense, 'a statement usually at the end of a publication giving information about its publication or printing, and in some cases, other bibliographic information, including the title. Particularly in fifteenth-century books, the colophon may give information generally found on the title page in later books';¹³ in earlier prints it usually contains the date of printing and the typographer's mention); when applied to manuscripts the word assumes a more generic connotation, practically as a synonymous for 'subscription'.

This is the reason why in my own *Terminologia del libro manoscritto* I had preferred to abandon the distinction proposed by Muzerelle, and proposed the following definition of 'sottoscrizione / sottoscrizione, colofone / colophon': 'the final formula in which the scribe provides some information concerning himself, for example his name, the name and/or the date of the copy, the commissioner's or recipient's name'¹⁴; and I had also suggested to reserve

11 For a rich choice of examples see Bénédicte du Bouveret 1965–1982, and the national series of the Catalogue of Dated Manuscripts project, sponsored by the Comité international de paléographie latine; a selected number of formulae are analyzed in Reynhout 2006.

12 *LSJ Lexicon*, online edition, s.v. κολοφῶν, <<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=60514>> (this and other URIs last accessed 10 November 2022).

13 Quoted from IFLA 2006, 3.

14 Maniaci 1996 (1998²), 227: 'formula finale in cui lo scriba fornisce alcune indicazioni che lo riguardano, ad esempio il proprio nome, il luogo e/o la data della copia, il nome del committente o del destinatario'.

the term ‘colophon’ to printed books (a distinction that, apparently, has not established itself in use).¹⁵

The literature on colophons / subscriptions also records other composite expressions, whose conceptual and (consequently) terminological ambiguity would need to be cleared, such as—by way of example—‘scribe’s subscription’, ‘author’s subscription’, ‘corrector’s subscription’ (referred to the so-called *subscriptiones* preserved by some famous medieval copies of classical authors, which testify to the philological commitment of well-known exponents of the late Roman aristocracy, aimed at reiterating the literary and ideological-political superiority of the declining pagan culture)¹⁶... Single authors also employ a wide range of expressions, in order to qualify the colophon / subscription according to some of its formal or visual characteristics: for instance ‘multiple colophons’ (referring to those that appear in manuscripts divided into several tomes, or at the end of different sections of the same text); ‘composite colophons’;¹⁷ ‘false’ or ‘manipulated colophons’ (where, for instance, the date or the name of the recipient has been changed); ‘posthumous colophons’ (added at a later time in order to commemorate the scribe of the text); ‘incorporated’ or ‘nested colophons’ (including the extreme case of mentions of scribes corresponding to words highlighted in the text, as in some Hebrew manuscripts, but also at least in one Latin case of my knowledge, the cassinese Ferro’s Bible);¹⁸ ‘fossil colophons’ (transcribed in a later copy of the text); ‘subjective’ or ‘objective colophons’ (written in first or third person); ‘expanded colophons’; ‘poetic’, ‘prosimetric’, cryptographic, ‘enigmatic’, ‘acrostic’, ‘visual’ or ‘figurative colophons’, and so on (without pretence of completeness).

To further complicate the state of current terminology, the improper use of the term ‘explicit’ must also be evoked, indiscriminately employed to qualify the final words of a text, or a statement announcing its conclusion (practically a ‘final title’),¹⁹ or a stereotyped formula, such as an invocation celebrating the text’s ending, which may ultimately be incorporated into the subscription.

15 Maniaci 1996 (1998²), 227, note to the previous definition: ‘[Nota: Il termine ‘colofone / colophon’ andrebbe riservato alle formule che si trovano alla fine degli incunaboli e delle cinquecentine]’. Gacek 2012, 258 refers the term ‘subscription’ to ‘the final expression ‘*tamma(t) al-kitāb*’ that often introduces a colophon’.

16 Pecere 1984 (2003).

17 See, in this same journal issue, the contribution by F. Valerio, 21–74.

18 On the so-called ‘Ferro Bible’, see the contributions by E. Unfer Verre, esp. Unfer Verre 2010.

19 ‘Intitulé final’, Muzerelle 1985, 132.

Already in the light of these summary remarks, the subscription / colophon may, in short, be regarded as ‘a phenomenon without a name’ (as it was defined in a recent contribution on Islamic manuscript by Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche).²⁰ We lack an unequivocal and comprehensive term to define the formulation containing one or more data related to the contextualization of the copy (who? where? when? for whom or on impulse / committance / financing of whom? ...), but also the pure and simple attestation that the work is finished, whether or not connected to the request for material or spiritual reward; and we also lack more specific terms for unambiguously designating the various aspects of this complex phenomenon.²¹

As always happens, terminological ambiguity is a clear indication of conceptual ambiguity. We are therefore back to the original question: what actually is a ‘subscription’, or a ‘colophon’?

The many examples proposed in the course of the round table confirmed that it is an entity that can take a huge variety of forms. What do very dissimilar texts by extension, content and structure have in common, such as the lapidary ‘1453’, written by the scribe’s hand on the last page of a Latin Humanistic codex (the example is fictitious) and certain Armenian colophons extending for several pages, that Anna Sirinian has repeatedly identified as a ‘real literary genre’²² (a definition parallel to that of ‘small literary works of a hagiographic and celebratory character’ coined by Alessandro Bausi, in the same occasion)?²³

In order to try to answer this essential question, the subscription cannot be considered as if it were a monolithic block: an effort is needed—not yet effectively accomplished—to identify within it a series of ‘information blocks’, which appear with different frequencies (according to traditions, eras and contexts) and assembled in a changing range of combinations. This information can be classified into different sets / categories and therefore organized around some ‘functional poles’.

As a first (and perfectible) contribution to the definition of a grid of analysis I propose the following structured list of fields—based on my own

20 Quiring-Zoche 2013.

21 Attempts to disambiguate include the expression ‘nota in calce’ (footnote), proposed by Bausi 2016, for instance 241; also ‘testo in calce’ (‘foottext’), *ibid.* 238. It would also be highly interesting to investigate the terms used to define the phenomenon in different traditions: as Sirinian 2016, 14 notes, the Armenian term *yišatakaran* means ‘memoriale’ (‘memorial’) or ‘luogo del ricordo’ (‘place of remembrance’), a much less technical connotation than that of ‘final text’ discussed so far.

22 ‘Un vero e proprio genere letterario’: Sirinian 2016, 13 and n. 2.

23 ‘Piccole opere letterarie di carattere agiografico e celebrativo’: Bausi 2016, 246.

experience—which will have to be verified in relation to the different book traditions:

I. *The scribe*

- name
- age
- origin
- social status
- profession
- parents and family members
- self-representative epithets
- other personal details (physical characteristics, age, fatigue...).

II. *The date(s) and place(s) of the transcription*

- date or dates (expressed through a variety of elements and modes, including the mention of political or religious authorities);
- geographical place or places of the transcription (nation, city, village...);
- institutional setting (monastery; *scriptorium* or writing school, office, private home, jail, etc.).

III. *The physical and/or moral persons surrounding the scribe* (‘restricted’ and ‘enlarged’ context and ‘co-protagonists’ of the copy)

- commissioner/donor;
- recipient/dedicatee (sometimes coinciding with the commissioner);
- professors, spiritual masters...;
- other individuals personally related to the scribe;
- other contemporaries of the scribe, personally unrelated to him/her.

IV. *The content of the book* (a block of textual, philological and book-technical information indirectly connected to the book as an object through its contents, with reference to both the abstractly understood work and its concrete manifestation in a given copy)

- the object of the transcription (that is its textual and non-textual contents);
- the circumstances that led to the definition of the specific text version represented in the manuscript (correction or collation, mention of the model, etc.);
- information on the transcribed work (author, translator, commissioner, dating, etc.);
- other data specifically related to the text type.

V. *The material circumstances of the transcription*

- duration (explicitly stated or derived from specific calculations);
- information on the making of the manuscript and the scribe’s working practice;

- other details related to the context and contingencies of the copy (adverse weather conditions, help or hospitality obtained by the scribe...);
- mentions (of mostly problematic interpretation) on the cost of writing materials and the transcription and/or decoration of the text.

VI. *Other circumstances external to the transcription*

- diaristic, biographical and sociological annotations on persons or events related to the scribe (happy or mournful family events, masters and learning curricula, readings, personal moods, etc.);
- historical or chronical data of greater or lesser importance (from a contemporary perspective);
- events of an exceptional nature (epidemics, methereological or astronomical phenomena, etc.).

VII. *The formulaic component* (a set of more or less stereotyped elements, clearly distinct from the rest of the subscription—at the beginning or at the end of it—or combined with the other sections)

- admonitions, formulae of humility, requests to the reader, blessings, eulogies, dossologies, invocations, guesswork, calembours, divertissements, requests for spiritual or materials rewards (with more or less rethorical and stereotyped formulations sometimes called ‘refrains’, common to different traditions—such as the Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and Coptic ones);
- mentions concerning the material and spiritual value of the book (as a treasure, garden, food for the soul, key to heaven...).

These theoretically distinct ‘blocks’ of information are not always visually separated—through layout devices to which I will return briefly later (white spaces, graphic, chromatic, decorative hierarchies ...)—and they may often be intertwined with each other. In the perspective of a systematic analysis, however, an effort is needed to distinguish them conceptually (and terminologically).

Among them, a ‘central’ and characterizing nucleus stands out, containing the elements that express the essential historical coordinates of the transcription: name of the scribe, date, place of the copy (blocks I and II). I cautiously propose not to consider ‘subscriptions’ the texts that do not contain at least one of these elements, such as the laconic formulation *feliciter*, with its variants *explicit feliciter*, *lege feliciter*, *scripsi feliciter*, etc.) added by the scribe by (or also by later readers or correctors) in some late antique Latin manuscripts.

It is surprising to observe the total absence, in the literature about subscriptions, of statistics concerning the frequency and combination of these various structural components, particularly with regard to the main core, concerning the date, place and author of the transcript. The lack of investigations

on the subject seems even more singular if we consider the not irrelevant quantity, or even the abundance, of data available at least for some book traditions (such as the Greek one—for which the choice made by the authors of the *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten* not to provide the full transcription of the subscriptions is difficult to understand—but also the Hebrew or Armenian ones).

Further aspects to which it is worth drawing attention—which have received little attention to date—are those relating on the one hand to the literary and linguistic characteristics of the colophons, and on the other to their palaeographic-codicological aspects, in particular the strategies adopted by scribes to emphasize them and distinguish them from the texts they are joined to—intervening on the writing, the decorative elements and the layout.

The characteristics to be considered include, by way of example:

- the form of the text (prose or verse);
- the language;
- the stylistic register and any literary ambitions;
- the graphic typology and its relationship with that of the text;
- the colour of the ink(s);
- the presence and function of decorative elements;
- the use of separators (of single lines or sections) or fillers;
- the position of the colophon with respect to the manuscript (on the final leaf/page, at the beginning or inside the book, but also inside or outside the writing area);
- the position with respect to the text (more often at the end of it, but also at the end of single sections);
- the layout (from one end to the other of the page or column width, or in more sophisticated forms, aimed at achieving particular aesthetic effects ...).

These and other aspects can be observed systematically and appreciated much more easily and comprehensively than in the past thanks to the increasing diffusion of high quality full color reproductions.

With these first sparse, partial and basic reflections I hope to have shown the interest of a systematic and comparative approach to the study of subscriptions, both from the ‘internal’ viewpoint of individual book traditions and in a comparative perspective, aimed to analyzing:

- the structures attested and their constituent elements;
- the material features of the subscriptions (layout; use of the same or a different script than the one employed for the text, position, size and decoration, etc.) and their distribution in space and time;

- the linguistic features of the subscriptions (use of a specific lexicon or stylistic register);
- the chronological (and geographic) evolution of the different ‘models’ of subscriptions and their correlation with other factors related to the book’s manufacture and the context in which it is rooted;
- the chronological and geographical distribution of the formulaic elements (and their possible ‘specialization’);
- the circulation of commonplaces or *topoi* (formulae, images, or concepts), for instance in the various circummediterranean manuscript cultures—as in the known case of the formula ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ, γραφή δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους (‘the hand that has written gets rotten in the grave, but the writing remains for the plenitude of times’), with its parallels in the Eastern Christian world, or *sicut navigantibus portus* (‘such as the harbor for the sailor’) with its equivalent in Greek, ὡς ἡδὺ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁρᾶν... (‘how sweet to watch the sea from the land...’), but also in the Syriac and Slavic languages, etc.;
- the relationship between the presence or structure of the subscriptions and the contents of the manuscripts;
- the correlations between the presence of a subscription and other internal and external characteristics of the manuscripts (codicological details, production environments, potential recipients of the manuscripts—on parchment or paper, sumptuously or currently prepared, by professionals or amateurs, lay or religious men, etc.);
- the connection with the social status of the scribes;
- the relationship between colophon formulae and formulae used by other craftsmen, such as lapicides, sculptors, engravers, painters, etc.;
- the possible reference to textual models (epigrams, documents, patristic or biblical literature...).

The goal of drawing a clear and complete picture of—Christian and non-Christian—colophons in the individual book traditions (including a history of their structural evolution and a geographical mapping of the essential components and their association in manuscripts of different content and quality), but also the task of highlighting and explaining their differences and similarities depends, as for many other aspects of the material study of the manuscript book, on the availability of sets of information extracted systematically, with shared approaches and protocols, from extensive corpora of manuscripts, suitably diversified geographically and chronologically. The increasing availability of reproductions can offer, in this perspective, a valuable support to the collection of reliable data, although not observed on the original manuscripts. The colophons present themselves, in this perspective, as an ideal theme for the

building of a comparative and international project in a new and promising research area.

References

- Bausi, A. 2016. 'I colofoni e le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti etiopici', in Sirinian et al. 2016, 233–260.
- Bausi, A., P. G. Borbone, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, P. Buzi, J. Gippert, C. Macé, M. Maniaci, Z. Melissakis, L. E. Parodi, W. Witakowski, and E. Sokolinski, eds, 2015. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: COMSt, 2015).
- Bozzolo, C. 1994. 'La production manuscrite dans les pays rhénans au XV^e siècle (à partir des manuscrits datés)', *Scrittura e civiltà*, 18 (1994), 183–242.
- Cutler, A. 1981. 'The Social Status of Byzantine Scribes', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 74 (1981), 328–334.
- Derolez, A. 1995. 'Pourquoi les copistes signaient-ils leur manuscrits?', in E. Condello and G. De Gregorio, eds, *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni dei copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del Seminario di Erice—X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23–28 octobre 1993)*, Biblioteca del «Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria» (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), 37–56.
- Gacek, A. 2012. *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, 1: The Near and Middle East, 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) 2006. *ISBD-A. International Standard Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications International Standards*, 2006 <[http://www.ibmi.it/manuali/ISBD\(A\)_February2006.pdf](http://www.ibmi.it/manuali/ISBD(A)_February2006.pdf)>.
- LSJ Lexicon*, online edition, s.v. κολοφῶν, <<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=60514>>.
- Maniaci, M. 1996 (1998²). *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*, Préface di D. Muzerelle, Addenda, 3 (Roma: Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro—Milano: Editrice Bibliografica, 1996, 2nd edn 1998).
- Muzerelle, D. 1985. *Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits*, Rubricae: histoire du livre et des textes, 1 (Paris: Centre d'études des modes d'industrialisation, 1985).
- Ornato, E. 2003. 'Libri e colofoni: qualche considerazione', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 42 (2003), 24–35.
- Pecere, O. 1984 (2003). 'Esemplari con *subscriptiones* e tradizione dei testi latini. L'Apuleio Laur. 68.2', in C. Questa and R. Raffaelli, eds, *Il libro e il testo* (Ur-

- bino: QuattroVenti, 1984), 111–137; repr. in O. Pecere and A. Stramaglia, eds, *Studi apuleiani*, Note di aggiornamento di L. Graverini (Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2003), 7–35.
- Quiring-Zoche, R. 2013. ‘The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts. A Phenomenon without a Name’, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 4 (2013), 49–81.
- Reynout, L. 2006. *Formules latines de colophons*, I: *Texte*; II: *Annexes*, Bibliologia, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
- Sirinian, A. 2014. ‘On the Historical and Literary Value of the Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts’, in V. Calzolari and M. E. Stone, eds, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era. From Manuscript to Digital Text*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, 8: Uralic and Central Asian Studies, 23/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 65–100.
- 2016. ‘Caratteristiche dei colofoni armeni e un gruppo in particolare: i colofoni della critica alle autorità politiche e religiose’, in Sirinian et al. 2016, 13–45.
- Sirinian A., P. Buzi, and G. Shurgaia, eds, *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scritte del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Bologna 12–13 ottobre 2012*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2016).
- Unfer Verre, E. G. 2010. ‘Un contributo alla storia della miniatura a Montecassino nel XII secolo’, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 14 (2010), 32–43.

Section 2

Regular Issue

Articles and notes

The Limits of Paratexts/Paracontents in Manuscripts: Revisiting Old Questions and Posing New Ones*

*Patrick Andrist, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität
München, Université de Fribourg (Suisse)*

This article revisits the definition of paratextuality as a relationship between two pieces of content (understood in a broad sense) in a manuscript. It also discusses whether, from this perspective, signs and marks such as diacritics, punctuation marks, paragraph signs, quire signatures, owners' names, library stamps etc. should be considered paratexts. Furthermore, it raises the same question about the physical features of the manuscript, such as the inks, the scripts, or the decoration, as well as variant readings added by scribes, and later readers' corrections to the main text. Lastly, it implements concepts such as 'procontent', the 'geography' of the paracontents, and two types of paratextual 'perimeters'.

'A literary work consists, entirely or essentially, of a text... But this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it... These accompanying productions, which vary in extent and appearance, constitute what I have called elsewhere the work's paratext [...]'¹

With these words, the French literary critic Gerard Genette opens his 1987 book, which establishes the concept of paratextuality. They remind us that Genette's thinking is fully centered on texts and the relationships between texts. Not just any texts, though, but literary works which appeared in print are his primary focus (in fact, Genette focused mainly, but not exclusively, on French novels). As such, books as objects are not his main interest.

* The original version of this paper was presented at the online workshop 'When a Text Becomes a Book: Theoretical Reflections on Paratextuality', 19–20 November 2020, perfectly organized by Lukas Rösli and Friederike Richter in spite of the pandemic crisis. I warmly thank both organisers for their invitation, as well as Martin Wallraff who supported and encouraged my work; Marilena Maniaci and Saskia Dirkse, with whom I discussed several points both before and after the conference; and Saskia Dirkse, who also carefully corrected my English. I am the only responsible for any remaining errors.

1 Genette 1997b, 1.

Paratextuality is only one of the five types of relationships which Genette develops in a series of three books² devoted to his larger theory of transtextuality, defined as ‘all that sets the texts in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts’.³ According to Genette, paratexts are ‘accompanying productions’ which present the text to the readers or, using liminal imagery, they are ‘thresholds’ or ‘vestibules’.⁴ But Genette understands this threshold in a very broad way. He explains that there are two kinds of paratexts: (1) peritexts (inside of the book), such as titles, subtitles, footnotes, prefaces, etc. This is how paratexts are usually understood in the context of manuscript studies; and (2) epitexts (outside of the book): flyers, letters, interviews... Then he establishes the following equivalence: paratext = peritext + epitext.⁵

We can sum up with Richard Macksey, in his introduction to the translation of Genette’s book, that for Genette, paratexts are ‘those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader.’⁶

Although this approach has proven very fruitful in the analysis of printed literary works and despite the fact that it has been enthusiastically adopted by manuscript scholars, it cannot be transposed uncritically to the analysis of manuscripts. I discussed this point at a conference in Oslo in 2014,⁷ where I also pointed out that there were different ways in which different scholars understood what paratexts are and are not, and strongly advocated to focus the concept of paratextuality within the realm of the content of a book, for reasons which will hopefully become clear below. This suggestion gives rise to a larger series of questions about the limits of paratextuality in manuscript studies, some of which are addressed in the following pages.

2 Book 1) *Introduction à l’architexte* (Genette 1979, translated as *The Architext: an Introduction*, 1992). 2) *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (Genette 1982, = *Palimpsests, Literature in the Second Degree*, 1997). 3) *Seuils* (Genette 1987, = *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 1997).

3 Genette 1997, 1.

4 Genette 1997b, 1–2. By assembling Genette’s own expressions, one could say that paratextuality is ‘the relation between a literary work and all the productions that surround, accompany or even extend it’. Notice that Genette modified his usage and definition of the term ‘paratextuality’ in 1982, which has created some measure of confusion in the field of paratext studies, see Andrist 2018, 130–133.

5 Genette 1997b, 3–5.

6 Richard Macksey in Genette 1997b, xviii.

7 Andrist 2018, 131–135.

Question 0: Is paratext a useful concept in manuscript studies?

On the one hand, Genette's powerful vision and eye-opening conceptualization brought literary scholars not only to recognize that a book contains more than 'just' a literary work, but also to discover that these other aspects, be it other texts, physical features etc., are interesting and worth studying in their own right. His approach has proven to be very stimulating and far-reaching: while his starting point was the relationship between two kinds of texts, he ends up describing several of these mainly textual aspects far beyond their mere relationship with the literary work they accompany.

On the other hand, this revolution already took place a long time ago in the world of manuscripts studies. Art historians, codicologists, palaeographers, paper historians, librarians and other specialists have long known that there is much more to a manuscript than its main texts alone. They realized long ago that features such as titles, book epigrams, miniatures, decoration, writing support and so forth are worth studying, regardless of whether the main literary text is 'important' or not. Furthermore, as I explained in my 2018 essay, the production conditions of manuscript books are different from those of printed books. As a result, we must ask the question: is the concept of paratextuality just another way to assign a name to something everyone already knows and applies? Do we need this concept in manuscript studies after all?

The following pages will, hopefully convincingly, show why my answer to this last question is definitively affirmative.

Question 1: ... about peritexts and epitexts

As mentioned above, manuscript studies have concentrated on peritexts. One could ask if epitextual questions should not also be included in the study of manuscript paratexts. For example, people publishing articles on the medieval transmission or reception of a text, or teaching classes on this subject could then also be legitimately included in the epitextual study of the manuscripts.

Such an approach to paratextuality would result, I think, in gathering too many heterogeneous domains under the same umbrella and would ultimately produce a lack of scholarly unity. Furthermore, as a codicologist, I do not feel this is how the concept of paratexts can be most usefully applied in our field, as I hope to show below. Studying peritexts with a focus on the book, as many book scholars (including myself) do, is not the same thing as studying paratextuality including epitextuality, which casts a much wider net to include special readers producing oral or written texts on the text, as Genette's definition implies. This does not mean that this latter approach is less important than the former. On the contrary, they are complementary and must both be

practised. In reality, as a colleague pointed out, when cataloguers list all the scholarly publications which mention a manuscript, they are already engaging in a form of epitextual study. My remarks here are limited to the use and delimitation of the concept of paratext as epitext.⁸

Question 2: ... about texts and other kinds of contents

All scholars dealing with ‘paratexts’ in manuscripts have probably asked themselves at the beginning of their work if paratext studies should be limited to texts, as the name invites one to do.

There seems to be a consensus between Genette and most manuscript scholars in answering in the negative. Images, decoration, they argue, can also be paratexts, and I fully agree.⁹

This is also why, following the good example of certain scholars in Hamburg, I prefer to use the clearer word ‘paracontent’,¹⁰ and reserve the word ‘paratext’ to designate a piece of textual ‘paracontent’, i.e. a piece of paracontent made up of words. In my terminology, the content to which a piece of paracontent refers is called its ‘procontent’.

One can also ask if the procontent must be a literary work, as in Genette’s world, or at least a text.

In many cases the images also receive captions (i.e. small texts within the image itself) which designate some of their elements, identifying the characters which appear in them, for example; these are also pieces of paracontent. Musical works, which includes both words and musical notations, can also be the core contents of a manuscript or, in other cases, one of their paracontents. Since it is not possible, however, to separate the notation from the text, neither one can be considered the paracontent or procontent of the other. They are also complementary constitutive elements of the same piece of content, which have, *a priori*, the same degree of centrality, so to speak.¹¹

As a result, there is no reason why we should limit ourselves to texts as either procontents or paracontents.

In some medieval productions, such as the *Biblia Pauperum* or many Books of Hours, whose main content is made of an assemblage of images and

8 See also Rockenberger and Röcken 2009, 302–304, 326.

9 In fact, ‘Paratext’, which fits very well in Genette’s series of terms related to transtextuality, such as hypertext, metatext etc., betrays once again his main interest.

10 Ciotti and al. 2018.

11 ‘Autonomous basic contents, i.e. contents that are not paracontent of any other content, may also be called core contents’, Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 381, n. 24, see also below. About complex contents, see also Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 384–387, and Andrist 2020, 11–12.

texts, the relationship between the two elements is, in a sense, paradoxical: on the semantic level, the images depend on the biblical texts or the prayers. As far as the book project is concerned, however, the images are clearly at the centre of the producers' interests; the main function of the core texts is to allow for the creation of the images and to lend some kind of unity to the book.¹²

Question 3: ... about the physical features of the manuscript

The relationship between physical features and paratextuality was one of the focal points of my presentation in Oslo.¹³

As mentioned previously, manuscript scholars have different ways of understanding the concept of paracontents. Significantly, one of the main areas which has seen a variety of scholarly approaches has to do with whether physical features are consciously or unconsciously included among the paracontents or whether they are treated separately.

Do the material support, the ruling, the layout, or even the binding belong to paracontents?

On the one hand, Genette's broad conception of the term peritext includes the physical features of the book, particularly what he calls the 'publisher's peritext', including the format, the paper, the printing types, the layout etc. For example, he explicitly mentions that 'the characteristic feature of this aspect of the paratext is basically spatial and material. We are dealing here with the outermost peritext (the cover, the title page, and their appendages) and with the book's material construction (selection of format, of paper, of typeface, and so forth).'¹⁴

We cannot help but notice a shift in Genette's thinking. As I pointed out in the introduction, paratextuality is supposed to describe a type of relationship between two texts in the framework of his theory of transtextuality; now, it ends up designating everything that physically surrounds the text, even if it is a material feature. Incidentally, another more terminological shift should also be noted: at the beginning of Genette's book, 'paratext', as in the initial quote of this paper, designates all the accompanying productions at once, which are then called 'paratextual elements'; there is thus only one paratext

12 In these situations, one could say that the text functions as a pretext for the images. It is difficult to imagine a lavishly decorated Book of Hours without any prayers written in words. The texts however could stand without the images, but the book would then lose all of its main interest and value.

13 Andrist 2018, 132–135, 138–139.

14 Genette 1997b, 16.

to a text in a given book. But a few pages later these paratextual elements are directly called ‘paratexts’.¹⁵

As I argued in Oslo, however, the nature of the relationship between any content and the physicality of a book is fundamentally different from the relationship between the core contents and other pieces of content in the same book, particularly their paracontents.

On the one hand, some physical features of a book are essential to the physical existence of any of the content in it, be it core content or paracontent; they are *sine-qua-non* conditions for a content’s materialisation, and must precede it, while other features are necessary consequences of it.

For example, the writing support is a necessary prerequisite; the ruling precedes the copy of the text; the presence of ink (or at least one of writing substances) on the page as well as the actual layout are necessary consequences of any writing of a piece content.

One cannot remove these features without removing the related pieces of content. Inversely, if one could remove or erase the content of the manuscript, some features, such as the material support and the ruling would return to their initial condition, while other features, such as the ink and the actual layout, would automatically disappear. This applies to any piece of content in the book, and not just to the main contents.

Of course, these physical features are closely linked to any piece of content, which, in accordance with the book producers’ intentions, these features are meant to receive or accompany. Furthermore, once these have been selected and prepared by the book producers, they can play an important role in mediating the content to the readers; even though, in most cases, the physical features do not have specific characteristics relating to the contents of the manuscript and were chosen according to practices that were usual for their time. For example, the material support was chosen more or less by chance—it is just normal paper—and the ruling type and the ink are not different from what one finds in many other manuscripts of the time. One could argue that this ‘unintentionality’ is already a message to the reader about the quality of the book or the ‘ordinariness’ of its content. I will return to the question of potential messages linked to physical features below.

On the other hand, pieces of content such as titles, prologues, or even Evangelists’ portraits and book epigrams are both physically distinct and intellectually dependent features, when they are linked to another content, and, as such, they operate very differently than physical features. In contrast to physical features, they could theoretically be removed from the codex or

15 About the imprecisions of Genette’s terminology, see Rockenberger and Röcken 2009, 297–305.

erased without modifying the core content; they are not essential or physically linked to the core content's existence. The reverse is only partially true: if a piece of core content is removed, the contents which depend on it as far as their message is concerned, continue to exist physically in the book. But since their message depends on the presence of the core content which no longer exists, their presence in the book does not make much sense anymore. To give a concrete example, in the proceeding of a conference, the table of contents makes sense if the contributions are also in the book (or the book is available somewhere); but these contributions will always make sense even if there is no table of contents at all, they might just be more difficult to locate. If the core contents are removed from the book, the book no longer contains the core message it was supposed to have, even if the other contents are left in it.¹⁶

In summary, paracontents as pieces of content depend on other content and, ultimately, on the core contents in order to meaningfully exist in the book; but both the core contents and their paracontents depend on physical features for their existence.

This is the main reason why it makes more sense to me to limit the meaning of paratextuality¹⁷ to designate a specific relationship between two pieces of content, more precisely between dependant pieces of content and their pro-content, as the term paratext and the Genette's system of transtextuality also suggest.

There is a crossroads in the understanding of paratextuality. If 'paratext' or 'paracontent' must describe the relationship between two pieces of content, it cannot also include the physical features of the book. But the exclusion of the physical features from the realm of paratextuality does not diminish their importance. On the contrary, most scholars agree that manuscript books can no longer be reduced to mere containers for contents. Instead, they are objects whose cultural value goes beyond their contents. Their physicality also functions as a language through which they teach us about the people who produced them, as well as the places and the time in which they came into being. If the whole book is understood as one or several core contents surrounded by all kinds of physical and non-physical paratexts, its specificity as an independent cultural object is not properly recognised. This understanding of paratextuality would risk to bring us back to the time when the object-book was only seen as the necessary support for a text or another piece of art. But if the physical features are placed outside the realm of paratextuality, their importance and specificity become more readily apparent.

16 For a similar way of approaching paratextuality in the world of printed book, see Rockenberger and Röcken 2009, 309–325.

17 One is tempted to coin the unpleasant word 'Paracontentedness'.

Question 4: ... about functional and adventitious contents

Should then contents such as quire signatures, page numbers, owners' ex-libris, book-stamps or shelfmarks be considered paratexts of the core content? On the one hand, they are contents and they surround the basic contents; an ex-libris might even directly mention it (see below).

On the other hand, the relationship with the basic contents is indirect and not immediately connected to their messages. Their primary relationship is with the book itself, which, for example, they help navigate or can facilitate its location on the shelf. They primarily serve the book and its physical use, not the main or any basic contents as such.

To consider them as 'book paratexts', as I did for a long time, can help understand this difference. But, after the lengthy explanation above that paratexts are pieces of content in a relationship with other pieces of content, the expression 'book paratexts' might seem an oxymoron. Today, based on our latest progress in the analysis of the contents of a codex (which are summarised in the Table 1 below) these features are simply included in the class of 'functional content', which is distinct from the basic content of a book (the project contents, which the producers wanted to insert in the book) and the adventitious contents, which were added by chance.¹⁸

However, this does not preclude the previously-mentioned situations where the functional content alludes to the content. For example, an ex-libris can either mention just the owner: 'this book belongs to xyz'. In this case it could be written on any book owned by xyz, even on empty codices without any basic content. It can also designate the content of the book: 'this Gospelbook belongs to xyz'. This ex-libris works only on a very limited number of books owned by xyz. One could argue that the second ex-libris is also a paratext to the main content, since it does not make sense without it. I would describe it as a functional content which is also a paracontent to the main content, i.e. to a procontent outside its class. However, without this explicit reference to the text, the ex-libris is not a paratext to the basic content.

Catchwords are another example of functional contents which are also paracontents to a basic content: their main function is to ensure that a codex's quires are in the correct order; but they do so by explicitly using some letters or words of the plain text nearby and, as a result, they depend on it.

Finally, as is the case for any content, even a piece of functional content can be supplemented by a note, or corrected at a later time. Then there is a normal paratextual type of relationship between those within the class of functional content.

18 On these only three classes of content in a codex, see Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 371–372, and Andrist et al. forthcoming, § 2.1.3.

Table 1. Summary table of the various types of contents in a manuscript

<p>A. Book-producer's content. Divisible into three classes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Basic content <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Main content (core content and paracontents) b. Secondary content (core content and paracontents) 2. Functional content (including possible standard and 'trans-class' paracontents) 3. Adventitious content <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Side content (including possible paracontents) b. Previous contents on reused material (potentially including all classes of contents in a previous book)
<p>B. Post-production content ... (same classes as above)</p>
<p>C. Remade book content¹⁹ ... (same classes as above)</p>

Paratextualia: Concepts and Terminology

Now that the main limits of paratexts/paracontents as contents have been outlined, let us return to the definition of paracontent and clarify a few terminological points.

On the basis of the explanations given above and in close agreement with the definition I gave in my 2014 paper, I define a paracontent as follows: a piece of content whose presence in a manuscript is dependent on one or more other pieces of content in the same manuscript, as far as its meaning is concerned.²⁰

As already said, to my way of thinking, paratextuality designates a special relationship between two pieces of content: the dependent piece of content is the 'paracontent'; the content(s) it refers to is (are) called its 'procontent(s)'.

19 On re-made book content see Andrist 2018, 144–145.

20 According to the proceedings of the conference, it is 'a piece of content whose presence in the manuscript-book is thematically dependent on one or several other pieces of content in the same book, or the book itself' (Andrist 2018, 146). The question of book paratexts has been discussed above.

This dependency resides at the level of the message of the paracontent, providing one understands ‘message’ in a broad way. As a result, even though some contents may have been conceived as paracontents (one might think of the Canon Tables by Eusebius of Caesarea in relation to the four Gospels), a piece of content does not function as a paratext in a given manuscript because it was originally conceived as such or because it is in the margins of a larger piece of content. Rather, the relationship between the paracontents and their procontent, this link of dependency, is the determining factor, which justifies the presence of the paracontent in the book, as far as its meaning is concerned.

There are also cases where a fully autonomous text is used as a paratext in a codex. For example, when Athanasius’s Epistle to Marcellinus is used as introductory piece before the Psalms. Inversely, if one collects as many evangelist portraits as possible and gathers them into a single volume, these pieces of content are no longer paracontents in this new book, even though they were conceived as such in their previous setting. There are also cases where the paracontents are physically separated from their procontents, in codex Pariathonensis, for example, where the prologues to the Epistles are separated from their protexts by the Book of Acts.²¹

This, of course, does not negate the fact that the ‘geography’ of paracontents, meaning their relative position to their procontent, usually on the same page (preliminary, postliminary, marginal, interlinear, intratextual and so forth) is unimportant or should be neglected. On the contrary, it can be valuable in understanding the function of the paracontents²² (the exact function of a piece of paracontent can be very different according to its position in the codex) and the way the producers expected the book to be used, but they do not decide if a piece of content is a paracontent or not.

Works with a large manuscript tradition are often accompanied with more or less the same set of paracontents (usually texts), which can be considered ‘traditional paratexts’ to the main work. This is ultimately why it makes sense to prepare and publish critical editions of paratexts, and not just transcribe them separately.²³

As another result of this approach towards paracontents is that a piece of content ‘a’ can be both the paracontent of another piece of content ‘b’ (or a series of pieces of content) and, at the same time, the procontent of a piece

21 On both examples of Athanasius’ *Epistle* and Codex Pariathonensis (= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 14 (= *Diktyon* 49574); + Hagion Oros, Stavronikita 29 (= *Diktyon* 30090) fol. α’-δ’, 379–382), see Andrist 2020, 35–38, 58–62.

22 On the functions of paracontents in manuscripts, see for example Ciotti and Hang 2016, 7.

23 As illustrated by the *Paratexts of the Bible* project, see Wallraff and Andrist 2015 and Wallraff 2021, v.

of content ‘c’ (or a series of them). The chain begins and ends at some point: with pieces of content that are not paracontents of any other piece of content (usually these autonomous contents are the ‘core contents’ of the book),²⁴ and with paracontents that are not referred to by any other pieces of content, at the end of the conceptual chain.

In a codex, most of the paracontents refer to one single piece of procontent, such as most of the titles, or book epigrams which introduce a text; they are ‘simple’ paracontents. The procontent and all of its simple paratexts together occupy a certain space in the codex, which can be called the ‘perimeter’ of this procontent. Of course, when a simple paracontent is also the procontent of another simple paracontent, the perimeters are nested within each other.

Other paratexts relate to several pieces of content, such as a series of introductory paintings in deluxe multiple-text Byzantine books. Their presence in the book directly depends on all the core pieces of content, at least the main ones, and not just on a single one. They are ‘complex paracontents’ which produce ‘complex perimeters’ with all the procontents they refer to and their simple paracontents. In this case, the complex paracontent, and not the procontent, determines which pieces of content are included in the corresponding perimeter.

Question 5: ... about textual corrections and variant readings

Let us now explore the limits of the textual procontents in relation to their paracontents. First, we will discuss a simple case of marginal corrections: is a marginal correction of a word in the plain text (i.e. the text written in the area of the page reserved for the basic content) also a paracontent of the text? Let us consider two situations.

If the hand belongs to the scribe or one of the original correctors, who checked the text immediately after its copy in the original scriptorium, both the original written word and the correction belong to the same production. The resulting text (i.e. what they first copied minus what they erased plus what they corrected) represents the text which those in charge of the project shared with readers. If the marginal correction belongs to the same content from the same production as the plain text, how could it be both part of this content and a paracontent to it? As a result, this correction is clearly not a paratext but an element of the text.²⁵

However, if the textual correction is added by a reader a few years later, it is clearly not a part of the same production. From a book historical point of view, it represents another piece of content, which was added in a more recent

24 For a paradoxical situation, see Question 2 above.

25 See also Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 2.

historical layer, and whose presence in the manuscript depends on the previously present and supposedly faulty text; it is clearly a paratext.

A related question is whether variant readings by scribes ought to be considered paratexts, especially if they were introduced intentionally. There are indeed instances where scribes make changes or additions to the text they are copying for philological, rhetorical or ideological reasons. In such cases, if the scribe's intention was to convey some kind of message about the text that he or she was copying, should we not consider this contribution as a distinct piece of content within the book and frame its relationship to the author's copied text in a paratextual way?

In order to address this question, let us briefly highlight again the main difference between the work which an author conceives, and its copies, which are texts that a scribe produces.²⁶ A work begins as an intellectual creation and the first time it is 'materialised' onto the page represents its first copy, even if this copy is the author's autograph.²⁷ The copied text is thus always a physical instantiation of the work, a more or less faithful witness to it. If the scribe influences the meaning of a text by introducing variants, these are not commenting on the text the scribe is writing, but on the author's work. In a sense, the scribe becomes the minor 'co-author' of a new work whose first copy he or she is writing.²⁸

The resulting text can be an unfaithful witness to the work, but the added or somehow altered message cannot be separated from the meaning of the text that is produced. It cannot be considered to be a distinct text or a paratext to a work, since the work is not a piece of physical content in a manuscript. Scribes are imperfect transmitters of a witness to the original work, and this explains why classical philologists try to reconstruct the text history and build stemmas. This approach to the copied text implies that its message could be analysed in several layers but that question, though interesting, lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

Question 6: ... about diacritical signs, punctuation, and text division

A question similar to the previous one has to do with the punctuation and diacritical signs in a codex.

26 This distinction is a basic and classical one, even though there is a lot of variation in the terminology used by scholars. For some bibliographical entry points, see Andrist 2018, 135–136 or Ruokkeinen and Liira 2017, 108; see also Rockenberger and Röcken 2009, 313–314, and Andrist et al. forthcoming, § 2.1.3.

27 See Andrist and Maniaci 2021, 372.

28 This is of course also the case with the fluid traditions of some works, where each scribe feels free or even encouraged to customize the texts to his/her situation.

On the one hand, punctuation signs do have a meaning; they tell the readers, for example, that they have reached the end of the sentence, or, more generally, the end of a thought. Why then should they not also be considered paratexts?

My approach begins with another question: are the written letters which are used to materialize a literary work also its paracontent? This is impossible, because when put together, they are the text itself, understood as a material manifestation of this work!²⁹ In a written text copied with an alphabetical system, letters usually make words, and words usually make sentences. Blanks spaces which usually mark the limits of a word are not paracontents, not more (or less) so than a period which marks the end of a sentence.

The same is true of diacritical signs: they usually let the readers know how to pronounce the text correctly, or help them differentiate between words and sentences. In writing systems such as Greek or Latin, they are fairly indispensable for fluent reading, as anyone dealing with older manuscripts written in *scriptio continua* can readily attest; reading them is not difficult just for us, but also for people in Antiquity, as the sources reveal.³⁰ Periods, commas, apostrophes, as well as accents and all kinds of diacritical signs are part of the graphic system used by the scribes to materialise a work (or communicate their own ideas). The result of the use of these signs is the text itself, i.e. a new instantiation of the work; in other words, these signs are constitutive elements of the text, and they belong to its building blocks, so to speak. If the diacritics are added or modified after the book has been in circulation, this is another production, and one is dealing with two related but distinct instantiations of the same work.

Similarly, in many manuscripts, the basic textual contents are often divided into sections, or pericopes. Simple division systems are realised, for example, by starting half of a letter 'earlier' in the margin (*ekthesis*), or with a larger letter, or with a small marginal sign. Is this 'paragraphing' part of the text or a paratext to it? And if they are part of the text, why should other features such as headpieces, titles or subtitles be considered paratexts and not also part of the text, since they also provide some structure in the copied texts and divide them in meaningful sections (and also make the reading easier)? This question is more complex than it seems.

A major difference between titles and diacritics has to do with the fact that, in the case of titles, the division is made up of a series of meaningful words created outside the text, they are thus another piece content. A basic

29 About the classical dialectics of work and text, see p. 213 above.

30 See for example Geymonat 2008, 28–30; about the question of interpunction in ancient manuscripts, see the still useful Parkes 1992, 9–19.

division (such as a single period or comma) has no meaning in itself; a simple *ekthesis* doesn't even have any substance *per se*... From this angle, these divisions seem to be closer to diacritics than titles.

However, another difference pertains to fact that titles and subtitles are (theoretically) not necessary for the reading of a text at the most basic level, no matter how useful they can be for understanding it at a higher level. At the basic level they can be removed without affecting the way sentences are read. But this is not exactly the case with diacritics: even if their usage can vary a great deal from one scribe to another, including their density of use, it is not possible to produce an easily readable manuscript without a basic set of diacritics or punctuation marks, as I argued above. From this angle, *ektheseis* and paragraph signs seem to behave more like titles than diacritics, since sentences can be read and understood even without them. This is, however, only a first impression because a long text cannot be read or navigated efficiently if it is not divided into some kind of paragraphs and/or chapters, even without titles or subtitles. Thus basic paragraphing can be said to belong to the normal features of any longer piece of content and, as such, is part of the text too.

Even though these signs and divisions are meant to contribute to a better reading and understanding of the text and make the original message of the author(s) more easily accessible, there is inevitably a subjective dimension (and some deteriorations) in any copy of a text, no matter how careful the scribe's work is. Scribes punctuate and divide the text not only according to their scribal habits but also according to what they understand as they write (unless they are imitating its antigraph). This is the reason why these signs and divisions can substantially vary from one copy to another.

There is also no doubt that diacritics, punctuation signs and divisions can influence the meaning of the text, as ancient readers already noticed.³¹ In some cases, scribes more or less unconsciously choose between several possible solutions; in other cases they clearly try to influence the reader and impose their understanding. The situation is not different from the variant readings discussed above. If scribes influence the meaning of a text by their decisions about punctuations or paragraphing, they are not commenting on the text they are writing, but producing a text which comments on the author's work. Even under these circumstances the diacritics, punctuation signs, and divisions, which are intrinsic to the copying of a text by hand, are not paratexts either.

Where are then the limits? I have just argued that simple text divisions are not paratexts. The situation is different, however, if the paragraphs are accompanied by some marginal numbers or signs which carry a supplementary meaning in themselves, marking a sequence, for example. It would be

31 See, for example, Geymonat 2008, 28–30 ; Parkes 1992, 14–15, 17.

difficult not to consider these signs as paracontents, even if they are auctorial ones.³² Like titles, these signs exist physically outside the plain text, and they have an explicit supplementary meaning, on which their presence in the manuscript depends. They are usually associated with corresponding basic text divisions. Together with these, they tell the readers how the text should be read and, beyond this, how the work should be understood.

Let us consider one last case. What if there are no division signs, but the simple divisions clearly correspond to a larger external system such as the liturgical pericopes in New Testament manuscripts, and do not depend only on the flow of the text (or traditional divisions of the text into paragraphs)? This is again the scribe's presentation of the work, this time under the influence of a peculiar liturgical tradition, as far as the division is concerned. In one sense, the text is then also a witness to this tradition.

Question 7: ... about ink, script and decoration

As is well known to scholars of medieval manuscripts, some scribes used complex script systems when copying complex texts. For example, in the case of commentaries or question-and-answer texts, they often played with the size, the type or the colour of the scripts, in order to help the readers better distinguish between the lemmata or the question, and the commentary or the answer.³³

These, again, are techniques and tools used by scribes to better materialise the text. They are elements of the text and the result is not another or a supplementary text, but a peculiar *mise-en-scène* of a work. In other words, they do not belong to the world of paratexts.

The same is true of basic decoration, when its main function consists of structuring the content. Normal initials, written, for example, in a slightly larger size, and/or in red or blue, are again a special rendering of the text corresponding to the scribe's (or the traditional) understanding of the work and their purpose is to make it more readable to the readers. They can be viewed as a special type of punctuation as presented above.

Certainly, the scribe's decisions about script, ink, or basic decoration may also influence the readers' understanding of the work. However, as explained above, these are best considered as physical elements of the text, and not as another content or a paratext.

There are also other types of decorations, including (for example) all kinds of *bandeaux*, floral motifs, *drôleries* or drawings, which might have a functional value to underline the beginning or a major division of a text or

32 Such as titles or other aids the authors may add to their texts.

33 Andrist et al. 2013, 95–100 and forthcoming, § 5.5.

draw attention to an important passage. Sometime they are the fruit of some extra labour by a gifted scribe or painter, whose aim was clearly to enhance the beauty, the attractiveness and/or the sacredness of the book or its main contents. How should these be handled with?

- these decorations are clearly supplementary to the text, physically. They can be erased without directly affecting the content. Furthermore, they clearly deliver a message (a non-verbal one) to the readers on top of a content. They can thus be considered as another piece of content;
- their presence in the book also clearly depends on the presence of another piece of content, usually a text, which their message is about.

In this case, there is thus a paracontent-procontent relationship.

Decorations which apply to several contents are complex, just like the complex textual paracontents mentioned above.

Finally, one might encounter some drawings or decorative elements, which are just added, for example, on empty parts of the codex because of *horror vacui*. If those are really independent from the other pieces of content and are not part of the book project, they could be considered as non-textual adventitious contents.

Conclusion

At the end of this paper on the limits of paracontents, it is easier to explain why the concept of paratextuality is needed also in manuscript studies.

Firstly, if one limits paratextuality to the contents understood in a broad meaning, as I suggest, the study of paracontents is able to renew our awareness of the plurality and complexity of the contents in a multiple-content manuscript, as well as their hierarchical organisation.

Secondly, and most importantly, this new awareness brings new questions that have to do with these relationships, such as:

- What roles and functions does each type of paracontent have within the manuscripts in general? This rises also the question of their literary genre and their nature.
- How are the contents perimeters organised? What kind of structures and groupings do the paracontents, in particular complex paracontents, create within the mass of the contents of the manuscript?
- On a more granular level, what are the roles and functions of the various contents within a single manuscript? For example, not just the role of the capitula of John before the fourth Gospel, but also in relationship with other paracontents which may attend John and other capitula introducing other biblical books in the codex. These same questions apply to complex paracontents.

- Even though physical features are not paracontents, some of them might interact with the core content or the paracontents, as mentioned above. Is it the case in the manuscript being studied? What does it mean?
- Considering that the people who the book was produced for are (usually) not the same as the people who produced it, how can one understand or describe this complex web of relationships? How were the paracontents used to mediate between the original intended readers of the book,³⁴ and the specific book-object (as it was produced) as well as its core content?
- What do added paracontents teach us about the relationship between the manuscript and all its users down the centuries until today?

As a result, both paracontents as a particular type of content, and paratextuality as a relational concept are categories that help us understand how ancient books were conceived and used. These questions do not replace the old ones, but present them through a new analytical lens and, as a result, have the potential of renewing our understanding of the book, its production, its ‘mechanics’, its usages and functions and sometimes also its history. One sometimes wonders if the study of paracontents is not heading toward what could be called the semiotics of the manuscript...

Instead of a final word, I would like to share with you a brief metaphor by Peter Gumbert, one of the most eminent and brilliant codicologists of the last decades. In 1995, he wrote:

If a manuscript is likened to a house, where a person (the author) lives, most of the speakers on this occasion (as indeed most of those who study manuscripts all over the world) are coming through the main entrance, like good friends who come to converse with the head of the house, the Author of the Text; one speaker uses what one might call a side entrance, to meet the lady of the house, Illumination; but I am the only one who proposes to enter through the tradesmen’s entrance at the back, to meet the servants: the craftsmen, the salesmen.³⁵

Even though this metaphor is not without problems, it is clear enough. The manuscript is a house, in which a man and a woman live. To paraphrase Gumbert, the master of the manuscript is the author, while the mistress is the illumination. This analogy is unbalanced, because the illumination is effectively and literally in the house or the manuscript, while, literally, the author is not; but their text is; the author is only reachable through the text; he is a stand-in for the text.

But there are other people to meet in the house; these are the servants. Who are they? Gumbert goes on:

34 Leaving aside here the question of the books which were not produced to be read.
35 Gumbert 1995, 57.

Finding out the technical details of how books were made, or how one particular book was made, is not directly relevant to the really vital issues of the medieval culture. [...] Yet these technical matters do have their place [...] and now and then they may surprise one by shedding some ray of light on some cultural relationship, or on the history of a single manuscript – and that, in turn may have surprising consequences for our understanding of a text, of an author, or even of a whole strand of thought. This means that anyone visiting a manuscript should not only visit the Author and the Decoration, but also the servants downstairs; and that a catalogue should not only list the texts and describe the decoration, but also treat what is now called the ‘codicology’ of the book.

Just as the author is a stand-in for the text, the servants are stand-ins for the make-up of the manuscript according to Gumbert. Its quires, its scripts and its layout are also important inhabitants of the manuscript, and they each have their own story to tell.

But to complete Gumbert’s metaphor, in a castle there are also other servants, who show visitors around the house, help them get situated, prepare them to meet the master and the mistress, or even sometimes translate for them: these are the paracontents.

Paracontents are neither the wall nor the ceilings, nor the main inhabitants of the castle, and even less the dresses they wear or the constitutive parts of their body, but they are still crucial actors within the manuscript, and necessary interlocutors if someone wants to understand the small community within the manuscript and the larger society of which the manuscript is a part.

References

- Andrist, P. 2018. ‘Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: the Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts’, in L. I. Lied and M. Maniaci, eds, *Bible as Notepad: Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices*, *Manuscripta Biblica*, 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 130–149.
- 2020. ‘Au croisement des contenus et de la matière: l’architecture des sept pandectes bibliques grecques du premier millénaire. Étude comparative sur les structures des contenus et de la matérialité des codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Ephraemi rescriptus, Basilianus, “Pariathonensis” et de la Biblia Leonis’, *Scrineum*, 17 (2020), 5–106, <<https://oajournals.fupress.net/index.php/scrineum/article/view/11466>> [accessed 29 March 2022].
- Andrist, P., P. Canart, and M. Maniaci 2013. *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale*, *Bibliologia*, 34 (Turnhout: Brepols 2013).
- forthcoming. *The Syntax of the Codex*, revised and expanded translation of Andrist et al. 2013 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).
- Andrist, P., and M. Maniaci 2021. ‘The Codex’s Contents: Attempt at a Codicological Approach’, in J. B. Quenzer ed., *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects*,

- Methods, and Concepts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 25 (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter 2021), I, 369–394.
- Ciotti, G., and L. Hang, eds, 2016. *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 7 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016).
- Ciotti, G, M. Kohs, E. Wilden, H. Wimmer, and the TNT working group ‘Definition of Paracontent’, 2018. *Definition of Paracontent*, CSMC Occasional Paper, 6 (Hamburg: CSMC, 15 November 2018), <<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/occasional-papers/files/csmc-occasional-paper-6-tnt.pdf>> [accessed 29 March 2022].
- Genette, G. 1979. *Introduction à l’architecte*, Poétique (Paris: Seuil, 1979).
- 1982. *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Points, 257 (Paris: Seuil, 1982).
- 1987. *Seuils*, Points, 473 (Paris: Seuil, 1987).
- 1992. *The Architect: An Introduction*, tr. J. E. Levin, Quantum Books, 31 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).
- 1997. *Palimpsests, Literature in the Second Degree*, tr. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky, Stages, 8 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
- 1997b. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tr. J. E. Lewin, Literature, Culture, Theory, 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Geymonat, M. 2008. ‘Grafia e interpunzione nell’antichità greca e latina, nella cultura bizantina e nella latinità medievale’, in B. M. Garavelli, *Storia della punteggiatura in Europa* (Roma–Bari: Laterza, 2008), 25–62.
- Gumbert, J. P. 1995. ‘C Catalogue and Codicology. Some Reader’s Notes’, in M. Hedlund ed., *A Catalogue and its Users. A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 34 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1995), 57–70.
- Parkes, M. B. 1992, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992; repr. London, New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Rockenberger, A., and P. Röcken 2009. ‘Typographie als Paratext? Anmerkungen zu einer terminologischen Konfusion’, *Poetica*, 41 (2009), 293–330.
- Ruokkeinen, S., and A. Liira 2017. ‘Material Approaches to Exploring Paratext’, *Textual Cultures*, 11 (2017), 106–129.
- Wallraff, M. 2021, *Die Kanontafeln des Euseb von Kaisareia*, Manuscripta Biblica, 1 = Paratextus Biblici, 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2021).
- Wallraff M. and P. Andrist 2015. ‘Paratexts of the Bible: A New Research Project on Greek Textual Transmission’, *Early Christianity*, 6 (2015), 237–243.

Research projects

The Bohairic Coptic Version of the Homily *De ieiunio I* by Basil of Caesarea

Marta Addessi, Sapienza University of Rome

I present here a summary of the PhD dissertation entitled ‘La versione in copto bohairico dell’omelia *De ieiunio I* di Basilio di Cesarea. Introduzione, edizione, traduzione e commento, con un’appendice sulla trasmissione in copto sa‘ḏico’, which I defended on 24 February 2022 at Sapienza University of Rome as the conclusion of the PhD course in Philology and History of the Ancient World (Philology of the Near- and Middle-East program), under the supervision of Paola Buzi and Agostino Soldati.

The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana holds an important collection of Coptic manuscripts. Sixteen codices—or, rather, 2,496 parchment sheets in Bohairic Coptic—are of particular interest. These are the fragments that Giuseppe Simone Assemani (1687–1768) purchased from the Dayr al-Anbā Maqār (the Monastery of St Macarius) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn during the journey to Egypt and the East, which he undertook on behalf of Pope Clement XI Albani (1649–1721) in the years 1715–1717. Once in Rome, the leaves were first kept at the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. In 1723 they were transferred to the Vatican Library, where they were bound with modern covers to form the sixteen volumes. Following the Treaty of Tolentino (1797) the volumes were transferred to the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris, before returning permanently to the Vatican Library after 1817. This collection is of extraordinary historical, cultural and literary value, not only because it is linked to the Monastery of St Macarius—the most prominent monastic and cultural centre of northern Egypt in the ninth to eleventh centuries—but also because of its fundamental relevance for the reconstruction of one of the last phases of Coptic literature, that of the Synaxarial rearrangement (ninth century), which probably owes much to the process of textual selection and arrangement carried out in St Macarius.¹ The collection is also of considerable importance for questions concerning the history of the manuscript tradition, and in particular for what concerns the domains of Coptic philology, palaeography, codicology, and the linguistic evolution of the northern variety of Coptic.

1 Orlandi 2018.

One of the volumes in the Assemani collection is MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. copt. 58.² Here, 194 parchment folia from formerly nine different manuscripts were bound together to form a miscellany containing twelve hagiographic and homiletic texts, seven of which had been published previously.

The main aim of the thesis was to provide an in-depth study and the first edition of the sermon *De ieiunio I* (CPG 2845, CC 0084) by Basil of Caesarea (330–379). The work is attested in its entirety in Coptic only in Vat. copt. 58, ff. 178r–194r, in Bohairic (CLM 84, MACA.AO);³ the copy is datable to the first half of the tenth century. In addition, fragments are known in Sahidic, the southern variety of Coptic. These are six leaves which originally belonged to two fragmentary codices apparently transmitting two different translations of the sermon; the first codicological unit (CLM 562, MONB.OA) is datable to the tenth century, the second (CLM 419, MONB.GZ) between the second half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

The thesis starts with an ample introduction, which is useful for outlining a historical literary profile of the work under examination and for highlighting all the particularities relating both to MS Vat. copt. 58 and, above all, to the text of the Bohairic version of *De ieiunio I*. It is divided into two parts: the more general §§ 1–3, and §§ 4–8, more specifically devoted to the version examined here and to the codex in which it is contained. First, a brief biographical and literary profile of Basil of Caesarea and his main works is given (§ 1.1), followed by the description of the fortune that the figure of the great Cappadocian Father and his works enjoyed in the Coptic tradition (§ 1.2). In § 2, the focus is made on the first homily *De ieiunio*. The first sub-paragraph (§ 2.1) deals with the circumstances and aims that led to the writing of the sermon; it also contains a summary of the work and informs of the cultural influences behind its composition. The second, denser subparagraph (§ 2.2) deals with the extensive Greek manuscript tradition and the editions of the work over the centuries. In light of the complexity of the tradition, and in order to see whether some of the sections of the Bo-

2 Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 385–399. For the digital images see <<https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.copt.58>> (this and other URIs last accessed on 1 November 2022).

3 The CLM (= Coptic Literary Manuscripts) is the identifier assigned to each codicological unit in the database ‘PATHs’ created by the project ‘Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths. An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature’ (ERC Advanced Grant 2015-2020, project agreement no. 687567, PI Paola Buzi, Sapienza University of Rome, <<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/>>), while MONB.OA is the siglum adopted by the project ‘Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari’ (<<http://www.cmcl.it>>).

hairic version might depend on a Greek text different from the known *Vorlage* and available to the Coptic translator,⁴ I include an *addendum* to § 2.2. There I present the results of the collation of nineteen Greek manuscripts of *De ieiunio I*. They were chosen on the basis of specific criteria in order to enlarge the meagre witness base that is one of the most evident limits of the only existing edition of the Greek sermon.⁵ §§ 2.3 and 2.4 are devoted to the ancient translations of Basil's *De ieiunio I*: more specifically, § 2.3 deals with the translations of the work into Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian, while § 2.4 focuses only on the Coptic versions, which are treated separately because of their importance in the thesis.

Introduction § 3 is dedicated to the description of the historical and cultural context of the Dayr al-Anbā Maqār and its rich library, whose importance, especially for the study of the last phase of the Coptic literature and of the Coptic manuscript tradition in general, is slowly emerging thanks to the research and editions of texts produced in recent years. The choice of giving space to the analysis of the historical and cultural context of the production and preservation of the manuscript of the Bohairic version of the homily *De ieiunio I*—in § 3, but also, like a clear red thread, in other sections of the thesis—is of primary importance within the economy of the thesis. It actually follows the perspective which was adopted by the project 'PAThs', and makes the archaeological, historical, and cultural contexts to which the manuscripts are linked useful tools to interpret the purposes underlying the process of selection, production, and preservation of certain works. To a certain extent, this also helps to interpret the texts contained in those codices, and, as in this case, their relations with the Greek and Coptic-Sahidic traditions. This perspective allows us to evaluate and re-evaluate the consistency, importance, and role of the *scriptorium* of the Monastery of St Macarius.

Introduction §§ 4–8 are devoted to specific aspects relating both to the Bohairic text and to its only witness, MS Vat. copt. 58. In § 4 I recount a brief history of the codex and give an account of the position it occupies within the Vatican Library. I also offer a summary of the events involving the Bohairic parchment sheets. In § 5 I provide the codicological and palaeographical description of MS Vat. copt. 58 in its entirety, although it must be stressed again that it is not a unitary manuscript, but a composite codex made up of the reassembly of nine codicological units, complete or fragmentary. In § 6 I offer an

4 The possible existence of a different Greek text is not excluded a priori by Orlandi 1975, 51 and Lucchesi and Devos 1981, 88. For an opposite opinion see Fedwick 1996, 1226–1227.

5 The edition was prepared by the Benedictine Jules Garnier in the eighteenth century and reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca* series edited by Jacques-Paul Migne, see Migne 1857.

analysis of the paratextual elements of the codicological unit Vat. copt. 58¹² (ff. 178r–194r), which is of most interest here, since it contains the text that the thesis focuses upon. In § 7 I present in detail the contents of the miscellaneous codex Vat. copt. 58; I also provide an analysis of the criteria and aims underlying the choice of bringing together works transmitted in codicological units originally belonging to different Bohairic codices. § 8 deals with linguistic and stylistic remarks regarding the Bohairic translation of Basil's first homily on fasting. The last paragraph of the Introduction, § 9, highlights the methodology applied when preparing the edition of the Bohairic version and of the Sahidic fragments of *De ieunio I*.

The edition arranges the text of the Bohairic version of Basil of Caesarea's *De ieunio I* from MS Vat. copt. 58, ff. 178r–194r, next to the Greek *Vorlage* (Migne's *PG* XXXI, 164–184), on the same page, to facilitate comparison with the original text. Translation, commentary, and an appendix devoted to the historical philological study, edition, and translation of the hitherto known Sahidic fragments of the same sermon follow the edition. The concluding remarks summarize the most interesting issues that emerged from the study and may be worthy of further research in the future. They may potentially add to our current understanding of many aspects of the cultural and literary history of Egypt in the ninth to eleventh centuries, some of which are inevitably only touched upon in this research.

The thesis is furnished with a scriptural index, an index of Coptic and Greek words and names attested both in the complete Bohairic version and in the Sahidic fragments of *De ieunio I*, an index of the manuscripts cited, as well as tables summarizing the contents of the Coptic manuscripts transmitting the homily under study and of the Greek codices collated. A series of twenty-five plates helps better clarify the issues addressed in particular in Introduction § 5 and in the Appendix, relating specifically to the codicological and palaeographical aspects of the manuscripts examined.

Several noteworthy points have emerged from the study. First and foremost, the analysis of the collated Greek manuscripts showed only occasional points of contact between the Greek tradition and the Coptic versions of *De ieunio I*. These are in fact minor convergences that merely connect the Coptic translations to particular families of Greek manuscripts, but ultimately do not justify the hypothesis that the Bohairic translation and the Sahidic version witnessed by CLM 419 are dependent on a Greek *Vorlage* other than the one currently taken as a reference point. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Coptic translation testified to by CLM 84 and CLM 419 occasionally presents some significant points of contact with the Pseu-

do-Rufinian Latin adaptation of the *De ieiunio I*.⁶ Since we know for sure that the Coptic version could only have been translated from Greek, we may assume the existence of a common source that influenced both the Pseudo-Rufinian adaptations (whose composition can be dated between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century) and the Coptic versions of CLM 84 and CLM 419, which are probably later productions (seventh to ninth centuries). What is more, at least in one point, concerning a quotation from Isaiah of which the *Vorlage* provides only a few words, the Bohairic of CLM 84,⁷ the Pseudo-Rufinian adaptation and Ambrose of Milan's *De Helia et ieiunio*—a treatise deeply influenced by Basil's *De ieiunio I*—are extraordinarily similar. It is noteworthy that the expanded quotation from Isaiah is also found in Tertullian's *De ieiunio aduersus psychicos*, the first Christian work entirely devoted to fasting. It seems safe to assume that a common source must have in some way influenced all these texts. Otherwise, in order to interpret this connection between traditionally independent versions/adaptations, one would have to admit a causal link, certainly not impossible, but clearly not judiciously admissible within a rigorous and methodologically correct study. Such common source that would have influenced the aforementioned translations and adaptations must have been a Greek source, most probably a version of *De ieiunio I* partially different from the one known to us. In any case, none of the collated manuscripts presents the extended quotation from Isaiah. However, it is known that more or less elaborate and reworked, one might say readapted, homilies circulated in Greek, especially in homiletic manuscripts containing sermons by different authors, brought together for practical purposes related to the liturgy. Very often, texts in such manuscripts had sections altered or omitted. Often, incipits were lacking, or transferred from one work to another, so that an impression could emerge of being confronted with unknown works or rather works whose status as adaptations of already known texts is not recognised.⁸ Thus, could this hypothetical common source have been an adaptation of *De ieiunio I* already circulating in Greek and contained in homiletic manuscripts? This suggestive hypothesis deserves further investigation. Nevertheless, in order to investigate this fundamental question, it is necessary to undertake a systematic examination of Greek and Oriental homiliaries, as well as a study which is particularly attentive to philological and historical-literary aspects. This approach could enable us to clearly explain which

6 Marti 1989.

7 In the Sahidic version of CLM 419 this section is in lacuna, but it is plausible that the passage was present.

8 Grégoire 1968.

are the distinctive features of the texts contained in *corpora*—apparently bearers of a purer text and closer to the authorial archetype—and which are the features of the texts collected in homiliaries, apparently more easily adapted and adaptable for liturgical reasons. Such an investigation would be particularly valuable not only for the study of Greek homiletics—a field still substantially open to rigorous and systematic research—but also for the relations between Eastern Christian homiletics and the reception of Greek patristics in the Christian East and in the Latin-speaking West.

Finally, another fact of particular relevance, concerning the discussion about the importance of the study of homiliaries, is represented by the fact that the Coptic translation of CLM 562, apparently very faithful to the text of the *Vorlage*, is contained in a Basilian *corpus*, while the freer translations of CLM 84 and CLM 419 seem to have been part of codices containing collections of homilies for liturgical service. We are dealing, therefore, with multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs), a type of codices that were the result of a real book revolution that took place definitively during the ninth century: the production and diffusion of large-format parchment manuscripts with precise formal characteristics containing a selection of texts mostly intended for liturgical service. A systematic philological study of the works transmitted by these manuscripts, which would accurately take into account codicological and palaeographical features—often crucial to better understand the transmission and content of texts—is an important desideratum. Such study would cast new light on the Coptic manuscript tradition and on one of the latest phases of Coptic literature, that is, that of the Synaxarial rearrangement. Extended to the entire literary corpus in Coptic, the results of such approach can certainly be an indispensable tool. When combined with a broader examination of the Greek tradition, meant as a thorough investigation of Greek and Coptic—or, rather, generally Eastern Christian—homiletics, and the history of the transmission of specific works or sets of works into other ancient languages, such research can only be of enormous benefit in expanding our knowledge of translation modes, connections between cultural centres (in the case of ninth to eleventh century Egypt, the Monastery of St Macarius, the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou and the White Monastery), and the history of the manuscript tradition in one of the last fundamental phases of cultural and literary history in the Coptic language, of which the exact characteristics still elude us in many respects.

References

Fedwick, P. J. 1996. *The Homiliae morales, Hexaemeron, De Litteris, with Additional Coverage of the Letters, I: Manuscripts, II: Editions, Translations, Cor-*

- pus Christianorum, Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis, A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea, 2/1–2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).
- Grégoire, R. 1968. ‘Les homéliaires liturgiques des Églises d’Orient’, *Melto* 4/2 (1968), 37–53.
- Hebbelynck, A. and A. van Lantschoot 1937. *Codices coptici Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*, I: *Codices coptici Vaticani, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti* ([Città del Vaticano]: In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937).
- Lucchesi, E. and P. Devos 1981. ‘Un corpus basilien en copte’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 99 (1981), 75–94.
- Marti, H. 1989. *Rufin von Aquileia. De ieiunio I, II. Zwei Predigten über das Fasten nach Basileios von Kaisareia*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).
- Migne, J.-P. 1857. *Patrologiae cursus completus... Series graeca*, XXXI: *S.P.N. Basilii, Caesareae Cappadociae archiepiscopi, opera omnia quae extant* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857).
- Orlandi, T. 1975. ‘Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta’, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 49 (1975), 49–59.
- 2018. ‘The Monasteries of Shenoute and Macarius: A Comparison between Two Libraries’, *Adamantius*, 24 (2018), 58–65.

Pahlavi Texts from Codex MK. Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary

Carlo Marchetti, Sapienza University of Rome

This article describes the main features of my PhD thesis ‘Testi *pahlavī* dal codice MK. Edizione critica, traduzione e commento’ completed in 2021 under the supervision of Professors Carlo G. Cereti and Gianfilippo Terribili from Sapienza University of Rome.¹

Among the corpus of extant Middle Persian manuscripts, the codex traditionally known as MK, from the initials of its supposed scribe, Mihrābān ī Kayhusraw, occupies a special place for its age and selections of texts.² In my recent doctoral dissertation, I provided a critical edition of selected works transmitted by this manuscript, comparing the text in MK with that of five other codices and an important nineteenth-century collation, compiled by the English scholar E. W. West (1824–1905), to supplement the numerous *lacunae* in the model manuscript. The thesis also provides a review of previous printed editions of texts from MK, and an appendix on Zoroastrian time reckoning devised to determine a precise correspondence for the chronological formulations of the colophons.

The first chapter is devoted to the recent history and the physical description of MK. The codex was considered lost since the printing of the introductory second volume of the *editio princeps* of the texts in 1913.³ It was rediscovered in the first years of the present century among the collection of manuscripts that the late *dastūr* K. M. JamaspAsa (1934–2019) brought to the Ancient India and Iran Trust of Cambridge (United Kingdom) for analysis

- 1 This work relied on the direct consultation of the codex MK and of the notebooks of E. W. West, to which Professor Almut Hintze (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) generously granted use and access. My deepest thanks go also to all the personnel at the Ancient India and Iran Trust (Cambridge) and at the Royal Asiatic Society (London) for their kind help and assistance in consulting MK and West’s notebooks in November and December 2019.
- 2 Mihrābān ī Kayhusraw seems to have been active in the first decades of the fourteenth century CE in various cities of Western India (particularly Gujarāt)—at least according to the literal interpretation of colophons preserving his name; a preliminary palaeographical study of his manuscript production indicates the need of more refined analysis on this subject. For the evidence gathered from other five codices traditionally ascribed to Mihrābān, see below.
- 3 Jamasp-Asana and Anklesaria 1913.

and restoration; consequently, a new facsimile edition has been announced by Prof. Almut Hintze and is scheduled to appear soon.⁴

The study of the three extant page numberings of MK, along with an examination of the visible quire marks, permitted to define the probable original structure of the manuscript. Although today only 142 damaged, trimmed, and loose paper folios survive, measuring on average 23.5×13.5 cm, initially the codex consisted of at least 162 or 164 leaves, arranged in 15 quires of variable composition (half of them having 12 folios, with the rest ranging between 6 or 8 and 14). The number of lines for each page is uniform at 14 until folio 128r, but the rest of the manuscript varies between a minimum of 15 lines per page (ff. 155v, 156r and 156v) and a maximum of 22 (ff. 142r and 143v), without direct connection to the textual disposition. Covers and binding are no longer extant, while the paper is frequently torn or eaten away, especially on the external margins and in correspondence with the original binding, to an extent that the readability of various passages is sometimes greatly hampered. The loss of the last written folio of the manuscript deprived us of at least one Sanskrit colophon, at the same time breaking a Middle Persian subscription after just three lines (f. 160v, ll. 15–17). Nonetheless, MK still preserves 37 distinct textual units, with only one, or most probably two, completely lost, and recoverable solely thanks to the careful perusal of other exemplars. Furthermore, the redaction of the texts witnessed in MK is probably the earliest attested at present, while the manuscript is also the oldest testimony of seven texts otherwise preserved only in more recent copies dependant on MK itself.⁵

The palaeographical analysis has revealed deep affinities, if not a substantial identity, between the hand that wrote almost all the compositions of MK and the one visible in the codex K20a (the first 178 leaves of ms Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Iran. 20). The handwriting of f. 160v, ll. 9–17, of MK, instead, is strikingly similar to that attested in K20b (a loose sheet after f. 178v of K20a) and in f. 327v of codex K5 (ms Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Iran. 5). The first coincidence was already known in the nineteenth century,⁶ but the second, coupled with an enquiry into the scribal peculiarities of MK and K20a, substantiated the impression that MK underwent successive interventions after the text was initially copied. The colophons of K20a, moreover, helped in establishing a probable chronology for the completion of MK. The latest date recorded in K20a, equivalent to 1371 CE, is preserved in a subscription on folio 51r, while the date of its last

4 As clarified in Hintze 2021, 546, n. 3.

5 A particularity already noted in Haug and West 1878, 109–110, and remarked in Hintze 2021, 547.

6 Haug and West 1878, 109.

colophon, on f. 74r, is 1351 CE: this inversion in the chronological sequence of the colophons, therefore, indicates that the conclusion of K20a should be later than 1371. Since the palaeographical comparison supported the hypothesis that the copyist of K20a and MK is probably the same person, then a common dating of the two codices to after 1371 seems quite likely. The similarities between those two manuscripts and M51 (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.Zend 51),⁷ furthermore, helped draw a possible connection of all the exemplars to a common scribal background in the last decades of the fourteenth century, rather than in the first years of the same century. Dating MK according to its extant colophons (visible at ff. 73v, l. 13–74v, l. 3, and ff. 160r, r. 2–160v, r. 17), in fact, would otherwise imply that it should have been completed between July and October 1322 CE, as it is often asserted in scholarly literature on this subject.⁸ It is very probable, instead, that these dates go back to the model of MK, simply carried over by the scribe as part of the text. In conformity with this line of enquiry, it followed that the copyist of MK could have been another person than Mihrābān ī Kayhusraw, because other manuscripts traditionally ascribed to him, produced in the years 1323–1324 CE according to their last colophons, such as J2 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Zend c.1), K1 (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Iran. 1), K5 itself, and L4 (London, British Library, Avestan 4, to be complemented with the detached leaves known as MS G151 held in the First Dastoor Meherjirana Library in Navsari), are in a visibly different handwriting than both MK and K20a. A double chronological indication in pseudo-Sanskrit, giving the equivalent of the year 1383 CE in two different calendars, may record, instead, a likely *terminus ante quem* for the various interventions on MK. This subscription is preserved only in the manuscript JJ, the oldest copy known of MK itself, datable according to its colophons to the year 1767 CE.⁹ Unfortunately, JJ is not available today, its specific premises being unknown, but many of its lessons are recorded in the footnotes or directly in the printed text of the *editio princeps*.¹⁰

- 7 West 1880, xxix–xxx, quoted also in Christensen 1931, 11. Manuscript M51 is divided in two volumes, signed M51a and M51b, both digitalized and available respectively at <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00028015>> and at <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00083791>> (these and other URIs last accessed on 1 November 2022).
- 8 For example, most recently in Gross 2021, 366, n. 6.
- 9 Jamasp-Asana and Anklesaria 1913, 9–10.
- 10 In this case, Jamasp-Asana and Anklesaria 1913, 170, n. 2. The chronological formulations in question are printed in Jamasp-Asana and Anklesaria 1913, 170, ll. 7–10. Hintze 2021, 549–550, suggests a convincing location for JJ in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay.

The second chapter of the thesis, therefore, collects all the information concerning JJ and the descriptions of other manuscripts employed for the preparation of the critical edition. Four Indian codices, traditionally signed D3, MU2, MU27 and TD23, were used for basic textual comparison; they are currently available in facsimile, but none of them is a complete copy of MK.¹¹ MU27 and TD23 are probably the most important of these manuscripts, both for their age and for their grammatical correctness. Two other witnesses, instead, proved to be of very high value for the establishment of the critical text.

The first is ms SP (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 2044). This codex was not employed in any of the previous studies regarding MK, although it is a scrupulous copy of JJ or of one of its direct descendants.¹² The original owner, and probably also scribe of the manuscript itself, the *dastūr* J. M. Jamasp-Asana (1830–1898), donated SP to J. Darmesteter (1849–1894) in 1886, as a short note on the first blank page after the end of the texts recalls. The codex is composed of 76 paper folios written 14 to 18 lines per page (76r with only 10 lines), and 9 originally blank pages, 4 at the beginning and 5 at the end; in these last sheets, Darmesteter often reported his observations. One of the most important among them, occupying the last two blank folia and datable to April 1891, is a lengthy *résumé* of the description of MK and of one of its copies, named simply T, which West had originally written down in two of his notebooks during his stay in India in 1875–1876. This minute shows that Darmesteter seemed aware of the importance of SP as the only European witness of the texts of MK, to an extent that he even tried a systematic comparison of the compositions in SP with the copy that West had made of the older manuscript. The collation of the French scholar is still visible in the folios 1–15r of SP, where the lessons of MK taken from the notebooks of West are reported above, or often directly over, words and lines of SP.

The notebooks of West, especially the third, the thirteenth and the nineteenth (signed W3, W13 and W19), represent the second fundamental source of information for the critical edition of MK.¹³ They not only preserve a com-

11 TD23 should be in a private collection in India (JamaspAsa and Nawabi 1976a, 1), D3 and MU2 are probably kept in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay (JamaspAsa and Nawabi 1976c, 1; JamaspAsa and Nawabi 1976d, 1), while MU27 seems to be at the First Dastoor Meherji Rana Library of Navsari (JamaspAsa and Nawabi 1976b, 1).

12 The description in Blochet 1934, 218, is outdated. A complete black-and-white digitalization of SP from a microfilm is available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10088206b>>.

13 The notebooks are numbered according to the list provided in Menasce 1950, 54, 55–56. They are preserved today at the Royal Asiatic Society of London, with

plete copy of this manuscript (W13, 4–100) but also offer many details regarding Indian codices of high importance no longer available today. The lessons of these exemplars, in fact, are often collated directly above or below the lines reproduced from MK. Among the most valuable specimens seen by West there are DP (described in W13, 101), which may represent a parallel branch independent of MK,¹⁴ JE (W19, 86), which probably reflects a redaction separated from the main line MK–JJ, and T (W3, 227), copied from JJ and almost identical to SP. According to the description of T in West’s notebooks, however, this manuscript seems to be a different codex than SP: the former is said to have ‘347 pages, 7 ¾” high × 6” wide, written 12 lines to a page’ (W3, 227, l. 4), while the latter clearly has a different arrangement of pages and lines per folio. Unfortunately, the actual derivation of SP from JJ or T is not precisely determinable, given the unavailability of both JJ and T.¹⁵

The third chapter of the dissertation briefly describes the most complete printed editions of texts from MK. Despite many flaws and inconsistencies, the two volumes prepared by Jamasp-Asana and Anklesaria at the turn of the nineteenth century remain the best in circulation today, also because of the lessons of various Indian manuscripts preserved in the footnotes. A Persian reprint added a transcription and a useful translation,¹⁶ while a Russian edition expanded the repertoire of sources and provided a valuable and careful interpretation of some selected Middle Persian works.¹⁷

The fourth chapter offers the critical edition of seventeen textual units, presented according to the order in which they appear in MK. After a thematic introduction with manuscript references and essential bibliography, the Pahlavi text of each composition follows, accompanied by interlinear transliteration and transcription, in accordance with the original arrangement of folios and lines. A continuous transcription, then, accompanies an Italian translation, with cross-references between them, to the codex, and to the commentary. The apparatus of notes concludes each section, discussing the palaeographic variants of all the manuscripts employed as well as those of West’s notebooks; readings from JJ and corrections made by the various printed editions are also reported at length. Among the texts chosen there are wisdom (*handarz*) compositions such as the *Abdīh ud sahgīh ī Sēstan*, the *Handarz ī Husraw ī Kawādān*, the four *Handarzīhā ī pēsēnīgān*, three anonymous pieces concern-

a catalogue entry available at <<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/d6a209f8-9356-38e8-a419-078f375ba02a>>.

14 References to the texts of DP, and a comparison with MK, are given in Haug and West 1878, 108–109, 110; see also Hintze 2021, 552–556.

15 Regarding the manuscript T see also Hintze 2021, 550.

16 ‘Oryān 1992.

17 Čunakova 1991.

ing meritorious deeds, the sayings of *Ādurfarrray ī Farroxzādān*, of *Baxtāfrīd* and of *Ādurbād ī Zarduštān*, and the *Pang xēm ī āsrōnān*. Other selected passages, instead, conform better to the admonitory (*ēwēn-nāmag*) genre, like the *Nērang ī zahr bastan*, the *Ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsišnīh*, the *Dārūg ī hunsandīh*, the *Stāyēnīdārīh ī sūr āfrīn*, and the *Madan ī Šāhwahrām ī warzāwand*.¹⁸ The last corpus of texts considered are the dated colophons, which present peculiar problems concerning their precise chronological equivalences.

The last chapter, in fact, deals specifically with this kind of materials. The first section outlines an overview of the different Zoroastrian calendars in use during the centuries from the fall of the Sasanian Empire until today, while the following parts study the possible conversions of the dates in MK into years of the Julian calendar. The three chronological formulations in the colophons give the correspondences with 3 February 956 CE (f. 74r, l. 6, date of an ancient model of MK), 4 July 1322 CE (f. 74r, ll. 8–10, first colophon signed Mihrābān ī Kayhusraw), and 10 October 1322 CE (f. 160r, ll. 4–5, last complete subscription by the same scribe). A fourth date, 16 November 1278 CE, is preserved in the *incipit* of the *Paymānag ī kadag-xwadāyīh* (f. 143v, ll. 7–10).¹⁹ Other temporal indications, instead, no longer survive in MK but are attested in its copies like JJ, T, and SP, and contribute to a possible dating of the old manuscript to the last decades of the fourteenth century.

References

- Blochet, E. 1934. *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits persans. Tome quatrième. Nos 2018–2481* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1934).
- Christensen, A. 1931. *The Pahlavi Codices K20 & K20b, containing Ardāgh Vīrāz-nāmagh, Bundahishn etc.*, Codices avestici et pahlavici bibliothecae universitatis hafniensis, 1 (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1931).
- Čunakova, O. M. 1991. *Изведать дороги и пути праведных. Пехлеви́йские назидательные тексты (Izvedat' dorogi i puti pravednyh. Pehlevijskie nazidatel'nye teksty, 'Consider the Righteous Ways and Paths. Pahlavi Didactic Texts')*, Pamjatniki pismennosti vostoka, 44 (Moskva: Nauka, 1991).
- 18 The traditional titles were introduced in the nineteenth century; they are derived arbitrarily from the *incipit* of each text, and may be tentatively translated as: *Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sēstan* ('Marvels and wonders of Sistan'), *Handarz ī Husraw ī Kawādān* ('The testament of Husraw son of Kawād'), *Handarzihā ī pēšēnīgān* ('Counsels of the ancient sages'), *Pang xēm ī āsrōnān* ('The five typologies of priests'), *Nērang ī zahr bastan* ('Enchantment for blocking venom'), *Ēwēnag ī nāmag-nibēsišnīh* ('The way of writing letters'), *Dārūg ī hunsandīh* ('The medicine of contentment'), *Stāyēnīdārīh ī sūr āfrīn* ('The praise of the banquet blessings'), *Madan ī Šāhwahrām ī warzāwand* ('The coming of the powerful Šāhwahrām').
- 19 *Paymānag ī kadag-xwadāyīh* may be translated as the 'Contract of marriage'.

- Gross, S. 2021. 'The Curious Case of the Jewish Sasanian Queen Šīšīnduxt: Exilarchal Propaganda and Zoroastrians in Tenth- to Eleventh-Century Baghdad', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 141 (2021), 365–380.
- Haug, M. and E. W. West 1878. *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis. Second Edition*, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1 (London: Trübner & Co., 1878).
- Hintze, A. 2021. 'Edward William West and the Pahlavi Codex MK', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 33 (2021), 545–557.
- Jamasp-Asana, J. M. and B. T. Anklesaria 1913. *The Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK copied in 1322 by the Scribe Mehr-Āwân Kaī-khūsru*, with an introduction by B. T. Anklesaria (Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1913).
- JamaspAsa, K. M. and M. Nawabi 1976a. *Manuscript TD 23. Khorde Avesta & an Incomplete Pahlavi text of the Mēnōy-i Xrat*, The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, 4 (Shiraz: Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1976).
- 1976b. *Manuscript MU 27. Khurtak Avistak with its Pahlavi Translation, Handarz-i Aturpat Mahraspand, etc.*, The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, 24 (Shiraz: Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1976).
- 1976c. *Manuscript D 3. Avesta-Pahlavi Text of Āfrīn-i Zartuxst, Čim-i Drōn etc.*, The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, 33 (Shiraz: Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1976).
- 1976d. *Manuscript MU 2. 13 Different Pahlavi Texts*, The Pahlavi Codices and Iranian Researches, 35 (Shiraz, Asia Institute of Pahlavi University, 1976).
- Menasce, J. de 1950. 'A Provisional Handlist of the Late E. W. West's Papers Preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1950), 53–63.
- ‘Oryān, S. 1992. گردآورنده: جاماسب جی دستور منوچهر جی جاماسب-آسانا (ترجمه، آوانوشت). *Motūn-e pahlavī (Tarğome, āvānevešt). Gerd-āvarande: Ğāmāsb-ğī dastūr Menūčēher-ğī Ğāmāsb-Āsānā*, 'Pahlavi Texts (Translation, Transcription). Editor: Ğāmāsb-ğī dastūr Menūčēher-ğī Ğāmāsb-Āsānā' (Tehrān: National Library of Iran, 1992).
- West, E. W. 1880. *Pahlavi Texts. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, The Sacred Books of the East, 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880).

The Gə'əz Version of the *Passio* of St Cyricus (*Gadla Qirqos*): A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary

Vitagrazia Pisani, Universität Hamburg

This is a short presentation of a new post-doctorate project funded by the German Research Association (DFG) and aimed to the philological reconstruction of the *Gadla Qirqos*, which could be relevant not only for philologists, but also for scholars of other disciplines of Ethiopian and Christian oriental studies.

The project 'The Gə'əz Version of the *Passio* of St Cyricus (*Gadla Qirqos*): A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary' has been funded for three years (March 2022 till February 2025) by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation),¹ and it is hosted by the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies (HLCEES, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg).

The main scope of the project is to provide for the first time the state-of-the-art critical edition of the *Gadla Qirqos*,² using all so far known and available witnesses, and applying a stemmatological reconstructive (so-called Neo-Lachmannian) method. In addition to producing a reliable critical text, as close as possible to the archetype, accompanied by an extensive critical apparatus, the project aims to provide the English translation of the text with

- 1 DFG project number: 468455109; Principal investigator Vitagrazia Pisani. I would like to express my warmest thanks and gratitude to Eugenia Sokolinski for her generous support and precious assistance during the preparation of the proposal. I am also very grateful to Alessandro Bausi for his valuable feedback, remarks and suggestions on the final version. My thanks are extended to all members (former and actual ones) of the HLCEES (Universität Hamburg) for their support, especially to Solomon Gebreyes Beyene for his kind encouragement and advice.
- 2 CAe (= *Clavis Aethiopica*) 1488. BHG 313y–318e, BHL 1801–1814, BHO 193–194. A first tentative critical edition, with an Italian translation and a commentary to the *Gadl*, was the main subject of my PhD thesis (Pisani 2013). A part of the (unpublished) thesis was also dedicated to the Gə'əz Miracles of Qirqos, where the stories are inventoried with detailed references to the manuscripts containing them. The thesis contains also a historical and literary overview of St Qirqos' veneration in Ethiopia and in Eritrea and of his literary tradition in other churches and languages. For obvious reasons (first ever scholarly approach to the topic, limited availability of manuscripts), I had to considerably limit the scope of my study. At that time, I could consider 21 manuscripts containing the *Gadla Qirqos*. A revised chapter of my PhD thesis, with a hagiographical dossier of Cyricus in East and West, his cult in Ethiopia, and the manuscript tradition (from the Ethio-SPaRe's Project) of his *Passio* in Təgrāy, has been published in Pisani 2015.

a detailed commentary on some of the crucial philological passages. The text edited, together with an introduction and the commented translation, will be then published in a series of wide academic influence (such as the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*).

The *Gadla Qirqos* (ገጽ ገድለ፡ ቁርቆስ፡; lit. '[Spiritual] combat of Qirqos') is the Ethiopic version of the *Passio* of St Cyricus or Quiricus (from the Greek name Κήρυκος or Κήρικος), a saint and martyr very popular throughout the Christian world. According to the story narrated in his *Passio*, attested in several versions and languages (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic), Cyricus was almost three years old when he endured the martyrdom, together with his mother Julitta, at Tarsus, in Asia Minor (the present-day southern Turkey), at the beginning of the fourth century.

In the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Church, the veneration of St Cyricus, known as Qirqos (ገጽ ገድለ፡ ቁርቆስ፡), is very ancient and popular; his devotion seems to be in fact already attested at the time of the so-called Zāg^we dynasty (around twelfth–thirteenth century). The name of Qirqos is present in a large number of place names, from Asmara (present day Eritrea) to Addis Ababa to the islands of Lake Ṭānā to various churches of Ṭəgrāy (North Ethiopia), meaning that many church altars (*tābotāt*) were dedicated to him across the vast region, since ancient times. Many historical places bear his name, such as the ancient Wəqro Čərqos³ (East Ṭəgrāy), church which shows evidences of pre-Christian settlements and of South Arabian antiquity. Extremely rich is also the ገጽ ገድለ፡ ቁርቆስ፡ hagiographic literature written in honour of Qirqos, testified by a multitude of codices transmitting translations (*Gadl*) and original compositions dedicated to him (miracles and hymns).

The *Gadla Qirqos*, the Ethiopic *Passio* of the saint, translated most probably from Greek or Arabic, is one of the texts found in the manuscripts of the large hagiographical-liturgical collection, the *Gadla samā 'tāt*,⁴ but also enjoying independent circulation in a considerable number of manuscript witnesses.

The reconstruction of the *Gadla Qirqos* can help to understand the diffusion and transmission of this text in the Ethiopic and Eritrean Church, and more in general the transmission of the *Gadla samā 'tāt*, in which it is contained, and to give new insights into the study of the veneration of Qirqos in Ethiopia and Eritrea. In a comparative prospective, this study also could help to make clear the origin of this text and its circulation within the entire

3 On it see Smidt 2010.

4 CAe 1493. On this collection see for instance Brita 2020, 265–268, and Bausi 2002 and 2019. Numerous manuscripts with the *Gadla samā 'tāt* have been digitalized in Ethiopia by Antonella Brita, during her research (under the direction of Alessandro Bausi) in the project SFB 950, 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe' (first phase: 2011–2015; second phase: 2015–2019).

Christian World, and the contacts between the various Churches and literary traditions. Besides, it may be noteworthy not only for the philology, but also for other research fields of Ethiopian studies.

In this project, the *Gadla Qirqos*, of which so far we have no published critical edition, will be reconstructed on the basis of around 40 manuscripts.⁵ Some of them come from various areas of Ethiopia, also from very renowned churches and monasteries, such as, for example, Dabra Dāmmo (MS Ethio-SPaRe, DD-047), and some dating from as early as the fourteenth/fifteenth century. In some, the *Gadla* is arranged as part of the multiple-text manuscripts of the *Gadla samā 'tāt*, in others in single-text manuscripts; elsewhere it appears together with other texts on Qirqos (*Ta 'ammāra Qirqos*, *Malkə 'a Qirqos* and *Salām* to Qirqos); still in others it is grouped with texts dedicated to other saints.

The manuscripts with the *Gadla Qirqos* are the following: CSMC,⁶ AAE-001; DaBan-002;⁷ DAS-001; EMMML⁸ nos. 303; 430; 486; 615; 1934; 2514; 3469; 4816; 6244; 6951; 8960;⁹ Ethio-SPaRe,¹⁰ AATH-001; AMQ-007;

- 5 Other possible manuscripts could still be collected during the first phase of the project. On close examination, I could also carry out the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*, eliminating the witnesses that appear to be a direct copy of others.
- 6 The CSMC is the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg. Many thanks to Antonella Brita for kindly sharing with me the images of the manuscripts CSMC, AAE-001, DaBan-002, and DAS-001, which she digitalized in the framework of the project SFB 950.
- 7 The manuscript DaBan-002 was digitized by Antonella Brita in Təgrāy, North Ethiopia, first during a research trip in 2005, and re-digitized during her research in the project SFB 950.
- 8 I indicate with EMMML the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library microfilms preserved at the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML), Saint John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota, and at the National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALA) at Addis Ababā, Ethiopia.
- 9 The EMMML manuscripts already catalogued are nos 303 (Macomber 1976, 4–5); 430 (ibid., 150); 486 (ibid. 215); 615 (ibid. 364); 1934 (Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 420–421); 2514 (Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 6–13); 3469 (Getatchew Haile 1985, 283–284); 4816 (Getatchew Haile 1993, 324–325). MS EMMML 8960 is available online at <<https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/201690>> (this and other links last accessed on 10 February 2023). Other existing witnesses, but not in my possession, are EMMML nos 7600, 8359, 8431, 8434, 8452, 8505: they are not available at the HMML, being only preserved at the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency in Addis Ababa (EMMML nos 7600, 8431, 8434 have been kindly signaled to me by Antonella Brita, and EMMML nos 8359, 8452, 8505 by Ted Erho).
- 10 The project Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720,

AMQ-012; AQG-005; DD-047; KY-001; MR-023; QDQ-006; UM-008; UM-009; UM-018; UM-030; UM-045; UM-041;¹¹ UM-046; WQ-006; Leicester, University of Leicester, MS 210;¹² London, British Library, Orient. 686;¹³ London, British Library, Orient. 687–688;¹⁴ Orient. 692;¹⁵ Orient. 720;¹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiop., d'Abbadie 339 (Griaule 35);¹⁷ Qirqos Tsada Ayna (unnumbered);¹⁸ Tānāsee 121 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 10;¹⁹ ZANASI-LI VOLSI 3.²⁰

PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009–2015; I was part of the project's team between 2009 and 2015) produced digital copies of c.2,000 manuscripts from the churches and monasteries in the region of Təgrāy, North Ethiopia. For the description of the Ethio-SPaRe manuscripts see <<https://mycms-vs03.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/content/below/index.xml>> and also <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/browse>>. I would like to thank Denis Nosnitsin for making available the images of all the Ethio-SPaRe manuscripts and also for kindly letting me know of the existence of another copy of the *Gadla Qirqos*, which was registered by him (but not photographed), with shelfmark Ethio-SPaRe, AQDQ-002, in a church of Təgrāy in the year 2018.

- 11 The mss Ethio-SPaRe, UM-030, UM-045, and UM-046 only contain fragments of the *Gadla Qirqos*; Ted Erho has suggested a reconstruction of the text in all three manuscripts.
- 12 The manuscript, available at <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p15407coll6/id/19850>>, was identified during scoping carried out by Jacopo Gnisci and Sophia Dege-Müller for the AHRC-DFG project 'Demarginalizing medieval Africa: Images, texts, and identity in early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270-1527)', ref. no. AH/V002910/1 (co-directed by Alessandro Bausi and Jacopo Gnisci; project time: June 2021–June 2024; I was a project's member between June 2021 and February 2022). The manuscript description (by Vitagrazia Pisani) is now available at <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/Leicester210/main>>.
- 13 Wright 1877, 166–169, no. 257.
- 14 Ibid. 169–170, no. 258.
- 15 Ibid. 164–166, no. 256.
- 16 Ibid. 194, no. 297.
- 17 Grébaut 1941, 3–9.
- 18 Photographed by Ewa Balicka-Witkoska and Michael Gervers in 2005, in Təgrāy (North Ethiopia). Many thanks to Ewa Balicka-Witkoska to have kindly shared with me the images and some information of this manuscript and to Denis Nosnitsin who previously signaled it.
- 19 Six 1999, 86–96. The microfilm of this manuscript, as the ones of the manuscripts EMMI nos. 2514, 6951, 6244, and of British Library 686, 687–688, 692, 720 were kindly shared with me by my academic supervisor Alessandro Bausi for my dissertation. Many thanks to him again.
- 20 The manuscript ZANASI-LI VOLSI 3 has been digitalized by the team of the project CaNaMEI (= Catalogo Nazionale dei Manoscritti Etiopici in Italia; jointly funded by the IPOCAN, Istituto per l'Oriente 'Carlo Alfonso Nallino', and by the IS-MEO, 'Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente'; Coordi-

For the preparation of the edition, I will mainly use the editorial software Classical Text Editor (CTE).²¹ In the final publication, the edited text will be displayed together with the critical apparatus below it, and on the facing page the English translation together with the commentary in the footnotes. The critical apparatus will consist of a positive apparatus of the readings, including the readings disagreeing with those selected for the edited text, one for the punctuation and another for the orthographical and linguistic variants; an apparatus of sources might be also included. The printed edition should contain also an introduction with information such as the list of the witnesses, the *conspectus siglorum*, list of the abbreviations used in the critical apparatus, *ratio edendi*, etc., and some types of indexes (e.g. *index nominum*).

In order to achieve the final and main scope of the project, a series of other interrelated tasks must be completed with the help of several digital tools. I will produce for instance the codicological description of some manuscripts and linked metadata in TEI XML format, with the help of Oxygen XML Editor and employing the Beta maṣāḥəft²² TEI schema and platform. The necessary link to the online dictionary²³ will be also incorporated. Parallely, I will carry out the digital transcription of the text contained in some of the manuscripts, using the Transkribus²⁴ tool, a platform for the digitization,

nator Gianfrancesco Lusini) in 2021 in Rome (on the manuscript see Report 2, 5–7, available at <https://www.unior.it/doc_db/doc_obj_20625_613b5622c31ff.pdf>). The manuscript, with images and description (prepared by Gioia Bottari and Massimo Villa), is now available at <<https://www.ipocan.it/index.php/it/ms/102-zanasi-li-volsi-3>>. I thank Gianfrancesco Lusini and Massimo Villa for kindly sharing with me the images of the manuscript, before their online publication.

- 21 This tool is specifically designed for scholars who work on critical editions, as it enables easy arrangement of multiple apparatuses, sets of notes, and alignment with translation and commentary. The Classical Text Editor supports critical apparatus, margin text, sigla, and apparatus of available sources, along with a lot of tools supporting text constitution, including searching, visualisation, and exporting. With CTE, any number of indexes can be created, either by specifying index entries in the text, or by using predefined word lists.
- 22 <<https://betamasaheft.eu/>>. ‘Beta maṣāḥəft: Manuscripts of Ethiopia and Eritrea (Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung)’, a long-term project funded within the framework of the Academies Programme for 25 years (2016–2040) at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies at Universität Hamburg. My thanks go to the project team (former and actual members) for the several TEI-XML trainings offered during the past years; in particular my thanks go to Dorothea Reule and Pietro Liuzzo for their constant assistance and help with the Beta maṣāḥəft TEI-XML encoding.
- 23 <<https://betamasaheft.eu/Dillmann/>>.
- 24 <<https://readcoop.eu/transkribus/>>. In the past, the platform only offered support for a limited number of scripts and languages (Latin—including Old German, En-

automatic recognition, transcription and searching of historical documents. Each accomplished transcription will have to be carefully corrected manually, and will be freely available online.

The project will benefit, for many aspects mentioned above, from the digital environment of the ongoing Project Beta maṣāḥəft, and it will collaborate with several individual and group projects on various aspects of Ethiopian history, literature and culture which are being carried out in the research institution of the HLCEES. Beside collaborating with the Universität Hamburg's projects, there will be a scholarly exchange with other projects in Ethiopian studies and in Classical and Oriental studies. The project aspires to build further cooperation with institutions, projects, and scholars working on critical editions of hagiographic texts or other types of research into literary traditions concerning the veneration of saints.

References

- Bausi, A. 2002. *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla samā'tāt*, Supplemento agli Annali, 60–61 (2000–2001), 92 (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2002).
- 2019. 'A Few Remarks on the Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Ethiopic Manuscripts', *Manuscript Cultures*, 13 (= C. Macé and J. Gippert, eds, *Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts*, Hamburg: Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, 2019), 63–80.
- BHG = Halkin, F. and Socii Bollandiani 1957. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I–III, Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957).
- BHL = Socii Bollandiani 1898. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. Socii Bollandiani, I: A–I, Subsidia Hagiographica, 6 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1898).
- BHO = Socii Bollandiani 1910. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 10 (Bruxellis–Beyrouth: Apoud Editores–Imprimerie Catholique, 1910).
- Brita, A. 2020. 'Genres of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian Literature with a Focus on Hagiography', in S. Kelly, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 252–281.
- Getatchew Haile 1985. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Mo-*
- (English, Polish and Dutch—Arabic, Bangla, and Hebrew), but in late 2020, the package for the support of Ethiopic manuscripts has been developed at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies. I thank Eugenia Sokolinski for the training in using the Transkribus HTR tool she offered for the HLCEES and associates in March 2022.

- nastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, VIII: Project Numbers 3001–3500* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1985).
- 1993. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, X: Project Numbers 4001–5000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, 1993).
- Getatchew Haile and W. F. Macomber 1981. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, V: Project Numbers 1501–2000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1981).
- Getatchew Haile and W. F. Macomber 1983. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, VII: Project Numbers 2501–3000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1983).
- Grébaud, S. 1941. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de la Collection Griaule, II/7: Hagiographie, 8: Homélie—Panégyriques, 9: Malke 'e et Salam*, Miscellanea Africana Lebaudy, 3 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1941).
- Macomber, W. F. 1976. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, II: Project Numbers 301–700* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1976).
- Pisani, V. 2013. *Il culto di san Qirqos nell'Etiopia storica: analisi storico-filologica, con edizione critica della 'Passio' (Gädlä Qirqos)*, PhD thesis (Dottorato di ricerca in 'Africanistica' (n.s. IX CICLO); Percorso curriculare 2: Linguistica; Letterature; Filologia e studi sull'antichità e il Medioevo dell'Africa, Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', 2013).
- 2015. 'Passio of St Cyricus (Gädlä Qirqos) in North Ethiopia: Elements of Devotion and of Manuscripts Tradition', in D. Nosnitsin, ed., *Veneration of Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Proceedings of the International Workshop 'Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Literary Sources and Veneration'*, Hamburg, April 28–29, 2012, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 161–200.
- Six, V. 1999. *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee, III: Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20/3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999).

- Smidt, W. 2010. 'Wəqro', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, eds, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 1180a–1181b.
- Wright, W. 1877. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1877).

Conference reports

Recipes and Recipe Books Across Manuscript Cultures

Hamburg (online), 12–13 April 2021

Recipes are most generally associated with lists of ingredients, accompanied by a set of instructions for their use. They have recently experienced a surge of scholarly interest, particularly in the context of the changing epistemes of early modern Europe. Transformations in the modes of knowledge transmission in the European late medieval and early modern periods prompted a rise in the popularity of recipes and recipe compilations. Therefore, recipes and recipe compilations may serve as indicators of the premodern world's tendencies to record and transmit the experiential type of knowledge.

On 12 and 13 April 2021, the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC, Hamburg), in cooperation with the Emmy Noether Research Group 'Patterns of Knowledge Circulation' (FU Berlin) organized an online workshop that zoomed in on the handwritten recipes and recipe books as a textual and material format through which knowledge was made and often circulated across cultures. The focus of interest was the relation between the modes of knowledge transmission and the type of knowledge that is transmitted. The workshop tried to explore possible common patterns in recipes and recipe collections across manuscript cultures.

Several papers dealt with western European pre-modern and early modern book practice. European recipes for artistic technologies were approached by Sylvie Neven (Paris) in her talk *Between the Lines or Outside the Text: Some Reflexions About the Nature and the Use(s) of Art-Technological Recipes*. Elaine Leong (London/Berlin) spoke on *Recipes and Paper Slips in Early Modern England*. The early modern Russian medical recipe book tradition was in the focus of the talk by Clare Griffin (Nur-Sultan), *The Word and the Words: Religious and Satirical Uses of the Medical Recipe Genre in Early Modern Russia*.

The Chinese recipe manuscripts were in the focus of the paper by Thies Staack (Hamburg), *Collecting, Utilizing and Circulating Medical Knowledge in 19th and early 20th Century China: Towards a Typology of Recipe Manuscripts from the Unschuld Collection*. Drawing on features such as visual organization and phenomena of 'layering', the paper attempted to shed further light on who produced recipe manuscripts which are now part of the collection of Chinese manuscripts in Berlin, and for which purpose. Staack

illustrated some of the typical roles recipe manuscripts played for the collection, use and circulation of medical knowledge in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China and proposed a typology of recipe manuscripts based on their functions. *Digitization and Data Analysis of Medical Recipes from Chinese Handwritten Volumes of the Late Imperial and Republican Period: Challenges and Lessons Learnt* were the argument of Joachim Prackwieser and Nalini Kirk (Berlin). They described the ‘Chinese Historical Healthcare Manuscripts Database’ (CHHM-DB), also based on the Unschuld Collection in Berlin, and the possibilities of extracting pharmaceutical knowledge and practices from traditional manuscripts for biomedical basic research with the help of digital means.

Three papers addressed aspects of Jewish practice. Efraim Lev (Haifa) offered a *Fresh Glance on Practical and Theoretical Medieval Arabic Medicine Based on the Study of Prescriptions and Recipes from the Cairo Geniza*. He aimed to provide a better understanding of everyday practical medicine in medieval Cairo as revealed by the Geniza’s prescriptions, in comparison with the recipes found in the medical literature. He explained how ‘medical notebooks’ found in the Cairo Geniza represent the way that medieval pharmaceutical knowledge was transferred from theory to practice and vice versa. Michael Kohs (Hamburg) spoke on *Jewish Magic Recipes and Recipe Books from the Cairo Geniza Revisited*. He discussed textual as well as codicological features of Geniza magic recipes and their collections in multiple text manuscripts, with a focus on the pragmatic and epistemic aspects. He outlined the differences to and commonalities with other text genres of Jewish magic from the Geniza, in order to map out the potential dynamics associated with magic recipes. Recipe compilations by Central and Eastern European (Ashkenazi) Jews were studied by Agata Paluch and Andrea Gondos (Berlin) in the paper *Plagues, Fire, and Fear: Forms and Formats of (Practical) Kabbalistic Recipe Compilations in Early Modern East-Central Europe*.

Other oriental manuscript traditions approached included Ethiopic, Arabic, and Syriac. Eyob Derillo (London) presented on *Magical Recipes and Recipe Books in the Ethiopian Collection of the British Library*. Ethiopian amulet scrolls and magical recipe books are a striking and very distinctive form of Ethiopian Christian material culture, yet they remain a relatively poorly understood and understudied topic. Eyob Derillo explored the decorative aspects of the scrolls and recipe manuscripts in the holdings of the British Library. In her talk *Ink Making by the Book: Use and Transmission of Arabic Recipes*, Claudia Colini (Hamburg/Berlin) showed that inks are often the main subject of treatises on the arts of the book and manuals for secretaries transmitted in Arabic manuscripts. Lists of ink recipes can fill several pages and multiple

chapters. But ink recipes can be found also as collections outside the frame of a structured text, or as single entries recorded on the empty spaces of a manuscript. Colini discussed the three forms in which recipes can be found and how the manuscripts in which they were recorded can hint at their use. The paper by Matteo Martelli (Bologna), *Alchemical Recipes between Syriac Zosimus and the Mappae Clavicula*, summarized the results of a preliminary study of the twelve alchemical books transmitted in Syriac translation under the name of the Graeco-Egyptian alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (third to fourth century CE). After introducing the manuscript witnesses as well as the general structure of the books, he focused on the rich collection of recipes included in these writings, comparing the content with procedural texts preserved both in Greek alchemical papyri and in the Latin Medieval recipe book known as *Mappae clavicula*.

The programme and abstracts are available at <https://www.vk.uni-hamburg.de/uploads/event/pdf_en/53500/21-04-12-13_WS_Recipes_and_Recipe_Books_programme_and_abstracts.pdf> (last accessed 20 November 2022).

Red.

Editing the Greek Psalter

Göttingen, 1–3 December 2021

For more than hundred years, the major critical edition of the Old Testament in Greek has been prepared in Göttingen: From 1908 to 2015, the ‘Septuaginta-Unternehmen’ was responsible for this edition, and since 2016, a research commission, called ‘Kommission zur Edition und Erforschung der Septuaginta’. In 2020, the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen has approved a new long-term project, ‘The *Editio critica maior* of the Greek Psalter’. The aim of the new project is to explore the tradition and textual history of the Greek Psalter, and to prepare a new critical edition of the Septuagint Psalms and Odes for the Göttingen series, which will substitute the outdated edition by Alfred Rahlfs (1931). At the end, the critically reconstructed text is promised to be provided in a hybrid edition, printed as a book and presented online.

An international conference was convened by Reinhard G. Kratz (Göttingen) from 1 to 3 December 2021 (with a support from Fritz Thyssen Foundation) to inaugurate the beginning of this major project. It featured numerous talks providing insight into the state of the art of research, introduced by the public lecture by Christoph Markschie (Berlin) on *Psaltertext und Psalterexegese bei Eusebius von Caesarea oder: Zur Gegenwartsbedeutung antiker Textwissenschaft*.

The first conference session was dedicated to the Greek Psalter. It was opened by Kratz with a paper on *Septuagintapsalm 151*. Emanuel Tov (Jerusalem) spoke on *The Aid of the Septuagint in Establishing the Original Text of the Psalter*; and Anneli Aejmelaeus (Helsinki) shared her findings concerning the *Translation Technique in the Greek Psalter*. Michael Segal (Jerusalem) presented *On the Relationship Between Psalm 113 (LXX 112) and Hannah’s Song (Odes 3 || 1Sam 2:1-10)*. The panel continued in the with the papers by Siegfried Kreuzer (Wien) on *Text Critical Criteria and Textual History of the Psalms* and Reinhard Müller (Göttingen) on *Der elohistische Psalter im Licht der Textgeschichte*. Ralph Brucker (Kiel) spoke of *Übersetzung(en) und Edition(en) – Erfahrungen bei der Übersetzung der LXX-Psalmen*.

The afternoon session collected papers dedicated to Hexapla of Psalms, Antiochene Text and Catena Tradition. Alison Salvesen (Oxford) presented on *Symmachus in the Psalter*; Luciano Bossina (Padua) spoke of *Theodoret von Kyros und der Antiochenische Text des Psalters*. Reinhart Ceulemans (Leuven) concluded the first conference day with the presentation on *Die Bestimmung der Katenen und der Katenenforschung in der Vorbereitung einer kritischen Ausgabe des Psalters*.

The third panel was dedicated to the Daughter Versions of the Greek Psalter. Eva Schulz-Flügel (Augsburg) spoke of *Die älteste erreichbare Vetus-Latina-Version des Psalters: Alte Fragen neu beleuchtet*. Several Christian oriental traditions were also covered in this session: Coptic was covered by Frank Feder (Göttingen) in his paper *Ps 90 in koptischer Überlieferung: eine textkritische Analyse*; Syriac was in the focus of the presentation by Willem van Peursen (Amsterdam), *The Syriac Psalter*; Arabic Psalter was discussed by Ronny Vollandt (München), *The Arabic Version of the Book of Psalms Found in Sinai and Damascus*. Claude Cox (Hamilton, Canada) spoke of the Armenian tradition in his talk *An Assessment of the Place of the Armenian Version in the Göttingen Edition of OG Psalms*. Anna Kharanauli (Tiflis) spoke of *The Georgian Psalter*.

The final conference panel collected papers dealing with the Reception History of the Greek Psalter. Martin Meiser (Saarbrücken) spoke of *Psalmzitate im Neuen Testament. Überlegungen zur Textkritik*. Martin Wallraff (München) presented on *The Earliest Paratexts to the Greek Psalter*. Finally, Georgi Parpulov (Göttingen), spoke of *The Contribution of Palaeography to Studying the Text of the Greek Psalter*.

Red.

Scribal Identity and Agency:

Scribes at Ugarit and Ancient Rome, Medieval Christianity and Islam, Monasticism in Ethiopia and Tibet

Oxford (online), 16–17 December 2021

Early Text Cultures (ETC) is a project network of scholars working on pre-modern texts, from the ancient to the medieval, based at the University of Oxford. In 2021, it organized a lecture cycle on Scribal Identity and Agency, concluded by a (hybrid) conference, from 16 to 17 December 2021, on Scribes at Ugarit and ancient Rome, medieval Christianity and Islam, monasticism in Ethiopia and Tibet.

The first session was dedicated to Urban Scribes in Mediterranean Antiquity: East and West. The event was opened by Philip Boyes (Cambridge) who spoke of *Script and Identity in Late Bronze Age Ugarit*. The Syrian city of Ugarit at the end of the Late Bronze Age (c.1250–1190 BCE) was a site of great diversity in language and script. It used the Akkadian language and logosyllabic cuneiform for many purposes, as well as utilising many of the document styles, genres and library texts which were characteristic of Mesopotamian cuneiform culture. A local cuneiform alphabet was adapted which combined the style of Mesopotamian script with the structure of the Levantine linear alphabets which were developing at that time. This was used to write the local vernacular language, Ugaritic, in a variety of text genres, including literature, ritual, economic and letters. In addition, numerous other minority scripts and languages are attested at the site. The presentation explored how these innovations in script and writing culture relate to wider social changes in Ugarit and the region during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, and specifically how they reflect changing identities within Ugarit's literate elites.

Benjamin Hartmann (Zurich) spoke of the *Consequences of Literacy: Identity and Agency of Roman scribae*. The *scribae* were the official scribes, documentary specialists and archivists of the Roman Republican state. As a result of their professional function and the workings of the apparitorial civil service of which they were part, they found themselves at the heart of an expanding public documentation and soon enough were considered the veritable experts on documentary practice. The paper discussed the social status and social mobility connected with the profession of a *scribae*, and their acceptance in contemporary society.

The second panel collected papers on (Non-)Marginal Scribal Identities in the Christian and Islamic Middle Ages. Elaine Trehane (Stanford) spoke on *Networks of Female(?) Scribal Activity, 1100–1250*. She discussed new work

on women scribes, as part of a collaborative research project, ‘Medieval Networks of Memory’. She focused on two earlier thirteenth-century mortuary rolls, thinking particularly about categories of western scripts, hierarchies and aesthetics of palaeographical classification and showed that the odds were stacked against women theoretically, professionally, and practically already in those times..

Vevian Zaki (Oxford) spoke on *To be a Scribe of Christian Arabic Texts: Skills and Challenges*. She showed how the use of Arabic, combined with a multilingual heritage, influenced scribes of Christian Arabic texts from the eighth to the fourteenth century—whether of Coptic, Greek, or Syriac background—and situated them in a peculiar position in terms of the skills they required and the challenges they faced in their work. She examined their strategies and decisions, how their work overlapped with the authorship of the texts, and their overall role in manuscript production.

The first session of day 2 was dedicated to Inscribing Religious Communities into the Modern Era. Brenton Sullivan (Colgate) spoke of *Monastic Constitutions and the Dissemination of Administrative Power in Premodern Tibet*. Monastic constitutions are the founding and administrative documents used in monasteries in the Himalayas, Tibet, and Mongolia. Monasteries were the principal sources of political and religious power across Tibet and Mongolia, but it was the standardization and dissemination of monastic practices and administration by one school of Tibetan Buddhism in particular—the Dalai Lama’s Geluk School—that facilitated its historic rise and triumph over other Buddhist rivals. Thus, the textualization and codification of monastic practices, including ritual and those aspects of monastic life that are not explicitly political, paved the way for the Geluk School’s domination of the religious and political landscape beginning in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Denis Nosnitsin (Hamburg) offered a study on *Scribes from Ethiopia (East Tigray): Practices, Profiles, Portraits*. He explored the types of scribes, who are still active in the area, their working settings, modes of their work and their self-expression as we can trace it today in the manuscripts. While the role of monastic centres of writing was diminishing, a flexible network of rural scribes seems to have existed already in the late pre-modern times, becoming the main supplier of manuscripts for the local ecclesiastic institutions.

Conference programme is available at <<https://medieval.ox.ac.uk/2021/12/13/scrival-identity-and-agency-conference/>>

Red.

**New Light from the East:
Linguistic Perspectives on Non-Literary Papyri and Related Sources
Ghent, 2–4 February 2022**

It has been nearly fifteen years since the conference ‘Buried Linguistic Treasure: The Potential of Papyri and Related Sources for the Study of Greek and Latin’ was organized in Oxford, Christ Church (2006). In the 2010 conference proceedings,¹ the organizers noted that while the linguistic significance of Greek and Latin papyri had been recognized ever since non-literary papyri became available to scholars in large quantity, research on the texts had not progressed much after the groundbreaking work of Adolf Deissmann and his followers, culminating in Edwin Mayser’s grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri. Significant advances have been made in the past decade, perhaps most visibly in the area of digital humanities: digital tools such as the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<<http://papyri.info/>>) and Trismegistos (<<http://trismegistos.org/>>) have been expanded and further developed, now also including linguistic functionalities, and new tools have become available that facilitate accessing and studying specific corpora, their metadata and their linguistic and graphic characteristics, including PapPal, Sematia, Synallagma, etc. Now that the field is so rapidly and extensively developing, it has been suggested that the twenty-first century will come to be known as ‘the century of digital papyrology’, after the example of the ‘century of epigraphy’ (the nineteenth century) and ‘the century of papyrology’ (the twentieth century). Considerable progress has also been made in terms of linguistic groundwork properly speaking. A number of areas identified by Evans and Obbink (2010, 9–12) as ‘key issues for future research’ have been addressed in recent studies, such as scribal norms and practices, linguistic diversity and language contact, and syntactic and other types of linguistic development. Other important topics that have been explored during the past years include lexicography, phonology, linguistic levels and varieties, and rhetorical strategies and politeness. A number of edited volumes dedicated partly or solely to the language of the papyri have appeared, and funds for several projects (small- and large-scale) about the language of the papyri have been awarded.

The main aim of the New Light from the East conference, co-organized by two ERC projects, ‘Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri’ (PapyGreek, University of Helsinki, PI Marja Vierros) and ‘Everyday writing in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt: A socio-semiotic study of communicative variation’ (EVWRIT, Ghent University, PI Klaas Bentein) was to continue the discussion on the language of the papyri, giving scholars an opportunity to present the results of ongoing research, to propose new approach-

es, theoretical discussions and methodologies, or to introduce new projects, data repositories, tools, or corpora. At the same time, we want to critically reflect on what has been achieved so far, and where we would like to be headed in the future: an important question in this regard is to what extent ‘the language of the papyri’ as a field of study focusing on Greek and (to some extent) Latin sources, should seek to relate itself more explicitly to other fields of study, such as epigraphy, Semitic documentary culture, palaeography, etc.

In a keynote lecture, Trevor Evans spoke of *Researching the Language of the Papyri: Recent Progress and the Shape of the Future*. He considered recent developments in the study of the language of documentary papyri and related sources. He focused on some themes that seemed to him important for current and future research. These include the potential and dangers of ‘digital papyrology’, the challenge of lexicography, some lingering ‘blind spots’ in research, and the significance of documentary papyri for the larger study of post-classical Greek.

The following panel was dedicated to Spelling Variation. Joanne Stolk (Ghent) spoke of the *Fluctuations in the spelling of morphemes in Greek documentary papyri*. The production of spelling in the Greek written language is not straightforward with multiple graphemes representing a particular phoneme. Since also many Greek morphemes are distinguished by only one grapheme, linguistic study of the changes in morphology or morphosyntax in the papyri often depends on the exact spelling of the forms that are being studied. For example, the interchanges of the graphemes <ο>, <ω> and <ου> may impact our understanding of the use of cases in the second declension, while interchanges of the graphemes <ο> and <ω> may affect our interpretation of the use of indicative and subjunctive. It is important, therefore, to understand the possible mechanisms in the production of these spellings. In his paper on the *Spelling variation of technical terms in the Greek medical papyri*, Nicola Reggiani (Parma) showed that, while covering different genres (literary treatises, reference handbooks, collections of recipes, single prescriptions, private letters about health matters, official reports of medical inspections), papyri dealing with medical issues share common linguistic and paralinguistic strategies to convey their specialised knowledge. A peculiar topic that deserves deeper attention is the variant spelling of specific technical terms, often of extra-Greek origin (κυύρνη / ζμύρνη, ζίγγιβερ / ρίγγιβερ, πέπερι / πίπερι, ψιμίθιον / ψιμύθιον, ὀποβάλαμον / ἀποβάλαμον), which pose interesting questions from the perspective of both language history and editorial representation. Winnie Smith (Oxford) presented on *Corpora and correctness: spelling variation in an educated papyrus*. Linguists working on Ancient Greek papyri are fortunate to have access to large quantities of dig-

ital (meta)data, including linguistically annotated transcriptions. This allows large-scale empirical studies. At the same time, papyri are often fragmentary, isolated, and poorly documented. Smaller-scale work on papyrus archives is therefore crucial to extracting maximum socio-linguistic information from the limited co(n)text. Smith showed how larger-scale corpus analysis can deepen understanding of an individual, decontextualized text, and vice versa, on the example of the spelling of P.Coll. Youtie 2 66 (TM 20885, P.Oxy. 47 3366). This document, of c.258 CE, contains two drafts of a petition to the Roman emperors Valerian and Galienus, plus a letter asking for help ensuring they receive it.

The session dedicated to Language contact in papyri was opened with a paper by Alessia Pezzella (Naples) on *Regional Loanwords in Latin Papyrus Documents: Some Case Studies to Explore Latin-Greek Bilingualism and Language Contact in Egypt*. Latin-Greek bilingualism and language contact in the East are an expanding research area. Vocabulary as one of the areas most exposed to language contact in both directions (Greek → Latin, Latin → Greek) has been paid particular attention recently. The paper focused on some Greek words in Latin papyrus documents from Egypt suiting the label of regional loanwords, namely local terms imposed in a specific area in the Latin of language learners and bilinguals speaking a variety of dialects (not necessarily Egyptian ones) or of first-language speakers of Latin and which had no reception in the Latin lexicon. Illustrating how and on what factors Greek-Latin language contact operated in the micro-contexts helps us understand the dynamics of the spread and the use of Latin alongside Greek in certain environments of the multilingual Egypt. In her paper *Contact 'iotacism'*, Sonja Dahlgren (Helsinki) proposed a reanalysis of the apparent iotacism in Egyptian Greek documentary texts. The phenomenon concerning the raising and fronting of Ancient Greek υ, η, ει, οι to [i] in Modern Greek is well attested in Greek documentary material. As much of this material comes from papyrological sources and was thus located in Egypt, the language contact between Greek and Egyptian-Coptic should be considered as one of the reasons behind the extensive iotacism. She provided examples to illustrate how consonant-to-vowel coarticulation transferred from Coptic phonology caused front vowel variation that looked like iotacism in Greek when used by non-native speakers. Antonia Apostolakou (Ghent) presented on *Tracing digraphia in one word? The case of Coptic letters in Egyptian personal names and toponyms*. She showed how signs of cultural contact may be traced and manifested not only in linguistic, but also in choices of script, choosing as a case study a selection of Greek documentary papyri from Egypt from the fourth to eighth century, where very few Coptic letters are found in certain words, without a

change in language. She explored the possibility of whether such phenomena can be used as additional indicators of the linguistic background of ancient writers, and can shed light on the perception of Greek and Coptic alphabets at the time. Fokelien Kootstra (Ghent) spoke on *Written standard and varying practice. Case inflection in the early Arabic documents written on papyrus (622–912 AD)*. The use of case is often considered one of the hallmarks of Classical (*faṣṭḥ*) Arabic; the loss of case is generally put forward as a typical feature of the modern dialects. This linguistic change is often attributed to the sudden need for large numbers of non-native speakers of Arabic to acquire the language following the Arab conquests. However, closer inspection of different pre-Islamic varieties of Arabic makes it clear that varieties with a reduced case system had already existed prior to the conquests. This is visible in Arabic documentary papyri, which material also shows that case inflection is not binary, where a variety has either a full tripartite case system or no case marking at all. Closer inspection of case marking in the Arabic documentary papyri shows that case marking is preserved in different ways, depending on its morphological expression. The paper shed light on how documentary written practice relates to developing ideas of a Classical Arabic standard in the seventh to tenth century CE. Vincent Walter (Leipzig) presented a paper entitled *From Greek to Arabic: Loanword Usage in the Late Coptic Letters of the 10th/11th Centuries*. With the Arab conquest in 642 CE, a trilingual situation emerged in Egypt, with Arabic first complementing and later replacing Greek and Coptic as language of administration, law, and private correspondence. Yet for the first centuries of Arab rule, the language of Coptic documentary texts remained surprisingly conservative. It was not until the tenth and eleventh centuries, that we start finding an ever-increasing number of Arabic loanwords in Coptic documents, including not only nouns, but also verbs and even occasionally conjunctions. Whether this development can be also seen in letters was not previously studied. The paper investigated the usage of Greek and Arabic loanwords attested in late Coptic letters and how it might have changed in a diachronic perspective.

The keynote lecture by Amphilochios Papatomas and Aikaterini Koroli (Athens), *Communicating in High-Register Greek in Private Papyrus Letters of the Roman Period*, dealt with high-registered linguistic choices found in private correspondence on papyri dated to the Roman period of Egypt. The main focus was on locating and grouping the efforts of the ancient writers to embellish their texts, so that they become more effective and more attractive to recipients. Hypercorrection, use of abstract notions, intertextual references and quotations are examples of such efforts. The lecture provided an overview

of these linguistic choices and explored their function in request letters on papyrus.

The following panel was dedicated to Linguistic levels and language change. Emmanuel Roumanis (Ghent) spoke of *A Quantitative (High-)Register Analysis of Greek Papyrus Letters (I–IV CE)*. With the help of methods from corpus linguistics, he demonstrated, on a selection of c. 1,500 letters, that the traditional approach to registers may have to be revised, as some papyri which have been traditionally described as low-register, in fact, contain both intra- and extra-linguistic features that may be seen as high-register. In her presentation *In search of glimpses: the contribution of papyri to the diachrony of relative articles*, Eleonora Cattafi (Ghent) showed how idiolectal as well as phonetic and formulaic factors affect the choice of the relative article. Documentary papyri attest linguistic features that can be used or avoided in specific historical and social contexts: by taking into consideration the papyrological material, it is possible to draw a more accurate picture of this relativization strategy in the diachrony of Greek. *Once again on non-finite complement clauses in non-literary papyri* was the title of the talk by Jerneja Kavcic (Ljubljana). She used a case study on one formulaic phrase found in (mostly) private letters, namely, complement clauses dependent of the verb γινώσκω that typically occur after the initial greetings formula in order to discuss diachronic changes in expressing temporal relations between governing and complement clauses, as well as the disappearance of the infinitive.

The session focusing on Digital and corpus-based approaches to syntax and morphology was opened by a paper by Francesco Mambrini (Milan), *Of treebanks and collexemes: collostructional analysis and documentary papyri*. Drawing on the data from PapyGreek treebanks, he showed the perspectives and the limitations of applying the collostructional analysis, which extends the notion of collocation of traditional corpus linguistics by studying the tendency of certain lexical items to co-occur not just with other lexemes, but also with more abstract constructions. In her paper *Twigs and boughs: ordering patterns of noun phrases with multiple modifiers*, Polina Yordanova (Helsinki) similarly, but on the example of noun phrases, highlighted some of the problems that arise in handling qualitative methods in an automated framework and trying to apply approaches traditionally developed for literary texts to documentary materials. Alek Keersmaekers (Leuven) spoke on *Diminutives in the Greek papyri (and related sources): a corpus-based investigation*. He showed how data-driven, corpus-based techniques can greatly enhance our knowledge of the development of Greek morphology, as attested in the papyri. Diminutives (or any other morphological construction) can easily be extracted from the papyrus corpus through the creation of a new, derivational

morphological layer. Vector based methods to semantics can then reveal new information about the meaning and usage of diminutive constructions through time. The evidence from the papyri can be then compared with data extracted from other texts, e.g. epigraphic or literary. Marja Vierros (Helsinki) spoke on *The popularity of the articular infinitive in Greek documentary papyri*. Using available digital corpora, she explored the occurrences of the articular infinitive in respect of its chronology, context, text type and in which syntactic functions it was used and discussed its role within the evolving system of finite and non-finite complementation of postclassical Greek.

The keynote lecture by Sofia Torallas Tovar (Chicago) was dedicated to *The language of the magical papyri*. The recently re-edited corpus of the Greco-Egyptian magical formularies offers a wealth of linguistic information that has never before been properly exploited. Torallas Tovar explored the possibilities that a full examination of such an interesting corpus of texts offers from the point of view of linguistics, including language contact in Egypt, literary Greek in the magical papyri, use of Egyptian in its different scripts, and lexical issues.

The panel dedicated to Syntax started with a paper by Ezra la Roi (Ghent), *Wishes in the papyri and the Post-Classical reorganization of the wish system*. He provided a corpus-based analysis of counterfactual wishes in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri using digital tools such as Trismegistos words, papyri.info and the EVWRIT database. Giuseppina di Bartolo (Cologne) presented on *Insubordination in Greek documentary papyri: the case of ὥστε independent sentences*. She focused on the instances of ὥστε with the moods of independent sentences in the documentary papyri, combining a syntactic, a pragmatic and a sociolinguistic perspective. Victoria Fendel (Oxford) equally addressed insubordination, this time from the perspective of sententiality and grammaticalization, in her paper *Insubordination in a corpus of early Byzantine Greek letters from Egypt*.

The last session focused on Papyri and communication. Klaas Bentein spoke of *Linguistic and graphic strategies of textualization in Greek letters from the Early Arabic period*. He approached the issue of textualization through a discussion of multimodal discourse segmentation, as studied in the project EVWRIT. While scholars generally seem to agree upon a hierarchical model of rhetorical structure, ranging from smaller units such as the word (group) and clause to large units such as the paragraph, and the features that signal them, such as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions and formulaic expressions, much less consensus exists with respect to the levels and means of the visual organization of the text. Focusing on the Greek letters in the eighth-century Qurrah archive, he discussed these two types of textu-

al structure, arguing that while there are clear signs of interrelationship and parallel organization, one should not underestimate their independence and respective flexibility. In her paper *Everyday occupations in Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Linguistic Variants and their social implications*, Marianna Thoma (Ghent) presented the ongoing research on common professions in a considerable number of papyrus documents from the imperial and early Byzantine period with focus on their variants (lexical and morphological) and their social and gender implications. The final talk was by Yasmine Amory (Ghent), *The sound of silence: investigating non-verbal aspects of (im)politeness in Greek letters on papyrus*. Despite a few remarkable exceptions, politeness research in Latin and Ancient Greek predominately focused on the Classical period and its literary sources, and, since turning to ancient documents such as Greek papyri, has been focused exclusively to language and its formulation. In the last years, this trend has been reshaped thanks to a growing awareness of the (im)polite potential of non-verbal communication, at least in modern languages. The paper aimed to consider the non-verbal act *par excellence*, that is silence and absence of communication, in Greek letters on papyrus.

For a conference programme visit <<https://www.newlightfromtheeast.ugent.be/>>.

Red.

**Living Bodies of Texts:
Organising a Literary Corpus in the Middle Ages.
The Corpus Nazianzenum and the Corpus Dionysiacum**

Göttingen, 27–29 April 2022

Through the very word ‘corpus’, the metaphor of the ‘body’ is applied to a group of works by the same author that are transmitted together. These works not only share the same ‘skin’ (the binding) but also function organically thanks to a complex system of different paracontents (titles, scholia, glosses, marginal signs, commentaries, author’s biographies, illustrations, tables of contents...). When a corpus is ‘edited’ anew in its original language, or translated into another language, the ‘organs’ (the contents) are transplanted into a new ‘body’, with its own autonomous life. In the case of only very few medieval authors is it possible to see this system at work such as in the case of the *Corpus Nazianzenum* and the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. In many ways both Gregory of Nazianzus and Dionysius the Areopagite are ‘super-authors’, who forged their own literary identity as much as they shaped a closed and limited body of writings and prepared it for posterity. This common feature of both corpora sets them apart from other gatherings of patristic works, which were often much larger and not so well defined from the beginning. Neither Gregory nor Dionysius could foresee, however, that a growing apparatus of paracontents would become inseparable from their work. Amongst the early Byzantine writers, Gregory and Dionysius were at the same time the most celebrated and the most difficult to understand, as we see especially in the (early) medieval translations that made their works available to Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Latin, Slavonic or Syriac audiences. Their multilingual corpora of texts were glossed, annotated and commented upon continuously, giving rise to an ever growing ‘exoskeleton’, which sometimes superseded or even obliterated the actual ‘body’ on which it was built. In order to address these questions, a conference, supported by the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen and the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, was convened by Caroline Macé from 23 to 25 March 2022 at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences.

Besides the lectures by Ekkehard Mühlberg (Göttingen) and Bernard Coulie (Louvain-la-Neuve) on the *The Editorial Projects on Dionysius Areopagita and Gregory of Nazianzus* and by Stratis Papaioannou (Brown University) on *The Body of the Author: Theories and Practices of Authorship in Byzantium*, the papers were organized into seven thematic sessions.

The session on the Origins of the Corpora opened with the presentations by Caroline Macé (*The Author as a Saint: The Lives of Gregory and Dionysius in the Manuscripts of their Corpus*). In order to compare and contrast the

construction of the *Corpus Nazianzenum* and the *Corpus Dionysiacum* and the interactions between the figures of the author and the saint in Byzantium, the question of Gregory's and Dionysius' *Vitae*, sometimes transmitted together with their works, is an interesting point in case. Obviously, in neither case was the 'Life' part of the original Greek corpus: they were composed in the seventh (Gregory) or ninth (Dionysius) century. Besides, there exists a so-called 'Autobiography' of Dionysius, which antedates the 'Life' and is often transmitted with the Armenian corpus. Macé showed how the biographical accounts found their way into the manuscripts of the two corpora and which functions they fulfilled there. Margherita Matera spoke on *Quelques considérations sur la transmission textuelle du Corpus dionysien après le déchiffrement du palimpseste Par. gr. 1330*. She focused on the Corpus Dionysiacum, transmitted as the earliest codicological unit of MS Paris, BnF, gr. 1330, datable to the eighth or ninth century. In this witness, the text is accompanied by the commentary of John of Scythopolis. The content of some marginal notes is attributable to Andrew of Crete. Matera explored the relationship of this early witness to other extant copies and demonstrated the importance of the manuscript for the *constitutio textus* of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

The session on the Medieval and Modern Editions of the Corpora featured was opened by Véronique Somers (*Sur les traces d'une édition byzantine des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*). The circumstances surrounding the formation and the beginning of circulation of the corpus of Gregory of Nazianzus are not yet well known. The earliest extant Greek manuscripts (ninth to tenth centuries) reveal a complex situation. To shed some light on the history of the corpus it is necessary to include paratextual elements into analysis (*acolouthia*, titles, stichometries, frontispiece, as well as marginalia, including *scholia*, marginal signs, etc.). In her paper, Somers focused on the *Discourses* of Gregory in the earliest manuscripts, attempting to assess their importance in the tradition. Pierre-Marie Picard spoke on *Les divisions mauristes des Poèmes de Grégoire de Nazianze, des corpus évolutifs*, raising the question whether the existing classification of the poetic works of Gregory of Nazianzus (the *Carmina dogmatica*, the *Carmina moralia*, the *Carmina de seipso* and the *Carmina quae spectant ad alios*), proposed by the Maurists nearly two centuries ago and still adhered to, should be challenged. The manuscript tradition initially grouped poems according to their form (elegiac hexameters and couplets on the one hand, iambic trimeters on the other hand; though some thematic groupings were already found there). The Benedictine monks took the decision to renounce the first criterion and to systematize the second. The strict division should possibly be revised. A more scrupulous and systematic analysis of the oldest *acolouthia* indeed led to the removal

from the Benedictine subsections of certain verses wrongly considered as poems.

Two sessions were dedicated to the Evolution of the (non-Greek) Corpora. The Latin tradition was covered in two papers. Reka Forrai presented on *A Foreign Body: the Birth of the Latin Pseudo-Dionysian Corpus*. She showed how the transplant of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus into the Latin theological canon in the ninth century was a success story. Many elements converged in this translation project, that contributed to its popularity: the interests of two powerful institutions (the papal and the Frankish court), the ambitions of two translators (John Scottus Eriugena and Anastasius Bibliothecarius) and the hagiographical manoeuvres of one abbot (Hilduin) shaped this Greek corpus into a fundamental text for medieval Latin theology. In his contribution *Alle origini delle antiche versioni latine delle Orazioni di Gregorio di Nazianzo*, Alessandro Capone tried to reconstruct the ways and forms with which Gregorian *Orationes* were transmitted in a rather ancient phase of the history of texts. He made use of the data that can be deduced from the collections of the direct tradition and of the ancient versions and from the analysis of some textual problems, illustrating his findings by several case studies.

The Christian oriental corpora included the Georgian (for Gregory) and Christian Arabic (for Dionysius) traditions. Maia Matchavariani spoke on *Books for Bibliophiles: Two Ancient Collections of the Georgian Translations of Gregory Nazianzen's Works (S-1696 and A-87)*. She focused on two codices that were copied not for monastic needs but according to the specific bibliophile interests of the donors (Maria of Alania, the wife of the two Byzantine emperors in the eleventh-twelfth century, and Petre the Monk, an active political figure at the court of the eleventh-century Georgian king Bagrat VI). These collections preserve some rare translations of texts, attributed to Gregory, and commentaries which are not found in the Greek sources. Michael Muthreich presented on *Bekanntheit und Verbreitung: Das arabische Corpus Dionysiacum und die dem Dionysius Areopagita zugeschriebenen Texte 'außerhalb davon'*. He showed that in Christian Arabic tradition, some works attributed to Dionysius Areopagita (*the Epistola ad Timotheum de morte apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (CPG 6631) and the *Narratio de vita sua* (CPG 6633)) that are not within the *Corpus Dionysiacum* have been more widespread than the otherwise much better known *Corpus Dionysiacum* itself. These texts were copied as part of synaxaria or collections of the lives of saints that were read on certain liturgical occasions.

Three sessions were dedicated to Scholia and Commentaries (Caucasian, Greek, and Syriac traditions, respectively). Tamara Otkhmezouri spoke on *Paratexts in Medieval Georgian Manuscripts: Corpus Nazianzenum and*

Corpus Dionysiaticum. She focused on the two works that were translated into Georgian in the last decade of the eleventh century by the famous Georgian scholar Ephrem Mtsire. Early Georgian manuscripts including the *Collection of 16 Liturgical Sermons* and *Corpus Areopagiticum* are arranged in accordance with Greek rules, and contain various paratexts: colophons and prefaces (*prooimia*) of Ephrem Mtsire, marginal commentaries of Byzantine authors, marginal notes (annotations) composed by Ephrem Mtsire, marginal signs, and *pinakes*. Otkhmezouri showed the function of the paratexts as the instruments for facilitating scholarly reading, underlining their role in appearance of a new type of Georgian reader with new interests and scholarly purposes. Sergio La Porta presented on *The Armenian scholia on the Corpus Dionysiaticum and their Use in the Medieval School Curriculum*. The Corpus of works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite were translated into Armenian, alongside a redacted version of John of Scythopolis's *scholia*, by Step'anos Siwnec'i with the help of Dawit' Hiwpatos in Constantinople at the beginning of the eighth century. The earliest witnesses date to the thirteenth century, by which point they had formed part of the medieval monastic school curriculum. The Armenian translation of the corpus and of the *scholia* closely follows its Greek *Vorlage*, often rendering its meaning quite difficult to decipher without knowledge of the underlying Greek text. Additional sets of *scholia* were therefore composed in Armenian to help students understand the works. These *scholia* are significant because they permit a glimpse into how the Dionysian corpus was read in medieval Armenian monastic schools.

Chiara Faraggiana presented on the *Anmerkungen hinzufügen: Gehören παρατιθέναι, παραγράφεσθαι, παρακεῖσθαι zum literarischen oder zum kodikologischen Vokabular?* The Greek commentaries of late antique and the early Byzantine periods were created and handed down in different ways. Some authors provide valuable information not only about the content but also about the form of their exegetical work. The systematic analysis of related vocabulary can contribute to a more informed description of some mechanisms of exegesis in the pre-Christian and Christian contexts, and provide finer tools for understanding the commentary procedures in the period from the third to the ninth centuries. Thomas Schmidt presented on *Les Commentaires de Basile le Minime aux Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze: le cas particulier du Discours 38*. Gaëlle Rioual presented on *L'ordre de production des Commentaires de Basile le Minime*. Basil the Minor of Caesarea (tenth century) is undoubtedly the most prolific creator of *scholia* to Gregory's works. He produced 45 individual commentaries on the *Discourses*, dedicated to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The commentary to *Discourse 38* is unique in the manuscript tradition. First, it is almost systematically preceded by the dedicatory

letter to the emperor; second, it is the only commentary transmitted in a long form and a short form. The paper explored the reasons for these specific features. Jonathan Loopstra spoke of the *Reading the Corpus Nazianzenum in Syriac by way of the Margins*. Among Syriac-heritage Christians, Gregory was in high respect. Syriac-Christian communities lacked ready access to the works of Homer and much of Classical literature, so that Gregory's *Orationes* were particularly important for their role as a trusted Christian source of learning. Syriac Biblical commentators heavily relied on Gregory's works. Speaking of the *Corpus Nazianzenum* in Syriac, we find a living 'body' of material with glosses and commentary that often transcend the boundaries of genre. Translated commentaries by Paul of Edessa (seventh century) were enhanced by new glosses, often reflecting material we find in near-contemporary commentary or 'masoretic' manuscripts. The paper focused on the paratexts contained in the Syriac manuscripts of *Orationes* and illustrated how these attest to the phenomenon of medieval corpus building in Syriac. Emiliano Fiori, in his paper *From Scholium to Commentary: The Syriacization of Dionysius the Areopagite as a Collective Effort*, showed that, despite the crucial importance of Sergius of Reš'ayna's sixth-century translation, the real birth of Dionysius the Areopagite's oeuvre as a canonical corpus in Syriac was marked by the version of Phokas of Edessa at the end of the seventh century. To his translation, Phokas added John of Scythopolis' scholia, which had been written in the middle of the sixth century. It was this translation that elicited an intense production of analogous glosses by Syriac authors in the following centuries. Fiori summarized the history of the evolution of the scholia, the commentaries, and of the colophons that accompany the manuscript witnesses of Phokas' translation.

For a conference programme, visit <<https://adw-goe.de/en/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/deutsche-inschriften/news/news-details-2/conference-27-29-april-2022/>> (last accessed 17 November 2022).

Red.

**Mixing Languages and Scripts:
Material from Manuscripts and Inscriptions
Hamburg, 19–20 May 2022**

Many, if not all languages are influenced by others to some degree through the processes of lexical borrowing and structural interference which lead to loanwords and grammatical stratification. Written artefacts not only contain evidence of the complex coexistence of different languages attested in countless cases (Sumerian and Akkadian, Arabic and African languages, Arabic and Persian, Coptic and Greek, Latin and German, Khmer and Tai, Chinese and Japanese, et cetera), but also attest to established or innovative practices dealing with elements unfamiliar to a given language or writing system, but not to its agents and participants. Mapping respective scribal practices might prove especially fruitful in case of written artefacts produced by multilingual and multicultural societies as well as in areas where different cultures of writing overlap.

On the one hand, the inclusion of elements in another language may lead to an enrichment and extension of the writing system in use due to pragmatic reasons, for example to render the external elements as accurately as possible. On the other hand, loanwords and borrowings may also be absorbed and integrated with no adaptation of the writing system. Furthermore, a process of simplification also takes place with the implementation of printing in a manuscript culture, this technology being less flexible and necessarily more standardised than handwriting. The interplay of various languages and scripts in written artefacts demonstrates the importance of studying these artefacts in their social and cultural embedment, within which the agents and participants of literacy practices acted.

The workshop convened by Jost Gippert of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC, Hamburg) on 19 and 20 May 2022 aimed to bring together scholars from a wide range of disciplines to compare practices evidenced in the epigraphic material with those discernible in manuscript cultures.

In his keynote talk, Jost Gippert addressed *Multilingual Inscriptions and Manuscripts of the Maldives*. Written artefacts from the Maldives in both epigraphical and manuscript forms reveal the interaction of the local Indic vernacular with other languages, with Arabic playing the most decisive role since the islands' conversion to Islam in the mid-twelfth century. A peculiar problem that had to be coped with was the combination of different scripts that the introduction of Arabic brought about, with the mixing of a left-to-right 'Brahmi' type script with the right-to-left 'Semitic' script used in Islamic

contexts. The mixing was finally overcome by the introduction of a newly invented, right-to-left directed script in the eighteenth century.

Ancient world practices were addressed in the papers by Szilvia Sövegjártó (Hamburg), *Glossed or Translated? Studies on Sumero-Akkadian Bilingual Manuscripts from 2nd Millennium BCE Mesopotamia*, and by Gábor Zólyomi (Budapest), *'Whoever obliterates this inscription, may the gods Enlil and Utu uproot him and destroy his lineage!'* *Bilingual Royal Inscriptions from 3rd Millennium BCE Mesopotamia*. Sara Chiarini (Hamburg) spoke of *Polyglossia in the Ancient Western Mediterranean*.

Several papers dealt with Far East and Asian traditions. Tibor Porció (Szeged) spoke of *Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions Revisited*. Ishayahu Landa (Bonn) presented on Multilingualism and Multiscriptism in Mongol Eurasia's Numismatics. The paper by Peera Panarut (Hamburg) was dedicated to *Brahmanical Grantha in the Theravada World: Multilingual Manuscripts of the Siamese Grantha in Thailand*. Apiradee Techasiriwan (Chiang Mai) described *The Use of Multiple Scripts and Languages in Lan Na Inscriptions*. Indian tradition was explored by Erin McCann (Hamburg) in the paper *Multilingual Manuscripts in a Multilingual Tradition: The Case of Śrīvaiṣṇava Manipravalam* and by Emmanuel Francis (Paris) in his talk on *Multilingual Inscriptions in the Tamil Area (South India, 7th–14th Century)*.

European (French and German) witnesses were explored by Polina Yaroslavtseva (Hamburg), *Multilingualism in BnF, MS Fr. 375*, and by Jochen Hermann Vennebusch (Hamburg), *Commemoration, Explication, and Obligation. The Baptismal Font of St. Reinoldi in Dortmund*.

Of more interest for the COMSt perspective were the presentations on Middle Eastern and African manuscript traditions.

Persianate world epigraphy was approached by Viola Allegranzi (Vienna), in the paper *Multilingualism as Reflected in the Epigraphic Sources from the Persianate World, 10th–13th Century*. In her paper *Indic Terms in Persian Texts*, Eva Orthmann (Göttingen) dealt with the different ways of writing Devanagari in Persian letters. She looked into the spelling of loanwords and the different attempts of standardizing transliteration, also briefly considering bi-scriptural documents.

Leah Mascia (Hamburg) spoke on *Mixing Languages and Scripts in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean: Multilingualism Across the Lands of the Roman Empire*. She offered an overview of the complex interplay between different languages and scripts across the lands of the Roman Empire by examining a broad spectrum of textual sources. Grzegorz Ochała (Warsaw / Leiden) presented on *One People, One Script, Three Languages: Multilingual Experience of Medieval Nubia*. He scrutinized the state of research on

language and literacy in Nubia in the Christian period, bringing to the fore chronological and functional aspects of the use of different languages and the zones and effects of their mutual interaction. The talk of Dmitry Bondarev and Darya Ogorodnikova (Hamburg) was entitled *How to Spell Loanwords? Integration of Arabic Etymons in Multilingual Islamic Manuscripts of West Africa*. They took a closer look at the Arabic borrowings into local languages and whether they remain unchanged in the words' basic segmental structure or have entirely been integrated into the lexicon of the target languages. They also observed different waves of borrowing of the same Arabic etymons resulting in different variants, sometimes synonymous, sometimes with divergent semantics, and spelling variation.

The programme and the abstracts of the workshop are available at <https://www.vk.uni-hamburg.de/uploads/event/pdf_en/71957/CSMC_Workshop_Mixing_Languages_and_Scripts.pdf> (last accessed 20 November 2022).

Red.

Bibles and Scholars: a Tribute to Paul Kahle and Gérard Weil

Aix-en-Provence, 9–12 June 2022

The legacy of Paul Kahle (1875–1964) and Gérard Emmanuel Weil (1926–1986) for the study of biblical text, the biblical scribal traditions, and the Masorah is of the utmost importance. It is sufficient to recall that the most widespread critical edition of the Hebrew Bible until today is still the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS).¹ It contains the text of the *Codex Leningradensis* (MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Heb. B19a, 1008 CE, identified by Kahle in 1926 as *codex optimus*) and the masoretic annotations (Masora Magna, edited by Weil).² The colloquium *Bibles and Scholars: a Tribute to Paul Kahle and Gérard Weil* intended to celebrate the two scholars and explore the impact of their studies on our understanding of the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible as handed down through ancient and medieval Hebrew or non-Hebrew manuscripts. It was originally planned to be held in April 2020, but had to be delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the sudden demise of Philippe Cassuto (Institut de Recherches et d'Études sur les Mondes Arabes et Musulmans (IREMAM), Aix-Marseille University), who, in addition to being a co-organizer, was one of the last disciples of Gérard Weil.³ As a result, the workshop, organized by Élodie Attia (CNRS, Aix-Marseille Université) with the support of the European Association of Jewish Studies, took place from 9 to 12 June 2022, at the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme of Aix-Marseille University. It was the closing event of the project '*Manuscripta Bibliae Hebraicae: The Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in Western Europe (England, France, Germany, Northern Italy) in the 12th and 13th Century: a Material, Cultural and Social Approach*' (ANR, 2016–2022, PI Élodie Attia, hereafter MBH).⁴

- 1 The BHS was edited by R. Elliger, W. Rudolph, H. Rüger, and J. Ziegler in fascicles between 1968 and 1976 (*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1968–1976)), and since 1977 in one volume (*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia... Editio Funditus Renovata* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977)). The fourth most recent corrected version was produced in 1990.
- 2 G. Weil, ed., *Masorah Gedolah: Manuscrit B. 19a de Léningrad*, I (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1971), included in the BHS of 1977. See also G. E. Weil, 'La nouvelle édition de la massorah (BHQ IV) et l'histoire de la massorah', in G. W. Anderson et al., eds., *Congress Volume Bonn 1962*, *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 266–284.
- 3 Among others, see P. Cassuto, *Qeré-Ketib et listes massorétiques dans le manuscrit B 19a*, *Judentum und Umwelt*, 26 (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Lang, 1989).
- 4 On MBH, see <https://heurist.huma-num.fr/h6-alpha/?db=MBH_Manuscripta_Bibliae_Hebraicae&website> (this and other URIs last accessed 16 November 2022).

The conference covered such scientific fields and disciplines as Jewish studies, biblical studies and editions, Masoretic studies, manuscript studies. Besides, scholars who had had the opportunity to work with Gérard Weil shared their experience and provided an opportunity to shed new light on the ‘Weil Archives’ which, since 2017, have been kept at the Bibliothèque d’Antiquité d’Aix (BiAA, the Library of the research centre ‘Textes et documents de la Méditerranée antique et médiévale’, TDMAM-UMR 7297, of Aix-Marseille University).

The event featured 18 papers, organized into five sessions over three days, the opening session and four thematic panels. A visit to ancient synagogues of the Comtat Venaissin, was organized on the last day of the conference, with the help of the cultural services of the regional council of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur (PACA).

The opening session was dedicated to biographies and memories. Élodie Attia explained how the idea of this conference came about, among other things, as a result of the university recovering the private library of Gérard Weil in October 2016. She recalled the different backgrounds and the scholarly evolution of Kahle and Weil, who both thought it important to study the Bible as an academic subject in the field of humanities, and not only as an object of belief. Coming from the studies of Babylonian biblical texts, they shared the idea that the Babylonian vocalization (expressed in the text of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. 4° 680) was a pre-Masoretic tradition going back to the Tiberian pronunciation.⁵ Weil considered the idea of the existence of ‘a monolithic Masoretic Text’ (MT), based on a ‘model codex’, inaccurate.⁶ Weil also pioneered computer sciences applied to the Hebrew language and text analysis in the 1960s and early 1970s. Attia also used the opportunity to remember Philippe Cassuto, who was Weil’s last and outstanding disciple between 1983 and 1986, and one of the greatest specialists of Masorah and Hebrew languages. Two former colleagues of Weil at CNRS, Anne-Marie Guény-Weil and Gérard Jobin, shared their memories. Guény-Weil read an unedited text by Weil (*une homélie funèbre*), which demonstrated all the admiration and friendship he had had for Kahle. Jobin recalled the activities of the ‘Section Biblique et Massoretique’ of the Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, in Strasbourg, Nancy, and then Lyon, where he also had met Philippe Cassuto as a young PhD student in the late 1980s. Corrado Martone (Turin University) spoke of the project ‘Kahle Documents Management, Or-

5 G. E. Weil, ‘Propositions pour une étude de la tradition massorétique babylonienne’, *Textus*, 2 (1962), 103–119, here 105.

6 G. E. Weil, ‘La Massorah’, *Revue des études juives*, 131 (1972), 5–104.

ganization and Study' (KADMOS, 2010–2014)⁷ and the role the late Chair of Hebrew Language and Literature at the University of Turin, Bruno Chiesa, played in this research.

The first panel of the second day, chaired by Viktor Golinets (Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg), was attended by specialists of Qumranic studies. Taking Kahle's crucial analysis of the textual history of Hebrew witnesses of the book of Ben Sira found in the Cairo Genizah and Dead Sea Scrolls as a starting point, Jean-Sebastien Rey (Nancy University) sought to demonstrate that, contrary to Kahle's hypothesis, it may be possible to reconstruct the genealogy of the medieval Hebrew manuscripts. In his paper *Paul Kahle and Ben Sira: from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Cairo Genizah*, he offered the case study of the so-called manuscript C, an anthological manuscript dating back to the thirteenth century. To reconstruct the *stemma codicum*, Rey used the method of conjunctive and disjunctive errors designed by Paul Maas, and based his study on the critical edition he is preparing with Eric Reymond (Yale). The author questioned the utility of stemmatology when it is not used to reconstruct an *Urtext* or an archetype. Between old philology and new philology, a path is emerging to understand the *mouvance* of the text, its variance throughout history, but also to apprehend the genealogy of scribal versions that shed new light on scribal behaviours. During the subsequent discussion, Rey compared several approaches to text criticism, including the Lachmannian method (diplomatic archetype), the Bédier's method (each manuscript is important in the reconstruction of an eclectic edition), the New Philology (each manuscript is a unique product), and a fourth method developed by Nadia Altschul (genealogy of scribal versions), which he finally preferred. The definition of 'variance' was additionally discussed, the audience and the presenter agreeing on a suggestion by Ron Hendel to distinguish between 'horizontal transmission' and 'vertical transmission'.

In his paper *Qumran Biblical Manuscripts Written by Unprofessional or Unskilled Scribes*, Eibert Tigchelaar (Leuven University, via Zoom) raised two difficult questions: 'how do scholarly models of textual communities influence our interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls?' (or sources in general) and 'how does the study of the scrolls as scribal objects enable a reassessment of scholarly models?'. He suggested to use 'material and palaeographical approaches' in addressing the 'copying process through variants and errors'. He highlighted the problem with 'old', derogatory terminology (referring to biblical manuscripts as e.g. 'unskilled' / 'vulgar' / 'elementary' / 'substandard') and reminded that recent scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls has suggested new more neutral terms for describing manuscripts and hands, for instance

7 See <<http://www.paulkahle.unito.it/index.php>>.

4Q76 and 4QXII^a.⁸ For Tigchelaar, ‘unskilled writing’ seemed to have correlations with elements such as smaller-sized scrolls, larger-sized script, the use of non-standard orthography, and copying errors. Concerning the use of palaeography in the study of the text and textual history of the Bible, he suggested that the question of the skill of the scribes and quality of the manuscripts may provide insights that could, for instance, help build theories about the textual history of the Bible, using these manuscripts to formulate hypotheses about the scribes’ concerns about the form of literary compositions. Tigchelaar highlighted some research perspectives such as knowing more about the purpose and function of the copied (biblical) manuscripts—a question also central for the MBH project which hosted the conference.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser (Innsbrück University), in her talk *Paul Kahle and the Research on non-Tiberian (pre-Masoretic) Hebrew*, reminded us that Kahle was the first to use non-Hebrew sources that predated the medieval Masoretic text. Kahle argued that the first Masoretes (*Soferim*) established the consonant text using existing old manuscripts and corrected their *textus receptus* after them with their own rules, by eliminating variations and replacing them with a new standard. The Masoretes would have then ensured that all significant deviations from the model manuscript disappeared. Only minor differences existed after the establishment of *Musterkodices* (model codices) by Masoretes. Besides textual differences, Kahle was particularly interested in phonological and morphological variants in the Isaiah scroll from Qumran. According to Schattner-Rieser, Kahle was perhaps right in his arguments for an artificial correction regarding the so-called *waw*-consecutive. The imperfect tense construct derived from an old prefixed preterite verb originated, according to Bauer’s comparative historical study of the Semitic verb, from Akkadian. In Origen’s *Secunda*, there is no such thing as a strong *waw*. The conjunction is always *ou-*, like *oua* in Samaritan Hebrew and in the Yemenite pronunciation. Bauer had already described the prefixed preterite *yaqtul* as ‘timeless’ and the lack of distinction between the short and long imperfect forms should not have caused difficulties in understanding the text. Those familiar with this usage in Biblical Hebrew or other Semitic languages can easily recognise the preterite meaning of these imperfect forms, whether they are formally distinct or not. That the narrative refers to the past is usually clearly defined by the context, or the situation, and by adverbs. There was no misunderstanding, as proved by the Aramaic Targums which generally rendered the preterite *yaqtul* in general as past tense.

8 See the works produced by the ERC project ‘The Hands that Wrote the Bible. Digital Paleography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls’ (PI M. Popović).

The paper *The Distribution of Morphological and Orthographic Features in Selected Dead Sea Scrolls: A Quantitative Linguistic Inquiry* by Johan de Joode (Leuven University), prepared together with Eibert Tigchelaar, Dirk Speelman, and Pierre Van Hecke, echoed Weil's studies on quantitative linguistics published in the 1980s. Here, quantitative linguistics was applied to the Dead Sea manuscripts. Emanuel Tov had suggested eighteen linguistic features which can serve as indicators of a Qumran scribal practice found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. De Joode's contribution critically assessed Tov's hypothesis by analysing the statistical frequencies of these linguistic features. A dimensionality reduction technique known as 'correspondence regression' was used to visualise the number of 'traditions' present in the manuscripts. Advanced 3D visualisation techniques suggest that a) there is indeed a contrast between MT and non-MT manuscripts, b) there are multiple documents that fall 'between' these two extremes, and c) there are considerable variations within MT manuscripts and non-MT parchments, particularly parchments in the non-MT group which cluster significantly. The fact that there is a non-MT-like group is not surprising given the binary features defined by Tov. The data do not support the hypothesis of a single practice.

The second session of day one featured presentations of the achievements of the project MBH. Christiane De Olivera Rodrigues (Aix-Marseille University) spoke of the 'Weil Fund': of the ongoing process of cataloguing the Weil holdings by TDMAM, and of the difficulty of gathering archives, notes, and private documents. More than a half of the Weil private library has been integrated into the main catalogue.⁹ Maria Gurrado (IRHT–CNRS) presented the Graphoskop software (latest version 2.0), a plug-in for IMAGE J, developed for MBH in 2021.¹⁰ This tool can help to find, for instance, discriminating elements between two scripts that are very similar in type and *ductus*.¹¹

The first session of day two was dedicated to 'Biblical Editions', another important aspect of the work of Kahle and Weil. It began with the paper of Michael Segal (Hebrew University, via Zoom) *The Hebrew University Bible Project Edition of the XII Prophets* based on the famous Aleppo Codex. The critical apparatus is very rich, encompassing traditions such as Greek. The discussion underlined the very long-term process of such an edition: the project had been initiated by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein decades ago.

9 Currently 500 items at <<https://www.frantiq.fr/>>.

10 Available under Resources at the MBH project website (see n. 4 above).

11 É. Attia, M. Gurrado, and A. Mailloux, 'Les caractères discrets de l'écriture: paléographie quantitative à l'âge du numérique', *Memini. Travaux et documents*, 26 (24 décembre 2020), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/memini.1697>>.

Elvira Martín-Contreras (CSIC, Madrid), in her talk *The Biblical Editions of the Spanish School of Madrid: The Cairo Codex of the Prophets and the Manuscript BH MSS1 from the Complutensian University Library*, recalled that Kahle was linked to the original project of the edition of the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, which the Spanish School of Madrid started to publish in 1979 under the editorial leadership of Federico Pérez Castro. The friendship between these two scholars played an important role in the origins of this editorial project. Their correspondence also gives us an idea of the preliminaries to the edition. The first volume, the Minor Prophets, and the Preface justifying the edition and explaining its structure and character were published in 1979, and the last of the seven volumes containing the biblical books in 1987. In 1992, Volume VIII, an alphabetical index to the Masora Parva and Masora Magna annotations, was published. Between 1995 and 1997, other complementary studies were published: the analytical indices of the Masora Magna, of the Masora Parva, and of the occurrences of *let* cases. This edition was ‘a real innovation in the field of biblical publications’¹² for several reasons. It was the first printed edition of the earliest dated biblical manuscript, and it was the first edition to contain the biblical text and its Masora Parva and Masora Magna annotations only, reproducing the codex as exactly as possible, with no modification or emendation. It was the first edition to reproduce both the Masora Parva and Masora Magna of a whole manuscript, and to give the biblical references in parentheses in an apparatus below the biblical text. It was also the first edition to add an apparatus with explanatory notes giving additional information for understanding the Masoretic notes.

Ronald Hendel (Berkeley University, via Zoom) spoke on *Kahle on the History of the Pentateuchal Text: Reception and Reappraisal*. He cautioned to be cautious when referring to other scholars’ theories. As an example, he showed how what is sometimes quoted as Kahle theory of ‘pristine texts’ for the Hebrew Pentateuch actually does not exist: Kahle’s views on the early textual history of the Hebrew Pentateuch are often misunderstood, in part due to his terse formulations. Talmon harmonized Kahle’s views on the Old Greek version(s)—and his disagreements with Lagarde—with his views on the early Hebrew text(s). On the latter, both Kahle and Lagarde accepted the genealogical (Lachmannian) model of textual history, which is arguably correct. Hence, those who advance the theory of ‘pristine texts’ may not quote Kahle as authority and must do so on different grounds.

Edson de Faria Francisco (Metodista di Sao Paulo University) spoke on *The Masorah of the Leningrad Codex B19a in the series of Biblia Hebraica*:

12 A. Dotan, ‘The Cairo Codex of Prophets and its Spanish Edition’, *Sefarad*, 46 (1986), 162–168.

Contribution to the Current Masoretic Studies, highlighting the importance of this unique witness for Masoretic studies and offering a bridge to the final conference panel dedicated to Masoretic studies and Hebrew manuscript studies.

Yossef Ofer (Bar Ilan University, via Zoom) first discussed the studies of both Kahle and Weil on the Babylonian Masorah, which is so important as it was an ancient stage of the Masorah, and explained how it could have emerged among several traditions that are difficult to trace and explore due to a scarcity of sources. His paper *The Targum of the Sin of the Golden Calf in Halakhic Sources and in the Babylonian Masorah* explored the phenomenon of untranslated verses in Exodus 32. This tradition to not translate certain verses in Exodus 32 into Aramaic was expanded by the Masoretes over the generations: from six verses to eleven, and then to sixteen verses. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found outside the Masoretic tradition. This sheds new light on the different traditions of the Pentateuch Masorah.

In his lecture (*How*) *Can Masora be Edited? Approaches and Solutions in Scholarly Editions of the Hebrew Bible*, Viktor Golinets (Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg) discussed approaches and solutions to editing the Masorah. He showed that, in spite of the available Masorah editions being quite many, only a few manuscripts were (repeatedly) used. Besides, every edition of the Masorah had its own purpose, which determined the way in which the text was displayed. The present situation is still quite the same as when Weil began to work on his catalogue of Hebrew biblical manuscripts, and on his edition of the Masoretic notes to the Hebrew Bible in the Leningrad Codex. Apart from Breuer's edition,¹³ which sought to reconstruct the orthography of a number of Hebrew words, there is no comparative edition of the Masoretic notes of a considerable number of biblical manuscripts. Hence, the possibilities of conducting a comparative study of Masoretic notes and answering specific questions about the development of the Masorah as a system are still very limited.

Javier del Barco (Complutense University of Madrid), in his paper *Cataloguing Biblical Manuscripts I: From 'Manuscripts Dates' to the BNF Project of Cataloguing Hebrew Manuscripts*, examined the context of the development of the catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts from the project SfarData¹⁴ (for all dated manuscripts) to the MBH (for Bibles only). He underlined that the famous 'archaeological turn' and the establishment of codicology as a

13 *Jerusalem Crown: the Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Pentateuch, Prophets and Writings according to the text and Masorah of the Aleppo Codex and related manuscripts. Following the Methods of Rabbi Mordechai Breuer*, 2nd edn (Basel: Karger, 1998).

14 <https://sfardata.nli.org.il/#/startSearch_En/>.

historical discipline in the mid-1950s open the way to a series of ambitious cataloguing projects that initially focused on dated manuscripts. Following in the footsteps of the *Comité international de paléographie latine*, the *Comité de paléographie hébraïque* was founded in the 1960s, with the primary objective of cataloguing the dated Hebrew manuscripts following new methodologies which focused more on the archaeological and material study of the codices. As a result, the volumes of *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques portant des indications de date* have been published, a fundamental pioneering work that represented a new paradigm for the study of Hebrew manuscripts. In his presentation, del Barco sought to explore how the study of Hebrew manuscripts in the French school has evolved from the pioneering *Manuscrits médiévaux* until the more recent projects of cataloguing manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, notably BiNaH ('Bibliothèque Nationale 'Hebraica': Hebrew manuscripts in Paris', funded by ANR).

The final talk of the conference was *Cataloguing Biblical Manuscripts II: From Weil's Cataloguing Project to the Current Manuscripta Biblicae Hebraicae Project*, by Élodie Attia. She reminded how Gérard Weil set up a Unit for Documenting the Hebrew Bibles and that a project for cataloguing Hebrew and Aramaic biblical manuscripts was developed in parallel with applying computer sciences to the biblical text. Reports on the activities conducted at the Research Centre he headed show an intense work of describing manuscripts (fragments, codices, scrolls) from European libraries and Russia between the late 1960s and the 1970s. His premature death prevented him from joining Collette Sirat's project *Manuscrits datés*, which was planned for 1985. The project MBH followed in some of the footsteps of Weil and Philippe Cassuto in a new technical context, but in which Weil was a pioneer. The collaboration with Javier del Barco and interoperability are opening up enriching perspectives of analyzing medieval Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible. For the moment, some 300 items have been described, of which 50 have been analyzed in more detail in order to reassess the typology of Biblical manuscripts in the Middle Ages, their forms and functions.

For the conference programme visit <<https://www.cpafr.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article926/>> (last accessed 15 November 2022).

Élodie Attia, CNRS Aix-Marseille Université

Illuminating the Eastern Christian World: Manuscripts, Illuminators and Scribes

Hamburg, 30 June–1 July 2022

The conference ‘Illuminating the Eastern Christian World: Manuscripts, Illuminators and Scribes’ was organized at the Universität Hamburg on 30 June and 1 July 2022 by the project ‘Demarginalizing medieval Africa: Images, texts, and identity in early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270–1527)’ (AHRC-DFG, 2021–2024, PI Alessandro Bausi, Hamburg, Jacopo Gnisci, London, and Theo Maarten van Lint, Oxford), with support of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures of the Cluster of Excellence Understanding Written Artefacts at the Universität Hamburg.

The past decade has witnessed a steadily growing interest in the arts and manuscript cultures of the Eastern Christian traditions of Armenia, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia and Syria fostered, in part, by mounting calls for the social and historical sciences to broaden their focus to include objects, people, and regions that have been traditionally marginalized in academia or viewed as peripheral in discourses about the medieval West and Byzantium. Within this evolving context—which has seen shifts in political and scholarly parameters and a strong convergence towards the idea of globalizing the ‘Middle Ages’—recent research on the manuscript traditions of the Eastern Christian world has developed along two distinct but complementary lines. The first aims to develop comparative approaches and perspectives to these manuscript traditions that consider instances of cross-Mediterranean exchange and continuity while also relativizing and resisting normative notions of centre-periphery. The second uses manuscripts to destabilize notions of cultural uniformity and national or religious identity, by locating instances of heterodoxy, idiosyncrasy, cultural mixing and pluralism within the multifaceted groups that are today conveniently but problematically subsumed under categories such as ‘Oriental Orthodox’. By bringing together these two fields of inquiry, the conference set out to explore the role that manuscripts, especially those bearing illustrations, can play in improving our understanding of the transmission, reception, adaptation and reinterpretation of texts, images, matter, material practices, and ideas, as well as the movement of book makers, owners, and readers across the Mediterranean world and beyond between late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The conference papers aimed to overturn conventional Western-driven narratives of the history of book making and using in favour of an approach that centres on the traditions of Africa and Asia and that focuses in particular on the material and artistic traditions of the Oriental Christian world.

Among the talks, Alin Suciu (Göttingen) spoke of *Entangled Histories in the Egyptian Desert: The Pentaglot Psalter Vatican, Barberinianus orientalis 2*. He took a close look at the famous codex featuring the text of the Psalter in Ethiopic, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian, comparing it to other multilingual manuscripts and trying to establish the strategies and contexts behind their creation. Georgi Parpulov (Birmingham) spoke of *The Miniatures of the Paris Dioscorides (BnF Grec 2179): Date, Style, Origin*.

Aspects of church iconography and its relationship to manuscript art were explored by Mat Immerzeel (Leuven, via Zoom) who presented on *Medium Interactions: The Links between Medieval Manuscript Illustration and Monumental Church Art* and by Magdalena Łaptaś (Warsaw) who looked at *The Archangel Gabriel with a Sword in Rossi's Magical Tractate and Some Nubian Paintings*.

Ethiopic manuscripts were in the focus of the papers of Sophia Dege-Müller and Vitagrazia Pisani (Hamburg), *The People Behind the Book: Colophons, Scribal Notes and Additions in Medieval Ethiopic Manuscripts*, and Jacopo Gnisci (London), *Visualizing Holiness in Early Solomonian Ethiopia: The Iyäsus Mo'a Portrait in the Ḥayq ʿIštīfanos Gospels*.

A comparative approach to the study of the Gospel manuscript decoration between East and West was proposed by Matthew Crawford (Melbourne) in his paper *Number, Text, and Image: Mystic Contemplation of the Eusebian Canon Tables from Lindisfarne to Armenia*.

Syriac manuscript tradition was approached by François Pacha Miran (Paris) in his presentation *The Making of a Syriac Gospel Lectionary: Craftsmen's Identity and the Workshops' Functioning* and by Philip Michael Forness (Frankfurt) in his talk *Translations and the Exchange of Manuscripts among Eastern Christian Communities: An Analysis of the Late Antique Syriac Evidence*.

Katrin Kogman-Appel (Münster) spoke of the *Hebrew Book Art in Shared Spaces, c.1300*.

Arabic book illumination was in the focus of the talk by Finbarr Barry Flood (New York), *The Illustrated Arabic Book as Index of Early Globalism: Reconsidering the Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī (BnF Arabe 5847)*. Umberto Bongianino (Oxford, via Zoom) spoke of the medieval Romance manuscripts using Arabic script in his paper on *Mozarab(ic) Manuscripts: Old Paradigms and New Approaches*.

Manuscripts from the Caucasus were studied by Gohar Grigoryan (Fribourg), who offered a classification of *Cilician Armenian Gospel Manuscripts with Royal Images*, Theo M. van Lint, who presented on *Patrons, Texts, Transmission: Ezekiel's Throne Vision in Ani, Yeznka and Gladzor (Tenth-Four-*

teenth Centuries), and Nino Kavtaria (Tbilisi), who spoke of *East Christian World and Georgian Illuminated Manuscripts in Cross-cultural Context*.

Elisabeth Yota (Paris, via Zoom) offered her *Reflections on Multiculturalism in the Levant: The Impact of Eastern Christian Minorities in the Production of Byzantine Manuscripts of Cyprus*.

Heather Pulliam (Edinburgh) focused on a particular aspect of manuscript production: the making and use of portable containers for books, in her talk *Wearing the Word: Book Satchels and Book-Shrines at the World's Edge*.

The organizers are hoping to publish the conference papers in a volume in the coming months.

Red.

Middle and Mixed Arabic: A Typology of Genres and Intended Recipients

Bratislava, 20–23 September 2022

In the third week of September 2022, the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava hosted the sixth conference of the Association for the Study of Middle and Mixed Arabic (AIMA VI) which took place at the beautiful venue of the Moyzes Hall. The conference was generously funded by the Scientific Grant Agency of the Slovak Republic's VEGA project no. 1/0611/20 ('The Arabic Linguistic System: Deviations from the Standard Norm and Other Particularities of Selected Manuscript Texts') and was convened by Zuzana Gažáková, the project's principal investigator.

The conference gathered international scholars who work in intermediate and mixed varieties of Arabic, which have been a permanent reality throughout its history. These are commonly recognized as 'Middle Arabic' and 'Mixed Arabic' varieties. Following the publication of some pioneering works, this field of research has become established in its own right. In May 2004 in Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, the first international conference on the Study of Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic varieties was held, and the Association internationale pour l'étude du moyen arabe et des variétés mixtes de l'arabe (AIMA – International Association for the Study of Middle and Mixed Arabic) was established by the two organizers Jacques Grand'Henry and Jérôme Lentin. Joshua Blau, a pioneer in this field, became its first president. Soon afterwards, there was some remarkable progress in the collective effort to study Middle and Mixed Arabic; this resulted in international conferences in Amsterdam (AIMA II), Florence (AIMA III), Atlanta (AIMA IV), and Strasbourg (AIMA V). The organization of AIMA VI in Bratislava was, unfortunately, influenced by the COVID-19 pandemic. It had been planned to be held already in June 2020. Despite this complication, the conference ultimately welcomed thirty-four participants (twenty-six in person and eight online) who came from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

The theme for AIMA VI was 'Middle and Mixed Arabic: A Typology of Genres and Intended Recipients'. The following issues were of particular interest: what literary and specialized genres and documents are produced in Middle Arabic/Mixed Arabic or contain Middle Arabic/Mixed Arabic elements? Why is this the case? How did they evolve over time? How do such texts influence the readership and the evolution of Arabic language(s)? Do these texts have a particular (local or professional/sociological) readership, or are they read by a larger Arab audience? What are the peculiarities of Middle/Mixed Arabic in these genres?

In addition, the AIMA VI conference aimed at reviewing the current state of knowledge of Middle and Mixed Arabic, while also considering its historical and geographical contexts, and at thinking over the different methods of analysis and problems of definition and terminology that are still under discussion.

The first day started with an opening ceremony that began with a brief and erudite speech by Marián Zouhar, the dean of the Faculty of Arts, who summarized the importance of Arabic Studies in the faculty's history. He was followed by a presentation from the AIMA—represented by association president Jérôme Lentin and vice-president Johannes den Heijer. They outlined the latest achievements in the field and introduced the new AIMA website (<<https://aima.hypotheses.org/>>).

Naturally, the key lectures offered sociolinguistic and diachronic approaches to various types of documents that were relevant for the Arabic environment, and they featured extended comparisons into related varieties and different languages such as the Judaeo-Arabic (Geoffrey Khan) and Hebrew (José Martínez Delgado). Furthermore, in his opening lecture Jérôme Lentin concentrated on the Arabic writings of non-Arabic native speakers, predominantly well-known Orientalists and Protestant missionaries. Exceptionally captivating was the key lecture by our young Slovak colleague, Barbora Machajdíkóvá, who eruditely presented the linguistic variations of ancient Greek and their multiple perceptibility on various levels.

The diverse range of the presented papers dealt with the phenomenon of Middle and Mixed Arabic over history, and the organizers were keen on including various genres from ancient times to the present. As the majority of texts from medieval and pre-modern times were preserved as manuscripts, a significant part of the contributions dealt with Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic manuscript traditions. A short treatise entitled *Taksīr al-Aḥḡār* 'Smashing the Stones' on the purist actions by the famous Ḥanbalī thinker Ibn Taymīya, and attributed to his follower Burhān ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm, was examined by Johannes den Heijer, Perrine Pilette, and Liesbeth Zack. Zuzana Gažáková analysed several manuscript versions of a selected episode from *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan*, and Mária Lacináková looked at non-classical elements found in the manuscripts of *al-Kisā' īs Kitāb 'Aḡā'ib al-Malakūt*. Estefania Valenzuela Mochón studied the Ḥisba manuals from the Islamic West, and Catherine Taine Cheikh concentrated on Arabic letters from the Trarza region of southwest Mauretania. Several papers dealt with rich documentary sources from Cairo Genīzah and focused on how writers adapted their styles within various genres (Esther Miriam Wagner) and narrative-popular Judaeo-Arabic texts (Rachel Hasson-Kenat). There were also presentations given on *taḥammuq*

poetry from the Fāṭimid period (Rawya Burbara) and on the linguistic features of the oral poetry of sixteenth-century Morocco (Mina Afkir).

Topics from modern poetry and prose included a linguistic analysis of Omani short stories (Viktor Bielický), the study of the mixing of language registers in the novels of the Egyptian author Ḥayrī aš-Šalabī (Fratišek Ondráš), and a description of the exceptional 'illogical' language in the Tunisian author Tawfiq Ben Brīk's novel *Kawazakī* (Cristina La Rosa). Anna Belikova investigated the mixed Arabic of international broadcasting, and Lucia Avallone focused on code-switching and mixed styles in the communication of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, one of Egypt's most esteemed intellectuals, in a 1969 televised interview.

The conference brought many other captivating topics and clearly showed that there is a significant community of scholars working within the field. It has resulted in several new projects. Selected contributions will be published in *Asian and African Studies*, a scholarly journal published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The event concluded with the AIMA general assembly and a meeting of its scientific board, which unanimously accepted the proposal that the following conference be held in 2024 at the University of Cambridge in order to make up for the time lost due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The positive impression conveyed by this four-day event was aided by the high quality of the contributions, the liveliness of the debates, and the conference dinner, which was held at Marrol's Boutique Hotel.

Zuzana Gažáková, Bratislava

Identifying Models and Copies on the Basis of Material Evidence: At the Intersection Between Manuscript Studies and Philology

Hamburg, 10–11 November 2022

On 10 and 11 November 2022, Giovanni Ciotti and José Maksimczuk of the Cluster of Excellence ‘Understanding Written Artefacts’ (Universität Hamburg) organized a workshop ‘Identifying Models and Copies on the Basis of Material Evidence: At the Intersection Between Manuscript Studies and Philology’. They aimed to investigate, from a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspective, the extent to which specific material features and matters of formatting can be studied to understand the genetic relationships between manuscripts. The workshop explored what the study of material evidence can tell us about the transmission of manuscripts and texts in cultures spanning from Byzantine Greek to Slavic, from Arabic to Chinese, from Caucasian to Indian.

Greek manuscript tradition was most thoroughly approached in the paper by Tomás Fernández (Buenos Aires) and José Maksimczuk (Hamburg), *On the applicability of the concept of material evidence. Some examples from the Greek tradition of Aristotle’s First Analytics*. It is generally accepted that apographs are manuscripts copied from extant manuscripts, and that the proof that a given manuscript is an apograph is usually indirect: as a rule, it will contain all the errors of its model, minus those which could have been eliminated by conjecture or contamination, plus at least one of its own. Apographs were usually disregarded in the constitution of the text; this is the famous *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. The more recent critical approach takes material evidence into account and concedes that apographs may contain valuable evidence (such as genuine readings gathered from other models), and that other witnesses, which are surely not apographs, are *inutiles* for the constitution of the text. The *eliminatio codicum inutilium* is more useful than the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. Yet, since many apographs are also *inutiles*, determining which manuscript is an apograph is still a crucial part of textual criticism. They illustrated the evolution of the approach on the example of material evidence from a huge, complex, and up-to-now barely explored manuscript tradition: Aristotle’s *First Analytics*. The final paper of the workshop, by Caroline Macé (Göttingen and Hamburg), also used a Greek corpus, in this case of manuscripts containing a text by Gregory of Nyssa, to illustrate the importance of consideration of material accidents and the adoption of the *eliminatio codicum inutilium* for textual reconstruction.

Greek-inspired translated corpus of Slavic texts was explored by Lara Sels (Leuven) in her paper *Identifying the translation model of the Slavonic Šestodnevnik by reconstructing the material life of codex Baroccianus grae-*

cus 228. She illustrated the crucial role of material evidence in the identification of the Greek translation model of the late thirteenth or fourteenth-century Slavonic *Šestodnevník*, viz. a translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* (CPG 2835) followed by Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio* (CPG 3154). Slavic manuscripts were also in the focus of the talk by Anna Jouravel (Freiburg), *Same but different. The Slavic approach to the relationship between models, copies, and genetics*. She highlighted the peculiarities of the Russian school of 'textology' and illustrated the importance of the awareness of 'material accidents' when reconstructing a text on the example of a Slavic traveller's account. One folio must have been misplaced at an early point in transmission, resulting in all existing witnesses containing a disordered itinerary, early ascribed to the author's faulty memory.

Also relying on Greek models were the texts transmitted in Georgian manuscripts studied by Jost Gippert (Hamburg) in his paper *Models shimmering through copies: case studies from Georgian manuscripts*. He presented several case studies of manuscripts from Mt Athos and Jerusalem to show how material evidence (such as indications of Greek models, *sauts du même au même*, paratexts of different kinds, and material damage) can help to determine models that were used in copying.

Islamic manuscripts were in the focus of the paper by Frédéric Bauden (Liège), *Advantages and pitfalls of using material evidence as a means to identify apographs in the Arabic textual tradition: The case of the Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442)*. In the Arabic textual tradition, particularly in the Mamluk period, the preservation of many manuscripts in the author's hand (holographs) is remarkable. 24 codices totalling 5,000 leaves by the hand of the Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) are held in various libraries around the world. He wrote down the various stages of each of his works (preparatory notes, drafts, fair copies), though he had recourse to a scribe in a single case at the end of his life: the production of a collection of small texts of his that also includes some of his autograph notes. The existence of such a large number of witnesses allows to dwell on the issue of the material evidence as a discriminatory argument for the identification of apographs. In his paper, Bauden proposed to review the various physical elements that can be invoked to select or exclude copies but also drew special attention to the pitfalls of exclusively relying on these elements. Josef Ženka (Prague), in his paper *The best of both worlds: Notaries and scribes as copyists or copyists as scribes and notaries in the 15th century Granada*, discussed the perception of the materiality of manuscript books and documents by a particular group of people in Muslim Granada. These individuals copied books, professionally or for themselves, while working as notaries or chancery scribes. The pres-

ence of specific features or certain habits of these professions points toward a much broader contemporary context of transmission of manuscript books and documents. He showed that these manuscripts share particular characteristics, from a particular type of handwriting to the format of the quire/document, the layout and its visual organization, to the preservation of the information regarding the original manuscript.

Far eastern and Asian traditions were covered by such papers as Costantino Moretti's (Paris) *Models and archetypes in Medieval China: Sundry notes with a focus on Dunhuang Buddhist manuscripts*; Ondřej Škrabal's (Hamburg) *Material evidence for models and copies in the ancient world epigraphy: From Pharaonic Egypt to Early China*; Silpsupa Jaengsawang's (Hamburg) *Anisong manuscripts for wedding ceremonies: Is their master version really lost?*; Eva Wilden's (Hamburg) *The missing ten lines – Reconstructing the transmission of a classical Tamil text*; Christina Pecchia's (Vienna) *The synergy between physical and textual evidence: The history of the transmission of Sanskrit texts beyond historically determined boundaries*. Saloumeh Gholami (Frankfurt), Almut Hintze (London) and Sebastian Bosch (Hamburg) introduced a new project dedicated to a corpus of Avesta manuscripts in their talk on *Zoroastrian scribal practices on the basis of material evidence*.

Material awareness and text criticism are relevant also for modern western European literary manuscripts, as explored by Anna Kinder and Sandra Richter (Marbach) in *Material evidence of 20th century manuscripts and philological practices* on the example of Kafka's *Prometheus*.

Ivan Shevchuk and Kyle Huskin (Hamburg), in their paper *Accepting the limits of methodology: What MSI and image processing can and cannot answer*, illustrated the advances multi-spectral imaging of manuscripts has brought about in the past decades. Mostly used for text recovery (the successes including the Archimedes Palimpsest Project and the Early Modern Electronic Library based on the manuscripts of St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai), MSI can be used to answer other research questions, e.g. evidence of parchment preparation methods, modifications to the *mise-en-page*, signs of later reuse, and even fingerprints haplessly left behind, presumably by the scribe or a later handler. However, it is not currently feasible to go 'hunting' for these traces of materiality with MSI, which is one of the most time-consuming and labor-intensive methods at our disposal. The paper discussed the kinds of research questions that MSI can and cannot reliably answer.

The workshop programme and abstracts are available at <https://www.vk.uni-hamburg.de/uploads/event/pdf_en/83885/CSMC_Workshop_Material_Evidence.pdf> (last accessed 25 November 2022).

Red.

