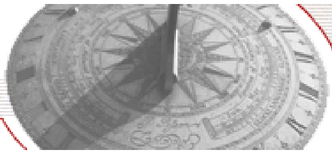
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"Chapter 3. Textual Criticism and Text Editing"

Macé, Caroline ; Bausi, Alessandro ; den Heijer, Johannes ; Gippert, Jost ; La Spisa, Paolo ; Mengozzi, Alessandro ; Moureau, Sébastien ; Sels, Lara

Abstract

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Chapter 3. Textual criticism and text editing

edited by Caroline Macé et alii[*]

1. Introduction (AM–CM–ABa–JG–LS)

(CM) In this chapter, we would like to offer some insights on textual criticism applied to works preserved in oriental manuscripts, as they have been described in the preceding chapters. In doing so, we wish to offer some guidance not only to those who are planning to produce an edition based on manuscripts, but also to those who are using editions prepared by others.

Much attention has been drawn to the materiality of the manuscript in the preceding chapters, and this material aspect should never be forgotten (see for example Ch. 3 § 3.7). Here the focus will rather be on the contents of the manuscripts.

Scholars are not necessarily editors of texts, and not everyone dealing with manuscripts necessarily publishes texts. Nevertheless, some knowledge about textual criticism is indispensable to anyone dealing with texts, since we read nearly all ancient, mediaeval and early modern texts through an edition of some kind.

The expression 'textual criticism' is here preferred to the more general and polysemic term 'philology'. However, the corresponding adjective 'philological' is sometimes used, referring specifically to textual criticism, especially as opposed to 'codicological' or to 'literary'.

1.1. Textual criticism and oriental languages

Standard manuals of textual criticism exist (see the general bibliography), but they generally do not take into account problems or needs specific to oriental texts. We are not claiming here that textual criticism of oriental texts is of a totally different nature from classical, biblical or mediaeval (i.e. western vernacular) textual scholarships (see Tanselle 1983, 1995; Greetham 1995), but we want to address those issues which are important for scholars dealing with oriental traditions and which may have been neglected or not stressed enough in standard manuals.

(ABa) Modern textual criticism has refined a methodology that has been developing over centuries, culminating in the middle of the nineteenth century in some principles, long connected to the name of Karl Lachmann. They can be very roughly summarized as follows: complete survey of all the direct and indirect witnesses of the work to be edited (manuscripts, printed editions, quotations, allusions, translations, etc.); defining mutual relationships between the witnesses; reconstruction of an archetypal text. Since the critical edition is a scientific hypothesis, it can be disputed and new hypotheses can be proposed or new evidence can be found, which is why some mediaeval texts are edited more than once.

(CM) In recent times, the opponents of the genealogical method of textual criticism and of the reconstructive method of text editing often associated with it are mustered under the flag of 'new philology', a trend in scholarship which came about in the 1990s especially in the United States (see Gleßgen – Lebsanft 1997), following the publication of Cerquiglini (1989), claiming that mediaeval literature being by nature variable, mediaeval works should not be reduced to an edited text, but all mediaeval manuscripts should be considered equally valuable. While this position attracted strong criticism (see for example Ménard 1997), it also seduced some scholars because it may seem more flexible than the stemmatic approach (for an application of some ideas borrowed from 'new philology' in the field of Coptic studies, see Ch. 3 § 3.14). However attractive the 'new philology' approach may be in the field of literary studies, it is nevertheless almost completely irrelevant for the purpose of this chapter, as it does not provide any method to edit texts with a more complex manuscript tradition. In general in this chapter we will adopt a pragmatic view and avoid any theoretically pessimistic approach towards textual criticism (as that put forward by Sirat 1992 for example, see La Spisa 2012 for a response to it). Modern digital approaches to the edition of texts will be taken into account as often as possible (for a synthesis on digital editing, see Sahle 2013).

* This chapter has been edited by: Alessandro Bausi, Johannes den Heijer, Jost Gippert, Paolo La Spisa, Caroline Macé, Alessandro Mengozzi, Sébastien Moureau, and Lara Sels. All contributors to the case studies have reviewed each other. We also thank Francesca Bellino, Pier Giorgio Borbone, Willy Clarysse, Ralph Cleminson, Stephen Emmel, Francesco Stella, and Sever Voicu for their invaluable help, as well as Brian Garcia for proof-reading and revising the English of some of the case studies.

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(JG) Of the manuscript cultures addressed by the present handbook, only that of Greek and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew can look back on a tradition of scholarly editions in the modern sense that is as long as that of Latin, which originated by about the fifteenth century. For most of the other 'oriental' cultures, the western approach that was developed by Humanists during the Renaissance was adapted only late, mostly not before the nineteenth century, and only hesitatingly (see General introduction §§ 1.2, 1.3). A comprehensive history of scholarship and text criticism as applied to oriental texts, in the east as well as in the west, has still to be written and falls beyond the scope of the present chapter. Nevertheless, a few preliminary remarks are here necessary in this connexion.

One of the practical problems that scholars faced in editing oriental texts was the necessity to cope in printing with the different scripts that are characteristic for the individual traditions, a problem that was not yet solved by the beginning of the twentieth century when, for example, the bulk of Buddhist, Manichaean, Christian and Zoroastrian texts in Middle Iranian, Turkic, and other languages were discovered in the manuscript finds of Turfan and other sites of East Turkestan. The simple fact that fonts for printing the Sogdian script, the Manichaean script or the variants of the Turkestan Brāhmī used in those manuscripts were not available to any typesetter, was the reason why several ways of transliteration or transcription were developed, among them the representation of Aramaic-based scripts by Hebrew fonts (see Ch. 3 § 3.9). In a similar way, Slavonic texts written in Glagolitic script in the manuscripts have often been transcribed into Cyrillic in the respective editions. *ʾesṭrangēlā* or *serṭā* scripts and East or West Syriac vocalization systems were and are often freely used as almost interchangeable typefaces in printed editions of Syriac texts, disregarding the scripts actually used in the manuscripts (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.17, 3.21).

Moreover the use of Latin-based transcription systems has persisted in western editions to a certain extent until the present day (for instance in editions of Avestan texts; see Ch. 3 § 3.5), not only for lack of appropriate fonts. As a matter of fact, the application of a Latin transcription instead of the original script(s) may claim to have the advantage of making the contents of an edition accessible to a larger scholarly audience, including readers who are not specialists in the given culture or tradition; however, this approach has a clear disadvantage, too, in that the members of the culture in question may feel inhibited from using the edition and taking it into account for their own purposes. The application of a transcriptional rendering in an edition of manuscript contents should therefore rather be avoided; this is all the more true since there are only few scripts left over today (such as that of the Caucasian Albanian, see Ch. 3 § 3.11) that cannot be encoded digitally on the basis of the Unicode standard (see General introduction § 2.1.1).

Another reason why critical editions concerning languages other than Greek or Latin have developed only gradually, is the fact that unlike the 'Classical' languages, which had been taught in schools since antiquity as artificial 'standards' to be followed, many of the varieties of 'oriental' languages that are represented in mediaeval manuscripts are characterized by the absence or scarcity of exhaustive studies concerning their grammar, lexicography and orthography, which renders choices as to the 'correct' wording (including its orthographical representation) much harder to make (see for example Ch. 3 §§ 3.10, 3.13, 3.20). This very fact has sometimes led to different 'standards' being established and applied in 'western' and 'local' editions. For instance, the editions of Georgian religious texts provided in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (subseries *Scriptores Iberici*) exhibit typical differences in comparison with editions produced in Georgia in the resolution of abbreviations (for example *raymetu* vs. *rametu* for the conjunction 'that, because' which appears generally abbreviated as *r̃* in the manuscripts) or the treatment of postpositions (for example *tws* 'for' and *gan* 'from' treated as separate words vs. suffixes).

Having different backgrounds and goals, autochthonous traditions and practices in editing texts can indeed turn out to be rather surprising for a western scholar, especially as far as the trend towards drastic normalization is concerned (see Ch. 3 § 3.22 on Persian texts and Ch. 3 § 3.10 on printed editions of Arabic popular texts). Ostrowski (2003) argues that the principles of Russian 'textology' (Lichačev [D.] 2001) developed almost exactly the reverse of western textual criticism. Relatively untouched by Renaissance humanism, Russia did not develop its own tradition of stemmatics and the introduction of the printing press led to the search for a standard of uniformity, largely based on the ideological choices of church clerics, rather than to attention to text history. As a consequence Bédier's anti-stemmatic approach (see General introduction § 1.3) was easily adopted and widely accepted during the Soviet period.

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A third feature that distinguishes many of the 'oriental' manuscript traditions from those of Greek and Latin consists in the fact that they are to a much greater extent characterized by fragmentary materials. This is not only true for the extreme case of the manuscript finds of Turkestan (see above) but also, for instance, for the early centuries of the literacy of the Armenians and Georgians (approximately fifth to eighth centuries), the manuscript remains of which are mostly restricted to the underwriting of palimpsests. The special problems resulting from this in the editorial practice are outlined below in the relevant case studies, see Ch. 3 §§ 3.9, 3.11.

(LS) The huge importance of translated texts and texts with multilingual traditions is another typical feature of oriental manuscript studies. Editors are often dealing not with original texts but with translations (often from Greek), which profoundly affects editorial practice and the way in which textual criticism is applied. As far as the source text tradition is known and still extant, it will have to be included in the text critical investigation so as to identify the point where both traditions meet (see for example Ch. 3 § 3.2, §3.20).

1.2. Structure and scope of the chapter

(AM) This chapter is divided in two sections. In the first section (Ch. 3 §§ 2.1–6), we want to provide a synthesis of the set of procedures involved in the editorial process. The second section (Ch. 3 §§ 3.1–23) consists of case studies, illustrating the first section with concrete situations, taken from all languages covered by the handbook and from different literary genres. We do not aim at exhaustiveness, but we find it useful to present a number of traditions and problems, requiring a variety of critical choices and editorial treatments.

Many features of an edition are determined not only by the editor himself and by the material she or he is working on, but also by the series in which this edition will be published (see Ch. 3 § 3.17 and Macé forthcoming). The rules imposed by those series may or may not reflect the state of the art in the field of text-editing. In that respect, as in many others, digital editions pose a different kind of problems: the absence of standardized rules and of recognized circuits of diffusion makes it difficult to guarantee the visibility of editions put on-line.

In what follows, we will try to consider all methodological aspects of the editorial process of oriental texts, in a way which will be as practical as possible. Theoretical questions, such as what is a text, a genre, a corpus, an author, an audience, or for example the way scholarly editing contributes to the shaping of the literary canon, are avoided. Even though they have an influence on the way we edit texts and do show up as major critical issues in several case studies (see for example Ch. 3 §§ 3.4, 3.20), they belong to other disciplines such as semiotics, theory or sociology of literature and literary criticism rather than to the field of textual criticism. Moreover, especially in the case studies, critical editions will be considered and presented as products of practical choices and circumstances rather than from the points of view of methodology and theory in textual criticism. Nevertheless, a number of general assumptions are implicit and will hopefully become clearer as the various cases are presented and discussed:

1) There is no one method or ready-made recipe. Textual criticism shares approximation as an operative limit with all human sciences—the so-called humanities—and probably also most technical and so-called scientific disciplines, even though the latter are probably more reluctant to admit it. In textual criticism, methods vary according to the objective that editors strive to achieve and the objects/products they wish to approximate to. Some aim to reconstruct the original, the authorial text—if such a thing ever existed, for instance in the form of a version authorized by the author or the *Vorlage* of a translation—, others the archetype they posit at the beginning of the transmission chain or chains (on the problems, possibility and desirability of establishing (sub-)archetypes, see Ch. 3 §§ 3.5, 3.7, 3.12, 3.15, and 3.20). In some cases a lost early 'original', supposedly written in a prestigious language (often Greek), may be one of the objectives which motivate the process of textual reconstruction (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.2, 3.4, 3.11, and 3.14). Others are content with restoring one manuscript a little or simply reproducing it 'as faithfully as possible', according to a disclaimer rather commonly found in the edition of oriental texts (see Ch. 3 § 3.17).

2) The variety of methods and the degree of tolerable approximation may depend both on factual circumstances, such as the history of a text and its transmission, and/or on conscious methodological choices of the editor. The quantity of available witnesses matters as well as the more or less complicated structure

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of the work to be edited, which may be an original work, a translation or a compilation; the editor may be dealing with a collection (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.12 and 3.19), a single text or fragments of that text (see for example Ch. 3 § 3.6 on literary papyri). The social status and function of texts and copies—private copies (see for example Ch. 3 § 3.3), canonical sacred literature (see Ch. 3 § 3.21), liturgy (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.5, 3.23), support for choral performance or personal reading—, the level of literary production—high classical vs. low popular, often characterized by linguistic variation in the continuum between classical language and mixed or frankly vernacular varieties (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.10 and 3.13)—and, of course, scribal activity are all factors that influence text transmission and therefore editorial choices. There are texts known in only one language, but there are also texts that originated from or were translated into other oriental languages (this occurs in nearly all case studies presented in this chapter).

3) As will be variously exemplified, critical choices and different methodological approaches derive from the academic backgrounds of scholars and the presumed expectations of their readership at least as much as from scientific discussion. The very same text or textual tradition can be regarded from different perspectives, each requiring specific approaches and methodologies (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.2, 3.20). A critical edition is an academic literary genre, developed to bridge the gap between manuscript and book cultures and responds in a variety of forms to the interests of the editors as authors, their readers and to a lesser extent of publishers and universities as stakeholders in cultural production.

1.3. Bibliographical orientation

A. List of standard manuals and handbooks or important collections of methodological articles

For a complete bibliography, see the COMSt website (as of December 2014). We want to provide here a list of the most important work instruments devoted to textual criticism and text editing of oriental works. It must be noted that for several languages and corpora studied in this handbook those instruments are lacking or out-dated.

Arabic: Blachère – Sauvaget 1945; Hārīn 1965; al-Munajjid 1956; Pfeiffer – Kropp 2007; *Qawāʿid taḥqīq* … 2013; al-Sāmarrāʾī 2013a, 2013b.

Armenian: Calzolari 2014b.

Biblical Studies: Chiesa 1992, 2000–2002; Ehrman – Holmes 2013; Hendel 2010; Kloppenborg – Newman 2012; Wachtel – Holmes 2011.

Ethiopic: Bausi 2008b; Marrassini 2009.

Greek (especially mediaeval): Bernabé – Hernández Muñoz 2010; Harlfinger 1980a; Dummer 1987.

Hebrew: Abrams 2012.

B. List of well-known series of scholarly editions

Äthiopistische Forschungen (Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart), from 1977 until 1993, continued as *Aethiopistische Forschungen* (Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden)

> Besides mostly monographic essays and contributions on various branches of Ethiopian studies, the series also includes important text editions, of biblical (Gospels of Mark and Matthew, Pauline Letter to the Romans), exegetical (traditional commentaries), patristic (the theological treatise *Qērellos*), and historical character (annals and chronicles). Various editorial methods have been applied.

Berliner Turfantexte (Brepols, Turnhout)

> Dedicated—but not restricted—to the manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan collection (see Ch. 3 § 3.9), the series represents the most prominent place for publishing editions of the (Buddhist, Christian, and Manichaean) texts in Old Turkic and Middle Iranian languages preserved in those manuscripts. Since 1971, when the series was initiated by the Berlin Academy of Sciences, a total of 31 volumes has seen the light (see <http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?TreeSeries=BTT>).

Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum (Brill, Leiden)

> A series of critical editions of eight works by several Arab geographers; edited by Michael Jan Goeje between 1870–1894, was one of the first attempts to make critical editions of Arabic

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texts belonging to a specific topic (reprint in <http://www.brill.com/products/series/bibliotheca-geographorum-arabicorum>).

Bibliotheca islamica (Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, Berlin)

One of the most important series within the framework of Islamic Studies has edited numerous critical editions of Arabic, Persian and Turkish texts since 1927. Topics include history, prosopography, literature, theology of various Islamic schools, and Sufism. The publication of the series is a joint project of the Orient Institute Beirut and the German Oriental Society (DMG) (<http://www.klaus-schwarz-verlag.com/>).

Commentaria in Aristotelem Armeniaca. Davidis Opera (Brill, Leiden)

This series, founded in 2009 and directed by Valentina Calzolari and Jonathan Barnes, aims at publishing a revised critical edition of the Armenian translation of the commentaries on Aristotelian logic which tradition ascribes to David the Invincible (sixth century). Besides the critical text of the Armenian, each volume contains a complete study of the work edited, together with a comparison of the Armenian with the underlying Greek model, and a translation into a modern language.

Corpus Christianorum Corpus Nazianzenum (Brepols, Turnhout)

The *Corpus Nazianzenum* aims at publishing the Greek homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (only one volume so far), as well as their translations into Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac, and some related material in Greek and in translation (mediaeval commentaries). The editorial board is established at the Institut orientaliste of the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium).

Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum (CCSA) (Brepols, Turnhout)

Founded in 1981, the *Series Apocryphorum* of the *Corpus Christianorum*, directed by the AELAC (Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne), aims at publishing all the pseudepigraphical or anonymous texts of Christian origin attributed to biblical characters or based on events reported or suggested by the Bible. The series' purpose is to enrich the knowledge of apocryphal Christian literature by supplying editions of unedited or difficult to access texts. Besides the critical text, each volume contains a complete study of the apocryphon edited, with commentary and translation into a modern language.

Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (CCSG) (Brepols, Turnhout)

Founded in 1976, this series of scholarly editions of Greek patristic and Byzantine texts, without translations (some of the volumes have been translated elsewhere, especially in the series 'Corpus Christianorum in translation', started in 2009) is known for the quality of its publications. The editorial board is established at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). Some volumes contain texts in Syriac or other oriental languages.

Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (CSCO) (Peeters, Leuven)

With the six subseries *Scriptores aethiopici, arabici, armeniaci, coptici, iberici*, and *syri*, the CSCO series (since 1903; see <http://www.peeters-leuven.be/search_serie_book.asp?nr=94>) covers a large amount of Christian traditions in oriental languages. Usually, the 'Scriptores' series contains editions of the original texts with translations (into Latin, English, French, German or Italian) printed in parallel volumes (for the *Scriptores syri*, see Ch. 3 § 3.17). The subseries *Subsidia* (see <http://www.peeters-leuven.be/search_serie_book.asp?nr=244>) provides additional information (lexical materials, concordances, etc.) pertaining to one or several of the individual traditions.

Études médiévales, modernes et arabes (Institut français d'études arabes de Damas).

A number of titles have been digitized since 1996 and are freely available on-line (<http://www.ifporient.org/publications/mediaeval>).

Al-Furqān: Islamic Heritage Foundation (London)

Al-Furqān Foundation supports the edition and publication of a wide selection of manuscripts of particular significance in the Islamic heritage, as well as facsimile editions of well-preserved important manuscripts. The series 'Edited texts' includes a number of important reference works

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that deal with Arabic history, geography and sciences (<http://www.al-furqan.com/publications/manuscript-centre/editing-texts/>).

Islamkundliche Untersuchungen (Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, Berlin)

The series 'Islamkundliche Untersuchungen', published by Klaus Schwarz Publishers since 1970, is one of the most important series related to Islamic Studies. It includes a number of important critical editions of texts belonging to various fields and genres (<http://www.klaus-schwarz-verlag.com/>). A number of titles are digitized and freely available on-line (<http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/iud>).

Ismaili Texts and Translation (Institute of Ismaili Studies, London)

Critical editions, introduction and English translation of Ismaili texts in Arabic, Persian and Indic languages (<http://www.iis.ac.uk/view_article.asp?ContentID=104893>). See also the series *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, published by Oxford University Press in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, a multi-authored critical edition and annotated English translation of the Arabic *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafaʾ* (tenth-century Iraq; <http://www.iis.ac.uk/view_article.asp?ContentID=112055>).

Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi (Brepols, Turnhout)

Albeit focusing mostly upon palaeographical investigations, the series is well suited for (diplomatic) editions of special types of manuscripts such as the Georgian, Armenian, and Caucasian Albanian palimpsests covered by volumes 1 and 2 of the sub-series *Ibero-Caucasica* (see Ch. 3 § 3.11).

Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka (Nauka, Moscow)

Since 1959, the Russian publishing house Nauka has published the series *Памятники письменности Востока* (*Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka*, Monuments of the literature of the east; altogether 138 items in 223 volumes by 2013), which covers a great amount of critical editions of original texts in oriental languages (mostly in Persian, Turkish, but also Armenian and others) as well as translations (into Russian). The most famous items include the nine-volume edition of Firdawsī's *Šāhnāma* (edited by Evgenij Ėduardovič Bertel's, volume II.1–9 of the 'major' subseries *Памятники литературы народов Востока—Большая серия* (*Pamjatniki literatury narodov Vostoka—Bol'šaja serija*, 1963–1971), the two-volume edition of ʿOmar Ḫayyām's *Rubāʿiyyāt* (edited by the same scholar, volume II.1–2 of the 'minor' subseries *Памятники литературы народов Востока—Малая серия* (*Pamjatniki literatury narodov Vostoka—Malaja serija*, 1959), or the critical edition of the Middle Persian *Kārnāmag-ī Ardašīr Pābagān* (*Книга деяний Ардашира, сына Папака / Kniga dejanij Ardašira, syna Papaka*) by Ol'ga Michajlovna Čunakova (volume 78 of the main series, 1987).

Patrologia Orientalis (PO) (Brepols, Turnhout)

Founded in Paris in 1904 in an attempt to extend the 'Patrologiae cursus completus' by Jacques Paul Migne, which aimed to cover the written heritage of Greek and Latin church fathers exhaustively in the two series *Graeca* (161 volumes, 1857–1866) and *Latina* (217 volumes, 1841–1855, plus four volumes of indexes, 1862–1866), the PO series provides a large amount of Christian text materials from nearly all oriental traditions (235 fascicles in 53 volumes up to the present day). Since 1970 (volume 35), the series has been taken over by Brepols Publishers, Turnhout (see <http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?TreeSeries=PO>). The editorial approach is very inconsistent; however, even some of the older volumes have remained valuable sources until today.

Sources Chrétiennes (Cerf, Paris)

This collection has published about 550 volumes of editions of Greek and Latin patristic authors. The quality of the editions is uneven, and sometimes the Greek or Latin text is taken from a previous publication, but the French translation and introduction are always useful. See <http://www.sourceschretiennes.mom.fr/collection/presentation>.

Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii (Fakul'tet vostočnych jazykov Imperatorskogo Sankt-Peterburgskago Universiteta, St Peterburg)

Twelve volumes were published between 1900 and 1913, mostly *editiones principes* of important Old Georgian texts (by Nikolaj Marr).

Textes arabes et études islamiques (Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale, Cairo)

Studies and text editions, 50 issues, published since 1948 (<http://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/TAEI/>).

Ʒveli kartuli enis ʒeglebi (Tbilisi)

Fifteen volumes, published between 1944 and 1977, comprise critical editions of Old Georgian biblical and theological texts.

References

Cerquiglini 1989; Gleßgen – Lebsanft 1997; Greetham 1995; La Spisa 2012; Lichačev [D.] 2001; Ménard 1997; Ostrowski 2003; Sahle 2013; Sirat 1992; Tanselle 1983, 1995.

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2. Steps towards an edition (CM–MCr–TA–JdH–PLS–AGi–SM–LS)

(CM) In this part of the chapter, we attempt to distinguish the different tasks which must be performed during the editorial process. This distinction is somewhat arbitrary and editing a text is a rather iterative process: decisions and choices taken at every stage of the process will have repercussions on the subsequent steps, conversely an editor may need to return to one of the earlier stages of his/her work at the very end of the process. It is often said that every text, or at least each type of text, imposes its own edition method (see Ch. 3 § 2.3), and all editors have gone through the experience of developing an appropriate method during the work process. More often than not, decisions taken in the beginning have to be reconsidered and, in the worst cases, some parts of the work have to be done all over again. Whether or not it is possible to protect the less experienced editor against such situations, this section does aim at presenting the various steps towards an edition in an explicit and instructive way. Digital aspects of the process of editing will be highlighted, but we will insist on procedures and principles rather than on specific tools. In what follows, we intentionally limit the bibliography to a few indispensable references (the choice of which is necessarily subjective, given the extensive literature existing on different aspects of the topic) and instead invite the reader to refer to the case studies for concrete illustrations. We consider only scholarly editions (by opposition to school editions for example, or to what is sometimes called an *editio minor*, that is the reduction of a scholarly edition to what is considered most useful for most readers, that is the text itself, without its scholarly apparatuses), that is editions of different type (diplomatic, genealogical, best-manuscript…) made according to scholarly criteria: following a method which has to be explicated and showing results which can be verified.

2.1. Heuristics of manuscripts and witnesses (MCr)

The first step in any editorial enterprise is to identify and list the witnesses to the work to be edited, and then to gain an adequate familiarity with them. Ideally, all the witnesses should be considered, but in practice the editor may have to limit the heuristics: for instance, to neglect the indirect tradition (see below), or to consider the manuscripts up to a certain period of time after the work was written. Those limitations may be justified for practical reasons, especially if the tradition is abundant, but they are difficult to justify on theoretical grounds: see, for example, the discussion about the principle *recentiores non deteriores* in Timpanaro 1985; and concerning the importance of the indirect tradition, see Ch. 3 § 3.15.

2.1.1. Identifying author and work

It is not a trivial issue in studies on pre-modern texts, especially oriental texts, to be able to classify a given work under one title, let alone under an author's name, and therefore to be able to identify it properly in manuscript catalogues. The phenomenon of manuscript transmission, with its many accidents and variations, often implies that one and the same work can be attributed to various authors and/or transmitted anonymously. Conversely, manuscripts can preserve very different texts, which may or may not be related to one another, under the same name and/or title. It is important to understand and to define how different 'versions' of the same work relate to one another (see Ch. 3 § 2.1.2).

In view of those difficulties, and depending on the amount of details found in the reference tools consulted, the results of this identification should ideally be presented with reference not only to its author and title, but also to its *incipit* (i.e. the beginning of the work), and, possibly, its *desinit* (i.e. its final words), in order to avoid any ambiguity.

The basic instrument in this matter is sometimes called a *Clavis* ('key' in Latin), an index of works, providing pieces of information about their attribution, authenticity, diffusion, previous editions, etc.—for example the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, or the *Index apologeticus sive Clavis Iustini martyris operum*. For several oriental traditions, those basic instruments are often old and should be updated (see Ch. 4 on cataloguing).

2.1.2. Direct and indirect tradition

The *testimonia* of a specific work are divided into two types: direct and indirect witnesses. The direct witnesses are the manuscripts and printed editions in which a work is preserved, either in its entirety or in a fragmentary form (for the edition of works preserved only fragmentarily, see Ch. 3 §§ 3.6, 3.9, 3.11). A

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'fragment'—which results from a material loss of text in a manuscript—has to be carefully distinguished from an 'excerpt', which is the result of a voluntary selection.

The 'indirect tradition' of a given work may take various forms, and one must keep in mind that the distinction between direct and indirect traditions is often blurred.

(1) The work might be excerpted, and those excerpts then integrated into the work of later authors (for example, they might be used as citations in argumentation, plagiarized, or commented upon), or they are isolated in anthologies (see Ch. 3 § 3.19) or miscellaneous manuscripts (see Ch. 3 § 3.12).

(2) The work as a whole or in part might have been reworked, either by the author himself or by someone else. It is not always easy to determine the status of the reworking and its exact relation to the 'original' work (see Ch. 3 § 3.14, La Spisa 2014). Different terms are used to indicate those re-elaborations of a work, however without a clear terminological precision: recensions, redactions, versions, etc. (see Ch. 3 § 3.20). The reworking can affect several levels: linguistic (the orthography, grammar, or even vocabulary of a work might be adapted to another linguistic context, without crossing the border of one language or one dialect), semantic (the content of the work might be adapted), structural (the length, the order of the text, etc. might be altered). Some specific adaptations may receive specific names, such as, for example, *epitomē* (summary) or *metaphrasis* (stylistic rewriting; see Signes Codoñer 2014). In the case of non-authoritative texts, such as technical treatises, 'popular' literature, or genres which call for adaptation and transformation (hagiography, Apocrypha, etc.), it may prove particularly difficult to gather and order all the required information, and establishing the history of the text(s) will pose several problems (see Ch. 3 § 2.3).

(3) Oriental traditions are often multilingual (nearly every case study in this chapter deals in one way or another with translations). Translations of a work into other languages constitute another type of indirect witness. All imaginable situations are possible and each situation will require a different response: literal translations or rather free adaptations are found, partial translations can be based on an already indirect witness in the original language (in an anthology, for example), double translations, translations of translations, and so on. In cases where the work to be edited is itself a translation, the source text will have to be taken into account as an indispensable indirect witness.

Taking the indirect tradition into account is a time-consuming process, which does not always yield significant results. However, in some cases—above all when the direct tradition is very poor (but not necessarily; see Ch. 3 § 3.15)—resorting to indirect tradition can be very helpful and even compulsory and, in extreme cases, one text might be transmitted only through indirect tradition (see Ch. 3 § 3.18). The degree of confidence which one can put into the indirect tradition will vary case by case: one can choose to resort to a translation, because of its antiquity and faithfulness to the original, and not to an *epitomē*, due to its remoteness from the original form of the work.

2.1.3. Catalogues, bibliography, and databases

To establish the list of all the extant witnesses, direct as well as indirect, of a given work, the editor can rely upon various instruments, such as library catalogues and databases (see Ch. 4), previous editions, and, sometimes, studies on the manuscript tradition of other works preserved together with the work to be edited. It is useful to consult a bibliography as large as possible concerning the work to be edited and related works, as manuscript descriptions may sometimes be hidden in articles or monographs devoted to other topics.

Catalogues, bibliography and databases are very helpful and form the basis of the editor's work. However, the editor must always check their information, which means often that one has to visit the libraries where the manuscripts are allegedly kept. The work is obviously much more difficult when manuscripts have not been catalogued, or when the existing catalogues are very summary, a situation which is unfortunately quite frequent, above all—although not exclusively—dealing with manuscripts located in environments where cataloguing is not a great priority due to political or economic circumstances, or in private collections (see Ch. 4). A recurrent problem is that of locating and designating the manuscripts: much confusion may arise, for example, from the use of ancient or inexact shelfmarks, dismembered or no longer extant libraries, or transferred collections.

A list of witnesses, as complete as possible, and as detailed as possible must be given in the introduction to the edition (see Ch. 3 § 2.6).

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2.1.4. Acquiring and reading reproductions of all the manuscripts

In order to make the comparison of manuscripts easier (see Ch. 3 § 2.2), one must obtain a reproduction (microfilm, photos, digital) of all the listed manuscripts. This can be very costly, depending on the number of reproductions to be acquired and on the respective libraries from which they should be bought, and sometimes impossible (some libraries will not answer requests, while others will refuse to sell images of their collections or be unable to provide such a service). Even if manuscripts have been seen in situ (which is advisable, but not always feasible), having a reproduction available is always useful, as the collations may need to be rechecked at some point. Richard rightly argued that photography has transformed philology (Richard [M.] 1980, 11). If today digital reproductions tend to replace microfilms, the microfilm support still remains an unequalled medium for manuscript reproductions (on technical aspects see General introduction § 2.1.4): research centres specializing in manuscripts possess important collections of microfilms or microfiches of manuscripts that are otherwise difficult to access (<http://medium.irht.cnrs.fr/>, the microfilms of Sinai and Jerusalem manuscripts at the Library of Congress and in Louvain-la-Neuve to cite only a few examples), and some libraries are now making digital reproductions on the basis of the microfilms. One should be aware of the shortcomings of many microfilms (and digital reproductions made from them), not to speak of the fact that microfilm readers are often bulky devices, which are becoming rare in libraries and research centres: photographs are almost always black and white, frequently in the form of a negative, the quality of the images is generally quite poor, the microfilm becomes less legible with time, many details, which may be important, such as margins, are not visible. The impression given by the reading of a text from a microfilm may be misleading, the corrections are often invisible (because the difference of ink colours is undetectable in black and white reproductions), the change of handwriting on a page may go unnoticed, etc.

Nowadays, digital images have made things much easier with respect to consultation, but the financial aspect is sometimes still problematic (the acquisition of the digital images of one manuscript can cost several thousand euros), although more and more digital facsimiles are provided online and are freely accessible. Once again, the situation differs widely among specific manuscripts and library collections (for example, with regard to the number of digitized manuscripts, the quality of the reproductions, or the way to browse the images).

Numerous oriental manuscripts are kept in collections located in the Middle East, East Africa, and Asia, and this frequently implies additional obstacles. Whereas some collections are now digitized and accessible, scholars are often compelled to approach keepers of these collections personally and invest considerable time in establishing contacts and building sufficient confidence in order to earn the access that is aspired to. Furthermore, the decision on granting or denying access and reproduction may depend on personal, cultural, ideological, political or economic parameters that cannot always be ignored. Occasionally, texts that are considered heterodox or heretical, or threatening for social or political reasons, can be kept away from researchers. In the same vein, researchers may meet with limited appreciation of the intended project in environments where social and political hardship causes people to define their priorities very differently. Thus, one may have to invest much energy in convincing one's counterparts of the project's intrinsic scientific relevance, for instance when it concerns a text that has already been edited.

In practice, there is almost always at least one or several manuscripts which the editor cannot gain access to, in spite of all attempts. If acquiring such images turns out to be impossible, the editor can try to travel to the library and make an autopsy of the volume, but this may also be very hard and even impossible. For practical purposes, and especially when the available time span and funding for a project are limited, one should not go too far in postponing the next steps until all witnesses have been acquired. In case a specific witness can only be accessed too late to be used for the edition, one can always write an additional study to illustrate its relevance.

2.1.5. Gathering material evidence for a first classification of the manuscripts

The first thing the editor should check is the actual presence or absence of the text she or he wants to edit in the manuscripts listed thanks to the catalogues. If possible, poorly catalogued manuscripts which, for different reasons, seem likely to preserve this text (for example: manuscripts containing similar treatises, or treatises by the same author) should be examined as well.

The editor should also note the other texts preserved in this manuscript and make a precise description of all its contents. As was said above and as we will see again in Ch. 3 § 2.3, the history of other texts

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contained in the same manuscripts is an important element for the history of the text and of the collection (see Ch. 3 § 3.2).

The importance of giving a more accurate analysis of the manuscripts is a requirement for any modern scholarly edition. A good study of each manuscript as an object can be very helpful to classify it among the other witnesses (see Ch. 3 § 2.3). It must be highlighted that the editor must not limit him/herself to philological analysis, but should complement it by a codicological and historical study (see Ch. 3 § 3.7). This is not always an easy task, since the editor generally has neither the competence nor the time to study the manuscripts from a codicological and historical point of view. However, one should, as far as it is possible, pay attention to the manuscript in itself: it will avoid mistakes in the classification, and will also help to solve some problems for which a strictly philological analysis is not sufficient.

Given the deficiencies of many existing catalogues, the editor of a text will often be compelled to prepare a description of manuscripts that almost meets the requirements of a catalogue or at least of a rather substantial checklist. Such descriptions can reach dimensions that surpass those of an introduction to the edition and might therefore require a separate publication.

2.2. Collation (CM–TA)

(CM) Once one has listed all the manuscripts containing the work to be edited and collected all available reproductions (whether photos, microfilms or images in digital format), the next task is to read them and compare the texts they contain: this process is called ‘collation’ (Latin *collatio*, from *collatus*, participle of the verb *conferre*, ‘bring together’).

In order to perform a collation, a good practical knowledge of palaeography is necessary, especially in order to interpret correctly the ligatures, abbreviations and other special features (see Ch. 2). In this first stage, not only all variations, including orthographical ones, but also punctuation, abbreviations (and numbers) should be noted as they stand in the manuscripts (and not resolved). Even though those features will not necessarily be interpreted as differences later on, it might be useful to know whether one word was abbreviated or not in a specific manuscript in order to understand the process of variation. If, for practical reasons (time constraints) and depending on the specific aim pursued, one decides not to record some features, this decision should be carefully weighed and documented, and one must be careful not to infer anything from an absence of record when using the collations at a later stage. As a general rule, one must always be as explicit and clear as possible, as the process of collation may sometimes extend over several years, and it should also be kept in mind that collations may sometimes be used by other people than the person who made them.

Some ‘paratextual’ elements are also important to be recorded in the collation: changes of folia or pages in the manuscript, possibly changes of columns; if noticed, a change of hand or ink may as well be important to be noted, as are holes or gaps in the manuscripts, lacunae, difficulties in reading something, marginal notes, corrections by the copyist or by someone else, etc.

Already at this stage, it is expedient to use *sigla* to refer to the manuscripts, instead of their full name. The *sigla* should be chosen carefully, as it is advisable to change them as little as possible during the following steps (see Ch. 3 § 2.5 concerning the *sigla* in the apparatuses, and § 2.6 about the *conspectus siglorum*) in order to avoid confusion. Extant manuscripts are usually labelled by one Latin capital letter (A, B, C, etc.), or one capital letter and one minuscule letter (Am, Va, Ve, etc.), or sometimes a letter and a number (A1, B2, etc.), etc. The *sigla* may be chosen totally arbitrarily, or they may be mnemonic of the name of the manuscript (for example V for a manuscript kept at the Vatican library, P for a Parisian manuscript, etc.). If the manuscripts are numerous, more complex systems of identification may have to be found (for example Ch. 3 §§ 3.5, 3.15).

In an ideal world, one should collate the complete text of the work to be edited in all manuscripts. In the real world, this might prove to be unfeasible, because of time constraints (or for some other practical reasons, see Ch. 3 § 2.1), especially if the text is very long and/or the manuscripts very numerous. It may therefore be necessary to do partial collations (for example a few chapters or passages from the work) or even to restrict oneself to samples (namely passages considered to be important in the text). If one decides to perform partial collations, one must be aware of a number of possible pitfalls, especially of the fact that the text in a given manuscript is not necessarily homogeneous (especially, but not only, when there

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was some contamination in the tradition: see Ch. 3 § 2.3). It is advisable to choose at least three passages from very different places in the work (for example towards the beginning, middle, and end), and to avoid as much as possible passages where some of the witnesses are lacunary. As for the sampling procedure, it requires that a complete collation of some of the most important witnesses (or, those considered as such) is performed first and that a number of variant locations have been identified as significant for the classification of the witnesses (see Ch. 3 § 2.3).

Whether one decides to work by hand or to use a computer-assisted method, while the process is slightly different (see below), the general rules remain the same. In both cases, it is important to note faithfully all features of each witness (even punctuation marks), and not to take any premature editorial decision at this stage. It must be stressed that all differences must be noted, not only those considered 'significant' for the history of the text, since the result of the collation will not only be used to classify the witnesses, but also later on in establishing the critical text and apparatuses (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1).

2.2.1. Manual collations (CM)

The text of each manuscript is compared with one and the same reference text. As reference text, one may choose either a manuscript or a previous edition. The advantage of a previous edition is that its text may be available in digital form or may be scannable, and that it offers a stable system of reference; one possible disadvantage could be that its text is artificial, containing readings which are not found in any of the extant manuscripts. If there is no previous edition available, one may resort to a manuscript that is chosen for its legibility and completeness. The choice of the reference text may influence the collation—although this influential effect is usually minimal, especially if one is aware of the risk.

Once the reference text has been chosen, collation files must be prepared, containing this text, either in full for a complete collation, or parts of it for a partial collation, arranged either vertically (in columns) or horizontally (in lines). The identification of pages and lines or of chapters and paragraphs of the reference text should be indicated clearly, in order to retrieve each passage easily, as well as the *siglum* of each witness and the changes of folia. Every difference of the manuscripts in comparison with the reference text is then noted. In this way, a large amount of the information is in fact implicit: one notes only the differences, and not the agreements—but this method may be quicker than a full transcription (see Ch. 3 § 2.2.2). The two examples below (figs. 3.2.1, 3.2.2) show a 'vertical' collation: the first column provides the base text, and each manuscript is collated in one column.

The first example shows a manual collation made by different people (fig. 3.2.1). The reference text in this case was a manuscript (C), which was transcribed fully, with its punctuation, titles, etc., and typed. The text was then displayed in one column and printed, with enough space to collate four manuscripts (A, B, T and D) on one page.

In the second case, an Excel spreadsheet was used and the collation was entered directly into the file instead of paper, but the principle is the same (fig. 3.2.2). In this case the reference text was a printed text, and each word contained in it was numbered. The number of columns in an Excel file (or any other comparable software) is not limited by the constraints of the printed page

Abbreviations ('om.', 'add.', 'inv.', 'p. corr.', etc.) and signs ('+', '=', arrows, etc.) are often used to describe what happens in the manuscripts. Such abbreviations might be more personal and less standardized than those used in the critical apparatus (see Ch. 3 § 2.5), but one must keep in mind that they should nonetheless remain comprehensible to other people if one wants the collations to be used by others. One must also find a convenient system to note the uncertainties or doubts which arise when deciphering the manuscripts. It is important to make sure that the system of notation used cannot be misinterpreted (even by the very person who made the collation, when looking back at it sometime later). Transpositions of blocks of text and overlapping variants are especially tricky in that respect, and one should not hesitate to put some explicative notes and cross-references in the collation.

There are cases—especially of abundant manuscript traditions—where the necessity of having full transcripts of each witness (see Ch. 3 § 2.2.2) is not obvious and seems less important than achieving a collation in a limited amount of time. There is, of course, a certain degree of interpretation, and therefore of subjectivity, in any collation, but there is no reason why it should be higher than in the case of a transcription. Ideally every collation should be made twice, by two different people—but in practice this rarely happens, although it is recommended to do it for the most important witnesses, which will be used for establishing the critical text (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1).

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C	A	B	T	D
Διατί	διατὶ	Διὰ τί	!!	
ιθ′				
βασιλεύσαντας		βασιλευσάντων		
ἀπὸ				
Δαυΐδ		.	δαδ ,	(δαδ)
ἕως	ἕως			
Ἰεχονίου	ἰεχονίου.		,	ἰεχονιου
ὁ				
Εὐαγγελιστὴς	εὐαγγελιστῆς			
ιδ′				
ὀνομάζει;	:	:~	;	
Ἐπειδὴ				
οὐ				
διαδοχὰς				
λέγει,		,		
ἀλλὰ	ἄλλα			
γενεάς.	.	.		
Ἐπεὶ				
οὖν				
τινὲς				(τινὰς)
αὐτῶν				
ἀπὸ				
εἴκοσα	εἴκοσα		εἰκοσαετοῦς	εικοσαετους
ἔτους	ἔτους	ἐτοῦς		
χρόνου				
ἐπαιδοποίησαν	ἐπαιδοποίησαν.		ἐπαιδοποίησαν	
εἰς				
ἀναπλήρωσιν				
τῶν				
γενεῶν				
τῶν				
μακροβιούντων	μακροβιούντων	,		
τοὺς				

Fig. 3.2.1 Manual collation of *Florilegium Coislinianum*, cf. De Vos et al. 2010.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1			V	C	A	S	L	F	U	J	M	T	B	D	
70	68	ruses													
71	69	de	des	des	des	des	ok	des	des	des	des	ok	ok	des	
72	70	Sioux													
73	71	du													
74	72	rationaliste	rationnaliste				rationnalist	rationnalist	rationnalist	ok	ok	ok	rationnalist	ok	
75	73	ou													
76	74	la													
77	75	candeur													
78	76	ardente													
79	77	de													
80	78	l'athée.													
81	79	Je													
82	80	n'ose													
83	81	donc													
84	82	jeter													
85	83	la													
86	84	pierre													
87	85	ni													
88	86	à													
89	87	celle		celui	clle*	celui				celui	celui			celui	
90	88	qui													
91	89	croit								croient		p.corr.; crois a.corr., alia manu			
92	90	en	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	ok	om.	om.	
93	91	des													
94	92	choses													
95	93	qui													
96	94	ne													
97	95	m'inspirent					m'inspire					p.corr.; m'inspire a.corr.; alia manu			
98	96	que													
99	97	le													
100	98	doute,	ok					doute	doute				doute		
101	99	ni													
102	100	à													
103	101	celui													
104	102	qui													

Collat1 / Collat1 (2) / Textes / Collat1 (3) / DescrDta

Fig. 3.2.2 Collation file of an artificial manuscript tradition in French, cf. Baret et al. 2006.

2.2.2. Using digital tools (TA)

For many decades it has been recognized that text collation is a task that is extraordinarily tedious, and requires vast attention to detail— and that such a task would be well-suited for automation (for example Robinson [Pe.] 1989). There currently exist a few tools specifically for scholarly text collation, although the development landscape is changing so rapidly that a textual scholar new to the field would be well-advised to seek a current recommendation for software that might meet his or her needs.

The core principle behind automated text collation is that, rather than choosing a base text (or reference text) against which all subsequent texts should be compared, the scholar refrains from any selection or comparison at all. She or he will instead produce a full transcription of each witness to be collated, in as much diplomatic detail as is feasible, and leave the work of comparison to the software.

At a first glance, the prospect of producing full transcriptions of all textual witnesses can seem at least as daunting as performing a hand collation. In practice, however, diplomatic transcription can often be significantly easier than manual collation (see above), and it confers several advantages:

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– A full transcription provides an unambiguous and positive record of the content of the witness, with no need to rely upon arguments from silence in a critical apparatus.

– There is no need to select a base text, in that all the texts will be compared equally with each other.

– There is no need to conform to a regular system of spelling or orthography for the text—collation software should be capable of handling all variations.

– Once transcribed, the witness texts can be subjected to many forms of analysis beyond collation—for example stylistic analysis, author attribution techniques, linguistic analysis.

If the editorial project is a large one, the most reliable way to produce a good transcription of a text is to have it transcribed separately by two readers, compare (i.e. collate) the two transcriptions using a software program, and resolve any differences that arise. In practice, most editorial projects have rather more modest resources. If only one or two editors are available to work on a project, another option for transcription is to begin with a copy of a temporary 'reference' text—for example, a printed edition that has been optically scanned or an existing transcription whose text is suspected to be relatively close to that of the manuscript to be transcribed—and alter it until it matches the manuscript being transcribed. This is not a reference text in the traditional sense, in that it will not be preserved in its original state and has no function but to save the transcriber some typing work. This method carries the risk that the editor will inadvertently preserve a few characteristics of the 'reference' text that do not correspond to the manuscript, but is the best compromise for the efficient production of transcribed texts. While it has been argued above that this 'quick' process of transcription is essentially the same as text collation, the differing purposes of the tasks (to produce a reasonably faithful copy of a single witness, versus a catalogue of divergence between two or more witnesses) would tend to produce different results.

Guidelines for transcription

The rendering of a manuscript text into digital form will necessarily involve a trade-off between the simplicity (and thus ease of analysis) of the transcription and its completeness. The simplest method of transcription is to reproduce the interpreted content of the text into a plain text computer file. This has several disadvantages, however. Such a simple transcription preserves no reference system back to the physical text, making it difficult to search for the original occurrence of a particular word or phrase. The transcriber must choose at the outset whether to expand abbreviations within the text or simply to transcribe the component characters; if she or he encounters symbols that cannot be reproduced alphabetically, the only option will be to interpret them into words that can. In short, all paratextual information will necessarily be lost.

In order to mitigate these problems, the scholar may well wish to adopt his or her own system of vocabulary in order to describe the phenomena of particular texts—the most common example of this will be to insert page and line breaks to represent those in the physical artefact, or use some form of textual emphasis or highlighting to represent, for example, abbreviations or corrections within the text. The resulting transcription is, however, unlikely to be compatible with any existing tools for computational analysis, and so defeats the purpose of using digital methods to a certain extent.

The other, preferable alternative is to transcribe the texts using an existing and well-known system of vocabulary such as that provided by the TEI guidelines (see General introduction § 2.1). At present this presents a technological bar to entry in that it requires the transcriber to learn the basics of XML text markup and to structure the transcription in a hierarchical form suitable for XML encoding. While in theory there is nothing to prevent a scholar from adopting the TEI vocabulary within an entirely different markup system such as those that use range-based annotation, in practice there is currently no consensus and so no generally-available tools for any other sort of transcription apart from XML.

The TEI guidelines provide a means for description of almost all the paratextual information that must be omitted from a simple transcription: page and line information, abbreviations and their expansions as interpreted by the scholar, corrections to the text by the scribe as well as by later hands, uncertainty of interpretation (perhaps due to physical damage to the text), and even page geometry for the indication of non-textual figures within the manuscript. The scholar is free to take advantage of all of this descriptive functionality, or any subset thereof, depending on the volume of texts to be transcribed and the availability of manpower with which to carry out the task.

There is nevertheless a risk incurred by an excessively detailed transcription of a text. The TEI guidelines are very complex and extremely flexible, so that even within their letter and spirit it is possible to

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produce several forms of transcription. Should the guiding principle be by page (i.e. physical text division) or logical text division? Should abbreviations be recorded with their interpreted expansions as an annotation, or should it be the other way around? The answers to these questions will necessarily depend on how the transcriptions are to be used later, and with which tools. Very few tools comprehend more than a narrow subset of the TEI guidelines, and so the requirements and functionality of the tools to be used for collation, analysis, and presentation must inform the choices made concerning transcription.

Automated collation of transcriptions

When the transcriptions have been completed—i.e. when the text witnesses have been transformed into suitable digital representations—the possibilities of computational tools become clear. The first and most important of these, for most textual scholars, is the collation programme. The principle behind automated collation is that, given a set of texts that resemble each other, the programme will identify and align the matching words and phrases across all text witnesses. Depending upon the collation programme, the scholar might compare all texts to a selected base, or compare each text to every other text without reference to a base. Various tools offer different forms of visualization of the results—side-by-side comparison of two witnesses, a spreadsheet of all witnesses that can be downloaded and used as a more traditional collation table, or even a representation of the text as a graph, with text variants marked as divergent paths. The result can also be used in further analysis, for example in a programme that will compute a hypothesis (partial or full) for the stemma (see Ch. 3 § 2.3).

It is important to bear in mind that, while automated collation identifies the variations existing between witnesses of a given work, it performs no interpretation of the results. It is up to the scholar to identify the meaning and significance of any particular variant. If the collation was performed without reference to a base text, even the concepts of 'addition' and 'omission' of a portion of text are foreign to the programme—it will be noted merely that witness A contains the reading and witness B does not. Whether that is an addition or omission will depend upon the philological judgment of the scholar.

Limitations

At present there exists no automated workflow or software for the collation of texts with their translations into different languages. The scholar working with texts and their translations will probably still need to perform a manual collation, although the other advantages of diplomatic transcription still apply. It is conceivable that scholars working with transliterated texts, on the other hand, may well be able to make use of an automated collation program customized to suit their needs—if both scripts are alphabetic, for example, the transliterated text might be re-converted to the original alphabet through use of an equivalence table, and used with a collation algorithm that allows for imprecise word matching. Any such approach would, however, require a significant investment of software development resources and would need to be well-tested.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
1	Reference	nr.	Text		Type		Weight				Origin	A	B	C	D			E		F		G	H		K
2			Ref. Text	Variant	type	context	irreversible	irreproducible	length	total						a.c.	s.l.		p.c.		p.c.			p.c.	
11	1.2.1.	8	αὐτόθι	αὐτόθεν	suff.		1	0	0	1	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	0	*	1
12	1.2.2.	9	ἔχει	ἔχειν	gram.		0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
13	1.2.3.	10	γὰρ	/	om.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	1	*	0
14	1.3.1.	11	Ἰουδαῖοι	οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι	add.	article	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
15	1.5.1.	12	οὐδὲ	οὔτε	suff.		1	0	0	1	1	0	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	1	*	1
16	1.6.1.	13	φασὶ τινὲς	φασί τινες	acc.		0	0	0	0	?	0	?	1	1	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	0	*	1
17	1.8.1.	14	δι' ὧν συγχώρησις γίνεται ἁμαρτημάτων	/	om.		1	1	2	4	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
18	1.9.1.	15	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ	add.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	0	*	1
19	1.11.1.	16	μετανοήση	μετανοήσει	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
20	1.13-14.1.	17	ὡς εἴρηται	/	om.		1	0	2	3	?	0	?	0	1	*	*	1	*	1	*	0	1	*	1
21	1.14.1.	18	ἐνταῦθα	/	om.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
22	1.14-15.1.	19	ἐνταῦθα ἁμαρτήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀδιαφόρως	/	om.		1	1	2	4	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
23	1.14-15.2.	20	ἁμαρτήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀδιαφόρως ἀγαθοεργήσας	ἀγαθοεργήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀδιαφόρως ἁμαρτήσας	inv.		1	1	2	4	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	0
24	1.17.1.	21	ἔχομεν	ἔχωμεν (1)	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	1	*	*	2	*	1	0	0	0	*	2
25				ἐχόμενα (2)	gram.		1	0	0	1	0														
26	1.20.1.	22	τις	/	om.		1	0	1	2	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	0	*	0
27	1.21.1.	23	κρίνετε	κρίνεται	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	1	0	0

Fig. 3.2.3 Table of collations of *Florilegium Coislinianum*, cf. Macé et al. 2012.

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2.2.3. Processing variants (CM)

As we already said above (see Ch. 3 § 2.2.1), the results of the collation (whether made manually or using digital tools) may be used for different purposes. Some of them will be described further on: the classification of the textual states represented in the manuscripts (see Ch. 3 § 2.3), the establishment of the edited text (see Ch. 3 § 2.4) and the composition of the critical apparatus (see Ch. 3 § 2.5). The results of the collation can also be recorded in a database and used for palaeographic or linguistic analysis (see Ch. 3 § 3.5). Fig. 3.2.3 shows a table of analysis of the collation, which can be used for statistical purposes.

2.3. Witness classification and history of the text (CM)

The very necessity of understanding the relationships between different witnesses to the same work and the method of achieving it have been brought into question by some scholars, past and present. Without dismissing the constructive contributions and the justified warnings (see Witkam 2013) of the detractors of the stemmatic approach (see Ch. 3 § 2.3.1), the view held here is that it is always necessary and useful to try to determine the relationships amongst the witnesses (if there is more than one) to the same work, using all pieces of evidence in a methodical way. However uncertain or disappointing the results might sometimes seem, no solid conclusion about the text could ever be drawn without such an inquiry, and therefore no serious edition can be made without it. Several practical factors may be a hindrance to this research (see below), but this may never be an excuse to reject it. To take only one example, Peacock's conclusion about 'the futility of attempting to establish stemmata in the case of many Islamic traditions', because of their high degree of horizontal transmission (or contamination) (Peacock 2007, 103) is based on a careful examination of the witnesses and of their relationships and could never have been drawn without such an examination; furthermore it may be valid for the specific tradition Peacock has been working on, but should not be taken for granted in other cases. Besides, it must be said that applying the stemmatic method does not by itself determine the type of edition one will produce, if any (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1). The stemmatic method, as will be shown below, is one of the tools scholars may use in order to reconstruct the history of a text, which, in its turn, may be the basis for an edition. Traditionally, this part of textual criticism is called recensio (recension; Reynolds – Wilson 1991, 207).

It is difficult, however, to give much practical advice in this matter, as the method followed and the results obtained very much depend on the material and textual evidence on which the research is based, and this in turn depends on several factors: the type of work (genre, language, translated or not, etc.), the type of tradition transmitting it (*codex unicus*, fragmentary transmission, over-abundant tradition, etc.), and the unpredictable and random way in which history works. This last point must always be kept in mind: the evidence we have now (no matter how huge it may seem) is only a very small part of what existed once, and our histories of texts resemble archaeological reconstructions, that show what is left, but also what has been lost. This is why the following subchapter cannot give ready-made recipes that can be applied in all cases (the variety of the solutions adopted in the case studies will amply illustrate this point), and will therefore confine itself to the explanation of some important concepts and practices.

2.3.1. The stemmatic approach

The stemmatic method has been associated with the name of Karl Lachmann (1793–1851; see Timpanaro 2005, Reeve 1998), whereas its opponents often claim the patronage of Joseph Bédier (1864–1938; on Bédier's method, see Trovato 2013). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to deal with this question in all bibliographical and historical details, but it is necessary to mention it, because it is still at the core of recent debates in textual scholarship. To make a long story short, the method of Lachmann, or 'common errors' method, as theorized by Paul Maas (Maas 1957), came about in the historicist/positivist context of the nineteenth century, as a way of analysing the textual variation in manuscripts in genealogical/hierarchical terms: mistakes produced in the course of the copying process are transmitted in the subsequent copies, which add their own mistakes etc.; this genealogy of mistakes contained in manuscripts provides us with an objective tool to reconstruct the pedigree of the manuscripts themselves, which is called the stemma (see a good synthetic presentation of the method in West [M.] 1973, 31–37). Finally, it must be said that this more scientific approach to the texts came from 'the rejection of the vulgate text as the basis for discussion and with it the illogical conservatism which regarded the use of manuscripts as a departure

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from a tradition rather than a return to it. In this … the first impulse came from New Testament studies, where the problem was more obvious: the wealth of manuscript evidence left little scope for conjectural emendation and the task of choosing the truth from the variant readings was hampered by the almost divine sanction which was attributed to the *textus receptus*' (Reynolds – Wilson 1991, 209).

The stemmatic representation of the descent of manuscripts may be considered too simplistic (in reality, the process of 'descent with variation' is complicated by several phenomena, which will be briefly mentioned hereafter), too mechanical, or even unrealistic; however, as a methodological tool, it remains the most powerful device scholars may use in trying to determine the relationships between witnesses to a text, and it has been improved on two sides: (a) technically, thanks to the implementation of formal calculation methods (Quentin 1926, Greg 1927) and, later, computerized methods (Dearing 1968, Froger 1968, Griffith [J.] 1968, Zarri 1971 are pioneering studies—see Andrews – Macé 2013, and the bibliography cited there; for an application of statistical approach in oriental studies, see Weitzman 1985 and 1987, and Walter 2001); (b) conceptually, by the bringing-in of 'material philology' (Pasquali 1934, ^{2}1952), linguistic studies, biology, etc., to form a new synthesis sometimes called 'neo-Lachmannism' (see the very rich and thought-provoking collections of *Studies in Stemmatology* edited by van Reenen – van Mulken in 1996 and van Reenen et al. 2004, including contributions on oriental languages, such as Arabic, Greek and Slavonic).

As said above, for practical guidance about stemmatics, the reader may recur to Maas 1957, West [M.] 1973, Reynolds – Wilson 1991 (pp. 207–241), and Trovato 2014, and there is no need to give a full exposition of the method here. Several statistical methods and computerized tools have been applied or developed in the context of stemmatics: see the bibliographical appendix in Macé et al. 2001; several contributions in Andrews – Macé 2014 are devoted to stemmatics. Only a few problematic concepts will be discussed here, hoping that this might help those confronted to similar questions. See also Haugen 2014 for the terminology and Reeve 2011 for useful and always sharp insights into difficult questions.

2.3.2. Building a stemma on the basis of textual variation

A stemma is a synthetic representation, in the form of a graph, of an explanatory model, based both on an empirical analysis of a historical reality and on a theory about the way texts are transmitted. This model can be refuted or validated, both on empirical and theoretical grounds.

Depending on the type of information that has been used to build the stemma and on the method applied, it may represent various things. A philogenetic tree of variants may be described as the best statistical hypothesis about relationships between states of text, it is based on the textual variants alone, and does not imply any a-priori decisions about errors (see Ch. 3 § 3.1). As for automated methods in stemmatics, a set of useful tools is provided on the website created and maintained by Tara Andrews (<http://stemmaweb.net/>). A logical stemma would also be based on the variations, but implies decisions about errors, as only errors (innovations) are kinship-revealing (see below about variants). Then, historical data about the manuscripts as objects (date and place of copy, places where the manuscript was kept, notes by possessors etc.) must be added in order to draw a *stemma codicum* in the fullest sense, a historical stemma (see Ch. 3 § 3.7).

In the example shown in fig. 3.2.4, eleven Greek manuscripts are considered, represented by the Latin majuscule letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L and T. It is often easier to start with the witnesses which have a significant number of clear individual mistakes, because (except if all those mistakes can be easily corrected) they cannot be the ancestor of any of the other extant witnesses. In this case it was clear that L must be a copy of K, because it had all the mistakes of K (and shared the same peculiar contents), plus a number of individual mistakes; in addition, L is younger than K. D, E, G and K share common mistakes, which are not to be found in other witnesses, they must therefore form a family. In addition, E, G and K have common mistakes which are not in D and each of them has individual mistakes; this fact forces us to postulate a lost intermediary between E, G and K on the one hand, and D on the other hand; this intermediary is the lost ancestor of E, G and K. In fig. 3.2.4, the postulated lost intermediaries are represented by asterisks (and not by Greek letters, as is sometimes the case), and they are all hypothetical. The probable date of copying of those manuscripts (based on palaeographic evidence, with an approximation of half a century) is given in the left margin, and the length of the branches represents the time span between the extant manuscripts.

In other types of treelike representations, such as phylogenetic trees (statistical analysis based on phylogenetic algorithms), the branch lengths may represent the 'distance' (for example the number of additional individual variants) between witnesses. In fig. 3.2.5 for instance, more or less the same manuscripts as in fig. 3.2.4 can be seen (L is not present there, and a new manuscript, P, has been added). The readings of the manuscripts have been statistically analysed, using a phylogenetic method (a method used in biology for the classification of character states). A comparable distribution of the manuscripts can be observed (with some differences which can be explained by the method used: see Macé et al. 2012), but, here, a longer branch means that the manuscript is farther away from the ones next to it: manuscript B appears on a very small branch, because it is indeed the direct ancestor of manuscript P (manuscript P has many peculiar readings on its own).

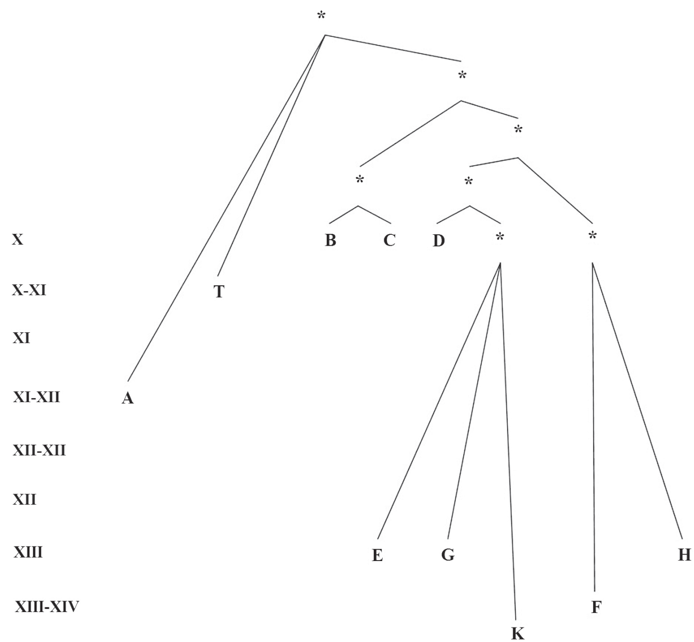

Fig. 3.2.4 Stemma codicum of *Florilegium Coislinianum*, cf. De Vos et al. 2010.

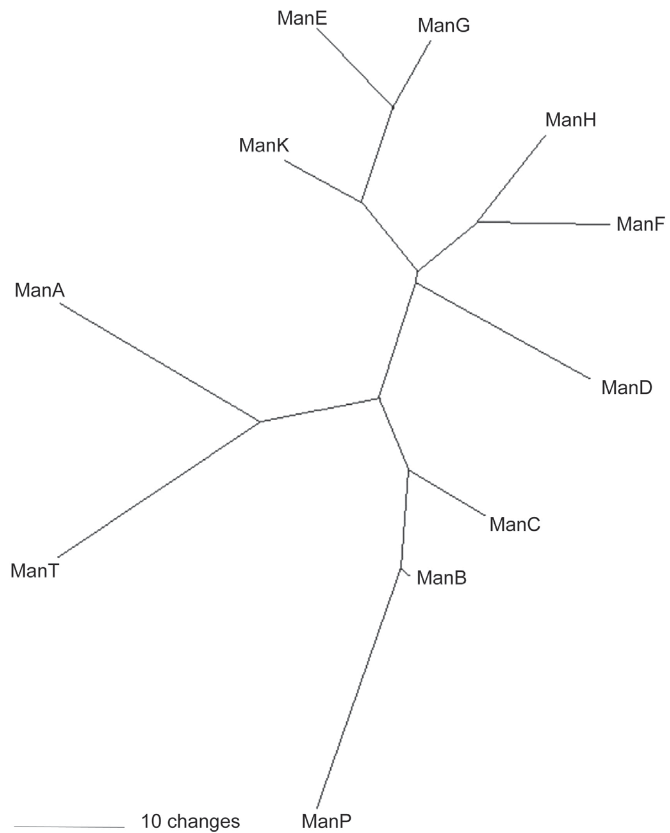

Fig. 3.2.5 Phylogenetic tree (parsimony, unrooted) of *Florilegium Coislinianum*, cf. Macé et al. 2012.

The term *archetype* is used with several meanings, and is sometimes considered controversial (see Trovato 2005). Here again, we will adopt a pragmatic view: the 'archetype' is the extant or postulated manuscript at the top of a stemma (partial or complete), from which the other manuscripts in that stemma ultimately derive. Almost everything is possible: a tradition may have several archetypes, or it may prove impossible, because of lack of evidence, to postulate any archetype (in that case, the stemma is left topless). In fact, cases when it is really possible to identify the archetype of a tradition are rare, and even if it is possible, it must be kept in mind that the archetype is generally not the 'original' text, that is the text as written by its author(s), except in case of autographs. Moreover, even if it is possible to postulate an archetype through reasoning, in many cases this postulated archetype is not what will be edited (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1). In fig. 3.2.4, for example, none of the extant manuscripts is the archetype, and the manuscript tradition is clearly divided into three branches: A, T and the other manuscripts (those three branches are confirmed by other pieces of evidence than the variant readings–see below). In this case, the text of the three branches was sufficiently similar to postulate that there was only one archetype, which can be reconstructed with enough certainty by using the three branches. Terms such as 'subarchetype' or 'hyparchetype' are also used, to indicate extant or lost ancestors of a subset of manuscripts within a tradition.

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A recurrent debate in stemmatological studies is the issue of the surprisingly high number of bipartite stemmata (that is with two branches arising from one node) amongst stemmata drawn by scholars since the nineteenth century (see Timpanaro 2005, Grier 1988, Reeve 1998, amongst many others). Leaving aside the question whether those bipartite (or mainly bipartite) stemmata reflect reality and can be explained by the high number of manuscripts which must have disappeared in the course of time (Guidi – Trovato 2004), one can also suspect that a number of those bipartite stemmata were actually wrong and the result of a misconception of the method, which is unfortunately not uncommon, namely the overlooking of the fact that only errors can be used to ascertain branches, and not all the variants. Let's take a simple example, before explaining further what is exactly meant here by 'error'. At one place in a text, where not all witnesses agree on the text, there are usually two variants, sometimes but less frequently three or more. For example in fig. 3.2.2, at word 72, some manuscripts read 'rationnaliste' instead of 'rationaliste'—the first word is a common spelling mistake, whereas the second one is correctly spelled. Notwithstanding the fact that such a trivial mistake, which can easily be done by anyone independently at any time, will normally not be used in the classification of witnesses (see below), those two variants do not point to two families / branches, because one cannot say anything about the manuscripts that share the correct reading, only transmission of a 'deviation' or of an 'innovation' is relevant to determine families of manuscripts. More often than not, however, some people may wrongly consider that every time there are two variants at one place in a text, they prove the existence of two branches; in this way, all the trees they will build will necessarily always be—wrongly—bipartite.

2.3.3. Evaluating variants

The concept of 'error', which is so central in the Lachmannian method, has been used several times, but not yet defined so far. The term 'error' can be misleading and it has been rejected by many scholars, not without reason, but no other term is as conveniently short (except perhaps 'innovation'). It would be more accurate to speak about 'secondary' reading versus 'primary' reading, because a secondary reading can for example be a correction, and a correction can hardly be called a mistake. In addition, 'secondary' is a relative term: a variant B can be secondary vis-à-vis a variant A and primary vis-à-vis a variant C (A > B > C). The decision about what is primary and what is secondary has often been accused of being subjective. In addition, the variants used for the classification are often reduced to a small number of secondary variants considered 'significant' or 'kinship revealing', i.e. variants which cannot be made by two scribes independently nor easily corrected without recurring to another model. This reduction of the evidence used has also sometimes been criticized. There might be some truth in those criticisms, but, again, they do not hold if the method is correctly applied, that is if the amount of variants used is sufficiently large, and if the arguments to decide what is secondary and what is significant are sound and clearly exposed (see Love 1984).

What might those arguments be? Several scholars have tried to provide typologies of variants valid for manuscript traditions in several languages: for example Gacek 2007 for Arabic, or Havet 1911 for Latin (by far the most encompassing survey). Those typologies are usually based both on an external description of the variants and on an attempt at defining the (voluntary or involuntary) cause of the variation: addition (dittography, interpolation, …), omission (haplography, *homoioteleuton*, …), grammatical variant, lexicographical substitution, inversion, etc. A *homoioteleuton* (or *saut du même au même*, that is jump from one element to another—identical or similar—further down in the text), for example, is due to the fact that the copyist usually reads a few words in his model, memorizes them for a short time, writes them down, and then his eyes go back to the model not necessarily exactly at the same place. It is typically a mistake that can happen more than once independently, but which is very difficult to correct once it has happened, especially if this omission does not disturb the meaning of the text (in a repetitive context for example). This type of secondary reading can therefore be used to separate a manuscript or group of manuscripts from the rest of the tradition, because a manuscript which has this error cannot be the ancestor of a manuscript which does not have it (*Trennfehler* or separative error), but it is not as good to join manuscripts together (*Bindefehler* or conjunctive error), because it may happen independently.

In evaluating the variants, one must use all possible criteria: grammatical correctness, lexicographical evidence, sources used by the author, metric, stylistics, possible repetitions of the same ideas or sentences in the same text or in several texts by the same author, historical evidence, traces of a material accident (for example one page lost or misplaced), and so on. One might object that the argumentation is ultimately

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based on the assumption that the archetype is 'faultless' and that the author made no mistake. The first criticism is simply not true, for in some cases one has to admit that the archetype was faulty (if all extant witnesses share what is obviously a mistake—this is best proven by comparison with the indirect tradition, see Ch. 3 § 2.3.5)—if sufficiently argued for, the existence of mistakes in the archetype is in fact the best proof that there is only one archetype of the extant tradition. As for the second criticism, the idea that an ancient or mediaeval author wrote nonsense or bad grammar on purpose is less probable than the opposite view.

2.3.4. Limits of the method

As it has been said earlier, the application of the method knows some limitations. An essential distinction was made by Pasquali between a 'closed recension' and an 'open recension' (Pasquali [2]1952, 126; see also Alberti 1979, 1–18): in the second case the evidence we have is such that it does not allow us to draw a reliable stemma. Again, we must insist that this conclusion can only be drawn after a close examination of the tradition, never *a priori*. Moreover, the ways a manuscript tradition evolved and was preserved may not be homogeneous: some parts may be obscure and difficult to reconstruct, whereas others may be more straightforward—in this case, partial stemma(ta) may be proposed. The causes for a recension (or part of a recension) to be open may be diverse. Some are intrinsic (depending on how the text was transmitted from the beginning), others are extrinsic (depending on the hazardous way in which any tradition survives). A tradition may be more or less 'authorial' and 'controlled', and several factors may play a role in this. Certain types of texts call for adaptation: *some* technical treatises, *some* hagiographical accounts, *some* rather popular literary genres, *some* genres with an allegedly oral root (popular poetry, sermons noted by tachygraphs, etc.; see Ch. 3 §§ 3.4, 3.13, 3.16). In each case the restriction 'some' is important, because the literary genre to which a work belongs does not tell by itself whether or not this precise work will in reality be felt by copyists as freely adaptable. On the other hand, no law can predict how a manuscript tradition will evolve in the course of time: works which have been banned and censored may survive by chance (for example 'heretical' texts), celebrated texts may nearly disappear by accident (for example several pieces of the Latin and Greek classical literary canon). The state in which the work has been preserved, as accidental as it may be, has indeed a major impact on how accurately and reliably we can reconstruct the history of its transmission.

Another phenomenon which can render the classification difficult or impossible is the so-called contamination (when one witness was obviously copied using more than one source—note that a contamination must be proven, and this can only be by detecting mistakes from at least two different families in one witness). In fact, several very different phenomena lie hidden behind this term:

— use of several exemplars to copy a text: this implies that several exemplars were present at the same place at the same time, or that the manuscript copied on one exemplar was later annotated or corrected using another model; in this latter case, the corrections, which are visible in the corrected manuscript (if it still exists), will possibly be undetectable in its copy;
— several copies made at the same time on few dismantled exemplars: this implies that there was a high demand for copies of the same text and an organized workshop to deal with this demand;
— corrections and scholarly interventions by the copyist or a reader of the manuscript;
— influence of a text which the copyist might know by heart: this is typically the case for quotations of a very well known text, such as the Bible, the Qurʾān or a literary monument, inside another text.

A careful examination of the variants may help in dealing with such complicated cases (see Love 1984), because some variants will be less likely to be transmitted by contamination than others (less 'significant' variants for example will generally not be 'contaminated'), and, at any event, it may be possible to classify at least a part of the tradition (see La Spisa 2014).

2.3.5. Use of indirect witnesses

When any piece of indirect evidence exists and it is possible to use it, this is an invaluable help in understanding the tradition of a text, because it may give some insights about lost parts of this tradition, and it may shed light on essential events in the evolution of the tradition that we cannot know of through the direct witnesses.

The indirect tradition proper (see 2.1), especially if it is older than the extant direct witnesses is extremely precious in this respect: it comprises (1) citations of the work in later works, (2) other recensions of the work, (3) ancient translations of the work in other languages. All those types of indirect witnesses

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can be especially helpful when deciding about the primary / secondary character of the variants, because they provide information about and earlier stage of the text (see Macé 2011).

One can also consider as indirect tradition, traces of the text kept on a different medium than codices, those media generally having a totally different path of transmission from the codices: epigraphic evidence (famous examples are verses from Shota Rustaveli's twelfth-century Georgian national epic *Vepxisṭq̇aosani* 'Knight in the Panther's Skin' inscribed on stone in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, see Cisḳarišvili 1954, whereas most manuscripts of this work date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; or amulets from the sixth to seventh centuries BCE in ancient Hebrew script preserving three verses of Numbers Ch. 6), papyri (cf. Ch. 3 § 3.6), or even traces of an oral transmission, for example through a collection of proverbs borrowed from the work in question.

Another type of 'indirect' evidence is any element which is not the text itself nor the material evidence provided by the manuscripts (see Ch. 3 § 2.3.6), that is evidence related to the history of another text inside the tradition under consideration, either (1) kept in the text itself (citation, interpolation…) or (2) in multi-text manuscripts (history of textual tradition of other works preserved in the same manuscripts). These elements are contemporary with the history of the text, and not older as the indirect tradition proper often is, but they are nevertheless potentially interesting, because they have a parallel history, outside the direct tradition, which can be confronted with it. These elements must be treated with caution though, because arguments in this matter can often be used both ways. About the second case (multi-text manuscripts), see Ch. 3 § 3.2.

When editing a translation or an anthology, the source-text of this translation (see Ch. 3 § 3.20) or of the excerpts gathered in the anthology (see Ch. 3 § 3.19) must also be considered as an indirect witness to the history of the text to be edited. As Bausi has pointed out (see Ch. 3 § 3.2), the philology of translated texts must go backwards and forwards (see also Ch. 3 § 3.8).

2.3.6. Use of material evidence

All pieces of evidence about the manuscripts as historical objects (cf. Ch. 3 § 2.1) are relevant for the classification and must be used to validate or falsify the reality of the textual relationships observed between witnesses (cf. Ch. 3 § 3.7). In extremely fortunate cases, the manuscripts contain colophons that sometimes say from which model they were copied (see Ch. 3 § 3.1). But normally one must use less direct evidence, such as the approximate date of the manuscripts or traces of the places where the manuscripts were copied or kept.

The contents of the manuscripts are also an important piece of evidence: manuscripts with the same or similar contents in the same or similar order are likely to be related. The layout and other codicological features (for example marginalia, scholia etc.) may be an additional element to bring manuscripts together.

It must also be kept in mind that a manuscript is not a static object, it evolves with time: the parchment or the paper can deteriorate with time, the book can be damaged more or less heavily due to natural or human factors, leaves can be lost or misplaced, especially in the process of rebinding, and readers may add their own comments, or make their own corrections. One single manuscript can therefore have several 'states' in the course of time, and it can be copied several times at different stages of its evolution (see Irigoin 1954).

2.3.7. Towards a history of the text

Taken all together, those pieces of evidence about the textual relationships between the manuscripts, about their evolution as material objects, and all that we can learn from the indirect tradition, all that forms a puzzle which is the history of the text, and sometimes its prehistory (that is the period of existence of a text for which we do not have any direct sources of information). The history of a text is itself part of the intellectual, social and cultural history of the civilization from which this text originated. It is also the basis for any study about this text, and for a possible edition of the text.

2.4. Establishing and presenting a scholarly text edition (CM–AGi–PLS–TA–SM–LS)

The huge amount of work that was presented above (Ch. 3 §§ 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) is indeed 'preliminary' to the edition; once all this is done, the editorial work proper begins. To go from the history of a text to its edition is never an automatic step: in each case the editor will need to find which is the best way of presenting

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a readable text, which is also reflecting the historicity of the manuscript tradition. No edition is perfect, but it is important to give it all possible care, because it will become the way other people will access the text, and preparing an edition is such a time-consuming work that it cannot normally be redone several times for the same text.

2.4.1. Types of scholarly editions and editorial decisions and choices (CM)

As was said above, different types of text are transmitted by different types of manuscript traditions, and the edition needs to be adapted to the specificities of the text and needs to deal with the incompleteness of the manuscript evidence. It also has to accommodate the needs and requirements of its future readership. The edition of a poetical text will be different from the edition of a hagiographical account, for example, and the edition of a text preserved in a *codex unicus* will pose other problems than that of a text of which the tradition is 'over-abundant'. In all cases, the editor will have to explain his/her choices and principles in the introduction (cf. Ch. 3 § 2.6.1). The case studies (Ch. 3 § 3.1–23) offer a large range of possible solutions to different issues.

1. An essential distinction needs to be made between editing a text or a work and editing a document (see Ch. 3 § 3.20). In some cases, the unique character of a document preserving a text may prompt scholars to edit this document for its own sake. Such is the case of papyri (see Ch. 3 § 3.6), palimpsests (see Ch. 3 § 3.11), or fragments (see Ch. 3 § 3.9) being the only witnesses of some texts: a *diplomatic* edition (see Ch. 3 § 3.11 for a presentation of the method), sometimes called a *documentary* edition is the best option.

2. If one wants to edit a work from multiple documents, the possibilities are more numerous, depending on the conclusions about the history of the text. In some cases, it will be possible to prove (or at least to convincingly argue) that there was only one archetype. If this archetypal manuscript is preserved, it should serve as the base text for the edition, sometimes complemented by other witnesses, if the *base manuscript* is lacunary for example, or if some other manuscripts have a special intellectual or historical value. As a rule the editor will follow his/her base manuscript to establish the text.

3. If the archetype is not preserved, but it is possible to reconstruct it with enough confidence from the manuscript tradition, the edition will be based on several witnesses. That type of edition may be called a *genealogical edition*. The editor will first need to choose the manuscripts on which the edition will be based, as they are usually not all taken into account to establish the text, depending on their position in the *stemma codicum*. Normally, the editor will not consider the manuscripts which are obviously copies of extant manuscripts (*eliminatio codicum descriptorum*; see Timpanaro 1985, but note that Timpanaro has strongly criticized the way Maas dealt with the *eliminatio*). In fig. 3.2.4 for example, manuscript L, clearly being a copy of K, will not be considered. Other criteria may be used to select manuscripts, especially if they are numerous. There is theoretically no limit to the number of manuscripts which may be used for an edition and referred to in an *apparatus criticus* (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.1), and some editions (of the biblical texts for example) indeed display a large number of manuscripts (see also Ch. 3 § 3.15), but it might also be advisable to consider only the manuscripts which are 'useful' for the edition, in order to save some work and to keep the apparatus readable. According to the stemma in fig. 3.2.4, all manuscripts except for L should be kept for the edition. However, D, E, F, G, H and K, although they cannot be eliminated on stemmatic grounds (and were indeed kept for the edition, cf. De Vos et al. 2010), are clearly a derived family (corroborated by material evidence) compared with B and C, and could be left aside without changing anything in the edition. The choice of the variants, then, must also be based on the stemma, although not mechanically (it must always be validated by philological judgment). Again, the stemma of fig. 3.2.4 clearly has three branches: A, T and B-C (+ the other manuscripts); therefore an agreement of two branches against the third one must logically point to the reading to be kept in the edited text.

An *eclectic edition* is also based on several witnesses, but the selection of the manuscripts and of the variants is not justified by the history of the text, and is therefore arbitrary. Many editions made in the past were eclectic rather than truly genealogical.

4. A *synoptic edition* or a *multiple-version edition* may be the best solution if the work is preserved in several recensions, each recension being then genealogically edited on its own. It is the editor's choice to edit all texts separately or to choose the ones which are older, more important etc. (see Ch. 3 § 3.4).

5. Other types of editions, for different purposes, may be envisaged, but the types listed above are the most common.

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Whatever type of edition one chooses, there will be almost inevitably some conjectures or emendations by the editor, as no historical transmission of a text can deliver a text which is absolutely uncorrupted. Editor's conjectures should be limited to correct what is an obvious mistake in the tradition (against the rhyme, for example, or the versification …) and refrain from hyper-corrections. Any intervention of the editor in the text should be clearly marked (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.2). The editor should have a clear idea of what one wants to edit, and be careful not to go beyond the goal. In editing a translation, for example, it might sometimes be tempting to correct the edited text using the source-text, but this would be a mistake, because one has to edit the translation as it was: errors of translation should therefore be kept in the edited text (they could be highlighted as such in the apparatus), whereas errors in the manuscript tradition of the translation should be corrected.

2.4.2. Presenting the critical text (PLS–CM–SM–LS)

Script

In most cases, the editor will use the script in which the text is written in the manuscripts (although usually transliterating the majuscule script, if this is the script of the main text, into minuscule). Some particular cases, however, such as very rare scripts or allographic systems, may raise special difficulties (see General introduction § 2.1.1 about the encoding of oriental scripts). Avestan manuscripts, for example, will generally be transliterated (see Ch. 3 § 3.5), as well as the multilingual fragments of the Turfan collection (see Ch. 3 § 3.9). In the case of allography (using an alphabet normally used for a different language), it may be advisable to use the script as it is in the manuscript for the critical edition, and to provide next to it a transliteration into the 'normal' script of the language in question, as a help to the reader (see the contributions in den Heijer et al. 2014).

Word-splitting, accentuation, diacritics, majuscules, etc.

In many mediaeval manuscript traditions, *scriptio continua* was used. Except in the case of a very faithful diplomatic transcription (see Ch. 3 § 3.11), words should be split, otherwise the text may be totally incomprehensible. Similarly, the choice is left to the editor to add diacritical signs which may be indispensable to the reader, and whether to capitalize proper names or not.

Abbreviations, numbers, etc.

Abbreviations are usually resolved in the edited text, without any mention in the apparatus criticus (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.1), unless there are some variants in the manuscripts (in the apparatus abbreviations should not be resolved: cf. Ch. 3 § 2.5.1).

As for numbers, there is no rule: the editor may decide to write them numerically (using numbers or letters depending on the system developed in the language under consideration), even if they are written in full in the manuscripts, except if this may have an incidence on the understanding of the edited text or of the variants.

In cases where a (semi-)diplomatic transcription of a manuscript text is used as a basis for the edition of a particular work—which is common in palaeoslavistic editorial practice, for example—the boundaries between a diplomatic and a critical edition of texts are often blurred. Insurmountable problems of normalization of most mediaeval languages (the later stages of Church Slavonic, for example) have favoured the use of manuscript texts as a basis for critical editions (namely best-manuscript editions where the text of one manuscript is rendered more or less faithfully and variations from other witnesses are only recorded in the apparatus, or copy-text editions with better readings introduced in the manuscript text). The editor will need to decide on the question of how to deal with abbreviated words such as, for example, *nomina sacra*, frequently used words, or common endings. One option is to resolve the abbreviations, which can be done by reconstructing the omitted part of the word in between brackets (see for example Sels 2009, 105). However, orthography is a notable problem: the use of standard orthography for the expanded abbreviations goes against the grain of the use of a manuscript text, while a reconstruction of the abbreviated word according to the orthographical particularity of the manuscript is often problematical as well, especially in the case of words that are rarely written out in full (mostly *nomina sacra*). This is one of the reasons why some editors prefer to preserve the abbreviations as they occur in the manuscript. The latter choice is most likely made by editors with a reluctance to interfere with the manuscript text in other respects as well (i.e. a reluctance to introduce modern punctuation, capitalization, text division etc.). Some editors have taken an intermediate position and have elaborated fine-grained systems for dealing with various sorts of abbreviations (see Kakridis 2004, 186–188).

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Punctuation
The punctuation of the edited text is another point which scholars working on mediaeval texts have become gradually aware of (cf. Careri 1998, Parkes 1998). In older editions, the punctuation was normally given by the editor, without any reference to the manuscript. The rationale behind it was that punctuation is mainly aiming at making the text easier to read, and that the system of punctuation in each language has often changed over time, the mediaeval system is therefore often incomprehensible to modern readers and must be adapted. On that point, the practice of modern editors is usually pragmatic: rather than introducing signs which are closer to the manuscripts but will not be understood by modern readers, they generally 'translate' the mediaeval signs into modern punctuation. In some cases though, special signs can be adopted, especially in diplomatic editions (see Ch. 3 § 3.11).

There are no prescriptions in this matter, but one should be aware that (1) punctuation matters, it has to do with the syntax of a text and to its semantic divisions, it is part of the text as much as any other feature, (2) even if it is not possible to adopt the punctuation system of the manuscripts (and in a reconstructed text it is, indeed, hardly possible, because almost every manuscript is different), one must at least look at the punctuation marks in the manuscripts (and therefore collate them: see Ch. 3 § 2.2), and try not to overload the edited text with a personal punctuation, often influenced by the editor's mother tongue. The choice of using a majuscule or not after a strong punctuation mark is generally left to the editor (or to the series in which the edition will be published).

Critical signs and marking
In order to allow the reader to have a direct and clear perception of important editorial interventions in the text, editors usually use critical signs to indicate where they make substantial changes. They usually note the additions and suppressions between various types of brackets, the meaning of which varies from one edition or one series to the other. The significance of the signs should be indicated in the introduction and/or in the *conspectus siglorum* (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.2). In addition, there must be an entry in the critical apparatus (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.1) to explain the interventions of the editor. For instance, in many classical editions, editor's additions will be surrounded by parentheses ( ), and suppressions of text which is found in all or most of the manuscripts will be enclosed in square brackets [ ], but other signs may be used, depending on the field and the school of practice (they are even sometimes the opposite as, for example, in papyrology), as well as the publisher. The citations and quotations should be typographically marked in the body of the edition in order to be easily recognized. Editors usually identify these citations in the appropriate apparatus (cf. Ch. 3 § 2.5.2 and fig. 3.2.8).

2.4.3. Division of the text, titles, layout, reference system (PLS–SM–LS)

When choosing the way of dividing the parts of the edited text, the editor should try to follow the original division of the text, if there is one, or the division which is supposed to be closer to the original when the witnesses present various divisions. However, some practical reasons may interfere. The layout of the text sometimes imposes a different way of distinguishing the different sections of the text. In addition to this, publishers sometimes impose a specific way of division, especially in collections. Readability also occasionally causes problems: some texts have no division at all, which makes the text difficult to access for the modern reader. A possible way of solving this difficulty is to elaborate a clearer division of the text in the accompanying translation, if there is one, so that the original division can be kept in the edition.

Sometimes, however, the editor may feel the need to superimpose another, more practical, division, and to divide the text or chapters into smaller paragraphs, which are then numbered and/or titled. In the latter case one must specify whether the titles are a choice of the editor or if they were already present in the manuscript tradition. In the former case, such devices as square brackets, boldface or specific fonts can be recommended for headings added by the editor. The division of the text into paragraphs has several functions: (1) to help the reader to identify the structure and logic of the text (see Samir 1982, 80–85), (2) to facilitate quotations of the critical text by users and scholars, (3) to give the possibility of creating synoptic editions with parallel texts, quotations, identification of indirect sources, and so on.

The division of an edited text is based either on a division present in the extant manuscript tradition or on the editor's understanding of the structure of the text. However, in the case of an edition of a translation—whether represented in parallel with a source text or not—editors often choose to bring the division of the translated text into agreement with that of the (assumed) source text. Although this approach has the

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advantage of clarity of (cross-)reference, it holds the risk of imposing on the text a structure that is alien to it, and it often fails to do justice to the particular nature of the translated text (which usually functioned independently of its sources).

If a previous edition already exists, it may be useful to note the references of the previous edition in the new edition, to allow an easy cross-referencing between the two editions. The editor may indicate the pagination (or any other reference system) of the older edition in the margin of the new one, or directly in the text, depending on the layout. Another option (for example in case of important discrepancies between the two editions) is to provide a concordance between the two (or more) editions as an appendix or in the introduction.

It is also advisable, when editing a text on the basis of one (main) manuscript, to give the references to the manuscript in question (page or folium, recto/verso, if possible columns), for example in the margins of the edition, to enable the reader to check the text more easily against the manuscript.

The page layout is a very important question, which cannot be treated here in sufficient detail. Mediaeval scribes usually cared very much about page layout: colours, capital letters, margins, letter size and the like were extensively used to make the book more user-friendly and sometimes simply more beautiful (see Ch. 1). In a modern printed edition, the page layout must be as clear (must immediately show what the text is: a poem, a dialogue, a treatise…) and as reader-friendly as possible: titles, headers, running titles, margins should be used to help the reader navigate in the text.

2.4.4. Orthography and linguistic features (PLS–CM)

Orthography and linguistic variations were mostly neglected in handbooks of editorial technique, and in the editions of classical and biblical texts, where normalization towards a classical ideal was usual (not only for a priori reasons, but also because of the huge and unbridgeable time gap between the conception of the text and the first extant witnesses, or because of the large number of manuscripts presenting irreconcilable orthographical features). It is one of the great merits of mediaeval scholarship to have made scholars and readers aware of the importance of taking into account orthographic and linguistic features of mediaeval manuscripts (Giannouli 2014).

The issue is far from simple and the two following elements always need to be considered: (1) the time span between the composition of the work and the extant witnesses, (2) the difficulty of assessing what corresponds to a standard or at least to a widespread trend, and what is idiosyncratic and specific to a scribe.

In the case of a diplomatic edition based on a single, unique witness (see Ch. 3 §§ 3.6 and 3.11), all orthographic and linguistic features of the manuscript will be reproduced in the edition, even though they pertain to the period of the copy of the manuscript, which may be different from the time of composition of the work—it must always be kept in mind, that, in the edition of ancient and mediaeval texts, except in rare cases of autographs or copies contemporary with the author, there is always a superimposition of two (or more) different periods of time within the edited text (cf. Ch. 3 § 3.20).

For editions based on multiple witnesses, the problem is more complicated, because the edited text will often be based on several manuscripts, as far as the variants are concerned—but on what will the 'form' of the text rely? There is no ideal solution to this problem, and most editions will be a more or less unsatisfactory compromise between two extreme positions: (1) a complete normalization of the spelling and grammar, based on assumptions about the language of the work or according to modern criteria, (2) the choice of one witness, considered the most conservative and reliable as far as the orthography is concerned, to be used as a guide to establish the form of the edited text. Here as well the editor will need to find a balance between two contradictory goals: readability for modern users of the edition, and faithfulness towards the mediaeval tradition. Furthermore, it must be noted that no mediaeval scribe is entirely 'consistent' in his copy—it is also a choice of the editor to keep those inconsistencies, at the risk of presenting a text which will sometimes appear odd or mistaken, or to iron them out for the convenience of the reader (but this must be traced in the apparatus—see Ch. 3 § 2.5.1). Whatever the editor chooses to do, it must be stated and explained in the philological introduction (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.1).

If the text of one or more witnesses is so different from the rest of the tradition that one can consider it another redaction of the work, the editor may decide to edit it separately, either synoptically or as an appendix, or indeed, in a separate edition (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1).

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This question of the 'form' of the edited text is related to, though different from the question of the representation of the form of each witness within the edition. A digital edition offers the possibility of displaying a full transcript of each witness (see Ch. 3 § 3.1); a database of variants is another way of digitally presenting that kind of variation (see Ch. 3 § 3.5). Obviously, a printed edition does not allow the editor to give all this information, and one is forced drastically to reduce it to what s/he considers most relevant, and to place it in an apparatus (either the critical apparatus or a special linguistic apparatus: see Ch. 3 §§ 2.5.1 and 2.5.3) and/or in the philological introduction, where a chapter or a paragraph should be devoted to the orthography and linguistic peculiarities of the manuscripts (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.1).

We may exemplify this point with the help of editions of pre-modern Arabic texts. In the past, most editions of texts in Arabic preferred a complete normalization of the text according to modern spelling in order to make it accessible to modern readers (cf. Blachère – Sauvaget 1945; Samir 1982, § 210 p. 77). This practice, however, does not correspond to modern views on textual scholarship: the form of the edited text as such must be faithful to the manuscript tradition and should not be anachronistic. As we have said before, for an edition to be critical, the editor must provide the reader with exact information about the source of what he is reading: this applies equally to the form of the text. There are other means to give easier access to the text: translations, commentaries, and similar (see Ch. 3 § 2.6), but the edited text itself must remain free of modern interventions as much as possible. In Arabic (as in other languages), the question is complicated by the fact that several varieties of what is called 'Middle Arabic' by scholars coexist. As defined recently, Middle Arabic is 'an intermediate, multiform variety, product of the interference of the two polar varieties on the continuum they bound, a variety that, for this very reason, has its own distinctive characteristics' (Lentin 2008, 216). The Arabic language in all its aspects (orthographic, phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical) has indeed evolved over time, and manuscripts often bear linguistic phenomena of crucial importance for the history of the Arabic language. For the critical edition of written Middle Arabic texts, the methodological distinction that is still nowadays applied in Romance philology between 'criticism of forms' and 'criticism of variants' (cf. Ch. 3 § 3.13), is a possible solution to overcome the apparent impasse between a blind fidelity to a chosen witness and changing both forms and variants by creating an eclectic text. With 'criticism of forms' we mean here the distinction of all the linguistic phenomena within a manuscript tradition; the linguistic form of the critical text, however, should be chosen among the witnesses which are closest to the author (if there is one) from a geographical and chronological point of view.

2.4.5. Desiderata for digital editions (TA)

In addition to a printed book—or even in place of a printed book entirely—the editor may wish to make his or her edition available in an electronic form (whether with online access or not). There are several different ways of accomplishing this, with increasing levels of functionality and sophistication. The simplest, and least functional, option is to reproduce the book in a static electronic form such as PDF; the text can now be made available electronically but otherwise has very little advantage over a printed book, except for searchability. Such an edition might more correctly be called a 'digitized edition' rather than a 'digital edition'.

While in the past a number of digital editions were produced on electronic media such as CD-ROM or DVD, almost all digital editions produced today are made available directly online, meant to be accessed through a Web browser on a computer or other networked device. The primary defining characteristic of digital publication, in comparison to print or publication of an electronic book, is that, for better or for worse, the page is no longer a meaningful boundary or limitation. The editor is free to make available as much text, analysis, commentary, and raw manuscript transcription as she or he sees fit—even high-quality manuscript images can be included if the rights can be obtained. This in itself poses an interesting problem of presentation. When the size of the book is no longer a limiting factor, and the page is no longer a natural means to guide the layout of information, how is the editor to present citations, references, text variants, quotations, and many of the other pieces of information discussed here?

One of the greatest difficulties surrounding the publication of a digital edition is that, despite roughly two decades of their existence, no detailed set of 'best practice' for digital editions has been developed that compares, either in form or function, to the practices for printed edition outlined above. To some extent this is a necessary effect of the rapid pace of technological change—no particular standard or practice,

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beyond the very simple approach of putting a text online in some form such as plain text or TEI XML, has survived a descent into obsolescence. Functionality and user interfaces that would have been considered sophisticated and cutting-edge in 2001 were seen as anything but by 2011; conversely, the possibilities presented by newer web technologies have continually disrupted the process by which scholarly editors would ordinarily settle on a common practice or standard for publication. Already, a decade after their appearance, the question was being asked: do digital editions have a future? (Robinson [Pe.] 2004) Nevertheless, the determination of several editors, including Robinson himself, to go on making digital editions has ensured that the field remains very much alive and, slowly, is beginning to flourish. One recent and helpful contribution to the problem of 'best practices' surrounding digital publication has been offered by Rosselli Del Turco (2007), who discusses the requirements and desiderata for a graphical user interface to a scholarly edition.

The second difficulty of digital publications is the lack of any user-friendly tool for their creation. Unless the editor can find a professional academic publisher willing to create the edition in digital form, or can afford the money necessary to hire expertise in computer programming and website development, his or her only option is to invest the time and energy necessary to learn about all aspects of online publication: image processing and text encoding, including the technical issues surrounding the representation of right-to-left script or even bidirectional texts, markup languages such as XML for TEI-based transcription and HTML for publication of the text (see General introduction § 2.1.2), technologies such as CSS for layout and presentation within the browser or Javascript for more dynamic functionality, and of course the fundamentals for using and perhaps maintaining a web server for the purpose, either through commercial computing cloud services such as Amazon or personal server software such as Apache. The editor must also put some thought into the problem of survival of the edition—what happens to the work if its creator changes institutions, dies, or simply fails to keep software up to date? In short, the editor of a digital publication is, at present, forced to exercise all the expertise and specialist knowledge for which the editor of a print publication can safely rely on a commercial or academic publisher.

For all this, however, the 'sky is the limit' nature of digital publication continues to hold immense promise and advantage for textual scholarship. The nature of the enterprise remains the same as for print publication. The editor must present a text—whether a constructed critical text, a diplomatic reproduction of a single manuscript, or a text derived from some other principle—and must present the evidence upon which it is based. Since there is little practical limit to the amount of information that can be presented, the digital editor will usually be expected to err on the side of completeness: to provide as faithful as possible a record of each manuscript that went into the edition, and as complete as possible a rationale for each editorial decision that was made. Here the principle of scientific transparency can shine a light on our field as never before. With digital publication, the editor's critical text can coexist peacefully with the transmitted versions of the text in all their variation; the reader can explore the text in all its variation from semantic to linguistic to orthographic. The prospect is too tantalizing, and the technology too rich, for the publication of digital editions to be abandoned in the foreseeable future.

2.5. Apparatuses (CM–SM–AGi)

As we have seen before (2.4.1), the edited text reflects the state of preservation of the manuscript tradition, a certain view on its history, and the decisions taken by the editor in order to provide modern readers with a mediaeval text in the most adequate form. In itself the edited text cannot contain all the information that scholars can extract from the manuscript tradition (readings of other manuscripts than the one used for the *constitutio textus*, sources of the text, etc.). In order not to overload the text and to allow it to stand on its own, 'apparatuses' (often placed at the bottom of each page in a book) are used to store any information that supports the edited text or is considered relevant for the reader to understand it.

An edition must often provide several apparatuses, each of them containing a different type of information. There are various possibilities of displaying them and the layout of an edition with apparatuses is generally a complicated matter, even though some software, such as Classical Text Editor, LaTeX, TUSTEP, etc. make it possible nowadays to deal more easily with a complex *mise-en-page*. It must be noted, however, that the series where the edition will be published often imposes a certain layout as well as the way to produce it (see Macé forthcoming).

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A digital edition offers different possibilities of displaying that kind of information (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.5), but, as no standards exist yet (see Fischer [F.] 2013, 88), each editor must more or less construct his/her own system for this. The next pages are therefore focused on paper editions.

2.5.1. The *apparatus criticus* (SM)

The critical apparatus contains the information which is relevant to understand the editor's choices concerning the edited text. The decision about what is relevant or not is not always easy (see Ch. 3 § 2.3.3 about evaluating variants) but often necessary: it is impossible to keep all the information from the collations in the apparatus, which would become unreadable and therefore useless.

Various options and formats of the critical apparatus (and indeed of other apparatuses) in printed editions are presented here. The four main options when formatting an apparatus criticus are the language, the layout, the format of the data, and the syntax. To choose the best format for each concrete case, it is advisable to look at as many examples as possible of existing editions, in order to decide what are the possible answers to the needs of the edition one wants to make.

As a rule, the script used to indicate the readings of the manuscripts in the apparatus is the same as the script used for the edited text (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.2). It may happen, however, that the editor has to mention manuscript readings written in another language or script than the main text (when referring to an ancient translation, for example (see Ch. 3 § 2.3.5), or when using a witness written in an allographic system, see Ch. 3 § 2.4.2). If possible (that is if allowed by the rules of the series and if there is enough space), the best option is to keep those variants in their original language or script and to provide next to them a translation (into the language of the edited text, or, perhaps more conveniently, into a modern language) or, in the case of allography, a transliteration into the script of the edited text.

Readings are usually written exactly as they are found in the manuscripts, that is without any homogenizing or formal polishing as the editor must do in the edited text (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.2): rare or ambiguous abbreviations are not resolved, spelling is kept exactly as it is in the manuscript, and so on.

The critical apparatus of readings may be positive, that is mention all the witnesses in each note, or negative, that is mention only the witnesses disagreeing with the chosen reading. If these two different ways of constructing the critical apparatus do not fundamentally change the format of the apparatus, they nevertheless infer some changes, as explained below.

1. Editor's language in the apparatus

The language of the editor in the apparatus is the first thing to choose when beginning a critical apparatus. The traditional language is Latin, but nowadays, many scholars use other, mostly vernacular, languages (English, French, Italian, etc.). Arabic is also often used in editions of Arabic texts. The choice of the language influences directly the direction of the apparatus, as an Arabic apparatus will go from right to left, and a Latin apparatus will go from left to right.

Abbreviated forms of often repeated words are usually used in the apparatus, to make it shorter: for example *add.* for *addidit*, marking an addition. A list of abbreviations used can often be found together with the *conspectus siglorum* (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.2) or with the introduction. For a fairly complete list of such abbreviations see Bernabé – Hernández Muñoz 2010, 155–163, Apéndice I.

Some modern scholars also use a system of symbols to avoid the use of one specific language and save space. For example, the sign + may be used to point to an addition (see fig. 3.2.6).

2. Layout

Two characteristics affect the layout of the apparatus: the kind of notes and their place. Notes can be (a) numbered through or (b) referred to by line numbers with respective lemmata. These notes may be placed at the bottom of the pages, or at the end of the edition. Each system has its advantages and disadvantages. But the choice is not always up to the editor, as one of the key factors in the layout of the apparatus is the publisher. In addition to these common layouts, some scholars have proposed to put the *apparatus criticus* in the margins (as in the mediaeval system of *marginalia*).

(a) Numbered notes

The numbered notes system is made in the same way as contextual footnotes or endnotes in books and articles. The editor puts a number (typically in superscript) in the text, and the critical information in a note at the bottom of the page or at the end of the document, after the same number. Unfortunately, most editions of this kind put each numbered note on a single line, often due to software limitations.

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INDICE MELCHITA

(1) ዝንቱ[1] ፡ ሴኖዶስ[2] ፡ ወቀኖና[3] ፡ ዘበትርጓሜሁ[4] ፡ ሥርዐተ[5] ፡ እግዚአብሔር[6] ፡ ዘይደሉ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ።
(2) ፩[1] ። መልእክተ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ እምድኅረ[2] ፡ ዐርገ ፡ እግዚ-
5 እነ[3] ፡ ክርስቶስ[4] ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ[5] ፡ ወዘከመ[6] ፡ ኮነ ፡ ትእዛዘሙ ፡ ወዘገብሩ[7] ፡ ቀኖና ፡ ወፍትሐ[8] ።

A(64r-64v); B(121v-122r); C(127v-128v); D(174r-174v); F(54r-54v); G(83v-84r); H(206v); J(85v-86r); L(108r-108v); M(73r-73v); N(62r); O(55r-57r); P(62v); Q(79v-80r); R(113v-114v); S(66r-66v); Z(70v-71r); a(59r); b(129r-129v); e(148r-148v); f(156r-157r); h(54v-55r); l(154-156); m(54r); n(128-129); p(117v-118r); q(122v-123v); s(55v-56r).

(1) [1] ወዝንቱ ፡ DH; ዝንቱ ፡ -፩ ፡] ?Z — [2] BJR; -ሳት ፡ O; ሲኖ- cet — [3] -ናሁ ፡ CH; ናሁ ፡ +DQ — [4] በትር- FP; ዘትር- Cs — [5] ስብሐተ ፡ bep; >O; ሥርዓታተ ፡ R — [6] ዘእግ- O

(2) [1] ፩ ፡ መልእክተ ፡] CMNOQRZahlm; ወመልእክተ ፡ DHS; መልእክተ ፡ cet; ፩ ፡ -ሐዋርያት ፡] >P — [2] ወእምድ- DS — [3] ኢ. +CLMNSahlm — [4] ክ. ውስተ ፡] >Jbep — [5] ሰማያት ፡ MNRahlm; -የ ፡ Jbep; ሰማያተ ፡ L — [6] ወዘከመ ፡ ኮነ ፡] ወዘኮነ ፡ Jbp; ወዘከመ ፡ HQ; ወዘከመ ፡ <ኮነ ፡> [s]D; ዘከመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ e — [7] ወዘከመ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ JMNabehlmp; ወገብሩ ፡ CGLPQZ; ወዘገብረ ፡ Fs; ወገብሩ ፡ ፪ ፡ D; ወገብሩ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡ H — [8] -ሕ ፡ Qm; -ሑ ፡ D; [s]H; ወፍታሕ ፡ n

Fig. 3.2.6 *Apparatus criticus* in the edition of the Ethiopic *Sinodos*, ed. Bausi 1995b, 1.

A 28 v° b,
D 104 r° a,
E 4 v°,
F 116 v°,
G 21 v° a,
H 40 v° a,
J 47 v°,
K 10 v° b,
O 186 v° b

Homélie I

[Syriac text, lines 1–21]

* J 48 r° (5)
* D 104 r° b
(10)
* G 21 v° b,
** H 40 v° b
* E in. lac
* F 117 r° (15)
* D 104 v° a
* A 29 r° a
* O 187 r° a
(20)

Lemme: [1] cf. introduction p. 8-ss.
1 [1] GJK [Syriac] — [2] A sey. — [3] J [Syriac] — [4] O [Syriac].
2 [1] JK sey. — [2] DEJKO [Syriac] — [3] DEO [Syriac] — [4] K om. — [5'] DEFGHJKO [Syriac] — [6] DEFGJKO om.
3 [1'] DFGHJKO om. — [2] GHK [Syriac] — [3] FKO [Syriac], GH [Syriac] — [4'] DFGH [Syriac].
4 [1] HO om. — [2] K [Syriac].

Fig. 3.2.7 Apparatus in an edition of a *Homily* by Jacob of Serugh, ed. Rilliet 1986, 26.

The advantages of this layout are not substantial. The main benefit is that the passages for which critical information is relevant are highlighted and immediately evident, and the attention of the reader is directly captured (for an example, see fig. 3.2.7). In addition to this, this layout is easy to make, even with programs like MS Word and OpenOffice. The second interest is that the proofreading is very easy: each

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reading has a number. However, this layout implies many disadvantages. It often takes too much space, as each note will usually occupy one line. The text may become illegible if there are many entries, as the edition will contain a long series of note references. The last inconvenience, but not the least, is the great risk of confusion when more than one word requires attention in the edition, insofar as the number in the text is placed after or before only one single word. In order to avoid this risk, it is necessary always to note the lemma at the beginning of the entry. This inconvenience is in some editions avoided by double-marking the passage, either with a marker at the beginning in addition to a footnote number, or with two numbers, still at the beginning and at the end of the relevant passage. It is certainly better to use numbered footnotes only when there are few variant readings (see fig. 3.2.7).

(b) Line (or other) referred footnotes with lemma

In classical studies, the most commonly used system is that of line referred footnotes with lemma, but, unfortunately, it is quite rare in oriental studies. The text of the edition shows line numbers in the margin (usually counted by five), and the apparatus presents, for each line containing variant readings or editorial information, the line number and the lemma followed by the editorial information. The line numbers may be counted by page, but also according to other divisions of the text: many editors employ the practice of referring to the chapter lines instead of page lines. Besides the line references, one may use references based upon the divisions of the text (for example paragraphs), which usually influences the reference system.

The advantages of this method are numerous. There are no obtrusive numbers in the text so that it is easy to read, even when there are notes to many places. This layout saves much more space than the numbered footnotes. However, it also presents some disadvantages. This layout is actually quite difficult to construct with traditional text editors, and requires the use of special software, which is sometimes not accepted by publishers. Another inconvenience is that proofreading can become a nightmare if the publisher makes mistakes. One more important inconvenience is that it is definitely not immediately clear where uncertain passages or crucial variant readings occur; even in this kind of apparatus the overlapping of variants extending over more words is difficult to represent.

Place of notes

Notes can be placed at the bottom of the pages or at the end of the edition. In most cases, they are put at the bottom of the pages, which is the most convenient way to present the critical information to the reader. Older editions sometimes use endnotes, generally because it was easier to do using the old editorial tools, but it is even used in some modern editions as well. The only advantage of using endnotes is the fact that the text is readable even when there are hundreds of entries, and it avoids pages which might contain only five lines of text while the rest is filled with notes. However, this layout is actually almost unusable: the disadvantages of the text being separated from the critical notes are obvious. Nevertheless, some modern editions have used this system in a clever way: the text and the notes may be put in two distinct volumes, so that the reader could open the two books at the right pages (see, for example, Mahdi 1984).

3. Format of data

We may distinguish between three kinds of data: witnesses, readings, and additional editorial information.

Witnesses

The witnesses or group of witnesses are usually designated by sigla in the apparatus (on this, see also Ch. 3 § 2.2). These sigla may be abbreviations (usually capital letters), but also names, and/or symbols. If one manuscript contains various versions, or some additions (corrections, glosses, etc.), it is preferable to mark the siglum (for instance, two hands in the manuscript A can be noted A^1 and A^2). What is important is to choose logical sigla, and pay attention in order to avoid confusion. The editor usually tries to highlight the manuscripts in his apparatus (for example by using italics), which allows the reader quickly to distinguish them. But some editors sometimes even choose to put brackets around their manuscripts' sigla to call the reader's attention to them. The sigla are explained in the *conspectus siglorum*, at the end of the introduction (cf. Ch. 3 § 2.6).

Readings

The lemmas and the readings are usually noted with the same font and format as the edition, however using a smaller size such as that of notes. It is important to keep the same letter case as the word(s) in the

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text for the lemma. The lemma may be abridged if it contains too many words. When using line referred notes, if we find more than one occurrence of the lemma in the same line, the editor usually puts a number (whether in superscript, between brackets, or something similar) after the lemma in order to avoid confusion. Longer passages can be indicated by referring to chapters, verses, and whatever internal subdivision has been used in the text.

Additional editorial information

The content of the additional editorial information might vary considerably: from information about the readings (such as 'written in the margin' or similar), to more specific and precise explanations (such as 'I correct this reading because of this or that'). This additional information should always be distinguished from the manuscripts and the readings. Classical studies use italics to specify such information, which is very handy. As for Arabic studies, this additional information is unfortunately almost never distinguished from the rest, which is uncomfortable for the reader. Another crucial rule about the additional editorial information in the apparatus is to note every change made by the editor. The reader must be able to understand what the editor has done in each case.

4. Syntax

The syntax of the apparatus is also a varying feature in editorial techniques. The main characteristic is a general order: the entry always contains the number of the footnote or the number of the line (or paragraph), then the lemma, and the editorial information.

In classical studies, editors have the habit of writing in the first place the lemma (that is the editor's choice), then possible commentaries (explanation of a correction and the like), and separate it from the readings of the other witnesses by a colon in a positive apparatus and a square bracket in the negative apparatus (see below). The colon and square bracket are used only to separate the lemma from the other readings; if the note only contains editorial information, there is no need to write it. The various readings of the witnesses are often separated by commas or semicolons. However, these features can vary, and different schools of practice exist (see fig. 3.2.7); but the editor must always keep in mind that the apparatus must be legible, and avoid any ambiguity. The order of the witnesses is usually philological (that is families of witnesses and similar), but some editors chose another order, as, for instance, the proximity between the variant readings and the chosen reading, etc. (see Example box).

Example

For pedagogical purposes, we have made up a fake example, in Latin, that we will use throughout this section. The text consists of the first four verses of Virgil's Aeneid. The witnesses (A, B, C, D) and the variants are imaginary.

Arma uirumque cano Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit
litora multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
ui superum saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram

1 cano A] canis B ; canam CD	= *cano* in A (chosen by the editor), *canis* in B, *canam* in CD
2 profugus *correxi*] praefugus ABCD	= editor's correction
2 uenit *in margine* B	= *uenit* is written in the margin in B (here, the bracket is superfluous as no variant reading is mentioned)
4 saeuae BCD] *omisit* A	= A omitted *saeuae*

When pointing to more than one word:

1 cano… ab *omisit* B	= B omitted the words from *cano* to *ab* in the first line.
1 cano… 3 ille *omisit* B	= B omitted the words from *cano* in the first line to *ille* in the third line.

5. Positive apparatus, negative apparatus, and apparatus of available witnesses

The apparatus of readings is itself divided into two kinds: the positive apparatus, and the negative apparatus. The apparatus of available witnesses will appear in the description about the negative apparatus, as it is a support for it.

Positive apparatus

The principle of the positive apparatus is simple: the editor notes all the witnesses in each entry. This means that all the available witnesses must be present in each entry.

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If we take again the example of the Example box, when ABCD are the four only witnesses:
3 litora CD : littora AB
4 superum A : superus BCD

This kind of apparatus has the advantage of avoiding any confusion, as each witness is quoted. In addition to this, it is easy to read, at least when there are few witnesses. As for the disadvantages, the obvious problem is that this kind of apparatus is usually much longer than the negative apparatus. This implies that the publisher might not want to accept it. However, the most disturbing disadvantage is that this kind of apparatus works when we have few witnesses, but becomes illegible when we have many witnesses.

If ABCDEFGHIJKL are the witnesses, we might have:
2 fato ABDEFGHIJKL : lato C
3 litora CDHIJL : littora ABEFGK

Negative apparatus

In order to avoid the inconvenience of the positive apparatus when we have many witnesses, editors employ a negative apparatus. This kind of apparatus consists of noting only the witnesses which give a variant reading. So all the witnesses which contain the same reading as the reading chosen by the editor are not mentioned in the entry.

If ABCD are the witnesses:

2 fato] lato C	= ABD have *fato*
4 superum] superus BC ; superorum D	= A has *superum*

The advantages of this solution are numerous. First, it is much shorter than the positive apparatus, and publishers appreciate it. Secondly, it is easy to read, whenever there are many or few witnesses. Finally, this apparatus allows a very fast reading. And even with many manuscripts the apparatus is not unclear.

If ABDCEFGHIJ are the witnesses:
2 fato] lato CEF = ABDGHIJ have fato

However, this kind of apparatus implies an important inconvenience, which is the risk of confusion, as the reader must perform a subtraction in order to know which witness contains the edited reading. In order to avoid such confusion, it is important to add one specific rule and one new tool.

The additional rule is that the apparatus must become positive when there is a risk of confusion, and, if there is a base manuscript, when this base manuscript is not followed.

If ABCD are the witnesses and A is the base manuscript:

1 cano… 2 uenit *omisit* D	
~~2 fato] lato C~~	=> there is a risk of confusion about D, because it omits this passage, the apparatus must therefore become positive in this omission :
2 fato AB] lato C	
3 litora CD] littora AB	=> the base manuscript is not chosen, so it is easier to write it in a positive way

Apparatus of available witnesses

In order for a negative apparatus to be comprehensible, a list of the available witnesses (also called *traditio textus*) must be provided for each page or each section of the text. This list may be displayed as the first line of the critical apparatus (see fig. 3.2.8), in a special apparatus (see fig. 3.2.6), or even in the margin of the text (see fig. 3.2.7). In figs. 3.2.6 and 3.2.8 the siglum of the manuscript is followed by the folia where the text can be read. Here below we offer another example of how to display the *traditio textus*.

If the witnesses are ABCD for a page, a line ABCD will be written above or under the apparatus of readings. In addition to this, it is also possible to write in the apparatus of available witnesses the lacunas, beginning and ends of manuscripts.

ABCD	= ABCD are available at the top of the page
2 profugus D]	= D lacuna begins at profugus
3 alto [D	= D lacuna ends at alto
4 memorem *explicit* C	= end of the witness C
	=> in the next page, the apparatus of available sources will begin with ABD

In general, however, the purported rigid, unavoidable alternative between positive and negative apparatus should not be stressed too much. On the one hand using notations such as *ceteri* (all the other witnesses) or *reliqui* (the only remaining witnesses) may help reduce the size of a positive apparatus; on the other hand, a mixed apparatus—that is negative in principle, and positive only in some particularly intricate cases—might also be used.

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2.5.2. Apparatuses of sources (AGi–CM)

As was said before (see Ch. 3 § 2.3.5), it is important to identify the sources of the texts quoted in the work to be edited, as well as possible parallel passages (i.e. similar expressions, stemming from the same context and the same sources), because the confrontation of a quoted passage with its source may constitute a relevant piece of information to evaluate possible variants and establish the text. Besides, this is also an important element in the appreciation of the composition technique and literary impact of the edited text. The place where the information about the sources and parallel passages is stored is a special apparatus, which is usually placed above the critical apparatus. Editors may wish to distinguish between different types of sources, as in the example in fig. 3.2.8, where three apparatuses precede the critical apparatus: an apparatus of sources (‘Fontes’), an apparatus of Biblical quotations (‘Script.’), and an apparatus of parallel passages within the same work (‘Parall.’) (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.3); this indication may help the reader but is not compulsory (see fig. 3.2.13).

50 Χριστοῦ καταγώγιον, τὴν τῶν ἁγίων κλάδων ῥίζαν, τὴν ὡς
ἀληθῶς *μητέρα τέκνων εὐφραινομένην* τε καὶ εὐφραινομένων.
Οἶδα τοῦτο *καὶ πέπεισμαι ἐν Κυρίῳ* καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγω
θαρρῶν **ὅτι** οὐ μὴ ἀποσβεσθῇ ὁ λύχνος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, κἂν ταῖς
αὔραις τοῦ πονηροῦ ῥιπίζηται. Τίς δὲ μείζων ἑορτὴ τοῦ
55 τοιούτοις συνεορτάζειν; Ταῦτα **δὲ** τὰ **ἡμέτερα** καλλωπίσματα,
ᾧ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι. **Ἀλλὰ** | μὴ 6v
διὰ γραμμάτων ὄκνει παραμυθεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, **δέσποινά μου**,
σφόδρα τῷ χωρισμῷ κάμνοντας. **Καὶ** σὺ μὲν οὖν ποθεῖς τὴν
ἡμετέραν συντυχίαν, ὡς γράφεις, καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς· ἔδει γὰρ
60 οὖσάν σε ὅπερ εἶ μὴ περιφρονεῖν τοὺς φίλους. Ἄλλος μὲν
ἄλλο τι τῶν σῶν ἐπαινείτω, πάντως δὲ ἀρκέσεις γλώσσαις
πολλαῖς μεριζομένη. Μὴ ἀμέλει τῶν φίλων **τοῦ γράφειν**, κατὰ
τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς νεανίας ἐν μέσῳ πολέμων τὰ φιλικὰ
σπουδάζοντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτῳ ποικίλλει τὴν ποίησιν ὁ
65 σὸς Ὅμηρος. Πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω **καὶ** τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
θαρρῶ, | ὅτι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ὑμῖν ἐκβήσεται 7r

Fontes — **54/55** Τίς - συνεορτάζειν Greg. Naz., Ep. 100.4 (I, 118.18-19) **55** Ταῦτα - καλλωπίσματα Greg. Naz., Ep. 233.1 (II, 124.4-5) **56** ᾧ - ἀμείβεσθαι Greg. Naz., Ep. 181.3 (II, 71.5-6) **56/58** μὴ διὰ - κάμνοντας Greg. Naz., Ep. 133.2 (II, 22.12-13) **58/60** σὺ μὲν - φίλους Greg. Naz., Ep. 70.2 (I, 89.13-90.1) **60/62** Ἄλλος - μεριζομένη Greg. Naz., Ep. 71.1 (I, 90.13-14) **62/65** Μὴ ἀμέλει - Ὅμηρος Greg. Naz., Ep. 71.5 (I, 91.10-12) **65/66** Πολλὰς - ἐκβήσεται Greg. Naz., Ep. 74.1 (I, 92.7-9)

Script. — **51** Ps. 112.9 **52** Rom. 14.14 **53** οὐ μὴ - Ἰσραήλ cf. II Reg. 21.17

Parall. — **55** Ταῦτα - καλλωπίσματα = 40.31

App. Crit. — *P*

54 μείζων *nos*: μεῖζον *P* **60** οὖσάν *nos*: ὄντα *P fontem secutus*

Coll. — **54** δὲ *e tr.*: δὴ *ed.* **59** ἡμετέραν συντυχίαν *e tr.*: συντυχίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν *ed.* **62** Μὴ ἀμέλει τῶν φίλων *e tr.*: Τῶν φίλων μὴ ἀμέλει *ed.* **63** πολέμων *e tr.*: πολέμῳ *ed.*

Fig. 3.2.8 Example of apparatuses in *Iacobi monachi Epistulae*, Jeffreys – Jeffreys 2009, 8.

The beginning and end of the quotation must be identified with exactitude, and one must also indicate to the reader whether this is a more or less exact quotation or rather an allusion (allusions are often indicated by using the sign ‘cf.’ before the reference). As explained in Ch. 3 § 2.4.2, the citation is often marked in the edited text itself, like in the example of fig. 3.2.8, where the words taken from the patristic text are in roman characters (not bold) and the biblical quotations are in italics (and not bold in this case, because it is a biblical quotation within a patristic quotation). When the quotation is clearly marked in the text and there

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is no ambiguity, it is not necessary to indicate its first and last word(s) in the apparatus (as it is the case in the example for the biblical quotations at lines 51 and 52, which cannot be mistaken). When the borders of the quotations are not so clear, or when it is an allusion (normally not marked in the text because the words used can be different), the beginning and end of the quotation or allusion must be indicated in the apparatus, as in the example for the quotations from Gregory of Nazianzus which follow one another at lines 54–55, and for the biblical allusion at line 53. The references to the quoted text are often abbreviated, according to some standard list (which should be indicated in the introduction, see Ch. 3 § 2.6.1), and the abbreviations must be resolved and explained, usually in the index or indexes of sources (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.5) and/or in the introduction. It is important to use always the best available critical editions of the texts quoted in the *apparatus fontium*, if they exist, or, in their absence, the standard edition. The editions used must also be mentioned in the *index fontium* and/or in the introduction.

2.5.3. Other apparatuses (CM)

Some editors may wish to display other types of information in separate apparatuses. The purpose is generally to provide pieces of information which may be useful for the reader, but which do not really belong to the two types of apparatuses considered above (Ch. 3 §§ 2.5.1 and 2.5.2), and might blur their legibility (there might be some overlapping between apparatuses—for example, information which, by its nature, does not belong to the critical apparatus may be necessary to understand a critical decision of the editor: in such a case, it is perhaps better to repeat this information at two different places). These kind of apparatuses do not have canonical names and not all series will accommodate them. Their purpose and contents should be explained in the philological introduction (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.1). They are usually situated below the critical apparatus. If the number and variety of apparatuses on the same page seem confusing, the content of each apparatus may be indicated in the margin on every page (as in fig. 3.2.8).

1. Codicological apparatus

If the text is edited on the basis of one (main) manuscript and if some material features of this manuscript may be of importance for the establishment of the text, it may be useful to add an extra apparatus. For example, if the main manuscript is heavily damaged, it may be useful to indicate with some precision which words are legible and to what extent, but that kind of information would clutter up the critical apparatus (see fig. 3.2.9, where the second apparatus gives all information about the state of legibility of manuscript G, the main witness to the edited text, which was damaged due to mice).

2. Orthographical / linguistic apparatus

The status of orthographical variants is very much debated, and there are many cases where an orthographical variant could also be considered morphological. Editors (and series editors) may have divergent opinions about what to do with orthographical variants: (1) discard them all together, (2) register them all (for all witnesses, or more likely for one or two witnesses, typically the oldest ones, or the most divergent geographically or dialectologically), (3) select the most ‘important’ ones (especially those concerning proper names, or reflecting a dialectal difference, etc.). Those orthographical variants can be kept in the critical apparatus, but this may make the critical apparatus difficult to read, by mixing truly critical variants with others, or registered in a special section of the introduction (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.1), or in an appendix (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.6 and fig. 3.2.15), or in a special apparatus (see fig. 3.2.10, and Ch. 3 § 3.5).

3. Apparatus concerning the indirect tradition

A separate apparatus may contain information concerning the indirect tradition of the edited text (see Ch. 3 §§ 2.1.2 and 2.3.3). Citations of the text in later works may provide some interesting information about the history of the text, especially when they are older than the direct witnesses, as it is the case in fig. 3.2.11, where the third apparatus contains the reference to a citation of the edited text in a collection of Questions-and-Answers dated from the ninth century, i.e. five centuries earlier than the unique manuscript preserved of the edited text.

Similarly the same kind of apparatus can serve to store references to parallel passages, if one does not want to mix them with the real sources (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.2), as can be seen in fig. 3.2.13, where the last apparatus contains references to similar anthologies, related to the *Florilegium Coislinianum*, but for which it is impossible to ascertain the exact relationship between those anthologies. See also the examples in Ch. 3 § 3.19.

Fig. 3.2.9 Example of apparatuses (not final state) in *Christophori Mitylenaii Versuum variorum collectio cryptensis*, ed. De Groote 2012.

1. *GV inde ab v. 1*

Tit. Εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν] *suppl. Ro* *ante* δόντος *lacunam statuimus (illeg. G)* α′] *supplevi* **1** θαύματος] καὶ *praem. V, illeg. G* **2** σὴ] γὰρ *V* **4** πτερωτὴν *V* **5** ἦν] *coni. Ku, illeg. G,* ἧν *V* **6** ἐμβόλων] *sine accentu G, om. V* **8** τὰς] τῆς *G* **9** τραυματισθέντων σφόδρα] *coni. Ku, illeg. G, spat. vac. V* **10** *versus abest V* **12** ὁ δὲ τρέχων] ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος *V* **13** ἦν ἄλλος] ἄλλος δὲ *V* **16** λαμπάδος *V* **21** τῷ] *coni. Ku,* τοῦ *GV*

———————

G

1 Ὢ θα̣- *tantum legi potest* **3** δίχα̣ *tantum legi potest* **5** τὸ πρ̣- *tantum legi potest* **7** πάντων *tantum legi potest* **9** πληγαῖς τ- *tantum legi potest* **11** τούτων ὁ μὲν *tantum legi potest* **13** ἦν ἄλλος ἡμίφ̣- *tantum legi potest* **15** ἄλλων κατεφλέχθ- *tantum legi potest* **17** τυφθεὶς βαρείαις χερσιν ο- *tantum legi potest* **19** -σφόρει *legi nequit* **21** -κ ἔχω· *legi nequit*

Fig. 3.2.10 Example of apparatuses in *I trattati teologici di Sulaymān Ibn Ḥasan Al-Ġazzī*, ed. La Spisa 2013, 49.

[T4] **وله ايضا رحمه الله**

Ed 41 **رساله * رد على المخالفين للامانه المستقيمه الارثوذكسيه**

§ 1 عبد عبيد يسوع المسيح واصغر اولاد بيعته يرد على من قال كمقاله * S 166^{r}
اريوس، الفاصل الاهوت الى ثلثه مغتربه، الحاصر اللاهوت للاب وحده،

———————

Testes: S 165^{v}, W 69^{v}, H 95^{v}, Y 64^{v}, M 103^{r}, Q 53^{r}, Ed 40

———————

1,2 اريوس...3 موسسا.] *cf.* Dīwān 1, 25

———————

T4,1 وله...الله] بسم الاب البسيط والابن الوسيط والروح القدس البارقليط هذا من قول سليمان بن سليمان حسن الغزي *del.* سليمان$_2$ H; بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد امين Y; بسم الله الواحد الابدي الازلي السرمدي وبه نستعين M; بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاهٌ واحد Q; وايضًا نكتب شيً من برهان الامانه ممّا رتبوّه المجامع المقدسه والآباء الثلثمايه وثمانيه عشر والاباَ القديسين مسايل واجوبه من ديوان الغزي وكان اسمه سليمان وكان مطران غزه رضي الله تعالي عنه *add.* M; الكتاب الثاني من قول سليمان ابن حسن الغزي Y **2** رساله] *om.* H; رساله...الارثوذكسيه] المجمع الاول الثلثمايه وثمانية عشر اجتمع على اريوس الكافر الذي قال ان الابن مخلوق وذلك المجمع كان على ايام قسطنطين ابن هلانه الكبيره M | للامانه] الامانه HY | الارثوذكسيه] *om.* HY **1,1** عبد...يرد] *om.* HY | يسوع] *om.* M | من قال] *om.* M | كمقاله] مقالة M **2** الفاصل] فاصل M | الى...وحده] *om.* HY | ثلثه] متفرقه *add.* M | مغتربه] متعرّيه M | الحاصر] للسمآءِ *add.* M | اللاهوت] وللاهت *a. corr.* M | للاب] الاب M; بالاب Ed

———————

T4,2 الارثوذكسيه] الارثدكسيه W **1,1** على] وعلى HY **2** اريوس] اريوسً H الاهوت] اللاهوت YM

Fig. 3.2.11 Example of apparatuses (not final state) in *De Beneficentia*, ed. Holman et al. 2012.

———————

33–34 cf. Matth. 5.43 etc. **35–36** = I Ioh. 3.18 **46** cf. I Reg. 1.28 **57–59** = Luc. 16.9

———————

33 τίς P 36 δὲ^{2}] deleuimus **40** ἀποδώσει] correximus, ἀποδοῦναι P **41** Χριστὸς] P$^{\text{ut vid.}}$ | οὐκ] P$^{\text{p.c., ut vid.}}$, legi nequit P$^{\text{a.c.}}$ **42** πολλαπλασίωνι P **53** σωτηρίαν] P$^{\text{p.c.}}$, legi nequit P$^{\text{a.c.}}$ **58** φίλους] P$^{\text{p.c.}}$, legi nequit P$^{\text{a.c.}}$ **59** ἐκλίπητε] scripsimus, ἐκλείπ*ται P

———————

50–59 δυνατὸς – σκηνὰς = Ps. Anastasius Sinaita, Quaest. 14, PG 89, col. 465 A 12 - B 7 (τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν)

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As was said above (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1), other recensions/redactions and ancient translations of a work may sometimes be edited synoptically or in parallel, and the same is true when the edited text is itself a translation, for the source text (see Ch. 3 § 2.6.3). Alternatively, the contents of those indirect witnesses or of the source text may be summarized in an apparatus, as is the case in fig. 3.2.12: the first apparatus is in fact the apparatus of available witnesses (see Ch. 3 § 2.5.1) to the edited text, followed by the critical apparatus, then the last apparatus gives the version of the work contained in two divergent witnesses, P and Z.

It may also happen that an author uses the same sentence or set of sentences several times in his writing, it may be useful to indicate this, also because it may have some influence on critical decisions: see, for example, the third apparatus ('Parall.') in fig. 3.2.8, referring to passages within the same work where the author is using exactly the same quotations.

M V S Ph L

---

18 εἰδοποιεῖ] εἰδ᾿ ὁποιεῖ *M*, ὁδοποιεῖ *V* **20** γενήσωνται] γενήσονται *Ph*, γενήσεται *S*, γεννήσωνται *V*$^{p.c.}$ **20–21** τῶν ἐνύλων] τῶν ὅλων *V* **21** ἑκάστῳ] *legi nequit M*, ἑκάστου *V* | ἀλλ᾿] τϊνὸς *M*$^{a.c.}$ | οὐχ – ἐστίν] οὐ τῇ ὕλῃ *V* **56,1** καδδινάλιοι] *legi nequit S* **2** ταῖς ὑδρορρόαις] τὰς ὑδρορόας *V* **3** αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς *V*$^{a.c.}$ **7** δὲ] *post* ἐκ *transp. V* **57,1** βασιλεύς] *legi nequit S* | ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν *V*$^{a.c.}$ **4** ἐνέργεια] ἐνέργει *V* **6** ἔκφανσιν] ἔκφασιν *M*, ἔκφαος *V* **7** ἀτελής] ἐντελὴς *V* | ἔτι] ἐπί *V* | ἐνοικουροῦσα] ἐνοικαροῦσα *V* **9** ὑπέρακμον] ὑπέρανμον *V* **12** τῆς^{2}] ἐπὶ *V* **58,1** καδδινάλιοι] *legi nequit S* **2** ἀντειπεῖν] ἀντιπεῖν *V*$^{a.c.}$ **59,1** βασιλεύς] βασιλεῦ *M*, *legi nequit S* | οὖν] *om. PhSV*

P Z

---

15 πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα] προυπόδειγμα *Z* **16** τὸ] *om. P* **17** ἑαυτὸ] ἑαυτὸν *P* **18** τι] *om. Z* **19** οἷόν τε] οἴονται *Z* **20** γενήσωνται] γενήσεται *P*, γενήσονται *Z* **22** αὐτὸ – ἑαυτοῦ] ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸ *Z* **56,1** καδδινάλιοι] *om. P*, ὁ λατίνος *Z* **1–3** δένδρον – προσήκοντι] *om. PZ* **4** ἀλλ᾿ – ὑποδείγματος] ἄλλου ὑποδείγματος ἄκουσον *PZ* τῆς^{2}] *om. Z* **7** γεγέννηται] γεγένηται *PZ* **57,1** βασιλεύς] *om. P*, ὁ γραικός *Z* **1–2** κλίνατε – κατευθύνοντες] *om. PZ* **2** γὰρ] *om. PZ* **3** ἐπὶ] ἐκ *P* **4** τί] *om. Z* **5** γὰρ] *om. Z* **6** ἔκφανσιν] ἔκφασιν *P* **7** τῷ βάθει] τὰ βάθη *Z* **8** τοὐμφανὲς] τὸ ἐμφανὲς *PZ* **10** τυγχάνειν^{2}] *om. PZ* **11** ἐκ τοῦ] *om. Z* **12** δοκεῖ μοι] δοκίμως *Z* | κἀπὶ] καὶ ἐπί *Z* | τῆς^{2}] ἐπί *praem. Z* | τὸ] *om. Z* **13** τῇ] *om. Z* | θεωρουμένων] *om. P* | παρείληπται] παρείλειπται *P*$^{a.c.}$ **58,1–2** καδδινάλιοι – οἰόμεθα] *hanc cardinalium partem om. PZ* **59,1** βασιλεύς – πρόβλημα] *hanc imperatoris partem om. PZ*

Fig. 3.2.12 Example of apparatuses (not final state) in *Andronici Camateri Sacrum Armamentarium*, ed. Bucossi 2014.

Γʹ περὶ βλασφημίας

4 **Ἰώβ**

Τί ἐτόλμησας ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, ὅτι θυμὸν ἔρρηξας ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλάνθρωπον πνεῦμα σοφία, καὶ οὐκ ἀθῳώσει βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ.

5 **τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**

Τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει βλασφημοῦντας, σωφρόνιζε. Κἂν ἀκούσῃς τινὸς ἐν ἀμφόδῳ, ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ βλασφημοῦντος τὸν Θεόν, πρόσελθε, ἐπιτίμησον, κἂν πληγὰς ἐπιθεῖναι δέῃ, μὴ παραιτήσῃ· ῥάπισον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν, σύντριψον αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, 5 **ἁγίασόν σου τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς πληγῆς, κἂν ἐγκαλῶσι τινές, κὰν εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκωσιν, ἀκολούθησον.**

---

4 A BCPS **5** A BCPS

4.1–2 = Iob 15.12-13 **2–3** = Sap. 1.6 **5.1–8** = Io. Chrys., Ad populum Antiochenum, PG 49, col. 32.44-51

Γʹ] κεφάλαιον μδʹ BCPS

5.2 ἀμφόδῳ] ἢ ἐν ὁδῶ add. BPS **4** παραιτήσῃ] παρεστήσῃ

4.1 Τί… σου] τί ἐτόλμησεν ἡ καρδία σου LXX **2** ἐναντίον… θεοῦ] ἔναντι κυρίου LXX | φιλάνθρωπον] γὰρ add. LXX **5.2** ἀγορᾷ] μέσῃ add. Chrys. **5** αὐτοῦ^{2}] om. Chrys.

Fig. 3.2.13 *Florilegium Coislinianum*, β 4–5, ed. De Vos et al. 2010.

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4. Comparative apparatus

The editor always needs to compare, at least for him/herself, the edited text with its sources, indirect tradition and parallel texts. In some cases it may be useful to show the results of this comparison in a special apparatus. In fig. 3.2.8, the last apparatus ('Coll.') displays the results of the comparison between the edited text and the edition of its sources. In fig. 3.2.13, the same has been done in the penultimate apparatus. This may help the reader to visualize immediately the differences between the two texts, and it is especially useful in the case of *florilegia* or patchwork texts, sometimes called *centones* in poetry (NB: Iacobus' text, as shown in fig. 3.2.8, may rightly be considered a patchwork, as almost no word is original).

5. Titles, marginalia, scholia etc.

Finally, information concerning para-textual elements may also be displayed in an apparatus, if one does not want to mix it with critical information properly concerning the text, as those para-textual features may have a less authorial status. In fig. 3.2.13, the variants concerning the subtitles and identifications of authors have been put in a special apparatus (i.e. third apparatus), above the critical apparatus, which is the fourth apparatus.

2.6. Philological introduction, translation, commentary, indexes and appendices (JdH–CM)

This section briefly addresses various aspects of an editorial project that are not strictly speaking part of the critical text itself but constitute indispensable elements of an edition. In what follows, the description of those elements will be oriented towards the production of a printed book. However, most of them also pertain to digital editions, even though in a different form. The digital environment will allow different features, especially of the possibility of linking to other web resources (online dictionaries and grammars, digital images of manuscripts, and so on; see Fischer [F.] 2013, esp. 88–89).

2.6.1. Philological introduction

The introduction should enable any user to understand how editorial choices were made and what kind of practice has been adopted. In concrete terms, this means that all elements of the process described above in this chapter (Ch. 3 §§ 2.1–2.5) must be summarized and explained in the introduction to the edition.

First of all, the text to be edited and its author, if such an author exists, must be identified and possibly distinguished from related texts with which it may be confused (on the difficulties inherent to this task, see Ch. 3 § 2.1.1). Sometimes a short account about the author and his time, about the genre, context and audience of the text may be useful, especially when this is not so well known.

Then one must provide a list of witnesses, both direct and indirect, with a succinct description (see Ch. 3 § 2.1). Here it is important to aim at exhaustiveness, and to mention all known witnesses, including those that were not used for the edition and even those that could not be consulted (and to explain why they could not be consulted). For each manuscript, the following elements must be noted (on the basis of the catalogues and bibliography, critically used, but also of personal examination)—such descriptions sometimes are more elaborate, particularly when existing catalogues provide insufficient or incorrect data:

— general elements of description: city, library, collection, shelfmark, dating (at least a century) (and the source for the dating: colophon, catalogue…), material, dimensions, total number of folia. Any type of information about the copyist and/or the date, place of origin, sponsor, possessors, etc., should also be written down.

— concerning the text to be edited: folia or pages of beginning and end, title. It is essential to establish whether the text is complete or only composed of excerpts or fragments. In the event that some parts of the text are missing, the lacunas must be carefully noted and one must determine if it was originally the case in the manuscript or if this is the result of a material accident: for this, the analysis of the quire composition is fundamental (see Ch. 1).

Subsequently, the conclusions of the research about the history of the text should be given, and a stemma, when possible (see Ch. 3 § 2.3). If no stemma could be obtained, the introduction should explain what considerations have led to such a negative conclusion.

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On the basis of those conclusions, a method of edition should be chosen (see Ch. 3 § 2.4.1). The principles followed to establish the text are explained in a section of the introduction sometimes called *ratio edendi*. The editorial choices must be soundly argued there: choice of the witnesses, form of the text, orthographical features, presentation of the apparatuses, and the like.

2.6.2. *Conspectus siglorum*

The list of sigla mentioned above, traditionally called *Conspectus siglorum*, is necessary for a good understanding of the apparatus. In order to allow for convenient reading, it is best placed immediately before the beginning of the edited text or on a separate page. It contains the *legenda* of all sigla, symbols and abbreviations that are used in the apparatuses (see fig. 3.2.14). One should be careful, however, to avoid excessively lengthy lists that are more likely to confuse readers than to facilitate their reading experience.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

Traditio directa

A *Athous, Batopediou* 320, *saec.* XIV, ff. 311–320^{v}
B *Berolinensis, Phill.* 1439, *saec.* XI, ff. 148^{v}–159
G *Athous, Lauras* Ω 59, *saec.* XIV, ff. 12–14^{v}
I *Athous, Ibērōn* 49, *saec.* XI, 66^{v}–75
K *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Holkham* 41, *saec.* X–XI, ff. 307^{v}–322
N *Genuensis, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Urb.* 11, *saec.* X, ff. 323–335^{v}
P *Athous, Pantokratoros* 1, *saec.* XI, ff. 128^{v}–138^{v}
R *Parisinus gr.* 818, *saec.* XII, ff. 80–86^{v}
T *Taurinensis* B. I. 11, *saec.* X–XI, ff. 207–213^{v}, 215
U *Venetus, Marcianus gr.* 111, *saec.* XI in., ff. 249^{v}–254^{v}
Z *Vaticanus gr.* 551, *saec.* X–XI, ff. 267^{v}–272^{v}
a *Parisinus gr.* 1019, *saec.* XII, ff. 42^{v}–59^{v}
c *Oxoniensis, Christ Church* 4, *saec.* X–XI, ff. 61^{v}–71^{v}
h *Monacensis gr.* 6, *saec.* XI, ff. 315–320^{v}
r *Parisinus gr.* 765, *saec.* XII, ff. 159^{v}–174
u *Lesbiacus, Leimonos* 32, *saec.* X–XI, ff. 1–13^{v}
v *Vaticanus gr.* 1920, *saec.* X, ff. 9–19

Codices passim laudati

S_{4a} *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Auct.* E. 3. 15 (*Savilii Liber* Q), *saec.* XVII, pp. 1–9^{v}
S_{4b} *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Auct.* E. 3. 15 (*Savilii Liber* Q), *saec.* XVII, pp. 106–112^{v}

Editiones

Sav. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου… τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων… Δι' ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀναλωμάτων Ἐρρίκου τοῦ Σαβιλίου…, Etonae 1612, t. VIII, pp. 9–17
Front. Joannis Chrysostomi *Opera omnia… cura* Frontonis Ducaei, Parisiis 1621, t. II, pp. 1008–1022
Montf. Joannis Chrysostomi *Opera omnia quae extant… opera et studio* D. Bernardi de Montfaucon, Parisiis 1718–1738, t. IV, pp. 747–759
Patr. *PG* 54, 675, 46 – 686, 61
edd. *consensus Sav. Front. Montf. Patr.*

Traditio indirecta

ecl^{17} *Ecloga* 17: *De invidia*, *PG* 63, 677–682
ecl^{29} *Ecloga* 29: *De mansuetudine et malorum patientia et iniuriarum memoria*, *PG* 63, 777–788

Fig. 3.2.14 *Conspectus siglorum* in *Iohannis Chrysostomi De Davide et Saule homiliae tres*, ed. Barone 2009.

2.6.3. Parallel texts

Ancient translations

In many of the oriental traditions covered here, texts were not only transmitted in their own language but often also translated into other languages, sometimes quite soon after they had been written. On the other hand, many oriental texts were themselves translations from other texts in other languages. As mentioned above (Ch. 3 § 2.5), the readings of the ancient translations may appear in the apparatus, but it may also be appropriate in some cases to publish them together with the source text (which may not correspond

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ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πρέποντος γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐν μέθῃ καρηβαρήσαντας.

невѣдѣнии под(о)бнаго бывати иже вь пїан҄ствѣ главою ѻтеготѣвшимь.

2. Προστιθέασι δὲ καί τινας φυσικωτέρας αἰτίας τῆς τοιαύτης περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὑπονοίας ἑκάτερος τῶν ταύταις ταῖς δόξαις παρισταμένων. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πυρῶδες συγγενῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας κίνησιν λέγει, διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον εἶναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ πηγάζειν ἐν τῷ μορίῳ τῆς καρδίας ἡ θερμότης ὁμολογεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο τῷ εὐκινήτῳ τῆς θερμότητος τὴν τοῦ νοῦ κίνησιν ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι λέγων, δοχεῖον τῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως τὴν καρδίαν εἶναί φησιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ θερμὸν περιείληπται. Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις οἷον ὑποβάθραν τινὰ καὶ ῥίζαν εἶναι λέγει τὴν μήνιγγα (οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζουσι τὸν περιεκτικὸν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ὑμένα) καὶ τούτῳ πιστοῦται τὸν ἴδιον λόγον· ὡς οὐχ ἑτέρωθι τῆς νοητικῆς ἐνεργείας καθιδρυμένης, εἰ μὴ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ᾧ καὶ τὸ οὖς ἐφηρμοσμένον τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας αὐτῷ φωνὰς προσαράσσει· καὶ ἡ ὄψις κατὰ τὸν πυθμένα τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἕδρας συμπεφυκυῖα, διὰ [vii] τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων ταῖς 162 κόραις εἰδώλων πρὸς τὸ ἔσω ποιεῖται [viii] τὴν τύπωσιν· καὶ τῶν ἀτμῶν αἱ ποιότητες διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀσφρήσεων ὁλκῆς ἐν αὐτῷ

2. Приложише же и нѣкые ѥс(ть)ст҄вьнѣише [5] вины таковаго оумышленїа ѻ вл(а)д(ы)чьственомь кыждо (5) ѿт(ь) их҄же таковаа оумышленїа [6] прѣд(ь)ставлꙗющим(ь). Ѡвь оубо кь ѡгн҄номꙋ сьроднѣ имать ѥже ѿт(ь) сьмысла движенїе гл(агол)еть, ѕа ѥже пр(и)снодвижень быти и ѡг҄нь и прѣбывати и сьмысль, и понѥже истекати (10) вь оудеси ср(ь)дьчномь топлота исповѣдꙋетсе, сего рад(и) оудобьдвижимѣи топлотѣ оумномꙋ двиѕанию растваратисе гл(агол)е, приѥтилище оумномꙋ ѥс(ть)ствꙋ ср(ь)д(ь)цоу быти рече, вь нѥм҄же топлотное ѻбьѥмлетсе. (15) Дроугыи же вьсѣмь *чювьствителницамь* [7] ꙗкоже ѡснованїе нѣкое и корень быти гл(агол)еть ѕатильць (сице бо именꙋють сьборнꙋю ѕатилка тьнчаишꙋю кожꙋ), и семꙋ оувѣраеть свое слово: ꙗко не инде оумномꙋ дѣиствꙋ (20) вьдроуженꙋ, развѣ вь ѻнои чести, идеже и [8] ꙋхо оустроено быс(ть), вьпад(а)ющих(ь) томꙋ гласовь раѕдѣлꙗе, и лице, по дьноу ѳчесныих(ь) сѣдалища сьприбывше, посилаеть AGR вьпад(а)ющих(ь) вь ѕеиць сѣневных(ь) под(о)бїи кь вьнꙋтрьнимь AGR (25) вьображени, и вьспаренїѡмь качьствїа ѡбонꙗнїи крѣпостию вь нѥмь

[vii] διαπέμπει pro διὰ habent ABCIKMNQT
[viii] ποιεῖται om. ABCIKMNQT

[5] ѥс(ть)ст҄вьнѣише et sim. CH,N,R,Z: ѥс(ть)ствѣнишеѥ B
[6] ѻ вл(а)д(ы)чьственомь ad оумышленїа om. B
[7] чюв҄ствителницамь et sim. N,R,Z,B : чювьстителницамь CH
[8] и om. R,Z,B

§2. (1-10) app. crit. [6] ms B: *saut du même au même* // (5-10) ѿт(ь) их҄же ... прѣд(ь)ставлꙗющим(ь): contamination of dat. and gen. // сьроднѣ имать, that is {συγγενῶς ἔχει} for συγγενῶς ἔχειν // the addition и прѣбывати seems to be an inserted supralinear gloss, cf. Prol. p. 80 // (15-20) underdifferentiation: τὴν μήνιγγα - τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου: ѕатильць - ѕатилка // (20-26) προσαράσσει, 'dash against, slam in, shatter' (L&S), Sl. раѕдѣлꙗе, 'divide, discern' // ѳчесныих сѣдалища for τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἕδρας: one would expect {ѳчесна} in agreement with сѣдалища, or gen. dual. {ѳчию}; here probably nominal ѳчесьноѥ as a counterpart for ὀφθαλμός // посилаеть кь вьнꙋтрьнимь вьображени: вьнꙋтрьнимь dat. pl. instead of sing.; вьображени for acc. sing. вьображениѥ? // крѣпостию < крѣпость 'Kraft, Stärke; ἰσχύς, κραταίωμα' (SLOVN.), for διὰ τῆς … ὁλκῆς, here 'drawing in (of breath)' (LA)

Fig. 3.2.15 Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio. O obrazě člověka*, ed. Sels 2009, 163.

exactly to the edited text; on the problematic relationship between translations and source text see Ch. 3 § 3.20). This edition in parallel proves to be especially relevant when the source text is lacunary (such is the case in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 82 for instance, where the Greek original and its Syriac translation are edited facing each other, the Syriac occasionally standing alone).

Conversely, it may be useful as well to publish the source text (often taken from a previous edition) together with the edition of its translation, and the reference system of the source text may be adopted for the translation as well (see fig. 3.2.15).

Modern translations

A distinct issue is that of a modern translation, to be produced as part of an edition project. The decision on whether or not to add such a translation often depends on the policy of a series editor and is related to the readership one has in mind.

A translation is intended as an additional key to an in-depth understanding of the edited text. It is especially important in the context of multilingualism characteristic of oriental traditions, to allow scholars working on related texts in one language and not familiar with some of the other languages, to be able to understand the text. Accordingly, in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (PO) and *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO, see Ch. 3 § 1.3B for a bibliographical orientation), editions are often accompanied by a translation.

In the past and at least up to the 1960s, oriental texts were sometimes translated into Latin—see for example Blake – Brière 1961–1963 (PO, 29,2–5/30,3), where the Georgian edition is facing a Latin

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translation (in four fascicles of PO 29), and the apparatus (also translated into Latin) is published as a separate volume (fig. 3.2.16)— but in general the use of Latin is not advisable anymore.

The translation must follow the original text closely. Even if the translation is not published together with the edited text, it is always advisable that the editor makes the effort of translating the text form him/herself, as this is a great way of controlling his/her edition.

While a digital environment may allow for a variety of formats, edited texts with translations in printed ones may be provided synoptically, that is on the same page, either in two parallel columns or in the format of an edited text on top and the translation below. In other publications, the text and the translation are given separately at the beginning and the end of one and the same volume (which is not practical for the reader) or indeed in two separate volumes that can be read simultaneously. Translations are often accompanied by footnotes, providing explanatory observations on matters of content, context and interpretation. More rarely, the footnotes to a translation even correspond to the critical apparatus of the edition itself and thus inform even the less specialized reader about aspects of the text tradition and about the editorial choices made.

Fig. 3.2.16 Apparatus to *The old Georgian version of the Prophets*, ed. Blake – Brière 1963, 348–349.

2.6.4. Annotations and commentary

Further types of annotations and commentary may concern either matters of content or text historical information for which the apparatuses are not the most suitable outlet. Specially in editions without translation, it may be useful to look for different ways to discuss problems of interpretation of contents, but here the focus is on issues that concern the text itself, its transmission and possibly, more background information and explicit justification of the editorial choices. Such annotations can be given as footnotes under the text if desired or allowed by the series editor, in the introduction or after the text at the end of the volume, or indeed in a separate publication.

2.6.5. Indexes

Several types of indexes may facilitate the use of a printed edition; digital editions normally do not require these because they are searchable in other ways. Some of the most commonly used categories of information covered by indexes are:

— proper names (*index nominum*), with, for instance in editions of historiographical texts, often a separate index for names of ethnic groups, tribes, and religiously defined communities, index of place names, etc.;

— concepts, phenomena, themes, etc. (thematic index);

— all words that occur in the text (*index verborum*),

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which may be given in the original language(s), in translation or both—printing a full index of words will probably be too costly and space consuming and it will probably be more useful in a digital form;
— sources and parallel texts (*index fontium et parallelorum*) sometimes divided into several sub-indexes (Old Testament, New Testament, Patristics, Qurʾān verses, etc.).

For some languages, the concept of an index of all words has lost much of its practical value due to the availability of large digital text repositories and on-line thesauri (although these do not usually cover variant readings). For most oriental traditions covered here, however, such databases do not yet exist or do not meet the requirements of textual scholarship, so that indexing and automated lemmatizing remains an important and useful task (see the General introduction § 2.1.2).

2.6.6. Appendices

All kinds of further material can be provided in the form of an appendix to the edition, such as marginalia or additional lists of variants (see fig. 3.2.17), other texts that are somehow related to the one edited but cannot be systematically compared to it, and tables and graphs.

APPENDIX I : ORTHOGRAPHICA, ELISIONES, IOTACISMI

617.13-14 τέλεον AFR : τέλειον GW
617.14 δὲ AFR : δ᾽ GW
617.22 ἐνθεῖναί A : ἐνθῆναί Σ
618.19 τελέως Σ : τελείως A
619.9 διδασκαλείου A : διδασκαλίου Σ
621.2 γοῦν Σ : οὖν A
623.19 τέτταρας Σ : τέσσαρας A
623.31 διδασκαλείου A : διδασκαλίου Σ

APPENDIX II : VARIANTES LECTIONES CODICUM RECENTIORUM QUI A Σ PENDENT (UBI A TEXTUM INCORRUPTUM PRAEBET)

617.23 τὴν A : τ. GR τὸ FW
624.7 φανερὰν AW : -ρὰ FGR
624.31 αὐτὸς AG^{mg}RW : αὐτοῖς FG
626.15 τῆς AW : τοὺς FGR
627.11 ψυχαῖς AFW : ψυχῇ GR
629.4 δαῖτά AW : διαῖτά FGR
631.8 ἰδόντες AR^{c} : ἰδόντε FGW
633.11 κατακωχὴν AF : κατ()κωχὴν R κακωχὴν GW

APPENDIX III : MENDA CODICIS A ET EMENDATIONES LIBRARIORUM POSTERIORUM

622.30 ὑπόθεσιν M^{c}Σ : ὑπέρθεσιν A
636.13 βάθος Σ : βάθους AM
638.20 τῇ MΣ : τοῦ A
670.5 καὶ τὸ Σ : l. dub. A om. M
671.7 ἐκείνων MΣ : εἰκόνων A^{2}
675.42 καὶ AMΣ : τῆς A^{2}
678.20 φύσεις MΣ : γνώσεις A^{2}

APPENDIX IV : APPENDIX LECTIONUM INTERPRETATIONIS LATINAE GUILLELMI DE MOERBEKA QUAE A TEXTU RECEPTO DISCREPANT

618.23 καὶ om. **g**
621.3 πού om. **g**
622.2 ταῦτα : *eadem* **g** (ταὐτὰ ?)
622.6 θαύματος : *mirabiliter* **g** (θαυμαστῶς ?)
622.32 λέγων : *est* **g**

Fig. 3.2.17 Proclus, *In Parmenidem*, ed. Steel et al. 2007. Appendices (samples).

In some cases, it may be useful to add a glossary of technical terms or specialized vocabulary that occurs in the edited text (for example Sedacer, ed. Barthélémy 2002, I, 203–232), or, in the case of translated texts, a lexicon of the terminology of the text in the two relevant languages (see fig. 3.2.18).

A special kind of appendix is that of photographic reproductions of the manuscripts used. Except in the case of short texts, printed editions will contain only samples of such photographs. In the case of short or fragmentary texts, such as the Turfan fragments (see Ch. 3 § 3.9) or papyri (see Ch. 3 § 3.6) the accepted norm is to reproduce the entire text photographically (even if it is relatively lengthy). Finally, palimpsests

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APPENDICE II

LEXIQUE ARABE-GREC

Les mots ou expressions sont classés par racine et suivis du mot grec auquel se trouve la référence dans le lexique grec-arabe. Les entrées grecques suivies du signe ** désignent des mots traduits de façon erronée par le traducteur. Les hendiadys sont signalés par le sigle □.

أثر	المشتهين الموثرين	ἐφίημι (ἐφιεμένων) □
أخر	(الاسباب) الاخر	ἀολλής **
	الاخريات	ἑτερότης (αἱ ἑτερότητες)
أدى	تكون موديه	χειραγωγέω (χειραγωγοῦσα)
أرض	ارض	γῆ
ألف	ذو الفه	ἑνωτικός
	التاليفات والالفات	ἕνωσις (αἱ πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἑνώσεις)
	بتاليف	ἑνιαίως
	مولفه \مولفات	ἐφαρμογή / ἁρμονία / ἕνωσις
	مولفه \ مولفات	ἑνόω (ἑνοῦσα, ἥνωται, ἡνωμένας)
أله	الاله	θεός
	الله	θεός
	الهى	θεῖος
	الذات الالهيه الاولى	θεαρχικός (ἡ θεαρχικὴ ὕπαρξις)
	القول الالهى (ذات علامه واماره)	θεολογία (ἡ Συμβολικὴ θεολογία)
	الكلمات الالهيه	θεολόγος (θεολόγοι) **
	مسميات بالالهيات	θεωνυμία (θεωνυμίαι)
أمر	ذو علامه واماره	συμβολικός (ἡ Συμβολικὴ θεολογία) □
	مامورات	ἐφίημι (ἐφιέμεναι)
أول	اولا	πρῶτον
	الذات الالهيه الاولى	θεαρχικός (ἡ θεαρχικὴ ὕπαρξις)

Fig. 3.2.18 Appendix in *Corpus Dionysiacum Arabicum*, ed. Bonmariage – Moureau 2007, 214.

also often require special images (see Ch. 3 § 3.11). Here, as in other cases, the digital medium is more suitable than the printed one for a variety of practical considerations (see the General introduction § 2.3).

References

Alberti 1979; Andrews 2009; Andrews – Macé 2013, 2014; Baret et al. 2006; Barthélémy 2002; Bausi 1995b; Bernabé – Hernández Muñoz 2010; Blachère – Sauvaget 1945; Blake – Brière 1961–1963; Bonmariage – Moureau 2011; Bucossi 2014; Careri 1998; Cisḳarišvili 1954; De Groote 2012; De Vos et al. 2010; Dearing 1968; den Heijer et al. 2014; Finney 1999; Fischer [F.] 2013; Froger 1968; Gacek 2007; Giannouli 2014; Greg 1927; Grier 1988; Griffith [J.] 1968; Guidi – Trovato 2004; Haentjens Dekker – Middell 2011; Haugen 2014; Havet 1911; Holman et al. 2012; Irigoin 1954, 1979, 1981a; Jeffreys – Jeffreys 2009; Kakridis 2004; La Spisa 2012, 2013, 2014; Lentin 2008; Love 1984; Maas 1957; Macé 2011, forthcoming; Macé et al. 2001, 2012; Mahdi 1984; Parkes 1998; Pasquali 1934, [2]1952; Peacock 2007; Pierazzo 2011; Quentin 1926; Reeve 1998; Reynolds – Wilson 1991; Richard [M.] 1980; Rilliet 1986; Robinson [Pe.] 1989, 1994, 2004; Roman – Poirier 2013; Rosselli Del Turco 2007; Samir 1982; Schmidt [D.] 2010; Schmidt [D.] – Colomb 2009; Sels 2009; Signes Codoñer 2014; Steel et al. 2007; Timpanaro 1985, 2005; Trovato 2005, 2013; van Reenen – van Mulken 1996; van Reenen et al. 2004; Walter 2001; Weitzman 1985, 1987; West [M.] 1973; Whittaker 1991; Witkam 2013; Zarri 1971. Web sources: <http://medium.irht.cnrs.fr/>, last access May 2014; Stemmaweb <http://stemmaweb.net>, last access May 2014.

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3. Case studies

Many problematic issues and practical problems in publishing and dealing with critical editions have been systematically presented in Ch. 3 §§ 2.1–2.6. In the following part, twenty three case studies have been collected to cover most of the languages under consideration in COMSt and to give COMSt scholars the opportunity to focus on aspects specific to their literary, textual and scholarly traditions. Unfortunately, Turkish is missing, and Arabic is represented by cases such as the Qur'ān, Middle Arabic and popular epic that leave the bulk of Classical Arabic literature untouched.

Each author is responsible for his/her case study, and the point of view is often rather personal. Similarly, the terminology may be quite different or even slightly discordant in each case study, since differences may reflect different scholarly traditions and the variety of theoretical and practical approaches is precisely what we intended to survey in this part of the chapter.

1. Tara Andrews (TA), The *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa. Digital critical edition of an Armenian historiographical text
2. Alessandro Bausi (ABa), The *Aksumite Collection*. Ethiopic multiple text manuscripts
3. Malachi Beit-Arie (MBA), Private production of mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts
4. Valentina Calzolari (VC), Christian Apocrypha in Armenian
5. Alberto Cantera (AC), The Zoroastrian long liturgy. The transmission of the *Avesta*
6. Laurent Capron (LCa), Greek literary papyri
7. Marie Cronier (MCr), A Byzantine recension of Dioscorides. Historical analysis of manuscripts and text editing
8. Lorenzo Cuppi (LCu), The Septuagint, its *Vorlage* and its translations
9. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (DDM), The Turfan fragments
10. Zuzana Gažáková (ZG), Arabic epics
11. Jost Gippert (JG), Palimpsests of Caucasian provenance. Reflections on diplomatic editing
12. Gregory Kessel (GK), Syriac monastic miscellanies
13. Paolo La Spisa (PLS), Middle Arabic texts. How to account for linguistic features
14. Hugo Lundhaug (HL), The Nag Hammadi codices. Textual fluidity in Coptic
15. Caroline Macé (CM), Gregory of Nazianzus' *Homilies*. An over-abundant manuscript tradition in Greek and in translation
16. Michael Marx (MMx), Manuscript London, BL, Or. 2165 and the transmission of the Qurʾān
17. Alessandro Mengozzi (AM), Past and present trends in the edition of Classical Syriac texts
18. Sébastien Moureau (SM), Pseudo-Avicenna's *De anima*. The Latin translation of a lost Arabic original
19. Denis Searby (DSe), Greek collections of wise and witty sayings
20. Lara Sels (LS), The *Vidin Miscellany*. Translated hagiography in Slavonic
21. Wido van Peursen (WvP), Sacred texts in Hebrew and related languages. Dealing with linguistic features
22. Jan Just Witkam (JJW), The *History* of Bayhaqī. Editorial practices for Early New-Persian texts
23. Ugo Zanetti (UZ) and Sever J. Voicu (SV), Christian liturgical manuscripts

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3.1. The *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa. Digital critical edition of an Armenian historiographical text (TA)

The *Chronicle* of Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi (Matthew of Edessa) was written in the first half of the twelfth century, probably in stages between the years 1102 and 1131. Uṙhayecʿi was an Armenian priest resident in, and probably native to, Edessa (nowadays Urfa in Turkey); he wrote in the vernacular form of Armenian with which he was familiar. His Chronicle covers the history of the Armenian principalities as well as Byzantium and the emirates of the Near East between the years 952 and 1129. The text was extended by a priest who identifies himself only as Grigor, a resident of the nearby town of Kesun, to cover the year 1136 to 1162.

Although the *Chronicle* was known to have been read by others within a century after it was written—Smbat, the brother of king Hetʿum of Cilicia in the thirteenth century, relied almost entirely upon Uṙhayecʿi's text for the relevant portion of his own history (Smbat Sparapet 1980)—the 35 surviving manuscripts that appear in published catalogues all date from 1590 or later, and the two oldest of these (Venice, Mekhitarist library, 887 and Vienna, Mekhitarist library, 574) represent two distinct recensions. The manuscripts are held in libraries throughout Europe and the Near East; roughly half of them can be dated to the seventeenth century. This was the period of 'rescue' of Armenian literature—a concerted effort to copy and preserve the texts that had survived the ravages of war and invasion between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The manuscript (Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1896) usually regarded as 'best', due partially to the claims of its provenance made in the colophon and partially to the presence of two passages of text that are missing in all other versions, was copied only in 1689, well after many others, and has a marked textual affinity with another, less complete, manuscript (Yerevan, Matenadaran, 1767) copied in 1623 that is missing not only the passages in question, but also a substantial chunk of text at the beginning.

The text has been published in two editions; the first, printed in Jerusalem in 1869 (Matthew of Edessa 1869), used two manuscripts held in the library there that both probably derive from the manuscript of 1590 (Venice, Mekhitarist library, 887). The second edition, published in Vałaršapat (Armenia) in 1898 (Matthew of Edessa 1898), used Matenadaran MS 1896 as a base text and included a limited set of variants taken from five other manuscripts in the same library, namely the collection of the Armenian Apostolic patriarchate in Etchmiadzin (Ējmiacin), removed to Moscow at the outbreak of the First World War and later moved to Yerevan; today they reside in the Mesrop Maštocʿ Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran). Although the edition of 1898 drew upon a much wider selection of texts than that of 1869, neither edition was truly critical and each was based on a small subset of manuscripts without reference to any held in western Europe, and particularly without reference to those held by the Mekhitarists of Venice and Vienna.

In this case it is very difficult to apply the usual principles of classical philology in order to reconstruct an archetypal text, or even to establish a reliable *stemma codicum*; almost none of them are helpful or applicable to the *Chronicle*. Although the relationship between the age of a manuscript and the authority of its text is very often problematic, in the case of the *Chronicle* we have not even that familiar dilemma to face: there is no manuscript whose age merits special consideration. There is no poetic metre to provide guidance, to hint at what might be a 'true' reading as opposed to an 'error' in the Lachmannian sense. Likewise, the use of the Armenian vernacular makes it impossible to rely on grammatical principles to distinguish the text that Uṙhayecʿi himself is likely to have written, both because we have in modern times only a hesitant understanding of the specifics of twelfth-century Edessene Armenian, and because we have little assurance that Uṙhayecʿi would have abided by all of these rules even if we possessed them. Moreover, the text is relatively long and segmented according to year, which gives immediate rise to a suspicion that copyists may not have been concerned with which exemplar they used for any particular individual record. The possibility of witness conflation could therefore not be ignored. Given the situation, there was a clear need for a full evaluation of all manuscripts, without recourse to the existing editions. Here we describe the process used by a single scholar with training in computer programming to produce a full critical edition of four key excerpts from the *Chronicle* (roughly 5,000 words; Andrews 2009).

Digital workflow for edition

In order to cope with the large volume of text, and to get to grips with the problem of recovering the history of its transmission, the editor chose to embrace digital methods from a very early stage; the decision

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was facilitated by the editor's prior expertise in computer programming. While some of the methods used are today more easily available to scholars without a computational background, not all of them are, and the philologist who chooses to use digital methods is still best advised to have some computational expertise (whether of his or her own, or hired into the team).

The first requirement was to transcribe as many witnesses as possible into a digital format, as efficiently as could be managed. This was accomplished through the use of OCR (optical character recognition) to digitize the printed edition of 1898, and successive modification of copies of the digitized text to produce full transcriptions of all witnesses. The resulting transcriptions were converted through an automatic process into a digital format suitable for interchange, based on the TEI guidelines for XML encoding of scholarly texts (see General introduction § 2.1). This was by far the most time-consuming stage of the project, although the total time taken was still less than would have been required for the digitization and correction of a base text of the *Chronicle*, and a sufficiently detailed, accurate, and unambiguous non-normalized collation of all witnesses against that text. Although the transcription process described was designed specifically for the edition project, the common scholarly need for a good system for manuscript transcription has more recently borne fruit. Options include the eLaborate system maintained by Huygens ING in the Netherlands (<https://www.elaborate.huygens.knaw.nl/>), the T-Pen system maintained by the Center for Digital Theology at St Louis University (<http://t-pen.org/TPEN/>), and the transcription environment for New Testament texts maintained by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de>).

The next step was to collate the transcriptions of the witnesses. The aim of the exercise was to compare all witnesses against each other without assigning any single witness greater significance than the others, and so the traditional form of collation against a base text was rejected. Instead the editor submitted the transcribed excerpts to an automatic collation program, in which a 'baseless' comparison method was used to produce a collated text. The result was available both in spreadsheet format and in a form of TEI XML known as 'parallel segmentation'. The editor was then able to review and, where necessary, correct the collation proposed by the software. The total time needed to produce a detailed collation (i.e. a collation that included minor variation as well as major) of the text to be edited, from the initial invocation of the program to the final correction of results, was approximately an hour and a half. The collation program used in this case was developed in 2008, specifically for this project; its source code is available online (<https://github.com/tla/ncritic/>). Since then other collation programs have emerged for general use, among which CollateX (<http://collatex.net/>) best fits the requirements for baseless collation of an arbitrarily large number of witness texts. For collation against a single base text, the best tool currently available is probably Juxta (<http://www.juxtasoftware.org/>).

With the collation stored in a machine-readable format, it was the work of a few hours to produce a script to transform the data into a format appropriate for use in programs for the construction of stemma hypotheses, such as statistical packages for cladistics and other phylogenetic analysis. Although these packages do not produce stemmata per se, they give a very useful preliminary indication of how the manuscripts are related to each other. With that knowledge, and with information about the provenance of the manuscripts and information contained in colophons, derivation of a reasonable stemma became possible. The scripts necessary for stemmatic analysis were also developed within the context of the edition project. A better option today would be to use the tools available on the Stemmaweb site (<http://stemmaweb.net/>); alternatively, scholars using the Classical Text Editor software have an option for generation of an appropriate data file for direct use in the statistical packages. Some of these are also online, for example the parsimony tools provided by the Institut Pasteur (<http://mobyle.pasteur.fr/>).

Another advantage conferred by a machine-readable collation is the ability to work through the text systematically and efficiently for editorial consideration and selection of a lemma text. For this purpose another script was written to step through each of the instances of variation and accept input from the user/editor; this was used in the first instance to classify the variation (for example, to categorize certain parallel readings as variations in spelling of the same word) so that the information could be taken into account for generation of stemmatic hypotheses. The use of the tool ensured that these classification decisions were applied uniformly throughout the text.

Once a stemma hypothesis was created, the editor used the same script to step through the variants again and choose a lemma reading, taking into account the stemma and the surrounding context and recording an emendation or editorial note wherever necessary. (This script, developed in the context of the

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edition project, has not yet been reproduced in a form more accessible to textual scholars, although the ability to classify variants prior to stemmatic analysis exists within the Stemmaweb system.) The choices of lemma, emendations, and annotations were saved into the collation file itself.

Publication of the digitally-edited text

In recent years, primarily driven by the European COST action 'Interedition' which ran from 2008 until 2012, there has developed an ever more robust tool-chain for the creation of digital editions, from transcription and linking of text to manuscript images, through automated collation, to stemmatic and stylistic analysis. Nevertheless, the scholar who wishes to publish a completed critical edition in digital form faces the difficulty that there is essentially no standard and well-supported way to do it.

In the case of the excerpts of the *Chronicle*, the immediate requirement was for a printed version of the text to be published as part of a Ph.D. thesis. This was relatively straightforward to accomplish: since the edited text was stored in a machine-readable format, the editor was able to prepare the edition for print by converting it programmatically into a format suitable for use with the LaTeX publishing package (<http://www.latex-project.org>).

The process of digital publication has been more complex, due to the lack of a standard framework, layout, or interface for digital critical editions. A satisfactory online critical edition should include all witness transcriptions (with facsimiles, if copyright restrictions allow), the edited text with all relevant annotations, and a suitable display of the degree and location of variation within the text. In the case of the *Chronicle*, the fact that the text edition, its annotations, and the full witness transcriptions already existed in digital form meant that they needed only to be transformed to a form suitable for viewing through a browser. This has nevertheless required quite a bit of custom Web development that, at present, would need to be repeated and tailored to any subsequent text edition. Every text has its own unique character; every editor must make decisions about what features of the text are important to convey and how these might be visualized in the digital medium. A vast amount of work remains ahead of us to explore the possibilities.

References

Andrews 2009; Matthew of Edessa 1869, 1898; Smbat Sparapet 1980; Web sources: <https://www.elaborate.huygens.knaw.nl/>, last access October 2014; <https://github.com/tla/ncritic/>, last access October 2014; <http://www.juxtasoftware.org/>, last access October 2014; <http://www.latex-project.org>, last access October 2014; <http://mobyle.pasteur.fr/>, last access October 2014; <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de>, last access October 2014; <http://www.tei-c.org/>, last access October 2014; <http://t-pen.org/TPEN/>, last access October 2014.

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3.2. The *Aksumite Collection*. Ethiopic multiple text manuscripts (ABa)

An Aksumite collection

This case-study is concerned with the texts transmitted in a multiple-text manuscript of 162 folia that is preserved in a small church in an isolated area at the border of Ethiopia and Eritrea, an area which was once the cradle of Christian civilization in the northern highlands of the Horn of Africa. The manuscript has no colophon and is not dated, but it contains a series of palaeographic and linguistic features which put it into relation with the Abbā Garimā Four Gospels books, as well as to other ancient biblical manuscripts, that probably make it the oldest non-biblical Ethiopic manuscript.

The example of the 'Aksumite Collection' is useful to highlight some specific features of Ethiopian philology that have not been sufficiently considered in the past years, with the exception of the field of biblical (New and Old Testament) philology (for a general presentation of the state of the art, current practices and innovative proposals in classical Ethiopian Philology, cf. Marrassini 1987, 1996, 2008a, 2008b, 272–273, 2009; Lusini 2005; Bausi 2006a, 2008b, 2010a). The case study of the 'Aksumite Collection' appears to be particularly interesting and fruitful for questions of *textual history*—that is, history of textual transmission and history of reception. It can also be used—though to a lesser extent—to show *how to deal* with editorial questions, since it has a very recent and still only partially accomplished editorial history.

The manuscript has probably remained in the same location for several centuries, thus escaping the attention of the metropolitan Ethiopian clergy and foreign visitors. It was discovered, digitized, and finally also restored only a few years ago. It has been affected by some losses that do not seem to prevent a reliable estimation of its original content, since only a small part of it seems to be lost. It contains approximately thirty-six main pieces of patristic, liturgical, and canonical literature, as well as a historical text that is a *unicum.* (They can be reckoned in different ways, depending on whether the sections and possible subsections are identified as independent texts.) A few of the texts in this recension are transmitted in other Ethiopic manuscripts as well; some were known in other recensions only, and a few were not known at all (see Bausi 1998, 2002a, 2003a, 2005a, 2006b, 2006c, 2012, 2013a; Dolbeau 2012). I have called it the 'Aksumite Collection', since it was apparently translated from Greek into Ethiopic in the Late Antique Aksumite period, probably also in an arrangement to some extent reflecting the present one in the *codex unicus* preserved to us (Ethiopia, Tegrāy, ʿUrā Qirqos, Ethio-SPaRe UM-39).

Albeit quite different in terms of precise content, the collection as a whole closely resembles and parallels the so-called *Sinodos*, 'Synod', an authoritative canonical work translated from Arabic in the thirteenth/fourteenth century, and widely circulated since then (far more than a hundred manuscripts of the *Sinodos* probably exist, the most ancient ones coming from the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries; see Bausi 1995b, 2010b). The *Sinodos* was believed on sound evidence to be derived from mediaeval Arabic textual recensions, but a few liturgical texts, although problematically mixed with later Arabic-based ones, were supposed to be more ancient and Greek-based. Among these texts transmitted in the *Sinodos*, particularly important is the Ethiopic version of the *Traditio apostolica* 'Apostolic Tradition', which is unanimously believed to transmit for some passages ancient materials going back to the most ancient phase of the textual tradition, corroborated by the fact that it matches the most ancient Latin version, which is presumed to transmit the earliest phase of the text, against the younger Coptic and Arabic versions (Bausi 2009, 2010c, 2011b).

Dynamics of the textual tradition of Ethiopic texts: Aksumite and Post-Aksumite

The evidence found in the manuscript of the 'Aksumite Collection' sheds new light on the enigmatic question of the coexistence in the *Sinodos* of texts with different *Vorlagen*, i.e. Greek- and Arabic-based versions. But let us have a brief look at the background.

The linguistic evidence (for example loanwords, misreadings, phonetic rendering, syntactic calques) has for a long time demonstrated that non-original Ethiopic texts were *directly* translated in different periods from two languages only: Greek, in the Aksumite period (from the fourth until probably not later than the seventh centuries, or even earlier) and Arabic (starting from the twelfth/thirteenth century on, at the earliest, and continuing for some centuries) in the Post-Aksumite period and throughout pre-modern times. Very isolated cases of translations from other languages, such as Latin, exist in modern times, but they have no relevance here. Purported translations from Aramaic and also Syriac in the Aksumite period have been hypothesized concerning biblical and apocryphal texts (New and Old Testament, New

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Testament in the 'Diatessaron' recension, 'Book of Enoch'), but they have been ruled out by all detailed analysis of the evidence carried out so far. That Greek and Arabic are the languages from which Ethiopic texts were translated is nothing else but what is to be expected from the institutional dependence of the Ethiopian Church upon the Egyptian Church and the Patriarchate of Alexandria. It was the Church that practised, and to a large extent also controlled, together with the monarchy, every aspect of literary activity throughout the history of pre-modern Ethiopia. The Egyptian Church first used Greek, later Coptic, and then from the tenth century on, Arabic as the main literary language. The missing evidence for *direct* Ethiopic versions of Coptic-based texts has been variously and even convincingly explained by the asynchronous development of the Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches (Bausi – Camplani 2013, 207–210).

The 'Aksumite Collection' preserves an Ethiopic version of the *Traditio apostolica* that is, on the one hand, a translation independent from the Ethiopic version in the *Sinodos* (save for some passages; see below), and on the other hand, much more strictly parallel to the Latin than any other known versions and witnesses. Moreover, it also appears that the few passages in the *Sinodos* recension matching the Latin version belong to the same recension as that in the 'Aksumite Collection', which demonstrates that these passages descend from one and the same version going back to a common archetype. It should be noted that the 'Apostolic Tradition' is lost in its Greek original, and the series of reworkings in different languages and times it has undergone have made it appear as a piece of 'living literature' (Bradshaw et al. 2002, 13–14). The debated question of the existence of such an original might be considered outdated now, due to the existence itself of the Ethiopic version in the 'Aksumite Collection' that strictly matches the Latin version (preserved within the 'Veronese Collection' of the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LV [53]): this matching certainly presupposes a relatively precise and unitary recensional phase, to be identified with the Greek original. This evidence is strengthened by the presence of a considerable amount of common features in distant lateral areas (Latin domain, Egypt and Horn of Africa).

Points of view: backward and forward connexions

As stated before, the manuscript also contains in eight leaves a historical text that is an absolute unicum in the Ethiopic tradition. This text is somehow prefixed to the collection, since it immediately follows the opening text (a pseudo-apostolic section, so-called 'Statutes of the Apostles', known in the original Greek as well as in several oriental versions). It is a 'History of the Episcopate of Alexandria' from Mark the Apostle to Saint Peter bishop of Alexandria (the 'last of the martyrs'), which is exceptional in consideration of two aspects.

First, no literary text dating from the Aksumite period and of historiographical genre has been transmitted in Ethiopic manuscripts thus far (Baumeister 2006, 41–42; the inscriptions written at the initiative of the kings of Aksum are obviously not texts transmitted by manuscripts, cf. Lusini 2001; Witakowski 2012). Second, the historical text may be identified as belonging to a lost Greek 'History of the Alexandrian Episcopate' (not to be confused with the later Copto-Arabic 'History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria'). This text has been traced in collections (one Latin excerpt consisting of two letters and a narrative portion in between, in the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex LX [58]) as well as works (Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, also hagiographies in Latin versions; see Camplani 2003a, 41–42, 51, 2003b, 38–39, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Bausi – Camplani 2013). Yet the 'Aksumite Collection' is for most of the passages the unique witness of the 'History', it preserves the *incipit* and *desinit* (at least for this recension), and therefore provides by far the most important evidence for reconstructing the original text.

This situation is further complicated by the relationship this historiographical text entertains with, on the one hand, (and looking backwards) its sources, of which the 'History' is a witness, and on the other hand, (looking forwards) its later reworkings, which are textual witnesses of the 'History'. We can establish that the anonymous author of this 'History' also consulted and at times inserted materials drawn from the Alexandrian archives, as it was customary in Church historiography, also incorporating documents into the narrative text (in this case: biographical notes, lists of bishops appointed by Maximus (264–282), Theonas (282–300?), and Peter (300–311), and official correspondence). But we can also determine that quotations from this 'History' survive in a few Ethiopic texts from much later. One of them, an Ethiopian arrangement of the 'Acts of St Peter' attested in at least two fourteenth-century manuscripts, retains older materials and explicitly quotes passages of the 'Aksumite Collection', styling it the 'Synodicon of the

Law', which is probably the name the collection was to some extent still known by in the Ethiopian literary tradition at the time.

As it appears, the case of the 'Aksumite Collection' is extremely useful and seminal in that it highlights textual phenomena that were thus far hypothesized in Ethiopic only for the Bible, since the Ethiopic Bible was translated from the Greek in Aksumite times and subsequently revised in the Post-Aksumite period on the basis of Arabic texts, in turn also based upon Syriac. The collection positively documents the existence of double parallel independent translations, as is the case of the 'Apostolic Tradition' (there are several other texts not considered here; Bausi 2006b), also with older texts occasionally re-used within younger versions, and a redactional process that is very difficult to suppose in the absence of positive evidence. It also opens new perspectives for research. The 'Aksumite Collection' could not be an isolated case (only the preservation of the *codex unicus* that transmits it is, for the moment at least). On the contrary, one might think that the old Aksumite translations from the Greek were replaced with new translations from the Arabic. Peculiar cultural and linguistic features (obscure mirror-type translations which in the course of time became unintelligible, theologically outdated texts) might also have played a role (Bausi 2005b).

Editorial perspectives

Such a complex textual tradition can be viewed from several different perspectives, which might also require specific approaches and methodologies (see Ch. 3 § 2.1.2). I will try to elaborate briefly about a few of these:

(1) The first remark is that the case of the 'Ethiopic Collection' is a typical case-study of the philology of translated texts. The manuscript of the 'Aksumite Collection' is actually a witness to the Ethiopic translations of some Greek texts (i.e. the earlier versions, since some texts were later re-translated from a different *Vorlage*); because these translations took place in the early phase of Ethiopic literature, there are some factors to be considered that are not obvious, such as the possibility of linguistic variations, and the consequent question of defining standards—these are not easy to discern since the archaic palaeography of the manuscript witness also poses problems.

(2) The texts (in themselves also an innovation) shared by the 'Aksumite Collection' and partially or not by other Ethiopic manuscripts (such as in the *Sinodos* collection, *for some passages*), show that the 'Aksumite Collection' (apart from other palaeographic considerations) is not the archetype of these translations. The Ethiopic text of the earliest version must be reconstructed by taking into account all the extant Ethiopic witnesses: there are good readings (that can and must be checked against the extra-Ethiopic evidence) that must be preferred to the readings of the 'Aksumite Collection'. It must also be considered, however, that these supplementary witnesses do represent a different recension, as arranged in the *Sinodos*. This recension is also marked by shared innovations and conjunctive errors of its own, which points to a further textual stage, depending upon a subarchetype: the reconstruction of this subarchetype should be first undertaken before using it as a witness to the earliest Ethiopic version. This is a typical case of the twofold character of texts *subject to recensional reworking* placed along a chain of textual transmission (typically, translations are also such a case): they are potentially at the same time witnesses to the previous textual stage, and a subject of editorial reconstruction in themselves; looking forwards, this definitely concerns the 'Apostolic Tradition', reworked for some passages within a new, later and independent translation, and the 'History of the Episcopate of Alexandria', reworked for some passages in the 'Acts of Peter' of Alexandria, in this case possibly by additionally using other Aksumite materials.

(3) In keeping with what has been said on the twofold character of texts *subject to recensional reworking*, the earliest Ethiopic versions to be reconstructed starting from the manuscript of the 'Aksumite Collection' shall be edited, taking into account all parallel textual witnesses that might contribute evidence (for example, the oriental versions for the 'Apostolic Tradition', but above all the Latin version, and the same applies to the 'History of the Episcopate of Alexandria', which also requires the consideration of Latin excerpts). Obviously, since the Ethiopic version also represents to some extent a recension of its own in comparison with the others, every attempt at retrieving the earliest Ethiopic text shall consider that reconstructive hypotheses and conjectures are only reasonable if supported by, or compatible with, the available Ethiopic evidence; to define the extent of this process of analysis would be crucial, but it is extremely difficult: it is exactly the philological and text-critical domain where all possible competencies and evidence should be combined and contribute (historical, cultural, linguistic, stylistic, palaeographic pieces of evidence).

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28 A. BAUSI

1,0 | 1,1 ቀዳሚት ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ፩ ፡ ዘበእንተ ፡ ቃልሰ ፡ ርቱ<ዐ> ፡ 16vb
ጸሐፍነ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጸጋት ፡ መጠኔ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ብሔር ፡ በዘ ፡
ዚአሁ ፡ ምክር ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ወሃበ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያቀ
1,2 ርብ ፡ ኀቤሁ ፡ እንተ ፡ ተስሕተት ፡ አምሳል ። ወይእዜሰ ፡ ለ
ፍቅር ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ መጺእነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ር
እስ ፡ ለመጥዎ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትደሉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲ
1,3 ያናት ፡ በጸሕነ ፡ ከመ ፡ እለ ፡ ሠና<የ> ፡ ተመሀሩ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሃ
ሎት ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ መጥዎ ፡ ዐቂቦሙ ፡ ሠሪዐነ ፡ አእሚ
1,4 ሮሙ ፡ ጽኑዓነ ፡ | ይኩኑ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ተረክበ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ በኢ 17ra
1,5 ያአምሮ ፡ ድሕ<ፅ> ፡ ወእለሰ ፡ ኢያአምሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይ
ሁ<ብ> ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፍጽምተ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ር
ቱ<ዐ> ፡ ይአምኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያ<እ>ምሩ ፡ እፎ ፡ መፍትው ፡ ይ
መጥዉ ፡ ወይዕቀቡ ፡ እሌ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ይቀ
ውሙ ።

2,0 | 2,1 ፩ በእንተ ፡ ኤጲስቆጶስ ፡ ኤጲስቆጶስ ፡ ይሠየም ፡ ተኀ
2,2 ሪዮ ፡ እምኵሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ዘተሰምየ ፡ ወአስመረ ፡ ተጋቢ
አሙ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ ምስሌ ፡ ቀሳውስት ፡ ወምስሌ ፡ እለ ፡
2,3 ሀለዉ ፡ ኤጲስቆጶሳት ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ ይኅበሩ ፡ ወኵ
ሎሙ ፡ ኅቢሮሙ ፡ ያንብሩ ፡ ለዕሌሁ ፡ እደወ ፡ ወቀሳው
2,4 ስት ፡ ይቁሙ ፡ ጽምወ ፡ አርሚሞሙ ፡ ኵሎሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ቦሙ ፡ በልብ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጼሊዩ ፡ <ም>ጽአ<ተ> ፡ መንፈስ ፡
2,5 ወአሐዱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ኤ|ጲስቆጶስ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ስኢሎ ፡ 17rb
አንቢሮ ፡ እደ ፡ ለዕለ ፡ ዘይሠየም ፡ ኤጲስቆጶስ ፡ ይጸሊ ፡ ከ
3,1 መዝ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ። እግዚአ ፡ ብሔር ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ለእግዚ
እነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አ<ብ> ፡ ምሕረታት ። ወእግዚአ ፡
ኵሉ ፡ ኑዛዜ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ ልዑላን ፡ ይኀድር ፡ ወቱሑታን ፡
3,2 ይሬኢ ፡ ዘያአምር ፡ ኵሎ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይኩን ፡ አንተ ፡ ዘወሀ
ብከ ፡ ሥርዐታተ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በጸጋከ ፡ ዘአቅደ
ምከ ፡ ሠሪዐ ፡ እምትካት ፡ ትድምርተ ፡ ጻድቃን ፡ እምአብር
ሃም ፡ መኳንን<ተ> ፡ እንከ ፡ ወካህናተ ፡ ሠይመከ ፡ መሥዋ
ዒከ ፡ ዘእንበሌ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ኢኃዲገከ ፡ እምቅድሜ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ፈ

1,0 ቀዳሚት ፡ …5,5 ይቀውሙ ።] § 1 Brad. = § 30B Brad. = Σ Horn. (§ 40), 2, p. 29[5-17] = Duens. (§ 39), pp. 78[12]–80[6] 2,0 በእንተ ፡ …5,3 ይብል ።] § 2 Σ Brad., 2 / Horn. (§ 22), p. 10[5-11] = Duens. (§ 21), pp. 16[1-11] 3,1,1 እግዚአ ፡ …6,5 ዓለም ፡] § 3 Brad. = Σ / Horn. (§ 22), pp. 10[11]-11[9] (Σ = p. 11[3-9]) = Duens. (§ 21), pp. 16[11]-20[1] (Σ = pp. 18[12]–20[1])

1,1,1 ርቱ<ዐ> ፡] con.; ርቱዕ ፡ Σ 1,2,2 መጺእነ ፡] pro መጺአነ ፡ Σ 1,3,1 ሠና<የ> ፡] con.; ሠናይ ፡ Σ 3 በኢያአምሮ ፡] pro በኢያእምሮ ፡ Σ 4 ድሕ<ፅ> ፡] con.; ድሕፀ ፡ Σ

LA NUOVA VERSIONE ETIOPICA DELLA *TRADITIO APOSTOLICA* 29

Prodromo della seconda regola. Quanto a ciò che riguarda la parola, rettamente abbiamo scritto sui carismi, di quanto il Signore secondo il suo consiglio da prima concesse all'uomo, offrendogli l'immagine che aveva errato. E ora, venuti all'amore che è in tutti i santi, siamo giunti al punto culminante della tradizione che nelle chiese è opportuna, perché coloro che sono stati edotti del bene, rispettando la tradizione che sussiste finora, dopo che noi l'abbiamo regolata e una volta che essi l'abbiamo conosciuta, divengano saldi sull'errore dovuto a ignoranza che è stato or ora ritrovato; e perché coloro che non sanno, concedendo lo Spirito Santo perfetta grazia a coloro che credono rettamente, sappiano in qual modo conviene che coloro che sovrintendono alla chiesa tramandino e osservino. 1,0 | 1,1 1,2 1,3 1,4 1,5

1 *1 Riguardo al vescovo.* Il vescovo sia ordinato essendo scelto tra tutto il popolo; colui che sia stato nominato e abbia ottenuto il favore, riunitisi il popolo insieme con i presbiteri e con i vescovi presenti, convengano nel giorno di sabato, e tutti di comune accordo impongano le mani su di lui, e i presbiteri assistano in silenzio, tutti tacendo mentre sono presenti, in cuor loro pregando la discesa dello Spirito; e un vescovo presente, dietro richiesta di tutti, posta la mano su colui che viene ordinato vescovo, preghi così dicendo: "*Dio Padre di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, padre delle misericordie* e signore di ogni consolazione, che risiede negli eccelsi e vede nei luoghi più bassi, che conosce ogni cosa prima che sia, tu che hai dato le regole alla chiesa per mezzo della tua grazia, che hai preordinato da antico la comunità dei giusti da Abramo, nominando reggitori e sacerdoti, non lasciando il tuo santuario senza servizio, da prima del mondo hai voluto essere donato a colui di cui ti sei 2,0 | 2,1 2,2 2,3 2,4 2,5 3,1 3,2

1,5,1 ይሁ<ብ> ፡] con.; ይሁቡ ፡ Σ 2 ርቱ<ዐ> ፡] con.; ርቱዕ ፡ Σ 3 ያ<እ>ምሩ ፡] con.; ያአምሩ ፡ Σ 2,4,2 <ም>ጽአ<ተ> ፡] con.; መጽአት ፡ Σ 3,1,2 አ<ብ> ፡] con.; አብ ፡ Σ 3,2,4 መኳንን<ተ> ፡] con.; መኳንን ፡ Σ

1,0 ቀዳሚት ፡ …፩ ፡] rubrum Σ 1,1,4 አምሳል ።] ። Σ 1,5,4 ይቀውሙ ።] ።= Σ 2,0 ፩…ኤጲስቆጶስ ፡[1]] rubrum Σ 2,5,3 ይብል ።] ።= Σ 3,1,1 እግዚአ ፡ …2 ምሕረታት ።] rubrum Σ 2 ምሕረታት ።] ad cap. vers. Σ; ።= Σ

Fig. 3.3.2.1 Bausi 2011b, 28–29.

(4) Looking backwards still, a further step is the attempt at reconstructing the common phase of a heavily reworked and varied text: this is typically the case of the 'Apostolic Tradition'. Whereas in this specific case there is little chance of reconstructing a consistent unitary text from textual witnesses that have varied and evolved under the pressure of practical needs in the course of time (the 'Aksumite Collection' is not exactly a practical liturgical text, however it behaves and can be considered as such to some extent), the reconstruction of common phases cannot be excluded: this is actually the case for the common Ethiopic-Latin stage and layer.

(5) The manuscript represented in this case-study, of course, can also be the object of a 'new philology' investigation, with reference to the specific role *this precise manuscript* of the 'Aksumite Collection' has played within its context of production and fruition, of which, at the moment at least, we can say very little. Yet it also definitely challenges the *exclusive* character of 'living literature' attributed to the 'Apostolic Tradition', that is one of its most important texts, since the precise convergence of two distant manuscript traditions (Latin and Ethiopic) points to a very low degree of fluidity and variation in the tradition (the same occurs for the 'History of the Alexandrian Episcopate') and leaves open the way to a possible reconstruction of common ancestors.

References

Baumeister 2006; Bausi 1995b, 1998, 2002a, 2003a, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2008b, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2011b, 2012, 2013a; Bausi – Camplani 2013; Bradshaw et al. 2002; Camplani 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Dolbeau 2012; Lusini 2001, 2005; Marrassini 1987, 1996, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Witakowski 2012.

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3.3. Private production of mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts (MBA)

The singular individual circumstances of mediaeval book production and transmission of Jewish texts in Hebrew script require a different approach to textual criticism and editorial methodology than most of the current critical approaches and practices. The production of Hebrew codices was never initiated by the intellectual establishments. Manuscripts were never fabricated in clerical, academic, or commercial copying centres. All the mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts were produced as a private enterprise, and they were likewise privately kept and consumed. They were either privately commissioned from independent hired scribes or were owner-produced books copied for the copyist's own use. The individual circumstances of Hebrew book production are firmly attested by approximately four thousand, mostly dated, mediaeval colophons. Less than half of them were copied by professional or semi-professional or even casual scribes commissioned by private people to produce books for them; the rest were prepared by learned users of books or scholars, for their own personal use. The phenomenon of manuscripts being copied by their owners prevailed in all the vast territories where Jews lived and reproduced literary texts in the high Middle Ages in the west and in the east (except for Yemen). Such a high rate of non-professional, personal copying reflects the extent of Jewish literacy and education, but it must also have affected the transmission of written texts and their versions. Whereas institutional and centralized book production and text dissemination enabled supervision and control over the propagation of texts and the standardization of versions, no authoritative guidance or monitoring could have been involved in the private transmission of texts in Hebrew characters.

Within the individual mode of Hebrew text reproduction there is a fundamental difference between texts reproduced by professional or hired scribes, and owner-produced texts. One is entitled to assume that the average hired scribe would have been consciously more loyal to his model, probably would have avoided critical and deliberate intervention in the transmission, yet would have been more fallible and vulnerable to the involuntary changes and mistakes conditioned by the mechanics of copying, while the scholar-copyist might intentionally interfere in the transmission, revise his exemplar, emend and reconstruct the text, add to it and modify it according to his knowledge, memory, conjecture or other exemplars, and indeed regard copying as a critical editing and not merely as duplicating. Moreover, logic suggests that scribes would tend to repeat mistakes in their models, while scholars-copyists would correct corrupted text. The individual mode of Jewish book production and the lack of institutional supervision and authoritative control over the dissemination of texts naturally contributed to this process. Indeed, these assumptions can be substantiated and verified by scholars-copyists' own statements in their colophons.

Reflexive colophons of learned copyists who produced books for their own use confirm the assumption with regard to their critical manner of copying and attest to the freedom with which they were interfering in the transmission of the text. They seem to have been confident that they were entitled, even obliged, to improve the copied text by their personal critical judgment. Copyists of user-produced books testify that their copying involved not only amending and restoring the corrupted model but also critically revising and editing it, sometimes while using several models and creating eclectic versions. The inclination to editorial intervention in transmission emerged only in the late Middle Ages, from the early fourteenth century.

While applying the genetic approach, stemmatical classification, Lachmannian editorial principles or intentional methodology to mediaeval manuscripts which were produced by professional scribes can be justified, at least for restoration of corrupted texts caused by the copying mechanisms, they are not valid at all in handling self-produced copies which constitute at least half of the extant manuscripts. Contrary to what one might expect, the high ratio of user-produced manuscripts and the critical reproduction of texts did not necessarily improve the transmission of literary works by eliminating their scribal mistakes and restoring their authentic versions, but often engendered scholarly modifications, revisions and re-creations of the copied text that may very well have distorted and transformed the original work. Although the copies of hired scribes may have been corrupted by accumulated scribal errors, there is a fairly good chance that modern editors and textual critics would be able to detect a significant part of them by applying philological methods of conventional textual criticism. The versions created by learned copyists on the basis of several exemplars or by scholarly conjecture, on the other hand, mixed inextricably disparate channels of transmission or conflated different authorial stages of the text and were dominated by personal choices and judgments. Such versions present artificial and contaminated texts that mislead modern criti-

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cal editors in their attempt to classify and integrate them within the chain of transmission. In this respect, the damage inflicted on the text by the consecutive reproductions of professional scribes, vulnerable as they were in the traps of the copying mechanism, can be much more easily discerned and the authentic text reconstructed than is the case with damage caused by the scholarly improvement of user-produced books, which is often irreversible.

The role of the modern editor of Hebrew texts inevitably has to be reduced. Stemmatic analysis is usually thwarted and any reconstruction of archetypes in various editorial methods does not fit the singular ways in which Hebrew texts were transmitted and should be avoided. Synoptic editing seems to be the safest way and should be recommended, particularly when it is considerably facilitated in our digital age. Yet even when presenting a diplomatic edition of a single manuscript refraining from critical intervention in the text itself there is still sometimes a justification to integrate genealogical criticism. When the number of the manuscripts is too large for a synoptic presentation, or when they represent distant versions, it is justified to combine diplomatic and synoptic methods by grouping versions, while each is represented by one base manuscript accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* of its group. In the latter case, when several versions are separated in parallel columns, one is entitled sometimes to consider deviation from the rigid Bédier method and be assisted by genealogical or eclectic criticism *within each version group* when necessary. Limiting critical reconstruction while not entirely eliminating the critical aspiration of the genealogical theory, may be justified in these cases.

References

Beit-Arié 2000, 2014; Milikowsky 1988; Schäfer 1986, 1989; Schäfer – Milikowsky 2010.

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3.4. Christian Apocrypha in Armenian (VC)

Closing of the canon and Christian apocryphal literature

The notion of Apocrypha is closely related to the constitution of the canon of the New Testament books, which was the result of a long process of selection that each eastern and western Christian community elaborated in its own way. By the fourth century there seems to be a consensus about the contours of the New Testament collection in most Christian communities, with the exception of some texts which remain of uncertain status, such as the *Revelation of John* and certain Epistles. The closing of the canon, issued from this selection and consensus, caused very old texts, which until then were regarded with authority, to take second place or, in certain cases, to be rejected. As soon as the works of the canonical collection imposed their authority as the only authentic accounts of the words of Christ and early Christianity, the works excluded from such a canon, considered as 'apocryphal', started to be progressively disregarded, being considered either forgeries, questionable, or even heretical products (for a definition of 'Apocryphal literature', see Junod 1992). This hostile attitude toward apocryphal literature had consequences for the textual transmission of these works. Without being fixed by ecclesiastical usage that could guarantee these texts some form of stability, certain Apocrypha simply disappeared, or survived only in a fragmentary form. Furthermore, other texts became subject to the opprobrium of censorship, thus being corrected to such an extent that it is now difficult to recover their primitive content. This programme of 'purging' these texts did not take place in a homogeneous way among the different communities. The ancient oriental versions, including the Armenian ones, sometimes preserve a state of the text that is closer to the original than that preserved in the manuscripts written in the original language (often Greek). Thus, the ancient translations constitute important witnesses for the reconstruction of the primitive text.

In some cases, the lack of institutional supervision—a supervision that was conversely sometimes applied to canonical texts, concerning which not even a jot could be changed—had a different consequence and allowed extremely unstable transmission of western and oriental apocryphal texts, as well as their continuous rewriting and amplification. In this regard, it is important to stress that even after the fourth century and the closing of the canon, the different western and eastern Christian communities continued to write, and rewrite, apocryphal texts. Often, apocryphal writings have developed multiple textual forms through processes of abridgement, expansion, paraphrase and other editorial rewritings. Confronted with the 'movable' nature of this literature, an editor of texts should not ignore the recent results of the 'Nouvelle critique littéraire' and of the New Criticism, and especially its new approaches to such concepts as 'text', 'author', 'authority', and 'authorship' (for an introduction to the question, see Compagnon 1998, 2000; see also, in France, the classical essays by Barthes 1984 and Foucault 1994).

The Christian Apocrypha in Armenian

The Christian Apocrypha in Armenian are a rich corpus still largely unexplored. After the invention of the Armenian alphabet, at the beginning of the fifth century, Armenians took a keen interest in literature that was later regarded as apocryphal, translating from Greek and Syriac, and creating their own versions. Armenians manifested much interest in the apostolic traditions (Leloir 1986–1992). Almost all the most ancient apocryphal Acts related to the different apostles (second or third century) were known and translated, at least partially. The text that has often been preferred is the final section of such *Acts*, i.e. the *Martyrdom* (or the *Dormition*, in the case of the *Acts of John*), as it was easy to use for liturgical purposes because of its limited length. This was certainly well suited to be read on the day of the commemoration of each apostle. Among the Apocrypha related to Jesus, the Armenian tradition preserves the works that deal with Jesus' birth and infancy, and the Passion cycle. The Marian cycle includes, among others, the *Dormition*, the *Epistle of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to Titus*, the *Apocalypse of Mary,* as well as other Panegyrics and Homilies. In addition to the *Apocalypse of Mary*, the apocalyptic genre includes the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and an apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*. Among the epistles, undoubtedly the most important are those that form the *Correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians*, which, for a certain period of time, must have been canonical in Armenian, under the influence of the Syriac canon.

As in other eastern and western traditions, apocryphal Armenian Christian texts also lent themselves to many possibilities of transformation and new regeneration. Manuscripts that remain often contain traces of several alterations, which may include single words, phrases or entire sections. Predisposition to a continual rewriting is undoubtedly one of the key dimensions of this literature. The complexity of

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the transmission of apocryphal texts often pushes the method of textual criticism to its limits and forces scholars to ask themselves the following questions. How to deal with variations and changes, sometimes very abundant, which characterize the manuscripts preserving the Apocrypha? What were the editorial practices followed in the past and what can we suggest for further investigations?

The editorial methods and practices adopted by the Mekhitarist Fathers and by Paul Vetter

The first and in most cases the only editions of Christian apocryphal texts in Armenian language are due to the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice, starting from the end of the nineteenth century. It was in 1898 that a work entirely dedicated to Christian Apocrypha appeared with the title of *Ankanon girkʻ nor ktakaranacʻ* (Uncanonical Books of the New Testament, ed. Tayecʻi). This work was the second volume of the series *Tʻangaran haykakan hin ew nor dprutʻeancʻ* (Museum of Ancient and New Armenian Literature), which was preceded by the publication of the *Ankanon girkʻ hin ktakaranacʻ* (Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament, ed. Yovsepʻeancʻ), in 1896. In 1904 a third volume dedicated to the apostolic legends was published, the *Ankanon girkʻ aṙakʻelakankʻ* (Uncanonical Books on the Apostles, ed. Čʻrakʻean). The editorial methods and practices adopted by the Mekhitarist Fathers are based on principles that are very easy to sum up: the choice of a base manuscript, called the *bnagir*, and the conservative editing of a single manuscript text (best manuscript method); the preparation of a very succinct apparatus offering imprecise indications of readings of auxiliary manuscripts (*ōrinak mə* ‘an exemplar’, *miws ōrinak* ‘another exemplar’); and a study almost exclusively of the manuscripts of the easily accessible Venice collections.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the German scholar Paul Vetter had also begun a project of edition of apocryphal texts, basing his editions essentially on manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Unlike the *Ankanon girkʻ* collections, Vetter’s volumes were enriched with translations and, sometimes, a Greek retroversion. But, as explicitly stated in the 1906 edition of the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, Vetter considered it useless to continue his editorial work, having heard about the parallel enterprise begun by the Mekhitarists.

New perspectives

Even though the enterprise of the Mekhitarist Fathers does not meet the rigorous requirements of modern textual criticism, their pioneering work was immense and saved a whole corpus of Armenian literature from oblivion. Nonetheless, today these texts should be re-edited using modern principles of text edition. A study of the textual traditions that characterize Christian apocryphal texts shows the difficulties that editors often have to face. Sometimes such difficulties can be compared to those faced by editors of Mediaeval texts and stem from the conditions of transmission that are typical of apocryphal texts (Cerquiglini 1989). It is essential to appreciate their textual fluidity, for which the fixity of the printed page is a poor representation.

Which attitude should be embraced when confronting such reworking and multiple textual forms? How should such texts be edited? At least two approaches are possible. 1) We can aspire to identify and edit only the most primitive version of the text. However, if we choose not to edit later reworkings, we deprive ourselves of important witnesses to the transmission history and the reception of the text, as well as of their implications for our understanding of the history of Christianity. 2) On the other hand, we can regard each recension as an interesting witness and decide to edit as many stages of the text as is feasible. In the second case, how to proceed when the number of recensions and their textual variants are so abundant that their inclusion in an apparatus is impractical? Should we edit each recension independently? This is the option sometimes adopted by the Mekhitarists. In the case of the *Martyrdom of Philip* (Calzolari 2013) and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Outtier 2010), two recensions were published on the same page, one above the other. The Mekhitarist Fathers sometimes chose to publish different recensions of a given text one after the other: for example the *Apocalypse of Paul* (four recensions), the *Protevangelium of James* (three recensions), and the *Infancy Gospel* (two recensions; ed. Tayecʻi 1898; see also Calzolari 2011; Dorfmann – Lazarev 2010; Terian 2008). In itself, a separate edition could be a diplomatic-interpretative one, and on this topic it is worth recalling the *caveat* of Cerquiglini about what he called the ‘tentation fac-similaire’ (Cerquiglini 1989, 43); the editor should avoid to step away from interpretation and choice, which should be the foundations of an edition. In the case of the *Anaphora Pilati*, the Mekhitarists adopted the principle of synoptic columns.

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Martyrium Pauli **(*MartP*)**

(Final section, preserved in the Armenian MSS Pb Pc U F)[1]

<table>
<tr><th>Pb Pc
(Paraphrasis of MartP § 5, first section)</th><th>U</th><th>F
(MartP § 5)</th></tr>
<tr><td>1. Եւ Ներոյն զայրացեալ ի վերայ արանցն այնոցիկ տայ ի ձեռս Պարթէնոսի եւ Փարոսի, զի տարցեն ի տեղի սպանմանն եւ վաղվաղակի հատցեն զգլուխն Պաւղոսի սրով:</td><td>1. Եւ Ներոյն զայրացեալ ի վերայ արանցն այնոցիկ տայ ի ձեռս Պարթէնոսի եւ Փարոսի, զի տարցեն ի տեղի սպանմանն եւ վաղվաղակի հատցեն զգլուխն Պաւղոսի սրով:</td><td>1. Եւ մինչդեռ նոքա զայս խաւսէին, առաքեաց Ներոյն զՊարթենիոս եւ զՓերէս՝ տեսանել թէ գլխատեա՞լ իցէ Պաւղոս:</td></tr>
<tr><td>2. Եւ մինչդեռ տանէին արքն զՊաւղոս ի տեղի սպանման խաւսէր վասն փրկութեան նոցա եւ հաւատոցն որ ի Քրիստոս եւ հանդերձեալ դատաստանի եւ յարութեան մեռելոց:</td><td></td><td>2. Եւ իբրեւ եկին, գտին զնա կենդանի: Եւ Պաւղոսի կոչեցեալ զնոսա առ ինքն ասէ. « Հաւատացէ՛ք ի կենդանին Աստուած, որ եւ զիս եւ զհաւատացեալս իւր յարուցանէ ի մեռելոց »:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Եւ նոքա ասեն. « Այժմ հրաման կայսեր կատարեսցի եւ յորժամ յարուցեալ երեւեսցիս որպէս ասացերն, յայնժամ հաւատասցուք յԱստուածն քո »:</td><td></td><td>Եւ նոքա ասեն. « Երթամք այժմ առ Ներոն: Եւ յորժամ մեռանիցիս դու եւ յարիցես, յայնժամ հաւատասցուք յաստուածն քո »:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Իսկ Ղոնկոս եւ Կեստոս աղաչէին զՊաւղոս վասն փրկութեան իւրեանց: Ասէ ցնոսա. « Ընդ արշալուշն առաւաւտուն, եկեալ ձեր ի գերեզման իմ՝ տեսանիցէք արս երկուս որ յաղաւթս կան՝ Ղուկաս եւ Տիտոս. նոքա լուսաւորեսցեն զձեզ »:</td><td></td><td>Եւ Ղունկոս եւ Կէստէս աղաչեցին զնա վասն փրկութեան իւրեանց: Ասաց Պաւղոս. « Ընդ աշալուսն եկեալ ձեր վաղվաղակի ի գերեզման իմ՝ գտանիցէք արս երկուս որ յաղաւթս կայցեն, Տիտոս եւ Ղուկաս. նոքա տացեն ձեզ զկնիքն Տեառն »:
Եւ կացեալ Պաւղոս յառաջոյ անտի յարեւելս կոյս՝ յաղաւթս եկաց յերկար, եւ կատարեալ զաղաւթսն եւ խաւսեալ եբրայեցերէն ընդ հարսն՝ ձգեալ զպարանոցն եւ այլ ոչ եւս խաւսեցեալ:</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>(APeP[2] 80a-c ; Č‘[3] 24, 9-25)
3. (a) Եւ մինչդեռ տանէին զՊաւղոս
զգլխատել հեռագոյն ի քաղաքէն,</td><td>(APeP 80a-c ; Č‘ 24, 9-25)
3. (a) Եւ մինչդեռ տանէին զ<Պ>աւղոս
ի գլխատել՝ հեռագոյն ի քաղաքէն</td></tr>
</table>

[1] F = Yerevan, Matenadaran, arm 993 (a. 1456); Pb = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arm 110 (a. 1194); Pc = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arm 118 (a. 1307); U = Yerevan, Matenadaran, arm 994 (a. 1409).

[2] *APeP* = *Acta Petri et Pauli* (BHG[3] 1490-1491, CANT 193): M. Bonnet & R.A. Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha,* vol. 1, Leipzig 1891 (Darmstadt 1959).

[3] Č‘ = K‘. Č‘rak‘ean, *Ankanon girk‘ aṙak‘elakank‘*, Venice 1904.

Fig. 3.3.4.1 Calzolari, forthcoming.

This is the principle we adopted in our edition of the Armenian text of the *Acta Pauli* (Calzolari, forthcoming in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*, Calzolari 2004) for the final section of the *Martyrdom of Paul*, which is known in multiple families of manuscripts in different, interpolated forms (Calzolari 2007). In particular, the *codex optimus* of the text—Yerevan, Matenadaran, 993—contains several interpolations from the final section of the Armenian translation of the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, a work which became more popular than the *Acts of Paul* since the third century, after the introduction of a common celebration of the two apostles in the liturgy, in the western and in the eastern Churches. The manuscript Matenadaran 993 is an interesting witness of the influence of this liturgical evolution on the

transmission of the text. Some other interpolations or rewritings are contained in two other manuscripts (Paris, BnF, Arménien 110 and Yerevan, Matenadaran, 994). A synoptic presentation makes it possible to clearly show the differences between the three rewritten forms.

The case of the *Martyrdom of Paul* is easy to treat; more difficult is the case of the *Martyrdom of Philip* (new critical edition in progress by Emilio Bonfiglio) or the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which were transmitted in several recensions and in a great number of manuscripts. A century later, in order to solve such editorial issues, are we better equipped than the scholars who lived between the end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century? As a general remark, we can stress that, of course, the philological criticism has its history now in Armenian studies also, especially in the field of Patristic literature, and we can learn from the experience of these modern editions. In addition, concerning the particular case of fluid transmission and multiple texts, we should pay more attention to the possibilities offered by computer tools, which with their memory and resources might be more capable of reproducing the variability of apocryphal works. Employing simultaneous screens, exploiting zoom effects, immediate approaches, moves in the text(s), as well as consulting data belonging to different groups in a collective action by means of windows, all this would be another way to visualize the different textual forms of a given text. All these actions are able to show the dynamic nature of a continuously evolving process of writing (Calzolari 2014a).

References

Barthes 1984; Calzolari 2004, 2007, 2011, 2013, 2014a, forthcoming; Cerquiglini 1989; Compagnon 1998, 2000; Čʿrakʿean 1904; Dorfmann – Lazarev 2010; Foucault 1994; Junod 1992; Leloir 1986–1992; Outtier 2010; Tayecʿi 1898; Terian 2008; Vetter 1906; Yovsepʿeancʿ 1896.

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3.5. The Zoroastrian long liturgy. The transmission of the *Avesta* (AC)

The problems involved in the edition of Avestan texts have been discussed recently by West (2008), Hintze (2012b), and Cantera (2012b). The present case study concentrates upon the edition of the so-called 'long liturgy' (for an overview of the Avestan tradition see General introduction § 3.3).

The Zoroastrian 'long liturgy' in reverence of the god Ahura Mazdā has been celebrated in the form in which it appears in the manuscripts (or in a similar form) since Achaemenid times (*c*.550–330 BCE) and continues to be celebrated today among the Parsis, the Zoroastrians in India. Throughout the centuries this liturgy has been one of the most characteristic features of the Zoroastrian community.

The liturgy of the ceremony in question was composed at different stages in eastern Iran, before the Achaemenid times. The liturgy was exported to western Iran, the centre of the Achaemenid power, probably during the Achaemenid reign. The version of the liturgy that appears in the manuscripts represents the western Iranian transmission, where Avestan, the language in which the recitative was composed, was not the performers' native language. Centuries of transmission in western Iran, preceding the beginning of the written transmission, have obviously left some traces in the linguistic form of the recitative.

There are different variants of the ceremony. The most basic one is the daily ceremony, known as the *Yasna*. For more solemn celebrations, an extended form (the *Yašt ī Vispered*) is used, which includes some additional ritual actions and texts as well as variants of some parts of the *Yasna* ceremony. The *Yasna* is the basis for a series of liturgies ('intercalation ceremonies'), in which other texts are intercalated between the central texts (the *Gāthās* and the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*). The central texts are composed in Old Avestan, an older layer of the Avestan language.

The Great Avesta, the hyparchetypes and the Ritual Avesta

In Sassanian times there were two different collections of Avestan texts: (1) the *Great Avesta*, a scholastic collection of all known Avestan texts at Achaemenid times and (2) a series of recitatives of some rituals still celebrated in the Avestan language. This distinction has only recently been given serious consideration (Kellens 1998). However, it has enormous consequences for the editorial practice of the Avestan texts, and especially for the edition of the long liturgy. Another important distinction to draw is that between manuscripts produced for liturgical and for exegetical purposes (see also General introduction § 3.3).

The editorial practice of the Avestan textual heritage has always assumed that there was continuity between a Sassanian 'archetype' written down at the time of the invention of the Avestan script (see General introduction § 3.3) and the extant manuscripts. The obvious discrepancies between the contents of the assumed archetype of the *Great Avesta* and the texts contained in the manuscripts have been explained recurring to the hypothesis of a series of shorter hyparchetypes, to be dated around the tenth century, which were regarded as being nothing but fragments saved from the *Great Avesta*. Karl Hoffmann believed that he had provided a decisive philological argument for the hypothesis of the hyparchetypes (Hoffmann 1969). In *Yasna* 12.3, the manuscripts of the different classes show variant readings that allow us to reconstruct a common reading *ziiåiienīm* for all of them. This, however, is likely to be a corruption of *ziienīm*: an early scribe mistakenly wrote *ziiå*, noticed his error, marked *iiå* with deletion dots and continued writing the rest of the word (*iienīm*). Later copyists failed to note the deletion dots and hence wrote *ziiåiienīm*. Since this corrupted form appears in the *Yasna* manuscripts as well as in the other witnesses of the long liturgy, and in liturgical as well as in exegetical manuscripts, this seems to imply that all manuscripts of the long liturgy (of every type and origin) go back to a single hyparchetype. Similar arguments were brought forward by Humbach (1973) for the collection of short liturgies as well as for the *Vidēvdād*, a collection of prescriptions for keeping the demons away. Thus the linearity of the transmission seemed to be granted.

The first direct consequence this view of the transmission has for the editorial praxis is the preference for the exegetical manuscripts above the liturgical ones. Since the descriptions of the *Great Avesta* in the Pahlavi literature are based upon the Pahlavi translation, it has been assumed that the codices of the *Great Avesta* contained the Avestan text along with its Pahlavi translation. Accordingly, the exegetical manuscripts were considered to go back more or less directly to the Sassanian archetype, and were taken to be the source of the liturgical manuscripts. The liturgical usage of these texts was believed to have been secondary, and accordingly, the liturgical manuscripts were deemed secondary as well. Therefore, the editions were based mainly upon the exegetical manuscripts.

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The liturgical manuscripts attest to different variants of the long liturgy, compiled for different purposes and dates. Actually, only the daily ceremony is included in complete form in the exegetical manuscripts. Other variants of the long liturgy that exist include only the sections that do not appear in the daily ceremony and therefore needed a translation. Thus, the exegetical manuscripts of the solemn ceremony (*Visperad*) include only a selection of fragments of the complete liturgy, which do not form a coherent text. Nevertheless, our editions of this ceremony are based on the exegetical manuscripts, and therefore contain just the fragments included in them, without indication that they are fragments disseminated in different sections of the ceremony. By consequence, some modern translations render these fragments as if they together formed a coherent text, and not as different alternatives or extensions of some sections of the *Yasna*.

A further consequence of the dependence of the available editions from the Pahlavi manuscripts is that the ritual instructions have been discarded in the editions. The liturgical manuscripts include—together with the recitative in Avestan language—ritual instructions in Pahlavi, Persian, or Gujarati which are essential for understanding the course of the liturgy. Cf. figs. 3.3.5.1–2 which contrast a section of the beginning of the long liturgy as it appears in Karl Geldner's 1885–1896 edition and in an edition based upon the liturgical manuscripts.

A new edition of the long liturgy must therefore be based primarily upon the liturgical manuscripts. It must reproduce the ritual variety, including the different variants pertaining to different types of ceremonies, different days and celebrations, and indicate the different options for the mobile sections that alternated in every performance (Cantera 2010). Accordingly, numerous sections of the text must be represented in several variants. Each variant must have a special numeration and be edited in such a way that the correspondence with the sections in other variants of the liturgy is recognizable. I have published on-line provisional versions of each variant of the liturgy (<http://ada.usal.es/pages/completeceremonies>) and created a synoptic table of the correspondences (<http://ada.usal.es/pages/table>). Former editions (as well as the recent revised editions of Geldner's text) provide only the standard version of the daily ceremony without any other variant, mainly due to their dependence on the exegetical manuscripts that include only the standard daily ceremony.

The ritual character of the manuscripts challenges their supposed dependence on a single archetype as well. For centuries, these ceremonies had been orally performed and transmitted. The priests knew them by heart, since the use of manuscripts was not allowed during the performance. The invention of the Avestan script provided a new, complementary tool for learning the recitatives and ritual instructions. Our manuscripts are thus guides for learning the right performance of the liturgy. Based on their own liturgical knowledge, many priests created new manuscripts at different historical stages. In fact, as late as the sixteenth century, new manuscripts were copied not only from older written sources, but as well directly from the ritual practice and knowledge of the scribe. For instance, the non-dated manuscript 231 (Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Bh5) shows clear traces of having been recorded directly from the actual recitation, as we can see from the differences that exist in an Iranian manuscript originating from a written source (Y1.3):

100 (Library of the Bombay University, Geldner's B3)

asnaiie.biiō. aš́hi. rataobaiiō. hāuuane. aṣ̌aone. ašahe. raθaβi. niuuae: šāuuṇŋhē.

vīšiiāica. aṣ̌aonae. aš́he. raθaβe. nauue: maiθarahe. vōuro.gōiiaōitōiš. hazṇŋ́hari.ɣoš́he.

bēuuaracašmanō. aoxtō.nāmanō. yazatahe. rāmanō. x́āštarae.

Many features of manuscript 231 reveal a clear influence of the recitation such as for example the use of *ē̆* for *aē* (*nauue*^{a} for *niuuaēδaiiemi*; *bēuuaracašmanō* for *baēuuarə.casmanō*); of *ō̆* for *ao* (*vōuro.gōiiaōitōiš* for *vōuru.gaōiiaōtōiš*, *hazṇŋ́hari.ɣoš́he* for *hazaŋra.gaōšahe*), of *-ae* for *-ahe* (*x́āštarae* for *xvāstrahe*) and the total confusión between *s*, *š* and *ṣ̌* (*šāuuṇŋhē* for *sāuuaŋhəe*, *vīšiiāica* for *vīsiiāica*, *x́āštarae* for *xvāstrahe*), etc.

It is the ritual uniformity—and not a continuous process of more or less careful copying from one single original—that is responsible for the homogeneity of the manuscripts, as well as for some mistakes common to all of them. Efforts have been made indeed at different times and with different methods to keep the celebration of the long liturgy homogeneous throughout a vast territory (at least in Iran and Gujarat). Manuscripts were one tool for this; others include a carefully maintained oral tradition, travelling priests, and frequent contacts and consultations between the two communities (especially from the Indian Parsi community to their Iranian co-religionists). We have been able to determine how in modern times

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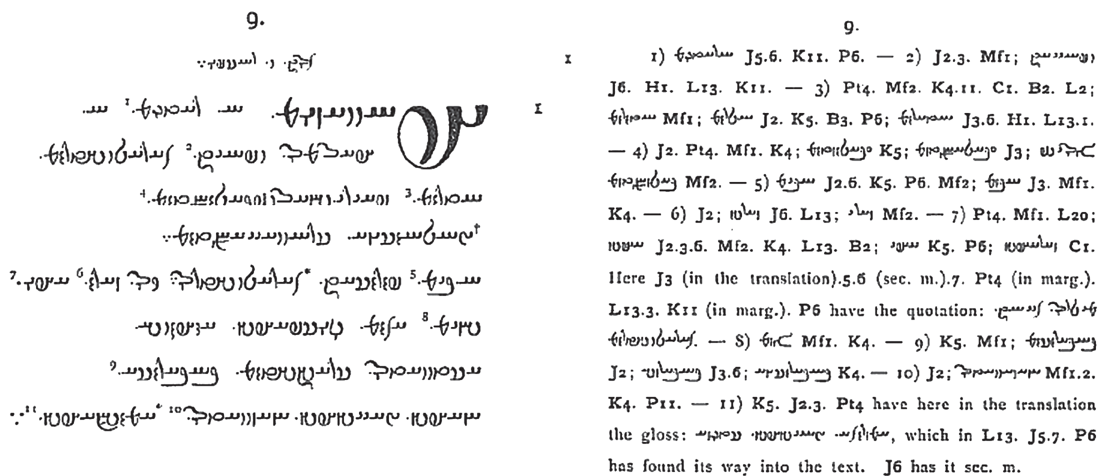

Fig. 3.3.5.1 Geldner's 1885–1896 edition of Y. 9.1 (details of pp. 38 and 39 combined).

certain readings became fashionable and spread from manuscripts of different types to other types over thousands of kilometres (Cantera 2012a, 304 and following). Similar processes can be assumed for older times and could be responsible for wrong readings shared by all manuscripts, like *ziiåiienīm* in *Yasna* 12.3, an error that was first produced in the written transmission, then entered the ritual practice and is indeed the form recited today (for another obvious example cf. Cantera 2012a).

There was thus a reciprocal influence between the written transmission and the ritual practice. Since the text copied from a manuscript (often drawn up in its turn by the scribe's own quill) had previously been acquired and learnt by heart, either completely or at least partially, and recited daily over years by the scribes, unconscious influences were unavoidable. Furthermore, the aim, when copying a manuscript, was not to produce a faithful copy of a given original, but a trustworthy guide to the performance of the ritual. In this way, manuscripts were consciously adapted to the current liturgical practice. This adaptation concerns small changes in the recitative and in the ritual, as well as in the phonetics of the recitation.

The infinite variant readings

The direct influence of the ritual performance on the manuscripts is at the root of the most noteworthy particularity of the Avestan transmission: it does show a great homogeneity regarding the wording (the text of each variant of the liturgy is almost identical in all manuscripts, with only minor differences between the Indian and the Iranian manuscripts), but every single word of the text appears in an almost infinite number of variant readings. Even within the same manuscript, every word will very often be spelt differently in different attestations (see fig. 3.3.5.3).

The choice of the right variant and, generally, the handling of this huge amount of readings of every single word is one of the main difficulties awaiting any editor of an Avestan text. Traditionally, editors have been very selective about the number of readings to quote. The undisputed superiority of Geldner's edition is hence to be attributed to the fact that his apparatus is much more complete than the one provided by former editors such as Niels Ludvig Westergaard. Nevertheless, Geldner's apparatus is chaotic, far from being exhaustive, and it does not enable readers to know the exact form they will find in the quoted manuscripts (since he unifies the variants in groups of manuscripts containing similar but not necessarily identical readings).

Most of these variants are minimal and do not change the understanding of the text. Nevertheless, they are important for a linguistic analysis. Therefore, simply to dispense with quoting all these minor variants cannot be the right solution. The most convenient method seems to be setting up a typological classification of the variants that allows us to accumulate them in different apparatuses. There are indeed some types of variants that can be put together in apparatuses to be printed separately (at the end of the edition or in a separate volume), namely palaeographic, orthographic, and phonetic variant readings.

Indian and Iranian manuscripts do exhibit both palaeographic (for example, the use of a different letter for *ą* or for initial *y*, etc.) and orthographic divergences (such as the different spelling of the diphthongs *ao*, *ae*, etc.). These kinds of variants should be included in the apparatus, since the distribution is not constant in all the manuscripts. The majority of readings are phonetic variations. Apart from a certain

hwmst’ bwn
Y9.1
hāuuanīm. ā. ratūm. ā.
haōmō. upāit̰. zaraϑuštrəm.
ātrəm. pairi.yaōždaϑəṇtəm.
gāϑåsca. srāuuaiiaṇtəm.
ādim. pərəsat̰. zaraϑuštrō.
kō. narə. ahi. yim. azəm.
vīspahe. aŋhəuš. astuuatō.
sraēštəm. dādarəsa.

Y9.1,7 kō…10 aməṣ̌ahe] cf. H2.10 **8 vīspahe…astuuatō**] cf. Yt1.2. 1.4. Yt8.54. Yt13.152. Yt19.79. V18.30. 31. P27 (28). Vyt36

1 hwmst bwn] 20. 2010. 2030. 2102. 2104. 2106. 4000. 4010. 4025. 4040. 4050. 4055. 4060. 4140 **Y9.1,2** 20. 40. 60. 83. 100. 110. 120. 230. 234. 235. 400. 409. 410. 415. 420. 450. 500. 510. 530. 613. 677. 682. 2010. 2040. 2101. 2200. 4000. 4010. 4020. 4025. 4031. 4040. 4045. 4050. 4055. 4060. 4100. 4140. 4200. 4210. 4220. 4230. 4240. 4250. 4400. 4410. 4420. 4510. 4515. 5020. 231. 681. 15. 82. 84. 408. 602. 605. 683. 2030. 2104. 2106. 2230. 4065. 4070. 4080. 4320. 4340. 4360. 4440. 4450. 4500. 4503. 4504. 4506. 4507. 5102. 418 | ā[1]] 2200. 4230. 2230] **3** zaraϑuštrəm] 40. 2200. 4230. 2230] **5** gāϑåsca] 4050]

1 hwmst] 2010. 2030. hwmstwn 20. hwm’st’ 2104. 4010. 4025. 4040. 4050. 4055. 4060. hwm yšt 2106. | **hwmst bwn**] *hwmst bn krdn* 2102. *hwmst bn fh yzd’n k’m b’d* 4140 **Y9.1,2 ratūm**] ərətīm: 4065 | **ā[2]**] hā: 2040. 2104. om. 4360. 4500. 4506 **3 upāit̰**] upāiiat̰ 110. 120. 234. 235. 409. 415. 4200. 4210. 4220. 4240. 4400. 4410. 4420. 4510. 4515. 231. 681. 408. 418. 602. 683. 4440. 4450. 4500. 4503. 4507. upāiit̰ 4250. pāiiat̰: 420. upāat̰: 15 | **zaraϑuštrəm**] zltwhštym: 681 **4 ātrəm**] om. 4050 (ātrəm s.l.) **6 ādim**] 110. 120. 234. 400. 409. 410. 420. 450. 500. 510. 530. 613. 4000. 4020. 4515. 605. 4450. 4504. ā.dəm: 83. 2010. 4055. 4060. 4200. 4420. 4065. 4320. 4500. ā.dim: 2030. ā.dəm: 83. 2010. 4055. 4060. 4200. 4420. 4065. 4320. 4500. āat̰: 4400. **7 narə**] nara: 409. 4031. 231. 4340. 4504 | **ahi**] om. 110. 235. 231. add. miθrō.ziiāt̰ zaraθuštrəm 110 (vl. miθrō.ziiat̰ zaraθuštrəm ahe). 235 (vl. məθrō.°. zaraθuštarəm). 409 (vl. zaiiat̰). 415. 420 (vl. zaiiat̰). 677. 682. 4400 (vl. zaraθuštarəm). 4410 (vl. zaraθuštarəm). 4420. 4510 (vl. məθrō.). 4515. 231 (vl. maiθarō. zīāt̰:). 681 (vl. zaiiat̰). 408 (vl. zaiiat̰). 418. 602 (v.l. zaraθustrəm). 683 (vl. ciiāē). 4320. 4340 (vl. zaraθuštarəm). 4360 (vl. zarθuštrəm). 4440. 4450. 4503 (vl. jaiiāt̰). 4504 (zarθuštarəm). 4506. 4507 **8 vīspahe**] vīspe: 409. 420. 682. 4210. 4220. 4240. 4250. 4410. 4420. 4510. 408. 4340. vīspō: 4515. 4360. 4504. vīspa: 415. 418. 602. vīšpə: 231. vīspi: 4440 **9 dādarəsa**] dādarəš: 110. 234. 682. 681. 418. 683. 2106. 4500. dāδarəš: 120. 235. 415. 4220. 4400. 4515. 602. dādarəsca: 2010. 2040. 4055. 5020. dāδarəsca: 4240. 2104. dadərasca: 82. dādirašca: 230. dāt̰t̰urašca: 100. dādarəsəm: 500. dādarəse: 420

Fig. 3.3.5.2 Cantera’s provisional edition of Y. 9.1.

Y9.1,2 hāuuanīm] hāuuanūm 60. 4010. 4025. 4055. hāuuanəm 4210. 4510. 231. 418 | **ā ratūm**] āratūm 120. 235. 4200. 4240 | **ratūm**] . ratūm *20, 60, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 4000, 4031, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4060, 4100, 4140, 5020, 15, 82, 84, 2030, 2104, 2106, 4070, 4080, 5102*. ratī: 4020. **ā haōmō**] āhaomō 100. 120. āhaōmō 4240 **3 haōmō**] 15. 60.82.83.84.100.234.2010.2030.2040.2101.2102.2104.2106.4000.4010.4020.4025.4040.4050.4055.4060.4065.4070.4080.4090.4100.4140.4150.4160.4210.4220.4240.4260.4280.4491.5020.5102. haomō: 110. 120. 230. 235. 400. 409. 410. 415. 420. 450. 500. 510. 530. 613. 677. 682. 4200. 4250. 4410. 4420. 4510. 4515. 681. 408. 418. 602. 605. 683. 4320. 4340. 4360. 4440. 4450. 4503. 4504. 4506. 4507. humō: 4400. 4370. 231. hāomō: 4500. hōmō: 20 | **upāit̰**] upāīt̰ 83. 100. upait̰: 2104 | **zaraϑuštrəm**] zarϑuštrəm 120. zaraθuštarəm: 235. 420. 4400. 4410. 418. 4340. 4507. zltwhštym: 681 **4 ātrəm**] ātarəm: 120. 235. 409. 415. 420. 450. 677. 682. 4200. 4240. 4250. 4400. 4410. 4510. 4515. 231. 408. 418. 602. 683. 4340. 4360. 4440. 4450. 4504. 4507. āθrəm: 100. 230. 500. 510. 530. 2040. 4100. 4140. 15. 82. 2104. ātərəm: 20. 83. 2010. 2101. 84. 2106. 4080. 5102 | **pairiyaōždaϑəṇtəm**] pairi.ẏaoždaθəṇtəm: 400. 410. 415. 500. 613. 4400. 4510. 4515. 408. 602. 605. 4340. 4450. 4503. 4504. 4506. pairi.yaōždaθəṇtəm: 60. 2010. 2040. 2101. 4010. 4025. 4040. 4050. 4060. 4140. 84. 2030. 2106. 4065. 4080. 5102. pairi.yōždaθəṇtəm: 20. 4000. 5020. 4070. pairi.ẏaoždaθəmtəm: 4200. 4250. 4420. pairi.yaōždaθəṇtəm: 15. 82. pairi.ẏaoždaθəntəm: 510. 530. pairi.yaoždaθəm.təm: 4220. 4240. pairi.ẏaoždaθəm.təm: 4440. 4507. pairi.ẏaoždaθən.təm: 100. 230. pairi.ẏaoždaθaimtəm: 4500. pairi.yōiždaθəṇtəm: 4020. pairi.yaōdaθəṇtəm: 4055. pairi.yaōždətəṇtəm: 4100. pairi.ẏoždaθəntəm: 4320. pairi.yaōžδaθəṇtəm: 2104. pairi.ẏaoždaiθaṇtəm: 4410. pairi.yaōždaθəm.təm: 4210. pərə.ẏoždaθəṇtəm: 4360. pairi.ẏaoždaθaṇtəm: 677. pərə.yōžavaθinatəm: 231. pairi.ẏaōždaθəm.təm: 234. pairiiyždaθəm.təm: 120. pairiiẏō.žda.θəm.təm: 110. pairi.yaōždaθəntəm: 83. pairi.ẏaozdaθəm.təm: 235. parai.ẏaoždaθəṇtəm: 409. pairi.ẏaoždaθantəm: 681. pairi.ẏaoždaθəṇtīm: 682. pairi.ẏaoždaθə̄ṇtəm: 450. pairi.ẏaoždaṇtəm: 420. pərəi.ẏaoždaθətəm: 418. pairi.ẏuaoždaθantəm: 683 **5 gāϑåsca**] gāϑāsca: 20. 4020. 4100. 4070. gāθâ.sca: 4210. 4240. gāϑâ-šca: 100. 230. gāθāscā: 4140. γāθâsca: 231. gāθâṇsca: 4065 | **srāuuaiiaṇtəm**] srāuuiiaṇtəm: 20. 4515. 4507. sarāuuaiiaṇtəm: 4410. 4420. srāuuaṇtəm: 100. 230. srāuuaiiṇtəm: 420. 231. srå.iiṇtəm: 4400. srå.iiṇtəm: 4400. srāuuiianṇtəm: 4360. sråuuaiiaṇtəm: 4500. asarāuuaiiṇtəm: 4440. srāuuaiiaṇəm: 4055. srāuuantəm: 683. θrāuuiiṇtəm: 4000. srauuaiiaṇtəm: 4070. srāuaiiaṇtəm: 4320 **6 ādim**] ādəm: 20. 60. 235. 415. 677. 2040. 2101. 4010. 4025. 4031. 4040. 4045. 4100. 4140. 4210. 4220. 4240. 4250. 4510. 5020. 681. 15. 82. 84. 408. 418. 602. 683. 2106. 4080. 4360. 4503. 4506. 5102. āδəm:

A (-60) α (-110. 234) a Δ (-4030. 4041. 4051. 4110) δ (-4201. 4220. 4260) 231 400 415 420 500 530 613 681 2010 2040 2101 2200. 4065. 4015. 5300. 570

Fig. 3.3.5.3 *Phonetica et orthographica* of the first verses of Y. 9.1.

instability or insecurity concerning the pronunciation of complex consonant clusters, it is obvious that the language spoken by the performers of the liturgy influenced the recitation and, consequently, also its representation in the manuscripts. Thus manuscripts from Yazd and Kermān typically show a confusion of *ī* and *ū* from the middle of the seventeenth century on—a dialectal feature of the Yazdī dialect. It is important to observe that manuscripts whose colophons declare them to be copies from other ones which distinguish the sounds still perfectly may show just this confusion (such as manuscript 4050 = Tehran, Ketābẖāne-ye Mağles, 16626, which is declared to be a copy from manuscript 4010 = Yazd, private collection of Vahid Zolfeghari, or another manuscript of the same scribe). Another confusion which can be similarly explained is the occasional use of *u* for *ā* in the Iranian manuscripts (*Yasna* 9.8 *dahukəm* instead of *dahākəm*: manuscripts 20 = Tehran, Ketābẖāne-ye Mağles, 15284; 4000a = Tehran University, no shelfmark; 4100 = Tehran, Ketābẖāne-ye Mağles, 15283; 4090 = Tehran, Yegānegi Library, no shelfmark). These variant readings provide lots of information about the evolution of the recitation of the liturgy in different areas during the last five hundred years. Nevertheless, if we confine *phonetica et orthographica* to separate apparatuses, the edition will be more convenient. Compare figs. 3.3.5.1–3 showing *Yasna* 9.1 in the edition of Geldner and in a provisional edition with separate apparatuses.

The choice between readings and the geographical and chronological scope of the edition

All editors have noticed that the text of the recitatives was influenced by the ritual performance (known as Vulgata recitation), but these influences were considered to be occasional and never systematic. Nevertheless, the ubiquitous confusion of *ī/ū* in Iranian manuscripts proves that such influences can be systematic indeed. I have recently revealed other instances of an independent, regular phonetic evolution in Indian and Iranian manuscripts (Cantera forthcoming). This concerns disyllabic words ending in *°oiium*, which always appears as *°ōīm* (*ōīm* acc.sg. of *aēuua-* ‘one’, *hōīm* acc.sg. of *haoiia-* ‘left’, but *vīdōiiūm, harōiiūm*, etc.) in India, whereas in Iran they appear as *ōiium, hōiium*.

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Although the invention of the Avestan script has slowed down the phonetic evolution of the Avestan recitative of the long liturgy, it has never completely stopped it, and the changes that continued to take place are reflected in the manuscripts, especially in the liturgical but also (although to a minor degree) in the exegetical ones. Thus the Iranian manuscripts show a different text from the Indian ones. Geldner's edition was based mainly on the Indian manuscripts, but he often used readings from Iranian manuscripts as well. The texts of the old editions and those of the modern ones are frequently a *totum revolutum* of Iranian and Indian readings.

The Iranian manuscripts usually prove to be more conservative. For instance, the distribution between *ṣ̌* and *š* (but not *ś̌*) is still maintained in the Iranian manuscripts of the seventeenth century but already lost in Mihrābān's manuscripts from the fourteenth century (500 (J2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Zend d.2), 510 (K5 = Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Iran. 5), 4600 (L4 = London, British Library, Avesta 4), 4610 (K1 = Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Iran. 1)). But their text can by no means taken to be identical with the recitation in Sassanian times. There is no doubt that phonetic, textual, and ritual changes modified the liturgies from Sassanian times to the date of the first Iranian manuscripts (end of the sixteenth century). The differences are not enormous, but undeniable.

Consequently, any editor must determine the geographical and chronological scope of his edition. The editors of the nineteenth century took a different stance on this question, albeit only theoretically: Westergaard wanted to edit the Sassanian *Avesta*; Geldner, the hyparchetypes of our manuscripts produced some centuries after the end of the Sassanian empire. In fact, both editors assembled almost the same text, mainly based upon the readings of Mihrābān's manuscripts, but interspersed with readings of other manuscripts whenever they considered it convenient for philological or linguistic reasons. The number of inconsistencies thus achieved is enormous. Karl Hoffmann tried to rationalize the choice of readings and to avoid inconsistencies. In his view, after a philological and linguistic analysis the editor has to decide which was the original reading in the Sassanian archetype, and to edit accordingly, independently of the testimony of the manuscripts.

Today, Hoffmann's methodology has been widely accepted because of some obvious advantages. However, it is not without its own difficulties, because the choice of reconstructing a Sassanian archetype free of inconsistencies poses certain problems: (1) the existence of such an archetype is extremely dubious, as was demonstrated above; (2) even if it had existed, it is very unlikely to have been consistent, since it was the result of a long oral tradition (which has survived until modern times); and (3) the exact reconstruction of the Sassanian shape of the Avestan recitation archetype is extremely difficult, if not impossible. We can only trace the history of our manuscripts back to the tenth century. Therefore, the textual-critical analysis cannot provide us with any information about changes that took place between Sassanian times and the tenth century. The dead letters (letters that are still used in the manuscript but not in their original use) are fortunate exceptions that allow us to know some features of older witnesses, but they do not yield the exact shape of the complete recitation. Linguistic analysis can help us only to a limited extent, since we are unable to determine the exact shape of a text at a given time and in a specific place. Therefore, it is more realistic to edit the liturgy as it was celebrated at a time which we can reconstruct through both textual criticism and linguistic analysis. In my opinion, the oldest version of the liturgy we are able to edit is its celebration in Iran between the tenth and the sixteenth century. The data of the apparatuses will then allow us to follow up the ceremony's history in India and Iran until the nineteenth century.

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3.6. Greek literary papyri (LCa)

Literary papyri present many aspects that are not usually found in other kinds of manuscripts. First of all, a papyrus is a peculiar witness to a text: it is sometimes even the only one, or in most cases, one of the oldest. The text contained in a papyrus is therefore edited on its own, even if the edition may requires the help of one or several other witnesses (if they exist and are known). Physical data about the papyrus must be studied with special attention: a papyrus is usually a fragment, or a group of fragments, which conveys an incomplete text; the reconstruction of the original layout, as well as palaeographical peculiarities, can provide information on the context of writing and can help to determine the size of possible lacunae.

Description of the papyrus

It is recommended to start the edition with a precise description of the papyrus or of the fragments. Such a description will include: the number of fragments and their size; the orientation of fibres and whether or not the papyrus is written on both sides, on recto and/or verso (recto is the inside of the roll, verso the outside—NB: the recto is normally written first; if a text is written on the verso, it normally indicates a secondary use of the papyrus, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the text on the recto); the presence of margins and intercolumns, as well as their sizes, the presence of *kollēseis*, and, if several are visible, the distance between them.

After the physical description, the codicological part will follow. This will include: the number of lines of the column, or of the page; the approximate number of letters per line, if this is possible to determine; the size of a line (height of the letters and of the spacing, and length of the line); in the case of a page, the size of the written surface.

For the typology of ancient books, one can refer to Turner, who proposes a classification of codices according to their layout specificities (Turner 1977); otherwise, Johnson proposes a close analysis of formal and conventional features for over four hundred bookrolls from Oxyrhynchus (Johnson 2004).

Lastly, a palaeographical description is provided. This will include: the form and possibly *ductus* (in the sense of *tratteggio*, cf. Ch. 2 § 1.2–1.3) of the letters; identification of the scribe (see for example Johnson 2004, 17–32, for the scribes in Oxyrhynchus; Cavallo 1983, 28–46, for the scribes in Herculaneum); marginal annotations (*paragraphos*, *korōnis*, stichometric annotations, etc.) and *vacat*s in the text; punctuation and accentuation; presence of a second hand, of corrections, etc.

Other elements are useful to determine the structure of the text. For example, in the case of a theatre piece, the change of character can be noted with a *paragraphos* under the first letter of the line. In Herculaneum papyri, the end of a sentence is normally indicated by a one-letter-size *vacat* and a *paragraphos* under the first letter of the line; the presence of a *korōnis* indicates the beginning of a new chapter.

The letters can be compared with other published papyri in order to establish the date of the fragment. Nowadays, many editions offer excellent plates of papyri, and more than 2,800 photographs of Greek literary papyri are accessible on the Internet (their URL can be found via the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>). One can first refer to the palaeographical studies in Turner 1971, in Cavallo – Maehler 1987 and Cavallo – Maehler 2008. The *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* provides a research field for the script type: even though this field is not systematically filled, and the terminology employed is not clearly indicated, it can be used as a tool to find photographs of similar scripts. If the script is easy to define (for example biblical majuscule, Alexandrian majuscule, uncial, etc.), one can easily consult specialized books about this script.

Edition of the text

In most cases, the papyrus is partly or severely broken, and fragmentary. It is thus necessary to indicate clearly what remains. Papyrologists commonly use a set of diacritical signs as editorial convention (this list can be found in Schubert 2009, 203). It is important to follow these conventions as they warn the reader about the real state of preservation of the papyrus, and the level of certainty of the reading.

Regarding well-known texts, a diplomatic edition can be sufficient; but in many other cases, it is preferable to present both a diplomatic transcript of the papyrus and a normalized edition, one facing the other. The transcript should respect the exact presentation of the papyrus, including *vacat*s, abbreviations, *nomina sacra*, corrections, accentuation, annotations, punctuation, iotacisms, and scribal errors. Since there are many uncertain readings, corrections, abbreviations, and unusual forms, it is preferable to use a font and/or software that allows for the easy typing of all required signs (underdotted letters, simple and

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double square brackets, abbreviations, etc.). The edition, on the other hand, will give a normalized text, with a standardized accentuation and punctuation, indicating where the text has been corrected. Where it is possible to complete the missing text, these supplements should appear clearly in the edition, so that it is evident for the reader that the text is supplied by the editor and does not appear in the papyrus. If the restitution of the text is uncertain, however, it is preferable to give hypotheses in a commentary rather than in the text itself.

Apparatus and commentary

An apparatus will depend on the state of the papyrus: it may be necessary to give a palaeographical apparatus when readings are really difficult and doubtful. If the text is already known, the palaeographical details may be better studied in the commentary, and the apparatus used for comparison with the mediaeval and papyrological tradition.

The commentary is the freest part of the edition: it can contain proposals for supplements, explanation of interesting passages, comparison with other known texts that can help to understand the content of the papyrus. However, it should always be as brief as possible so that the edition remains a valuable resource for a long time, whereas the commentary can always be improved via further analyses. In an unidentified text, it is quite useless to give all the parallels of a given word, or to provide all the words fitting with the remaining letters of a broken word. The *P.Oxy* series provides a good overview of the diversity of texts found on papyri and, as a result, of the possibilities of apparatus accompanied by a commentary, and of what is expected from a papyrological edition. Nevertheless, other corpora of literary papyri (for example Porter – Porter 2008, containing only New Testament Greek papyri; *P.Gen*., containing a variety of literary texts; etc.), or isolated editions may be a precious help, depending on the kind of papyrus one has to edit.

Photographs

Last, but not least, no edition is complete without access to good quality photographs of the papyrus. It is necessary for readers to be able to check the readings of the editor and, eventually, to improve them. Further, reproductions provide an image of the papyrus, which itself can always get damaged or lost. It also contributes to the greater knowledge of literary palaeography, and offers the possibility of discovering connexions between fragments dispersed in different collections. However, in order to be really useful, photographs have to be made in a high resolution (600 dpi is a good standard), and with a focus that gives a good view, not only of the text, but also of the fibres and of the texture of the papyrus. At such a high resolution, it is possible to tell that separate fragments were formerly parts of the same manuscript, while the connexions remain doubtful if the fibres are not precisely visible. Nowadays, more and more institutions propose to make the catalogues of their published papyri available online, which is a great help for scholars. In such cases it is possible simply to share the URL of the photograph.

References

Cavallo – Maehler 1987, 2008; Cavallo 1983; Johnson 2004; *P.Gen*. = Gaffino Moeri 2010 and Schubert 1996; *P.Oxy*. = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1898–2012; Porter – Porter 2008; Schubert 2009; Turner 1971, 1977. Web source: LDAB: *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab>, last access November 2014.

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3.7. A Byzantine recension of Dioscorides. Historical analysis of manuscripts and text editing (MCr)*

The present contribution deals with a special textual form of Dioscorides' pharmacological encyclopaedia known as *De materia medica* ('On medical materials'), written in Greek during the second half of the first century CE. It describes about 800 'simples'—that is, basic products (mostly vegetable, but also animal, mineral, etc.) that one can use for the preparation of medicines. This provides a good example of how scientific or technical texts are often re-elaborated, in order to make them fit for practical uses, and of how palaeography and codicology can be useful for classifying the various witnesses to such texts.

About a third of the Greek witnesses of *De materia medica* (eighteen manuscripts out of more than 60) preserve this treatise in a longer version than what is considered to be its original form (see fig. 3.3.7.1 for a partial stemma of the manuscripts of *De materia medica*). Indeed, although as a whole this version follows the original division of the work (into five books, where chapters are grouped according to their subject: for example, animals, minerals, wines, oils, trees, cereals, vegetables, plants, and so on), it contains some more chapters and, within the authentic chapters, more information (for example, synonyms for names of plants in Greek and other languages). It also often presents variant readings, some of which are not necessarily erroneous. The last editor of Dioscorides, Max Wellmann, called this longer recension *Di*, for *Dioscorides interpolatus* (Wellmann 1906–1914, II, xii–xiii): he demonstrated that almost all the additions it contains are not authentic, but he could not determine the time when this reworking happened, nor its precise place. Consequently, he gave it a considerable importance in his *apparatus criticus* although he generally does not choose *Di*'s variant if it is not supported by any other witness.

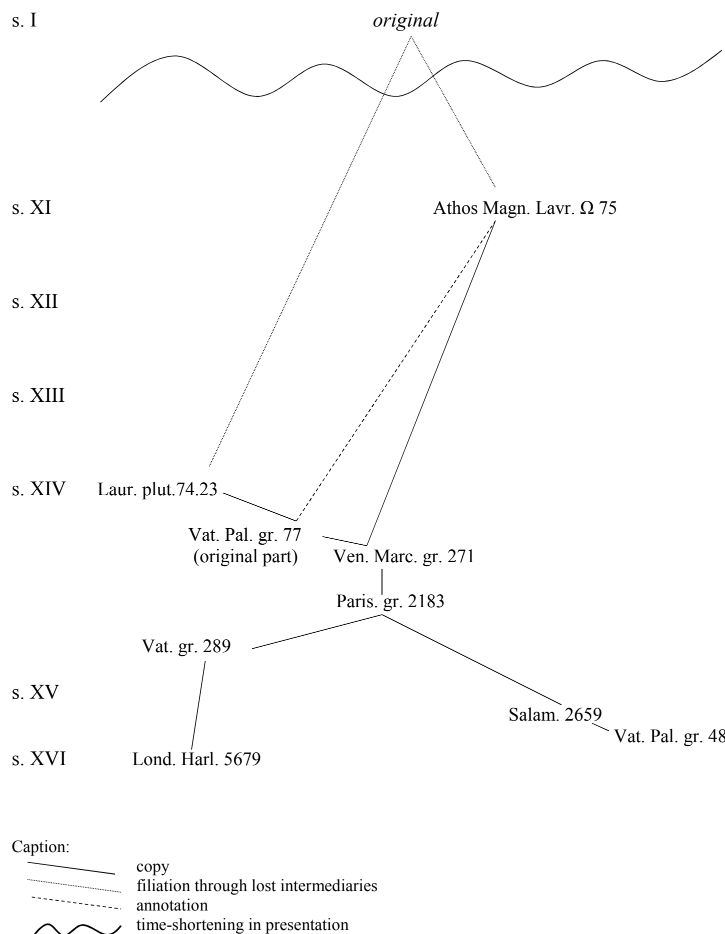

Fig. 3.3.7.1 A partial and simplified *stemma codicum* of the manuscripts of *De materia medica.*

* This contribution is the result of the studies I dedicated to the manuscript tradition of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* in my (unpublished) PhD thesis (Paris, École pratique des Hautes Études, 2007). For a more detailed demonstration on this subject and complementary information, see Cronier – Mondrain forthcoming.

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This textual form had a large diffusion not only through manuscripts but also in printed editions, since it was the basis of the first Aldine edition of Dioscorides (Venice, 1499) which, although its text was somehow reviewed in the second Aldine edition (1518) thanks to another manuscript, was the basis of all subsequent printed editions and translations into modern languages until Wellmann's edition at the beginning of the twentieth century (Wellmann 1906–1914). It is therefore under this interpolated form that Dioscorides' text was read in modern times.

I would now like to show how one can behave when faced with such textual variations, so as to determine whether or not they are authentic and whether the editor should take them into account for the *constitutio textus*.

A first observation is that all the manuscripts preserving this textual form are made of paper with watermarks, and most of them (according to watermarks, but also to palaeography) go back to the fifteenth century and none is prior to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

A few relevant variant readings and some external elements allow a rough classification of these manuscripts. For example, manuscript Paris, BnF, Grec 2183 (middle of the fourteenth century) contains, in its wide margins, some excerpts of Galen's *De simplicibus medicamentis*, added by a second hand (but contemporary with the main scribe). Thus, one can presume that all the manuscripts bearing such excerpts most probably descend (directly or indirectly) from the Paris manuscript. Such are, for example: London, BL, Harley 5679 (end of the fifteenth century or very beginning of the sixteenth); Salamanca, Biblioteca General Universitaria de Salamanca, 2659 (second half of the fifteenth century); Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 48 (end of the fifteenth century) and Vat. gr. 289 (third quarter of the fourteenth century).

The philological analysis (which does not demand a complete collation) leads one to establish that all manuscripts of the *Di* form descend from Venice, BNM, gr. 271 (collocazione 727) (first half of the fourteenth century). Alain Touwaide reached the same conclusion in his 2006 study. In particular, he convincingly established that Paris, BnF, Grec 2183 descends from Venice, BNM, gr. 271, contrary to Wellmann's assertion that both were copies of a common lost ancestor (Touwaide 2006, 205). As a consequence, we can consider Venice, BNM, gr. 271 as the archetype of this branch and, therefore, as the only witness to consider in the philological analysis of the *Di* form.

We now have to determine its philological value for the *constitutio textus* of *De materia medica*. As Wellmann established, *Di* is a sort of mix between two different textual versions: its basis is an exemplar of the original form but it bears numerous and deep additions and emendations coming from a distinct source, hence its designation by Wellmann as *Dioscorides interpolatus*. Wellmann rightly identified the manuscript of the original form that was the source of this work: Florence, BML, plut. 74.23 (end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth; see fig. 3.3.7.2). As for the additions and variant readings, however, he could establish that they came from what we now call the 'alphabetical five books recension' of *De materia medica* but, since he did not have access to the main witnesses of this family, he could not arrive at further results. I have established that the original exemplar of the 'alphabetical five-books recension' is New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 652 (beginning of the tenth century; on this manuscript and the 'alphabetical five-books recension', see Cronier 2012): during Wellmann's time it was kept in a private library (that of Sir Thomas Phillipps in Cheltenham). This last manuscript was the model of Mount Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75 (end of the tenth century or beginning of the eleventh), whose scribe also resorted to a second model, now lost (Cronier 2006).

Actually, many peculiarities of *Di* have no equivalent in New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M. 652 but go back to Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75, which we can thus consider as a source of *Di*. Apart from minor variant readings, some of them consist of personal commentaries on Dioscorides' text, criticizing or confirming such and such an assertion by Dioscorides. They reveal a good knowledge of the therapeutic properties of some plants and, as such, probably constitute personal remarks of a medical practitioner. John M. Riddle offers an interesting account of these additions thanks to his examination of several witnesses (Riddle 1984); however, he focuses on their pharmacological interest and he does not in any way attempt to determine their origin, which is nevertheless easy to find (the Athos manuscript). More recently, Touwaide (2006, 205) underlined the importance of the Athos manuscript in the constitution of *Di*'s text but he did not clearly explain the modalities of this work of comparison between Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75 and Florence, BML, plut. 74.23. However, one can firmly establish this by an examination of the manuscripts.

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Let us go back to codex Venice, BNM, gr. 271 and make a material analysis of it. Its watermarks situate the making of its original part (ff. 14–145) in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, whereas ff. 1–13 and 146–153 are a restoration of the first half of the fifteenth century. The single scribe (apart from the restoration) has not signed his work but, as Alain Touwaide rightly suggested, he is also the copyist of another Dioscorides manuscript: Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77. Contrary to what Wellmann thought (and this led him to a philological aporia), this last one is not homogeneous but it also consists of an original part (ff. 32–39, 50–55, 57–114) going back to the second quarter of the fourteenth century according to its watermarks—this is the part due to our scribe—a restoration of the first half of the fifteenth century (ff. 9–31, 40–49, 56) and a supplementary quire of the end of the fourteenth century (ff. 1–8).

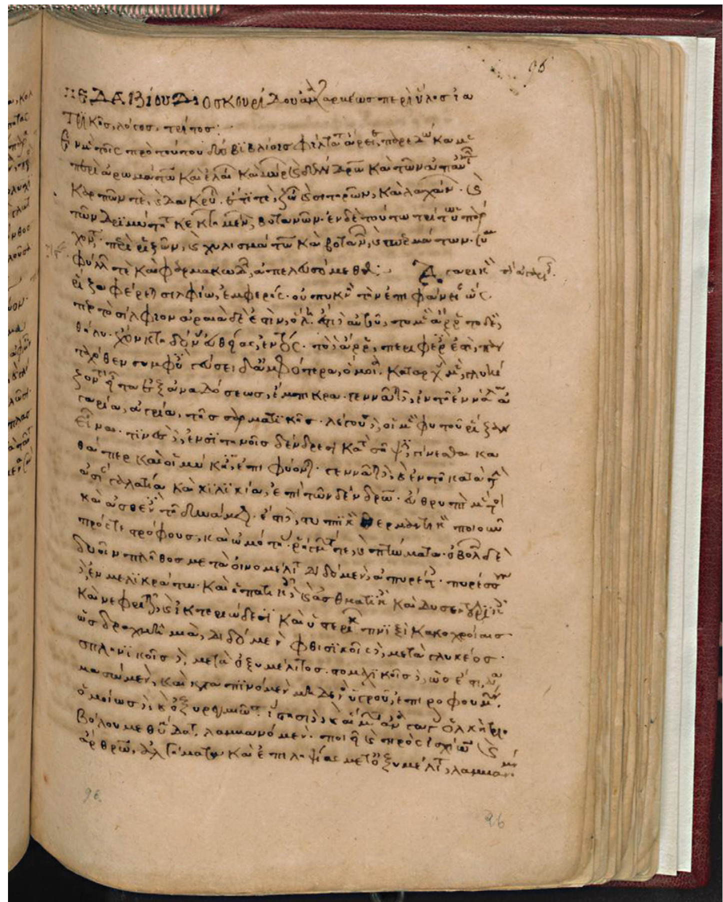

Fig. 3.3.7.2 Florence, BML, plut. 74.23, end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, f. 96v (*De materia medica*, beginning of book III). The first model of Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77.

An interesting phenomenon appears when examining the original part of Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77: the main text is obviously a copy of Florence, BML, plut. 74.23, as Alain Touwaide rightly demonstrated (Touwaide 2006, 205): since Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77 contains all the erroneous readings of Florence, BML, plut. 74.23 and never offers a good reading against it, there is no necessity to postulate, as Wellmann did, the existence of a lost common ancestor. But what autopsy indeed reveals (and not microfilm reading, which is unclear) is that the same scribe, after having copied the Florence manuscript, reviewed its text by comparison with another manuscript—i.e. Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75. Consequently, in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77 there are numerous interlinear variant readings coming from the Athonite manuscript and, in the margins, several longer additions from the same source. However, the influence of the Athonite codex is much less important in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77 than in Venice, BNM, gr. 271.

From a philological point of view, the relations between these last two manuscripts are very hard to establish, because of the complexity of the emendations in the Vatican manuscript: in some places, one can hardly distinguish the original reading from what are corrections. However, one can find a very satisfying solution by considering the manuscripts themselves and wondering about the reasons why they were made. While Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77 looks like a sort of draft, Venice, BNM, gr. 271 bears all the aspects of a fair copy: one must keep in mind that both are due to the same scribe, even for the emendations and annotations. Evidently, a Byzantine man in the first half of the fourteenth century—i.e. our scribe—considering that Dioscorides' text was transmitted under very different forms (the original one and the alphabetical five books recension), decided to establish a new edition of this treatise by comparing two manuscripts (Florence, BML, plut. 74.23 and Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75). After having completed a copy of the first (the original state of Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77), he annotated it according to the second one: in this way, he established a draft of his new edition. Then he made a fair copy of it (that is: Venice, BNM, gr. 271), which would be the official exemplar of this new edition. There was probably

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a large demand for Dioscorides' text in the milieu where this scribe was working: this explain why it was quickly reproduced in several copies during the next decades.

This explanation becomes even more convincing when palaeography allows us to identify the scribe responsible for this work: as Brigitte Mondrain recently stated (Mondrain 2012b, 632), it is a man known as Geōrgios Chrysokokkēs, who was a physician in Constantinople in the middle of the fourteenth century and copied several manuscripts, not only of medical content, but also dealing with astronomy and classical literature (on this man, see Gamillscheg et al. 1997, 64, no 126). As a physician, he was very likely to be interested in possessing a book of *De materia medica* bearing a text as accurate and exhaustive as possible.

This historical explanation allows us to consider codex Venice, BNM, greco 271 as the first exemplar of what we can consider an edition of Dioscorides' treatise, and Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 77 as its draft. As the two ancestors of these manuscripts have survived (Athos, Monē Megistēs Lauras, Ω 75 and Florence, BML, plut. 74.23), the editor should not give any more weight to *Di*'s readings in the *constitutio textus* of the original treatise by Dioscorides (even if the *Di*-version could be edited and studied on its own; in this case, Venice, BNM, gr. 271 would be the only base-manuscript for such edition).

Obviously, this assertion, establishing the relationships between these four manuscripts, is not valuable in itself but demands philological confirmation, and actually a philological analysis leads us to the same results but, as we have seen, less easily. It should be stressed that both types of analysis are complementary. Indeed, when classifying manuscripts the editor should try, as much as possible, to resort to as many clues as possible.

References

Cronier 2006, 2012; Cronier – Mondrain forthcoming; Gamillscheg et al. 1997; Mondrain 2012b; Riddle 1984; Touwaide 2006; Wellmann 1906–1914.

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3.8. The Septuagint, its *Vorlage* and its translations (LCu)*

The Greek translation of the Book of Proverbs, preserved in the corpus known as the Septuagint (LXX), has long been well known to biblical scholars (see Thackeray 1909, 13–16, where the author classifies the translation of Proverbs among the ‘Paraphrases and free renderings. Literary’ (13) together with 1 Esdras, LXX Daniel, Esther and Job all of them from the *Kethubim*) for both its peculiar literary Greek, and for its *ad sensum* renderings, which often make it difficult to recognise which is the Hebrew text underneath. A note may be useful here: the semantic field of the word *literal* being strongly disputed, I prefer here to employ the terminology used already in the ancient time among the others by Jerome (Epistle 57, esp. 6) when dealing with translation theories and methods. In particular, the expression ‘translation *ad verbum*’ would apply to the trend found in Greek biblical translations up to the one by Aquila of Sinope, whereas ‘translation *ad sensum*’ would apply mostly, according to Jerome, to translations from non-sacred texts.

Being a translation from the Hebrew language, the LXX of the Book of Proverbs was nonetheless in its turn translated by Christians, before the Muslim expansion, into several ancient languages and dialects: Latin (second century CE), Sahidic (third century), Akhmimic (fourth century), Coptic dialect of *P. Bodmer* VI (fourth century), Armenian (fifth century), Palestinian Aramaic (fifth century), Ethiopic (fifth to seventh cent.), Syriac (*c.*617), in approximate chronological order. All these versions are completely or fragmentarily preserved.

After the text critical work of Origen, the destruction of the sacred books under emperor Diocletian’s persecution, and the refining of the codex making technique, which allowed the whole Bible to be copied out in only one manuscript, a standard textual type began to emerge and some readings were completely lost in the Greek tradition.

As for other books of the Old Testament, also in the book of Proverbs the Pre-Nicene translations in particular, namely the Latin (usually the *Vetus Afra*) and the Coptic (especially the Sahidic), prove sometimes to preserve readings which are not preserved by the Post-Nicene Greek manuscripts. These readings may occasionally represent a different, if not better, Hebrew *Vorlage* in comparison with the Masoretic Text (MT).

This complex situation may be elucidated by the case found in Prov. 8.31. Here, the MT reads as follows:

> *məśaḥèqèt bətébél ’arṣẘ, wəšaʿăšuʿay ʾèt-bnéy ʾådåm*
>
> ‘[I was] rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men’ (KJV).

The LXX renders as follows:

> *hote euphraineto tēn oikoumenēn syntelesas*
> *kai eneuphraineto en huiois anthrōpōn*
>
> ‘When he rejoiced while completing the world
> and rejoiced among the sons of men’.

As it can be seen, the MT and the LXX present different texts, but one may easily infer that the first Greek stich corresponds to the first Hebrew clause, while the second Greek line renders the second Hebrew clause.

Still some problems are left open: the feminine participle piel מְשַׂחֶקֶת *məśaḥèqèt* is rendered by *hote euphraineto* as if the translator had read בְּשַׂחֲקוֹ *bəśaḥéqẘ* (infinitive construct piel) and referred it to the Lord. While תֵּבֵל *tébél* is probably translated by *tēn oikoumenēn* there is no precise counterpart for אַרְצוֹ *’arṣẘ*, furthermore *syntelesas* looks like an addition, unless it is a double translation of בְּתֵבֵל *bətébél* read as בְּכַלֹּת *bəkalot* (infinitive construct piel from כלה *klh*) with the common exchange of the consonant order and the equally common confusion between ב *bet* and כ *kaph*. The interpretation of the second line is easier; however וְשַׁעֲשֻׁעַי *wəšaʿăšuʿay* (noun plural construct) has been read וַיְשַׁעֲשַׁע *wayəšaʿăšaʿ* (*wayyiqtol pilpal*) and translated *kai eneuphraineto*.

Be that as it may, the picture is further complicated by the witness of the Latin and Coptic translations which both add a third stich. The Latin reads as follows:

---

* This case study was read in a revised form at the International Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies held in Munich, on 1–3 August 2013.

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thesauri autem eius faciunt homines gaudibundos
'And his treasures make the men joyful'.

This reading is confirmed by the Sahidic:

šare nefahōr de tre ənrōme raše
'And his treasures are making the men rejoice'.

The reading *thesauri eius/nefahōr* must depend on the Hebrew reading אֹצָרוֹ *ʾoṣårŵ* ('his treasure') instead of the Masoretic אַרְצוֹ *ʾarṣŵ* ('his earth') with a position exchange of the consonants ר *resh* and צ *ṣade*. This solution originates from the difficulty posed by the juxtaposition in the construct state of the nearly synonyms תֵּבֵל *tébél* and אֶרֶץ *ʾèrèṣ*.

Since it is attested by both the Latin and Coptic, which independently from each other witness to a Hebrew variant, this reading must have been present in the Greek *Vorlage* of both translations.

In fact, an attempt at recovering the original Greek text has been made by R. Geoffrey Jenkins (1987, esp. 71–72, 75 n. 25) who, after identifying a new fragment containing the letters]θη[(*thē*), proposed to read in the relevant passage of the Antinoopolis papyrus 8+210 (Rahlfs 928) *hoi de thēsauroi*. I believe the proposal from Jenkins is rather likely. Unfortunately no fragments which would correspond to *eius faciunt homines gaudibundos* have been identified until now.

Furthermore, a number of problems are raised by these facts and need to be dealt with. First it is to be inquired which was the original Greek text. The third stich indeed represents a doublet of the second one: both lines aim at rendering the second Hebrew clause which was read in two different ways. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the second line may have been as follows:

wayəšaʿăšaʿ ʾèt-bnéy ʾådåm
'and he took delight in the sons of man'.

Whereas the *Vorlage* of the third line may have been as follows:

wəʾoṣårŵ yəšaʿăšaʿ ʾèt-bnéy ʾådåm
'and his treasure will delight the sons of man'.

In this reconstruction the י yod of וּשַׁעֲשֻׁעַי *wšʿšʿy* would have moved from the end to the beginning of the word, and the ו waw would have passed to the previous word by allowing a different division of the verse (the group ארצו/אצרו *ʾrṣw/ʾṣrw* is moved to the second clause). A rendering with the plural (*thesauri*) for the singular (אֹצָרוֹ *ʾoṣårŵ*) is normal in the translation of the book of Proverbs, as is the use of the present for the *yiqtol*.

In my yet unpublished doctoral thesis I have argued that in most of the cases the long doublets depend entirely on the first translator. In the present case the third line can be easily considered original because of the use of the particle *de* (Latin *autem* / Sahidic *de*), a typical feature of the original translator, nearly absent in the later versions by the *kaíge* group and Aquila, and more in general because the text is further away from the MT. Also, the third line offers a rendering for אַרְצוֹ *ʾarṣŵ* (even if read אֹצָרוֹ *ʾoṣårŵ*) which is otherwise left completely untranslated. However, since the second line also does not match the MT but fits well with the context offered by the Greek first line—in both lines the verb is in the third person so that the Lord, and not Wisdom, is the subject—it may be tentatively ascribed to the first translator.

Another problem arises because of the loss of the Greek witness: even if the presence of the third line in the original text is virtually certain, what shall we put in the edition of the Greek text? In most of our critical editions, any text, even if original, which is lacking in the Greek manuscripts, is relegated to the first apparatus. However, here the third line is not only original, but also partially preserved by the Antinoopolis papyrus. If the text preserved by the papyrus has full rights to be edited in the main text, how should one complete the line? We may agree with Jenkins who filled the lacuna after the letters *thē* with the remaining part of the word [*sauroi*]. But what to do about the rest of the verse? Is a retroversion to be attempted? Moreover, if *autou* for *eius/nef-* is virtually certain, and *poiousin* for *faciunt/šare … tre* is extremely likely, what to do about *homines/ənrōme*? The original translator of Proverbs renders the locution בְּנֵי אָדָם *bnéy ʾådåm* with the phrase *huioi anthrōpōn* in 8.4 (and also in the second line of the present verse, if it is not a later interpolation), and with the simple *hoi anthrōpoi* in 15.11. Since the translations consistently uses *filii hominum/ənšēre ənənrōme* in 8.4, 31b, and *homines/ənrōme* in 15.11, *anthrōpous* may well be their Greek *Vorlage*. The presence or absence of the article *tous* cannot be decided on the basis of our translations.

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What is more difficult is to retrotranslate *gaudibundos/raše*. First the Latin attests an adjective, whereas the Sahidic shows a verb. The participle *euphrainomenos* might be represented by this twofold witness. However, one would be struck by the use of the same root for the fourth time in a row. If the translator wanted to adopt some variation he could have chosen, as in 2.14, the participle *chairontes* to alternate the root *euphrainomai*. This is even more likely if we consider that the *Vetus Afra* in 8.30 translates *prosechairen* with *adgaudebat*, in 2.14 renders *chairontes* with *qui ... ga[u]detis*, and in 24.19 translates *mē chaire* with *noli gaudere*. In other words the *Vetus Afra* consistently uses (*ad*)*gaudeo* for (*pros*)*chairō*. Similarly the Sahidic has the root *raše* for (*pros*)*chairō* in 6.16, 8.30, 17.19, 23.25, 24.19. Finally it can be observed that the Greek translator had already rendered the root שׁעשׁע *š*ʿ*š*ʿ with *proschairō* in 8.30.

Hence the Greek original translation may have looked like this:

hote euphraineto tēn oikoumenēn syntelesas
kai eneuphraineto en huiois anthrōpōn
hoi de thē[*sauroi autou poiousin anthrōpous chairontas*]

The present author is aware of the conjectural character of any retroversion. However, in putting forward his reconstruction, he thinks that it may be of some help at least in identifying the remaining unidentified fragments of the papyrus. Moreover, in the major Göttingen editions the fragments from the Syro-Hexapla are usually retrotranslated into Greek, as it was usually done by Frederick Field in his monumental edition of the Hexaplaric fragments.

A further observation can be of some interest: the third stich, although nearly certainly original, died out almost completely from the received tradition: the Greek fragments we now possess were uncovered under the sands of Egypt so as the Coptic manuscripts. The Latin witness, which originally belonged to the so-called *Vetus Afra*, the first translation of the Bible into Latin later superseded by the Vulgate, has come down to us, out of its literary context, as a marginal note in an incunabulum of the Vulgate. Hence, should we relegate to the apparatus a very probable original reading which was by no means rejected in the Greek, Latin and Coptic traditions but was, nonetheless, read by ancient Jewish and Christian readers? Indeed there are cases in which what is received and what is original do not coincide.

Moreover, some observations can be made as far as the Hebrew text is concerned. We have seen that the Greek text of Prov. 8.31 implies a few readings which diverge from the MT. This is a very well-known fact for the Book of Proverbs and for the LXX as a whole which has been often used as a mere mine of variant readings. What is of main interest here is how the Latin and Coptic translations of the LXX increase our knowledge of the Hebrew text. As I have mentioned, it appears that the Greek translator or his *Vorlage* were puzzled by the tautological phrase בְּתֵבֵל אַרְצוֹ *bətébél* ʾ*arṣŵ*. Hence they preferred to read אֹצָרוֹ ʾ*oṣårŵ* while connecting it to the second clause of the verse (this implied the movement of the conjunction וְ *wə*). As for שַׁעֲשֻׁעַי *ša*ʿ*ăšu*ʿ*ay* this appears to have been known to the *Vorlage* of both the second and third line as יְשַׁעֲשַׁע *yəša*ʿ*ăša*ʿ.

A full appreciation of these variants cannot be achieved without examining the *Vorlage* of the whole verse as indicated by the first and third Greek lines:

*bəśaḥéqŵ bətébél wə*ʾ*oṣårŵ yəša*ʿ*ăša*ʿ ʾ*èt-bnéy* ʾ*ådåm*

‘When he rejoiced in the inhabited world and his treasure was delighting the sons of man’.

Although a confusion between the letters מ mem and ב beth seems to be possible in the Hasmonean hand, the variant בְּשַׂחֲקוֹ *bəśaḥéqŵ* for מְשַׂחֶקֶת *məśaḥèqèt* seems to stem from syntactic and literary reasons. In vv. 27–29, six temporal clauses are found at the infinitive construct governed by the preposition ב *b*- all referred to the Lord. It is thus likely that under the influence of the masculine pronoun וֹ -*ŵ* in ארצו/אצרו ʾ*rṣw*/ʾ*ṣrw* the female participle מְשַׂחֶקֶת *məśaḥèqèt* has been referred to the Lord and read בְּשַׂחֲקוֹ *bəśaḥéqŵ*. This implies a variation with the מְשַׂחֶקֶת *məśaḥèqèt* found in the previous line (v. 30) and referred to Wisdom. In this way both Wisdom and the Lord are subject of the rejoicing (שׂחק *śḥq*) and are in some way more strictly connected. It is equally produced a further allusion to Gen. 2 and 3—the other one being *syntelesas* (cf. Gen. 2.1, 2)—where the Lord is openly mentioned to be present with the first human beings. There might be, thus, in the Greek translation and probably in its *Vorlage* not only a literary allusion but also a peculiar theological stress towards the role of the Lord among human beings.

A final evaluation must be made on the quality of the variant readings with which we have dealt here. As I have already suggested, it seems likely that these alternative readings developed for theological reasons (exclusive monotheism) or because the tautological phrase בְּתֵבֵל אַרְצוֹ *bətébél* ʾ*arṣŵ* may have seemed

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awkward to some early scribe. In any case, it seems that in this passage the Hebrew text, as preserved by the Masoretic tradition, because of its difficulties, might have generated the variants which we have studied. It has also to be stressed that from a merely literary point of view the variant loses the formal balance of the two members in the Hebrew verse. Hence, also from this point of view, the more likely original text is the one preserved by the Masoretic tradition.

Some words must be added concerning the problem of the mentioning of these kind of variants in the apparatuses. As for the editions of the Hebrew text, one may wonder, for instance, if at least the variant אֹצָרוֹ *ʾoṣårŵ* for אַרְצוֹ *ʾarṣŵ* should have been mentioned in the apparatuses of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* or the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* on the authority of the Old Latin and Sahidic witnesses. In fact, although the variant seems to be secondary, it could be still worth mentioning because of its antiquity. The present author, while studying the book of Proverbs, has often found the choices of the editors either incomplete or not fully consequential.

Finally, concerning the edition of the Greek text, we can recall the difficult status of the passage discussed here which is likely to be original, but has been lost almost completely in its Greek wording, and must be partially reconstructed. Should it be relegated in the apparatus, maybe only in its Latin or Sahidic form, or has it the right to be reinserted where it was originally?

References

Essential bibliography on the Septuagint: Rahlfs – Hanhart 2006; Pietersma – Wright 2007. Reference works: Brock et al. 1973; Dogniez 1995; Dorival et al. 1988; Fernández Marcos 1998; Jellicoe 1968; Jenkins 1987; Jobes – Silva 2000; Law 2013; Swete 1914; Tov 1981.

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3.9. The Turfan fragments (DDM)[*]

The Berlin Turfan Collection of *c.*40,000 items consists of some complete or almost complete texts, for example on scrolls or in Indian loose-page books as well as some individual pages, such as letters, contracts or exercise pages from writing school, but also of a large number of fragments of destroyed books (codex, scroll or Indian-style). A rare example of a codex book with a partly intact binding is the Syriac liturgical book (Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, MIK III 45) with 61 bifolia.

The Manichaean material in particular is badly damaged. The pattern of tears on some fragments demonstrates the deliberate destruction of these codices from which individual pages, even sequences of pages but often enough just fragments of a page have survived. The destruction, which happened at an unknown time and for unknown reasons (the possibility ranges from religious reasons to simple vandalism), was accompanied by a dispersion or removal of the main body of the torn fragments so that the fragments collected by various expeditions and now chiefly in Berlin, St Petersburg and Kyoto cannot be joined together to reconstruct whole books. Rather the fragments derive from a whole range of books and texts that will always remain incomplete.

The edition work on the Turfan fragments consists of preparing a diplomatic edition which aims to recover the text and also to indicate the structure of the text and its presentation on the page. The edition in book form in the series *Berliner Turfantexte* also contains a translation, a commentary and a glossary. Digital colour images of all the fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection are freely available online in the Digitales Turfanarchiv of the Turfanforschung (<http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/ turfanforschung/dta/ index.html>) and on the site of the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bbaw.de/>).

The main task of the editor is to join fragments where possible, recognize texts or textual units that, if short, may be contained on one page, or, if large, may be distributed across a number of pages or be present in a number of duplicates. In some cases, the original of the text in another language or a subsequent translation into a third language can play a major role in the reconstruction of the text on the basis of surviving fragments. Old Turkic and Sogdian Buddhist texts translated or adopted from Chinese originals are regularly approached in this way. Tibetan and Tocharian originals of Old Turkic Buddhist texts also exist. Other examples include using the later Chinese version of a Manichaean text to aid the reconstruction of the Parthian fragments or interpreting Christian Sogdian texts on the basis of the Syriac originals.

Features of the diplomatic edition

Transcription vs. transliteration

Already in 1904 Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller in Berlin recognized in some of the fragments from Turfan remnants of original Manichaean literature. He was able to read the script because it was very close to Syriac *ʾesṭrangēlā* but, rather than using a corresponding font or a one-to-one Latin transliteration, he chose to attempt to transcribe the texts in a semi-interpretative way that was neither graphemic nor phonological, retaining the initial *alef* (ʾ) and *ayn* (ʿ) and some other features of Manichaean script (*ḥ* and *ṭ*) and introducing a circumflex to indicate that a consonantal sign was being used to indicate a vowel, for example in the following Parthian passage (M4a/I/V/13–15/ in Müller [F.] 1904, 51–52):

ʾô ʿišmâ yazdân padvaḥâm ḥarvîn bagân ḥêrzêdû ʾô man ʾastâr pad ʾamûždêfṭ
I entreat you gods: All the gods, forgive my sins out of mercy!

Here the circumflex indicates that the vowels read by him are written with the signs ʾ (*â*), *y* (*ê* and *î*) or *w* (*ô* and *û*) whereas the short vowel in *man* or *pad* is not written explicitly. But, though consistent, Müller's system is confusing because the circumflex suggested vowel length without any certainty that this was in fact the case. His *ḥêrzêdû* is actually *hirzēd* with the letter *y* used to write a short vowel in the first syllable. The spelling includes a final *w* which can only be a mistake or an attempt to combine the spelling of this word with that of the following *ō* (Müller's ʾô).

The same passage in present-day transliteration and transcription:
ʾw ʿšmʾ yzdʾn pdwhʾm hrwyn bgʾn hyrzydw ʾw mn ʾstʾr pd ʾmwjdyfṯ °°
/ō išmā yazdān padwahām harwīn bayān hirzēd{w} ō man āstār pad āmuždīft/

Modern transliterations comprise the following conventions concerning brackets:

---

* I would like to heartily thank Caroline Macé and Jost Gippert for advice and help.

() indicates that a letter is visible and identifiable though not complete.
[] indicates that a letter is no longer visible on the page.
<> indicates that a letter has been supplied that was never written on this page.
{} indicates that a letter is incorrect; also indicates a comment about a gap, colour of ink, language etc.

Carl Salemann (1908) reacted to Müller (1904) by reprinting the fragmentary texts in a transliteration in Hebrew script, essentially providing the same information as the present transliteration in Latin script. Salemann's version is an accurate reflection of the original fragments as Müller read them and does indeed testify to the convertibility of Müller's transcription. Salemann's use of Hebrew script had two reasons: Firstly, for Salemann's description of Pahlavi (Sassanian or Zoroastrian Middle Persian) in the *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie* (Salemann 1901) the printers in Strasbourg chose a Hebrew font because they did not have access to a Pahlavi one. Secondly, Salemann was acquainted with Judaeo-Persian manuscripts available to him in St Petersburg and recognized their value as a source of archaic early Modern Persian. He adopted some of the conventions used there to reproduce the diacritic dots used in Manichaean script.

Unfortunately, Hebrew script, despite its common Aramaic origin with Manichaean script, is not particularly suited to represent its Manichaean counterpart. It introduces ambiguities that are unique to it rather than to Manichaean script, for example the Hebrew letters ו <w>, י <y> and ר <r> can be easily confused whereas Manichaean script distinguishes them clearly.

The main point of Salemann's treatment of the texts was not the use of Hebrew script but his rejection of Müller's idiosyncratic transcription in favour of a convertible and non-interpreting transliteration. For some years from 1911 on, a Manichaean font was used in publications of the Academy in Berlin. Salemann's Hebrew transliteration was adopted by Friedrich Carl Andreas and his students and quickly became the standard. The prohibition on using Hebrew type in Nazi-Germany from 1933 on meant that Henning moved from Hebrew to a Latin font in the last of the three publications from Andreas' papers in Andreas – Henning 1934 and provided a new transliteration table that has remained standard since then, though with minor changes (some scholars use *w*: rather than *u* to represent the abbreviation *w* with two dots of the normal spelling *ʾwd* for /ud/ 'and'). These developments contrast with the more complicated history of the transliteration of Zoroastrian Middle Persian.

Müller 1904 also transcribed rather than transliterated Sogdian (for example Müller [F.] 1904, 97–98), a practice soon abandoned by himself and which, because of the difficulties represented by Sogdian, has generally never been continued by other scholars.

In a different development, Old Turkic texts, whether written in Manichaean or Uyghur script, have generally been published in transcription. This is possible due to explicit spelling conventions used in the original scripts particularly to designate vowels but also to the predictability of Old Turkic phonology and features such as vowel harmony.

In the transliteration of the Manichaean and Christian Sogdian scripts, both of which are derived from Aramaic, the conventions used by Iranian scholars are based on the desire to avoid supplementary diacritics. Therefore, in Manichaean script, Müller's *ḥ* (see above) was soon abandoned in favour of *h* and the emphatic *ṭ* is often rendered as *t̲* because the letter no longer designates an emphatic phoneme. However, in the transliteration of Christian Sogdian this has resulted in a discrepancy between the transliteration of Christian Sogdian and Syriac even on the same page. The letter ʿ (*ayn*) with the value /ʿ/ in Syriac is assigned the value <γ> in the Sogdian transliteration, again introducing features of a transcription into the transliteration, for example Sogdian *γwbtyʾ* /γuβtya/ 'praise' in a genuine Sogdian word but Sogdian *yšwγ* beside Syriac *yšwʿ* 'Jesus'. Likewise, the letter ṭ which represents an emphatic /ṭ/ in Syriac is assigned the value <t> in the Sogdian transliteration and the letter t is assigned the value <θ>.

Line-numbers and reference systems used in editions

It is important that the edition indicates the gaps on the fragments, shows if a heading is present, if the top and bottom lines can be determined, and properly indicates columns, though on some fragments this is impossible to do with certainty.

The editor identifies and numbers the lines of the fragment as in the example from M4579 (fig. 3.3.9.1). Werner Sundermann (1981, 70) edited the text of this fragment which is written in two columns but for which only five lines of the column on the right (column i) are visible, whereas the column on the left (column ii) clearly has six lines; on the verso traces of six lines are preserved in both columns. By

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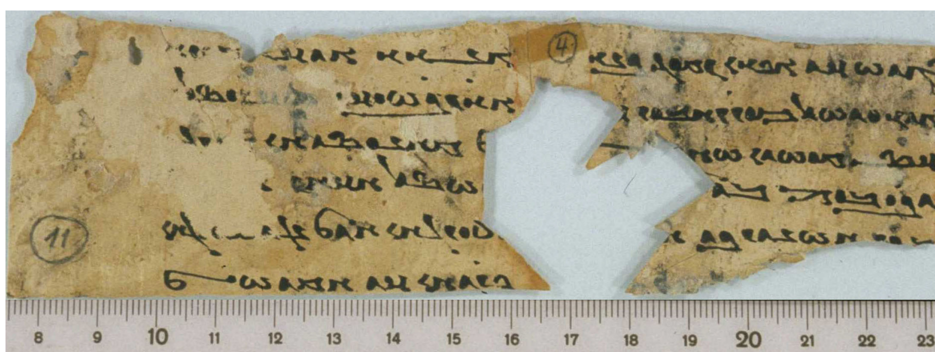

Fig. 3.3.9.1 M4579 recto, © Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Reprography department.

consequence, column i of the recto will also have had six lines. The following updated edition indicates not only the loss of lines both before and after the preserved text but also includes an indication that after line 5 of column i one further line is missing. This allows the reader to form a more complete picture of the shape and condition of the fragment:

aM4579/ {MKG 4a.12: M4579} {Parthian}
cR/

ei/	{lines missing}	eii/	{lines missing}
l(975)/1/	ʾwš hw ʾpdn zmyg knd	l(980)/1/	ʾnd(r) ʾwh(rmyzd)
l(976)/2/	ʾwd ywšt qyrdʾbyd (c)[y]	l(981)/2/	ʾrdxšyh(r šhr)yst[ʾn]
l(977)/3/	hs myšwn šʾ(ẖ)	l(982)/3/	[p](ṯ) mʾnystʾn (qdg)
l(978)/4/	wxybyẖ bw(ṯ)[•••]	l(983)/4/	[ʾgw]št{?} ʾhʾz (.)[•••]
l(979)/5/	(byd) ʾšnwd kw (ʾ)[•••]	l(984)/5/	[w]jydgʾn ʾwṯ ng(wšʾ)gʾn
	{1 line missing}	l(985)/6/	prwʾn hw ʾmwšṯ
	{lines missing}		{lines missing}

Sundermann did not only number the lines of each fragment, he also included a sequential number for all the fragments edited by him in his book (Sundermann 1981 = MKG); texts are quoted with the abbreviation and the sequential number, for example line 1 of this fragment is MKG(975). This number is simply used for referencing and does not indicate that the fragments edited in the book, despite having related contents, form a continuous text. Similarly, the numbering system can make no attempt to include estimates for the size of the gaps between preserved pieces of text.

The attempt adequately to record the damage to a fragment leads to lines of a two-column text at the same height on the page being given different numbers, for example in the joined Parthian fragment M275a+/ where the top of the page and two lines in column i but four lines in column ii are missing. Therefore, the first preserved traces in column (1) have the line-number 1 whereas line 1 of column (2) is in fact two lines farther down and on the same level as line 3 in column (1):

cR/	{}		
	{top of page missing}		
ei/	{}	eii/	{}
	{2 lines missing}		{4 lines missing}
l1/	[•••• ••• •](.g)[•• ••••]		
l2/	[ṯwm{?}](x)[w](d)ʾyy{?} ʾyy [••••]		
l3/	[••• ••• w](y)gʾngʾn · my(š)	l1/	[••](..) ••• ••• •••]
l4/	[•••• •••• •••](g) ʿšt:m	l2/	pd z(m)[•• ••• •••]
l5/	[•••• •••• ••••] ṯwm ·	l3/	yʾd mʾ •••• [•••]
l6/	[•••• •• •• ••••]ʾẖ	l4/	ʾyy ʾd wsʾn ʾwt

A problem is sometimes incurred by a short-cut in the way the headlines are presented, for example Andreas – Henning 1934, 25 with the headline meaning ‘hymn(s) to the Living Soul’:

Heading	V	grywjywndgyg
	R	bʾšʾẖ

Headlines often form a textual unit in the open book, i.e. from the verso of one page to the recto of the next. The presentation chosen here assumes that the heading on the preserved recto R was preceded on the lost verso of the foregoing page by the same words as actually occur on the verso V of this fragment. This is very likely to be the case. But the following presentation is more faithful to the verifiable facts:

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cV/
dH/ hnjft mwqrʾnyg

l1/ cy bwjʾgr nbyšt °° °°
l2/ {red}hnjft fršygyrdyy bʾšʾẖ
{one line left blank}
l3/ {red}nysʾrʾd mwqrʾnyg bʾšʾ
l4/ ʾbjyrwʾng ʿšnwhrg hym
l5/ cy ʾc bʾbyl zmyg
l6/ wyspryxt hym °° wyspryxt
l7/ hym ʾc zmyg bʾbyl ʾwd
l8/ pd rʾštyft br ʾwyštʾʾd
l9/ hym °° °° srʾwg hym ʾbjyrwʾng
l10/ cy ʾc bʾbyl zmyg frnft
l11/ hym °° frnft hym ʾc zmyg
l12/ bʾbyl kw xrwsʾn xrws pd
l13/ zmbwdyg °° °° ʾw ʿšmʾ yzdʾn
l14/ pdwhʾm hrwyn bgʾn hyrzydw
l15/ ʾw mn ʾstʾr pd ʾmwjdyft °°
l16/ {red}hnjft mwqrʾnyg bʾšʾẖ
{one line left blank}
l17/ {red}nysʾrʾd ʾngd rwšnʾny bʾʿšʾẖʾ
l18/ ʾngd rwšnʾn fryʾng pd
l19/ ʾxšd dhwm zʾw(r) ʾw[d]
{bottom of page}

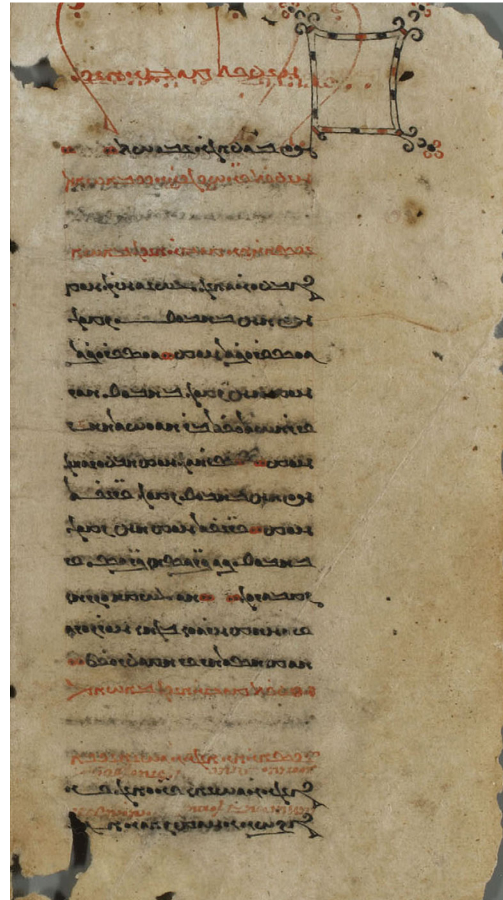

Fig. 3.3.9.2 M4a/V/: transcription and manuscript image, photo <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfan-forschung/dta/m/images/m0004a_seite2_detail2.jpg>.

Heading	*V-1	{lost}	R	bʾšʾẖ
	V	grywjywndgyg	*R2	{lost}.

Despite appearances, the headings might have been different, if the previous page contained hymns other than those addressed to the Living Soul. Note that some of the early German publications use the German word ‘Vorderseite’ for recto and ‘Rückseite’ for verso, yielding potentially confusing abbreviations ‘V’ and ‘R’ with the opposite distribution to that used here.

Demarcation of texts

Some texts are so short that they fit easily on a page, for example a short Manichaean Parthian text on M4a/V/ which is marked off by blank lines after lines 2 and 16 and by an opening caption in line 3 and a closing caption in line 16, both in red ink (see fig. 3.3.9.2).

The text consists of two strophes of equal length, the end of each of which is marked by ‘°° °°’, followed by a third, shorter, strophe (for an edition and commentary, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2004). Preceding and following this text are lines of other texts, similarly marked by a closing caption in line 2 and an opening caption in line 17.

The following is an example for a text that began before the part that survives on the page. In this case, the subject of the first preserved sentence can be assumed to be Mani, and this is supplied in angle brackets, because these words were never actually written on this page:

aM3/ {Middle Persian}
cR/
<*mʾny …>
l1/ ʾmd kš ʾn nwhzʾdg
l2/ ʿyg trkwmʾn ʾwd kwštyẖ
l3/ d(h.)rẖ ʾwd ʾbzxyʾ ʿy pʾrsyg
l4/ ʾ[mwšt] bwd hym ° ʾwd šʾẖ
etc.

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Dealing with duplicates

A particular feature of the Manichaean texts in the Berlin Turfan Collection is the existence of (fragmentary) duplicates. For example, Sundermann 1992 reconstructed extensive parts of a Parthian sermon from partly overlapping fragmentary duplicates. He presented the critical text, formed by a synopsis of duplicates (here 's', 'p' and 't') in the following manner (Sundermann 1992, 51):

Section 41a:	s	°° (ʾw)[d] /7/ hrdyg rwc wxd ʾst s(xw)[n](t)n(b)[ʾr]
	p	ʾwd hrdyg rwc] /6/ wxd (ʾst)[sxwn tnbʾr
	t	(ʾ)wd hrdyg rw(c)[wxd]

etc.

He established the following 'compiled' text on the basis of the duplicates (Sundermann 1992, 68):

Section 41a:	(ʾ)wd hrdyg rwc wxd ʾst s(xw](n](t)n(b)[ʾr]
Section 41b:	rt(y) [ʾštyk] my-δ x(w)ty xcy ZK (wʾ)[xšy] tnpʾr

etc.

Sundermann assigned section numbers to the text and used the accompanying letters 'a' and 'b' to designate the Parthian and Sogdian versions of the same text. The status of the compiled text is indicated in a way that is specific to each language, i.e. the word *hrdyg* 'third' is attested in an entirely undamaged manner for the Parthian version but this information is not used to do anything more than indicate that the corresponding word * *ʾštyk* in the Sogdian version is expected but entirely unattested.

Here the section numbers only undertake to supply a limited amount of information about the text. They indicate a section of the text which may contain a sentence or part of a sentence but also a number of sentences. The section numbers do not in themselves point to the structure of the text and, despite the fact that a Chinese and an Old Turkic version of the text sometimes provides this information, Sundermann has resisted the temptation to use the section numbers to perform any function other than to reference attested passages. There is a case though for providing some information about the structure of the text, even if it is restricted to indicating the putative sizes of the gaps between the surviving portions of the text.

Variants?

Are parallel/double attestations duplicates or do they point to different redactions of the text? The evaluation of variants in the text is not always easy, because, for example, it is hard to be sure in an incompletely preserved text containing recurring phrases if the apparent duplicates with a variation have not been perhaps wrongly identified. In the case of parts of texts attested more than once the editor is normally more anxious to make use of whatever is available, and will want to reconstruct the main structure of the text rather than worrying about minor variants. In fact, the duration of Manichaean scribal activity in Turfan was no longer than *c.*250 years and the quality of duplicates is very good, so that hardly any significant variation can be observed. The longer duration of Buddhist Uyghur scribal activity makes it much more likely that more significant variation, pointing to redactions of the text, will be found in the Old Turkic Buddhist tradition.

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3.10. Arabic epics (ZG)*

Introduction

The Arabic popular epic can be regarded as a genre of Arabic literature which originated and developed within a flourishing tradition of oral story-telling. It should be understood as part of an exceedingly large corpus of traditions that include pseudo-historical accounts of military campaigns and conquests (*maġāzī* 'raids'), legends on the Qurʾānic prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* 'stories of the Prophets'), accounts of miracles and numerous genres of popular poetry, as well as tales of wonder and fantasy, the best known being *The Thousand and One Nights*.

These works of battle and romance, primarily concerned with depicting the personal prowess and military exploits of their heroes, are often referred to in Arabic with the somewhat polysemic term *sīra* (plural *siyar*) which may cover such concepts as 'course of life', 'biography', 'chivalrous romance', 'epos', 'saga', 'folk epic', and 'popular epic'.

Arabic literature has produced a rich harvest of these heroic cycles that taken together cover almost the whole of recorded pre-Islamic and Islamic history, with most heroes based on actual historical figures. For a long period of time, they were transmitted orally and constantly innovated by popular narrators and simultaneously by scribes or editors of written versions in a complex and dynamic interplay. References to written exemplars appear only in the twelfth century, while the earliest preserved manuscripts date back to the fifteenth century (cf. Heath 2004). They were generally composed in rhymed prose (*saǧʿ*) frequently interspersed with poetry (although, for example, the *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* is cast mainly in unadorned prose). Only the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* has been fully preserved in verses.

In the oral-generated form, the Arabic popular epic is performed by an illiterate narrator (*rāwī*), often to the accompaniment of a one-stringed violin (*rabāb*) held upright on the knee. In the semi-literate form, it is read aloud from written versions by an urban storyteller (*ḥākī, ḥakawātī*) in coffee-houses or other public places either with or without musical accompaniment. Even in its purely written form, the Arabic popular epic has always enjoyed great popularity, as it is proved by the huge numbers of manuscripts as well as printed editions (Ott 2003b, 443).

Manuscripts of the Arabic popular epic

The manuscripts represent the most authentic sources of the Arabic popular epic accessible to us nowadays as the number of recordings is very low and all unfortunately bear witness to the diminished status of the oral narrative tradition in the twentieth century. In this regard, it must be kept in mind that the texts in question are generally very long: some manuscripts of the *Sīrat Ḏāt al-Himma* have almost 12,000 folia (Ott 2003a, 51). According to some testimonies, reading or reciting such a long *sīra* would take a year and three months; *al-ʿAntarīya* would take about a year (Reynolds 2006, 302–303). Naturally, they are only rarely preserved in complete copies written by one hand, and the overall picture is one of numerous manuscripts that contain fragments of the texts or individual volumes. They were quite frequently bound together into one work and the history of such compound manuscripts can cover several centuries (e.g. the manuscript of the *Sīrat al-Muǧāhidīn* Paris, BnF, Arabe 3859–3892 contains a fragment from the year 1430 and the latest contribution from the year 1808). They remain scattered over various collections housed in public and university libraries. The most notable is probably the Wetzstein collection in Berlin, which was so excellently described by Wilhelm Ahlwardt (Ahlwardt 1887–1899, VIII). He lists 173 copies of *Banū Hilāl*; according to Abderrahman Ayoub, today the Staatsbibliothek has 189 manuscripts of this popular epic that date from 1785 to 1854 (Ayoub 1978, 348).

The process of textualizing an oral epic, however, must have been considerably more complex than the simple act of writing down the sequences of spoken words. Its circumstances varied and had a profound influence on the final shape of the whole text. It was, for example, important whether a scribe fixed the text immediately after its recitation or wrote down the narration which was recited sometime beforehand, whether he reconstructed the text on the basis of more 'hearings' or several written source materials, and whether he was faithful to the one source or let his imagination run wild. The economic background of the process should also not be neglected. Copyists were probably faithful to an original text because copying without making profound changes or taking a dictation was, quite simply, the fastest way to produce a new product that could be sold. However, when the creative urge struck, or when it was more lucrative to produce a new product, they had no qualms about reorganizing texts and substituting parts with more

* I thank Francesca Bellino and Jan-Just Witkam for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

entertaining material, or updating vocabulary in passages that had become hard to understand over the passage of time (Reynolds 2006, 269).

All these (and probably also other) conditions had a distinctive impact on the quality and character of each handwritten document. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of such texts bears witness to a deliberate effort to develop them and shows that this was done predominantly out of a desire to innovate them not only from the point of view of the content, aiming at re-telling the story (or its parts) in what appeared to a particular redactor or scribe to be the most appealing way, but possibly also from the point of view of the language endowing the text with a more literary character or liberating it from the classical style when it seemed necessary. In this context, the imposing of elements of *inšāʾ* style and other rhetorical devices of Classical Arabic (for example the rhymed prose *sağʿ*) should also be mentioned as they adorned popular narrations and upgraded them, being closer to *adab*. As a result each redactor or scribe in effect made his own contribution to the story-telling tradition. However, as the comparative study of manuscripts of popular *siyar* is very complicated (only a few of the existing manuscripts of the *sīra* are the work of one hand; the great majority are compilations copied by different scribes at different dates, sometimes as separate volumes of different sizes) it is difficult to determine textual contributions of a particular anonymous scribe or narrator.

Apart from these quite general reflections, we know almost nothing about the genesis and the earliest developments of these texts. Most of the complete *sīra* manuscripts at our disposal are relatively late versions. Only fragmentary remnants of the older layers have survived. Therefore, in order to establish the time, place and social context of the genesis of such a text we have to rely on the indirect evidence provided by the text itself, such as specific references to the social or political points of view of its creators. Such an analysis gives us an insight into the different functions that the *sīra* acquired in the course of its development (Herzog 2003, 137–138).

Recent research has also yielded a deeper understanding of the 'oral connexion' of the most famous (but probably also the most complex) work in Arabic popular literature, *The Arabian Nights*. This connexion and the relationship to Arab folklore and *siyar šaʿbīya* can also be demonstrated by the fact that some popular *siyar* were included in the *Nights* editions. For example, a shortened version of *Sīrat Sayf ibn Ḏī Yazan* appears in a specific version in the Reinhardt manuscript of the *Nights*, which carries the title *Sīrat Alf Layla wa Layla* (cf. Chraïbi 1996). The foremost example, however, is the *sīra* about King ʿUmar an-Nuʿmān and his sons whose character and position in the *Nights* were thoroughly explored by Rudi Paret with a partial facsimile of Arabic texts (Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ma VI 32, cf. Paret 1927, 1981).

The manuscripts of the Arabic popular epic were generally transmitted without punctuation; and if some does appear, it is too sporadic to be considered significant. Moreover, they contain sections or passages that may be regarded as literary with respect to language, style and rhetoric, as well as parts that are written down in varying degrees of colloquializing or 'vulgar' language. Although there are no absolutely reliable criteria for a neat classification of these texts, it is nevertheless possible, in terms of the prevalent linguistic and stylistic registers in each of them, cautiously to distinguish two types of manuscripts here (cf. Gavillet Matar 2003, 377).

The first category comprises manuscripts that were primarily written to be read, because popular *siyar* were not only publicly performed, they were also read privately. People would frequently borrow a written version from a scribe or manuscript lender (*warrāq*) either to read the *sīra* on their own or read it out aloud in a circle of family or friends (Herzog 2012, 642). These texts were rather consciously moulded by a scribe or redactor to somehow mimic the prevailing style of oral storytellers. On the one hand, such scribes would consciously aim to imitate an oral narrative style, but on the other hand intentionally classicize the language register. Colloquialisms are allowed for, but only to a limited degree. An example of this is Galland's fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Nights* (Paris, BnF, Arabe 3609-3611). Muhsin Mahdi dated this manuscript to the fourteenth century, but on the basis of the numismatic evidence Heinz Grotzfeld (Grotzfeld 2006, 105) showed that it can not have been composed before 1450.

The second group of manuscripts is represented by the so called *maḫṭūṭāt ḥakawātiyya* 'storytellers' manuscripts', that were used and written down specifically for public performances. They helped the storyteller perform his narrations, often departing from the text to improvise by following his spontaneous inspiration. In these texts many features of colloquial language are apparent (it is hardly possible to find passages of several lines that contain no noteworthy Middle Arabic phenomena) despite the fact that the majority of the vocalization details are concealed by the Arabic script. Moreover, when assessing their

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linguistic structure it is necessary to count not only the features of modern Arabic dialects, the forms that correspond to Classical Arabic and so called pseudo-corrections, but also to distinguish when the influence of the Middle Arabic texts became so strong that authors attempted to imitate them rather than Classical Arabic. In these cases we may justly speak about Middle Arabic literary standards (cf. Blau 1986). It goes without saying that the orthography of such a text is open to different interpretations. However, the Arabic writing system can be used to convey the sounds and grammar of various colloquial forms of Arabic only with a certain amount of difficulty, particularly for the reader. One can read a text written in a dialect correctly only if one already knows how that particular dialect is pronounced, which is a rarely acknowledged but serious problem in the case of older dialects (den Heijer 2012a, 67–68).

'Storytellers' manuscripts' represent a primary source of the Arabic popular epic to the extent that their text is the least altered, because the scribe was aware of the fact that it was addressed to an audience (or, in certain cases, possibly a readership) who did not expect pure Classical Arabic. In this respect, some passages, especially dialogues, were difficult to represent orthographically according to classical norms, so that scribes would not hesitate to record them spontaneously and freely. Therefore these texts can also be identified as dictated texts with a distinct phonetic orthography (Herzog 2012, 642).

Manuscripts of the Arabic popular epic are of utmost interest for several reasons. First of all they reflect the narrator's (or the scribe's) personal vision of the narration. Furthermore, they are the only available hard evidence of an oral tradition that lasted for centuries because the tradition of oral composition diminished significantly in the twentieth century. There is only one Arab folk epic which has survived fully as an oral tradition and only secondarily in written form: the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* (al-Abnūdī 1988, 18), which has been rightfully acknowledged by UNESCO as a 'masterpiece of the intangible heritage'. Manuscripts were in circulation until the second half of the nineteenth century, after which time their place was taken by printed editions (mainly *kutub ṣafrāʾ* editions).

Popular editions

The first most accessible and well-known printed editions of popular *siyar* were the so-called *kutub ṣafrāʾ* or 'yellow books', that is very inexpensive books, or in many cases, booklets, printed on low-quality paper whose colour quickly darkened. This format is often used, in the Arab countries but elsewhere in the Muslim world as well, for the diffusion of all kinds of knowledge, religious or otherwise, on a particularly large scale. Such *kutub ṣafrāʾ* represent the final phase of a manuscript tradition now produced by other technical means.

The motivation of editors to produce such works was both literary and social. Folk narrations were very popular and as the chapbooks were cheap, it was expected they would sell well. Due to the low price and large-scale distribution (in comparison to very expensive manuscripts) such publications massively contributed to the sustained circulation of popular narrations in Arabic-speaking communities until quite recently. However, not all popular *siyar* that exist in manuscript form were published in such folk editions. For example, the *Sīrat Iskandar Ḏū ʾl-Qarnayn* and *Sīrat al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh* were never printed, and this is probably the reason why they are somewhat less known than other popular *siyar*.

The *kutub ṣafrāʾ* editions also offered the first visual representations of the Arabic popular epic, as the first illustrations (albeit sparingly) started to be included no matter how simple and unsophisticated they seemed to be. They represented simple oriental ornaments or depicted the main heroes (and heroines) and animals (for example lions). Over the course of time they became more elaborate and accomplished.

These editions were always done anonymously and even the most basic information on the identities of the persons behind their production is quite impossible to obtain. Generally speaking, such anonymous editors systematically obscured the traces of the oral recitation of their source manuscripts and generally tried to give their editions a more formal, classical and literary mode of presentation. They published the texts from source manuscripts with more significant editorial amendments on such issues as style and language aimed at 'decolloquializing' the text.

Nevertheless, in such publications one can still identify evident deviations from Classical Arabic grammar, as well as numerous devices and formulas that bear witness to its underlying oral composition and recitation. Also the general layout of these publications still highly resembles that of manuscripts: there is no or only sporadic punctuation and only an occasional division of the text into paragraphs.

Editors, for example, had to cope with the frequent repetitions of story patterns, which they usually chose to reduce, and with the numerous formulaic descriptions which they tended to eliminate as redundant or confusing. The reason was that the original manuscripts of popular literature which they meant to

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edit contained a lot of contradictory story patterns without a further mutual relationship. Part of this discrepancy can be explained by the fact that scribes often created a new version from several loosely related manuscripts or according to a particular oral performance. Because of the fact that the narrations were lengthy, lively and rich in action, the storytellers' audiences were not really likely to worry much about the logical coherence of the events and most probably did not even notice such irregularities. On the other hand, such discrepancies would surely disturb readers of written versions. Against the background of writing, such over-abundant repetitions of story patterns were considered to be a serious aesthetic drawback of pre-modern Arabic popular literature.

The scholarly editions of Arabic popular literature

There are only a few editions of Arabic popular literature that can be considered scholarly, although research in this field has increased rapidly in the last decade and some very detailed studies were dedicated to the Arabic popular epic (for example Ott 2003a, Herzog 2006, Doufikar-Aerts 2010 and others). Among the significant instances of text editions and manuscript studies produced at the earlier stages of oriental studies it is essential to mention Duncan B. Macdonald's edition of manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Orient. 633 which contains the well-known story of ʿAlī Bābā and the Forty Thieves. This story was not originally part of *The Arabian Nights* (it was included into the ninth and tenth volume of the *Nights* by Antoine Galland and it was allegedly based on a living source of the *Nights*—a Maronite Christian from Aleppo, cf. Mahdi 1984–1994, III, 33), but shares many typological features with the Arabic popular epic.

There are also numerous other manuscripts containing single stories that appear in recensions of the *Nights* and that were consequently classified as the *Nights* texts (for instance the *Ebony Horse* and the *City of Brass*). The stories in these single manuscripts do not have the 'night breaks' characteristic for the narrative structure of the corpus nor is there any evidence that such breaks were either intended or eliminated (Grotzfeld 2006, 57).

In his edition, Macdonald describes the language as pseudogrammatical Arabic with mistakes and appearances of colloquial words on the one hand and patches of rhetoric more befitting the sophisticated *maqāma* genre on the other, suggesting that fine writing was evidently an aim (Macdonald 1913, 329). In editing he did not insert into the text any punctuation, claiming that he followed the manuscript as closely as possible and endeavoured only to clear away evident surface errors because, as he explained, it was not his business to make the Arab redactor to write good Arabic. Finally, when Macdonald stated that no one who had not worked on the manuscripts of the *Nights* could have any idea of the corruptness of their style (Macdonald 1913, 49), we can now read this assessment as a reference to the abundance of Middle Arabic elements in these text witnesses.

Another edition of Arabic popular literature worth mentioning is Hans Wehr's edition of the entertaining tales of various genres entitled *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿağība wa ʾl-aḫbār al-ġarība* (Wehr 1956). This collection has long been recognized as closely related to the *Nights*. In the introduction, the editor discussed the position of this text and its literary affiliations, and he qualified it as a mixture of Classical Arabic and the spoken language of the narrators (*Umgangsprache*), which he associated with the Christian-Arabic literature, the manuscripts of the *Nights* and memoirs of Usāma b. Munqiḏ (p. xv). He also produced a detailed survey of characteristics of grammatical and orthographic 'deviations' (especially from the norms of Classical Arabic), some of which he 'in the narrower sense marked as mistakes' (p. xiv). He sought to maintain them as such in his edition 'otherwise he had to correct the syntactic and stylistic imperfections as well', although he accounted for them and partly suggested their corrections in a rather rudimentary critical apparatus. In contrast to Macdonald, Wehr decided to introduce into the text some very light but clearly present punctuation. Hans Wehr's edition was thoroughly reviewed and commented on by Anton Spitaler (Spitaler 1994).

Among more recent achievements, Muhsin Mahdi's edition of the *Nights* (Mahdi 1984–1994) stands out as an indispensable example for future *Arabian Nights* studies. In this monumental work the editor provided us with the invaluable service of editing Galland's manuscript (originally intended by Macdonald) with an entirely text-critical approach. The critical edition as such is to be found in the first two volumes. The third volume is fully devoted to the textual history and the composition of the Nights, which is rather intricate, and the major problems of its origin and authenticity still remain a subject of lively discussion. In the foreword Mahdi introduces his method of critical edition, claiming that the only proper approach is to choose the oldest and the most reliable manuscript, then consult other manuscripts in general and those close to the chosen one in particular, and ultimately to include in the critical apparatus only

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those amendments of the stories that are relevant to the historical evolution of the text (Mahdi 1984–1994, II, 16). The edition was divided into chapters (each chapter covers a night), and, similarly to Wehr's edition some light but systematic punctuation was introduced. Despite the fact that Mahdi's aim was clearly to maintain language peculiarities in his edition, he did not produce a text preserving all of them; he corrected them sometimes according to other manuscripts and sometimes according to his personal judgment (Halflants 2012, 120). The forthcoming reprint of Muhsin Mahdi's edition should contain a new introduction by Aboubakr Chraïbi and errata by Ibrahim Akel (cf. Mahdi 2014).

More recently, Bruno Halflants remained more systematically faithful to such linguistic characteristics (Halflants 2007). His objective was to contribute to the description and analysis of Middle Arabic grammar by selecting one long tale from Galland's manuscript. The text he provides is distinct enough from Mahdi's critical edition because it was edited with a different purpose. One of the main differences is that Halflants did not insert into his edition any punctuation, maintaining even the original length of the lines. In order to make the text easier to follow, he graphically separated individual manuscript folia, dividing the text into 'nights'.

Scientific editions of recited manuscripts (*maḫṭūṭāt ḥakawātiyya*) were attempted only at the turn of the twenty-first century. Recently, Marguerite Gavillet Matar has presented the critical edition of the *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālim* (Gavillet Matar 2005), which she accompanied with a French translation. She prefaces her work with an important study on the reconstruction of the entire manuscript tradition of the *sīra* as well as on the style and linguistic differences among various manuscripts mainly from three different regions: Yemen, Syria, and Egypt. She also includes many important philological notes and illustrations on the language and on the poetry it contains, making full concordances among the three different traditions. Particularly interesting are her comments on *Les Manuscrits de la Tradition des Conteurs—makhṭūṭāt ḥakawātiyya* (Gavillet Matar 2005, 56–59). Thanks to inserted punctuation, paragraphing and subchapters, the edition is easy to follow even for readers without expert knowledge of the Arabic popular epic.

The language and style presented in the edition of the *Sīrat Baybars* worked out by George Bohas, Katia Zakharīya and Salam Diab (Bohas et al. 2000–2011) is an analogue to the edition of Gavillet Matar. Here the aim of the editors to make the *Sīrat Baybars* accessible not only to scholars but also to the wider intellectual public is very apparent. In order to meet the requirements of researchers, they decided to preserve the complete and uncorrected text of the relatively new manuscript (1949) from Damascus without the elimination of morally improper parts or words. On the other hand, in order to make the text reader-friendly the editors added some new chapter divisions to the already existing ones, divided the text into meaningful paragraphs and inserted logical punctuation. With the intention of preventing ambiguous readings, they quite frequently vocalized archaic, colloquial or foreign phrases and expressions (French, Turkish and even Hebrew) and explained their meaning.

Conclusions and recommendations

Several comparative studies of narratives that belong to Arabic popular literature (for example the Arab popular *siyar* and the *Arabian Nights*) have persuasively shown that it is quite futile to aim at establishing a definitive text for such popular narrations. It is simply unthinkable that successive generations of storytellers over the centuries would have transmitted their stories literally, in stable and static versions. Research on oral literatures worldwide has yielded the insight that most traditional storytellers used techniques of remembering only a sort of frame of each story with a large stock of fixed sequences yet plenty of room for improvisation, which would be moulded into a unique version during each single performance. This is why some manuscript versions are longer and some shorter, some are older and some are newer, with larger or smaller numbers of Middle Arabic phenomena or oral storytelling patterns.

Popular storytellers or scribes could easily enlarge any seemingly insignificant episode from the hero's life by means of such techniques of oral and written composition. Every performance or manuscript version has its own taste of originality because neither the storyteller nor the scribe was bound by a precise and stabilized text which had to be consistently interpreted. Some narrators or scribes lingered upon detailed descriptions of battle scenes, dangerous adventures or witty dialogues. Others focused on the explanation of religious elements, not hesitating to insert into their tales Qurʾānic quotations or extracts for their audience's edification. Therefore the understanding of Arabic popular literature through any one manifestation, whether an oral performance, a manuscript fragment or a printed edition, needs to be based on the recognition that this is a mediated and fragmentary access to what is a larger and more flexible fluid entity, which also received a certain literary shape by being written down.

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The critical edition of this kind of textual material comes with huge methodological challenges due to its characteristic features: the typically formulaic structure of the rhymed prose in which much of it is composed, the continuous repetition of a limited number of narrative patterns and motifs, the lack of punctuation, the distinctive oral character of the language and its enormous proportions, to the extent that most of these texts cover several thousand pages or manuscript folia. The most important methodological questions which must be answered are related to the choice of the source manuscript(s), the insertion of punctuation and whether or not an editor ought to be scrupulously faithful to the orthography and grammatical features of the available manuscripts. In this context it must be taken into consideration that what has been pointed out referring to the editing of Middle Arabic texts in general is valid also for the originally Arab fluid oral traditions that concern us here: the quest for a scholarly sound approach to editing texts of such a hybrid nature is still far from fulfilled and a consensus among scholars will probably remain beyond reach for some time to come (den Heijer 2012b, 19).

Nevertheless, it would be a good idea to start the editorial process with the selection of one manuscript or an interesting fragment, because of the enormous length of epic narrations as the basis for an edition. As demonstrated above, this could be the oldest reliable witness (cf. Mahdi 1984-1994), which reflects the oldest accessible version of the particular epic tradition, or a late version (cf. Bohas et al. 2000–2011), which documents the richness of later developments taking into account the fact that many manuscripts of the Arabic popular epic are not securely datable. As Kātyā Zaḫariyya proposes (Zakharia 2010, 12), the manuscript should be treated as an *unicum* despite the fact in the information age a researcher could be tempted by the idea of a hypertext which would combine various manuscript witnesses of the same tradition. This could, however, once again lead us to the idea of the reconstruction of the original, which contradicts the stress on fluidity. On the other hand, this does not reduce the importance of the systematic comparison of various manuscript witnesses, which might give a clearer impression of the process of the *sīra*'s composition, evolution and transmission in different cultural environments.

The insertion of punctuation is entirely related to the goals of the edition. If editors intend to reproduce the original as faithfully as possible from a scholarly point of view (cf. Halflants 2007), it is expected that the text would be only minimally altered. On the other hand, if the editors hope that the edition will be enjoyed also by common readers who are not knowledgeable in the Arabic popular epic, the insertion of logical paragraphing and punctuation is justifiable (cf. Gavillet Matar 2005 or Bohas et al. 2000–2011).

Already Goldziher (1850–1921), who was not a linguist in a narrow sense of the word, came to grips with the problem of editing the texts of mixed character (he had Judaeo-Arabic texts in mind) and described it as an inner conflict (*Gewissenskampf*) that had to be confronted by editors who must decide time and again whether or not to 'correct' grammatical 'errors' (Blau 1999, 222). As shown above, attempts to normalize Middle Arabic elements and oral storytelling features at least partly according to Standard Arabic usage, were common practice for centuries. The motivation to do so was related to the importance of Classical Arabic as the language of the Qurʾān or similar standards, or simply to the fact that the manuscript redactors were the heirs and recipients of a venerable storytelling lineage. Some of these trends or their remnants can also be found in modern editions. However, such interventions can have catastrophic results for our knowledge of Middle Arabic and of the authentic features of oral story-telling.

Jérôme Lentin, one of the most experienced authorities in the field of Arabic historical dialectology today, insists that Middle Arabic displays its very nature through its orthography, and that this should not be disguised in the edition. For that reason it is important for editors of Middle Arabic texts to preserve all linguistic and orthographic particularities found in the manuscripts, regardless of how insignificant or incomprehensible they might seem (Lentin 2012a, 209; den Heijer 2012b, 18–20). Put another way, while some words may seem to have a very peculiar and even erratic or illogical spelling which makes the scholar inclined to correct them, it could very well be that they are not simple mistakes and that the underlying systems for such spellings have escaped the editor's attention.

References

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3.11. Palimpsests of Caucasian provenance. Reflections on diplomatic editing (JG)

Palimpsests of Caucasian provenance

Of the three manuscript traditions that emerged with the conversion of the Southern Caucasus to Christianity by the end of the fourth century CE, that of the so-called Caucasian Albanians (cf. General introduction § 3.4) remained an outsider, given that it came to an end before the end of the first millennium while both Armenian and Georgian literacy have subsisted until the present day. There can be no doubt that the production of manuscripts developed very fast in the early centuries of literacy in all three languages; however, even for Armenian and Georgian, it is only the ninth century CE that provides us with the first dated codices. All older manuscript materials, with but very few exceptions (for example, the famous Georgian 'Sinai lectionary' codex, now Graz, UBG, 2058/1, which is likely to date from the seventh or eighth century, see General introduction § 3.8), are only preserved in fragmentary form, as flyleaves used in the binding of later codices (not necessarily of the same tradition), or overwritten (not necessarily in the same language) as palimpsests.

Since 2003, two international projects funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (Hanover) have focussed on palimpsests of Caucasian provenance, that is reinscribed codices whose underwriting was either Georgian, Armenian, or Caucasian Albanian, with a view to deciphering and editing the contents of the undertext and to establishing the basis for a palaeography of the 'early centuries' for the languages and scripts in question. The results of the work have been published in four volumes of the series *Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi* (Sub-series *Ibero-Caucasica*) at Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, between 2007 and 2010 (Gippert et al. 2007a; Gippert et al. 2009; Gippert 2010a). In the case of the Caucasian-Albanian palimpsests, which were discovered in the underwriting of two Georgian codices from the 'New Finds' of St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, the edition provides the only manuscript material of the language in question that has come down to us at all, and the fact that neither the language itself nor the script used in writing it was known well enough before the palimpsests were investigated rendered the decipherment extremely difficult; had the texts not been identifiable as biblical, it would surely have failed. In the following pages, the peculiar tasks and methods applicable in editing palimpsest content will be outlined on the basis of the results of these projects.

General characteristics of palimpsests

The re-use of parchment leaves containing 'older' or 'outdated' content in the production of 'new' codices was by no means restricted to the Caucasian world but a characteristic feature of nearly all traditions that used parchment for manuscripts in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It is decisive in this context that the 'undertext', i.e. the first written content of the leaves in question, played no role whatsoever for the person re-using the leaves, which is why more or less sophisticated methods were applied to erase the older text (by scraping and/or washing it off), and there are many cases where the language of the 'underwriting' is different from that of the upper layer. This is exactly what we find in the case of the Armenian and Caucasian-Albanian palimpsests of Mount Sinai (of approximately the seventh to ninth centuries CE), which were overwritten in Georgian (script and language) by a Georgian monk in about the eleventh century CE.

In general, it is not only the fact that the underwriting has been erased which makes the decipherment of palimpsests a tedious task, but also the fact that the leaves were often clipped in order to match the page layout of the 'new' codex to be produced, with notable amounts of the original text being lost; the underwriting may thus abound in gaps that must be restored in re-establishing the content. Depending on the method applied in erasing the undertext, rubrics of the original manuscript (for example, lection titles in red colour) may have disappeared totally, thus bringing about further 'seeming' gaps in the text flow. In the case of the Sinai palimpsests, additional gaps have emerged from damage to the parchment leaves that was caused by the fire which led to their detection (among the 'New Finds') in 1975 (Gippert et al. 2009, I-1–2 as to details on the circumstances of the discovery of the 'New Finds'). Frequently, the original leaves were turned 90° in being re-used as palimpsests; this may be advantageous for the decipherment as only parts of the letters were overwritten in this case, but it usually led to greater losses of text, especially in the margins. Lastly, palimpsest parchment leaves were often chosen 'at random' in the process of re-use, with the effect that the original sequence of folia was not maintained and leaves from different original codices were intermingled in the establishment of 'new' ones. As a matter of fact, palimpsests mostly contain but fragmentary pieces of the underlying codices and no 'complete' ones; for example, the

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Georgian palimpsest codex of Vienna (ÖNB, Cod.Vind.georg. 2, see Gippert et al. 2007a, xviii–xix as to details) comprises fragments from at least fourteen different manuscripts of different ages (*c.* the sixth to tenth centuries CE).

Aims and methods of editing the underwritings of palimpsests

As was stated above, nearly all manuscript materials available for the 'early' centuries of literacy in the Caucasus (*c.* fifth to eighth centuries CE) are only preserved in palimpsest form, which makes the underwritings in question especially valuable for the history not only of the languages in question but also of the textual tradition of Christianity in general. As a matter of fact, the Caucasian traditions have proven to be highly conservative in the sense that they have preserved many otherwise lost 'early' texts or text versions. The decipherment, restoration and edition of the underwritings of Caucasian palimpsests is therefore a task of major importance. On the other hand, the very fact that the texts contained in the lower layer of palimpsests may be unique (this is especially true for the Caucasian-Albanian materials) made it necessary to conceive a combination of special editing techniques that reflect the different degrees of certainty achievable in the decipherment.

1. The 'diplomatic' approach

The scholarly traditions of both Armenians and Georgians have developed similar standards in the editing of ancient texts that have been preserved in manuscript form. Editions like those of the *Vita of Mesrop Maštocʿ* by the fifth-century historiographer Koriwn (Abełyan 1941) or of the Old Georgian Chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* (Qauxčišvili 1955–1959) establish a common text by assuming 'leading' manuscripts, deciding between variant readings, resolving abbreviations (suspensions and contractions) and alphabetic notations of numbers and hyphenations, emending scribal errors, storing more specific information on individual witnesses in apparatuses, adding chapter or paragraph numberings, and printing the texts in 'normal' text-flow with modern punctuation in modern scripts (sometimes even in an orthography adapted to modern usage as in the case of the vowel *u* of Georgian which in the majuscule script was written as a digraph <ow> but has been replaced by <u> in most modern editions). As far as the latter features are concerned, this practice is also met with in editions of individual manuscripts as in the case of the ninth-century Sinai *Mravaltavi* (Sinai, St Catherine, georg. 32-57-33+N89), which is the oldest dated Georgian manuscript (Šaniʒe 1959; see General introduction § 3.8 and Gippert forthcoming for details of the codex in question), or the late tenth century codex of Šaṭberdi (Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, S-1141; Gigineišvili – Giunašvili 1979). Unlike this, the edition of the undertexts of palimpsests requires a more 'diplomatic' approach, which has been adapted throughout in the editions discussed here. This approach has the following characteristics:

a) the undertext is represented in a facsimile-like manner facing the images of the respective manuscript page; this implies that

b) it is arranged line by line (and, where applicable, column by column) as found in the original, with marginal and interlinear glosses, indentations, superscriptions, subscriptions and the like retained and with line numbering added at the side of both the image and the edited text;

c) it is printed in the original script(s) used in the manuscript (majuscules and/or minuscules), in matching character sizes (retaining enlargements for initials and the like);

d) word spacing is represented as it occurs in the manuscripts—given that all Caucasian traditions used *scriptio continua* in the early centuries of their literacy, there are usually no spaces visible at all, at least in majuscule manuscripts;

e) abbreviations (suspensions and contractions) and alphabetic notations of numbers are retained as such, with the respective marks (usually bars above the elements in question) applied;

f) hyphenations, whether with or without specific marks, are retained;

g) punctuation marks are retained as such; and

h) struck-out letters and words are represented as they were first conceived, but with a special markup (outlining or light red colouring) to indicate their being struck out.

In order to distinguish different levels of readability (and, at the same time, certainty of the decipherment), a given passage, word, or letter is printed in different degrees of blackness, ranging from black (on a white background) for perfectly preserved items down to light grey (on a dark grey background) for hardly discernible ones. Passages or elements that have not been preserved (due to clipping or dam-

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Fig. 3.3.11.1 Edition of John 5.17–24, from Gippert et al. 2009, V-22–23.

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A100ra		O	E	A	K	P	G	R	U	S
Jo. 5,17			But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto,	Եւ յ̅ս պատասխանի ետ նոցա· Հայր իմ մինչեւ ցայժմ գործէ.	მიუგო მათ იესუ: მამაჲ ჩემი მოაქაჲამადმდე იქმნ	ხოლო იესუ მიუგო და ჰრქუა მათ: მამაჲ ჩემი მოაქამდე იქმს,	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, Ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται,	Иисус же говорил им: Отец Мой доныне делает, и	Isusenal pine šoṭġo: bez baban isaunalcirik̦ benesa, vaʿ	ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܒܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ
	1	(z)ow-(a)[l] (ba)[a-z :]	and I work.	եւ ես գործեմ։	და მეცა ვიქმ.	და მეცა ვიქმ.	κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι.	Я делаю.	zual bezsa.	ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ.
Jo. 5,18	2	(E)[˜ṭ’](neš ix)oy (be)[s](a-hē Vača)\[r](owġon)	Therefore the Jews sought the more	Վասն այնորիկ առաւել խնդրէին հրեայքն	ამისთჳს უფროჲს ეძიებდეს მას ჰურიანი იგი	ამისთჳს უფროჲს ეძიებდეს ჰურიანი იგი	διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μᾶλλον ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι	И еще более искали	vaʿ sayal abuzq̇un furuexai šoṭux	ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ
	3	[owṗ]a oow[x̣ te sa aṭ˜n]	to kill him, because he not only	սպանանել զնա· զի ոչ միայն	მოკლვად, რამეთუ არა ხოლო	მოკლვად იესუს, რამეთუ არა ხოლო	ἀποκτεῖναι, ὅτι οὐ μόνον	убить Его Иудеи за то, что Он не	besbesan ǯuhuṭġon, šeṭabaxṭinte, šeṭin sa	ܠܡܩܛܠܗ ܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ
	4	[ša](d-b)a-a(n)a(ḳe)-o(e)n-[hē] (š)a(nba)\[ṭ]ow[x̣	had broken the sabbath,	լուծանէր զշաբաթս,	შაფათთა დაჳსნისათჳს,	შაბათსა დაჰჳსნიდა,	ἔλυεν τὸ σάββατον	только нарушал субботу,	šamaṭ ġenax tene xaʿxaʿexa,	ܕܫܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܒܬܐ
	5	sa dex̣-al ičē c̣i-e](ḳ)a-	but said also that	այլ եւ Հայր իւր կոչէր	არამედ რამეთუ მამად თჳსა იჩემებდა	არამედ ღმერთსაცა მამად თჳსა იტყოდა	ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγεν	но и Отцем Своим называл	amma ič babane ḳallexa	ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ
	6	-(a)[n](a)[ḳe-oen-hē b˜](x̣) [z]a[∗ig]-(b)a-	God was his Father, making	զա̅ծ· եւ հաւասար առնէր	ღმერთსა და	და სწორ-ჰყოფდა	τὸν θεόν, ἴσον	Бога, делая Себя равным	bixoġox, ičux barabarbi	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ، ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ، ܘܡܫܘܐ ܗܘܐ
	7	-a(naḳ)e-oe(n-hē) b[ow]l (ičē) b[˜](ē)	himself equal with God.	զանձն ա̅յ։	თავსა თჳსსა ასწორობდა ღმერთსა.	თავსა თჳსსა ღმრთისა.	ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ θεῷ.	Богу.	bixoġoxol.	ܢܦܫܗ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ.
Jo. 5,19	G	*ṗo(wri\å˜)y gå\(e)n*[10]	For the dead							
	8	Il’ow-(ḳ)or-biyay-ne Y˜n p(ē)-	Then answered Jesus and said unto	Պատասխանի ետ յ̅ս եւ ասէ ցնոսա·	მიუგო იესუ და ჰრქუა მათ:	მიუგო იესუ და ჰრქუა მათ:	Ἀπεκρίνατο οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔλεγεν	На это Иисус сказал:	meṭa laxo Isusen pine:	ܥܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ
	9	-(n)-[o](en å˜s) [.amēn] (a)[mēn owḳ](a-z)	them,Verily, verily, I say	ամէն ամէն ասեմ	მართლიად მართალსა გეტყჳ	ამენ, ამენ გეტყჳ	αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω	истинно, истинно говорю	doġridan, doġridan exzu	ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
	10	[vˁ](as . ni-ḳbo-ḳa ġaren i)[š](ow)[ʿy`]	unto you, The Son can	ձեզ· ոչ կարէ որդի մարդոյ	თქუენ: ვერ ჴელ-ეწიფების ძესა კაცისასა	თქუენ: არა ჴელ-ეწიფების ძესა კაცისასა	ὑμῖν, οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸς	вам: Сын ничего не может	efaʿ: ġara eḳal bes teṭubako	ܠܟܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܪܐ
	11	(biyesa i)[č](ē biye)[x̣oc te h](il’)-	do nothing of himself,	առնել յանձնէ եւ ոչ ինչ.	საქმედ თავით თჳსით არარაჲ,	საქმედ არცა ერთ რას თავით თჳსით,	ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν	творить Сам от Себя,	ičen ičxol,	ܠܡܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܨܒܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ
	12	-(a)[l .] (h)a(ṭe)n(ḳe) n-aḳa-n-en’e-o\‹ow	but what he seeth	եթե ոչ տեսանիցէ	არა თუ იხილოს,	უკუეთუ არა იხილოს	ἐὰν μή τι βλέπῃ	если не увидит	ägänä naiṭu aḳo	ܐܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܙܐ
	13	o de baa›-[yaḳe-oen :] (oen)	the Father do: for what things soever he	զհայրն զի առնէ. զի զոր նայն	რასა მამაჲ იქმნ, რამეთუ რასაც იგი	რაჲმე მამისაგან საქმჱ, რამეთუ რავდენსა-იგი მამაჲ	τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα· ἃ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος	Отца творящего: ибо, что	babax bal: šeṭabaxṭinte eḳḳa	ܠܐܒܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܒܐ
	14	‹baa-h˜ḳe-oen› (oˁ)o(m) ġa(ren .) e\‹ṭ’a	doeth, these also doeth the Son	առնէ, զնոյն եւ որդի նմին	იქმს, მისა	იქმს, მას ძჱ ეგრევე	ποιῇ, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς	творит Он, то и Сын творит	yaratmišnebesa šeṭin, ṭetäral vaʿ yaratmišnebesa	ܥܒܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܪܐ
	15	la›[men ba](a)-anaḳe-o(en :)	likewise.	նման գործէ։	მსგავსადცა ძჱ იქმს.	მსგავსად იქმს.	ὁμοίως ποιεῖ.	также.	ġaren.	ܐܟܘܬܗ ܥܒܕ.
Jo. 5,20	16	‹D›[e] (b)o(w)q̇a(n)a-[ba](a-an)[aḳe ġa]\{r}[ax̣	For the Father loveth the Son,	Զի հայր սիրէ զորդի.	რამეთუ მამასა უყუარს ძე	რამეთუ მამასა უყუარს ძჱ	ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ φιλεῖ τὸν υἱὸν	Ибо Отец любит Сына	šeṭabaxṭinte baba buṭuq̇sa ġarax	ܐܒܐ ܓܝܪ ܪܚܡ ܠܒܪܗ
	17	cex] (hi)l’-a(l) [b](i)[cex](a-oe)[n]	and sheweth	եւ զամենայն ինչ ցուցանէ	და ყოველსავე უჩუენებს	და ყოველსავე უჩუენებს	καὶ πάντα δείκνυσιν	и показывает Ему все,	vaʿ aḳesnesṭa šoṭu bütün,	ܘܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܚܘܐ
	18	(oows i)[č]e(n) [baa]-(h)[˜ḳe]-(o)[en]	him all things that himself doeth:	նմա զոր ինքն առնէ։	მას, რასაცა იგი იქმს,	მას, რაოდენსცა-იგი იქმს,	αὐτῷ ἃ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ,	что творит Сам;	eḳḳate yaratmišnebesa ičen;	ܠܗ
	19	[bån’i-al himi ixoy edġox̣](oc) [a\šrox̣	and he will shew him	եւ մեծամեծս եւս քան զսոյնս	და უდიდეს-ღა ამისსა	და უფროჲსიღა ამისა	καὶ μείζονα τούτων	и покажет Ему	vaʿ aḳesnesṭa šoṭu	ܘܕܝܬܝܪܢ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ
	20	bicexa-o](en) oow(s)	greater works than	ցուցանէ նմա	უჩუენნეს მას საქმენი,	უჩუენოს მას საქმჱ,	δείξει αὐτῷ ἔργα,	дела больше сих,	aš moṭġoxo abuz,	ܥܒܕܐ ܡܚܘܐ ܠܗ
	21	[vˁ](a)[n]-(a)[l ameç-aha-anḳ](e-na)[n]	these, that ye may marvel.	գգործս. ընդ որ դուքդ զարմանայք։	რაჲთა თქუენ გიკჳრდეს.	რაჲთა თქუენ გიკჳრდეს.	ἵνα ὑμεῖς θαυμάζητε.	так что вы удивитесь.	ṭetärte vaʿn aq̇naneġo.	ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܬܬܕܡܪܘܢ.
A97ra		O	E	A	K	P	G	R	U	S

Fig. 3.3.11.2 Synoptical arrangement of versions of John 5.17–20, Gippert et al. 2009, V-22.

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5,17	‹...› A100ra$_1$ zow-al baa-z :	*‹[Jesus replied to them, "my father has been working until now]›, and I am working, too."*
5,18	$_2$ **E**˜ṭ'neš ixoy besa-hē Vača\rowġon $_3$ owṗa oowx̣ te sa aṭ˜n $_4$ šad-ba-anaḳe-oen-hē šanba\ṭowx̣ $_5$ sa dex̣-al ičē c̣i-eḳa-$_6$anaḳe-oen-hē b˜x̣ za∗ig-ba-$_7$anaḳe-oen-hē bowl ičē b˜ē	*Therefore the Jews sought (even) more to kill him, not only because he used to break the sabbath but also (because) he used to call God his own father (and thus) to make himself equal to God.*
5,19	$_8$ **I**l'ow-ḳor-biyay-ne Y˜n pē-$_9$n-oen å˜s . amēn amēn owḳa-z $_{10}$ vˤas . ni-ḳbo-ḳa ġaren išowy $_{11}$ biyesa ičē biyex̣oc te hil'-$_{12}$al . haṭenḳe n-aḳa-n-en'e-o\‹ow $_{13}$ o de baa-›yaḳe-oen : oen A97va$_{14}$ ‹baa-h˜ḳe-oen› oˤom ġaren . e\‹ṭ'a $_{15}$ la›men baa-anaḳe-oen :	*Jesus replied (and) said to them, "amen, amen, I say to you, the son of man can do nothing by himself if he does not see what ‹the father does; whatever› he ‹does›, the son does as well similar to that.*
5,20	$_{16}$ ‹**D**›e bowq̇ana-baa-anaḳe ġa\{r}ax̣ $_{17}$ cex hil'-al bicexa-oen $_{18}$ oows ičen baa-h˜ḳe-oen $_{19}$ bån'i-al himi ixoy edġox̣oc a\šrox̣ $_{20}$ bicexa-oen oows $_{21}$ vˤan-al ameç-aha-anḳe-nan	*For the father loves the son, he shows him everything that he himself does; he shows him even greater works than these, so that you will be astonished, too.*
5,21	A100rb$_1$ **D**e harzes-baa-anḳe-oen ṗow\riå˜x̣ $_2$ own ġowy-baa-anḳe-oen $_3$ owhow-oˤom ġaren bowq̇a-$_4$hanayå˜rḳe-oow ġowy-baa-a\naḳe-$_5$oen :	*For (just) as the Father raises the dead and revives them, even so the son revives whom he wants to.*
5,22	$_6$ **B**ow-en'e te haṭenḳe de bˤax̣-$_7$ba-en'e išow sa lowśow bˤax̣-$_8$biyesown daġē-n-oen ġarax̣ $_9$ ičē .	*Or, not that the father would judge a man, but all judgement he has given to his son,*
5,23	cexaran oṭan-biṭa-$_{10}$anḳe o ġarax̣ oṭan-biṭa-ha\č̣inḳe $_{11}$ de{x̣ :} $_{12}$ **N**ow-oṭan-biṭa-n-hanayo\enḳe $_{13}$ o ġarax̣ now-oṭan-A97vb$_{14}$ba-oen dex̣ o he-baalox̣ oya	*so that all people should honour the son (just) as they honour the father. He who does not honour the son does not honour the father, his sender.*

Fig. 3.3.11.3 'Editio minor' of John 5.17–23 from the Albanian Gospels, Gippert et al. 2009, III-5.

age) but can be restored with a certain probability are printed in white on a black background (with non-restorable characters being replaced by a rectangle-shaped placeholder, ⬚).

The manuscript pages themselves are represented by monochrome images stemming from ultraviolet photographs or from the 'spectral cubes' (sets of multispectral images) assembled during the project, electronically enhanced so that the prominence of the overtext is reduced and the contrast between the undertext and the parchment is reinforced (see Gippert et al. 2007a, xxxii–xxxiv and Albrecht in General introduction § 2.3, as to the technical background of the procedures involved). The interplay of these rules is illustrated in fig. 3.3.11.1 showing a sample double page from the edition of the Albanian palimpsests containing John 5.17–23 (Gippert et al. 2009, V-22–23).

2. The 'semi-diplomatic' approach

In order to enable readers with less knowledge of the original scripts to perceive and comprehend the information gathered in the diplomatic rendering, the contents of every single page (or column) is represented a second time in a 'semi-diplomatic' way. This implies the following characteristics:

a) the text is transcribed into the modern scripts (in the case of Armenian and Georgian) or Romanized (in the case of Albanian);

b) it is again arranged line by line, but with no distinction of letter sizes; instead, capital letters (where applicable) are used to represent enlarged initials;

c) marginal and interlinear glosses are marked in special ways (using italics or cursive variants);

d) spaces and hyphens are inserted according to present-day usage;

e) abbreviations are resolved whenever possible (in the case of Caucasian Albanian, the restoration of abbreviations was not possible for many words in question, the unabbreviated variant having remained unknown) but with the restored elements put in (round or curly) brackets;

f) the different degrees of readability and restorations of lost text elements are marked by other types of brackets; however,

g) digraphs and punctuation marks of the original script are still transcribed as such.

To facilitate the verification of the decipherment, the 'semi-diplomatic' rendering is contrasted in tabular form (line by line) with other relevant witnesses of the same text. In the case of the Albanian Gospel texts, these are Old Armenian, Old Georgian, Greek, Syriac, Russian, and Udi versions, the Udi language of the East Caucasus representing the modern successor of Caucasian Albanian (see Bežanov – Bežanov 1902 for the translation of the Gospels into Udi, which was based upon the Russian text); additionally, the English text of the King James Bible was collated. Fig. 3.3.11.2 illustrates this arrangement with the table showing John 5.17–20 (Gippert et al. 2009, V-22).

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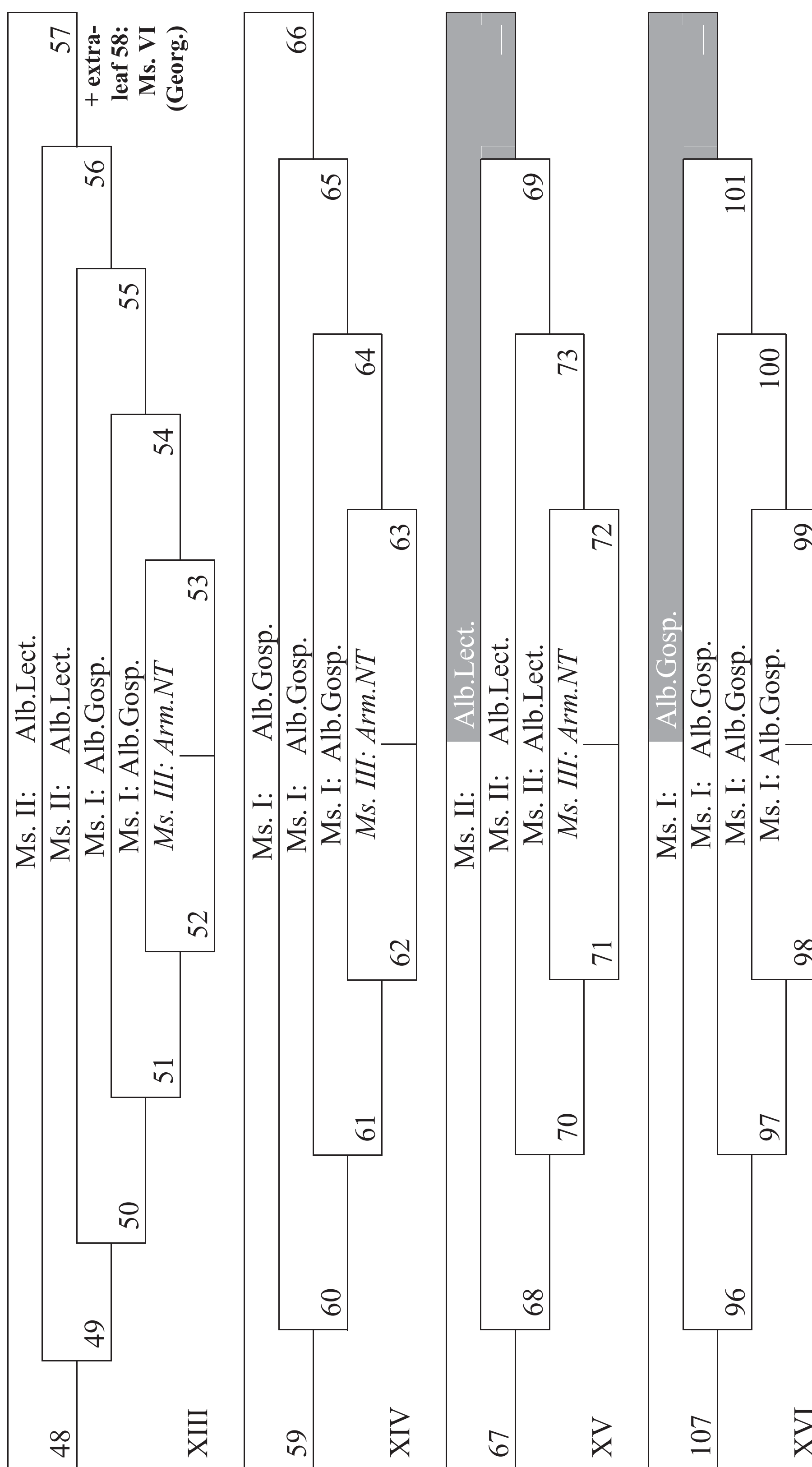

Fig. 3.3.11.4 Manuscript structure of the palimpsest codex Sinai, St Catherine, New Finds, georg. N13 (excerpt).

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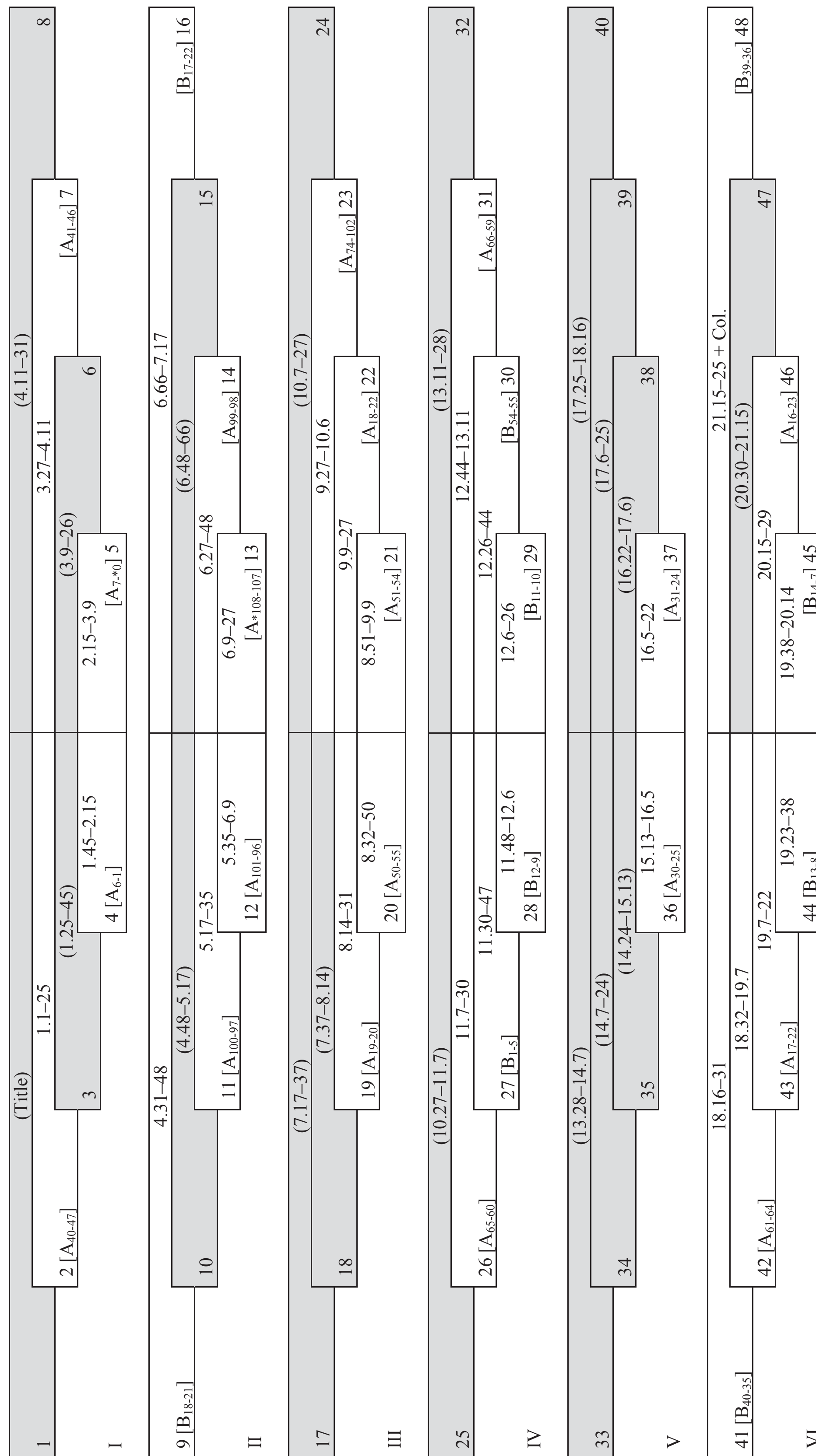

Fig. 3.3.11.5 Quire structure of the Gospel codex underlying MS Sinai, St Catherine, New Finds, georg. N13/N55.

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3. Editiones minores

To further facilitate the reading of the re-established texts, the editions of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests and the Armenian undertext of the Georgian manuscripts Sinai, St Catherine, georg. N13 and N55 were further reassembled in a simplified version, together with an English translation. In this rendering, there is no indication of the degree of certainty of a given reading; however, amendments of unreadable or lost passages are marked with curled braces and angle brackets, respectively, in the Albanian and Armenian texts and with angle brackets throughout in the English translation. Passages that are restored in toto (on missing pages etc.) are printed in grey. Fig. 3.3.11.3 illustrates this 'editio minor' with John 5.17–23 from the Albanian Gospels (Gippert et al. 2009, III-5).

4. Codicological information

To facilitate the understanding of the complex distribution of original manuscript leaves (usually bifolia) over the quires of the 'new' codex, a special illustration technique has been developed as shown in fig. 3.3.11.4. Here, Roman numbers (XII–XV) indicate quires of the new codex, Arabic numbers (48–99), pages of the new codex (as established during the cataloguing, in some cases not reflecting the intended order represented in the diagram), and 'Mss I–VI', the different original codices the palimpsest leaves derive from. Fields with a grey-shaded background represent leaves that have not survived. In the case of the Albanian Gospel manuscript, it was possible to re-establish the quire structure of the original codex in toto, including the bifolia (represented by a grey-shaded background again) that have not been preserved in the palimpsest (Gippert 2012, 62; fig. 3.3.11.5).

Outlook

Even though the methods outlined above were developed for the edition of the undertexts of a few palimpsests of Caucasian provenance, they are likely to be applicable to other palimpsests, too, and several edition projects that will use them are underway right now. Depending on the readability of the given objects, the availability of flanking witnesses, and the needs and expectations of editors and readers, some of the methods may be regarded as superfluous or overstated. However, a diplomatic approach seems to be justified in any case.

References

Abełyan 1941; Bežanov – Bežanov 1902; Gigineišvili – Giunašvili 1979; Gippert 2010a, 2012; Gippert et al. 2007a, 2009; Q̣auxčišvili 1955–1959; Šaniʒe 1959.

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3.12. Syriac monastic miscellanies (GK)

This case study aims at presenting a distinctive type of Syriac manuscripts containing monastic literature. For anybody willing to make use of this type of witness, it is of vital importance to be aware of a specific character of textual transmission within such miscellanies. Since that type of manuscript has not been studied properly, the following presentation is based on the research carried out by the author, while taking into account available publications.

Introduction

Manuscript miscellanies (or multiple-text manuscripts) constitute a special phenomenon in the history of the book. Conventionally, it is accepted that miscellanies appeared in the Late Antique period in Christian communities of Egypt and immediately spread all over the Mediterranean region (fourth to seventh centuries), eventually becoming the predominant type of manuscript (Petrucci 1986a). Without consideration of specific language and cultural affiliation, miscellanies usually reveal common traits, among which two deserve to be singled out: individual content and instability. One of the greatest hindrances to the study of the relevant manuscripts is the imperfection of the manuscript catalogues. Furthermore, there is no agreement with respect to the relevant terminology; codicological approaches differ as well (Thorndike 1946, Robinson [Pa.] 1980, Shailor 1996, Gumbert 2004, Maniaci 2004, Bausi 2010e).

As far as the state of the art is concerned, the study of the miscellanies is very young and disproportionate: whereas Greek, Latin and later European vernacular miscellaneous manuscripts have been studied quite deeply (Foehr-Janssens – Collet 2010; Ronconi 2007; Van Hemelryck – Marzano 2010), the miscellanies that were produced in the Christian oriental traditions have not yet become the object of elaborate research (Birnbaum 2003; Buzi 2011a; Miltenova 2013). In order to determine whether the phenomenon of the miscellanies has a universal nature, or whether there are some regional or cultural peculiarities, it would be necessary to pursue a comprehensive study of miscellaneous manuscripts in the Christian oriental traditions; this is, however, not feasible at present due to the unequal development of the respective fields.

Within the context of Syriac philology, which is itself a relatively young field, a study of the peculiarities of the manuscript transmission of all the varieties of texts has never been undertaken. The only exception is offered by the biblical texts, the character of the transmission of which is now known quite well. Generally speaking, the Syriac Bible (Peshitta) demonstrates very minor variation. Compared with the biblical text, all other literary genres show a significantly higher degree of instability.

The overwhelming part of the Syriac monastic literature (texts that were produced from approximately the fourth until the fifteenth century, Brock 1986) as well as translations of monastic texts from Greek are preserved in monastic miscellanies—for a considerable number of texts miscellanies constitute the only available type of witness. Without miscellanies, one would know much less about Syriac Christianity and Syriac literature than we do today and some Greek texts would have continued to be considered lost (for example some of the works of Evagrius Ponticus). On the other hand, the fragments of otherwise unknown texts can give us a hint as to how much of the Syriac literature has gone into oblivion.

Potential difficulties

A study of a text preserved within a miscellany may pose serious difficulties of different kinds. To name just the most salient ones:

First of all, the study of the Syriac monastic literature is particularly young and began at the end of the nineteenth century when Paul Bedjan and Ernest A. W. Budge published a number of ascetic and mystical texts (Bedjan 1897, 1898, 1902, 1909; Budge 1894, 1904). While many Syriac monastic texts (including translations from Greek) were published during the twentieth century, a lot still remains to be done (for a bibliography, see Kessel – Pinggéra 2011). A census of all extant monastic texts in Syriac is an urgent desideratum. Moreover, the study of Syriac monastic literature has been heavily dominated by research into doctrine with a gross neglect of the textual transmission of the texts. As an outcome, many of the texts have been represented in an inaccurate and inauthentic form.

Second, although many miscellanies were used for editions of singular texts, they have never been studied per se, as collections that existed according to specific principles. Usually, the fact that a text is preserved in a miscellany does not affect its study in any way: a miscellany is assumed to be a copy

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that is not different from other types of witness. Besides a few facsimile reproductions (Mingana 1934b; Strothmann 1978; Çiçek 1985), there are some studies that contain descriptions of a particular miscellany (Baethgen 1890; Brock 1998; Vosté 1929; Colless 1966; Teule 1997; Vööbus 1978). Only three articles are to be noted as exceptional since they are not purely descriptive in character, but rather approach some of the issues from a methodological perspective as well (Brock 2004; Teule 1998, 2008).

Third, a body of already published material is not available in searchable format similar to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, although some attempts have been made recently in that direction (a Syriac Corpus project under the auspices of Brigham Young University).

Fourth, the problem of editing extant texts is closely related to another issue that every prospective editor will have to deal with—namely, the search for the extant manuscripts and the procurement of copies. Thus, if European and North American collections have been catalogued (with varying degrees of detail) the Middle Eastern collections (especially in such countries as Turkey, Syria, and Iraq) still remain generally unknown and inaccessible. The instability in the region threatens the survival of those collections. The on-going imaging projects of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (Collegeville, MN) may change the situation radically.

Core information about the miscellanies

Preliminary study of miscellanies demonstrates that they were produced and circulated in three ecclesiastical communities of the Syriac tradition: Chalcedonian (known also as 'Melkites'), Syrian Orthodox ('Jacobites'), and East Syriac ('Nestorians'). However, the largest number of monastic miscellanies that survive comes from the Syrian Orthodox tradition. Some one hundred and thirty miscellanies have been found up until today; they were produced over a period of fifteen centuries that roughly corresponds to the entire history of Syriac monasticism.

In the earliest manuscripts one can already detect some features that remain a constant characteristic of the miscellanies during the entire period of their history: (a) each miscellany is a unique collection of various monastic texts: whereas some texts and groups of texts may appear also in other miscellanies, the contents as a whole always have an individual profile; (b) the introduction of a large number of texts translated from Greek; (c) the transfer of texts from one ecclesiastical tradition to another. It should also be noted that miscellanies contain not only complete texts, but fragments (for example chapters, excerpts) as well. Though perhaps over-simplifying the actual situation, we may say that apparently the compilers were not satisfied with simply copying available miscellanies, but intended to create a new collection answering to the demands of their time. However the actual reasons that entailed the unrepeatable character of a given miscellany require special and individual research.

Beginning from the earliest miscellanies we find special titles that were applied to them by the scribes. An extended version would sound like: 'Book of collections (*kunnāšē*) from [the texts by] the holy fathers and monks'. This very fact signifies that for the Syrians themselves the miscellanies represented a special genre of literary production.

Miscellanies quite often have rich scribal notes that allow one to locate their place of production. The extant miscellanies come from the main area of the presence of the Syriac Christians during the pre-modern period: Northern Mesopotamia, including south-eastern Turkey and the famous Ṭūr ʿAbdīn region, northern Iraq, and also Egypt, including Sinai. There seems to have been no single centre where the miscellanies may have been conceived as a new genre; neither it is plausible that there existed special centres for the production of miscellanies. Rather, the available evidence suggests that basically any scribe was in a position to compile a miscellany. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the oldest miscellanies were produced in Edessa and this very association with the cradle of Syriac Christianity may have contributed to their success and popularity.

Not surprisingly, the majority of texts included in the monastic miscellanies are of Greek origin. Authors such as Evagrius Ponticus and Macarius the Great provided the foundation for the nascent Syriac monastic traditions, and their works did not cease to be copied and appreciated over time. Besides the profound influence of the Greek monastic tradition, Syriac monasticism managed to engender its own rich tradition that is represented by such authors as John the Solitary, Philoxenus of Mabbug, Isaac of Nineveh, and John of Dalyatha, whose works gained an authoritative position not only in their own ecclesiastical tradition but also managed to cross confessional borders and were used by Syrians of other traditions as well (and later by other Christian traditions—Coptic or Ethiopic—that had access to them in translation).

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Almost every Syriac monastic miscellany has its own content that is not mirrored in any other miscellany. An acquaintance with the works included in the miscellanies demonstrates a varying frequency of presence of particular texts. That the works of Evagrius Ponticus are consistently present is easily comprehensible, whereas the texts of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite appear more rarely than one might expect considering their impact on the development of Byzantine mysticism.

Greek authors dominate in the earliest miscellanies, whereas by the turn of the second millennium one finds collections that include only Syriac authors. A comparison between the oldest extant miscellany and one from the fifteenth century can help to illustrate that:

London, BL, Add. 12175 (534 CE)	*Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, Orth. 417 (1473 CE)*
Evagrius Ponticus (d.399) The Life of Evagrius Mark the Monk (fifth century) Macarius the Great (fourth/fifth century) Basil the Great (d.379)	John of Dalyatha (eighth century) Joseph Ḥazzaya (eighth century) Isaac of Nineveh (seventh century) Athanasius Abu Ghalib (twelfth century) Evagrius Ponticus (not authentic) Jacob of Serugh (d.521) Abraham of Nathpar (sixth/seventh century)

It is remarkable that the majority of texts included in the fifteenth-century Syrian Orthodox miscellany are of East Syriac provenance. This situation is very common in such late miscellanies as this.

Handling of texts

Unfortunately, very little attention has been paid in earlier scholarship to the actual manuscripts that preserve the monastic literature. Scholars, while looking for the texts they were dealing with, generally neglected the manuscripts they used. And in the case of monastic literature it is most often miscellanies that contain Syriac texts. Editors, while relying on the evidence provided by miscellanies, tend to disregard the context in which the text had been circulating, and fail to scrutinize how the text was understood and transmitted. This kind of approach may lead to imperfect editions, as the editors, not paying attention to the specific character of the manuscripts that preserve the text, do not realize that the text transmitted within miscellanies was subject to certain (quite often substantial ones) editorial interventions.

The study of texts that are found in miscellanies reveals that they quite often have a different form when compared with the same texts as preserved in other types of manuscripts. Now it is clear that the very fact that a text was selected to be included in a miscellany, as well as its transmission, entailed its being handled in a process of scribal revision. The scribes themselves felt free enough to introduce changes both into the content of the miscellanies in general and into any text in particular. On the one hand, such an attitude led to a great variety in the content of miscellanies, but on the other hand, it had dramatic repercussions upon the individual texts. In some cases it is even no longer possible to determine how the text had looked like before it was introduced into the miscellany.

Thus, the main problem in dealing with a text preserved in miscellanies will be to trace all of the possible editorial interventions. A number of typical changes have been detected (but not sufficiently studied): changes of the authorship, abridgements (whether slight or more substantial), interpolations, excerptions, and the introduction of chapter divisions and rubrics.

Failing to recognize such possible alterations inevitably results in a misrepresentation of the text, which is especially dangerous if a particular text is known to exist only in miscellanies, and thus its form cannot be controlled by means of other types of witness. A proper critical study of any such text requires considering all possible changes that might have occurred to it from the moment it was for the first time introduced into one or more miscellanies and in the process of manuscript transmission.

Examples

Fifteen manuscripts that were written in the period from the thirteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century contain a brief text attributed to the otherwise unknown Thomas the Monk (based on Kessel 2009). The considerable number of copies indicates that the text enjoyed a steady popularity among the Syrian Orthodox monks and scribes. A quest for information on the author does not reveal more than a vivid account by Michael the Great (d.1199) concerning the life of a certain monk Thomas, who may be

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identified as the author of the *Letter*. No direct data concerning the time and place of its composition can be found within the text. However, external evidence makes this identification plausible.

The *Letter* is a brief text and is ordinary in its ascetic contents. Nevertheless, it exemplifies the possible history of transmission of a treatise in the Syriac monastic miscellanies. The fifteen witnesses can be grouped in three recensions, of which only one (Recension I) provides a complete text. The archetypal text underwent a process of partition which resulted in the irregular order of two parts of the text (Recension III). Partition and the subsequent incorrect reestablishment of the order triggered the interpolation of an inauthentic passage (Recension II). Witnesses of Recension II demonstrate that a treatise may have been abridged more than once. Finally, a text can lose its original attribution (one manuscript belonging to Recension II) and be taken over in another ecclesiastical tradition (an East Syriac manuscript that represents Recension I).

The second example will show how dramatically a text may change while being circulated within miscellanies (based on Draguet 1973; Graffin 1963). The transformations could have been in fact so profound that in some cases it is no longer possible to put the extant witnesses into coordination and therefore the task of preparing a critical edition with an attempt to draw near the archetype appears to be highly problematic.

In 1963, the renowned Syriac scholar, François Graffin, published a brief text that is attributed in the manuscripts to the famous Egyptian author, Abba Isaiah. Apparently, Graffin simply relied upon the attribution provided by the miscellany he used, because in all the extant manuscripts the text is indeed explicitly attributed to Abba Isaiah. Graffin does not go into discussion on the authenticity of the text, although, as he correctly notes, the text cannot be identified with any known Greek text attributed to Abba Isaiah.

Since its publication and up to the present day the text and its publication by Graffin continues to be mentioned among the authentic works of Abba Isaiah, or even as a witness to his *Asceticon* (for example it was allocated a special number in *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (5556)). This, however, is not correct, for already in 1973 another renowned Syriac scholar, René Draguet, was able to clarify the provenance of the text. One ought not forget that René Draguet was one of the best experts on the *Asceticon* by Abba Isaiah and its commentary tradition. Thus, he not only thoroughly studied and published all extant redactions of the Syriac version of the *Asceticon*, but also published an extensive commentary on the *Asceticon* written by the East Syrian Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya (seventh century). Draguet was able to ascertain that the text piece edited by Graffin in fact comes from an original Syriac commentary on the *Asceticon* that survives in fragmentary form in eight Syriac monastic miscellanies. The results of the study of Draguet can be summarized as follows. A total of eight manuscripts contain fragments from an *Anonymous commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah*. The commentary can be safely considered to be written originally in Syriac because its author relies profoundly on a commentary on the *Asceticon* by another Syriac author, Dadishoʿ. Although an original contribution by an anonymous author who might have lived in the eighth century is rather limited, the text of a new commentary provides important evidence for the commentary of Dadishoʿ that is not preserved in a complete form. The anonymous commentary had a long transmission history. An extant manuscript tradition presents the text in a confused form where the lemmata of Abba Isaiah are no longer separated from the commentary. The text of the commentary is preserved only in a fragmentary form, and the extent of the fragments varies from one manuscript to another. Comparison with the sources used by the anonymous author reveals that the text had undergone considerable alterations. The manuscript transmission must have been so extensive that none of the eight extant witnesses can reliably be put into a relationship with any other. Consequently, as argued by Draguet, the task of producing a stemma appears to be absolutely impossible in this case.

References

Baethgen 1890; Bausi 2010e; Bedjan 1897, 1898, 1902, 1909; Birnbaum 2003; Brock 1998, 2004; Budge 1894, 1904; Buzi 2011a; Çiçek 1985; Colless 1966; Draguet 1973; Foehr-Janssens – Collet 2010; Graffin 1963; Gumbert 2004; Kessel 2009; Kessel – Pinggéra 2011; Maniaci 2004; Miltenova 2013; Mingana 1934b; Petrucci 1986a; Robinson [Pa.] 1980; Ronconi 2007; Shailor 1996; Strothmann 1978; Teule 1997, 1998, 2008; Thorndike 1946; Van Hemelryck – Marzano 2010; Vööbus 1978; Vosté 1929.

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3.13. Middle Arabic texts. How to account for linguistic features (PLS)

When we face the issue of preparing a critical edition of a given text belonging to any cultural tradition whose language remains alive, or at least was still alive at the time of the copy—as it is the case, for example, of Romance and Arabic traditions—two types of criticism should be considered: the criticism of forms and the criticism of variants, that is the linguistic form of the edited text and the criticism of the textual variants respectively. Gaston Paris, a French philologist who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the first to introduce this distinction within the field of textual criticism (Paris – Pannier 1872). However, both types are intimately linked to each other. Accordingly, the choice of the proper linguistic form to be given to the edited text is closely related to the method adopted by the editor in order to choose among different variants of the tradition. It must be admitted, however, that editors of pre-modern Arabic texts, generally speaking, have all but totally ignored this distinction, as much as they have often remained quite unaware of much of the western philological tradition as developed mostly in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A case in point is the famous *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (438 AH/1047 CE), a basic historical source which presents the lives and works of the most prominent cultural, political and scientific personalities of the early Abbasid period. Despite its generally acknowledged authority, this text was only recently made available in a critical edition that takes into account all obtainable manuscript witnesses (Sayyid 2009). In contrast, such an edition as the one produced by Yūsuf ʿAlī Ṭawīl, printed by the Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya (‘The House of Scholarly Books’) in Cairo in 2002, is a telling example of the ways in which the classics of Arabic literature are commonly edited. In his introduction, the editor informs us that two editions of this text already existed prior to his project: that of Tehran published in 1971 and that of Beirut, published by Dār al-Maʿrifa (‘The House of Knowledge’) in 1978. However, while failing to account for other sources he consulted, Ṭawīl actually chose to note the variants that he had found in those existing editions: in doing so, he sometimes granted preference to the variants of the Tehran edition and in other cases to those of the Beirut edition. Such a method leads us to the rhetorical question as to whether one should collate editions rather than the text witnesses found in the manuscripts themselves.

With respect to another well-known Arabic literary work, such methods were denounced earlier on by Jan Just Witkam, who noticed that several editions of the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* by Ibn Ḥazm (456 AH/1064 CE) contained exactly the same error at the very beginning of the text, which is preserved in a unique manuscript (Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 927). This error actually turned out to be nothing but a mistake by the first editor, which sadly persisted in the subsequent editions. Hence, one can only come to the somewhat embarrassing conclusion that none of the editors of this classic of Arabic literature had actually bothered to scrutinize the sole extant manuscript. Instead, all these editors had confined themselves to scrupulously reproducing the first edition, so that it would be actually more appropriate to speak of successive reprints rather than of new editions.

In line with Witkam’s critical remarks, these two examples can be generalized to the extent that the poor methodological state of affairs described in them applies to the bulk of the monuments of Arabic literature (Witkam 1988).

Nevertheless, some editors of Arabic texts have indeed tried to formulate methods for producing critical editions. Among the most explicitly articulated approaches, we can distinguish at least two opposing schools or trends:

(1) The first approach, considered out of date by many but still practised by others, is that of selecting a manuscript supposed to be ‘good’, or which for various reasons should be considered the ‘base manuscript’, and whose variant readings and linguistic form are to be reproduced in the main text body, even in the case of obvious scribal errors.

(2) The second trend is represented by those who are in favour of further action in the edited text, both in the form—always correcting the text according to the rules of the classical language—and the choice of readings, often adopting subjective criteria.

The first method was followed, for Arabic texts as well as for those published in other relevant languages, in some editions published in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* series in the period in which it was directed by René Draguet (Platti 1981, 1987). In his manifesto of what one may consider an utterly conservative point of view on editing Syriac texts in a radically diplomatic kind of

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way (Draguet 1977), Draguet basically rejected the legitimacy of any degree of intervention by the editor in the text body itself.

Although primarily concerned with Syriac texts, this publication is relevant for Arabic as well, or at least for Christian Arabic texts, because it is precisely as a response to it that the most prominent and outspoken plea for the second trend was voiced by Samir Khalil in several articles as well as introductions to his editions.

After having dismissed the editions of autographs, which are rare in the literature of the pre-modern era, Samir (1982, 74) argues that the purpose of editing is 'on the one hand to give a readable and correct text, on the other hand to edit a clear and structured text in which the structure of the author's thought appears' (translation PLS). Hence for Samir, and with him for most editors of Arabic texts, the criterion of the readability of old texts by modern readers is a priority issue (Blachère – Sauvaget 1945; al-Munajjid 1956). Samir summarized the methods used by editors of Arabic texts in order to choose among variant readings in a tradition with multiple witnesses. Two possibilities are considered:

(1) The editor selects a copy that qualifies as the 'best witness' and collates it with the others;

(2) The editor chooses, from the multitude of available manuscripts, a text or portion of a text that appears to him (*yuḫayyalu ilayhi*) to be closest to the original. Such a conclusion will of course have to be based on perusal of other (published) works by the same author (Samir 1980).

According to Samir, the first option makes sense when there is a witness that has genuine readings as compared with other witnesses. However, one has the feeling that Samir comes with the risky tendency to equate the 'good' reading, that is to say the original one, with the antiquity of the manuscript. As a result, the most ancient manuscript will always be considered to be the best manuscript, against the principle *recentiores non deteriores*, at least *non semper*.

The second possibility is to be considered where various witnesses have the same importance or value, that is to say when there is no known manuscript closer to the original or no particularly old copy. Many examples of this latter approach can be found in the *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien* collection which was founded by Samir himself. In many instances, the result seems to be an eclectic edition without significant attempt to examine the genealogical relationships between witnesses (Edelby 1986). It seems appropriate here to point out that outside Arabic studies, this type of eclectic method has met with methodological objections such as the one by Dominique Poirel (2006, 163) who states that it 'reduces the examined witnesses to reservoirs of variants and offers to the editor a complete freedom to draw from them with his grammatical, stylistic, doctrinal or historical preferences as the only rule' (translation PLS).

The two methods described above are intended, in their own way, to provide a solution to two fundamental requirements for any critical edition: the principle of loyalty (to the author, the witnesses, the archetype) on the one hand, and the legibility of the edited text on the other. In the first case the editor usually opts for an almost fetishist fidelity to the witness, while in the second he takes the freedom to intervene both in textual substance and in linguistic form, in order to make the text more readable and accessible to modern readers and so to disseminate it as much as possible. In other words, the editor who chooses to maintain fidelity to one witness conserves linguistic forms of the manuscript in the edition as well, renouncing even a minimal effort at critical reconstruction, while the other school provides us with texts deprived of both the textual and the linguistic dimension found in the manuscript sources. As we shall see, criticism of variants and criticism of linguistic forms are closely linked to each other, that is to say, the one affects the other.

Is a diplomatic edition the only way to preserve the ancient language? Does any attempt to reconstruct an archetype entail levelling the language to conform to Modern Standard Arabic rules? To these questions, we can add another regarding the originality of the standardized language. Is it reasonable to assume *a priori* that the authors, as cultivated scholars and writers, always wrote in Classical Arabic? Indeed, the attempt of an editor to standardize the language always presumes that the author has always chosen to write in the high register of the language and any deviation from that register is interpreted as an error. Is Middle Arabic nothing but a peculiar form of Arabic, which had been altered and corrupted by inexperienced and insufficiently educated copyists? Fischer ([W.] 1991), for one, tried to answer these questions by demonstrating that many authors of Arabic literature often freely chose a more 'relaxed' register of language for stylistic and rhetorical issues. Since the study of Middle Arabic was established as a true sub-discipline within Arabic studies (see den Heijer 2012a with further references), specialists have further developed this more balanced understanding of the reality of the Arabic language in its social

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and historical settings, but outside these circles, the outdated questions just dealt with can still be heard quite frequently.

However, as Lentin remarked, 'One cannot but observe that many writers have left us works both in faultless or even sophisticated Classical Arabic and works written in Middle Arabic. For those writers at least, one has to abandon the idea of their inadequacies in Classical Arabic. Moreover, it can be supposed that their choice to write some of their works in Middle Arabic was not arbitrary and was probably dictated, among other considerations, by the kind of audience they were writing for' (Lentin 2008, 216–217 and 2012b, 44–46). Actually it is well known by scholars that in pre-modern Arabic literature, numerous works are known to have been produced in Middle Arabic by authors who elsewhere demonstrated their perfect mastery of the literary language, as in the cases of Usāma Ibn al-Munqiḏ (1095–1131), Yāqūt al-Rūmī (1179–1229), al-Tanūḫī (941–994), Abū Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (897–967) and others.

Criticism of variants and criticism of forms

Whereas criticism of variants has the aim of retrieving the archetype of a given tradition, the aim of criticism of forms is to retrieve as far as possible the original linguistic features of the text. However, as we have already mentioned, the most common method adopted among editors of Arabic text, is to correct the linguistic features found in the manuscript witnesses, considering them as an altered form of the classical language. As a matter of fact it is often overlooked that a fair amount of pre-modern (as well as modern) Arabic texts are written in the mixed variety of the language that is often called Middle Arabic (or simply mixed Arabic) and that somehow oscillates between Classical Arabic (also known as Standard Arabic) and colloquial Arabic (for recent assessments of the study of this field, see Lentin 2008, 2012b; den Heijer 2012a; La Spisa 2012). And in many other cases, texts are written according to Classical Arabic grammar but with spelling conventions that today are considered closer to the colloquial register and do not correspond to current Standard usage.

As pointed out earlier, many editors of Arabic texts follow the method of correcting the linguistic or orthographical particularities of such texts, since they consider these to reflect an altered or even corrupted form of the classical norms. This kind of linguistic features are usually attributed to copyists who are supposed not to have mastered the rules of the Arabic language. Consequently, many editors correct their texts (*tanqīḥ al-naṣṣ*) by following a 'synchronic' or anti-historical approach to the language that is bound to obscure its linguistic reality, in terms of phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic data. According to a method that is duly informed by historical linguistics, sociolinguistics and dialectology, however, such data are also of historical relevance, and they ought to be examined in the context of their diachronic evolution. As Joshua Blau, the pioneer of Middle Arabic studies, contends, much is to be learnt from Romance philology, which addresses the old European dialects and their continuous rejuvenation throughout their written tradition (Blau 2003). Therefore the Romance philological experience may be of great interest for editors of mediaeval Arabic texts seeking a solution to the paradox pointed at here. Thanks to the above mentioned forerunner Gaston Paris, Romance philologists still today fruitfully distinguish between the two kinds of criticism advocated by him (Balduino 1979; Brambilla Ageno 1984; Contini 1992; Stussi 2002, 2006). Thus, it may be appropriate to quote Paris's own words on which the criticism of forms is based:

> One of the criteria that has but a subordinate role for choosing the readings, is of primary importance here: the closer a manuscript is to the author's times, in other words the older it is, the worthier of consideration it is. However, this is only one of the aspects of the problem: with the issue of time there is also that of place (Paris – Pannier 1872, 14; translation PLS).

In general, however, after Paris's endeavours to retrieve the language of the author by using available copies and historical grammars, or those of Michele Barbi who tended to normalize the old spellings (Barbi 1938), Romance philologists today prefer to respect the language and the spelling of a single manuscript witness which they choose on the basis of chronological and geographical criteria, taking in consideration the place and time of the author (Contini 1992; Stussi 2004, 183).

Criticism of forms and Middle Arabic

Within the larger framework of Arabic text editions, the issue of criticism of forms is of particular relevance for the numerous pre-modern texts that were written or transmitted in Middle or mixed Arabic. In this mixed language, classical, dialectical and hybrid forms of Arabic mix, alternate and coexist quite

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frequently in the same manuscript and sometimes even in the same folium (Blau 1966–1967, 2002; Lentin 1997, 2008, 2012b). Therefore variation is an intrinsic feature of the nature of Middle Arabic. From the analysis of the documents it is clear that authors and copyists have had at their disposal a wide range of linguistic forms from which they drew as they wished according to their stylistic and literary requirements. Moreover we must not forget that manuscripts are copies and so they still represent a kind of compromise between the language of their model and the language of the copyist himself who, consciously or not, adapts the language of the text read to his own linguistic system (Segre 1976, 285 and 1979, 53–70; Orlandi [T.] 2010, 109–115).

As we already noted, Arabic is a language that has evolved throughout its history. This evolution is evident when one compares, for instance, the Qurʾān with a text written in Modern Standard Arabic. Such a comparison was made possible thanks to the sacredness of the Qurʾān that gives us archaic forms as in a sort of fossilized amber; otherwise such forms would have disappeared. Certain orthographic forms of the Qurʾān are also attested in some Christian Arabic manuscripts. We illustrate now a few examples taken from the theological treatises by Sulaymān al-Ġazzī, a Christian Arab author of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (La Spisa 2013). Two manuscripts of this text, referred to here with the sigla S and Q, are distinguished by the use of a typical Qurʾānic script as in the words *al-ḥayāt* (life) and *al-ṣalāt* (prayer) that are written with *wāw* (reflecting the vowel -*ū*- or possibly -*ō*-) instead of *alif* (reflecting the vowel -*ā*-) (Wright 1896, 12A).

f. 163r line 13) S)	الصلوه والصوم والاتضاع
f. 58r line 17) Q)	ليظهر الحيوة الدهرية
f. 67r lines 10-11) Q)	بهِ كانت الحيوة، والحيوة كانت نور العالم

Since this very spelling is also attested in Arabic manuscripts of Palestinian origin, one could argue that this is a phonetic spelling that derives from Aramaic (Syriac *ḥayūtō*). It is true that as late as the eighteenth century Aramaic was still living in the Palestinian countryside (Spitaler 1960), but this is just one of the assumptions made by specialists, and in fact the origin of this phenomenon has been explained differently by scholars (Fleisch 1990, Blau 1988, Robin 2001). Ultimately, this spelling may reflect a specific level of Middle Arabic that Palestinian authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries might have utilized for the redaction of their works.

Another central question that has already been mentioned is that there is a close connexion and mutual conditioning between the process of establishing the text and the linguistic information contained in it, in other words between the criticism of variants and criticism of forms. The following example is a case in point. In this passage from the treatise *On the Uniqueness of the Creator* by Sulaymān al-Ġazzī (La Spisa 2013, 32), a linguistic variant (namely the exchange between a plosive emphatic sound and an interdental fricative emphatic sound) can become a reading variant:

SWM	عالم الامور قبل كونها والسراير قبل اضمارها
BHA	, , , , اظمارها
Y	, , , , اظهارها

The word *iḍmār*, which means here ‘the hiding of a secret’, via *iẓmār* (a graphic variant), becomes *iẓhār* i.e. the ‘revelation of the secret’; that is to say the exact opposite of the original.

References

Balduino 1979; Barbi 1938; Battista – Bagatti 1979; Bausi 1998, 2002b, 2003b, 2004b; Bausi – Gori 2006; Bettini – La Spisa 2012; Blachère – Sauvaget 1945; Blau 1965, 1966–1967, 1988, 2002, 2003; Brambilla Ageno 1984; Cerquiglini 1989; Contini 1992; den Heijer 2012a; Déroche 2005; Déroche et al. 2000; Draguet 1977; Edelby 1986; Fischer [W.] 1982, 1991; Fleisch 1990; Gacek 2009; Géhin 2005; Gibson 1901; Graf 1944; Hamzaoui 1965; Heyworth 1981; Khafaji 2001; La Spisa 2013; Lentin 1997, 2004, 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c; Lentin – Grand’Henry 2008; Marrassini 1992, 1993, 2003; Müller [R.] 1964; al-Munajjid 1956; Orlandi [G.] 2008; Orlandi [T.] 2010; Paris – Pannier 1872; Pétrof 1914; Platti 1981, 1987; Poirel 2006; Rafti 1988; Rezaei 2008; Robin 2001; Samir 1980, 1982; Sayyid 2009; Schen 1972, 1973; Segre 1976, 1979; Spitaler 1960; Stussi 2002, 2004, 2006; Timpanaro 2003; Witkam 1988; Wright 1896; Yūsuf ʿAlī Ṭawīl 2002; Zack – Schippers 2012.

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3.14. The Nag Hammadi Codices. Textual fluidity in Coptic (HL)

This case study discusses the problems of editing and interpreting fluid, or 'living,' texts in cases where there are very few, or even unique, textual witnesses. The case in point is the texts preserved in Coptic in the much studied Nag Hammadi Codices (NHC).

The chimera of the hypothetical original

While those who work on, for instance, mediaeval textual traditions often have to deal with a profusion of exemplars and are confronted directly by an abundance of variants (cf. for example Driscoll 2010), in the case of Coptic manuscripts we are more often than not faced with works that are preserved in one, or very few, witnesses. Especially in those cases where we have only a single copy preserved, it is easy to think that we are looking at a stable text. This impression would not have been problematic had it not been so closely connected to certain other key presuppositions of Nag Hammadi research, namely the assumption that all the texts are translations from Greek, and the almost exclusive scholarly focus on the hypothetical Greek originals and their original contexts of composition. Importantly, the assumption of textual stability has led to overconfidence regarding the possibility of gaining access to the original texts, and in using the preserved texts as evidence of a period of time long before the production of the extant manuscripts.

The combination of these factors is very common in Nag Hammadi scholarship. It can for instance be seen in the work of one of the most distinguished scholars of Coptic, Bentley Layton. Although Layton, in a clearly formulated article on philological method, noted with regard to the Nag Hammadi manuscripts that 'it is crucially important to observe that the original language (Greek) is precisely what we do not have' (Layton 1981, 97), the methodological implications he drew from this observation were diametrically opposed to those drawn by the proponents of the so-called 'new philology' or 'material philology' on the basis of their work on highly fluid mediaeval textual traditions (see for example Nichols 1990; Driscoll 2010). Having great confidence in the modern scholar's ability to get back to the hypothetical original, he argued that 'if we cannot reconstruct that lost Greek original on paper, still we can hope to approximate the ancient author's own culture and thought through a recovery of its meaning in a sympathetic English translation keyed to a commentary oriented above all towards Greek usage' (Layton 1981, 97). Layton consequently suggested that 'conceivably the ancient Coptic version might be substituted for the English translation: but since ancientness in itself is no virtue, and since Coptic diction is notoriously non-philosophical, modern 'classicist's English' (provided that it is accurate) will probably be in closer touch with the ancient author's Hellenistic thought than ancient Coptic, whose nuances of diction, philosophical or otherwise, are largely lost upon us and in any case are certainly not Greek' (Layton 1981, 97; implemented most clearly in Layton 1979). Similarly Frederik Wisse (1997, 141–142) has argued that the ideal is for the English translation 'to bypass the Coptic translations to get as close as possible to the common Greek text behind them'. While very few scholars have followed Layton's suggestion that one should translate the hypothetical Greek rather than the preserved Coptic texts (cf., for example, the opposite position as argued by Wilson [R.] 1975, 38), most have shared his presuppositions, including the low esteem in which the Coptic texts have often been held in relation to their hypothetical originals. There are, however, several reasons why such an approach is problematic, not least the above mentioned issues relating to textual fluidity and living literature.

Indeed, with regard to the study of the Nag Hammadi Codices it is a much overlooked problem that these texts, which are attested either in a single copy or in very few copies, might in fact have been significantly and intentionally changed in transmission. There has indeed been a tendency to regard these texts as representatives of fundamentally stable textual traditions, and variants have generally been regarded as errors of transmission rather than as evidence of intentional rewriting (notable exceptions include Painchaud 1995; Painchaud – Janz 1997; Barc – Painchaud 1999; Emmel 1997; Emmel 2008; Lundhaug 2010). As John Bryant (2007, 18) has rightly pointed out, 'most readers are initially inclined to assume that textual fluidity is merely textual corruption'. Although the illusion of textual stability may be easily upheld with regard to the singularly attested Nag Hammadi texts, such as the *Apocryphon of James*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Gospel of Philip*, or the *Paraphrase of Shem*, to mention but a few, the fluid nature of the texts witnessed in the Nag Hammadi Codices becomes clear once we take a closer look at those tractates that are preserved in multiple copies. We will now take a closer look at two such examples.

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Example 1: The Gospel of Truth

The *Gospel of Truth* is attested in two manuscripts, both of them from the Nag Hammadi discovery. Only one of these, the third tractate of NHC I, preserves a complete text, comprising twenty-eight manuscript pages (see Attridge – MacRae 1985). The other witness, in NHC XII, is only fragmentarily preserved in three significantly damaged leaves (six pages; see Wisse 1990). There are a number of differences between the two preserved versions, and although the latter version is only partly preserved, the differences between the two are still suggestive of the fluidity of the textual transmission of this work.

First of all, the two versions of the *Gospel of Truth* are written in different dialects of Coptic, the NHC I version in Lycopolitan and the NHC XII version in Sahidic. Secondly, the difference in scribal quality is quite apparent, the untidy and rather ugly scribal hand of the NHC I version exhibiting a number of mistakes, while the rather more tidy and skilled hand of NHC XII appears, from the few fragments preserved, to be quite accurate. Finally, and most importantly, there are substantial and significant textual differences between the two versions that go beyond those that are easily explainable by different dialects and errors of transmission. What conclusions can be drawn on the basis of these differences? In fact, most scholars working on the *Gospel of Truth*, or who have used the *Gospel of Truth* in their reconstructions of early Christianity or 'Gnosticism', have been content with working on the NHC I version and have either explicitly or implicitly dismissed the version contained fragmentarily in NHC XII (for example, Thomassen 2006, 147). Indeed, the impression given by most studies of the *Gospel of Truth* is that there is no significant variation between the two versions. However, on the basis of a detailed comparison between the NHC XII fragments and the NHC I version, it is quite clear that there is in fact significant variation between the two. As Wisse noted (1990, 330), 'the differences between the two versions of the *Gospel of Truth* go far beyond those expected for independent translations into different dialects'. Not only does the NHC XII version represent 'a somewhat shorter text' that often differs in substance from NHC I, but 'the many serious problems of syntax in [NHC] I,*3* are not evident in [NHC] XII,*2*'. To account for this, he suggests that either the Coptic translator of the NHC XII text 'produced a version that was a simplification of the Greek', or 'the Coptic of Codex I is awkward and at times corrupt' (Wisse 1990, 330). The NHC I version may thus be 'an inferior Coptic translation of a corrupted Greek text' (Wisse 1990, 331). From the same evidence, other scholars have come to the opposite conclusion, such as Thomassen (2006, 147), who states that 'the text transmitted in Codex XII was significantly inferior to that of Codex I'. Moreover, while Thomassen admits that 'the text of Codex I may have been reworked in places', he nevertheless claims that 'in substance' we are 'justified in treating NHC I,3 as representing a Valentinian document dating from before the time of Irenaeus' work of the 180s' (2006, 147–148).

Such judgments are, however, subjective, and other options are available. In an addendum to an important article by Raoul Mortley (1992), Michel Tardieu noted the major differences between the two codices, and argued that the Sahidic version of NHC XII 'provides evidence of a non-glossed [Gospel of Truth], i.e. the writing of Valentinus himself' (Tardieu in Mortley 1992, 250). The NHC I version, on the other hand, should then be seen as a text that 'belongs to a later stage of development of a school which calls itself Valentinian, but whose theological interests were very different from those of its founder'. In Tardieu's opinion, the NHC I version seems to be a commentary on a shorter Greek text of which the NHC XII version is a translation. Mortley (1992) himself argued on the basis of theological parallels that the *Gospel of Truth*, as preserved in Codex I, presupposes the Arian debate, and consequently dated it to the fourth century, close to the time of the production of the codex itself.

Still, a majority of scholars researching 'Valentinianism' or 'Gnosticism' have continued to regard the NHC I version as essentially identical to an 'original' second-century composition, simply, it seems, because this is the only completely preserved copy (for example Williams [J.] 1988; Schenke 2001; Thomassen 2006; some even claim it was written by the famous heretic Valentinus himself, for example Standaert 1976; Williams [J.] 1988, 4–5). We may observe that even those scholars who recognize the substantial differences between the versions in NHC I and XII are still wedded to the notion of a stable textual tradition where variants are explained away as errors of transmission rather than as an endemic quality of the textual tradition. Instead, we may say that these two codices provide us with 'snapshots' of a longer, more complex textual tradition. Trying to get back to the 'original' text or even its essential qualities or its original context on the basis of these very different exemplars must be regarded as a highly speculative venture. As David Parker has argued on the basis of the plethora of variants in Greek New Testa-

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ment manuscripts, ‘the attempt to produce an original form of a living text is worse than trying to shoot a moving target, it is turning a movie into a single snapshot, it is taking a single part of a complex entity and claiming it to be the whole’ (Parker 2007, 586). What is needed with regard to studies of a text like the *Gospel of Truth* is for scholars to acknowledge the fact that our surviving textual witnesses constitute exactly such snapshots, and that these snapshots are not necessarily representative of the entire movie.

Example 2: The Apocryphon of John

Another example is provided by the *Apocryphon of John*. In this case we are fortunate enough to have no less than four textual witnesses, three in the Nag Hammadi Codices (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1) and one in the codex Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *P.Berol*. 8502, all in Coptic. Here too, the implications of the textual fluidity evidenced by the differences between the copies have largely been ignored in favour of the notion of a hypothetical Greek original (sometimes identified with Irenaeus’ source for *Adversus Haereses* I.29 in the late second century).

On the basis of the major differences between the surviving Coptic witnesses, the editors of the excellent English-language critical edition (Waldstein – Wisse 1995) gave up the attempt to establish a single critical text, and opted for a synoptic presentation of all four witnesses in parallel columns (Wisse 1997, 141–142). However, even when opting for this solution they also reconstructed much, at times arguably too much, text in each version on the basis of the others (on their emendation policy, see Wisse 1997, 139–141). They argue that the four copies represent two independent Coptic translations from the original Greek of a shorter version of the *Apocryphon of John*, and two copies of a Coptic translation of a longer version of ‘the same tractate’ (1995, 1). They hold the Greek *Urtext* of the *Apocryphon of John* to have been written in the early third century, and they speculate that this work then ‘underwent a major redaction, represented by the longer version’ also in the third century. Sometime in the late third or early fourth century these two versions were then both independently translated into Coptic, the shorter version at least twice. They believe that these versions were then copied in Coptic and eventually ended up in our four extant Coptic codices. The remaining differences between the versions that are not readily explained as results of different translations of different Greek versions they then account for by errors of transmission in Coptic. Interestingly, the differences between the two copies of the shorter recension (NHC III,1 and *P.Berol*. 8502,2) are explained by Waldstein and Wisse as the result of different translations of the same Greek work, while the two versions of the longer text (NHC II,1 and IV,1), which they regard as copies of the same translation of the longer Greek text, still contain differences that lead them to the conclusion that these two copies ‘do not appear to stand in a ‘sister’ or ‘mother-daughter’ relationship’ (1995, 1).

Yet there is reason to suspect that even this complicated picture is too neat. Waldstein and Wisse’s reasoning relies upon the premise that the variants are primarily to be explained by differences of translation and errors of transmission (see, for example, Waldstein – Wisse 1995, 7; Wisse 1997, 145–46), and although they briefly discuss the question of redaction with regard to the differences between the short and long version, they do not take intentional rewriting fully into consideration when considering the full breadth of variance among all four witnesses. Access to the hypothetical Greek original, pure and uncontaminated by the errors brought in by later transmission, remains the ultimate, although unreachable, goal, and the primary focus for most scholars working on the *Apocryphon of John*. The hypothetical Greek original and its historical and sociocultural context, sometimes imagined as ‘an urban school setting, probably in Alexandria’ (King 2006, 9–13, 244), has generally been privileged in interpretations, a context far from that of the preserved Coptic manuscripts, even though we may reasonably suspect that the latter context has significantly influenced the text in the versions that are in fact available to us (on the perils of over-emphasizing the hypothetical original, see the insightful comments of King 1997, esp. 130–137).

If we change perspective, however, and instead think in terms of living literature (Bradshaw 1993; Bradshaw 2002, 5)—or textual fluidity (Bryant 2002, 2007)—and regard our four Coptic witnesses as snapshots of a fluid textual tradition, without privileging the original text, it becomes necessary to reconsider how we treat the *Apocryphon of John* and use it as a historical source, as each witness becomes important in itself as evidence of the text’s reception and use in different contexts.

Texts in their manuscript contexts

The *Gospel of Truth* and the *Apocryphon of John* are just two examples. The situation is similar in the case of other Nag Hammadi texts with multiple witnesses (sometimes in various languages, including Coptic,

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Greek, Latin, and Arabic), such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, *On the Origin of the World*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Eugnostos the Blessed*, the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, *Zostrianos*, the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, (the *First Apocalypse of*) *James*, the *Teachings of Silvanus*, the *Sentences of Sextus*, Plato's *Republic* 588b-589b, the *Prayer of Thanksgiving*, *Asclepius* 21–29. Of course the extent of attestation and the degree of both absolute and observable fluidity varies from case to case, but in all of them the differences are significant enough to warrant paying closer attention to the preserved texts as they appear in their various manuscript contexts.

In addition to the variance attested by the above mentioned cases, there is also a need to take seriously the implications of textual fluidity for the other Nag Hammadi texts. There is no reason to believe that those texts that are attested only by single copies are characterized by greater stability than those texts for which we have multiple attestation. On the contrary, there is good reason to treat them as single frames (to stay within the cinematic metaphor) of fluid textual traditions. If the implications of this perspective are taken fully into consideration with regard to the Nag Hammadi collection as a whole, the way in which the texts are used as sources for the history of early Christianity may have to be radically reconsidered, as they can no longer be used uncritically as sources for the second and third centuries. As Stephen Emmel has noted, 'there is one obvious task that has not yet been carried out thoroughly and consistently' with regard to the Nag Hammadi Codices, namely to read them 'as a part of Coptic literature' (Emmel 1997, 42). Such a task involves reading 'the texts exactly as we have them in the Nag Hammadi Codices in an effort to reconstruct the reading experience of whoever owned each of the Codices'.

Michael Williams (1997, 209) has highlighted a tendency among scholars of the Nag Hammadi tractates 'to equate rather too facilely or thoughtlessly the 'text' of a given writing only with what is after all our own modern text-critical 'guess-timate' about the 'original', skipping past on our way perfectly real, physical copies of that writing that someone did use'. Similarly, Emmel (1997, 40–41) has noted the tendency among scholars to 'move back and forth between the Coptic text we have and the original we would like to have', on the basis of the often unstated assumption 'that the Nag Hammadi tractates bear some more or less close relationship to a hypothetical original composition'. As Emmel (1997, 41) has rightly pointed out, this practice is tantamount to traversing a minefield, for 'the Coptic phases of transmission pose nearly insurmountable barriers to recovering the translators' *Vorlagen*', not to mention the hypothetical original Greek. Even the common assumption of the existence of Greek originals needs to be questioned in each individual case. Firstly, we need to remain open to the possibility that at least some of the Nag Hammadi texts were originally composed in Coptic, and secondly, when we take textual fluidity fully into account, it is not always clear what consequences we should draw from the assessment that a document's original language was Greek (Lundhaug 2010, 357–358). With the Nag Hammadi Codices there has, for instance, been a tendency by editors and interpreters to disregard wordplays that make sense only in Coptic, based on a presumption that the original language was Greek. One such case can be seen in an important passage in the *Gospel of Philip* (58.14–17), where editors have emended the Coptic word for 'door' (*ro*) to 'king' (*rro*), thus ruining the Coptic wordplay, which indicates that one needs to see the door in order to enter in to the king. Not only does the emendation dissolve the wordplay, however, but it also removes a biblical allusion to the Gospel of John (10.9) that is necessary for a proper understanding of the passage (see Lundhaug 2010, 281–284). In fact, such editorial and interpretive practices, which clearly show some of the consequences of a focus on a hypothetical Greek original, can be described as yet further examples of textual fluidity, as modern editors and translators change the texts to comply with their own presuppositions and expectations, just like their counterparts in Late Antiquity.

An issue that also needs to be addressed when discussing the Nag Hammadi Codices in relation to textual fluidity is the underlying attitudes, by authors, readers, and scribes, toward textual variation. Bernard Cerquiglini (1989, 1999) has argued that the people of the Middle Ages embraced textual variation. Against this view, however, it has been argued that 'the awareness of the very fertile variability of mediaeval and modern texts does not by any means imply unbridled enthusiasm for variability as such' (Varvaro 1999, 57; Busby 1993). Alberto Varvaro (1999, 57) asserts that 'mediaeval variability (variance) is never the simultaneous presence of variants, but rather of the instability of a text in different locations, environments, and times'. This is a useful distinction, but it does not quite work for the Nag Hammadi Codices, where we have different versions of the same works preserved side by side in what appear to be contemporaneous codices from the same milieu, for example the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Apocryphon of*

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John discussed above. In these cases we do indeed seem to witness 'the simultaneous presence of variants'. The implications of this fact for our picture of the textual culture of the producers and users of these codices remain to be explored. What, for example, was the *Apocryphon of John* for those who may have read the text in NHC II, III, and IV together?

While an increased emphasis on studying the preserved Coptic texts in their manuscript contexts may in many ways heighten the complexity of our work and lead to different conclusions, analyses from such a perspective should potentially be less speculative and lead to more secure results (Emmel 1997, 42–43).

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3.15. Gregory of Nazianzus' *Homilies*. An over-abundant manuscript tradition in Greek and in translation (CM)

Editing Greek Patristics

Kurt Treu summarizes the task of an editor of Patristics as follows: 'Die meisten Editionsprobleme erwachsen dem Patristiker nicht daraus, daß ihm die Materialien fehlten, sondern daß sie ihn überschwemmen. Man kann etwa folgende Punkte nennen: 1. Es gibt zu viele Handschriften. 2. Es gibt zu viele Übersetzungen. 3. Es gibt zu viele Testimonien. 4. Es gibt zu viele Variationen' (Treu 1980, 618–619). Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta (1987) therefore states that one may not require that an editor of Patristic texts complies with the theoretical ideals of textual criticism: i.e. exhaustive heuristics (direct and indirect tradition), complete collation of all witnesses, classification of the manuscripts synthesized in the form of a stemma codicum, etc.

In theory, there is no reason why an abundance of witnesses would make the classification of the witnesses, and therefore the stemma, 'une entreprise irréalisable et même fallacieuse', as Amand de Mendieta puts it (1987, 41). On the contrary, one could argue that the stemmatological analysis is more appropriate to a large tradition, than to a tradition where too few manuscripts have been preserved. In practice, however, the task is indeed extremely costly in terms of time and monetary expenses, and the results may often appear disappointing in the end. Amand de Mendieta claims that, in the event of an over-abundance of witnesses, the editor must limit him/herself in two ways: (1) to the manuscripts earlier than the sixteenth century, and (2) to the direct tradition, including, however, the ancient translations (Amand de Mendieta 1987, 35–38). Those two limitations are indeed justified, again for practical reasons, although they are difficult to be argued for in theory, since the high number of preserved manuscripts does not guarantee in itself the quality of the preserved text.

Specificities concerning the tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus

Compared with other Greek Church fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus' tradition shows a few features that can be considered rather peculiar. The writings by Gregory of Nazianzus (*c.*330–*c.*390) that have come down to us consist of 44 sermons, approximately 18,000 verses, and 243 letters. All together they form a coherent corpus, probably authorized as a conscious selection of 'opera omnia', to which hardly any ancient *spuria* were added. In the case of the homilies, it is quite clear that those 44 were selected as exemplary (the normal production of a bishop would comprise much more than 44 sermons), and that they circulated in collections, and not individually. This last point can hardly be proven, yet there are many elements pointing in that direction, and above all the fact that all the ancient translations preserve only those 44 homilies.

For an overview of a different, and very complicated case, see Voicu (2013) about John Chrysostom.

Previous scholarship

Scholarship devoted to Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies has a long history. The first modern edition was produced by the Maurists and published between 1778 and 1840, and is on the whole of high quality, even though the manuscript basis of their edition is not easy to trace back, and of course not explicitly mentioned in the notes. This edition was reproduced in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter PG) (volumes 35–37). At the beginning of the twentieth century, a Polish scholar, Tadeusz Sinko, published a remarkable study on the history of the text (Sinko 1917), in which he examined several manuscripts containing a complete collection of the homilies, as well as some of the ancient translations into Latin and oriental languages. Sinko concluded that the manuscript tradition of Gregory's complete collections of *Discourses* should be divided into two branches, which he called M and N, according to the number of pieces contained in the manuscripts (either 47 or 52—those numbers are written in Greek as MZ′ and NB′, respectively). Sinko's theory served as a basis for the editions of the homilies in the collection *Sources Chrétiennes*, which used ten manuscripts (and sometimes more) amongst the oldest known members of the two families defined by Sinko, as well as the Latin translation (this last witness, however, was not used in a systematic way). Homilies 1–12 and 20–43 were edited between 1974 and 1995 in the collection *Sources Chrétiennes*, on the basis of Sinko's hypothesis. The quality of the editions very much depends on their individual editors (see Somers 1997, 17–41).

Between 1981 and 1998, Justin Mossay completed his census of (all) manuscripts containing one or more homilies of Gregory; the results of his research filled six volumes, describing about 1,500 Greek

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manuscripts prior to 1550. The Université catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve) acquired about 1,000 microfilms of Greek manuscripts containing the homilies. In 1997, V. Somers published a doctoral dissertation (Somers 1997, see also Somers 2001), in which she challenged Sinko's theory, on the basis of her examination of all manuscripts containing a complete collection, and in the light of her discovery that many manuscripts contain a complete collection in another order than the order prevalent in M or N manuscripts. In the ten years following this publication, the Université catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve) hosted a large project of critical editions and studies of the ancient translations in oriental languages—namely, Armenian, Syriac, Georgian, Arabic (see Coulie 2000b).

This inventory of the witnesses must indeed be done before the editorial work proper can even commence. This shows that the edition of texts preserved in an over-abundant tradition can only be undertaken by a team and with long-term funding—something which has become very problematic in the present academic environment. This should also remind us that socio-economic constraints are important elements in any editorial enterprise.

History of the text of Homily 27—an incomplete story

My own research (1997–2001) focused on one specific homily, and my task was to collate all the Greek manuscripts containing it, to classify them, and then to retrace the history of the text, using all direct and indirect witnesses. Homily 27 was selected because it does not belong to the sixteen so-called liturgical homilies, which are kept in special collections, represented in hundreds of copies (see Somers 2002). In addition, it is preserved in all the oldest translations: Latin (*c.*400, by Rufinus of Aquileia, who translated only nine homilies: 2, 38, 39, 41, 26, 17, 6, 16, 27), Armenian (*c.*500), and Syriac (last revision *c.*675 by Jacob of Edessa). For a list of 139 Greek manuscripts containing homily 27, see: <http://pot-pourri.fltr.ucl.ac.be/manuscrits/GRECS/DEFAULT.HTM> (search 'par discours', select 'Or.27').

It must be noted that the oldest Greek manuscripts do not antedate the ninth century. The age of a manuscript is no guarantee of the quality of the text it preserves—and in this case we can verify this assumption by concrete facts. The few palimpsest manuscripts preserved do not contribute anything to the history of the text, as Véronique Somers showed (Somers 2009, 69). The two complete collections in uncial, X.11 and N.23, survived because of their illustrations, but they are both late uncial manuscripts, luxury products, and the text they preserve is often faulty, and, as neither of the manuscripts seems to have even been copied, they can be considered dead-ends of the tradition.

As I have stated before, Sinko's division of the tradition into two branches according to the content and order of the homilies in the collection has been challenged by Somers (1997), but has not been wholly replaced. Still, Somers (1997) has put the validity of external criteria of classification into doubt, and any further research should therefore start with textual elements alone.

The first task was therefore to collate all the Greek manuscripts, which I did, at that time on paper, using the edition in PG as reference text. Homily 27 being a relatively short text, it was possible to collate it entirely, and the collation was as careful and as complete as possible. It took me several months to complete this stage, and I am aware that it may often be impossible to devote so much time to collations. At that time (1997–1998), a manual collation, on paper, seemed the only possibility—collating tools existed then (like Peter Robinson's *Collate*), but they did not seem usable for my purpose: producing full transcriptions of each of the 139 manuscripts seemed a waste of time. Because of the over-abundant manuscript tradition, however, it proved necessary to encode the variants, excluding punctuation and trivial purely phonetic mistakes, in a database (Dubuisson – Macé 2006) that is not usable anymore, because it used pre-Unicode fonts and an outdated version of MS Access. One of the possible outputs of this encoding was a matrix (fig. 3.3.15.1).

In abscissa are the variant locations and in ordinate the manuscripts. A variant location is a word or group of words for which there exists at least one variant reading, differing from the reference text. I have defined 556 variant locations (homily 27 counts 2,105 forms) and have noted a total of 691 variants. As can be seen in fig. 3.3.15.1, the matrix is not binary, for in one variant location, more than one variant may occur: 0 means that the manuscript bears the same reading as in the reference text, 1 is the first variant which appeared during the collation, 2 is the second one, etc. The question mark is used to indicate a lacuna, which should not be treated as 0, for it is not the same as the reference text.

This kind of matrix allows for the application of statistical methods. We first tried multidimensional scaling (Macé et al. 2001) and then software used in phylogenetics (PAUP, PHYLIP) (Macé et al. 2004).

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                     1111111111222222222233333333334444444444555555555566666666
Taxon/Node  123456789012345678901234567890123456789012345678901234567890123456
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
EA          000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000
L 010       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000100000003020000
L 017       000000000000100000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002000
L 024       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100006000000000
L 026       000000000000100000000000000000000200000000000000000100000000002200
L 028       000000000002000000000300000000000000000000000000000100000000013000
L 079       000000000000000000000000000001000000000000000000000100000000002000
L 090       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100006000000000
L 093       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 104       000000000000001000000000010000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 105       001000000000100000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 123       000000000000000001000000000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
L 125       000000000002000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002000
L 140       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
L 143       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
L 172       000000000000000100000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002000
L 179       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 194       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
L 261       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 283       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 295       000000000000100000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002010
L 300       100000000002000000000010000000000000000000200000000000100000000000000
L 305       000000000000000000000000000200000000000000000000000120000000000000
L 318       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100006000000000
L 379       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
L 414       000000000000000000010000000200000000000000000100000100000000000000
M 01        000000001002000100000000000000000000010100000100100010000000002002010
M 02        000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
M 06        000000001002000100000000000000000000010000000000000100010000000000000010
M 07        000000000002000100003000000000000000000000000000000100000001000000
M 09        000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002200
M 10        000000001000000100000000000000000000010000000000000100010000000000002010
M 11a       000000001002000100000000000000000001010100000100100010000000000002010
M 12        000000000002000100100000000000000000010100000100100010000000000002010
M 14        000000000000000000002000000000000000010000000000000100010000000010002010
M 15        000000000000100100000000000000000000000000000000010101000000000000010
M 16        000000000002000100000000000000000000000010000000100010000000000002010
M 17        000000000000100100000000000000000000010000000000100101010000000000000010
M 19        ?????00????????????????????0???????????????0100100010000000000000010
M 20        000000001002000100000000000000000000010000000000100100010000000000002010
M 21a       000000001002000100000000000000000000010100000000100100010000000000002010
M 22        000000001002000100002000000020000000010000000000100000010000000000002010
M 23        000000001002000100000000000000000000010000000000100100010000000000022010
M 24        000000000000000000002000000000000000010000000000100100010000000000002010
N 05        000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
N 06        000000000000000000000200000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
N 07a       000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
N 08        000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000002000
N 10        000000000000000000000200000000000000000000000100000100000000000000
N 13        000000000002000000000000000000000000000000000000000100000000000000
N 14        000000000000000000000200000000000000000000000000000100006000000200
N 15        000?0000000??00?00000000000000000000000000000000000?00000000002000
```

Fig. 3.3.15.1 Matrix–Manuscripts / Variant locations–not binary.

Fig. 3.3.15.2 shows one of the trees we were able to produce on the basis of variants alone, not employing any other type of information. It should also be noted that this tree is unrooted and unoriented: 0 does not necessarily indicate the original reading, although, since the PG edition is actually a good one, in fact it often does. The reader will easily observe that almost all M manuscripts are on two branches on the right side of the tree, whereas N manuscripts, which have a rather standardized text, without much variation, are on several branches at the left and bottom side of the tree (these directions are relative).

This tree is by no means a stemma: it is not rooted, the variant locations have not been polarized (primary reading => secondary reading), there is no timeline, no codicological information, etc.

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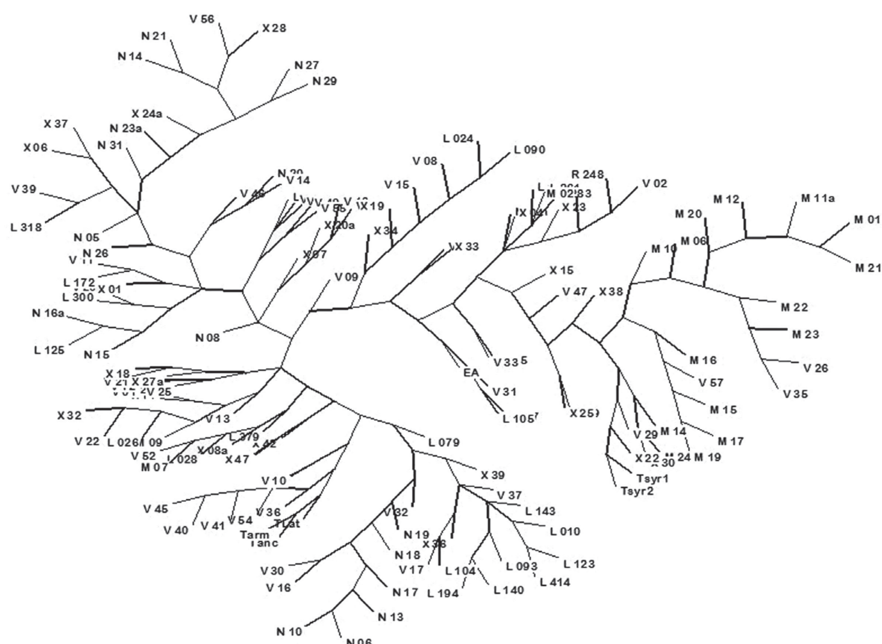

Fig. 3.3.15.2 Parsimony, unrooted tree. Homily 27, all manuscripts and ancient translations.

In order to go further than this statistical grouping, I have examined more closely the ancient translations, which one can find on the tree already, because they have been coded as lacunary witnesses (it is indeed impossible to reconstruct with certainty their Greek *Vorlage* on each variant location; this is why only the variant locations for which this reconstruction is certain have been coded). I was able to demonstrate that the Latin and Armenian translations share a number of variants which are absent from all known Greek manuscripts, and in some cases those variants in the translations are better than the transmitted Greek text (Dubuisson – Macé 2003, Macé 2011). Simonet (2010) tried to confirm our discovery, but this article is very confusing, and its methodology is flawed on several points: it relies on the edition in *Sources Chrétiennes* for the Greek text, but this edition gives only a very partial view of the Greek tradition; it is not based on a critical edition of the Armenian text; the variants are put in odd categories and their quality as kinship-revealing is never evaluated. Nevertheless, our demonstration (Dubuisson – Macé 2003) is sufficient to claim that all Greek manuscripts depend upon one subarchetype, and that the agreement between the Latin and Armenian translations may be used to orientate the tree (see fig. 3.3.15.3).

As can be seen, the Syriac translations (S1 and S2) belong to the same group of manuscripts as the M collections, and indeed I have shown in an article about homily 38 that a sub-group of M (anchored in Southern Italy) and the Syriac translations must be related (Macé 2004).

Is a new edition desirable / possible and under which form?

I have prepared, though have not published, a new edition of homily 27 (see fig. 3.3.15.4). Even if the history of the text is relatively clear now, we are still a long way from a new critical edition of Gregory's homilies. Justin Mossay did try to produce an edition of homilies 10 and 12 (Mossay 2006), but he was not very successful. The reviews of his edition were quite reserved (Bady 2008) or even negative (Macé 2008). Whereas his unconvincing introduction occupies about one hundred pages, the edition of the two homilies covers seven pages and is unusable: the apparatus is unreliable and the editorial choices are based on wrong assumptions.

Nevertheless, a new edition of the homilies is indeed desirable and possible. It does not make sense, however, to keep all the manuscripts in the apparatus, as Mossay did. The editor must make a selection amongst them, which cannot be completely justified on scholarly grounds, but is necessary on practical grounds. It will probably be necessary to edit the text as it is in the Greek manuscripts, that is the text of the Greek sub-archetype, which can be dated somewhat earlier than the second Syriac translation, that is before 675. Even though the Latin and Armenian translations would allow the opportunity to go back

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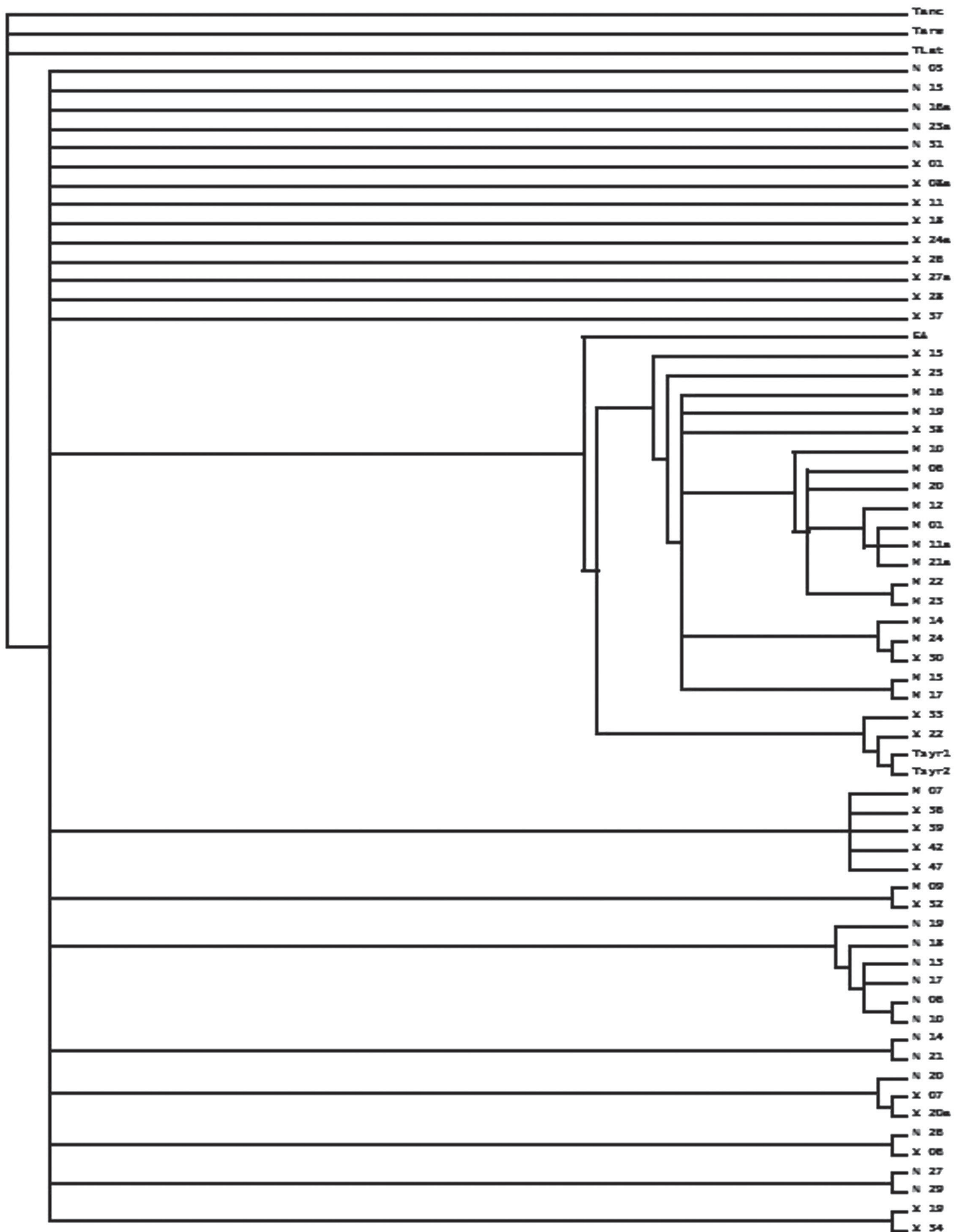

Fig. 3.3.15.3 Parsimony, consensus tree. Homily 27, complete collections, rooted on the Latin and Armenian translations.

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Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις,
ἢ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἢ πάντοτε

1. **[12A]** Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοὺς ὁ λόγος. Καὶ ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι· «Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν». Εἰσὶ γὰρ *εἰσί* τινες οἱ τὴν ἀκοὴν προσκνώμενοι καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἤδη δὲ ὡς ὁρῶ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ταῖς βεβήλοις κενοφωνίαις καὶ ἀντιθέσεσι τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως καὶ ταῖς εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον
5 φερούσαις λογομαχίαις· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ ἐν λόγῳ περιττὸν καὶ περίεργον· ὁ τοῦ συντετμημένου λόγου κῆρυξ καὶ βεβαιωτής· ὁ τῶν ἁλιέων μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος. Οὗτοι δὲ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, **[12B]** εἴθε μὲν ὥσπερ τὴν γλῶσσαν εὔστροφον ἔχουσι καὶ δεινήν, *ἐ*πε*τίθεντο* λόγοις εὐγενεστέροις τε καὶ δοκιμωτέροις, οὕτω τι καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἠσχολοῦντο *μικρόν γ' οὖν*. Καὶ ἴσως

Cap. 1

2 Ἰδοὺ — ὑβρίστριαν: *Ier.* 27, 31 **2/3** τὴν ἀκοὴν προσκνώμενοι: *II Tim.* 4, 3 (κνηθόμενοι τὴν ἀκοὴν)
3/4 ταῖς — γνώσεως: *I Tim.* 6, 20 **4/5** ταῖς — λογομαχίαις: *II Tim.* 2, 14 (τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ λογομαχεῖν, ἐπ' οὐδὲν χρήσιμον) **6** τοῦ συντετμημένου λόγου: *cf. Rom.* 9, 28 (*refertur Is.* 10, 23: ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ) ‖ ἁλιέων: *cf. Matth.* 4, 19 (καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων) //

Titulus

ἢ (1)] *om. V.25*, καὶ *X.06 X.19 L.105a.c. L.414 V.15 V.17*, ἤτοι *L.079* ‖ τὸ] *om. N.06 N.10 N.13 N.16 N.17 N.19 X.06 L.093 L.140 L.194 V.10 V.17 V.41*, *iter. V.15* ‖ ἢ πάντοτε] *om. L.104 V.56* ‖ ἢ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἢ πάντοτε] … παντὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι … πάντοτε *N.26 (legi nequit)* ‖ Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις ἢ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἢ πάντοτε] De Arrianis quod non licet semper et publice de Deo contendere *Ruf.*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας προδιάλεξις *M.01 M.06 M.10 M.11a.c. M.12 M.14 M.15 M.17 M.19 M.21a.c. M.22 M.23 M.24 N.05 X.08a.c. X.30 L.028 L.172 L.305 V.11 V.26 V.33 V.35 V.46 V.47 V.49 V.55 V.57*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας προδιάλεξις ἐρρέθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει *M.07*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας M.16, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις *S1 N.14 X.11 X.33 X.38 L.010 L.017 V.29 V.30 V.31 V.38 V.59 Gallay*, Πρὸς εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις δευτέρα *V.20*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς *Arm. S2 M.09 M.20 X.22 X.32 L.026 V.22*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας προδιάλεξις ἢ ὅτι οὐ παντὸς τὸ περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πάντοτε *X.15*, Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς καὶ περὶ θεολογίας προδιάλεξις ὅτι οὐ παντὸς περὶ θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἢ πάντοτε *X.25*, Κατὰ Εὐνομιανῶν προσδιάλεξις *Ald.*, θεολογικὸς πρῶτος Κατὰ Εὐνομιανῶν προδιάλεξις Maur., θεολογικὸς πρῶτος Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις *Mason*

Titulus ἐκ τοῦ σχεδιασθέντος πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς λόγου (Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 13, col. 1208 C 12-13); ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Εὐνομιανῶν (Pamphilus, *Capitulorum*, 16, 92 [n° 128]); ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐνομιανῶν περὶ θεολογίας λόγῳ (*A.C.O.*, Ser. II, II, 2, p. 905, 2)

Cap. 1

1 *post* κομψοὺς] *add.* νῦν *X.33 V.26* **2** ὑβρίστριαν *Ruf. Arm.*] ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν *M N.16 X.22 X.33, L.093 Maur. Gallay*, ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν *S1 S2 X.01 X.19 X.32 X.34 L.024 L.026 L.090 L.379 V.08 V.15 V.20 V.22 V.36 V.40 V.41 V.45 V.54 M.12p.c. L.105p.c. L.318p.c. V.03p.c. V.17p.c. V.38p.c. V.55p.c. M.09mg N.20mg N.23mg N.29mg X.18mg X.26mg X.27mg X.28mg* ‖ εἰσί (2) *S1 S2*] *om. Ruf. Arm.* **3** προσκνώμενοι] πεπυκνώμενοι *V.03* ‖ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα] *om. L.026* ‖ χεῖρα *Ruf. Arm.*] χεῖρα τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις καὶ χαίροντες *M X.22 X.32 X.33 V.22 V.36 M.09mg N.20mg N.23mg N.29mg X.07mg X.18mg X.20mg Maur. Mason Gallay*, χεῖρα τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις καὶ χαίροντας *X.26mg X.27mg X.28mg V.38mg* ‖ ταῖς] τοῖς *V.57* **4** κενοφωνίαις] καινοτομίαις *X.32* ‖ ψευδωνύμου] ψευδωμένης *V.21* ‖ ταῖς] τῆς *M.22* **4/5** χρήσιμον φερούσαις] φερούσαις χρήσιμον *X.36 L.104 L.123 L.140 L.194 V.17*
5 φερούσαις λογομαχίαις] λογομαχίαις φερούσαις *L.143a.c.* ‖ ἐν] *om. L.140* ‖ λόγῳ] λόγοις *V.24 V.29* **6** συντετμημένου] ὀρθοῦ καὶ τετμημένου *V.21*, συντετριμμένου *V.46* ‖ λόγου] *om. M.24a.c. V.03 V.10* ‖ καί] *om. V.14* ‖ βεβαιωτής] βεβαιωτέραν *V.46* ‖ μαθητὴς] νομομαθὴς *V.08mg* **7** *ante* διδάσκαλος] *add.* ἡμῶν *X.20 X.07mg* ‖ ὁ] *om. V.10, V.47* ‖ λόγος] *om. V.32* **8** ἐπετίθεντο *Ruf. Arm.*] ἐπιθέσθαι *S1 S2 codd. edd.* ‖ *ante* λόγοις] *add.* τοῖς *V.17a.c.* **9** οὕτω τι καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἠσχολοῦντο μικρόν γ' οὖν *S1 S2*] οὕτω τι μικρόν γ' οὖν καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἠσχολοῦντο *Ruf. Arm. ut uid.* ‖ τι] τε *X.22*, *om. L.305 L.414*

Fig. 3.3.15.4 Beginning of Homily 27 (§ 1), new edition of the Greek text, with all known witnesses.

earlier than that, they would not allow it systematically: it is therefore safer to limit the edition to what is certain—i.e. the Greek subarchetype.

References

Amand de Mendieta 1987; Bady 2008; Coulie 2000b; Dubuisson – Macé 2003, 2006; Macé 2004, 2008, 2011; Macé et al. 2001, 2004; Mossay 2006; Mossay et al. 1981–1998; Simonet 2010; Sinko 1917; Somers 1997, 2001, 2002, 2009; Treu 1980; Uthemann 1996; Voicu 2013.

3.16. Manuscript London, BL, Or. 2165 and the transmission of the Qurʾān (MMx)

Manuscript London, BL, Or. 2165, containing 121 folia, and two smaller fragments from Paris (BnF, Arabe 328e: six folia) and Kuwait (Dār al-Āṯār al-Islāmiyya LNS 19CA[ab]: two folia) form a remarkable document of a *c*.60%-complete codex of the Qurʾān. Generally speaking, manuscripts of the Qurʾān have not been sufficiently studied, although the last two decades registered significant progress in this field (Rezvan 2004; Altıkulaç 2007, 2009, 2011). This may seem surprising as the study of the Qurʾān has played a central role in Muslim scholarship since its very beginnings. The Qurʾān can indeed be considered the first Arabic book, of which copies on parchment are datable to the second half of the seventh century: a small number of early Qurʾānic parchments have been dated by C_{14} analysis, and a systematic analysis of a larger number of early fragments is currently being undertaken within the framework of the German-French research project 'Coranica', by Tobias J. Jocham, Eva Yousef-Grob, and myself (see <http://coranica.de> and Jocham – Marx forthcoming).

Since early times, the Qurʾān played a central role in Muslim life where, for example, the obligatory daily prayers require the recitation of its very short first Sūra, *al-Fātiḥa*, and another Qurʾānic passage to be chosen freely. Besides early witnesses on parchments, passages of the text are attested in Arabic papyri (Grohmann 1958), coins, graffiti and inscriptions of the seventh century (for early rock inscriptions containing Qurʾānic text, Imbert 2013) that show that the Qurʾānic text had swiftly become a significant marker in art and architecture. A famous example is the mosaic inscription in the Dome of the Rock, built by caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 691 CE, one of earliest calligraphic expressions of the Qurʾānic text, containing a selection of Qurʾānic verses focussing thematically on the theological positions of Jesus and Muḥammad (Grabar [O.] 2006). In collective prayer, such as the Friday communal gathering in a mosque, the Qurʾān was apparently always (and still is) recited and never read from a codex. Indeed, the Arabic term *muṣḥaf* (a loanword from Ethiopic not appearing in the text of the Qurʾān) refers to a Qurʾān manuscript or, in modern times, to a printed version as well, and thus underscores a widespread awareness of the quintessential distinction between the Qurʾān as a text in the abstract sense and its physical materialization in the shape of a book. Looking at its liturgical function from the perspective of the medium involved, the Qurʾān is a text of hybrid nature: physically present in the shape of written books, the 'first nature' of the text, at least seen from within Muslim religious tradition, the first medium nevertheless seems to be the human voice (Marx 2012). Apart from the technique of reciting the text (*taǧwīd*) (Kellermann 1995), to the extent that a chain of oral transmission from the lifetime of the Prophet until the present day grants authority to the recited text. Due to this type of transmission, different versions of the text, slightly differing from each other in word morphology (case, number, mode, etc.) and textual segmentation (verse numbering and regulation of pauses) exist until today and are all permitted for prayer and other religious purposes: these are the well-known 'seven canonical readings' (*al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ*), variants of the texts permitted in prayer (for more details see Marx 2012).

This dogma of an oral transmission by a chain that reaches back to the first recitation of the text by the Prophet Muḥammad himself neither can be proved easily nor should be dismissed out of hand. Suffice it to stress that it strongly reflects the attitude of Muslim scholarship towards written transmission. Perhaps the experiences of different textual versions of the holy text of neighbouring religious communities, of which early Muslims were well aware, lead to focussing on oral (non-written) transmission. On the other hand, Muslim sources tell us that already the first caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān took measures to restrain growing variant readings among the first Muslims. We do not know if ʿUṯmān had actually sent reference copies of one specific Medinan codex to the most important cities Basra, Kufa, Damascus and Mecca—and, according to another version of the account, also to Bahrain and to Sanaa—, but apparently things were not that simple with a 'liquid oral tradition' of the holy book.

The aforementioned reading systems are all compatible with a written standard that by the ninth century is identified with the reference copies sent by the caliph ʿUṯmān. Whatever one may think of the traditional Muslim narratives on these issues, the material evidence of extant copies attests to a relatively large number of written witnesses for the first two centuries, even before other Arabic texts took their written shape. This very first layer of textual transmission may be linked with the manuscript highlighted here, London, BL, Or. 2165. It has a striking resemblance with manuscript Paris, BnF, Arabe 328e, which is part of a *Sammelhandschrift*, a 'heterogenous manuscript' Arabe 328, consisting of five originally different manuscripts and merged by Michele Amari (1806–1889) from Qurʾānic codices acquired in Cairo in the

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first half of the nineteenth century. The reason for the merging of six different fragments is not known. Arabe 328a and 328b belong to the same codex (*Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, together with manuscripts St Petersburg, RNB, Marcel 18 + Vatican City, BAV, Vat. ar. 1605/1 (see fig. 2.2.5) + London, Khalili Collection, KFQ 60; see Déroche 2009); 328c may be together with MS Birmingham, Cadbury Library, 1572; 328d and 328f do not belong to any known manuscript. Just like London, BL, Or. 2165, Arabe 328e has no vowel signs, and consonants are often distinguished from each other by dashes. Six dots grouped in two vertical lines denote a verse separator, a red circle indicates every tenth verse separator. The style of writing and the size of (1) London, BL, Or. 2165, (2) six folia of Paris, BnF, Arabe 328 labelled as 328e and (3) a parchment bifolium that was sold in 1979 at an auction at Sotheby's in London and is preserved now in the Kuwaiti Dār al-Āṯār al-Islāmiyya (ed. Jenkins 1983, 18) indicate that they are fragments of a single codex of the Qurʾān that could be dated according to palaeographical evidence to the early eighth century (in the typology of Qurʾānic scripts, London, BL, Or. 2165 is classified as *ḥiǧāzī*-II, according to Déroche 1992; see Table 3.3.16.1).

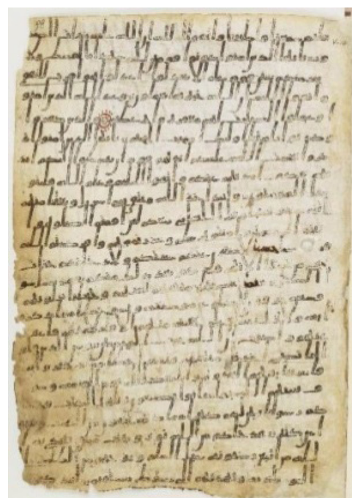
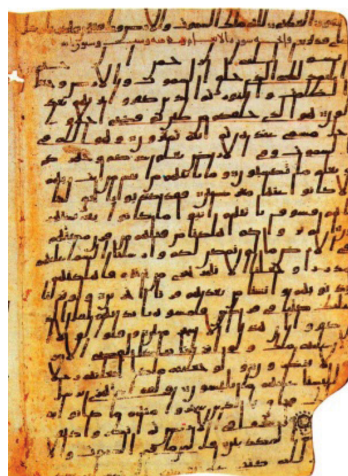
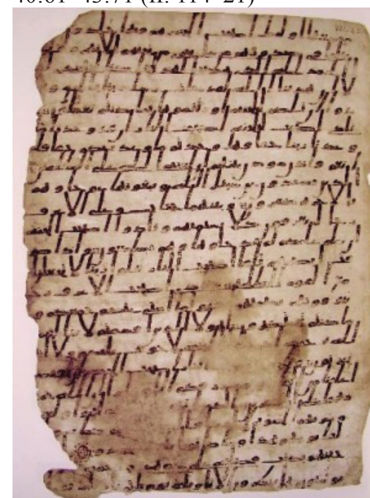
This sketch on the textual transmission of the Qurʾān is too brief to include evidence from more than twenty larger Qurʾānic manuscripts or fragments dated to the first two hundred years of the Islamic era. As the diagram on important manuscripts and their numbers of folia illustrates (Table 3.3.16.2), material evidence for the early history of the Qurʾān can be considered substantial in terms of quantity—especially if we were to compare it with material evidence for the New Testament where the important larger codices with the exception of fragments on papyri are usually dated to the centuries after the year 200.

Against this background, London, BL, Or. 2165 allows us to get insight into the textual history of the Qurʾān at least in six relevant fields: codicology; ornaments and illustrations; palaeography; text segmentation; spelling; and variant readings. For all these six levels of evidence, preliminary remarks on the manuscripts, partly referring to earlier studies, can be made, but here only the last three categories will be discussed.

In terms of the first three aspects, all that can be said here is that, codicologically, manuscript London, BL, Or. 2165, together with its two fragments, contains 129 folia, covers *c.*60% of the canonical text of the Qurʾān; just like the reconstructed *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, it is an example of Qurʾānic codices that are in line with the book culture of the Late Antique Middle East; the scarce use of metatextual

Table 3.3.16.1 Comparison of MSS Paris, BnF, Arabe 328e, Kuwait, LNS, 19CA[ab], and London, BL, Or. 2165

Parchment; *c.*315 mm × 215 mm; 24 lines per page; script: Arabic: *ḥiǧāzī*-II; early eighth century; probably of Syrian provenance

Paris, BnF, Arabe 328e	*Kuwait, LNS, 19CA[ab]*	*London, BL, Or. 2165*
6 ff.	2 ff.	121 ff.
5:7–65 (ff. 90–92) 6:39–6:112 (ff. 93–95)	5:89–6:12 (2 ff.)	7:42–9:95 (ff. 1–14) 10:9–39:47 (ff. 15–113) 40:61–43:71 (ff. 114–21)
		
f. 90r	f. r	f. 1r

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signs and ornaments reflects the earliest writing conventions of the sacred text (Rieu 1894, 37–38). In terms of palaeography, it is written in the style dubbed *ḥiǧāzī*-II (on which see Déroche 1992, 27–29), which points to a dating of the manuscript in the first half of the eighth century.

Text segmentation

Starting with the oldest extant manuscripts of the Qurʾān, such as the palimpsest Sanaa, DAM, 01-27.1, the use of verse separating signs can be observed. By using colour to mark every tenth verse, as in the London codex, numbering is implicitly given. In Kufic manuscripts, Arabic letters were inserted to explicitly state (by the numerical value of the letters) the number of decades. Thus, the segmentation of verses belongs to the very beginnings of Qurʾānic manuscript culture, a system probably aiming at structuring and controlling the written text. The verse numbering system may serve as an indicator for the origin of Qurʾānic manuscripts, as there are specific regional features.

In manuscript Paris, BnF, Arabe 328e, f. 92r, line 10, a red-ink separator marks the end of verse 50, corresponding to verse 48 in the Kufic verse numbering system used today. Anton Spitaler (1935) compiled a list of regionally established verse numbering systems (presented in practical tables) described in Islamic sources of the eighth and ninth centuries for the cities of Basra, Damascus, Homs, Kufa, Medina and Mecca. This regional vs. Kufic numbering difference of the two verses is mentioned in early Islamic sources (Spitaler 1935, 36). Intisar Rabb (2006, 84–127) has shown that MS London, BL, Or. 2165 follows in general the verse numbering system attributed to the Syrian city of Homs. The origin can find further attestation by the identification of variant readings that are also linked to regional systems, as the study of Yasin Dutton (2004) on ff. 1–61 of the London codex has shown.

Orthography

MS London, BL, Or. 2165 spells the long vowel /ā/ in medial position without the letter *alif*. Since the writing of Arabic had not yet been harmonized, the usual phonological value of the *alif* in the seventh century is the glottal stop (*hamza*). During the eighth century, the *alif* was increasingly used to mark the long vowel /ā/, an additional common use that lead to ambiguities in spelling and reading. Thus, the missing *alif* is a feature of Arabic in old manuscripts.

This feature can be highlighted by comparing London, BL, Or. 2165 to the Cairo printed edition of the Qurʾān of 1924—the reference text used today in the Muslim world and in western scholarship. The orthography of the Cairo edition looks archaic to us; according to the postface it follows the principles described by the Andalusian scholar (Abū ʿAmr) al-Dānī (d.1052) and Ibn Naǧāḥ (d.1103). In MS London, BL, Or. 2165, on f. 92r alone there are sixteen instances where *alif* is missing in comparison with the Cairo edition. Thus, the earliest known codices of the Qurʾān seem to go beyond the 'normative line' of al-Dānī.

Variant readings

Since MS London, BL, Or. 2165 is not vocalized, just like Paris, BnF, Arabe 328, there are some words that display differences in comparison with the received Qurʾānic text of our times as well as with the seven canonical readings of the tenth century. Yasin Dutton closely compared the first part of the London codex (ff. 1–61) with the 'standard' reading of Ḥafṣ (d.795; also used in the Egyptian print of 1924) and suggested that the reading of the London codex was that of Ibn ʿĀmir of Damascus (d.736), proclaimed one of the canonical Seven Readers by Ibn Muǧāhid (d.936; see Dutton 2004, 43–71). Just to illustrate: where in Sūra 5, verse 50 the majority reading attested by exegetical literature has *tabġūna*, London, BL, Or. 2165 (f. 92r, line 15) has *yabġūna*, corresponding to the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir (cf., for instance, Aḥmad Muḫtār ʿUmar –ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Sālim Makram 1982–1988, II, 216). The Ḥafṣ reading of Sūra 5, verse 54 has *yartadda* where London, BL, Or. 2165 (f. 92r, line 25) has *yartadid*, a *qirāʾa* known in the literature for the readers Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and Abū Ǧaʿfar (ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Sālim Makram – Aḥmad Muḫtār ʿUmar 1988, II, 218). The difference is more than just a diacritical mark (*yāʾ* instead of *tāʾ*) or a missing *alif*. Even if there are some cases in London, BL, Or. 2165 that are not in line with the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir (for instance, on f. 48r we find *li-yahaba*, written with the letter *yāʾ*, instead of *li-ʾahaba* written with the letter *alif*), the reading of the manuscript is for the most part in line with the reading system that was later ascribed to Ibn ʿĀmir.

Conclusion

The London codex (the *Ḥiǧāzī*-II-Syrian-codex consisting of London, BL, Or. 2165, Paris, BnF, Arabe 328e, and Kuwait, LNS, 19CA[ab]) covers 60% of the Qurʾān and can be considered one of its oldest witness-

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Table 3.3.16.2 Fragments of the Qurʾān on parchment before 750 CE

Collection	*Manuscript*	*Folia*
Bahrain, Bayt al-Qurʾān	1611-mkh235	1
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	or. fol. 4313	7
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	We. II 1913	210
Birmingham. Cadbury Research Library	1572	9
Cairo, National Library of Egypt	Qāf 47	31
Cambridge University Library	Add. 1125	2
Cambridge University Library	Or. 1287: Palimps	*c.*32
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 6959	1
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 6978	1
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 6988	1
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 6990	1
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 6991	1
Chicago, Oriental Institute	A 7000	1
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	1615 I	32
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	1615 II	4
Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi	ŞE Signatures	*c.*500
Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi	'Medina 1 a'	308
Raqqada, Musée national d'art islamique	R 119	86
Kuwait, Dār al-Aṯār al-Islāmiyya	LNS 19 CA ab	2
Kuwait, Tareq Rajab Museum	QUR-1-TSR	1
Leiden, University Library	Or. 14.545 a	4
Leiden, University Library	Or. 14.545 b	1
Leiden, University Library	Or. 14.545 c	1
London, BL	Or. 2165	121
London, Nasser D. al-Khalili Collection	KFQ 34	1
London, Nasser D. al-Khalili Collection	KFQ 60	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 326a	6
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328a	56
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328b	14
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328c	17
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328d	3
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328e	6
Paris, BnF	Arabe 328f	4
Paris, BnF	Arabe 330a	2
Paris, BnF	Arabe 330g	20
Paris, BnF	Arabe 331	56
Paris, BnF	Arabe 334c	25
Paris, BnF	Arabe 6140a	4
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7191	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7192	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7193	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7194	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7195	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7196	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7197	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7201	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7202	1
Paris, BnF	Arabe 7203	1
Philadelphia, PA, Paul J. Gutman Library	E. 16269 D	1
Doha, Qatar, Museum of Islamic Art	*unknown sign.*	*c.*50
Doha, Qatar, Museum of Islamic Art	MS 68, 69, 70, 699	13
Doha, Qatar, Museum of Islamic Art	MS 67	3
Vatican City, BAV	Vat. arab. 1605	1
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 3	26
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 9	32
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 16	12
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 17	18
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 18	26
St. Petersburg, RNB	Marcel 19	13
St. Petersburg, Inst. of Or. St. + fragments	E-20	97
Sanaa, DAM	01.25-1	30
Sanaa, DAM	01.27-1: Pal.	*c.* 38
Sanaa, DAM	01.29-1	31
Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek	Ma VI 165	77
Princeton University Library	14G a	1
Vienna, ÖNB	A Perg. 2	1
Vienna, ÖNB	A Perg. 213	1
TOTAL		***c.*2054**

es. The manuscript shares several features in format, style, and textual variants with the *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*. Both manuscripts seem to be written according to the Syrian reading that is later referred to in the literature as the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir. The verse numbering system of both manuscripts is in close relationship with that used in the cities of Damascus and Homs.

The London codex was produced, as it seems, in a way similar to Greek and Syriac codices of Late Antiquity. The victory of the parchment codex over the scroll by the fourth century is reflected in the early Islamic period; and the similarity to Syriac codices is perhaps related to the fact that the emerging religious culture of Muslims was still dependent on the already existing cultural techniques. The London codex can be dated palaeographically to the first half of the eighth century. Both its verse numbering system as well as the variant readings hint to a Syrian context.

The evidence contained in the London codex appears to be to a very high degree (though not perfectly) in line with data obtained from Islamic sources on variant readings and verse numbering system for the early Islamic period.

The manuscript is written in a rather uncalligraphic style. The almost complete absence of ornaments may be an indication of the scope of the manuscript, created in order to record the text rather than exhibit a beautiful copy. The codex seems to have been written by at least two different professional hands (Rabb 2006, 99), using 24 lines per page, meaning that, assuming it originally contained the complete text, it must have had approximately 220 folia, probably arranged in twenty-two quinions—an example of a fairly developed, professional, and also costly way of handling the Qurʾānic text.

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The study of the London codex has been somewhat limited, as most of the analysis carried out so far was based on the first 61 folia of London, BL, Or. 2165. An extensive study on the complete manuscript is still a desideratum. Moreover, similar in-depth studies on other extant old manuscripts or fragments of the pre-Umayyad period written in *ḥiǧāzī* script would be needed in order to pave the way for a comprehensive history of the Qurʾānic text.

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3.17. Past and present trends in the edition of Classical Syriac texts (AM)

CSCO, Scriptores Syri: A 'base manuscript', defects included

In a recent survey of electronic resources for Syriac studies, Kristian Heal (2012, 74, n. 17) tells of oral tradition concerning the scientific and emotional value of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO) for eastern Christian scholars: 'Sebastian Brock once observed in casual conversation that, 'The corpus is our life', referring to the CSCO'. Together with the *Patrologia Orientalis*, the CSCO and a few other editorial projects do indeed represent the life of Syriac philology and the solid skeleton for its growth in the twentieth century. So it is perhaps appropriate to start the present survey of text-critical choices in the edition of Classical Syriac texts from the sub-series *Scriptores Syri* of the CSCO. We can distinguish three main periods in its history: The Latin Period, from 1906 to 1949; Draguet's CSCO, from 1950 to 1995; and what we could label as 'new direction(s)' from 1995 onwards.

In the first period, all introductions and translations are written in Latin, the classical language of philology—and Roman Catholic liturgy—which virtually disappeared from the CSCO after 1950, when it was replaced by European national languages. To this period usually belong historiographical texts edited between 1903 and 1949, under the direction of Chabot. Their stocks were lost in 1940, when, during the second German invasion of Leuven, the building of the University Library was largely burnt down. Draguet directed their reprint in the years 1952–1955.

The Latin period includes various kinds of editions: diplomatic editions by Guidi and Vaschalde, eclectic texts by Labourt and Connolly, emended texts by Chabot, who clearly expresses the goal and limits of his editorial pride in the introduction of *Scriptores Syri* 36 (Chabot 1920): 'Editoris autem munus non est novam recensionem, etiam meliorem, constituere'.

Most of the Syriac texts published in the CSCO are in fact diplomatic editions, thanks to or because of the method elaborated, used and recommended by René Draguet, (re-)founder and director of the series for many years (1948–1995). Former professor of theology, in 1948 he took over the direction of CSCO and devoted most of his life to a monumental enterprise that required his total commitment (Ponthot 1981). Draguet (1977) exposes and summarizes his method in an article published in a miscellaneous volume in honour of Arthur Vööbus. It is clear that he is not discussing theoretical and methodological questions, but proposing a method in the sense of practical instructions or even directions for editors of Syriac texts. Following classical philological standards, he makes a detailed *recensio* of the manuscript witnesses a first requirement. Their evaluation should be in terms of closeness to 'the original', but the rather unclear expression 'textual profile which seems best to approximate the original' might in fact be the equivalent of Lachmann's concept of the archetype.

As we will see, the first recommendation made by Draguet to choose one manuscript as a base text and reproduce it as it is, with all its faults, is taken very seriously by all editors of CSCO in Draguet's period, preferred to any form of hybrid text, arbitrary contamination or conjectural reconstruction. The idea of reproducing the manuscript as it is, is much more fictional than it sounds. Besides concessions to the tacit normalization of the punctuation system (second recommendation), the subdivision of sentences, paragraphs and sections—procedures that profoundly alter the *mise en page* of the manuscript and its value as a historical witness of the punctuation system and the history of the language in a given moment—Draguet fails to mention another major change introduced in the reproduction of the manuscript in printed form, that is the substitution of all kinds of Syriac script with the *ʾesṭrangēlā* available to *la typographie orientaliste* and probably most appreciated by Syriac students the world over.

The adverb 'tacitly' in the description of editorial methods should rouse especial alarm. Draguet is certainly right when he stresses that the works of scribes and editors ('objective data and subjective editorial judgment') must remain clearly distinguishable throughout the edition. Throughout text, apparatus—and to a certain extent also in the translation—one should be able to recognize what manuscripts and other primary sources actually attest and what has been legitimately altered, changed or omitted by the editor. Editors, however, should be allowed to propose a readable corrected text, close to the archetype or even to the original—if they think such a thing exists and can be reconstructed—and must be visible even in their intervention in choice of characters, vocalization, punctuation and page layout.

Draguet's opposition to any correction and reconstruction is surprising when we consider the rich and detailed introduction that he wrote for his own text editions within CSCO. They are impressive and regu-

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larly contain an accurate codicological description of the witnesses, a discussion on their interrelationships and sub-grouping, and a *stemma codicum* (on Draguet's achievement as a Syriac scholar see Brock et al. 2011, 131–132). There are at least three explanatory hypotheses that do not necessarily exclude each other to understand Draguet's strenuous defence of mistakes and defects of the manuscript chosen as the base text. 1) A practical explanation is suggested by Draguet when he says that 'this method most conveniently allows for modifications when new textual evidence is found'. Although it is not clear why a reconstructed or emended text would exclude the recording of new evidence in the apparatus, Draguet may have come to this conclusion for practical typographical reasons—as Alessandro Bausi suggested to me informally: in the pre-digital world, reprinting the apparatus only, with minor up-dating, would be easier than the whole text. 2) A psychological explanation was envisaged by Bausi (2004a, 17, n 45; 2006a, 542; 2008b, 29), when he wittily pointed out that the base-manuscript method reflects the almost fetishistic attitude towards the manuscript, that Luciano Canfora observed among Hellenistic and Late Antique scholars. 3) From a historical point of view, Draguet's 'method' can be easily understood in the academic context in which he was trained and worked. It is clearly in line with Bédier's theory of the *bon manuscrit*. Draguet is even more radical than Bédier, who accepted correction at least of the most obvious mistakes of the base manuscript (Bausi 2004a, 16). On the other hand, Draguet—no doubt like most authors and readers of the CSCO—had a theological background and/or theological interests and was therefore familiar with the text history of the Hebrew Bible and Biblical philology. As is well known, what is generally intended as a critical edition of the Hebrew Old Testament is in fact the transcription of one manuscript, with all its mistakes and idiosyncrasies. Better readings or editorial corrections laid down in the apparatus as a *lege*—as required by Draguet—resemble very much the Masoretic practice of the *qere*. In this connexion, it is remarkable that the only 'bibliographical reference' given by Draguet (1977) is Origen's work on the pre-Masoretic Hebrew biblical text, as if no-one ever discussed textual criticism after Origen or there were no philology but ancient and mediaeval Bible philology.

In the CSCO and in general in Syriac philology, the editions are regularly and laudably accompanied by translations, which—especially in the case of diplomatic editions—represent the truly critical texts and are offered to a wider readership than Semitists and Syriac scholars only: students of the Bible, eastern Christianity, Late Antique and Byzantine history, Christian and pagan literatures written in Greek and Latin, Judaism, Islam, etc.

Faithfulness to the manuscript chosen as a base text is expressed in monumental sub-series of CSCO *Scriptores Syri* such as the editions of Ishodad of Merw, published between 1950 and 1981 by Ceslas Van den Eynde, OP, and Ephrem, published between 1955 and 1979 by Edmund Beck (see Brock and Van Rompay in Brock et al. 2011, 65 and 423). 'L'édition reproduit le texte de A tel qu'il est, fautes comprises' becomes a mantra-like refrain, declined in a variety of forms and translated in the various languages even after Draguet's departure from this earth in 1980. Indeed, Draguet managed to posthumously direct and influence the CSCO for 15 years at least after his death: from 1980 to 1995, the second page of the cover gives his name, followed by a crux, as the director of CSCO.

When the CSCO was Draguet's CSCO, there was at least one editor who opted for corrections in the critical text. Curiously he is the same Arthur Vööbus (see Buck in Brock et al. 2011, 433–435) to whom Draguet dedicated his notorious article of 1977.

Finally, in 1995, Bernard Coulie and Andrea Schmidt were chosen as members of the scientific board of the CSCO instead of Draguet, fifteen years after the latter's death. New methodological choices were made. It may be a coincidence, but the first text published under their direction 'is not a diplomatic edition'. The same Robert W. Thomson, who thirty years before had faithfully reproduced the manuscripts chosen as bases for the various texts, with all of their errors and accepting inconsistencies in the vocalization from item to item (CSCO *Scriptores Syri* 114, Thomson [R.] 1965), is now proud to announce that he has 'corrected the Syriac where it is clearly wrong' (CSCO *Scriptores Syri* 222, Thomson [R.] 1995). Other editors preferred to continue the tradition of diplomatic editions or to present eclectic texts.

Brock's work on dialogue poems: 'A readable text'

CSCO volumes usually represent points of arrival of many years of research on the same author or textual tradition—sometimes published in several volumes over years and decennia—and thus presuppose middle- or long-term projects compatible with the 4–5 years of a doctoral fellowship or rhythm of life and teaching tasks in a Benedictine school or a Dominican seminary

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Sebastian Brock, lecturer at Oxford University and universally recognized as the leading scholar of Syriac Studies today, opted for other strategies for the publication of Syriac dialogue poems. Text editions, with translation and ample philological, literary and theological commentaries, are disseminated in more than twenty different periodicals and miscellaneous volumes, published in various countries, from India to Canada, from Lebanon to the United States. A coherent and ambitious project is clearly there and it becomes evident when reading Brock's programmatic survey (1983, 1984, 1987b) or lists such as Brock (1991b, up-dated in 2010b), where the researcher takes stock of progress and announces further publications as forthcoming.

From the literary point of view, dispute and dialogue poems are treated as a more or less unitary corpus, as the Christian continuation of a very old Mesopotamian tradition (Brock 1983, 1989, 2001), and representative of a characteristically Syriac genre, fascinating for its exegetical and theological content and influential in the emergence and development of Greek hymnography (Brock 1985a, 1987b, 2008) and, indirectly, in the diffusion of the dispute—and perhaps the religious drama, too—as popular poetic genres in the Arab and Persian East and in mediaeval Europe. As a matter of fact, the rather homogeneous literary corpus does not exist in the manuscript tradition and has been created by the editor. Brock compiled a list or inventory of dispute and dialogue poems, selecting them from liturgical manuscripts of various ages and origins and printed books, on the basis of the genre to which they belong or the textual structure (dialogue or dispute) they present.

Brock published the critical editions of texts in single papers and contributions, a choice which fits the 'publish or perish' policy of contemporary universities better and allows the scholar to make progress in his knowledge of the genre as a whole and to deal in depth with the literary richness of a single text, the often long and complicated history of its transmission, its fortune and web of intertextual references. One cannot find texts and translations of the dialogue poems by picking a couple of volumes from the same library shelf, as Draguet's grandiose project has made possible for various Syriac authors and corpora, but in doing so Brock certainly succeeded in reaching a wide and varied readership. In this connexion, he clearly intends not only to serve the needs of qualified readers of universities and specialized libraries—the target market of a publishing house like Peeters, which prints and distributes the CSCO—but he also makes this Syriac genre more widely known to scholars who do not read the language, and easily accessible to non professional readers—probably many Syrians among them—whose interests range from the search of inspiring devotional readings to the enhancement of a cultural and national heritage. This purpose is evident in the texts published exclusively in English translation (for example Brock 1987a; 1992, 2010b) and in the most complete collection of Syriac dialogue poems available in the original language, that Brock (1982) published in cooperation with first-class scribe, scholar and publisher: twenty-six poems—some in more than one version—were prepared for publication by Brock and copied by the elegant West Syriac hand of the late Mor Julios Yeshu Çiçek, Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of Central Europe and founder of the publishing house hosted in the St Ephrem Monastery of Glane (the Netherlands). It is one of those publications in which print and manuscript cultures seem to fade into each other.

Literary remarks on the poems and philological notes on the manuscripts used for these printed handwritten texts are discussed in an article of *marginalia* published in English in *Le Muséon*. Although Brock declares there (1984, 39–40) that his aim was 'to select those dialogue *soghyatha* that might be of interest to a modern Syrian Orthodox readership (hence the absence of any pieces known only from East Syrian tradition)', he nevertheless included the exclusively eastern *Dispute of Gold and Wheat*. He then presents the collection as 'no more than an *editio minor*' and hopes 'one day to provide fuller editions, with critical apparatus, translations and commentaries of these intriguing and often delightful poems'. However, philologists should always keep in mind commented translations, minor editions and any form of popularization as complementary objectives of their editorial work, especially in times when philology—traditionally perceived as a discipline ancillary to literary, linguistic, historical or religious studies—is more and more marginalized in the university study programs and desperately needs to gain appeal among students and across disciplines.

Most dialogue and dispute poems are anonymous compositions, as is typical of liturgical poetry, and not authorial works like the vast majority of the CSCO texts. Being liturgical texts, they are intended for vocal performance—probably most often by choirs in the case of the stanzaic *suġīṯā* meter—and their use in the liturgy left marks in the history of their transmission in a number of ways. Some poems, evidently intended for alternating choirs, have been preserved only partially or fragmentarily due to the—eleventh

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century and later—habit of separating the alternate verses in two manuscripts, each to be used by one choir. We are thus left with the verses and the arguments of only one of the two characters engaged in the dialogue or in the dispute. The half, apocopated text of some dialogue poems have been reproduced even in the printed editions of the West Syriac collection called *fanqiṯo* (Mosul 1886–1896 and Pampakuda 1962–1963; see Brock 1984, 38–39).

It is difficult to date anonymous texts and Syriac dialogue poems are no exception. Brock suggests that the texts preserved in both the West and East Syriac traditions may antedate or be contemporary with the Christological disputes of the fifth century that eventually led to the formation of two separate Churches and liturgies. In certain cases, a relative antiquity of the texts (fifth and sixth centuries) is suggested by the way they handle themes derived from early authors such as Ephrem (d.373; Brock et al. 2011, 145–147) or echoed by later ones such as Jacob of Serugh (*c.*451–521; Brock et al. 2011, 433–435). Dating texts on the basis of the content is however rather risky and it seems unwise to exclude contacts and reciprocal influences between the two churches, especially in a field like hymnography with its obvious links with sacred music. The two Syriac traditions do differ in the transmission of dialogue poems in that we have western manuscript witnesses from the ninth century onwards, whereas eastern collections are—sometimes considerably—later than the thirteenth century. Moreover some poems have been preserved in two distinct versions, the Eastern one being generally shorter and adapted to late literary forms and taste: end rhyme is introduced on the model of Arabo-Persian poetry and style and formalism reflect the poetic production of the so-called Syriac Renaissance (tenth to thirteenth centuries, but especially thirteenth century as far as East Syriac poetry is concerned).

Rather than following a hypothetical chronological order or arranging the texts according to the position they occupy in the liturgical calendar, Brock groups the poems according to the characters involved and orders them according to the biblical narrative: Old Testament, New Testament and others (personifications, saints and martyrs). Whenever possible, he publishes the two versions of a dialogue together, and in these cases the focus of the thematic and intertextual analysis is generally on the oldest—which usually means the West Syriac—version. Thus we get a comparative glance at two different texts, often separated by a considerable lapse of time and reflecting distant contexts of use and transmission, rather than a whole picture of the dialogue poems as preserved and used in a given period and within a certain—western or eastern—liturgical tradition. Interest in the contents would seem to prevail on philological concerns, but the history of tradition—in Pasquali's terms—of each text could have not be emphasized more efficaciously.

At least in one case—the *Dispute of the Months* in Brock (1985b)—the comparison is extended to 'related texts', such as a Jewish *Dispute of the Months* added as an interpolation to Exodus 12:2 in the so-called *Fragment Targum* and the *Dispute of Gold and Wheat*, preserved only in the East Syriac milieu, in the classical language and in Modern Aramaic. The earliest and longest West Syriac version of the *Dispute of the Months* turns out not to be as reliable as one might expect. A fragment included as a quotation in the *Book of Rhetoric* by Antony of Tagrit (probably ninth century; see Watt in Brock et al. 2011, 23) shares a number of good readings with the East Syriac shorter version of the *Dispute*, attested in manuscripts of the nineteenth century. *Recentiores, non deteriores*.

The anthology of dialogue poems explicitly planned for Syrian Orthodox readers (Brock 1982) is in fully vocalized West Syriac script (*serṭā*), even for texts preserved in old *ʾesṭrangēlā* or late East Syriac manuscripts. Elsewhere, Brock usually transliterates the Syriac text of both West and East Syriac versions in *ʾesṭrangēlā* script, as in the CSCO, but he excludes vowel signs. This produces a neat readable text for western scholars primarily interested in the content of the poems and significantly reduces the number of spelling forms and readings to be recorded in apparatus—however, a brief discussion of the spelling is generally to be found in the introductions—as well as the number of corrections and interventions the editor needs to make. Nevertheless, the choice of suppressing the vocalization is questionable from at least two points of view: dialogue poems are liturgical texts and are preserved in liturgical manuscripts that often have vowels, being conceived and copied as supports for public performances; the vocalization may therefore be contemporary with the copy, it reproduces the pronunciation of a given time and is a potentially precious source of information about metric and the history of the Syriac language.

As far as philological methods are concerned, Brock is much more open to emendation and reconstruction than most CSCO editors. It is perhaps not a coincidence that he published his edition of Isaac of

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Nineveh (*Scriptores Syri* 224 and 225; Brock 1995b) in the third period of the history of the *Corpus* as we have outlined it above. In a passage that is worth quoting in extenso, he would seem to distance himself from Draguet's method as applied by 'many' Syriac scholars:

> Since no manuscript ever presents a text free from corruption (often obvious), the modern editor is compelled to produce an eclectic text, if his edition is to appear in a readable form (something many editors of Syriac texts choose to overlook).

The factual premises of classical philology—ubiquitous and explainable corruption of the copies—and the necessary conscious intervention of the editor, especially in cases of omissions and fragmentarily or partially transmitted texts, are clearly recognized. However, he stresses that the aim of the philological work is not so much the approximation to an archetype—as all (post-)Lachmannian theories and approaches in textual criticism entails—but the publication of a readable text.

In the metrical form of the *suġīṯā*, in which most dialogue poems are written, verses or pairs of verses are very often connected by means of an alphabetic acrostic—each verse or pair beginning with one of the letters of the Syriac alphabet—which clearly has a mnemotechnic function in oral performances. The mnemonic device is also integrated in the scribal technique, since the first letters are normally rubricated in the manuscripts. This has prevented omissions in the copying process, showed them up when they did occur and leads the editor in the reconstruction process, which is moreover enhanced by the relatively stable textual transmission and uniformity of Classical Syriac through the centuries. To exemplify the necessity of an eclectic text, Brock mentions the West Syriac version of *The Sinful Woman and Satan*, that he reconstructs using no less than five manuscripts (Brock 1988).

References

Bausi 2004a, 2006a, 2008b; Beck 1955, 1957, 1960, 1979; Brock 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1989, 1991b, 1992, 1995b, 2001, 2008, 2010b; Brock et al. 2011; Canfora 1974; Chabot 1920; Draguet 1977; Heal 2012; Pasquali 1934; Ponthot 1981; Thomson [R.] 1965, 1995; Van den Eynde 1955, 1958, 1963, 1969, 1972, 1981; Van den Eynde – Vosté 1950.

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3.18. Pseudo-Avicenna's *De anima*. The Latin translation of a lost Arabic original (SM)

When editing and translating texts, scholars sometimes encounter texts written in a given language A, however with features of another given language B and/or linguistic peculiarities typical of translations; or, they encounter texts that have been written in language A, however are attributed to authors who are known to have written in language B. In these cases, one of the main questions is to determine whether the text represents a translation from language B into language A, or whether it was originally written in language A. Indeed, the way in which to edit a text varies precisely according to this fact (whether or not it is a translation), especially when the original is no longer extant.

Typical examples can be observed in the alchemical texts wrongly attributed to Avicenna, especially the alchemical *De anima* (Moureau 2010a, 2010b, 2013a, 2013b, forthcoming). This treatise is the compilation and Latin translation of three lost Arabic treatises, composed between the mid-eleventh and the mid-thirteenth centuries in Andalusia, and erroneously ascribed to Avicenna. It may have been translated around 1226 or 1235, according to a colophon in three witnesses. This translation is to be situated within the impetus of translations from Arabic into Latin that arose at the end of the eleventh century and flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Italy (especially Sicily) and Spain. During this period, an important transfer of Arabic knowledge enriched the Latin west and brought new elements to most fields of knowledge; among these, many Greek texts which were translated into Arabic, often through Syriac intermediaries, from the sixth century onwards, and mainly during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Identifying a Latin translation of a lost Arabic treatise

When a Latin text is suspected to be a translation from Arabic, the first step to be taken in order to corroborate or invalidate this hypothesis is bibliographical research. If no Arabic original can be found, the researcher must look for indirect traces of the text in Arabic literature, searching for one of the following: (1) its title, conjecturing possible titles in Arabic by back translation—however, titles often change; (2) the author's name—however, attributions often change, and the text can be attributed to an author of another language tradition or even to the translator (for example, the case of the *Pantegni*, the Latin translation made by Constantine the African of the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya* of ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Maǧūsī, which is not presented as a translation but as a Latin composition, Burnett – Jacquart 1994); or, (3) typical content. As far as the *De anima* is concerned, no mention of it can be traced in Avicenna's genuine work or in other Arabic treatises: the text seems to have been unknown to Arabic scholars. It is, however, often referred to in Latin texts. This lack of Arabic traces is important for the history of the text, but this argument *a silentio* alone does not prove that *De anima* is a later forgery.

Philological research is a more accurate way to identify a translation. Mediaeval translations from Arabic into Latin were made according to two different translation methods that correspond, to some extent, to two stages. The first method implies a greater distance between the translation and the original text: translators do not hesitate to rewrite the whole work, and sometimes even attribute it to themselves, and they tend to use a more 'classical' Latin. They also often write a prologue in which they explain their work. The second method is concerned to provide a Latin version that is as close as possible to the Arabic text, which has been called by translators *de verbo ad verbum* or *verbum de verbo*, i.e. 'word by word'.

Here I am summarizing and simplifying this question for the sake of clarity; in reality the periods are not so clear-cut, nor are the methods. The first method is generally said to be more commonly used in the early translations from Arabic, namely around the first half of the twelfth century, whereas the second is usually attributed to the later period, namely from the second half of the twelfth to the end of the thirteenth century. However, both methods were used in both periods, with only the number of translators who were using one or the other method varying. Moreover, some translators combined both approaches (Burnett 1997; Mandosio 2010).

It may be difficult or even impossible to identify a translation made according to the first method, i.e. if it is not clearly described as a translation in its prologue. The content may provide a clue, especially if the author—real or fake—is known, but this is clearly not significant since, indeed, the text could be an apocryphon written in Arabic or in Latin. For example, the fact that the genuine Avicenna denied the possibility of transmutation of species, and therefore alchemical transmutation, is not sufficient to claim that the *De anima* is not a translation (*Kitāb al-maʿādin wa ʾl-āṯār al-ʿulwiyya* (Book of metals and celestial phenomena), the fifth part of the *ṭabīʿiyyāt* (physics) of the *Kitāb al-Šifāʾ* (Book of healing),

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translated under the title *De mineralibus*, but better known by historians under the title *De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Mandosio – Di Martino 2006). A more trustworthy indicator is the presence of Latin transcriptions of Arabic words. However, these are not sufficient either: some transcriptions were used in compositions originally written in Latin, even for proper names and place names. The Arabic word alembic, for instance, is found even in later Latin texts. We can also mention the special case of the Latin translation of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-maʿādin wa ʾl-āṯār al-ʿulwiyya*, in which the translator, Alfred of Sareshel, attempted to erase all Arabic traces and inserted fake Greek ones (Mandosio – Di Martino 2006, 414–416). However, a large number of transcriptions, as well as transcriptions of rare words (*hapax legomena* or words with few occurrences), can indicate a translation. But a frequent occurrence of transcriptions is rare when a translator employs the first method. As a consequence, we can only hypothesize concerning this kind of translation and it remains impossible to make firm assertions if we do not have an extant original. When the text is a translation made according to the second method, the problem is less difficult to solve. As in the case of translations made with the first method, the content may provide the addition of some information. But it is the language itself—the transcriptions, the morphology, the syntax, and the style—that bears evidence to the fact that we are dealing with a translation. As already mentioned, transcriptions, which are usually more frequent in literal translations, can betray an Arabic origin. In the *De anima*, common words are found such as *alcofol* for *al-kuḥl* (the kohl) (*De anima*, 154 (= DA, quoted according to the pagination in Celsi 1572)) as well as more rare terms such as *azer* for the Arabic *al-zīr* (the highest-pitched string of the Arabic lute) or *acercon* for *al-zarqūn* (minium) (DA, 118–119). The word 'in' is sometimes used in the sense of 'about', corresponding to the Arabic *fī*. We also encounter Spanish words such as *plata* for *argentum* (silver) (DA, 45, 47, 99), or *raton* for *mus* (mouse) (DA, 50), and even a specifically Andalusian word, *morabetini* for *al-murābiṭūn*, the Almoravid, which in this case designates a coin (the *maravedis*) (it occurs thirty-four times in the treatise and as a consequence it does not appear to be a later interpolation), but this does not further aid the identification, as will be made clear. The morphology can bear traces that point towards a translation as well: in the *De anima* we come across many infinitives ending in *-ar* instead of the Latin *-are*, which is a Spanish feature. Syntax is also a good indication: in the *De anima* the presence of many concessive formulas is a trace of Arabic syntax; the text abounds in *nisi*, much more than a typical Latin text. The specific construction of the Arabic word *bayna*, which means 'between', is notable as well: the phrase *inter laminam et laminam* ('between the slices') sounds like an Arabic construction; Latin would normally prefer *inter laminas*. The style of a text is sometimes interesting to observe, however it is never conclusive: the tendency to use supposed objections, such as 'if somebody asks us… we will answer…', is characteristic of Arabic style. However, these results need to be interpreted: in the *De anima* the presence of Spanish words does not simply indicate that the treatise was translated from Spanish into Latin, so far as other elements need to be taken into account: the Spanish characteristics are not as numerous as the Arabic features, and the historical background—i.e. the context of the translation from Arabic into Latin—leaves us with the impression that the *De anima* is a translation from Arabic (specifically, Andalusian Arabic) made in Spain. Moreover, we must pay attention to interpolations: the *De anima*, for example, contains an Italian word, *scorza* (which means 'the bark') (DA, 295), but this sole term is not sufficient to assume an Italian origin; its presence in the *De anima* is likely due to a later gloss.

Even if these observations help to put forward hypotheses, they cannot be considered indisputable proofs. The best indication that a text really is a translation is the presence of translation errors. In the *De anima*, the translator uses the Latin word *porta*, which means 'door', to designate a chapter (the word is used nine times in this sense), which seems to be due, at first glance, to a confusion: in Arabic, the word *bāb* means 'door' but also 'chapter', so the translator could have made a mistake. However, this error could also be intentional, following from the *verbum de verbo* method; the word *porta* also occurs in the treatise with the meaning 'door', so the translator may have used the same word *porta* to translate all the occurrences of *bāb*. Some passages of the *De anima* are so obscure that the only possible explanation seems to be a lack of understanding on the part of the translator. However, one indisputable error is found in two passages of the *De anima* (DA, 78, 116, the mistake is the same in both): speaking about the human sperm, which is used in pseudo-Avicenna's alchemy, the texts read, 'tempta inter digitos si se peccat aut non', literally 'test with your fingers if it makes a mistake or not' which does not make sense. The word *se peccat* is actually a bad reading of an Arabic word: the translator read *ġaliṭa*, which means 'to make a mistake', 'to be wrong', and translated it into *se peccat*, instead of *ġaluẓa*, which signifies 'to be thick' (I

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thank Charles Burnett for helping me to find this translation error). This last proof is the only conclusive one.

If we find only indications that a text is a translation but no indisputable evidence, the text may have been written directly in Latin but with Arabic features or/and with an Arabic attribution. This question is much more difficult to solve than the previous one.

The first step is, once more, bibliographical research. In searching for an original, references to the text, fragments, or other translations may be found, i.e. evidence that the text is a translation, and not a text written directly in Latin. But one must pay attention to the fact that proving that a Latin text attributed to an Arabic author is not authentic produces an argument, but no evidence (it could be an apocryphon written in Arabic). Concerning the philological research, we can observe the same traces, in the content and in the language, as explained above. First, if some of the linguistic elements described above are found, i.e. indications of Arabic origin in vocabulary, morphology, syntax, or style, three hypotheses can be put forward. (1) The text may be a translation, as mentioned before. (2) The text could also be a revision of a translation, joined to other revisions of texts that are also translations, or Latin texts, or even to original compositions of the compiler. For example, the *Declaratio lapidis physici Avicennae filio suo Aboali*, another alchemical treatise attributed to Avicenna, is clearly a pseudepigraphical treatise directly written in Latin but it contains some Arabic linguistic features (Ruska 1934, 45–48). This can be explained by the fact that the *Declaratio lapidis* is actually a compilation of two texts: the beginning is a rewriting of quotations from the *De anima*, the second part is composed of quotations from the *Turba Philosophorum*, another Latin translation of an Arabic alchemical treatise. In this case, the *verbum de verbo* method brings with it ambiguity: differences stemming from the Arabic are also found in the Latin translation, which makes it difficult to say whether the compilation was made in Arabic or in Latin. (3) The text may also be a Latin treatise written in the style of a translation; for example, the *Summa perfectionis*, wrongly attributed to the Arabic author Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān, is actually a Latin composition written as a translation (Newman [William] 1991). Second, if we do not find any (or enough) Arabic elements in the language, two hypotheses can be put forward: either (1) the text is a translation made according to the first method, i.e. a translation in classical Latin, or (2) it is a text written directly in Latin.

With regard to texts written directly in Latin, we may not find evidence that the text is a pseudepigraph, but only that it *could be* a pseudepigraph. There are only hypotheses. If a text shows no evidence of Arabic origin, although it is attributed to an Arabic author, we can never assert that it has been written directly in Latin without further external evidence (even if the content is not compatible with the doctrine of the Arabic author to whom the text is attributed, the pseudepigraph could have been written in Arabic and then translated), such as another translation of the same treatise, or quotations from a Latin treatise posterior to the composition/translation: the *Tractatulus Avicennae*, for example, is an apocryphal alchemical Latin treatise attributed to Avicenna, in which we find quotations from a commentary on the *Tabula Smaragdina* by Hortulanus, which was written in Latin around the middle of the fourteenth century (Ruska 1934, 48–50). However, even this kind of quotation can be dubious because of possible later interpolations.

Edition of a Latin translation of a lost Arabic treatise

A critical edition of a translation differs from an edition of an original text, and, in the case of a translation of a lost original, the differences are even more significant. The principles of this kind of edition are closer to those used to edit a *textus receptus* (i.e. the text representing the most diffused version of the text in a certain period) than to those used for a reconstructive edition intending to represent an archetype, even if the edition of the translation is reconstructive. Indeed, the editor must keep in mind that he should correct the text as little as possible, as any mistake could be a translation error: he is editing the translation and not the lost original. For example, some passages in the *De anima* are completely unintelligible, however, it is nonetheless important not to correct them so as to try to give them a meaning which was maybe not understood by the translator and was therefore not present in the translation. The same must be said about glosses: many Latin translators of Arabic texts used glosses to explain transcriptions or complex sentences, which means that they belong to the text and should not be deleted by the editor.

References

Burnett 1994, 1997; Celsi 1572; Mandosio 2010; Mandosio – Di Martino 2006; Moureau 2010a, 2010b, 2013a, 2013b, forthcoming; Newman [William] 1991; Ruska 1934.

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3.19. Greek collections of wise and witty sayings (DSe)

The following case study is based on my own 2007 edition of the so-called *Corpus Parisinum* (*CP*), a Greek 'gnomological' compilation (Searby 2007; for an edition of the ethical sentences attributed to Democritus, see Gerlach 2008a). That edition may be justly faulted on a number of points, and if I were doing it again today, I would make a lot of changes in editorial approach (for criticisms, see Martinelli Tempesta 2010 and Gerlach 2008b; for a more positive assessment see Dorandi 2007). However, this study will focus on one important feature that I would retain and refine in a new edition, one that may be useful to scholars considering editions of similar compilations in Greek or other languages.

Introduction

Let me begin by distinguishing between an anthology and a gnomology or gnomologium. I here use the term 'anthology' to denote collections of quotations in verse or prose (or both) from one or more authors. Hence, the essential feature of an anthology is that it contains excerpts of choice quotations from written works of other authors. The anthologist's or compiler's creative role is limited to the choice and arrangement of the selections along with such intertextual items as titles and headings and, frequently though not necessarily, a preface (Searby 2011). For all practical purposes, I consider 'florilegium' to be equivalent to 'anthology', even though the former is more often associated with 'sacred' texts (as in dogmatic and spiritual florilegia), the latter with 'profane' or 'secular' texts (as in the Greek Anthology; for a concise overview of terminology, see Searby 2007, 1–8).

The word 'gnomologium' or 'gnomology' is used here to denote a collection consisting primarily of maxims or of apophthegms relating to one or more authors. Such collections are usually arranged either alphabetically or thematically or by author. The distinction between maxim and apophthegm is made advisedly: it follows ancient Greek rhetorical practice. The material in the extant Greek gnomologies can be easily classified into categories of sayings identified by ancient rhetoricians (for example Quintilian, Hermogenes, Aphthonius). Primarily these are, on the one hand *gnōmai* (Gr., *sententiae* in Latin) of the kind Aristotle dealt with already in *Rhetorica* 2.21—a typical gnome would be: 'One who spares the wicked injures the good' (*adikei tous agathous o pheidomenos tōn kakōn*, *CP* 3.1)—and, on the other hand, *chreiai* (Lat. *dicta*) as defined by later rhetoricians. In the manuscripts these *chreiai* are called *apophthegmata*; Diogenes Laertius, though he knows the term *chreia* well, also usually refers to the same kind of sayings as apophthegms. (Although apophthegm is not used as a technical term in rhetoric, for the purposes of this case-study, the terms 'apophthegm' and 'chreia' are used to describe the same kind of saying, a very brief narrative the purpose of which is to convey the words or actions of some well-known personage. A very typical form would be, 'When told or asked that, so-and-so answered this'. Aphthonius divides *chreiai* into three categories—verbal, conveying someone's words; practical, describing an action of someone; and mixed, conveying both words and actions.) A *gnōmē* is a maxim, while an apophthegm is a brief narrative or anecdote, normally with its own embedded saying or statement (including gnomic ones). One function of *gnōmai* and *chreiai* is argumentative in providing illustrative examples and moral propositions. (Note that, when 'anecdote' is used here it is without the implication that it ever was considered a special stylistic category in ancient authors. In current usage, anecdotes are often understood to be illustrative examples of the point a speaker wants to make. Overwien 2005 attempts a more precise discussion of the issue. Russo 1997, 50 calls the anecdote 'an elusive but documentable oral genre most often characterized by dialogic content and memorable concluding utterance').

The practice of compiling collections of sayings by Greek wise men and philosophers and other notables, from courtesans to kings, began already in Classical Antiquity and continued throughout the centuries into mediaeval times and beyond (see the overview by D. Gutas in the preface to Searby 2007). The practice was not confined to Greek, but also flourished in other language cultures under Greek influence such as Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. Greek gnomologies were translated or more often heavily adapted into Arabic, and these adaptations were in their turn translated into Spanish—as in the mediaeval *Bocados de Oro*—and from there into other western European languages as in Earl Rivers' early modern English translation *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (1477).

Those interested in exploring the Syriac and Arabic material can begin with the *Corpus der arabischen und syrischen Gnomologien* <http://casg.orientphil.uni-halle.de/?lang=en>, in which the role played by the Syriac tradition in adaptation of Greek gnomologia is a focus. A basic work on the Arabic tradition is

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Gutas 1975; some of the Arabic collections dealt with are currently available on the site of the EU (HERA) project Sharing Ancient Wisdoms (SAWS) <http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/library/arabicphilos/>. On Greek to Arabic to Spanish, see Rodríguez Adrados 2009.

The problem of textual fluidity

In general we are dealing here with very open textual traditions for which it is not possible to establish an archetype that all later witnesses derive from or even to place the extant witnesses in a clear-cut stemmatic relationship to each other. In his well-known work on editorial technique, Martin L. West remarks: ‘Some kinds of text were always subject to alteration. Commentaries, lexica and other works of a grammatical nature were rightly regarded as collections of material to be pruned, adapted or added to, rather than as sacrosanct literary entities. When the rewriting becomes more than superficial, or when rearrangement is involved, one must speak of a new recension of the work, if not of a new work altogether’ (West [M.] 1973, 16). To the categories that West mentions here we must add gnomologies.

A scribe copying a gnomology may rearrange the contents in various ways, for example going from a thematic to an alphabetic arrangement or an arrangement by author (there are examples of this kind of rearrangement in *CP*). He may add sayings from other traditions or from his own memory or subtract them. He may attribute a saying to a different speaker, deliberately or by mistake. A practice prevalent in the Greek tradition, especially in gnomologies organized by author, is to indicate the main speaker by name only in the first in a series of sayings and afterwards to indicate the main speaker with the simple formula *o autos* (‘the same man’). The practice of using *o autos* instead of repeating the full name greatly increases the risk of confusion in attributing the various sayings to specific persons—a risk which would still be significant even if all the scribes carefully repeated the full names of persons to whom the sayings are attributed. Moreover, a scribe may deliberately vary the vocabulary and word-order of the sayings he is copying. We must recall that this is a textual tradition which was often intentionally manipulated for instructional purposes in the schools. Even apart from immediate school settings, it was a textual tradition which it was acceptable to manipulate in other contexts as well (letter-writing, other forms of literary composition).

This much bruited fluidity of the tradition is, however, a truth requiring some modification. While it is true that a scribe may copy a gnomology and intentionally manipulate the contents in various ways, thus creating ‘a new work altogether’, there are also a number of examples of gnomologies which were evidently meant to be at least more or less exact copies of an archetype. In fact, *CP* itself is an example of this: the two main manuscripts are evidently intended to be exact copies of their common source. Thus, one can not merely assume that variance in copying is always the rule in the gnomological tradition. Each case must be studied on its own. However, it remains a fact that even if a scribe’s intention in copying out an anthology or gnomology is to reproduce his source faithfully, there is a greater risk of error and confusion in copying such texts than in more straightforward and continuous texts. This arises from, among other causes, the patchwork quality of an anthology or gnomology as well as, in the case of gnomologies of relatively brief sayings, the greater proximity to oral traditions.

The particular example of the Corpus Parisinum

CP is primarily represented in two relatively late manuscripts: Paris, BnF, Grec 1168 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 6 (P and D); for the purposes of this case study, I ignore other, partial text witnesses. P and D are evidently meant to be exact copies of their source (a hyparchetype of the earliest state of *CP*). P contains no more than the corpus itself but D has a few other unrelated texts at the end. Two fundamental facts to understand are that *CP* is a collection of gnomological collections, and that it was the main source of pagan selections in the large and widely distributed florilegium known as the *Loci Communes* of pseudo-Maximus Confessor. The oldest manuscript of this florilegium is from the late tenth century, so *CP* must have existed in some form already earlier in the tenth or more probably in the ninth century. P and D share the following collections in the same order and arrangement:

CP 1 (568 selections), the single largest part of the collection, consisting of quotations taken from the Christian Fathers, the wisdom literature of the Old Testament and, in a few cases, from the New Testament, as well as from the Jewish philosopher Philo. It is an anthology arranged by author’s name (or title of biblical book), although in no apparent order. The major source for *CP* 1 is the large, thematically arranged anthology known as *Sacra Parallela* attributed to John of Damascus (the only available edition of which is in PG 95 and badly needs redoing).

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CP 2 (14 selections), a series of theosophic oracles foretelling Christian dogmas but attributed to pagan Greeks; a good, brief summary of the tradition of oracles may be found in van den Broek 1978.

CP 3 (556 selections), the second largest section of *CP*. It contains gnomes, apophthegms and a number of brief quotations (for example from Greek novels of Late Antiquity) associated with eighty names, all but two of them pagan. It can be characterized as a gnomology arranged by author, although, again, in no immediately apparent order. Within each authorial section, there is a fairly systematic attempt to keep maxims (gnomes) and apophthegms separate. This is the section for which *CP* is most famous. Among other things, it contains a long series of ethical sayings attributed to Democritus.

CP 4 (214 selections), extracts from the large, thematically arranged anthology of Stobaeus. Unlike the preceding section, these excerpts are arranged thematically with approximately the same headings as in the chapters of Stobaeus from which they mostly are taken. Hense made use of Anton Elter's transcription of P for his edition of Stobaeus (for a summary of the manuscript and editorial situation of Stobaeus, see Searby 2011, 31–32).

CP 5 (97 selections), an abbreviated version of a collection of maxims from the relatively brief, thematically arranged gnomology variously called Democritus, Epictetus and Isocrates (DEI or DIE) also known as *Gnomologium Byzantinum* as first published by Curt Wachsmuth (1882). Like the other extant versions of the same gnomology, *CP* 5 arranges these maxims in short thematic chapters.

CP 4 B (16 selections), a brief series of maxims and apophthegms arranged thematically as in the two preceding sections. All of these selections derive from Stobaeus and ended up here due to a displacement in the course of transmission, really belonging to *CP* 4. For reasons I need not go into here, I left them in my edition in the position in which they occur in P and D.

CP 6 (228 selections), a substantial collection of apophthegms arranged by author and related somehow to the fairly well known *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (GV; Vatican City, BAV, gr. 743) edited by Leo Sternbach, a gnomology arranged alphabetically by author. Thus, CP 6, too, is alphabetically arranged primarily by author, although a number of anonymous gnomic sayings are added in alphabetical sequence according to initial letter. These sayings stem from another source belonging to a gnomology designated as *Ariston kai prōton mathēma* (ΑΠΜ) after the first words of the first saying. (In addition to the parts I label *CP* 1–6, there is a section which I label *CP* 7, found in both P and D, that offers 304 alphabetically arranged selections of the monostichoi attributed to Menander. *CP* 7 was not part of the original *CP* tradition (as we can see from pseudo-Maximus), so I leave it aside here.)

The compiler(s) behind the *CP* did not simply bring together representative collections from each separate tradition. The third section above, *CP* 3, draws from the traditions represented in *CP* 4, 5 and 6, i.e. from Stobaeus (and perhaps Diogenes Laertius), DEI, ΑΠΜ and other sources. The compiler of *CP* seems not merely to have intended to create a series of gnomological collections copied directly from various sources but a unified, selective collation of collections which avoided unnecessarily repeating identical sayings in the various collections. The compiler seems to have gone through his sources, making selections to copy into *CP* 3. This resulted in a gradual 'thinning out' of his sources, for the compiler was only interested in adding new, previously unincluded sayings as he went along. For whatever reason, the compiler(s) of *CP* 3 did not complete an integrated edition of all the source collections. Instead we find an attempt at an integrated edition of gnomological sources arranged by author in *CP* 3, with leftover materials left in the original arrangement of the source collections in *CP* 4, 5 and 6.

This brief survey of *CP* shows how complicated the gnomological tradition can be for the editor to deal with. Within this corpus we find many extracts, of course, although not from original literary works but from anthologies, primarily the *Sacra Parallela* and Stobaeus. So we have the relationship of *CP* to the source anthology. However, this in turn entails the following chain of relationships: *CP* to source anthology, source anthology (perhaps through other intermediaries) to original work. Furthermore, *CP* contains selections of maxims or apophthegms taken from gnomologies. These sayings can sometimes be traced to a specific source (such as Stobaeus which not only has quotations but also sayings material), but very often not—in principle they derive from oral traditions. However, we are often able to identify a number of parallels. These parallels may be found in other gnomological collections (the exact date of which is often very difficult or impossible to determine) or in continuous prose texts of particular, earlier authors (for example Plutarch or Diogenes Laertius who themselves may have taken them from some Hellenistic gnomology). Then, of course, there may be parallels in later sources—other anthologies (such as pseudo-Maximus) making use of *CP* or even in later authors (for example many of the sayings in *CP* are

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CP 3

103 {S112} Μὴ ἔλαττον ἡγοῦ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι τὸ νουθετεῖσθαι.

104 {S113} Ἡ πενία πολλῶν ἐστιν ἐνδεής, ἡ δὲ ἀπληστία πάντων.

105 Χρήματα ποιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα προσήκει ἢ τοὺς φίλους τῶν χρημάτων.

5 **106** {S114, V78} Ὁ πολλοῖς φοβερὸς ὢν πολλοὺς φοβεῖται.

107 {V79} Οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ τὸ ἁμαρτηθὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὁμολογήσας.

108 {V80} Ἐκ τοῦ βίου κράτιστόν ἐστιν ὑπεξελθεῖν ὡς ἐκ συμποσίου, μήτε διψῶντα μήτε μεθύοντα.

10 **109** {S115, V81} Ὁ ἐν νόσῳ διαθήκας γράφων παραπλήσια πάσχει τοῖς ἐν χειμῶνι θαλαττίῳ εὐτρεπίζειν ἀρχομένοις τὰ τῆς νεὼς ὅπλα.

110 Ὥσπερ ὁ καπνὸς ἐπιδάκνων τὰς ὄψεις οὐκ ἐᾷ προβλέπειν τὸ κείμενον ἐν τοῖς ποσίν, οὕτως ὁ θυμὸς ἐπαιρόμενος τῷ λογισμῷ ἐπισκοτεῖ καὶ τὸ συμβησόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄτοπον οὐκ ἀφίησι τῇ διανοίᾳ προβλέπειν.

15 **111** Δεῖ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας τῶν δυναστευόντων μὴ διὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς θαυμάζεσθαι, ἵνα τῆς τύχης μεταπεσούσης τῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀξιῶνται.

A 7 ἐπιεικῶς ὁμολογήσας] ὁμολογήσας ἐπιεικῶς V 8 ὡς] ὥσπερ V | μήτε διψῶντα om. D 11 θαλαττίῳ] θαλαττίοις S | νεὼς] νηός MaxI MaxII (C) 12 ὁ om. Max | προβλέπειν] βλέπειν Stob 13 ἐπαιρόμενος] ἐπερχόμενος Max | λογισμῷ] γισμῷ D 14 ἀφίησι hab. codd., in ἐφίησι emend. Meineke, quod rec. Hense 15 Δεῖ] δεῖ γὰρ Aristot. *Ep.* apud Hercher 17 ἀξιῶνται] ἐξιῶνται D

B **103** Max 16.17./21 || **104** Max 12.51./56 || **105** Max 6.57./91 || **106** Max 9.48./51 || **107** Max 26.38./32 || **108** Max 65.16./36.15 || **109** Max 65.17/36.16 || **110** Max 19.24./35 || **111** Max 9.49./52

C **110** Stob 3.20.55, Ἀριστοτέλους || **111** Stob 4.4.18, Ἀριστοτέλους

D **111** Aristot. *Ep. ad Phil.* 1 Hercher

Fig. 3.3.19.1 Searby 2007, 226. A = Apparatus criticus; B = Parallels in florilegia closely dependent on *CP* as a source; C = Parallels in collections of sayings that may have served or probably did serve as a source for *CP*; D = Parallels in earlier literary works (probable or possible original sources).

used in the life of St Cyril Phileōtēs by Nikolaos Kataskepēnos, though he was evidently using pseudo-Maximus and not *CP* directly). It is a thorny situation, indeed.

Dealing with levels of relationship in the apparatuses

Given such a situation, the editor must distinguish between various levels of relationships. The first level consists in the extant witnesses to the particular tradition being edited. In my case I took into account not only the manuscripts but also the witness of the pseudo-Maximus tradition which I could prove beyond doubt used *CP* as a source. Variants from these sources can be put in the *apparatus criticus*. I would put references to the dependent traditions (i.e. pseudo-Maximus and other dependent florilegia in this case) in their own apparatus.

Given the fact that the *CP* can be regarded in its parts as both gnomology and anthology, the editor must also confront the relationship to original sources. For example, in *CP* 1, we have quotations from the Church fathers and even from the sapiential books of the Old Testament. *CP* almost always borrows these quotations from another anthology—the *Sacra Parallela* (unfortunately still poorly edited)—which in turn took them (probably) directly from some copy of the original source. References to source anthologies such as *Sacra Parallela* or *Stobaeus* (including references to specific manuscript copies) were placed in a separate apparatus. When literary works (conventionally understood) could be identified as an indirect source (i.e. sources for the anthologies used as sources for *CP*), references to these along with any significant variants were placed in yet another apparatus.

Many times it was not possible to indicate a direct source for a given saying or section in *CP*, whereas it was usually possible to indicate parallels for the sayings. In this context, however, one must be strict

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about what one means by ‘parallels’. Sometimes editions of gnomologies are full of a lot of what I call ‘clutter’. An instance of clutter in editions of gnomological texts is Sternbach’s edition of *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (Sternbach 1887, 1888, 1889). After each excerpt he adds a great deal of information in an unsystematic way, blithely mixing parallels of thought with genuinely related textual parallels and unsorted variant attributions. This kind of thing is, however, not limited to Sternbach alone but is present in varying degrees in quite a number of editions. One frequent example is the listing of so-called fragments for a given author without indicating whether they derive from a different source or in fact from the very text being edited. In my opinion, it is necessary to sort through the often large number of parallels for a given text in order to discover which of them come from clearly related (dependent or source) collections and which belong to a more independent tradition. The latter are not immediately relevant to actual editorial work and have no business being present in the same apparatus as the former. In order to allow for the inclusion of the not strictly relevant testimony, I included a commentary in my edition of *CP* the primary purpose of which was to provide space for these other references not immediately relevant for the textual history.

Editions of gnomological material are worthwhile because the gnomological tradition was a widespread genre, and the material itself has a cultural, historical and even literary interest. Cross-cultural studies may be facilitated by good editions allowing the comparison of Greek gnomologies with their adaptations in Arabic and other languages. However, it is a complicated tradition, and the would-be editor must from the start make clear-cut distinctions between the different levels of textual relationships and decide upon an adequate display without too much clutter in a critical edition.

References

van den Broek 1978; Dorandi 2007; Gerlach 2008a, 2008b; Gutas 1975; Martinelli Tempesta 2010; Overwien 2005; Rodríguez Adrados 2009; Russo 1997; Searby 2007, 2011; Sternbach 1887, 1888, 1889; Wachsmuth 1882; West [M.] 1973. Web sources: *Corpus der arabischen und syrischen Gnomologien*, <http://casg.orientphil.uni-halle.de/?lang=en>, last access May 2014; *Sharing Ancient Wisdoms*, <http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/library/arabicphilos>, last access May 2014.

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3.20. The *Vidin Miscellany*: translated hagiography in Slavonic (LS)

An intricate complex of circumstances influences the shape that an edition of a mediaeval text will take. However, of all formative factors *tradition* is probably the most important. Obviously, the state of the particular *textual tradition* dealt with will determine both the editorial process and the nature of the edition, but the *scholarly tradition* within which an editor works—or against which s/he chooses to react—is a significant determinant as well. The case of palaeoslavistics is interesting in this respect. The majority of (Old) Church Slavonic texts handed down to us consists of translations of Byzantine-Greek religious writings. Perhaps contrary to expectations, this situation has not resulted in heightened attention to genealogical approaches to text editing that take the Greek tradition into account. Ever since the early days of the discipline Slavists have shown more interest in manuscripts than in texts (as remarked for example by Panzer 1991 and Grünberg 1996*,* 6–8). The amount of documentary (facsimile or diplomatic) editions of single manuscripts or manuscript texts far outnumbers that of critical editions based on all available text witnesses, and the relation to the Greek source text material has often been left unexplored. Manuscripts have often been approached more as witnesses to a particular linguistic system or to a particular culture of writing than as text witnesses and the distinction between manuscript and text—both termed *pamjatnik* or 'monument'—has not always been sharply felt (Veder 1999*,* 5–13). Today, no scholar would deny the importance of the study of extant texts as linguistic structures and of manuscripts as socially embedded artefacts; it is not so much the habit of publishing documentary editions that is to be regretted as the fact that the critical research into the genesis, the transmission and the transformation of texts—both within and across linguistic and cultural boundaries—has often been neglected. With few notable exceptions (for example Veder 1999*,* 5–60 and Ostrowski 2003*,* xvii–lxxiii, both introductions to critical editions) there is little explicit theorizing and methodological reflection in the field, which lacks firmly established or broadly accepted standards for text editing. (It needs to be stressed, however, that in pre-revolutionary Russia high standard text critical work was done in the field of Biblical studies. Unfortunately, the revolution prematurely halted the development of Slavonic Biblical philology, which obviously affected the direction taken by textual scholarship in general; cf. the survey of early Slavonic Bible Studies in Thomson [F.] 1998*,* 607–631.)

Editing the Vidin Miscellany

In the early 1970s two editions appeared of the so-called *Vidin Miscellany*, a codex kept in the Ghent University Library (Belgium) as *Codex gandavensis slavicus* 408. The manuscript contains sixteen translated vitae—interestingly all of female saints—together with a short topography of Jerusalem (see Sels – Stern 2012*,* 355–361); the text collection has been examined in considerable detail in the (hitherto unpublished) PhD thesis by the Bulgarian scholar Maya Petrova (2003). Although the colophon states that the book was commissioned by Anna, tsaritsa of the Bulgarian principality of Vidin in the year 6868 (1359/1360), recent palaeographical and codicological research has shown that the manuscript is not Anna's book, but a fifteenth-century copy (Petrova 2001). However, early research into the *Vidin Miscellany* was based mostly on an interest in the codex, perceived as the result of a royal commission and the product of a fourteenth-century scriptorium. Typically, the editions—a facsimile published in the *Variorum Reprints* series (*Bdinski zbornik* 1972) and an annotated transcription by Scharpé and Vyncke (*Bdinski zbornik* 1973)—represented the *Vidin Miscellany* more as a document than as a text. It is clear, however, that the 1973 editors aspired to do more than that, as they added a critical-interpretive layer to their transcription, on the one hand by introducing critical notes and occasional emendations to the text, and on the other by enhancing it with modern punctuation, capital letters, expanded abbreviations, paragraphs etc. However, by doing so they blurred the lines between the documentary and the interpretive level. The diplomatic rendering refers to the *Vidin Miscellany* as a material text, whereas emendations on the basis of Greek source text material refer to the editors' understanding of the undocumented moment of translation. The erroneous idea that the *Vidin Miscellany* vitae were translated, compiled and copied within the same time frame—namely around 1360, for Anna of Vidin—has contributed to the use of 'Vidin Miscellany' as an umbrella term in which the codex coincides without complication with the text collection, and the text collection with the sum of the individual vitae.

Many challenges remain to be met by future editors of the Ghent codex and its texts (Sels 2013) and it is to be recommended that they (1) distinguish more sharply between *the document and the text*; (2) make

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a clear distinction between the *collection as a text* and the *collection as a collection of texts*; (3) give full weight to the critical research into the origins and the transmission of the individual entries, taking into account their specific nature as translated, non-authorial texts that are part of complex multilingual traditions, to arrive at a better understanding of the *Vidin Miscellany* as a whole.

The Vidin Miscellany *as a document*

A text has a textual tradition, a document does not (although, as an object and a material text, it has a history). A document has materiality, a text as an abstraction extrapolated from its various attestations does not. The label 'Vidin Miscellany' refers to a document to the extent that it applies to the codex kept in Ghent, which, as a whole of lexical and bibliographic codes, is a meaning-bearing object. It is a text in its material embodiment, written in a dark-brown ink on fourteenth/fifteenth-century paper, bound in 31 *octavo* quires of 13 × 20 cm; it has particular palaeographic and iconic properties, such as its sloppy, slightly angular late South-Slavonic semiuncial script or its decorative system of neo-Byzantine initials (Petrova 2001, 117–120). Any edition of the *Vidin Miscellany* as a document would be as much about the reconstruction of a mediaeval reading environment as about the establishment of a text, hence the precedence of formal-physical aspects such as rubrics, lines and folia over divisions of intellectual content such as sentences, paragraphs or chapters.

The Vidin Miscellany *as a text*

The title 'Vidin Miscellany' also refers to a hagiographic collection compiled at the request of Anna of Vidin. As a text in its own right, the collection has a textual tradition, even if it is limited and largely undocumented: We know that the Ghent manuscript is a copy of Anna's book, but no other manuscripts are known to contain the same set of vitae. An edition of the *Vidin Miscellany* as a text, based on the *Vidin Miscellany* as a text witness, would start from exactly the same material evidence but the approach would be markedly different: The editor would want to focus on those aspects of the text that can be transmitted from one copy to another, to arrive at an understanding of the collection as it was conceived around 1360, with its particular linguistic, semantic and literary features. This could imply a decision to substitute the *syntagmata* of the manuscript with sentences and a foliated view with running text divided into paragraphs. However, as the Ghent codex is a *codex unicus* from the point of view of the collection as a whole, the editor would have little other option but to publish the text as it stands, with preservation of its orthography, correcting only obvious scribal errors.

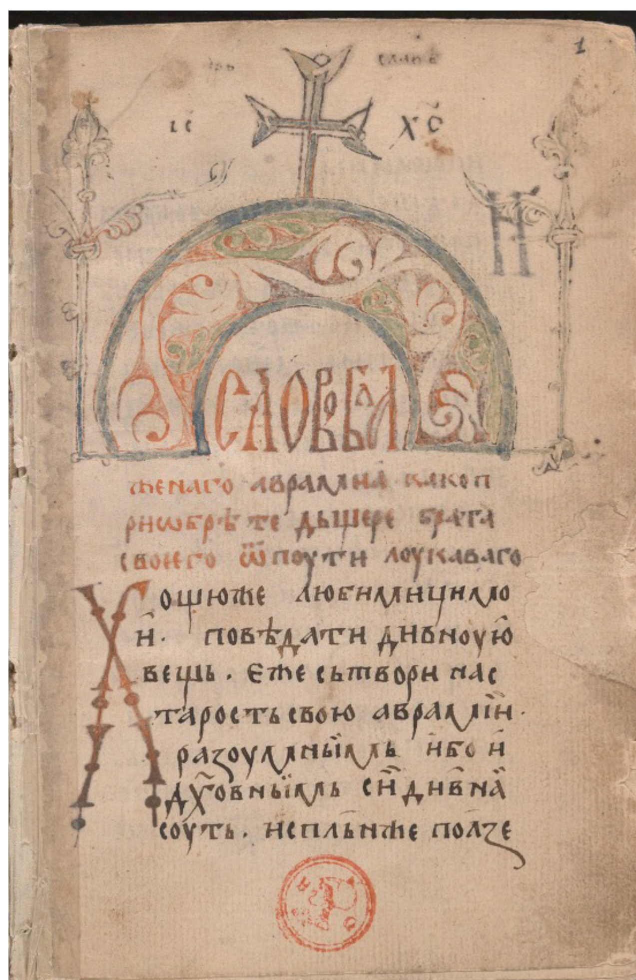

Fig. 3.3.20.1 Ghent University Library, slav. 408, fifteenth century, f. 1r: beginning of the *Life of Abraham of Qidun and his niece Mary*.

Contrary to what the 1973 editors believed, the Vidin collection was not translated directly from a Greek collection. Its compiler selected existing Slavonic vitae of a particular type of female sanctity and arranged them according to a purposefully chosen organizing principle, adapting some of the vitae to meet the requirements of the collection (as, for example, the *Story of Mary, the niece of Abraham* (ff. 1r–17v), where the narrative of a female ascetic's lapse into sin and her return to the straight path was isolated from the vita

of her pious uncle). Helmut Keipert was certainly right to criticize the 1973 edition for its neglect of the textual tradition of the individual vitae and to advocate a collation of the variant texts, the establishment of 'eine Art Normalversion' for each vita and a comparison with the Greek source texts (Keipert 1975, 283–284). However, an important distinction must be made: Whereas, indeed, insight into the origins and the transmission of each vita would enable a better understanding of the texts and of the principles underlying their selection and adaptation, it would be methodologically flawed to use this material—the individual variant texts or their Greek source texts—for the *constitutio textus* of the Vidin collection. This would imply reaching back too far and blurring the distinction between the collection as a text and the texts attested to in the collection—which the 1973 editors frequently did.

The Vidin Miscellany *as a collection of texts*

The *Vidin Miscellany* can also be approached *as a collection of texts*, namely of individual hagiographies with their own, typically complex multilingual traditions. From that point of view, the Ghent codex is a text witness—one of many—for each of its entries.

The already mentioned *Story of Mary*, for instance, is exemplary for both the wealth of these hagiographic traditions and for the intricacies involved in the search for their origins and textual dynamics. Mary's story is actually the second part of the *Life of Abraham of Qidun* (BHO 16–17; BHG 5–7), a text originally written in Syriac, probably in the fifth century, and erroneously ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian (Capron 2013, 53–123). The *Life* was translated into Latin and Greek around the sixth century and it appeared in Slavonic as part of an anthology of Ephrem's works as early as the tenth century, some four centuries before a truncated version would be included in the *Vidin Miscellany*. The Slavonic translation of the *Life of Abraham* has been shown to be much closer to the Syriac and to Greek papyrus fragments kept in the Louvre than to the other Greek witnesses of the *Life* (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1965, 302), and, indeed, the printed versions (i.e. the text published in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March and that in Assemani's edition of Ephrem's works) are markedly different. A comparison of the Slavonic text with the Louvre Papyrus (ed. Capron 2013, 70–105; 64, note 99) confirms that the Slavonic depends on an archaic, no longer fully attested layer within the Greek tradition. A critical edition that takes both traditions into account is called for. Some forty text witnesses of the Slavonic *Life of Abraham* have been identified so far and the tradition has begun to be studied in some detail (Stern 2013). As is often the case, the broad distribution of the text throughout *Slavia orthodoxa* has brought linguistic proliferation and the co-existence, within one tradition, of an Eastern Slavonic (Russian) and a Southern Slavonic (Bulgarian and Serbian) branch. As can be seen from the example below—which is a normalized, interlinear collation of eighteen text witnesses, the upper part Southern Slavonic, the lower part Eastern Slavonic—the two branches develop along the lines of their own internal dynamics, departing from a point where they still coincided. That point is embodied by the witnesses that represent the earliest documented stage of the text, that is manuscript Athos, Hilandar, 397 (*Codex Chilandaricus* 397) for the Southern and the *Uspenskij sbornik* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej, Syn. 1063/4) for the Eastern branch. The clear and easily identifiable directionality of textual change as seen in the example might be surprising as hagiographical traditions are notoriously open and fluid. However, only part of the tradition is represented in the illustration, which does not show the contaminated witnesses that blur the picture of the *Life*'s textual transmission. The text included in the *Vidin Miscellany*, for instance, is of a mixed nature, as orthographically speaking it belongs to the Southern group, while its content combines features of both, although in most of its readings it is closer to the eastern group.

For many hagiographic texts researchers disagree on the number of independent translations reflected in the attested material and indeed, there is nothing exceptional in hagiography about rewritings and retranslations that do or do not integrate material from older versions, which is why, in editorial practice, recourse is often had to parallel editions or hagiographic dossiers (cf., for example, Hinterberger 2014). However, some caution is warranted as an isolated comparison of two extant texts may give rise to the idea that they represent two independent translations, while a closer look into the broader tradition might reveal immediately that they occupy extreme positions in the stemma but ultimately go back to one translation. Some of the questions concerning independent translations or redactions will only be solved in the course of the historical-critical investigation of the sources and the corpus of material to be used for an edition may well be redefined in the course of that process.

The fact that a textual tradition allows for the reconstruction of the archetype, as in the case of the *Life of Abraham*, does not automatically mean that that is how the edition should be shaped. An editor oriented more towards the dynamics of the tradition may still consider a synoptic or an interlinear presentation of various extant text versions. A reconstructed, eclectic non-manuscript text, however, necessarily implies orthographical normalization. Because the Abraham text was translated in the early period of Old Church Slavonic, a reconstruction of the 'earliest retrievable text' can be rendered in 'standard OCS', i.e. according to the standard laid out by the Slovník of Prague (Kurz – Hauptová 1958–1997). However, normalization remains a huge stumbling block for any editor of later Church Slavonic writings, as there are no standards against which to normalise these texts. The presence of various linguistic recensions within textual traditions further complicates matters, especially when it is unclear which recension has more ancestral rights. The want of a norm for orthographical normalization is one of the reasons why editions of Church Slavonic texts keep being made on the basis of manuscript texts (for example Sels 2009, 104–105).

The Vidin Miscellany *as a collection of translated texts*

As already shown, the *Vidin Miscellany* should not itself be approached as a translation but as a collection of translated texts. If a mediaeval translation's quality as translation is to be given its full weight, an editor will need to go into the source text tradition in some depth. However, the question is how far one can go in exploring the multilingual tangle of these hagiographies. The feasibility of an integral approach strongly depends on the availability of scholarly editions and specialized studies on the source text tradition under scrutiny. In the case of the *Life of Abraham of Qidun*, no critical edition is available, although the work of the French scholar Laurent Capron has recently shed light on the Greek tradition (Capron 2013, 53–123). Too often, editors of Slavonic texts have juxtaposed their transcriptions to readily available print versions of Greek texts in the *Patrologia Graeca* or the *Acta Sanctorum*, or to self-made patchwork versions made up out of bits and pieces of particular Greek witnesses to perfectly match the Slavonic (as was done for the text on St Thais in Voordeckers 1964). While, on the ideal level there is a source text and its translation, on the level of the material evidence there is only a number of extant texts, Greek and Slavonic, that cannot be meaningfully related without insight into the nature of the translation model and the particulars of the original translation. To gain that insight is a process that oddly works in two directions, i.e. from a general idea of the Greek source text to that of a particular (but mostly non-extant) source text version that marks the point in the Greek tradition from where the Slavonic tradition took off, and from the extant Slavonic text witnesses to a general idea of what the original translation might have looked like. This is typically done by comparing the Slavonic translation (which we only know through its extant copies) to the Greek variant readings to learn about the nature of the source text, and by comparing that Greek source text to the Slavonic variant readings to come to a better understanding of the original translation. Clearly, some circularity cannot be avoided. However, what theoretically looks like aporia is in actual practice feasible as a process of repeated comparison in two directions.

The nature of the translation relationship is of consequence as well. Extremely literal translations, such as those typical of the fourteenth century (Sels 2009, 52–55), will facilitate not only the identification of relevant Greek variants but also of secondary readings in the Slavonic tradition, while a free translation may leave the editor in doubt with regard to the nature of the Greek exemplar and the place of the translation within the Greek stemma. It should be kept in mind, however, that a reliable assessment of the translation relationship can be made only through the philological work described above; misguided judgments have arisen as the result of comparing a Slavonic translation with a wrong version of the Greek source text or comparing a Greek source text with a Slavonic manuscript text that has evolved away from the text as it was originally translated (cf., for example, the juxtaposition of the *Vidin Miscellany*'s *Story of Mary* and the Greek Abraham text as published in the *Acta Sanctorum* by De Beul et al. (1965), with countless brackets to indicate non-correspondence). It is the editor's responsibility to link the Greek source text material meaningfully to the Slavonic text as it is established in the edition, which is ideally done by means of a special section in the introduction and a Greek-Slavonic parallel presentation of the text itself. If a critical edition of the Greek is available the critical text of the Greek can be juxtaposed to the Slavonic with indication of the particular Greek variants that have shaped the Slavonic tradition, for instance in a special apparatus (as in Sels 2009). In the absence of a critical edition of the Greek the editor

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Greek	καὶ	πατάξας	αὐτοὺς		ἐπέστρεψεν	Λὼτ		τὸν ἀνεψιὸν	αὐτοῦ.	
Alpha	н	попьравъ	ꙗ		възвратн	Лота		сыновн	своѥго.	
Ch397	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота		сынови	своѥго	
Ch384	и	побѣдивъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота			своѥго	сынови
Nbkm298	и	побѣдивъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота			своѥго	сыновьца
Berlin	и	побѣдивъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота			своѥго	сыновьца
Rila	и	побѣдивъ	ихъ		възврати	лота		сына брата	своѥго	
Ch648	и	побѣдивъ	ихъ		възврати	лота		сына брата	своѥго	
Nbkm299	и	побѣдивъ	ихъ		възврати	лота		сына брата	своѥго	
Kop	и	побѣдивъ	ихъ		възврати	лота		сына брата	своѥго	
Usp	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота		сыновє	своѥго	
BOZ99	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възвративъ	лота		сынови	своѥго	
VMC	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота		сыновьца	своѥго	
MGU	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	лота		сыновьца	своѥго	
TrS	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди		сыновьца	своѥго	
V1199	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди		сыновьца	своѥго	
Sar60	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди	и	сыновьца	своѥго	
Sar61	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди	и	сыновьца	своѥго	
GIM332	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди	и	сыновьца	своѥго	
Sar1115	и	попьравъ	ꙗ		възврати	люди	и	сыновьца	своѥго	

Fig. 3.3.20.2 Normalized interlinear collation of eighteen text witnesses to the Slavonic *Life of Abraham of Qidun and his niece Mary* (screenshot from a collation demo developed by David Birnbaum and Lara Sels).

may want to consider representing the Greek source text on the basis of the manuscript text(s) that best parallels the Slavonic translation, with indication of instances where other Greek witnesses offer a better match.

An editor needs to make clear statements about the nature of the text s/he is about to edit, even if the reality of the text is not always as clear-cut as presented here. Everyone agrees that palaeography belongs to the document and literariness to the text, but language is already much harder to pinpoint (on the idea of the extant text as a linguistic compromise between the scribe's own linguistic usage and the language of his model, see Segre 1976, 283–285). A colophon usually belongs to a document, but the one in the Ghent codex does not properly belong to it—it was copied and thus acquired a tradition. Once the boundaries are clearly drawn an editor can safely let information gained from one perspective spill over in research that takes another point of view, i.e. to have the document explain part of the history of the text and to have the history of the text explain some of the particulars of the document. Even if it is true that a document is self-sufficient and used independently from its sources, an awareness of the textual and linguistic layers that make up the fabric of its text remains of pivotal importance. Retracing the origins and the life of a text through textual criticism is not necessarily about textual idealism or essentialism; it is about understanding extant texts. In the case of hagiographical texts, editors should not be discouraged by the *a priori* assumption of textual fluidity from exploring the textual traditions as fully as possible, even if the establishment of an archetypal text is not always possible and not always desirable. No single way of publishing and presenting a text is incompatible with critical research into its textual history, both within and beyond linguistic boundaries.

NB For the use of the terms 'recension' and 'redaction', see Schenker (1995, 200): 'Texts sharing features introduced spontaneously and unconsciously (for instance, dialectal characteristics) represent a particular recension (Russian *izvod*). Texts sharing features introduced intentionally and consciously (for instance, ideological tendencies) constitute a redaction (Russian *redakcija*). In other words, a recension refers specifically to the linguistic properties of a text, while a redaction is defined primarily by its cultural context'.

References

Bdinski zbornik 1972; *Bdinski zbornik* 1973 = Scharpé – Vyncke 1973; Capron 2013; De Beul et al. 1965; Grünberg 1996; Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1965; Hinterberger 2014; Keipert 1975; Kurz – Hauptová 1958–1997; Ostrowski 2003; Panzer 1991; Petrova 2001, 2003; Schenker 1995; Segre 1976; Sels 2009, 2013; Sels – Stern 2012; Stern 2013; Thomson [F.] 1998; Veder 1999; Voordeckers 1964.

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3.21. Sacred texts in Hebrew and related languages. Dealing with linguistic features (WvP)

Sacred texts

Sacred texts, authoritative texts, and normative collections

The question as to how to define 'sacred texts' is open to debate. As working definition we use: 'texts that are accepted as authoritative by a religious community and are regarded as formative for its identity'. However, the use of 'authoritative' in this definition (also used by Emanuel Tov in relation to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, see Tov 2001, 177; Jenner et al. 2006, 14, n. 5) can be challenged, because not all 'authoritative' texts are also 'sacred'. In the Christian tradition some Classical authors were held in high esteem, but that did not mean their writings were considered 'sacred'. Yet, their authority had an effect on the textual transmission: Whether or not a scribe allowed himself to emend and change the text did not primarily depend on whether or not the text belonged to the Scriptures, but rather on whether it was attributed to a named author—regardless of whether this author was Matthew or Cicero—or not. It was especially in the transmission of the anonymous literature, including many Apocryphal stories such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, that the scribes allowed themselves much freedom to alter the text considerably (for example Tromp 2005).

Related to concepts of sacredness and authority of texts, is the concept of 'normative collections'. It should be recalled that such collections were not only formed of those books that have become the 'canons' of present day's world religions, but that in Antiquity all kinds of normative collections were established. In the ancient Greek literature we can think of collections such as the *Sibylline Oracles* or the Alexandrian *Canon of the Ten Orators* (Norelli 2004).

Different degrees of authority

The complexity of the relationship between 'authoritative' and 'sacred' texts is not only due to the fact that texts such as juridical canons or esteemed classical authors could have authority without necessarily being sacred, but also because within religious traditions, when we are dealing with the foundational texts of religious communities, 'authoritative' and 'sacred' cannot simply be equated. In Sunnite Islam, for example, the *sunna* is authoritative, but not 'sacred' as the Qurʾān is.

One could attempt to refine the notion of sacred texts by taking into account different degrees of authority that may exist in a religious community. In the Jewish tradition, for example, the Mishna and the Talmud have a certain kind of authority, but they are not treated on the same level as the Tanakh. To find a conceptualization of 'sacred texts' that does justice to the status of these Rabbinic sources within Judaism without taking the Tanakh, the Mishna and the Talmuds together as if they were three equal parts of the Jewish canon, the notion of gradual authority may be helpful.

Regarding the Syriac tradition it is worth observing that the so-called *Masora* were added not only to the biblical text (of both the Old Testament and the New Testament), but also to some Church Fathers. Does this demonstrate that they had an authoritative status? (Loopstra 2009) And if so, how does this status compare to that of the Bible? This requires further research.

'Sacred' texts and the divine

If we want to take into account in our research not only the contents of the 'sacred texts', but also the way in which these texts were written down, treated and preserved, it should be recalled that sometimes 'secular' texts received in certain respects a special treatment similar to that of sacred texts. In the Jewish tradition, for example, there were rules how to treat manuscripts that contained the Tetragrammaton, the name of God, regardless of the contents of the text and thus including, for example, contracts or personal letters containing an invocation of God. As a consequence, the very fact that a document contained an inscription of the divine name could have a great impact on its fortunes (on the question what books one was obliged to store in a *geniza*, see Stemberger 2004, 124–125). In such a context it may be preferable to define 'sacred' in terms of its supposed relationship to God or the divine rather than in terms of an authoritative or canonical collection of writings.

Derived authority

The authority of a sacred text may generate other claims of 'derived authority'. This is especially clear with the genre of the commentary, which, by its claim of being the correct interpretation of the sacred text,

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may claim authority for the interpretation as well (Gumbrecht 2003). This may motivate, for example, the description of natural phenomena and other encyclopedic information in the form of a *Hexaemeron*, a commentary on the Six Days of Creation.

Also translations of sacred texts could receive an authoritative status derived from the sacred status of their source texts. Sometimes such translations figured side by side with their source texts (the role of the Aramaic Targums side by side with the Hebrew Bible in the Jewish tradition); sometimes they eventually replaced their source texts (the role that the Septuagint played in early Christianity).

Consequences of the 'sacred status'

Starting from the working definition of 'sacred texts' given above, we can ask what consequences the sacred status of a text may have. This may apply to all material, formal and functional aspects of texts.

The material carriers of the text, how they are produced, and how they are treated

In Rabbinic literature we find all kinds of instructions and rules related to the proper production of biblical manuscripts. These instructions reflect not only a concern for a correct rendering of 'the text' as the sequence of characters, but also for material aspects, such as writing materials, the sewing and repairing of parchment, and the preservation of scrolls that had become unfit for use. The tractate *Massekhet Soferim* (eighth century?) is an extensive collection of such instructions, but in earlier literature, such as the Mishna, the same concerns are reflected. (It should be noted, however, that these instructions applied only to the Tora scrolls, not to study codices.)

The idea that the material carriers of the text are sacred objects also enhanced concerns related to purity, reflected in terminology such as 'books that defile the hands' and in debates about the question whether or not a menstruating woman is allowed to touch a Tora scroll (but note, again, that these discussions concerned Tora scrolls, not study codices; hence they do not relate to material carriers of the sacred texts in general, but to those material carriers that had specific liturgical functions). The sacred status of the scrolls is also reflected in the treatment they receive in the synagogue and in liturgy.

I have taken a few examples from Judaism, but in other traditions parallels can be found as well. Similar questions regarding material aspects and about purity play a role in Islam, although the answers given sometimes differ from those given in Judaism. Thus the custom of storing worn-out scrolls in a special storage place, a *geniza*, which was widespread in Judaism, may have been adopted in early Islam (compare the large collection of manuscripts found at the Great Mosque of Sanaa in Yemen), but alternative treatments of those worn-out scrolls, such as burning them, also received acceptance (Dr. Umar Ryad's personal communication).

The sacred status of a text may also effect the size and form of manuscripts. It is now generally accepted that the codex cannot be considered a Christian invention and that it is an oversimplification to consider the opposition between scrolls and codices as running exactly parallel to that between Jews and Christians. Still, the obligation to write the Tora on scrolls rather than codices, means that the sacred status of the text had an effect on the material aspects of its carrier. Likewise, in the Christian tradition there is a certain interaction between the use of the codex as a means to collect a large amount of texts in one volume and the idea of the canon consisting of a collection of books (Hurtado 2006 and various publications by Robert A. Kraft). However, as we have argued elsewhere, the evidence is complicated because sometimes biblical and non-biblical books occur in one and the same codex, and even the most famous complete manuscript of the Syriac Bible, the *Codex Ambrosianus Syrus*, contains some texts that probably did not belong to the canon of the Bible in the Syriac tradition (see van Peursen 2008a).

For the study of oriental manuscripts, it is of the utmost importance to be aware that not only 'the text' in its abstract sense as it is used in scholarly textual criticism or in literary studies, but also the text carriers were considered 'sacred'. For this reason we should welcome the shift in textual scholarship that has taken place over the last few years from an interest in 'the text' as an abstract scholarly construct to an interest in texts as artefacts. The formation of the COMSt network can be seen as one of the results of this shift (van Peursen 2010, 6). This shift will hopefully make us more sensitive to the way in which the documents we are dealing with were produced and treated, not only as 'content' but also as objects.

Scripts

If we consider a text as a sequence of graphemes, as is done in modern philological or literary studies, the question as to how these graphemes are realized, the actual graphs, is arbitrary. Thus text editions of ancient Hebrew inscriptions often use the Hebrew square script, rather than the palaeo-Hebrew script, to

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render the text of the inscriptions. Likewise, in Syriac text editions, the choice as to which script is used is often made on the basis of practical or technical considerations, regardless of the scripts used in the manuscripts. In scholarly literature from, say, a century ago, we find even Syriac words printed in Hebrew characters. These practices reflect the idea that the choice of scripts is arbitrary. From a linguistic viewpoint this may be true, but in religious communities this is often not the case, since the script often functions as an identity marker of a community or as a means to set a sacred text apart from other texts. The role of scripts as identity markers at times motivated allography: the writing of a language in the script of another, which we see, for example, in the use of the Hebrew script for Ladino or Judaeo-Arabic, the use of the Syriac script for the Arabic language (*garšūnī*), and the use of the Arabic script for many Turkic and Indo-European languages (den Heijer – Schmidt 2014).

The most common Hebrew script, the square characters (which receives its name from the square forms of the characters), is in fact a development of the Aramaic script. Before this script came into use for writing Hebrew, Hebrew texts were written in the palaeo-Hebrew script, which is attested in ancient inscriptions, and from which also the Samaritan script developed. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls (third century BCE–first century CE), most texts are written in the square script, but there are some fragments written in the palaeo-Hebrew script. There are also a number of scrolls written in the square script in which the divine name is written in the palaeo-Hebrew script (for further details about the scripts used in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see for example Tov 2001, 217–220). This latter custom may reflect a certain sacred status that the ancient script still had. In later periods, however, we find also texts that assign a higher status to the square script. In some forms of Jewish exegesis, value was attributed even to the form of the letters (as in the explanation why the Tora begins with a Beth), so that the forms of the letters—in the square script—could not be considered as something arbitrary, nor as a secondary development, a borrowing from a foreign people. The fact that the 'heretic' Samaritans used a later development of the palaeo-Hebrew script also fed its rejection by Rabbinic Judaism. As a consequence, in addition to traditions that considered the palaeo-Hebrew script more venerable (probably reflected in some Qumran scribal practices), other traditions evolved that, on the one hand, reflected a historical awareness of the Hebrew square script being a later development, but, on the other hand, assigned it a status that was superior to the palaeo-Hebrew script. According to a well-known tradition, the square script was the proper, original script of the Tora, given to Moses on Mount Sinai, but when the people of Israel sinned with the Golden Calf they had to continue with the palaeo-Hebrew script, until in the post-exilic period, Ezra 'rediscovered' the square script. We do not need to go into all details of these Midrashim, but the point I want to make is that the script that is used may play a role as religious identity marker and be considered as an inherent part of the 'Scriptures'.

Much innovative research has been dedicated over the last years to the various forms of the Syriac scripts. This led, among others, to a revision of the traditional view of how the scripts are historically related (van Peursen 2008a, 206, with reference to publications by John Healey and Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet). These new insights may provide a basis for further study of the relationship between these scripts and the various religious communities. Apart from the question as to whether certain scripts were assigned a superior or even 'sacred' status, we can observe a tendency that the script for the 'sacred' books is in general clearer and sometimes also bigger.

There are some interesting parallels from other traditions. In his valedictory lecture entitled *Religion and Alphabet*, H. W. Obbink (1968) discusses various ways in which certain alphabets function as identity markers in religious communities. Obbink describes a situation on the Balkan where the Eastern Orthodox use the Cyrillic script, the Roman Catholics the Latin script, the Lutherans the Fraktur script, and a small group of Catholic Croats at the Dalmatian coast (who, unlike the other Catholics, keep the Old Slavonic liturgy) the Glagolitic script.

Textual aspects

In addition to the formal aspects such as the writing materials used or the form of the letters, there are the textual aspects. We can distinguish between elements of the text itself, such as linguistic or stylistic phenomena that are typical for religious texts, which will be discussed below, and additional textual elements, such as rubrics, indications of sections used in liturgy, or devices to secure a correct transcription of the text, such as the *Masora* in Hebrew Bible manuscripts.

The concern for the correct transmission of the sacred text led not only to additions to the text, such as the *Masora*, but also to other scribal activities, including the collation of manuscripts. In the case of the Greek New Testament this resulted in a conflation that prevents us from building any *stemma* of the

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existing manuscripts. In the case of the Old Testament, Origen's *Hexapla* can be regarded as a masterpiece of text comparison in Antiquity and its influence extended, for example, to the form of the Bible text that was used in liturgy. Origen's fifth column, the text of the Septuagint together with text-critical symbols to mark the differences with the Hebrew text, was translated into Syriac. This translation, the Syro-Hexapla was for some time rather influential (on the appearance of Syro-Hexaplaric readings in lectionaries see van Peursen 2011, 156–159). The fact that for some books the Hexaplaric recension, including the text-critical symbols, did not result from a Hebrew-Greek comparison, but rather from a comparison of various Greek manuscripts, further shows how the production of this version was embedded in the ancient philological tradition (on the Hexaplaric version of Ben Sira see van Peursen 2011, 153–159 (= section 5.3)). The origin of the Syro-Hexapla was probably related to the needs of Syriac scholars who translated many Greek commentaries into Syriac and discovered that the text that the exegetes were writing about was not identical to their own Syriac Bible (see ter Haar Romeny 2006, 297), and its reception to the prestige of the Greek language and literature. Both the origin and the reception can be approached from various socio-linguistic and religious-historical perspectives.

Textual scholarship in Antiquity deserves our attention not only because we can regard it as the predecessor of our own philological work and because some philological principles that are still applied nowadays have their roots in Antiquity (Dahlström 2010, 81, 93, on the role of the Alexandrian and the Pergamenian editorial ideals in modern digitization practices), but also because it has shaped the sacred texts themselves, which are the object of our own philological research. Some signs of it are immediately visible, such as the *asterisk* and the *obelos* in witnesses to the Hexapla or the Masoretic notes in the margins of a Hebrew manuscript. In other cases it influenced the text itself, for example when a scribe used various manuscripts which resulted in conflated manuscripts. The point that I want to make here is that in our study of sacred texts we should be aware that the textual witnesses that we have are themselves the product of scribal and scholarly activities and that hence we cannot separate texts from their transmission and interpretation over the centuries.

Though in some cases we see a correlation between the sacred status of a text and the accuracy with which it was transmitted, the level of accuracy that was aimed for shows variation.

In the Hebrew Masoretic tradition we see a great concern about an accuracy of the textual transmission up to the letter, even in cases of spelling variation that from a linguistic viewpoint is arbitrary, such as the alternation between defective and plene spelling. However, this fixation of the text followed a period in which there was much more fluctuation and variation. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we see much more spelling variation as well as the existence of various text forms side-by-side. This should not be taken as an indication that, for example, the book of Isaiah was not considered a 'sacred text' by the scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but rather that different scribal practices were applied to the same text and that the existence of various versions of this text side by side was not conceived of as opposing its sacred status.

In the transmission of the Greek New Testament the situation is comparable to that of Hebrew Bible before its textual fixation. In the first centuries CE, up to the fourth century, the transmission seems to be free and the manuscripts reflect abundant variation of all sorts.

Syriac Bible manuscripts reflect a remarkable uniformity and if we compare the critical apparatus of the Leiden Peshitta Old Testament edition with that of the Nestle-Aland New Testament, the range of variation in the former is extremely small. Our view is restricted, however, by the materials that we have. In the case of the Old Testament Peshitta, for example, we can postulate on the basis of linguistic observations that the text of the Bible had undergone considerable revision between its origin in the second or early third century and the oldest preserved manuscripts, which date from the fifth century onwards (van Peursen 2008b).

Also the liturgical use of texts had an impact on their transmission. The concern for a proper recitation of the Hebrew Bible led to the development of vocalization and accentuation systems, which, in turn, can be seen as the first step in the native Hebrew linguistic tradition. Other linguistic traditions, such as that of the native Arabic grammarians or the development of the native Sanskrit linguistics are also rooted in the needs of religious communities who wanted a correct interpretation of the sacred text (as in the case of Arabic) or to have their rituals performed properly (as in the case of Sanskrit). In other contexts, liturgical practices may have influenced the form of the text as it is in the manuscript (see, for example, Gutman – van Peursen 2011, 77, 203). More generally we can say that for those texts that had a place in religious

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practices, there was an interaction between the text that found its way in the manuscripts and the use of the text in liturgical or ritual contexts.

Linguistic aspects

If we deal with the language of sacred texts, two sets of questions are at stake. The first set concerns socio-linguistic questions: Why is a certain language used? What status did that language have? How did users of the text respond to changes in their linguistic environment, be it language development (for example, do we see signs of linguistic updating of the text?) or a complete change of language (for example, Jews using Hebrew scriptures or Christians using Syriac scriptures in an Arabic environment). Was the language retained? Was the sacred text translated? This set of questions is very broad and includes, for example, the various ways in which the Hebrew Bible and/or its translation were recited in public in the Jewish tradition (Smelik 2007) and the debate about the *Hebraica veritas* versus the Septuagint in the Christian tradition. These questions are relevant for philological research because they may affect the text itself (for example corrections in the text of the Septuagint towards the Hebrew text), as well as the ways they are presented (for example in multilingual biblical manuscripts).

The other set of questions concerns the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of the text, and relates, for example, to conservative elements in written language, and especially in religious and liturgical language and texts. That in the study of ancient manuscripts we are dealing with written texts has in itself an impact on their linguistic features. Among linguists opinions differ whether this is a disadvantage (Bloomfield considered written language a poor representation of 'real' language, that is spoken language) or an advantage (because of linguistic features that are unique to written language, such as layout and interpunction). For us, however, there is no other choice than to take the corpora that we have as the basis of our linguistic and stylistic analysis.

When we speak about the linguistic analysis of ancient corpora, it should be recalled that there is a fundamental difference between a 'corpus' as it is usually understood in corpus linguistics, and a corpus of religious texts such as the Hebrew Bible. The first is a purposely selected representative samples of texts; the latter is a collection that is not selected on the basis of linguistic criteria, but rather on the basis of religious criteria. It is nowadays generally acknowledged that the Old Testament is only a part of the literature of ancient Israel, which has undergone processes of redaction and selection by a particular group of Judaean scribes. Although the scope of the Hebrew Bible is broad, including laws, proverbs, poems, stories, and both more secular and more religious texts, it remains a fact that the formation of the Hebrew Bible is completely different from the formation of linguistic corpora.

The conservative tendency that can be observed in written languages appears to be even stronger in the case of religious and liturgical language use. Archaic elements may be preserved in religious texts whereas they have become obsolete in daily language. (A phenomenon that could certainly also be illustrated by modern examples as various studies on religious language show.) Sacred texts often represent a literary, standardized form of the language (Jenner et al. 2006). It deserves further study to see to what extent this may explain the linguistic homogeneity of sacred texts that have been composed over a long period of time, such as the Hebrew Bible. Although the homogeneity may also be the result of updating, rather than retention, the commonly accepted view that in the Second Temple Period the Hebrew vernaculars differed from the standardized written language suggests that the language of the foundational religious texts did not develop at the same pace as the spoken varieties of the language, In the case of the Syriac Bible we see also a standardized form of the language (van Peursen 2008b).

The conservative tendencies may in the end result in various types of multilingualism or 'multidialectalism' in which the classical language is used for the sacred text whereas another dialect or language, genetically related to the classical language, is used as vernacular. There are various examples in which a sacred text figures in a community the vernacular of which is a language that in some way or another is related to the language of the sacred text (for example: a cognate language; a later stage of that language). Compare Classical Syriac versus Modern Aramaic dialects (but note that the Modern Aramaic dialects are not direct 'descendants' of Classical Syriac); Biblical Hebrew as against Israeli Hebrew (in this case the situation is complicated by the recourse taken to the classical phases of the language in the revival of Hebrew as an everyday language) or Latin as against the Romance languages.

In other cases the language used in liturgy and other religious contexts and the everyday language are completely different languages. This applies, for example, to the use of Hebrew or Syriac in Arabic

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contexts. Apart from the sociolinguistic issues mentioned above, this is relevant because such a language situation may have an effect on processes of language representation (for example the invention of vowel systems if knowledge of the proper pronunciation is no longer self-evident).

References

Dahlström 2010; den Heijer – Schmidt 2014; Gumbrecht 2003; Gutman – van Peursen 2011; Hurtado 2006; Jenner et al. 2006; Loopstra 2009; Norelli 2004; Obbink 1968; Smelik 2007; Stemberger 2004; ter Haar Romeny 2006; Tov 2001; Tromp 2005; van Peursen 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011.

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3.22. The *History* of Bayhaqī: editorial practices for Early New Persian texts (JJW)*

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaqī (385–470 AH/995–1077 CE) was a high chancery official under the Ghaznavid Sultans Maḥmūd (reigned 389–421 AH/999–1030 CE) and Masʿūd (reigned 421–433 AH/1030–1041 CE). Ghazna then was certainly not the provincial Afghan backwater that the Ghazni of today has become. It was a place with a thriving culture, where a few decades earlier Firdawsī had come to offer Sultan Maḥmūd his *Šāhnāma*. Manuscript Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 437, one of the oldest preserved illuminated Arabic manuscripts, was written in Ghazna and dates from Bayhaqī's lifetime. It shows the outstanding quality of book production the copyists of Ghazna were capable of. During the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd's son ʿAbd al-Rašīd (440–443 AH/1049–1051 CE) he was appointed head of the chancery, but he fell from favour and was imprisoned. After his release in or after 451 AH/1059 CE he did not try to be reinstated at the court. Instead he worked on his huge history of the Ghaznavid dynasty, of which, according to later authors, only volumes 5–10 out of a total of thirty volumes have been preserved. These remnants have, in course of time, acquired the collective title of *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqi*, 'the History of Bayhaqī'. The title 'Annals of Bayhaqī' would be more appropriate. Saʿīd Nafīsī (1940–1953) has preferred the title *Tārīḫ-i Masʿūdī*, the 'History of Masʿūd' as the preserved parts of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī* only contain episodes from the history of Sultan Masʿūd. Gilbert Lazard (1963) mentions the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī* as the most important historical text in Persian of the fifth century AH/eleventh century CE. Ehsan Yarshater, in his foreword to Bosworth's translation (Yarshater 2011), goes even further: 'arguably the best known and most liked of all Persian histories'. Storey (1927) mentions sixteen manuscripts extant, Lazard (1963) mentions some twenty, and the count by Yāḥaqqī and Sayyidī (2009) has exceeded the number of fifty manuscripts, none of them very old, though. It shows the progress of bibliography.

The language of the 'History' is a relatively old form of Persian, which in the mid-fifth century had only recently been emancipated from Arabic as a literary language. Old forms of Persian are the subject of Lazard's monograph of 1963, and Bayhaqī's 'History' takes an important place among the 72 texts that Lazard selected for his research. The importance of the 'History' lies in the fact that we have precise knowledge about the person of the author, who is exactly dated and located. Another reason for the fact of the relatively ample attention that the 'History' has received in the past century and a half is its outstanding narrative quality. The only drawback in all this is that there do not seem to exist old manuscripts of the text. Storey gives an enumeration of the manuscripts known at his time and indicates which were used for the early editions of the 'History'.

The 'History' has enjoyed the attention of a large number of editors. W.H. Morley first published the text in Calcutta in 1862, on the basis of three manuscripts dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Morley 1862). The critical apparatus is almost non-existent in his edition, nor is it the ambition of the series *Bibliotheca Indica* in which it was published to go deep into textual history. It does not give more than a few variant readings of proper names. There is no editor's introduction (the edition was published by Nassau Lees after Morley's death), nor any index. It is the plain text, just that.

Then there is the lithograph edition from Tehran of 1307 AH/1889–1890 CE brought out by Aḥmad Adīb Pīšāwarī, which cannot be called critical either. The lithograph editions that were for a while very popular in the Middle East and beyond are not much more than manuscripts in printed form and they usually represent a late, and not seldom defective, unreliable and contaminated, stage in the transmission of a text. The lithograph edition of the 'History' is no exception to this: it is probably based on manuscript Tehran, Ketābḫāne-ye Mağles, 229, which is dated 1265 AH /1848–1849 CE, or on a textual witness closely related to the Mağles manuscript. Apart from the text, it contains linguistic and historical commentary and some variant readings and remarks on moral and philosophical issues. Some editorial work has evidently been done on the text in the lithograph edition, with the result that it is more readable than Morley's edition, but that does not automatically make the lithograph more authentic. In fact, in problematic passages it frequently leaves the reader in the lurch (Lazard 1963, 77). Smoothing the text is a feature in some of the later editions as well. Lazard convincingly establishes the date of publication of the lithograph as 1307 AH/1889–1890 CE, rejecting the 1305 AH/1887–1888 CE that some bibliographies have (Lazard 1963, 76). The former is the year of publication, the latter the year in which the model manuscript after which the lithograph was printed was completed.

* I gratefully acknowledge the valuable advice for choosing Bayhaqī's 'History' as the subject of the present survey, given to me by Prof. J.T.P. de Bruijn of Leiden, my first teacher of Persian, way back in 1964.

Next is the three-volume edition by Saʿīd Nafīsī (Tehran 1319–1332 š./1940–1953 ce). It is based on the two earlier editions and on a number of manuscripts in private collections, which are not of great value (Lazard 1963, 77). As if to compensate for the lack of quality of his textual witnesses, Nafīsī provides a very detailed critical apparatus and provides a wealth of notes. A few years later (Tehran 1342–1343 š./1963–1964 ce), Nafīsī brought out a companion publication in two volumes containing an edition of fragments quoted by later authors from the parts of Bayhaqī's *Annals* which are now lost, *Dar pīrāmūn-i Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, 'Around the *History* of Bayhaqī'. Nafīsī's edition remained the best documented survey of variant readings of the text till the edition by Muḥammad Ǧaʿfar Yāḥaqqī and Mahdī Sayyidī of 1388 š./2009 ce.

The edition by Qāsim Ġanī and ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ was published in Tehran in 1324 š./1945 ce. It contains the entire extant text of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī* with an introduction, notes, and indexes. It is based on all earlier editions, on the Maǧles manuscript plus on a manuscript in Mashhad (now known as Āstāna Quds, 14105) which is dated by provenance to before 1075 ah/1664–1665 ce. It provides a rather heavily reworked version, 'less rich and less adventurous' than Nafīsī's edition as Lazard has it, and it was destined for a general readership. Lazard primarily based his linguistic analysis of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī* on the edition by Nafīsī, because of its rich critical apparatus, with additional references to the edition by Ġanī and Fayyāḍ (1945). The latter brought out another edition of the text (Mashhad 1350 š./1971 ce), which saw a second edition published in Mashhad in 1355 š./1976 ce. It contains an introduction and incomplete notes (Yusofi 1988), and the second edition in addition contains a long glossary by Yāḥaqqī, who, in 2009, brought out what seems, at least for the time being, the definitive edition of the 'History' (Yāḥaqqī – Sayyidī 2009).

An edition of selections of the 'History', *Guzīda-yi Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, was published by Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī in Tehran in 1348 š./1969 ce. The edition, *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, by ʿAlī Iḥsānī (Tehran 1358 š./1979 ce) seems to be based on the editions by Fayyāḍ, but I could not ascertain this, neither edition being at my disposal.

The edition by Ḫalīl Ḫaṭīb Rahbar (*Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, 3rd edition, Tehran 1373 š./1994 ce, I–III) is almost entirely silent on the editorial method applied and the textual witnesses employed. Rahbar's introduction almost exclusively focuses on the content of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*. Only on pages xxxvi-xxxvii of his introduction Rahbar gives a list of the previous editions of the text (Calcutta, the Tehran lithograph, the Nafīsī edition, the edition by Ġanī and Fayyāḍ, with its two later versions). It is a contribution to bibliography without any ambition in textual criticism. At the end of the third volume the edition does have a glossary and indexes. The textual foundations of this edition remain unmentioned, which in the Middle East, and maybe elsewhere as well, means that they were probably one or more of the earlier printed editions.

The latest edition of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī* is the one that was brought out by Muḥammad Ǧaʿfar Yāḥaqqī and Mahdī Sayyidī (Tehran 1388 š./2009 ce). It contains, apart from the text, a long introduction, and notes and indexes. The introduction does not go very deep into the textual criticism of the two editors, but it provides a useful survey, with many illustrations, of the twenty-four manuscripts used (pp. cxi–cxxx). These manuscripts are 1. the lithograph edition of Pīšāwarī; 2. the Calcutta edition by Morley; 3. the Mashhad manuscript that was first used by Ġanī and Fayyāḍ; 4. the Maǧles manuscript that was already used in several earlier editions; 5. by implication an 'unimportant manuscript' that Fayyāḍ had had at his disposal; 6. manuscript London, BL, Or. 1928, without date; 7. manuscript Paris, BnF, Arabe 3224; 8. microfilm 8734 in the Central Library of Tehran University, dated 1288 š. (1871–1872 ce); 9. by implication yet another manuscript that had been used by Fayyāḍ; 10. the edition by Nafīsī; 11. manuscript Tehran University, Central Library, 5933, a copy the lithograph edition by Pīšāwarī; 12. manuscript Tehran University, Central Library, 6569, dated 1169 š. (1755–1756 ce), which had already figured under other references in the editions of Nafīsī and Fayyāḍ; 13. by implication yet another, unspecified, manuscript from among those used by Fayyāḍ; 14. manuscript Tehran, Ketābḫāne-ye Maǧles, 61334; 15. manuscript Tehran, Maǧles, 3139, dated 1296 ah (1879 ce); 16. manuscript Tehran, Maǧles, 40762, dated 1208 š. (1793–1794 ce); 17. manuscript Tehran, Maǧles 61937, dated 1209 š. (1794–1795 ce); 18. manuscript London, BL, Or. 455 and Or. 456; 19. manuscript London, India Office, 3736, dated 1907 ce; 20. manuscript London, BL, Or. 1925, not dated; 21. manuscript London, BL, Or. 1927, not dated; 22. manuscript Tehran University, Central Library, 2983; 23. manuscript London, BL, Or. 1926; 24. manuscript Kabul, National Museum, 3417 (21/14). The editors provide some general characteristics about their textual witnesses, and in their

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extensive critical apparatus they note down numerous variant readings. They have hardly made any effort at textual criticism. Any Lachmannian scholar would immediately have eliminated the earlier printed editions, and also, to name but one example, no. 11 of the list, a copy of the lithograph edition. There is no attempt to stemmatology. Yāḥaqqī and Sayyidī give as their main reason (p. cxxxv) for bringing out their edition their wish to clean away the numerous mistakes and alterations that in course of time had become attached to the text. Whether this is at all possible when one has only recent copies, mostly of the nineteenth century, at one's disposal, remains to be seen. It is evident from the wealth of variants that Yāḥaqqī and Sayyidī had the ambition to replace Nafīsī's edition of 1940–1953.

Of all editions of the 'History' should be said that they show the four extra letters that Persian phonology adds to the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. They also normalize the *ḏāl* into a *dāl* whenever modern orthography makes that necessary. This entirely unhistorical procedure is not limited to the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, however. It is common practice among Persianists, both in Iran and abroad. The casual observer that I am in these matters remains amazed by this.

The most recent work done on the entire text of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaqī*, is the annotated translation into English *Abu'l-Fażl Beyhaqi, The History of Beyhaqi* (*The History of Sultan Masʿud of Ghazna, 1030–1041*), by C.E. Bosworth, in the revision by Mohsen Ashtiany, and published in three volumes in Boston and Washington, DC in 2011. This work is not primarily concerned anymore with the textual criticism of the Persian text. Its ambition is to enlarge the readership of the 'History' to those who have no command of the Persian language. The lengthy introduction in the first volume places the content of the 'History' in a historical context. The third volume entirely consists of explanatory notes, which only in an indirect way are useful for textual criticism.

References

Bertotti 1991; Bosworth 2011; Ġanī – Fayyāḍ 1945, 1971=[2]1976; Iḥsānī 1979; Lazard 1963 (esp. 76–78), 1974; Meisami 1999 (esp. 79–108); Morley 1862; Nafīsī 1940–1953, 1957, 1963–1964; Pīšāwarī 1889–1890; Rahbar 1994; Siyāqī 1969; Stern 1969; Storey 1927; Waldman 1980; Yāḥaqqī – Sayyidī 2009; Yarshater 2011; Yusofi 1988.

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3.23. Christian liturgical manuscripts (UZ–SV)

Introductory remarks

There are many different Christian Churches in the east, which took shape along both confessional and linguistic lines mostly in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Their liturgies have evolved continuously, so much so that it is difficult even to recognize the common origin of their rites, which mostly derived from Antioch or Alexandria. Occasional influences, more often than not reciprocal, and also from Jerusalem and the west, have compounded the situation. This process of differentiation has continued even beyond the age of printing (admittedly late in some areas). Therefore a wide variety of books, contents, and terminologies has developed in the Christian East.

Liturgical books are, strictly speaking, those actually used for performing a church service, as lectionaries, missals (for the priest and/or the deacon), breviaries (*hōrologia*), psalters (which may contain more material than the Psalms themselves), service books (*ritual* and *pontifical*), prayer books for various rites (*euchologia*), hymnaries, etc. Liturgiologists (scholars studying the historical development of liturgies) would also include in the same definition books which are subservient to the proper performance of services, as manuals (*typika* in Greek) and calendars. Other types of books, such as collections of private prayers, would be *rather* called 'para-liturgical' (for the terminology see for example Kaufhold 2007, 297–315 on 'Liturgische Bücher').

Additional historical and textual information may be gathered particularly from liturgical commentaries, which explain systematically the symbolism of the rites (see Bornert 1966), but also from other sources which have a rather remote connexion with liturgy, as patristic and historical writings and Bibles with marginal annotations about readings.

All this makes the publication and interpretation of Eastern Christian liturgical manuscripts a rather complex venture.

Liturgical vs. literary manuscripts

Typically, liturgical manuscripts share some unique features, which are less prominent among literary manuscripts: (1) Liturgical books were devised for practical purposes, as guidelines for the performance of a rite. Therefore they were consulted more often than other kinds of manuscripts, became worn by use, and were liable to be replaced more often. (2) For a variety of reasons—among them, the influence of an important see, contamination between monastic and cathedral practices, theological issues and literary concerns, but also simply the natural tendency of liturgy to expand filling the calendar with saints and devising services covering the whole day and rites for important social events—liturgical rites were subject to change, and manuscripts prior to important innovations became obsolete and usually were destroyed. (3) The transcription of liturgical books was also subject to continuous interference from the oral tradition, since often scribes were clerics and therefore familiar with the texts and the gestures. (4) Along history, there has been a growing tendency to make more comprehensive manuscripts, fully transcribing the texts and describing the gestures. As a consequence, more complete (and recent) manuscripts tended to replace more concise (and earlier) manuscripts. The thrust towards completeness is quite visible in musical manuscripts: melodies were first learned by heart; later, perhaps from the sixth century onwards, they were transcribed according to simple notational systems which, in turn, were replaced by more precise transcriptions.

All these factors explain why comparatively few ancient liturgical manuscripts survive and why, on the whole, they lack an 'original', in a proper philological sense.

Since manuscripts were expensive, budget problems were also involved in their production: (a) they were normally 'specialized', providing only the portion of the service assigned to the priest or deacon, or the cantors. Thus, a manuscript rarely offers a full service for the whole liturgical year; (b) except for some luxurious products (for the royal chapel, the main cathedral, etc.), liturgical manuscripts were modest, often made for 'private' use, and economical, trying to save space by different means (using abbreviations, avoiding repetitions, etc.).

Authorship vs. anonymity issues

Liturgical texts may be either anonymous or explicitly attributed to an author, who, in turn, may be true or—very often—fictitious. Some types of liturgical pieces, such as poetical texts, are more likely to be

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authentic works of an author: for instance, the *madrase* and the *memre* attributed to Ephrem or Jacob of Serugh used in the Syriac liturgy, or also the Byzantine *kontakia* (a genre imitated perhaps from the Syriac tradition) and the liturgical 'canons', which often have been transmitted under an author's name.

However, an author's name does not imply that a text is wholly original, and has not been reworked or has not incorporated earlier sources. On the other hand, it does not prevent further alterations to the text. Such phenomena are clearly visible in the case of literary texts, such as the anaphora (the central part of the Eucharist). An interesting, if questionable, attempt to determine the authorship of the anaphora attributed to John Chrysostom can be seen in Taft 1990.

At least once, an author's second edition has been preserved. The Coptic liturgiologist Abū ʾl-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d.1324 CE) wrote in Arabic an encyclopaedia called *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-ḫidma* 'The Lamp of the Darkness to illuminate the [church] Service', which has been transmitted in two main manuscripts (along some others of lesser importance), Paris, BnF, Arabe 203 and Uppsala, Univ., O. Vet. 12, both from the fourteenth century; the first one is a direct copy of the author's 'first edition', while the second preserves corrections made by the author himself in view of a 'second edition' (see Zanetti 1985, 247 n. 124).

Publishing liturgical manuscripts

For liturgiologists any liturgical text that was actually in use is in itself interesting, whatever its relation to the rest of the corpus, even when it can be proved that its contents stem from some kind of factual 'error'. For example, St Benedict died on 21 March, and his feast was kept on the same day in the Latin Church (even if it was hampered by the observance of Lent); in the Byzantine Church, however, his feast-day is celebrated on 14 March, due to a misplacement in the old calendars. The scholar must take notice of this discrepancy, and try to understand how it appeared, but should not 'correct' it. See also the case of the printed Coptic annual lectionary below. See Budde 2004, 48–63 (and the criticisms levelled by Winkler 2005a and 2005b, 30–37).

The editor of liturgical texts usually has to face a complicated task (see Polidori 2013). Some unique manuscripts may be worth a diplomatic edition, which makes the editor's work much simpler (although this solution is not fully satisfactory, it has been chosen for western sacramentaries). However, a comprehensive coverage of the rites of a given region or Church would require the inclusion of as many manuscripts as possible, in order to account for the evolution—both historical and local—of the rites.

In fact, the liturgical tradition of an important see (typically a 'patriarchate') has often replaced local peculiarities and/or rites, sometimes by compulsory means (like the imposition of the Latin liturgy among the Malabarese in the sixteenth century), but also by imitation (various rites spread from Jerusalem, for example the mystagogical system). However, total control rarely obtains and usually does not prevent the retention of local peculiarities or the appearance of new ones. For example, the Italo-Greek liturgy, despite its radically Byzantine structure, retained archaisms, imported features from the Palestinian area (see Jacob 1976), and introduced new rites for local saints (Arranz 1969).

Given the evolutionary nature of liturgical rites, each branch of their tradition, indeed each individual witness, has to be assessed on its own merits, since the influence of the various factors mentioned above may vary very much. For example, the Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem is transmitted by three strands of tradition. The two older types, even if they are conveyed by late codices (the Jerusalem and Paris manuscripts, respectively), are only slightly adapted to the Armenian context and may function almost as Greek witnesses. The third variety, the *čašocʿ*, shows various degrees of adaptation to the local situation in Armenia (see Renoux 2003). Another example is the Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, which also conveys mainly translations from Greek, but on occasion retains older features within a more recent context (for a recent *status quaestionis* about the influence of Jerusalem, see Janeras 2005).

Standard models

Today, liturgical books are standardized in most Christian traditions (despite possible minor variants) and are printed. But the situation is rather different in the manuscripts, where, even within the same (branch of a) liturgical tradition, complete uniformity was comparatively rare.

Therefore, the publication and/or description of a typology, that is a standard model for each type of liturgical book within a given tradition, might prove useful, since it may help to single out variants with regard to this model. Describing the manuscripts according to this typology allows, on one hand, to give a

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clear general survey, and, on the other, to reveal deviations, which are liable to be witnesses of past practices. For examples of typologies, see Zanetti 1987; Zanetti 1995, 88, for the Coptic 'annual psalmody'.

Lectionaries

Describing or editing liturgical manuscripts may be exemplified by lectionaries, namely the books containing the readings, biblical or other, to be used during the services for a given occasion (first Sunday after Easter, or Christmas day, etc.) or a specific service (for example a Baptism, or a Marriage); usually they have also rubrics explaining what should be done.

One-volume handwritten lectionaries, which would supply the readings for the whole liturgical year and all the services, perhaps never existed, because of their sheer size and price. Two methods (or some combination thereof) were adopted to make lectionaries manageable and affordable, and both produced multi-volume sets: 1) following the sequence of the liturgical seasons: Lent, Eastertide, from Pentecost to Advent, etc.; 2) splitting the contents of the lectionary among the various liturgical actors: gospel for the deacon, 'Apostolos' for the reader, Psalms for the cantors, etc.; some lectionaries will have readings only for some weekdays (typically, Sundays, Saturdays, together with major feasts).

Since each church was supposed to need a complete set, lectionaries were numerous, and in some traditions hundreds of them have survived. However, complete sets are rarely preserved, since individual volumes may have been lost in the course of time. Also different traditions might have been merged together. For an interesting case, see Zanetti 1985, 50–52: for the very last days of the liturgical year, the official printed annual lectionaries of the Coptic Orthodox Church provide services belonging to a different 'style' than the rest of the year. The reason for this is that, when the first yearly lectionary was printed, the editor took as his model a (good) manuscript which lacked the last folia, and completed the missing pages with those from another manuscript, which happened to belong to a different 'style'.

Such problems are not uncommon. They exist even in the western tradition, where usually only Latin was at stake (see Kunze 1947). In the oriental tradition, several languages and various influences can be involved (such as Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, and so on), each of them bringing in its own possible deformations in the text, in the rubrics, and in the reference-system. Samples and explanations for the

Fig. 3.3.23.1 Monastery of St Macarius, Lit. 157 (= catalogue Zanetti no. 201), eighteenth century (?), Collection of 'Fraction prayers' of the Coptic Missal, ff. 34v–35r: prayer for the Commemoration of the Dead of the Liturgy of St Gregory, preceding the Fraction prayer.

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present Coptic liturgical tradition (i.e. the Lower Egyptian tradition) are accessible in Zanetti 1985 (for possible sources of errors, see 55–60 and 69–72). Intricate problems compound the study of the (now lost) Upper Egyptian tradition, where nearly no complete manuscript has been preserved; see Zanetti 2007, Brakmann 2004, and Zanetti forthcoming.

What follows is a list of some aspects which deserve primary attention when researching lectionaries.

A) Readings. A typology with the *incipit* and *desinit* is a good tool to identify each pericope precisely. The readings which follow the model may be considered identical to it, and only variant readings will require further discussion. However, in some cases precise identification might be elusive, since, particularly during the Holy Week, there are also readings made up from discontinuous sections taken from one or more Biblical books (Byzantine rite). The text itself, which is properly speaking within the scope of Biblical scholars, may supply additional information about the origin of a given reading, since the lectionary might have been expanded by accretion, and the Bible (or at least parts thereof) was translated more than once into some languages (Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian). But this is an exceptional situation, which requires specific tools and competence.

B) The Psalms often offer a complicated picture, because of ‘combined verses’ made from bits taken from several parts of the same Psalm, from different Psalms, or even from other books. Also, the division of the Psalms is not uniform: for several oriental traditions, the Septuagint numbering should be used primarily, with the addition of its Hebrew equivalent. The Septuagint numbering is paramount since it is continuously used in the manuscripts for cross-referencing; the Hebrew allows a wider use of the research.

C) The saints of the day. Liturgical services being often related to the feast days of saints, the study of lectionaries (and calendars) implies the identification of the saints commemorated, which is not always straightforward. Not all the saints are well-known: when a saint is an obscure one, the name could be local and/or forgotten, surviving only in a few manuscripts; it could be also a simple mistake or have been borrowed from another tradition. In the east, an additional problem may be caused by the script, since names have been transliterated even more than once, for example, from Greek into Coptic, then into Arabic, then into Ethiopic, or from Greek into Syriac, then into Armenian, then into Georgian (see Nau 1912a, 1912b; Tisserant 1912).

D) The rubrics. They should be paid careful attention, because of their utmost importance in the development of liturgical services. However, interpreting them requires true familiarity with the given liturgical tradition and liturgical architecture, since in many cases they are not self-explanatory.

The actual publication of such a vast amount of material is difficult: it would be hardly usable if only the reference of each reading were provided, while it would take an enormous amount of space to print entirely each pericope; a full publication on paper would be too expensive; in addition, it would also require several indexes to meet the needs of all readers. A digital edition, with its almost infinite possibilities of displaying and linking, seems to be a better choice, provided a uniform and flexible method of presentation is agreed upon. This is certainly one of the fields where modern tools are liable to improve scholarly research significantly.

A starting point for bibliography on Christian oriental liturgies remains Sauget 1962 (and for the Coptic tradition, Malak 1964); a precious source of information about liturgy is Brakmann 2011. The *Societas Orientalium Liturgiarum* (founded recently in 2005) brings specialists together every other year, and has started to publish selected papers from its International Congresses.

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Arranz 1969; Bornert 1966; Brakmann 2004, 2011; Budde 2004; Jacob 1976; Janeras 2005; Kaufhold 2007; Kunze 1947; Malak 1964; Nau 1912a, 1912b; Polidori 2013; Renoux 2003; Sauget 1962; Taft 1990; Tisserant 1912; Winkler 2005a, 2005b; Zanetti 1985, 1987, 1995, 2007, forthcoming.

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