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COMSt

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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>.

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Editorial

In memoriam Malachi Beit-Arié (*20 March 1937–17 October 2023*)

This editorial only briefly commemorates the passing away of Professor Malachi Beit-Arié last October 2023. The *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* cannot ignore this event, but this is nothing more than a reminder of a task for the future, which it was impossible for the *COMSt Bulletin* to absolve in this issue, and that shall be duly considered in a next one.

Malachi Beit-Arié was Ludwig Jesselson Chair of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since 1994, but already in 1965 Founder and ever since Director of The Hebrew Palaeography Project at The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and of the SfarData database and website. He is most of all one the fathers of comparative and quantitative codicology, which he not only theorised, but also put concretely in practice like no one else, taking as a starting point for his groundbreaking research, the enormously rich and diverse manuscript cultures of Hebrew and Jewish manuscripts. The sum of his knowledge he synthesized in the amazing monograph which has absorbed his energies in the last years of his life.[1]

Among his innumerable titles, memberships, and awards [2] of an exceptional academic life, in the years 2010–2014 Malachi Beit-Arié was also Member for Israel of the Steering Committee and the Codicology Team of the European Science Foundation's Comparative Oriental Manuscripts Study networking programme. The programme—concluded in January 2015 with the publication of a 700-page introductory handbook co-edited and contributed by not few of the people who still take care of editing this journal [3]—enormously profited from the scholarly quality and the extraordinary humanity of Malachi. Malachi dedicated generously and substantially very much of his time and energy to this project, not

1 M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 using a Quantitative Approach*, ed. N. Pasternak, tr. I. Goldberg, Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, The Hebrew Palaeography Project (Jerusalem–Hamburg: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2021) DOI: 10.25592/uhhfdm.9349.

2 Retrievable from <https://huji.academia.edu/malachibeitarie/CurriculumVitae>, last accessed 20 February 2024.

3 A. Bausi, P. G. Borbone, F. Briquel Chatonnet, P. Buzi, J. Gippert, C. Macé, Z. Melissakis, L. E. Parodi, W. Witakowski, and E. Sokolinski, eds, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015) DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.46784.

only as an author of several portions of the handbook, but supporting it and animating particularly the discussion on comparative and quantitative codicology, providing for many aspects a model of description at the example of the Hebrew tradition, that, if possible—and rarely, unfortunately, was this possible, due to the unbalance of the state of the art—served as a guide-line for other manuscript traditions of the codex area. I particularly remember the impressive workshop on codicology, organized by Marilena Maniaci, devoted to the question of production, including pricking and ruling, where all the distance from what was clearly established and achieved for Hebrew manuscripts with the SfarData project and most of the other traditions appeared in all its even embarrassing evidence.

Still for *COMSt*, there are at least two points that I would like to mention here: the first is that Malachi was decisive in making Israel a partner country and represented it in the *COMSt* programme: this was not the case at the beginning, and Israel joined later, as also Italy did: from every point of view, this was an extremely important contribution; the second is that Malachi offered to organize, with the support of the Israel Academy of Sciences, a *COMSt* editorial meeting in Jerusalem, at the Academy itself. The meeting was held almost exactly ten years before Malachi's passing away, on 21 October 2013, and—as we immediately realized—appeared memorable for the warm and friendly cooperative atmosphere, and Malachi's unique humanity and understatement, that we will never forget. The least we can do, therefore, is to dedicate this issue to Malachi Beit-Arié as a sign of profound respect and admiration, and an anticipation of the enormous intellectual debt we owe to him.

Alessandro Bausi

Articles and notes

Recovering Some Lost Lines in the *Mēmrē* of Narsai (d. *c*.500), with an Appendix on a Stemma of Manuscripts of Narsai*

Aaron Michael Butts, Universität Hamburg

In 1905, Alphonse Mingana published a two-volume edition of metrical homilies, or *mēmrē*, of the important East-Syriac theologian and poet Narsai (d. *c*.500). This edition remains the field-standard resource for scholars working on Narsai. In the present article, I draw attention to four cases in which a line was missing from the manuscript(s) that served as the basis of Mingana's edition, resulting in a broken couplet in Mingana's text. I restore these couplets by consulting MS Diyarbakır 70 (= Da), which was copied near Erbil in 1328, and thereby I recover some lost lines of Narsai. In a concluding appendix, I discuss how these lost lines can serve as *errores significativi* (*Leitfehler*) for establishing a stemma of the manuscripts of Narsai's *mēmrē*.

Sigla for the Manuscripts of Narsai[1]

Aa	Alqosh, Notre-Dame des Semences, 160
Ab	Alqosh, Notre-Dame des Semences, 161
Ba	Baghdad, Archbishopric of the Church of the East, 45
Bi	Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Syriac 55
Br	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Sachau, 174, 175, 176
Ca	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 71
Cb	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 72
Cc	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 70A
Cd	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 70B
Ce	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 70C
Cf	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 70D
Cg	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 69
Ch	Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate, 240
Da	Diyarbakır, 70 = Mardin, Mar Hırmız Keldani Kilisesi, 60.19
Db	Diyarbakır, 71 = Mardin, Mar Hırmız Keldani Kilisesi, 60.2
Ki	Kirkuk, Chaldean Archdiocese, 49
La	London, British Library, Oriental 9368
Lb	London, British Library, Oriental 5463

* I would like to thank the following people for their help with this article: Adam Becker, Monica Blanchard, Kristian Heal, Lucas Van Rompay, as well as two anonymous reviewers.

1 The following sigla, established in Butts et al. 2021, are used throughout the present article.

Lc	London, British Library, Oriental 9363B
Ld	London, British Library, Oriental 9367
Ma	Mosul, Dominican Friars, 160
Mb	Mosul, Dominican Friars, 312
Ml	Maria Laach
Pa	St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Diettrich 6
Pb	St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Diettrich 5
Ro	Rome, Maronite Order of St. Anthony
Sn	San Francisco
St	Strassburg, Strassburg University Library, 4139
Te	Teheran, Neesan 1
Ua	Urmia 34
Ub	Urmia 35
Va	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Syr. 83A
Vb	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Syr. 79
Vc	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Syr. 498
Vd	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Syr. 588
Ve	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Syr. 594

Introduction

Among the multiple high points of Syriac literature are undoubtedly the hundreds of *mēmrē* produced between the fifth and sixth centuries by Jacob of Serugh, Narsai, and the three or four Isaacs who were in earlier scholarship incorrectly subsumed under the name Isaac of Antioch.[2] Despite their great importance, these *mēmrē* are still primarily available in editions based on a limited number of manuscripts that were not critically edited. For the three Isaacs recourse is usually made to Paul Bedjan's 1903 edition.[3] Bedjan also published a five-volume edition of *mēmrē* by Jacob of Serugh between 1905 and 1910, to which can be added two additional volumes he published earlier in 1902.[4] For Narsai, there is the two-volume edition of *mēmrē* published in 1905 by Alphonse Mingana.[5] There is no doubt that these editions published

2 I am not the only one to group these *mēmrē* together; see e.g. Brock 1987. On the three or four Isaacs, see Bou Mansour 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Mathews 2002, 2003, 2011; and Becker forthcoming a.

3 Bedjan 1903. Bedjan based his edition partly on the earlier edition of Bickell 1873. For claves to the *mēmrē* of the Isaacs, see Mathews 2002, 2003.

4 Bedjan 1902a, 1902b, 1905–1910. The latter was reprinted in 2006, with an additional volume of material as Bedjan 2006. To these publications by Bedjan can be added the recent two-volume edition of Akhrass and Syryany 2017. For claves to the *mēmrē* of Jacob of Serugh, see Brock 2006 and Akhrass 2015.

5 Mingana 1905. Mention should also be made of the facsimile edition of *mēmrē* by Narsai published by the Patriarchal Press (Mar Eshai Shimun XXIII 1970). For a *clavis* to the *mēmrē* of Narsai, see Butts et al. 2021.

more than a century ago by the two Chaldean scholars Paul Bedjan and Alphonse Mingana continue to be a tremendous resource for the field of Syriac studies in making so many *mēmrē* from the fifth and sixth centuries available in published form.[6] Yet, it is also undeniably the case that the textual basis of these *mēmrē* could be improved by new research on the many manuscripts that were not incorporated into the editions of Bedjan and of Mingana.[7]

In the case of Narsai, who is the focus of the present article, the availability of relatively early manuscripts in digital form is especially to be noted.[8] Among the roughly three dozen manuscripts known to have transmitted *mēmrē* of Narsai, more than two thirds stem from the nineteenth century, with most coming from Alqosh.[9] Nevertheless, four of the five earliest known manuscripts of Narsai have become available in digital surrogates in the past decades.[10] The earliest still extant manuscript is Da, which was copied near Erbil in 1328.[11] Then there is Db, which has been dated on palaeographic grounds variously between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[12] Next comes Ba,

6 For Mingana, see Samir 1990; Kiraz 2011; Heal 2015; Baarda 2016. For Bedjan, see Murre-van den Berg 1994, 2006, 2011.

7 A different issue is that Bedjan and Mingana sometimes depart intentionally from their sources. Connolly, for instances, flags several places where Mingana omits text of Narsai for theological reasons (Connolly 1909, 5 fn. 1, 14 fn. 1, 20 fn. 1). Or, to take a different example, Bedjan deletes several pejorative adjectives, 'wretched', 'evil', and 'deceitful', that ʿAḇdā da-Mšiḥā addresses to his Jewish father in the *History of ʿAḇdā da-Mšiḥā* (see Butts and Gross 2016, 125 fn. 101 and 104; 127 fn. 110).

8 I say 'relatively early' because of the relatively late date of manuscripts preserved by the East Syriac tradition compared with those preserved by the West Syriac tradition. For early dated East Syriac manuscripts, see Brock 2007.

9 For the manuscript attestation of Narsai, see Butts et al. 2021, building upon the foundational work of Macomber 1973. For the importance of Alqosh in the preservation of Narsai, see Butts 2019, 92–93 fn. 77.

10 Unfortunately, the earliest known manuscript of Narsai, Ca, which dates between 1188–1288, is likely lost (see fn. 22 below). Mention should also be made here of four leaves from the Qubbat al-Khaznah in Damascus that Kessel has identified as containing text from Narsai's *Mēmrā* 76 '*On Enoch and Elijah*' (Kessel 2020, 273–274). Kessel dates the leaves to the ninth century, which makes them the earliest extant witness to Narsai, though it remains unclear whether these leaves come from a liturgical manuscript, possibly a funeral rite, or from a collection of Narsai's *mēmrē* (for this distinction, see Butts et al. 2021, 80).

11 See Butts et al. 2021, 83–86. Digital images available at vHMML (CCM0578): <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/502694> (this and other links last accessed on 1 December 2023).

12 See Butts et al. 2021, 86–89. Digital images available at vHMML (CCM0397): <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132516>.

which was copied in 1647.[13] Finally, Cb was copied in 1705 in Alqosh.[14] These four manuscripts, which are all available in digital surrogates, offer data that can improve the texts of Narsai as edited by Mingana.

Improvements to Mingana's editions can range from small to large. As an example of the former, consider the following lines from Narsai's *Mēmrā 10* '*On Stephen*', cited according to Mingana's edition:[15]

ܒܒܪܕܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܡܢܩܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܠܦܐܪܐ ܚܠܝܐ:
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܣܒܣ ܡܢ ܚܠܝܘܬܗ ܣܢܝܩܝ ܠܫܩܝܐ܀

With a hail of stones, they were pounding that sweet fruit (*viz.* Stephen), so that those thirsting for drink would not *be torn apart* (?) by his sweetness.

The verb *neṯbasbas* in the second line is grammatically suspect since it is singular, whereas its presumable subject, 'those longing for drink' (*sniqay lšeqyā*), is plural.[16] In addition, *neṯbasbas* makes little sense in context. A superior reading can, however, be found in Da, which has the verb *neṯbassmun* (ܢܬܒܣܡܘܢ), providing the much more intelligible 'so that those thirsting for drink *would not be delighted* by his sweetness'.[17] Many such small improvements can be made to Mingana's text based on Da and the other relatively early manuscripts mentioned above.

Larger improvements are also possible. In a recent article, for instance, I have argued that Da preserves the correct title of a *mēmrā* as '*mēmrā* of the feast of the victorious cross' (ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܙܟܝܐ), which has been corrupted by a scribal error into '*mēmrā* of Mār(y) Ṣlibā Zakkāyā ('victorious cross')' (ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܙܟܝܐ) in the later manuscripts Va (1868) and Vd (1918).[18] The superior reading of the title in Da is quite consequential in this case, since it enables us to rectify an error of Macomber, who attributed this *mēmrā* to 'an otherwise unknown Ṣlibazka',[19] and thereby we can reclaim this *Mēmrā* '*On the Feast of the Victorious Cross*' for Narsai, as it is presented in Da.[20]

13 See Butts et al. 2021, 89–90. Digital images available via a digitization project under the direction of Archbishop Giwargis, of the Assyrian Church of the East in Baghdad.
14 See Butts et al. 2021, 90–93. Digital images available at vHMML (CPB00105): <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/503086>.
15 Mingana 1905, 1.98. An English translation of this homily is available in Gross and Paz 2024.
16 Unlike some of the other Semitic languages, and especially Classical Arabic, Syriac requires number agreement between subject and verb. As Nöldeke puts it: 'Das Verbum richtet sich sonst durchaus nach dem Subj. Namentlich verlangt ein plurales Subj. ein plurales Verb' (Nöldeke 1880, §321).
17 For this text, see Butts 2022, 37 fn. 4.
18 Butts 2020.
19 Macomber 1973, 306, *passim*.
20 Butts et al. 2021, 77–78.

There are, then, many gains, from small to large, to be made by studying the manuscripts of Narsai, especially the relatively-early ones now available in digital surrogates. In the present article, I want to continue in this vein by drawing attention to several cases in which a line was missing from the manuscript(s) that served as the basis for Mingana's edition, resulting in a broken couplet in Mingana's text.[21] Consultation of Da enables us to restore the couplet and thereby recover some lost lines of Narsai. In addition, as I discuss in the concluding appendix, these lost lines can serve as *errores significativi* (*Leitfehler*) for establishing a stemma of the manuscripts of Narsai's *mēmrē*.

For each of the four cases identified here, I present the text of Mingana's edition, as it is printed. Though I have consulted all the manuscripts available to me,[22] I have not collated variant readings: The text is that of Mingana's edition. To Mingana's edition, I have added, marked with underlining, the missing lines that can be restored based on Da. The consonantal text of the missing lines follows Da, but the vocalization is mine, so that the recovered lines appear in the same format as Mingana's edition.

Mēmrā 1 'On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets (I)' (*Mingana 1.5.2–7*)

ܘ ܟܓܕܘܗܝ ܕܝܗ ܡܝܪܝܢ ܙܕ ܣܡ ܠܝ:
ܡܡܠܟܬܐ ܒܗ ܕܕܘܬ ܟܡܥܒܕ ܒܓܕܝ ❖
ܟܟܬܟ ܒܟܬ ܡܥܒܕܡ ܐܘܗ ܒܗ ܟܡܥܒܕ ܒܗ:
ܟܟ ܒܦܡ ܐܘܗ ܟܡܟܕܘ ܒܗ ܟܬܣܓܬ ❖
ܕܐ ܟܡܟܬܟ ܡܥܕܟ ܐܘܗ ܒܕ ܟܟ:
ܡܒܝܗ ܡܥܟܝ ܓܟܟ ܒܬܐ ܗܟܟ ❖
ܟܡܟܟ ܒܡܟ ܣܡܗ ܘܟܬ ܡܥܕܒܡ ܓܗ:
ܕܒ ܡܥܒܕܡ ܟ ܡܥܕܒ ܡ ܟܓܕܘܗ ❖

That slavery among the Egyptians, he depicted and showed him,
and because of this he set out the limbs opposite one another
<u>In harsh labour they were tormented opposite one another,</u>
and they were unable to come to the aid of one another.

21 The exact manuscript basis of Mingana's edition remains uncertain (see Connolly 1909, xi–xii; Jansma 1970, 213; Heal 2023, 47 fn. 116 as well as fn. 48 below).

22 The three *mēmrē* discussed here are extant in Aa (1879) and Pa (nineteenth century), but I do not currently have access to either of these. In addition, the three *mēmrē* were also once found in Ca (1188–1288) and Cg (1896), but both are now likely lost: The Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML) digitized the collection of the Chaldean Patriarchate of Baghdad, which once held these manuscripts, but unfortunately these manuscripts were not among those digitized. To make matters worse, P. T. Mingana reports, on the basis of a personal communication with the curator of the collection at the Chaldean Patriarchate of Baghdad, that these manuscripts were lost in a disaster ('una sciagura') sometime between 1975 and 1990 (P. T. Mingana 2003, 39).

This enslavement, the knower of all was observing,
and he likened the three animals to three ages in advance.
At the end of the day, he showed the time when they would be redeemed
because when they were worn out, then they would be freed from slavery.[23]

The underlined text is missing in Mingana's edition, as well as in Cb (1705), Va (1868), Br (1881), Ki (1881), Vb (1883), La (1887), Vc (1890), Sn (1901), but it is found in Da (1328) as well as in Lb (1893) and Te (1896).

Mēmrā 2 'On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets (II)' (*Mingana 1.29.19–30.3*)

ܐ ܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܘܫܡܗܐ ܕܒܪܫ ܐܝܬܝ:
ܒܟܕܒ ܡܕܡ ܫܡܝܟ ܠܬܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܪܚܡܐ ✤
ܠܡܐ ܟܕܒ ܕܝܠܝܟ ܫܘܝܗ ܠܒܢܢܝ:
ܒܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܒܚܡ ܕܫܒܚ ܟܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܬܬ ✤

Behold, the beginning of spiritual workmanship is revelation,
for the Lord began to reveal to humanity the ways of his will.
In Adam, he began to reveal his love to the earthly ones
in order to teach them how much the human race is loved by him.[24]

The underlined text is missing in Cb (1705), Va (1868), Br (1881), Ki (1881), Vb (1883), La (1887), Vc (1890), Lb (1893), Te (1896), Sn (1901), but it is found in Da (1328) as well as in Bi (1902).

It should be added that this missing line is different from the others presented in this article in spanning two different lines; homoioteleuton is obviously the cause of the missing line.

Mēmrā 2 'On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets (II)' (*Mingana 1.41.20–22*)

ܕܡܫܬܒܚ ܒܟܕ ܚܠ ܒܒܟܕ ܡܕܒ ܒܩܬ:
ܡܟܐ ܒܚܡܕܐ ܒܝܒܟ ܒܟ ܐܦ ܒܚܟܒ ܕܡܫ ✤
ܟܐ ܒܝ ܡܒܝܐ ܬܒܟܕ ܐܦ ܟܐ ܟܝܟܬ ܕܒܟܒܡ:
ܡܟܐ ܒܟܒܬ ܡܒܟܕܟ ܐܦ ܟܐ ܡܟ ܒܩܕ ✤

Spiritually, the skilled singer sang everything that he sang,
and there is nothing in his singing that is not without the spirit.
Not like Moses did he listen to the utterance of his people,
and it was not an angel who spoke to him and thus he sang.[25]

23 An English translation of this homily is available in Griffith 2024 (slightly adapted here).
24 An English abridgment of this passage is available in George 1972, 164.
25 An English abridgment of this passage is available in George 1972, 180.

The underlined text is missing in Cb (1705), Va (1868), Br (1881), Ki (1881), Vb (1883), La (1887), Vc (1890), Lb (1893), Te (1896), Sn (1901), but it is found in Da (1328) as well as Bi (1902).

Mēmrā 20 'On Lent I' (*Mingana 1.171.8–11*)

ܐܝܟ ܡܣܟܐ ܡܒܪܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܙܩܦ ܡܘܫܐ:
ܘܥܝܢܐ ܟܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܒܗ ❖
ܐܘ ܥܛܡܐ ܕܥܛܡܐ ܟܕ ܥܛܡܝܢ:
ܐܘ ܦܓܝܪܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܥܝܢ ܟܕ ܕܢܚܫܘ[26] ❖
ܐܘ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܕܢܗܪ ܥܝܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܡܢܗ:
ܐܘ ܙܘܥܪܐ ܕܢܗܪ ܢܗܝܪ ܒܢܗܝܪܘܬܗ ❖
ܐܘ ܣܬܪܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܕܣܒܪ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܬܚ:
ܐܘ ܫܦܬܐ ܕܦܬܚܬ ܘܣܬܡܬ ܕܒܣܪܐ ❖
ܕܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܐܬܙܥܪܘ ܘܦܬܚܘ ܕܚܝܠ ❖

Like a mirror, he fixed the fast before Moses' face,
and the eye of the fleshly ones succumbed to look upon it.
Oh limbs which were frightened for limbs!
Oh face that cast fear on its like!
Oh pupils from which the light of the eyes fled!
Oh luminary that chased away the light by the force of its own light!
Oh lips, the veil of the mouth of flesh,
for the body and the soul were stirred up and terrified when they opened![27]

The underlined text is missing in Cb (1705), Va (1868), Br (1881), Ki (1881), Vb (1883), La (1887), Vc (1890), Sn (1901), but it is found in Da (1328) as well as Lb (1893) and Te (1896).[28]

Conclusion

In a review article of Gignoux's *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création*, Jansma laid out a program for future textual work on the *mēmrē* of Narsai, writing:

> A study of the variants collected by Gignoux in his apparatus—the real variants are few in number and affect only single words—shows that the tradition of the homilies

26 Lb reads ܕܒܓܩܦ (with *beth* instead of *kaph*) against ܕܒܚܡܐ in Da. Interestingly, Te reads ܕܒܢܟܡܐ with *kaph* like Da, but with *syāmē*. Probably too much should not be made of these words, but it should at least be pointed out that Gignoux (1968, 520) and Siman (1984, 3) maintain that Te was copied from Lb, whereas Macomber (1973, 288–289), followed by McLeod (1979, 13), proposes that Te was copied from Ua and is thus a sister of Lb. The readings here lean toward the latter, but the evidence is far from unequivocal.

27 An English translation of this homily is available in Becker forthcoming b (slightly adapted here).

28 Only a folio of this homily is preserved in Db (fourteenth–sixteenth century), and unfortunately this folio does not contain the lines in question.

> is very stable. Therefore the question to be raised is whether future editorial activities should not better be concentrated on making available Narsai's *opera inedita* rather than on reediting the homilies which have already been published by Mingana. As for these, an apparatus of variants culled from the extant manuscripts would suffice for a critical use of them.[29]

It is difficult to disagree with Jansma's overarching point: While we await new editions of Narsai's *mēmrē* that are based on a much broader analysis of the extant manuscripts edited in a critical (i.e. Lachmannian) framework, the field is probably best served by editing the *mēmrē* by Narsai for which there is not currently an edition.[30] In addition, a collation of significant variants from the extant manuscripts, especially the early ones, can serve as a helpful stopgap until new, critical editions are produced. In this article, I have presented four of the more significant variants that I have been able to cull from the extant manuscripts, and thereby I have added four new lines of text to Narsai's *mēmrē* as published by Mingana.

Appendix: Toward a Revised Stemma of Manuscripts of Narsai's Mēmrē

In addition to recovering some lost lines from Narsai's *mēmrē*, the four variants discussed here can help create a more scientific basis for establishing a stemma of the manuscripts of Narsai's *mēmrē*. Our understanding of the stemmatic relationship of the more than three dozen manuscripts attesting *mēmrē* by Narsai admittedly remains in its infancy. Nevertheless, in the most thorough analysis to date, McLeod proposed the stemma in fig. 1.

29 Jansma 1970, 214–215.

30 This includes especially *Mēmrā 17 'For Any Saints Day'*, *Mēmrā 32 'On the Canaanite Woman'*, *Mēmrā 51 'On the Antichrist'*, as well as *Mēmrā 82 'On the Feast of the Victorious Cross'*, if the argument in Butts 2020 is accepted. For *Mēmrā 32 'On the Canaanite Woman'* note that an English translation recently appeared in Walsh 2021 and that an unpublished edition is available in Walsh 2019. After editions are published of these *mēmrē*, the next level of priority would be editing those *mēmrē* found in the facsimile edition of the Patriarchal Press (= Sn) but not in Mingana 1905.

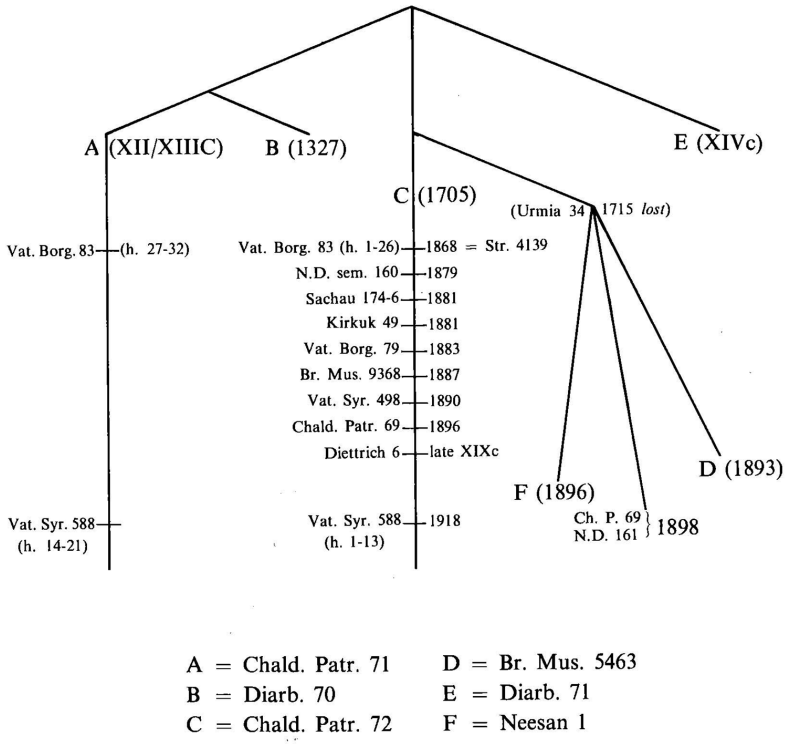

Fig. 1. Manuscript Stemma from McLeod 1979, 18

In a recent article in this journal, I have criticized McLeod for claiming that the only extant manuscripts that are useful for establishing a critical text of Narsai's *mēmrē* are the six that are given upper-case sigla in the figure above and that all other extant manuscripts are, in his words, 'of no value in determining the critical text'.[31] McLeod's rather far-reaching application of the text-critical principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* cannot, I have argued, be sustained based on our current understanding of the manuscript tradition of Narsai.[32]

31 Butts 2019. For McLeod's position, see McLeod 1979, 10–18.

32 I have suggested that McLeod fell into a path all-too-well-trodden in the history of textual scholarship, about which Timpanaro wrote the following: 'Later—in the nineteenth century, as we shall see, and unfortunately even today—this procedure, which has received the technical name of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* [elimination of derivative manuscripts], has often become a convenient expedient for saving the Classical philologist time and trouble: insufficient evidence, or even the simple observation that there is a mass of *recentiores* [more recent witnesses] alongside a

Nevertheless, the broader stemmatic relationship that McLeod proposed remains the best working hypothesis, and it can be corroborated by the variants presented in this article. To facilitate the discussion, I offer—with much hesitation—a revised stemma of the manuscripts of Narsai employing the sigla from the recently-published *Clavis to the Metrical Homilies of Narsai* (fig. 2).[33]

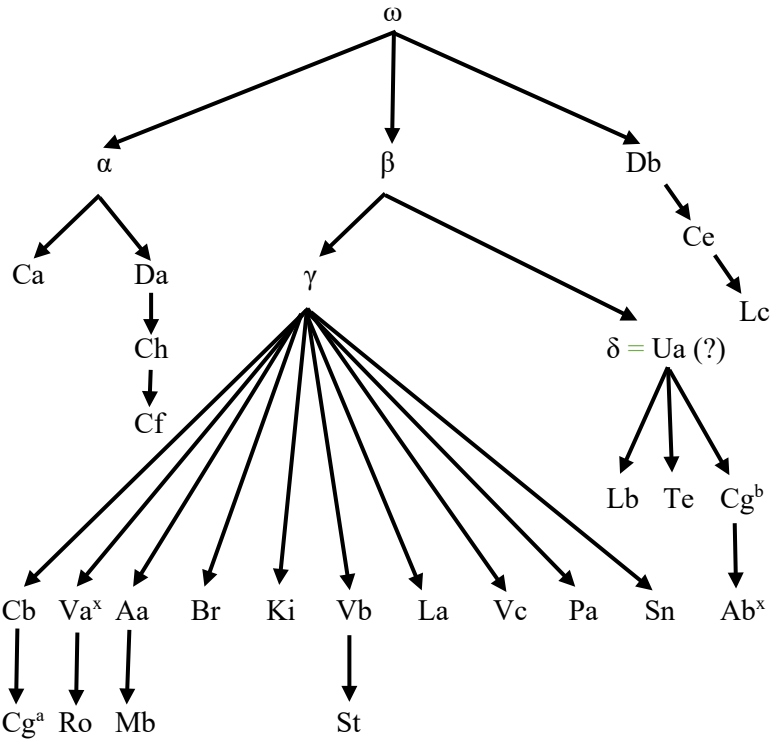

Fig. 2. Revised Stemma of Manuscripts of Narsai's *Mēmrē*.

manuscript of considerable antiquity, has too easily suggested that the more recent ones derived from the older one' (Timpanaro 2005, 47; cf. Butts 2019, 93–94 fn. 78).

33 For the sigla, see above. In a review of Butts et al. 2021, Becker points out that it would have been useful for a stemma of the manuscripts to have been included in the *Clavis*, even if a reprint of McLeod's (Becker 2022). When preparing the *Clavis*, I was opposed to reprinting McLeod's stemma, because of my disagreements with it (as discussed in the main text above; see also Butts 2019), and I also did not want to offer my own stemma in order to avoid exposing myself to criticisms in turn. Nevertheless, Becker is correct: A stemma should have been included in Butts et al.

This stemma is based heavily on McLeod, and there are significant portions of it that I cannot personally substantiate. In addition, there are a number of uncertainties, including but not limited to the following (beginning with unplaced manuscripts, then moving generally from left to right):[34]

- A number of manuscripts are not yet placed in the stemma, including Ba, Pb, Cc, Cd, Ub, Ld, Ab (though see Ab^{x} under δ; explained below), Ma, Ml, Bi, Vd, Ve.
  - Frishman proposed that Ld derives from Cd and was supplemented with *mēmrē* from other parts of this composite manuscript.[35]
  - As pointed out by Macomber, Ab reproduces the contents, in order, of Cd, Cc, and Cg^{b}.[36] Thus, it may well derive from these manuscripts, as represented in the stemma above with the latter case (labelled Ab^{x}).
  - Bi does not belong to branch β (see further below). In addition, Frishman proposed that Bi derives from Cd and was supplemented with *mēmrē* from other parts of this composite manuscript.[37] If this proves to be the case, then it has major repercussions, since Cd (and any manuscript dependent on it) would also not belong to branch β.
  - Vd and Ve seem to be intended, as Macomber reasonably suggested, to collect those *mēmrē* of Narsai not published by Mingana.[38] Macomber and Frishman have made various proposals for the multiple sources of these two manuscripts, including especially manuscripts of the Chaldean Patriarchate (Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, Cf, and Cg).[39]
- Macomber proposed that Cf derives ultimately from Da via Ch.[40]
- The manuscripts of the γ branch can likely be grouped into subfamilies themselves, but they are listed here as unaffiliated siblings until further research is conducted on these relationships.
- Cg consists of two parts (labelled here Cg^{a} and Cg^{b}): According to Macomber, Cg^{a} copies the colophon of Cb, and therefore will ultimately go back to this manuscript.[41] Cg^{b} contains 14 *mēmrē*, all of which are also

2021, and it is for this reason that I put forward a stemma here, but again I stress only with much hesitation.

34 In addition, it should be noted here at the outset that in several cases, some of which are noted below, a particular manuscript was copied from more than one antigraph. This further complicates any potential stemma of manuscripts of Narsai's *mēmrē* since it introduces a high probability of contamination (horizontal transmission).

35 Frishman 1992, 1.4*.

36 Macomber 1973, 290.

37 Frishman 1992, 1.4*–5*.

38 Macomber 1973, 291–293.

39 Macomber 1973, 291–293; Frishman 1992, 5*–7*.

40 Macomber 1973, 290.

41 Macomber 1973, 289.

found in Lb and Te, as well as their supposed source Ua, and so will belong to the δ branch, on which see further below.
– Va likely has multiple sources; only the first 26 *mēmrē* (labelled here Va^{x}) belong to the γ branch.
– Frishman proposed that Lc derives ultimately from Db via Ce.[42]
– The role that Ua plays in the δ branch is uncertain. McLeod proposed that Lb, Te, Cg, and Ab^{x} derive from Ua.[43] This is, however, difficult, if not impossible to substantiate, since Ua is no longer extant.[44] Alternatively, Ua could be an older sibling.
– Te is presented above as a sibling of Lb, as assumed by Macomber and further developed by McLeod.[45] Alternatively, Gignoux and Siman maintain that Te derives from Lb.[46]

The stemma above, like all stemmata, is only a working hypothesis. In this particular case, it should again be stressed that this stemma must be considered extremely tentative given the lack of scientific study of Narsai's manuscript tradition. In particular, *errores significativi* (*Leitfehler*) still need to be identified.

The variants discussed in this article provide an initial step toward a more secure evidential basis for a stemma of manuscripts of Narsai's *mēmrē*.[47] The two lines missing from *Mēmrā 2* '*On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets* (*II*)' serve as *errores coniunctivi* uniting the β branch in the stemma above. They also serve as *errores separativi* showing that Bi, which is currently not in the stemma, will not belong to branch β since it does not participate in the

42 Frishman 1992, 1.6*, 8*–9*. For additional evidence that Lc represents a selection of *mēmrē* taken from a collection such as that found in Db, see Butts et al. 2021, 123–124, where regrettably there is a series of inopportune typos: The numbers for the *mēmrē* in Lc correspond not with those in MS Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Chaldean Patriarchate 71 (= Ca), as stated in the *Clavis*, but with those in MS Diyarbakır 71 (= Db). Undoubtedly, the number 71, which Ca and Db share in common, has led to this unfortunate mistake.
43 McLeod 1979, 12–13, 15, 18.
44 Even when both manuscripts in question are extant, it is methodologically difficult to establish that one derives exclusively from the other, especially without recourse to physical evidence (see Reeve 1989). How much more is this the case when one of the manuscripts is no longer extant, as with Ua.
45 Macomber 1973, 288; McLeod 1979, 13, 18. See also fn. 26 above.
46 Gignoux 1968, 518; Siman 1984, 3.
47 It should be noted that these four variants are particularly reliable *errores significativi* since they are unlikely to be the result of polygenesis: It is very improbable that two different scribes made the exact same error independently in these cases.

errores coniunctivi that establish that branch.[48] Similarly, the missing lines in *Mēmrā 1* '*On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets* (*I*)' and in *Mēmrā 20* '*On Lent I*' serve as *errores coniunctivi* uniting the γ branch in the stemma above. Additional *errores significativi* such as these need to be identified in order to substantiate and refine a stemma for the manuscripts of the *mēmrē* by Narsai.

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48 In addition, Bi will not have been the manuscript on which Mingana based his edition. In one place discussing the textual basis of his edition, Mingana writes, 'Codex quem in lucem edimus est codex noster quem recognovimus cum manuscripto Mausiliensi (Patriarchatûs Chaldæorum) et Urmiensi. Hic codex autem, collectus est et exaratus ex variis pervetustis codicibus, qui asportati fuerant ex Tiari, regione Nestorianâ in Kurdistano' (Mingana 1905, 1.25). Gignoux tentatively identified Mingana's 'codex noster' with Bi (Gignoux 1968, 520). Gignoux's identification is *prima facie* not unreasonable since Bi is found among the Mingana Collection in Birmingham. Jansma, however, challenged this identification based on differences between Bi and Mingana's edition (Jansma 1970, 213). The variants discussed in the present article corroborate Jansma's argument: Given that the two lines missing in Mingana's edition of *Mēmrā 2 'On Revelations to Patriarchs and Prophets* (*II*)*'* are found in Bi, it seems unlikely that Bi is Mingana's 'codex noster', and it is also probably not among the manuscripts that Mingana consulted when preparing his edition.

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Nineteenth-century Kashmiri Paper: Victor Jacquemont's Account of an Unparalleled Craftsmanship*

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Kashmiri paper stands out among the many Indian handmade papers by its great fineness and extreme polish. It was used for artistic and literary works by Muslims and Hindus, as well as for utilitarian purposes. This paper re-articulates current knowledge about Kashmiri paper through the study of historical accounts and the description of paper-making in Srinagar provided by Victor Jacquemont, a French botanist and explorer, who visited the region in 1831 and described the craftsmanship behind the distinctive appearance of Kashmiri paper in great detail. His account is the earliest and most comprehensive account of paper-making in the region. The theoretical information is illustrated by examples of documents and artefacts which highlight the multiple uses of this material in Kashmir during the nineteenth century.

When handling a manuscript made in Kashmir in the nineteenth century, for example a copy of the Qurʾān or the *Šāhnāma*, one may be surprised by the quality of the paper used for its manufacture. The pages are as transparent and shiny as glass and make a typical crackling sound when turned. Kashmiri paper was used as a medium for official correspondence and *farmāns* issued by Mughal emperors and local rulers and even as a substitute for window glass, among many other uses. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Sultan Shah Rukh Shahi Khan of Kashmir (Zayn al-ʿAbidīn, ruled 1418–1419 and 1420–1470) invited craftsmen to set up industries and crafts in the region. Thus, paper-makers, who were descendants of those from Samarkand, established the first paper-mill, in one of the king's gardens in the northern part of Srinagar, where water was abundant. Over the centuries, the industry flourished and Kashmiri paper earned a reputation for its excellence and quality.

Although some travellers' accounts, in particular those of the British in the first half of the nineteenth century, did provide general comments on the paper-making technology, the first to record the know-how in detail was Venceslas Victor Jacquemont (b. 1801, d. 1832), a French botanist and explorer.[1]

* I thank Virginia Howell (The Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta), Jérome Petit and Khalid Chakor-Alami (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), Laure Pfeffer and the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle Paris, Giovanni Ciotti (University of Bologna) and Dionysia Christoforou (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

1 Jacquemont died of dysentery in Bombay in 1832; his collective works, compiled by his family and friend Guizot from his diary, notes, and records, were published posthumously (Jacquemont 1841). The publication was in French and therefore

Initially, Jacquemont was commissioned by the Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris to collect flora and fauna specimens and carry out topographical, geological and mineralogical surveys of the Western Himalayan regions. From there he travelled to the far reaches of Kashmir (under Sikh rule since the battle of Shopian in 1819) and ventured into the western regions of Tibet. In January 1831, Jacquemont travelled to Punjab where, through the mediation of two French officers employed in the Sikh army, General Claude-Auguste Court and General Jean-François Allard, he met Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Thanks to these connections, he was able to travel to Kashmir from May to September 1831. While there, he visited the Srinagar paper-mill and provided a detailed account of the production process and in particular of the finishing operations responsible for the typical smoothness and fineness of the paper.[2] He also collected six samples corresponding to the different stages of paper manufacture described, which are unfortunately lost.[3] While his work on the natural sciences of South Asia, his audacity and his diplomacy were praised by his peers, his description of paper-making did not seem to generate much interest in the research and exploration community.

In the following, I do not only analyse and interpret Jacquemont's unstudied account but also revisit other nineteenth-century sources that mention and describe the material in order to re-articulate current knowledge about Kashmiri paper. I also try to characterize nineteenth-century Kashmiri paper through visual observation and highlight the multiple uses of this material by different strata of the Kashmiri population, using examples of documents and artefacts from Western institutions.

On the location of the pulp- and paper-mills in European sources

Jacquemont observed pulp-mills behind the Shalimar Garden (today Srinagar, Kashmir). An aqueduct supplied the mills with water from a canal built by the Mughal emperors. He provided a description of the wheel and drew a schematic diagram (fig. 1). The wheel, made of roughly square pieces of wood, was connected to a lever that rose with each turn of the wheel to fall on the pulp to be beaten.

Jacquemont did not specify whether the sheets were manufactured at the same location as the pulp. Later sources suggest that the production was carried out at two distinct sites, certainly because pulp-making required more

likely was not widely known to the British readership. Only his letters were translated first in 1834 and for the second time, by Phillips, in 1936.

2 See Jacquemont 1841, III, 204–212.

3 A note (Jacquemont 1841, III, 207, n. 1) mentioned that the samples were deposited (probably by a family member in charge of the archives) at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris, but there is no confirmation of the this at the Conservatoire.

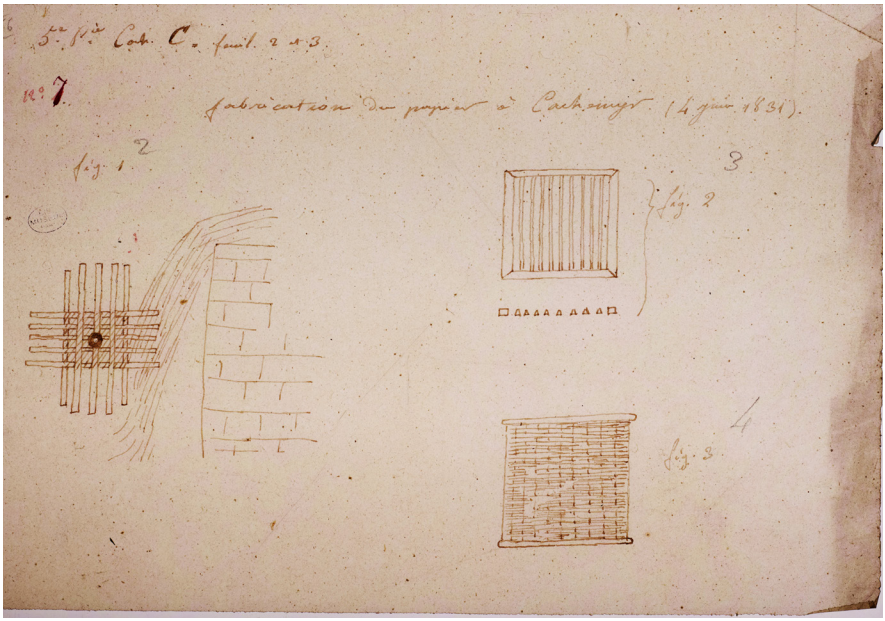

Fig. 1. Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Ms 182, f. 66, Victor Jacquemont's original drawings illustrating the 'Fabrication du papier au Cachemir (4 Juin 1831)': (1) the water wheel; (2) the wooden frame of the paper mould; (3) the mat of the paper mould (courtesy of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, reproduced also in Jacquemont 1841, II, plate 60, fig. 2).

water than sheet-making and had to be done near rivers. Several spellings or names are given for these two different sites and are therefore difficult to locate on maps today. In addition, information was often reported by word of mouth or from earlier sources, so authors may have misrepresented names due to incorrect or inaccurate transliteration.[4] The pulp was produced in a few hamlets along the Sindh River, about 15 kilometres from the Shalimar Garden. One of them is clearly Ganderbal; the other village(s) (Aras, Arr, Arats or Arach in various sources) cannot be identified with certainty. The current of the Sindh River and its tributaries was strong enough to turn the wheel and drive the wooden hammers that ground the material into pulp, and the water was clean enough to thoroughly wash the pulp. As Baden Henry Baden Powell (b. 1841, d. 1901), who served as forest conservator in Punjab,

4 The same applies to technological aspects, which were often misunderstood because the authors and travellers were often not paper experts. This is particularly true for information compiled from older sources by a single author. For example, Charles Ellison Bates, in his 1873 *Gazetteer*, comments that information derives from other authorities such as Cunningham, Forster, Hügel, and Vigne, etc.

remarked, 'the excellence of paper in Kashmir is no doubt largely owing to the abundance and clearness of running water available for manufacturer'.[5]

In 1873, the British medical officer, Henry Walter Bellew (b. 1834, d. 1892), who sojourned a short time in Srinagar during the Second Yarkand Mission under Thomas Douglas Forsyth, wrote:

> At a mile or two beyond Gandarbal is the village of Arr, on the bank of the small stream of the same name, which empties into the Dal at Terbal. It has some paper-mills worked by water power, the sound of whose pounders at work reached our camp. The fibre of the wild hemp plant, which grows here in abundance, is the material used, mixed up with old rags etc. The pulp is merely washed and then conveyed to the city to be made into paper. [6]

A few years later, Charles Ellison Bates mentioned that the pulp was prepared in Shalimar Gardens and Arats, a small village located on the left bank of the Sind River in the Tehsil of Lar *pagana*.[7] In the 1890s, Sir Walter Roper Lawrence (b. 1857, d. 1940), who served in the Indian Civil Service of Punjab, mentioned that the pulp produced in the Sindh Valley and in the Dāchigām River (a tributary of the Sindh) was then transported to the city.[8] 36 families, each counting approximately 14 members, were still active in the industry. An average family made five *dastā*s of good paper and seven *dastā*s of rough paper, a *dastā* being a unit of measurement and corresponding to 24 sheets.[9]

In 1917, around 70 years after Jacquemont's account, William Raitt of the Forest Research Institute Dhera Dum was invited as a consulting cellulose expert. He visited the Kashmiri paper-mills to evaluate the state of the traditional method.[10] The pulp-mill still existed as he took several fascinating photographs of the different steps of pulp-making: pulp-beating under the wooden stamper, pulp-washing, bleaching of pulp cakes in the field (figs 2, 3, 4). He also photographed the process of making the sheets and drying them on the plastered wall (fig. 5).

20 years later, in November 1937, the American scholar of printing and paper-making William Joseph 'Dard' Hunter (b. 1883, d. 1966) visited Kashmir. He mentioned that Nowshera, the paper village, was located 'a few miles from Srinagar'. The pulp-mill visited by Raitt was no longer in operation at

5 Baden Powell 1872, 78.
6 Bellew 1875, 87.
7 Bates 1873, 125. He provides the coordinates of Arats: Lat. 35' 14', Long. 74' 48'. Bates records the existence of Ara, Arat, Arats and Arrah.
8 Lawrence 1895, 380.
9 *Dastā* (or *dasteh*), from Persian دست *dast*, 'hand'.
10 In 1939, 23 photographs he took during the visit were acquired by the London Science Museum, also available at <https://www.jstor.org/site/artstor/open-science-museum-group/twentythreephotographsillustratingnativepaperco160280-29915836/>..

Figs 2–5. London, Science Museum, acquisition no. 1939–197, twenty-three photographs illustrating native paper-making in Kashmir taken by William Raitt in 1917. © Paper Makers' Association of Great Britain.

Fig. 2. Pulp beating under the wooden stamper, the water wheel.

Fig. 3. Pulp washing.

Fig. 4. Pulp cakes bleaching in the field.

Fig. 5. Making and drying the sheets.

the time of Hunter's visit. While Raitt's publication provides no details on the exact location of the sites of production, Hunter mentions that the mill used to be located in Arach, some ten kilometres away.[11] The pulp in the form of dry, flat cakes was transported from Arach to Nowshera by bullock carts.[12] Others sources also mentioned Nowshera (also spelled in sources[13] Navshahr, Naushehra, Nawa Shahr, Noashera) as the village where the sheets were produced, yet no historical map showing any of these name variants has been

11 Hunter 1939, 40–56. Besides some photographs of the Srinagar paper-mill (while the photographs showing pulp-making are reproduced from Raitt), his book contains two paper samples: the first one before and the second after glazing.

12 Hunter 1939, 48, 54. Although Hunter states that Arach cannot be found on any map of Kashmir, it is plausible that it can be identified with the hamlet, now called Arch, located near Gandarbal, on the bank of the river Sindh.

13 Hunter 1939, 46; Duke 1842, 423; Lawrence 1895, 380; Bates 1873, 67.

Fig. 6. Detail of the map showing Srinagar surroundings, from J. Walker, *The Atlas of India*, Sheet 28: *Map of Himalayas* ([London]: J & C Walker, 1867).

identified. For example, the map of the Himalayas prepared by John Walker in 1867 for the Indian Atlas project[14] shows the villages of Ganderbal and Arr

14 *The Indian Atlas* was a project began by James Horsburgh in the 1820s and continued by J & C Walker and the Survey of India until the 1910s. With its distinctive and authoritative maps, it was the standard quarter-inch series for India and Burma for nearly a century. For Sheet 28, see <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/77998/kashmir-map-of-himalayas-walker>, last accessed 28 November 2023.

Dāchigām River as Gunderbul, Aras, and Dachgam, respectively, but nothing like Nowshera (fig. 6).

In his *Guide To Kashmir* (1842), Joshua Duke provides some clarification on the location and route to the paper-mill:

> Starting from the Munshi Bāgh, the road leads by the Mission Hospital and the village of Drogjan to the bridge over the Dal Darwāza. Thence it continues along the causeway, separating the Dal Lake from the Chenar Bāgh Canal, and enters the northern portion of the city, exceedingly filthy and unpleasant, after the heavy rain, and very bad in the winter. Running under the wall of the Fort Hari Parbat (on the right) and clearing the city, the road keeps for two miles through the straggling houses of Noashera where are several paper manufactories.[15]

Accurate or not, the given route represents the most detailed itinerary for Nowshera manufacture.

The physical characteristics of Kashmiri paper in European sources

In June 1831, Victor Jacquemont described paper-making in great detail including quantity in *maunds* and prices of materials in Rupees and French Francs:

> The paper of Kashmir is the most beautiful that is made in India [...] What distinguishes it above all is its whiteness and its extreme polish.[16]

A few decades earlier, George Forster, an English traveller and civil servant of the East India Company, had remarked:

> The Kashmirians fabricate the best writing paper of the east which was formerly an article of extensive traffic, as were its lacquer ware, cutlery and sugars […]. [17]

Later, in the 1840s, the Austrian traveller Charles Hügel (b. 1791, d. 1870) noted the fineness of the paper on which Persian scriptures were written.[18] Baden Powell, who helped organize the Punjab Exhibition held in 1864 in Lahore, described the paper specimen cat. no. 577 from Kashmir:

> This beautiful paper, the best of all native manufactures, can be purchased everywhere. It is in great demand for making manuscripts of all the more valued authors, it is also used for complementary letters and correspondences amongst natives generally. It is distinguished by its fine gloss and polish, its evenness and freedom for flaws, also by its white wax-like colour and appearance. [19]

15 Duke 1842, 423.
16 Jacquemont, 1841, III, 212–214.
17 Forster 1798, 19.
18 Hügel 1845, 146.
19 Baden Powell 1872, 83; 94. The Kashmiri specimen received the first price of a value of Rs.50.

While some Westerners praised the beauty of Kashmiri paper, others pointed out its unsuitability for writing. Lady Juliana Hervey (b. 1825, d. 1905), daughter of Colonel William Heppell Morton of the Royal Bengal Engineers and a known explorer in her own right, wrote:

> Paper is also made here of different kinds, and larger than our foolscap. It is glossy but not adapted to writing or drying flowers, and I find it a miserable substitute when reduced to use it for either of those purposes.[20]

Jacquemont seems to have mixed feelings about the material and makes contradictory judgments. If he appreciates its beauty and quality, he also complains about its smooth surface that hinders the movement of his hand. For example, in a letter to his brother Prophyre dated 20 April 1831, he wrote:

> Pray swear at my abominable writing, I give you permission. But excuse it and this Kashmir paper too, for though one's writes so badly on this slippery paper, the pen follows one's thoughts and is never outrun by them […].[21]

The reason why Indian handmade paper was not suitable for European writing or hobbies was that it was simply not made for Westerners, but to meet local demands and habits. Rather, it is a convergence in the interaction between usage and technology, particularly suited to the writing style and tools of the literate population. Indians did not write with a quill or metal pen, but with a reed (*vāstī, qalam*). As Jacquemont points out in a letter to his friend Cordier dated 6 September 1832:

> It is the perfection of pleasure to write on a smooth Kashmir paper with Indian ink, but it is a tiresome business to prepare this ink. Few people know how to make it neither too thin nor too thick not too sticky, and I am not one of them.[22]

Indeed, the ink used in the subcontinent, although made from soot collected after the carbonization of plants, bones and oils such as mustard oil, differs from European inks by the process and materials used.[23] The result was a thick but fluid ink that adhered to the paper when applied with a reed. Kashmiri ink, reputed to be the finest in India, catered for the needs of the Mughal administration.[24]

20 Hervey 1853, 214–215.
21 Phillips 1936, 188.
22 Phillips 1936, 349.
23 The soot was mixed with many adjuvants such as indigo, rice powder, spices, and gums depending on local resources and traditions. Ink made from gall nuts collected from local oak trees and mixed with different ingredients was also reported.
24 Bellenoit 2017, 17.

Other authors highlighted the 'washability' of the Kashmiri paper. As early as in the early seventeenth century, the known Sūfī scholar ʿAbd al-Qādir Badayūnī (b. 1540, d. 1615) wrote in a letter to Shaikh Yaʿqūb Sarfī:

> If you should have need of Kashmiri paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashnir the rough copy of my commentaries and writings which can be washed from the paper so completely no traces of ink will remain.[25]

Similarly, while admiring the excellence of the paper, Lawrence observed that its 'high glaze was dangerous as entries could be obliterated by water'.[26] If Jacquemont recognized that this characteristic was a drawback, he underlined that it was an advantage when the copyist made orthographic mistakes:

> All those beautiful manuscripts that have been brought from Persia to the libraries of Europe are made on Kashmiri paper. No paper is more suitable for Arabic or Persian writing. But its use in the usually so stupid and indifferent transactions of the small nominal courts of India might have an incentive which is doubtless the reason why it is so seldom used; it is so polished, that it is easy to remove the ink from it without making a stain. It would therefore be easy to alter the *pervanahs*; and when these relate to financial matters and contain figures, the disadvantages of cashmere paper are obvious. This defect becomes, on the contrary, a very precious advantage for the copying of books, since it allows the errors of the copyist to be repaired sometimes without their mark being visible.[27]

While the ability to wash ink from paper for reuse may have been an economic advantage for low-value writings, it raised several questions about the durability of manuscripts, inalienable texts and legal documents. Ink and colour blurring often occurred on the pages of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts as a result of repeated reading and handling (fig. 7). The reader, by touching the illustrations and turning the pages, as well as unfortunate accidents with water or other liquids easily dissolved the paints that could not penetrate this overly polished paper, resulting in irreversible damage, as the media are simply washed off of the surface of the paper.

Jacquemont's description of paper-making

Most of the accounts written before or after Jacquemont's visit give fairly general information which, while providing some clues to manufacturing, do not reveal the full extent of the paper-makers' know-how. For example, in the middle of the century, Juliana Hervey recounted:

25 As published in Parmu 1969, 537.
26 Lawrence 1895, 380.
27 Jacquemont 1841, III, 201–211.

> There are several kinds of paper made in the valley; I will endeavour to explain the process. The rags are first beaten into a confused mass in some primitive mills near the Shalimar gardens, and then it is mixed up with a kind of weak glue and certain colouring substances in the manufactories. Every sheet is covered over with a sort of paste (usually made of rice) and then enclosed in the hair of goats or sheep, and afterwards stretched out on a board of wood, and polished with a piece of an uncrystallized variety of quartz.[28]

Baden Powell mentioned that the recipe for this high-grade paper was kept secret for centuries:

> Nothing is known of the process by which the paper is made in Kashmir, owing to the extreme jealousy with which any communication between the manufacturers and the natives of the plains is guarded. A Kashmiri paper maker is never met with out of the territory as they can leave it only at their peril, or when bound to silence under the severest penalties. But there is no reason to suppose that the process is anything different from what it is all over India, the superiority in the texture being unquestionable due to the natural abundance of water and to the use of mills moved by streams, […].[29]

Jacquemont on materials and preparation of the paper pulp

When Jacquemont visited Kashmir in 1831, he noted that paper was made from fibrous repurposed materials. Old agricultural and household products such as cloth, rags, ropes, sacks and mats, once worn and tattered, were sent to the mill to be recycled into pulp.[30] Three main categories of materials were used. First, old cotton cloth collected from the city of Srinagar was used to produce low-grade paper. Second, old ropes and canvas bags made from coarse cloth and called *tát* were used to produce the best quality paper and added to the medium-quality pulp to make the finished paper stronger. These bags were commonly used to store and transport grain, sugar, Punjabi salt and lime on camels and oxen, while Sikh soldiers brought ropes to Kashmir to tie the legs of their horses.[31] Third, hemp refuses and coarse cloth were repurposed in paper pulp. These were used exclusively for the manufacture of a type of paper, very white and extremely fine, of which only a small quantity was produced because of its limited use as envelopes for letters and packaging of precious objects.

About 10 years later, the veterinarian and explorer William Moorcroft (b. 1767, d. 1825) wrote that paper was made in Kashmir in considerable

28 Hervey 1853, I, 254.
29 Baden Powell 1872, 94–95.
30 For more details see Couvrat Desvergnes 2023a.
31 Jacquemont mentioned that he did not know the type of plant fibres used to make these bags.

quantity, from old cloth of the *san-hemp* and cotton rags.[32] While all of the above sources mentioned the use of hemp in the preparation of the pulp, only Moorcroft noted that sunn hemp was used.[33] Sunn or san hemp (*Crotalaria juncea L.*), also known as Indian or brown hemp, is a different species from true hemp (*Cannabis sativa L.*) which can easily be differentiated by its characteristic leaves. It draws its name from *san* in Sanskrit and is found in ancient sources.[34] It was widely used in the paper industry throughout India as a form of cordage, matting and sacking.[35] However, the fibres of sunn hemp in their dried state or processed into articles are visually indistinguishable from those of true hemp, and travellers who were not familiar with plant science could easily have been confused. However, Jacquemont, who was an eminent botanist, was probably able to distinguish the two plants. In the Himalayas, hemp grows widely around dwellings and crops and in sufficient quantity to be harvested almost everywhere. Hillmen burned the oil from the seeds and made poor-quality rope from its fibres. It was also used for its narcotic properties in the forms of *bhāṅg* and *gāñjā* extracted from the leaves, and the resin of the seeds. British officials mentioned that the fibres were also used to produce ropes, fishing and bird nets, shoes, bags and coarse textiles for clothing.[36] Therefore, these items were most likely recycled into paper pulp once they were no longer usable.

Jacquemont described then how the materials to be recycled were first macerated in a solution of alkaline soda extracted in Punjab from the ashes of the *salsola* species common in Kashmir and in all the sandy and salty plains of North Hindustan. In fact, the alkaline lye was made from crude sodium carbonate or soda ash (*sajjī*) and lime (*cūnā*). In 1868, Baden Powell published the most detailed description of how to obtain *sajjī* from the combustion of certain saltworts, together with a diagram of the furnace.[37] The retting process in alkaline lye allowed the disintegration of the processed articles (woven and twisted) and the separation of the fibres. Once the retting was completed, the fibres were pounded under water-driven wooden stampers described as rather rudimentary by Jacquemont. Much later, in 1908, the then governor of Punjab, Sir Herbert William Emerson, was able to give a more complete rec-

32 Moorcroft 1841, 217.
33 Lawrence 1895, 380; Vigne 1842, II, 121.
34 The plant also bears numerous vernacular names such as *sanni, senkokra, sanai, tag*, etc.
35 Couvrat Desvergnes 2023a.
36 Watt 1908, 255. Royle 1855, 320–327.
37 Baden Powell 1872, 86–88; 379–380. *Sajjī*, also called *barilla*, was produced from local species growing in arid and sandy habitats, such as *Caroxylum foetidum, Caroxylum griffithii, Salsola kali, Salsola foetida,* and *Suaeda fruticosa*.

Fig. 7. Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1030, f. 219r, detail of the *Ḥamlah-i Ḥaydarī* (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

ipe which he obtained from a Kashmiri paper-maker, ʿAlī Mīr.[38] To make 40 quires[39] of premium paper one needed 40 *sīr*s[40] of old rags, 10 *sīr*s of hemp, 5 *sīr*s of *sajjī*, 1.5 *sīr*s of lime and 32 *sīr*s of white rice flour for the sizing. The rags and hemp were pounded ordinarily but at every washing, *sajjī* was added to the mass at the rate of 12 *chitank*s[41] to every 20 *seer*s of the pulp. The addition of *sajjī* throughout the pulp preparation allowed a better separation of the fibres and thus a more refined and homogeneous pulp. The resulting slurry in the form of flat, square, and dry cakes was exposed to the sun for bleaching. The fibres were then washed in the river and beaten again. When the pulp was ready, it was transported to the paper village in the north of Srinagar, where the vats were built.

38 Emerson 1908, 16.

39 A quire corresponds to 24 sheets of paper, so 40 quires add up to 960 sheets.

40 A *sīr* (also *sihr*), a traditional unit of measure used in large parts of Asia, corresponds to *c*.1.25 kg.

41 The term *chitank* was probably misspelled by Jacquemont and would certainly stand for the Indian Akbar system unit known as *cittak*, *c*.60 grams; 12 *chitank*s would then mean *c*.700 grams.

Jacquemont on making of sheets

Jacquemont's description of the paper mould is rather confusing for the uninitiated, as are his diagrams drawn without perspective (fig. 1). The mould consists of two parts. The first part is a rigid wooden frame made up of four bars mortised at the corners and several triangular-shaped crossbars. The second part consists of a movable screen or mat made of stems of grass or often reeds laced together at regular intervals of three or four centimetres by a dozen silk threads, as described by Jacquemont. A century later, in the 1930s, Hunter collected a mould that has similar characteristics (fig. 8). *Adropogon micranthus* reeds that were used for the mat are extremely thin. Only the part

Fig. 8. Atlanta, GA, Georgia Institute of Technology, The Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking, acquisition no. 317-318, paper mould collected by William Joseph 'Dard' Hunter in Srinagar (© Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking).

Fig. 9. Atlanta, GA, Georgia Institute of Technology, The Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking, making a paper sheet, photograph by William Joseph 'Dard' Hunter (© Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking).

between the nodes and the nearest flowers was used, as the rest of the stem was too thick for this purpose.[42] The mould has 9 reeds for 1 cm, 18 for 2 cm and 20 reeds occupying 2.2 cm. These are held by 28 very thin chain lines made from horsehairs taken from the tail of the animal. The intervals between the chain lines vary from 2.2 to 3.1 cm. The mould frame is made of deodar and has twelve triangular-shaped ribs spaced on average 5.36 cm apart. The entire mould measures 91.44 x 96.52 cm, while the size of the resulting sheet was 66 x 76 cm which corresponded to a large format.[43] As one of Hunter's photographs shows, the paper-maker simply dipped the mould into the vat to collect the required amount of pulp (fig. 9). An interesting detail observed by Jacquemont was also reported more than a century later by Hunter.[44] The

42 'The grass used in the weaving of Indian mould-covers is extremely fine, measuring from less than one-thirty-second to almost one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter', see Hunter 1939, 22 and fig. 3.
43 Hunter 1939, 32–35, fig. 1.
44 Hunter 1939, 50 and fig. 21.

mould was dipped in the vat to collect the necessary amount of pulp, taken out, and, after a short draining, dipped again. As a result, the paper sheet was made up of two layers of pulp resulting from the two immersions.[45] This corresponds to what is called today a 'double-dip'. Then, the sheet was couched on the pile of other still-wet sheets, which was later taken outside to drain the water out. After a few hours, the sheets were removed from the pile and applied eight by eight to a wall covered with a thin layer of well-prepared and smoothed plaster.[46] The operation required a lot of dexterity because the sheets were handled in a wet state. The coated wall absorbed the moisture and allowed the leaves to dry gently.

Jacquemont on the finishing operations: sizing and burnishing

Once the sheets were dry, they were detached from the wall and brought to the workshop. Then the long and tedious operations of surface burnishing began. As described by Jacquemont, first, a *rubber* armed with a piece of potter's clay, burnt in the fire like a pumice stone, rubbed both sides of each sheet in a brisk movement without pressing hard. This action rubbed off all the irregularities and made the surface slightly fluffy, ready to be sized with paste. The sheet was then passed to the *sizer* who applied the rice flour paste. The *sizer* had his right hand fitted with a kind of mitt, in the shape of a shoe, with a hole on the inside for his thumb. This mitt was made of very hard and very thick wool felt and its lower part, with which the *sizer* applied the paste on the paper, had all the hardness of a strong sole. A photograph taken by William Raitt some 80 years later reveals that Kashmiri craftsmen still used this type of glove to apply the paste (fig. 10). With the end of this glove, he took the quantity of glue he wanted, about 10 to 15 grams at least, and he spread it briskly on the paper, without fearing to press much. The *sizer* was also in charge of repairing the damaged sheets: he mended the tears and filled in the holes with small pieces of paper (fig. 11). Each sheet pasted on one side first was hung in the workshop on ropes suspended under the ceiling, like laundry. Once dry, it returned to the *sizer* who pasted the other side of the sheet. The operation was repeated a second time on both sides of the sheet. Then the sheet was passed to the *burnisher* who placed it on a board of very hard and highly polished wood, inclined and slightly convex, like a cylindrical surface. He rubbed it hard with a fist-sized granite pebble. The stone had to be polished enough so that by pressing hard on the paper it would run easily over it without tearing it off, but

45 Two photographs taken by Hunter show the paper-maker preparing to dip the mould for the second time into the vat, Hunter 1939, figs 21, 22.

46 For more details on the plastered wall see Couvrat Desvergnes 2023a, 322. See also fig. 5 above.

Fig 10. London, Science Museum, acquisition no. 1939-197, twenty-three photographs illustrating native paper-making in Kashmir taken by William Raitt in 1917: sizing and burnishing. © Paper Makers' Association of Great Britain.

at the same time it had to file it lightly and made its surface fluffy again, but much finer than it was as a result of the first rubbing with the pottery sherd. The strong pressure exerted by the worker in this operation tightened the grain of the paper and considerably thinned each sheet, without taking away its weight. It made the paste enter deeply into its substrate, making its surface fluffy and preparing it to receive the last sizing. The paper was then returned to the *sizer* who pasted it twice on each side, exactly as the first sizing. The sheet returned to the *burnisher* who placed it on the same wooden bench and polished it with all his strength but this time with a piece of perfectly polished jasper or agate in the shape and size of the underside of a spoon, set in a piece of wood which the worker grasps with both hands and on which he pressed with the weight of his shoulders.[47] When one side was smooth enough, he burnished the other, then returned to the first side to burnish the parts that might still be matte. Due to the small size of the burnishing stone, and to the

47 Hunter photographed the paper-maker's tools and his burnishers, see Hunter 1939, 42, fig. 28.

Fig. 11. Leiden, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden, RV-3647-6, *Šāhnāma*, hole along the left edge mended with a piece of paper (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

fact that the burnishing bench was convex and opposed its shape to that of the stone, this operation was very time consuming. A skilled craftsman, during a long summer day, could polish at most 36 sheets of ordinary quality, or just a few of sheets of finer quality paper. The convexity of the board allowed the burnisher to slide very easily along the paper, without ever encountering any obstacle. But it obviously had the disadvantage of deforming the flatness of the paper. If some parts had been more polished than others, they were flatter than the neighbouring parts, which became wavy. After the final burnishing, 24 sheets were rolled up together to form a *dastā*. A *dastā* of the most average grade was sold for 0.75–0.80 francs, while a quire of the best quality could cost 6–7 francs.[48] On 4 June 1831, Jacquemont saw twelve workers working

48 Jacquemont noted that there were 700 or 800 copyists in Kashmir, the most skillful of whom charged 1 rupee for writing 1000 distiches of the *Shāhnama* or Hāfez works, but could only write 200 per day, i.e. he earned 3 *anna*s per day. In the market, to get a fine copy of the *Šāhnāma* produced would cost 12 rupees for 6 *dasteh* of paper of 2 rupees each, 60 rupees for the copyist, and 30 rupees for the illuminations

at the mill: one man collected the rags in town, three craftsmen pounded them at the Shalimar mills, eight paper-makers made the sheets in the workshop which had two vats, one man was responsible for rubbing the paper with the shard of pottery, another worker pasted the sheets with rice starch and several burnishers were in charge of the burnishing. These were the best paid because their job was the most tedious and required strength and dexterity. They made 3 *anna*s (about 0.30 francs) a day. The other craftsmen earned up to 0.20 to 0.25 francs on summer days. The paper-mill, which operated only eight months a year, paid 9 rupees (16 francs) per month to the Raja for the *mahasūl* (patent). In winter, the workers subsisted only on their savings. Jacquemont added that there were about fifteen workshops in Kashmir but that the one he visited was the most famous.

From this description we understand that the quality of Kashmiri paper lies in the repetitive sequences of sizing and polishing. In total, a sheet could undergo up to eight sizing/burnishing iterations. Burnishing was done gradually with several stones of finer fineness as the process progressed. As Jacquemont pointed out, the challenge was that the sheet had to be burnished evenly across the entire surface to avoid planar distortion. However, this search for perfection may seem vain to our contemporary gaze. Due to handling and fluctuations in temperature and humidity, the paper used to produce manuscripts is today wavy and distorted, causing structural stresses on the binding. The curved shape of the burnishing bench is a singularity of the Kashmiri paper technology since other sources and photographs report that the burnishing benches were flat or concave in other regions of India.[49] According to Jacquemont, it was the most suitable shape to perfectly perform this operation.[50] A photograph taken by Hunter in the 1930s shows a burnisher at work, sitting in front of a narrow wooden bench slightly curved in the transverse direction (fig. 12), probably similar to the ones viewed by Jacquemont.[51]

The various types of paper produced

Despite his detailed description, Jacquemont did not provide any information on the different qualities of the paper produced, which was the case in later accounts. In 1872, Baden Powell mentioned that three types of paper were

including colours and gold, making a total of 102 rupees (180 francs), see Jacquemont 1841, III, 211–212.

49 Hunter 1939, figs 47, 70, 84.

50 In 1832, Jacquemont visited the paper-mill in Pune and remarked that the burnishing bench was not convex but concave and therefore the result was not as perfect as in Kashmir, Jacquemont 1841, III, 578.

51 Hunter 1939, figs 26–28; description p. 52.

Fig. 12. Atlanta, GA, Georgia Institute of Technology, The Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking, paper burnishing, photograph by William Joseph 'Dard' Hunter (© Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking).

made: *Dah Mushti*, *Reshami*, and *Sadar jū*. *Dah Mushti*[52] paper drew its name from its size, i.e. a ten-hand long paper. *Reshami*[53] was certainly a smooth and silky textured paper. As for *Sadar jū* paper, it was used for 'respectful correspondence between persons of dignity and high caste'.[54]

In 1873, Bates provided additional information on the types of paper produced in the late nineteenth century and their market value. *Farmānsī*[55] paper was consumed in government offices and was produced in three qualities. The best grade called *aular* cost 6 *chilki* rupees per quire of 24 large sheets,

52 Beluchi/Persian دہ *dah*, 'ten' and Urdu مشت *mušt*, 'fist', 'handful'. Here and below in the text I maintain the spelling as given by the explorers.

53 Urdu ریشم *rīšam*, 'silk'.

54 Hunter 1939, 29.

55 Most probably connected to the Persian فرمان, *farmān*, 'edict'. The *farmānšī* paper could have been used for royal and administrative purposes.

ansat, the second quality, was sold at 4 rupees per quire, and a quire of third-grade *adnar* paper cost 3 rupees. *Dāmushti* paper, a more common grade was sold for 1.5 rupees per quire. A thin straw-coloured writing paper called *dakhi* was also manufactured in small sheets and cost 3 rupees a quire. *Rangi* or coloured paper was sold for 12 annas a quire, while *kallamdani*,[56] an inferior quality, was sold for 10 annas and *sher jangi* made in small square sheets cost 4 annas per quire.[57]

In the 1890s, Lawrence noted that Nowshera paper-makers made three grades of paper, the difference between them being the proportion of raw fibres to recycled rags or other reused fibrous products. *Farmāshi*, also called *Maharāji* or Royal, was a fine and highly glazed paper used for official documents such as edits and correspondences and contained two parts of hemp fibres to 16 parts of rags. *Dahmashti*[58] was made from three parts of hemp fibres to 17 parts of rags. Finally, *Kalamdāni*[59] was chiefly manufactured from recycled materials and contained no hemp fibres. He also mentioned the presence of *Ranga Maz*, a coloured paper used for packing purposes.[60]

Examination of Kashmiri paper

Physical examination of various specimens and works[61] provides data that complement the information from the historical sources discussed above. I developed an examination protocol, where three parameters, namely thickness, number of laid lines, and pulp refinement, were considered the most critical criteria for characterization.[62] The thickness of the paper ranges from 0.06 mm to 0.15 mm. A striking feature is the presence of fine laid lines corresponding to the thin reeds used to make the mould. In the specimens studied, the number of laid lines varies from 8 to 11 per 1 cm to 18 to 21 per 2 cm (fig. 13). In the finest papers, laid lines are very thin and undulated, and no chain

56 Possibly produced for papier-maché works, *kār-e-kalamdānī* .
57 Bates 1873, 67. Bates also added that the government's payment was made partly in cash and partly in grain and that the remaining stocks were either sold at retail for domestic consumption or exported.
58 Same as *Dah Mushti* mentioned by Baden Powell, cp. note 52.
59 See note 56.
60 Lawrence 1895, 379–380.
61 Study of manuscripts, paintings, documents and letters preserved in several European collections such as le Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Wellcome Collection, the British Library, the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar, Leiden University Library and the Wereldmuseum Leiden.
62 The counting of chain and laid lines is a parameter mostly used for the characterization of a western laid paper, but it can also be applied to non-watermarked south Asian papers.

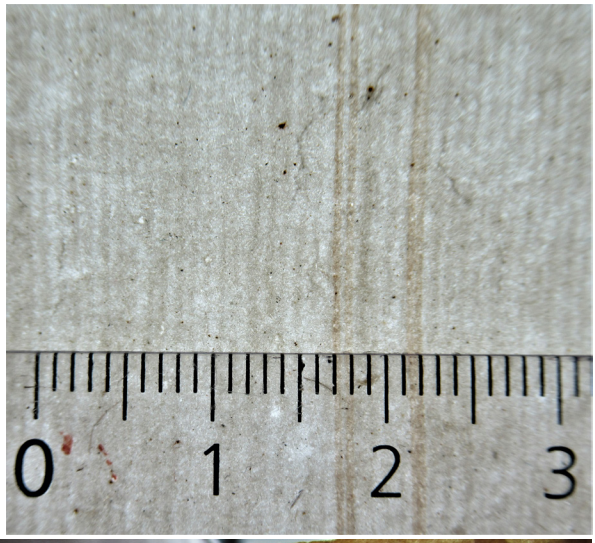

Fig. 13. Leiden, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (Wereldmuseum), RV-3647-6, *Šāhnāma*, detail of the paper against the light showing 11–12 thin laid lines per 1 cm (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

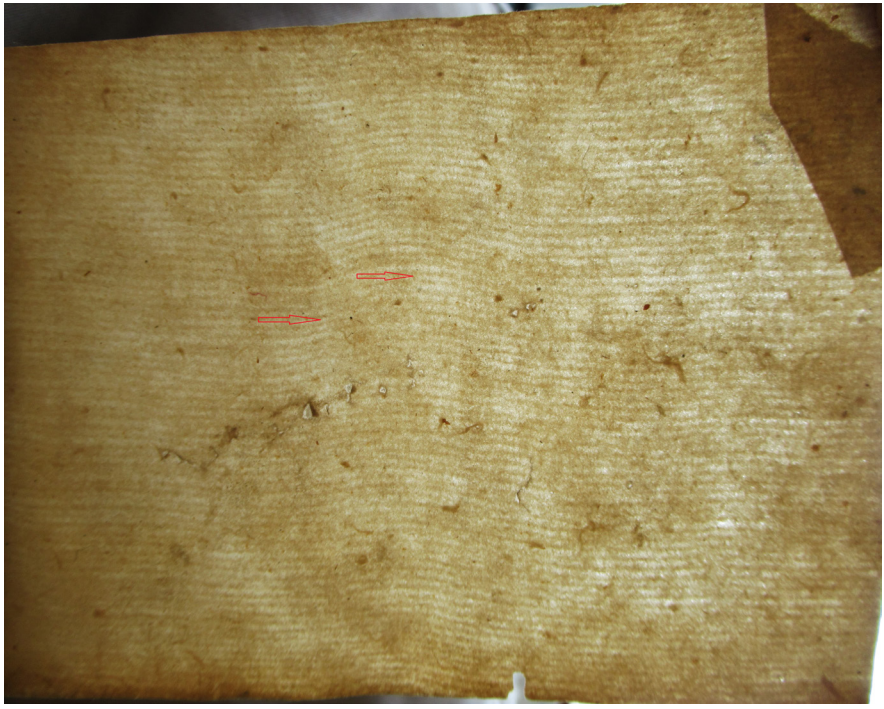

Fig. 14. Leiden, Universiteitbibliotheek, Bijzondere Collecties, Or. 18.060, detail of the paper used for a *guṭakā* on a light box: the laid lines are undulated at the junction with the chain lines (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

lines are visible. As Jacquemont had observed, the flexible mat of the paper mould was made of very fine reeds or laid lines linked together by silk treads acting as chain lines. These were too weak and too thin to give the mat sufficient strength.[63] With repeated use of the mould, soaking in the vat and water pressure, the chain lines became loose and could no longer hold the reeds firmly together (fig. 14). The phenomenon is revealed in the impressions left by the mould in the sheet, hence the undulating pattern of the laid lines. The refinement of the pulp was measured visually by observing the paper on a light box and taking into account the distribution of the pulp, the clearness and cleanliness of the substrate, the presence of large apparent fibres, fragments of bark and other extraneous materials. While fig. 11 shows a clear paper with good pulp distribution and no impurities, fig. 14 shows a cloudy, irregular paper with visible fibre clumps and bundles.

The various usages of Kashmiri paper

Kashmiri paper was primarily used for correspondence, edicts, petitions and other important official documents. Depending on the rank of the recipient, the quality of the paper varied and its decoration was more or less elaborate. As the British officials observed,

> It [kashmiri paper] is held in high estimation all over the country, especially at native Courts, and is used only for first-quality writing and correspondence with native Princes and Chiefs.[64]

> Kashmir was once famous for its paper, which was much in request in India for manuscripts and was used by all who wishes to impart dignity to their correspondence.[65]

Paper was either sprinkled with gold dust or flakes or decorated with small squares and triangles cut from gold leaf. In the catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition held in 1864 in Lahore, cat. no. 579 contains a series of Kahsmir paper used for 'complimentary letters' or '*kharītā*' ornamented with gold and illuminated order 'prepared by hand labour'.[66] Letters addressed to high dignitaries were rolled and/or folded and sent in gold-embroidered silk brocade pouches, the strings of which were sealed with a solid wax seal bearing the Rajah's coat of arms. Some missives were even pre-wrapped in thin muslin bags.[67]

63 In India, the paper technology was inherited from the Arab tradition. The laid lines were indeed made of reeds or bamboo splints but the chain lines were usually made of horsehair.
64 Baden Powell 1872, 94.
65 Lawrence 1895, 70.
66 Baden Powell 1872, 83–84.
67 Zeir 2019, 141–152. Hindi खरीता, *kʰarītā*, 'pouch, small silk bag'.

A petition in favour of Suchet Singh (b. 1841, d. 1896) of Bandaltra,[68] provides a good illustration for the use of fine Kashmiri decorated paper for the writing of an important document.[69] Raja Charat Singh of Chamba (ruled 1808–1844) was succeeded by his eldest son Sri Singh. After Sri Singh's death in 1870, Gopal Singh, son of Raja Charat Singh and his second wife, the Rāṇī Dogarī, became the ruler. His half-brother Suchet Singh, the son of the Raja from his third wife, Mahārāṇī Kaṭoca of Kangra, contested the throne. Suchet Singh travelled to England and France to obtain support for his cause[70] and put together two petitions signed by the subjects of Chamba who recognized him as the legitimate heir. While some elements are borrowed from the symbolic repertoire, such as the sun with a human face representing royalty and the scale of justice, the documents are adorned with purely decorative motifs, small fleurons and scrolling, all painted in gold (fig. 15). The paper used for this highly important appeal was a high-quality Kashmiri paper, thin, crispy and finely burnished. The paper is very translucent, indicating that the pulp was extensively beaten. The visible network of laid lines attests to the persistence, throughout the nineteenth century, of the mould made of very thin and regular grass.[71]

Kashmir was a centre of knowledge and learning for devotees and the intellectual elite of both Hinduism and Islam. As a result, Kashmiri papers of various grades were the carrier for both Muslim and Hindu texts in the form of manuscripts. Examination of the books studied throughout this project revealed that the quality of the paper used reflected the value of the work produced: the more precious and illuminated a book, the thinner, cleaner and more burnished the paper. Examples of the finest specimens are found in the lavish copies of the Qur'an and *Šāhnāma* commissioned by wealthy patrons. For example, a sumptuously illustrated MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1030 (dated 1808), a copy of the *Ḥamlah-i Ḥaydarī* (History of the lives of the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUṯmān, and ʿAlī, written in the style of the *Šāhnāma* in Persian verses) by Muḥammad Rāfiʿ Ḫān is an example of the use of the finest, gold-sprinkled paper produced in Srinagar (fig. 16).[72] The large format of the book, the great

68 The small state of Bandaltra (today Rāmnagar in Jammu) was a vassal of Chamba (today Himachal Pradesh).

69 Suchet Singh's archives (113 pieces) preserved in Paris as MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Indien 867.

70 On his visit to France, see Fresnay 1886. He died in 1896 in London without male heirs. See Vogel and Hutchison 1994, 331.

71 Folio 22, a signed representation of Suchet Singh, measures 51.5 x 69 cm, has 9 laid lines for 1 cm and 18 for 2 cm and an average thickness of 0.13 mm.

72 The manuscript is dated to 1808, but the binding is from 1852/1853.

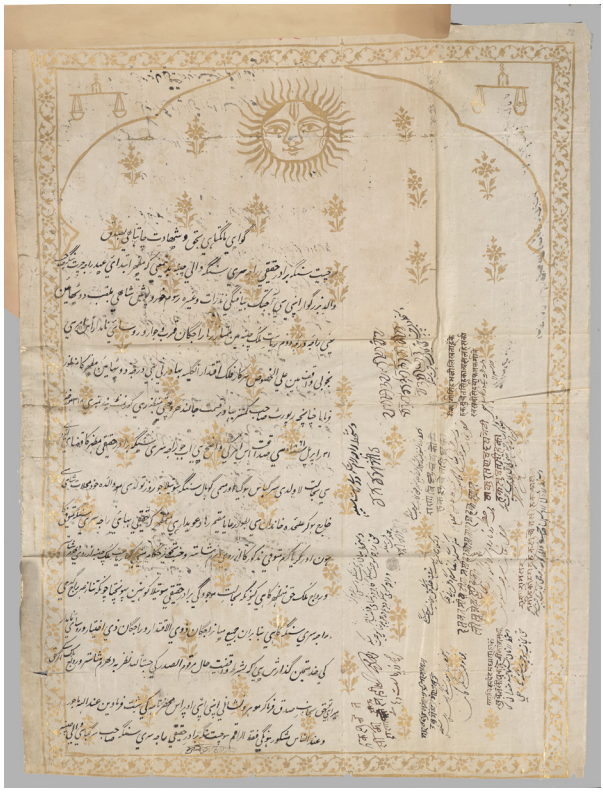

Fig. 15. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Indien 867, f. 22, petition of Suchet Singh of Bandaltra, © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

number of illustrations demonstrate that the volume was commissioned by a high-ranking patron who had a budget sufficient to pay for the materials and fees of the copyist and illustrators. Although the paper is extremely thin, it has been sized and burnished enough that the painted areas did not migrate through the paper and appear on the other side of the sheet.[73] Indeed, the thinness of the paper made it possible to write large and richly illustrated texts, such as the *Šāhnāma*, without necessarily creating a bulky volume, requiring a great number of pages.

In 1896 the Indologist Alfred Foucher (b. 1865, d. 1952) acquired, with the help of Aurel Stein, 16 Sanskrit Hinduist manuscripts in Kashmir (preserved today at the Bibliothèque nationale de France), dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The corpus illustrates that manuscripts copied for

73 The average thickness is 0.061 mm. There are 11 laid lines for 1 cm and 20 for 2 cm.

Fig. 16. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1030, *Ḥamlah-i Ḥaydarī*, dated 1808, ff. 26v–27r, double illuminated and illustrated page (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

Hindu pandits, priests or simply devotees, used different qualities of Kashmiri paper, depending on the patron and the type of manuscripts produced, whether they were religious writings or scientific content.[74] For example, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 868, dated 1856 and containing a treatise on Praśastapāda's commentary on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, features low-quality paper (figs 17a, 17b). The cursive *śāradā* script was used on a fibrous and very lightly burnished surface so that the ink migrated from one side of the sheet to the other. The pulp, which contains fibre clumpings, bundles and impurities, was beaten so roughly that the impressions left by the mould are barely visible against the light and the laid lines cannot be counted. Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 416, a collection of po-

74 The texts contained in the manuscripts deal with Hindu literature, philosophy, yoga and medicine.

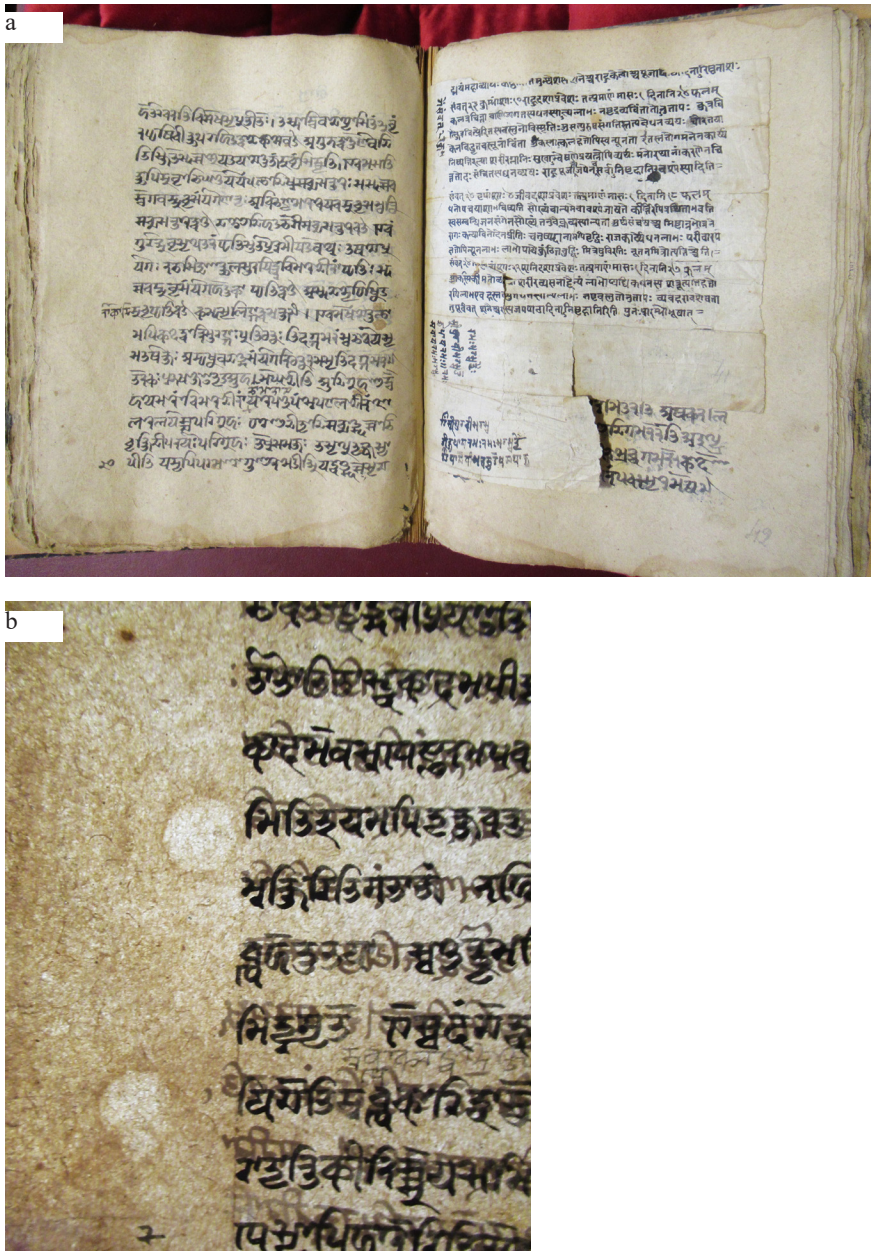

Fig. 17 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 868, (a) ff. 41–42, (b) detail showing the mediocre quality of the paper on a light box (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

etic and religious texts, including excerpts from the *Stavacintāmaṇi* by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, was made from average-quality paper (fig. 18).[75] The surface treatment is less important than for high-quality paper, therefore the paper is less glossy. However, the impressions left by the mould show a similar number of lines as in the higher-quality papers.[76] The folios contain marginalia, corrections in yellow ink, as well as highlighting in orange, indicating intensive reading and study. It is difficult to say whether the patron could not afford good quality paper, but an examination of many of the books in this project suggests that scholarly manuscripts copied solely for study and dissemination of knowledge, without illustrations or illumination, were generally not written on the best quality paper.

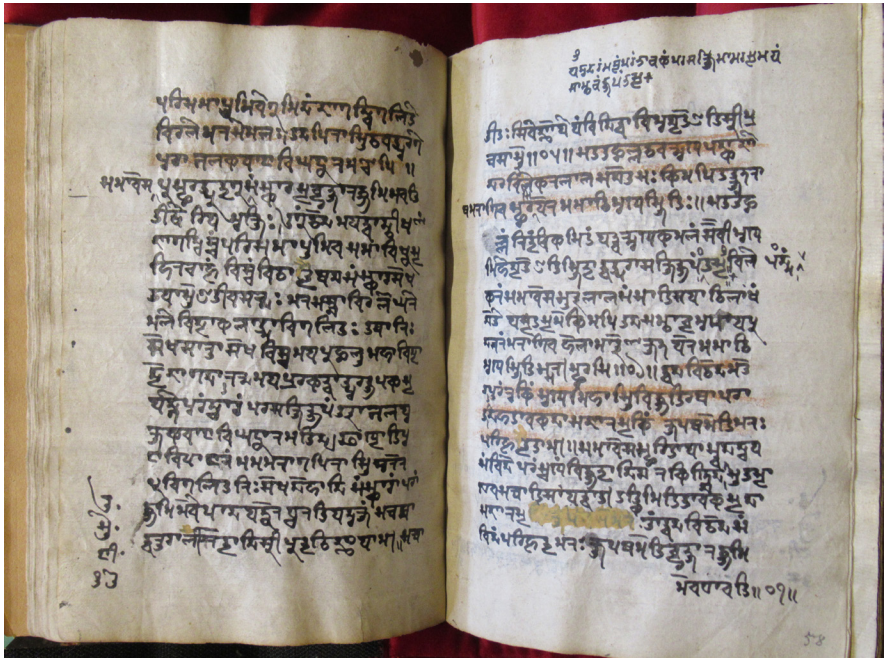

Fig. 18. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 416, ff. 57–58 (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

75 The copy is written in *śāradā* script. The second text is dated [47] 51 [*laukika*] *samvat*, equivalent to 1775 CE.

76 Between 10 laid lines for 1 cm, and 20 for 2 cm. The average thickness is 0.12 mm.

Fig. 19. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 1875, (a) ff. 81v–82r, illustration of the revelation of the divine form from Kṛṣṇa to Ârjuna or Viśvarūpa, (b) detail of the paper on a light sheet (photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

In contrast, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Sanscrit 1875, a devotional manual of Vaishnava tradition[77] in the form of a pocket-size *guṭakā* with exquisite illuminations in the Kashmiri style and six illustrations was made with good quality paper (fig. 19a). The clean and glossy paper shows a clear network of regular and slightly undulated laid lines (fig. 19b).[78]

77 The book contains excerpts from the *Bhagavadgīta*, *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, and *Bhīṣmastavarāja*, among other texts. It is written in *devanāgarī* script and does not bear any colophon. It corresponds to the type of books described by Goswamy 1998, 59; for a material description of *guṭakās* see also Couvrat Desvergnes 2023b.

78 The paper counts 9 laid lines for 1 cm, and 18 for 2 cm and its average thickness is *c*.0.096 mm.

Fig. 20. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.8-1987 (a) extract showing Turtle, frog and fish on which the world rests, (b) detail of the paper on a lightbox (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London; photo: Amélie Couvrat Desvergnes).

Long scrolls for horoscopes or other divinatory practices also illustrate the use of this particular material. For example, the scroll London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.8-1987, depicting the *cakras* (psychic energy centres) and scenes with characters from Hindu mythology, was produced with a very thin, pristine paper (fig. 20).[79] Once again, the great thinness of the paper allows for long writing while mitigating the object's bulk.

Kashmiri paper was also used for utilitarian purposes. For example, *ta'lim*[80] or carpet weaving code also made good use of Kashmiri paper. Moorcroft provided an interesting description of the function of the *ta'lim* and the role of the *ta'lim-guru*:

> When the warp is fixed in the loom the *nakash* or pattern drawer and the *tarah-guru*, and *talim-guru* or persons who determine the proportion of yarns of different colours to be employed, are again consulted. The first brings the drawing of the pattern in black and white. The *tarah-guru* having well considered it, points out the disposition

79 The scroll measures 376.7 cm in length and 14 cm in width. The paper counts 11 laid lines for 1 cm, and 22 for 2 cm and is 0.072 mm thick.

80 Urdu تَعْلِیم, *taʿlīm* from the Arabic تعليم, 'education', 'instruction', 'teaching'.

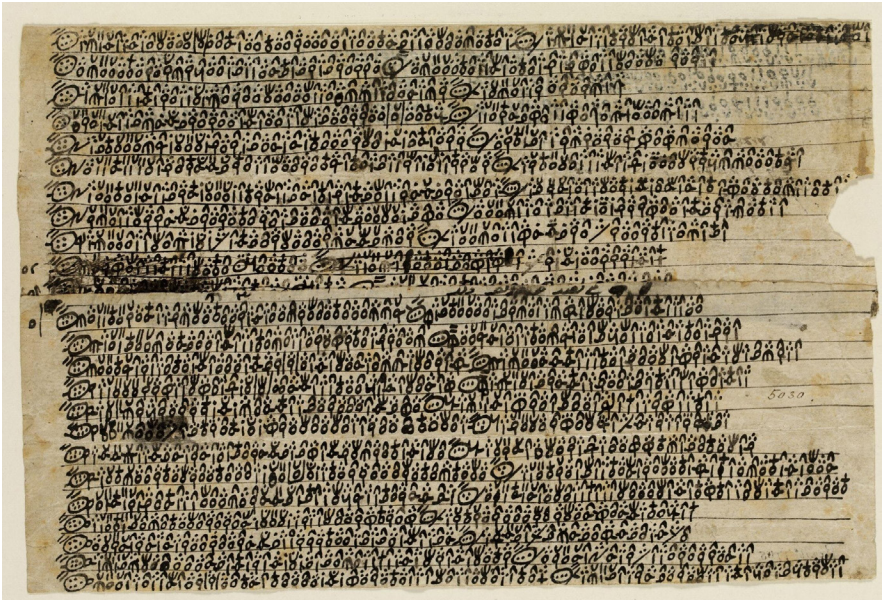

Fig. 21. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, acq. no. 7705-1861, *c*.1840, *ta'lim*, coding sheet for a Kashmiri shawl (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

> of the colours, beginning at the hood of the pattern, and calling out the colour, the number of threads to which it is to extend, that by which it is to be followed, and so on in succession until the whole pattern has been described. From his dictation, the *ta'lim-guru* writes down the particulars in a kind of character of shorthand, and delivers a copy of the document to the weavers.[81]

The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has several coding sheets made on fine paper. The *ta'lim* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 7705–1861 was made up of several thin and translucent pieces of paper joined together, so it is difficult to say today whether it is the result of repurposed paper scraps or changes in design (fig. 21).[82] However the paper observed is similar to that used for manuscript in terms of texture and translucency.

Finally, paper was also used as a cheap and effective substitute for glass in Kashmiri houses. This fact is mentioned in many travel accounts, underlining the curiosity and amazement of Western travellers about this particularity. For example, Erich von Schönberg in the 1840s mentioned:

81 Moorcroft 1841, 179–180. The coding system was decrypted by Kaur 2016, 509–524.

82 The average thickness is 0.125mm and there are 9 laid lines for 1cm and 17 for 2 cm.

> My new dwelling had according to the fashion of the country, windows of wooden network, which in summer admitted the air freely; but in winter these were covered with paper, which excluded the wind, without shutting out the light.[83]

Although the sources do not specify the type of paper used for this purpose, it can be assumed that it was a common quality paper, accessible to all. Kashmiri paper had the great advantage of being strong but thin enough to allow sunlight to pass through. When the paper was torn, it could be simply replaced by a new piece.

Final remarks

From the second half of the nineteenth century, paper-making in Kashmir began to decline in quality and quantity. Faced with the growing need for paper for administration and the development of printing, the British first increased the import of English paper and, from 1860, began to produce paper in prisons, thus taking advantage of free labour. [84] When Hunter visited Nowshera in 1937, he witnessed the final sparkles of the once-thriving industry, now in despair. He was shocked by the state of poverty of the remaining paper-makers and their struggle to compete with imported paper, cheap prison-produced and machine-made paper. Hunter's photograph of the dilapidated paper-mill (fig. 22) and his last sentence sum up the irreparable decline of the industry:

> It is to be regretted that during the past few years, the papermakers have been using some inferior materials, for in Kashmir, as in other parts of India, the paper craftsmen are attempting the impossible to compete with machine-made paper.[85]

In addition, there was real competition with other Hindustani paper-mills and the Sialkot mills in Punjab (now Pakistan) posed a threat to the Kashmiri industry. Sialkoti paper had also a good reputation and the famous *Shāh Jahāngīrī* paper was long used by Mughal chancelleries for official missives and edicts,[86] even if, according to Jacquemont, Sialkoti paper was less beautiful than Kashmiri paper. Being manufactured only from *táts,* with the pulp less refined, it was more fibrous.[87] Other serious competitors were mills in

83 Schönberg 1853,19; see also Vigne 1842, 271.

84 For a detailed description of paper-making in Punjabi prisons see Gray 1891. See also Konishi 2013, 120, 124–128. According to Gray, the techniques used by inmates were not very different from those used by traditional paper-makers. Although of low quality, jail paper was supplied to government offices, local writers and scribes. This low-cost material had an evidently disastrous economic impact on the family of *kāġazī*s, or traditional paper-makers.

85 Hunter 1939, 48

86 Couvrat Desvergnes 2023a.

87 Jacquemont 1841, III, 211.

Fig. 22. Atlanta, GA, Georgia Institute of Technology, The Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking, Srinagar paper-mill in 1937, photograph by William Joseph 'Dard' Hunter (© Robert C. Williams Museum of Papermaking).

Ahmedabad in Gujarat and Delhi which also produced correspondence paper decorated with small diamonds made from gold leaf to impart preciousness to letters.

It is probable that for these reasons the Kashmiri paper-makers sought to distinguish themselves by offering a paper that rivalled with whiteness, smoothness and finesse while retaining their centuries-old craftsmanship and reputation for excellence. The artisans were perhaps motivated by a constant search for quality and technical prowess that allowed Kashmiri paper-makers to stand out from the crowd and constantly innovate towards more virtuosity.

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The Colophon of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu and Ethiopic *ḥassāb**

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The contribution provides an analysis of calendric and astronomical data in the Ethiopic colophon of the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu. This analysis demonstrates the application of some astronomical and chronological concepts which are part of the Ethiopic *ḥassāb*, moreover, of some specific textual and pictorial material transmitted in Ethiopic manuscripts which has so far gained only little attention. This case study aims to underline the importance of the study of Ethiopic *ḥassāb* for an overall better understanding of the Ethiopic manuscript culture.

The *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* is an Egyptian historiographical text of the seventh century, which has survived exclusively in Ethiopic, transmitted in five manuscripts,[1] according to the state of the art. The importance of this text for the history of Egypt, its conquest by the Arabs and for the Late Antiquity in general has been highlighted many times.[2] However, much less attention has been drawn to the importance of this text for the study of the manuscript culture of Ethiopia and Eritrea, although the text and its manuscripts deliver evidence for some interesting scribal, philological and other practices pertaining to the Ethiopic and Eritrean manuscript culture, such as treatment of paratext, marginal commentaries, and composition of colophons. This short contribution is dedicated to some peculiar aspects of the Ethiopic colophon of the *Chronicle* and its connection to the Ethiopic *ḥassāb*, Ethiopic lore on calendric, astronomical, chronological and other issues.[3]

Although the original of the *Chronicle* was most probably written in Coptic, the Ethiopic translation was done from its Arabic counterpart, produced some time around or after the twelfth century. The translation from Arabic to Ethiopic was accomplished in 1601 CE, by very learned persons, a

* The current contribution was prepared within the frames of the project 'The Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Text-Critical Edition and Digital Research Platform' funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) – Project no. 470097824.

1 Mss Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 146; London, British Library, Oriental 818; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien d'Abbadie 31; Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini 27; Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library no. 7919. For more information see Elagina 2018, lviii–lxi.

2 For an overview see Fraser 1999; Weninger 2007.

3 See for example Neugebauer 1979, 68–69; Pietruschka et al. 2003; Lourier 2003.

court priest and scholar Məḫərkā Dəngəl and an Egyptian deacon Qəbrəyāl.[4] Fortunately, they have left an extensive and detailed colophon to their translation.

The Ethiopic colophon of the *Chronicle* is indeed very detailed, and much information on the personalities of the translators and on the process of the translation and transcription,[5] as well as on the purpose of the translation[6] has already been extracted from the text of the colophon. In this contribution I want to concentrate on other portions of this colophon which deal with some calendric and astronomical data generously provided by the translators. My goal is to demonstrate how this colophon documents the usage of specific elements of Ethiopic *ḥassāb* by the translators. The first and very valuable analysis of the colophon from this point of view was provided by Otto Neugebauer. Following his very positivistic approach to the study of Ethiopic astronomy and chronology, however, he discarded many elements from his analysis simply mentioning that 'some astronomical elements also given in this colophon are rather inaccurate'.[7] I will try not to concentrate on the accuracy of the information provided by the colophon but on its relation to the manuscript tradition of the region and especially to Ethiopic *ḥassāb*.

In this contribution, I provide my working translation of the analyzed portions of the colophon based on a new edition of the *Chronicle* in preparation (hence very minor differences with the text of the previous edition), with references to the previous translations and to the edition of Hermann Zotenberg.[8] The numbers in parentheses at the beginning indicate the reference system introduced in the translation of Robert H. Charles,[9] which will be taken over in the upcoming edition.[10] There are three consequent passages that are of interest for this contribution. The first one reads as follows:

> (123.6) And the beginning of the transcription of this book was on 28 Ḥamle, and its accomplishment was on 22 Ṭəqəmt, on Monday, at the sixth hour of the day, when the Sun was in the sign of Scorpio (*māḫfada ʾaqrab*) and the moon in Aquarius (*māḫfada dalu*).[11]

4 For more information on both translators see Elagina 2021c.
5 Cf. Elagina 2021c.
6 Chernetsov 1994, 206; Felege-Selam Solomon Yirga 2020, 16–18, 73; Elagina 2021a, 277–279.
7 Neugebauer 1979, 25, n. 31.
8 Zotenberg 1883.
9 Charles 1916.
10 For the upcoming edition see Elagina 2021b.
11 Zotenberg 1883, 222, 467; Charles 1916, 202.

This portion informs on a precise date of the beginning and end of text transcription.[12] Since all other calculations are provided for the date of the accomplishment and this date is a starting point for all further observations, it is important to confirm it. 22 Ṭəqəmt 1594 of the Era of Incarnation (for which see below) corresponds to 29 October 1601, and it was indeed Monday.[13] Further it is stated that the Sun was in the sign of Scorpio (*ʾaqrab* is a transliteration of the Arabic *ʿaqrab*), which corresponds to the reality, 29 October being within the period of 23 October and 22 November when the Sun is in the sign of Scorpio according to the motion of the Sun on the ecliptic (zodiacal path of the Sun). The attribution of the Moon to Aquarius (*dalu* is a transliteration of the Arabic *dalw*) describes apparently the path of the Moon within the zodiac as well. In contrast to the Sun, whose full zodiacal path takes one year, the Moon moves eastwards all the way round the zodiac within one month.[14] Consequently, these two parameters together provide an approximate date within a year. The observations on the zodiacal motions of the Sun and the Moon can be done by a trained person spontaneously. However, especially for the Sun these observations should be done during the year to establish the full zodiacal path. This means that there might have been a certain way to fix the information on zodiacal paths of the luminaries to make these observations easier. I could not identify so far a diagram or a treatise amongst Ethiopic manuscripts, which would convey precisely this information on the paths of the Sun and the Moon within the zodiac. However, MS London, British Library, Oriental 816, f. 7rv[15] transmits two diagrams seemingly connected to the zodiacal paths of the seven luminaries (the so-called seven classical planets, moving astronomical objects visible to the naked eye[16]) for 13 Ethiopic months. The diagrams are constituted by concentric circles divided into twelve sectors. The outermost circle bears the names of the zodiacal signs, and the inner circles correspond to the 13 months (from Miyāzyā to Ṗāgʷəmen on f. 7r and from Maskaram to Maggābit on f. 7v). The same circles are also associated with the numbered wheels (*śaragallā*) associated with the seven luminaries. The understanding of the structure of the diagrams and their application is not

12 For the provided time span and its analysis see Elagina 2021c.

13 For confirmation of this dating one can use a very helpful calendar tool developed by Augustine Dickinson which is available at <https://cal.ethiopicist.com/> (this and other links last accessed on 6 June 2023)

14 Evans 1998, 58.

15 See Wright 1877, 321a–322b; Elagina, Reule, and Solomon 2022. The digitized manuscript is available at <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_816_f001r>.

16 The Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

very straightforward to me, but seems to have been apparent to the learned scholars of the seventeenth century.

The next passage of interest from the colophon contains again a lot of astronomical observations:

> (123.7) And the course (*ḫurat*) of the Sun was then 195 degrees (*maʿārəg*). And its zenith (half of the day) was 87 degrees (*māʿrəg*) and 30 minutes (*daqāyəq*). And the hours of the day were eleven. And the hours of the night were 13. And the day took from the night 20 minutes (*daqāyəq*) every day.[17]

The identification of the parameter which stands behind the course of the Sun is questionable. Neugebauer is salient on this matter, although this parameter is not so infrequent. Similar parameters, though provided with other details, are also attested in the colophons to the translation of *Maṣḥafa ḥāwi*[18] and to the so-called Ḫāylu Compilation.[19] In a treatise on the day and night length in MS London, British Library, Oriental 816, f. 18rab, we find information on the *məʿrāg* of the Sun and its connection to *kekrosāt*, a very elusive Ethiopic term which stands apparently for a time unit.[20] We might consequently assume that the course of the Sun from the colophon might stay for a length of the daylight (*maʿārəg* standing for 'time degrees' of the Hellenistic equinoctial hours?).[21] This assumption, however, needs to be proved.

The second parameter on the amount of the day and night hours is less elusive. In the Ethiopic manuscript culture there are numerous treatises which document the change of the daylight in the course of the year, transmitting two different tradition of the ratio between the longest and the shortest daylight, 2:1 originating from the Book of Enoch and 15:9 apparently of Greek origin.[22] The parameters provided in the colophon of the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu correspond to the second tradition, summarized in a table by Neugebauer[23] where it is provided exactly the same number of day and night hours (eleven and 13 correspondingly) for the month of Ṭəqəmt. Since Ethiopic colophons tend to provide redundant information (for example, dating according to different eras) this information on the length of the day light might support

17 Zotenberg 1883, 222, 467; Charles 1916, 202.
18 For example, MS London, British Library, Oriental 778, f. 245vb (Wright 1877, 235b–254b; Elagina, Solomon Gebreyes, et al. 2022).
19 For example, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 143, f. 117rb (Zotenberg 1877, 216a–221a; Reule et al. 2020).
20 Neugebauer 1979, 176–177; Lourié 2010, 419–423.
21 For a difference between the equinoctial and seasonal hours see Neugebauer 1979, 167–170.
22 Neugebauer 1979, 179–182.
23 Neugebauer 1979, 181, Table II.

my assumption that the first parameter on the course of the Sun is dedicated to the day length as well.

What is very interesting about this parameter is the fact that both ratios between the longest and shortest daylight (2:1 and 15:9) are incorrect for the geographical latitude of Ethiopia.[24] However, they were still in use, as we see from this colophon. If transmission of the treatises with 'incorrect' information might have been a mechanical procedure, the determination of the length of day and night for a composition of the colophon based on these treatises shows the real and practical application of this information.

The last piece of the colophon which is of interest for this contribution reads as following:

> (123.8) It was then the dominion of *ʾəlgufr* from *manāzəl* (lunar mansions).[25] In the year 7594 of the Era of the World, 1947 of the Era of Alexander, 1594 of the Era of Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1318 of the Era of Martyrs, 980 of the Era of *ʾagār* (Islamic years) in solar years, and in the lunar years 1010, four years, seven months and eight days after the ascension of Malak Sagad the younger, son of Malak Sagad the elder, and in the grace of baptism he was named Yāʿqob; eight years, three months and five days after the ascension of the Godloving queen Malak Mogasā, who was called in the grace of baptism Māryām Śənā.[26]

This portion delivers some further valuable insights into the application of Ethiopic *ḥassāb*. First, the colophon provides the identification of a corresponding lunar mansion of the lunar zodiac. Lunar mansions, 28 in number (*manāzəl* is a transliteration of the Arabic *manāzil*)[27] are sections which describe the ecliptic movement of the Moon during the solar year (27 mansions with 13 days each and one mansion with 14 days). The lunar mansion in the colophon for 22 Ṭəqəmt is identified as *ʾəlgufr* (a transliteration of the Arabic *al-ġafr*, a lunar mansion with a position in the asterism consisting of the three stars in the zodiacal constellation of Virgo (Iota Virginis, Kappa Virginis and Lambda Virginis) which is however associated with the neigbouring Libra),[28] which accurately corresponds to the diagrams of lunar mansions transmitted in some Ethiopic manuscripts. The above-mentioned MS London, British Library, Oriental 816, f. 6v shows such diagram, from

24 Neugebauer 1979, 179.

25 Neugebauer (1979, 184) suggests the translation 'in the ascendant of the mansions was Elgufr' and criticizes the translation by Charles which in my opinion simply follows the Ethiopic text.

26 Zotenberg 1883, 222, 467; Charles 1916, 202.

27 The concept of lunar mansions in the Ethiopic manuscript culture was obviously form the Arabic astronomical and astrological theory for which see, for example, Varisco 2017.

28 Varisco 2017, 492.

which we can obtain the same information as indicated in the colophon. The diagram is built out of five concentric circles. The first one in the center is empty except for a decorative element. The second one is divided into eight sectors, paired in four groups, which bear the names of cardinal directions. Three other circles are divided into 28 sections corresponding to the 28 lunar mansions, bearing schematic representations of star constellations (?), the identification of lunar mansions, and the day of the beginning of the corresponding lunar mansion. In the lower part of the diagram the outer sector for the 21 Ṭəqəmt corresponds to the sector *ʾəlqafr* (sic). The same information, but in the form of a table is transmitted on f. 6ra in the second line.

Second, this colophon provides an evidence for two ways of calculation of Islamic years, the one based on lunar years, corresponding to the actual Islamic calendar; and another one based on solar, that is Julian, years (Neugebauer 1979, 125), hence it reads: '980 of the Era of *ʾagār* (Islamic years) in solar years, and in the lunar years 1010'. Since most manuscripts contain, if they provide dating according to the Islamic years, either years according to the lunar or solar cycles, and the dating is in many cases incorrect, the information on two procedures retrieved from the colophon of the *Chronicle* is indeed of much importance for the understanding of the practice of Ethiopic *ḥassāb*. A certain discrepancy in the dating according to the Era of the World (7594 instead of 7094) and the Era of Alexander (1947 instead of 1913) is not uncommon in the Ethiopic manuscripts (Neugebauer 1979, 125, nn. 38–39), and might be a result of a scribal or calculation error. The correct dating to 1601 CE is derived from the Era of Incarnation (1594), the Era of Martyrs (1318) and the regnal years of the royals.

Ethiopic *ḥassāb* is a very multi-faceted and still understudied aspect of the manuscript culture of Ethiopia and Eritrea. It is articulated not only in the numerous treatises, diagrams and tables, but in colophons and similar texts as well. The analysis of the colophon of the *Chronicle* shows how different theoretical or instructive elements of *ḥassāb* were actually applied by the learned scholars of their time. A very interesting aspect is the application of this knowledge as a system of coordinates apparently without any relation to the observed reality (as demonstrated by the case of the length of day and night above). It is undeniable that a further research on Ethiopic *ḥassāb* would reveal many new aspects of the manuscript culture of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

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The Byzantine Reception and Transmission of William of Ockham's *Summa totius logicae**

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The manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59.17 (fifteenth century) contains the Greek translation of four passages of William of Ockham's *Summa totius logicae* 41–42 (*c.*1323). Identical versions of two of those passages were quoted by George-Gennadios Scholarios in his *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* (*c.*1433/35). In this paper, the author offers a novel transcription of all the identified Greek translations of *Summa totius logicae* together with an analysis of their sources. Lastly, the author presents evidence in favour of the view that the translations were prepared by Scholarios.

Introduction

In a letter addressed to the despot Constantine Palaeologus, which prefaces his three long commentaries on the *Ars Vetus* (i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories* and *De interpretatione*), George-Gennadios Scholarios (b. *c.*1400, d. *c.*1472)[1] states that his exegetical treatises benefited not only from Greek late-antique and Byzantine commentators but, first and foremost, from the Latin ones. While he admits that different sources will be extensively quoted throughout his work, he warns the despot, and, indeed, the reader, that they will be seldom disclosed.[2]

In 1977 and 1983, Paul Tavardon posited the theory that one of Scholarios' main Western influences was the Franciscan John Duns Scotus (b. 1265/1266, d. 1308). Tavardon believed he had found a hint in favour of this theory in a passage from Scholarios' *Commentary on Isagoge* (hereafter, *in Isag.*), where Scholarios mentions a certain ὁ Βρίτων, whom Tavardon interpreted as 'the Englishman' and thought to be a reference to Scotus (*in Isag.*, tr. 12, p. 79.38–80.1).[3] Sten Ebbesen and Jan Pinborg revisited the identity of ὁ Βρίτων and Scholarios' *Quellenforschung* in a groundbreaking paper of 1982.

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1 For Scholarios' biography, see Tinnefeld 2002 and Blanchet 2008.

2 The prefatory letter and the three commentaries on the *Ars Vetus* are available in Petit, Sideridès and Jugie 1936a (here see 3.4–30 and 5.28–32).

3 Tavardon 1977, 277 and 1983, 69–70.

They convincingly showed that ὁ Βρίτων did not refer to Scotus, but rather to the Breton teacher of logic Radulphus Brito (b. 1270/1273, d. *c.*1320).[4] They proved that large portions of Scholarios' commentaries on the *Ars Vetus* were nothing but translations of Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* and *Quaestiones super Sophisticos Elenchos*, which is especially evident in the *in Isag.*[5] In recent years, John A. Demetracopoulos and Irini Balcoyiannopoulou have uncovered three Latin sources Scholarios employed for the *Commentary on De interpretatione* (hereafter, *in De int.*): Aquinas' *Expositio in libri Peryermeneias*, (Ps.-)John Pagus' commentary on *De interpretatione* in the codex Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1589; and Guillelmus Arnaldus' *Expositio in Artem Veterem*.[6]

Contrary to the case with the *in De int.*, little advance has been made regarding the identification of the Latin sources for Scholarios' *Commentary on Categories* (hereafter, *in Cat.*) since Ebbesen and Pinborg's seminal paper. Besides Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem*, only one other Latin source was detected: In a forthcoming paper, I argue that Scholarios quoted Demetrios Kydones' translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* I (*in Cat.*, tr. 18, p. 230.11–25).[7] The aim of the present article is to argue that, in addition to Brito and Aquinas, William of Ockham (b. 1288, d. 1347) must be counted among the unnamed Latin sources of Scholarios in his *in Cat.*

4 For Brito, see Donati 2017, 446–451. For Scholarios as a translator of the theological work of Duns Scotus, see Athanasopoulos 2018, 80–83.

5 Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981/82. I can add a new work to the list of Latin sources of Scholarios' *in Isag.*: the commentary on the *Isagoge* transmitted in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5988, ff. 63r–81v. I found a telling parallel for *in Isag.*, tr. 4 p. 29 (ὡς γάρ φησιν ὁ Τούλλιος ἐν τῇ Δευτέρᾳ ῥητορικῇ, ὅτι ἡ σοφία χωρὶς τῆς λεκτικῆς ἐστὶ μάχαιρα ἐν χειρὶ παραλυτικοῦ κτλ.) in Vat. lat. 5988, f. 63v col. b (*Et dicit Tullius in Secunda rhetorica quod sapientia sine eloquentia est quasi gladius in manu paralitici* etc.). The Latin treatise in Vat. lat. 5988 is attributed to Peter of Ireland, Aquinas' teacher. However, this attribution is unsure. Scholars ascribed the work to (Ps.-)John Pagus on the basis of the information in another important witness to the treatise, Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1589 (see Dunne and Baeumker 1996, VIII-XIV; and especially Lafleur and Piché, with the collaboration of Carrier 2014, 2015, and 2017). Tellingly, Scholarios used (Ps-)John Pagus' commentaries as a source for his treatise on the *De interpretatione* (cf. the following note).

6 Demetracopoulos 2010a, 88–89; Balcoyiannopoulou 2018a, 119*–128*; Balcoyiannopoulou 2018b, 106–109; Balcoyiannopoulou 2022, 448–456.

7 Maksimczuk 2023.

1. William of Ockham in in Cat.*, tr. 5*

The name of the Franciscan William of Ockham never occurs in the corpus of Scholarios' works. However, it is plausible that he was familiar with Ockham's works, for, as Tavardon noted, he was acquainted with the views of the leading Franciscan philosophers of the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. Scholarios' *Commentary on Aquinas' De ente et essentia* features a note on the prefatory letter to Matthaios Camariotes, which refers to John Duns Scotus, Francis of Mayrone (*c.*1288–1328), and their followers: Ἰωάννην τὸν Σκότον λέγομεν, καὶ Φραγγίσκον δὲ Μαρόνις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.[8] Is it possible that Scholarios was referring to Ockham, another Franciscan, with the expression τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ('their followers')? Given the current state of affairs, this cannot be settled. That said, Scholarios must have been familiar with Ockham's work as he quoted from *Summa totius logicae* I (hereafter, *SL* I), as the following analysis will prove.

The fifth *lectio* in *in Cat*. (pp. 136.33–143.37) focuses on the category of substance (οὐσία). Except for a few lines (i.e. p. 139.17–33), which Ebbesen and Pinborg identified as a translation of Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem*, q. 9, the source or sources for most of the *lectio* remain(s) unknown.[9] The fifth *quaestio* (ζήτημα) in the *lectio* investigates of what sort the division of the substance is. The first answer that Scholarios provides has conspicuous parallels with some lines in Ockham's *SL* I 42. I offer transcriptions of both texts as they are printed in the respective editions.[10]

> *in Cat.*, tr. 5, p. 141.9–15: Καὶ οἱ μέν φασιν ὅτι ἔστι διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα, ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει τοῦ εἰπεῖν· τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώσας τινὰ μὲν ἴδιά εἰσι μιᾶς οὐσίας καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι, τινὰ δὲ κοινὰ πλείοσι, καὶ καλοῦνται δεύτεραι· ταῦτα δὲ διαιροῦνται εἰς μᾶλλον κοινὰ καὶ ἧττον κοινά, ἤγουν γένη καὶ εἴδη.[11]

8 Petit, Sideridès and Jugie 1933, 180.27–28.

9 Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981/1982, 268.

10 For the text of the *SL*, I follow Boehner, Gál and Brown 1974. My page and line references are always based on this edition.

11 My translation of Gennadios' passage is: And some state that it is a division into names, some of which are common, whereas some other ones are proper. The proper are called first substances, whereas the common are called second substances. This is the same as saying: of the names that signify the substances existing outside the soul, some are proper to one substance— and are called 'first substances'— , whereas others are common to many— and are called 'second substances'. The latter, in turn, are divided into more common and less common, namely, into genera and species. In this case and the following ones, my English translations of the Greek texts of the SL benefit from Michael J. Loux English translation of the Latin original.

> *SL* I 42, p. 119.50–57: Et ideo dicendum est quod ista divisio non est nisi divisio unius nominis communis in nomina minus communia, ut sit aequivalens isti divisioni: nominum importantium seu significantium substantias extra animam quaedam sunt nomina propria uni substantiae, et illa nomina vocantur hic primae substantiae; quaedam autem nomina sunt communia multis substantiis, et illa nomina vocantur secundae substantiae. Quae nomina postea dividuntur, quia quaedam sunt genera et quaedam sunt species […].

Both passages offer identical content and structure: First, that the division of substance is a division into names; second, that some names are first substances, whereas others are second substances; third, that the second substances can be divided into genera and species. Importantly, the main part of the Greek text is a faithful rendition of the Latin (I make bold the lexical parallels):

> (…) **τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς** ὑφεστώσας **τινὰ μὲν ἴδιά εἰσι μιᾶς οὐσίας, καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι· τινὰ δὲ κοινὰ πλείοσι, καὶ καλοῦνται δεύτεραι** (…)

> (…) **nominum** importantium seu **significantium substantias extra animam quaedam sunt** nomina **propria uni substantiae**, **et** illa nomina **vocantur** hic **primae substantiae**; **quaedam autem** nomina sunt **communia multis** substantiis, **et** illa nomina **vocantur secundae** substantiae (…)

The differences between both versions can be interpreted as simplifications made by the Greek translator, who tried to avoid repetitions of concepts and words whenever possible. For instance: *importantium seu significantium* became just σημαινόντων; *et illa nomina vocantur hic primae substantiae* is rendered as καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι, because the subject could be easily retrieved from the previous sentence. On only one occasion is the translation *ad sensum*: the Greek text οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει τοῦ εἰπεῖν appears to be equivalent to the Latin *ut sit aequivalens isti divisioni*.

Important differences are spotted at the beginning of the passages, however. The Greek ἔστι διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα, ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι (*in Cat.*, p. 141.10–11) does not appear to render the Latin *ista divisio non est nisi divisio unius nominis communis in nomina minus communia* (*SL* I, p. 119.50–51). The Greek text is more verbose and contains information absent from its hypothetical source. Consequently, it is difficult to accept that *in Cat.*, p. 141.10–11 translates *SL* I, p. 119.50–51. One needs not look much further, however, to find the source for those Greek lines. They are a verbatim translation of another portion of the *SL* I 42, namely, p. 121.99–102.

> *in Cat.*, p. 141.10–11: **ἔστι διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα**, **ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά**, **τὰ δὲ ἴδια**· καὶ **τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται**, **τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι**

> *SL* I 42, p. 121, 99–102: **est divisio in nomina**, **quorum aliqua** sunt **propria**, **aliqua communia**. Nomina **propria dicuntur substantiae primae**, nomina **communia** dicuntur substantiae **secundae**

Here, the translator proceeded in the same way as we discussed before. He produced a faithful rendition of the Latin text but avoiding unnecessary repetitions of words that could be easily recovered from the context (*sunt*, *nomina*, *dicuntur*, *substantiae*).

The discussion above made plain that *in Cat.*, p. 141.9–15 consists in Greek translations of two sections of *SL* I 42 that were conflated into one text: p. 119.50–57 and p. 121.99–102. More precisely, *in Cat.* replaces *SL* I, p. 119.50–51 with p. 121.99–102. But what happened with *SL* I, p. 119.50–51? Part of its content, i.e. *unius nominis communis in nomina minus communia*, seems to have been recycled and complemented the translation of *SL* I p. 119.56–57 at the end of the Greek passage (cf. εἰς μᾶλλον κοινὰ καὶ ἧττον κοινά).

2. Further Greek excerpts from SL I in a Scholarian manuscript

Recently, I have argued that the exegetical paracontent[12] on the *Categories* in the manuscripts Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59.17 (*c.*1428–1434; *Diktyon* 16468; hereafter Laur. Plut. 59.17), ff. 171v–181v (see fig. 1) and Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Barocci 87 (*c.*1449), ff. 35r–51r (hereafter Barocci 87)[13] is linked to Scholarios' courses on logic in the late 1420s and early 1430s.[14] As it is relevant for the argument in this paper, I briefly summarize the main facts that led me to relate the paracontent on the *Categories* in those manuscripts (hereafter, CS = Corpus of scholia) to Scholarios.

> a) Content evidence: The CS contains four scholia attributed to Scholarios (on *Categories* 1 a 3; 2 a 12; 4 a 10; 15 b 17). Three of them have no parallels among Scholarios' printed works; the one commenting on *Categories* 15 b 17 is close to Scholarios' *in Cat.*, tr. 18, p. 237.4–17. Furthermore, the CS features (at least) two scholia that quote from Demetrios Kydones' translation of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, a source much exploited by Scholarios. The scholia in question cite *Summa theologiae* I q. 48

12 I prefer the term paracontent over paratext, as several exegetical notes in the corpus in question consist in diagrams rather than text (Ciotti et al. 2018).

13 See images at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/8c7d3bda-4d58-4d66-b8ab-d583a8c3931f/> (last accessed 9 November 2023).

14 Maksimczuk 2023. A third witness to the paracontent in question is Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, F VI 9 (mid-sixteenth century), which is a direct copy of Barocci 87 (Maksimczuk 2022, 340–343). The Scholarian material in Laur. Plut. 59.17 and Barocci 87 comprises also short introductions and a corpus of scholia on the *Isagoge*, which remains unexplored.

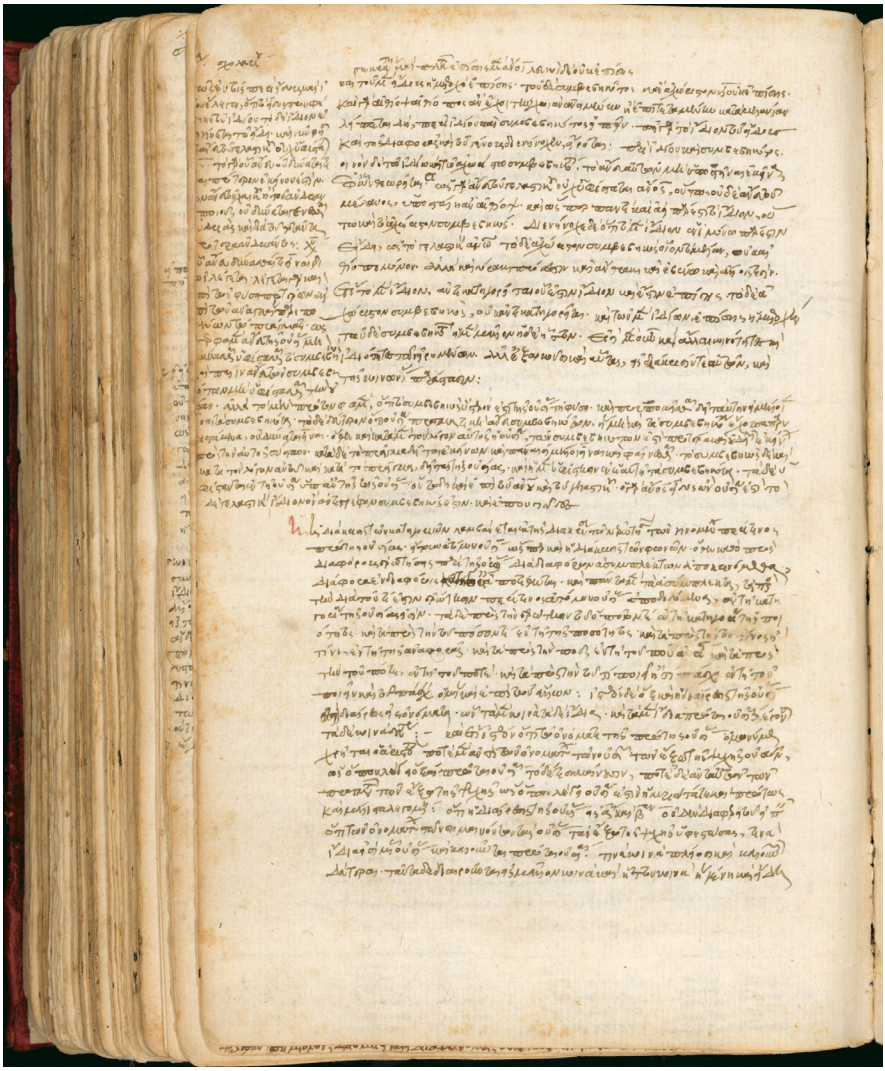

Fig. 1. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Medicea, Plut. 59.17, f. 169v. Reproduced with permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

a. 1 ad 1 and I q. 48 a. 1 ad 3. The content in the first of those scholia is repeated in *in Cat.*, tr. 18, p. 230.11–25.

b) Textual evidence: Several scholia consist in excerpts from late-antique Greek commentaries (such as those by Ammonius and Philoponus). They are closely paralleled (i.e. with identical or similar incipit and desinit and, most importantly, numerous common variants) in Scholarios' *in Cat.*[15]

c) Historical evidence: The oldest witness to the CS, Laur. Plut. 59.17, was written by the so-called Anonymous 11 in Harlfinger's list of anonymous scribes. Somehow, the Anonymous 11 had access to drafts and private documents produced by Scholarios and available in his close circle of students and associates: Some letters Scholarios sent to his disciples are only preserved in the handwriting of the Anonymous 11 in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 74.13; the Anonymous 11 copied excerpts of the drafts of Scholarios' Greek translation of Thomas Aquinas' introduction to *De Anima* in Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 118 sup.[16] Thus, it is possible that the Anonymous 11 could be identified with someone among Scholarios' early students or friends. A list of the manuscripts produced by the Anonymous 11 was initially compiled by Dieter Harlfinger and later complemented by David Speranzi and Ciro Giacomelli.[17] To the known corpus of manuscripts written by the Anonymous 11, I can now add the following items: London, British Library, Burney 91, ff. 3r–7v, 10r–37r (and notes on several other folios) and Burney 92,

15 Now, I can adduce a further textual argument to link the CS and Scholarios. The collation of Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 7.22–12.10 in around 120 manuscripts shows that the core text in Laur. Plut. 59.17 and Barocci 87 relate to, and most probably depends on, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1928, via a lost intermediary. Par. 1928 was written by Neophytos Prodromenos in the middle of the fourteenth century and later belonged to Ioannes Chortasmenos (*PLP* 30897), Scholarios' teacher in Constantinople. Crucially, Par. 1928 passed through the hands of Scholarios as shown by an exegetical note written by Scholarios himself on the f. 136r (see Mondrain 2000, 12–13 and 16–17). It is tempting to think that the lost father of Laur. Plut. 59.17 and Barocci 87 for both the core texts and paracontents of the *Isagoge* and the *Categories* was a manuscript written by or for Scholarios and copied from Par. 1928. Scholarios used manuscripts of Aristotle that belonged to his teacher Ioannes Chortasmenos as models for his own manuscripts on several occasions (Berger 2005, 142). The rich genealogy of Par. 1928, at least for the sections of the *Isagoge* I collated, includes also Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 71.3, which is a direct copy of Par. 1928, and the restoration made by Ioannes Sophianos in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2086, f. 8r–9v that depend on Laur. Plut. 59.17. As for the scholar Neophytos Prodromenos, whose life and activity are still to a great extent a mystery, I can add a new element to the dossier of his Aristotelian manuscripts: the folios 1–80 and 82–139 in Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, III D 7 were written by Neophytos. They contain Aristotle's *Physics*, *Parts of Animals*, and *Generation of Animals* (with extensive commentaries).

16 Steel 2023.

17 Harlfinger 1971, 418; Speranzi 2015, 291 n. 1; Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 136–137.

several folios, e.g. 70v–74v and 80v–90v; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 193, ff. IIIr, 1r–10v and Vat. gr. 1498, f. 19r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1601, ff. 151r–152v; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), phil. gr. 131, ff. 1r and 171r.[18]

The research in this paper unveils a new coincidence between the CS and Scholarios, as Laur. Plut. 59.17 transmits four notes containing Greek translations of Ockham's *SL* I 41–42.[19] They were copied by the Anonymous 11 on f. 169v, right after Porphyry's *Isagoge* (see Plate 1).[20] Although the notes were written consecutively, in a continuous text, the Anonymous 11 wrote colons or colons followed by a dash at the end of each note in order to indicate that each note is an autonomous unit.[21] On f. 170r, one finds a short introduction to *Categories* and, on f. 170v, the text of *Categories*, commented by the CS, starts.

I offer, for the first time, transcriptions of the four notes in Laur. Plut. 59.17, f. 169v. They are followed by my own English translation.

Note 1. Ἡ[22] διάκρισις τῶν κατηγοριῶν λαμβάνεται ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν ἐρωτήσεων τῶν γινομένων περί τινος πρώτης οὐσίας εἴτουν ἀτόμου οὐσίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ διάκρισις τῶν φωνῶν· ὅθεν, καθὸ πρὸς διαφόρους ἐρωτήσεις περὶ τῆς οὐσίας διὰ διαφόρων ἀσυμπλέκτων ἀποκρινόμεθα, διάφορα ἐν διαφόροις κατηγορίαις[23] π<ρ>οτίθενται. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀσύμπλεκτα, τὰ πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἐρώτησιν, περί τινος ἀτόμου οὐσίας, ἀποδιδόμενα, ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσίν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν τοῦ ὁποῖόν τι, ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῆς ποιότητος· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πόσον

18 The identity of the Anonymous 11 is still a mystery. Following an *ex libris* in Laur. 74.13, Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 137 posited the hypothesis that his name could be Ioannes Koreses. As those scholars stated, that hypothesis requires further investigation. In my opinion, the Anonymous 11 could tentatively be identified with Ioannes Kanaboutzes (*PLP* 10871), who was, in turn, identified with Scholarios' student Ioannes (Blanchet 2008, 306 n. 149). Interestingly, one letter Scholarios sent to his pupil Ioannes is only preserved in the script of the Anonymous 11 (Laur. 74, 13, ff. 270r–272r; edited in Petit, Sideridès and Jugie 1935, 398–402). Further pieces of palaeographical, historical, and prosopographical evidence supporting the identification of the Anonymous 11 with Ioannes Kanaboutzes will be presented in a paper I am preparing together with Ciro Giacomelli.

19 For some reason, the scribe of Barocci 87 did not copy the notes of interest.

20 Interestingly, in the outer margin of that folio, there is a scholion with the attribution Σχολαρίου, which comments on the end of the *Isagoge*. An identical scholion is found in Barocci 87, f. 29r, which also shows an attribution to Scholarios. See note 13 above.

21 Although the addition of Καὶ ἔτι at the beginning of the third note may indicate that the translator understood notes 2 and 3 as two parts of the same argument (see, for instance, Demetracopoulos 2002, 148).

22 A hasty rubrication produced an iteration of ἡ: Laur. Plut. 59.17 reads Ἡ ἡ διάκρισις (sic).

23 The word κατηγορίαις is a *post correctionem* reading by Anonymous 11. I cannot distinguish with certainty what he originally wrote (possibly οὐσίαις).

τι, ἐν τῇ τῆς ποσότητος· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τίνος ἢ τίνι, ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ποῦ, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ποῦ ὡρισμένου· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πότε, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ποτέ· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τί ποιεῖ ἢ τί πάσχει, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

Note 2. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶ διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα, ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι.

Note 3. Καὶ ἔτι, ἰστέον ὅτι τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς πρώτης οὐσίας ὁμωνύμως χρῆται ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ποτὲ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσῶν, ὡς ὅπου λέγει ὅτι *αἱ πρῶται οὐσίαι τόδέ τι σημαίνουσιν*· ποτὲ δὲ ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ὅπου λέγει *οὐσία ἐστὶν ἡ κυριώ<τα>τά τε καὶ πρώτως καὶ μάλιστα λεγομένη*.

Note 4. Ὅτι ἡ διαίρεσις τῆς οὐσίας εἰς πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώσας, τινὰ ἴδια εἰσὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι· τινὰ κοινὰ πλείοσι καὶ καλοῦνται δεύτεραι. ταῦτα δὲ διαιροῦνται εἰς μᾶλλον κοινὰ καὶ ἧττον κοινά, ἤγουν γένη καὶ εἴδη.

Note 1. The distinction between the categories derives from the distinction of the questions asked about a first substance or an individual substance—as is also the case with the distinction of predicables. Hence, as we respond to different questions about the substance with different simple terms, different simple terms are placed in different categories. All the simple terms that respond to the question ‘what is it?’, (asked) about an individual substance, fall under the category of substance. Those that respond to the question ‘of what sort is something?’ are in the category of the quality. Those that respond to the question ‘how much is something?’ are in the category of the quantity. Those that respond to the question ‘whose?’ or ‘to whom?’ are in the category of the relation. Those that respond to the question ‘where?’ are in the category of the definite place. Those that respond to the question ‘when?’ are in the category of time. Those that respond to ‘what does it do?’ or ‘what does affect it?’ are in the category of action and affection. And it is in like manner with the others.

Note 2. One must know that the division of the substance is also a division into names, some of which are common, others are proper. The proper are called first substances, the common second substances.

Note 3. Furthermore, one must know that Aristotle uses the name ‘first substance’ equivocally: sometimes, he uses it with reference to the names of the substances that are outside the soul, as where he says that ‘the first substances signify a particular subject’;[24] sometimes, he uses it with reference to the things themselves out of the soul, as where he says: ‘a substance is that which is called most principal, primarily and above all’.[25]

Note 4. That division of the substance into first and second is the same as saying that of the names that signify the substances existing outside the soul, some are proper to one substance (and are called first substances), others are common to many (and

24 Cf. *Categories* 3 b 10.
25 Cf. *Categories* 2 a 11.

are called second substances). The latter are divided into more common and less common, namely, into genera and species.

2.1. Analysis of sources

A cursory glance at the notes reveals their dependence on a Latin source, as they contain vocabulary that, while rather unusual in Greek, is most common in Latin. The Greek text uses the expression ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς three times (notes 3 and 4) for extra-mental entities. This expression, which seldom occurs in the corpus of Greek philosophical literature,[26] smacks of a *verbum e verbo* translation of the Latin *extra animam*, frequently used in philosophical treatises. In order to refer to the category of relatives, note 1 uses τῆς ἀναφορᾶς instead of the more common τῶν πρός τι. An explanation for this could be that note 1 slavishly renders a Latin *relationis*. To denote 'terms without combination', note 1 uses ἀσύμπλεκτα, another unusual word, instead of τὰ ἁπλᾶ, τὰ ἄνευ συμπλοκῆς, τὰ κατὰ μηδεμίαν συμπλοκήν. Here, the word ἀσύμπλεκτα could be a calque rendering of a Latin *incomplexa*.

Notes 2 + 4 provide a text very similar to the one in *in Cat.*, tr. 5, p. 141.9–15, which is a translation of *SL* I 42, p. 121.99–102 and p. 119.50–57.[27] Let us compare the Greek texts closely.

Laur. Plut. 59.17, notes 2 + 4

(N. 2) Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις τῆς οὐσίας **ἐστὶ διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα, ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι**. (N. 4) ὅτι ἡ διαίρεσις τῆς οὐσίας εἰς πρώτην καὶ δεύτεραν, **οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ εἰπεῖν** ὅτι **τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώσας τινὰ ἴδια εἰσὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας, καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι· τινὰ κοινὰ πλείοσι καὶ καλοῦνται δεύτεραι. ταῦτα δὲ διαιροῦνται εἰς μᾶλλον κοινὰ καὶ ἧττον κοινά, ἤγουν γένη καὶ εἴδη.**

in Cat., tr. 5, p. 141, 9–15

Καὶ οἳ μέν φασιν ὅτι **ἔστι διαίρεσις εἰς ὀνόματα, ὧν τὰ μὲν κοινά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια πρῶται οὐσίαι λέγονται, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ δεύτεραι· οὐδὲν** γὰρ **διαφέρει τοῦ εἰπεῖν· τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώσας τινὰ** μὲν **ἴδιά εἰσι μιᾶς οὐσίας, καὶ καλοῦνται πρῶται οὐσίαι· τινὰ** δὲ **κοινὰ πλείοσι, καὶ καλοῦνται δεύτεραι· ταῦτα δὲ διαιροῦνται εἰς μᾶλλον κοινὰ καὶ ἧττον κοινά, ἤγουν γένη καὶ εἴδη**.

That Laur. Plut. 59.17 and *in Cat.* offer the same translation of Ockham's *SL* I 42 concurs with the observation that a link exists between the CS and Scholarios' long commentary on the *Categories*. Laur. Plut. 59.17 presents *SL* I, p. 121.99–102 (= note 2) and p. 119.50–57 (= note 4) as two autonomous passages, whereas *in Cat.* conflates them in a single text. In this respect, Laur. Plut. 59.17 is closer to the Latin source than *in Cat.*

26 See the discussion below.
27 See above.

Note 3, which has no parallels in *in Cat.*, has clear communalities with *SL* I 42, p. 121.103–108:

> N. 3: Καὶ ἔτι, **ἰστέον ὅτι τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ‘πρώτης οὐσίας’ ὁμωνύμως χρῆται ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ποτὲ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσῶν, ὡς** ὅπου λέγει ὅτι **αἱ *πρῶται οὐσίαι τόδέ τι σημαίνουσιν*· ποτὲ δὲ ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν** τῶν πραγμάτων **τῶν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς** ὅπου λέγει· ***οὐσία ἐστὶν ἡ κυριώ*[τα] *τά*** τε **καὶ *πρώτως καὶ μάλιστα*** *λεγομένη*.
>
> *SL* I 42, p. 121.103–108: Verumtamen **sciendum** est **quod Philosophus** in Praedicamentis **aequivoce utitur termino ‘primae substantiae’. Nam aliquando** utitur **illo pro** ipsis **nominibus substantiarum exsistentium extra animam**, **sicut** ibi: “**Primae substantiae significant hoc aliquid**”; **aliquando pro ipsis** substantiis exsistentibus **extra animam**, **sicut** ibi: “**Substantia est quae proprie et principaliter**” etc.

In note 3, we find the same type of faithful translation as in notes 2 and 4. Moreover, one observes here, too, a tendency to simplify the verbosity of the Latin source: As part of an introductory piece to the *Categories* and intending to quote two passages from that treatise in the following lines, the translator felt no obligation to mention the title of the treatise (*in Praedicamentis*) in the first sentence of his version; since *aliquando utitur illo pro…* repeats the previous sentence's verb and object, the translator decided not to render *utitur illo*. Importantly, note 3 has two quotations from *Categories* (3 b 10 and 2 a 11, respectively). The first does not represent the text as it is known from the Greek manuscript tradition. Whereas the printed Greek editions read Πᾶσα δὲ οὐσία δοκεῖ τόδε τι σημαίνειν,[28] note 3 offers αἱ πρῶται οὐσίαι τόδέ τι σημαίνουσιν, which can be explained as a faithful rendition of the Latin *Primae substantiae significant hoc aliquid* quoted by Ockham in *SL* I, p. 121.106.[29]

The case of note 1, also unparalleled in Scholarios' *in Cat*., is more complex, because here we are dealing with both a translation and an abridgment of the Latin source, which is *SL* I 41, pp. 116.64–117.94.

Laur. Plut. 59.17, note 1	*SL* I 41, p. 116, 64 - 117, 94
Ἡ διάκρισις τῶν κατηγοριῶν λαμβάνεται **ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν ἐρωτήσεων** τῶν γινομένων **περί** τινος πρώτης **οὐσίας εἴτουν ἀτόμου οὐσίας,**	**Sumitur** autem **distinctio** istorum **praedicamentorum,** sicut innuit Commentator VII *Metaphysicae*, **ex distinctione interrogativorum de substantia sive de individuo substantiae**.

28 This is the text printed in Bekker 1831, Waitz 1844, Minio-Paluello 1949, and Bodéüs 2002. The variants reported in the *apparatus critici* of those editions are not relevant for our discussion (i.e. omission or transposition of τι).

29 The second quotation, in turn, offers the text as in most of the Greek manuscripts of *Categories*. This could be a consequence of the translator's attempt of ameliorating the incomplete citation in *SL* I.

ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ διάκρισις τῶν φωνῶν· **ὅθεν, καθὸ πρὸς διαφόρους ἐρωτήσεις περὶ τῆς οὐσίας διὰ διαφόρων ἀσυμπλέκτων ἀποκρινόμεθα, διάφορα ἐν διαφόροις κατηγορίαις προτίθενται. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀσύμπλεκτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἐρώτησιν, περί τινος ἀτόμου οὐσίας, ἀποδιδόμενα, ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσίν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν τοῦ ὁποῖόν** τι

ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ **τῆς ποιότητος**·

καὶ **τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πόσον** τι

ἐν τῇ **τῆς ποσότητος**·

καὶ **τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τίνος ἢ** τίνι

ἐν τῇ **τῆς ἀναφορᾶς**· καὶ **τὰ**

πρὸς τὴν ποῦ ἐν τῇ **ποῦ** ὡρισμένου·

καὶ τὰ **πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πότε**

ἐν τῇ **τοῦ ποτέ**

καὶ τὰ **πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τί ποιεῖ** ἢ τί πάσχει

ἐν τῇ **τοῦ ποιεῖν** καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν· **ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων**.

Unde secundum quod ad diversas quaestiones factas **de substantia per diversa incomplexa respondetur**, **secundum hoc diversa in diversis praedicamentis collocantur. Unde omnia incomplexa, per quae** convenienter **respondetur ad quaestionem** factam **per 'quid est' de aliquo individuo substantiae sunt in praedicamento substantiae**, cuiusmodi sunt omnia talia 'homo', 'animal', 'lapis', 'corpus', 'terra', 'ignis', 'sol', 'luna' et huiusmodi. **Illa** autem per quae convenienter respondetur **ad quaestionem** factam per **'quale'** de substantia sunt **in** genere **qualitatis,** cuiusmodi sunt talia 'album', 'calidum', 'sciens', 'quadratum', 'longum', 'latum', et sic de aliis. **Illa** autem per quae respondetur **ad quaestionem** factam per **'quantum'** de substantia vel substantiis demonstratis continentur **in** genere **quantitatis,** cuiusmodi sunt talia 'bicubitum', 'tricubitum', et huiusmodi. **Illa** autem per quae respondetur **ad quaestionem** factam per **'cuius' vel** per consimile, quia forte ibi deficit nobis unum interrogativum generale, sunt **in** genere **relationis**. **Illa** autem per quae convenienter respondetur **ad quaestionem** factam per **'ubi'** sunt **in** genere **ubi**. Et quia ad quaestionem factam per 'ubi' numquam convenienter respondetur nisi per adverbium vel praepositionem cum suo casuali, sicut si quaeratur 'ubi est Sortes' convenienter respondetur 'ibi vel hic, vel in Tyro vel in Damasco, vel in mari vel in terra', idea ista incomplexa, pro quanto non sunt affirmationes vel negationes, dicuntur in genere ubi. Similiter **ad quaestionem** factam de substantia demonstrata per **'quando'** numquam respondetur nisi per adverbia vel per praepositiones cum suis casualibus, sicut si quaeratur 'quando fuit Sortes' convenienter respondetur quod fuit heri vel in tali die, ideo praecise talia sunt **in** genere **quando**. Similiter **ad quaestionem** factam per hoc totum **'quid facit** Sortes' convenienter respondetur per verba, sicut quod calefacit vel ambulat, idea talia sunt **in** genere **actionis**. **Et sic, proportionaliter est de aliis** […].

Several common features point to a close link between the Latin and Greek texts. Firstly, there are verbal coincidences in the first lines (Ἡ διάκρισις τῶν κατηγοριῶν … οὐσίας εἰσίν = *distinctio istorum praedicamentorum … in praedicamento substantiae*), which follow the same pattern of verbatim translation observed in notes 2–4. Secondly, both texts offer the same peculiar arrangement for the list of categories they describe. The most important ones, the first four categories, are presented in a rather odd order: 1st substance, 2nd quality, 3rd quantity, 4th relatives. One would rather expect: 1st substance, 2nd quantity, 3rd quality, 4th relatives. Third, both texts offer a catalogue of categories in which position and having (τὸ κεῖσθαι and τὸ ἔχειν) are missing.

Two supplementations to the content are spotted in the Greek version vis-à-vis the Latin: a comparison of the distinction of categories to the distinction of predicables (ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ διάκρισις τῶν φωνῶν); and the inclusion of the category of affection (πάσχειν) accompanying that of action (ποιεῖν). The *apparatus criticus* in the edition of the *SL* does not report equivalent readings among the manuscripts that made it into the edited text. Despite the fact that the source manuscript for note 1 could not be identified, and, therefore, one cannot know with certainty which text of the *SL* the translator had in front of him, it is not impossible that the said supplementations are his own, spontaneous alterations.

From the analysis above, it transpires that notes 1–4 in Laur. Plut. 59.17 are Greek renditions of *SL* I 41–42. Mostly, the translator proceeded to convey the Latin into Greek in a word-for-word fashion, although minor deviations can be detected in the form of simplifications and, rarely, supplementations. In only one case, the translator abridged a long passage in *SL* I 41 into fewer lines of Greek text (note 1). A link between notes 1–4 and Scholarios' *in Cat.* must exist because they quote the same translation of *SL* I, p. 121.99–102 (= note 2) and p. 119.50–57 (= note 4). Our analysis suffices to prove that notes 2 and 4 are independent from *in Cat.* Whether *in Cat.* depends on the notes cannot be settled on the basis of the scarce evidence at our disposal. Neither helps us here Laur. Plut. 59.17's dating, as this manuscript was produced circa 1428/34, which makes it roughly contemporary to *in Cat.* (1432/3–35). It was established that other parts of the CS, as they appear in Laur. Plut. 59.17 and *in Cat.*, relate only via a lost, common model. The same could also be true for the case of the Greek version of the *SL.* The discussion in the following section of the paper provides further arguments in favour of the existence of a common source for both the notes in Laur. Plut. 59.17 and *in Cat.*, tr. 5.

3. On the identity of the Byzantine translator of SL I 41–42

To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence that any Byzantine ever prepared a complete or partial translation of Ockham's *SL*.[30] A search of Ockham's name in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database produces no matches in the Byzantine literature. Also, to the best of my knowledge, Scholarios was the only Byzantine who produced Greek translations of Latin scholastic logic in Constantinople in the fifteenth century.[31] He conveyed into Greek passages and complete works by Gilbertus Porretanus, Peter of Spain, Thomas Aquinas, Radulphus Brito, and others.[32] Accordingly, the fact that Scholarios quoted some Greek lines from *SL* I makes it highly likely that they are his own translations. That he should be accountable for the Greek version of *SL* I 41–42 discussed in this paper finds further support in a comparison of his translating habits with those exhibited by the translator of the *SL*.

a) *Verbum e verbo* translation

Scholars have pointed out that Scholarios mostly rendered Latin texts into Greek verbatim. More often than not, he even kept the source's Latin syntax, which results in a text that Greek readers found difficult to understand.[33] As argued above, this rendition technique is predominant in the work of the translator of the *SL* I 41–42.

b) Simplifications

The translator of the *SL* tried to avoid conceptual and verbal repetitions. The same is observed in Scholarios' known renditions. In his translation of parts of Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* and *Quaestiones super Sophisticos Elenchos*, we find several examples of this practice. See the following cases:[34]

30 There are no references to a Byzantine translation of the *SL* in Beck 1959, 737–38 (Prochoros Kydones); Tinnefeld 1981, 68–72 (Demetrios Kydones); Tinnefeld 2002, 517–519 (Scholarios); Ebbesen 2008, 2–5 (various); Demetracopoulos 2010, 822–826 (various); Tinnefeld 2018, 9–17 (various). Cardinal Bessarion became familiar with Ockham's *Dialogus* and *Summulae* on Aristotle's *Physics* during his stay in Italy, most likely through his acquaintance with Henricus de Zoemeren. However, Bessarion accessed Ockham's works in Latin (Monfasani 2011, 36–37 and 123–124).

31 Ebbesen 2008, 3. Cardinal Bessarion translated into Greek part of Peter Lombard's theological *Sententiae* around 1450–1470 (Giacomelli 2022).

32 See overviews with further bibliographical references in Tinnefeld 2002, 517–519; Demetracopoulos 2010, 823–826; Balcoyiannopoulou 2018a, 150*–179*.

33 Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981/82, 270–273.

34 For my comparison, I benefited from the partial editions of Brito's works in Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981/82, which include an *apparatus criticus* and an apparatus of comparison with Scholarios' *in Isag.* For portions of Brito's works not included in that

de viro philosopho et virtuoso = ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου ἀνθρώπου (= *In Isag.*, tr. 1, p. 9.9)

dicere et revelare = λέγειν (= *in Isag.*, tr. 1, p. 9.16)

facit homines servos et miseros = τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δούλους ποιεῖ (= *In Isag.*, tr. 1, p. 9.39)

Sed scientia quae docet proprietates sermonis significativi = αὕτη (= *In Isag.*, tr. 1, p. 13.23)

c) Word choice

The expression ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς (notes 3 and 4) is a word-for-word translation of *extra animam* in the *SL*. A search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* reveals that ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς occurs forty-five times in the corpus of Greek literature entered in that database. Importantly, it is a recurrent expression in Scholarios' works in which it occurs thirty-one times. In five cases in Scholarios' corpus, ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς appears in combination with the perfect tense of the verb ὑφίσταμαι:

in Isag., tr. 3, p. 22, 34: τὰ ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστῶτα πράγματα.

in Isag., tr. 3, p. 23, 2: ὄντα ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστῶτα.

in Cat., tr. 5, p. 141, 13: τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώσας

in Cat., tr. 12, p. 194, 11: τοῖς… ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστῶσιν.

in Cat., tr. 12, p. 194, 13: ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώς.

As expected, all those passages are translations from Latin scholastic sources. Above, it was shown that *in Cat.*, p. 141.9–15 is a rendition of *SL* I 42; Ebbesen and Pinborg indicated that *in Isag.*, pp. 22–23 and *in Cat.*, p. 194.11–13 include parts of longer translations of Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem*, qq. 2 and 27, respectively. A comparison with the printed text of the *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* reveals that Scholarios' ὑφίσταμαι renders the Latin *existo*. In *in Isag.*, p. 22.34 and p. 23.2, ὑφεστῶτα is the rendering of *existentes*; in *in Cat.*, p. 194.13, ὑφεστώς stands for *existens*.[35] In turn, in the cases of *in Cat.*, p. 141.13 and p. 194.11, the participles could have been added by Scholarios as the printed texts of the Latin sources do not transmit equivalent terms. The fact that the Byzantine translator of the *SL* rendered *substantias extra animam* in *SL* I 42 as τὰς οὐσίας τὰς ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς **ὑφεστώσας**, that is, with a formula well attested in Scholarios' translations

edition, I rely on the text printed by Franciscus de Macerata, Rubeus and Rubeus in 1499.

35 As John A. Demetracopoulos indicated to me *per litteras*, ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς plus the perfect tense of ὑφίσταμαι is the way Demetrios Kydones translated *extra animam existentes* in Aquinas' works. Scholarios had copies of Kydones' translations already by 1431/32 (Demetracopoulos 2018b, 151-152).

but rare in other authors—even when the context would not require the presence of ὑφεστώσας—is a very suggestive coincidence.

Another striking coincidence in word choice between Scholarios' translations and the Greek version of the *SL* emerges from the analysis of note 1. At the beginning of the note, there is the text τὰ πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἐρώτησιν […] ἀποδιδόμενα, which renders *per quae convenienter respondetur ad quaestionem factam per 'quid est'* […]. An almost identical Latin text is found in Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicae*, p. 18.18–19: *quod convenienter respondetur ad interrogationem factam per 'quid?'*.[36] In his rendition of Peter's treatise, Scholarios translated the referred passage thus: ὅπερ οἰκείως ἀποδίδοται πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ τί γινομένην ἐρώτησιν.[37] The terms each translator chose to render the Latin into Greek are the same:

respondeo ad = ἀποδίδωμι πρὸς

interrogatio per quid = ἡ ἐρώτησις διὰ τοῦ τί

The major differences among the Greek texts are two words whose translations note 1 omits: *convenienter* and *factam*. Scholarios translated them in his version of Peter's *Summulae logicae* as οἰκείως and γινομένην, respectively. Their absence in note 1 is easily explained. According to the *apparatus criticus* in the edition of the *SL*, *convenienter* is omitted in several manuscripts.[38] It is possible that the unidentified Latin model of note 1 also lacked the adverb. Another possibility is that the term did not make it into the abridgment that represents note 1 vis-à-vis the Latin version of the *SL*. The case with *factam* is more certain: the translator of note 1 transposed it into a similar context a few lines above, where it was tellingly rendered with the participle of γίγνομαι (the same word chosen by Scholarios in his translation of Peter): ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως **τῶν ἐρωτήσεων** τῶν **γινομένων** περί τινος πρώτης οὐσίας εἴτουν ἀτόμου οὐσίας (which renders *ex distinctione interrogativorum de substantia sive de individuo substantiae*).

d) Quotation of Greek sources

It has been argued that Scholarios made no attempt to compare the Latin translations of Greek sources quoted in his scholastic models with the originals that he had at his disposal.[39] A good example of this is found in his translation

36 I quote from the edition in De Rijk 1972.

37 Petit, Sideridès and Jugie 1936b, 295.7.

38 Boehner, Gál and Brown 1974, *apparatus criticus ad loc.*

39 Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981/82, 272 (however, see the especial case referred to in note 28 above). As pointed out by Demetracopoulos and Athanasopoulos, Demetrios Kydones also produced *retroversiones* of passages of Greek works while rendering Thomistic works into Greek (Demetracopoulos 2004, 172–174; Athanasopoulos 2021, 166–167). Further research in the translating habits of Demetrios and his

of Peter's *Summulae*, where the following text occurs: Ἴδιόν ἐστιν ὃ μόνῳ ἔνεστι καὶ κατηγορεῖται ἀντιστρόφως κατὰ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ οὐ σημαίνει τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι τοῦ πράγματος (p. 298.2–3). This text cites Aristotle's *Topics* I 5.102 a 18–19, not according to the Greek tradition,[40] but rather in a way that matches the Latin text in the *Summulae*: *proprium est quod soli speciei inest et conversim predicatur de re, et non indicat quid est esse* (p. 22.14–16). As we saw, the translator of the *SL* adopted the same approach when made a retroversion of *Categories* 3 b 10 based on the Latin text quoted by Ockham (note 3).

4. Conclusions

This article identified for the first time a Byzantine translation of William of Okham's *SL*. It is possible that Georgios-Gennadios Scholarios should be accounted for the rendition. Two passages of the Greek *SL* made it into Scholarios' *in Cat*., tr. 5. Another witness to the translation used or made by Scholarios is the manuscript Laur. Plut. 59.17, which preserves the rendition of four passages as part of the CS, an exegetical paracontent that comments on Aristotle's *Categories* and has been related to Scholarios' teaching activity in Constantinople in the late 1420s and early 1430s.

A number of questions arise from the research in this paper: To what extent did Scholarios exploit the *SL* in the *in Cat.* and/or the other commentaries on the *Ars Vetus*? How did he access the *SL*: through a (more or less complete) manuscript of the treatise or through a selection of excerpts in the form of quotations or a compilation?[41] Did Scholarios use other logical treatises by Ockham? These questions call for a more detailed analysis on the Latin and Greek sources used in the *in Cat*., and to answer them satisfactorily, a new critical edition of *in Cat.* with a substantial *apparatus fontium* seems indispensable.

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brother Prochoros has confirmed this view (Konstantinou-Rizos 2018, 266–269 and Zaloumis 2022, 251–257).

40 Bekker 1831, Waitz 1846, and Brunschwig 1967 read: Ἴδιον δ' ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, μόνῳ δ' ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀντικατηγορεῖται τοῦ πράγματος. No variants are offered in the *apparatus critici*.

41 Compilatory-like works quoting excerpts from Ockham's treatises are reported in Monfasani 2011, 73. Manuscripts containing fragments of *SL* are referenced in Boehner, Gál and Brown 1974, 32*–33*

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Osservazioni filologiche su Galeno, *De antidotis XIV 3,16–4,4 K.**

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The present note is focussed on a passage from book 1 of Galen's *De antidotis* (XIV 3,16–4,4 Kühn) and aims at demonstrating that the incorrect reading νευστάζειν κάραν, transmitted by MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 74,5 (L), is due to the influence of a syntagm, occurring in numerous Byzantine hymns, that was probably known by heart by the scribe of L and thus caused him to make the textual mistake, which should be considered as a familiarisation of the reading.

Un luogo del primo libro del *De antidotis* di Galeno ha destato già in passato le attenzioni degli studiosi, quando Thomas Africa ha creduto di aver trovato nel passo in questione la prova della dipendenza di Marco Aurelio dai farmaci oppiacei.[1] Attendendo io alla *constitutio textus* del libro I del *De antidotis*, quel medesimo brano ha suscitato il mio interesse di editore. Ecco dunque il passo (XIV 3,16–4,4 K.), del quale si fornisce una traduzione letterale.[2]

Tὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀκούομεν· αὐτοὶ δ'ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντωνίνον, ὅς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευάζων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, ὅσον Αἰγυπτίου κυάμου μέγεθος ἐλάμβανεν, ἢ καταπίνων ἄνευ μίξεως ὕδατος ἢ οἴνου ἢ τούτων τι μιγνύς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ νυστάζειν καρωδῶς ἐν ταῖς ὁσημέραι πράξεσιν, ἀφεῖλε τὸν ὀπὸν τῆς μήκωνος.

1 τὰ[2] codd. : om. Aldina 4 νυστάζειν καρωδῶς MPH : νευστάζειν κάραν L : νευστάζειν in νυστάζειν corr. L[2]

Conosciamo dai racconti i fatti relativi a Mitridate, mentre abbiamo esperienza personale dei fatti relativi a [Marco Aurelio] Antonino. Egli, facendo in un primo momento preparare ogni giorno [l'antidoto] per la propria incolumità, ne assumeva la quantità d'una fava d'Egitto, bevendolo senza mescolarlo all'acqua o al vino, oppure mischiandolo con uno di questi. Poiché mentre sbrigava i suoi affari quotidiani gli capitava di trovarsi in dormiveglia, quasi fosse in uno stato di torpore, fece rimuovere il succo di papavero.

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1 Non entrerò qui nel merito della questione, invero assai dibattuta, su cui si vedano per un primo inquadramento: Africa 1961 e Hadot 1984.

2 Riporto il passo secondo il testo critico attualmente in fase di allestimento; varianti di secondaria importanza ai fini del presente discorso sono state omesse nell'essenziale apparato di cui è corredato qui il testo greco.

La variante in questione è νευστάζειν κάραν, trasmessa dall'autorevole ma a tratti lacunoso manoscritto L (= Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 74,5), unico rappresentante del ramo α della tradizione del primo libro del *De antidotis*. L'altro ramo, β, si origina dal perduto antigrafo, verosimilmente vergato in minuscola, comune ai manoscritti M (= Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 281), P (= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fond Grec 2164) e H (København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 225 2°), che contribuiscono alla sua ricostruzione. L è uno dei codici scritti da Ioannikios e dagli altri membri del suo *entourage*, sui quali da decenni si concentrano le attenzioni dei filologi, dei paleografi e dell'eterogenea classe di studio dei galenisti[3]. La seconda metà del codice, che contiene anche il *De antidotis*, è stata copiata da B, ovvero dallo scriba anonimo—di gran lunga il maggior collaboratore di Ioannikios—su cui torneremo più avanti. Ora, innanzitutto, esporrò le ragioni per cui la lezione di L deve essere respinta (mentre quella concorrente va accolta senz'altro nel testo); tenterò poi di spiegare l'origine della lezione di L, individuando la ragione che ha verosimilmente indotto lo scriba a 'sbagliare' mentre copiava il testo; infine, sosterrò che la lezione di L rappresenta un elemento potenzialmente importante nella discussione intorno all'identità dello scriba B.

Si è detto che la lezione di L è da respingere, ancorché possa risultare allettante. A prima vista infatti νευστάζειν κάραν ('annuire col capo' o altrimenti muovere la testa in alto e in basso) ha le sembianze di una lectio difficilior dal retrogusto poetico. Se νευστάζω è verbo familiare agli omeristi, il sostantivo post-omerico κάρα non figura comunque inosservato nella prosa farmacologica di età antonina. Tuttavia, questa presunta *lectio difficilior* è talmente bella da essere impossibile. In primo luogo, non vi è alcun esempio della *iunctura* in greco arcaico, classico o post-classico: il sintagma è impiegato soltanto nel greco medievale. L'*usus scribendi* e, verrebbe da dire, la storia della lingua greca stessa inducono a scartare la lezione di L. Inoltre, e soprattutto, la lezione non dà realmente senso compiuto al passo. Perché mai infatti Marco Aurelio avrebbe dovuto non tanto 'trovarsi in dormiveglia, quasi fosse in uno stato di torpore', quanto piuttosto 'fare un cenno con la testa come ad annuire' a causa del succo di papavero? La seconda lezione appare quasi ironica, la prima contiene terminologia attestata nella letteratura medi-

3 La letteratura su Ioannikios e il suo *entourage* è vasta. Per un primo inquadramento dei rapporti tra il suo *atelier* e la trasmissione dei testi galenici si vedano i seguenti contributi, che contengono ulteriore bibliografia: Wilson 1983; Jacques 1999; Boudon-Millot 2007; Degni 2008; Boudon-Millot 2016.

co-scientifica che descrive accuratamente i sintomi dell'imperatore.[4] Non a caso la mano di L^2 ha aggiunto, proprio sopra il verbo νευστάζω, una correzione, forse una variante ma più probabilmente una congettura: γρ(άφεται)/γρ(άφε)/γρ(απτέον) νυστάζειν[5]. Pertanto, la lezione di L è da respingere e quella di MPH va accolta senz'altro nel testo del *De antidotis*.

Chiarita l'inservibilità del criterio della *lectio difficilior*, appare in ogni caso fruttuoso servirsi del criterio *utrum in alterum* per spiegare la genesi dell'errore di L. La *iunctura* νευστάζων κάραν, seguita dalle parole Ἡρώδης, Ἰούδας ο πρὸς ἔχθραν, occorre come incipit di diversi tropari della settima ode in alcuni canoni di età bizantina[6]. Essa si riscontra per la prima volta nel Canone per il Giovedì Santo di Cosma monaco, forse da identificare con Cosma di Maiuma, ed è nota ancora oggi ad alcuni cristiani ortodossi[7]. La popolarità della *iunctura* e il suo legame con la religione avranno certo favorito la memorizzazione o almeno la familiarità del sintagma νευστάζων κάραν presso i fedeli. Proprio tale familiarità, credo, ha causato l'errore dello scriba (che fosse B oppure il copista dell'antigrafo di L). La prossimità grafica di νυστάζω e νευστάζω è evidente e le parole καρωδῶς e κάραν iniziano allo stesso modo. Tanto basta a un copista per commettere un errore, che si suole considerare una banalizzazione e che potrebbe essere concepito piuttosto come una *familiarizzazione* della lezione da parte dello scriba, come mi suggerisce Lucia Raggetti. Altri studiosi[8] hanno già segnalato un certo numero di errori nei manoscritti greci e latini, che sono stati causati proprio dalla familiarità dei copisti con il lessico delle scritture o della chiesa.

Vi è infine una questione che va menzionata qui. Non è provato in modo inoppugnabile che sia stato proprio il copista B a scrivere per primo νευστάζων κάραν. Il solo *terminus post quem* che appare sicuro è l'attività di Cosma di Maiuma, situata tra il settimo e l'ottavo secolo d.C.: la lezione erronea si è prodotta senz'altro a partire da questo periodo, certo non prima. Tuttavia, che B sia stato il responsabile della messa a testo di νευστάζων κάραν sembra

4 Νυστάζω è stato usato una volta da Ippocrate; viste le numerose occorrenze in Platone, Aristotele e Teofrasto, Galeno lo avrà probabilmente considerato buon attico. L'avverbio καρωδῶς è un hapax (l'unica altra occorrenza è in Alessandro di Tralle) costruito su καρόω e καρώδης, anch'essi attestati nel *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

5 L contiene numerose correzioni; nel caso del primo libro del *De antidoti*s, tuttavia, si registrano soltanto due correzioni apportate da L^2. Sullo scioglimento dell'abbreviazione γρ si vedano Wilson 2002 e Wilson 2008.

6 Follieri 1961, 498.

7 La *iunctura* occorre nell'inno il cui *incipit* è Ἡ πανταιτία καὶ παρεκτική ζωῆς (Τριώδιον 1879, 652–655). Per un primo inquadramento della figura di Cosma di Maiuma e della sua produzione si veda D'Aiuto 2004, 280–281. Per l'attribuzione del canone a Cosma di Maiuma si veda Dethorakis 1979, 135 nr. 7.

8 Si vedano ad esempio West 1973, 21 e Ogilvie 1971.

senz'altro un'ipotesi plausibile. Orbene, se B è davvero stato l'autore della lezione νευστάζων κάραν (cosa della quale non si può essere certi, è bene ribadire), questo ha delle importanti ripercussioni sul tentativo di scoprirne l'identità. Diverse ragioni, a partire dalla scrittura stessa che non presenta paralleli nel panorama grafico coevo, hanno infatti indotto alcuni studiosi a supporre che B fosse di origine italiana (in qualche caso addirittura Burgundio da Pisa in persona). Per quanto un'ipotesi siffatta appaia certo credibile e anzi preferibile, occorre almeno considerare la possibilità che B fosse piuttosto un madrelingua greco, talmente familiare con la liturgia bizantina da commettere un errore come quello di cui si discute. In tal caso, si potrebbe ipotizzare che B fosse un monaco o almeno un fedele di lingua greca proveniente dall'Italia meridionale. In alternativa, come ha suggerito Nigel Wilson, egli potrebbe essere stato un collaboratore greco di Burgundio attivo a Costantinopoli.

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Representations of the History of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel (Ethiopian Jews) in the Royal Chronicle of King Śarḍa Dəngəl (r.1563–1597): Censorship, a Philological and Historical Commentary*

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The Ethiopic chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl contains a detailed historical account of the military campaigns of the King to subdue and convert the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel to Christianity. Two accounts of the second military campaign have been transmitted in different manuscripts. In one of them, the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel devotion to their faith and their strong resistance are shown with certain sympathy. The other shows no appreciation for the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel, who are portrayed as cowardly enemies of St Mary. I compare selected passages from the two accounts, suggesting an explanation as to how and why the two versions of the story in the chronicle came into being.

1. The Chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl

The chronicle of King Śarḍa Dəngəl (r.1563–1597) is one of the most important works of historiography in premodern Ethiopian Gəʿəz literature.[1] It was written down by a contemporary royal chronicler who attended the King's campaigns and the daily royal banquet of the royal mobile court and covers the entire rule of King Śarḍa Dəngəl, depicting him as an able political and military leader.

The first seven chapters of the chronicle narrate events from 1563 to 1579. They provide details of the King's early life and the internal power rivalry and rebellions within the royal family, his successful struggle to consolidate power, the continuous confrontation between the Christian kingdom and the Oromo expansion, and the military campaigns against powerful rivals of the northern provinces in order to build a strong Christian empire in the wake of the turbulent Christian-Muslim conflict in the sixteenth century. Chapter eight, or chapters eight and nine (the chapters are arranged somewhat differently in different manuscripts, see below) recount the inter-religious wars of the Christian kingdom against the 'Falāšā' or 'ʾAyhud' (now known as the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel).[2]

* The present contribution is part of my ongoing project *The Chronicle of King Śarḍa Dəngəl* (*r.1563–1597*)*: A Critical Edition with Annotated English Translation*, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG project no. 445841073) for four years (2021–2024).

1 On Śarḍa Dəngəl, see Nosnitsin 2010.

2 The Beta ʾƎsrāʾel, their history and religion, have been subject of numerous studies in the twentieth century; see e.g. Kaplan 1992, 1999, and 2003; Hirsch 2000. The

The chronicle received scholarly attention quite early. In 1892, Marius Saineano conducted a comprehensive analysis of the style and content of the text.[3] In 1906, Joseph Halévy focused precisely on the history of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel; he transcribed the last two chapters of the text (based on one manuscript) from Gəʿəz and translated them into French and Hebrew.[4] Finally, in 1907 the chronicle was edited from three manuscripts and published by Carlo Conti Rossini who also translated it into French.[5] The text edited by Conti Rossini was subsequently translated into English by Huntingford (1976),[6] into Russian by Chernetstov (1984)[7] and into Amharic by ʿĀlamu Ḫāyle (2007).[8]

Apart from the works of these scholars on the edition and translation of the Chronicle, Manfred Kropp, who has studied intensively the manuscript tradition of the royal chronicles in general[9] and the chronicle of King Śarḍa Dəngəl in particular, in his 2001 article,[10] provided a detailed analysis of previous works on the Chronicle, its manuscript tradition, and the question of authorship. He clearly identified the existence of two distinct versions of certain passages in the Chronicle.[11]

text refers to them interchangeably as Falāšā or ʾAyhud. Falāšā is derived from a Gəʿəz word, *falāsi* ('exiled'), which means that the people are originally from outside Ethiopia, so it maintains the meaning that they are alien to the Christian kingdom, whereas they are referred to as *ʾayhud* since they practice Judaism. Both names therefore have derogatory connotations; see Kaplan 2003; Dege-Müller 2018 and 2020, 6.

3 Saineano 1892, relying on MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Éthiopien 143 (my sigla C, see below); see also the review by Nöldeke 1896, 232–234.

4 Halévy 1906, also using MS Paris, BnF, Éthiopien 143.

5 Conti Rossini 1907a and 1907b. The three manuscripts he used are: MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88 (= Codex Aethiopicus XXI, my sigla O); MS Paris, BnF, Éthiopien 143 (C); MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 38 (=Rüpp. Ia, my sigla F), see also § 3 below.

6 Huntingford 1976.

7 Chernetsov 1984.

8 ʿĀlamu Ḫāyle 2007.

9 Kropp contributed extensively to Ethiopian royal histography, see some of the major works where he also dealt with the manuscript tradition and censorship of Śarḍa Dəngəl's chronicle: Kropp 1988a, XI–XIV; Kropp 1989, 249–261; Kropp 1985, 5.

10 Kropp 2001.

11 The existence of two versions was already clear to Conti Rossini, who had provided a separate critical apparatus for each in his 1907 edition (Conti Rossini 1907a, 98–122, 142–171). He also identified that at some point of ch. 9 (p. 122 of his edition) the divergence stops (thus, on p. 171 he indicates 'Voir la suite 122, I. 2': starting from there and up to the end of ch. 9, the manuscripts share similar readings, edited on pp. 122–141). Yet Conti Rossini did not mention this in the introduction to his edition nor did he suggest any reasons behind the second recension.

In his contribution, Kropp categorized the eight manuscripts of the chronicle[12] into two groups: group A with six witnesses (my sigla BCDEFL); and group B with two witnesses (O and A), based on chapter arrangement and content analysis, and discussed how the censorship occurred, and which manuscripts contained which text version. In his article he included the edition of the two versions of the parts covering the story of the King's second campaign against Falāšā or Beta ʾƎsrāʾel, the King's various military campaigns to the countries of Balayā, ʾAčafar and Wambarəyā, then the campaign for the conversion of the ʾƎnnāryā, in 1587.[13] The second Falāšā campaign, which constitutes about two thirds of the censored part of the text and is the focus of the present paper, is treated in some detail. Yet, as I show below, some of the divergences were overlooked and are extensively analyzed here. The episode of the campaign of the King to Balayā, ʾAčafar and Wambarəyā requires further rigorous historical analysis. As for the two versions concerning the episode of the conversion of ʾƎnnāryā in 1587, Kropp identified that the first version (witnessed by group A) had

> The King received every year the tribute of Bošā of ʾƎnnāryā and other similar people. He learned that the father of Badānčo, the chief of ʾƎnnāryā, called Låasoni, wanted to become a Christian, but the *ʾazzāž*, responsible for the kingdom, had not given him their approval because they had been held back by material concern, by love of money. They had been penetrated by an evil anxiety which said, 'If he becomes a Christian who will make us rich?'.[14]

This point did not please the court people and the officials, and subsequently the passage was omitted in group B. In supporting the censorship of the conversion, additional two examples are also provided to show more clearly the divergence of the two versions in this episode.[15] Not only did Kropp clearly identify the two recensions but he also exhaustively examined the reasons for their existence and attributed them to censorship. On the basis of the examples he analyzed (such as the ʾƎnnāryā episode above), he suggested that the original text is witnessed by the manuscripts in group A and the censored text in those of group B manuscripts.

12 For the list of the eight manuscripts and the sigla assigned see § 3 below.
13 In this regard, the corpus of Kropp's 2001 article covers whole part of the two versions of the chronicle, as edited in Conti Rossini 1907a, 98–122, 142–171.
14 Kropp 2001, 270.
15 Kropp 2001, 270; see also Conti Rossini 1907a, 167.

2. History of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in the chronicle

It was common for the royal chronicles of the Ethiopian Christian kingdom to focus overwhelmingly on the King's achievements and victories.[16] There are a few cases, however, in which historiography tells the story of the peoples.[17] In this context, the history of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel has received much attention in the chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl, which recounts the story of two military campaigns of the King against the ʾAyhud. It offers thus valuable information for reconstructing the history of this ethnoreligious group and has been much appreciated by historians.

The first military expedition was conducted against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in 1580 because the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel chief Radāʾi[18] refused to pay taxes to the King. According to the chronicler, who also mocked Radāʾi's disobedience, the King had to interrupt the fight against the Oromo expansion, saying: 'We must first fight the enemies of Jesus' in order to lead a campaign against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel. In the view of many historians who have meticulously evaluated the King's reign,[19] this was a mistake that cost the kingdom and the people a decade. The chronicler seems to have treated the story fairly in this chapter. He mentions that the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel defeated the King's army in their first confrontation. However, later, the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel could not resist any longer the overwhelming power of the Christian King, so they decided to resolve the conflict through negotiation and offered reconciliation. A long correspondence between ʾ*Abbā* Nəwāy, the King's representative, and Radāʾi led to the reconciliation. Interestingly, both parties agreed to do the *maḥalā* ('pledge') according to their religious tradition for reconciliation to succeed: ʾ*Abbā* Nəwāy swore with the Gospel, while Radāʾi swore with the Old Testament (ʾOrit). Eventually, he submitted to the King and was taken prisoner. The King's armies went up into the mountains and destroyed the religious centres of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel, and built their own churches. However, this did not stop resistance for long. One of Radāʾi's brothers rebelled again in 1583 but was easily crushed by the King's forces.[20]

16 Pankhurst 1987.

17 In particular, the history of the Oromo people is well documented in the royal chronicles from the sixteenth to the twentieth century (see Solomon Gebreyes 2019a, 2019b; Conti Rossini 1907a, 1907b; Pereira 1888, 1892, 1900; Guidi 1903a, 1903b; Blundell 1922; Guèbre Sellassié 1930), in addition to having an account (or accounts) of its own, most notably *Zenāhu la-gāllā* (see Getatchew Haile 2014; see also Lusini 1991–1992, Gusarova 2009).

18 Weil 2010.

19 Merid Wolde Aregay 1971, 288; Abir 1968, 167; Kaplan 1992, 86.

20 As the new edition is still under preparation, the history of the first military expedition is summarized after the text in Conti Rossini 1907a, 85–100; 1907b, 97–114.

The second expedition was conducted against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in 1586, when the then Beta ʾƎsrāʾel leader Gʷašən[21] rebelled against the King. In the campaign, the most powerful military generals of King Śarḍa Dəngəl were involved, including Yonāʾel,[22] Daharagot,[23] and others. From the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel side, though the chronicle only mentions the names of Gʷašən and Gedewon,[24] it can be understood that there were a number of patriot fighters of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel involved; they sometimes tried to escape and were persecuted in public. This second campaign was bloody and ferocious for both parties. Śarḍa Dəngəl's forces failed to withstand the climatic condition of the Səmen where the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel were based and also suffered from hunger and thirst. There are no details in the chronicle concerning the number of victims on the Christian side, but it does report that over 200 Beta ʾƎsrāʾel were killed in the battle. Furthermore, more than 60 Beta ʾƎsrāʾel were executed, while Gʷašən and his family threw themselves off the cliffs rather than surrender.

This second campaign is the more interesting in the context of this paper as it is recounted in two distinct versions. I argue that the earlier account was considered too sympathetic towards the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel and was subsequently censored by the court. In the following section, we shall take a closer look at the two versions of the same story transmitted in the Chronicle.

3. The second military expedition to Beta ʾƎsrāʾel: two versions

The eight manuscripts containing the Gəʿəz text of the chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl (in combination with other historiographical works[25]) are:

A = Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 42, eighteenth century; Śarḍa Dəngəl Chronicle (SDC) on ff. 42v–143v;[26]

B = Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 52, dated 1842; SDC ff. 89r–170v;[27]

C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Éthiopien 143 (= Éth. 147; Ḫāylu redaction), dated 1841; SDC on ff. 125v–181v (used by Conti Rossini);[28]

21 Also Gušən, Gʷišən, Gʷašan; see Weil 2005.

22 Martínez D'Alòs-Moner 2014.

23 Chernetsov 2005.

24 On Gedewon, another leader of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel, see Quirin 2005.

25 Several manuscripts contain the so-called Ḫāylu redaction, also known as Ḫāylu compilation, named after the commissioner *Daǧǧāzmāč* Ḫāylu ʾƎšate (1753–1809; on him see Kropp 1989, 165–198; Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria 1989, 189–213; Chernetsov and Red. 2005), a member of regional nobility of the eighteenth century who compiled many of the royal chronicles that were burned during the Gondarine court crisis, notably by *Rās* Səhul Mikāʾel who had no claim of Solomonic descent.

26 Cf. Abbadie 1859, 50.

27 Cf. Abbadie 1859, 63.

28 Cf. Zotenberg 1877, 216–221; see also the online description by D. Reule at <https://betamasaheft.eu/BNFet143> (last accessed 10 December 2023).

D = Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 118 (Ḫāylu redaction), dated 1842; SDC ff. 69v–106v;[29]
E = Paris, BnF, Mondon-Vidailhet 27 (= 213), nineteenth century; SDC ff. 69v–172v;[30]
F = Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 38 (=Rüpp. Ia, Ḫāylu redaction), dated 1832; SDC pp. 58a–64, 141–212a (used by Conti Rossini);[31]
L = London, British Library, Or. 821 (Ḫāylu redaction), dated 1852; SDC ff. 155v–247v;[32]
O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88 (= Codex Aethiopicus XXIX), dated between 1592–1610; SDC ff. 61r–97v (used by Conti Rossini).[33]

All these manuscripts have a similar chapter arrangement and content up to the end of chapter eight. After that, based on the chapter arrangement, they can be divided into two different groups.

One group (with two manuscripts, O and A) contains, in chapter eight, an additional section (numbered 8b in the edition),[34] where the second campaign against the Beta ʾḪsrāʾel is treated. Conti Rossini used only O for the 1907 edition of this passage,[35] in my analysis, I also use MS A (ff. 112r–123r). In these manuscripts, the following chapter nine deals with other campaigns of the King. In my edition I refer to this group as group II.

29 Cf. Abbadie 1859, 133.
30 Cf. Chaîne 1913, 15.
31 Goldschmidt 1897, 58–62, no. 16. For an online version of the manuscript description, see <https://betamasaheft.eu/FSUor38> (by D. Reule, last accessed 10 December 2023).
32 Catalogued in Wright 1877, 315–318, no. CCCXCII. For an online version of the manuscript description, see <https://betamasaheft.eu/BLorient821> (by Solomon Gebreyes Beyene, last accessed 10 December 2023).
33 Cf. Dillmann 1848, 79, no. XXIX (cp. online version by D. Reule at <https://betamasaheft.eu/BDLbruce88>, last accessed 10 December 2023). Since this collection is highly utilized for the edition of the royal chronicles, the textual tradition is well treated in various works (see Marrassini 1993; Kropp 1994a, Solomon Gebreyes 2016, 59–61 and 2019a, IX). On this manuscript cf. also Wion 2009.
34 It begins with እምድኅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ አኰቴት፡ ናተሉ፡ ጽሒፈ፡ ዜና፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምሳምን፡ አንቀጽ፡ ዘያየድእ፡ ተመውአተ፡ ረዳኢ፡ ወእሊአሁ፡ ጎያላነ፡ አይሁድ፡ ('After this praise we will continue to write the story that remains of chapter 8, which deals with the defeat of Radāʾi and his strong men of the ʾAyhud').
35 Conti Rossini 1907a, 101–112 = 1907b, 114–127 Conti Rossini was aware of the existence of MS BnF d'Abbadie 42 (A) and other manuscripts of the chronicle (see Conti Rossini 1899), but did not consider it for his edition. He may have been influenced by the tradition of using the base text approach that had been common in Ethiopian studies before the advent of the stemmatic reconstructive approach (see Bausi 2020 for a meticulous and thorough examination of the nature and evolution of text editing in Ethiopian studies) or could not access the manuscript(s). Cf. also Marrassini 2009; Bausi and Lusini 2018.

The other group (consisting of six manuscripts, namely B, E, and the four manuscripts belonging to the Ḫāylu redaction: C, D, L, and F) includes the account of the second campaign against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in chapter nine.[36] Of this group, Conti Rossini used two (C and F) for his edition,[37] both from the Ḫāylu redaction, but he overlooked that they were from the same family and published their texts in parallel apparatuses. My collation and analysis also considers the other two (better) witnesses of the Ḫāylu redaction (D, ff. 94v–98r, and L, ff. 219v–228r), and the two manuscripts, B (ff. 147r–154r) and E (ff. 139v–149r), which were not included in the Conti Rossini edition. In my edition I refer to this group as group I.

The two accounts of the second campaign (chapter nine in group I, chapter 8b in group II) share a similar chronology of narration and literary style, which indicates that the text may have originally been written by one author and then modified, or censored, by another.[38] In the following, I discuss a few passages where the two versions are clearly different.

3.1. The (*lacking*) *veneration of the Virgin Mary*

The chronicle narrates about 80 Beta ʾƎsrāʾel fighters who surrendered to the Christian leader Yonāʾel during the second campaign. They were first taken prisoners, but, following an unsuccessful escape attempt, they were recaptured and publicly executed with a sword.[39]

According to group I, Yonāʾel offered that he may let them live if the religious leader of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel agreed to plea for their lives on behalf of the Virgin Mary, but the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel prophet preferred to die.[40]

36 The six manuscripts also share several conjunctive errors, suggesting they come from the same subarchetype, in contrast to MSS O and A, which belong to a different subarchetype.

37 Conti Rossini 1907a, 142–171 (ch. 9), esp. 143–158 (the part relevant for this discussion).

38 Censorship may be directly related to the history of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel as well as other factors. I am not going to spend time on discussing other possible factors. In his detailed article Kropp 1999, 93–98; Kropp 2001, 268–270 discusses such additional motives of censorship as one of the strongest focuses on the role of the King. The other characters are rather degraded. In this case, however, I believe the primary motivation was to downscale the presentation of the history of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel.

39 The account here follows the Gəʿəz text provided in the previous edition of the chronicle (group II: Conti Rossini 1907a, 105–106 = 1907b, 119–120; group I: Conti Rossini 1907a, 147–148 = 1907b, 166–167).

40 The Beta ʾƎsrāʾel practised a form of Judaism and therefore had no veneration of the Virgin Mary.

ወለነቢየ፡ ሐሰትሰ፡ ዘተድኅረ፡ ሞቱ፡ ይቤሎ፡ እመ፡ ትፈቱ፡ ሐይወ፡ በእንተ፡ ማርያም፡ መሐረኒ፡ ብሂለከ፡ ሰአል፡ ወእመአኮሰ፡ ሰይፍ፡ ቅድሜከ፡ ወይቤ፡ አኮኑ፡ ኅሩም፡ ዘከሮተ፡ ስማ፡ ለማርያም፡ አፉነ፡ እመኒ፡ ሞትኩ፡ ሠናይ፡ ሊተ፡ እስመ፡ እትገኃሥ፡ እምሀገረ፡ ሐሰት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወእምጽልመት፡ ውስተ፡ ብርሃን፡ አፍጥን፡ ቀቲሎትየ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ዮናኤል፡ እመሰ፡ ኅረይከ፡ ሞተ፡ እምሕይወት፡ አሠኒ፡ ሞተከ፡ ወአጽንን፡ ርእሰከ፡ ወአጽነነ፡ ክሣዶ፡ ወዘበጦ፡ በሰይፉ፡ ወበአሐቲ፡ ጊዜ፡ መተሮ፡ ወበተከ፡ ፪አብራኪሁ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኵሎ፡ ኃሊፎ፡ ቦአ፡ ልሳነ፡ ሰይፉ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ መጠነ፡ እራኃ፡ እድ፡ ወተሰብረ፡ ዘቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ወእለ፡ ርእዩ፡ አንከሩ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሰያፊ፡ ወጥብአተ፡ አይሁዳዊ፡ እስከ፡ ለሞት፡ እንዘ፡ ያስተአኪ፡ ምድራዌ፡ ወያስተሣኒ፡ ሰማያዌ፡ ዘከመዝሰ፡ መዊት፡ ሠናይ፡ ለመሢሓውያን፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ዘአምነኒ፡ በቅድመ፡ ሰብእ፡ አነኒ፡ አአምኖ፡ በገጸ፡ አቡየ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ ለዝንቱሰ፡ ሞቱ፡ ከንቱ፡ እስመ፡ ሲኦል፡ ትተልዎ፡[41]

To a prostrated prophet of falsehood whom he had set aside to kill him last, he said, ‘If you want to live, you must beg me by invoking the name of Mary, otherwise the sword is before you’. And he said: ‘Is it not forbidden that our mouth mentions the name of Mary? If I die, it will be good for me because I will leave the land of lies for the land of truth, the darkness for the light. Hence, be in a hurry to kill me’. Yonāʾel said to him, ‘Since you have chosen to die rather than to live, I will beautify your death. Bend your head,’ and he (the prophet) bent his neck and (Yonāʾel) struck with his sword. In one moment he (Yonāʾel) cut off his (prophet’s) head and broke both his knees, the point of the sword going through his neck and knees, sank into the ground as deep as a palm, and the part that penetrated the ground broke. Those who watched were amazed at the strength of the executioner and the courage of the Jew who went to his death, despising the things of this world and adorning himself with the things of heaven. Such a death would have been nice to the Christians, as Our Lord said: ‘Who has recognized me in public (before the people), I will recognize him in front of my Father, who is in heaven’ (Lk 12:8). But to this man, his death was in vain, because the Sheol will follow him.

The text clearly reveals how the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel were devoted to their religion, as their prophet (whose name is never mentioned, even if it was most probably known at that time), even with a sword at his neck, chose to die rather than invoke the name of Mary. In the following, the chronicler expressed his appreciation of the devotion of the prophet to his religion, but he added that this was of no value after the introduction of Christianity.[42]

This passage is completely absent in group II, which reports only the part of the text where fleeing Beta ʾƎsrāʾel soldiers were persecuted in public.[43] I believe that it was carefully and deliberately censored out in the second version.

At the same time, the redaction of group II includes an account of a Miracle which the Virgin Mary performed for the King.[44] The victory over Gʷašən

41 Conti Rossini 1907a, 148–149, translated as Conti Rossini 1907b, 168. As mentioned above, Conti Rossini used only MSS C and F (both belonging to the same Haylu family). This reading is also supported by MSS B (f. 150r), L (f. 223r), E (f. 142v); D (f. 96r).

42 Conti Rossini 1907a, 149 = 1907b, 168.

43 Conti Rossini 1907a, 105–106 (MS A, f. 118).

44 On the Ethiopic tradition of the Miracles of Mary, see Budge 1933.

is directly attributed to the intercession of the Virgin. The author believes that the victory took place on 21 Ṭərr, the day on which the death of Mary is commemorated. The miracle begins with the *incipit*:

በዝየ፡ ንጽሕፍ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግእዝትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ጉበራ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል፡ ወምስሌነሂ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን…[45]

Hear we will write miracles of our Lady Mary the Holy virgin; May her prayer and her blessing be with Her servant Śarḍa Dəngəl our King and with us also forever and ever Amen…

This version thus removes all the passages that undermine Mary's image and instead promotes her powers. This seems to be in direct response to the first author who had only described the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel stance on Mary.

3.2. The depiction of the virtues of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel leaders

The two versions differ considerably in representing the patriotism of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel leaders. For example, the chronicle narrates that, when the Christian troops ascended Gʷašən's stronghold, Mt Warq ʾAmbā, the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel army had to retreat. Finally, Gʷašən threw himself off the cliff, followed by his wife and daughters and the other members of the community. According to the narrative in group I, the death was a deliberate choice of martyrdom:

ወእምዝ፡ መከረ፡ ኀጕለ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወነፍሱ፡ እምእትጋነይ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወይግሥሠኒ፡ እደ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ይኄይሰኒ፡ ሞት፡ ወዘንተ፡ መከረ፡ ወሖረ፡ ምሥለ፡ አዝማዲሁ፡ ኀበ፡ አፈ፡ ጸድፍ፡ ወወድቁ፡ በጥቃ፡ ከተማሁ፡[4]

Then he thought of losing his body and soul: 'Rather than surrendering myself to the King and (falling into) the hands of the Christians, it is better for me to die'. And then after, he decided and went to the banks of the precipice with his relatives; they fell down near the camp (of Bəlen).

Yet, according to the text in group II, the death was not a martyrdom. On the contrary, this version underlines the fear of Gʷašən. It seems that the text had to be edited as the court officials did not want to attribute any dignity to the adversary.

ጕሸንኒ፡ አምብዝኃ፡ ፍርሃቱ፡ ወድንጋፄሁ፡ ተወርወ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀድፍ፡ ምስለ፡ እሊአሁ፡ ዘየአክሉ፡ መጠነ፡ ፷አው፡ መጠነ፡ ፸ወተነጽሑቶሙሰ፡ ኮነ፡ መንገለ፡ ተዓየኑ፡ ብሌን፡ ወእሊሁ።[47]

Gʷašən, because of his great fear and terror, threw himself over a precipice with his companions, who were about fifty or sixty in number, and they fell near to where Bəlen and his men were camped.

45 Conti Rossini 1907a, 109–110; MS A, ff. 121v–122r.
46 Conti Rossini 1907a; 152, MS B, f. 151v; MS L, f. 224v–225r; MS E, f. 142v; MS D, f. 96r.
47 Conti Rossini 1907a, 107; MS A, f. 120r.

A similar difference can be detected in the interpretation of the flight of another leader, Gedewon. According to group I, he too acted with dignity and bravery, calling for martyrdom rather than surrender:

> ወዓዲ፡ ንጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ አምስጦቱ፡ ለጌዴዎን፡ እሞተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ወሶበ፡ ፀድፉ፡ ጐሽን፡ ወእሊዓሁ፡ ወበለፈ፡ ጐየ፡ ጌዴዎን፡ በፍኖት፡ ርቱዕ፡ […] ወጌዴዎንሰ፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ ስምዑኒ፡ ናሁ፡ ሀሎነ፡ ተሐቂፈነ፡ በአስይፍት፡ ወኩያኒሁ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ይጌይሰነ፡ መዊት፡ እምተጸውዎ፡ ኢስማዕከሙኒ፡ ዘይቤሉ፡ አበዊነ፡ እመ፡ አንቶሙ፡ ጢጦስ፡ ወልደ፡ አስባስያኖስ፡ ይጌይስ፡ መዊት፡ በክብር፡ እምሐይው፡ በኃሣር፡[48]
>
> We are still going to write how Gedewon saved himself from death on that day. When G^{w}ašan (sic!) and his people rushed down, Gedewon fled by a good path […] Gedewon said to his men, 'Listen to me! Behold, we are surrounded by swords and spears. It is better to die than to be captured. Have you not heard what our fathers said when Titus, son of Vespasian, surrounded them? It is better to die with honour than to live with humiliation'.

According to group II, Gedewon retreated with high fear and terror to the extent that he did not know where he was going:

> ወበካልእ፡ ፍኖት፡ ዘአስተሣነይዎ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕርጉ፡ ቦቱ፡ አንስት፡ ወደቅ፡ ወረደ፡ ጌዴዎን፡ እምአምባ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጐይይ፡ ከዊኖ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ልበ።[49]
>
> Gedewon fled like a mad man who knew not where he was going, went down by another track that had been prepared for the ascent of women and children.

Another example of the fundamental difference in the stance of the two versions is the following account. The confrontation between the King's troops and the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel was very tough, and both parties were exhausted during the fight to control Mount Šəkanā. In particular, the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel faced a problem with food and water. According to group I, the King and his soldiers, having spent many days in this area, equally suffered with nothing to eat or drink. So, rather than dying of thirst and hunger, the soldiers decided to launch an attack which was successful.[50] Group II does not mention any difficulties faced by the King's soldiers: on the contrary, it claims that the Christian troops controlled the water spring at the foot of Šəkanā thus forcing the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel to surrender.[51] Again, the second version takes the effort to glorify only the Christian King and to belittle the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel.

The apparently favourable representation of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in the first version attracted early scholars mostly interested in Jewish history. Thus, already prior to the edition by Conti Rossini, Joseph Halévy offered a partial edition, where he only transcribed the Gəʿəz text of the portion dedicated

48 Conti Rossini 1907a, 153–154; MS B, f. 152r; MS L, f. 224v; MS E, f. 146r; MS D, f. 97r.

49 Conti Rossini 1907a, 107–108; MS A, f. 120r.

50 Conti Rossini 1907a, 145 = 1907b, 165–166.

51 Conti Rossini 1907a, 104–105 = 1907b, 119.

to the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel and translated it into French and Hebrew, based on two manuscripts containing this version only.[52] He noted how the heroism of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel was highlighted: they showed admirable courage, despite their small numbers and the primitive state of their weaponry in the face of a vast army equipped with rifles and cannons.[53] He saw the chronicler as too 'impassive'[54] (he was not aware of the existence of the more pejorative version of the account). Bertrand Hirsch,[55] who reevaluated the passage and Halévy's translation, noted that there are *topoi* in the text by the chronicler that may have been inspired by the *History of the Jews* (*Yōsippōn*) by Flavius Josephus, which had been widely known in Ethiopia as the *Zenā ʾAyhud*.[56] He observed that the depiction of the Christian troops can be paralleled to the representation of the Romans in the *Yōsippōn*, and the account of the capture of ʾAmbā, on which the two Beta ʾƎsrāʾel chiefs Gʷašən and Gedewon had entrenched themselves, can be paralleled to the campaign against the fortress of Masada (as already suggested in the commentary by Halévy).[57] Incidentally, the latter episode is also described in chapter 8 of the *Yōsippōn*; the similarity in the chapter arrangement however could well be a coincidence.

While the chronicler was clearly an eyewitness who joined the King armies, and his account provides us with first-hand account, including place and person names, the military organization on both sides, and other factual information, it cannot be excluded that he may have been inspired by existing models in arranging his account. Ethiopian chroniclers, for the facts they report, traditionally use literary devices from Christian literature and also compare events in the real world with biblical figures or any other written historical text. This does not mean, however, that the veracity of his account had been influenced by the model he used. While the chronicler was well familiar with the text of the *Zenā ʾAyhud*, which he does quote on several occasions,[58] there are no clearly parallel readings between the *Zenā ʾAyhud* and the passages discussed here. Importantly, though the chronicler portrays

52 Halévy 1905, 1906 (repr. 1907), with remarks in Halévy 1906, 155–163.
53 See Halévy 1906, 162 (= 1907, 80).
54 Halévy 1906, 162.
55 Hirsch 2000, 374–376.
56 It was originally written in Hebrew in 953 CE and translated into Arabic in the eleventh century. The translation from Arabic into Gəʿəz was produced in the fourteenth century. See Witakowski 2014; Aešcoly 1937.
57 Halévy 1906, 163; Hirsch 2000, 374.
58 E.g. the passage 'Listen to me! Behold, we are surrounded by swords and spears. It is better to die than to be captured. Have you not heard what our fathers said when Titus, son of Vespasian, surrounded them? It is better to die with honour than to live with humiliation' is a direct reference to the *Zenā ʾAyhud*, the history of the Jewish resistance against the Romans under Titus, cf. Murad Kamil 1938, 284–289.

the religious devotion of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel realistically and appreciates it from their point of view, he harshly condemns their religion as worthless, favouring Christianity. This is evident from the fact that he admired the heroism of the Gedewon's wives and sister, when they threw themselves into the precipice, but he also commented that 'This death was for them the first death, that of the flesh; their second death will be the spiritual death, which is hellfire'.[59] This seems to make the account balanced from the historical perspective, far from any bias in favour of the Jews. I consider therefore that the account of the chronicler is genuine and not modelled after the *Zenāʾ ʾAyhud*—or after any other pre-existing text at that point (for example, the chronicler does mention the *Tārika Walda ʿAmid*, 'The History of Walda ʿAmid', i.e. the *Universal History* by Ǧirǧis al-Makīn,[60] which he used as a model to shorten the history of the King, but he did not use it to alter his own account).

4. Censorship: how and when it happened

As we have seen, there are two distinct redactions of the story of the second campaign of King Śarḍa Dəngəl against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel. This fact gives rise to a series of questions. In particular, which was the first version to be written down? Were the two versions written by the same author or by two or more different authors? Was the second version the result of an independent writing or of an editorial process?

The question of the authorship has been raised by several scholars. Marius Saineano, the first European scholar to conduct an analysis of the chronicle, relied only on MS C and concluded that the chronicle may have been written by two or more authors.[61] Carlo Conti Rossini, who was aware of the existence of the two versions, proposed that the chronicle as a whole was written by one author,[62] but in his introduction he provided no explanation as to how the two versions emerged. Finally, Manfred Kropp,[63] closely examined the textual tradition and the authorship problem of the chronicle as well as the existence of the two versions. His analysis supports Conti Rossini's view that the chronicle was written by a single author and suggests that the second version emerged as the result of a later censorship.

My analysis of the chronicle corroborates Kropp's conclusions. I claim that the original redaction was the one transmitted by the manuscripts of group I, and that later the text had to be censored, to achieve a more advantageous

59 Conti Rossini 1907a, 153 = 1907b, 171.
60 Conti Rossini 1907a, 80 = 1907b, 92.
61 Saineano 1892, 10–17.
62 Conti Rossini 1907b, 2.
63 Kropp 1999 (German version); Kropp 2001 (French version).

presentation of the Christian King and the less compassionate representation of his antagonists. As a result, the redaction transmitted in manuscripts of group II emerged. I further believe to be able to demonstrate that there was only one author of the chronicle, even if his name is not known to us.[64] As for the censorship, Kropp proposed the following reasons behind it: exaltation of the King's role, defense of the King, accuracy of dates, embellishment of the literary style, proportional lowering of Prince Yonāʾel, and total suppression of the memory of a certain Malka Ṣedeq.[65] While I am not arguing against these motives, I suggest that, at least in the case of the episode discussed, the main reason was that of the compliance with the religious ideology of the court.

As court tradition dictated, the chronicle had to be read aloud in public, especially during the rainy season, when the court was not on campaign and preferred to settle down in camp, mainly during the banquet.[66] The chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl is a testament to this ritual. As the chronicle is written piece by piece, it seems that the chronicler gets to write only something important that had been achieved at court or when the King had won a victory.[67] Once

64 This is additionally supported by indications provided by the author at the end of chapters seven (see Conti Rossini 1907a, 80–81 = 1907b, 92), eight (the first part similar to all manuscripts, see Conti Rossini 1907a, 101= 1907b, 115) and nine (see for group I Conti Rossini 1907a, 142 = 1907b, 162; group II, Conti Rossini 1907a, 113 = 1907b, 128). The subject of the authorship will be treated in depth in the introduction to the forthcoming new edition of the chronicle.

65 Kropp 2001, 267–270 illustrated these points with examples of passages in which the two groups of manuscripts show concrete divergence. Kropp noted that in the second version, the episode of the false prophet is missing, and the military success of Yonāʾel is replaced by the role of the Virgin Mary. But he does not account for the false prophet undermining Mary (see § 3), for which the miracle of Mary is included in the second version.

66 Guidi 1961a, 306 = 1961b, 328. Kropp has also dealt with the tradition in his exhaustive work, see Kropp 2001, 266–267; see also Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2019c. For example, this tradition is well documented in the chronicle of King Bakāffā. Bakāffā dictated the chronicler, Sinodā, reporting, 'Bring the book of history that you have written down to this day, and read it before people, so that those who have not heard can hear. But we saw it at Aringo. Then Sinodā did it, as he commanded him and he read it before the nobilities and princess. And he (the King) also ordered to add it to the history of the kings, his fathers, ʾAʾlāf Sagad and ʾAdyām Sagad' (Guidi 1961a, 306).

67 See Conti Rossini 1907a, 81 = 1907b, 92. At the end of chapter seven, the chronicler leaves a very long concluding note in which he makes three points for his audience. First, he has written the story of the 'good deeds of this king' based on what he has seen and heard and what he has understood. Second, he abridges the King's history: he has written only a small part of the King's history to avoid in-

the chapter was finished, it is assumed that the chronicler was expected to present it for reading to the King and dignitaries. He was not writing only to be read, but also to be heard immediately, among the court people. This is evident in certain chapters of the chronicle, where we find a final statement by the chronicler, which he used to address the public. At the end of chapter eight, for example, the chronicler declares 'I am a poor fellow, I wrote down what I had seen and heard',[68] to emphasize that what is written is not of his own creation or untrue. He also apologizes with the audience in case he has made a mistake.The chronicler had his chronicle read in front of the court, part by part, in order to entertain the King and the court, but also to verify his information with other witnesses.[69] If there were passages that displeased the King or the court, he would be forced to revise them, and here we have just another illustration of this practice.[70] Such sort of censorship of chronicles was not uncommon.

The account of the first campaign against the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel exists only in one version; possibly, the interpretation of the chronicler did not antagonize the court in that case. Yet, the description of the more dramatic 1586 campaign exists in two versions. It is possible that that the royal chronicler tried to first write down what he had seen. Since the second campaign was marked by fierce fighting, it was not as easy for the Christian King to crush the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel forces, and the chronicler mentioned the challenges faced by the Christian troops. He also gave credit to the virtues of political and religious leaders of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel who died for their faith and identity. As

convenience to the idle. Thirdly, he hopes to add more stories when his King has achieved a victory. He concludes with an apologetic message to the readers.

68 See Conti Rossini 1907a, 101 = 1907b, 115.

69 Indeed, it was not easy for the chronicler to see and face the fierce eyes of the King and royal dignitaries above him if he wrote something that displeased them. Above him there were at least fourteen offices such as *ʾazzāž* to which he belongs and the high offices of *bəḥtwaddad*, and *ʿaqqābe saʿat* next to the *nəguś* (see Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 2019c, 148). Thus, the poor chronicler would have been very attentive to the interests and desires of these court officials and military generals. Indeed, he was free to say what he liked to the King's enemies, on the contrary. All these are factors that influence the presentation of the chronicler. It would be a safe side for the chronicler top show much devotion to the deeds of the King, who is above the whole office.

70 It was already documented in the sixteenth century that there was an established tradition of censorship of chronicles (e.g. for the case of the Chronicle of King Zarʾa Yāʿqob, see Derat 2013). There was also an incident of censorship of the chronicle of Iyasu II (1730–1755) by *Rās* Mikāʾel Səhul after the latter had become king-maker at the Gondarine court, editing the details unfavourable for his role during the early years (see Kropp 1994b).

the Christian kingdom saw itself as the saviour of Christianity, it was unlikely for them to accept the historical text describing the devotion and dedication of fervent believers, which prompted doubts about Mary's position as one of the most prominent figures in Orthodox Christianity. As a rule, royal historiography tends to favour Christianity and downplay other religions. Yet, the redaction of group I contains several points that fall outside the framework of Christian teaching (the chronicler at least seemed to appreciate the devout Beta ʾƎsrāʾel martyrs), which is unusual in court historiography. It is therefore possible that when the chronicler read his report out before the court, possibly during a banquet, this may have displeased the dignitaries and perhaps the religious figures.

The points in the redaction in group I that could have displeased the court and clerics—namely something that could undermine St Mary's position or acknowledge the dignity of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel—are not present in group II. For this reason, it seems safe to assume that the version of group I is the earlier one. Viewed from the perspective of historiography, it can be seen as an attempt to see the drawbacks fairly, but had to be replaced by a version in group II.

The version in group I clearly existed prior to 1622, as it was used by Pedro Páez, the Jesuit missionary who had travelled to Ethiopia in 1603, in his *História da Etiópia* ('History of Ethiopia'), accomplished in 1622, making the year a *terminus ante quem* for the recension.[71]

As the manuscript evidence shows, however, both redactions continued to be copied; the censored recension did not completely suppress the uncensored one. Moreover, when in the eighteenth century *Daǧǧāzmāč* Ḫāylu was looking for the *Vorlage* for his authoritative compilation of royal chronicles, it was the first redaction that he chose.

5. Conclusion

The story of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel in the sixteenth century seems to have been a point of contention in the royal court of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, as illustrated by the chronicle of Śarḍa Dəngəl.

71 Páez (see Boavida et al. 2011, 88–92) was very precise when he summarized the entire text of the chronicle. After comparing his text with that transmitted by the available manuscripts, I am convinced that he read the entire chronicle chapter by chapter. Basically, his rendering contains all historical facts, leaving out only the scriptural quotations, that is the literary elements that the chronicler used to embellish his writing. Some of the passages are closely translated, for example the speech of Śarḍa Dəngəl. The content and the layout of chapter 9 suggest that he used a manuscript of the Ḫaylu family, possibly MS B or E.

While editing the text, I originally thought that I would be able to treat the variant readings as variants of one text, establishing one single critical text, with one main (true) reading and the variant in an apparatus. Yet, factual discrepancies and alternations for political reasons could not be resolved by a critical edition. These are two distinct redactions and it is impossible to drop one of the two texts. Therefore, I will be editing both texts in parallel, each with its own apparatus.

As we have seen, group I contains the version depicting Beta ʾƎsrāʾel leaders as valorous fighters devoted to their religion and identity, whereas group II shows them as cowards fighters who trembled before the power of the King and died ingloriously. In the future, historians will have to carefully examine, compare and contrast the accounts of travellers and relevant oral traditions of Beta ʾƎsrāʾel that relate to the facts in one of the two versions. Possibly some other sources may come about to be able to provide a final answer to the question, which representation is more historically accurate.

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The Collector's Heir: Käthe Rehfeld (Previously Grote, Née Hahn)

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In 1922, Käthe Rehfeld (previously Grote, née Hahn) inherited from her deceased husband Friedrich Grote (1861–1922) what was one of the largest and most impressive private collections of Eastern Christian manuscripts. Particularly outstanding about this collection was the fact that most, if not all, of it derived from the library of Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, Egypt. Grote was one of the main people responsible for the dislocation of manuscripts from this unique archive. The dispersion of Sinaitic manuscripts was continued by Rehfeld (then Grote-Hahn) after the collector's death. His heir, however, appears to have had no interest in his collectibles whatsoever, apart from their monetary value. This affected the biographies (object lives) of a great number of Sinaitic manuscripts that we now find in European public and private collections. Next to nothing has so far been published about Rehfeld's life and the way she handled the Grote collection. The aim of this paper is to provide some basic biographical information on Käthe Rehfeld and describe the way in which she influenced the fate of the collection after Grote's death. This research is based to a large extent on archival sources. It shows how in looking for potential buyers Rehfeld made use of academic and institutional networks established by Grote. Most importantly, it contributes to the largely unexplored provenance history of Sinaitic manuscripts in European collections.

The aim of this communication is to provide some basic biographical information on Käthe Rehfeld, née Hahn, widowed Grote. Rehfeld was the second wife of the collector Friedrich Heinrich Ludwig Grote (1861–1922), who had assembled a huge collection of Eastern Christian manuscripts and manuscript fragments in various languages.[1] Notably, most or all of the so-called Grote collection consisted of dislocated items from the library of Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, Egypt; Grote had access to the library for several months in 1892 and 1893. The Grote collection as such seems to have formed around the turn of the century, and was dispersed after his death. Through the mediation of antiquaries, Grote's manuscripts reached many private collectors and collecting institutions, and today, the former Grote collection is scattered across over a dozen collections of the Global North (Europe and North America). It is important to note that Grote started dealing in Sinaitic manuscripts in his later years, and among his buyers were well-known (as well as some lesser-known) Oriental scholars, such as Agnes Smith Lewis (1843–1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843–1920), Paul Kahle (1875–1965), or Carl August Reinhardt (1856–1903): this means that not all manuscripts whose

1 See Tarras 2020; Tarras 2024; Tarras forthcoming.

provenance history is connected to Grote derive from the dispersal of his collection after his death.

Käthe Rehfeld, who appears in the literature on the Grote collection mostly as Käthe Grote-Hahn, was responsible for this dispersion of the collection. She was a collector's heir rather than a collector like her husband. She appears to have had no interest whatsoever in Grote's collectibles, apart from their monetary value. This stance towards the collection turned out to be decisive for the biography (object life) of a great number of Sinaitic manuscripts that we now find in European public and private collections. In the following, I shall first summarise Käthe Rehfeld's biography and then describe the ways in which she influenced the fate of the collection after the collector's death.[2]

Biography

Käthe Rehfeld was born as Emmy Marie Käthe Hahn on 28 June 1894 in Schwedt/Oder, Prussia.[3] Her mother was Marie Hahn, née Dietrich (d. between 1919 and 1922). Her father, Theodor Hahn jun. (d. 1916), owned a soap factory in Schwedt and also ran a colonial goods store.[4] The building that housed the main business premises was completed in 1893 and is now one of the city's monuments (corner of Monplaisirstrasse and Chausseestraße, today Bahnhofstraße at Vierradener Platz).[5] In 1889, the family crest, a rooster (German 'Hahn') above a bar of soap, was attached to it, and is still there today.[6]

2 The following is a more detailed presentation of information I also provide in Tarras 2024; 2023. This information derives from the following archival sources (abbreviation in parentheses): Stadtarchiv Bad Tölz (B), Evangelischer Zentralfriedhof Regensburg (EZ), Archiv der Universität Greifswald (G), Stadtarchiv Bad Homburg vor der Höhe (H), Stadtarchiv Leutkirch/Allgäu (L), Stadtarchiv Regensburg (R), Stadtarchiv Schwedt/Oder (S). I would like to thank the following archivists for their help: Martin Baumer, Folker Förtsch, Barbara Günther, Nicole Holm, Sebastian Lindmeyr, Andreas Mengel, Susanne Rieck, Marianne Schumann, Ulrich Seemüller, and Nicola Siegloch.

3 B, Register of deaths, no. 178; H, resident's registration card; L, family register, vol. VII, 304; R, family group sheet; S, register of births, no. 171.

4 L, family register, vol. VII, 304; R, family group sheet; S, Register of births, no. 171. Stadt Schwedt/Oder 2012, 96.

5 Stadt Schwedt/Oder 2012, 96.

6 Borriß 1935, 19. Images of the building and the crest can be viewed on the city's homepage, <https://www.schwedt.eu/de/land_bb_boa_01.c.166040.de/> (accessed 8 March 2023).

The family moved to Berlin, probably in 1912, and Theodor Hahn died in 1916.[7] He had the rank of a military officer ('Offizier' or 'Hauptmann') and probably fought in World War I.[8] Rehfeld first attended the local secondary school (Lyzeum) of Schwedt and then two girls' schools in Berlin (Viktoria Luisenschule, Wilmersdorf; Dörstlingersche Höhere Mädchenschule, Schöneberg).[9] In 1918, however, she did not take her Abitur (higher education entrance qualification) in Berlin, but at the Realgymnasium in Ulm, Württemberg;[10] she was perhaps staying there with relatives at the time, with the final exams very likely having been delayed due to the war. In any event, it was in Ulm where she met her future husband Friedrich Grote, who was 33 years her senior.[11] He seems to have prepared her privately for her exams.[12]

The couple married around Christmas 1918 (on 21 or 23 December) in Berlin-Wilmersdorf.[13] Käthe officially took Grote's name, but both corresponded under the double name Grote-Hahn. In early 1919, the Grotes moved to Leutkirch, Württemberg, where they had an apartment in Bahnhofstraße 417 (today Poststraße 30).[14] Grote worked for a short period as a teacher ('Oberlehrer') at the local Reformschule, which was founded in 1917 by the archaeologist, writer, and pedagogue Gustav Adolf Müller (1866–1928).[15]

7 R, family group sheet. Theodor Hahn's building in Schwedt was bought by the Märkische Reisstärkefabrik GmbH in 1912; again, see <https://www.schwedt.eu/de/land_bb_boa_01.c.166040.de/>. Hence, it appears likely that the family left the city around that time.

8 R, family group sheet. Grote-Hahn 1930, curriculum vitae [n. p.].

9 Grote-Hahn 1930, curriculum vitae [n. p.].

10 G, Martikel Sommersemester 1928; see also Grote-Hahn 1930, curriculum vitae [n. p.].

11 L, resident's registration sheet. No archival records related to Grote are held by the municipal archive of Ulm. The register of residents was completely destroyed in the air raid of 17 December 1944. Ulrich Seemüller, deputy head of the archive, informed me on 20 December 2022 that there is no entry for Grote in the address books from 1919 to 1921. There is also no entry in the civil family register. Klaus-Hinrich Stumpff, Friedrich Grote's grandnephew and biographer of Grote's father Ludwig Grote (1825–1887), communicated on 10 January 2020 the following personal information: 'Later he [Grote] lived in Berlin for a longer period where he married his second wife Käthe Hahn, his former student' ('Später lebte er [Grote] längere Zeit in Berlin, wo er seine zweite Frau Käthe Hahn ehelichte, seine frühere Schülerin').

12 See Grote-Hahn 1930, curriculum vitae [n.p.].

13 L, family register, vol. VII, 304; R, Familienbogen. See also Stumpff 2018, [600].

14 L, resident's registration sheet.

15 L, family register, vol. VII, 304. Georg Graf calls Grote 'Oberschullehrer' in a letter to Emil Gratzl from 25 July 1919 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 3). I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Dr. Hubert Kaufhold

For reasons of space the school was moved to Crailsheim in early 1919, and Grote's employment ended then.[16] It was possibly for this reason that he started selling more manuscripts. For instance, one Arabic codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1065) was acquired from Grote on 22 June 1919 by the Bavarian State Library for 500 marks.[17] However, he also seems to have used close friends and relatives as intermediaries for his sales. On 16 December 1920, the British Museum acquired an Arabic manuscript (London, British Library, Oriental 8681) from a certain Oskar Volk who, as it turns out, ran the local cinema in Leutkirch,[18] and was a book printer by trade.[19] Like Müller, he certainly belonged to the circle of acquaintances of the Grotes in Leutkirch.

In Leutkirch, Rehfeld gave birth to her only child, Heinz Friedrich Ludwig Theodor, on 2 July 1920.[20] Tragically, like Grote's first child from his first marriage (Henriette, born 5 November 1900, died 5 June 1902),[21] the boy died at the age of two, on 10 July 1922. At that time, Grote's registered place of residence was Regensburg, Bavaria,[22] but his resident's registration card records that the rest of the family still resided in Leutkirch. As his job title he gives 'Privatbeamter', which was a common term for commercial employees.[23] It is probably no coincidence that his death, which occurred on 15 August 1922, was reported by the pharmacist and publisher Johannes Sonntag (1863–1945).[24] Sonntag's pharmacy (Engelapotheke) was on Regensburg's Neupfarrplatz (E 29) in the immediate vicinity of Grote's apartment (Neup-

who supported me by transcribing some of Graf's letters among Gratzl's papers. In a personal communication on 10 January 2020, Klaus-Hinrich Stumpff told me: 'Later he [Grote] was deputy principal at the Gymnasium in Leutkirch' ('Später war er [Grote] stellvertretender Direktor am Gymnasium in Leutkirch'). On Gustav Adolf Müller, see Dennert 2012; Förtsch 2009.

16 Förtsch 2009, 45–46. L, resident's registration sheet.

17 Sobieroj 2007, 10; Tarras 2020, 75, n. 3; Tarras forthcoming.

18 See Cottrell 2020, 346, n. 68; Siegloch 2021.

19 Volk does not seem to have owned a printing press, but rather worked with various local printers. He had moved to Leutkirch in 1914 and finally left the city in 1922. Interestingly, his registration card records Geneva as his last place of residence. Grote's family had lived in Geneva until 1884 and he retained contacts in Switzerland until the end of his life. Unfortunately, Volk's birthdate is not recorded. But it cannot be ruled out that Grote knew Volk previously, and that the latter, in some way or other, actually occasioned the Grotes to move to Leutkirch.

20 L, family register, vol. VII, 304; R, family group sheet.

21 R, family group sheet.

22 R, resident's registration card.

23 R, resident's registration card.

24 R, Register of deaths, no. 707.

farrplatz 12)—although Grote died in a tram car near Kasernplatz 1[25]—and Grote may have been intending to work in the new factory for homeopathic medicines (ISO-Werk KG) that Sonntag was about to open.[26] In any event, Rehfeld never moved to Regensburg. Her deceased husband was buried on 18 August 1922 at the Protestant Central Cemetery in Regensburg.[27] The tomb or burial site (grave no. XVIII) no longer exists today.[28]

Rehfeld was registered in Leutkirch until 1924.[29] However, she had moved back to Berlin at the latest in 1923.[30] At the University of Berlin she began studying political sciences ('Staatswissenschaft').[31] From 1928 until 1930, she continued her studies at the University of Greifswald. During that time she lived in close vicinity to the university (Karlsplatz 8, renamed Karl-Marx-Platz in 1946).[32] In 1930, she graduated from the University of Greifswald with a doctorate in political sciences.[33] When the National Socialists came to power, Rehfeld was apparently an open supporter of the regime. From April 1934 onwards, she was the second secretary of *Die Deutsche Frau* (from 1935, *Die deutsche Landfrau*), a publication of the Ring Nationaler Frauen, a group close to the National Socialist Party.[34] During World War II, Rehfeld lived in Berlin-Wilmersdorf (Hildegardstraße 14/II). Georg Graf (1875–1955) reports that when Russian forces occupied Berlin in 1945, parts of the Grote collection were destroyed or taken away.[35]

In 1948, Rehfeld moved to Bad Homburg vor der Höhe in Hesse, part of the American occupation zone.[36] She had taken the remainder of the collection with her, which was finally sold in 1953 or 1954 (see below). In 1962, Käthe married her second husband, the engineer Walter (Hans August Karl Friedrich Berthold) Rehfeld (born 9 November 1881 in Osterdorf-Jägerhof,

25 R, Register of deaths, no. 707. Huhle-Kreutzer 1989, 331–332; Blessing 2010, 40–42.
26 Sonntag 1948.
27 EZ, death register, 1922, no. 41.
28 Personal communication of Martin Baumer, 5 December 2022.
29 L, resident's registration card.
30 For example, there is a letter of hers dispatched from Berlin on 6 March 1923, which is quoted in Fedeli 2019, 239, n. 55. See also Grote-Hahn 1923, 423, which is signed 'Käthe Grote-Hahn Wilmersdorf'; Bees 1924, 45.
31 Grote-Hahn 1930, curriculum vitae [n.p.].
32 Amtliche Verzeichnisse der Studierenden der Preussischen Universität zu Greifswald, Sommersemester 1928–Wintersemester 1929/30, <https://www.digitale-bibliothek-mv.de/viewer/toc/PPN770030130/1/> (accessed 9 May 2023).
33 Grote-Hahn 1930.
34 Streubel 2006, 172.
35 Graf 1954, 125.
36 H, resident's registration card.

Mecklenburg, died 30 July 1974 in Bad Homburg).[37] After his death in 1974, she stayed for a short time in the spa town of Bad Tölz, Bavaria, probably for health reasons, and died in the local hospital on 12 May 1975.[38]

The Grote Collection

At Grote's death in 1922, Käthe Rehfeld (then Grote-Hahn) inherited what was one of the largest and most impressive private collections of Eastern Christian manuscripts, consisting at that point of hundreds of fragments and some more or less complete codices. One of the very first offers to sell items was made to Cambridge University's Westminster College only half a year after the collector had died. An extract from the written communication was published by Alba Fedeli.[39] It clearly shows that Rehfeld was well informed about at least some of the fragments of Sinaitic manuscripts and their respective parent codices, which Grote had sold to other collectors earlier on, and in my view, this suggests that he consciously bequeathed her his collection as a financial reserve. It is also notable that Rehfeld more than once turned to buyers who already owned Grote manuscripts—she appears to have been using the academic and institutional networks established by her deceased husband.

The collector's widow granted access to the collection from the 1920s through the 1950s. One of the first to see the collection in Berlin-Wilmersdorf was the Byzantinist Nikos Bees (1883–1953).[40] Bees mentions Sinaitic prayer books ('Brevien'), which he dates to the seventeenth century CE.[41] These are possibly identical to the Greek liturgical manuscripts that later formed part of the collection of Walther Adam (1881–1964) and are now owned by the Norwegian private collector Martin Schøyen;[42] Adam might have acquired them

37 H, resident's registration card; H, register of deaths, no. 598; B, register of deaths, no. 178.

38 B, register of deaths, no. 178.

39 Fedeli 2019, 239, n. 55. Apparently, the primary addressee of Rehfeld's offer was John Wood Oman (1860–1939), then the principal of Westminster College. Rehfeld had sent him a postcard, dispatched from Berlin and dated 6 March 1923, writing: 'I have the quire of your Lectionary which has disappeared and I wish to know if you are interested in it and if you would buy it and at which price'. The postcard (shelfmark: 1475/6/1/38) is today kept with the lectionary. See Müller-Kessler 2022, 25, n. 14.

40 Notably, Bees and Rehfeld lived less than 400 metres away from each other, Bees in Weimarer Straße 19, Rehfeld in Hildegardstraße 14. Rehfeld also contributed to the *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, edited and published by Bees. See Grote-Hahn 1923.

41 Bees 1924, 45.

42 The manuscripts are described in Dörling 1987, 21–22.

around 1925.[43] Adam was supported in building up his collection—which was publicly displayed in Goslar, Lower Saxony, until 1979—by the Semitist Hugo Duensing (1877–1961),[44] who had been familiar with the Grote collection from the turn of the century and had published on its Christian Palestinian Aramaic fragments from 1906 onwards.[45] Indeed, he himself had managed to acquire several fragments, first from Grote and later from Rehfeld, which he donated to the State and University Library in Göttingen.[46]

At the end of 1929, the Kartvelologist Grigol Peradze (1899–1942) visited Rehfeld in her apartment in Berlin. He inspected several Georgian manuscripts, among which was a palimpsest with Christian Palestinian Aramaic *scriptio inferior* that had already been edited by Duensing in 1906. Even though Peradze remarked 'Since the lady is selling these manuscripts, I have no right to publish my notes on these manuscripts',[47] he made an important discovery, which was published in 1933.[48] Peradze realised that the palimpsest had already been described by Alek'sandre C'agareli in his 1888 catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts of the Sinai monastery (manuscript no. 81).[49]

Rehfeld did, in fact, sell this specific manuscript in the 1930s, when it was bought by the Leiden-based antiquarian Erik von Scherling (1907–1956).[50] Together with it and some further Georgian fragments, she also sold this manuscript dealer a huge number of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, which now make up the Sinai manuscripts in the collection of Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937) in the Cadbury Research Library of the University of Birmingham. An important implication of this is that, although Mingana had visited the Sinai himself in 1929, it is not the case that he obtained manuscripts at the local monastery, as is sometimes suggested.[51] Equally, Mingana's Sinaitic manuscripts do not go back to Constantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874), as he himself publicly proclaimed[52]—he seems to have said this to deflect well-founded suspicions that at least part of what he had obtained from the former Grote

43 Adam mentions this date in a letter to Julius Aßfalg dated 14 October 1961. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Dr. Hubert Kaufhold for giving me access to Aßfalg's papers.
44 See Strothmann 1977a, 281.
45 Duensing 1906; Duensing 1938; Duensing 1944; Duensing 1955.
46 Duensing 1938, 44; Duensing 1944, 215. See also Albrecht 2012, col. 310; Albrecht 2013, 270–271.
47 Peradze 1999, 209, Anm. 30: 'Da die Dame diese Handschriften verkauft, habe ich kein Recht, meine Notizen über diese Handschriften zu edieren'.
48 Peradze 1933, 191.
49 C'agareli 1888, 233.
50 See Tarras 2020, 82. On Scherling, see Kidd 2015.
51 E.g. Samir 1990, 35; Géhin 2017, 12.
52 See Heal 2015, 29–30; Fedeli 2019, 230–231.

collection had been illicitly removed from Saint Catherine's Monastery. The items in the Mingana collection that go back to the Grote collection comprise eight Georgian manuscripts (shelfmarks Georg. 1–8), 88 Christian Arabic manuscripts (shelfmarks Chr. Ar. 93, 94, and Chr. Ar. Add. 123–208), and 40 Syriac manuscripts (shelfmarks Syr. 623–662).[53] There are possibly a few more Sinaitic manuscripts in the collection, but further provenance research would be required to identify them.

Georg Graf—who later indicated that part of the Grote collection was lost at the end of World War II, as noted above—was first contacted by Grote in 1919, but had already unknowingly dealt with at least one of Grote's manuscripts, in 1914.[54] The Grote collection was a recurrent topic in the correspondence between Graf and Emil Gratzl (1877–1957),[55] who was in charge of the acquisition of Oriental manuscripts for the Bavarian State Library in Munich until 1939. In 1921, Graf was successful in arranging for the library to purchase six Christian Arabic manuscripts from Grote. Then in May 1924, after Grote's death, Graf suggested that the Bavarian State Library should buy the remainder of the Grote collection.[56] At the end of the same year, he obtained from the widow an inventory of the collection.[57] To Gratzl he wrote: 'I have no doubt that, if not all, at least most of Gote's [sic] Mss fragments derive from the Sinai monastery'.[58] Further, he adds:

> As for the possibility of acquisition, the prospects seem unfortunately low. Mrs. Grote writes that, in her opinion, the Bavarian State Library probably does not have the means for purchasing it [the Grote collection], since not even the Berlin library could pay the price.[59]

In fact, the Bavarian State Library did not buy a single further fragment. The topic of the Grote collection was taken up again by Graf after World War II. In September 1950, Graf returned from the eleventh German Congress of Orientalists (Deutscher Orientalistentag) in Marburg and paid Rehfeld a visit in Bad Homburg. One year later, Graf wrote to Gratzl: 'Last year, I received from the widow Mrs. Grote who lives in Bad Homburg a larger part of

53 Garitte 1960; Géhin 2010; Heal 2015, 34–36; Fedeli 2019, 229–232.
54 Graf 1915; Graf 1925; Tarras 2024.
55 See Tarras 2020.
56 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 12.
57 This list seems to be preserved neither in Gratzl's nor in Graf's papers.
58 My English translation quoted from Tarras 2020, 78.
59 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 14 (2 November 1924): 'Was die Möglichkeit der Erwerbung betrifft, so scheinen die Aussichten leider gering. Denn Frau Grote schreibt, dass nach Ihrer Ansicht die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek wahrscheinlich nicht die Mittel zu ihrem Ankauf aufbringen werde, da nicht einmal die Berliner Bibliothek den Preis bezahlen konnte'.

Arabic manuscripts for inspection and evaluation and, upon my return from the Orientalist Congress in Marburg, I visited her and saw even more manuscripts—unfortunately all fragments'.[60] Graf informed Gratzl that Rehfeld had offered the collection to the Vatican Library and that Cardinal Giovanni Mercati (1866–1957), prefect of the Vatican Library, was inclined to purchase it. Importantly, from Graf's letter we also learn that the collection had already been sent to the Vatican in 1950. The purchase then took place at the end of 1953 or the beginning of 1954. In February 1954, Graf told Gratzl: 'Dr. Kathi [sic] Grote in Bad Homburg succeeded in the end in selling all the rest of the manuscript collection to the Vatican Library. Neither she nor the Vatican Library informed me of the price.'[61]

Until the Vatican Library eventually bought 'all the rest of the manuscript collection', the price had been the main stumbling block. Another letter from Graf to Gratzl, from 15 May 1952, is quite revealing in this respect. First of all, Graf points out that the year-long negotiations with the Vatican Library had been unsuccessful (hence, the price must have been adjusted later). Then he reports that René Draguet (1896–1980), at the time the general secretary of the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium in Louvain, also declined with the following explanation:

> Regarding the offer for the purchase of the Grote collection, I received from Mrs. Grote a letter offering the collection for 23,000 D[eutsche]M[ark]. I have not thought it useful to send the offer to the Library of Louvain, because I know that the Librarian cannot devote such sums to the purchase of manuscripts. For my part, I consider this matter to be over. Have the kindness to inform Mrs. Grote when you have the opportunity. It is moreover only because of you that I have considered this matter.[62]

60 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 66 (29 September 1951): 'Voriges Jahr erhielt ich von der Witwe Frau Dr. Grote, die in Bad Homburg lebt, einen größeren Teil arabischer Hss. zur Einsicht und Wertung und bei meiner Rückkehr vom Orientalistenkongress in Marburg besuchte ich sie auch und sah noch mehr Hss.—leider lauter Fragmente'.

61 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 71 (21 February 1954): '[…] hat die Frau Dr. Kathi [sic] Grote in Bad Homburg doch noch den Ankauf des ganzes Restes der Hss.-Sammlung durch die Vatikan. Bibliothek erreicht. Über den Preis hat weder sie noch die Vat. Bibliothek mir Mitteilung gemacht.'

62 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 68: 'En ce qui concerne l'offre pour l'achat de la collection Grote, j'ai reçu, de Mme Grote, une lettre proposant la collection pour DM 23000. Je n'ai pas cru utile de transmettre l'offre à la Bibliothèque de Louvain, car je sais que le Bibliothécaire ne peut consacrer de pareilles sommes à l'achat de MSS. De mon côté je considère cette affaire comme terminée; ayez la bonté d'en informer Mme Grote, lorsque vous en

Unlike Cardinal Mercati, Draguet did not seem to have been inclined at all to even try to make the purchase. Notably, some of Grote's manuscripts had already been bought by the library of the Catholic University of Louvain after World War I, but had been destroyed when the library was set on fire (for the second time in its history) by German troops in 1940.[63] It is unclear if any earlier negotiations with Grote played a role in Draguet's decision. Be that as it may, Graf was at his wit's end. Still, Rehfeld apparently wished for his further help in selling the collection, and in his letter to Gratzl, Graf quotes the following paragraph from one of her letters:

> I would be particularly grateful if you would send me your[64] price offer. As a matter of fact it's quite difficult for me to determine the value of such a manuscript collection … Considering Louvain's answer, I think it is absolutely necessary that one clarifies what the real market value of these manuscripts could be. It's not decisive what value these manuscripts have in the sense of a theoretical estimate, but what amount is usually paid for such a manuscript collection. Naturally, I'm clear that such a price is problematic in and of itself. But it should be possible to name a sum at which you, for example, would offer the manuscripts …[65]

In what follows this quote, Graf again emphasises to Gratzl that 'all pieces come from the Sinai monastery' ('sämtliche Stücke stammen aus dem Sinaikloster'). He asked Gratzl for a realistic price estimate, and the latter complied.[66] However, Graf was anything but optimistic that the Bavarian State Library would buy the collection. After all, as Graf himself pointed out, the library was still restocking its own holdings to make up for what was lost during the war.

aurez L'occasion. C'est d'ailleurs uniquement en considération de vous-même que j'avais donné suite à cette affaire'.

63 See Strothmann 1977b, 292, n. 33. See also Tarras forthcoming.

64 Underlining in the original.

65 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 68: 'Ich wäre Ihnen besonders dankbar, wenn Sie mir Ihren Preisvorschlag machen würden. Es ist ja so, daß es für mich ziemlich schwierig ist, den Wert einer solchen Handschriftensammlung festzulegen … In Anbetracht der Antwort von Loewen halte ich es zunächst für unbedingt notwendig, daß man klärt, welches der reale Marktwert dieser Hss. sein könnte. Das Entscheidende ist ja nicht, was für einen Wert diese Hss. im Sinne einer theoretischen Schätzung hat, sondern was für ein Betrag üblicherweise für so eine Hss.-Sammlung normalerweise gezahlt wird. Mir ist natürlich auch klar, daß so ein Preis an und für sich problematisch ist. Es wird aber doch möglich sein, eine Summe zu nennen, zu der z.B. Sie die Hss. anbieten würden …'.

66 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 69 (10 June 1952). Graf, however, does not indicate the price estimate itself in this document.

In her letter to Graf, Rehfeld admitted that 'it's quite difficult for me to determine the value of such a manuscript collection'. The way she talked about it would seem to show that she never really considered it *her* collection. Indeed, shortly after Grote's death, everything was stored in sealed cases,[67] and later on, some of the manuscripts that were considered more valuable (which Graf assumed were exclusively Syriac manuscripts) were kept in a bank safe.[68] For the owner of the collection, though, the manuscripts were not valuable as cultural artefacts, but solely as objects of sale. As Graf put it in one of his letters to Gratzl: 'Mrs. Grote wants to, or rather, has to sell her entire collection (for her own livelihood)'.[69] All that the heir to this collection cared about was how best to monetise it.

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67 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 12.
68 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 68.
69 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gratzliana, G. Graf, Georg, no. 66: 'Frau Dr. Grote will bzw. muß (zu ihrem Unterhalt) ihre ganze Sammlung verkaufen'.

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Mind the Gap: On Columns and Other Patterns of Visual Organisation in Manuscripts*

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Studying written artefacts from a cross-cultural comparative perspective poses many challenges, one of which is a set of technical terms that were developed for the patterns in written artefacts from one particular manuscript culture. If used to describe those from others without sufficient reflection, the results can be misunderstandings at best and asymmetries that pose the patterns of one culture as 'standard' and any differences in others as divergences from this standard. This paper takes as its point of departure the humble script column, which has been a ubiquitous pattern of visual organisation of written artefacts in some, but by no means all manuscript cultures. It analyses the functions of this particular pattern of visual organisation and traces its origins to the Mediterranean cultures of the scroll before widening the perspective to consider alternative patterns of visual organisation developed by manuscript cultures that do not use columns to meet the particular challenges set by—and in turn informing—the formal, material, and writing patterns of their own written artefacts.

1. Introduction

The opening scene of the silent film *Underground* (1928) takes modern viewers back to a bygone era that regularly causes ripples of nostalgia in the digital world of social media: the golden age of the broadsheet newspaper. A tube passenger deftly demonstrates the folding technique required to handle the large, loosely nested thin paper leaves in the confined space of a crowded tube carriage (fig. 1a). When the newspaper is unfolded to its full size to double as a protective shield against a fellow passenger's withering stare (figs. 1b, c), its familiar columnar layout is clearly visible.

Figs. 1a-c. Frames from the opening sequence of the film Underground (1928), directed by Anthony Asquith. From the trailer advertising the restored version released in 2013 by the British Film Institute, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lz_pycgEUc>.

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Fig. 2. Gospel Book in Gəʿəz, parchment codex, 420 × 370 mm, Ethiopia, second half of the seventeenth century, MS Princeton University Library, Special Collections, Garrett Ethiopic Manuscripts no. 1, ff. 20v–21r: Matthew.

Even though many newspapers have since shrunk in format and, in any case, all but disappeared from the public sphere in favour of smartphone screens, most readers will still be sufficiently familiar with this print medium to appreciate the important role that the slender vertical text columns play in the visual organisation of their content. They make the content more easily

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Fig. 3. *Chua cha Herkal* (‘The Book of Herkal’), paper codex, 220 × 165 mm, Swahili written in Arabic script, undated (acquired in 1936 in Lamu, Kenya), MS Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Afr. 90 4o Kps. Nr. 6, pp. 1–2.

legible as the narrow columns reduce the risk of losing one’s line on the huge expanse of the page. Furthermore, they allow for a presentation of different contents, related to each other or not, side by side, with gaps, titles, pictures or sometimes different fonts or font sizes further helping to distinguish them visually from one another. And last but not least, they facilitate the handling of what would otherwise be an extremely unwieldy object. Individual columns can be read with the newspaper sheet folded vertically as well as horizontally.

None of these structuring and organising functions of columns are recent inventions. Like many other patterns of visual organisation, that of columns has proven to be remarkably stable, having appeared in manuscripts for millennia before being adopted by printers.[1] Our familiarity with this pattern, however, can easily obscure the fact that columns as we know them are only one of many different ways of arranging multiple blocks of writing.

At first glance, the disposition of the writing on the openings of a seventeenth-century Ethiopian gospel book written in Gəʿəz (fig. 2), a Swahili manuscript written in Arabic script from Lamu in Kenya (fig. 3), and that of

1 On the function of columns to improve legibility, see e.g. Berjeron and Ornato 1990.

Fig. 4. Sankrit manuscript containing the *Pañcarakṣā*, palm-leaf *pothī*, *c*.50 × 560 mm, Bengal, India, 1054 CE, MS Cambridge, University Library, Add.1688, ff. 18v–20r.

an eleventh-century Buddhist Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript (fig. 4) look remarkably similar, differing mainly in the format of their material support and, at least in part determined by the latter, in the number of columnar structures on each opening.[2] That is, until one tries to read the texts: while the lines in the Gəʿəz manuscript must be read from left to right and column by column, the lines on the pages of the other two are read across the blank spaces, from left to right (in Sanskrit) or from right to left (Swahili written in Arabic script). The similar appearance of the page dispositions is deceptive: the short lines arranged in multiple blocks must be read in different directions and in a different order. Visual configurations that look very similar at first glance turn out to be complex composite structures. They all consist of multiple individual patterns that differ among the manuscripts, but that in each case must work together to organise the writing and guide the process of reading blocks of successive lines of script: (1) the direction the linear sequence of signs is written and read; (2) how and where lines of writing can be broken off or interrupted;[3] (3) how parallel lines of similar length are arranged to form a block,

2 Digital reproductions of the Gəʿəz gospel book and the Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript are available at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99124179713506421> and <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01688/1>, respectively (accessed 2 January 2024). On the Swahili codex see Samsom 2011, 72–73.

3 On this process of 'disassembling' the linear progression of script by the scribe and its 'reassembling' by the reader in Byzantine manuscripts, see e.g. Maniaci 1997=2022b, whose focus is, in particular, on the division of words.

and (4) how several of these blocks of writing can be arranged on a surface of the written artefact (page, opening or other area).

This paper aims to provide a short study of how different varieties and combinations of these four patterns inform different ways of visually organising manuscripts and their contents in different cultures and at different times. The composite pattern of the 'column' is, as we shall see, but one of several. Firstly, the column will be described and defined in terms of its formal and functional characteristics as part of the visual organisation of a manuscript. Secondly, I will sketch a tentative history of the script column; and finally, I will broaden the scope and look at what patterns of visual organisation are used to present heterogenous elements, in content (like text and commentary) or in the choice of sign systems (like script and pictures), both in manuscript cultures that use the column pattern and in those that do not. An endeavour such as this must necessarily give short thrift to any one discipline and any one manuscript culture; sweeping generalisations and simplifications could not be avoided. While some examples of epigraphic writing have been included, the focus is on the manuscript as a portable carrier of contents transmitted through script(s) (including, for instance, musical and choreographic notation), and sometimes diagrams and pictures.

This paper arose from the simple observation that not everything that looks like a column at first glance turns out to be one, and that columns as we know them are not actually used in all that many manuscript cultures. The paper thus sets out to examine a pattern of visual organisation to which most readers, manuscript scholars included, never give much thought. Columns are regularly mentioned in manuscript catalogues and often included in statistical analyses in quantitative codicological studies. They are sometimes used as dating devices, when a particular predilection for bi- or tri-columnar page dispositions (or aversion to it) is observed in a certain period.[4] On the whole, however, both the existence of columns in handwritten and printed books and the way in which they are read are taken for granted, so much so that 'column' and 'written area' are often used interchangeably. Hence, the term 'single-column layout' is used by scholars of many disciplines, the author's included, to describe a type of *mise en page* that is more accurately described by others as having *no* columnar organisation, i.e. long lines.[5]

4 See, for instance, the more frequent occurrence of three columns in Ethiopian manuscripts containing a range of text types post-sixteenth century (e.g. Balicka-Witakovska et al. 2015, 163–164), or the preference of humanistic scribes for long lines (e.g. Sissis 2020).

5 Denis Muzerelle, in his *Vocabulaire codicologique*, offers 'longues lignes' or 'pleines lignes' as terms for lines that cross the entirety of the text block ('Lignes d'écriture s'étendant d'une marge latérale à l'autre'). 'Colonne' is defined as

It is therefore not surprising that column-like arrangements that cannot be read in the same way as columns (like in the case of the Arabic-script and Sanskrit manuscripts introduced above, see figs. 3, 4), are sometimes nevertheless referred to as 'columns'. Occasionally, an explanatory remark is added about the required reading sequence.[6] Other authors, dissatisfied with applying the term 'column', have settled instead for the term 'pseudo-columns' for a pattern that, even though it looks similar, has a different structure—and indeed, often a specific function: in Arabic manuscripts, what might accordingly be a 'pseudo-intercolumn' marks the division point between half-verses or verses.[7]

The very awkwardness of the term 'pseudo-column' highlights a fundamental problem that any comparative study of manuscript cultures holds in store. When writing about 'Western' books, i.e. those in the tradition of the Latin (and Greek) manuscript cultures, the elevation of the 'column' to the status of universal pattern of visual organisation (as suggested by the term

'[E]nsemble de lignes d'écriture d'égale longueur, superposées', the presence of the 'longues lignes' term implying, but the definition of the 'colonne' not explicitly stating that more than one such 'ensembles the lignes […] superposées' are necessary on a page to qualify each one of these ensembles as a column (see Colonne at <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/>, last accessed 1 December 2023). On the other hand, the entry 'Spalte / Schriftspalte / Kolumne' in the *Glossar zur spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei und Buchherstellung* (now part of the project 'Bibliotheca Palatina – Digital') defined a column as 'den Raum auf der Seite, in den der Text eingetragen wurde. In den meisten Handschriften findet man eine oder zwei Spalten pro Seite' (<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/de/bpd/materialien/glossar.html>, last accessed 5 December 2023). One could conceivably argue that two pages with long lines form an opening of two columns; however, the specific material setup of the opening of a codex consisting of one or more quires of nested bifolia (see e.g. Hamburger 2010, 78–87) makes this a rather different matter that, in my opinion, should be treated as a different pattern.

6 For the use of 'column' in describing the visual organisation in Arabic manuscripts, see e.g. Sagaria Rossi 2015, 103. Losty 1982, 20 uses the term for describing the *mise en page* of Indian *pothī* (palm-leaf) manuscripts. In some more recent catalogues, this term is still used to describe *pothī mise en page*. See e.g. some entries in the online catalogue of the Morgan Library, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/183214>, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/160677> for MSS New York, Morgan Library, W.71 and W.1097, respectively (last accessed 13 December 2023). On the other hand, other cataloguers, notably the cataloguers of the University of Cambridge Digital Library, scrupulously avoid the term, instead describing, where applicable, the 'written area' (e.g. of MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add.1688, fig. 4 above) as 'divided into five sections' (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01688/1>, last accessed 13 December 2023).

7 See e.g. Sobieroj 2016, 33 and Daub 2012–2013, 53.

'single-column layout') is not all that problematic. It may be deemed a case of irksome terminological sloppiness by some, but one that poses no danger of misunderstanding. After all, the term is unambiguous: if you know what a two-column *mise en page* is, you will be easily able to deduce what a single-column one is. Real methodological and hermeneutical problems and pitfalls arise, however, if a pattern of visual organisation is taken as standard when embarking on wider comparative studies. When a cataloguer describes the written area on a palm leaf as 'a single column',[8] they adhere to the standard terminology and fill in the required fields of a template that was created for European codices. Not only does the term 'column' with its association with slender verticality sit somewhat uneasily with the extremely wide, low written area on the oblong leaf segment; what is more, it is used to describe the visual organisation of a manuscript from a manuscript culture in which this pattern, the column as we know it, does not exist. When describing the visual distinction of half-verses in an Arabic manuscript as 'pseudo-columns', this pattern of visual organisation is represented not as a pattern in its own right but as a deviation, a 'pseudo' version of a 'real' column, which does not exist in the Arabic manuscript culture. Failing to question the universal applicability of patterns familiar to us may not only lead to imprecise terminology or even to a sort of terminological 'colonialism'; it may also quite simply hinder our efforts to gain a more thorough understanding of how written artefacts work and are used around the world, and what role their visual organisation plays in the transmission of their contents. And if terminological problems start at a level as basic as the humble column, the field of comparative manuscript studies really has its work cut out. In 2013, Marilena Maniaci observed that while '[t]he range of available dictionaries and other terminological tools is still rather unsatisfactory in English and German and in the other European languages', there is even less agreement beyond the realm of Greek and Latin codicology: 'If we turn to the various manuscript cultures that developed round the Mediterranean basin, the outlook—with the partial exception of the Arabic sphere—is even more daunting: shortcomings in terminology are frequently joined by vague definitions of related concepts for which the need has not even been noticed.'[9] Since then, a monumental and pioneering joint effort by members of the 'Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies' ('COMSt') project, published in 2015,[10] has done much to lay a foundation for a comparative approach that uses a unified terminology while being aware of, and sensitive to, the problems that those 'related concepts' Maniaci alluded to pose

8 See above, n. 5.
9 Maniaci 2012–2013, 3.
10 Bausi et al. 2015.

along the way. Yet even the scope of this volume, previously unheard of in the field of codicology, encompassing many manuscript cultures of the regions around the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, appears rather limited from a global perspective. This paper tries to take one very narrow field of 'related concepts' found in manuscripts from different times and regions. It does not go as far as coining or unifying terms. Rather, it argues that first, we must try to understand the underlying structuring principles that shape each manuscript culture and be clear what it is that we are comparing, and what we can compare it to. As the late Peter Gumbert put it: '[A]s long as we have not embedded the facts in a structure of words, they are not yet sufficiently clear to ourselves, and it will be difficult to observe them, or to communicate our observations to others'.[11]

2. 'Patterns' and the structuring of written artefacts

Since the column is referred to as a 'pattern' in this paper, the meaning of this term as it is used here must be briefly explained. The term denotes 'structures and conventions that organise the manuscript both in terms of its physical makeup and its content, making the object manageable and the contents both accessible and comprehensible'.[12] Such patterns are highly conventionalised and must be familiar to both the producers and users of a manuscript to ensure a successful transmission of a written artefact's contents. Many may be so familiar that neither producers nor users will give them any thought, as long as there is no disruptive divergence or 'incorrect' implementation. At the same time, there is a dynamic dimension to patterns: they may allow for a certain variation; they may be exchangeable for other patterns; and patterns may occasionally be defied, deliberately or otherwise.[13] The latter two cases, in particular, can be expected to significantly impact how users perceive of and interact with the written artefact, by inviting reflection on the choice of patterns or the possible purpose of their transgression, thus entering a meta-discourse.

The concept of patterns is loosely modelled on the 'framings' or 'keyings' in frame theory as presented in sociology and adopted by the humanities, the 'interpretive codings' that trigger cognitive or interpretive frames.[14] The term 'pattern', or more precisely, 'visual pattern' or 'pattern of visual organisation', seems apt to describe a basic structural feature of the visual organisation of written artefacts. Furthermore, it chimes with the ancient metaphor of the written work as a

11 Gumbert 2010, Preface; quoted after Maniaci 2012–2013, 4.
12 The definition was published in Wimmer et al. 2015.
13 See e.g. Wimmer et al. 2015.
14 Wolf and Bernhard 2006, 6.

woven textile artefact, a *textus*. A pattern in a woven textile has a repeat, and complex textile patterns often reveal themselves to be combinations of various simpler ones. A visual pattern in a written artefact works exactly because it is repetitive and therefore familiar and recognisable. This may be a visual pattern that repeats across manuscripts, such as the presence of a rubricated colophon at the beginning or end of a manuscript; or it may be a pattern that actually has repeats within the artefact, such as the parallel lines in a column or the series of columns on the pages of a manuscript. As with complex, composite textile patterns, visual patterns in written artefacts may well reveal themselves as a combination of several simpler patterns.

Unlike most patterned woven textiles, however, written artefacts are essentially defined by their being bearers of content, transmitted in writing (including various notational systems) and pictures (including e.g. diagrams). In trying to understand the guiding, structuring and interpretive functions of patterns in the visual organisation of these artefacts, therefore, one needs to keep in mind that these patterns can refer to the manuscripts as a material object (say, page or folio numbers), to their contents (e.g. chapter numbers), or to both. As we shall see, this is a crucial distinction to make when discussing columns and similar patterns.

2.1. The linear arrangement of writing and the reading direction

While scripts in most cultures have in common that they are written and read in a linear sequence, the direction in which that sequence unfolds appears to be arbitrary and conventional. Some scripts, at some point in time, could be written in several directions, such as Egyptian hieroglyphs and Greek script. Others, like Chinese, Japanese and Korean scripts, traditionally written from top to bottom, are nowadays often written and printed in horizontal lines following the conventions of most scripts used to write Indo-European languages. Most writing systems, however, have a very stable conventional and standardised direction. While initially, the Greek alphabetic script could be written from right to left and vice versa, the left-to-right direction eventually came to be standard. Latin alphabetic script, as well as many South Asian scripts, are also written from left to right, while the Hebrew and Arabic scripts are written from right to left, at least in most regions: in some West African manuscript cultures, Arabic is written and read from top to bottom, starting at the top left corner of the page (fig. 5).[15] This practice may not have perceptible

15 This practice is found in particular in the region around Lake Chad, in the North-East of Nigeria, the South-Eastern part of Niger and Western Chad. Many thanks to Dmitry Bondarev for providing me with this information. On the context of the event pictured in fig. 5, see Bondarev 2023, 290–291.

Fig. 5. The Imam Ibrahim Ahmad, former Chief Imam of Borno (right), and Shettima Komi (left) reciting *Kitāb al-Šifā* (a biography of the Prophet Muhammad) in Arabic and Old Kanembu, Maiduguri, Nigeria; photo courtesy of Dmitri Bondarev, 2005.

consequences for the visual organisation of the manuscripts, but it is perhaps facilitated by their form: the fact that the manuscript leaves are not bound and hence do not form fixed double-page openings makes them much more flexible in terms of which way around they are held. To keep the pages together and in order, when they are not in use they are kept between wooden boards or sheets of leather which can be secured by wrapping a string around them or by keeping them in satchel bags for protection (fig. 6).[16]

The example from modern-day Nigeria illustrates how closely patterns of visual organisation are connected with the written artefact and its specific material characteristics. Producers of manuscripts—as well as of long epigraphic inscriptions—across most of the world have faced the same challenge: writing, conceptualised as a linear pattern, must be fitted onto one or several openings of a material artefact, and this must be done in a way that makes the resulting object reasonably easy to produce and use. The dimen-

16 A complete digital reproduction of MS London, British Library, Oriental 16751 was available at <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_16751> (last accessed 13 April 2023; the British Library servers have been unavailable since November 2023).

Fig. 6. Qurʾān, loose paper leaves, 210 × 160 mm, with two goatskin boards as covers and a satchel for storage and transport, Bornu Empire (nowadays northern Nigeria/southern Niger/Chad), late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, MS London, British Library, Oriental 16751, ff. 1v, 59r, 121r and 185v, © The British Library Board.

sions and other physical characteristics of the manuscript and its opening(s) are limited by the materials and production techniques. In each culture, the visual patterns are therefore directly related to the material and production patterns of their material vehicles. The size and proportions of the opening of a manuscript are an obvious case in point. 'Opening' is a term originally coined for books in the codex form.[17] It refers to a pair of adjacent pages that is visible at the same time when the manuscript is opened. In many codices, whether made from paper, parchment, or tree bark, the visual organisation suggests that the opening was conceived as a visual unit: often, the inner margin is narrower than the outer, creating an axial symmetry with the gutter as its axis. For the purpose of a comparative study of visual organisation, 'opening' may be a more useful concept than 'page' or 'double page'.

In South Asian *pothī*s, palm-leaf manuscripts, the opening, while also bipartite, has a very different form (fig. 4).[18] The inscribed leaf segments are

17 See, for instance, Hamburger 2008.

18 This term, which has its origins in Ghāndārī *pustaga* (itself a loanword from Iranian) and Sanskrit *pustaka*, is commonly used for any manuscript of this form. On the origin and early circulation of *pothī*s, see e.g. Baums 2021.

Fig. 7. *Phra Malai Kham Luang*, concertina manuscript made from Khòi paper, 690 × 140 mm (folded), Thailand, 1874, MS Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 509.

held together by a string threaded through a single or a pair of holes in each leaf. Before reading, the string is removed. After reading through the contents of the recto side of the first leaf, the reader flips it by 180 degrees around its central horizontal axis and places it above the subsequent leaf so that its reverse side can be read, but also so that the leaves are neatly re-stacked during the reading process. Two leaves, with one verso at the top and one recto below, thus make up one opening. In a concertina manuscript, an opening is usually two neighbouring rectangular sections between a fold. The proportions vary significantly, as does the location of the folds parallel or perpendicular to the writing direction. Hence, in Southeast Asia, a concertina manuscript can be designed for instance to be handled much like a *pothī*, like one made by a noblewoman from a province in Northern Thailand in *c.*1900, exceptional in its production technique but not in its form (fig. 7).[19] In Ethiopia, meanwhile, a concertina manuscript is more likely to resemble a codex in format, when

19 For more information on this manuscript, see Panarut 2015.

Fig. 8. Parchment concertina manuscript written in Gəʿəz, 108 × 114 mm (individual section), Ethiopia, fifteenth century (miniatures) and sixteenth century (writing), MS Təgrāy, Dabra Zayt, Ethio-SPaRe DZ-005.

folded (like a fifteenth-century booklet from Təgrāy in fig. 8).[20] In a vertical hanging scroll from East Asia (fig. 9), it is the entire surface of one side of the scroll that is on display at once. Defining an opening for scrolls that are longer, and meant to be unrolled a portion at a time, is more difficult. This is the case, for instance, for the longer of the vertically-held birch-bark scrolls from Gandhāra (fig. 10),[21] as well as for horizontally-held scrolls such as the ones in use in the ancient Oriental and Mediterranean manuscript cultures (fig. 11) and those in East Asia (figs. 12, 13). If we, for the purposes of comparative analysis, refer to the unrolled section as an opening, long scrolls are a particular case since they are flexible, in terms of their dimensions as well as their boundaries, and therefore have variable openings. This property has been explored by artists, perhaps most impressively in the unfurling of complex pictorial narratives in Japanese picture rolls (*emakimono*).[22]

20 Bausi et al. 2015, 155. For a description of the manuscript (by S. Hummel, within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project), see <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESdz005/main> (last accessed 13 December 2023). For more *sənsul* manuscripts such as this one and their functions, see e.g. Sciacca 2018. For an example of a concertina manuscript from Sumatra, see Monaco 2016.

21 See Stefan Baums 2014.

22 See e.g. Trede 2003 and 2011.

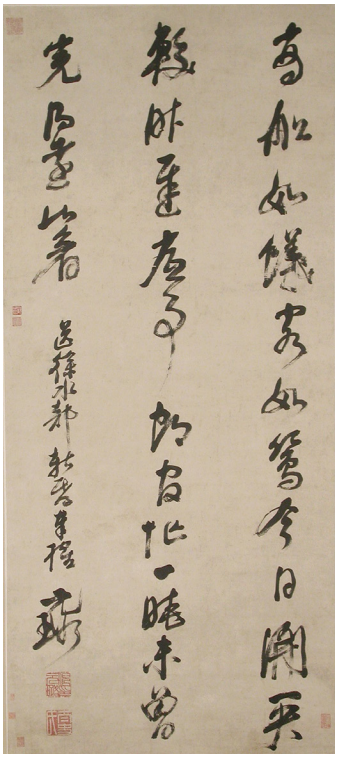

Fig. 9. Ni Yuanlu (1593–1644), calligraphy on paper mounted as a hanging scroll, 2819 × 800 mm, China, MS New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1989.363.122.

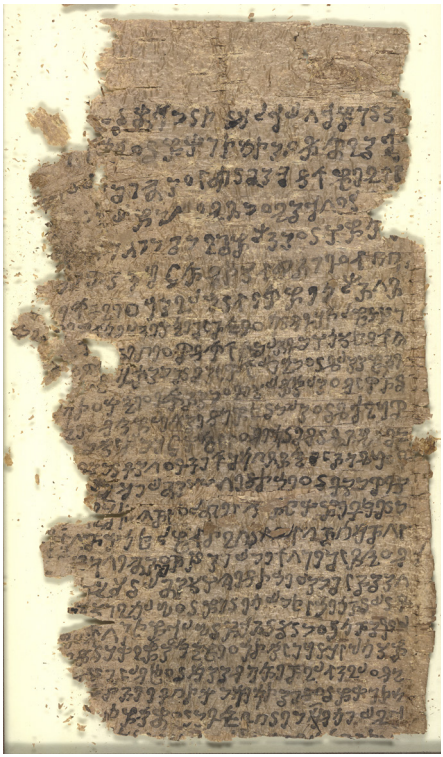

Fig. 10. Commentary on early Buddhist verses, fragment of a birch-bark scroll, *c.*140 mm wide, Gandhāra (present-day northern Pakistan/eastern Afghanistan), first century CE, MS London, British Library, Oriental 14915, © The British Library Board.

Fig. 11. Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaa) containing the Book of Isaiah in Hebrew, parchment scroll, 220–250 × 7340 mm, second century BCE; found in Qumran cave 1, MS Israel Museum, Shrine of the Book, Acc. no. HU 95.57/27 (from Wikimedia Commons, photo: Ardon Bar Hama).

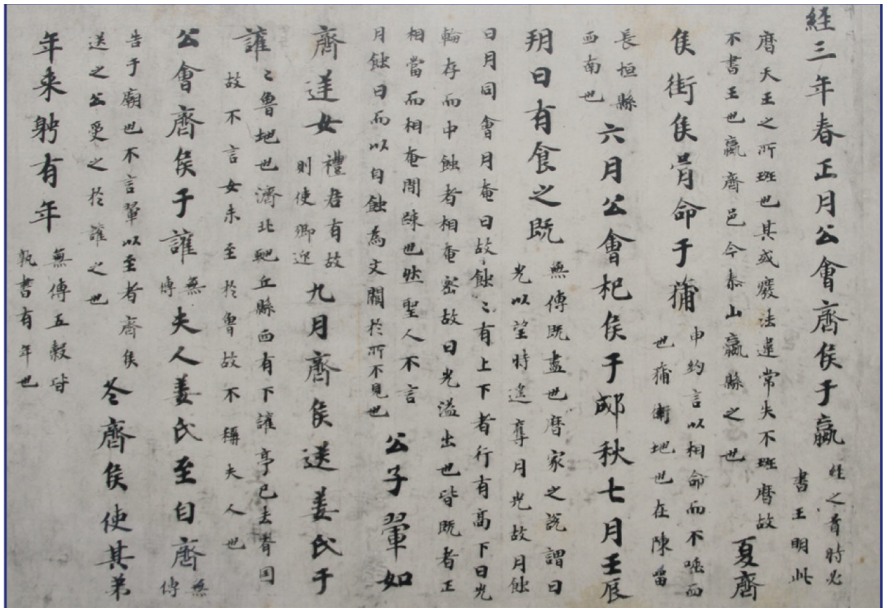

Fig. 12. *Chunqiu jingzhuan jiji* (‘Collected explanations of the canon and commentary on the Chunqiu’), detail of a horizontal scroll, paper, 280 × 3900 mm (entire scroll), China, seventh/eighth century CE (colophon by Naito Konan, 1866–1934), MS Kyōto, Jujii saiseikai yurinkan, photographic reproduction from 1930: collection of the Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg.

Fig. 13. *Shichijūichiban shokunin utaawase* (‘Poetry contest of the professions in 71 rounds’; here only rounds 31–46), detail of a horizontal illustrated scroll (*emakimono*), paper, 360 × 12900 mm (entire scroll), Japan, Edo Period (eighteenth century?), MS Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Fakultät für Ostasienwissenschaften, Sieboldiana 1.137.000.

2.2. Breaking up and blocking lines

Whatever the size properties of the opening, in order to write down a long text, the linear progression of writing has to be interrupted in order to fit the writing onto the opening of a manuscript. Usually, the sequence of writing is then continued in a new line running parallel to the first, and so on. The 'blocking' direction of the lines is thus perpendicular to the writing direction. The direction in which the sequence of lines proceeds—in the case of a horizontal writing direction, downwards (in most cases) or upwards (rarely), and in the case of vertical lines, to the left or to the right—appears to be just as arbitrary as the writing direction. In many manuscripts from various cultures, a ruling system forms a grid of parallel and perpendicular lines that delineate rectangular fields for these blocks, but the writing area may also fill the entirety of the space of the opening (figs. 16, 17). In the case of writing supports that are shaped irregularly, like palm leaves or ostraca (pottery shards used as writing surfaces e.g. in ancient Greece), the writing area can have that same irregular shape.

In a German manuscript of Heinrich von Veldecke's *Eneide* of *c*.1215, it is the interruption of the linear progression dictated not by the content of the writing but by the restraints posed by the material writing support that the painter of a miniature uses to distinguish representations of the written from those of the spoken word (fig. 14). In the upper register, Lavinia is depicted writing her letter to Aeneas. The curved strip of parchment on which she is writing, though apparently a little shorter, does not look all that different from the longer undulating ones that she and Aeneas are wielding in the register below. Yet the latter, each inscribed in one long line, are speech scrolls representing oral communication, while the former is a letter. The line break on it is as much part of the iconography of the written word as are Lavinia's scribal instruments.[23]

Lavinia's letter follows the usual pattern used for arranging lines in the medieval European viewers' manuscript culture: the second line adheres to the same writing direction as the first. Other cultures offer different patterns. It is well-known that some early Greek inscriptions are written in *boustrophedon*, 'as the ox ploughs', with lines running alternately from left to right and right to left, the letters flipped horizontally along with the writing direction (fig. 15). Much less known is the 'reverse' or 'inverted' *boustrophedon*—another example of an awkward terminological derivation of what is thus elevat-

23 On the illustrations in this manuscript and the transcription of the letter and speech scroll, see e.g. Henkel 1989. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001AE7F00000000> (accessed 3 January 2024).

Fig. 14. Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneide*, parchment codex, 250–255 × 168–173 mm, region of today's southern Germany/Austria, *c*.1215, MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Germ. Fol. 282, f. 71r.

ed to the status of 'standard' *boustrophedon*—on manuscripts from the Easter Islands (fig. 16).[24] While this writing system, referred to as *Rongorongo*, remains little understood, its reading direction can be established on the often oblong wooden tablets on which shallow grooves that run parallel to the long edges indicate the lines. These lines are read from bottom to top, and in every other line, the writing is rotated by 180 degrees. The edges of the tablets, if thick enough for one line of writing, are also inscribed, much like on many Mesopotamian clay tablets (fig. 17) that display a similar intent to use all available writing space on the object for writing.

Once again, these visual patterns—other possible relevant factors and considerations notwithstanding—were apparently established in correlation with the physical makeup and properties of their material supports. The legal code of the ancient Cretan city state of Gortyn was inscribed on a pub-

24 On *Rongorongo* glyphs, see Fischer 1997 and Barthel 1958.

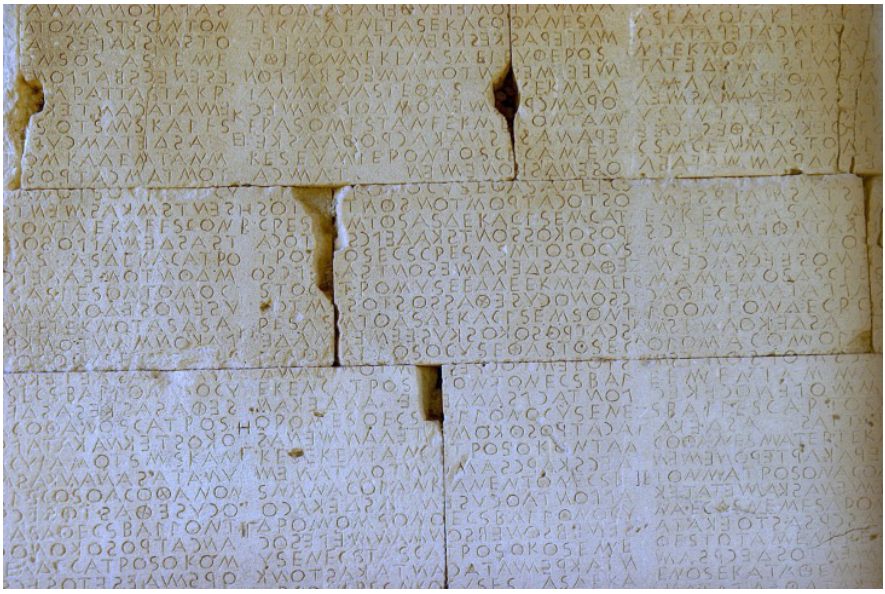

Fig. 15. *Gortyn Code* (detail), stone inscription of a legal text; Gortyn, Crete, fifth century BCE (from Wikimedia Commons, photo: Afrank99).

lic building on the agora in the first half of the fifth century BCE (fig. 15). The inscription has truly monumental dimensions, each of the twelve extant columns measuring approximately 1.5 m in height and 80 cm in width. The *Gortyn Code* illustrates well how *boustrophedon* can facilitate reading a succession of long, narrow-spaced lines, provided, of course, that the reader is used to reading the writing in both directions. Readers do not have to break off at the end of a line and search for the beginning of the subsequent one on the opposite edge of the block of writing. In addition, staying within one's line while reading is easier when it is flanked by two others that are written in the opposite direction, with the shapes of the letters inverted accordingly. While it is entirely possible that the readers of the *Rongorongo* manuscripts could decipher the glyphs when rotated at a 180-degree angle, the fact that these are relatively small objects that can be turned in the reader's hands—and have to be turned in order to read what is written on the reverse side and along the narrow edges—offer a second possibility. Both scribes and readers could have rotated the tablet in their hands.[25]

25 Very few written artefacts with *Rongorongo* writing survive, all of which are believed to have had a ritual function. Steven Roger Fischer, amending Thomas Barthel's corpus, catalogues only 26 that are accepted as authentic; a fraction of the

Fig. 16. Tablet (*kohau rongorongo*) made from Oceanian rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*), 65 × 220 × 18 mm, Easter Islands, eighteenth or early nineteenth century, London, British Museum, Oc1903-150, © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 17. Private contract concerning the sale of a slave, clay tablet with cuneiform script, 69 × 41 mm, Kanesh (present-day Turkey), Late Babylonian period, London, British Museum, Rm.157, © The British Museum Board.

2.3. Defining the 'column' pattern

In some manuscript forms, breaking off lines at a particular length and blocking the resulting sections is all that is needed to fit a text onto the writing surface. This is the case for scrolls inscribed with lines running perpendicular to the narrow edge (figs. 10, 12, 13): here the end of the scroll is the only limit. In a codex, *pothī*, or clay tablet, on the other hand, the scribe will arrive at the end of the page or leaf rather more quickly, with the reverse side, as well as further leaves, left to fill. Some manuscript openings allow the scribe to simply continue in parallel lines on the next page, leaf or other kind of segment, if this is positioned parallel to the writing direction, e.g. some concertina manuscripts (fig. 7). The individual openings of *pothī* manuscripts work in a similar way across two physically separate pages (fig. 4). The 'column' pattern as we know it, meanwhile, is realised only when the scribe breaks off at the end of a block and then proceeds to create another one next to the first on the same opening. A preliminary definition of a column that takes into account formal and structural aspects, therefore, can be as follows: *A column is one of two or more blocks of parallel lines of writing of (more or less) equal length arranged in a pre-determined space on one writing surface, the arrangement of blocks being perpendicular to the reading and writing direction*. This may well be the most cumbersome description of a column to date. The reason for it is quite simply that it seeks to describe—or to re-frame—the column as one pattern of arranging blocks of writing among many rather than as the default pattern that it is in Western book cultures. It requires some further comments, too. The latter part of the definition aims to distinguish multiple *columns* from multiple *paragraphs*. Paragraphs, too, constitute divisions of blocks of lines, but these are arranged parallel to the writing direction and perpendicular to the 'blocking' direction. They are divisions relating to the content of the text, while the column pattern, in its basic form, is a pattern designed not to structure the content, but to organise the manuscript opening.

At this point, we must briefly return to our considerations of the opening. A comparative approach to manuscripts throws into sharp relief what has only relatively recently begun to become wider-spread within the European

original number, and therefore a woefully unrepresentative sample. 22 are inscribed tablets, three of them fragments. The remaining 19 all have an oblong form, the lines running parallel to the longer side. The format of the surviving tablets varies considerably. Most are between 9 and 15 cm in height (5.2 and 19.5 cm being the extremes), but the width varies from 22.0 to 103.0 cm. Accordingly, the height-to-width ratio is low in the very wide tablets while there is more variation in the narrower ones. Eight tablets are between 22.0 and 31.0 cm in length, with a height-to-width ratio of between 0.2 and 0.7; a further four between 39.0 and 45.0 cm (0.2-0.3), and four between 63.0 and 72.cm (0.1-0.2). Fischer 1997; Barthel 1958.

scholarly discourse of various disciplines: that, when thinking of the visual organisation of manuscripts, the opening, as well as the individual page, is an important visual and material unit to consider.[26] As Jeffrey Hamburger points out, in European codicology, the fact that a codex opens is taken as '[s]o obvious […] that whereas a great deal of ink has been spilled on the layout of the single page, hardly anything has been said about the opening as such'.[27] The question that this shift in perspective poses for the question of the column pattern, however, is what to make of—and what to call—a double-page opening with long lines on each page. This opening fulfils all the aspects of the definition above. Should we refer to the pair of pages, each inscribed with long lines, as a two-column opening? Arguably, there are good reasons not to. In order to understand the pattern observed here, the production practises of codices have to be taken into account. As, among others, Peter Gumbert has explored, producing an opening does by no means imply that the two pages, even though they may be designed to match, are made at the same time. Coordinating the surfaces of several nested bifolia during the production of a codex, especially when several craftspeople are involved, perhaps with specialist tasks (scribes, rubricators, illuminators etc.), is a complex undertaking. Most 'pairs' of pages as they appear in the bound codex are on different bifolia. Even in the finished, bound codex, the gutter constitutes a significant physical division of the two parts of the opening: it is next to impossible to write across the gutter without some of the writing disappearing in it or a noticeable gap remaining, and very difficult to paint or draw across it.[28] Codex openings, therefore, and *pothī* as well, have a peculiar hybrid or composite status, which justifies looking at one half, the single page as a unit that is significant to the production process as well as the way in which the manuscript is used and viewed. Having two blocks of writing on opposite pages of what might be called a 'composite opening', therefore, will not be considered here a case of the column pattern. Apparently, scribes from cultures that produce quire codices, while often adjusting the proportions of the written surfaces to visually tie both pages together and create a harmonious opening, usually consider the single page as the relevant unit for writing. Even in cultures that have a 'divided line' pattern, but almost never use the column pattern to structure a single page, lines in codex openings do not usually cross the gutter. This is true for Indian birch-bark codices as well as Arabic and Persian manuscripts:

26 See Hamburger 2008.

27 See Hamburger 2008, 51, with a short but concise summary of the state of the art in medieval art history. Not much more ink has been spilled on the topic since, with the exception of some thoughts on this topic in Maniaci 2013=2022c.

28 The latter is found in some codices, but relatively rarely. For some examples, see Hamburger 2008, figs. 6, 42, 43.

a reader of Arabic reads across the line divider on the page, but not across the gutter (fig. 3). There is therefore no need to embark on a mission (no doubt doomed from the outset) to establish terms like the 'two-column opening' and the 'four-column opening' for describing the visual organisations of codices; rather, what we encounter here is in fact a separate visual pattern that is very closely linked to the conventions and techniques governing the production of the codex. In order to accommodate the form of the codex, the definition therefore might be amended thus: *A column is one of two or more blocks of parallel lines of writing that is arranged on one manuscript opening or one part of a composite opening (e.g. a codex or pothī page). The arrangement of blocks is perpendicular to the writing direction.*

3. The origin of the column pattern

The column pattern harks back thousands of years. Since at least the Old Babylonian period (*c*.1894–*c*.1595 BCE), cuneiform writing on clay tablets could be organised in successive blocks of script, demarcated by incised lines, which makes longer texts more easily readable on surfaces densely inscribed with minute characters (fig. 18). This practice may have been adopted from stone inscriptions.[29] In fact, in cuneiform writing, this pattern precedes that of long lines: lines are not only a device to neatly arrange characters in a manuscript, but for a long time, in lieu of punctuation, they served a syntactic function, one line containing one sentence.[30] While the direct material predecessor of the European and Oriental[31] codex is the antique articulated wax-tablet polyptych made of wood, ivory or other inflexible materials, its direct predecessor, both in terms of its function as a container of long scholarly, literary or religious texts and in terms of its use of the column pattern, is the horizontally-held manuscript scroll. This is a challenging manuscript form. Usually moderate in height, made from papyrus, cloth, parchment or leather, its width, which could measure several meters, was managed by rolling it up, often using a wooden rod or handle on one or both ends around which the length of the scroll could be wrapped. As one read through the text, one end of the scroll was gradually unrolled as the other was rerolled; to start again, one first had to re-roll the entire scroll. In a manuscript culture that

29 See Jáka-Sövegjártó 2020, who also provides a useful overview of the current state of research.

30 On the visual organisation of Mesopotamian clay tablets, see e.g. Jáka-Sövegjártó 2020.

31 'Oriental' is used here in the sense that it is used by the 'COMSt' project, according to which it: 'actually embraces all non-Occidental (non-Latin-based) manuscript cultures which have an immediate historical ('genetic') relationship with the Mediterranean codex area' (Bausi et al. 2015, 2).

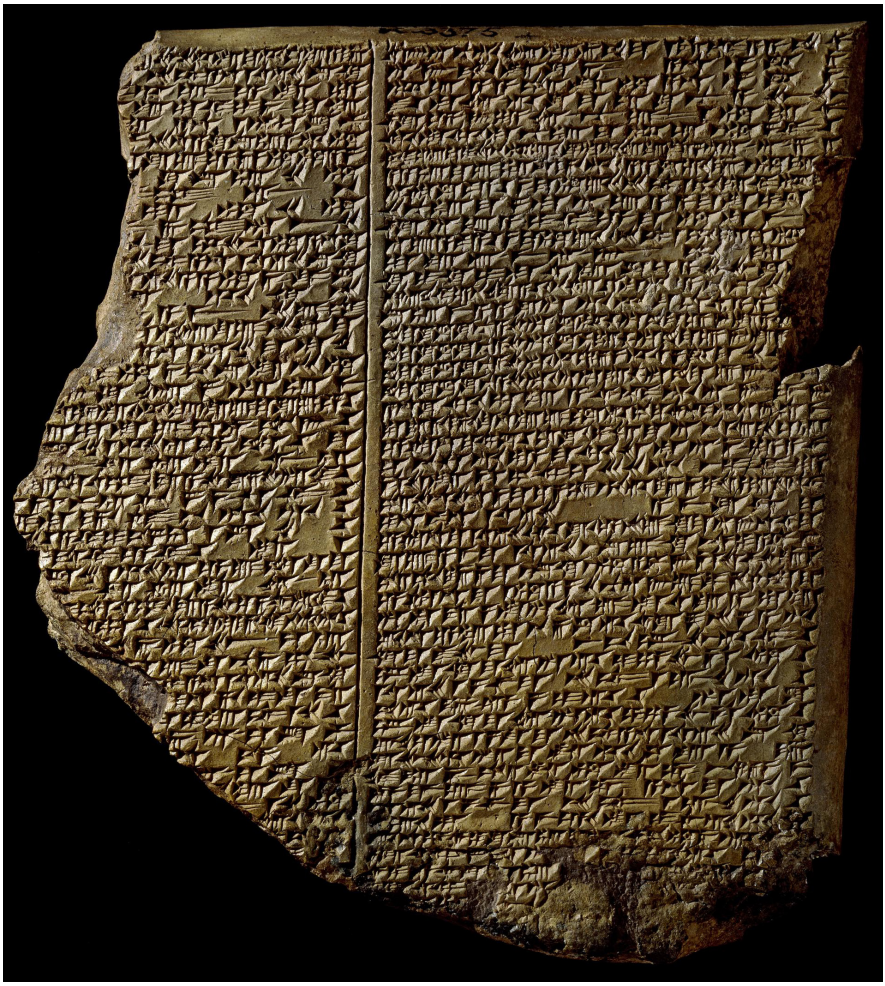

Fig. 18. Fragment of a clay tablet containing the story of the Flood (tablet 11) from the Epic of Gilgamesh, 152 × 133 × 31 mm, seventh century BCE, London, British Museum, inv. no. K.3375, © The British Museum Board.

writes in horizontal lines, columns are an indispensable feature in this manuscript form. In Egyptian papyrus scrolls inscribed with hieratic script, one can see both vertical and horizontal reading directions: Old Hieratic was initially written vertically from top to bottom, but later a horizontal writing direction became the more common pattern. Some scrolls, such as the Sinuhe scroll at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, dated to *c*.1800 BCE, use both writing

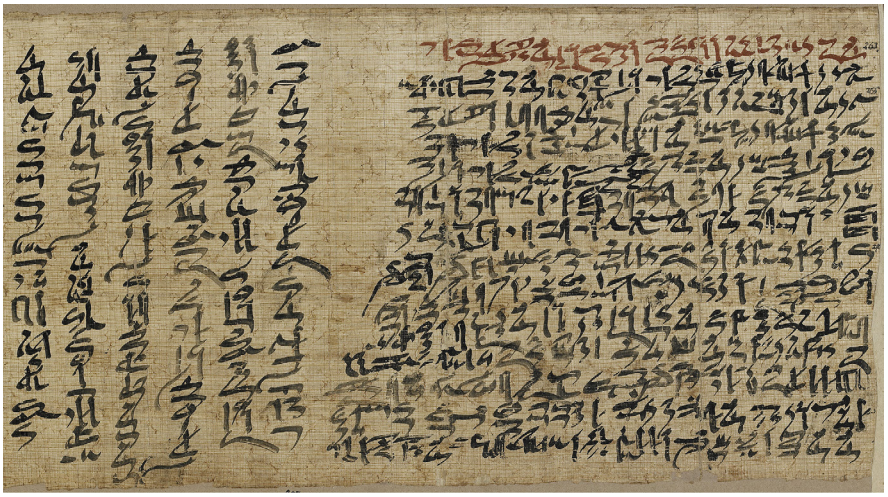

Fig. 19. Detail of a papyrus scroll containing the Biography of Sinuhe, 170 × 4993 mm (entire scroll), Egypt, *c.*1800 BCE, MS Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, Inv. no. P 3022, © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Lisa Baylis.

directions (fig. 19), while the stories on the Westcar papyrus, dated to the end of the seventeenth-century BCE, were written exclusively in horizontal lines arranged in columns (fig. 20). The same pattern in combination with the scroll form was still in use some one-and-a-half millennia later when the Great Isaiah scroll was written in Hebrew (fig. 11), and it remained in use throughout the Coptic, Greek, Roman and Hebrew manuscript cultures until late Antiquity, albeit with differences regarding the reading direction—right to left or left to right—and with varying conventions regarding the width of the columns. In the Jewish tradition, hand-written Torah scrolls that follow the same pattern are a mandatory part of religious ritual to this day.

The transformation of the scroll cultures into codex cultures in late antiquity was as gradual as it was fundamental. This 'birth of the codex' [32] has been described and discussed many times, and the reasons for this change are likely several. Although early Christians were by no means the only group of producers and users of manuscripts to appreciate the new form, they certainly embraced it wholeheartedly. The codex form was better suited to locating individual passages both for liturgical reading and for theological and philo-

32 Roberts and Skeat 1983.

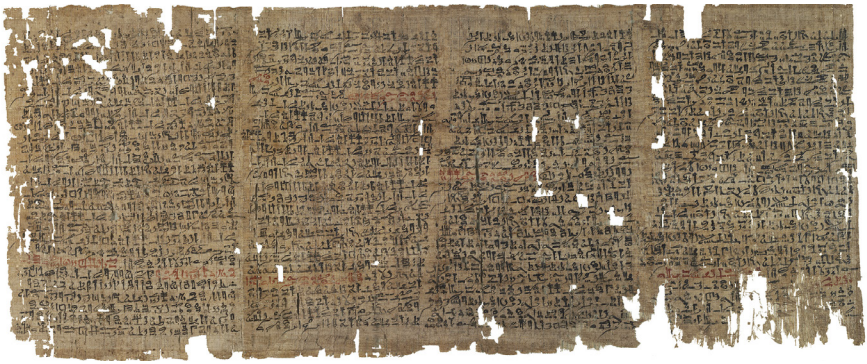

Fig. 20. Detail of the so-called Westcar Papyrus Scroll, 343 × 1697 mm (entire scroll), Egypt, Seventeenth Dynasty (*c.*1580–1505 BCE), MS Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P. Berlin 3033, © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Sandra Steiß.

sophical study.[33] The codex page and the double-page codex opening furthermore lent themselves to a pattern of visual organisation that greatly facilitated comparative study: the synoptic column, as I call it, which will be discussed below. When the codex form, previously used only for humble, every-day content, became the container for the most sacred scriptures of Christianity and the dominant manuscript form of Late Antiquity, it replaced the scroll, retaining the scroll's column pattern (fig. 20).

It appears—although this hypothesis certainly needs further investigation—that Christian codex cultures played a significant role in the wide dissemination of the column pattern in the codex form. A survey of the introductions to a wide range of oriental manuscript cultures offered by the trailblazing *COMSt* volume suggests that columns are a pattern prevalent in many cultures in which Christian manuscript cultures dominated, or even set the foundations for, the written culture.[34] Indeed, the only manuscript culture in-

33 For a summary of scholarly hypotheses regarding the growing popularity of the codex and gradual replacement of the scroll by this manuscript form, see e.g. Boudalis 2018, 1–18; as well as Reudenbach 2009, 59–60, with further bibliographic references. For a much more extensive analysis of the scholarly practices and material culture of early Christian theologians at Alexandria, see Grafton and Williams 2006.

34 The impressive scope covered by Bausi et al. 2015 includes, besides manuscripts in Arabic script, of which more below, Armenian, Avestan, Caucasian Albanian, Christo-Palestinian Aramaic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, Hebrew, Slavonic and Syriac manuscripts.

Fig. 21. Rabbula Gospels, written in Syriac, parchment codex, 330 × 267 mm, Monastery of Bēṯ Zaḡbā (modern-day Syria), 586 CE, MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56, ff. 21v–22r (from <http://teca.bmlonline.it>).

troduced in the *COMSt* volume in which the column pattern as defined above is exceedingly rare is the Arabic one, and these few cases are found in Christian manuscripts.[35] Moreover, many of the earliest extant gospel books have a two-column layout: for instance, the sixth-century St Augustine Gospels, made in Italy and soon after taken to England,[36] the Rabbula Gospels, written in Syriac and dated 586 (fig. 21),[37] the sixth-century Greek Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, as well as the possibly even earlier Ethiopian Abba Garima Gospels III and I.[38] It seems likely that as more and more regions and peoples were Christianised, the column pattern was transmitted in the manuscripts that served as models for the local manuscript productions. Columns are also

35 Sagaria Rossi 2015, 103.

36 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lib. MS. 286. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mk707wk3350> (last accessed 20 December 2023).

37 A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/176256/rec/1> (last accessed 12 December 2023).

38 On the two gospel books, the older of which, Abba Garima III, may have been produced as early as the early fifth century, see McKenzie and Watson 2016.

Fig. 22. Second volume of the Bible from Floreffe Abbey (in present-day Belgium), parchment codex, 480 × 335 mm, *c.*1170, MS London, British Library, Additional 17738, ff. 4v–5r, © The British Library Board.

used in Hebrew codices, to varying degrees, in a manuscript culture that is particularly rich and diverse due to the less strongly institutionalised and centralised production practices and the interactions with other local manuscript cultures in Sephardic, Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jewish manuscript cultures.[39] Several different reasons may have led to the column pattern's ongoing use for the visual organisation of codices to this day, and they may have weighed in differently at different times. The most obvious and most important one is that they help improve legibility on densely inscribed pages. Shorter lines are easier to follow with one's eyes, and there is less risk of losing track when moving back to the other side of the column to the beginning of the next line. This is true both for very large pages, like those of the two-volume bible from the Abbey of Floreffe (now Belgium) of *c.*1170 (fig. 22),[40] and those that

39 See Beit-Arié 2015, especially the useful tables representing the geo-cultural distributions of column layout in manuscripts from different regions and times, as well as forms, formats and contents (p. 229); for an in-depth study of Hebrew manuscript culture, see Beit-Arié 1993.

40 Mss London, British Library, Additional 17737 and 17738.

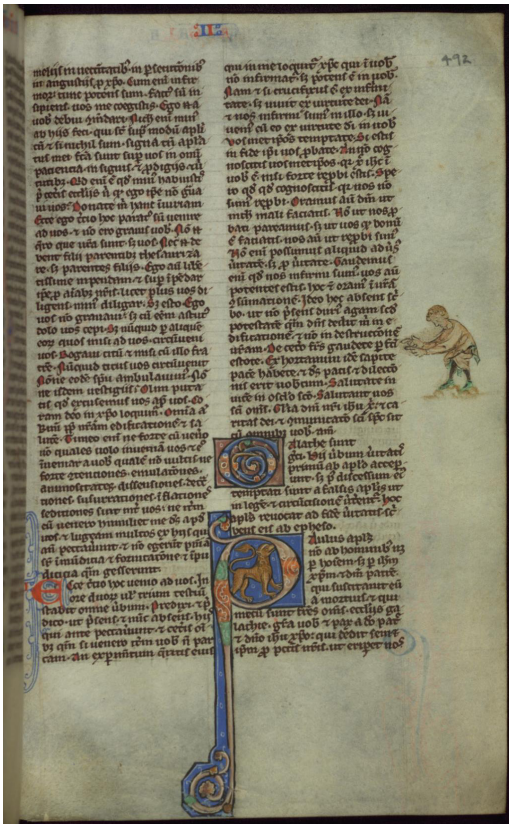

Fig. 23. A ‘pocket bible‘, parchment codex, 145 × 95 mm, England, *c.*1260, miniature additions *c.*1290–1300, MS Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.51, f. 492r.

aim to be particularly small and compact, like a thirteenth-century French one-volume ‘pocket bible’ (fig. 23) that, when opened, would easily fit into the frame around the Floreffe Bible’s magnificently illuminated first word of the book of Job, ‘VIR’. Last but not least, narrow columns such as the ones in the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus (fig. 24) may mimic the slender columns in contemporary scrolls not only for aesthetic reasons, but also because short lines helped both the scribes and the readers at times when *scriptio continua* presented undivided rows of letters to their eyes.[41] On the other hand, since

41 On the role of line length (and, accordingly, column-width) for copying practice in Late Antiquity and the paradigm change that was the introduction of spaces between words, see Saenger 1982 and 1997. Saenger also highlights the relationship between line length and production process, linking the length of lines in Roman scrolls of about 30 to 50 letters written in *scriptio continua* to the practice of copying by dictation: ‘the textual lines of ancient manuscripts, typically consisting of 30 to 50 characters, could not have been reproduced as visual units. A single exemplar

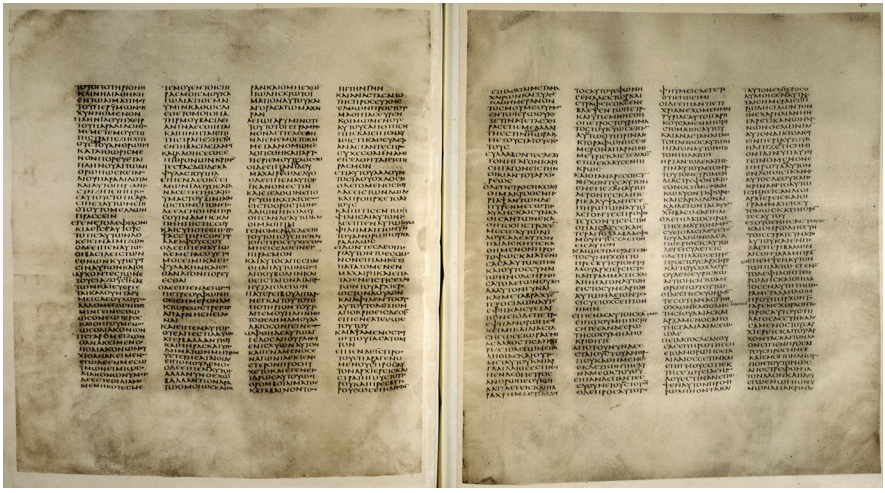

Fig. 24. Codex Sinaiticus; Bible in Ancient Greek in two volumes, parchment codex, 380 × 345 mm, Palestine?, mid-fourth century, MS London, British Library, Additional 43725, ff. 249v–250r (other parts of the MS are kept in Leipzig, Mount Sinai and Moscow), © The British Library Board.

producing manuscripts with large openings that then called for columns is usually considerably more expensive and results in a more impressive-looking volume like the Floreffe Bible, a *mise en page* with two or even more columns may also, in some manuscript cultures, have been used to lend a manuscript and its content an air of dignity and distinction. Some scholars of medieval Latin books, for instance, have argued that a two-column *mise en page*, in particular in a richly illuminated manuscript, was closely associated with the bible.[42] In Ethiopian manuscripts, there is evidence of veritable fashions for multi-column page dispositions from the sixteenth century onwards, with three columns on a square-ish leaf. Easily legible and beautifully and strikingly proportioned, their production was no doubt more laborious

was therefore often dictated to a group of scribes' (Saenger 1982, 373). The Codex Sinaiticus, meanwhile, has lines of only 12 to 15 Greek characters, a number that could have allowed for visual copying. (It is worth pointing out that many cultures offered no such assistance to the producers and users of manuscripts written in *scriptio continua*. For the example of the Tamil manuscript culture, which in this respect is typical of the wider Indian tradition, see Francis 2012.)

42 See e.g. Camille 1996, 95 and Lowden 2000, 67–70, who both consider the two-column *mise en page* as essentially belonging to the visual organisation of bible manuscripts that could be adopted for philosophical texts to lend them *gravitas* and authority, and to recast picture books into a more scriptural frame respectively.

Fig. 25. One of two volvelle book-marks found in a thirteenth-century bible. Besides the number for the column (I and II on the obverse, III and IV on the reverse of the parchment disc), a line indicator ('linea') can be used for more precision; MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 49.

than manuscripts with a less complex *mise en page*. The Ethiopic tradition also holds in store a case that suggests that the column pattern can become closely associated with a particular text. Psalter manuscripts, in the Ethiopic tradition, contain the Psalms of David, the Odes of Solomon and the Song of Songs, as well as two non-biblical hymns of praise to Mary. In some of these manuscripts, the biblical texts are written in long lines, each verse beginning in a new line, while the Marian hymns are written in two columns.[43] Long lines are a pattern used for laying out verses in many manuscript cultures, but presumably the Marian hymns might have benefitted from this pattern, too. The visual organisation thus clearly distinguishes the biblical from the non-biblical devotional texts.

There is also some evidence that in some manuscript cultures columns as building blocks of the opening were appreciated as finding aids. In some Greek scrolls, columns were numbered.[44] In codices, meanwhile, the page, leaf or sometimes the opening were more convenient material units to number.[45] There is, however, some evidence that columns on an opening or folio

43 See Balicka-Witakovska 2015, 163, who also emphasises the need for further systematic study of the codicological features of Ethiopic manuscripts.

44 On cases of the numbering of columns and pages in Greek manuscripts, see Maniaci 2015, 199.

45 Pagination was used in early Coptic codices (see Emmel 2015, 145–146), while in Latin manuscripts, foliation predominates. Numbering by opening is a practice that is perhaps less known outside of codicologists' circles, but the fact that some codices bear folio numbers on the verso pages suggests that this was, in some codex cultures, practiced. See Gumbert 2010, §316.12; Maniaci 2015, 199. Often, these numbers may have served functions other than reference reading, much like the catchwords or quire numbers that helped the scribes and bookbinders to keep track of the correct order of the text and the different sections of its material support. In

were used to help narrow down further the portion of text where a certain passage might be found. *Volvelles*, wheel-shaped bookmarks loosely attached to ribbons or strips of parchment, gave users the opportunity not only to adjust the position of the wheel to the height of a specific line but also to turn the wheel, inscribed with the numbers one to four, to indicate which of the four columns of an *opening* contained the place where reading ought to be resumed (fig. 25).[46] In the very rare cases in which column numbers are mentioned in the references of an index in Latin manuscripts, the scribe had the columns on a folio in mind, not those of an opening, i.e. columns one and two are on the recto and columns 3 and 4 on the verso pages respectively.[47]

Scrolls were a widely-used manuscript form in many early manuscript cultures.[48] Outside the geographic and cultural realms just outlined, however, the column pattern appears not to have been used, for the simple reason that all of the scrolls designed to be gradually unfurled during reading are inscribed with lines that run parallel to the narrow edge. This is, for instance, the case for the horizontal Chinese scrolls and their heirs in other regions of East Asia. Before paper scrolls became common, narrow bamboo or wooden slips were tied together with strings to form mat-like structures that also could be rolled up. Often, each slip contained one line of writing; joined together, these slips formed manuscripts that displayed the same basic visual organisation as the later paper scrolls with their vertical lines of writing.[49] The vertically-held ancient birch-bark scrolls from Gandhāra, in present-day Pakistan, do without columns for the same reason (fig. 10): the Brāhmi script is written and read horizontally, but the lines also run parallel to the narrow edge of the scroll. And even in the heartlands of the column *pattern*, vertically held scrolls de-

the majority of cases, the foliation or pagination was added long after the manuscript was produced.

46 Since objects like bookmarks are very easily lost, it is likely that the few surviving volvelles are witnesses to a much more common practice. See Hamburger 2008, 86, 88, and fig. 49. For more examples of surviving volvelles, see e.g. Kwakkel 2014 and Emms 2001. Both volvelles in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 45, which Emms discusses (see also above, fig. 25) have been digitised alongside the manuscript: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qy662bj1544> (accessed 4 January 2024).

47 See e.g. the index in an English multiple-text manuscript containing Averroes' *Long Commentary* on Aristotle's *Physics* from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6505; Wimmer 2018, 75 and colour fig. 15.

48 A short comparative overview of scrolls from different manuscript cultures in pre-modern times is provided by Kelly 2019.

49 For an example of a Chinese bamboo manuscript from the second century BCE, see Staack 2012.

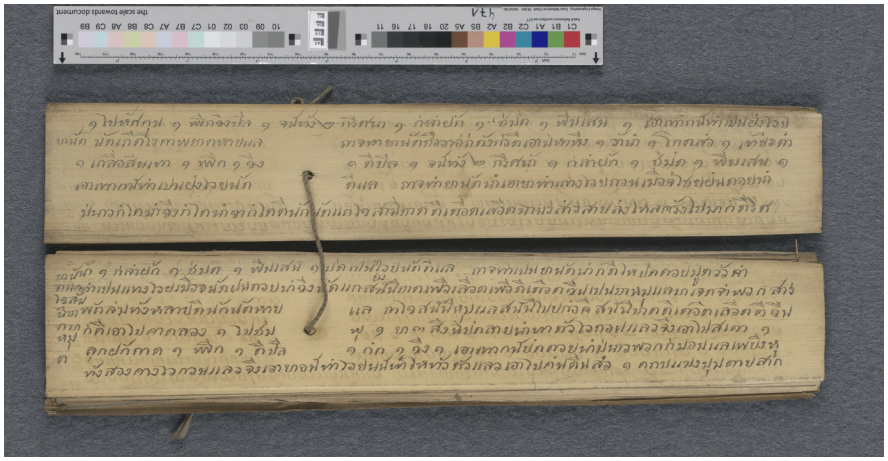

Fig. 26. A medical text, palm-leaf *pothī*, 60 × 180 mm, Thailand, first half of the nineteenth century, MS Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 287b, ff. 1v–2r.

signed to be gradually unrolled, unsurprisingly, do not often have columns to structure the manuscript.[50]

The inevitable inconvenience of reading very long lines is one that some manuscript cultures are apparently more ready to accept than others. For instance, many south and south-east Asian *pothī* manuscripts have long, densely written lines of what is almost invariably *scriptio continua* (fig. 26).[51] The

50 Some exceptions can be found among vertically-oriented Ethiopian scrolls that contain protective and healing prayers, often accompanied by images believed to have a similar power. These scrolls are often known as 'magical scrolls'; in order to avoid the charged term 'magical', they are alternatively referred to as 'scrolls of spiritual healing', e.g. in Getatchew Haile 2009. Gidena Mesfin Kebede (2017, 14–27) offers a detailed critique of the term 'magical' in Ethiopic studies and settles instead for *abənnät*, the term local practitioners use for the prayers and incantations written on the scrolls. The corpus of scrolls catalogued in Getatchew Haile 2009 suggests that only a relatively small portion of them—12 out of 134, or a little over ten percent—have a two-column *mise en page* (p. xxxi). These scrolls are usually multiple-text manuscripts, containing many short prayers and incantations rather than long continuous texts. Furthermore, these scrolls were written as amulets and talismans, so while the writing is certainly legible, it was probably not meant for the perusal of human eyes and the unfurling by human hands at all.

51 On the manuscript containing an important Tantric text reproduced in fig. 27, see Bhattarai 2012 and 2018, esp. 16–17, 45–46, 207–209, 215–219, 234, 255–257. A very rare surviving Sundanese palm-leaf manuscript from the time before the Islamisation of Indonesia, written in West Java in 1518, demonstrates how widespread

written area is only interrupted by one or two string-holes. Usually, lines interrupted by these obstacles simply continue behind them, giving the hole—where the string rubs across the brittle material and is likely to damage it—a wide berth. These gaps in several consecutive lines can form a simple square or a more ornamental frame around the hole, for instance a rhomb, turning the interruption into an ornamental feature. In other cases, all the lines on a leaf can be interrupted at the string-hole area. As is clearly visible in the Sanskrit manuscript introduced above (fig. 4), the ruling grid marked off what might be called vertical or, to choose a term that is more generally applicable, perpendicular dividers at the places of the string-holes, as well as the rectangular fields for miniatures. The written lines run the entire width of the leaf across these dividers, as well as across the miniatures—a 'divided long line' pattern that is completely unfamiliar to a European reader, who is used to interpreting the perpendicular dividers as intercolumns and an inserted framed miniature as a signal that the line has ended. Like columns, however, this pattern of the visual organisation of *pothī* manuscripts is a manuscript-structuring device. Just like the column pattern, it breaks up very long and densely-written lines, thus making it much easier for the reader not to lose their place. Not least, the application of this pattern, which again is apparently closely linked to the material features of the manuscript, is also likely to have been aesthetically motivated in this lavish illuminated manuscript. The perpendicular dividers add a rhythmic and evenly proportioned visual structure to the *mise en page* which as a result is much less dense, but takes up more space and material.

Columns, then, are a strictly necessary manuscript-structuring device only in a very specific constellation of material and visual patterns: a long scroll inscribed with lines of writing that run along the long edge or, in the case of epigraphy, a large, unarticulated surface on which very long texts such as the *Gortyn Code* had to be inscribed. The pattern was then retained and transferred from the scroll to the codex, for practical, but also for aesthetic and semantic reasons.

4. Structuring the contents of manuscripts with the 'divided long lines' and column patterns

So far, both the 'column' pattern and the 'divided long lines' pattern have been discussed as devices for structuring the manuscript rather than its contents. They help present writing in a way that facilitates reading, but not in a way that is meant to visualise the structure of the content, unlike, for instance,

the use of palm-leaf manuscripts, as well as the now-familiar scheme of long lines interrupted by a perpendicular divider at the place of the (in this case, single) string-hole were. See Gunawan and Griffiths 2014.

Fig. 27. *Skandapurāṇa*, palm-leaf *pothī*, 530 × 45 mm, 810 CE, MS Kathmandu, National Archives, 2/229 = Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project MS B 11/4.

paragraph breaks that mark caesurae in a text. Both columns and divided long lines can, however, be employed as content-structuring patterns, too. An example, albeit exceptional in its own manuscript culture, is another, yet older Sanskrit *pothī* (fig. 27). Dated 810 CE, it is the oldest surviving manuscript containing the *Skandapurāna*, an important Hindu religious text composed

Fig. 28. Ğāmī, *Yūsuf va-Zulayḫā*, paper codex, *c*.205 × 120 mm, Persian, 1683, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hyde 10, ff. 1v–2r, © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Fig. 29. Godescalc Lectionary, parchment codex, 310 × 210 mm, Court School of Charlemagne, 781–783; MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 1203, 5v–6r.

in verse. Each of the three blocks separated from each other by perpendicular dividers at the places of the string-holes is further divided into two blocks by narrower gaps. The result is a disposition that separates each line into three pairs. As the punctuation marks in these gaps indicate, double *daṇḍas* (vertical lines) in the narrower gaps and single *daṇḍas* in the wider ones, these gaps mark the caesurae between the half-verses and verses of the text respectively.

In the Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman manuscript cultures, this pattern is widely used for this purpose for verse texts. Like in the *pothī* with inserted miniatures, punctuation and/or ornamental elements can further emphasise the interruption of the long lines by perpendicular dividers without interrupting the reading direction. More or less elaborately designed frames (*ǧadwal*) may, at first glance, look like the frame structures in some Latin manuscripts (figs. 28, 29); but, with or without punctuation in the space of the perpendicular divider, they are not signals for the reader to turn back to the next line, but, pausing perhaps to appreciate or correctly intonate the verse structure, to

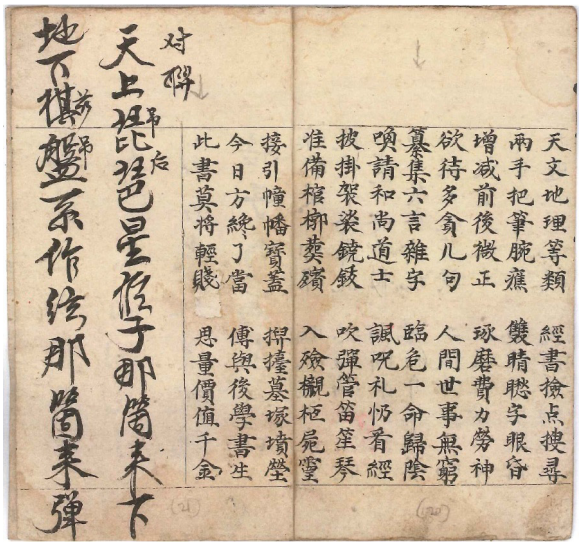

Fig. 30. Vocabulary list (*zazi*), thread-bound bamboo-paper leaves, 197 × 120 mm, China, undated (no later than mid-twentieth century), private collection of Ronald Suleski. Photo: Ronald Suleski.

continue beyond it.[52] Similarly, in a Chinese vocabulary list that presents its contents in rhyming six-syllable lines, a perpendicular divider clarifies the verse structure visually (fig. 30). As the reading direction is vertical, the perpendicular divider runs horizontally. The clear visualisation of the text structure was for the benefit of students who used this vocabulary list to learn how to read and write.[53] Committing the verses to memory was part of the process, and both the rhythm and rhyme of the text and its visual organisation were intended to help with this. The pattern of divided long lines thus occurs in many manuscript cultures, most of which do not use columns.

In the European 'column cultures', the patterns used for writing verse lines look different. The English scribe who, in the first half of the fourteenth century, wrote the multiple-text MS London, British Library, Harley 2253 that contains a collection of secular and religious poetry, presents a sophisticated range of different patterns to write down poems with different rhyme schemes: long lines, two or three columns (fig. 31).[54] On f. 73r, for the poem on the upper part of the page, he used a two-column layout to present the relatively short verses with the rhyme scheme aaabcccb in individual lines; this

52 On the link between this pattern of visual organisation and oral recitation, see Daub 2012–2013.

53 On this manuscript, which is probably of a relatively recent date, perhaps as recent as the first half of the twentieth century, see Suleski 2016.

54 For a short discussion of the range of layout types, Klein 2015. A digital reproduction of the complete manuscript was last accessed on 13 April 2023 at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_2253> (see n. 16 above).

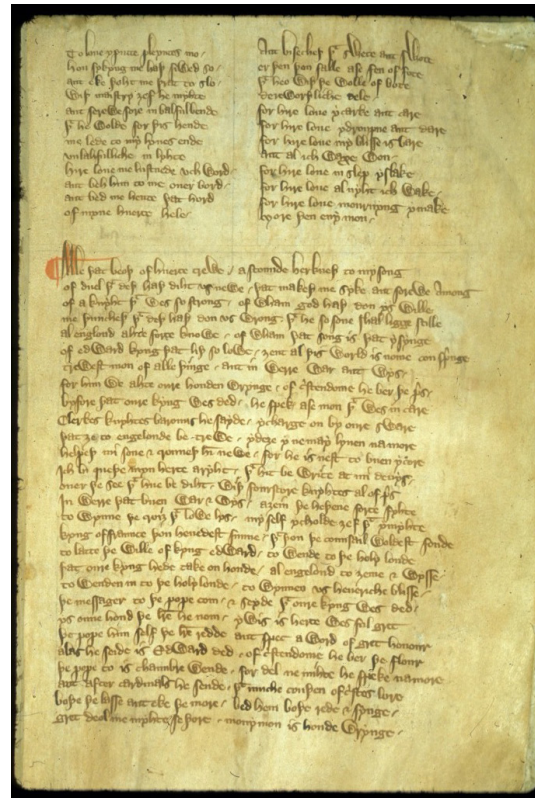

Fig. 31. Henri d'Acre, Miscellany of secular and religious lyrics ('Harley Lyrics'), parchment codex, 290 × 190 mm, England, late thirteenth to first half of the fourteenth century, MS London, British Library, Harley 2253, f. 73r, © The British Library Board.

is known as 'short-line' *mise en page*.[55] The poem at the bottom, with the simpler rhyme scheme abab, is written in long lines, with two verses to each line. The caesurae between those two verses are marked with virgules, but there are no pronounced gaps, let alone any attempt to align them to form a perpendicular divider. Rather than helping the reader, the resulting pattern would only have caused confusion for readers who were used to interpret vertical blank strips vertically cutting across the written area as intercolumns.

4.1. 'Synoptic' columns

There is another constellation in which blank spaces between blocks of writing must not be read across: that of several texts presented side by side, like in the tube passenger's newspaper. In many manuscript cultures, this pattern is reserved for specific cases. One that is found comparatively frequently is that of bi- or multilingual versions of a text presented synoptically side by side. A spectacular example is the fourteenth-century pentaglot psalter now at the

55 See e.g. Klein 2015.

Fig. 32. Pentaglot psalter, parchment codex, 355 × 270 mm, Egypt, fourteenth century, MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Or. 2, ff. 55v–56r, © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Vatican Library (fig. 32).[56] Written in Egypt while it was part of the Ottoman empire, the manuscript presents the psalms in the liturgical languages of the Orthodox churches as well as in Arabic in parallel blocks of writing, each in their particular script. Carefully built up from the centre towards the outer edge (the visual organisation of the pages of each opening being designed as mirror-images), the blocks contain the psalms in Gəʿəz, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian. The layout is carefully planned, the widths of each block varying according to how much space the version in each language and script requires relative to the others so that parallel passages appear parallel to each other in their respective blocks. The near perfect alignment of the rubricated sections indicating the beginnings of each psalm show that the concept of organisation was executed very precisely. The pages are very densely inscribed, with barely any blank space left between the blocks. Despite this, the fact that each is written in a different, visually distinctive script, allows for easy orientation. This pattern, though rarely combining this many different languages,

56 Ms Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Or. 2. A digital reproduction of the entire manuscript is available at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.or.2> (last accessed 12 December 2023).

Fig. 33. Fragment of a clay tablet with pictorgrams and cuneiform signs, 110 × 750 mm, from the library of the Naû temple, Kalhu (in modern-day Iraq), eighth or seventh century BCE, London, British Museum, K.8520. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

is used for bi- or multilingual manuscripts—including, for instance, glossaries—in many manuscript cultures. The Vatican psalter's dramatic journey from Egypt to Europe in the seventeenth century included capture by Barbary pirates.[57] Scholars then began a desperate search for it, having received a faulty description of the manuscript as containing six translations of the psalter and believing to have found a witness of the *Hexapla*, compiled by the early Christian scholar Origen (*c*.184–*c*.254 CE).[58] This monumental bible concordance, arranging six versions of the biblical text in parallel blocks of writing on one page, is one of the striking examples in which scholars explored the possibilities of the then new codex form.[59]

Parallel blocks of writing in constellations such as this one are invariably referred to as columns; and while there is no reason at all to question this within the context of Western and Oriental codices, I would argue that what we see here is a different pattern from the one discussed previously: here, the blocks of writing are not meant to be read in a sequence as they appear on the page; rather, they invite the reader to go back and forth across the columns for comparative and reference reading. It does not structure the manuscript but its contents. This pattern of 'synoptic columns' can in fact be combined with the column pattern as discussed above. This is, for instance, the case in a Mesopotamian clay tablet dated to the seventh century BCE. It contains a syllabary that presents a list of cuneiform signs in use at the beginning of the second millennium BCE and therefore already ancient at the time this syllabary was written. These signs are presented alongside what the scribe thought (or made out) to be the corresponding archaic forms from the fourth millennium BCE (fig. 33).[60] The writing surfaces of the tablet have been divided into a

57 See Störk 2011, 30.

58 See Mandelbrote 2016, 104.

59 Most of the biblical books in the Hexapla contained the Hebrew text, in Hebrew script and Greek transliteration, next to four different Greek translations. On the Hexapla, see Grafton and Williams 2006, 86–132.

60 See Michel 2013.

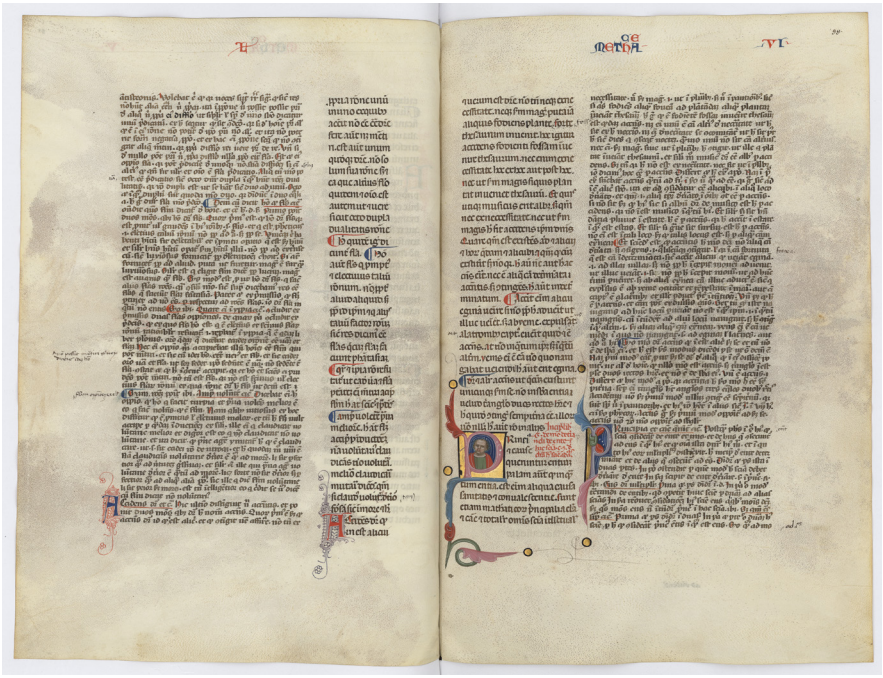

Fig. 34. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* with the *Commentary* of Thomas Aquinas, 316 × 220 mm, Italy, early fourteenth century, MS Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 216, ff. 87v–88r, © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

line grid with four columns, each of which has been subdivided once to place a sign and its supposed archaic form side by side. To modern readers, even those who are familiar with the column pattern, this grid structure may be confusing: to them, it may not be obvious that this is a series of columns to be read (or perused) sequentially, each consisting of two synoptic columns. The visual conventions of the relevant patterns are different.

Sometimes, this synoptic organisation is realised across a codex opening, much like modern editions that place a text in its original language on the verso and the modern translation on the adjacent recto page. Some chronicles place ecclesiastical and secular history side by side in this way, for instance in the Latin and the Syriac tradition.[61]

More numerous, however, are the manuscripts that present one main text with one or more subsidiary or paracontents and place them on the same page.[62] In Europe, this pattern already had a long tradition when a fourteenth-century

61 On this feature in Syriac chronographies and chronicles, see Borbone and Briquel Chatonnet 2015, 259. Cf. also the examples in Radiciotti 1997 and 1998.

62 On the term paracontent, see Ciotti et al. 2018.

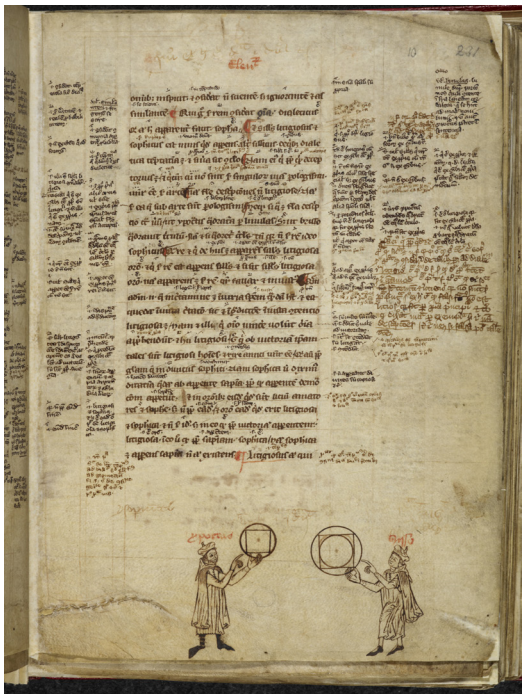

Fig. 35. Aristotle's works on Dialectics, parchment codex, England (or France?), late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, MS London, British Library, Royal 12 D II, f. 10r. © The British Library Board.

scribe of Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* drew on it (fig. 34).[63] The inner, narrower block contains the Greek philosopher's treatise, the broader outer one the medieval scholar's extensive commentary. Different letter sizes are used to further distinguish the treatise and its commentary, and corresponding paragraph signs and initials further facilitate reference reading. For organising marginal annotations, a column pattern could also be used. The blind-ruling of the pages of a thirteenth-century Aristotle textbook clearly shows that scribes were expected to fit their annotations into one of several marginal columns that were part of the ruling system (fig. 35). Here, as in other manuscripts containing long glosses, the marginal columns could be extended

63 Scholia, or glosses, can be found in Greek and Latin codices used by scholars from a very early date. The most elaborate and, arguably, highly effective organisational schema in the Latin-speaking regions was developed and honed throughout the course of the twelfth century, again for the purposes of study, in what is today Northern France, for the *Glossa ordinaria* to the bible. For a useful and current summary of the research of glossed bibles and their visual organisation, see Stern 2020, 158, n. 4. A large collection of materials and an extensive bibliography is available on Martin Morard's website *Sacra pagina*. *Gloses et commentaires de la Bible latine au Moyen Âge* <https://big.hypotheses.org> (last accessed 31 January 2024). The *Glossa ordinaria mise en page* was soon adapted and transformed for Talmud manuscripts; see Stern 2020.

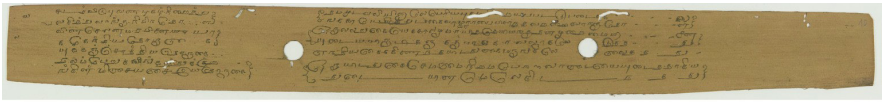

Fig. 36. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (‘Sacred guide towards [the Hindu god] Muruku’), Tamil palm-leaf manuscript, 365 × 30 mm, first half of the nineteenth century, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Indien 66, f. 10r.

to form a frame structure, surrounding the main text. In the European Hebrew manuscripts, in Ashkenaz and subsequently in Spain and Italy, the layout scheme of the authoritative Christian bible gloss, the *Glossa ordinaria*, with its column and frame patterns that served to accommodate the gloss alongside the text of the bible, was adapted for biblical exegetical corpora.[64]

Elsewhere, however, synoptic columns as a means of distinguishing text and commentary while making it possible to easily refer back and forth are exceedingly rare. In Tamil manuscripts, for instance, passages of text and the related commentary passage usually alternate within the lines of the written area without being visually distinguished from one another, a pattern that is closely associated with—but not at all exclusive to—exegetic technique and teaching practice in manuscript cultures that rely heavily on oral transmission. Hence it has been suggested that the scribe of a nineteenth-century Tamil palm-leaf manuscript that contains the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (‘Sacred guide towards [the Hindu god] Muruku’), adopted the pattern from the conventions of contemporary printed critical editions when he decided to present the ancient text and its commentary separately in synoptic columns (fig. 36).[65]

The Arabic tradition, meanwhile, has a pattern at its disposal that allows for a different solution to the same task of arranging glosses near the passages that they related while keeping it separate from the main text: a more flexible approach to writing directions. Thus, in a manuscript of Al-Ḥalabī’s *Multaqā l-abḥur* (‘Confluence of the Seas’), a legal handbook, the annotations that fill the extremely wide margins are easily distinguished from one another, as well as from the main text, because they form blocks of text written at various angles (fig. 37). Placing each annotation near the passage of the primary text that it refers to makes the references easier to find. West African Arabic manuscripts and writing tablets used for teaching often have extremely widely spaced lines of writing to allow for the glosses to be placed vertically in the immediate vicinity of the relevant passage (fig. 38).[66] In different manu-

64 See Beit-Arié 2015, 231–232.

65 On the manuscript, see Francis 2012.

66 The language here is not Arabic but Old Kanembu, a language that is nowadays used for exegetic purposes only; Bondarev and Löhr 2011, 64–65.

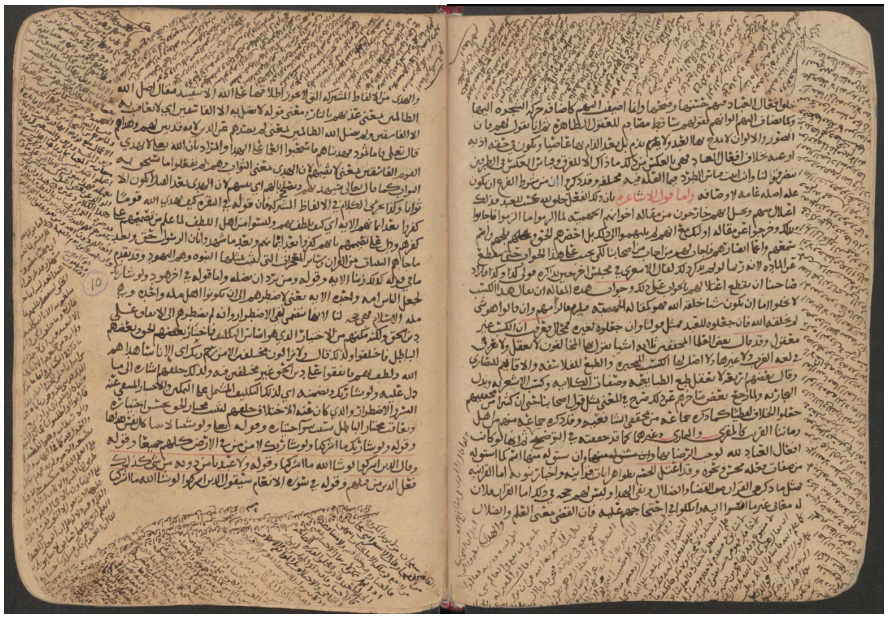

Fig. 37. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Miqrāʾī, multiple-text manuscript, Arabic paper codex, 255 × 185 mm, 1500 CE, MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Glaser 2, ff. 9v–10r.

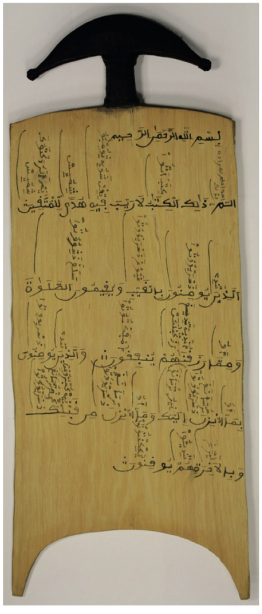

Fig. 38. Passage from the Qurʾān in Arabic with glosses in Old Kanembu on a wooden writing tablet from Borno (Nigeria), 510 × 200 mm, early 20th century, private collection of Malam Imam Habib Shettima Ali; photo from Bondarev and Löhr 2011.

script cultures, different patterns of visual organisation can be used to serve the same function.

Although the hypothesis has yet to be put to a more systematic test, the synoptic column pattern appears to be most popular in manuscript cultures that have the simple column pattern. It is possible that it sat more comfortably with readers who were not used to reading across perpendicular dividers. The synoptic column pattern does, however, make regular appearances outside the 'column cultures', in particular when different sign systems are represented side by side, thus preventing any confusion. This can be taken as a further indication that the synoptic column should be considered a different pattern altogether, albeit one adopted by 'column cultures' with particular enthusiasm due to its similarities with the familiar pattern.

4.2. Combining different sign systems in synoptic columns

The choice of visual patterns used to organise writing has fundamental consequences for how the elements of other sign systems are organised. For instance, we are used to reading sheet music in the same direction that we read letters, and we use a system of musical notation, the stave system, which has its origins in the eleventh century. This common reading direction is hardly surprising given the fact that in many cultures, the beginnings of musical notation are tightly bound up with written words, namely as cues as to how to chant particular texts. Accordingly, script and musical notation are very closely associated with each other. The way in which musical and textual notations relate to one another, however, and which one is dominant, varies. Notations that help with the chanting of a text could be inserted above the line of writing, as in an Ethiopian codex that contains liturgical texts (fig. 39). Here, the lines of writing have been widely spaced, resulting in a visual organisation that may be read either as lines of writing with interlinear annotation or as double lines, the lower containing Gəʿəz script and the upper musical notation. In the Ethiopian manuscript, the line of writing is the dominant pattern, the letters being spaced regularly and the chanting notation being placed above the relevant words or syllables. An undated Tibetan singing manual for the use of a monk leading a prayer, on the other hand, shows a different kind of musical notation that dominates the visual organisation (fig. 40). On the pages of the paper manuscript in the *pothī* form, it is a curved black line retraced in red, arranged in two 'lines' one each page. Its arches, cusps and spiralling curves instruct the master of rituals how to chant the prayers.[67] Words or syllables to be chanted are written immediately underneath the line, usually (but not always) coinciding with the cusps at which two arches meet.

67 On MS Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, M VI 1800, see Almogi 2011.

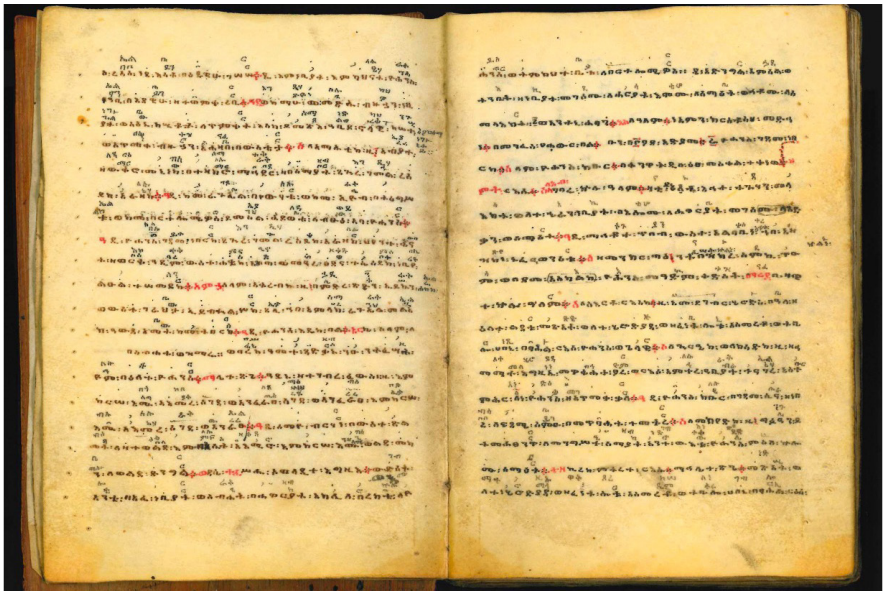

Fig. 39. Liturgical prayers and hymns, parchment codex, 130 × 92 mm, Ethiopia, early twentieth century, private collection.

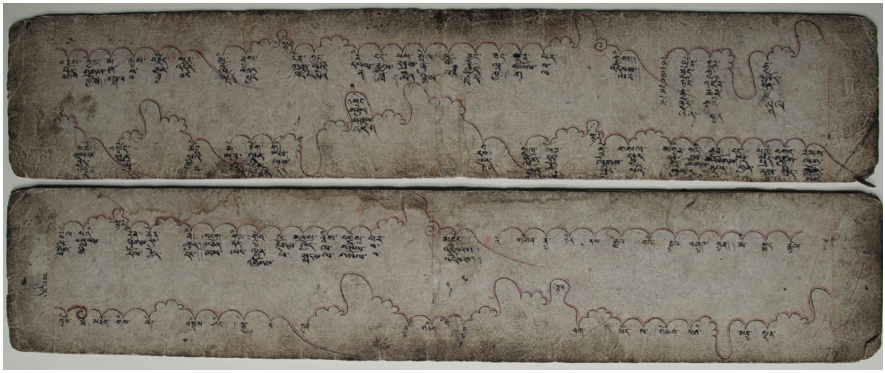

Fig. 40. Manual for singing (*dByangs yig*), paper *pothī*, 540 × 950 mm, Tibet, MS Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, M VI 1800.

In places where the shapes of the arches are regular, the visual effect is that of two parallel lines, but in places where the line soars or dips, the writing has to follow. Furthermore, the scribe of the prayer text had to make do with very narrow spaces. Since he could only fit a couple of characters beside each other, he arranged them in narrow blocks of writing.

Since musical notation often is, to a greater or lesser extent, subject to the line pattern, and usually occurs paired with lines of writing, the column pattern can be imposed on it. A fourteenth-century French manuscript containing music by Guillaume de Machaut indicates that the double-column *mise en page* lent itself less to the presentation of the musical notation but rather to the rhyme structure of the lyrics (fig. 41): each short line contains one verse.[68] Hence, it is the content-organising function, rather than the manuscript-organising one, that seems to have motivated the choice of this pattern. This is also true for another example from medieval Europe: In collections of polyphonic music, the different voices of a piece are often presented together on one page, or one opening of a codex. In an example from late thirteenth-century France, two voices are represented in two columns side by side, while the tenor voice takes up one long line at the bottom of the page (fig. 42).[69]

Pictures pose yet other challenges to the producers of manuscripts. Like writing, they adhere to complex sets of patterns, but they do not exist independently from the patterns formed for organising writing, particularly in manuscripts. It is well known, for instance, that the conventional reading direction within a culture plays an important role in how we view a picture. While in European depictions of the Annunciation the angel swoops in from the left, in Persian miniatures, heavenly messengers conventionally arrive from the opposite direction.[70] In series of images, especially those representing a narrative, linearity is a prominent organising pattern, both in the arrangements of elements within the picture and in the way in which a series of pictures is arranged. The direction of this linearity can take almost any form and mould itself to any shape: around arches and cupolas, along naves etc. When pictures appear in conjunction with texts in manuscripts, however—especially when they are illustrations of the text—they often become subject to the same (or analogous) organisational patterns as the writing. The 'column' pattern is relevant here, too, both as a column into which pictures are inserted and as parallel 'picture columns'.

How pictures are inserted into blocks of writing is very different depending on the prevalent patterns. In Asian palm-leaf manuscripts, the 'divided long lines' pattern means that pictures can be placed into the lines of the written area without breaking these lines off. In Latin medieval manuscripts and their vernacular heirs, meanwhile, this is not a common practice. Rather, if picture fields are inserted into a field of writing, they are usually inserted between lines. Even then, they are perceived as interrupting the reading pro-

68 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 1586.
69 Bamberg, Universtiätsbibliothek, Cod. lit. 115.
70 See the examples in Beyer 2010; see also Shapiro 1973.

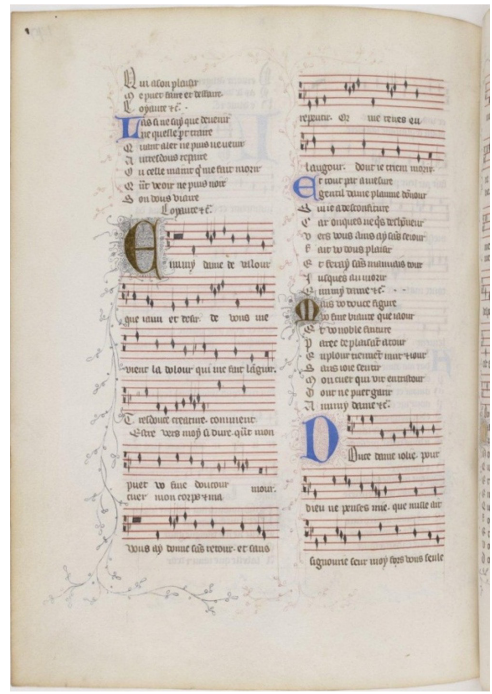

Fig. 41. Collection of musical pieces by Guillaume de Machaut, parchment codex, 300 × 215 mm, France, *c*.1350–1355, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 1586, f. 149v.

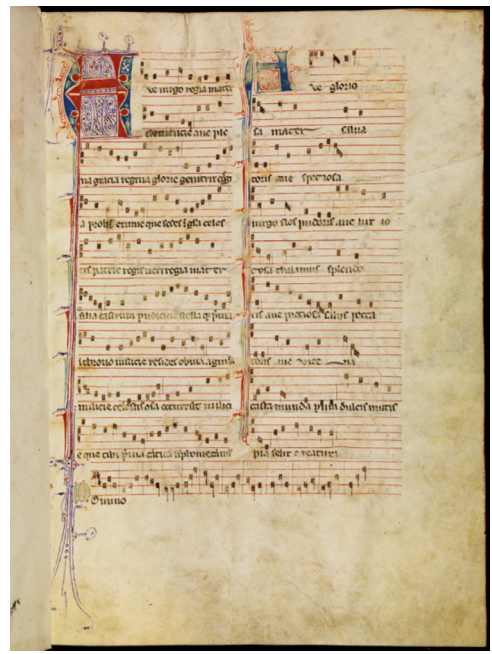

Fig. 42. Collection of motets (poems set to music), parchment codex, 261 × 185 mm, France or Southern Italy, late thirteenth century, MS Bamberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. lit. 115, f. 1r.

Fig. 43. Eike von Rebgow, *Sachsenspiegel* ('Mirror of the Saxons'), 335 × 200 mm, Meißen region (Germany), fourteenth century, MS Dresden, Universitäts- und Staatsbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd.M.32, ff. 12v–13r.

cess, and, like initials, they are often used as elements to structure the content by marking *caesurae*, e.g. when they are placed at the beginning of a book or chapter. In some, though rare, cases, images can be allocated their own column, essentially making use of the 'column' pattern for synoptic presentation. The illustrated manuscripts of Eike von Repgow's *Sachsenspiegel* ('Mirror of the Saxons') is a famous example from medieval Germany. The legal text is accompanied by hundreds of tinted drawings arranged vertically in a column running alongside the script column (fig. 43). Many of the individual drawings, by contrast, are emphatically horizontal in composition, often depicting groups of people arranged in neat lines that mirror the lines of script in the adjacent column and further emphasise the structural analogy. Much like in a commentary text (cf. fig. 35) or gloss in a medieval legal manuscript, there is a system in place that helps the reader correlate a particular picture with a particular text passage. The colourful, occasionally gilded letters that appear in the pictures are not part of the pictorial representations. Rather, they relate the pictures to the paragraphs that open with an identically designed initial Lombardic capital, thus underlining the function of the drawings as a pictorial commentary.[71] Script and picture 'columns' side by side are found in other

71 On the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscripts, see e.g. Manuwald 2019, with further bibliographic references.

Fig. 44. *Eingakyô* (detail), paper scroll, 264 × 1160 mm, Japan, second half of the eighth century, Jôbôrendai Temple, Kyôto (from Wikimedia Commons).

manuscript cultures, too. In an illustrated scroll of the *Eingakyô* that was made in eighth-century Japan but strongly echoes Chinese manuscripts, the writing unfolds in the lower, the pictures in the upper column (fig. 44). Since the reading direction is vertical and the lines are blocked horizontally, the images are placed side by side, giving the painter the opportunity—and challenge—to design transitions between individual scenes. This contrasts strongly with the *Sachsenspiegel*'s vertical arrangement of separate scenes.

5. Changing patterns

Over millennia, the column pattern has proved to be remarkably stable in those manuscript cultures that used it. Originally a requirement in horizontally-held scrolls inscribed with horizontal lines, it survived one momentous technological change in late Antiquity when it was adopted for codices in Oriental and European Jewish and Christian manuscript cultures. A second fundamental technological change in Western manuscript cultures, the introduction of print, also saw the continuing of the popularity of the pattern. The format and visual organisation of printed books were closely modelled on those of manuscripts (fig. 45), and emerging new printed media, such as the newspaper, made full use of the column and the synoptic column patterns. The greater dissemination of printed books has meant, however, that patterns of visual organisation have become more familiar beyond individual cultures. Accordingly, these patterns can sometimes be detected in the manuscripts from cultures that did not previously use them. To what extent the column pattern did not just become familiar to readers of printed media but was adopted

Fig. 45. Bible in Latin, volume one of two, paper codex, printed and rubricated by hand (Mainz: Johann Gutenberg & Johann Fust, 1454–1455), 400 × 290 mm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.s.a. 197-1, ff. 48v–49r.

by the makers of manuscripts around the world awaits further investigation. There is, at this point, at least some anecdotal evidence, for example from Tamil Nadu (fig. 36), as well as twentieth-century Laos: some *anisong* manuscripts, books that are commissioned, read out and donated for religious merit on special occasions, while retaining the traditional *pothī* form, have replaced the divided long line pattern with columns.[72]

More recent technological changes, however, have meant that the column, and even the synoptic column pattern, have become less prevalent. The 'openings' that present digital contents—that which appears on computer, tablet and smartphone screens, or on the displays of digital readers—are quite fundamentally different from the openings of codices. As Thomas F. Kelly has recently put it: '[w]e are now in the new age of the scroll. All you have to do is look at your computer screen, tablet, or e-reader, and just scroll down'.[73] When we 'scroll' up- or downwards on our computers or tablets, it is not the

72 On the implications of printing technology, including block-print, type-writers, and digital printing, see Silpsupa Jaengsawang and Grabowski 2023, 118–120.

73 Kelly 2019, 12.

horizontally-held Egyptian or Mediterranean scroll that most closely matches the organisation of the text and the experience of reading it but a vertical scroll with lines of writing running parallel to the narrow edge. With e-readers, as has been remarked, some features of the Mediterranean codex' predecessor, the horizontally-held scroll, make a reappearance.[74] Navigating the sequence of individual blocks of writing, one by one, by 'left' and 'right' buttons on a Kindle and other e-Readers, so cumbersome and pedestrian in contrast to the 'thumbability' of a codex, bears more than a passing resemblance to handling an ancient Greek or Roman scroll. This does not, however, extend to the presentation of more than one block of writing in one opening. The column pattern's golden age, along with the tube commuter's newspaper and the printed codex that briefly popularised it beyond the regions where it had been long established, is over.

This paper had its beginnings in a casual observation that similar-looking visual structures on manuscript openings turned out to be quite different ways of organising texts: that not everything that looks like a column can be read like a column. A closer look at the column pattern—at its formal characteristics, its functions and its origins—and at some patterns used in other manuscript cultures that have similar formal characteristics and functions, has highlighted a number of aspects and problems about our use of the term column and the assumptions and implications that go with it. The column is by no means as universal a pattern of visual organisation as many of us believe. This assumption of the pattern's universal status has led to awkward and misleading attempts to describe different patterns from other manuscript cultures with the same or a derivative term. Furthermore, this same assumption has prevented 'Western' scholars from having a closer look at the different functions of multiple blocks of writing in written artefacts even within codex cultures. The column pattern, rather than being a universal pattern of visual organisation, is but one of a range of different patterns used to organise contents in written artefacts through the ages around the world, and one with a quite specific history and range of applications at that. Relegating the column to a sub-chapter within a wider study of the visual organisation of manuscripts may thus point to new ways of studying written artefacts, both across manuscript cultures and within individual ones.

74 See e.g. Hamburger's discussion of digital readers vs the codex; Hamburger 2008, 51. Reudenbach's concise characterisation of how the three-dimensional structure of the codex informs its visual organisation and use, in contrast to the essentially two-dimensional organisational principles of the scroll, poignantly shows how fundamental the differences between 'leafing' and 'scrolling' are; Reudenbach 2009, 59–61.

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Research projects

Editing Paratexts: Observations from the New Testament's Titles*

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This article explores the complex theoretical and practical issues involved in editing paratextual features in Greek New Testament manuscripts and the many possible critical research questions to which this type of collaborative work contributes. Reflecting on the ongoing work of the 'Titles of the New Testament' (TiNT) project based at the University of Glasgow, we outline the challenges involved in working digitally with a large and heterogenous manuscript corpus and discuss some of the editorial steps we have taken to enable the construction of a titular search tool and our own research questions on this corpus. We ultimately conclude that our digital editorial practices stand in a long line of annotating activity that can be traced back as far as the scribes and craftspeople who produced the manuscripts we continue to explore in this project.

Introduction

The overarching goal of the project 'Titles of the New Testament: A New Approach to Manuscripts and the History of Interpretation' (TiNT) is to orient New Testament scholarship, and scholarship on ancient textual traditions more generally, toward the manuscripts as neglected points of evidence for important critical questions.[1] This issue is particularly acute for New Testament scholarship, which has a well-established editorial tradition and which is often undergirded by theological ideas about the special significance of the

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1 On the project see Allen and Rodenbiker 2020 and Allen et al. 2021. See also the project website, <www.kephalaia.com> (last accessed 6 November 2023). Other projects have also worked in this direction, including the 'Paratexts of the Bible' (ParaTexBib) project. See Wallraff and Andrist 2015 and < https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/about/> (last accessed 15 December 2023).

'original' text.[2] Our approach is not designed to undermine but to supplement the ongoing production of critical editions, which remain invaluable tools for scholarship on ancient texts and their manuscripts; in many disciplines they continue to be perceived as the apex of scholarly achievement. Editions have always been tools to interrogate the manuscript and textual tradition, even if they have not always been treated as such. Today, changes to the media of editions have created a renewed urgency to find ways to resituate manuscripts at the centre of scholarly praxis. The changing modalities of access to editions, along with their growing complexity as combinations of images, metadata, commentary, and other markup, means that manuscript literacy will be a key skill required to use editions to their fullest potential. Responding to the *Editio Critica Maior* editions of the New Testament that are continuing to emerge, the TiNT project explores one aspect of the New Testament's manuscripts afresh, examining a body of evidence that is overlooked by, and indeed quite foreign to, many biblical scholars. Unlike much traditional text critical scholarship on the New Testament, this project is not concerned with accessing hypothetical 'original' forms, but rather utilising each manuscript witness as a unique instance of the texts' history, seeking structures within the tradition to make new judgments about its transmission and reception.

Because the Greek tradition of the New Testament is so vast, encompassing around 3,500 artefacts produced from the second to the twentieth century in hundreds of different locations,[3] the TiNT project focuses on one feature that is common to most manuscripts: titles. The morphology of the title in the Greek New Testament is complex.[4] The intricacies of the titular tradition are found not only in the fluidity of their texts, but also in the different types of titles (inscriptions, subscriptions, intertitles/*kephalaia*, running titles), their various layouts and aesthetics, artistic elements (e.g., script, colour profiles, illuminations, location, text shape patterns), and the different literary works transmitted alongside the New Testament (e.g., prologues, lists, *kephalaia* tables, cross-reference systems, commentaries, liturgical tables, epigrams, other early Christian and Byzantine literature). Although the titles received in modern published Bibles suggest stability and standardisation, there is nothing static about the New Testament's titular tradition, even if its flexibility is constrained by traditional guardrails.

2 On this discourse, see the classic article by Epp 1999.

3 This number does not include lectionary manuscripts, which we do not examine in this project because they have their own unique titular and segmentation strategies. Of course, many 'continuous text' manuscripts have liturgical elements associated with the lectionary tradition, on which see Paulson 2018.

4 See for example Allen 2020, 44–73.

The variegated nature of the New Testament's titles provides an ideal data set for bringing new evidence to bear on old critical questions. We use information gleaned from our digital editing of the titles to engage six areas of research: (1) the diachronic development of paratextual traditions associated with the New Testament; (2) the perception of provenance and imagined geographies; (3) the relationship between bibliography and canonical ideologies; (4) the aesthetics of paratextuality and its influence on interpretive practices; (5) the role of scribes and other craftspeople in the transmission and interpretation of the New Testament from the second century onward; and (6) the role of *kephalaia* traditions in textual segmentation practices. These questions can of course be explored without recourse to titles, but the titles add a layer of overlooked evidence that offers new insights into these areas of interest.

To address each of these questions, researchers on our project examine the features of specific manuscripts, using 'new/material philological' approaches that engage each manuscript as a genuine witness to the tradition and to particular instances of reading and reception.[5] Supplementing and enabling this approach, we are simultaneously building a new set of data through our editorial procedures that enable continued examination of the New Testament's titles once the project has formally concluded, by digitally editing titles using a bespoke editorial tool embedded within the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR).[6] To date (about three years into the five-year project) we have produced over 30,500 unique annotations for titles. We plan to have our markup and verification completed by the end of 2024. Our editorial work allows us to survey the nearly entire manuscript tradition, create new forms of metadata, and identify manuscripts for closer scrutiny. Each non-lectionary manuscript in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* will receive a titular profile comprised over various annotations (see below), permitting scholars to see at least a portion of the titles embedded in that manuscript and additional information about each entry.[7] At the same time, scholars will be able to search for features across the corpus, using this data to inform research questions, even those that go beyond the focus of our project.

Editorial Tool and Manuscript Profiles

Our editorial approach to the New Testament's titles prioritizes the aggregation of as much data as possible related to the textual and aesthetic context

5 On 'new philology', see Lied 2021, 22–32.

6 <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/> (last accessed 10 February 2022).

7 On the *Kurzgefasste Liste* see Aland et al. 1994 and an updated version online at <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>.

of these titular traditions.[8] Given that the Greek New Testament tradition is so extensive, we developed four manuscript profiles of various scopes that capture a range of details pertinent to each manuscript: minimal, standard, maximal, and maximal New Testament. The majority of manuscripts receive a minimal profile, which captures data on the inscription and subscription titles of each New Testament work in a given manuscript. This profile does not track 'non-biblical' material or any other form of the title, such as intertitles or running titles. Standard profiles include information on every inscription and subscription in a manuscript, including all prefatory material, such as canon tables or the beginning of a list of *kephalaia* or prologues/*hypotheses*, and non-New Testament works (Old Testament, Patristic treatises, prologues, etc.). As with the minimal profile, standard profiles also disregard titular forms located within a work, like *kephalaia* and running titles. Maximal profiles account for every form of every title in a given manuscript, including the inscriptions and subscriptions for all New Testament and non-New Testament works, running titles, and intertitles. Due to the labour involved in producing a maximal profile, we reserve these for particularly important manuscripts or those relevant to the research being carried out by team members. Maximal New Testament profiles catalogue every form of every title, but only for New Testament works within a given manuscript, ignoring all 'non-biblical' or prefatory material. These four profiles allow us to capture titular data from every manuscript while prioritising more substantive profiles for manuscripts of particular interest to the research projects being carried out by members of our team.

Our editorial space in the NTVMR has also been designed with a broad scope of features in mind. Aside from transcribing the text of each title, we also document the title type (inscription, subscription, intertitle, or running title); tag the work to which the title is affixed; its folio or page number; its location on the page and its justification vis-à-vis the main text; artistic features such as a headpieces or tailpieces, illuminations, and animal (zoomorphic), plant (phytomorphic), anthropomorphic, geometric, and/or architectural details; whether the script appears to be the same hand and size as the main text; and whether the title is segregated from the main text, for example through negative space, indentation, or any number of glyphs such as an *obelus*, *paragraphos* (horizontal line that often extends into the right or left margin), tilde (~), or even a line fill string of glyphs (such as the diplé >). Our descriptions of each titular form are fulsome.

8 For the complete transcription guidelines of the TiNT project, see <https://eprints.gla.ac.uk/242534/> (accessed 8 November 2023). See also Allen and Rodenbiker 2020.

We also note any titular paratexts that impinge upon the space of the title. These items include stichometric notations, colophons, Eusebian canon tables, Euthaliana, liturgica, corrections, page numbers, drollery, tachygraphy, non-Greek script, textual segmentation, and catenae/commentary. After the title is transcribed in the transcription field, we then mark up further structural and aesthetic features of the formulations, including features like breaks in the lines of text, corrections, abbreviations (like numerals or *nomina sacra*), ornamentation such as colour, or punctuation. In essence, each entry that comprises transcribed text, metadata that describes the state of the text, and a marked-up image.

Even with this somewhat maximalist approach of our editorial tool, working to contextualise the text of the title within the broader paratextual and formal ecosystem of the folio on which it appears, the particularity of each manuscript often presents a challenge to the process of editing. Some features do not easily fall into one of the groupings we envisioned. In some cases, features can be added manually to ensure that we capture as much data as possible: under the category of artistic feature or titular paratext, for example, the editor can tick the 'other' box and provide a brief description. Our editorial tool remains strategically pliable, such that features can be added throughout the editing process. In two of the entries described below, for example, the text is inscribed in the shape of a cross, preventing a straightforward transcription with line breaks into the manuscript editor. Since a pattern emerged across several manuscripts, we added a 'cruciform' feature to the 'artistic element' category in our markup tool so that this feature can be catalogued across the whole corpus of Greek New Testament manuscripts. The flexibility of our data entry tool is crucial to our editorial approach, which aims to catalogue as much paratextual detail on each entry as possible. Still, the idiosyncrasy of material artifacts remains a feature of the manuscript tradition and presents a welcome challenge to the process of cataloguing such a vast amount of data. We have come to recognise that our editorial work is an essentially interpretive process, one that mirrors the realities of the New Testament's own transmission.

Project Research Questions

In addition to this collaborative editorial work, team members are also engaged in their own research projects, informed in part by the new data we gather and our own inductive engagements with the manuscripts. These projects cover parts of every New Testament subcollection and a variety of languages, particularly Greek, Latin, and Coptic. Their focus ranges from the analysis of the *Euthaliana*, a common but remarkably varied paratextual sys-

tem of segmentation and summarisation, across hundreds of manuscripts, to a comparative approach to gospel titles and paratextual conventions in the Greek New Testament and the Nag Hammadi Codices.

Garrick Allen's research focuses on the Euthalian tradition. Although some attention has been directed to this complex and highly flexible set of paratexts attached to Acts and the New Testament epistolary literature,[9] it has been explored much more sparsely than its cognate system for the gospels: the Eusebian apparatus.[10] The system of Euthalian paratexts is comprised of lists, cross-reference systems, prefatory texts, and text segmentation traditions. Although the origins of the tradition remain unclear, parts of it appear in nearly every Greek copy of Paul's letters and the Praxapostolos. Exploring the titular tradition of the New Testament more broadly enables the exploration of how this ubiquitous system interacts with other persistent paratexts (like the titles) and how these items are configured in individual manuscripts. Instead of relying on Zacagni's 1698 edition of the Euthalian features, the TiNT project offers the space to explore the transmission of these items within the broad scope of the New Testament's manuscript tradition.[11]

Martina Vercesi's work analyses the convergence of Latin and Greek traditions, evaluating the impact of the intellectual exchange of the two language traditions on the textual transmission and paratextual realities of the New Testament.[12] Because Greek and Latin manuscripts of the gospels have often been considered separately, the interactions of the two language cultures and their combined influence on the New Testament's transmission and reception history remains unexplored. Her work seeks to understand what the points of contact between these two languages in the manuscripts tell us about how scribes organised the text and about the mutual influences of one language tradition upon each other. This multilingual approach recognises the New Testament as a product of persistent cultural encounter and interaction. The data collected in our editorial process informs this project by identifying locations of post-production multilingualism in the form of annotations, allowing us to better explore the boundaries of paratextual transmission across linguistic traditions.

Kimberley Fowler, formerly a postdoctoral researcher on the TiNT project, works primarily with gospel manuscripts to compare the paratextual conventions found in the New Testament to Coptic manuscripts that preserve non-biblical texts, with special focus on the Nag Hammadi Codices. Paratexts

9 See, e.g. Willard 2009 and Blomkvist 2012.

10 See, e.g., Wallraff 2021; Crawford 2019; Coogan 2023.

11 See Zacagni 1698. For his work in this area to date, see Allen 2022; Allen, 2023; Rodenbiker and Allen 2023.

12 For an overview of the Latin tradition, see Burton 2013.

remain a relatively neglected source of information not only in New Testament manuscripts, but also in those containing other early Christian material. While extant titles in manuscripts such as the Nag Hammadi Codices, the Dishna Papers, and Codex Tchacos have been catalogued and explored by various scholars,[13] larger-scale treatments of the interpretation and implications of paratextuality within extra-canonical Christian literature remain limited. Within this project, the roles of paratextual material on both sides of the canonical boundary can be compared and illuminated, with attention directed towards the ways paratexts function in the transmission of individual textual traditions and the competitive literary environment of early Christianity. Paratextual features are spaces in which information can be included within a manuscript without altering the main body of its text, and thus paratexts often provide information additional to the text itself, especially when comparing across linguistic traditions.[14]

Kelsie Rodenbiker focusses on titles to the Catholic Epistles as instantiations of apostolic tradition.[15] Titles of works often include honorific titles for significant apostolic figures. James and Jude, for example, are both called ἀδελφόθεος ('brother of God') in some instances, likely in a development and clarification of Jude's proem identifying this work's traditional author as Jude, the brother of James (Jude 1:1).[16] Reflective of a similar impulse to provide additional information about another apostolic figure, multiple manuscripts identify Peter as κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων ('chief of the apostles') and others note that one or both of the Petrine epistles were written from Rome, where Peter is traditionally said to have met his end.[17] The TiNT project's editorial tool, and eventually its search functions, allow for such con-

13 The PAThS database documents and describes all Coptic biblical and non-biblical titles between the third and twelfth centuries CE: <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/titles> (accessed 10 October 2023). See, for example, Poirier 1997; Buzi 2005, 79–84; and Dias Chaves 2016.

14 On Paratextuality, see the classic work by Genette 1997. For Greek manuscripts in particular, see Andrist 2018.

15 See, for example, Rodenbiker 2022; Rodenbiker 2023.

16 Gregory-Aland (hereafter GA) 1875 (Athens, EBE 149, *diktyon* 2445, 47v (James); GA 945 (Athos, Dionysiou Monastery 37, *diktyon* 20005) 306r (James) and 322r (Jude); GA 1739 (Athos, Great Lavra Monastery B 064, *diktyon* 27116) 32r (James) and 43v (Jude). See also Allen and Rodenbiker 2020, 273.

17 GA 43 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 8410, *diktyon* 491001) 59r and GA 2243 (Athens, EBE 222, *diktyon* 2518) 237r. Noting where a letter was written and often who carried it are conventional aspects of manuscript subscriptions. Only a few post-Byzantine manuscripts note that both 1 Peter and 2 Peter were written from Rome: GA 2243, 240r and 242r; GA 1751 (Athos, Great Lavra Monastery K 190, diktyon 28499) 52v and 55v. Many other subscriptions to 1 Peter in earlier manu-

nections to be made between otherwise apparently disparate manuscripts that share common features. These convergences can in many cases be further traced to early Christian commentaries and/or now-extracanonical literature: James is also identified as ἀδελφόθεος and Peter is called the κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων in the *Clementina*, a possible indication of associated source material for these later-affixed titles, but also simply an instance of shared tradition that is reflective of the apostolic reputations surrounding the figures of James and Peter as early Christian leaders.[18] Titles are one space in which the traditions surrounding early Christian figures of prestige continue to be developed, distilled, and transmitted.

Maxim Venetskov, who recently joined the TiNT project, specialises mainly on the liturgical traditions pertaining to the gospels and apostolic works as they emerged in the Byzantine manuscript corpus from the ninth century onward. While the lectionaries have been studied by several scholars,[19] a rich and complex system of readings integrated into the majority of the New Testament manuscripts is a *terra incognita* despite the fact there exists a wide range of marginal marks[20] and liturgical tables in many continuous-text New Testament manuscripts. These liturgical lists include *synaxaria*, *archoteleia*, *eklogadia*, *kanonaria*, and *menologia*.[21] Liturgical annotations are frequently interwoven with the titles of the New Testament works, working in tandem to indicate the beginning and end of a work and testifying to the visual and aesthetic significance of the practical everyday life of sacred texts in the Byzantine liturgical cycle.[22] Investigating the diverse and abundant liturgical

scripts include that the letter was written from Rome. For Petrine subscriptions see B. Aland et al. 2013, 202 and 261.

18 Cf. *Letter of Clement to James* 19:2; *Epitome de gestis S. Petri* (PG 2:148). John Chrysostom also used this title for Peter, cf. *De Maccabaeis*, PG 50:632 and *Oratio Secunda*, PG 63.

19 See especially Nelson 2016; Gibson 2018; Paulson 2018.

20 For a survey of marginal marks used for liturgical purposes, see notably van Lopik 2018, 154–156, 159–160.

21 For a princeps edition established mainly on the basis of GA 411 (tenth century, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana gr. I,18 = 1276, *diktyon* 70114), see Gregory 1900, 365–384.

22 We have identified many occurrences where titles are intermixed with liturgical indications: for example, regarding the gospels, the announcement of the Gospel according to Matthew is directly followed by the start of liturgical reading/pericope on the Sunday of the Holy Fathers, one week before the Nativity of Christ: εὐαγγέ[λιον] κατὰ μ[α]τθαῖον καὶ κυ[ριακὴ] τῶν ἁγίων π[ατέ]ρων (eleventh century, GA 756, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. gr. 1083, *diktyon* 53747, 3r); and regarding the Apostlos, the end of the liturgical reading on Thursday of the fourteenth week after Pentecost is followed by the subscription to 2 Corinthians:

material incorporated into the manuscripts opens up new perspectives on the interpretation and performance of the New Testament text. Because liturgical calendars can highlight popular ecclesial events or saints venerated in specific locales, the study of these liturgical features also offers insight into the identification of geographical areas for the production and transmission of both concrete copies and manuscript clusters, including locations like Constantinople, Palestine, Asia Minor, Cyprus, or southern Italy.

Lily Su's doctoral research focuses on the paratextual features of the manuscripts containing the Pauline Pastoral Epistles. These three letters are widely regarded to be pseudonymous based on the statistical analysis of their linguistic peculiarities relative to the Pauline letters considered to be authentic. But when paratextual features such as titles are brought to bear on critical notions of pseudepigraphy as an ancient compositional practice, the previously overlooked role of the manuscript evidence emerges as a key source of authorial tradition. For example, the subscriptions to 1 Timothy preserved in the majority of manuscripts have λαοδικείας as the place of its composition. And yet, the word λαοδικείας is not mentioned in the letter's main text. Ancient scribes and readers might have noticed the problematic nature of the letter, but they used paratexts to defend 1 Timothy as an authentic Pauline letter written from Laodicea mentioned in Col 4:16. Su's focus on ancient manuscripts and compositional practices provides a new critical vantage point for understanding anew the transmission and reception of the Pastoral Epistles.

The Manuscripts

In addition to our ongoing research projects and larger critical questions, we are also interested in analysing the manuscripts in their own right as objects worthy of study beyond the texts they happen to carry. Although the possible examples of our observations are numerous, we want to comment upon the issue of the decorative shaping of titles in some manuscripts because it connects the textual, aesthetic, and layout issues that we seek to capture in our markup, especially since text layout features tend to be ignored in classical editorial practice.

GA 15 and Marking Titular Shape

Some of the challenges encountered when working through the complexities of manuscripts, and the possibilities that TiNT's editorial tool offers for representing them, are illustrated in the eleventh-century minuscule GA 15 (Paris,

> τέλος τῆς δ΄ (= Τετάρτης)· καὶ τῆς πρὸς κορινθίους β΄ ἐπιστολῆς· ἡ πρὸς κορινθίους β΄ ἐπιστολὴ, ἐγράφη ἀπὸ φιλίππων· διὰ τίτου καὶ λουκᾶ· στίχοι, ψο΄ (twelfth century, GA 2412, Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 922, diktyon 13015, 77r).

Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 64, *diktyon* 49625).[23] Consisting of 225 folia, this manuscript contains the four gospels preceded by Eusebius's *Epistle to Carpianus* (1v–3r). The letter is presented in colourful decorative frames adorned with birds, following the accompanying canon tables (3v–8r) that are similarly gilded with red, green, blue, and gold and featuring a diverse array of creatures both human and non-, mythical and real. This copy also includes liturgical annotations throughout with ekphonetic notation and concludes with both synaxarion (204r–212v) and menologion (213r–225r) liturgical reading lists.[24] Each gospel is preceded by illuminations that correspond to each evangelist, and the first folios of each gospel include miniatures specific to each narrative. At the beginning of Matthew, Jesus's ancestors Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judas, King David, his son Solomon, Joachim and Anna appear; at the beginning of Mark, the prophet Isaiah, John the Baptist, John's baptism, John's meeting with Christ, and John's preaching to the people are depicted; at the beginning of Luke we see the evangelist, his addressee Theophilus, the prophet Zachariah, his wife Elizabeth, and the scenes with Zachariah before the birth of John the Baptist; and at the beginning of John the images include God the Father, Christ, John the Baptist preaching to the Jews, Christ with the Jews who did not recognise him, and Christ with the Gentiles who were converted. The manuscript also features a series of empty canon tables following John's Gospel (198v–302r) that are elaborately illustrated in a similar fashion to those at the beginning of the codex. While by no means a feature exclusive to this witness,[25] these features exemplify GA 15 as a living document that was supplemented and adapted over the course of its life as a functional object. The unfinished canon tables are just one of the various production layers preserved in the manuscript.

GA 15 also has complex titular formulations that are often challenging to transcribe within our project guidelines. Matthew is the first New Testament work in the manuscript (10r–11v),[26] with an elaborate inscription in an intricate, colourful frame that occupies the majority of the page (10r), ornamented with plants, four birds, and geometric patterns. This title (represented in fig.

23 Digital images available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105157462/f20.planchecontact>. See further Gregory 1900, 132.

24 On this tradition and its relationship to other gospel paratexts, see Royé 2013.

25 For other empty canon tables, see, for example, GA 263 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 61, *diktyon* 49622, 1r– 4r; the Latin MS 5463 (British Library, Codex Beneventanus), 4r–v (<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_5463_fs001r>); and the Ethiopic Abbā Garimā Gospel 1, 6r–v (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/132896>, accessed 6 November 2023).

26 On folio 12r the text of Matthew begins again, this time preceded by a simpler headband in the *Blütenblatt* style.

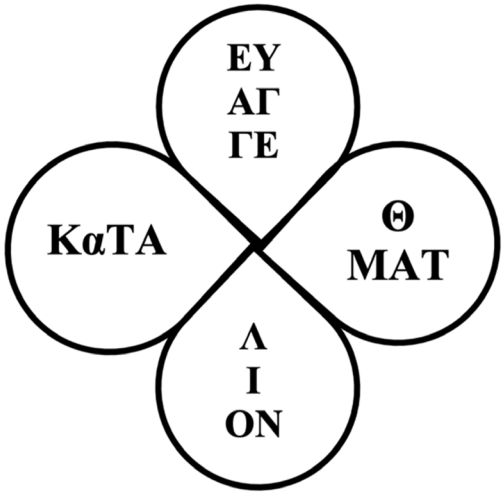

Fig. 1. Representation of the inscription to Matthew in GA 15 (10r).

1) that precedes the work illustrates well the fact that the particular aesthetics of paratexts are not always straightforward to capture digitally, especially when text is written in such a way as to visually represent shapes or forms. However, the TiNT project tool is sufficiently flexible to capture the layout information, ensuring that the aesthetic diversity employed in such inscriptions (both within an individual manuscript and when compared with others) is not overlooked, even when the formula itself is a common one.

In this case, the inscription εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ ματ[θαῖον] ('Gospel according to Matthew'),[27] is composed in a cruciform shape and divided between four petal-shaped segments in the centre of the frame (fig. 1). The letters are gilded and written entirely in uncial script apart from the first alpha of the word κατά, a common ligature that doubles as space-saving device that keeps this word intact in one line. The difficulty here is how to transcribe this title in such a way that the words remain unbroken and readable in the transcription while conveying that their physical arrangement requires the formulation to be first read vertically (from top to bottom) and then horizontally (from left to right). The word εὐαγγέλιον ('gospel') is written vertically with its first six letters in the topmost segment and its final four letters in the bottom segment. The letters are in groups of two over six lines, apart from the lambda and iota, which occupy their own lines.

While the editorial tool allows for transcriptions to indicate when words are divided over more than one line, in this case the situation is complicated

27 The inscriptions to Luke and John, but not to Mark, are also presented in cruciform layout (inserted in less refined bands than that preceding Matthew).

further by the fact that εὐαγγέλιον occupies lines 1–3 and 5–7, with κατὰ ματθ[αῖον] (according to Matthew) interrupting it on line 6. The simplest way for us to enter this in the tool is as follows:

εὐ-
αγ-
γέ-
λ-
ι-
ον
κατὰ ματθ[αῖον]

In the manuscript, the words κατὰ ματθ[αῖον)] intersect with εὐαγγέλιον, but in order to maintain readability in the transcription the vertical and horizontal elements of the title are entered consecutively. The cruciform layout of the title is still important to acknowledge, however, and this type of data can be recorded in the editorial tool under the 'Artistic Feature' subheading. Originally, because this type of text presentation is somewhat rare, it did not have its own pre-existing option for selection and would have to be entered as 'Other' in the 'Artistic Element' part of the editorial tool, with 'cruciform text' written in manually in the accompanying text box. However, after encountering this textual arrangement on a number of occasions the editorial tool was augmented to include 'cruciform text' as a listed selection option.[28] While individual paratextual features and the idiosyncratic realities of individual manuscript have presented a challenge for the transcription process, TiNT's adaptable editorial tool offers the flexibility to capture data such as this in creative ways.

GA 9 and Titular Cruciformity

Another, even more complex, example of titular variation and shape are the individual and collective gospel titles found in GA 9 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 83, *diktyon* 49645), a witness from the twelfth century (copied in 1167 by Solomon of Notos) containing the text of the four canonical gospels. These titles provide significantly more detail about the gospel writers than their well-known short titles, and the manuscript also presents a combined gospel subscription in cruciform shape in addition to prologues to the gospels, canon tables, *kephalaia* lists, and liturgical material placed on the final pages. The titles play a substantial role in the overall paratextual

28 We have identified several other manuscripts where the inscriptions to the gospels are also executed in a cruciform shape, namely, GA 7, 89, 121, 178, 212, 226, 520, 558, 895, 925, 1035, 1191, 1194, 1394, 2281, 2507, 2905.

structure of the manuscript. The following are the individual inscriptions to the gospels, apart from John's which is written by a post-production hand:[29]

> εὐαγγέλιον συν θ[ε]ῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπο[στόλου] κ[αὶ] εὐα[γγελιστοῦ] μ[ατ]θ[αίου] τοῦ τελώνου κε[φάλαιον] πρῶτον
>
> The Gospel with God of Saint Matthew the Apostle, Evangelist, the Tax Collector. Chapter one
>
> εὐαγγέλιοι συν θ[ε]ῷ β΄ τὸ κατα μάρκον ἐκτεθὲν ἐυαγγελιστοῦ κεφάλεον πρῶτον
>
> The second Gospel(s) along with God according to Mark set out by the Evangelist. Chapter One
>
> εὐα[γγέλιον] συν θ[ε]ῷ τρίτον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ ἐυαγγελιστοῦ λουκᾶ κε[φάλαιον] πρῶτον
>
> The third Gospel along with God of Saint Luke, Apostle and Evangelist. Chapter One

A few features of these inscriptions stand out. First, an unusual *nomen sacrum* is used for Matthew; the only other *nomen sacrum* used for an evangelist is that of John, a pattern reflected in the tradition more broadly (although there is debate internal to our team about what actually constitutes a *nomen sacrum* in some of these instances). Second, these titles add information on the order of the gospels: Mark is the second (β΄) and Luke the third (τρίτον). Finally, it is worth noticing some differences in the evangelists' description; Matthew and Luke are called 'apostle and evangelist,' whereas Mark is only 'evangelist.'[30] Unfortunately, we no longer possess the first hand of John's inscription to be able to provide a comprehensive picture, since the folio that contains it (and John 1:1–14, 216r–v) is part of a supplemental restoration from the fourteenth century.

In addition to the unusual formulations in the inscriptions, the manuscript also contains a combined subscription for the gospels as a whole located immediately after the end of John and before the liturgical lists of the *synaxarion* and a short *menologion* (271v) (fig. 2).[31] In most copies, this information

29 It reads τὸ κ[α]τ[ὰ] ἰω[άννην] ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ('The Holy Gospel according to John'), which is also repeated in the upper margin (κ[ατὰ] ἰω[άννην] ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον).

30 This information may reflect early Christian tradition about Mark's secondary authority via Peter's oral discourse preserved by Eusebius and attributed to Papias and Clement of Alexandria (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 2.15.1–2 [Papias], 3.39.15 and 6.14.6–7 [Clement]). It is worth noting that the scribe elevated Luke to the status of an apostle, even though according to other traditions, Luke is the companion of Paul and not necessarily an apostolic figure himself (e.g. Irenaeus, Haer. 3.1.1).

31 Subscriptions are also present for both Matthew and John. See also Elmelund and Wasserman 2023a.

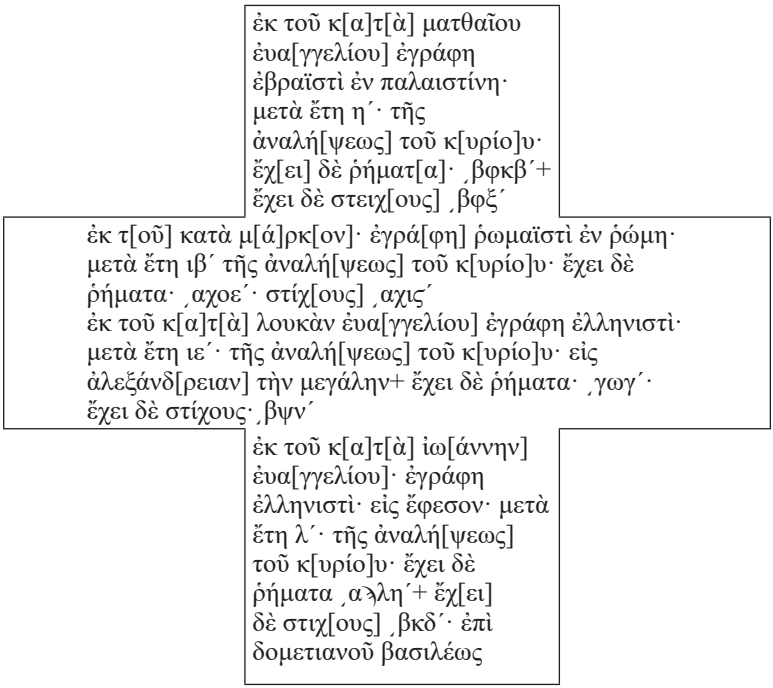

Fig. 2. Transcription of cruciform gospel subscriptions in GA 9 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 83, *diktyon* 49645), 271v.

(or at least parts of it) are preserved in the individual subscriptions to each gospel, but these subscription texts are also persistently mobile.

> From the Gospel according to Matthew written in Hebrew in Palestine; after eight years from the Lord's Ascension (having 2522 sentences and 2560 lines).
> From [the Gospel] according to Mark; written in Latin in Rome; after twelve years from the Lord's Ascension (having 1675 sentences and 1616 lines)
> From the Gospel according to Luke written in Greek; after fifteen years from the Lord's Ascension in the great Alexandria (having 3803 sentences and 2750 lines)
> From the Gospel according to John written in Greek in Ephesus; after thirty years from the Lord's Ascension (having 1938 sentences and 2024 lines) during the reign of Domitian.

These aggregated paratexts inform the reader about the date, location, and language of the gospels' composition (also presenting the numbers of *stichoi* and sentences/phrases in each text). The origin of these paratexts is unknown, and research on the subscriptions to other parts of the New Testament is only

beginning to emerge.[32] However, various permutations of these subscriptions are common in the minuscule gospel manuscripts.[33] Despite their onmipresence in the tradition, more work must be undertaken on the origins, transmission, and effects of these subscriptions, along with their relationship to the rest of the Greek tradition and other forms of framing in Greek literature more broadly.

These brief examples from GA 15 and 9 begin to show the complexity of the project's markup procedures and editorial agenda, especially our efforts to combine text, aesthetic, and layout information.

Conclusion

Overall, our ongoing editorial work is designed to create new evidence for some larger critical questions pertaining to the New Testament and to the study of ancient literature transmitted in manuscript cultures more broadly. The inductive process at the foundation of this project enables us to capture the small details that are commonly overlooked in traditional transcriptions of entire works that (for good reason) tend to avoid paratextual material where possible. But these details are not explored in isolation. Our database and print editions will also make it possible to identify patterns and structures across the tradition, like the traditions of various kinds of cruciform textual layout explored above. The project is focused both on small, apparently unique details and on a higher-level view of the larger data set.

The flexibility of the editorial tool and the collaborative editorial structure we've adopted, where each manuscript is marked up by one person and verified by another, gives us the tools to capture data on each title relevant to our questions and to account for the complexity of the New Testament's manuscript transmission. Although the fact that our editorial work is an inherently subjective, interpretive process might lead researchers to question the reliability of the data, it is precisely this creative flexibility that allows us to capture data that is not well accounted for elsewhere in the history of scholarship and to make this data searchable and therefore more functional. In this way our project is of a kind with the many anonymous scribes, readers, and annotators whose graphic residues we are seeking to understand and contextualise.

32 In his monumental work, von Soden 1911, 301–327 provides a basic list of variants for these formulae which relate in many ways to the prologues of the gospels. These subscriptions are also mentioned in Nelson 1980, 93–104. See also Thorp and Wasserman 2023; Elmelund and Wasserman 2023b.

33 In this case, the entire forumlation is treated as a subscription to the gospels as a corpus, using the same markup protocols as described above.

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Reviews

Lara Sels, Jürgen Fuchsbauer, Vittorio Tomelleri, and Ilse de Vos, eds, *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle: Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions,* together with *Francis J. Thomson's Bibliography and Checklist of Slavonic Translations, To Honour Francis J. Thomson on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday,* together with *Proceedings of the ATTEMT Workshop held at King's College, London, 19–20 December 2013 and the ATTEST Workshop held at the University of Regensburg, 11–12 December 2015*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 276, Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 19 (Leuven–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2018), ISBN 978-90-429-3531-0, 439 pp.

The famous Belgian surrealist painter René Magritte chose a pipe as the subject of his famous painting *La Trahison des Images*. Below the image of the famous pipe he wrote 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe'. It is and it is not a pipe, at the same time. A similar feeling might overcome the readers of the present volume, if they think they are before a *Festschrift* in honour of the eminent Slavic scholar Francis J. Thomson (1935–2021). This is and it is not a *Festschrift*, at the same time. This is a hybrid volume, which does not make it less interesting.

The volume is mainly the edition of the proceedings of two workshops, *Approaches to the Editing of Texts with a Multilingual Tradition* (ATTEMT, London, 2013) and *Approaches to the Editing of Slavonic Texts: Tradition and Innovation in Palaeoslavistic Ecdotics* (ATTEST, Regensburg 2015), together with a *laudatio* to Francis J. Thomson, written and delivered by Roland Marti in Regensburg ('Fact and Fiction: on historiography, hagiographic *topoi*, myths and enigmatic readings in a hitherto unknown vita', pp. 3–18), an annotated bibliography of Thomson's publications, which includes 158 items and covers his production until 2016 (pp. 19–42), and his famous *Checklist of Slavonic Translations* (pp. 43–129), his remarkable card index, ordered first chronologically and then alphabetically, up to 1739, that gives a rough idea of the colossal and extremely minute project to which Thomson dedicated the best part of his life. Up to here, the parts one would normally expect in a *Festschrift*. There is, however, a link to the honouree that underpins the whole book: translations. Translations were the main focus of Thomson's academic career, and, in that sense, the present volume makes him justice.

The first set of proceedings is introduced by an extremely insightful piece by Lara Sels (pp. 133–142) where she clearly lays out the challenges, but

also the comparative advantages, of multilingual editions. Although the volume is clearly focused on Slavonic translations, this first part includes several studies on other languages, which serve as an excellent term of comparison. Eirini Afentoulidou opens this section with one of the two chapters dedicated to Philippos Monostropos' *Dioptra* ('The *Dioptra* and its versions: issues of textual criticism and interpretation', pp. 143–160) in which she explores not only the use of critical editions of source texts in making critical editions of translations, but, most importantly, how a critical edition of the translated text can contribute to create a more perfected critical edition of the source text. This first essay should be read together with Jürgen Fuchsbauer's 'The Edition of the Slavonic *Dioptra*: Challenges and Solutions' (pp. 179–190), not only because both chapters relate to each other, but also because Fuchsbauer takes the opportunity of discussing one of Thomson's main ideas, the thorny question of 'equivalence', as well as the even more complex question of stemmatics in Slavonic. In-between, Laurent Capron perfectly exemplifies the fact that, if the study of two linguistic traditions in dialogue is good, as in the case of the *Dioptra*, multilingual studies are even better. Using the text of *The Life of Abraham of Qidun and his Niece Mary* (pp. 161–178) and drawing on evidence from the Syriac source text and all its various translations (into Greek, Latin, Christian-Palestinian Aramaic, Slavonic, Arabic and Georgian; the article does not mention the Ethiopic translation, which also exists) he manages to prove conclusively that, even without the advantages that a digital edition could bring to the project, old sound comparison of editions can still render many fruits. A point further proved in exquisite detail by Bart Janssens, Paul-Huber Poirier, and Włodzimierz Zega in 'The *Opusculum de anima* (CPG 1773 and 7717): an unassuming Late Antique school text with an impressive offspring' (pp. 191–212). Drawing on the their joint expertise and on an impressive amount of manuscripts in Greek (85 complete or partial witnesses listed in the Appendix), Syriac (4), Arabic (8), Persian (8) and Latin (3), the authors clearly understand how can such a long and complex textual tradition contribute to an improved apparatus criticus or the drawing of a multilingual stemma.

The rest of the chapters, twelve in total, including Thomson's, which closes the volume, are devoted to translations into Slavonic. As they are authored by different scholars, sometimes the same issues, problems and conundrums are repeated and, of course, each author responds to them differently, which is in itself interesting. Many of them are dedicated to the use of digital tools in preparing catalogues or critical editions, with unequal results. Yavor Miltenov and Aneta Dimitrova present 'The *Versiones Slavicae* database and the Old Church Slavonic translations of John Chrysostom's Homilies' (pp. 213–224)

tackling one of the most difficult authors in the Slavonic tradition and taking the Pinakes database as model. This ambitious project aims at being a repository of all the Chrysostomian texts that have been translated and scattered in various types of manuscripts in Slavonic. The challenges, as the authors very well know, are many, but they have perfectly understood how important is to trace down the shorter fragments that have been independently copied and interspersed in other works in order to virtually reconstruct the whole corpus. Dieter Stern's chapter 'Copying Greek into Slavonic? The Slavonic branch of the Greek tradition of the *Life of Abraham of Qidun*' (pp. 225–250) is, together with Ralph Cleminson's piece, one of the most thought-provoking and insightful of the whole volume. Dieter's discusses questions of translation principles in Slavonic, of literalism and variation, or the typology of translators' and scribes' errors in Slavonic translations. An absolute must-read for anyone attempting to do a critical edition in Slavonic or indeed for any non-Slavicist who wants to find out the specific challenges Slavic philologists face in editing Slavonic translations. If there was need for further illumination of some of the theoretical aspects presented by Stern, William Veder's chapter ('Slavonic text production, transmission and edition', pp. 251–275) provides abundant examples on several questions of transmission and the difficulties faced by philologists working on very early Slavic texts that were first translated using Glagolitic and then subsequently copied in Cyrillic, as well as the problems posed by cohabitation of these two scripts in case of a lost Glagolitic antigraph.

The second part consists of some of the papers presented at ATTEST in Regensburg, briefly introduced by Fuchsbauer and Tomelleri (pp. 279–282). Victor Baranov's chapter ('A text *Corpus of Medieval Manuscripts* as a goal and a tool for linguistic research', pp. 283–308) is an excellent example of how digital humanities applied to text analysis can produce unexpected results. The chapter also discusses the challenges involved in tagging and in correctly applying statistical analysis to the results. Ralph Cleminson's long expertise is encapsulated in a superb chapter ('Is a critical edition of the Slavonic *Apostolos* possible?', pp. 309–322), in which he asks the most poignant, and the most troublesome, question of the whole volume, namely, can we actually do what we say we are doing, i.e. critical editions? The answer is there, and Cleminson is one of the few people alive today who can answer it adequately. Again, a must read for anyone involved in producing a critical edition of a Slavonic text, including publishers and typesetters. The next chapter is devoted to one of the most difficult texts discussed in this entire volume, the catena of commentaries to the *Song of Songs*. Margaret Dimitrova and Ilya Petrov ('A Slavonic translation of a catena containing commentaries of the Song of

Songs: problems of its edition and further perspectives', pp. 323–329) analyse how productive can be using digital tools to enhance the study of a text which survives, like this one, in a single full copy from a manuscript from the Monastery of Rila. Of course the difficulty here is the presentation of the many textual layers, despite having a single manuscript. Needless to say, the use of visual tools, as presented in the Appendix, in the layout of editions of this type of texts is always welcome. The next chapter, by Anna Vechkaeva, Anna Novosyolova, Boris Orekhov and Roman Krivko, is devoted to the presentation of a long and wonderful project, 'The dictionary of the Russian language of the 11th–17th centuries as a database' (pp. 341–348). This is the shortest chapter of all for a reason: everything is online (<http://web-corpora.net/wsgi/oldrus.wsgi>), and it is the sheer enormity of the database rather than the complexity of the methodology or the innovation of its approach what is indeed remarkable. Anissava Miltenova's and Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov's chapter ('Editing Slavonic texts with fluctuating traditions: the case of the South Slavonic copies of *The Account of the Twelve Fridays*', pp. 349–378) deals with a very complex textual transmission and what they have called the 'fluctuating tradition', here defined as 'a flexible formation which underwent various substantial changes and served different purposes' (p. 353), again a well-known scenario for medieval Slavic scholars. The key, of course, is how to visually display and better use tools used in digital humanities to make justice to the impressive work presented in the four appendices to this chapter. Maria Mushinskaya and Anna Pichkhadze present a curious approach in their chapter, 'Problems of publishing Old Church Slavonic translations together with the originals: towards a critical edition of the Commentaries of Nicetas of Heraclea on 16 *Orations* of Gregory of Nazianzus with the Slavonic translation' (pp. 379–400) because, throughout the volume, several times the traditional Slavic, or Russo-Soviet, approach to editions of medieval texts has been criticised for its shortcomings, but was never properly explained to those unfamiliar to Slavic scholarship. In this chapter, the authors apply this method to Greek materials, and the result is nothing short of eye-opening, and illustrative of how different methodologies applied to the same corpus can render such different results. Food for thought. Similarly, Lora Taseva, in the last but one chapter, 'Greek critical apparatus to editions of Slavonic translations: necessity and (im)possibility' (pp. 401–425), discusses the pertinence of using Greek apparatuses of the source text of the Slavonic translations, and persuasively decides in their favour due to the many aspects they can illuminate in the Slavonic transmission as well. Easier said than done, of course, even if one is perfectly competent in both languages, and if one has the tools, and more importantly, the time to do so. The volume closes with a chapter

by Francis J. Thomson, which summarises his invaluable insights into many of the problems discussed by other authors in the volume. 'The problems of editing Slavonic translations' (pp. 427–439) is also a must-read for anyone thinking about becoming a medieval Slavic scholar. In it, Thomson discusses transmission, orthography, and many other things with the characteristic polymathy and attention to detail that marked all his scholarly production.

So, having arrived to this point, the problem is no longer ontological, but rather epistemological. Many of the chapters are devoted to what we euphemistically call 'research in progress' so we do not know how all the grand desiderata for the application of digital tools to critical editions really ended. The volume raises, however, some issues whose discussion might better resist the test of time: How do digital humanities, either as statistical analysis of textual corpora or as aids for display and visualisation, critically respond, if at all, to questions that traditional philology does not, or cannot? Despite all the digital aids, what decisions have to be invariably taken by the philologist? How does making a critical edition digital add real value to what has traditionally been done in paper? Posing questions is always much easier than providing answers, but questioning is the only way of making any progress in research. The many case studies provided in this volume, with all its tentative answers, by some of the most remarkable current experts in medieval Slavic philology, justifies the publication of this wonderful collective work.

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Stéphane Ancel, Magdalena Krzyżanowska and Vincent Lemire, *The Monk on the Roof: The Story of an Ethiopian Manuscript Found in Jerusalem* (*1904*). Translated from the French by Kate Matthams Spencer, Open Jerusalem, 4 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022). ISBN: 978-90-04-42385-5; E-book ISBN: 978-90-04-42386-2, 299 pp.

The volume at hand is a translation into English by Kate Matthams Spencer of the original published in French as *Le moine sur le toit: Histoire d'un manuscript éthiopien trouvé à Jérusalem* (*1904*) (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2020). Taking as a starting point an Amharic text composed by a certain Walda Madḫən in the Dayr al-Sulṭān monastery in Jerusalem, the book approaches the history of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem on the micro- and macroscopic level. The Amharic text was supposed to assert the claims of the Ethiopians for Dayr al-Sulṭān but it failed to fulfil this function. Nevertheless, it does not fail to open up a new perspective to the story of the past.

The book is divided into seven chapters followed by the edition and translation of the text in question and a series of appendices. The whole volume is a collective work by all three authors, Stéphane Ancel, Magdalena Krzyżanowska and Vincent Lemire, a choice which is discussed in the introduction. The introduction also offers a glimpse into the teamwork behind this book—a short but very useful text on the advantages and constraints of interdisciplinary research projects. In terms of their method applicable to the volume as the whole, the authors refer on several occasions to Carlo Ginzburg and microhistory (pp. 1, 5), although the presentation of this approach seems to be rather implicit.

Chaper 1, 'Dayr al-Sultan: A Rooftop Monastery', focuses on the history of the Ethiopic monastery in Jerusalem, its current state and its controversial legal status (both the Coptic Church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church claim possession of the monastery) and concludes with an overview of the studies of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem and their limitations.

Chapter 2, 'An Enigmatic Unpublished Manuscript', informs on the archives of the Ethiopian Orthodox community in Jerusalem, the first acquaintance of the authors with the manuscript in question, the description of its physical features, history, content, and language. The authors outline some aspects of the Ethiopian manuscript culture to better contextualize the manuscript, which is definitely of a great help for many readers. This is the portion where I would like to make some remarks.

On p. 58 the authors claim that the studied manuscript shows 'a random approach to punctuation'. The punctuation system of Ethiopic and later Amharic is briefly discussed on p. 50 in the following terms: 'Each word is sepa-

rated by two dots (in manuscript and printed works prior to the mid-twentieth century), while the end of the sentence is marked by four dots.' Of course, in such a study simplifications are inevitable, but the Ethiopic punctuation system appears to be more complex than described,[1] and I have no doubt that the authors are well-aware of that. It remains then unclear if the 'random approach to punctuation' means a disregard of the simple rule put in the book (see above) or if it takes into considerations also other, less-known and less-documented, punctuation practices.

The authors, discussing a peculiar mix of a well-trained hand and dubious Amharic, advance a hypothesis that Walda Madḫən, who judging from his title was a high ranking ecclesiastic, did not write the manuscript himself. On p. 62, they argue that: 'In Ethiopian culture the activity of writing was a job for specially trained scribes […] it was rare to find anyone holding high ecclesiastical office who also had the skills of a scribe'. As a reader I would appreciate references to the relevant studies. Judging from the presence of the original compositions or translations put down by some Ethiopian ecclesiastics, I would suggest that the situation might have been more complicated. Moreover, it would also be useful to precise which 'skills of a scribe' are meant. As the authors rightly write on the same page, Ethiopian professional scribes were trained in various aspects of manuscript production, including parchment making. In this particular case, we, however, deal only with the skill of writing.

On p. 58 the authors write that 'in many places sentence structure deviates markedly from the established grammatical rules respected in most of the Amharic texts of the period'. A curious student of the Amharic language would appreciate at least some references to the Amharic text of the period for comparison.

Chapter 3, 'The Archaeology of a Militant Propaganda Text', is a brilliant study of the text composed by Walda Madḫən, its origin, the goals of the author and the process of the composition of the text. It is an outstanding piece of textual analysis. The authors were able to uncover a complex structure of the narration, identify heterogeneous sources, and define the ways in which Walda Madḫən interpreted and adapted these sources. The chapter, moreover, offers a detailed and very instructive analysis of the language of the text in the light of the ultimate goal of the text composition.

Chapter 4, 'Conflicts and Protections: 1850–1903', gives a detailed and vivid overview of the historical context of the composition of the text by

1 See for example P. Marrassini, 'Interpunzione e fenomeni demarcativi nelle lingue semitiche', in E. Cresti, N. Maraschio, and L. Toschi, eds, *Storia e teoria dell'interpunzione. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Firenze, 19–21 maggio 1988* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1992), 501–521.

Walda Madḫən. The authors offered a spectacular historical landscape moving from a local, first that of Dayr al-Sulṭān, then of Jerusalem, to a global perspective. Chapter 5, 'With Memory as His Only Weapon', again zooms into the Ethiopian claims for Dayr al-Sulṭān, the situation with its legal and documentary support, and discusses the text by Walda Madḫən in this context.

Chapter 6, 'The Reflection of an Ethiopia in Transformation', depicts a changing perception of Jerusalem, real and symbolic, in the course of Ethiopian history, intricate relationships between the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches and their role in politics, and delivers insights into the life of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem, adding up yet a new dimension to the discussion of the text. Chapter 7, 'The Ethiopians in a Global City', puts the Ethiopian interest in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century in the wider context of the 'rediscovery' of Jerusalem by the main European powers and the policy of the Ottoman Empire. Later, the authors move to the description of the inter-community dynamic of Jerusalem and compare it with the image of the city depicted in the text by Walda Madḫən.

All the chapters on historical matters are very informative and clearly articulate interconnections between various events and tendencies. Moreover, they are supplied with enough information, in the text or in the footnotes, on the terms, sources, places or protagonists which allows readers with various backgrounds to follow the narration without difficulties. The narrative part of the book concludes with a short recapitulation of the situation about Dayr al-Sulṭān up to the current state which leads us back to Chapter 1.

The edition of the Amharic text by Walda Madḫən with parallel English translation and commentary follows the conclusion. The edition is supplied with a short introduction explaining technical details and editorial practices. The commentary is rich and includes, beside other things, references to the sources. Appendices 1–3 reproduce the sources for the Amharic text of Walda Madḫən, which is of great help. Appendix 4 is a short chronology of events from 1740 to 1906. Unfortunately, the authors do not provide any details on the purpose or focus of this chronology, on its starting and ending points. Attached is the list of sources and bibliography. The list of archival sources is impressive and marks a great achievement of the authors in negotiations with diverse institutions. The bibliography is thorough and incorporates works published in various languages, including Russian and Amharic. The volume concludes with an index of persons.

The book is a pleasant read. The text is featured by a nice composition and supplied with numerous and helpful illustrations. The position of the illustrations within the text is, however, sometimes questionable: the text and the illustrations are not always synchronized (for example, pp. 21, 24, 44, 45;

clearly, this may have been a decision of the publisher or a result of technical constraints). I was able to spot only few spelling inconsistencies, like the presence or absence of capitalization in the title 'King of Kings' (cp., for example, p. 139 vs. p. 153) or italicization of text titles (for example, p. 147 vs. p. 157).

The system of transliteration of the Amharic language (p. XVII) is sound and is of much advantage for non-Ethiopianists. However, there is no note on the transliteration of Ethiopic, sparsely attested in the book (for example, p. 52). The system applied is obviously the same, but this fact is obvious only to those who knows the language. A transliteration system of Arabic (present, for example, on maps and in personal names) is also lacking. Only one sentence on the usage of the symbol [ʿ] mentions the transliteration of Ethiopic, Arabic and Hebrew (p. XVII).

Despite minor criticism, I can only congratulate the authors on this seminal publication. The book offers a compelling and inspiring case of microhistorical approach to the study of a manuscript and is of much interest for a wide range of readers.

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Conference reports

Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 19

University of Copenhagen, 19–21 April 2023

The 19th International Seminar on the Care and Conservation of Manuscripts was held at the University of Copenhagen from 19 to 21 April 2023, organized by Matthew Driscoll, Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir, Katarzyna Kapitan, and Seán Vrieland. For three days, over two hundred scholars, conservators, librarians, archivists, curators got together to discuss their research in the various subfields of manuscript studies, preservation and conservation.

As in the past instalments, a number of papers featured dealt with middle oriental manuscript traditions.

Just to provide some examples, Hebrew manuscript making was the subject of the talk by Roni Anaki (West Dean College) '*Gevil*, the Jewish Parchment: Is it Truly Parchment?'. Alessandro Sidoti (National Central Library, Florence) spoke of 'The Conservation of the Jewish Scroll of the National Library of Florence'.

Islamic manuscript preservation was considered by Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed (Ain Shams University, Cairo) in his paper on 'Collection Management of Islamic Manuscripts at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo: Study for Conservation and Digitization'. Mandana Barkeshli (UCSI University, Kuala Lumpur) presented on 'Shades of Coloured Papers in Medieval Persian Manuscripts Using Blue Turnsole (*kabudak*): History, Material Technology and Reconstruction'. Nil Baydar (General Directorate for Manuscripts in Turkey, Istanbul) offered 'A Study of Paper in Mehmed II's Manuscript Collection'. The case study of Paul Hepworth (Independent conservator, Istanbul) concerned 'The Shah Tahmasp Album: Its Makers and their Intentions'.

Several papers dealt with Christian oriental traditions. Preservation of Coptic manuscripts was the concern of Eliana Dal Sasso (Universität Hamburg) in her presentation 'The Effect of the Text-focused Interest on the Preservation of Coptic Bookbinding'. Zoitsa Gkinni (National Library of Greece) approached the ethical questions concerned with the conservation of Byzantine (but not only) manuscripts in her presentation 'Ethics and Decision Making in the Conservation of Codices'. Abigail Quandt (The Walters, Baltimore) spoke of 'A Living Tradition: An Introduction to the Production and Use of Manuscripts in Ethiopia from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day'.

A significant number of papers dealt with universal issues of analysis (pigments, writing support) and conservation that can be applied to manuscripts of any tradition.

It was announced that the 20th Seminar shall take place in Copenhagen in April 2025. For a full programme visit <https://nors.ku.dk/cc/>.

Red.

Byzantium from a Global Perspective II: Byzantium and the Islamicate World

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 28–30 June 2023

Within the format of the Mainz History Talks, a series of three workshops with the overarching title 'Mainz-Princeton Symposia: Reflections on Byzantium from a Global Perspective' is organized from 2022 to 2025 by the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton (IAS) and the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz (JGU). These Symposia seek to situate conceptions of Byzantium within a 'global' context by examining the relevance of Byzantium, with each of the three gatherings dedicated to a specific regional or chronological milieu and reflecting upon Byzantium from a global perspective. As a culture and polity geographically spanning three continents and chronologically bridging Antiquity and the Renaissance, Byzantium meant entirely different things to its neighbors at different points in its history. Moreover, beyond examining actual connections between Byzantium and other cultures, leading experts of various disciplines participating in these conversations are called upon to reflect upon Byzantium and to describe what is Byzantium's relevance in a general sense as a foil or a point of reference for them, for their approach to global history and their fields more broadly.

The second of these three workshop was convened by Johannes Pahlitzsch (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz), Sabine Schmidtke (IAS Princeton), and Zachary Chitwood (Mainz) from 28 to 30 June 2023 on the grounds of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. It focused on Byzantium and the Islamicate world. The papers offered represented a broad swathe of Byzantine Studies as well as fields touching upon the history of the premodern Middle East. Among other questions, the workshop participants examined to what extent Byzantium can be understood as part of a broader premodern history of the Islamicate world, even though, despite the empire's manifold political and cultural connections with that region, it is more often associated with western Latin Europe as well as the Slavic world. Other queries which the gathering's attendees attempted to answer was what extent does Byzantium figure within

conceptions of the premodern Islamicate world, in the sense of a shared cultural space, and what form future cooperation between Byzantine Studies and fields covering the premodern Middle East should take and to what degree disciplinary boundaries are here justified or rather a hindrance.

The papers included those focusing on the Byzantine and Islamic history, such as Hugh Kennedy's (University of London) on 'The Cavalry Turn in Early Islamic Warfare and Its Wider Consequences' or Christian Sahner's (University of Oxford) on 'The Maronites in the Early Middle Ages: "Byzance après Byzance" or an "Islamic Church"?'. Alexandra Cuffel (Ruhr University Bochum) focused on 'Legalists' Quandary: Muslims Seeking Baptism in Byzantium, Armenia and the Levant'. Thomas Carlson (University of California Santa Barbara) spoke on 'Distorting Mirrors and Diversity Management: Comparing Byzantine and Muslim Rulers' Policies, c. 950-1450'. Christopher Markiewicz (University of Birmingham) presented on 'Ottoman Byzantium circa 1500: The Ideological and Material Role of Byzantium in the Ottoman Imperial Project'. Johannes Pahlitzsch (Mainz) spoke of 'Space and Orthodox Christianity: "Byzantium beyond Byzantium"'. Zachary Chitwood (Mainz) presented the first results of his ERC Starting Grant project 'MAMEMS: Mount Athos in Medieval Eastern Mediterranean Society' in his talk on 'Byzantium's Hagiorite Legacy, Mount Athos and the Medieval Middle East'.

Several papers were interested in the view from the periphery of the Byzantine empire, including Christopher MacEvitt (Dartmouth College), 'A View from the Edge: Byzantium in Frankish and Armenian Eyes', or Dorothea Weltecke (Humboldt University Berlin), 'Questions for the Byzantinists: Observations from the Perspective of the History of the Syrian Orthodox Church'.

Some papers revisited the themes and contents of Byzantine and Islamicate works, such as Alice Croq (École pratique des hautes études, Paris) who focused on 'Common Representations of the Afterlife in Byzantium and the Near East', Daniella Talmon-Heller (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), with her 'Incorporating Byzantine Traditions into the Comparative Study of Aural and Material Aspects of Sacred Scriptures'. Robert Hoyland (New York University) offered an interesting glimpse upon 'The Translation of Non-Scientific Texts between Greek and Arabic and Their Circulation in the Byzantine and Islamic Worlds in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries'.

Full programme is available at <https://mht.uni-mainz.de/byzantium-in-a-global-perspective-ii-byzantium-and-the-islamicate-world/>.

Red.

Studying Written Artefacts: Challenges and Perspectives

Universität Hamburg, 27–29 September 2023

From 27 to 29 September the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' at Universität Hamburg convened a three-day conference dedicated to the study of written artefacts, which were defined as any artificial or natural object that has written or pictorial (visual) signs. This definition includes the traditional notions of manuscripts, in all attested book forms, and inscriptions, and at the same time goes well beyond these broad categories.

Encouraging a comparative perspective in geographical and chronological terms, the conference drew attention to emerging research topics and innovative methodological approaches from within the humanities and natural and computer sciences. Contributions focused on the study of creation, transmission, and archiving of written artefacts; on single written artefacts important for their revealing features or their challenging typology and categorisation; on small- and large-scale theoretical reflections; and on the ethical aspects of research.

Three parallel panels hosted the many conference papers and posters which reflected the vast scope of themes covered by the projects within the Cluster. While it is impossible to duly dwell on each paper presented in a brief report, we herewith present a glimpse at some of the highlights particularly relevant for the comparative oriental manuscript studies, where oriental refers to cultures connected to the historical Near East and the Mediterranean.

The panel dedicated to 'Signs for the Gods: A Comparative Analysis of the Ritual Use of Writing' featured the paper by Leah Mascia (Universität Hamburg) on 'Pseudo-Scripts and Invented Signs: The Ritual Use of Writing in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt'. Mascia reminded how in Roman and Late Antique Egypt, pseudo-scripts and invented signs were used in the composition of a wide variety of ritual texts. The act of writing columns of pseudo-hieroglyphs on a coffin or a sequence of charaktêres on a lead curse tablet was primarily a sacred gesture meant to increase the ritual significance of these written artefacts. For instance, as the Greco-Egyptian magical handbooks inform us, the act of writing these unintelligible signs on ritual objects represented an essential stage in the performance of ritual procedures. While presumably originating within the native religious institutions or, at least, taking inspiration from traditional ritual compositions, these pseudo-scripts and invented signs long survived the decline of the Egyptian temples, being part of a ritual knowledge transmitted to practitioners with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Her paper explored under which circumstances these pseu-

do-scripts came into being, their value in reconstructing the ritual procedures associated with ritual practices, and how their uses and functions changed after the decline of the Egyptian temples and the rise of the Christian religion.

Mascia revisited the written tradition of Roman Egypt in another paper, 'Cultural and Religious Identity in Roman Egypt: Texts and Paratexts in a Funerary Context', which she offered during the panel on 'Multilingual Paratexts Conveying Identities'. The funerary practices of Roman Egypt well reflect the results of the long coexistence between native and foreign inhabitants. Coffins, funerary textiles, mummy cases, and canopic chests continued to be inscribed in the Roman period with ritual inscriptions in the Egyptian language. On the other hand, many of these funerary artefacts also preserve Greek inscriptions providing essential information for the identification of the deceased. Interestingly, these latter texts were often scribbled in spaces apparently not meant to host inscriptions but rather originally occupied exclusively by decorative programmes. In this sense, many of these Greek inscriptions should be considered as later paratextual additions that probably reflect a different stage of the funerary praxis, a different audience and perhaps a different agency. While the Egyptian ritual inscriptions remark on the long continuity in the Roman phase of a tradition dating back to the Pharaonic period, these paratextual elements inform us of the adaptation of the native customs to the multicultural society of Greco-Roman Egypt. The paper aimed at demonstrating how an indepth examination of these funerary artefacts and their contexts might help us in understanding the reasons behind the origins of this textual production. Also in the 'Multilingual Paratexts' panel, Floris Bernard (Ghent University) offered an overview of 'Scribal Colophons in Manuscripts across the Medieval Mediterranean'. His paper focused on the shared aspects of scribal colophons found in manuscripts written in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, Coptic, and other languages. They are often short and formulaic, but may also contain elements of prayer, dedication, and/or exhortation. They make use of a repertoire of similes and metaphors which are strikingly similar across the different languages of the medieval Mediterranean. These similarities have sometimes been remarked upon, but not systematically explored. After an overview of some examples and a discussion of possible trajectories of translation at the hand of metrical structure and vocabulary, the paper explored the dissemination of typical motifs connected to the self-representation of the scribe and his manual work, arguing that the similarities between colophons written in different languages reflect a shared book culture across the medieval Mediterranean. Another panel, 'Paracontent and its Different Scopes', was also interested in paratexts. There, Yousry Elseadawy (Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and So-

cieties) spoke on ‘The Reception of Kalīlah wa-Dimnah Approached through Their Manuscript Notes’. The scholar is compiling a corpus of notes found in the extant 150 manuscripts of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, primarily on their title and colophon pages. The notes shall be edited and contextualized within the scribal practice documented in the manuscript’s main text.

A panel was dedicated to Ethiopic manuscript cataloguing through the prism of the Hamburg-based long-term project ‘Beta maṣāḥəft’. Alessandro Bausi (Universität Hamburg), in his presentation ‘The Essential of Cataloguing’, introduced the project principles placing them in the historical cataloguing context. In his paper ‘Encoding Catalogues: The EMIP Project’, Ralph Lee (Oxford Centre for Mission Studies / Institute for Orthodox Christian Studies, Cambridge) illustrated how the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project has been using the infrastructure of ‘Beta maṣāḥəft’ to make their rich data widely available. Daria Elagina (Universität Hamburg) concentrated on the experience of re-cataloguing Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Library, comparing it to that of the nineteenth-century cataloguer in her talk ‘William Wright: A Victorian Scholar in the Digital Age’. She showed that, as complicated as the digital encoding of a historical catalogue might be, this task cannot be compared with the laborious work conducted by Wright. Fortunately, some insights on various aspects of his work were generously shared by Wright himself in correspondence with his colleagues and friends. These details allow us to look at the catalogue from a new perspective, which, despite a gap of 150 years, is surprisingly relatable to the scholars of the digital age.

Ethiopic manuscripts were also in the focus of the paper by Aaron Butts (Universität Hamburg) on ‘Intersections between Philology and Manuscript Studies: An Ethiopic Case (EMML 1939)’, offered within the panel ‘The Role of Philology in Manuscript Studies’. He used a small erasure in this fifteenth-century manuscript to illustrate how philology (particularly, textual transmission) allows for a richer manuscript story. On the example of a set of irregular linguistic forms attested in one text of this multitext manuscript, he then showed how a manuscript perspective can inform philology in the wider sense, in this case particularly language and linguistics. Interestingly, he concluded that philology and manuscript studies would arrive to a different answer to the question, what constitutes a text in this manuscript, highlighting once again some of the potentially-unresolvable tensions between philology and manuscript studies.

Another paper in the Philology panel, Giuseppe de Gregorio’s (University of Bologna) ‘Philology vs Manuscriptology? Examples of Interactions from Greek Manuscript Studies’, also sought to explore the tensions and harmonies between philology and codicology on the example of Byzantine writ-

ten culture. His examples offered possible solutions on how the more traditional fields (palaeography, codicology, philology) could work together with material analysis and new technologies, aiming at a comprehensive analysis of texts and written artefacts in their material as well as cultural and historical dimension.

Philological and codicological study of Greek manuscripts was also the focus of the study by the team of another Hamburg-based long-term Academy project, 'Etymologica', offered during the session 'Artefacts and Texts on the Move'. Alessandro Musino, Stefano Valente, and Eva Wöckener-Gade (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg / Universität Hamburg), in their paper 'Crossroads of Knowledge in Greek Lexicographic Manuscripts: Exploring Mutual Interactions between the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the *Etymologicum Genuinum*', In the Greek Middle Ages, a considerable number of lexica were produced in contexts of learning and scholarship. Such lexica were not regarded as fixed texts; each new manuscript might transmit a revised or enhanced version, adapting the contents to the changing interests and needs of new generations of users. In this intense cultural and material process of reshaping form and content, the boundaries between different lexica blur, as could be illustrated by comparing several witnesses of the two closely related Byzantine Greek lexica, the ninth-century *Etymologicum Genuinum* and the eleventh-century *Etymologicum Gudianum*. During the poster session, the project team (Christian Brockmann, Stefano Valente, Louiza Argyriou, Daniel Deckers, Alessandro Musino, and Eva Wöckener-Gade) offered a posted entitled 'Presenting a Multi-Layered Manuscript of a Byzantine Greek Lexicon within a Responsive Digital Edition'. They showed, on the example of one of the manuscripts (MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticano, gr. 70) how a responsive digital edition may reflect the complex evolution of the text as transmitted by the codex, where the core text consisting in a preliminary version has then been supplemented by its producers in several steps, resulting in additional textual layers recognisable in the marginal and interlinear spaces.

The session 'Artefacts and Texts on the Move' also hosted a paper by Susana Torres Prieto (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute) on 'Travelling Books: From Archive to Canon in Kyivan Rus''. She explored the networks in which the codices travelled from Kyiv to the rest of the monastic foundations in Kyivan Rus', drawing evidence from the few colophons but also from linguistic, palaeographic, and codicological analysis. The resulting map not only shows the relevance of certain works in certain areas, but also allows us to understand which works were available to whom, where, and when, so we might be able to understand the possibilities and accessibility that the authors of the newly converted Rus' had to previous sources. It is under this new ma-

terial approach of accessibility that one can start understanding the shaping of the literary canon that subsequently emerged.

Three papers made up the panel 'Arabic Manuscripts as Cultural Creations and Manifestations of Power'. Alya Karame (Collège de France, Paris), spoke on 'Beyond the Role of Ibn Muqla: Writing as a Cultural Vehicle'. The tenth century CE witnessed a major transformation in Arabic manuscript making (introduction of paper in the eastern Islamic lands) and calligraphy (two new scripts gradually replaced the Kufic for copying the Qurʾān. The Abbasid penman, vizier Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940), was particularly known for his elegant handwriting; a treatise on penmanship attributed to him survives today, though his intervention in the script reform has been debated in modern scholarship. The paper connected the material evidence from the period with contemporaneous textual sources. By contextualising the script changes within their broader social and religious milieu, the author moved beyond the question of Ibn Muqla's role and towards an understanding of why and how the script changes happened. The paper by Zohra Azgal (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) focused on another tenth-century development in Arabic written tradition in her paper on 'Learning, Transmission, and Prestige: The Manuscript Tradition of a Handbook of Qurʾānic Textual Variants', that is, the emergence of *qirāʾāt* handbooks, discussing the variation in Qurʾānic readings. The author focused on the famous twelfth-century manual, the *Ḥirz al-Amānī* (*al-Šāṭibiyya*) by Abū-l-Qāsim al-Šāṭibī and examined the main characteristics of 30 witnesses dated between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. The analysis shed light on how the techniques used contributed to a normalization and standardization of the presentation of these manuals. Three distinct practices seemed to emerge: the copy intended to be learnt by heart, the copy for commentary, and the luxury copy which underlines the prestige that the possession of this very technical *qirāʾāt* manual could represent. A later period was covered by Adeline Laclau (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) in her talk 'From Mamluk Barracks to Sultans' Libraries. A Case Study on an Original Production of Manuscripts in the 15th-Century Egypt'. Many manuscripts produced within the Mamluk military barracks bear witness to the existence of a unique manuscript production in the Islamic world. The paper discussed the particularities of the book production in military barracks and the reception of manuscripts by sultans and emirs through an in-depth study of a dozen illuminated manuscripts. It highlighted information and research perspectives that can be drawn from the study of these manuscripts in order to deepen our knowledge of the social and intellectual history, as well as the manuscript and artistic production, in the military circles of the late Mamluk period.

The Arabic manuscripts were also treated by Arianna d'Ottone (Sapienza – University of Rome) in her paper 'Challenging Texts: Encrypted Qurʾans in the Arabic-Islamic Manuscript Culture', offered within the session entitled 'Beyond the Text'. She presented two manuscripts of encrypted Qurʾāns produced in India, one in the sixteenth and one in the eighteenth century. Growing interest is given to encrypted manuscripts that represent a category which goes beyond the original language of their text, allowing specialists of various domain to speak about encryption as a third, common factor. The author considered how the script interacts with other semiotic systems linked to the visual perception. In the same panel, Murtaza Shakir (Aljamea-tus-Saifiyah) presented on the Arabic embroideries in his paper 'Conversing with the Inverse: Contextualizing the Inverse Calligraphy in the *Ṭirāz* of the Fatimid Era'.

The session on 'Written Artefacts between History and Layout' hosted a paper by Ali Mashhadi Rafi (Farhangian University of Alborz) dedicated to 'Key Indicators for Identification of the Manuscripts of Persian Epistolography Handbooks from Safavid Era (1501–1722)'. Persian manuscript tradition is rich in handbooks in epistolography. During the reign of Safavid dynasty, a new format for epistolary handbooks was normally prepared and compiled in form of pocket manuscripts aiming to instruct young scribes. The paper summarized the characteristics of this new format both in terms of appearance (size, script, paper, illumination, etc.) and the content (text structure, chaptering, literary style, etc.).

Islamic manuscripts were also featured in the panel 'Islamicate Manuscript Cultures: New Trends', which opened with the paper by Christiane Czygan (Orient-Institute Istanbul) on 'The Agency of the Hamburg Divan Manuscript by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1554) and Its Readership'. She tried to answer the question, why the Sultan commissioned MS Hamburg, Cod. orient. 257a shortly before leaving Istanbul for his Eastern campaign in 1553, and wondered who readers of this and other Divan manuscripts by Sultan Süleyman were. She revealed how the Divans functioned as symbols of cultural power. Nazlı Vatansever (Universität Wien) analyzed Ottoman compilations (*mecmua*s) in her presentation 'On Categorization of Ottoman MTMs: Criteria, Method, and Practice'. Hagit Nol (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt) spoke of 'The (un)Forgotten Dipinto Texts of Early Islam: Chronology and Distribution'. She examined *dipinti* (lit. painted, ink or paint writings on structures, objects, artefact fragments, and raw materials) from the sixth to tenth century from Africa, Europe, and West Asia, with a focus on the Middle East (Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan-Israel/Palestine). Lucia Raggetti and Marianna Marchini (University of Bologna) presented on 'The Stage Magic of Writ-

ing. Written Artefacts for Entertainment and Deception in Arabic Technical Literature'. The Arabic tradition has preserved four treatises dedicated to the technical knowledge that lays the foundations of entertainment and deception. The replication of the material reality behind the texts helps differentiating the technical elements from the literary ones, and allows to define the kernels of knowledge that constituted 'street science'. Moreover, the reconstruction of the performance opens a fresh perspective on the position that writing and written artefacts occupied among people, involving their cognitive dimension and shared knowledge.

A different type of Islamic scientific manuscripts was analyzed by Scott Trigg (Université PSL-Observatoire de Paris, SYRTE, CNRS) in his paper on 'Manuscript Diagrams as Tools of Reasoning in Islamicate Astronomy', part of the session 'Is There Anything Special about Scientific Manuscripts?'. The author explored examples of manuscript diagrams as specific physical objects found in several Islamicate astronomy texts and commentaries produced from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, arguing that diagrams were not merely helpful visual aids but in fact fulfilled a vital function as tools of reasoning, reflecting specific ways of thinking about problems, concepts, and models in astronomy and communicating these thoughts to other readers/viewers In the same session, Divna Manolova (Université PSL-Observatoire de Paris, SYRTE, CNRS) also focused on astronomical diagrams, but in the Greek tradition, in her paper 'On How Scientific Manuscripts Make Readers Move: A Discussion of Scripts, Lines, and Colours in Byzantine Astronomical Diagrams'.

Among the many posters featured in the conference poster session quite a few presented case studies from the Mediterranean Near East and connected cultures. Nina Niedermeier's (Deutsches Studienzentrum in Venedig) poster was devoted to 'From Handwriting to Printing and Back – Illuminated Ester Scrolls as a Hybrid Medium'. Denis Nosnitsin (Universität Hamburg) presented a poster on 'Manuscript Making Photographed: Scribes and Their Work as They Appear in Early Photographs from Ethiopia and Eritrea'.

A number of highly interesting papers were dedicated to the digital turn in manuscript studies, including material analysis and computer-assisted recovery of hands, images, patterns, or text identification. Just to list some examples. Olivier Bonnerot and José Maksimczuk (Universität Hamburg) spoke on 'An Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Greek Manuscript Vat. Reg. gr. 116 (Manuscript Studies, Textual Criticism, Ink Analysis)', or Maria Teresa Catalano (Universität zu Köln) highlighted the 'Advantages and Limits of RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging) Applied to Byzantine Sigillography'.

A series of round tables on research and ethics concluded the conference.

For a full programme and a book of abstracts visit < https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/uwa2023.html>.

Red.

Archäologie der Handschrift – Erschließung, Präsentation und Forschung im digitalen Raum

Freiburg im Breisgau, 9–11 Oktober 2023

Handwritten text recognition, digital humanities and artificial intelligence software are revolutionizing the presentation and research of not only the manuscripts themselves, but also enable access to an archive of knowledge that has so far been largely excluded from systematic access by research was. As early as the 1960s, the German Research Foundation (DFG) responded to the outstanding importance of manuscript traditions for all historical disciplines by setting up a funding program for scientific cataloguing. Since 2018, the beginning of the DFG-funded systematic digitization of manuscripts has heralded a new era. With six manuscript centers, a library-supported infrastructure has been created since the 1970s, also on the initiative of the DFG, which allows a concentration of cataloguing and later digitization projects at specialized competence institutions. The research efforts also led to a simultaneous paradigm shift on the part of the historical disciplines. With the so-called 'traditional history method', material philology and the material turn, new methodological approaches and theories have repeatedly taken the specific value of manuscript tradition into account in recent decades. In Germany alone, several centres of manuscript studies have emerged, including the DFG-funded research groups 'Material Text Cultures' in Heidelberg and 'Manuscript Cultures' in Hamburg (the latter transformed in the larger 'Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures', most recently home of the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts'), the Academy of Sciences projects 'Handschriftencensus' and 'Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdiH)', or the re-established 'Center for Manuscript Research' at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. These and many other projects are, however, often insufficiently networked and often run parallel to each other. As digital transformation advances, the need to link these structurally separate spheres and create a common discourse is becoming increasingly virulent.

Against this background, Racha Kirakosian, Christoph Mackert, and Hans-Jochen Schiewer from Freiburg convened a national conference from 9 to 11 October 2023 offering space to various projects featuring digital ap-

proaches to manuscripts from various traditions, with the focus being medieval European, first of all German-speaking area.

In order to ensure the necessary diversity and sufficient depth at the same time, the conference focused on five central topics: (1) Portals and their use; (2) Interinstitutional and interdisciplinary standard development; (3) OCR, handwriting and Artificial Intelligence; (4) Natural and material science methods in manuscript research, and (5) Young scholars, education and research. The program was supplemented by an evening round table on current changes in usage scenarios and their impact on the offerings of memory institutions and a final panel with representatives from foundations, universities, libraries and politics who discussed options for shaping the future exchange and development.

In the first panel, the major manuscript portals in the German-speaking area were presented, including the new Handschriftenportal (HSP, *handschriftenportal.de*) for Germany, *manuscripta.at* for Austria and *e-codices* for Switzerland. Specific project-based portals featured included Handschriftencensus (*handschriftencensus.de*), Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdiH, *https://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/*), Index Librorum Civitatum (ILC, *https://www.stadtbuecher.de/*), and other German-language databases, but also Pinakes (*https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/*) was among the portals presented as an international reference system. In the second panel, the development of standards discussed ranged from the updated manuscript cataloguing guidelines of the DFG (Carolin Schreiber, Berlin) to the data storage formats established by the Nationale Forschungsdateninfrastruktur (NFDI; Andrea Rapp, Darmstadt) to adaptation of unified authority file systems (such as the GND Integrated Authority File; Robert Giel, Berlin). In the third panel, the projects featured included '*eScripta*: A New Digital Platform for the Study of Historical Texts and Writing' (Benjamin Kiessling, Paris) or 'MultiHTR - Multilinguale Handschriftenerkennung' (Achim Rabus, Freiburg). The fourth panel hosted such papers as, for example, José Maksimczuk and Olivier Bonnerot (Hamburg), 'Ink Analysis with the Combination of UV-vis-NIR Reflectography and XRFDr' or Zina Cohen (Berlin), 'History of a Scriptorium through its Scribal Production: Analyses in Red and Black'.

For the full programme visit <https://archaeologie-der-handschrift.de/>.

Red

Priests and their Manuscripts in the Holy Land and Sinai

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 8–10 November 2023

Where did priests learn to read and write? What did they copy and where? How did their libraries look? What did they do with their books? Little is known about these topics, and a general overview is missing. From 8 to 10 November 2023, Giulia Rossetto (Austrian Academy of Sciences), PI of the project 'Priests, Books and the Library at Saint Catherine's (Sinai)' (Austrian Science Fund FWF, grant no. T 1192-G, 2020–2023), convened an international conference at the Institute for Medieval Research, Department of Byzantine Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences to address these and related topics and to shed light on the social and cultural role of priests active in the Holy Land and Sinai during the Byzantine and immediate post-Byzantine period, and writing in the many languages of the Christian Orient.

The first conference session was dedicated to the 'Social Contexts of Inscriptions and Papyri'. Daniel K. Reynolds (Birmingham) spoke of 'The Social Role of Priests in Late Roman Palaestina and Arabia', and Ofer Pogorelsky (Jerusalem) focused on 'Priests, Monks, and Libraries: Evidence from the Papyri of Late Antique Nessana'. The session on the 'Social Contexts of Texts and Images' featured papers by Daniel Oltean (Leuven) on 'Becoming a Monk in the Holy Land During the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods' and Michele Bacci (Pisa) on 'Clerics in the Figurative Contexts of the Holy Land and Sinai'. Daniel Galadza (Vienna and Kyiv) offered a keynote lecture on 'The Liturgy and Liturgical Books of Priests and Scribes in the Holy Land'.

The session on 'Priests and Literacy' offered papers by Nina Sietis (Rome) on 'Literacy and Writing Practices between the 8th and 9th Centuries' and Ilias Nesseris (Vienna) on 'Priests as Scribes and Owners of Manuscripts in the Holy Land and Sinai: A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis'.

The session 'Priests and their "Libraries"' offered floor to Alexander Treiger (Dalhousie University), who spoke on 'Sālih ibn Saʿīd (ca. 1040) and His Manuscripts: Zooming in on an Arab Orthodox Priest's Marginal Notes', to Mariafrancesca Sgandurra (Rome Tor Vergata), who related on 'Liturgical Manuscripts Commissioned by Bishop Arsenios of Sinai in the Late 13th Century', and Vevian Zaki (Munich), who presented her research 'From Nilus of Damascus to Simon of Emesa: Clusters of Manuscript Production at Mount Sinai across the Centuries'.

The panel 'Priests and their Manuscripts' featured talks by Giulia Rossetto (Vienna), 'The Euchologia of Saint Catherine's Monastery: Readers and

Owners' and Maxim Venetskov (Glasgow), 'Sinaitic Readers of Gospel and Apostle Manuscripts: Between the Text and Multiple Paratexts'.

Among the presenters of the first part of the session 'Multilingual Levant', Nina Glibetić (University of Notre Dame) spoke on 'Glagolitic Sinai Manuscripts and their Scribes: Negotiating Ecclesial Identity in an International Monastic Community', Tinatin Chronz (Mainz) referred on 'John Zosime, the First Georgian Liturgiologist in the Holy Land and Sinai', and Denis Nosnitsin and Dorothea Reule (Hamburg) offered a presentation on 'Ethiopian Christian Manuscript-Making Abroad: The Ethiopic Collection of St. Catherine's Revisited'. The second part of the 'Multilingual Levant' session included presentations by Adrian Pirtea (Berlin) on 'Safeguarding the Patristic Heritage at the Dawn of the First Crusade: Sinai Arab. 481 and its Scribe, the Priest Butrus (Peter)' and Natalia Smelova (Manchester) on 'Jerusalem and Antioch on Sinai: A Study into the Syriac Liturgical Manuscripts Copied by Priests'.

The final session was dedicated to 'Priests and Book-Production'. Here, Samuel Bauer (Regensburg) talked on 'Early Printed Greek Euchologia on Mt. Sinai' and Georgios Boudalis (Thessaloniki) presented an overview of 'Manuscript Repair, Binding and Rebinding at Saint Catherine's Monastery during the 17th and 18th Centuries'.

For a full programme, visit <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/events/event-details/priests-and-their-manuscripts>.

Red.

Perceptions of Writing in Papyri. Crossing Close and Distant Readings

Basel University, 7–8 December 2023 (online)

The online conference was convened on 7 and 8 December 2023 by Claire Clivaz (DH+, SIB, CH & RSCS, UCLouvain, BE) and Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello (Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Basel), and organized in the framework of the SNSF starting grant EGRAPSA (n° 211682), led by Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello. The conference's purpose was to analyse how digital culture has changed the perceptions of writing styles in papyri. Studies conducted by modern scholars have always been the main way of evaluating papyri, determining their dates and content.

Selected papers focused on the current ways scholars view the aesthetics of papyri in a world where close and distant readings are intersecting more every day. A large part of ancient scholarship successfully used the traditional close read, whereas today, a small group of newer scholars have integrated

computer analysis into their research. The following questions were addressed: To what extent is computer analysis of quantitative data bringing objectivity into the study of writing styles in papyri? What are the potential limits or biases of computer analysis? Does this confirm insights from the past, or to the contrary, does this change our evaluation of dates, content, and genre implications within papyri studies? These questions were reviewed considering the various fields currently working with papyri in different languages.

The conference was opened by Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello, who summarized the 'State of the Art in Computational Paleography of Papyri: at Hand, Hopes and Wishes' with a focus on recent works on Greek papyri especially identification of writers and evaluation of stylistic similarities. An opening lecture by Jean-Luc Fournet (Collège de France, Paris) followed, who contemplated on 'Understanding a Text before Reading it? The Contribution of a Document's form to its Interpretation'. He showed how the materiality of the papyrus as an object contributes to the understanding of the nature and purpose of the transmitted text, and offered possibilities to consider it in the computer analyses that are developing in the field of papyrology.

The first panel, 'Distant View', featured the talk by Dominique Stutzmann (IRHT, Paris and Humboldt-Universität, Berlin), who presented on 'Closeness, Distance, and Identification of Writers in Latin Paleography'. Detailed taxonomies have been developed in Latin palaeography, which has been able to quickly benefit from the contributions of computer vision. The scholar showed how computer-supported analysis of such elements as spacing between the letters can reveal the 'rhythm' of handwriting and contribute to dating and localizing of entire manuscripts. In her paper on the 'Hieratic Script in the Graeco-Roman Period: New Perspectives in the Wake of a Project Devoted to Funerary Texts', Sandrine Vuilleumier (University of Basel) used the findings of the project 'Beyond the Text. New Funerary Compositions from the Graeco-Roman Period: Textualities and Archaeology in Thebes', supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF). She illustrated the methodology developed within the project to analyse hieratic script in funerary manuscripts, highlighting the limitations and scientific advantages that can be derived from such an analysis.

Three papers were grouped in the panel 'Christian Papyri'. Claire Clivaz inquired about the evolution of the scholarly perception of P^{45} (Dublin, Chester Beatty, BP I) and in 0171 (PSI I 2 + PSI II 124) in her paper 'Looking Digitally at two manuscripts: 0171 and P^{45} in Scholarship'. She showed how the availability of digital images of these two manuscripts allowed the scholars to make assertions that would have been difficult to demonstrate before the digital era. Laurent Pinchard (Institut Catholique de Paris) addressed the issue of how 'classical' textual criticism can benefit from electronic resources especially

when addressing the question of 'free' transmission in early manuscripts in his paper 'Testing the Boismard-Lamouille Theory on *Acts* 16.13–17.10 in P127: Heresy or Evidence?'. In her paper 'What a Magical Tool! Studying Coptic Apocrypha and Magic in the Age of Databases', Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin (University of Oslo) discussed how two recently created databases (the *Apocrypha Database* and the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts*) impacted her own research on the relationship between Coptic apocrypha and magic, in particular with regards to the analysis of content and paratextual features, as well as the evaluation of dates and provenance. A fourth paper on Christian Papyri by Garrick V. Allen (University of Glasgow), 'The Aesthetics of Handwriting in Greek Papyri. Paleography and Understanding' was scheduled but not presented orally (a written contribution to the proceedings is being considered).

The first panel of the second conference day was dedicated to 'Digital Palaeography'. Mladen Popović (University of Groningen) spoke on 'Assessing Writing Style and Quality by Combining Traditional Palaeography and AI: the Case of the Great Isaiah Scroll from the Dead Sea Scrolls'. He explored how quantitative data from computer analysis can assist in palaeographic analysis when assessing writing style and quality, also with regard to basic questions such as: what is quality and how do we know? Pedro Garcia-Baro and Giuseppe de Gregorio (Universities of Zurich and Basel) illustrated the work done with their colleagues Olga Serbaeva and Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello based on the results of the recently ended SNSF project, 'Reuniting Fragments, Identifying Scribes and Characterizing Scripts: the Digital Paleography of Greek and Coptic Papyri (D-scribes)'. In their paper 'Biblical Majuscule: Computer Spotted Features and Palaeographer's Perception', they showed how the annotation of *c*.150 *Iliad* papyri (with the help of the platform called 'READ: Research Environment for Ancient Documents') opens new possibilities in the analysis of difficult cases, in particular on the specific question of the variability within one hand (intrawriter variation) and variation among different hands (inter-writer variation). They illustrated how computer-based methods can assist palaeographers handling and visualizing a massive quantity of data, but also extracting features that do not correspond to traditional palaeographical categories. Another project, aimed at developing a reliable digital tool that can automatically identify handwritings and accurately date chronologically uncertain documents on papyrus, headed by Giuseppina Azzarello at the University of Udine, was showcased by Nicola Reggiani (University of Udine) in his talk on 'The Artificial Papyrologist at Work: Automatic Identification of Scribes and Dating of Handwritings in an Ongoing Project at the University of Udine—Theoretical Outlines and Case Studies'. He focused on the case studies of the Ptolemaic archives of Zenon and Menches.

The final conference panel was dedicated to 'Natural Language Processing and Documentary Papyri'. In her paper 'Writer's Style in Greek Documentary Papyri: Issues of Orthography, Linguistic Style and Authorship', Marja Vierros (University of Helsinki) showed how the analysis of linguistic information produced by ERC Starting Grant project 'Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri' can contribute to the identification of authors and writers, among the many other aspects. Victoria B. Fendel (University of Oxford), in her paper 'When the Lines get Blurred: Support-verb Constructions in the Documentary Papyri', showed that quantitative data (i) is only as good as the premises on which it has been collected and that not every data sample lends itself to quantitative analysis, (ii) has to be interpreted with care considering confounding variables, and (iii) demonstrates how support verb constructions in small and diverse corpora such as the documentary Greek papyri withstand computational models so far. Aneta Skalec (La Sapienza University, Rome) spoke on '*Misthosis* Monogram in the Late Antiquity Hermopolites Lease Contracts'. In focusing on the particular abbreviation common in a specific type of documentary papyri and its evolution, she showed how important the careful image analysis is. She also showed how studying the evolution of writing of only one word could be useful to narrow down the dating or indicate the place where the document was written. In his presentation 'To <g> or not to <g>: Paratext, Materiality, and the Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri', C. Michael Sampson (University of Manitoba) illustrated how the recently-created *Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri* provides a revealing lesson in both the imperfections of work-in-progress and the challenges of anticipating the needs of future users and research. Inconsistencies in (TEI XML) encoding and abuse of certain elements may have to be carefully fixed in order to make the corpus more useful in the future. Finally, Lea Packard-Grams (UC Berkeley) presented on 'Digital Papyrology as a Method for Reassembling an Archive: A Case Study in Digitally Reuniting Papyri Near and Far'. Hauling from her experience in a project at the Center for Tebtunis Papyri, she showed how digital tools have proven to be invaluable to analyse a scribe's distinctive handwriting and aesthetic features. Notably, digital methods aid in identification of fragments as belonging to the scribe's documents based on paleography. These tools include infrared photography, digital manipulation of fragments, and analyses of databases.

The conference programme and the abstracts are available at <https://d-scribes.philhist.unibas.ch/en/events-1/papyri-conference/>, and videos will be available early 2024 on <https://d-scribes.philhist.unibas.ch/en/>. Papers of the conference are proposed to be submitted in the Open Access journal *Pylon: Editions and Studies of Ancient Texts*.

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