

DE GRUYTER

EDUCATION MATERIALIZED

RECONSTRUCTING TEACHING AND LEARNING
CONTEXTS THROUGH MANUSCRIPTS

*Edited by Stefanie Brinkmann,
Giovanni Ciotti, Stefano Valente et al.*

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Education Materialised

Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts
through Manuscripts

Edited by
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Eva Maria Wilden

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Introduction

Manuscripts have played an important role in the educational practices of virtually all cultures that have made use of them. They have been instrumental in disseminating knowledge at all levels, ranging from elementary to the most sophisticated literary, philosophical, and religious forms of education, as well as conveying vocational knowledge. The use of manuscripts enabled the implementation of complex forms of teaching and learning practices in their quality of means for receiving, preserving, and transmitting knowledge, not only as repositories of information, but also as physical and intellectual spaces where contents could be summarised, expanded, and reshaped.

Therefore, manuscripts used in educational contexts can certainly be considered as primary witnesses for reconstructing and studying didactic and scholarly activities and methodologies, since they served as learning and teaching tools both for teachers and students. On the one hand, manuscripts can help us reach a broad understanding of the different and complex modes of education – more or less institutionalised as they may have been – that characterised different cultures from the moment in which they knew literacy, on the other, they also bear individual characteristics, which, in turn, allow us to investigate specific educational and learned practices. In general, manuscripts belonging to different cultures should not be studied merely from a genealogical perspective as models that would later be faithfully reproduced in each single detail, but rather as individual written artefacts resulting from personal adaptation and re-elaboration of knowledge. Thus, manuscripts offer evidence for reconstructing and interpreting the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they were produced and used. All in all, manuscripts may be considered to be mediators of educational practices that contribute to organising, structuring, and influencing the acquisition, organisation, and transmission of knowledge.

Conversely, manuscripts, as any archaeological finding, are but snapshots of concrete historical moments, the full picture of which can only be partially reconstructed. It is fair to say, many manuscripts that once might have been used in educational contexts may not have survived. Therefore, apart from the numerous reasons for this loss of written material, research on teaching and learning

practices should take into consideration not only what has survived, but what might also be lost. Similarly, although manuscripts provide invaluable evidence, they certainly do not tell the whole story. Hence, any reconstruction of concrete teaching and learning practices and educational contexts of the past must be accompanied by a study of additional historical sources, thus at best, manuscriptology, philology, and historical research go hand in hand.

At a more abstract level, a number of ‘polar tensions’ emerge when studying the role of manuscripts in education. First of all, the interaction between *oral* and *written* educational practices, which finds in manuscripts its locus of mediation. Furthermore, two oppositions appear particularly relevant when it comes to knowledge and its transmission, namely that of *stability* versus *instability*, which characterises the transmission of knowledge through space and time, and that of *standardisation* versus *individualisation*, which characterises both learning and teaching practices. These pairs of oppositions constantly intertwine, so much so that the negotiations of their reciprocal tensions deeply shape the material realisation of knowledge into manuscripts in terms of both their production and use. The current volume engages with these dynamics from a four-fold perspective that characterises its internal structure. The articles included here have been distributed over four sections, each of which is opened by a more detailed sub-introduction. Needless to say, although the articles focus mainly on one of the four topics, they all share contiguities.

1 Educational settings: Teachers, students, and their manuscripts (Stefanie Brinkmann)

Teaching and learning in the pre-modern period often involved a personal relationship between teacher and student, and their direct interactions at various locations. The scholar, or teacher, was the attachment figure, less so the institution itself. In many regions and periods, this partly led to a distinctive mobility of both students and scholars. Textual evidence in manuscripts, such as certificates or classroom notes, enables a (partial) identification of teachers, and a (partial) reconstruction of teacher-student relations. Additional information on places and dates renders possible a geo-spatial mapping of certain educational settings, from which the social networks of education may emerge. Annotations in the manuscripts, as well as the materiality of the manuscript, e.g., its form, visual organisation, and script, may permit conclusions to be drawn on the applied didactics, and the actual use of manuscripts in educational contexts.

2 Exegetical practices: Annotations and glossing (Stefano Valente)

Working on the material evidence of the intellectual engagement with texts incurs dealing with the practices of glossing, annotating, and commenting texts in written artefacts. Manuscripts preserving text(s) with an exegetical apparatus usually originate in educational and scholarly contexts. Annotations can bear traces of oral teaching and learning activity. They may also represent a more or less standardised exegetical corpus or be the product of fresh commentarial activity by a single person or a group. Different typologies of exegesis can be discovered: in many cases, a structured space had been planned in a manuscript to be used for hosting comments. In general, the manuscriptological and philological study of each single written artefact containing a text along with glosses and commentaries may lead to an uncovering of material, cultural, and social environments related to production and use; this may help in understanding and reconstructing teaching and learning practices and in assessing the institutions that used them.

3 Organising knowledge: Syllabi (Giovanni Ciotti)

The organisation and classification of knowledge are essential components of any educational tradition. Such activities manifest themselves in the production and circulation of texts, which can be transmitted orally, in written form, or both. Furthermore, educational practices are characterised by the ways in which texts and their selection, for instance, influence the production and use of manuscripts, as well as how the material aspects of manuscripts influence the possibility of manipulating knowledge and texts. This section of the volume outlines and exemplifies the principles of such an interaction by means of the following three categories: (a) syllabi, i.e., the more or less defined groups of subjects, (b) the texts relevant to teaching and studying those syllabi, and (c) the manuscripts containing those texts. Whether or not all three categories are overtly manifest in a given culture or can be reconstructed, it is clear the investigation of their interplay opens a new window onto the material and textual aspects of knowledge within virtually any educational setting that has made use of manuscripts.

4 Modifying tradition: Adaptations (Eva Wilden)

Different forms of adaptation and transformation mainly affect two opposite aspects of how knowledge is transmitted and reshaped. On the one hand, one meets with a wide range of choices aimed at enhancing and interpreting the core-content of a manuscript by correcting, annotating, and commenting it (also with the help of drawings and illustrations). On the other, one encounters the output of various processes of shortening and condensing knowledge in the form of excerpts from commentaries or other texts, their summaries, and the insertion into already existing or newly produced manuscripts in the form of annotations or autonomous texts. This has the potential of a reimagining of the core-content. Moreover, the trends toward a simplification of complex literary or religious traditions aiming at a broader audience should also count among those typologies of transformation. Translations from one language to another belong to this category, too. The general term ‘adaptation’ is employed in this volume when referring to transformations of the above-mentioned types that are planned and executed in an individual manuscript project, as opposed to a process of (re-)use.

The articles collected in this volume are the outcome of some of the research carried out by the working group ‘Learning’ (coordinated by Christian Brockmann), during the second phase of the SFB 950, *Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa, and Europe* (2015–2019) funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation), and rounded up by the input of a few external contributors. The focus is the cross-disciplinary investigation of manuscripts bearing traces of teaching and learning practices. Hence, the volume does not purport to cover all manuscript cultures and related phenomena, although it effectively ranges from the second millennium BCE to the twentieth century CE and covers an area ranging from Western Europe to Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the case studies collected in this volume offer different approaches with the intention of tracing some paths for future research concerning written artefacts and educational practices.

We would like to thank the editors of the series in which this volume appears, Caroline Macé and Laurence Tuerlinckx for their precious editorial help and, of course, the contributors for their articles. Finally, we would like to acknowledge Martin Delhey’s input for the realisation of this volume.

Educational Settings: Teachers, Students and their Manuscripts

Stefanie Brinkmann

Introduction: Reconstructing Agents, Places, and Methods through Manuscripts

Learning and teaching is bound to time and place, and before any transfer of knowledge can evolve, it is these external structures that represent the frame in which content was negotiated, debated, and adapted. Therefore, this first section in the present book is dedicated to the agents involved in learning and teaching, the locations, and institutions,¹ and the practical function manuscripts played within this framework.

The contributions of this section range from the Old Assyrian period of the second millennium BCE to the twentieth century and from Western Europe to Anatolia, the Middle East and West Africa. Each of these historical periods and regions reveal enormous differences at a local and individual level, and a variety of languages, confessions, and intellectual traditions. But as varied as they seem, these manuscript cultures frequently share common features, such as the many locations where teaching and learning may take place, the re-usability of materials (e.g., as a means for learning how to read and write), the usage of smaller formats or single quires for better portability (and for them, perhaps, to be loaned out between teaching locations and private study sites) as well as the many textual traces that provide evidence of dictation, oral recitation and lectures.

¹ There is no generally accepted clear-cut historical definition of the concept of ‘institution’. The social sciences, above all, have made it their task to bring significant focus to the term, providing various definitions ranging from narrow to broader distinctions. Implementing Jacques Revel’s definition (Revel 1997), one may distinguish between institutions as follows: ‘the strict and technical definition of institutions as legal-political entities prevalent in legal history and the traditional history of institutions; a more recent, somewhat broader concept referring to social bodies functioning according to rules and norms (such as schools or trade unions), and a truly wide definition which sees institutions wherever regular, recurring forms of conduct subject to norms and based on mutual expectations can be detected’ (Algazi 2014, 5). In addition, scholars distinguished between institutions as a type of entity and as an activity. Further problems arose due to concepts developed within European history being transferred to the Near and Middle East. See, e.g., Narotzky and Manzano 2014.

1 Textual evidence

Taking the textual evidence of manuscripts as a starting point for the reconstruction of teaching and learning in specific regions at given times, one is generally confronted by three main possible areas for analysis:

1. Texts describing schools (or other sites of education), teachers and students, including pedagogical texts, or images of school life.²
2. Manuscripts in which the main text(s) were of primarily educational purposes i.e., school-, or textbooks implemented for the direct purpose of teaching.
3. Manuscripts in which the main text is not a schoolbook, but any text that was part of the cultural heritage and was taught in different contexts. Here, paratextual elements can provide documentary information on how these texts were transmitted and taught.

Disregarding the occasionally fluid borders between these categories, the contributions primarily address examples relating to the second and third group. In the first category, however, M. Baldzuhn shows images reflecting studying contexts, and W. Beyer opens her contribution with so-called Edubba-literature, or ‘school-stories’, i.e. texts that report on the daily life of a student.

2 Agents and places

Although in theory all stages of learning are covered, from the elementary to advanced levels, and the transmission of knowledge among scholars (and non-scholars), only W. Beyer’s contribution examines material evidence of how to learn to read and write (Old Assyrian Aššur). Most contributions focus on a stage of higher learning, at a monastery (T. Hennings), cathedral school (S. Whedbee), university (M. Baldzuhn), or teaching sessions at various locations, conducted by a religious authority, or master (D. Ogorodnikova, J. Karolewski, W. Beyer). C. Colini broaches the issue of teaching a craft, namely ink making.

Taken this broad spectrum of educational settings, the term ‘teacher’ refers to private and schoolteachers as well as scholars. In most contributions, the identity of teachers could be revealed, and only in a few cases a teacher has remained

² See, for example, Günther 2005, 89–128; Dickey 2012.

anonymous. For the pre-modern period when the personal relationship between teacher and student was usually much more central than the institution, tracing such networks of educational relationships through the analysis of the main text, paratexts, and contemporary sources is of key importance. Teachers were either hired externally, teaching permanently within a given institution such as a monastery, or were members of the family, or the religious community. In all contributions to this section, the teachers happened to be male, as were probably also the students, with the exception of a female student in Old Assyrian Aššur (W. Beyer).

The locations in which teaching and studying took place, as well as the institutions participating in the manuscripts' distribution are numerous, ranging from dedicated educational institutions such as monasteries and universities, mosques, madrasas, (temple) schools, to locations of a multiple use, such as gardens or marketplaces. That the private house was a typical location where teachers provided lessons is well reflected in a number of the contributions. Some teaching institutions offered at times student accommodation, such as some madrasas in the Islamicate world, or individual Brahmins accommodating a student of Vedic instruction.³

3 Accessibility of manuscripts

The varied places of instruction are accompanied by a hybrid situation when it comes to the use and accessibility of manuscripts for students or scholars. Libraries were key in making knowledge accessible, for students did not necessarily possess a private copy of each text required for study. In medieval Europe, monastic and university libraries offered to different degrees access to books. In the Islamicate world, many teaching or research institutions such as the madrasa, or hospitals contained libraries, and there were public libraries that were often established as endowments (*waqf*).⁴ Beyond such private or institutionalised collections of manuscripts, the book market offered necessary material for studies. While a number of cities had specific areas for the trade with books, this activity also operated within loose personal networks.

³ Here, lessons were often conducted outdoors due to the hot climate. For an overview of education in Ancient India see Scharfe 2002, for Tamil education in particular see Ebeling 2010, especially 37–55. See Günther 2017, 31–32, about the Islamic education up to 1500.

⁴ Hirschler 2021; Liebreiz (forthcoming).

It is not always clear to what extent students were to bring their own manuscripts to the teaching sessions, or to what extent educational material was placed at their disposal by institutions, and/or by the teacher. At a more advanced educational level at universities for instance, students were at times expected to have their own copies, copied either from other manuscripts, or by dictation. The fifteenth-century university statutes of Leipzig, for example, declare that the students visiting a *lectio* had to bring with them their own, corrected texts (M. Baldzuhn). And in the beginning of the second millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, students had to form their own clay tablets (W. Beyer). The classroom notes taken in a Cathedral school by Robert Amiclas, student of the Parisian Comestor (Peter of Troyes, d. c. 1178), were added to his personal copy (S. Whedbee). In other cases, such as the Alevi religious education, it was usually only the teacher who had a manuscript (J. Karolewski), similar to South Asia, where students' private copies were an exception.⁵ In many of the manuscript cultures presented in this section, however, hybrid situations can be expected in which manuscripts were at the disposal of students or students took their own notes and copies for the purpose of text transmission and self-study, as well as the existence of opportunities to borrow or purchase manuscripts. Lending only parts of a manuscript, e.g. a chapter, facilitated multiple use. The manuscript culture of single leaves in West Africa facilitates the borrowing of parts of a complete text, or set of texts, to a student for them to copy the required, specific text passage. A similar phenomenon is witnessed in medieval Europe: From early thirteenth-century Bologna, the system of so-called *peciae* was implemented in North Italy, France, Spain, and parts of England until the fifteenth century: single parts of an entire manuscript that could be borrowed separately for copying.

4 Orality and the use of manuscripts in educational settings

Despite the many different contexts, one aspect was central to all of the manuscript cultures presented in this section: the importance of orality in teaching and studying.

⁵ Long 1868, 123. Despite the fact that few students prepared private copies, there are manuscripts showing notes on the margins taken directly while the teacher was talking, see Formigatti 2015.

Orality has been a fundamental and widespread method of any educational tradition, often representing a prior-ranking status, either due to the scarcity of writing material, the social status of scholars, deficiencies of scripts, or other reasons.⁶ But as a matter of fact, teaching and learning was often conducted through a combined process of orality and written culture. Within the educational settings presented in this section, though, manuscripts were apparently not used in equal measure within these teaching contexts. J. Karolewski demonstrates that in spite of manuscripts being considered a treasure trove for the Alevi religious tradition, memorization and oral teaching were of prime importance first, and this has barely left any traces upon the manuscripts. Hence, understanding the function of manuscripts within the teaching and learning context could only be gained through interviews in the contemporary Alevi community – serving as a reminder that a lack of written evidence in a manuscript need not signify their marginality in teaching and learning settings. Less certain in terms of the practical use of manuscripts is the situation in C. Colini's study of five medieval treatises on ink making that questions the function of manuscripts when teaching a craft. Only very few have evidence for practical use: added recipes in the margins, or some greenish fingerprints in the section of the book dealing with coloured inks.

Different from these two examples is T. Hennings' presentation of texts which were certainly intended for reading and private study, namely texts that Notker of St. Gall (c. 840–912) collected for his pupils, the brothers Salomon II. of Constance (c. 860–919/920) and Waldo of Freising (c. 852–906). Possibly a parting gift for the two brothers when they left St. Gall, these texts reflect topics taught, topics to be applied in the future, personal interests – but do not reflect direct teaching situations.

Such direct teaching situations are, on the other hand, addressed in other contributions of this section: S. Whedbee and M. Baldzuhn refer to dictation sessions, Whedbee regarding a twelfth-century Parisian cathedral school and Baldzuhn in referring to the medieval European universities. *Reportationes* were notes taken by a student from a master's oral lecture. These notes may well have undergone corrections and extensions, quite probably under the master's supervision, resulting in a kind of polished report of a master's oral teaching. These *reportationes* may also include the teacher's name, thus providing an

⁶ In the case of the memorizing and studying the Vedas in South Asia, orality was the only method until shortly before the beginning of the common era and learning from written sources was even seen as a reproachable activity. Despite this proscription the actual education surely saw a combination of both practices, written and oral (Ciotti 2017).

important source for the reconstruction of scholarly networks and teacher-student-relationships. In his contribution, S. Whedbee compares a manuscript of such a polished *reportatio* from the Parisian master Comestor (Peter of Troyes, d. c. 1178) with a manuscript by his student Robert Amiclas which has notes from Comestor's lecture in the classroom.

In line with such classroom notes, D. Ogorodnikova presents marginal, or interlinear annotations with references to teachers in Islamic manuscripts from Senegambia. Even though she doubts that at least some of these notes were written during the teaching session due to their *mise-en-page* and the 'book hand character', they possibly reflect – directly or indirectly – oral teaching by introducing the text of the annotation with opening formulas such as 'from the mouth of our teacher' (*min fammi ustādinā*), or 'our Šaiḥ said' (*qāla šaiḥunā*).⁷ Whenever names or family relations are given, we can partly reconstruct student-teacher-networks and scholars' biographies.⁸

Certain paratexts in manuscripts from the Islamicate world are worthy highlighting here for their unique character as sources for teaching and learning contexts, and because they are not dealt with explicitly in this volume: certificates of transmission (sg. *iğāza*, pl. *iğāzāt*) and certificates of audition, or protocols of audition (sg. *samā'*, pl. *samā'āt*). *Samā'āt* function as registers of teaching sessions, usually naming the master, or shaykh, the work studied, all attendees, date, and place. These entries not only open a window onto concrete teaching settings, as well as networks of scholars, but also provide an insight into the social history by listing all participants, including women, children, and men with a variety of social backgrounds.⁹ *Iğāzāt*, correspondingly, are certificates awarded by a teacher to a student. This kind of text may specify educational methods, mentioning the subject and/or the text taught, the teacher's and student's names, as well as place and date. Such certificates, both *iğāzāt* and

⁷ But even in these cases one has to read these paratexts with caution for it is frequently not certain to what extent such entries reflect direct oral teaching contexts, or to what extent they follow certain (written) conventions. On the other hand, evidence has been found relating to written sources as in opening formulas such as 'from the writing of' (*min ḥaṭṭ*).

⁸ Early examples of West African manuscripts, from the seventeenth century on, show such annotations partly reflecting teaching contexts at different educational levels, Bondarev 2017, Ogorodnikova 2017.

⁹ Thus far, the only systematic collection of a larger scale of *samā'āt* has been carried out by S. Leder, Y. as-Sawwās and M. aṣ-Şağarġi (1996). They collected audition notes from Damascus for the years 1155–1349. At the moment, Konrad Hirschler and Said al-Ġumāni (Berlin) have begun to catalogue *iğāzāt* and *samā'āt* in manuscripts of different holdings, for future online accessibility.

samā'āt alike, may be added to the margin of a manuscript, after a chapter, or on a separate page in the manuscript, however, they may also appear as independent texts.¹⁰ As such entries may register date and place, the setting of the teaching session(s) can partly be reconstructed in detail, including methods applied during the session (such as the recitation of a text before the master, *qirā'a*, or dictation, *imlā'*). While many *iğāzāt* evidence direct contact between teacher and student, they may also be given without direct contact, at times even to children despite the advanced level of the subject matter. Such cases were highly disputed within the Muslim communities.¹¹

5 Material and format

Beyond the analysis of texts, the material aspects and layout of manuscripts may narrate their own story and add crucial information to the reconstruction of teaching and learning contexts.

In general, less material evidence exists for elementary education as that of advanced education and the scholarly transmission of knowledge. Some exercise fragments, books, or cuneiform tablets may have survived, but in general writing surfaces for such exercises were not made to last and were often re-used. Practices of re-using material involved wooden tablets¹², wax tablets¹³, and clay¹⁴,

10 Gacek 2012, 51–56, Davidson 2020, 108–151, Seidensticker 2015.

11 Two other genres that have been transmitted through manuscript copies and function as some kind of diploma supplement in modern terms are the *mašyaḥa* (or *mu'ğam aš-šuyūḥ*) and the *tabat* (or *fihrist*). In the former, an author (or person in charge) would list all transmitters from whom he (or she) had taken and learned a Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīṯ*). While here, the teacher is the point of departure, *tabat* works usually take the book that has been taught and learnt as key reference: The mentioning of the book was followed by those from whom the author had listened and studied the book. See Davidson 2020, 241–275.

12 Wooden tablets are known from images in manuscripts (Hirschler 2013, 82–90, Plates 2–6; Baer 2001), descriptions in texts, and remain in use to a certain extent today, for instance in West Africa (Brigaglia 2017).

13 Wax tablets were a typical material during Antiquity and the Middle Ages the early stages of learning how to read and write (but also for notes and drafts). A wooden tablet filled with wax from second-century Egypt for Greek writing exercises is mentioned in Turner 1971, 32, Plate 4.

14 Although the material evidence of clay tablets as surface for learning how to write seems not have to survived in other manuscript cultures than the Ancient Near East (at least to our current knowledge), clues exist indicating the use of clay as a means for children learning to write in the medieval Islamicate world (See Colini p. 103, referring to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad

while other materials such as papyri¹⁵ or (palm) leaves were usually not meant to be stored when used for writing exercises. The practice, common in South Asia, of writing in sand with a stick was, naturally, even more ephemeral.¹⁶ The introduction of paper was a decisive break. But paper was not necessarily cheap, at times even expensive and, different from the material mentioned above, barely re-usable. However, the reuse of paper from manuscripts, letters, or other documents was not uncommon at children's schools or among scholars. It is not known, though, just exactly when paper became of common use at children schools.¹⁷ But there is a difference in terms of the surviving evidence of writing exercises: Clay tablets have survived from the second half of the fourth millennium BC, fragments actually of thousands of school tablets – contrast starkly to manuscript cultures from which only snippets of writing exercises on papyri, parchment, or paper have survived. At a more advanced level and far more for the purpose of text transmission and circulation, different materials were used, such as parchment, papyri, palm leaves, and paper. Aside from clay (W. Beyer) and parchment (W. Baldzuhn, S. Whedbee) all other contributions in this section present paper as the writing surface.

Remembering that part of the life of a manuscript involved being carried to teaching sessions, for notes (e.g., by dictation), or for copying, it appears obvious that such manuscripts, if codices, had to have been in portable formats meaning they would have been of a medium or smaller size. This applies to the two manuscripts with texts written and arranged by Notker of St. Gall (c. 840–912) for two of his students (T. Hennings), as well as to the manuscripts with ink recipes (C. Colini). Of a slightly larger size are most of the manuscripts kept in Ali Dede's private collection which were not meant to be used and carried around by students (J. Karolewski). Evidently, the trimming of books, e.g., for new bindings, has to be taken into consideration, but in general, small, or medium sized

al-Qalalūsī al-Andalusī's [d. 707 AH / 1308 CE] *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ fi ṭaraf al-ḥawāṣṣ*; compare, though, Hirschler 2013, 87).

¹⁵ Papyri that were used for school exercises in Antiquity (and beyond) give evidence of the training of single letters, complete words, or longer text passages, but they were not necessarily intended for storage or maintenance in a library (Criboire 1996 and 2005). For fragments of writing exercises in Hebrew see also see Taylor-Schechter Collection of the Cairo Geniza at Cambridge University Library (<<https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit/>>, accessed on 7 January 2021).

¹⁶ Scharfe 2002, 80–86.

¹⁷ Based on the evidence of illustrations, some scholars suggest a period from the fourteenth to fifteenth century in the Middle East, Hirschler 2013, 86–87.

manuscripts *may* signify portable personal manuscripts used for studying (and teaching) purposes.¹⁸

Publications dedicated to multiple text manuscripts have pointed to the many intentions for the collection and organisation of selected texts, ranging from personal interests, professional needs, and educational purposes.¹⁹ As the description of the manuscript collection of the Alevi authority Ali Dede in Anatolia shows, collections of religious texts, poetry, epics, and narrations alike, are quite common in the Alevi manuscript tradition (J. Karolewski). These encompass different types, such as the *buyruk* ('the command'), containing dogmatic texts of the Alevi community to which only the religious specialists had access; the *cönk*, an oblong shaped booklet usually containing religious poetry; or collections of documents featuring genealogies (*şecere*, or *silsilename*), or certificates (*icazetname*). Notker of St. Gall's text compilation for his two students also had educational purposes, it went beyond a concrete curriculum, however, collecting that which is deemed useful for a cultivated and cultured future life (T. Hennings). In return, those composite or multiple-text manuscripts including recipes for inks show a clear, professional profile: Most of the texts on ink production are bound together with other scientific texts from alchemy, medicine, astronomy, or mineralogy (C. Colini).

In terms of layout and script, manuscripts may give evidence of the production context and the purpose of the object. W. Beyer illustrates how analysis of the shape of clay tablets, layout and cuneiform handwriting can provide new insights into writing and teaching traditions. In West African manuscripts, ample space layout can be seen as a sign of manuscripts planned for glosses, often in local languages and partly reflecting different educational levels (D. Ogorodnikova).²⁰ M. Baldzuhn presents chosen examples for layouts from the field of Latin grammar ranging from shorter interlinear explanations to longer commentaries organised in text blocks. Such carefully organised marginal annotations appear even more lavishly planned, in Robert Amiclas' de-luxe copy of the Gospel of Luke (S. Whedbee). Such exegetical annotations are addressed in the following section on *Exegetical Practices: Annotations and Glossing* (Stefano Valente).

18 Another example of portable books in fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Europe, but not included in this edited volume, are girdle books. These small-sized books had covers that continued loose on one side and could be fixed at the girdle. See Smith 2017.

19 Friedrich and Schwarke 2016; Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2019.

20 Bondarev 2017, Ogorodnikova 2017.

By examining, to varying degrees, the aforementioned categories of textual elements, material, format, layout and script, the contributions of this section on *Teachers, students, and their manuscripts* offer exemplary insights into teaching and learning contexts in different regions, cultural environments, and at different historical periods. The section starts with the Ancient Near East and continues with the Islamic World and Europe. The contributions within these groups have been organised according to a chronological pattern.

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Wiebke Beyer

Teaching in Old Babylonian Nippur, Learning in Old Assyrian Aššur?

Abstract: Archaeologists have excavated thousands of clay tablets containing school texts from Old Babylonian Nippur, which has helped researchers to reconstruct the curriculum of scribal students and given them insights into educational practices in the first half of the second millennium. Even though literary texts describe particular school buildings and teachers, professional scribes and scholars presumably taught the art of writing in their own homes during the Old Babylonian period, mainly to their own children and other willing apprentices. Almost nothing is known about this from the Old Assyrian period at the beginning of the second millennium BC, even though literacy was presumably widespread by then. In this paper, a new approach to the subject is introduced, which is based on palaeographic studies and can reveal new insights about the Assyrians' educational practices.

In modern literature, a Sumerian riddle is often quoted when talking about schools in ancient Mesopotamia. The second part of it goes like this: 'One with eyes not opened has entered it; one with open eyes has come out of it'.¹ The answer is: a school. While contemporary buildings and educational structures are certainly not comparable with the respective ancient institutions, the subject of this riddle reveals that places for learning and teaching already existed 4,000 years ago in Mesopotamia.

Most of the written evidence about teaching and schools was found in the city of Nippur and is dated to the Old Babylonian period (the first half of the second millennium BC). The curriculum of that time and place has been able to be reconstructed in some detail from the content of thousands of school tablets that have survived the passage of time.² It consisted of an elementary and an advanced phase. In the first phase, pupils mainly copied lexical lists to learn cuneiform

¹ See Sjöberg 1976, 159 for the full text.

² More details can be found in Tinney 1999, Veldhuis 1997, Robson 2001 and Proust 2007, for example.

signs and improve their knowledge of Sumerian vocabulary. Subsequently, mathematical and metrological tables were introduced and the students became familiar with everyday texts like contracts and simple proverbs, which would prepare them for the second phase of the curriculum when they would be studying literary texts.

The everyday life of pupils at school, their relations with teachers, the obstacles they encountered and the achievements they experienced are described in several Sumerian literary compositions, which are known as Edubba literature, or ‘school stories’. These texts certainly give us insights into the daily challenges of school life, albeit (presumably) in an exaggerated and ironic way. Some scholars like N. Veldhuis, Y. Cohen and S. Kedar have suggested that the school stories describe an ideal school rather than the actual historical situation.³ In contrast, A. R. George has pointed out that texts of this kind were part of the literary corpus of the Old Babylonian period.⁴ Therefore, they certainly looked back on a much longer tradition and mirrored the educational conditions of different times, probably the Ur III period (approx. the twenty-first–twentieth century BC).

The following section focuses on the Old Babylonian period and the city of Nippur in particular, the best-documented time and place in the Mesopotamian educational system.

1 A place for learning and teaching

In the Edubba composition called *Schooldays* (‘Edubba A’), a pupil describing his daily life says that he ‘went to school’ and ‘went home when the lessons were over’.⁵ The word for ‘school’ in the original Sumerian text is é.dub.ba.a (edubba), which was literally ‘the house that distributes tablets’; its former simplified translation as ‘tablet house’ corresponds to the Akkadian expression *bīt tuppim*.⁶ While schools must have already existed much earlier, the first attestations of the term é.dub.ba.a are found in royal hymns of the late second millennium BC. In a hymn about King Šulgi of Ur (2094–2047 BC), the king claims to have attended

³ Veldhuis 1997, 25; Cohen and Kedar 2011, 230.

⁴ George 2005, 132.

⁵ See Kramer 1949 for the whole text and a translation.

⁶ Volk 2000, 2–3.

(and built) an institution of this kind. After the Old Babylonian period, the term was presumably only used as a reminder of past periods.⁷

While *Schooldays* clearly states that the boy left his parent's home to study in a specific type of building, archaeological remains of such educational institutions have not been discovered yet. In fact, private homes have been identified as places for teaching and learning rather than school buildings as we know them today. These private educational environments were identified on the basis of finds of school exercises and specific household furnishings. Probably the most well-known house that was used for this purpose is 'House F' in Old Babylonian Nippur.⁸ 1,425 tablets and fragments were found there, more than 90 per cent of which are literary compositions or written exercises connected with education. What is more, unwritten tablets were discovered in the adjacent kitchen, indicating that apprentice scribes made their tablets there before inscribing them in the room next door.⁹ Houses of this kind were not only identified as 'private schools' in Nippur, but in other cities as well, such as Ur, Isin, Sippar, Tall ad-Dēr and Tall Ḥarmal, based on finds of school exercises.¹⁰

The teaching itself took place in the courtyard, out in the bright light that was necessary for reading and writing. The text of *Schooldays* indicates that learning took place in the courtyard as well: a pupil is told to sit down and copy what his teacher has written, and his supervisor in this situation is 'the man in charge of the courtyard'.¹¹

2 Teachers and students

In *Schooldays* (lines 29–41), the pupil mentions various employees at the school in addition to his teacher, such as the overseer of the courtyard (l. 31), the 'keeper of the gate' (l. 38) and a 'man who has a whip' (l. 39). While the number of staff described in this source – ten in all – indicates that the school was quite a large institution, the archaeological finds of the Old Babylonian period paint a different picture of things, questioning the truth of the story. Veldhuis has

⁷ Volk 2000, 3–4; Veldhuis 1997, 24.

⁸ A detailed description of the house and its findings can be found in Stone 1987 and Robson 2001.

⁹ George 2005, 130.

¹⁰ Waetzold and Cavigneaux 2009, 296.

¹¹ Volk 2000, 7 and n. 35–36.

suggested that these job titles may actually only refer to a single person: the teacher.¹²

As mentioned above, the archaeological findings suggest that education took place in private houses. The teachers were presumably private individuals like scholars, professional scribes or priests. In literary texts, they are sometimes referred to as *ummia* ('craftsman' or 'expert') or *ad.da-é.dub.ba.a* ('father of the *é.dub.ba.a*'). The latter may, again, indicate a family context,¹³ while the first expression 'suggests that the work of a scribal teacher was regarded as parallel to that of the carpenter with his trainee'.¹⁴ As in other crafts, it can be assumed that the scribal art was passed on in a family, from father to son and possibly to other boys who the scribe had accepted as apprentices.¹⁵

The designation of the pupil possibly points to a family background as well, like the similar term for the teacher ('father of the *é.dub.ba.a*'). In *Schooldays*, he is called *dumu-é.dub.ba.a* ('son of the *é.dub.ba.a*'), but one can also find the title *dub-sar-tur* ('junior scribe') in colophons. In addition, an advanced student was called *šeš-gal* ('big brother'); he probably had the task of tutoring the younger pupils.¹⁶

3 Learning and teaching

According to the school story called *Scribal Activities* (Edubba D),¹⁷ the pupil described in it had to go to school 24 days a month. He had three days off, and some festive activities took place on three other days, making 30 days altogether. The literary texts give an impression of what the pupil's daily activities were. Thus, in *Schooldays* the student talks about his strict teachers, who beat him for doing things wrong and being negligent.¹⁸ In the text entitled *The advice of a supervisor to a younger scribe* (Edubba C),¹⁹ the young scribe remembers the

12 Veldhuis 1997, 25. If George (2005, 129–134) is right about his theory that the Edubba texts originated in the Ur III period and describe 'real' institutions of the past, however, then it is certainly possible that a large number of servants were employed at such a place.

13 Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux 2009, 295.

14 Veldhuis 1997, 25.

15 George 2005, 131; Volk 2000, 7.

16 Veldhuis 1997, 25.

17 See Civil 1985 for the full text.

18 See Kramer 1949, 205.

19 See Vanstiphout 1997, 590–592 for the whole text.

kindness and help shown by his mentor, who ‘guided my hand on the clay and kept me on the right path. He made me eloquent with words and gave me advice’ (ll. 10–12). As discussed above, the content of these texts is questionable and therefore the relationship between the teachers and student can hardly be reconstructed with any certainty. However, a scribe’s training is described in a few of the texts: in *Scribal activities* (Edubba D),²⁰ for example, the student gives an account of what he learnt during his apprenticeship. One of the abilities he acquired was being able to read and write in Sumerian, which is thought to be a dead language in the Old Babylonian period. In addition, he learnt reading, writing and accounting. He became familiar with lexical lists and with legal texts.

A curriculum²¹ as described in these literary texts was reconstructed from the exercise tablets discovered in private houses, especially in Old Babylonian Nippur. It seems teachers were able to draw on an extensive amount of educational material, partly consisting of texts transmitted for centuries. The curriculum of each city, and indeed each teacher, differed slightly, according to the teacher’s preferences and the pupil’s particular needs.²²

The curriculum used in Nippur can be divided into two stages. In the first one, after learning how to make a tablet and press wedges into the clay to make signs, the pupil studied lexical lists, model contracts and proverbs. Veldhuis, who reconstructed the curriculum, also noticed that specific types of tablets were used for the exercises during that phase:²³ ‘type II’ refers to medium-sized tablets, which have different exercises written on the obverse and reverse. On the left side of the obverse, the teacher wrote an extract from a text which the pupil copied next to it on the right. On the reverse, the student would normally repeat an excerpt of a text written in several columns, which he had previously learnt. Type-III tablets are one-column tablets on which one text or extract was written by a pupil. Type-IV tablets are lentil-shaped, usually have a diameter of 6 to 8 cm and also have a teacher–student exercise written on them.²⁴ It is assumed that the student was closely supervised by his teacher during the first phase, while he worked more autonomously during the second phase, in which he studied and copied literary texts.²⁵ Veldhuis also points out that the first phase of the Nippur curriculum reminded him of the achievements of the pupil in the *Scribal activities*

20 See Civil 1985 for the full text.

21 For more extensive information on this topic and further literature, see Tinney 1998, Tinney 1999, Robson 2001, Veldhuis 1997, Veldhuis 2004 and Proust 2007.

22 See Tinney 1999 and Robson 2001 for more details.

23 Veldhuis 1997. See Civil 1995 for an earlier classification of the tablets.

24 Veldhuis 1997, 31–40.

25 Veldhuis 1997, 40.

text (Edubba D): ‘The exercises he refers to all belong to the first phase, including an elementary sign list, a name list, a thematic list, mathematical and metrological tablets, model contracts, and proverbs’.²⁶

4 Education in the Old Assyrian period

Merchants from the city of Aššur in modern Iraq operated a trading network in Anatolia. For a long time during the Old Assyrian period (approx. twentieth–eighteenth century BC), the centre of this network was the city of Kaneš (near the modern city of Kayseri in Central Anatolia). Many houses with large private archives have been excavated there. The texts that were discovered in the process document the daily lives and business of the merchants and their families. Larsen assumed that most of the merchants and their families were literate to a certain extent as they had to manage their own daily activities, such as their correspondence, notes and legal documents.²⁷ However, not much is known about their educational system as the abundant school material familiar from the Old Babylonian period is missing.

Very few texts from the large amount of written material found could be identified as educational material.²⁸ Cécile Michel divided just over 20 tablets into two main categories: three quarters of them contain mathematical exercises written on lentil-shaped tablets, while the rest consist of various exercises written in columns on rectangular tablets, such as different kinds of lexical lists.²⁹ The latter mainly contain items important for traders’ professional activities, like the names of metals and stones, and terms useful in daily life, like the names of numerous plants and animals. One of those tablets also contains a list of different measurements and weights, which were obviously important for trading.³⁰ Another tablet lists expressions which can typically be found in letters. The ability to write letters was very important for merchants who travelled around on business as they had to inform and manage their companies and private households while *en route*. These texts – the lists and mathematical exercises – contain useful information for a merchant’s day-to-day business. Contentwise,

²⁶ Veldhuis 1997, 40.

²⁷ Larsen 1976, 305.

²⁸ See Hecker 1993 on older studies about the school texts from Kaneš and see Donbaz 1985 on the material from Aššur.

²⁹ Michel 2008, 349–351.

³⁰ See Michel (forthcoming) for a detailed discussion of this tablet.

none of these types of text is familiar from the Old Babylonian period (or any other, in fact). However, their formal structure and genre correspond to the educational material covered at primary-school level in the Old Babylonian period; the content was simply adapted to the needs of the Assyrian merchants.³¹

The material presented above was partly discovered in private archives in Kaneš and partly in Aššur and has been dated to the later phase of the Old Assyrian period (level Ib). Michel has suggested that Assyrian children living with their mothers in Aššur were first educated there before joining and working for their family's business. The educational system was probably similar to the Old Babylonian one, but later, when Assyrians had settled in Anatolia and established families there, they may have set up a local educational system as well.³²

5 From parent to child – a hypothesis

As described above, the profession of a scribe may have been taught like any other craft from the Old Babylonian period. The scribe taught his art to his son and apprentices. Assuming a similar practice existed in the Old Assyrian period is reasonable enough, but hard evidence of this is lacking; the only known written evidence of scribal education is on a clay tablet known as CCT 4, 6e containing a letter in which a son asks his father for a present for his teacher, who is instructing him in the scribal arts.³³ Another approach to analysing literacy and educational practices is therefore suggested here, which focusses on handwriting and palaeographical analysis.

In modern forensic handwriting analysis,³⁴ it is assumed that every individual develops their own unique handwriting. This evolves from practice, creativity and imitation.³⁵ Furthermore, each person's handwriting is characterised by class and individual characteristics as well. The latter refers to the individual peculiarities every writer develops and which make each person's handwriting

³¹ Michel 2008, 351.

³² Michel 2008, 351.

³³ Also see Larsen 1976, 305, n. 47 and Michel 1998, 250 and n. 2. CCT 4, 6e, 4–8: DUB.SAR-*tám wa-dí lá-am-da-ni e-pá-tá-am a-na um-me-a-ni-a šu-bi-lam* ('As you know, we are learning the scribal art. Send me an *epattum* garment for my teacher').

³⁴ See Huber and Headrick 1999 and Koppenhaver 2007 for an extensive explanation of handwriting identification and forensic document examination.

³⁵ Davis 2007, 260.

unique. Class characteristics, on the other hand, are features shared by a group of people;³⁶ pupils learn writing by copying their particular teacher's handwriting, for example. Consequently, all the pupils in a certain class learn the characteristics of a specific handwriting style, and their own script will be characterised by it. Class-specific characteristics do not have to be restricted to a group of pupils or students, however, but can be common aspects of a writing system and may also have 'geographic, religious, national, academic, or political boundaries'.³⁷

By adapting this theory to the Old Assyrian context where it is believed that children probably learnt to write within their own family, an analysis of parents' handwriting and that of their children could give us some new insights about learning and teaching the art of writing.

6 Elamma's family – a case study

One of the houses excavated in the lower city of Kaneš in 1991 belonged to a merchant called Elamma and his family.³⁸ A large archive was found in his house containing more than 500 clay tablets, fragments and envelopes.³⁹ Several generations of the family were able to be identified on basis of these texts: Elamma, the head of the household, his wife Lamassatum and several of their children and grandchildren. Texts from Elamma and two of his children, his son Ennam-Aššur and his daughter Ummi-Išhara, were examined for the present case study. My focus was on comparing their handwriting and gaining insights into educational practices within the family.⁴⁰

The corpus I studied contains seven letters sent by Elamma, three tablets from Ennam-Aššur and two sent by Ummi-Išhara. Not much is known about the personal circumstances and whereabouts of the three individuals. Elamma, the owner of the house and archive, must have lived in Aššur at a certain point in time, which was where he started a family before moving to Kaneš to live (he probably died there later, too). The existence of letters he had sent people can be

³⁶ Koppenhaver 2007, 14.

³⁷ Huber and Headrick 1999, 42–45.

³⁸ The archive was studied by Klaas Veenhof and then published by him in AKT VIII (2017).

³⁹ The excavation of the house was continued in 1992 when another part of the archive was discovered (Veenhof 2017, XXVI–XXVII). Assyrian envelopes were made of clay as well. A thin layer of material was wrapped around letters and legal texts to protect the tablet and safeguard legal documents. For a comprehensive overview, see Michel 2020.

⁴⁰ The following pictures were provided by Cécile Michel.

explained by him being away on business trips and corresponding with his family in Aššur and/or by him keeping archive copies of his own texts at home. His son Ennam-Aššur travelled a great deal in Anatolia, but he also undertook some trips to Aššur. His sister Ummī-Išhara lived in Aššur where she was a priestess.⁴¹ Exactly how long Elamma lived there and whether his children grew up in Aššur or Kaneš is unclear.⁴²

In the following section, the names of the individuals who sent the tablets that are discussed will be abbreviated using their initials: Elamma = EL, Ennam-Aššur = EA and Ummī-Išhara = UI. For easier identification of the tablets, I used the abbreviation of the sender's name followed by the numerical classification that Veenhof employed in his publication, AKT VIII (2017). One letter from Elamma is published in AKT VIII as no. 16, for example, so in this paper it is mentioned as EL016. If a specific sign on a tablet is mentioned, then its line is added after a colon, so a sign in the fifth line of EL016 would be referred to as EL016:5.

7 A tablet's shape and typeface

For the analysis and identification of handwriting, not only the script is important, but the object on which it is written – the clay tablet in this case. The tablet's shape, layout and typeface can all provide information about the identity of the scribe who wrote on it.⁴³

Elamma's seven tablets mostly look very similar (see Fig. 1; not every tablet can be shown, just examples from each group). Four of the tablets have straight or slightly convex edges, and pointy corners which have been squeezed to make so-called pillow-corners in some cases (EL016, EL079, EL080, EL081). Two other tablets (EL017, EL082) have a very similar shape, but the upper and lower edges are strongly convex and the edges are pointed. The exception here is EL030 as its edges are crude, the corners being rounded. The shape of this particular tablet hints at the work of an unskilled or untrained scribe; other tablets were formed with much more care and skill.

⁴¹ Veenhof 2017, XXX–XXXV, 121.

⁴² Elamma's wife Lamassutum lived with him in Kaneš, but as Veenhof says, 'we do not know whether she moved to Kanesh together with her husband or after he had married her' (Veenhof 2017, XXXII).

⁴³ Kopenhagen 2007, 19–20.



Fig. 1: Tablets by Elamma: EL079, EL017, EL030.

As regards the typeface, my classification is similar to the distinction made for the tablets' shape. One tablet stands out from the others, which is EL030. The ruling on it is straight, but the writing itself is irregular in terms of its height and spacing. The handwriting on the other tablets is regular and clear. In a few cases (EL017 and EL080) the signs are more inclined to the right than usual, which may indicate they were written rather hastily.

The three tablets written by Elamma's son Ennam-Aššur basically have the same shape as Elamma's own. Their edges vary from straight to slightly convex and the corners are pointy (see Fig. 2a). The script on these tablets is very regular and the ruling is straight; the slant seems the same.

The two tablets that Ennam-Aššur's sister Ummi-Išhara sent differ considerably (see Fig. 2b and c). UI206 is a carefully crafted tablet with straight to slightly convex edges and pointy corners and resembles the shape of the tablets her brother and father produced. The other tablet, however, UI165, is a rather crudely formed piece: the tablet, which is almost square, has straight but uneven edges and the corners are almost rounded. Like the crude tablet in Elamma's corpus, this one seems like it was made by a rather untrained person.



Fig. 2a–c: (a) EA189, (b) UI206 and (c) UI165.

The script on UI206 is tiny, but very regular, which points to the work of a very skilled scribe. The ruling is slightly oblique and partly curves upwards on the right. On the other tablet, UI165, the ruling is mostly straight and only curves upwards in a few cases. The script, however, is placed unevenly around the ruling, which gives the typeface a rather imbalanced appearance.⁴⁴

8 Handwriting

Theories on handwriting analysis say that the uniqueness of an individual's handwriting is not in its unique characters, because then there would be all kinds of variants for each character and letter, but in the unique composition of different character variants and individual writing habits.⁴⁵ This theory applies to the Old Assyrian cuneiform script as well. By comparing variants of 13 signs that members of Elamma's family wrote with the handwriting produced by another family,⁴⁶ it became apparent that two or three main sign variants were frequently used in many cases. Further variants of the respective signs exist as well, but these

⁴⁴ Because of the crude form and script as well as occasional mistakes, Veenhof suggested that UI165 might have been written by Ummi-Ishara herself (Veenhof 2017, 231).

⁴⁵ Koppenhaver 2007, 14.

⁴⁶ I conducted this study as part of my PhD project.

are usually only found on individual tablets. The main variants of a cuneiform sign are not exclusive to a specific family, but appear across the board.

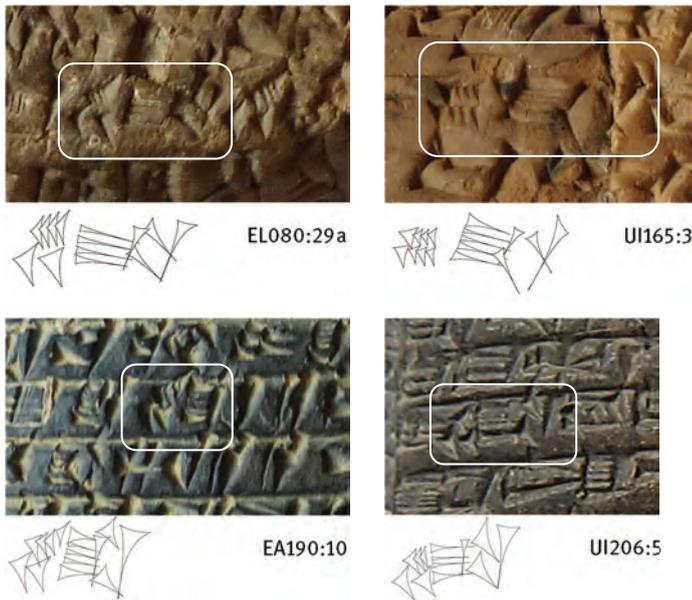


Fig. 3: The sign LI on EL080:29a, UI165:3, EA190:10 and UI206:5.

However, if we only focus on the tablets that Elamma and his children wrote, it turns out that only the three signs LI, RI and ZI were written with the same sign variant. For example, the *Winkelhaken*⁴⁷ part of the sign LI is written on almost every tablet with two enlarged *Winkelhaken* in the bottom row and three to four smaller ones in the upper row (Fig. 3). The only exception is Ummi-Išhara's tablet UI165. Here, both the upper and bottom row each consist of four *Winkelhaken*. The sign ZI is not written on every tablet, but the ones containing the sign all show the same variant. The sign RI is another case in point. In contrast to the signs LI and ZI, which clearly show different variations with regard to the number of *Winkelhaken* and their arrangement, the sign RI has a fixed number of wedges. It can therefore only be studied in terms of individual writing habits, i.e. the position of the individual wedges. The sign begins with a horizontal wedge,

⁴⁷ 'Winkelhaken' are triangularly shaped impressions in the clay.

which is crossed by two verticals. This combination is followed by a *Winkelhaken* and finalised by another vertical. The distinctive feature of the sign is usually the positioning of the two verticals at the beginning. On the tablets that the three letter senders dispatched, it appears that the first vertical was usually placed directly after the head of the horizontal wedge, and the second vertical is basically in the middle of the horizontal, resulting in some space between the second vertical and the following *Winkelhaken*.

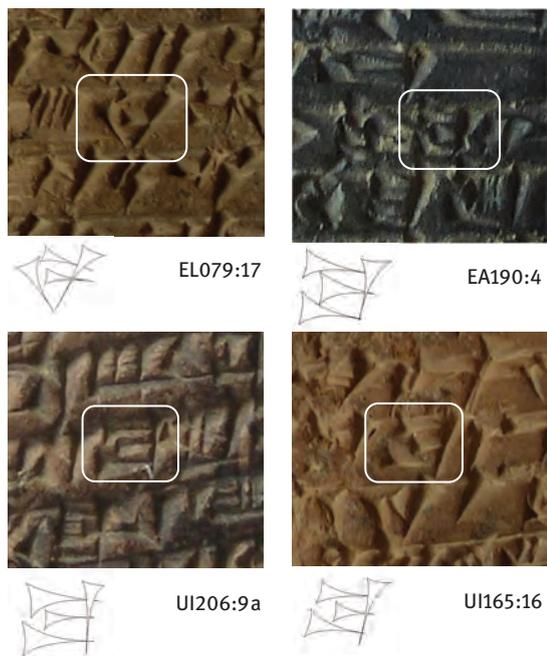


Fig. 4: The sign BA on EL079:17, EA190:4, UI206:9a and UI165:16.

While there are only three signs for which the same variant or writing habits were displayed on almost every tablet, there are several cases where the children's tablets contain similar signs which rarely appear on their father's tablets, if at all: BA, DÍ, KĀ, KŪ and MA. The sign BA was written with three parallel horizontal wedges which ended with an attached vertical, for example (see Fig. 4). While the horizontal stroke in the middle is usually a little shorter than the other two, the one at the bottom could be slightly oblique. However, the latter can also be written horizontally in several cases, as on the tablets of Ennam-Aššur and his

sister. The bottom wedge on most of the tablets belonging to their father is clearly an oblique downward stroke, though.

While similar observations can be made regarding the other diagnostic signs mentioned above as well, the sign DÍ (Fig. 5) is a particularly interesting one. On Elamma's tablets, this sign consists of three *Winkelhaken* in the upper row and one at the bottom. This bottom one is either placed under the middle *Winkelhaken* of the upper row or under the middle and the right one of the upper row. The variant with three *Winkelhaken* in the upper row and the two different variations are very common on Old Assyrian tablets.



Fig. 5: The sign DÍ on EL030:6, EL081:3, EA190:17, UI206:28 and UI165:18.

On the tablets of his son Ennam-Aššur, however, the sign DÍ is written with four *Winkelhaken* in the upper row and one at the bottom. Not only the number of *Winkelhaken* differs here, but they are also written in a peculiar way: the first (left) *Winkelhaken* in the upper row is larger than the four that follow it. Its tail protrudes beyond the *Winkelhaken* at the bottom. The three other *Winkelhaken*

are rather small and short, and all of them are positioned on top of the wedge at the bottom. The latter wedge, in contrast, is very large.

If this variant is compared with the DÍ sign on his sister's tablets, it appears that both tablets – although probably written by different people – basically contain the same variant as the one found on Ennam-Aššur's tablets. The bottom *Winkelhaken* of the sign DÍ is enlarged on both tablets, and a number of small *Winkelhaken* are positioned on top of it, while an additional larger *Winkelhaken* is on the left side of the upper row. However, while the number of wedges on UI165 is the same as on Ennam-Aššur's tablets, there is an additional small one on UI206 (so there are four small ones and one larger one in the upper row). Thus, the tablets belonging to the two siblings exhibit the same peculiar version of the sign DÍ even though they were written by three different people.

Another case in point is the sign TIM (see Fig. 6). The discriminating part here is the number and arrangement of the *Winkelhaken* in the middle of the sign. On two of Ennam-Aššur's tablets (EA189 and EA191), there are two small *Winkelhaken* impressed next to each other in the middle of the sign, followed by two larger ones. The latter are on a roughly vertical axis, the upper one slightly beneath the upper ruling and the lower one positioned in the lower half of the sign (see Fig. 6). The same variant can be found on Ummī-Išhara's tablet UI165. A different variant is written on her other tablet (UI206), however, which can also be found on her father's tablets.

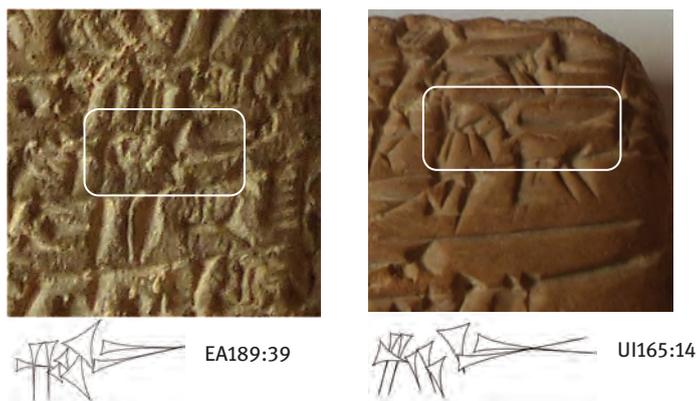


Fig. 6: The sign TIM on EA189:39 and UI165:14.

9 The identity of the writer and further conclusions

My analysis of the handwriting showed that the tablets sent by the two siblings have several peculiar similarities (especially UI165 in Ummī-Išhara's case), which they do not share with the handwriting on their father's tablets. Therefore, it is likely that the writers of the siblings' letters may have had a similar educational background. The father's tablets, in contrast, partly show a different writing tradition at work, indicating a different educational background.

What this comparison does not answer is the question of the writers' identity. As mentioned above, the two letters from Ummī-Išhara in particular were written by two different individuals. Ummī-Išhara may have been one of them, but we cannot be sure of that at present. We know that Ennam-Aššur's texts were archive copies which remained in the house in Kaneš while the original tablets were sent to Aššur. Furthermore, it can be assumed that his three letters were sent from other places in Anatolia over a fairly short period. In contrast, his sister's tablets were sent from Aššur, and UI165, which is a crudely made tablet, was certainly not written by a professional scribe; it was someone who was familiar with writing but did not have much experience of it. This latter tablet has the most similarity with the tablets authored by her brother elsewhere in Anatolia. It is certainly possible that the three tablets attributed to Ennam-Aššur and at least UI165 were written by the siblings, but more evidence is needed before we can be sure of that.

Obviously, the question of teaching and learning in the Old Assyrian period cannot be answered by a small-scale case study, especially one in which it is hard to even say who wrote the clay tablets that were examined. However, the study does indicate that some children did not learn to read and write within their own families, or at least not from their fathers, but were taught by someone else. More material is necessary for a more conclusive study on this topic. Nevertheless, the case study shows that a palaeographic comparison can lead to new insights on the topic of teaching and learning by revealing handwriting styles and habits that tell us whether the writers' educational backgrounds were similar or different. This, in turn, can help us reconstruct learning traditions in Assyrian families.

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Till Hennings

Notker the Stammerer's Compendium for his Pupils

Abstract: In the 860s two noble brothers, Salomon and Waldo, were studying under the scholar and poet Notker the Stammerer at the monastic school of St. Gallen. When the brothers left the monastery to follow distinguished careers in the service of church and king, Notker wrote a handbook for them, in which he assembled a variety of texts, that he thought would be of use to them in their daily reading and business. The handbook is the most advanced of a class of multi-text-manuscripts with a similar intent and assemblage of texts. Modern editions have usually dismembered it according to the topics of the constituent parts. However there are two manuscripts extant which contain almost the whole handbook, both of which are closely connected to Salomon and Waldo; they might even be their personal manuscripts themselves. On their basis we can reconstruct the original form of the handbook, as Notker wrote it in Sankt Gallen, its transmission to the brothers and how they incorporated it into manuscripts of their own.

While the masterpieces of medieval book art can often be connected to wealthy patrons with little difficulty, we seldom find a name attached to the much less splendid but more useful books that were produced for practical classroom needs. Often used by successive generations of pupils – and often abused as well, as the numerous scribbles and doodles in them show – they bear the marks of many hands, but rarely the name of a single person. It is therefore a rare opportunity to connect one book to one owner and analyse this connection as the intersection of institutional demands and individual interests.

It has recently been called into question¹ whether the two manuscripts² that are the topic of this article are, in fact, connected to the three characters generally

¹ Rio 2009, 156–158.

² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1609 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19413.

accepted as being involved in their creation.³ Since the hypothesis about their relationship as a teacher and his pupils rests entirely on the information contained in the manuscripts themselves, a review of the internal evidence is in order to avoid circular reasoning. While examining this point, we will follow the texts on their way from their author and collector to their recipients and see what use they all made of them.

But first a word on the characters involved. Notker of St Gall (c. 840–912),⁴ or Notker Balbulus as he was also called (‘Notker the Stammerer’, due to his speech impediment), is mostly known for his poetry, in which he lifted the hymnography of the Early Middle Ages to new heights.⁵ In his rich intellectual career, he also touched on many other genres, though, including history, as his work *Gesta Karoli* shows.⁶ He was a monk who lived and worked at the monastery of St Gall in present-day Switzerland – he was taken there as a child,⁷ in fact – and came to fulfil a multitude of monastic functions as a scribe, teacher and librarian.⁸

Among his purported pupils were two noble brothers who left the monastery later to pursue distinguished careers in the service of the Church and King. Salomon III of Constance (c. 860–919/920),⁹ who came from a family that could already boast of having two Salomons who had become bishops of Constance, was destined for an ecclesiastical career from an early age. After having completed his higher studies at St Gall, he went on to become a member of the Royal Chapel, which served as a seminary for the ecclesiastical elite of the empire.¹⁰ At the height of his career, he was abbot of St Gall, bishop of Constance and regent for the infant emperor Louis the Child.

His brother, Waldo of Freising (c. 852–906), followed a similar path.¹¹ An alumnus of St Gall like Salomon, he formed part of the entourage of the emperor Charles the Fat, who installed him – against the wishes of the cathedral chapter – as bishop of the Bavarian diocese of Freising, a position of power he also kept in the subsequent turmoil of the East Frankish dynasty.

³ See, for example, Haefele and Gschwind-Gisiger 1993, 1289–1290 and Maurer 1995, 1314.

⁴ Apart from the aforementioned article, also see Brunhölzl 1992, 28–58; Lechner 1972; Steinen 1948; Steinen 1945, 449–490; Dümmler 1857.

⁵ For an appraisal of Notker’s art, see Davis-Secord 2012, 117–148.

⁶ ‘The Deeds of Charlemagne’; see Haefele 1980.

⁷ As a so-called *puer oblatus*, i.e. a child that was given as a ‘gift’ to a monastery by his parents, to be brought up there and join the convent. See Pföstl 2011.

⁸ On Notker’s role as a scribe and librarian, see Rankin 1991b and Rankin 2017.

⁹ Zeller 1910. In German, his name is given as Salomo.

¹⁰ Fleckenstein 1959.

¹¹ Maß 1969; Maß 1986, 92–99.

How are these three illustrious characters related to the manuscripts and texts we shall discuss here? First of all, we need to establish two propositions: that the collection was, in fact, made by Notker and that he collected the texts for the two brothers.

The *Collectio Sangallensis*, which is at the heart of the issue, consists of three distinctive parts.¹² First of all, the *Notatio de illustribus viris*, which is a short course in Christian literature up to Notker's era and a brief overview of the sources for the passions of the saints. It serves as an introduction to higher studies of Christian literature and is explicitly named as a work by Notker in another strand of the tradition.¹³ The *Formulae Sangallenses* are a collection of formulae (see Fig. 2). The first half of it consists of templates for charters, while the second half is a collection of sample letters serving as models, with numerous connections to Notker and his pupils.¹⁴ A collection of epistolary poems and two short prose texts follow the sample letters, mostly complaining about the absence of a friend and his tardiness in replying. The poems share many themes with the sample letters. Their inclusion in a collection of model letters is evidence that they also were meant to be used as templates for epistolary communication.

Naturally, it is in the letters that we find evidence of the identities of the people involved: there are numerous references to two brothers.¹⁵ One of them is said to remind the writer of Bishop Salomon.¹⁶ A pun on their names calls Waldo and Salomon to mind.¹⁷ Finally, the writer calls himself 'stammering'.¹⁸ Further

¹² A complete edition is in Dümmler 1857. A partial one can be found in Rauner 1986; Zeumer 1882, 390–433. For an analysis, see Steinen 1945, and Rio 2009, 152–160.

¹³ Rauner 1986, 44.

¹⁴ Zeumer 1882, 390–437.

¹⁵ Numbering according to Zeumer 1882. Letter no. 28 is addressed to *uterinis fratribus* ('full brothers'). No. 41 is addressed to two brothers who are admonished to lead a virtuous life and pursue their studies. No. 43 is addressed to *dilectissimis fratribus ill. ill.* ('to the most beloved brothers, ... [*ill. ill.* = formulary part: insert two names here]).

¹⁶ No. 44, addressed to *dilectissimo filio ill. ill.* ('to the most beloved son, ... [*ill. ill.* = formulary part: insert the addressee and writer here]); in the end addressing one of them: *puerulus noster, qui (...) nomine Salomonem nobis refert episcopum (...)* ('the boy reminds us of Bishop Salomon [I or II of Constance, the brothers' great-uncle or uncle]).

¹⁷ No. 46, *carissimis filiis iuxta nomen suum potestas et pax adimpleatur* ('may my beloved sons fare as their names imply, in Power and Peace' [a reference to the allegorical meaning of their names]). The same 'etymology' is referred to as in the poem *De nomine Sasomonis* ('On the name Salomon') in one of the manuscripts in the collection. The etymology of 'Salomon' is from Hieronymus, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Lagarde et al. 1959, 55: *salom retribuens siue pacificus*; the name 'Waldo' has a Germanic root meaning 'rule'; cf. Förstemann 1856, cols. 1235 and 1238: **Vald* from *valdan* > *regnare*.

¹⁸ No. 28: '*balbus* (stammering), *edentulus* (toothless) et (...) *blesus* (lisping)'.

examples could be added to this list, including some letters in the collection penned by an author who calls himself ‘the Stammerer’ and refers to two brothers called Salomon and Waldo. What, however, if these letters were made part of a larger collection later, unrelated to their original context? There are more indications – albeit of a less onomastic and biographical nature – that Notker actually made the whole *Collectio Sangallensis* for the two brothers. First of all, the dating of the charters supports a *terminus post quem* of 879,¹⁹ exactly the time when the brothers left the St Gall school to join the entourage of Charles the Fat. Furthermore, other texts in the collection are also marked by a teacher–pupil relationship in particular and by a scholarly setting in general, even though they are not specifically identified by any names. Their themes interlock with the pieces that can be connected with Notker and his pupils. The poems following the letters furnish many examples:²⁰ one *prosimetrum* (a blend of prose and poetry) repeats the themes of letters 41 and 43 with similar tones; letter 46 moreover commends the genre of *prosimetrum* as a form suitable for epistolography (see Fig. 3).²¹ Some short poems lament the absence of a friend and the hard lot a teacher has.²² One poem is a reproach for neglecting one’s friends for love of a woman, possibly connected to a teenage fling that Salomon once experienced himself.²³ Mentions of places near St Gall (the Rhine, Lake Constance and the River Iller) give the poem a local colour. Some poems contain a stylised dialogue between a pupil and his teacher.²⁴ A pair of prose letters to the teacher coupled with a poetic answer he provides revisit the *prosimetrum* genre in a dialogic form.²⁵

19 Rio 2009, 154–155.

20 An incomplete selection of the texts is edited in Dümmler 1857, 79–82, commentary on pp. 160–163. The numbering is based on Paul von Winterfeld, MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, 4,1, Berlin, Weidmann, 1899, 343–347. For further editions and analyses, see Zeumer 1882, 430–433; Steinen 1945, 482–484; Steinen 1948, II, 188.

21 In the following notes the poems will be identified by their first words, the Incipit (‘inc.’). *Antistes domini* (SK 904). See the commentary in Dümmler 1857, 160.

22 Inc. *Talia dictat amor* (SK 15977) (III); inc. *Sospitat incolumis* (SK 15554) (IV); inc. *Peior amate* (SK 11817) (V); inc. *Avia perlustrans* (SK 1559).

23 Inc. *Tardius invento* (SK 16030). See the commentary in Dümmler 1857, 161 and Steinen 1948, I, 58; edition of Ekkehard von St. Gallen, *Casus s. Galli*, ed. Ildefons von Arx (1829), MGH, *Scriptores*, II, p. 92, ll. 17–25.

24 Inc. *O species cari* (SK 11054) (VIII); inc. *Ex phisicis quidam* (SK 4751). And some even mention writing utensils: *te revocant pennae, cupiunt membrana videre* (‘the pen calls you back, the parchment wants to see you’).

25 *Epistola ad senioem* (‘Letter to a superior’). *Formulae Sangallenses* Add. 6, ed. Zeumer 1882, 436. Commentary: Steinen 1945, 470–471. The ‘senior’ mentioned here is clearly a teacher: p. 437, l. 5–6: *eruditor insipientium, magister infantium* (‘teacher of the illiterate, master of the

On the basis of all these names, dates, subjects and interrelations between the texts, we can confidently assert that the whole of the *Collectio Sangallensis*, namely the *Notatio* (a primer on Christian literature), *Formulae* (charters and letters) and poems, was, in fact, collected by Notker for his pupils Salomon and Waldo.

What, then, did the brothers do with this collection, which was handed to them somehow? To answer this question, we need to turn to the two manuscripts that have preserved the *Collectio Sangallensis* in its entirety.²⁶ These are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1609 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19413.

ÖNB 1609 was written around 900, most probably in Freising, where Waldo was bishop at the time.²⁷ It is of medium size, readable yet portable (70 fols, 18.5 × 13 cm). While there are some slight variations in the script, all in all it has a uniform appearance,²⁸ which suggests that it was copied as a whole – *nota bene* at the scriptorium of Waldo's episcopal see. The bulk of the manuscript is taken up by the *Collectio Sangallensis* (fols 9^r–54^r). A note has been inserted at the bottom of the page on fol. 19^v, line 15: *Ego Waldo ad vicem g[rimaldi?] archicapellani recognoui* ('Certified by Waldo, by proxy for G., the archchaplain'). Before and after that, there are some additional texts, many of which indicate a St Gall origin:²⁹ on fols 1^v–2^r there is a short excerpt by the grammarian Martianus Capella on the letters of the alphabet, specifically on their pronunciation.³⁰ This and other alphabets can also be found on fols 125^r–125^v of Clm 19413. The 'Names of the Muses'³¹ on ÖNB 1609, fol. 4^r also occur in manuscript Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 78,³² fol. 118^r and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 397,³³ p. 147, both of

children'). The poem: *Versus ad iuvenem* ('Letter to a young man'), inc. *Egregio iuveni Salomoni* (SK 4315). Explicitly addressed to Salomon in the title, the author thanks his pupil (only referred to as young man) for a lavish fur coat.

26 Thereby ensuring an archetypal collection by default.

27 Bischoff 1980, 220; Denis 1793–1795, I, 261–262; Menhardt 1960, I, 51; Rio 2009, 269–270.

28 The collation formula is $I^2 + (1+II)^7 + (1+IV)^{16} + IV^{24} + IV^{32} + IV^{40} + IV^{48} + (III+1)^{54} + (IV-1)^{61} + (II+1)^{66} + II^{70}$. The script variations at 1v-4r-9r-33r-55r-64r generally do not coincide with other codicological boundaries. For an analysis of the script, see Menhardt 1940, 76–78.

29 The following is only a partial list highlighting the pieces with a St Gall connection. No connections to other cultural centres are apparent from the non-sourceable texts.

30 Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. James Willis, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1983, III, section 261.

31 Isidor, *Etymologiae*, III, 19.

32 Mohlberg 1951, 42–44, 358.

33 Grupp 2014, 425–463.

which come from St Gall. The tropes³⁴ – new melodies on old chants – on fols 4^r–8^v are one of the earliest examples of this early musical notation (Fig. 4). A letter to Grimald, abbot of St Gall (841–872),³⁵ on fol. 55^{r-v} deals with the value of the pagan authors in education. The letter has only been preserved completely in Sangall. 265, from St Gall.³⁶ Musical themes return on fol. 64^r with Notker's *Proemium* to his *Liber Hymnorum*.³⁷ Together with the tropes on fols 4^r–8^v, this might be an early example of a collection of Notker's musical work, which, as he remarks himself, was only transmitted in rather loose gatherings originally.³⁸ The manuscript closes with Pseudo-Methodius' *Revelationes* on fols 64^r–68^v.³⁹ A complete version of this apocalyptic text is to be found in the much older St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 225, which was at St Gall at Waldo's time.⁴⁰

ÖNB 1609 thus turns out to be a synthesis of two streams of texts: the *Collectio Sangallensis* as assembled by Notker, and a range of shorter texts mostly from St Gall. Only Waldo could have had access to both these types of texts, namely when he was at St Gall himself. He would then have taken the collection with him and had it copied as a single, definitive manuscript about 20 years later at his own scriptorium in Freising,⁴¹ even making a correction on fol. 19^v to insert his own name.

A similar genesis can be reconstructed for Clm 19413 (fols 56–128, tenth century).⁴² The pocket-sized book (approx. 12.7 × 9.8 cm) was written by a single scribe; he filled eight of the nine quires, but was apparently interrupted on the first folio of the seventh quire, after which he continued up to the end of quire 8. A new set of texts written by different scribes begins there on folio 120, so the first

34 Edition of the verses: Steinen 1948, II, 152–154. Commentary on p. 191. On the musical aspect, see Rankin 1991a, 27–28 and 39–42.

35 *Ermenrici Elwangensis epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, ed. Ernst Dümmler (1899), MGH, Epistolae 5, 534–580. New edition: Goulet 2008.

36 Scherrer 1875, 99–100.

37 Edition: Steinen (1948), vol. 2, 8 and 160.

38 Steinen 1948, II, sections 9 and 10.

39 The excerpt is from Chap. 9.2–12.8, ed. Sackur 1898, 75–88. See Aerts and Kortekaas 1998, 119–163; furthermore Brunhölzl 1996, 144–146; Frenz 1987.

40 Lowe 1956, 27.

41 A reasonable time for a personal manuscript to have been worn down from use. It may also have been that ÖNB 1609 is the combination of previously independent codicological units, for example loose gatherings of St Gall material and the first copy of the *Collectio Sangallensis*.

42 Halm 1878; Rockinger 1857, 33–35; Leonardi 1960, 1–99, 411–524; 98, no. 127. Eder 1972, 137, no. 161. Hoffmann 2004, 161; Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 661. Rio 2009, 249.

part of the manuscript should be seen as a codicological unit.⁴³ Its geographical origins are unknown, apart from the general area of south-east Francia.⁴⁴ The larger part (fols 56^r–116^r) is taken up by the *Collectio Sangallensis*. Because of the loss of a quire in ÖNB 1609, the poems at the end of the collection run a little longer in Clm 19413. Hence it is not absolutely clear whether they formed part of Notker's collection, seeing that the parallel tradition has been lost. In any case, some of the additions betray their origin quite clearly as coming from St Gall: three epigrams by Isidore of Seville provide poetic titles for the sections of a library with the books of Ambrosius, Augustine and Jerome (the Church Fathers).⁴⁵ Exactly the same sequence, although with one additional poem on Hilarius before it, is present in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 397,⁴⁶ p. 85, Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 421,⁴⁷ fol. 31^v, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 78, fol. 118^r, all of St Gall origin. A glossary⁴⁸ (fol. 118^{r-v}) can also be found in Sang. 397, p. 38, Sang. 196,⁴⁹ paste-down, and Sang. 299, pp. 292–293.⁵⁰ Many other texts show a strong link – even down to their arrangement – to ÖNB 1761, an eleventh-century manuscript from Lorsch Monastery, which seems to be a faithful copy of an earlier St Gall collection, however (see Fig. 5).⁵¹

Clm 19413 shows striking similarities to the genesis of ÖNB 1609. The main Notker collection is augmented by small texts found at St Gall at the time. We can pinpoint the sources even more closely here: thanks to large-scale similarities in text ensembles, the antigraphs seem to be Sang. 397 and a precursor of ÖNB 1761.⁵²

43 A1 fols 56^r–103^v; B fol. 104^{r-v}; A2 fols 105^r–119^v, l. 4; C fol. 119^v, l. 5 – last line; D fols 120^r–127^r, l. 11; E fol. 127^r, l. 12 – 127^v; [F fol. 127^{va} from l. 4 (5) (= A?)]; G fols 127^{vb}–128^r; collation formula: 9 IV⁵⁶⁻¹²⁸.

44 For more details, see Hoffmann 2004, 160.

45 Fols 115^v–116^r Isidor: *Versus in bibliothecam* V–VII, ed. Beeson 1913, 159–160.

46 Furthermore, this manuscript shares the poem *Fontibus in liquidis* (SK 5267) with Clm 19413 fol. 116^r, with exactly the same (idiosyncratic) ascription to TVLLII. A further shared text is on fols 121^r–121^v, *De sex generalibus synodis*, ed. Charles Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis opera* (CCSL), Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–1980, II, on the year 688; similar in MGH AA 13, *Bedae chronica maiora*, p. 315.

47 Wilmart 1937, 510–516.

48 Kaczynski 1983, 1010.

49 Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 200.

50 Bruckner 1938, 94.

51 <http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/onb_cod1761> (description by Michael Kautz, accessed on 9 Nov. 2017); see also Kautz 2016.

52 Barring the possibility of some 'free-floating' quires of the text ensembles in question, of course, which would have been independently incorporated in all of the manuscripts that contain them today.

It would be tempting to see Salomon's exemplar or a copy of it in the manuscript. The palaeography does not point to St Gall itself,⁵³ unfortunately, nor does the age (tenth century) match the 880–920 timespan particularly well.⁵⁴ Since the work of the main scribe (fols 56'–116') seems to be a direct copy of an older manuscript, however, I maintain that this lost exemplar was, in fact, Salomon's own copy of the *Collectio Sangallensis*, which he augmented at St Gall with a selection of his own.⁵⁵

The connections between the texts, persons and manuscripts can be depicted in a stemmatic representation:⁵⁶

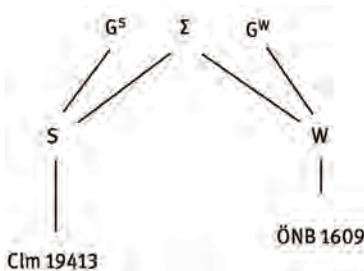


Fig. 1: Stemmatic representation of the connections between persons and manuscripts.⁵⁷

Although I am only able to offer a glimpse of the contents of the manuscripts in this paper, it is nonetheless worthwhile to step back and make a synoptic survey. The *Collectio Sangallensis* is a collection that a teacher built up for his pupils. This does not mean these are school texts or manuscripts, however; they were only collected at the very end of the brothers' stay at St Gall and are more likely to have been some kind of parting gift for them. The men took up high positions in the

⁵³ Or to Constance, where Salomon was bishop and could have used the scriptorium.

⁵⁴ Between Salomon's leave of St Gall and his death.

⁵⁵ On the same grounds as with ÖNB 1609: who else could have had access to these particular texts at this time? The texts on the additional quire (fols 120–128) also show a strong link to St Gall – this problem remains to be solved.

⁵⁶ Based on the stemma for the Notatio; Rauner 1986, 42–43.

⁵⁷ Σ = St Gall exemplar of the *Collectio Sangallensis*, GS = St Gall texts from Salomon's collection, GW = St Gall texts from Waldo's collection, S = Salomon's collection, W = Waldo's collection, Salomon's manuscript = Clm 19413, Waldo's manuscript = ÖNB 1609. Explanation: The extant manuscripts Clm 19413 and ÖNB 1609 are descendants of the personal copies of Salomon S and Waldo W, which both incorporate the identical *Collectio Sangallensis* Σ, which is augmented in both manuscripts by personal collections of St Gall material GS and GW.

imperial bureaucracy, the duties of which are anticipated by the choice of texts: formulae serving as models for the wording of charters and letter templates for official and semi-official communication. The epistolary poetry – an integral appendix to the letters – fits squarely into this communicative design: an expertly crafted poetic letter was a conventional way to address friends and patrons alike.⁵⁸ The texts provide models for good writing, but are more like a manual of style than a schoolbook in this respect. The shorter texts which gravitate around the main collection show the idiosyncratic interests of two young scholars at one of the famous schools of the late Carolingian era. They collected texts concerning various educational interests, like lists of facts and glossaries, but also strayed into more literary and moral genres, which may reflect personal tastes.⁵⁹ The manuscripts, while being reflective of a relationship formed in an educational context, cannot be reduced to this institutional setting, though. They reflect the level of knowledge and personal tastes and interests of two young members of the elite who were about to embark on their career for Church and King.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historiae.</i>
SK	Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, <i>Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> , Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977.

⁵⁸ See the countless poetic epistles which make up a good part of the five MGH-Poetae volumes, for example.

⁵⁹ ÖNB 1609 contains an Old High German version of Psalm 138, for example. Waldo is also known to have had a copy of the Old High German Bible epic by Otfrid von Weißenburg.

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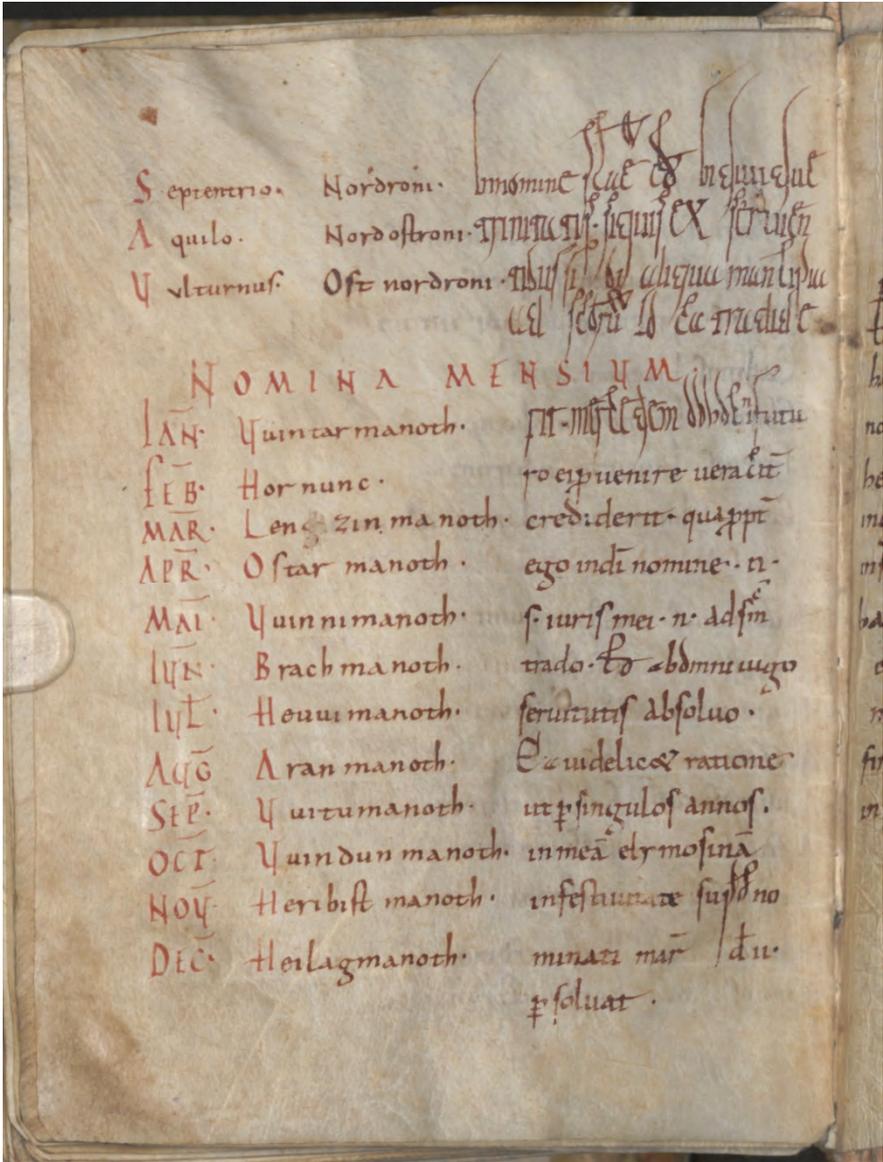


Fig. 2: Clm 19413, fol. 127^{vb}, formula in charter script (top right); courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

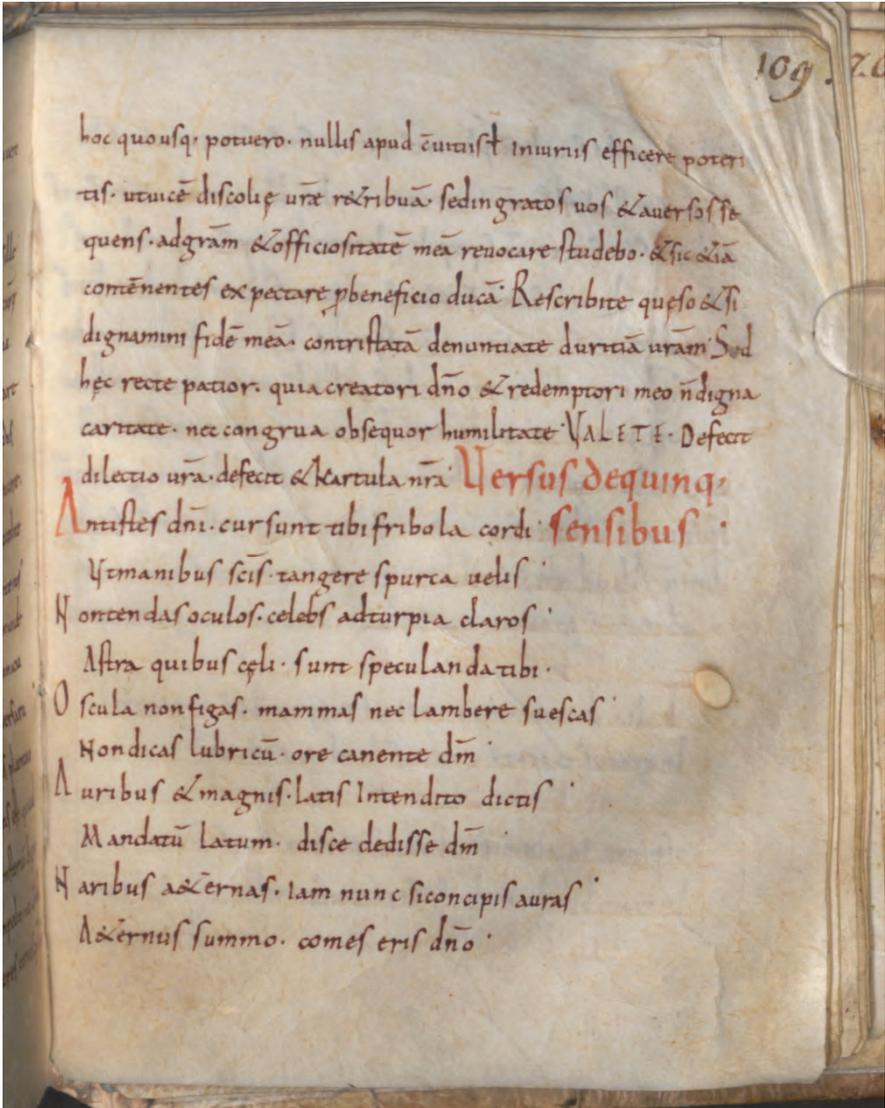


Fig. 3: Clm 19413, fol. 109^r, blend of epistolary prose and poetry; courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

almon	breah	charv	oelru
A	b D	A	d D
affochu .	femethu .	garfou .	h'amu .
iofirv			
e H	f A	s S	b be
kanv .	lefy .	malath .	naba lech
b zo	L A	m .	n H
ozech .	chori zech .	phitarin .	salath .
d .	p E	q V	f G
intalech .	theotimos	agachor .	req .
x X	r F	r Q	A
yr choim .		z A	
r Q		z Z	

Litteras quippe quas utuntur marcomanni .
 quos nos nordmannos uocamus . infra scrip-
 tas habentur . a quibus originem . qui theo-
 tiscam loquuntur linguam tradunt . cum
 quibus carmina sua . incantationesq . aedumina-
 tiones significare peurant . qui adhuc pagani-
 ritus inuoluuntur .

afe .	birrb .	chen .	thorn	ech
a A	b B	c P	d D	e M
fech	gibu .	hagale .	hir .	gileb
f P	g X	h X	i J	k X
laqe .	man	not	othil	pere
l N	m X	n X	o K	p K

Fig. 4: ÖNB 1609, fol. 4^v, musical notation; © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



Fig. 5: Clm 19413, fol. 116^v, diagram showing the grade of relatedness; the exact same diagram can be found in ÖNB 1761; courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Simon Whedbee

The Study of the Bible in the Cathedral Schools of Twelfth-Century France: A Case Study of Robert Amiclas and Peter Comestor

Abstract: This article explores some of the surviving evidence from twelfth-century France regarding how the Latin Bible was taught in the cathedral schools of Northern Europe. In addition to raising the question of the genre status of these manuscripts, which survive in the thousands, the article also clarifies what this material evidence can teach modern scholars about the practice of *sacra pagina*, or biblical exegesis, as was undertaken specifically in the ‘classroom’. While the manuscripts discussed claim to be straightforward students’ reports of a master’s oral lectures on a single canonical text (in this case those of Peter Comestor on the Gospel of Luke), the ‘reports’ themselves significantly challenge our understanding of late twelfth-century teaching practice, manuscript culture, and conception of biblical studies and theology more broadly.

1 Introduction

To study the medieval scholastic exegesis of the Bible originating in the famous cathedral schools of northern France, one must address two major trends in the existing scholarship regarding the Latin manuscripts that have survived from the late eleventh century and later times. First, historians concerned with the medieval schools tend to play down the great indebtedness of the formal study of theology to the rest of the medieval Latin curriculum (the liberal arts and natural sciences).¹ The origins of this general pattern seem to lie in the second trend,

¹ Thorough reviews of the origins of *sacra pagina* (‘the sacred page’) in the methods of the arts tradition are lacking, although authors as influential as Beryl Smalley, Rita Copeland, and Cédric Giraud have observed the mutual exchange between the professional grammarians and the theologians in the twelfth century. A. J. Minnis has provided scholars with a masterful point of access into that intersection of *artes liberales* and *divinitas* in his study of the medieval *accessus* (‘prologue’) tradition (Minnis 1988). Also see Smalley 1941, 12, 26–27, 69–70 and 73; Copeland

namely, that scholars have too often separated ‘theology’ – strictly conceived of as the abstract formulation of Christian doctrine and metaphysics, a more popular object of research for intellectual historians – from the medieval study of the Bible, fundamentally an act of textual interpretation.²

This dichotomy has engendered a relative neglect of the biblical commentary material, which has very clear origins in didactic contexts that formed the intersection of a variety of disciplines (the so-called ‘*trivium*’ of grammar, logic and rhetoric, and the ‘*quadrivium*’ of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy), in favour of less prevalent but more treatise-like monographs that focus on a narrower selection of topics (metaphysics, or trinitarian theology, for example). Scholars’ hesitance to approach the biblical commentaries of the Latin schools has made it difficult to trace the relationship between the study of the Bible, of theology and of the rest of the scholarly disciplines that were commonplace in medieval Europe during the period in which the urban schools increasingly began to shape the development of scholarship, politics and society.³

The current state of research into the biblical commentaries that survive from the leading twelfth-century urban cathedral schools (Laon and Paris) does not yet allow us to form a comprehensive portrait of the origins of these school texts or their afterlife in the universities of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. Much editorial work remains to be done before scholars can claim to have surveyed the evidence that exists. In this article, I will review two manuscripts that stem from the end of the twelfth century in order to provide a case study on how scholars might begin to think about some of these numerous codices as points of access between modern scholars and the oral education of medieval schools, which will otherwise be irretrievably lost. My conclusions are only hypotheses, but they will hopefully entice other researchers to help fill in the gaps.

The manuscripts under consideration in this study are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 620, a full and polished report of influential Parisian master Peter Comestor’s (d. c. 1178) lecture course on the Gospel of Luke, and Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.12, a glossed Gospel of Luke replete with the corrections and marginal notations of Robert Amiclas, a student of the arts and theology in twelfth-century Paris. The Latin term for the genre of literature that the first manuscript represents is ‘*reportatio*’ and designates a process whereby a

and Sluiter 2009, 15, 19, 210–211 and 299; and Giraud 2011, esp. 107–108, as well as Giraud 2010, 27, 48, 72, 80–83 and 190.

² Marcia Colish, for one, has tactfully criticised such tendencies (Colish 1997, esp. 1–6).

³ For a review of the place of the cathedral schools within the French courts of the twelfth century, see Jaeger 1994.

student copies down a master's oral lecture in shorthand and then later expands these notes, smoothes them out and possibly even corrects them under the master's guidance. *Reportationes* exist within a wide spectrum of fidelity to the lecture. Many are nothing more than students' paraphrases of a lecture and are difficult to compare, as competing reports of the same lecture will tell rather different stories. However, the original reports that witness to Comestor's lectures seem to have been authorised and perhaps even corrected by Comestor himself, given that they are both highly collatable and are consistently interspersed with planned annotations and bracket passages made to amend a teaching or insert a digression. One manuscript even calls these additions '*adiectiones magistrales*', the 'teacher's additions', suggesting that the master had some degree of oversight concerning the publication and dissemination of the written material that resulted from teaching.⁴ The second manuscript amounts to a single student's textbook in which private notes on a lecture appear in the margins.

In my review of these texts, I will first introduce both manuscripts and the historical figures behind their content and then briefly describe the fortuitous connection between these two codices that further justifies their comparison. Subsequently, I will provide a close reading of a portion of Comestor's lecture on the Gospel of Luke paired with Amiclas' annotations to that part of the text in his own manuscript. Drawing from this content, I will briefly characterise Comestor's pedagogy in light of what Amiclas' annotations suggest a typical student might have paid attention to among his numerous and far-reaching explications of the Gospel of Luke. Lastly, I will connect my reading of Comestor's teaching to the practice of *ars grammatica* (the 'art of grammar', or 'philology'), hoping that further research into the study of the Bible in the European Middle Ages will begin to emphasise the historical importance of Latin grammar review as a structuring principle for biblical exegesis, and thus theology, in some of the medieval cathedral schools of northern France.

2 The two manuscripts: a student's report and an annotated textbook

The lectures on the Gospel of Luke contained in BnF lat. 620 most likely stem from the 1160s when Peter of Troyes, nicknamed 'Comestor' and 'Manducator' by his

⁴ See Smalley 1979.

colleagues and students, taught at the cathedral school in Paris.⁵ Both names mean ‘the Eater’ and supposedly refer to Peter’s aptitude for ‘consuming’ books by rapidly digesting their contents and expounding them. At the cathedral school, Comestor not only devoured material, but he also streamlined and presented it in his lengthy courses on each of the four Gospels for his students, who were preparing for positions in ecclesial and royal courts where they would rely on their technical training in order to administer the Church’s sacraments and tend to civil affairs.⁶ Later, Comestor drew on this teaching experience in order to compose his famous textbook, the *Historia scholastica* (‘School History’), a synthesised presentation of the Christian biblical narrative intended to be used in a teaching context.⁷ While this medieval best-seller, which exists in nearly 1,000 manuscripts in a variety of languages, has received some scholarly attention, Comestor’s lecture-style reports largely have not, in part because they are nearly impossible to understand on their own, as the lectures are highly abbreviated and make constant, coded reference to both the Bible and the commentary tradition now known as the *Glossa ordinaria* (the ‘standard Gloss’ on the Bible composed at Laon between the 1080s and 1130s from patristic and Carolingian sources).⁸

The manuscript under consideration (BnF lat. 620) was composed in France in the last quarter of the twelfth century and contains reports of all four of Comestor’s Gospel lectures, which, given the uniformity of the layout, script, and composition of the codex, were likely intended to circulate as a single book. By the fifteenth century, the codex was housed in the Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay, as revealed by a late medieval *ex libris* mark that reads *Liber sancte Marie de Fonteneto* (fol. 270^v). Several medieval users of the manuscript have added marginal notations, most often *nota*-signs that highlight a passage of importance; these notes, as well as a subject index contained at the end of the manuscript (fol. 271^r), suggest that the reports were carefully studied. Generally, manuscripts containing twelfth-century *reportationes* can be divided into two categories:

5 For several short reviews of the life of Peter Comestor, see Clark 2015, 1–10; Smith 2009, 209–210.

6 For a few descriptions of the later careers of students who learned at the cathedral schools, see Giulio Silano’s four-volume translation of Peter Lombard’s *The Sentences* (Silano 2007–2010, Book 1, xxvi); John Barrie Hall and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan’s translation of John of Salisbury’s *Metalogicon* (Hall and Keats-Rohan 1991, 13); and Jaeger 1994, 328–329.

7 It was, in fact, one of the earliest sanctioned textbooks of the University of Paris and was adopted into both the Dominicans’ and Franciscans’ novitiate curricula in the thirteenth century. See Clark 2015, 6–13; and Luscombe 2013, esp. 41–43.

8 For a review of the importance and afterlife of Comestor’s thought, in addition to the aforementioned works by Smalley 1941, Clark 2015, and Luscombe 2013, see Morey 1993.

hasty, heavily annotated school copies and tidier, more elegant reference copies. Both formats support the notion that masters like Comestor wanted to publish their teachings in order to send them out into the world beyond their urban cathedral school, whether that meant to other schools, where they would be studied and annotated, or to various monastic communities, where the lectures might be copied into more formal codices that could be read at a slower pace and without distraction from the margins. Bnf 620, with its consistent annotations and matter-of-fact proto-gothic script, seems to have originally fallen into the former category.

Our second manuscript (B.1.12) belongs to a collection of codices known as the ‘Buildwas books’, which contain a near-complete set of the Latin Old and New Testament along with early marginal copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* commentary paired with the appropriate biblical text.⁹ The codices are deluxe copies and reflect the wealth of the original owner, Robert Amiclas, whose nickname ‘Amiclas’ must therefore be a pun, as it refers to a poor fisherman depicted in Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (Book V). These codices, now stored at the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, number nineteen volumes in total, and were gathered by Amiclas during his studies in France and later donated to the Cistercian Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire. Though they have been previously researched by R. M. Thomson, Jenny Sheppard, and Lesley Smith, Alexander Andrée is the first scholar to notice that the marginal annotations in the Amiclas bibles, which match his own hand, almost exclusively contain teachings drawn from Comestor’s lecture *reportationes* and were meant to make using the Gloss easier.

Their owner, Robert Amiclas, a student-turned-master who spent time in Paris, evidently in the classroom of Peter Comestor, whose Gospel lectures he seems to have attended, brought the set to England at the end of the twelfth century.¹⁰ In fact, Amiclas is not only likely to have attended Comestor’s lectures, but he also actively perpetuated his master’s exegesis by distilling it and copying it into the outermost margin of his own Gospel texts, including B.1.12, the Gospel of Luke.¹¹ Beyond the mere fact that Robert Amiclas happened to be studying in

⁹ For reviews of these codices, see Sheppard 1988; Thomson 1995. The most current assessment of these books in relation to Comestor’s lectures has been undertaken by Alexander Andrée, who was kind enough to share with me his personal copy of his article (Andrée 2019).

¹⁰ See Thomson 1995.

¹¹ Sheppard was the first to identify the annotations as Amiclas’ on the basis of an ownership note in one of the books (fol. 1^v in Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.11), which reads ‘*Iste liber est magistri Roberti Amiclas*’ (This book belongs to Master Robert Amiclas) and matches the hand of the other marginal notes. Sheppard characterised them as ‘marginal comments and references, additions to the gloss, corrections to both text and gloss and added punctuation of a sort which

Paris during precisely those years when Comestor would have been lecturing on the Gospels (mid-twelfth century), there are two arguments for why Amiclas likely wrote down his annotations while actively studying with Comestor. First, the manuscripts carrying Comestor's *reportationes* date from the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth. It seems, therefore, that by the time Comestor's lectures were widely circulating in written form throughout France, Amiclas, who retired to England before the end of the century, had already returned home and would therefore have been far less likely to encounter them. Second, the brevity and high degree of abbreviation manifest by the marginal notes, many of which consist of only a few words, suggest to Andrée that they 'were notes taken in the midst of the action of the classroom, keeping apace with the oral lecture', where 'such an environment would not have allowed for any lengthier notes to be taken'.¹² Third, later medieval texts that do contain extracts from Comestor's *reportationes*, such as Hugh of St. Cher's *Postillae* and Oynus Cisterciensis' *Magistralia super quattuor evangelistas* ('Teacher's writings on the Four Gospels'), are generally composed of exact quotations or remarkably close, continuous paraphrases, whereas the Amiclas notes are brief, impressionistic, or even simply a visual representation of a Comestorial teaching. Taken in sum, the evidence suggests that Amiclas annotated his codices as part of an in-person educational exercise overseen by his teacher Peter Comestor.

suggests that the text and gloss were intended to be read aloud', and she further asserted that they were likely to have been written by someone who intended to use them to teach; see Sheppard 1988, 281. Andrée, David Foley and I have identified the notes as arising from the classroom of Peter Comestor on the basis of our ongoing research editing his Gospel lectures. Several pieces of evidence locate Amiclas in Paris during Comestor's lecture sessions. William of Tyre and the anonymous author of the poem *Metamorphosis Goliae* counted Amiclas among some of the most renowned scholars of France. Moreover, a lease of property in Paris between the Knights Templar and Amiclas dates from sometime between 1165 and 1175. All of this evidence suggests that Robert spent time in Paris during the final third of the twelfth century, when he could have studied with Comestor. The definitive attribution of Amiclas' notes to the lectures of Peter Comestor, however, relies upon thorough philological comparison of the annotations with Comestor's teaching, which forms the bulk of Andrée's article (Andrée 2019) as well as being the subject of part of this review. For the aforementioned evidence of Amiclas' time in Paris, see Thomson 1995, 238–239; Huygens 1962, esp. 822–824; Wetherbee 2017, esp. 56.

¹² Andrée 2019, 59.

3 Comparing the lecture report with the student's notes

A comparison of Comestor's lecture transcripts with B.1.12 allows us to juxtapose a polished lecture report with the classroom notes of a student who heard that lecture and committed what he thought were its salient features to the margins of his school text, which he also corrected according to his master's insights.

In fact, the two manuscripts contain so much content overlap that one can employ them reciprocally as hermeneutic keys for one another when the text of one manuscript is too highly abbreviated to be unpacked on its own terms, a process partially justified by the historic connection between Amiclas' notes (and his codex) and the oral lectures of which BnF 620 provides a snapshot.¹³ On the one hand, biblical and gloss citations that are everywhere in Comestor's lectures (and sometimes nearly impenetrable) can be decoded by reference to Amiclas' textbook, as it contains the full, unabbreviated text of both the Gospel of Luke and an early copy of the *Glossa ordinaria* commentary on the Bible also cited throughout by Comestor. While interpreting these textual *lemmata* in Comestor's lectures (highly truncated citations, sometimes underlined in the manuscripts, but not always), I have preferred Amiclas' text as a reference point above other manuscripts containing, for example, a Latin Gospel of Luke or its standard gloss tradition, as Amiclas actually seems to have brought his text with him when attending Comestor's lectures and to have annotated, corrected and commented upon the text as a direct result of his teacher's meticulous philological exegesis and textual criticism.¹⁴ On the other hand, Amiclas' marginal notations are themselves sometimes too abbreviated to comprehend and can only be usefully understood when read in light of Comestor's teachings, which present a full-fledged

13 In the following, I have distinguished between a gloss citation and Amiclas' or Comestor's exposition thereof by marking, in both the Latin and my English translation, the gloss citation in SMALL CAPS, biblical citations in ALL CAPS and the master's exposition thereof in normal font.

14 This is the unavoidable conclusion that Andrée and I arrived at after comparing Amiclas' notes with the transcription lectures of Comestor's commentaries on Luke, Matthew and Mark, the partial fruits of which Andrée carefully details at length in his 2019 publication. Work is currently also being undertaken for the case of the Gospel of John, although Amiclas' other codices have not been thoroughly reviewed. Further research into the origin of his comments on the Old Testament texts would greatly improve our understanding of the teaching of the Bible in the Parisian schools.

and coherent version of the oral lectures that Amiclas heard and occasionally referenced in the margins of his textbook in his own shorthand.¹⁵

Many of Amiclas' notations probably stem from Comestor's lectures, given that they are a combination of paraphrases and simplifications of teaching and even depend on the unique way in which Peter arranges the *Glossa ordinaria* for his students while teaching, as witnessed in his lecture manuscripts.¹⁶ Where direct citations appear, they are nearly universally a slight variant that approximates but does not always replicate the teaching found in the reports, further supporting the hypothesis that Amiclas heard Comestor lecture and did not merely copy portions of the *reportatio* manuscript.¹⁷ It would seem that the simplest explanation for all these features is that Amiclas heard Comestor lecture and wrote his comments as part of the didactic exchange between the student and the master that exemplified these schools. A few examples suffice here to show the

15 For example, in the margins of fol. 10^r, B.1.12, Amiclas annotates a word found in one of the glosses with 'qⁱ iii^{es}. uidit. 7 unū. ad'. Comestor's teaching on the same word (BnF lat. 620, fol. 153^{va}): *Vidit enim tres et unum adorauit*, 'for he saw three and adored one' allows one to safely unpack the phrase as '*qui tres uidit et unum adorauit*' ('who saw three and adored one'). Sometimes Amiclas' notes are unabbreviated and need no decoding, such as the point on fol. 5^r, B.1.12 where he comments on the gloss 'MOTHERS, BECAUSE THEY ARE HONOURED BY THE REWARDS OF MARRIAGE' (*MATRES QVIA HONORANTVR PREMIIS CONIVGII*) by writing 'for the wages of marriage are children' (*stipendia enim coniugii filii sunt*). The passage accords well with Comestor's more detailed teaching on the same gloss (BnF lat. 620, fol. 151^{tb}): 'BY THE REWARDS OF MARRIAGE, that is, the fruitfulness of a child. For these are the wages of married women' (*PREMIIS CONIVGII, id est fecunditate prolis. Hec enim sunt stipendia mulierum*).

16 On B.1.12, fol. 9^{r-v}, Amiclas has annotated Bede's lengthy gloss on the 'Magnificat' (Mary's canticle of praise) with marginal notes that say 'second part' (*secunda pars*) and later 'third part' (*tercia pars*). These designations correspond to Comestor's teaching at that point in the gloss (BnF lat. 620, fol. 153^{tb}): '*And although you do not have this demarcated in the text [my emphasis], note nevertheless a fitting threefold distinction in the gloss. For the partition of this canticle is threefold in the manner that the psalms are partitioned' (Et licet in littera non habeas distinctum, nota tamen in glosa diligenter triphariam distinctionem. Est enim triplex particio huius cantici, sicut distinguntur particiones psalmodum)*. Comestor then goes on to describe his reasons for breaking the gloss into three parts, providing three stages in the gloss that correspond to Amiclas' own marginal partitions, despite the fact that, as Comestor tells his audience, the standard gloss does not come with these sections already distinguished, further highlighting Amiclas' intention to follow his master's guidance.

17 On B.1.12, fol. 2^r, Amiclas annotates the word 'in the beginning' (*in principio*) with 'that is, in the prologue' (*id est in prologo*), while Comestor's lectures read (fol. 149^{va}): 'IN THE BEGINNING, that is in his own proem' (*IN PRINCIPIO, id est in proemio suo*). Perhaps Comestor's association between words indicating primacy (*principium*) and prologues (*prologus*) made a strong impression on Amiclas, because on B.1.12, fol. 3^r (see Fig. 2), he annotated the part of a gloss that reads 'first' (*PRIMO*) with, 'that is, in the prologue' (*id est in prologo*).

relation between the two texts and characterise the type of content typically found in Comestor's lectures and in Amiclas' reception of them.

In the standard introduction now known as the 'Monarchian prologue' attached to many medieval Latin copies of the Gospel of Luke, the text says at one point that the Apostle Paul 'PROVIDED AN ENDING TO THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES' (*SICQVE PAVLVS CONSVMMATIONEM APOSTOLICIS ACTIBVS DARET*).¹⁸ The prologue mentions the Acts of the Apostles in the context of the Gospel of Luke because Luke the Evangelist was thought to have written both these books of Scripture. On the surface, the prologue's notion that Paul 'provides an ending' to the Acts of the Apostles does not make much sense if one interprets it to mean that the Apostle Paul literally wrote the ending to the text, otherwise considered the work of Luke. About this textual ambiguity, Comestor's lecture report says: 'that is, the Book of the Acts of the Apostles ends with Paul, namely, with his preaching in Rome, because God finally brought him to perfection in the good after many persecutions against the Church' (*id est liber Actuum apostolorum terminaretur in Paulo, scilicet in predicatione eius Rome, quia Deus eum tandem post multas ecclesie persecutiones consummavit in bono*).¹⁹ Here, Comestor clarifies a potentially confusing and misleading point in the Latin text he is teaching (a characteristic philological comment the likes of which make up the majority of his pedagogy) by explaining that the ambiguous and odd phrase *consummationem daret* (literally, 'gave consummation') should not be thought of as meaning 'finished the work', but rather as 'ends by talking about Paul', since at the end of the text God brings him 'to perfection in the good' (*consummavit in bono*, literally, 'consummated in the good'). Keying in on this useful interpretation of an otherwise strange point in the prologue, Amiclas marks the word 'provided' ('*daret*') in his school book with a *signe-de-renvoi* (a 'mark of return', which functions much like a modern footnote) that corresponds to a marginal comment in his hand that reads: 'because at the end the text talks about Paul' (*quia in fine agitur de Paulo*, my emphasis), very clearly replicating Comestor's instruction.²⁰ A similar *signe* on the same folio leads to a point in the prologue that elaborates:

NEVERTHELESS, KNOWING THAT 'THE WORKING FARMER OUGHT TO EAT FROM HIS OWN FRUITS', WE HAVE SHUNNED PUBLIC CURIOSITY, LEST WE SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS SO MUCH REVEALING GOD TO THOSE WHO ARE WILLING, BUT RATHER ASSISTING THOSE WHO LOATHE HIM (*SCIENTES TAMEN QVOD*

¹⁸ B.1.12, fol. 2^v. See Fig. 1.

¹⁹ BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{ra}.

²⁰ B.1.12, fol. 2^v.

OPERANTEM AGRICOLAM OPORTET DE FRVCTIBVS SVIS EDERE, VITAVIMVS PVBLICAM CVRIOSITATEM, NE NON TAM VOLENTIBVS DEVM DEMONSTRARE VIDEMVR QVAM FASTIDIENTIBVS PRODESSE).²¹

In his lecture, Comestor breaks down this dense passage from the Monarchian prologue into a series of paratactic units that he glosses individually, beginning: ‘NEVERTHELESS, I KNOW THAT “THE WORKING FARMER”, that is, whoever labours for another’s instruction’ (*TAMEN EGO SCIO QVOD OPORTET OPERANTEM AGRICOLAM, id est quemlibet pro instructione aliorum laborantem*).²² At this point in the lecture, Amiclas’ ears probably pricked at this interesting interpretation of the word ‘farmer’ as ‘whoever labours for another’s instruction’, given that he has glossed ‘farmer’ (*agricolam*) above the line of his text with the word ‘lecturer’ (*lectorem*).²³ Comestor then continues his grammatical exegesis: ‘WE HAVE AVOIDED PUBLIC CURIOSITY, that is, the superfluous multiplication of words’ (*VITAVIMVS PVBLICAM CVRIOSITATEM, id est superfluum verborum multiplicatam*).²⁴ Thereafter, Comestor concludes by unpacking a puzzling element of the Latin syntax of this passage from the prologue – the use of two negatives at close quarters (*ne non*, ‘lest not’) – which could easily have confused a student still unfamiliar with this text. So, Comestor rearranges the syntax in order to reveal its simple meaning:

LEST, for ‘so that if we were to do this’, WE WOULD ‘NOT’ SEEM TO REVEAL, that is, to give a witness of God, TO THOSE WHO DESIRE GOD, supply ‘to see’, that is, to those who want to come to a vision of God and who seek the things that profit salvation. SO MUCH, ‘to the extent that’. BUT RATHER, ‘to the extent that’ we seem to satisfy them. For such people [who disdain God] rejoice in superfluous adornment. ASSISTING THOSE WHO LOATHE HIM, that is, those who seek vain things and that which is useless for edification. Other readings have ‘HAVING ASSISTED’ and in those manuscripts the word ‘REVEALING’ is absent.²⁵

The compact, grammatical orientation of Comestor’s biblical commentary is apparent from this passage. In fact, it is extremely difficult to translate from the Latin, as so much of Comestor’s teaching hinges entirely on features of Latin grammar that are difficult to communicate in English. Nevertheless, two signifi-

²¹ B.1.12, fol. 2^v.

²² BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{ra}.

²³ B.1.12, fol. 2^v.

²⁴ BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{ra}.

²⁵ BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{ra}: NE, pro ‘ut si hoc faceremus’, NON VIDEREMVR DEMONSTRARE, id est Dei notitiam tradere. VOLENTIBVS DEVM, suple ‘uidere’, id est uolentibus ad Dei uisionem peruenire, et querentibus que prosunt ad salutem. TAM ‘in tantum’, QVAM ‘in quantum’ uideremur satisfacere. Tales enim superfluo ornatu gaudent. PRODESSE FASTIDIENTIBVS, id est inania et inutilia querentibus non que sunt ad edificationem. Alia littera habet PRODIDISSE, et tunc non est ibi DEMONSTRARE.

cant facts can be drawn from a reading of this passage and a comparison of its content with Amiclas' notes. First, one can easily glimpse the philological tenor of Comestor's teaching style as he jumps around his textbook word by word, explaining to his students explicitly anything hidden implicitly in the syntax of the Latin Vulgate Gospel of Luke (itself a translation from Greek), or here, its standard prologue. This method of teaching has traditionally been associated with the grammar schools of ancient Rome and later those places where the liberal arts were cultivated in medieval Europe and beyond.²⁶ Scholars have only rarely observed that such didactic practices predominated even in the context of the *sacra pagina*, the formal exegesis of the Bible, although, as noted, recent studies have started to appreciate the overlap between the study of sacred and secular texts in these Latin schools.²⁷

Second, we have not one, but two additional teachings that make their way into Amiclas' margins. Above the word *prodesse* (to assist or profit), Amiclas has written the alternative *prodidisse* (to have assisted), which some alternative manuscripts provide, as Comestor explained.²⁸ Likewise, Amiclas has written a note at the bottom of his manuscript that condenses the entirety of Comestor's expansive philological exegesis into a tight paraphrase:

LEST . . . NOT, that is, 'so that so much' TO THOSE WHO ARE WILLING, etc., or, LEST, that is, 'so that not' SO MUCH . . . TO THOSE WHO ARE WILLING [...] 'BUT RATHER TO HAVE ASSISTED THOSE WHO LOATHE HIM' (*NE NON, id est 'ut tam volentibus' et cetera, vel NE, id est 'ut non' tam volentibus et cetera 'fastidientibus prodidisse'*).²⁹

Here, Amiclas followed the way that his teacher connects, abbreviates and explains individual words of the Monarchian prologue, and then gathered these various teachings into a single paraphrase that he subsequently committed to the margins of his textbook, learning from Comestor one precise way to piece together an otherwise challenging Latin clause. In fact, Amiclas' comment is difficult to understand unless it is compared with Comestor's fuller teaching. Whereas Comestor explains the interpretative possibilities of '*ne non*' at length, taking time to comment on the individual aspects of most words in the passage,

²⁶ Two recent and comprehensive reviews of the Latin tradition of the *ars grammatica* can be found in Copeland and Sluiter 2009, as well as Zetzl 2018. For a medieval example, see Konrad von Hirsau's *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. Huygens 1955.

²⁷ In addition to the above-mentioned work of Giraud (2010 and 2011), Smith (2009) and others, see the work of Zinn 1997.

²⁸ B.1.12, fol. 2^v.

²⁹ B.1.12, fol. 2^v.

Amiclas simply captures the essential idea in his reproduction: that the double negative amounts to an affirmative ('lest we should not be seen' becomes 'so that we might be seen'). These many examples stem from only a single folio of the Trinity textbook (B.1.12), yet every single sheet contains such classroom vestiges, a fact that merits serious further study.³⁰

4 Results: what the manuscripts reveal about cathedral school teaching practices

It would seem that one could take away from this comparison of manuscripts that Comestor's students brought or borrowed versions of the Gospel and *Glossa ordinaria* when attending his lectures, as we find for Amiclas. Such practice could have been standard for a twelfth-century classroom in which the master taught a few, older students at a time – say three or four – for a lengthy period.³¹ That the students would have had copies of the glossed Gospel at hand in Comestor's classroom makes eminent sense as one begins to sift through the rest of the lectures; even a cursory glance at Comestor's lecture material reveals that somewhere around ninety percent of these teachings take the form of philological exposition and textual criticism, the likes of which we have just seen, which is hardly useful to a student without a copy of the text for reference and emendation. Comestor notes a biblical or gloss lemma and then explicates that word or phrase from the *sacra pagina* by 'lemma-hopping', so to speak, jumping from gloss to gloss or within a gloss to best arrange the commentary tradition for the students looking over his shoulder or at their own manuscript copies of the text, as their teacher unpacked the grammar and syntax of the authoritative text under examination, in this case not the *Aeneid* of Virgil, but the Gospel of Luke.

The fact that so many of Amiclas' annotations to his own manuscript reflect precisely that philological element of Comestor's teaching (his other notes are, by and large, corrections to or observations on the text,³² synonyms that Comestor

³⁰ For another relevant example, see Figs 3–4.

³¹ See Doyle 2016, 115–118; as well as Leo Reilly's edition of Peter Helias's *Summa super Priscianum*: Reilly 1993, 12.

³² For example, on B.1.12, fol. 3^r (See Fig. 2), Amiclas denotes the gloss on the beginning of the Gospel of Luke proper as the '*introitus*' ('point of entry'), employing a term used in the arts tradition to designate an introductory prologue.

provides,³³ and comments on the structure or typology of a particular gloss³⁴), as opposed to other possible takeaways from Comestor's biblical teaching (comments on the structure of canon law, for example),³⁵ suggests that at least Amiclas went into Comestor's lecture expecting to profit largely from his master's knowledge of the *ars grammatica*, here daringly applied to sacred Christian literature. It is worth keeping in mind that such a grammar-oriented reading of the *sacra pagina* could just have been one of many environments in which the *sacra pagina* was taught. Nevertheless, the fact that Comestor occasionally intersperses his grammar review with bits and pieces of speculative logic, Trinitarian theology, canon law and political theory suggests that this exercise amounted to something more than just the most elementary course imaginable. In fact, the lectures seem to build upon the types of learning that students would have encountered in the earlier stages of their education, as opposed to leaving them behind, and also hints at the more difficult types of questions and problems that would come if they were to further their studies indefinitely. In that sense, perhaps we can take these grammar reviews of an intermediate level as being emblematic of cathedral school practices.

Thus, Comestor's method of explicating the Bible and its glosses does not seem to accord with modern expectations of what medieval Christian theology or philosophy should have looked like in an academic setting. Instead of systematically and primarily teasing out creedal, ecclesiastical or liturgical doctrine from the text, Comestor treats the Gospel in the same manner that Roman grammarians had glossed the foundational texts of the classical liberal arts, such as Virgil's

33 On B.1.12, fol. 4^r (see Fig. 4), Amiclas annotates the gloss *multum* ('greatly') with *vel, nimis* ('or, "too much"'), and on fol. 6^r, he glosses the biblical text *asto* ('I stand') with *vel assisto* ('or, "I attend/assist"'), which is, in fact, the variant reading that Comestor lectures on (BnF lat. 620, fol. 151^{va}): 'Note that here, two things are said in the text that seem to be incongruent, namely I STAND BEFORE GOD and I WAS SENT TO YOU' (*Nota quia duo dicuntur que uidentur non posse similes esse, scilicet ASSISTO ANTE DEVM et MISSVS SVM AD TE*).

34 For example, Amiclas' text is riddled throughout with annotations in his hand that label a particular gloss as *mistiche* ('mystical') or *allegorice* ('allegorical') according to Comestor's own description, intended to suggest what sort of literary interpretation a particular gloss assumes vis-à-vis the biblical text. See B.1.12, fol. 3^v (Fig. 3), for instance, where Amiclas designates the gloss *ZACHARIAS, MEMOR DOMINI* ('ZACHARIAS [IS INTERPRETED AS], "MINDFUL OF THE LORD"') as *mistiche* ('mystical'). Compare this with Comestor's teaching on that piece of text, where he says (BnF lat. 620, 150^{va}): 'about the mystical sense, you have glosses regarding the interpretations of names, as ZACHARIAS IS INTERPRETED [AS BEING] MINDFUL OF THE LORD' (*De mistico intellectu habes glosas de interpretationibus nominum, nam ZACHARIAS INTERPRETATVR MEMOR DOMINI*).

35 BnF lat. 620, fol. 152^{ra}.

Aeneid, Statius' *Thebaid* and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.³⁶ He teaches the Bible primarily through philology, seeking out etymologies of names,³⁷ providing synonyms for difficult terms and phrases,³⁸ and attempting to connect elements of Luke's narrative to insights from other disciplines including the 'secular' sciences, such as astronomy,³⁹ natural science,⁴⁰ and marriage laws,⁴¹ all side by side and even integrated into reflections on the Christian liturgical calendar,⁴² French social customs of the time,⁴³ and almost anything else imaginable.⁴⁴ By and large, the *Glossa ordinaria* commentary (in our case study, the Monarchian prologue), which appears here almost like a common textbook shared by

36 The standard description of the medieval scholastic reception of the classical curriculum is Olsen 1982.

37 For example, Comestor comments about the name of the angel Gabriel, saying (BnF lat. 620, fol. 151^{va}): 'And some say that "Gabriel" is the name of only one angel. Others such as [our] master [Peter Lombard] say more soundly that whoever strongly foretells something else can be called "Gabriel". And it is fitting that Gabriel, whose name is interpreted as "the courage of God", should announce the coming of Christ, so that through this it might be signified that he whose arrival Gabriel announced would come to wage war with the Devil and conquer him through courage' (*Et dicunt quidem quod Gabriel est tantum nomen unius angeli, alii et sanius ut magister dicit quod quicumque aliud forte denuntiat Gabriel potest dici. Bene autem Christi aduentum nuntiauit Gabriel qui interpretatur 'fortitudo Dei', ut per hoc significaretur quia ille cuius nunciabat aduentum uenturus erat belligerare et in fortitudine diabolum expugnare*).

38 At one point, Comestor tackles the age-old question of why it is that Luke begins his genealogy of Christ with Joseph, working all the way to God in a seemingly backwards fashion compared with Matthew, who narrates his own genealogy starting with Adam and moving forward through time. The gloss reads: 'POWER WAS GRANTED TO HIM OF REPEATING THE GENERATION', at which point Comestor clarifies – regarding the strange phrase 'of repeating the generation' – by adding (BnF lat. 620, fol. 149^{vb}): 'that is, of going backwards, which is to say, of narrating the order backwards, and it was fitting that he said "of repeating", because Matthew composed his genealogy in the right order, and thus Luke repeated him [*repetiit*], that is, he "moved backwards" [*retrograde petiit*]' (*PERMISSA EST EI POTESTAS GENERATIONIS REPETENDE, id est reuoluende, id est ordine prepostero narrande, et bene ait 'repetende', quia Matheus texuerat genealogiam recto ordine, et ideo repetiit, id est retrograde petiit*).

39 BnF lat. 620, fol. 151^{va}.

40 BnF lat. 620, fol. 151^{tb}.

41 BnF lat. 620, fol. 152^{tb}.

42 BnF lat. 620, fol. 153^{vb}.

43 BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{tb}.

44 To take one particularly colourful example, during a discussion of a gloss that distinguishes between the 'sensory' and 'rational' parts of the soul (*anima*), Comestor remarks on his own little experiment regarding animal perception, saying (BnF lat. 620, fol. 153^{tb}): 'Animals have a certain sense of intuition. For this reason, if you place some barley before a donkey, it will eat it, but if you try to offer it stones, it will not' (*Animalia habent sensualitatem. Vnde si posueris ante asinum ordeum, comedet. Si autem lapides, non*).

Comestor and his students, and the exegesis of his own teachers determine what Comestor will focus on when explaining a particular passage of the Bible.⁴⁵ When he elaborates his teaching at length, he most often does so in order to elucidate problems of language and above all, as David Luscombe once wrote of Peter Abelard, ‘to reorganise the vocabulary of thought’ present in the *Glossa ordinaria* and in the biblical text proper.⁴⁶ This practice suggests to me that the scholars of Paris in the late twelfth century may have envisioned theology, and the study of the *sacra pagina* in particular, as an extension of the philological exercises they cultivated during their preparatory studies of the Latin classics (primarily Virgil, Lucan, Statius and Boethius) to a much greater extent than modern scholars have previously imagined.

5 General conclusion

By comparing a few selections of these manuscripts, I hope to have raised some productive questions not only about the content of Comestor’s lectures on the Bible, but also about the context in which students and teachers studied canonical scriptures together in the twelfth-century schools of northern France that eventually combined to form the University of Paris. What does the master’s philological focus suggest about the study of *sacra pagina* and its relation to the *trivium* of grammar, logic and rhetoric, which formed the basis for all Latin education in antiquity and the Middle Ages? Did students attending other lectures have textbooks of their own, as Amiclas did? What sorts of teachings and activities might one have encountered in such a classroom that are not captured in the reports, but hinted at in the students’ marginal comments? And furthermore, how

⁴⁵ Comestor seems particularly fond of making comments about the structure of individual glosses and of suggesting to his students in what order they should read them and how. For example, while lecturing on the part of Luke’s Gospel where an angel foretells the birth of John the Baptist, Comestor interjects (BnF lat. 620, fol. 150^{rb}): ‘Have a look at that gloss, MANY THINGS HERE et cetera. Note that some people adapt that gloss to this place in the Gospel, while others read it up above where it says AND YOU WILL CALL HIS NAME JOHN, while yet others save it for below where Luke talks about the silence imposed on Zachariah, because there Luke makes mention both of the imposition of John’s name and of the Holy Spirit’s act of fulfilment and of the punishment of silence’ (*Nota illam, MVLTA HIC et cetera. Vide quia quidam adaptant eam huic loco, quidam legunt eam superius ubi dicatur ET VOCABERIS NOMEN EIVS IOHANNEM, quidam protrahunt eam inferius ubi de silentio Zacharie agitur, propterea quia facit mencionem et de impositione nominis et de impletione Spiritus sancti et de pena silentii*).

⁴⁶ Luscombe 1969, 308.

might such lengthy reviews of grammar have prepared young clerics for their future task as educated priests, the *cura animarum* (the ‘care of souls’), which increasingly took the form in the twelfth-century of hearing confession, preaching and advocating for moral reform in society and the Church? While my short review can only begin to answer such questions, it ought to provide a useful indication of how far manuscript work can take scholars in terms of reconstructing historical practices of teaching and reading, as well as of how much crucial work has yet to be done in the study of the high medieval schools of Europe.

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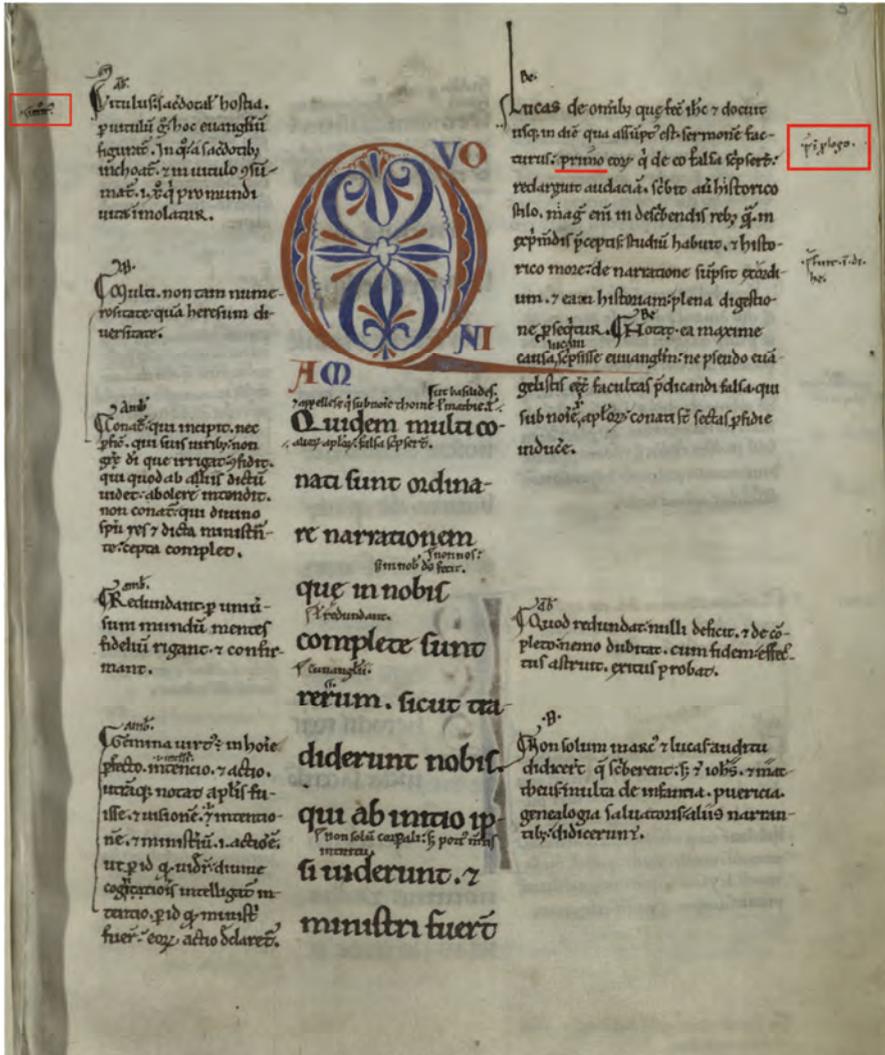


Fig. 2: Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.12, fol. 3r; © Trinity College, Cambridge.

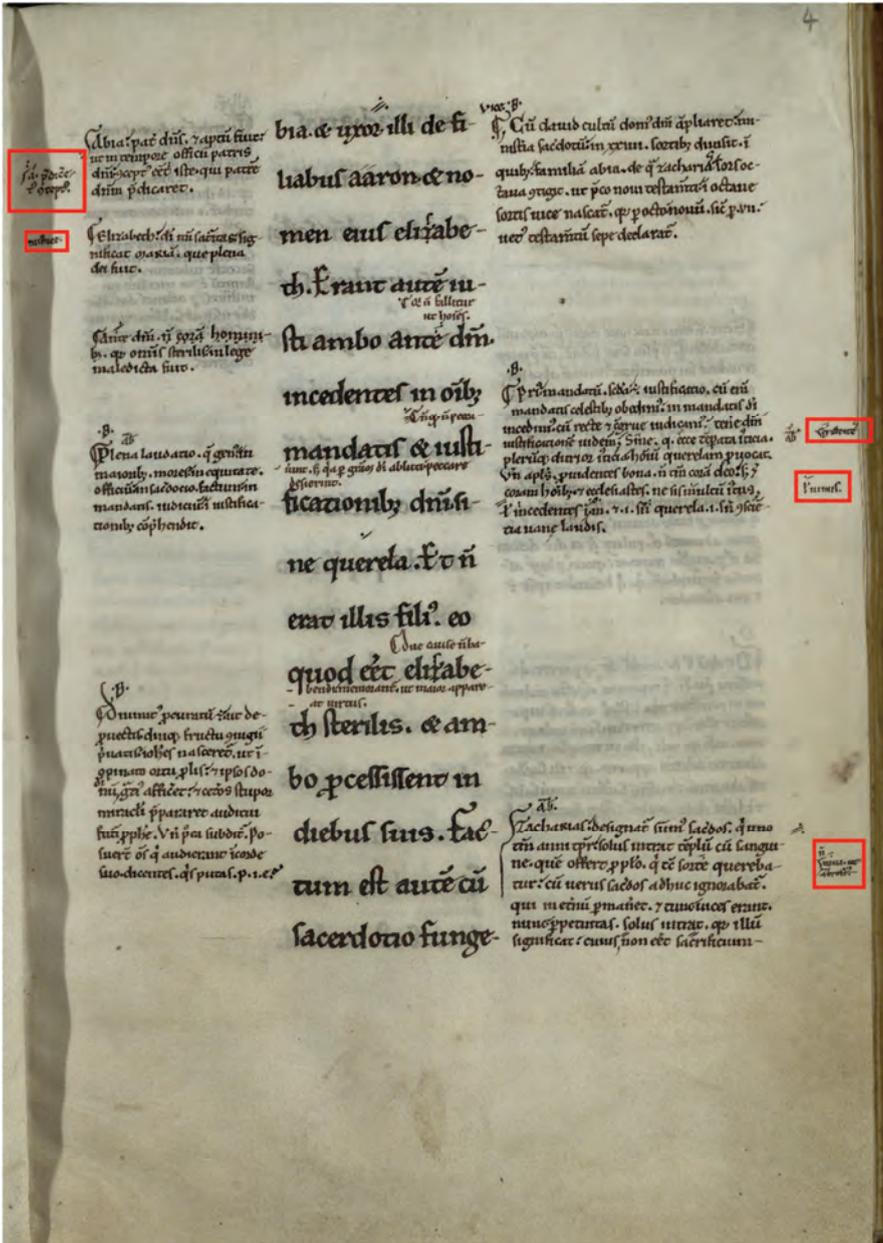


Fig. 4: Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.12, fol. 4r; © Trinity College, Cambridge.

Michael Baldzuhn

Producing, Distributing and Using Manuscripts for Teaching Purposes at French, English and German Universities in the Late Middle Ages

Abstract: The essay aims to provide a short survey of the production and distribution of manuscripts for academic purposes at European universities in the late Middle Ages. It discusses access to and use of manuscripts, including hybrid situations in which students used private copies, consulted books in a library, or borrowed manuscripts for study. The essay then moves on to illustrate key teaching methods, above all dictation, and raises the question of what parameters we should take into account when reconstructing contexts of learning and teaching from manuscripts, especially when it comes to issues of layout and glossing.

The formation of universities in Europe in the High Middle Ages was a successful model for the organisation of advanced studies. One of the most demanding tasks of the new universities was to support their teaching staff and students by providing them with texts for learning purposes: manuscripts and, since the second half of the fifteenth century, printed books. Access to written texts has been essential throughout the medieval period, because ‘education’ – even at university level – meant ‘exercising tradition’.¹ And this tradition was essentially laid down in authoritative texts,² which had to be read, commented on and discussed in detail in the *trivium*, in the *quadrivium* of the *artes liberales* and in medicine, law and theology. In historical portrayals of universities, the aspects of producing, distributing and using manuscripts are generally addressed very briefly, if at all. Plenty of relevant information has been published in essays, however. Nonetheless, a differentiated overview is still missing, which is not surprising, as many questions still have not been resolved by researchers yet. This essay attempts to

¹ Grubmüller 1989, 47: ‘Unterricht ist im Mittelalter Einübung in Tradition’.

² Miethke 1990, 18: ‘Grundlage des Unterrichts der scholastischen Universität sind [...] autoritative, schriftlich niedergelegte Texte oder Textcorpora [...]’.

draw some baselines against this backdrop. It does not offer any new insights as such, but aims to provide a short survey on the production, distribution and use of manuscripts for academic purposes in the heart of Europe.

1 The use and availability of manuscripts at universities

Imagine a Carolingian monk sitting in a monastic scriptorium with a manuscript in front of him, making a copy of it for the monastery's library, the 'intellectual armoury' of the institution,³ 're-arming' it with the labour of his own hands and consequently fostering his own salvation and that of his clerical community. This is an idealised scenario, and one that is simplistic and needs some differentiation – for example with regard to the division of labour in a monastic scriptorium.⁴ But in view of the new universities of the High Middle Ages, it brings to mind the new dimensions of making manuscripts and texts available to a large readership. A student taking up employment at a university did not stay there for the rest of his life, but only temporarily.⁵ The texts and books he brought with him or wrote down or commissioned did not pass into the ownership of the monastic library, but remained his own, and the 'salvation' he sought was a more individual one, a more secular one⁶ – in any case more diversified with regard to different levels of education and academic degrees.

³ On the medieval dictum 'a monastery without books is like a castle without any weapons', see Silvestre 1964.

⁴ Division of labour was a common practice among, for instance, illuminators of manuscripts; see Jakobi-Mirwald 2004, 148–160.

⁵ It is a logical consequence that both vol. 1 and vol. 2 of the *Geschichte der Universität in Europa* address the paths of life and the mobility of students; see Rüegg 1993–1996, vol. 1, chaps 8–9, and vol. 2, chaps 9–10.

⁶ Cf. e.g. the statement of Haubrichs 1995, 70, with respect to books, monks and education in Carolingian times: 'Schreiben ist sakraler Dienst in der "Werkstatt der Tugenden". [...] Schreiben hieß, dem Teufel Wunden zufügen'. ('Writing is sacred service in the "workshop of virtues". [...] Writing meant to injure the devil'), or the little anecdote reported in the first half of the twelfth century by Ordericus Vitalis in his *Historia ecclesiastica*: 'ein recht sündiger Mensch hätte seine Seele retten können, weil Gott jede Sünde mit einem geschriebenen Buchstaben aufrechnet und in diesem Fall gerade ein Buchstabe übrig geblieben sei' ('a sinful man saved his soul, because god charged his sins with every single letter written by him and in this case just a single letter remained') (Goetz 2002, 78). The close connection between devotion and *studium* in the monastic culture up to the twelfth century has been pointed out emphatically by Illich 1991, 15–66, who

A modern observer would expect universities to face the new requirement for providing manuscripts, the rising number of scholars,⁷ the large amount of texts required and the new range of subjects to be covered by a central library for the whole *universitas magistrorum et scholarum*. But although central libraries at or near universities can be considered ‘die fortschrittlichste Bibliotheksgattung des späten Mittelalters’ (‘the most advanced type of library of the late Middle Ages’),⁸ they more or less remained ‘klein und wissenschaftlich unbedeutend’ (‘small and scientifically unimportant’) up to the eighteenth century.⁹ Libraries belonging to colleges – of which Paris, the most important city in Europe with a university, had about 70 at the end of the Middle Ages – and those belonging to individual faculties were of far more importance in structural terms. They were only complemented slowly by central libraries. In England, following French examples, they arose ‘gradually’.¹⁰ At the University of Prague, established in 1348, the Collegium Carolinum, founded 1366 by Emperor Charles IV, was richly provided with manuscripts. Heidelberg had a university library right from the start. In contrast, Oxford did not obtain a central library until 1412, Leipzig, founded in 1409, possessed no library at all in the fifteenth century, and in Rostock, founded in 1419, only collections belonging to the faculties were available initially. So expecting a central library to exist is evidently a fairly modern idea.

On the other hand, university statutes sometimes required new students to possess key texts upon enrolment, especially students of law and theology.¹¹ This point needs to be differentiated further with respect to individual disciplines. Students of art at Oxford for example were not obliged to possess the manuscripts needed.¹² And what is more, we have to take into account the heterogeneous skills of the new students arriving at their faculty of arts: several of them still needed

re-reads Hugos of St Victor’s *Didascalicon* and separates its didactics from future scholastic teaching-practices.

⁷ It is generally important to bear in mind a huge mismatch between the number of people enrolled on a course of studies and those who actually finish their studies and obtain an academic degree. Numerical data on university enrolment and examinations is provided for the German-speaking territories by Schwinges 1986. For references to relations in France, see Miethke 1990, 13, n. 24.

⁸ Vorstius and Joost 1980, 17 (see 17-18 and 24).

⁹ Ridder-Symoens 1996, esp. 170.

¹⁰ Vorstius and Joost 1980, 18.

¹¹ With respect to Oxford, see Weichselbaumer 2010, esp. 23: ‘[...] mussten die Juristen bei der Immatrikulation beschwören, Kopien des *Digestum novus*, des *Infortiatum* und des *Libellus Institutionum* zu besitzen’. For further relevant references, see Miethke 1990, 18–19 and n. 38–39.

¹² Cf. Weichselbaumer 2010.

elementary instruction in Latin¹³ and hardly were able to write the texts they needed by themselves. All in all, however, all this different groups of students had to organise themselves how they would acquire the manuscripts with the key texts they needed.

It is not surprising that against this backdrop – no central libraries supporting the students, different requirements of the faculties, varying skills of the students to write the texts by themselves – the use of manuscripts in the academic *lectio* often has been a colourful affair. This is reflected in the prominent illustration by Laurentius de Voltolina (Fig. 1) in the second half of the fourteenth century to accompany Henricus de Alemannia's *Liber ethicorum*, that gives insights on a medieval university lecture. Although idealised – the master who is reading is Aristoteles himself – it mirrors late medieval reality in showing different types of students in the room: some with books, some sharing their book with a neighbour, some using slips of parchment and others without anything in written form in front of them at all, just listening to the master and relying on their memory.

This hybrid situation did not change until the advent of printed books and their growing availability due to prices falling. But printed books also led to a further problem that also had to be solved by educational institutions, teachers and students: the standardization of their texts. A note that Maturin Cordier (1479–1564) wrote in a dedication letter addressed to the Parisian printer Robert Estienne (1503–1559) and introducing his Latin-French edition of the Late Antique *Disticha Catonis* printed by Estienne in 1533 reports that Cordier initially planned to dictate the antique text and his own annotations to his students in order to provide them with the material they needed. However, he noticed that his dictations needed further correction. So he decided to get them printed to receive a homogeneous textual basis for his pupils.¹⁴

If we look back on teaching and education in the manuscript age the tardiness of the universities regarding the standardization of texts used in the academic *lectio* is astonishing. It was not until the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the university regulations at Leipzig University stated that students attending a *lectio* not only had to bring their own text along with them, but that the text needed to be *proprius* and *accomodatus* (apart from that, up to three students were permitted to share a single manuscript: *possunt tamen duo aut tres ad maximum eodem textu pro tempore uti simul*).¹⁵ Supplying students with appropriate (!)

¹³ Cf. Hajnal 1959 and Gabriel 1951.

¹⁴ The passage from the Latin text is cited and paraphrased by Baldzuhn 2009, vol. 1, 362–363.

¹⁵ Cf. Zarncke 1861, 399, 405, 465, 473, 481. The use of different editions of printed books by the masters and students in Leipzig has been analysed paradigmatically by Jensen 2004, esp. 458–

texts was therefore a demanding exercise at university level, although ‘Universität und Schrift sozusagen *ex definitione* ganz unmittelbar zusammen [gehören]’¹⁶ (‘university and the use of writing belong together by definition’) and it remained demanding even when the printing press grew more popular in the late fifteenth century, even at Leipzig University, where teachers and students were more experienced in using the new ‘black art’ for their needs than anywhere else in Europe.¹⁷

2 Lending manuscripts, consulting library-manuscripts

In the first few decades of university teaching, urban religious houses provided the best conditions in which to solve the problem of manuscript support. For one thing, they already had libraries that their studying conventuals could use: since at least according to the *Summa magistri* bull issued by Pope Benedict XII in 1336, all of the monastic orders have been encouraged to send suitably qualified members to a university.¹⁸ Personal property was not allowed among Franciscans, but they were allowed to make use of other possessions – such as books. Dominicans were not only allowed to own books, but their order even supplied conventuals with money to buy them. Books were lent to conventuals for their instruction, even for unlimited periods. They accompanied their temporary owners on their travels, were corrected by them, supplemented, kept up to date, and later they were returned not only to their former library, but to libraries at other locations where their fraternity had settled down. The Franciscan library in Oxford had a particular section called *libraria studencium*, for instance, which was separate from the *libraria conventus*. Some of its manuscripts were borrowed numerous

489. Academic *lectiones* usually have been prepared by the teaching masters in close cooperation with the book printers in an ad hoc fashion; the university as a book-ordering authority enters the scene only since the beginning of the sixteenth century: cf. Zarncke 1861, 463.

¹⁶ Miethke 1990, 7.

¹⁷ ‘Keine andere europäische Universität dieser Zeit hat eine ähnlich umfangreiche, innovative und vielgestaltige Druckproduktion hervorgebracht, weder Paris noch Köln, weder Rom noch Bologna; in Erfurt, Greifswald, Heidelberg, Oxford, Prag, Rostock und anderen Hochschulstädten gab es kaum nennenswerte oder gar keine Druckaktivitäten’: Eisermann 2009, 161–162.

¹⁸ See Parkes 1996.

times, showing traces of frequent use over a long period and even the names of their changing owners.¹⁹

Like the religious orders, numerous colleges were able to maintain their scholarship holders.²⁰ Many colleges were required by their benefactors to house students, guide them in their daily life and support their studies directly. Additional exercises and lectures were held at several colleges, and they provided manuscripts to their members. The statutes of the Collège de Hubant (or 'de l'Ave Maria'), which was founded by Jean de Hubant in 1339 and was located at the Parisian monastery of Sainte-Geneviève, required the manuscripts borrowed by the six scholarship holders to be periodically checked to see if they were still intact. A manuscript of the statutes draws attention to this *obervatio librorum* with a miniature illustration of its own (Fig. 2).²¹ The *Collegium sapientiae* in Freiburg, founded by Johannes Kerner in 1497, only ran a reference library for its students. The loaning of manuscripts was only intended to be an exception – miniatures in the manuscript with the statutes show the library twice and point out the special character of a reference library (Fig. 3).²² The *Collegium Porta coeli* or *Amplonianum* in Erfurt was even created because of the huge amount of manuscripts – a contemporary catalogue lists more than 600 volumes – donated to the Faculty of Arts by Amplonius Ratinck in 1412. Only a little later, eight grants for students (these eventually grew to twenty) completed Amplonius' donation.²³

3 Book trade and *peciae*

Compared with the use of existing libraries or the foundation of new ones, the book trade taking place in university environments represents a more modern way of supporting scholars with manuscripts. The production of manuscripts was based on commercial considerations, and with the makers of manuscripts and their traders, new agents appeared who had to arrange things with the masters of the university and the institution itself. The book trade in Paris has been explored quite intensively to date. Most of the Parisian manuscript producers and

¹⁹ On English documents, see Parkes 1996, 123, n. 17.

²⁰ For an overview of the college system, see Gieysztor 1993, esp. 115–118 the chapter on 'Kollegien'.

²¹ Cf. François 1942-46; Pellegrin 1948; Gabriel 1955, esp. 166–170. Gabriel refers to similar practices at other Parisian colleges (de Sorbonne, de Bayeux, de Cluny, d'Harcourt).

²² Kerer 1957. For details of the library, see the companion volume of the facsimile, 93–94.

²³ Paasch and Döbler 2001. The library catalogue has been edited; see Lehmann 1969, 1–99.

sellers worked in the Rue Neuve Notre-Dame, where the process of producing one single manuscript could be divided between up to a dozen scribes, rubricators and illuminators. Sometimes they all lived at close quarters and their work was done in families over several generations. They did not only provide scholars with manuscripts, but also members of the local court, and even the King. Local monasteries were clients as well. Manuscript-makers set up libraries to loan manuscripts to people, especially scholars.²⁴ These *stationarii*, as they were known, had to collaborate with the students' masters and in particular with the university administration. This is expressed in an oath reported August 1302, which had to be performed by the *librarii* (*Juramenta librorum sive stationariorum*). Among other things, this states: *quod ipsi stacionarii librorum utilium pro studio cujuscunque facultatis exemplaria [...] procurabunt.*²⁵ The University of Paris turned to the *pergamenarii*,²⁶ the manufacturers of parchment, in February 1291 and to the *librarii* and *stationarii* as early as 1275.²⁷ In 1304 a university commission in Paris made up of representatives from all four faculties codified a list of 150 texts that were allowed to be distributed in the way described (*quod debent habere librarii pro exemplari commodato scholaribus*) and it set their price as well.²⁸ Paris had fourteen sworn booksellers in 1368 and more than 24 of them in 1488.

The list of texts from 1304 additionally calls to mind a very special, medieval way of producing schoolbooks. The prominent work of Aegidius Romanus written to teach young princes is listed as *De regimine principum, xliij pecias [...] xxxij den[arii]*.²⁹ The term *pecias* deserves some attention here: it refers to individual parts of a manuscript that could be borrowed separately and used as models for new copies, normally for one or two weeks, and that could be paid for separately as well. This made it possible for pupils to produce their own exemplars of a text used for teaching purposes by replicating it themselves (alternatively, they could pay a scribe to produce a copy for them). Manuscripts written down in parts this way can be identified by corresponding notes at the end of their respective parts, which had to ensure a correct continuation of the text.

²⁴ Cf. the study of Rouse and Rouse 2000 about commercial book producers in medieval Paris. For maps and a more differentiated view now, see Fianu 2006.

²⁵ Denifle 1889–1897, vol. 2, no. 628, 97–98.

²⁶ Denifle 1889–1897, vol. 2, no. 575/575a, 49–52.

²⁷ Denifle 1889–1897, vol. 1, no. 462, 532–534: *Ordinatio universitatis Parisiensis de librariis sive stationariis*.

²⁸ Denifle 1889–1897, vol. 2, no. 641, 107–112.

²⁹ Denifle 1889–1897, 111.

It was Jean Destrez who first did some research into manuscripts and their *peciae* in 1936.³⁰ In Paris, *peciae* were well known in the late thirteenth century, but they were originally used in Bologna, presumably in the 1220s. The *peciae* system spread from Northern Italy to France, Spain and England (but only in Oxford). It did not reach Portugal, the south of Italy or the German-speaking countries, though³¹ – all the manuscripts from there containing *pecia* notes are actually imports. The Faculty of Medicine at the University of Bologna established the system in 1405, but this was an atypical occurrence. The system employed in Italy until then had almost only been used for juridical manuscripts,³² while the *peciae* system in the rest of Europe had already declined by that point: ‘For reasons unknown it was abandoned in the fifteenth [century]’.³³ There is no single explanation for this decline, but one of the relevant facts could be the increasing spread of paper – in 1389, the first paper mill north of the Alps had been established by Ulrich Stromer near Nuremberg in Germany.³⁴ From the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, the relation between manuscripts written down on paper and those written on parchment reversed from 70:30% to 30:70%.³⁵ One can observe a striking rise in the number of manuscripts produced since the 1270s.³⁶ Generally, it seems that the acquisition of books for learning purposes could increasingly be arranged by the pupils and students themselves.

30 Destrez 1936. Also see Christ 1938. For an excellent overview now, see Weichselbaumer 2010, esp. 1–29.

31 See the map in Weichselbaumer 2010, 9.

32 On the stock of texts distributed in the form of *peciae*, see Murano 2005.

33 Derolez 2003, 30.

34 Schneider 2014, 112. For the broader context, see Tschudin 2012. Parchment was four times more expensive than paper in the second half of the fourteenth century, and later on, in the second half of the fifteenth, it was as much as thirteen times dearer (cf. Schneider 2014, 110, n. 22).

35 Exact figures are stated in Needham’s article on book production on paper and vellum in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Needham 2015, esp. 69–270. The percentages were calculated by Kümper 2014, 166. Parchment was used for printed books, too, however, but only in exceptional cases: in representative and precious books or editions of texts made for frequent use, such as school texts. Needham 2016, 256, has counted around fifty editions of the Donat and similar texts on grammar printed on parchment between 1470 and 1500.

36 Cf. the diagram given by Neddermeyer 1998, 657 (‘Die absolute Handschriftenproduktion in Europa 1250–1530’).

4 Dictation: *reportatio*, *pronuntiatio*, *dare ad pennam*

However, none of this explains the strange fact that the *pecia* system was not introduced in the educational environment of Central European universities, which had been established since the middle of the fourteenth century (in 1347 in Prague, 1364 in Cracow, 1365 in Vienna, 1379 in Erfurt, 1385 in Heidelberg and in 1388 in Cologne), a fact that Karl Christ noticed in his important essay from 1938: the German university statutes do not say anything about *stationarii* and so do not talk of them with respect to the production of manuscripts. Rather, they take into account the dictation of texts, i.e. the activities of *pronuntiare* and *ad pennam dare*.³⁷ In addition, they sometimes use the term *reportatio* ('dictation'), but all in all, the terminology they employ is not always very clear, and all regulations that have come down to us relate to a 'special type of lesson/event' established for this main purpose: providing students with the texts they needed for the *lectio* their teachers would be conducting later on. *Reportationes* were mainly held by scholars of a lower degree – *baccalarii*, for example, who dictated *ad pennam* (quill) to their assembled students. This was a regular practice in Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Erfurt, Ingolstadt and Leipzig, hence the statutes referred to it and attempted to control and arrange it in a particular way.³⁸ As for other universities (and certain advanced Latin schools in larger cities as well), *reportationes* are mentioned in the colophons that scribes added to their manuscripts. This is the case in Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cod. 2460, for instance (which contains Thomas of Erfurt's *Novi modi significandi* and the *Fabulae Aviani*, amongst other texts); this was written down in the middle of the fifteenth century at the Cracow university and partly dictated (see fols 87^r–173^v), it says: *pronunciata per Baccalarium Paulum De Racusz.*³⁹ This is also the case in

³⁷ See Christ 1938, 36–39 and Wattenbach 1896, 562–565. A considerable number of relevant documents have been collected by Bernd Michael in his PhD thesis: Michael 1985, 263–267. On terminology, see Teeuwen 2003, 253–255 (*dictare*, *pronuntiare*) and 333–335 (*reportare*, *reportatio*, *reportator*). Palaeographical conclusions based on the distribution of texts via dictation have been drawn by Gerhardt Powitz 2005a. Udo Kühne at the Institut für Klassische Altertumskunde in Kiel has drawn up a 'repertory of dictated medieval manuscripts': <https://www.klassalt.uni-kiel.de/de/projekte/forschung_alt/mittel-und-neulatein-forschung/201erepertorium-diktierter-handschriften-des-mittelalters201c> (accessed on 18 Nov. 2020).

³⁸ Cf. Christ 1938, 36–39, Wattenbach 1896, 562–565, and, concerning Leipzig, Zarncke 1861, 458 (fourth edition of the statutes in 1499/1522).

³⁹ For more on this manuscript, see Baldzuhn 2009, 572–573.

Tübingen, University Library, Mc. 328 (containing the *Vocabularius ex quo*), which was written down in the middle of the fifteenth century at the Latin school in Ulm, South Germany and dictated in full (fols 2^{ra}–209^{vb}) by the fourth assistant teacher there (the *locatus*) to the student Heinrich Heller: *finita est iste liber et lecta de quarto locato in vlma per me hainricum hellerum de tuwingen tunc temporis scolaris vlme*.⁴⁰

The last example concerns vocabulary that is hardly likely to have been read aloud, but was probably used as a dictionary. It emphasises the fact that texts for lessons were not the only things copied in the way described above. In fact, one should distinguish between single dictations that took place in an ad hoc manner (possibly in an academic environment) and dictations for groups of students that were organised in a more institutionalised way. This distinction has not always been borne in mind by researchers, however. Indeed, manuscript research has neither analysed medieval colophons with respect to this distinction yet nor systematically identified manuscripts written down by way of dictation at all.⁴¹

Last but not least, numerous other questions also need to be resolved. For one thing, it seems odd that just the University of Paris tried to prevent its masters from reading out their *lectiones* too slowly: a bid to prevent the degradation of the *lectio* to an occasion where it became necessary for students to make copies of lectures and texts themselves, which they had done ever since the fourteenth century, even though we can often find a well-established book trade in the background, particularly in Paris.⁴²

5 The layout of manuscripts: *mise-en-page*

Manuscript research conducted in recent decades has focused strongly on the layout of medieval European manuscripts⁴³ and shown that the *mise-en-page* of a text was not only a question of arrangement and aesthetical design, but that the

⁴⁰ For more details about the manuscript, see Bodemann and Dabrowski 2000, esp. 25. Bodemann and Dabrowski 2000, 31–32 refer to five more manuscripts dictated in Ulm.

⁴¹ Colophons in German medieval manuscripts will be studied in a project supported by the DFG starting 2021 at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel (Margit Dahm, Timo Felber): <<https://www.germanistik.uni-kiel.de/de/lehrbereiche/aeltere-deutsche-literatur/forschung/dfg-projekt-kolophone>> (accessed on 18 Nov. 2020). The collections of colophons provided by the Bénédictins du Bouveret 1965–1982 are incomplete.

⁴² Cf. the remarks in Miethke 1990, 22–25.

⁴³ An important impulse came from the essays collected in Martin and Vezin 1990.

history and tradition of the text, its placing on a manuscript page and the circumstances of the manuscript's production and distribution are all closely related. These aspects therefore have to be analysed as well and understood with respect to these close relations. Outlining the most relevant types of layouts used for academic texts is impossible in this short essay.⁴⁴ Rather, I shall try to illustrate the correlations mentioned above using just three examples: (1) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 13.10 Aug. 4°, (2) Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 21 and (3) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. Quart 536. All of them lead us to the study of Latin grammar, a basic requisite for pupils and students.

A collection of fables written by the Late Antique author Avianus – 42 pieces in elegiac distichs – was used for grammar instruction in Europe from Carolingian times, if not earlier. It was covered in academic contexts up to the end of the Late Middle Ages.⁴⁵ The manuscript now preserved in Wolfenbüttel (Fig. 4)⁴⁶ shows us the text in a typical form: every verse has its own, new line. This form was employed by scribes throughout the Middle Ages – and for a huge amount of works by other literary authors as well, which served as thesauri providing examples of rhetorical issues, Latin grammar (*litterae*) and proper conduct, worldly wisdom and wise behaviour (*mores*). Likewise, supplementary explanations on the basic text are included in a way found in countless other manuscripts of classical authors (and in countless other manuscripts at the faculties of arts) throughout the Middle Ages: *inter lineas*, between the single verses. The arrangement of longer explanations that did not fit between the verses seems less self-evident, though. The introduction to these 'commentaries', for example, was placed at the top of the page in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and forms two blocks that look like two horizontal and interlaced 'L' letters. Short parts with commentaries are placed in the margins. This arrangement only became a standard one in advanced studies of the *auctores* in the course of the thirteenth century. Consequently, it is the default version used in a large number of manuscripts mainly of French and English provenience called *Libri Catoniani*, for example, which add five more Latin texts to the *Fabulae* (Fig. 5).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ For corresponding images drawn from medieval manuscripts, see esp. Weijers 1996. Gerhard Powitz has attempted to give late medieval layouts of texts with commentaries a typology in his article Powitz 2005b.

⁴⁵ For more on the medieval history of the text and its transmission, see Baldzuhn 2009, 22–134.

⁴⁶ The manuscript is discussed in detail in Baldzuhn 2009, 810–814.

⁴⁷ Attention was drawn to the *Liber Catonianus* – the name is related to the *Disticha Catonis*, which begin the collection – by Boas 1914. Regarding the – presumably French – academic genesis and the French and English diffusion of the *Liber*, see Baldzuhn 2009, 90–105.

It is obvious that a layout like the one in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is unsuitable for dictation. In fact, it requires the skills of an experienced scribe who had to copy it in a more ‘depicting’ way than just by writing it down. In particular, the balanced allocation of the little blocks of prose to the commentaries in the margins had to be kept in mind because they had to be placed near the verses they refer to.

A manuscript with the *Fabulae* currently kept in Erfurt and probably written at the university there in the second half of the fourteenth century shows the text with a completely different layout (Fig. 6).⁴⁸ The differences are not as much in the verses of the main text and its interlinear glosses as in the commentary. This is a completely independent block of text that does not accompany the verses in the margins at all, but follows each fable after its last verse. The commentary consequently interrupts the course of the basic text and breaks it up. It is not by chance that the layout appears to be more cohesive and fluid in this manuscript. Currently, it seems that this kind of layout was not developed until the second half of the fourteenth century. It seems to have been particularly popular in German-speaking countries and was presumably developed just for the distribution of texts via dictation. Instead of encountering several short blocks of text with lengthy annotations, we find a block written in prose. And the individual annotations it contains are now connected syntactically. Furthermore, a commentary of the given type could now reach a random length: Interposing it between the fables only postpones the following fable, moving it further down – without any restriction of the manuscript page and its margins. The question of how interlinear glosses found their way onto the paper cannot be discussed here in detail, unfortunately, but they frequently seem to have been dictated as well.⁴⁹

It is not clear who was responsible for this general redesign and reformulation of commentaries in the German countries in the fourteenth century. Perhaps it was the *locati* at urban Latin schools and the *baccalarii* at the universities who dictated the texts. If so, were they sufficiently educated to perform this challenging task effectively, I wonder?

A similar fundamental step in the reorganisation of layouts of manuscripts containing texts by literary *auctores* had been made two hundred years earlier, in the twelfth century (which is often called the ‘century of commentary’) and the following century as well. New commentaries on *auctores*, formerly circulating in separate manuscripts without the basic verse texts (cf. Fig. 7), were combined in a single manuscript along with the texts they referred to and were arranged

⁴⁸ For more details about the manuscript, see Baldzuhn 2009, 522–527.

⁴⁹ Cf. Baldzuhn 2005 and the manuscript described by Baldzuhn 2009, 110–115.

together with them on a single page. This procedure cannot be discussed here in any detail,⁵⁰ but the question arises here again: who was it who came up with the new page layouts found in manuscripts such as the one in Wolfenbüttel and the several *Libri Catoniani*?

An obvious way of combining a text written in verse in one manuscript and its commentary written in another is binding them both together in a single volume.⁵¹ A solution that is rather more original can be found in the third manuscript from Berlin: text and commentary have been written down in two parallel columns.⁵² The main task, however, was to position the individual sections of the commentary so they all matched up with the verses of the main text to which they referred. This required detailed knowledge of both the basic text and its commentary – especially if an explanation did not refer to a single verse, but to general qualities of the text as a whole (such as discussing its author or general literary, grammatical or rhetorical features). Arranging a text and its commentary in a particular way always meant the commentary had to be of a certain length; copies made later, such as individual minutes from a master's lecture, could not simply be adapted at will.

6 *Lectio*: practical use of manuscripts

Numerous incunable prints of school texts attracted their potential purchasers with a woodcut at the front, illustrating the ideal situation in which it was to be used: the so-called *Magister cum discipulis* woodcut that shows a teacher with a book in front of him on his desk, talking to his students during the *lectio* (Fig. 8).⁵³ Researchers' perspectives on the relation between the oral *lectio* and written text with all its glosses and commentaries changed significantly over the last century: in a unique move in 1905, Alfred Heubaum firmly rejected a popular disregard of manuscript material by researchers on the history of education.⁵⁴ Considering the number of school manuscripts that were in use and the ample information often

⁵⁰ More on this issue can be found in Baldzuhn 2009, 69–90.

⁵¹ See the manuscript containing the *Fabulae* produced in the second half of the fourteenth century in Germany, which is now kept in Lübeck: Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Ms. Philol. 8° 14 (esp. fols 29^r–38^v and fols 38^v–42^r); cf. Baldzuhn 2009, 619–621.

⁵² The manuscript was written in the second half of the thirteenth century in Germany (esp. fols 1^{va}–13^r); see Baldzuhn 2009, 461–466.

⁵³ On this widespread type of illustration, see Schreiber and Heitz 1908.

⁵⁴ Heubaum 1905.

provided in a single manuscript replete with dense annotations, many researchers hoped to gain far-reaching insights into the medieval classroom from studying them. There was a common illusion at the time that manuscripts almost allowed one to look over the medieval schoolmaster's shoulder.⁵⁵ But in recent decades, detailed studies on glosses and commentaries have shown that these types of texts are by no means the result of individual lessons. On the contrary, annotations – just like the main text – are determined by a binding textual history of their own. The history of their transmission, especially with respect to interlinear glosses, could even vary more than the history of the instructional text itself.⁵⁶ At the same time, the sensitivity to medial differences in the designs of oral and written accounts increased, and at least the sensitivity for the fact that the orality of the speech and the presence of the teacher remain a core feature of the academic *lectio*.⁵⁷ The use of writing is undeniable, but still, school manuscripts, to put it bluntly, are only secondary 'sources': 'Spiegelung der mündlichen Kommunikation in einem anderen Medium' ('reflection of oral communication in another medium').⁵⁸ Bearing this medial complexity in mind, we can also gain a broader impression of the specific semantics of medieval descriptions of media in educational contexts. These semantics should definitely be examined as a field of their own. In general, and even in academic treatises on the human senses, medieval descriptions seem to be based on a rhetoric of immediacy⁵⁹ and show a characteristic resentment to the use of writing by pupils. At the end of the thirteenth century, for example, Hugo of Trimberg, a schoolmaster in Bamberg, bemoaned: 'Sît man schuolbuoch in die hant / Krumpte und durch die gürtel want, / Sît wart unmêre schuolmeister lêre, / Ir lôn, ir fürderunge und ir êre'.⁶⁰ And a short treatise on oral conversation written in the second half of the fifteenth century is unable to accept that the life of students should be determined by

55 See Oskamp for just one – arbitrary – example: 'And so the schoolteacher's hand in MS Plut. 78.19 in the Laurentian Library not only gives us an opportunity to look in during the lessons, but also shows us the frustrations of a twelfth-century teacher who has put so much unnecessary work into preparing his lessons' (Oskamp 1977, 197).

56 Cf. the editors preface in Grubmüller 2000, 8–9.

57 This has been pointed out by Miethke 1990.

58 Cf. Michael 2006, esp. 185. The metaphor of a mirror used by Michael is misleading, however.

59 Cf. Michael 2006, 188–189.

60 'Ever since manuscripts have been used by pupils the teaching of the masters has been treated with contempt [...]': Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ed. Ehrismann 1970, verses 16477–16480. Verses 16765–16768 point in a similar direction: '(Von schuolern): Sô kumt aber einer und siht hin in, / Der koufet schoeniu büchelîn, / Diu er mit im ze lande füere / Und nimmer mêr si denne gerüere'. ('On pupils: There are several of them buying eesome manuscripts and carry them around and never ever make any use of them').

reading. Trying to put it more precisely, the author claims they ‘listen’, not ‘read’ – nevertheless the following question, what they are listening to, is answered with a list of texts (circulating in written form, of course): ‘Es tu scholaris?’ – ‘Sum.’ ‘Quid legis?’ – ‘Non lego, sed audio.’ ‘Quid audis?’ – ‘Tabulam vel Donatum vel Alexandrum vel logicam vel musicam’.⁶¹

Essentially, the paradigmatic change of perspective requires a change in our prior expectations: we should no longer initially expect a school manuscript to report oral facts. On the contrary, we should only expect a written artefact accompanying oral communication in a certain way, which always has to be specified in detail – if not, in marked contrast to minutes, an artefact even pre-structuring the oral *lectio*.

This change in the first point of view tallies with several other observations. Records of academic *lectiones* are generally ‘extremely rare finds’, just as Bernd Michael has said.⁶² Individual manuscripts demonstrate again and again that a first layer of written components with the basic text, glosses and commentary almost always contains most of the substantial elements; the scribes did not leave any gaps to be filled in later on. Blank space for additional texts is more frequent at the end of the Middle Ages – in texts designed for printing; these present the basic text with wide margins for commentary and wide line spacing to allow for glosses, both of which were expected to be added in handwritten form.⁶³ Academic manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with a layout optimised for dictation sometimes contain additions, most of which are written in the margins, but these additions are nearly always small-scale ones compared to the dense explanations offered initially. This, at least, is the impression one gets from late medieval examples containing the *Fabulae*.

In contrast, we more often find later additions in manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in those from France and England. One example is the Wolfenbüttel manuscript cited above, which also contains Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*; there are more than a dozen different hands that inserted

⁶¹ The citation is from the edition by Melchior Lotter and Konrad Kachelofen published in Leipzig in 1496 (*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, no. 9411, fol. A3r [punctuation added by me]).

⁶² Michael 2006, 182, n. 10. Also see the even more cautious formulation on page 185, n. 18: ‘Über den Weg scholastischer Lehre von der mündlichen Form zur Verschriftung, *sofern sie überhaupt stattfand*, ist wenig bekannt’ [my own emphasis]. (‘We know little about the transfer of oral scholastic knowledge into written forms – if this transfer even took place’).

⁶³ For more on these prints designed especially with respect to academic lectures, cf. Nickel 1989 and Leonhardt 2004.

their additions between the lines and in the margins.⁶⁴ This is only my first impression, but it might be explained by the different ways of producing and distributing academic manuscripts. Being a product of dictation, a manuscript may have tended to stay in the hands of its first writer and owner, who saw little need to make any additions to it. On the other hand, manuscripts produced and distributed in a ‘more written way’ seem to have switched their owners more frequently.

At present, however, a statement of this type needs to be backed up by reliable empirical data, which is still lacking. Corresponding studies are therefore essential in future. It should also be kept in mind that every single manuscript that has come down to us is of a very fragile representativeness.⁶⁵

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⁶⁴ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 13.10 Aug. 4° (France, last quarter of the thirteenth century). See the description of the manuscript in Baldzuhn 2009, 810–814, esp. 814 (die Glossen ‘in verschiedenen Schichten von verschiedenen Händen [...] weiter aufgefüllt. In den Metamorphosen begegnet man solchen Nachträgen besonders oft’ – glosses added in several steps by several hands; in the Metamorphoses such additions are widespread).

⁶⁵ This fundamental methodological problem has been addressed by Esch 1985.

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Fig. 1: Aristoteles giving a lecture in front of his students (miniature illustration, Italian, 2nd half of the fourteenth century); Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min 1233; CC-BY-NC-SA.



Fig. 2: *Ostentatio librorum* of manuscripts lent by scholars of the Collège de Hubant in Paris (miniature illustration, French, 2nd half of the fourteenth century); Paris, Archives nationales, MM 406, fol. 10^v; CC-BY-NC-SA.



Fig. 3: Reference library for students at the *Collegium sapientiae* in Freiburg im Breisgau (miniature illustration, German, 1497); Freiburg, Universitätsarchiv, A 105/8141, fol. 44^r; © Universitätsarchiv, Freiburg i.B.

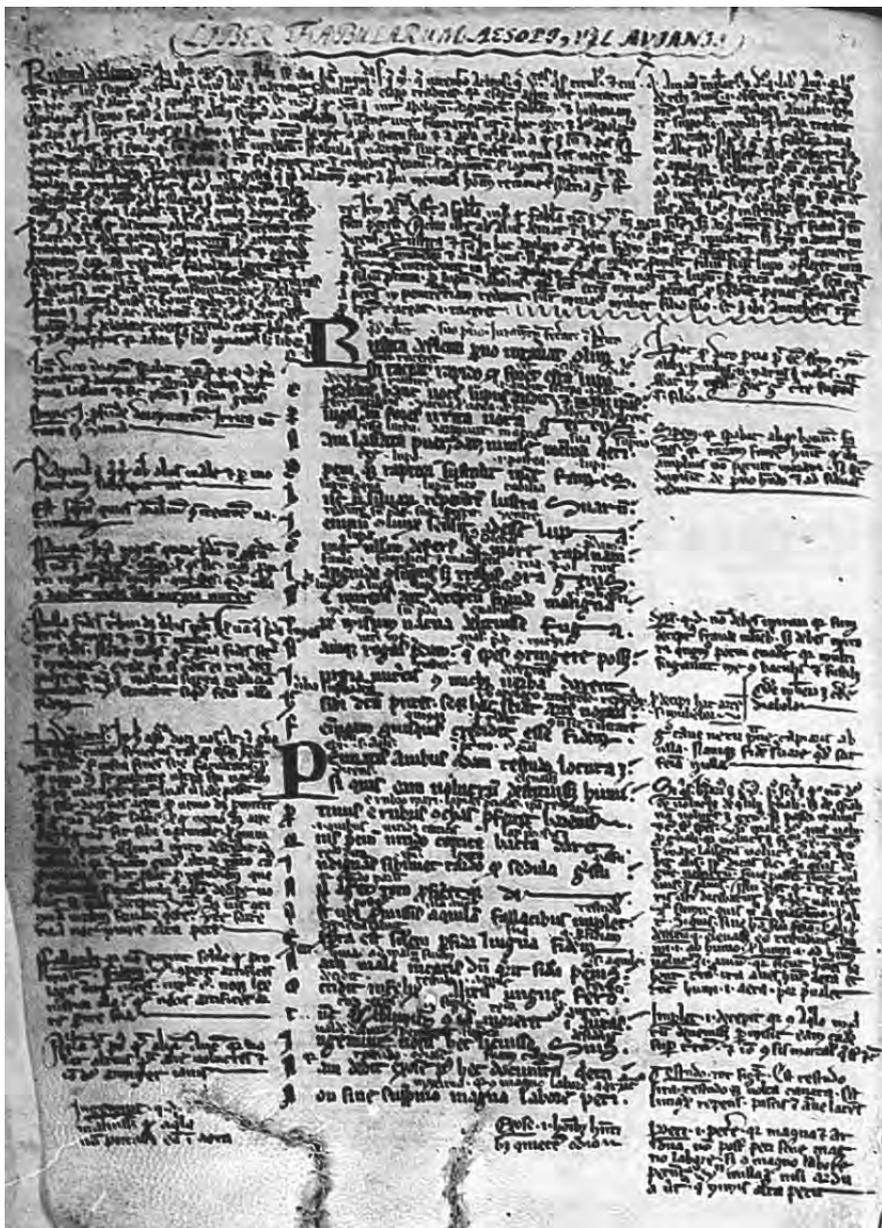


Fig. 4: Beginning of the *Fabulae Aviani* with basic text in verses, commentary in prose and interlinear glosses (French manuscript, last quarter of the thirteenth century); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 13.10 Aug. 4°, fol. 157r; © Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

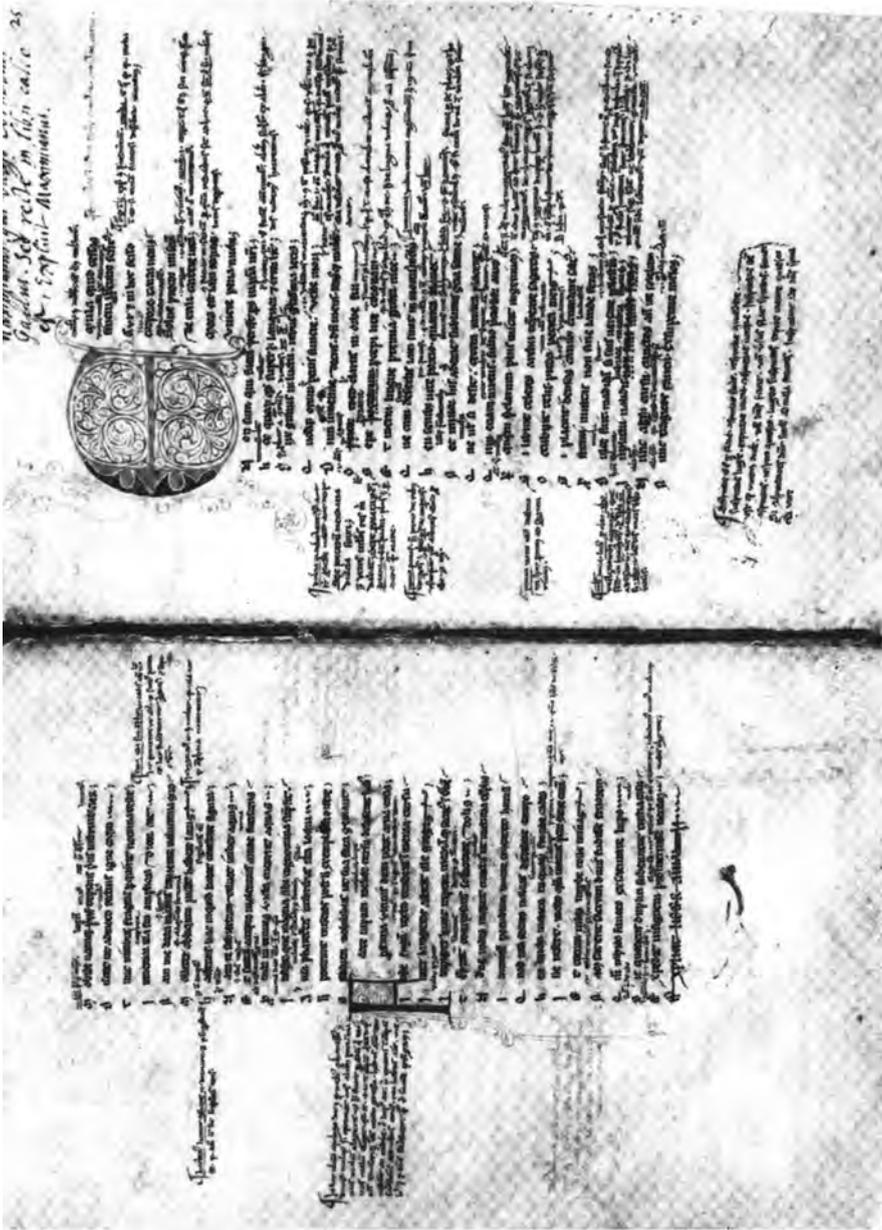


Fig. 5: End of the *Fabulae Aviani* and beginning of the *Elegiae* of Maximianus in a uniformly designed *Liber Catonianus* (French manuscript, end of the thirteenth century); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1556, fols 24^v-25^r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

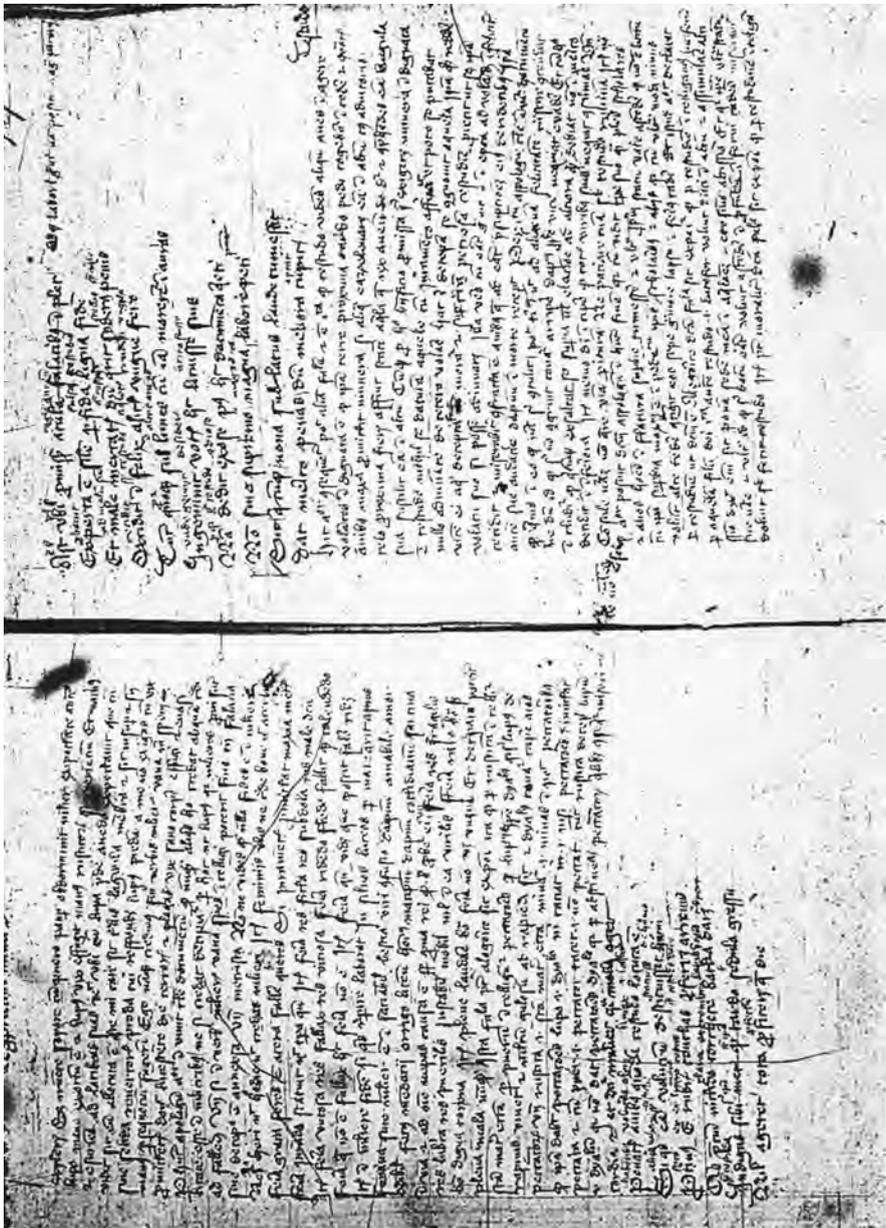


Fig. 6: Verses from the *Fabulae Aviani* with commentary in prose in a layout designed for dictation (German manuscript, third quarter of the fourteenth century); Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 21, fols 18^v–19^r; © Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Erfurt.

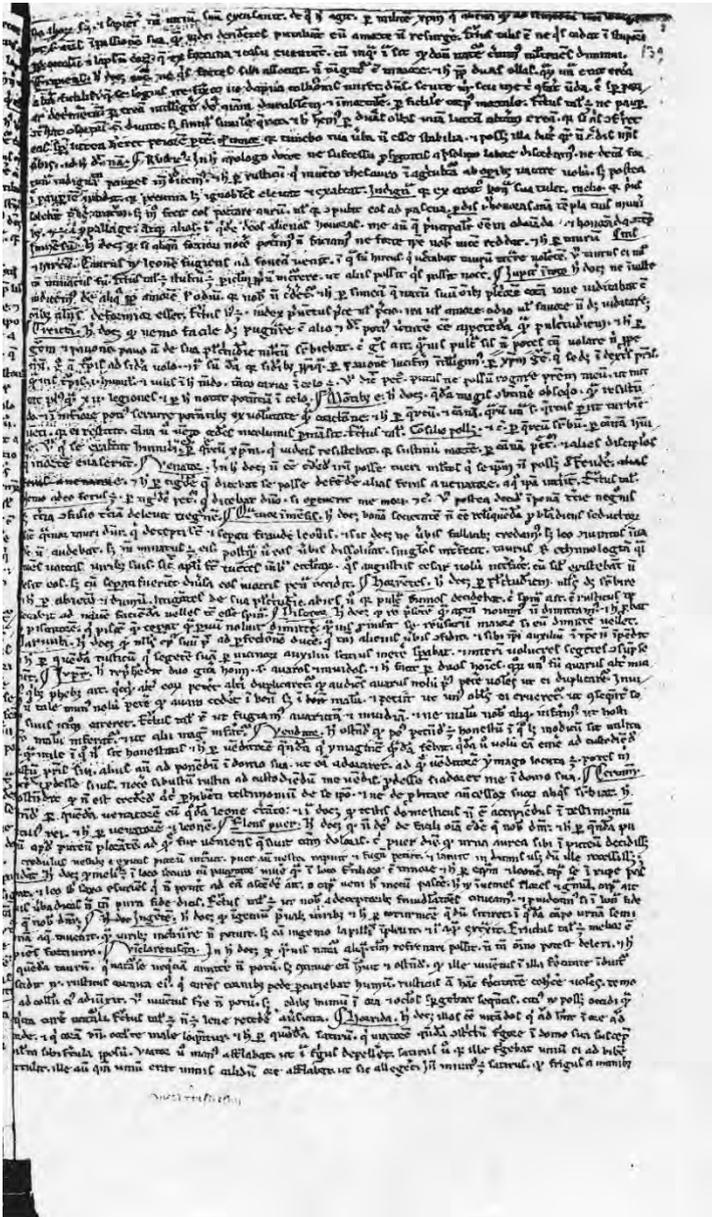


Fig. 7: Commentary in prose on the *Fabulae Aviani* without verses (German manuscript, second half of the thirteenth century); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Samling 1905 4^o, fol. 139^r; © Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.



Fig. 8: *Magister cum discipulis*, woodcut opening a printed edition of the *Disticha Catonis* in Cologne 1497; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, no. 6314, fol. A1^r; CC-BY-NC-SA.

Claudia Colini

Ink Making by the Book: Learning a Craft in the Arabic World

Abstract: The arts of the book have a great relevance in Islamic culture, not only from a religious perspective, but in literature as well. The proliferation of treatises about bookmaking and calligraphy demonstrates the great interest in the topic. But if we take into consideration the artisanal world revolving around these manuscripts, is there any obvious correspondence between the literary texts and the crafts employed to produce them? What were the treatises used for? Were they studied by apprentices to learn a particular craft or were they ultimately meant to decorate a shelf in an erudite library? This paper focuses specifically on treatises and collections of recipes about the making of inks. The introductions of the treatises in my corpus were studied in order to understand the intentions of the authors and their aims, and the recipes were reproduced to grasp their feasibility. Finally, the manuscripts were examined in terms of their codicological and material aspects to learn about their production and use.

1 Introduction

The daily work of an archaeometrist involves identifying and studying the materials used in archaeological items, historical artefacts and works of art by employing several analytical techniques. The aim of such studies is to reconstruct the history of the technologies used to produce those artefacts and map the diffusion and development of production techniques and materials. For this reason, the observation and analysis of such artefacts is combined with the study of written sources: documents, reports made by travellers, and especially technical literature, such as treatises on scientific and technological matters, alchemical and magical texts, handbooks and recipe books.

When manuscripts are the focus of study, one key material that needs to be analysed is the ink. Recipes for making different kinds of ink can be found in a wide range of texts in Arab-Islamic culture: texts about religion, natural sciences, magic and the occult, alchemy, astrology and the arts. The role of the ink recipe varies greatly in each case: it is nothing more than a curiosity in some texts, while

in others it is an integral, albeit minor, part of the work. The majority of ink recipes can be found in treatises concerned with book production, in which the recipes are arranged in terms of their typology and take up several sections of the text.¹

In this paper, I have approached these recipes from the point of view of a scientist who wishes to know who wrote these texts and for whom, what their aim was and what use was made of the manuscripts in which the recipes can be found. In the first part, I focus on five treatises dealing specifically with ink-making (although not exclusively with it) to investigate whether these treatises were composed to teach students how to prepare inks and therefore if they were manuals used to learn the craft. The selected texts are the best-known treatises on the topic and are well suited for this kind of research as they provide information on their authors, the intended audience of the books and their possible use in the context of teaching and learning the craft of ink-making.² Information of this kind can particularly be found in prefaces, but it can also be gleaned by analysing the way in which the chapters are ordered or the recipes are written and explained. These works have the advantage of having been partially or even completely translated into modern European languages by specialists, which is how I mainly accessed them.³ The Arabic treatises I examined are the following:

- *Zinat al-kataba* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā‘ al-Rāzī (d. 313 or 323 AH / 925 or 935 CE);⁴
- *‘Umdat al-kuttāb wa-‘uddat dawī al-albāb* by al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs al-Tamīmī al-Ṣanhāgī (d. 454 AH / 1062 CE);⁵

1 The variety of genres can be appreciated in the list of sources collected by Armin Schopen (Schopen 2004, 19–32) and in the overview given by Sara Fani in the chapter concerning her sources (Fani 2013, 5–9).

2 The concept of authorship has recently been re-addressed (see Behzadi and Hämeen-Anttila 2015) and its ambiguity is particularly evident in this context. In fact, these treatises can be compared to anthologies since they are mostly characterised by being a compilation of recipes preceded by a general introduction, a summary of the chapters and possibly some subchapters for clarification. Although the recipes normally have different historical authorships, the authors of the treatises felt entitled to modify them, sometimes even when the recipes were clearly attributed. This was often the case for recipes with pseudo-epigraphic attributions (Raggetti 2015, 165–166). Even the scribes, who normally just copied the texts, often took it upon themselves to rearrange the recipes, increase or reduce their number or add comments and changes to them.

3 The main sources of my study were Raggetti 2016, Fani 2013, Schopen 2004 and Levey 1962. Only passages that were unclear or uncertain were compared to the editions or manuscripts.

4 *EP*², s.v. ‘al-Rāzī’; *GAL*, vol. 1, 233–235; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 417–421.

5 *EP*², s.v. ‘al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs’; *GAL*, vol. 1, 268; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 473.

- *al-Muḥtaraʿ fī funūn min aṣ-ṣunaʿ* by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Šams al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ġassānī (d. 694 AH / 1294–1295 CE);⁶
- *Kitāb al-azhār fī ʿamal al-aḥbār* by Muḥammad b. Maymūn b. ʿImrān al-Marrākušī al-Ḥimyārī (seventh c. AH / thirteenth c. CE);⁷
- *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ fī ṭaraf al-ḥawāṣṣ* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qalalūsī al-Andalusī (d. 707 AH / 1308 CE).⁸

I also compared these texts to some magical treatises including ink recipes – such as the *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-īdāḥ al-ṭarāʾiq* by Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī, known as al-Sīmāwī,⁹ and *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ wa-kanz al-iḥtišāṣ fī ʿilm al-ḥawāṣṣ* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamir b. ʿAlī b. Aydamir al-Ġildakī (d. 743 AH / 1342 CE)¹⁰ – and technical handbooks with a broader scope, such as the *Kitāb al-nuġūm al-šāriqāt* by Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥayr al-Ḥasanī al-Dimašqī (tenth c. AH / sixteenth c. CE)¹¹ and the *Kitāb zahr al-basātin* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zarḥūrī (ninth c. AH / fifteenth c. CE)¹², the latter focusing on tricks used by con-artists and street performers.

In a second stage, manuscripts containing ink recipes were analysed with the aim of answering further questions related to their usage and consequently the use of the transmitted texts: in particular, whether the manuscripts containing these works were used to learn how to make inks and, in case of an affirmative answer, if they were self-learning tools or part of a teaching framework. In this case, the corpus was not chosen exclusively among the manuscripts presenting works on book production, but essays meant for alchemists, calligraphers and secretaries were included, too, along with collections of recipes, lists extracted from the treatises on the arts of the book and even individual recipes added at the end of other texts or on flyleaves. This selection did not intend to be an exhaustive list of manuscripts containing ink recipes, but rather an overview of the variety of characteristics I observed in my specific corpus.

6 *EP*, s.v. ‘Rasūlids’.

7 Al-Marrākušī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, ed. Šabbūḥ 2001, 41–54.

8 *GAL*², vol. 2, 336 (although his name is given as al-Qallūsī).

9 See Ullman 1972, 235; Ullman 1970, 391; Holmyard 1926, 403–426; the chapters about inks have been edited by Raggetti (Raggetti 2021).

10 *EP*, s.v. ‘al-Djildakī’; Ullmann 1972, 237; Ullmann 1970, 413.

11 *GAL* S, vol. 2, 485; Raggetti 2016, 327–337.

12 *GAL*, vol. 2, 174; Raggetti 2016, 327–337.

2 Authors as teachers, and readers as students

The oldest surviving text about ink-making, entitled *Zīnat al-kataba*, was written by al-Rāzī, a renowned physician, philosopher and alchemist born in Rayy (now in Iran) around 250 AH / 854 CE. He ran the hospitals in Rayy and Baghdad and died in his hometown in 313 AH / 925 CE or in 323 AH / 935 CE.¹³ Al-Rāzī was also a scholar, teacher and courtier who was knowledgeable about a wide range of subjects, including philosophy and mathematics. Significantly, he was also a prolific writer; more than 200 texts have been attributed to him.¹⁴ His treatise about ink-making is only preserved in one surviving manuscript, which was discovered by Mahmud Zaki in the National Library and Archive of Egypt (*Dār al-Kutub*) in 2010.¹⁵ Nonetheless his recipes had great fortune since at least one of them is reported in almost every ink treatise and his authorship is often acknowledged.

Al-Marrākušī was also a scholar and an alchemist, although not a famous one. The only information we now have about this Moroccan intellectual was provided by the author himself in two of his autographs: we know that he lived in Baghdad around 649–650 AH / 1251–1253 CE when he was in his 50's and that he frequented both the Mustanşiriya and al-Niżāmiya madrasahs.¹⁶ He interrupted the writing of his treatise on inks because of an emotional crisis, as he stated at the end of the text.¹⁷ Despite the importance of its content, his work did not circulate much, possibly because it was incomplete. The high technical level may also have hindered its diffusion.

The authorship of the *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb* is attributed to al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, the fourth ruler of the Zirid dynasty of Ifriqiya. He ruled from 407 AH / 1016 CE, when he was eight years old, until his death in 454 AH / 1061 CE. In some of the manuscripts, the text is attributed to his son Tamīm (d. 501 AH / 1108 CE), who was appointed ruler of Mahdiyya – the capital city – in 445 AH / 1053 CE while his

¹³ *EF*, s.v. 'al-Rāzī'; Fani 2013, 39.

¹⁴ Fani 2013, 39.

¹⁵ Zaki 2011.

¹⁶ Al-Marrākušī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, ed. Şabbūḥ 2001, 41–54; Fani 2013, 80–82; Schopen 2004, 19–21; the autographs are the manuscript that I call 'facsimile AM' with the aforementioned *Kitāb al-azhār*, owned by an anonymous private collector and reproduced by Şabbūḥ in his edition (al-Marrākušī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, ed. Şabbūḥ 2001); and Paris, BnF, Arabe 6915, a collection of extracts and summaries from Ğābir ibn Ḥayyān and two original works by al-Marrākušī about alchemy and astrology.

¹⁷ Fani 2013, 81; Schopen 2004, 20.

father was still alive.¹⁸ Despite having ruled in a time of constant wars and rebellions, they were both literate and patrons of scholars, poets and artists, who were part of their courts.¹⁹ It is still being debated whether one of them was the real author of the treatise or a scholar from their entourage composed the text and then dedicated or attributed it to one or both of the rulers as a form of gratitude or ennoblement.²⁰ This treatise saw an incredible distribution, being by far the most copied text about the arts of the book – it was still being copied in the twentieth century, in fact. It has three main recensions and the recipes recorded in them can be found in many other treatises, such as in *al-Muḥtaraʿ fī funūn*, in which the source is clearly stated.²¹

Al-Muḥtaraʿ fī funūn is also attributed to a highly literate ruler, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who governed the Rasulid state in Yemen from 647 AH / 1249 CE to 695 AH / 1295 CE. The Rasulid territory reached its maximum size during his reign, although overall this was a period of peace and stability. Many books on different subjects have been attributed to him, covering medicine, astronomy, theology, entertainment, and crafts and craftsmanship, of which *al-Muḥtaraʿ fī funūn* is an example. A large part of this treatise is dedicated to making books. Interestingly, the author's own skills are not reflected directly in this particular work; in fact, it is explicitly said in the introduction that he ordered every craftsman and expert to explain the techniques and secrets of their profession in their own words, which he then recorded.²²

The author of *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ*, al-Qalalūsī, had connections with the Nasrid court of Granada, especially to the secretary and later vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakīm al-Laḥmī al-Rundī (660–708 AH / 1261–1308 CE). Al-Qalalūsī was born in Estepona, close to Malaga in al-Andalus, in 607 AH / 1210 CE and died in the same place in 707 AH / 1308 CE. He was a renowned scholar of the Arabic language and an expert on grammar and philology in particular.²³

Although al-Rāzī was a teacher among other things, he did not openly dedicate his work to students. It is unclear whether al-Qalalūsī and al-Marrākuṣī were teachers, but their social position and ties make this seem very likely. In their texts, they made use of formulaic expressions suggesting they had a teaching

18 *EP*, s.v. 'Rasūlids'; the fact that father and son were both alive and ruling over the country, or part of it, when the text was composed may have created some confusion about the attribution of the work; Fani 2013, 50–53.

19 Fani 2013, 51–52.

20 Fani 2013, 52.

21 The author of *ʿUmdat* is referred to as the *ʿṣāḥib al-Mahdiyya*; Fani 2013, 53.

22 Fani 2013, 54–55.

23 Fani 2013, 133–134.

role, such as ‘learn it from us’ (al-Marrākušī), and al-Qalalūsī called a subchapter ‘Teachings about gall nuts’, for instance. These may simply have been rhetorical expedients, however. Similar formulaic expressions like ‘so learn this’ and ‘so understand this’ were used by al-Zarḥūrī in his *Kitāb zahr al-basātīn*.²⁴ Although the context is completely different, this being a handbook about tricks used by con-artists and street performers, he probably saw himself as a knowledgeable person entitled to teach his ‘colleagues’ some of the artifices he had already mastered himself.

Looking at the introductions of their respective texts, only al-Qalalūsī and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar specifically mentioned students (sg. *ṭālib*, pl. *ṭullāb*) among their intended readers. Al-Marrākušī’s position is probably the most interesting. He clearly stated how his work was not meant for those who are still learning, but then the formulaic expressions and terms he employed (e.g. ‘we used the tight mesh sieve of the chemists, to use the language of common people and of those who give familiar names to science’),²⁵ the extreme clarity and didactic description of the recipes, their structure and the way in which they were arranged make his work and his recipes the easiest to read, understand and replicate. This ease is not due to the intrinsic simplicity of the recipes, which can actually be quite complex, but to the description of every single passage and the amount of suggestions and tips he provides. This suggests the intention of teaching, but he was probably addressing an audience that was already erudite, fitting in with the intentions of the group of scholars that possibly commissioned this piece of writing from al-Marrākušī.²⁶ His target group was to be found among alchemists with various degrees of experience, probably the same audience of *manāfi*‘ and *ḥawāṣṣ*, such as the works of al-Sīmāwī, al-Ġildakī and al-Maġribī.

In contrast, the designated reader mentioned in *Zīnat al-kataba*, ‘*Umdat al-kuttāb* and *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ* belonged to the category of secretaries and scribes (sg. *kātib*, pl. *kuttāb*). The topics covered in the treatises seems to confirm this, as they would have been useful to members of the aforementioned category: *Zīnat*

²⁴ Raggetti 2016, 329–334.

²⁵ Recipe MH IV.2.d; Fani 2013, 114.

²⁶ The story that the author composed a certain work because others (friends, scholars, students, etc.) asked him to do so often appears in the introductions; it is a topos in Islamic literature. The possibility of it being genuine cannot be ruled out completely, however. The group is described by al-Marrākušī as ‘my brothers, who can be distinguished by the purity of their intellect and erudition’ (al-Marrākušī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, ed. Šabbūh 2001, 64, lines 4–5). It was possibly inspired by the Brethren of Purity, a secret society of philosophers formed in Basra in the eighth or tenth century and particularly connected to an esoteric dimension of knowledge and its transmission; Fani 2013, 157–158.

al-kataba contains recipes for black inks, invisible inks and paper treatments, methods to sharpen knives, erase writing and remove stains from clothes, and even some guides to performing rather unorthodox acts such as making forgeries, reading sealed documents and playing pranks on fellow scribes. Recipes about the dying of hair, which are not directly connected with the work of a secretary, are also part of the treatise. *Umdat al-kuttāb* also focuses on the tools and materials needed to make a book, from the description of the pens, to recipes for making coloured and metallic inks, to papermaking and bookbinding, while the removal of stains is not treated. *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ*, in contrast, has a clear focus on ink, describing black, coloured, metallic and invisible inks along with inks for different kinds of supports, some very specific ways to erase writing (for minor corrections, not whole palimpsests) and even preparing clay for children to use as writing surface. This last section suggests that al-Qalalūsī may also have had preceptors in mind as part of his intended audience in addition to the categories of students and *kuttāb* he mentioned specifically.

Students/apprentices (*tullāb*) and craftsmen (sg. *ṣānī*, pl. *ṣunnāʿ*) were the readers that al-Malik al-Muẓaffar had in mind.²⁷ Most of his treatise deals with arts and crafts concerned with bookmaking, such as making black, coloured, metallic and invisible inks, pens, erasure methods, glues, bookbinding and, in one recension, papermaking, with a few chapters dedicated to metallurgy and goldsmithing (possibly connected with gilding, tooling and bookbinding). Other subjects he covers are soap-making (used in the removal of stains), dying of clothes, and the engineering of siege weapons and war camps.²⁸ *Kātib* apprentices, and especially those intended to work as attachés to military figures, may have been the possible beneficiaries of such a wide range of technical skills.

3 Prerequisites for learning and teaching strategies

How the ink recipes are presented and arranged in the treatises can tell us more about the learning and teaching practises reflected in the text. The language, the ingredients and the equipment used can also reveal the prerequisites needed to understand the recipes and produce inks from them.

²⁷ Craftsmen are only mentioned in the introduction of the manuscript preserved in Hyderabad, which is also the extended recension (15 chapters); Fani 2013, 161.

²⁸ Fani 2013, 56–57; Gacek 2002.

As already mentioned, al-Marrākušī's text is highly structured: the inks are divided into chapters and subchapters according to their typology, their physical state, their colour and the techniques employed to obtain them. As an example, the iron gall inks (black *ḥibr*) are listed in Chapter 1 if they are in liquid form and in Chapter 2 if they are solid. Chapter 1 is divided into sections based on the technique used to obtain the tannins: 'sun inks' use maceration and fermentation, 'fire inks' use decoction, and 'shade inks' just use maceration. Most recipes assume that gall nuts are used. In view of this, the text describes some practical ways to produce tannin from alternative sources, giving a didactic cut to the exposition. Yet besides being very practical, the work is also of an experimental nature; as its contents come from previous sources, the author of the treatise takes time to identify the recipes by the name of the person who invented, used or transmitted them and then to verify their effectiveness empirically (or modify or recreate them in some cases). The text is full of tips, suggestions and warnings, all of which are helpful to someone unfamiliar with the materials and the processes involved, knowledge usually provided orally by a teacher.

Experimentation and didactical explanations can also be found in al-Qalalūsī's work, albeit to a lesser extent. Black inks are not differentiated as iron gall (*ḥibr*), carbon (*midād*) or mixed (*midād murakkab*), but are all called *midād* and are arranged according to their physical state (either liquid or solid) and then by the technique used to prepare them (by cooking, macerating or squeezing the ingredients). Al-Qalalūsī only mentions his sources occasionally.

A completely different situation can be observed in *Umdat al-kuttāb*, where the introduction outlines a logical division of the recipes into chapters based on typology and colour, which is not completely followed. For example, according to their titles, Chapters 4 should include exclusively coloured *ḥibr*, Chapter 5 *liqa* and Chapter 6 inks obtained by blending other inks together, but a mix of recipes from these categories can be found in all three chapters. No sources are ever mentioned. The didactic explanations are few and far between, and although the author of the treatise claims to have tested all the recipes himself, no additional suggestions, warnings or tips about them are provided.

Since the section of *al-Muḥtara' fi funūn* that is about ink is based on *Umdat al-kuttāb*, the same characteristics can be found in the treatise by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar.²⁹ Some extra recipes were added, however. They have all been put in the correct section and were probably part of a local tradition. It is worth noting, though, that every section was 'inspired' by a different artisan and craft, and that

²⁹ Fani 2013, 53.

the sections are not all of the same quality or detail; a local procedure for making paper is described much more precisely than the section on inks, for example.³⁰

The work by al-Rāzī stands out from the previous ink treatises as it consists of an extremely disordered text. This is surprising as the other works by this author are well structured, obviously following a clear methodological approach. This particular ink treatise, in contrast, seems to consist of two parts in which the same categories are repeated, and this, together with the absence of red ink recipes, may suggest that the only manuscript discovered does not reflect the original version. The recipes themselves are very succinct and, although they are quite simple, the inks require a considerable degree of skill to make.

Another relevant aspect of the recipes is the description of what equipment is needed to make ink. The authors of the treatises are consistent in this point: the more orderly and didactical texts, such as *Kitāb al-azhār* and *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ*, offer precise and exhaustive descriptions and explanations, while the less detailed ones, such as *Zīnat al-kataba* and *Umdat al-kuttāb*, mention the equipment by name, thereby assuming that the reader knows what the item is and how it is used. *Al-Muḥtara' fī funūn* varies, though, depending on the section and recipe under examination.

According to my research, almost no memorisation aids can be found in these treatises: so far, only one recipe in verse form has been found, which is in two late manuscripts of *Umdat al-kuttāb*.³¹ The recipe is especially relevant since it is also the only one to include the ink's price, which, in my opinion, links it more to the environment of ink artisans and sellers (*ḥabbārūn*) than to that of secretaries and copyists. The use of didactic poems in a teaching context is well attested in Arabic literature, and a fair number of medical and alchemical recipes in verse form have survived.³² The extreme scarcity of written records of didactic poems about ink-making, however, does not rule out the possibility that they were employed orally by teachers and students in a learning environment.

³⁰ Gacek 2002.

³¹ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lbg 637, fol. 14v and Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. orient. A 1355, fols 16^v–17^r. Considering the recipes and their order, and even some of the annotations in the margin, the manuscripts seems to share part of the transmission line.

³² Sobieroj 2016, 3–4.

4 Production and use of the manuscripts

The manuscripts studied (see Table in Appendix) have different characteristics due to them being produced in different areas and at various times, but they do have some common traits that may suggest a similar context of production and usage.

Despite the treatises covering different subjects (religion, natural sciences, magic, alchemy, astrology, arts, etc.), the manuscripts share similar aspects: none of them are lavishly decorated and usually only two colours are used in the text: black or brown for the main text, and red or purple for the titles, important words and highlights (which are marked by a line above the text). Whenever only one colour is used, a pen with a bigger nib was employed to emphasise the sections of the text. The same goes for the decoration: if present, it is simple, consisting of dots, circles, drop-shaped drawings, rarely flowers, and it is mostly used to mark the end of sections or sentences, fill the lines left partially empty by the end of the text, or embellish the titles of a new chapter and make them stand out more. In a few cases, i.e. in Or. 326, DaK 46 and We II 1375, some functional illustrations and diagrams are present, most likely drawn by the copyist of the main text, as suggested by the use of the same inks.³³ Since the majority of the preserved manuscripts are late productions, they have mostly been written on European paper. Their size range is 180–220 mm × 120–170 mm, and judging by the position of the laid and chain lines, they are mostly in quarto.³⁴ The combination of these characteristics precludes the possibility that these books were copied for representative reasons, such as making gifts and donations or showing off one's power and prestige. In actual fact, they were personal manuscripts, most likely copied by the very same people who needed to use them, as it says in the colophon of Arabe 6844 (fol. 131).³⁵

They also share a reasonably standardised appearance: the one-column text block is mostly regular – with some exceptions, as can be seen in the indented

³³ The manuscripts mentioned are a copy of *al-Muḥtara' fī funūn* by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (Or. 326), of *Tanwīr al-ġayāhib fī aḥkām dawāt al-dawā'ib*, a treatise attributed to al-Qalalūsī (DaK 46) and of *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-ḥaqā'iq wa-īdāḥ al-ṭarā'iq* by Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī, also known as al-Sīmāwī (We II 1375). Spaces were left in Arabe 2776, possibly for diagrams or drawings that were to be added later.

³⁴ It should not be forgotten, however, that trimming the margins can change the size drastically, especially if it happens more than once due to new bindings.

³⁵ The manuscript, a copy of *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ* by al-Qalalūsī, was donated later, according to the marks of *waqf* visible in the margins: 'ḥubisa' on fols 112^v–113^r and 'ḥabūs' on fol. 122^v.

frame in fol. 3^v of Or. 326 (Fig. 1). The lines tend to be straight and some attention is paid to the aesthetical value of the page (in Or. 326, some calligraphic titles are present; in We II 1375, some decorative drawings can be found at the end of some lines, and in Dak 46, red, green and yellow inks were used to highlight the titles and important words in the text). There are only a few corrections and marginal notes, most of which are in the hand of the same copyist of the main text.

As for the aggregation of texts, single-text manuscripts (STM), such as Lbg 157, We II 1375 and DaK 6, and composite manuscripts can mainly be found.³⁶ The latter are often characterised by texts added to a core consisting of one codicological unit in which several texts have been copied together, such as Arabe 2776 and Arabe 6844. The subject of the texts found in multiple texts and composite manuscripts built around a central core reinforces the idea of customers who possessed great technical skill themselves since the ink treatises were mostly joined to texts on scientific subjects to do with alchemy: for example, the astronomical pages placed at the end of *al-Muḥtaraʿ fi funūn* in Or. 326, the mineralogical and medical texts surrounding another version of the same text in Arabe 2776, and the medical ones accompanying a copy of *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ* in Arabe 6844.³⁷ The fact that the original ink treatises are incomplete or have been summarised suggests a selection aimed at satisfying the specific needs of the commissioner. In Or. 326, for example, only the parts pertaining to books and writing have been copied, while Chapter 6 (on glue and gilding), 8 (on dying silk) and 10 (on metallurgy and goldsmithing) are missing.³⁸ In other cases – e.g. Pm II 30 – the grouping of the texts seems to be more arbitrary.

Some manuscripts are slightly different, however, being more personalised and showing traces of practical use. One of them is Lbg 637, a single-text manuscript of *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb* by Ibn Bādīs copied in 1228 AH / 1813 CE, probably in Ottoman Syria or Egypt. Its size is 215 × 160 mm, like the more standardised

36 I am well aware that any recipe book can be considered a multiple-text manuscript (MTM) since the individual recipes often come from different sources and have been grouped together to form a treatise or a simple list. In this paper, however, I decided to focus on the organic structure of the treatises and therefore regarded them as complete units or single texts.

37 The text in Arab 2776 is mentioned as an excerpt of *al-Muḥtaraʿ fi funūn* by both Schopen and Fani (Schopen 2004, 24; Fani 2013, 53), while it is indexed in Gallica as a collection of medical recipes by Ibn Rasūl al-Ġassānī. The titles of the chapters and their order do not correspond to those in the edition or other manuscripts, but some ink recipes are included. The title and author have been added by a different hand in the upper margin of fol. 72^v where the text begins. It is debatable whether it is a heavily modified recension of *al-Muḥtaraʿ fi funūn* or this is simply an erroneous attribution.

38 The recension referred to is the one in ten chapters; see Fani 2013, 56–57.

manuscripts previously mentioned. It stands out because of some notes written in the margins in the same hand and ink as the main text: most of them are additional recipes copied from different sources. The recipe in the margin of fol. 13^v (Fig. 2) is one such text, for example: it says that the note in the antigraph was written in the hand of the painter (illuminator) and that he got the recipe from a scribe called Şadr al-Dīn who, in turn, received it from his own father.³⁹ The scribe who produced Lbg 637 also copied the comments of the painter, who had tried it out and found that there was nothing better.

What is also noticeable here is the lack of consistency in the density of the text, which starts with neat, regular rows, but changes towards the end, as some pages are overcrowded; perhaps the copyist was running out of paper at this point and decided he had to condense the rest of the writing by doubling the number of lines on the pre-ruled pages. Another odd feature is the presence of two encrypted notes added at the end of the text (on fol. 39^{rv}) after the book's production, followed by two ciphered alphabets which use other symbols than those in the notes. Although the code has not been decrypted yet, the second note is only partially encrypted and seems to contain a recipe (Fig. 3): the readable words are common ones in such texts, such as *şifa* ('description'/ 'recipe') and *zulāl al-bayḍ* ('egg white'). Interestingly, many treatises include recipes for invisible inks and ciphered alphabets (e.g. Lbg 157 and We II 1375); the latter were often added at the end if they were not already part of the treatise. It is possible that secretaries (people required to write correspondence, sometimes of a secret nature) could have been the main beneficiaries of such knowledge. In any case, the finding of encrypted notes is rare compared to ciphered alphabets. In this respect, the notes in Lbg 637 attest that this technique was actually employed.

Finally, the presence of some greenish fingerprints in the margins – a colour not used in the book – suggests practical use (Fig. 4). The fingerprints can be found in the margins of some of the folios and on the fore-edge, as if somebody leafed through the pages with dirty hands. Material analyses of the colour have identified orpiment and indigo as the main components of the more visible stain left on fol. 17^r and a recipe of a green *liqa* mentioning the ingredients detected has

³⁹ The scribe transmitting the recipe could have been Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā al-Kātib, who is mentioned as the author of the marginal note concerning vitriol solution found on fol. 8^r of the same manuscript. He is also mentioned by al-Kindī concerning a recipe about falsification, but nothing more is known about him; Schopen 2004, 205. There are even fewer clues to help us identify 'the painter'.

been found on its verso, thus suggesting that the user was searching for that corresponding passage while working.⁴⁰

Another peculiar manuscript is Spr 1918, a single-text manuscript with the text of *Kitāb al-Iṣāba fī lawāzīm al-kitāba* attributed to Šams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥair Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ġazarī (751 AH / 1350 CE–833 AH / 1429 CE).⁴¹ It was probably copied in the eighteenth century, although the first and last folios were replaced later, and it stands out because of its compact size, 155 × 107 mm. It also shows ample traces of use: the pages were so worn and torn, even in the written part, that they needed to be repaired and rewritten. Greyish flakes can be found over the entire page of fol. 27^v and have been identified as an amalgam of mercury, sulphur, silver and zinc by scientific analysis. In the *Kitāb al-Iṣāba*, there are two recipes that describe how to obtain a silver-like ink by using mercury and how to dissolve silver in order to write with it.⁴² The flakes could be traces of the production of those metallic inks or even the residue of an alchemical test, suggesting that the handbook was lying close to where such work was being performed.

On a different note, Pm II 30 is a composite manuscript, which may have been used for teaching purposes. The dimensions of this manuscript are different to the ones seen so far, being 170 × 130 mm, possibly due to the paper that was employed; in fact, it was not copied on European paper, but on various types of Islamic paper. The manuscript consists of several codicological units dating to between the eleventh and sixteenth century. The older codicological units, found in the manuscript from fol. 30^r, are mainly lectures about *ḥadīṯ* together with their certificates of attendance (sg. *samā'*, pl. *samā'āt*). The codicological unit placed at the beginning of the volume is the youngest and was probably copied around the end of the sixteenth century or somewhat earlier, since the paper employed – the Islamic type with chain lines grouped in threes, produced and used mostly in Egypt and the Mediterranean Middle East – was rarely used after 1550.⁴³ This

⁴⁰ I analysed the inks and paper used in this manuscript in September 2017 together with Dr Olivier Bonnerot and under the supervision of Prof. Oliver Hahn. We also examined the inks and paper in Spr 1918, Pm II 30 and Pet 637 using X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF), Raman Spectroscopy, Visible Spectroscopy and Diffuse Reflectance Infrared Fourier Transform Spectroscopy (DRIFTS). The results are discussed in Colini 2018, 124–131.

⁴¹ According to Ahlwardt, the text is incomplete (Ahlwardt 1887, vol.1, 6, nr 6). Since it is the only copy of this text that has survived, it is hard to say if and what is missing. For more information about this text, see Raggetti 2019, 201–206.

⁴² Recipe 13 and 18 respectively; Raggetti 2019, 223 and 226.

⁴³ Ahlwardt suggests the unit was copied around 1000 AH / 1591 CE (Ahlwardt 1887, vol. 1, 5, n. 2); Déroche claims that 'after 1550, non-watermark papers with chain-lines grouped in twos or

codicological unit consists of a work about writing techniques, including a few ink recipes (*Lamḥat al-muḥtaṭif fī šināʿat al-ḥaṭṭ al-ṣalif*), and a collection of passages in prose and poetry about the arts of the book. At the end of the first text (fol. 17^v), the scribe reported the note found in the exemplar he used, stating that the copyist of that manuscript, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿil b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammād al-Buqāʿī al-Šāfiʿī, and his friend, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Ḥumsī al-Ḥanbalī, heard the work from the author, Ḥusain b. Yāsīn b. Muḥammād al-Kātib, in the Šālīḥiyah district of Damascus in 781 AH / 1379 CE.⁴⁴ This suggests that the work was taught orally and written down by one of the pupils or attendants at the lecture, although it is unclear whether it was a public or private lesson. To my knowledge, this manuscript is the only one containing ink recipes that clearly refers to the most typical transmission method used in Arab-Islamic culture. Moreover, in the introduction of the work, the author pointed out that he had composed it because his students had asked him to.⁴⁵ If the antigraph was most likely produced in a teaching context, there is no evidence about the use of this part of Pm II 30 in lessons or public hearings. It is possible, however, that the codex itself was a textbook that belonged to a student or teacher, since the other texts in the manuscript were compiled during lectures and that they were read aloud multiple times through decades, according to the dates of the certificates of attendance. It is also possible that combining a treatise about writing with a collection of religious texts would not be accidental, as all the arts related to writing have a strong connection with the divine in Islamic culture.

Ink recipes also appear in the form of collections, which have different textual and codicological characteristics than the treatises. The collections are lists of recipes and are of different lengths, ranging from one page to several leaves, but they normally fit on a single quire. No title and author are mentioned, and they have no introductions or chapter divisions either, although the individual recipes they contain are introduced by a title, which is highlighted most of the time. They seem to be the result of the compiler collecting and selecting texts and deciding that a certain number of recipes were worth being copied and kept as unbound leaves or as part of a multiple-text manuscript, with or without any

three are no longer found' (Déroche 2006, 57), but at least one other manuscript dating to 1001 AH / 1592 CE has been copied on this type of paper (Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Or. 114 bis); Colini 2008, 94.

⁴⁴ Ahlwardt 1887, vol. 1, 5, n. 2. The author of the text is recorded as Ḥusain b. Yāsīn b. Muḥammad ad-Dimašqī in *GAL S*, vol. 2, 1033.

⁴⁵ See note 26 in this paper.

close connection to the other texts that are part of the manuscript.⁴⁶ The collections copied on unbound leaves or single quires often ended up in composite manuscripts later in their lives.

An example of a collection with a functional relationship to the other texts in the manuscript can be found on pp. 188–194 of BAU 248.⁴⁷ In this manuscript, recipes for making luxury inks have been copied at the end of a treatise about Qur’anic orthography, all written down by the same scribe as the one who copied the main text in 743 AH / 1342 CE. It is possible that the recipes were added for the practical benefit of the intended reader, as the subject matter of the treatise is congruous with the act of copying the Qur’an itself, often a lavish manuscript. It is impossible to know if the association between the two texts existed previously or how long they were copied together. The fact that the scribe was unfamiliar with the terminology used in the recipes – many of the technical words have been misspelt – and that some of the recipes are incomplete suggests that he did not edit the recipes himself, but copied them incorrectly from an antigraph or wrote from dictation (hence the spelling mistakes).

A collection of recipes inserted in a codex with an unclear connection to the other texts in it can be found on fol. 183^v of Pet 684. This big personal composite manuscript (193 folios of 260 × 165 mm) was put together in the first half of the eighteenth century by somebody with a wide range of interests. This person collected texts from many older manuscripts, supplemented those that were in a fragmentary state, filled margins and empty spaces with passages he (or she) considered to be related, and tried to give the book the shape and appearance of a unified editorial project by trimming the margins or adding paper leftovers of (almost) matching colour in order to have pages of the same dimensions. The list of recipes predates the eighteenth-century intervention – the hand and the codicological characteristics of the paper are clearly different to those of the eighteenth-century editor – but no watermark is present that could help us date it. It consists of the two sides of a single leaf and seems to be an extract from *al-Muḥtara’ fi funūn*. On the recto there are descriptions of three black inks (two types of *midād* and one *hibr*) as well as a ‘golden’ one; on the verso there are recipes for *liqa* (two reds and a golden ink, a yellow one, a green one and a white ink), the description of a solution of gum arabic to add to the aforementioned

⁴⁶ See Baroni and Travaglio 2016, 33–51 on methods of forming recipes books. They describe methods of aggregation and reduction of texts. In the case of the collection of recipes I dealt with, reduction methods are applied more often, while both typologies can be observed in the formation of the treatises.

⁴⁷ Raggetti 2016, 306–320.

preparation and a last black instant ink (*hibr*). The latter was probably added by the copyist shortly after he finished the list. In fact, the layout is slightly different, but the ink coincides with the one used in the main text according to scientific analysis and the hand seems to be the same one as well (Fig. 5). The selected recipes are simple and require relatively inexpensive, readily available ingredients; the golden inks are prepared by using gold surrogates, such as saffron, safflower and realgar, for example. They seem to represent a very personal selection of favourites, organised in a subjective order which completely disregards the original one in *al-Muhtaraʿ fi funūn*.

In We 221 the collection was added at the end of a composite manuscript with a variety of texts: the dimensions of the leaves (fols 110^v–112^r) are smaller and the hand compiling the list is clearly a different one to those appearing in the codex. In this case, however, there are no clues about who added those leaves to the book and when. The list seems to be a selection and synthesis of the coloured ink recipes recorded in the *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-ḥaqāʾiq* by al-ʿIrāqī, known as al-Simāwī, but this time the order is kept, although with some omissions. This extract is also an exception since the titles of the recipes are written in coloured inks other than red (a blue and a greyish ink which may originally have been silver), although they do not correspond with the colours mentioned in the recipes (Fig. 6). The same red and greyish inks are present on the following pages along with a green one, highlighting and embellishing the secret alphabets and the magical squares written there.

The pages clearly have a horizontal fold in the middle of them, as if they were reduced in size in order to fit the dimensions of a smaller book or a pocket or sleeve.⁴⁸ The portable size might indicate practical usage, but it is speculative to suggest this merely on the basis of such a fold.⁴⁹

Recipes can also be found as single entries on flyleaves or at the end of different texts, with or without a connection to the texts they follow. For example, a recipe for an iron gall ink was added on fol. 18^v of Pm II 30 (Fig. 7), the verso of the last folio of the treatise about calligraphy and right before the beginning of the text collecting literary passages about writing that were described before. Since both the hand and the ink used for writing the recipe for the iron gall ink

⁴⁸ The same traces of folding appear in manuscript A 1388. In this case, however, it is impossible to say whether the text in these leaves was a selection of recipes, only a part of which is left today, if some pages (or a quire) were removed deliberately from a codex and then stored folded, or if the fate of being folded followed when the manuscript was already fragmented.

⁴⁹ The circulation of recipe books and collections of recipes in unbound quires has been demonstrated by Baroni and Travaglio; see Baroni and Travaglio 2016, 51–57.

on fol. 18^v are the same as those used for the texts from fols 1^r–18^v and fols 19^r–29^r, the recipe may already have been present in the model that the scribe copied and was added by aggregation.⁵⁰ Alternatively, the scribe may have decided to add a recipe he already knew, differing from the one for a mixed ink he copied on fols 15^v–16^r, as he had some space left at the end of the first treatise. The schematic layout used in this text to list the ingredients and their amounts is unusual, but not unique. In a recipe added in the margin of fol. 14^r in Lbg 637, for example, they are listed in violet after the title in a way such that each entry forms a triangle with the name of the ingredient highlighted by a line above it at the top and the amount – in ciphers – at the bottom.

A case of recipes with no obvious relation to the main text can be exemplified by the two recipes of *hibr* written at the end of an anonymous commentary on a treatise about astrology and astronomy found in Add 7840. The recipes on fol. 48^r were probably written by the same scribe as the one who copied the main text, that is Yaḥyā al-Mawṣili ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muṣṭafā ibn Ḥasan.⁵¹

5 Conclusions

After making a close study of all the recipes mentioned and having experimented with the practical replication of some of them, I can say that the recipes do, indeed, offer all the information required to produce inks, albeit with varying degrees of clarity and feasibility.⁵² In *Kitāb al-azhār* and *Tuḥaf al-ḥawāṣṣ*, for example, the procedures for preparing them are clearly described and tips and recommendations are often given, while *Zinat al-kataba* simply provides a list of procedures for more experienced users.

I rarely encountered recipes whose chemistry was incorrect; whenever I came across mistakes, it was usually in the case of invisible inks or when errors occurred during the stage of copying.⁵³ Lack of information was a more common

⁵⁰ This mode of aggregation in which a recipe book is enlarged by adding progressively individual entries at the beginning or end is described as ‘per teste e code’ in Baroni and Travaglio 2016, 57–58.

⁵¹ See Raggetti 2016, 298–300 for an analysis of the texts.

⁵² Details about the replication of these specific recipes can be found in Colini 2018, 59–95. On the use of replication in the study of ink recipes, see Colini 2021, Raggetti 2021, 162 and 182–183, Raggetti 2019, 228–238, Zekrgoo 2014, 134–145, Fani 2013, 285–296 and Biddle 2011, 18–24.

⁵³ Details on how replication can help in finding and amending these errors can be found in Colini 2021, 134–141.

problem, however, either because it was assumed that the reader would refer to other parts of the same treatise or that they were already familiar with the missing data; omissions of the second kind often occurred in the description of utensils and other workshop equipment. In general, it seems that information that was considered obvious tended to be omitted or was only mentioned a few times. The recipes for carbon inks are possibly less detailed than others for this reason, especially when it comes to the procedure for mixing carbon with the binder, unlike recipes for iron gall and mixed (carbon-iron gall) inks. Another possibility is that carbon inks were readily available to buy.

Regardless of the practical usability of the treatises, my analysis of the texts indicates that teaching was the declared intent of at least some of their authors, such as al-Malik al-Muḏaffar and al-Qalalūsi. In al-Marrākuṣi's case, this can be inferred by his writing style and the recipes' structure. Only al-Rāzi and Ibn Bādīs appear to have written for experienced users.

Whatever the case, secretaries and scholars were the main intended audience, both trainees and professionals. This can be inferred by the absence of all the tips, tricks and know-how related to a craftsman's work, such as the correct posture that an ink-maker should adopt in order to speed up his work and suffer less fatigue. This kind of knowledge is likely to have been part of the oral tradition of education and training.

Despite the previous considerations, there are no clues in any of the examined manuscripts that indicate they were used for teaching, except for the copied note on fol. 17^r of Pm II 30. The more standard volumes may have been employed as self-instruction instruments, but the absence of any comments, corrections and variations of the recipes suggests they were only used occasionally. Lbg 637 and Spr 1918 were probably mnemonic aids consulted in difficult cases, but they were not manuals for learning. This theory is even more plausible for those manuscripts sporting a short selection of recipes, such as Pet 684: one possible scenario is that such shortlists were created as unbound leaves, personal notes for ready use that only became part of the manuscripts later on.

Although the more important and better-known treatises about ink production have been considered in this article, I analysed only a small number of manuscripts. For this reason, the results presented here should only be regarded as the beginning of a wider and deeper study that will need to be done in future. This would greatly benefit from the scholarly community focusing its attention more on the subject of technical literature.

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Abbreviations

- EI*² P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, online, Leiden: Brill
<referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>.
- GAL* Carl Brockelmann (1898–1902), *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols, Weimar: Emil Felber.
- GAL*² Carl Brockelmann (1943–1948), *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, second edition, 2 vols, Leiden: Brill.
- GAL S* Carl Brockelmann (1937–1942), *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplementbände*, 3 vols, Leiden: Brill.

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Table 1: List of manuscripts [MTM = Multiple-Text Manuscript; STM = Single-Text Manuscript; comp. = composite].

Siglum	Shelfmark	Author	Title	Type of MS	Type of work(s)	Date of copy	Place of copy
BAU 248	Beirut, American University, Hürî 248	Abū ‘Amr ‘Uṭmān b. Sa‘īd al-Dānī	<i>al-Muqni’ fi rasm al-Qur’ān</i>	MTM	Main text: orthography of the Qur’an Collection of ink recipes (pp. 188–194)	743 AH / 1342 CE	unknown
Lbg 157	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lbg 157	‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamīr b. ‘Alī b. Aydamīr al-Ġildakī	<i>Durrat al-ğawwāṣ wa-kanz al-iḥtiṣāṣ fi ‘ilm al-ḥawāṣṣ</i>	STM	Treatise on the property of substances	1763 CE	unknown
Lbg 637	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lbg 637	al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs al-Tamīmī al-Ṣanhāġī	<i>‘Umdat al-kuttāb wa-‘uddat ḡawī al-albāb</i> (second recension)	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book	1228 AH / 1813 CE	Ottoman Syria or Egypt?
Pet 684	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Pet 684	al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ṣams al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Ġassānī	No title; extract from: <i>al-Muḫtara’ fi funūn min al-ṣunā’</i>	comp.	Miscellany Collection of ink recipes (fol. 183 ^{rv})	undated; 18 th c. CE	unknown
Pm II 30	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Pm II 30	Ḥusain b. Yāsīn b. Muḥammād al-Kātib	<i>Lamḥat al-muḥtafiḥ fi ṣinā‘at al-ḥaṭṭ al-ṣalīf</i>	MTM + comp.	Treatise on the art of writing (fols 1’–18’) + one additional ink recipe (fol. 18 ^v), possibly by the same hand Text on the arts of the book; hadith lectures	2 nd half or end of the 16 th c. CE	Syria?

Siglum	Shelfmark	Author	Title	Type of MS	Type of work(s)	Date of copy	Place of copy
Spr 1918	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Spr 1918	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ġazarī	<i>Kitāb al-Aṣāba fī lawāzīm al-kitāba</i>	STM	Treatise on the art of writing	18 th c. CE	Persia?
We 221	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, We 221	Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī, <i>known as</i> al-Sīmāwī	No title; extract from: <i>Kitāb Uyūn al-ḥaqqā'iq wa-īǧdāḥ al-ṭarā'iq</i>	comp.	Miscellany Collection of ink recipes (fols 110 ^v -112)	18 th c. CE	unknown
We II 1375	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, We II 1375	Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī <i>known as</i> al-Sīmāwī	<i>Kitāb Uyūn al-ḥaqqā'iq wa-īǧdāḥ al-ṭarā'iq</i>	STM	Treatise on occult science	693 AH / 1556 CE	unknown
Sim 17 / DaK 6	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Sim. 17 / Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, ṣinā'a Taimūr, 6	al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs al-Tamīmī al-Ṣanḥāǧī	<i>'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat ḡawī al-albāb</i> (third recension)	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book	undated	unknown
DaK 331	Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Maǧāmi' ǧal'at 331	Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Razī	<i>Zīnat al-kataba</i>	MTM + comp.	Handbook for secretaries (fols 79 ^r -84 ^v)	907 AH / 1502 CE	Persia or Turkey?
DaK 46	Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 'ulūm ma'āsiyya 46	unknown; attributed to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qalālūsī al-Andalusī	<i>Tanwīr al-ḡayāhib fī aḥkām ḡawāt al-ḡawā'ib</i>	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book Addition of recipes (same hand?)	main text: 859 AH / 1455 CE; add.: 869 AH / 1465 CE	Maghreb / al-Andalus
A 1355	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. Orient. A 1355	al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs al-Tamīmī al-Ṣanḥāǧī	<i>'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat ḡawī al-albāb</i> (third recension)	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book	1167 AH / 1754 CE	Turkey?

Siglum	Shelfmark	Author	Title	Type of MS	Type of work(s)	Date of copy	Place of copy
A 1358	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. Orient. A 1358	al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs al-Tamīmī al-Šanhāğī	<i>Umdat al-kuttāb wa-uddat dawī al-albāb</i> (2nd recension)	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book	undated	unknown
Or:326	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Or. 326	al-Malik al-Muzaffar Šams al-Dīn Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Ġassānī	<i>al-Muğtara' fī funūn min al-šunā'</i>	STM	Treatise on the arts of the book and other crafts	undated	unknown
Add 7840	London, British Library, Add. 7840	unknown	<i>Šarḥ al-muğtašar fī ma'rifat at-taqāwīm</i>	STM	Astronomy 2 ink recipes at the end (fol. 48 ^v)	1174 AH / 1761 CE	unknown
Arabe 2776	Paris, BnF, arabe 2776	al-Malik al-Muzaffar Šams al-Dīn Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Ġassānī	<i>al-Muğtara' fī funūn min aš-šunā'</i>	MTM + comp.	Minerology and medicine	16 th c. CE	unknown
Arabe 6844	Paris, BnF, arabe 6844	Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qalalūsī al-Andalūsī	<i>Tuḥaf al-ḥawāšš fī tuḥaf al-ḥawāšš</i>	MTM + comp.	Treatise on the arts of the book and other crafts (fols 72 ^v –103 ^v) Medicine Treatise on inks (fols 112–131)	986 AH / 1579 CE	Maghreb / al-Andalus
facsimile AM	private collection (published in al-Marrākušī, Kitāb al-Azhār, ed. Šabbūḥ 2001)	Muḥammad b. Maymūn b. 'Imrān al-Marrākušī al-Ḥimyarī	<i>Kitāb al-azhār 'amal al-aḥbār</i>	STM	Treatise on inks	649 AH / 1251 CE	Madrasa Mustanširiya Baghdad

وقعت السكين على حزن التبريت فلا يجي الفوط جيد او المقلط
 اولي للقط وان كان صفه البواه يسبح ان يكون البواه من
 خشب واعلاها ثنوا وتكون واسعة البحر البطن مما تسع منه اقلام
 ثنالا على جودة البروي ومقط على نحو ما وصفناه وتكون تام الطول
 ليقبض عليه يسهل ثم نحنا منه رؤس ثنتين البروي وسكين الفوط ونحو ذلك
 البواه وتكون رأس البواه موضع اللبقة مدور غير مربع لان المربع
 يجمع المباد عند ملتقا اطلاق تربيعة فلا تسع عليه يركب فيركب
 هناك وبطول يكتم فيفسد ونصوله ربح مننته ونصير لونه به الك
الفصل الثاني في عمل اخناس المباد وعمل الاحبار السود والاحبار المقونه
 صفه ممداد صوفي اخذنا شيت من نوى التهم جعله في قله وطبخ على فيها
 والتهاني تنور حامي بود ولبه حتى يحترق ثم اخرجته فاذا ابرد فحما اقله واخرجت
 النوى وقد صار سلا الزماد فصعقه سمحا وتجمه حرقه صقيه ثم اخذ صمغاً تصعبه
 واحمله اقراصاً وتجففه في الظل حتى يصير اربنا الله تعالى **صفه ممداد قرشي**
 من النوى انما صبح واحمله اقراصاً وحففه في الظل حتى يجيد ان شاء الله تعالى
 واحمله اقراصاً حتى يجيد ان شاء الله تعالى **صفه ممداد قرشي** من كوفي يوجد
 حرقه عصف رومي يحرق حتى يصير نجما اصعبه ما الصبح واحمله اقراصاً وحففه في
 الظل حتى يجيد ان شاء الله تعالى **صفه ممداد قرشي** يوجد الشفانق المحشي في القارور
 من القوارير الباقا في تدبش في سرجين المداوب حتى تنوب وينوب حتى يصير
 ثم يعيد الى القوارير حتى يحرق ويجمع ما احترق منها فذلكه الماد المرح في الظل الى ان يجف
 ويوجد منه وزن درهمين ومن ما الصبح القوي وزن درهمين ومن العنق المحشي نصف درهم
 ثم سحق الجميع بها من البيض ويندق ويخفف كما ذكرناه ويغش بها السلق ويخففه
 البواه **صفه ممداد يفتق** للملوك تصعبه للمابعه والسيدروس واللاذات ان شاء
 الله تعالى او منفرقه حتى يجمع دنانها في اناء خروف جببها او ما اشبهه بما يلقى به البزبان
 فانه يكون له سواد وتقليم وقد يعطرين الزنت من دخانها ايضا ومن دخان الكبريت ايضا
 وان اردت ان لا تغش اللبقة في البواه ولا يكون لها راحة عند المباد واحمله وانا
 فحش عليه ما صافها قدر ما يجتم ثم صنفه من ما به وتبدل الماء عليه بلته ايا مرتين
 صنفه في المادون حتى يصير مثل الغرائر ثم ارضعه لوت الحاجة اليه اذ اسحق يخل منه ما

Fig. 1: Indented frame; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Or. 326, fol. 3^v; © Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.

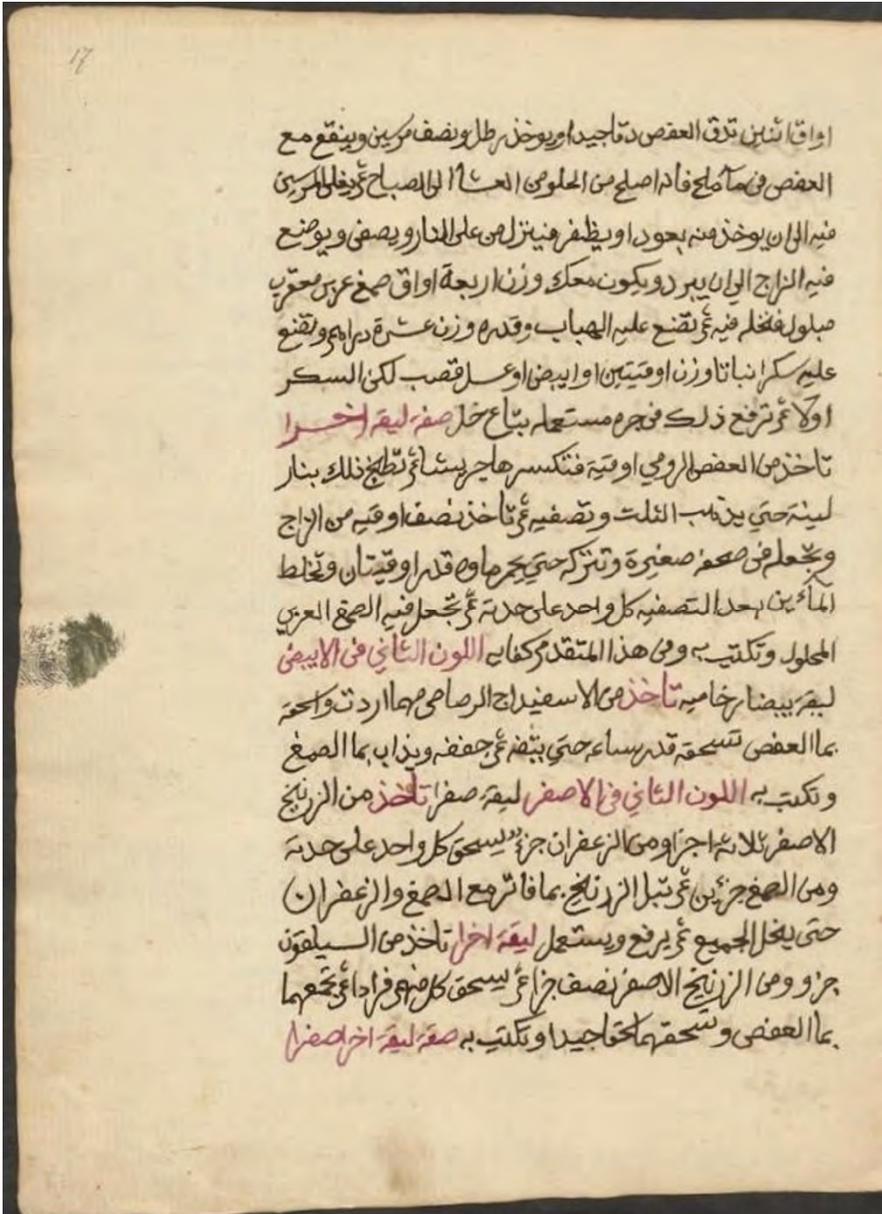


Fig. 4: Coloured fingerprint on the left margin; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Landberg 637 (Lbg 637), fol. 17; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

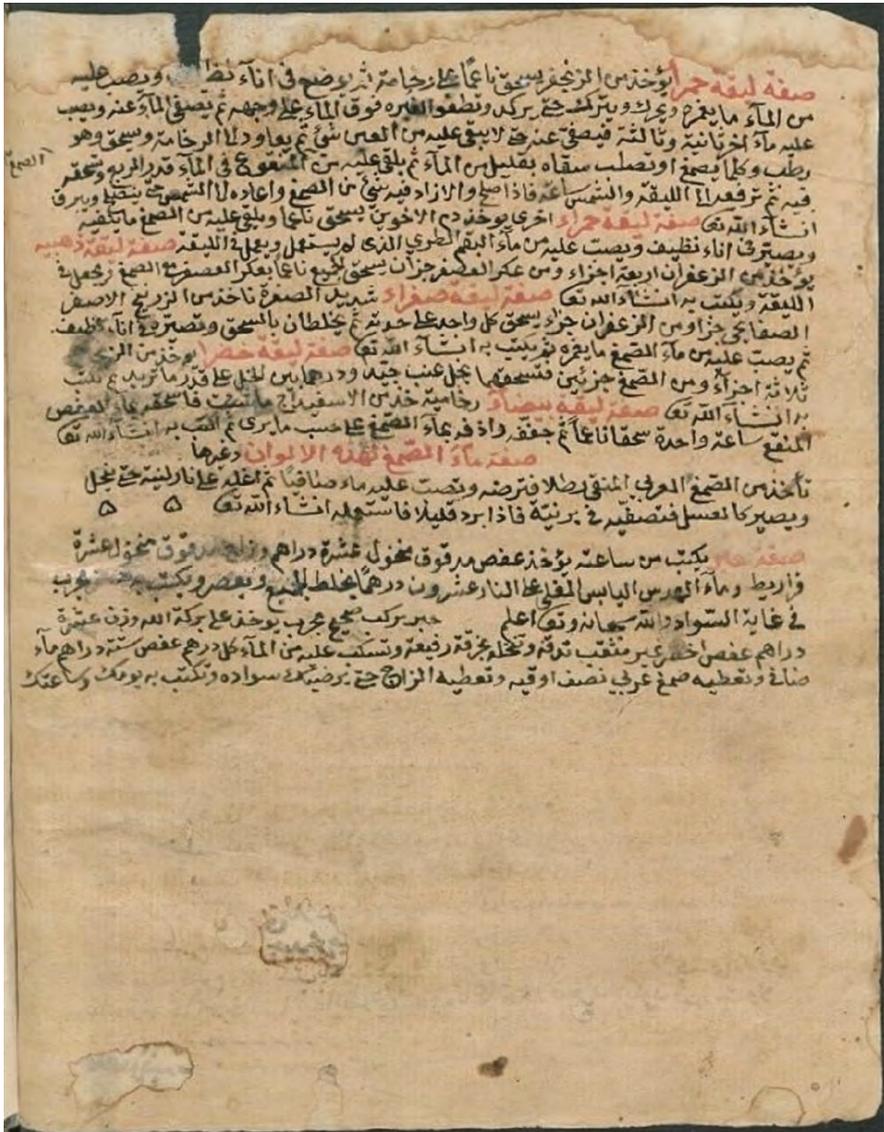


Fig. 5: Recipes for coloured *liqāt* followed by a recipe for a black instant ink; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann 684 (Pet 684), fol. 183^v; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.



Fig. 6: Recipes with titles written in various coloured inks; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Wetzstein 221 (We 221), fol. 111'; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

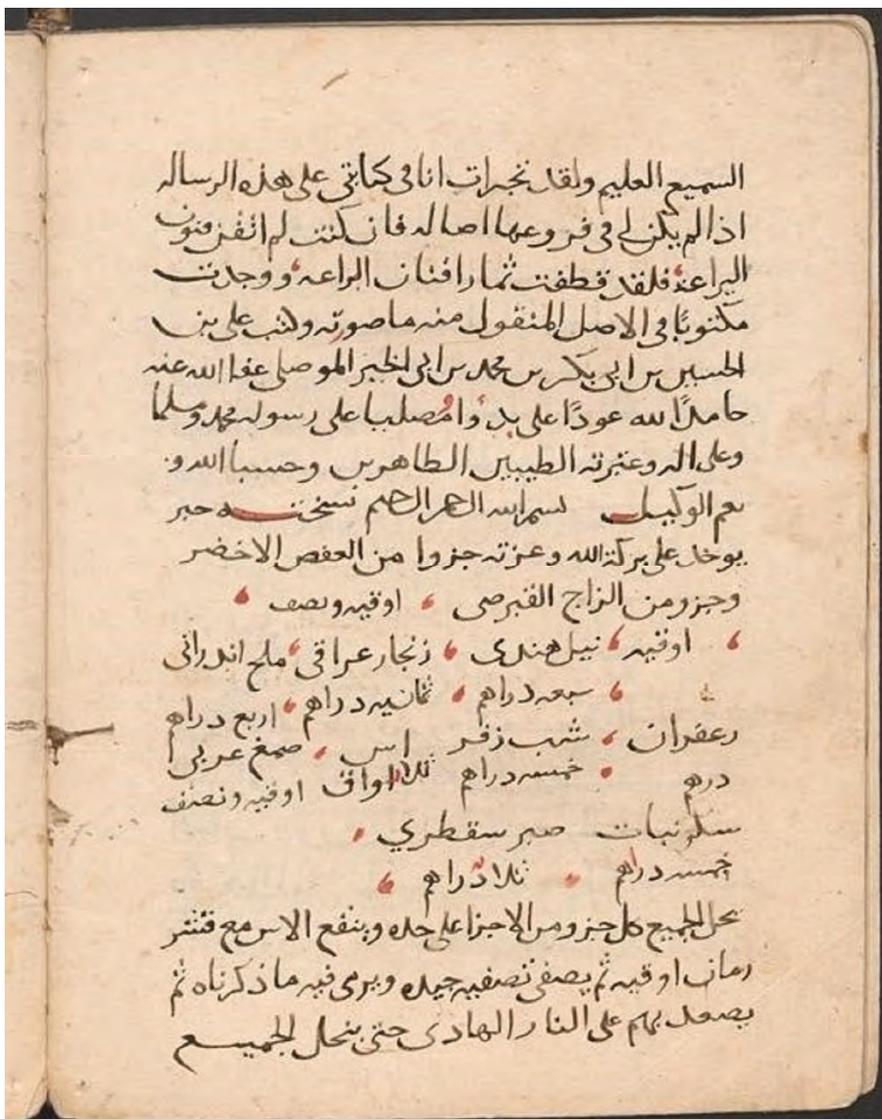


Fig. 7: Recipe for an iron gall ink with a schematic layout added at the end of a treatise written by the same copyist; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann II 30 (Pm II 30), fol. 18^v; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

Darya Ogorodnikova

'I Heard it from my Teacher': Reflections on the Transmission of Knowledge in Islamic Manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali

Abstract: This article is concerned with Islamic manuscripts from the wider Senegambia region in which the main text is in Arabic and the annotations are in Arabic and in one or more local languages. By examining these annotations closely, it becomes evident that local scholars developed an elaborate system of explaining and commenting on the texts. This included making references to the sources from which the information was obtained, such as the names of local scholars. Analysis of these annotations containing references allows researchers to explore the actors and sources involved in the educational process and the ways in which knowledge was transmitted.

1 Introduction

There are several features that indicate a manuscript's origin from an educational environment. As Dmitry Bondarev has demonstrated, one of the features indicative of teaching practices is a specific layout characterised by wide spacing between the lines and wide margins, which are intended to accommodate annotations.¹ The Arabic texts in West African manuscripts correlate with the titles of the 'core curriculum' identified by Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart² and also to a great extent with the scholarly curriculum of intermediary and

¹ Bondarev 2017.

² See Hall and Stewart 2011. The notion of a 'core curriculum' applies to a group of texts that are widely circulated and studied in West Africa, and it is established on the frequent basis with which these texts appear in individual manuscripts and are mentioned in chronicles and biographies of local scholars.

advanced phases of traditional Islamic³ learning, which Tal Tamari has described for several West African countries.⁴

An analysis of interlinear and marginal annotations in Arabic and Soninke, written in Arabic script, can provide additional evidence of the educational nature of manuscripts in the wider Senegambia region spanning the late eighteenth to the twentieth century.⁵ Visual characteristics such as the linkage between the source text and annotations reveal that a careful, systematic approach was taken by readers who worked with the Arabic texts. Glosses in Soninke represent translational practices that were used in order to explain the meaning and grammatical structure of the source text.⁶

The majority of annotations – glosses and commentaries – added to the main text do not specify who the annotators were.⁷ In some instances, however, the annotations contain references which indicate (1) the source of the information (a person or a textual source) and (2) who recorded it in the manuscript. This reference system includes the names of local scholars and students and

3 I use the term ‘traditional’ in the sense of classical Islamic epistemology based on memorisation and hearing as opposed to modern Western and reformist Islamic rationalistic approaches to schooling. Launay 2016, 3 and Launay and Ware 2016 argue that what is commonly called ‘traditional education in Africa’ in literature on the subject is, in fact, a classical Islamic episteme representing a historical continuity of learning practices characteristic of the whole Muslim world. Seesemann 2015 provides a nuanced discussion of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ Islamic epistemology.

4 Tal Tamari has made an in-depth study of traditional Islamic education and the role that local languages play(ed) in it in various works of hers: see Tamari 2002, 2006 and 2016, for example. A list of texts frequently attested in manuscripts with annotations in Soninke is provided in Bondarev 2017.

5 Soninke is one of the Mande languages and is spoken primarily in Mauritania, Mali, Senegal and The Gambia. Mandinka (which will be mentioned again later), belongs to the Manding group, a language and dialect continuum within the larger Mande family that is spoken in The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and southern Senegal.

6 Ogorodnikova 2017. On local African languages used for interpreting the Qur’an and other texts in Arabic, see Tamari and Bondarev 2013. For exegetical practices in Manding, see Tamari 1996, 2005 and 2013, for example.

7 Following the approach developed by Bondarev, I distinguish between glosses and commentaries on the basis of their content, function and placement on the page. Interlinear glosses mainly represent translational activities and are largely written in the vernacular. More voluminous commentaries appear in the margins and explore the meaning of the main text; see Bondarev 2017, 119–120. A comprehensive study of marginalia in Malian/West African manuscripts has also been conducted by Susana Molins Lliteras 2015 and 2017, who has produced a preliminary typology.

thus provides interesting insights into the production and purpose of the manuscripts.⁸ Approximately thirty such manuscripts were the focus of the present study.⁹ Many of them are kept in public libraries in Europe, but others are in private collections that I examined during my field trips to southern and north-eastern Senegal and western Mali in 2013–2017.¹⁰ Images of several manuscripts from Senegambia became available as part of the digital preservation initiative concerning Mandinka Ajami and Arabic manuscripts in Casamance, Senegal.¹¹

Although Soninke appears to be the principal language into which the main Arabic text was translated in all the manuscripts, it was not necessarily the scribes' first language. The expression *fī kalāmīnā* ('in our words', 'in our language'), which accompanies some of the glosses, is a clear indication of which language the scribes considered to be their native tongue.¹² In the manuscripts I collected in Mali (in the region of Kayes) and in north-eastern Senegal (in the region of Bakel), the main translational language and that of the scribe is the same, namely Soninke. The scribes who wrote the manuscripts from southern Senegal (Casamance), The Gambia and Guinea were speakers of Western Manding languages (in particular, Mandinka), but used Soninke to interpret

8 A similar practice of indicating the name of a scholar from whom the information was obtained has also been attested in manuscripts from Ilorin, Nigeria. See Reichmuth 2017, 95–96.

9 The corpus of manuscripts with annotations in Soninke Ajami exceeds a hundred items. Their geographical origin and a preliminary analysis of annotations in local languages have been discussed in Ogorodnikova 2016 and 2017. New material is also coming to light now thanks to activities concerned with the DFG-funded project called 'African Voices in the Islamic Manuscripts from Mali', which is led by Dmitry Bondarev. See <www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/index_e.html> (accessed on 1 Sept. 2019).

10 In particular, I looked at manuscripts from the collections of libraries in Paris, France: the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations (BULAC) and the former Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (MAAO) (now in Musée du Quai Branly), and London, UK: British Library (BL). The manuscripts from private collections have provisional codes I assigned myself. The first letter of the code stands for the place where the manuscripts are currently located: Adéane (A) and Ziguinchor (Z) in southern Senegal, Diawara (D) and Dembanané (Db) in north-eastern Senegal, and Kunjur (K) in western Mali. The initials of the respective owners come next. Wherever I provide examples from the manuscripts, I state the shelf mark or code and folio or page number. As for manuscripts without any foliation, I have marked the number of the corresponding digital image ('di'). See the list of manuscripts at the end of this article for an overview.

11 The project 'EAP 1042: Digital Preservation of Mandinka Ajami Materials' is co-ordinated by Fallou Ngom and Eleni Castro. See <eap.bl.uk/project/EAP1042> (accessed on 1 Sept. 2019).

12 Another label, marking annotations in local languages, is the word 'aḡamī or 'aḡam, which literally means 'non-Arabic'. See Ogorodnikova 2017, 122–126.

religious texts. Thus, the manuscripts can be provisionally divided into two distinct groups, which I shall tentatively call ‘northern’ and ‘southern’.¹³

My article aims at analysing how and to what extent the internal information from the manuscripts can help us understand and reconstruct educational practices and identify the individuals and working methods involved. It also attempts to answer the question of how the manuscripts mediated learning processes. The article is structured as follows: two initial sections (2 and 3) deal with the sources used by annotators: section 2 presents some examples of the Arabic authors and titles of their works quoted in the margins of the manuscripts, while section 3 is a detailed analysis of references to the names of local scholars, which are essential for reconstructing the educational context in which the manuscripts were used. In section 4, links are made between the references to scholars and particular texts represented in manuscripts in an attempt to identify the curriculum taught by the scholars. The scribes (or students who presumably wrote the manuscripts during their studies) are dealt with in section 5. The concluding section summarises how and to what extent educational practices can be reconstructed on the basis of evidence found in manuscripts.

2 References to textual sources

Marginal commentaries in Arabic, which are represented by quotations of excerpts of texts (usually on a similar subject), can mention the name of the author or the title of his work. They usually appear in a shortened form and follow the quoted text directly or are separated from it by three small dots arranged in a triangle. For example, manuscripts with an Arabic commentary on the Qur’an like *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* by Ġalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr as-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE)¹⁴ contain marginal commentaries referred to as *Baġawī*.¹⁵ This probably stands for another Qur’anic exegetical text (*tafsīr*), namely

¹³ In the present article, most of the examples are taken from the manuscripts of the ‘southern’ group, which I have studied in more detail.

¹⁴ GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

¹⁵ E.g. BULAC, MS.ARA.112a fol. 115a; MS.ARA.112b fols 22b, 24a. The practice of citing *tafsīr* sources, including al-Baġawī, is observed in Old Kanembu Qur’an manuscripts (Bondarev 2019, 36–37).

Ma'alim at-tanzil, which was composed by Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Bağawī (d. 510 AH / 1117 CE or 516 AH / 1122 CE).¹⁶

In manuscripts containing the text of *ar-Risāla* – a popular manual on Māliki law – by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE),¹⁷ one finds in the margins excerpts from a commentary to this text, which are marked as *Fawākih*, the short title of al-*Fawākih ad-dawānī 'alā risālat Ibn Abī Zayd* by Aḥmad b. Ġunaym an-Nafrāwī (d. 1207 AH / 1792 CE).¹⁸ Numerous annotations in manuscripts containing *ar-Risāla* are also referenced with *al-Muḥtaṣar*, another widespread legal manual that was written by Ḥalīl b. Ishāq al-Ġundī (d. 767 AH / 1365 CE or 776 AH / 1374 CE).¹⁹

Problematic words are provided with a definition and grammatical details from a dictionary entitled *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, compiled by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817 AH / 1415 CE).²⁰ As in the aforementioned cases, the references are a concise form of '*Qāmūs*'.²¹

3 Scholars

The references added by the scribes after certain annotations can also include personal names of West African scholars. Some scholars are readily identifiable, as they have already been the subject of several studies and are therefore familiar.²² In other cases, information on the scholars is scarce in the secondary

¹⁶ GAL I 363–364.

¹⁷ GAL I 177–178, S I 301–302.

¹⁸ GAL I 178, S I 301 and S II 439. In the first two entries in GAL, the name is spelt as al-Nahzāwī and the year of his death is given as 1125 AH / 1713 CE. The references to this commentary occur, for example, in manuscript ZOC1 di 5140 and 5143.

¹⁹ GAL II 84, S II 96. The references to *Muḥtaṣar* are found on several folios in DbLT1.

²⁰ GAL II 182–183, S II 234. Quotations from *al-Qāmūs*, to mention just a few, are found in manuscripts BL, Or. 6473 fol. 111a; EAP 1042, Adbou_Thiam_M001 p. 34; ZAKC2 di 4198.

²¹ The term *Qāmūs*, which literally means 'ocean', has become a current word for 'dictionary' owing to the popularity of Fīrūzābādī's lexicographical work (Versteegh 2014, 123). This book is reported to be 'by far the best-known dictionary in West Africa' (Hall and Stewart 2011, 120). Mentions of *Qāmūs* are also found in the margins of some annotated manuscripts from Mamma Haïdara Library in Timbuktu, Mali (Molins Lliterals 2017, 161) and in manuscripts from Ilqin, Nigeria (Reichmuth 2011, 233). In Arabic manuscript tradition, an abbreviated reference to this work is rendered by the letter *qāf* (Gacek 2009, 117).

²² For instance, those who are most easily recognisable in these references are members of the Kasama (Gassama) scholarly lineage from Futa Jallon, Guinea. The largest number of manu-

sources. However, as we will see, the references themselves may provide enough clues to locate the people in time and space and in the context of their scholarly networks.

Mostly the longer marginal commentaries in Arabic bear attributions to local scholars. Only a small proportion of the Soninke translations contain such references.²³ In terms of content, the referenced annotations can roughly be put into the following groups: (a) clarification of words in the main text by interpreting and paraphrasing or by removing ambiguities; (b) providing contextual and/or additional information on concepts, events or persons mentioned in the main text;²⁴ (c) explanations on grammatical matters (e.g. how to vocalise particular words); (d) frequency information about the text (e.g. the number of verses it contains or the number of times a certain notion or word is encountered); and (e) esoteric use of certain passages of the text.

The references to the scholars may consist of several elements: (1) an opening/introductory phrase (a set formula); (2) a title; (3) a name; (4) a geographical attribution; (5) an invocation or a eulogy. These elements appear in various combinations, but are frequently limited to an introductory expression and a title or kinship term and/or the name of the scholar. We shall now look at each of these aspects in more detail.

3.1 Opening formulas

Optionally, the introductory part may start with words such as *hākaḍā* and *kaḍā* ('thus'), 'sic' or *ṣaḥḥ* ('true, correct'), which possibly indicate the annotator's

scripts from the corpus with a variety of texts on different subjects contain references to *ṣayḥunā* ('our shaykh') *al-Ḥāḡḡ al-Kasama* or *ṣayḥunā al-Ḥāḡḡ*. These variants most likely refer to one and the same person – a Jakhanke scholar called al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (1730–1824/1829/1836), widely mentioned in the secondary literature by his honorific nickname, Karamokhoba (Manding for 'great teacher'). Besides his fame as a prominent intellectual of the time, he is particularly renowned as the founder of Touba, which became an important centre of scholarly activity in the region. His son and successor Muḥammad Kasama, nicknamed Taslimi (1776–1829 or 1800–1848/1852), and his grandson 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Quṭb (1830–1905), are also frequently referred to in the margins of manuscripts. For more details on Kasama scholars, see Hunter 1977, 243–290; Salvaing and Hunwick 2003, 522–525; Marty 1921, 104–111 and Annexe XX; and Sanneh 1974, 1979 and 1989 and 2016, 140–143.

23 One exception is ZAKC2, where most of referenced annotations are in Soninke.

24 Some of the annotations credited to local scholars actually appear to be paraphrasing of *hadīṭ* or *tafsīr* texts, but they do not mention the primary source on which they drew.

affirmation that a particular commentary was transmitted accurately. The formula is then followed by an expression introducing the name of a scholar. One of the most typical phrases is *(fi/‘alā) qaul* (‘in [the] words [of]) or *qālahu* (‘he said it’).²⁵ The expressions *fi/min kalām* (‘in/from the words’) and *min lafz* (‘from words/speech/enunciation’) also occur, but these are quite rare.²⁶

Another common phrase that refers to a scholar is *min fam* (‘from the mouth [of so-and-so]’) (enclosed in a blue ring in Fig. 1).²⁷ If it can be taken literally, this suggests that the information was passed on by word of mouth.²⁸ Interestingly, the phrase may be complemented by verbs evoking the recipient as well; at the end of a commentary, for instance, it may say *naqaltuhu min fam šayḫī* (literally, ‘I transcribed it from the mouth of my shaykh’) or *arraḥtuhu min fam* (literally, ‘I wrote it down [as heard] from the mouth [of so-and-so]’).²⁹ Such wording implies that the information was obtained from the verbal utterance of a teacher and that it was recorded by a student (who made notes in the margins and between the lines of the text). However, the length and visual organisation of some of the annotations, such as their layout (arrangement in blocks), the neat handwriting employed and (in some instances) the alternating use of dif-

²⁵ These introductory phrases are very common and are attested in many existing manuscripts, such as BULAC, MS.ARA.112b fol. 122b; AAN1 p. 323; ZAKC1 di 2613; and ZMC7 di 7413. The expression *qālahu* (‘he said it’) may also stand for *qālat* (‘speech, talk’), assuming that the last character is a *tā’ marbūṭa* with the dots omitted. These opening formulae can be compared to the terms used in Arabic manuscript tradition, where the words *qaul* (‘words, saying’) or *qāla* (‘he said’) are used for quotations (Gacek 2001, 120). In the context of early Islamic manuscripts, these expressions can be taken as evidence of the oral nature of instructions (Schoeler 2009, 88).

²⁶ The first expression is attested in manuscripts KSS1 di 0026 and DAD1 di 0509, while the second one appears in the same manuscripts in di 0485 and di 0205 and in BULAC, MS.ARA.359 fols 369b and 370a.

²⁷ This is found in manuscripts BnF, Arabe 5626 fol. 42b and EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001 pp. 69 and 71; ZAKC2 di 3915, 3978, 3982; and ZOC1 di 5345, 5409, for example.

²⁸ In Arabic manuscript tradition, the expression *min fam al-mušannif* is indeed indicative of the oral mode of transmission. It is found after the marginal commentaries which the author himself made when his text was read back to him (Witkam 1988, 95–96; Gacek 2009, 271). The expression *min fam* (‘from the mouth’) can be compared to the Greek *apo fōnēs* (ἀπό φωνῆς) (‘from the voice [of so-and-so]’). In certain contexts, this Greek phrase may be regarded as clear evidence of oral teaching (Brockmann, Lorusso and Martinelli 2017, 262). In other cases, it is irrelevant to the mode of transmission, only pointing to the author (Richard 1950, 222). I am grateful to Christian Brockmann for pointing out this similarity between the two expressions in different traditions and for providing me with references to the two articles mentioned.

²⁹ Manuscripts AAN1 p. 7, and ZOC1 di 5448 and 5461 respectively.

ferent inks, would have required careful attention, making spontaneous production and the immediate transition from speech to writing highly improbable.

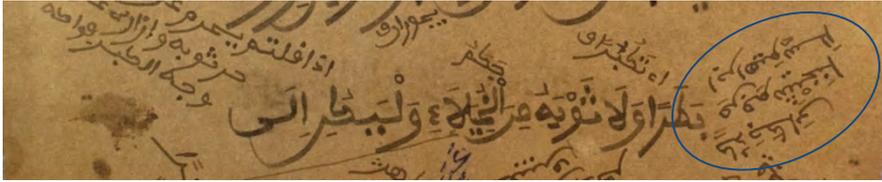


Fig. 1: Reference at the end of a Soninke gloss (circled in the blue ring) indicating that it was received ‘from the mouth of our shaykh Ibrāhīm Sylla’. *Al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, Ziguinchor, Senegal, private collection, ZOC1 di 5797; Photo by the author.

Aural reception is also implied in such expressions as *hākadā sami'nā min fam wālidī* (‘thus we heard from the mouth of my father’).³⁰ Since the verb is in the plural form (‘we heard’), this may suggest that the scribe belonged to a group of people who were assisting the teacher during the lesson. However, unlike the audition certificates (*samā'*) known in Arabic manuscript tradition, no information is provided about any other participants.³¹

The chain of transmission, even though present in some instances, only goes back one or two generations at most. Some of the annotations in a manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* are attributed as follows: *sami'tuhu min šayhī 'Abd al-Qādir wa-huwa sami'ahu min wālidihī Muḥammad 'urifa bi-Taslimī* (‘I heard it from my shaykh, ‘Abd al-Qādir, and he heard it from his father, Muḥammad,

30 ZAKC1 di 3170. Other references starting with *sami'nā* or *sami'tuhu* (‘we’ or ‘I heard it [from]’) were found in BULAC, MS.ARA.112b fols 138b and 391b; MS.ARA.165a di 1531 and 1642, MS.ARA.219bis fol. 28a; MAAO, AF 14722(87) fol. 33b; and EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001 p. 98, for example.

31 Except for using the keyword *sami'nā* (‘we heard’) or *samā'* (‘he heard’) and having the function of documenting the transmitting authority, these references have no other similarities to certificates of audition (*samā'*). Schoeler notes that other than certification, in the early Islamic period the term *samā'* was also applicable to a ‘method of transmission’ or ‘form of teaching’ when the student was listening to his teacher reciting, as distinct from *qirā'a*, where the student read the text in the teacher’s presence (Schoeler 2006, 167). Hirschler points out that in the context of medieval Arabic manuscript tradition, the term *sami'a* might be more indicative of authorised transmission of the text rather than of the mode of reception. This term may imply a purely aural mode or a visual one as well, such as an individual reading of a text (Hirschler 2013, 13).

known as Taslīmī').³² Paul Marty's account on scholars in Touba confirms that 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Quṭb or Qutubo (1830–1905), was a student of his own father, Taslīmī (1776–1829 or 1800–48/52).³³ As Thomas Hunter has noted, the members of great scholarly families were usually able to complete the *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* before the age of thirty.³⁴ Such considerations make it conceivable that the reference reflects the actual oral transmission from father to son.³⁵

In one instance, the name of a teacher appears after the phrase *kamā aḡābanī bihi* ('just as he answered me this way').³⁶ The literal meaning of this expression implies a dialogue between a student (asking) and teacher (explaining) and suggests direct communication during a teaching session.

Certain introductory formulas hint at visual modes of knowledge transmission. The expression *min ḥaṭṭ* ('from the handwriting') indicates a scholar whose holograph has been taken as a model and transferred to the student's own manuscript. The manuscript containing the legal manual *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*³⁷ as its main text has numerous annotations written on it, including one labelled *min ḥaṭṭ šayḫī* 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kasamā ('from the handwriting of my shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama').³⁸ All the annotation and the main text seems to be written in the hand of the same person. The colophon attests that the manuscript was written 'by the hand' (*alā yad*) of a certain 'Abd al-Qādir Cissé b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Siré. The scholar in this reference – 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama – is mentioned as a teacher (*ustād*). Hence, these two expressions, *min ḥaṭṭ* and '*alā/min yad*, are not synonymous: the former points to the source, the latter to the person who did the work of writing or copying.

³² AAN1 p. 11. I have transcribed the names of the scholars and toponyms in Arabic according to the spelling of the source, which can vary within a manuscript or across the corpus. I have used consistent spelling in my English translation, however.

³³ Marty 1921, 130.

³⁴ Hunter 1977, 325. In his account, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* probably stands for *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*.

³⁵ Hunter gives 1852 as the year of Muḥammad Taslīmī's death (Hunter 1977, 261), which implies that his son 'Abd al-Qādir, who was born in 1830, would have been 22 years old at the time. According to Marty, Taslīmī died in 1848 (Marty 1921, 547) when his son would have been 18. Sanneh's chronology dates Taslīmī's death even earlier, in the year 1829, and the birth of 'Abd al-Qādir in 1830 (Sanneh 2016, 272). This last consideration would make any direct contacts between father and son impossible. However, it cannot be ruled out that Sanneh's estimations are incorrect.

³⁶ ZAKC1 di 2672.

³⁷ *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām (fī nakt al-'uqūd wa-'a-aḥkām [al-'aṣimiyya])* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim al-Mālikī al-Ġarnāṭī (d. 829 AH / 1426–7 CE); GAL II 264, S II 375.

³⁸ ZAKC2 di 4056.

Other expressions attesting the copying of annotations from a written source include (*naqaltuhu*) *min kitāb (mu'allimī)* ('(I copied it) from a book [belonging to] (my teacher)' and *ra'aytuhu fi ba'aḍ kutub* ('I saw it in some records [of so-and-so's]').³⁹ These imply that the educational process and work with Arabic texts included scholars exchanging books with their students.⁴⁰

In rare cases, more specific terms may start the references which relate to the nature of the commentary in question rather than the mode of transmission. For example, the phrase *hākaḍā ḍabaṭnāhu 'an wālidī* ('thus we vocalised [the word] according to my father') follows the annotation clarifying how to correctly mark the vowel diacritics in a word from the main text.⁴¹ The word *taqdīr* ('underlying structure') preceding the name of the scholar accompanies annotations suggesting the 'interpretive paraphrase' of certain sentences.⁴²

3.2 Titles

Denominations, which may precede the names of scholars, can provide further clues about the background of the individuals mentioned in the references. Possessive pronouns of the first person singular or plural, *-ī* ('my') or *-nā* ('our'), attached to the titles hint at a type of relationship between the transmitter and recipient of the information. Although the labels discussed below are relative and not absolute (as in the case of the introductory expressions), they could still indicate the following aspects:

- (a) Role. The title *ṣayḥ* encountered in most references may denote a respected and learned individual. In Sufism, this term has a more specific connotation of a spiritual master and guide. The scribes emphasised the mentoring role by using the terms *ustād(ī)* and *mu'allim(ī)*⁴³ and in one instance the Soninke word *xàrànmóxò*⁴⁴ as well, meaning '(my) master', 'teacher'.

³⁹ In manuscripts DAD1 di 0315 and ZAKC1 di 2617.

⁴⁰ As Tal Tamari has pointed out to me, '[s]cholars borrow books from each other; furthermore, there are explicit references to this practice in many manuscripts, as well as in preserved local correspondence. Students typically study from books in their teachers' libraries, and formerly, they generally copied them (subject to the availability of paper). Students still copy manuscripts and lithographs, more rarely printed books' (email dated 6 Dec. 2018).

⁴¹ ZAKC2 di 4076.

⁴² ZAKC1 di 4967. For the definition of the term *taqdīr*, see Versteegh 1993, 99.

⁴³ As in manuscripts ZAKC1 di 3215 and 3231, ZAKC2 di 3908 and EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001 p. 92. Concerning terms such as *mu'allim*, *ṣayḥ* and *walī*, Wilks noted that

- (b) Family ties. The references may also include kinship terms such as *abī* ('my father'), *wālidī* ('my parent/father') (Fig. 2), *aḥī* ('my brother') or *ḥālī* ('my [maternal] uncle').⁴⁵ As we saw in the previous section, kinship terms were used in their literal sense in the chain of transmission in the Kasama family.



Fig. 2: The scribe stated that he had heard the commentary from his father Muḥammad Taslīmī (reference circled in the blue ring). *Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa'l-īmā*, London, British Library, Or. 6473, fol. 82b; © British Library Board.

In the manuscript written by 'Abd al-Qādir Cissé, he indicates that most of the annotations were received 'from the mouth of my shaykh [and] father' (*min fam šayḥī wālidī*), sometimes specifying his name as well.⁴⁶ The genealogical information in the colophon confirms the family ties between the scribe and his mentor. Unfortunately, the genealogical information is missing in other manuscripts I have studied. Nevertheless, the scribes only applied the terms 'father' or 'parent' to the same individual, even though they referred to several teachers in the margins. This mere fact may support the literal use of kinship terms, although they may not necessarily relate to the actual scribe of the manuscript if annotations were copied together with the reference. What is more, it cannot be ruled out that such terms were employed in a broader sense of spiritual/clerical unity.

- (c) Spheres of expertise. Honorific epithets and titles such as *faqīh* ('jurist') and *naḥwī* ('grammarian') point to scholarly specialisations. The Soninke honorific

they are largely conventional and therefore of little use in assessing a scholar's worth (Wilks 1968, 172).

⁴⁴ DbLT1 di 9391.

⁴⁵ Attested in the manuscripts as follows: AAN2 p. 100; ZAKC2 di 3978; DAD1 di 0533(II); ZOC1 di 5534.

⁴⁶ E.g. ZAKC2 di 3908 and 4076. As mentioned earlier, only a few other commentaries in this manuscript refer to *šayḥī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kasamā*.

title *fódiyè* is applicable to a highly learned individual and particularly to a person capable of interpreting and commenting on the Qur'an.⁴⁷

The title *ǧāmi' al-funūn* (literally, 'gatherer of scientific disciplines') is followed by the name of Nūḥ al-Fulānī, probably to underline the breadth of his knowledge.⁴⁸ Several epithets may be combined for the same purpose, as in *aš-šayḥunā Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwārī an-naḥwī al-qawīy al-qur'ānī* ('our shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, the grammarian, all-strong, the connoisseur of the Qur'an').⁴⁹ Interestingly, this reference follows the commentary which contains explanations about Arabic grammar illustrated by a quotation from the Qur'an.⁵⁰

- (d) Sufi affiliation. Some other honorific titles point to scholars' affiliation to the Sufi tradition. For instance, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware is referred to as *šayḥ ahl at-tašawwuf* ('shaykh of the Sufis').⁵¹ The name of Muḥammad Taslīmī appears accompanied by the epithet *walī*,⁵² and his son 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama is known by the honorific term *quṭb*.⁵³ Both terms desig-

⁴⁷ The respective Mandinka title is *fódé/fóodée*. Regarding its meaning, see Hunter 1977, 516; Creissels 2012, 72; Diagana 2011, 57; Sylla 2012, 311–312. Sanneh notes that the title '*fode*' is reserved for *tafsīr* scholars (Sanneh 1989, 155). However, in his later work, he interprets this term as an equivalent for the Arabic *faqīh* ('jurist') (Sanneh 2016, 145 and 276). References to scholars bearing this title are attested in manuscripts DAD1 di 0019, 0168, 0332 and others in DbLT1 di 9170, 9460 and BULAC, MS.ARA.359 fol. 56b.

⁴⁸ AAN2 p. 15. According to Mauro Nobili, Nūḥ b. al-Ṭāhir Balkū b. Abī Bakr b. Mūsa al-Fulānī was 'a prominent figure in the intellectual landscape of nineteenth-century West Africa' (Nobili 2016). Local accounts claim he was 'a master of forty branches of learning (*ḥāfiẓ 'arba'ina fanna min funūn*)' (Sanneh 2016, 133). He was one of the teachers of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama, see Salvaing and Hunwick 2003, 523. He was also his contact among the members of the Qadiriyya Sufi order and initiated him into the *wird* ('litany'), see Sanneh 1974, 173; Hunter 1976, 441 n. 25.

⁴⁹ The combined information from manuscripts and secondary literature enables us to locate Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm Suware's life and activities in the nineteenth century Touba, Guinea. According to Hunter's fieldwork data, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware was one of Muḥammad Taslīmī Kasama's students. The Suware family had their own educational centre (*maǧlis*) in Touba, which was independent of the one run by the Kasama family (Hunter 1977, 286). Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware is also known as the author of a poem in praise of the Prophet (Hunter 1977, 306).

⁵⁰ ZAKC1 di 2994.

⁵¹ ZAKC1 di 3237.

⁵² ZAKC1 di 2850.

⁵³ AAN1 p. 7; EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001 pp. 64 and 92.

nate the high spiritual/charismatic status of the scholars.⁵⁴ Another appellation from Sufi vocabulary is *‘arīf* [*bi-‘llāh ta‘āla*] (‘cognizant [of God]’),⁵⁵ which denotes the highest rank among Sufi masters.

3.3 Names and nicknames

In the references, the scribes mention the same individual by different appellations, which include his personal name, family (or clan) name, genealogical information (name of the father) and nicknames. The latter is crucial to distinguish between homonyms. For example, the reference *min fam šaykhinā Muḥammad Kasamā* (‘from the mouth of our shaykh Muḥammad Kasama’) may potentially indicate any of the sons of al-Ḥājj Sālim (all named Muḥammad, but with different nicknames) or any other person with such a name outside this family.⁵⁶ However, even the nicknames can be identical, especially when given after a famous person (e.g. as-Sanūsī). For instance, the scholar mentioned in the reference *sami‘tuḥu min šayḫī Muḥammad Ḥayrabā al-Kasamā* (‘I heard it from my shaykh Muḥammad Khayraba Kasama’) could be one of at least three different people.⁵⁷ In some cases, by comparing the references in different manuscripts, it is possible to clarify exactly which scholar is concerned. In other cases, however, the identity of the scholars remains ambiguous.

⁵⁴ The term *walī* is usually translated as ‘Friend of God’ or ‘saint’ – a status attained by advanced Sufi masters. The word *quṭb* has the meaning of the (spiritual) pole, axis, which represents the summit in the hierarchy of saints (*awliyā’*). See Chittick 1989, Green 2012 and Knysh 2000 on this terminology. As Hunter notes, the term *quṭb* may sometimes be used interchangeably with *walī* among Jakhanke clerics. The latter title has a broader meaning, though, namely that of a well-known shaykh (Hunter 1977, 384).

⁵⁵ This occurs in ZAKC2 di 3988. The term has the same root as *ma‘rifa* [*bi-‘llāh*], various translations of which include ‘knowledge of God’, ‘gnosticism’, ‘intuitive knowledge’ and ‘special knowledge’. With the reference to al-‘Arabī, William Chittick notes that some Sufi scholars distinguished between two types of knowledge, *ma‘rifa* and *‘ilm*; the former can only be achieved through spiritual practice (Chittick 1989, 148–149).

⁵⁶ EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001 pp. 69 and 71.

⁵⁷ E.g. ZOC1 di 5134. The word *khayraba* can be translated from Manding as ‘great peace’. Muḥammad Khayraba Kasama may be identified as the older brother of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (Sanneh 1974, 130 n. 3 and 373). Alternatively, he can be identified with al-Ḥājj Sālim’s oldest student (Hunter 1977, 261). Despite the shared lineage name, there was no kin relationship between the two scholars (Hunter 1977, 254). Finally, the great-grandson of al-Ḥājj Sālim, whose father was ‘Abd al-Qādir Kasama, was also named Muḥammad Khayraba (Marty 1921, 111; Sanneh 1981, 123).

3.4 Geographical information

Indications of where a scholar lived or taught occasionally occur in the references, too, as in *wa-su'ila šayḥunā fūdī Muḥammad Bāba Ġāwara fī Kunḡūr [...]* ('our shaykh *fōdīyè* Muḥammad Baba Jawara in Kunjur was asked [...]).⁵⁸ Interestingly, this scholar from Kunjur is mentioned in the two manuscripts written in another place in Mali as well – Tafasirga – which could imply that scholars and students traveled for seeking knowledge to different places. Alternatively, it may mean that there was no direct contact between the scholar who is quoted and the student(s) who wrote the annotations.

The geographical affiliation may appear as a scholar's *nisba*, as in the following reference: *qālahu šayḥī wa-abī wa-mu'allimī wa-ustādī al-Amīn Suwāriwiyu Ṭūbāwī Fūtā zamānā* ('said my shaykh and my father and my teacher and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware from Touba [in] Futa [Jallon]').⁵⁹

3.5 Closing formulas

The closing phrases of references include pious invocations asking for forgiveness, blessings, mercy and suchlike. Expressions such as *ḥafīzahu'llāh* ('May God preserve him')⁶⁰ or *ṭāla Allāh 'umra / baqā'ahu li-nā* ('May God grant him long life / a long stay for our sake')⁶¹ were apparently meant for living scholars. In contrast, some invocations make it seem as if the scribe was referring to a scholar who had already died. The closing phrase *sami'tuhu min šayḥ Muḥammad al-Kasamā barrada'llāh ḍariḥahu āmīn*, for instance, means 'I heard it from shaykh Muḥammad Kasama. May God cool his grave. Amen'.⁶² A literal reading of the phrase makes it appear as if the scribe received the information

⁵⁸ DAD1 di 0627(II). I found several references to Muḥammad Jawara in the manuscripts I collected during my field trip to Mali and in BULAC, MS.ARA.359. It is possibly the same person as Maḥmūd / Muḥammad Jawara, who the chronicles of the Kasama lineage say taught the texts of *tafsīr* and *Mukhtaṣar* by Shaykh Khalil to al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kasama (Hunter 1976, 440; Sanneh 2016, 133). If this is the case, then 'Kunjur' (Goundiourou) in the reference is the locality in the region of Kayes, Mali.

⁵⁹ ZAKC1 di 3029.

⁶⁰ ZMC3 di 6867.

⁶¹ E.g. AAN3 di 1547; EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001 p. 92.

⁶² ZMC2 di 6805. Similar invocations are found in the same manuscript, di 6845, and in manuscripts AAN1 p. 12 and AAN2 p. 50.

aurally from the scholar in question (i.e. when he was still alive), but he only wrote it down sometime later (i.e. when the quoted scholar was dead).

Together with the dates of his life, the clues as to whether the quoted scholar was alive when the annotations were written may serve as a reference point in estimating the manuscript's date of production, provided that the referenced annotations were not just copies from earlier manuscripts.

4 Curriculum

If we consider the references to scholars as proof of their teaching activities, it is possible to reconstruct (at least in part) which texts constituted the curriculum they taught. This can be demonstrated by the example of the four scholars discussed in the previous sections, references to whom are attested in the manuscripts from the 'southern' group with the titles as follows:

- Devotional poetry (*madḥ*):
 - (1) *Taḥmīs* on al-Fāzāzī's *Iṣrīniyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb;⁶³
- Belief (*tawḥīd*):
 - (2) *Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa-l-īmān* by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Maḥallī;⁶⁴
- Islamic law/jurisprudence (*fiqh*):
 - (3) *ar-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE);⁶⁵
 - (4) *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn 'Aṣīm (d. 829 AH / 1427 CE);⁶⁶
- Sufism (*taṣawwuf*):
 - (5) *Dāliyya al-Yūsī* by Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102 AH / 1691 CE);⁶⁷
 - (6) *an-Nafahāt al-qudsiyya* by Ḥasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs (d. 787 AH / 1385 CE);⁶⁸
- Syntax (*naḥw*):
 - (7) *al-Muqaddima al-āḡurrūmiyya* by Ibn Āḡurrūm (d. 723 AH / 1323 CE);⁶⁹

⁶³ GAL S I 483.

⁶⁴ ALA IV 269, 661.

⁶⁵ GAL I 177–178, S I 301–302.

⁶⁶ GAL II 264, S II 375.

⁶⁷ GAL II 455–6, S II 675.

⁶⁸ GAL II 166, S II 214.

⁶⁹ GAL II 237, S II 332.

– Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*):

(8) *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* by Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE).⁷⁰

Most texts represented in the manuscripts under my investigation appear in the intermediate and advanced level curriculum of traditional Islamic education found by anthropological studies. Hunter has carried out research on the Jakhanke *mağālis* (‘learning assemblies’) in The Gambia, which follow a standard curriculum of 29 texts.⁷¹ As he notes, this curriculum is virtually identical to the one introduced by al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama of Touba.⁷²

In her research on Islamic education in Mali, Guinea and The Gambia, Tal Tamari has demonstrated that the texts and subjects on the curriculum were studied in a specific order. The education usually began with one or more texts on Islamic law or theology. The more advanced levels included Arabic grammar, devotional texts and mysticism, among other things.⁷³ In each discipline, some texts were obviously considered to be more comprehensive and advanced than others, such as *ar-Risāla Qayrawāniyya* and *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* in the field of *fiqh*;⁷⁴ the latter was not studied very frequently, it seems, as it does not occur very often in the manuscripts I viewed. The ultimate goal, however, was to study Qur’anic exegesis;⁷⁵ only a small number of erudite scholars reached this level.⁷⁶

The marginal commentaries referred to Muḥammad Taslimī Kasama appear in manuscripts containing texts (1), (2) and (8). The name of his son ‘Abd al-Qadīr Kasama, known as Quṭb, is recorded in the margins of manuscripts containing texts (1), (4)–(6) and (8). Another frequently quoted scholar is Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. Commentaries attributed to him are especially frequent in manuscripts containing texts (1) and (8), but they also occur in text (3). Finally, manuscripts containing texts (1), (3), (7) and (8) contain annotations with references to Muḥammad Kasama.⁷⁷ As may be presumed from these

⁷⁰ GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

⁷¹ Hunter 1977, 301–308.

⁷² Hunter 1977, 301.

⁷³ Tamari 2002, 104–111.

⁷⁴ Tamari 2016, 41–42.

⁷⁵ Tamari 2016, 44. Also see Hunter 1977, 301; Launay and Ware 2016, 256.

⁷⁶ Tamari 2016, 44.

⁷⁷ The references in the manuscripts containing texts (1) and (3) concern a ‘Muḥammad Khayraba Kasama’, which I assume was an alternative appellation of Muḥammad Kasama’s.

examples, each scholar taught several texts, some of which went beyond the basic educational programme, and they covered a variety of subjects, which tells us that the teachers were well educated and versatile.

The same text can be found in several different manuscripts; text (1) appears in at least four manuscripts, for example. The scribes of two of them referred to Muḥammad al-Amin Suware as their teacher, which may mean that the manuscripts in question are students' copies.

It is often the case that the margins of a manuscript contain annotations that are attributed to various scholars. The number of references to each scholar may range from one to a few dozen, and some of the scholars may be referred to more frequently than others. It is tempting to surmise that students/scribes studied the same text with several teachers. Yet the annotations attributed to different scholars by the references are often written in the same handwriting and ink, neatly arranged in blocks next to one another. Because of the layout and handwriting, it is hard to imagine that a scribe/student studied the same text with different teachers at different times and added their commentaries to the same manuscript in successive stages. However, it also seems highly unlikely that all the scholars referred to actually commented on the text concurrently. Rather, the annotations, collected successively, were written down at once, possibly some time after the teaching session.

The accumulation of references to different scholars may not be indicative of the scribe's direct contact with them. The note-taker may have referred to those scholars who were authoritative in commenting on a particular text as sources of information rather than actual transmitters. The commentaries may either have been obtained from one scholar, who simply quoted others, or copied from another manuscript.

5 Scribes/students

Typically, the main text and the majority of annotations in a manuscript are written in one and the same hand. The information on the person who wrote the annotations in each manuscript is introduced by the expression *min yad* ('from the hand [of]'). It often consists of their personal and family name and can also include the names of their parents. These details mainly appear at the end of extensive marginal commentaries in Arabic. Only a few such references were added by the scribes of manuscripts from the 'southern' group; these are more frequent in manuscripts from the 'northern' group.

In some instances, the names of scribes immediately follow the references to textual sources or local scholars (as shown in Fig. 3).⁷⁸ The scribal names introduced after *min yad* are often accompanied by an expression of self-abasement and humbleness such as *al-muḍnib* ('sinner') or *al-danī* ('despicable') and are followed by supplications asking God to grant the student knowledge.⁷⁹



Fig. 3: Reference (in the blue ring) mentioning the name of the scholar who provided the explanation and the name of the student who wrote it down. Commentary on *Muḥtaṣar* by Šayḥ Ḥalīl, Diawara, Senegal, private collection, MS DAD1 di 0221; Photo by the author.

Some references at the end of annotations explicitly state that the scribe attended the lessons held at a *maḡlis* ('learning assembly') and indicate its location as well as the name of the person who ran it, as in *min yad al-danī yusammī Maḥmūd Ġumīra kā'in fī Tafasirka fī maḡlis šayḥ Darāmī* ('from the hand of the despicable person named Maḥmūd Jomera (Djimera/Djimbera) living in Tafasirga in the *maḡlis* of shaykh Dramé').⁸⁰ The term *maḡlis* (or *māyisī* in Soninke) refers to the phase of traditional Islamic education consecutive to the Qur'anic school (*xàrà̀n-yìnbé*).⁸¹ It involves the study of one or more works in

⁷⁸ E.g. KSS1 di 0441; DAD1 di 0221.

⁷⁹ E.g. KSS1 di 0187; DbLT1 di 9170.

⁸⁰ KSS1 di 0684. Similar references with indications of studies in *maḡlis* are also found in DAD1 di 0080 and DbLT1 di 9194, for instance.

⁸¹ The Soninke word *xàrà̀n-yìnbé* (or Mandinka *kàrà̀ntáa*) literally means 'fire lit for studying'.

Arabic on one or a number of disciplines. Lessons are held in an auditorium (*tùgú*) usually constructed at the entrance to the teacher's (*xàrànmóxò*) compound. The scribes must therefore have been intermediate or advanced students (*tálibè*).

As we saw previously, some students (i.e. scribes) indicated the kin relationship to their teachers by using terms such as *abī* or *wālidī* ('my father' or 'my parent'). The kin connection between the teacher and his student may imply that the lessons took place in a family environment. It may also be assumed that (some of) the students were of a younger generation than their teachers. Their actual age is hard to determine, however.

6 Concluding remarks

References to authors and work titles found in the margins of Soninke Ajami manuscripts can help us trace the learning/scholarly materials which were involved in the educational process. Personal and place names reveal who the agents were and where the scholarly centres of teaching and learning were located at the time.

Several terms used by the scribes in the references such as *ustādī* or *mu'allimī* ('my teacher') and *mağlis* allude to learning situations and personal contacts between mentors and their disciples. Hence it may be surmised that the manuscripts were written by students during their intermediate and advanced studies. The introductory phrases *min fam* ('from the mouth') and *sami'tuhu min* ('I heard it from') on the one hand and *min ḥattī* ('from handwriting') on the other imply that the information was transmitted and received in two different ways: oral/aural and visual (written).

Yet the formulaic nature of these expressions makes it problematic to rely on their literal meaning. The claim that annotations were copied from written sources is hard to refute, especially since some references are evidence of book exchanges that took place between scholars. Even though oral instructions by a teacher cannot be ruled out, there is more evidence that the annotations were not added to manuscripts immediately during the lessons. Therefore, there should have been some intermediary steps as well that still need to be understood.

Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent this assumed model of teaching and learning may be applied to all of the manuscripts under investigation here. If the references do, indeed, document the actual transfer of knowledge from a

teacher to a student encoded in the form of annotations, it remains unclear why they only occur occasionally in the manuscripts compared to other annotations that are largely anonymous. How did these anonymous annotations get created? If, on the other hand, the referenced annotations represent quotations by authoritative scholars who were not in direct contact with the scribes, such annotations would be irrelevant in reconstructing the methods of transmission. Hence, a great deal of contextual information is needed for us to be able to draw broader meaningful conclusions.

Nonetheless, references in manuscripts allow us to establish connections between scholars, students and manuscripts, placing them in the context of scholarly networks. The manuscripts provisionally divided into ‘southern’ and ‘northern’ groups on the basis of their linguistic configurations can also be attributed to distinct networks of scholars and scholarly centres.

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Abbreviations

ALA IV	John O. Hunwick (ed.), <i>The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa. Arabic Literature of Africa</i> , vol. IV, Leiden: Brill, 2003.
BL	British Library, London.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
BULAC	Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, Paris.
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (2. den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage), 2 vols, Leiden: Brill, 1943/1949.
GAL S	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplementbände</i> , 3 vols, Leiden: Brill, 1937/1942.
MAAO	Musée national des arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie, Paris.

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Appendix: Manuscript corpus in the present study

In libraries in Europe:

- London, British Library, Or. 6473, fols 78b–93b: *Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa'l-īmān* by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Maḥallī.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 5626, fols 37b–55b: *al-Muqaddima al-Āğurrūmiyya* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Šanhāğī (d. 723 AH / 1323 CE), known as Ibn Āğurrūm. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065664h>
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.112b, fols 20a–402b: *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* by Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE), suras 19–114.
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.165a, 240 fols (no foliation): *Kitāb aš-šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* by Abū al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥšibī as-Sabtī al-Mālikī (d. 544 AH / 1149 CE).⁸²
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.359, fols 1a–642b: a commentary (*Šarḥ*) on *Muḥtaṣar* by Ḥalīl b. Iṣḥāq al-Ġundī (d. 767 AH / 1365 CE).
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.219bis, fols 22a–38b: *al-'Aqida aš-šuğrā* by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 AH / 1486 CE).⁸³
- Paris, Musée du quai Branly (former collection of Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie), AF 14722(87), fols 26a–40b: *al-'Aqida aš-šuğrā* by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 AH / 1486 CE).

⁸² GAL I 455, S I 630.

⁸³ GAL II 250, S II 352.

In private collections:

- EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001, pp. 16–340: *Takhmīs al-ʿIshrīniyyāt* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb, known as Ibn Mahīb. <open.bu.edu/handle/2144/28457>
- EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001, pp. 2–97: *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī* by Ḥasan b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102 AH / 1691 CE). <open.bu.edu/handle/2144/28994>
- AAN1, pp. 1–412: *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*, suras 1–18.
- AAN2, pp. 1–609 and 700–705: *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*, suras 19–114.
- AAN3 (no foliation): *Takhmīs al-ʿIshrīniyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb.
- DbLT1 (no foliation): *ar-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE).
- DAD1 (no foliation): *Šarḥ Muḥtaṣar*.
- KSS1 (no foliation): *Šarḥ Muḥtaṣar*.
- ZAKC1 (no foliation): *Takhmīs al-ʿIshrīniyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb.
- ZAKC2 (no foliation): *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn ʿAšīm (d. 829 AH / 1427 CE).
- ZMC2 (no foliation): *al-Muqaddima al-Āğurrūmiyya* by Ibn Āğurrūm.
- ZMC3 (no foliation): *Kitāb az-zuhd* by ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.
- ZMC7 (no foliation): *an-Nafaḥāt al-qudsiyya* by Ḥasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs, known as Ibn Bādīs (d. 787 AH / 1385 CE).
- ZOC1 (no foliation): *ar-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī.

Janina Karolewski

The Education of Alevi Religious Specialists and their Manuscripts: Ali Göktürk Dede from Şeyh Hasan Köyü, Turkey

Abstract: This article presents how Ali Göktürk Dede, who was a religious specialist in the Alevi tradition, was taught to use manuscripts containing texts written in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic by an older relative from his village in East Anatolia. This case study illustrates several aspects of learning and teaching in a manuscript culture that is still little researched. Using both manuscripts and oral-history data as sources, the actors involved in education come to the fore and their different ways of using books and documents become apparent.

In a period of more than five years, I conducted numerous interviews with Ali Göktürk Dede (1932–2020), or Ali Dede for short, through which we tried to recover various aspects of his education and the practices of teaching and learning in his village, Şeyh Hasan Köyü. This article would not have come into being without his endless patience and generosity in sharing his manuscripts, knowledge, and life story with me. For this I am deeply indebted to Ali Dede. Regrettably, he passed away before I could show him the result of our work. It is to his memory that this article is dedicated. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to Aydın Gültekin, Veysel Gültekin Dede, Akar Güneş, İsmail Şahin, Turabi Şahin, Baki Ulutaş and numerous others who supported my research in many ways.¹

¹ Köyündeki eğitim hayatı ve kendi eğitimini çeşitli açılardan incelemeye çalıştığım Ali Göktürk Dede (1932–2020) ile beş yılın üzerinde bir süreyle bir çok görüşme gerçekleştirdim. Bilgi birikimini, el yazmalarını ve kendi hayat hikâyesini benimle paylaşırken gösterdiği sabır ve özveri, bu çalışmanın ortaya çıkmasını sağladı. Bu sebepten Ali Göktürk Dede'ye çok minnettârım. Bununla birlikte, ne yazık ki çalışmamızın sonuçlarını kendisiyle, o henüz hayattayken paylaşamadım. Dolayısıyla bu makaleyi onun anısına ithaf etmek isterim. Ayrıca bu çalışmada destek veren Aydın Gültekin, Veysel Gültekin Dede, Akar Güneş, İsmail Şahin, Turabi Şahin, Baki Ulutaş ve emeği geçen herkese minnettârım.

Ali Göktürk Dede was born in a village called Şeyh Hasan Köyü² on the eastern bank of the Euphrates in East Anatolia. Around ten kilometres to the south-west, on the plain on the other side of the river, one can find the historical town of Malatya, which is now the district city of Battalgazi, but is still often referred to as Old Malatya (Eski Malatya) by local residents. Today's Malatya, the capital of the province of the same name, lies another ten kilometres to the south-west, and older locals like Ali Dede remember how their parents and grandparents referred to it as Aspuzu, the settlement's former name before the place-shift occurred in the nineteenth century.³



Fig. 1: View of Şeyh Hasan Köyü (on the left) from the shores of the Karakaya Dam in the north-west. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.

Şeyh Hasan Köyü belonged to the province of Elazığ ever since the Euphrates became the geographical border with the province of Malatya. When the Karakaya Dam (built from 1976 to 1987) caused the waters of the Euphrates to rise, Şeyh

² In Ottoman documents from the sixteenth century, the village is mentioned as Şeyh Hasanlı or Şeyh Hasanlı (see Yinanç and Elibüyük 1983, 102, for example). Other modern variants of the village's name are Şih Hasan, Şeh Hasan or Şah Hasan, all of which occur in compound spelling as well. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the village was renamed Tabanbükü. A couple of years ago, the village received its former name again after the villagers filed a petition to get it reinstated.

³ Sipahi 2016, 252–256.

Hasan Köyü had to be moved and rebuilt elsewhere (see Fig. 1); the meeting places for ritual and educational purposes perished in the reservoir along with the houses and agricultural buildings. Only a few gravestones and the mausoleums located in two separate cemeteries a little outside the village were saved, being partially dismantled and then re-erected in new places. Thus, most of the village's historical setting was lost; it only survives in old photographs,⁴ in film footage,⁵ in some academic works⁶ and, of course, in the memories of the older villagers. The latter source of knowledge is indispensable when it comes to reconstructing how religious specialists received training in reading and writing along with their religious education.

Surviving manuscripts in the possession of several villagers are testimony to the level of training that the copyists and writers had, but they reveal very few details about how the religious specialists used them for their own purposes and for the community's educational ends. Additionally, the information gained from oral-history data partly makes up for the lack of details provided in colophons and other notes on the scribes, the owners, the users, the date and the provenance of the manuscripts, for example. It is understandable that Ali Dede and others are now unable to recall each and every detail about events that happened more than seventy years ago, but it is remarkable how far their memories can help shed some light on the use of manuscripts in Alevi communities.

1 Education in the Alevi tradition and in Şeyh Hasan Köyü

When Ali Dede was 10 years old, he first had to master Ottoman Turkish and some Arabic, and then got introduced to the central texts of his own religious tradition, which was apparently known under the umbrella term of Alevism from the late

⁴ See '1987 Öncesi' (*s.a.*).

⁵ For example, the documentary entitled 'Fırat Göl Olurken' ('While the Euphrates Becomes a Lake') by Süha Arın and Hasan Özgen from 1985–1987, which is available on YouTube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F2Qr5-oPkJA>> (accessed on 20 Dec. 2020).

⁶ The focus of those works is only on gravestones and mausoleums in the village that are said to date from the fourteenth century (see Aşan 1987 and 1998; and Serdaroğlu 1977); the vast majority of gravestones from the early twentieth century, nineteenth century and earlier were not documented. Most regrettably, the gravestones that are still accessible when the water from the Euphrates recedes are abandoned to decay now, even though they contain important details about the village's history.

nineteenth century onwards.⁷ The holy lineages from which most Alevi religious specialists come usually claim descent from the children of Ali ibn Abi Talib and his wife Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, but some of them claim they are related to the Prophet's extended family. The holy lineages called *ocaks* are responsible for several groups of followers called *talips*, who usually lived in the same village as the *ocak* members or in surrounding villages, but sometimes lived in faraway regions. It is the *ocaks*' task to instruct the followers and conduct congregational rituals.

Normally, chosen males from the *ocaks* become religious specialists, and these days, they commonly use the title *dede* (lit. 'elder') after their name, just like Ali Dede, who belongs to the holy lineage named Şeyh Ahmed Dede Ocağı (The *Ocak* of Şeyh Ahmed Dede), which has its centre in Şeyh Hasan Köyü. According to local lore, Şeyh Ahmed Dede, the supposed founder of the village as well as the holy lineage and a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, arrived at the bank of the Euphrates in the early thirteenth century. He was accompanied by his brother Şeyh Hasan Dede, after whom he named the new settlement.⁸ Even now, the mausoleums of Şeyh Ahmed Dede and his descendants are frequently visited by the members of his holy lineage and by affiliated followers.⁹

Up to the early twentieth century, most Alevi settlements were located in rural areas of Central and South-East Anatolia. It is often mentioned that Turkmen nomads – then called Kızılbaş, but now referred to as Alevi – settled in remote, mountainous regions in the aftermath of their persecution by the Ottoman State, when they sided with the Persian Safavids in the sixteenth century. The geographical location of Şeyh Hasan Köyü, however, is not in line with this general assumption about the settlement patterns of Alevi communities. The village and its religious community probably already existed in pre-Ottoman

⁷ See Dressler 2013. See Dressler 2008 for a short overview of the Alevi tradition.

⁸ See Onarlı 2001, 29, for example.

⁹ The inscription at the mausoleum of Şeyh Ahmed Dede, as documented by Aşan before the renewal of the building at its present site, reads as follows: 'The master of all masters, the main spiritual guide of all spiritual guides, Hoca Ahmed Yesevi, b. 1103, d. 1163' ('PİR-İ PİRÂN SERÇEŞMEY-İ MÜRŞİDÂN HOCA AHMED YESEVÎ D. 1103 Ö. 1163', Aşan 1987, 148). The dates of his birth and death along with the suffix 'Yesevi' added to his name do not harmonise with historical research and local oral history, though. Recent findings suggest that Şeyh Ahmed Dede was a follower of the Vefai Order and was named Şeyh Ahmed-i Tavil in Ottoman records (see Karakaya-Stump 2012/2013, 294–295). Official documents attest that affiliation to the Vefaiyye and the name Şeyh Ahmed-i Tavil were still present in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (see Yılmaz 2017, 228–230 and 234–240). To the best of my knowledge, the earliest mention of the suffix 'Yesevi' occurs in a manuscript from 1820 (see MS 1) – providing that this is not a later addition.

times, and later on, its inhabitants did not take part in any uprising against the Ottoman authorities.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it seems that Şeyh Hasan Köyü's immediate vicinity to Malatya was not particularly favourable for its inhabitants' educational requirements. Ali Dede, for example, does not recall that villagers used to receive training in one of Malatya's Qur'an schools (*mekteps*) or theological institutes (*medreses*),¹¹ although there is a reasonable likelihood that this happened in earlier days, as we know from other Alevi communities.¹² The *mekteps* in particular were important places for basic schooling in both literacy and Sunni Islamic education in Ottoman times. To a certain extent, the latter was also necessary when some *dedes* and *talips* took on particular religious duties, such as the office of the *hocas*, who had to be proficient in Arabic and were usually responsible for funeral rites, which followed Islamic practice in parts.¹³

The religious knowledge that is specific to the tradition had to be transmitted by the *dedes*, however, who are said to hold the inner teachings in oral and written form and have to maintain their secrecy. This esoteric character of the Alevi tradition was given up by many *ocak* members over the last few decades, but presumably it was a fixed constant previously that had a major impact on teaching and learning within the communities. Written texts, which were kept in safe custody anyway, were not perceived as ultimate sources of knowledge. Rather, the human body was allotted the task of storing knowledge by memorising texts and embodying movements or behaviour.¹⁴

It can also be argued that poor access to literacy – a historical situation, by the way, which was not remarkably different in non-Alevi villages in the Ottoman Empire¹⁵ – fostered the dominant position of the *ocaks* and especially the *dedes*, who were crucial for the education of their followers, most of whom were

10 See Karakaya-Stump 2012/2013, 294–295. Most recent research has been covered in Weineck 2020, esp. 160–164.

11 Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 23 March 2017, Malatya, Turkey.

12 See Kieser 2005, 154, for example; Shankland 2003, 25, 42, 86, 109; Andrews and Temel 2010, 304–305; and Ersal 2016b, 171.

13 See Ersal 2016a, 90, for example.

14 See Hendrich 2018, 49–51.

15 See Georgeon 1995, for instance. Georgeon mentions the exceptional case of Greeks and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, who stand out because of their higher literacy rate in the nineteenth century (Georgeon 1995, 176). The famous Alevi poet-musician Hüseyin Karaca (1892–1989), aka Meluli Baba, went to the Armenian school in Yarpuz (today's Afşin in the province of Kahramanmaraş) from 1904 onwards. In the years before that, he had received lessons from an Arabic teacher in his village, Kötüre (Kieser 2005, 151–153).

illiterate. As Markus Dressler has argued, the charismatic authority of the *dedes*, which they possessed because of their descent from the Prophet Muhammad or his extended family, was a key factor in their interpretation of religious texts.¹⁶ However, it is very likely that a considerable number of *dedes* were illiterate themselves, a fact presumably closely related to the historical development of their respective holy lineage and family, which led to differences in their settlement area or economic circumstances.¹⁷

Although we know about Alevi followers who achieved some skill in reading and writing, apparently they did not have access to the same texts and could not claim the same charismatic authority as the *dedes*.¹⁸ Nonetheless, they were important for maintaining and transmitting Alevi traditions. These cultural facilitators included the aforementioned *hocas* and the poet-musicians (*aşıks* or *zakirs*), who performed songs conveying central beliefs during rituals and at other social gatherings.

Presumably, the *ocaks* had a shared network at their command that allowed for the religious education of future *dedes*, either in Alevi groups or including the teaching offers made by the aforementioned *mekteps*, private teachers or government schools, which were introduced by the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century in order to modernise its education system.¹⁹ In some cases, military service is said to have been another way to receive training in reading and writing, and sometimes even training as an official scribe.²⁰ Ali Dede, for example, reported that his grandfather Milla İsmail served in Yemen for seven years, where he worked in the army's chancery as a scribe.²¹

Parallel to Sufi orders, some Alevi villages also had meeting houses called *tekke* or *zaviye* where learning and teaching took place. These *tekkes*, which were often maintained by the members of a responsible household, are usually connected with a religious person who allegedly founded the place for his community. The *tekke* of Abdal Musa, a convent related to the Bektāşi Order, for instance, had two separate rooms for lessons at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²²

16 See Dressler 2002, 17–19 and Otter-Beaujean 1997, 224.

17 See Tee 2012, 162–163, for example.

18 See Ersal 2016a, for instance.

19 See Somel 2001, for example.

20 Ali Çavuş (1863–1917) from Mezirme (now Ballıkaya) in the province of Malatya, the father of the famous Gürgür Dede from Alvar, is said to have received such training during his military service in Yemen and worked as a teacher after returning to the village (Fölster et al. 2015, 9).

21 Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 3 Oct. 2013, Malatya, Turkey.

22 See Faroqhi 1995, 208.

In Şeyh Hasan Köyü, there were several *tekkes*,²³ which Ali Dede said had served as places for ritual gatherings and schooling and which were equipped with books.²⁴

The use of the *tekke* buildings as libraries is documented in a manuscript that a certain Esma Hatun donated to the *tekke* of Şeyh Ahmed Dede in 1820 and which is now in Ali Dede's possession (see MS 1).²⁵ As its colophon states, the 'dignified men' (*efendis*) of the village should read the book.²⁶ (I shall discuss this manuscript in more detail shortly.) It is quite possible that '*efendi*' refers to the religious specialists and other *ocak* members as it seems to be a title that was often used in the past for well-bred men with a high status in the social, economic and religious hierarchy of a certain group; evidence of it being used the same way in other Alevi communities also exists.

We can therefore assume that *ocak* members who could read consulted the books from the *tekkes*. Moreover, they used the books to educate the illiterate in their own village and received followers from other villages who came to Şeyh Hasan Köyü in search of spiritual guidance.²⁷ The rituals and other ritualised gatherings in the village's *tekkes*, which were attended by the respective *ocak* members and followers alike, should not be underestimated in terms of their educational impact. The *dedes* read and interpreted central texts of their tradition and the *aşiks* or *zakirs* recited important songs and hymns, which the participants joined in with and memorised.²⁸ The same applies to the learning of ritual movements, body postures, types of behaviour and even emotions.²⁹

23 See Onarlı 1999, for instance. Among other places, Ali Dede and İsmail Şahin mentioned the *tekkes* of Şeyh Ahmed Dede, Teslim Abdal, Kul Mustafa, Derviş Muhammed, Derviş Ali, Kalender Abdal and Kara Şeyh (interview with Ali Göktürk Dede and İsmail Şahin by Janina Karolewski, 25 March 2014, Malatya, Turkey).

24 Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 18 March 2014, Malatya, Turkey.

25 Aksüt 2013 mentions the manuscript, but dates it a century earlier, which is probably a typing error since the date appears in unmistakable writing more than a dozen times in the book.

26 'May the *efendis* in Şeyh Hasan read this book and say the Fatiha prayer in favour of its owner [i.e. the donator].' ('Şeyh Hasan'da olan efendiler bu kitabı okuyub şâhibine Fâtiha ihsân edeler.') (MS 1, fol. 231^v). Due to the irregular spelling of Ottoman Turkish in many of the sources used here, I have refrained from marking each and every instance and have used the standard spelling instead.

27 Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 20 Apr. 2017, Malatya, Turkey.

28 See Karolewski 2015, 100, for example.

29 See De Rosa 2019 for this component of education in the Alevi tradition.

2 Ali Göktürk Dede's education with manuscripts

The Fountain of Hacı Ağa, a hamlet of the village
 Once the lawsuit about it went on for ages
 Its water is sweet, its climate is nice
 I started my education in a beautiful place³⁰

As Ali Dede (see Fig. 2) states in the above couplet of his poem 'My Village' ('Köyüm'), he began his education in a hamlet of Şeyh Hasan Köyü. This area is actually some distance outside the village, an hour's walk away on a rise above the village, and is commonly known as Üçbölük. Many old villagers refer to it by the name of 'the Fountain of Hacı Ağa', however, in reference to Seyyid el-Hacı Mustafa Ağa, aka Hacı Ağa, who lived there in the nineteenth century.³¹

Around 1942, it was Hacı Ağa's grandson Hüseyin Karaduman Dede (1889 or 1890/1891–1960),³² called Hüseyin Efendi (see Fig. 3), who suggested to Ali Dede's father that his son should come over to him for private lessons, which he did for about two years. The private teaching did not take place in one of the village's *tekkes*, however, but in Hüseyin Efendi's own house. Although some of the *tekke* buildings were still in sound condition at that point, it was forbidden to run *tekkes* from 1925 onwards. As in many cases, the former *tekkes* were either used for other purposes (abused, in fact) or they remained empty and gradually fell into disrepair. The villagers usually switched to family houses that were spacious enough to host a ritual gathering or a meeting for teaching purposes. This was common practice anyway in Alevi villages without a *tekke*.

30 'Hacı Ağa'nın pınarı köyün mezrası / Bir zaman bitmedi onun davası / Tatlıdır suyu güzel havası / Tahsile başladım bir güzel yerde'. (Unpublished typescript by Ali Göktürk Dede.) The lawsuit (*dava*) to which Ali Dede refers in his poem concerns the occupation of Hacı Ağa'nın Pınarı (or Üçbölük) by inhabitants from another village.

31 I was unable to locate the whereabouts of the gravestones of a number of people who are of interest here. The dates of their birth and death are unknown. For an overview of the relations between families and those between teachers and their pupils, see Diagram, p. 181.

32 According to the inscription on Hüseyin Karaduman Dede's tombstone, he lived from 1889 till 1960. In a manuscript that will be introduced in more detail in the following, his date of birth is given as 1308 AH, i.e. 1890/1891 CE (see MS 2, fol. 58^v).



Fig. 2: Ali Göktürk Dede with MS 4, 'Divan-i Nizamoğlu', in his hands. Malatya, October 2013. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Fig. 3: Hüseyin Karaduman (undated). Picture on the wall in Veysel Gültekin Dede's house in Malatya, October 2013. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.

While the Latin script had been officially introduced more than ten years earlier, Hüseyin Efendi had good reasons to teach Ottoman Turkish and some Arabic to Ali Dede, who said he was his last student.³³ Only having a command of these languages, which are both written in Arabic characters³⁴, not Latin ones, would qualify a future *dede* to receive his religious education the way his ancestors did. As the manuscripts from Şeyh Hasan Köyü that are known to me show, they were often used for learning and teaching purposes – over several generations, in fact.

³³ In the 1940s, Hüseyin Efendi started to lead a withdrawn life, which lasted till his death in 1960. It is commonly claimed that his spiritual retreat (*çile*) lasted for 23 years (see Aydın, Topalcengiz and Onarlı [s.a.], for example). According to a more detailed report, Hüseyin Efendi had already started to withdraw from worldly matters when he educated Ali Dede, but he had stayed in a small house close to his family, who provided him with food. Ten or fifteen years later, he moved to a cell-like cave in the nearby mountains. (Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede and Turabi Şahin by Janina Karolewski, 19 March 2014, Malatya, Turkey.)

³⁴ Throughout this article, I refer to the alphabet of Ottoman Turkish as the Arabic alphabet. This also reflects how interviewees like Ali Dede made reference to the alphabet; or they simply spoke of 'the old script' ('eski yazı').

Hüseyin Efendi had been trained like this, just like other members of the Hacı Ağa family before him, and consequently he continued to teach the same way. Ali Dede, who was well aware of the invaluable language education that he received, expressed this once as follows:

If I had not learnt the old script [i.e. Arabic characters], I would not have acquired so much knowledge. There are a lot of rich and important books in Ottoman Turkish, and Arabic is essential, too. The *dedes* who know the old script are better informed than the *talips*, who don't have the key to the door that leads to knowledge.³⁵

It is also notable here that Ali Dede believes that *talips* cannot read Arabic script, which would give them access to Ottoman Turkish writing. This could suggest that it was the prerogative of the *ocak* members in Şeyh Hasan Köyü to receive training in reading and writing Ottoman Turkish. Like the economic and social capital that comes with literacy in many contexts, the ability to access written texts that preserve a community's traditions must have been crucial in generating religious capital for the respective *ocak*, especially its *dedes*.³⁶

According to Ali Dede, his father Yusuf Göktürk Dede (1899/1900–1989), aka Yusuf Çavuş, was unable to study the Arabic script sufficiently because his own father died too early for him to teach him it properly. Yusuf Çavuş was a well-trained and highly respected *dede*, nevertheless, but he must have felt the shortcomings in his own training, as he became a driving force in his son's education. First, he taught Ali Dede the Latin alphabet with the help of schoolbooks,³⁷ and later when Hüseyin Efendi, asked Yusuf Çavuş to send his son to him, he agreed immediately. The two years that Ali Dede spent with Hüseyin Efendi provided him with his main training; he never attended any other school after that.³⁸

During his education there, Ali Dede stayed in Hüseyin Efendi's home, living with his teacher's family. The two men sat on cushions on the floor when lessons were held, which took place during the day. They usually worked together first of all, then Ali Dede had to practise on his own and do some homework for the

35 'Eski yazıyı öğrenmeseydim bu kadar bilgiye sahip olmazdım. Çok zengin ve önemli Osmanlıca kitaplar var. Arapça da çok önemli. Eski yazıyı bilen dedeler taliplerden daha bilgili, onlarda bilgiye açılan kapının anahtarını yok' (Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 27 Aug. 2017, Malatya, Turkey).

36 On the concept of religious capital by Pierre Bourdieu, see Rey 2018, 305–306, for example.

37 Interviews with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 8 July 2017 and 27 Aug. 2017, Malatya, Turkey.

38 When the state-run school was opened in Şeyh Hasan Köyü around 1946 or 1947, Ali Dede was too old to attend it. (Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 27 Aug. 2017, Malatya, Turkey.)

following day. All in all, he said he must have studied about twelve hours a day. His father had given him paper and a case with some pens and an ink pot, but he learnt to make ink and cut pens himself. Although there were pens with nibs made of steel, Ali Dede said that they used reed from the Euphrates or thin branches of the *yilgin* tree³⁹ to make pens (*kalems*) themselves. Regarding inks, he explained that red ink was produced from a plant named *kardaş kanı*⁴⁰ and black ink was made of soot taken from chimneys, for example.⁴¹

The first part of the training consisted of learning the Arabic alphabet and reading Ottoman Turkish from printed books. The two prints that Ali Dede mentioned were *Nevdeste* and *Güldeste*,⁴² both of which were stylistic guide books from the late nineteenth century. The latter is said to have been used in Ottoman and Armenian schools for many years,⁴³ which could imply that someone from the village attended such a school. Ali Dede remembers that he struggled to decipher the letters in Arabic characters, not to mention the many Arabic and Persian loanwords, which he had to learn off by heart. Despite the difficult vocabulary, the two printed works have one advantage that prepared Ali Dede for the use of manuscripts: they are not typeset prints, but lithographs, the texts of which are mostly in *Rıka*, a very common writing style at the time, which is said to have been simpler than other styles. This is how Ali Dede became acquainted with reading handwriting, while another part of his training was dedicated to writing exercises.

The next part of his tuition was one that all the previous lessons prepared him for: Hüseyin Efendi introduced him to manuscripts containing texts that

³⁹ The *yilgin* or *ilgin* tree (*tamarix parviflora* DC.) belongs to the Tamaricaceae family (tamarisk) (see Ertuğ 2000, 167).

⁴⁰ The only reference to the use of *kardaş kanı* as a dye that I have been able to find so far is in Kolaç's thesis about traditional medicine in the region of Malatya: he mentions *kardaş kanı* as the local name of false cleaver (*galium spurium* subsp. *ibicinum* (Boiss. & Hausskn.) Ehrend.) and says that it was used to produce 'a kind of henna' (Kolaç 2018, 94). False cleaver belongs to the Rubiaceae family, whose species known as madder (*rubia tinctorum* L.; *kökboya* in Turkish) and yellow bedstraw (*galium verum* L.; *yoğurt otu* in Turkish) are well-known in Anatolia where they are used in the production of red dye (see Karadağ 2007, 72–75 and 107).

⁴¹ If not indicated otherwise, this and the following paragraphs of this chapter are based on interviews with Ali Gökürk Dede conducted by Janina Karolewski in Malatya, Turkey on 3 Oct. 2013, 18 March 2014, 20 Apr. 2017, 8 July 2017 and 27 Aug. 2017.

⁴² *Nevdeste* by Bedros Garabedian (1869–1937) was published in several versions in both Arabic and Armenian characters. For the Ottoman Turkish versions, see Zeki 1316 AH; or Özege 1971–1982, vol. 3, 1209. *Güldeste* by Mihran Apigian (1855–1937?) was also published in several versions; see Mihri 1303 AH; or Özege 1971–1982, vol. 2, 680.

⁴³ Ertaş 2016, 156.

were important for his religious education. The two manuscripts that Ali Dede remembers from the lessons (see MS 1 and 2) contain poetic works and are now in his possession. One is the epic on Müseyyeb b. Necebe (d. 685 CE),⁴⁴ who is said to have been a companion of Imam Ali. The other comprises several stories on religious figures, such as the Prophet Muhammad, his wife Hatice (d. 619 CE) and the early mystic İbrahim b. Edhem (d. 777/778 CE).⁴⁵ Ali Dede referred to the books as *Müseyyib Gazi* and *Hatice Hatun*, the latter being named after its first text, entitled 'The Story of Hatice Hatun'.⁴⁶

Besides that, Ali Dede said that his teacher read and taught from the Qur'an. Since Ali Dede and another *dede* from the village have at least three handwritten Qur'an copies of which I am aware, it is possible that Hüseyin Efendi used a manuscript. Still, it is well-known that the Ottoman State was eager to attract Alevis and other religious groups to Sunni Islam from the late nineteenth century onwards and it began to distribute free printed Qur'ans, surah collections and catechisms as a result.⁴⁷ Many Alevis did not discard these, but included them in their book collections.

It is also possible that Hüseyin Efendi made Ali Dede work on other manuscripts, but this is unclear. By looking at the manuscripts from Şeyh Hasan Köyü, which will be elaborated on in the next section, we can identify other texts that may have been taught as well. However, we should also bear in mind that Ali Dede's education did not come to an end when he left the Fountain of Hacı Ağa two years after arriving there. He usually said that he continued reading texts in Ottoman Turkish and never stopped doing so for long. His reading skills in Ottoman Turkish were excellent, so it looks as if Ali Dede had incorporated as many books as possible into his ongoing training, parts of which he must have mastered on his own or with other *ocak* members who shared some of their knowledge with him.

While Ali Dede admits that he initially needed a while to get used to the very individual hands of the manuscript copyists, this was only secondary to his final lessons with Hüseyin Efendi. His main task was to understand the meaning and message of the texts, which are composed in a way that only those already familiar with the tradition can follow. Hüseyin Efendi had to explain missing background

⁴⁴ In Arabic, he is referred to as al-Musayyab b. Nağaba. In Turkish, the name can be written in a variety of ways, e.g. Müseyyeb, Müseyyib or Müseyib.

⁴⁵ In Arabic, he is referred to as İbrâhîm b. Adham.

⁴⁶ In the following, I have employed the names of the respective manuscripts given by Ali Dede and other people since it is a convenient practice. In order to avoid any confusion, I have italicised the names of the books, but used inverted commas for the titles of texts.

⁴⁷ Somel 2001, 222.

information and interpret the texts for Ali Dede, who hardly took any notes, but tried to memorise everything. There may have been a variety of reasons for him making this decision, but presumably his teacher did not encourage him to keep on noting down what was new to him. As mentioned earlier, memorisation of knowledge seems to have been a widespread phenomenon among *dedes* and it was highly regarded.

Ali Dede was a passionate advocate of the educational system in which he was socialised. This became apparent during my many visits to the ‘Şeyh Hasan Köyü Support Association’ (‘Şeyh Hasan Köy Dayanışma Derneği’) in Malatya, where Ali Dede went to meet people connected to the village and welcome anyone interested in the Alevi tradition. When Vedat, a young man interested in the similarities between Alevism and Christianity, asked him for written sources, for example, Ali Dede answered like this:

Since you’ve asked for some written sources, I’ll have to explain something important to you. There are two different kinds of sources: written ones and oral ones. You can destroy every written source. In fact, many of our written sources have been destroyed. But as for the oral source you keep in your mind, no-one can destroy it.⁴⁸

Still, Ali Dede and others used written texts during their education in order to memorise knowledge; they copied texts and preserved them as long as possible in written form. Examples of this can be seen in most of the manuscripts that circulated in Şeyh Hasan Köyü. There are the aforementioned *Müseyyib Gazi* and *Hatice Hatun*, or *Ebu Müslim* and *Ahmed Zemci*, which I shall introduce in the next section along with other works.⁴⁹ Unlike textual knowledge such as prayers and hymns, which were usually expected to be expounded or performed without reading, such stories, epics and narrations used to be read and interpreted at social gatherings. This practice is also known from other contexts such as dervish orders, and some of the texts that are supposed to have been popular in Shiite or Alevi groups were present in the Sunni milieu as well and were read in shared rooms in villages or coffee houses in cities.

48 ‘Sen yazılı kaynakları sorunca sana önemli bir açıklama yapmak zorundayım. İki farklı kaynak var. Yazılı kaynaklar ve sözlü kaynaklar var. Her yazılı kaynağı yok edebilirsin. Zaten çok yok edilmişler bizim yazılı kaynaklarımız. Ama sözlü kaynağı aklında tutarsın, bunu hiç kimse yok edemez.’ (Ali Göktürk Dede, documented by Janina Karolewski, 8 July 2017, Malatya, Turkey.)

49 Regarding the epic on Ebu Müslim, see Albayrak 1994, 195, among others.

3 Ali Dede's collection and other manuscripts from Şeyh Hasan Köyü

The collection of manuscripts that Ali Dede has compiled over the years is remarkable in many regards and requires more than the present article to do it justice academically. Nonetheless, I would like to at least mention the richness of written textual knowledge from the village and share the history of the books that I have been able to reconstruct so far. The manuscripts presented here comprise texts that are in line with what we know about the textual tradition in some Alevi communities. As Rıza Yıldırım states, the Qur'an was the most commonly owned book in the more than 300 Alevi villages in which he conducted his fieldwork.⁵⁰ The aforementioned epics, narratives and poetic works on episodes from early Islam, venerated figures or religious beliefs and practices are equally represented in collections from various Alevi communities.

As is very common in manuscript collections from Alevi communities, Ali Dede also owns a book containing the famous anti-Sunni polemic 'Kitab-i Hüsniye' or 'Risale-i Hüsniye', named after its main character, a Shiite slave girl who engages in religious debates with Sunni scholars at the court of Caliph Harun er-Reşid.⁵¹ The manuscript does not contain any notes about its scribe or when and where it was written. A marginal note by Ali Dede about the mild winter in 1954, however, gives a *terminus ante quem* (see MS 3). The information harmonises with my assumption that *Hüsniye* was copied by Hasan Gültekin (1895–1941/1942),⁵² aka Topal Hasan, a *dede* from Şeyh Hasan Köyü, about whom more will be said in the following. Topal Hasan was the scribe who copied another manuscript, which resembles MS 3 in regard to its layout, especially the writing style. This book, MS 4, is dated 1333 AH (1915 CE) and contains 'Divan-i Nizamoğlu', the poetry collection of the famous Sufi poet Seyyid Seyfullah Kazım b. Nizameddin, or Seyyid Nizamoğlu (d. 1601), who was affiliated with the Halveti Order.

Another item in the collection is a so-called *cönk*, an oblong booklet that usually contains poetry (see MS 5). As is the case with many *cönks*, the one in question here does not have a colophon, probably because the owners of *cönks* kept them for a long time and noted down texts every now and then. On fol. 60^r,

⁵⁰ Yıldırım 2018, 295–302.

⁵¹ See Ünal 2016, esp. 87–92.

⁵² The date of birth is based on a note in MS 1, fol. 55^v, which states 8 Kanun I 1311 *maliye* (20 December 1895 CE). The date of his death is based on two notes in MS 4, fols 28^v and 69^v, which state 1360 AH (1941/1942 CE).

however, we find the abrupt mentioning of the date 1271 AH (1854/1855 CE) under a poem's first and only couplet. The poems contained in this *cönk* are attributed in the very last couplet to famous *aşıks* of the Alevi tradition, such as Pir Sultan Abdal and Şah Hatayi. Most of them name 'Teslim Abdal' in their attribution, however, which is a pseudonym that was used by more than one poet. Among the several claims about who is behind the name of 'Teslim Abdal', there is also one that he was from Şeyh Hasan Köyü.⁵³ And indeed, in the village they remember a *dede* with this name, who had lived there and was a poet. This is probably the reason why Ali Dede marked many of the poems by Teslim Abdal with the imperative 'al' (lit. 'take', probably 'copy' is meant here) or others with the note 'yazıldı' ('written down', 'copied'), presumably for a collection of poems he compiled for himself. It is therefore possible that the scribe of the *cönk*, who made a similar selection of texts by Teslim Abdal, came from the village or was related to it and its *ocak*.

The Qur'an copy in Ali Dede's collection is illuminated and has a leather cover with marbled paper pastedowns on it (see MS 6). Since the last few pages are missing, so is the colophon (if there ever was one). On the guard-leaf and pastedown at the back, however, Ali Dede added in Arabic that the scribe was a certain Şeyh Hasanlı Kılıçoğlu Mılla⁵⁴ İsmail, son of Seyyid Yusuf, son of Seyyid Kul Mustafa, son of Kılıç Abdal, and the date of copying was 527 AH (1132/1133 CE). This statement seems doubtful as a whole. Kılıçoğlu Mılla İsmail is the scribe of *Müseyyib Gazi*, as he states in its colophon, which is dated 1235 AH (1820 CE) (see MS 1), and both scribes' hands differ substantially. Above all, though, the ostensible date lies more than a hundred years before Şeyh Hasan Köyü was supposedly founded. I propose that the copy of the Qur'an comes from the late eighteenth or nineteenth century since it resembles what is commonly known as the standard at that time in terms of its layout.⁵⁵ It is possible that the scribe was from Şeyh Hasan Köyü, while the illumination and binding could have been commissioned to someone from outside the village.⁵⁶ It remains to be seen why Ali

⁵³ See Özmen 1998, 89–93.

⁵⁴ 'Mılla' is the local version of 'molla', a title usually used for religiously trained people who teach students. I prefer to stick to the first spelling here because it is also used in the manuscripts and Alevis partly understand it as having a different meaning to 'molla' in the Sunni context.

⁵⁵ See Stanley 2004, 59, among others. On common features of nineteenth-century Qur'an manuscripts, also see Witkam 2002. My thanks to Stefanie Brinkmann for pointing this article out to me.

⁵⁶ This assumption is also based on the comparison to MS 7, another Qur'an copy that is in the possession of Aydın Gültekin Dede (b. c. 1974) from Şeyh Hasan Köyü. The layout again suggests that the manuscript comes from the late eighteenth or nineteenth century, but its calligraphy

Dede made this attribution, but by adding the scribe's name, I presume he intended to mark the book as part of the village's written tradition. As we will see in the following, it was not by chance that he decided to attribute the copying to Kılıçoğlu Milla İsmail.

Two books from Ali Dede's collection contain parts of 'Kitab-i Kerbela', a poetic work on the martyrdom of Imam Hüseyin by Darendeli Bekayi, or Darendevi Bekai (d. 1785), who, as his name indicates, came from Darende, a small town in the province of Malatya around a hundred kilometres west of Şeyh Hasan Köyü.⁵⁷ The scribe of MS 8, the first book, was a certain Kangallı Topal Ahmed, who dated his copying to 1363 *maliye* (1947 CE).⁵⁸ The affix to his name ('Kangallı') suggests that he was either from the town of Kangal in today's province of Sivas around 150 kilometres north-west of Şeyh Hasan Köyü or he came from one of the villages in the district of the same name. This is not surprising, as the area is known for its Alevi settlements. There is also a possibility that Topal Ahmed was not as lame as the epithet 'topal' suggests in Turkish, but that he had left Kangal and was living and working somewhere else that may have been very close to Şeyh Hasan Köyü. The text of the second manuscript, MS 9, was copied in 1288 AH (1871 CE) by a certain es-Seyyid Muhammed Bedri, the son of muezzin Ali Efendi. The detail that his father was a muezzin gives rise to the assumption that he was not from Şeyh Hasan Köyü. Like many other Alevi villages, Şeyh Hasan Köyü does not have a mosque of its own and apparently never had one. A short invocation in the colophon, reading 'With your permission, oh spiritual master.' ('Destür yâ pîr.') (fol. 122'), may indicate that the scribe had a Sufi background.

Epic works and stories, which enjoyed popularity beyond the Shiite and Alevi milieu and were most probably read at social gatherings, are in at least four of the manuscripts from the village, two of which belong to each of the collections owned by Ali Dede and Veysel Dede, about whom we will learn more in the following. The book that Ali Dede refers to as *Hatice Hatun* contains several stories on the Prophet Muhammad and other important figures of early Islam. The manuscript's scribe was Hasan Efendi (b. 1839/40⁵⁹), the uncle of Ali Dede's teacher Hüseyin Efendi, who accomplished the copying in two parts in 1268 AH (1852 CE)

indicates that a more professional scribe was at work here. Two notes on the front guard-leaf and fol. 1' name a certain Abbas Efendi, a grandchild of Şeyh Hasanlı Ali Efendi, as its owner.

57 See Eren 2014 and Türkoğlu 2017.

58 The dating according to the Maliye or Rumi calendar after its abolition in 1926 is not a rare phenomenon.

59 His date of birth is based on the information from the colophon, in which he says he was thirteen years old in 1268 AH (MS 2, fol. 58').

and 1270 AH (1853 CE) (see MS 2). ‘Kitab-i Sultan Müseyyeb Gazi’, the epic on Imam Ali’s companion Müseyyeb b. Necebe (d. 685 CE), who took revenge on the murderers of Imam Hüseyin together with several other men, was copied by Kılıçoğlu Milla İsmail, son of Seyyid Yusuf, son of Kul Mustafa, in 1235 AH (1820 CE) (see MS 1). The scribe is probably the aforementioned Kılıçoğlu Milla İsmail, to whom Ali Dede attributed the copying of the Qur’an manuscript in his possession.

Veysel Gültekin Dede (b. 1932), a relative of Ali Dede’s and a member of the Şeyh Ahmed Dede Ocağı, owns an undated exemplar of the poetic work commonly known as ‘Destan-i Ebu Müslim’ or ‘Ebu Müslimname’, which narrates the story of Ebu Müslim el-Horasani (d. 755 CE),⁶⁰ a figure who played a major role in the Abbasid revolution, but was eventually killed at the command of the Abbasid caliph Al-Mansur.⁶¹ The manuscript’s scribe was a certain Yusuf Efendi, son of İsmail, whom Ali Dede said was his father. As far as I could determine from the marginal notes, its *terminus ante quem* is 5 Kanun I 1330 *maliye* (18 December 1914) (see MS 10), which does not conflict with Ali Dede’s claim. Among Veysel Dede’s manuscripts is a book on Ebu Müslim’s vice-regent Ahmed Zemci, who is said to have taken revenge for the killing of Ebu Müslim.⁶² The text was copied before 1180 AH (1766/1767 CE), as a marginal note in the manuscript reveals, but we do not know anything about its scribe or provenance (see MS 11).

Last, but not least, we should turn our attention to documents and *Buyruk* manuscripts, which are said to have been of utmost significance in the collections of many *ocak* members. Usually, it is assumed that *Buyruks* contain the dogmatic texts of Alevi communities.⁶³ Ali Dede did not own a *Buyruk* manuscript from Şeyh Hasan Köyü; he obtained access to an exemplar of one around 1997, which he made a Xerox copy of for his own needs. Judging from the copy, the original neither has a colophon nor any other informative notes in it. It is said to have been in the possession of a certain Abbas Epik (d. c. 2010) who came from Kumlutarla (old name: Ataf Köyü),⁶⁴ a village that lies some 35 kilometres to the north-east of Şeyh Hasan Köyü on the banks of the Euphrates. Kumlutarla is the centre of the Şih Bahşiş Ocağı and had a *tekke* of its own in the past.⁶⁵ Although Ali Dede

⁶⁰ In Arabic, he is referred to as Abū Muslim al-Ḥurāsānī.

⁶¹ See Babayan 2002, 121–160, and Mëlikoff 1962.

⁶² On works narrating the story of Ahmed Zemci, see Babayan 2002, 153, endnote 37. Also see the text ‘Kitab-i Ahmed ez-Zemci’ in O6 Mil Yz A 6061, Milli Kütüphane, Ankara, Turkey.

⁶³ For more on *Buyruks*, see Kaplan 2010, Otter-Beaujean 1997 and Karolewski in the present volume (see below, section ‘Modifying Tradition’).

⁶⁴ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 3 Oct. 2013, Malatya, Turkey.

⁶⁵ See Onarlı 2000, 119–122.

mentioned several times that there had been *Buyruk* manuscripts in Şeyh Hasan Köyü, I have not been able to discover their whereabouts yet.

Regarding documents in Alevi family archives, the most common ones are genealogies called *şecere* or *silsilename*, which often confirm the family's descent from the Prophet Muhammad, and certificates called *icazetname*, which certify the holder's affiliation with a certain Sufi order.⁶⁶ Frequently, these genealogies and certificates are found in one and the same document. It seems that many *icazetname* documents lost their original function over the course of time and began to serve as certificates documenting the religious status of their holders instead, namely their descent from the Prophet Muhammad and one of the Alevi holy lineages.⁶⁷

The oldest document from Şeyh Hasan Köyü is said to be a certificate dated 1 Muharrem 829 AH (12 November 1425), which presents the line of ancestry of its holder from a certain Şeyh Ahmed el-Cemi (allegedly Şeyh Ahmed Dede) and confirms the latter's affiliation with the Vefai Order.⁶⁸ Ali Dede remembers that such documents, which were normally scrolls with an impressive layout, were exhibited and read to the followers in Şeyh Hasan Köyü on occasions such as the collective mourning that took place in the month of Muharrem.⁶⁹

These genealogies were an important means of backing up the *ocak's* claim to descend from the family of the Prophet Muhammad through Şeyh Ahmed Dede, which granted its members several privileges, including the right to use the honorific title of 'seyyid', as we have already seen in some of the names mentioned above. The only document of this kind that Ali Dede has in his collection appears to be a certificate from Kerbela, which is dated 1135 AH (1722/1723 CE) and relates several individuals to the Prophet Muhammad and the Vefaiyye via Şeyh Ahmed Dede (see MS 12). I am convinced that someone manipulated the document in order to make it suitable for their own ends, but I cannot go into much detail about it here as that would go beyond the scope of this article.⁷⁰ It is

⁶⁶ See Karakaya-Stump 2010, 274–275.

⁶⁷ Karakaya-Stump 2012/2013, 286.

⁶⁸ Aşan 2005. Also see 'Tâcû'l-Ârifin' (s.a.).

⁶⁹ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 29 March 2017, Malatya, Turkey. Akar Güneş confirmed that this practice is said to have existed in the village and is still being continued by some *dedes* today. (Telephone interview with Akar Güneş, Schweinfurt, Germany, by Janina Karolewski, 20 Oct. 2018.)

⁷⁰ Apart from several passages where someone altered words or erased them, its content and form do not correspond to similar documents I have seen. While the document gives the genealogy of a certain Zeyd ibn eş-Şeyh, other names are placed at the top and bottom of the scroll. I cannot say how they relate to its text yet. They include Kul Mustafa, Seyyid Kılıç, Derviş Teslim,

interesting, however, that there are two names among the *seyyids* mentioned in this document that were frequently used among Ali Dede's ancestors: Kul Mustafa and Kılıç. The latter became particularly famous since the family as a whole used to be called Kılıçoğulları, or the Sons of Kılıç (their surname is now Göktürk).⁷¹ As oral lore reports, the Kılıçoğulları are said to be the descendants of Şeyh Ahmed Dede's grandchild Şeyh Cüneyd, while the other *dede* families in the village are supposed to be the progeny of his grandchildren Şeyh Şemseddin, Şeyh Davud and Seyyid Ahmed (see Diagram, p. 181, regarding the family relations covered here and in the following).⁷² These differences in lineage divided the members of the Şeyh Ahmed Dede Ocağı and created subgroups within the village, which kept separate records of their lines of descent.⁷³

Another document from Kербela dated Receb 1274 AH (February/March 1858) is only available in the form of a rough transcription that Ali Dede made with a typewriter. The *şecere* attests the status of *seyyid* to a certain Seyyid Kul Mustafa, son of Seyyid İsmail, son of Seyyid Yusuf, son of Seyyid Kılıç Abdal – once again a member of the Kılıçoğulları and perhaps the son of Kılıçoğlu Milla İsmail, the scribe who copied *Müseyyib Gazi* (see MS 1). Just like the previous document, the transcript poses several questions about its authenticity, which I cannot answer now, as they are irrelevant for the point I wish to make here.⁷⁴ What is central here is that the Kılıçoğulları, just like other *dede* families from Şeyh Hasan Köyü,⁷⁵ felt the need to possess written evidence of their lineage in the form of certificates.

Besides this, there are other written traces as well that show what emphasis was placed on family history, even if they are just abbreviated versions of the complete lineage mentioning only the most significant ancestors. In the margins on fols 2^r–3^r of MS 9, for instance, Ali Dede seems to have compiled passages from the document on which the aforementioned transcript is based. In short, he notes

Derviş Hüseyin, Seyyid Koca, Seyyid Ali, Seyyid Ahmed, Seyyid Kanber and Seyyid Yusuf. Given the fact that most of these names were common in *dede* families in the village, I am inclined to relate them to Şeyh Hasan Köyü (compare them with the names mentioned in Yılmaz 2016, for example).

71 See Aksüt 2013.

72 Interviews with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 3 and 5 March 2014, Malatya, Turkey.

73 One subgroup traces back their lineage to Şeyh Şemseddin through the famous, but historically elusive Teslim Abdal and claims to have become an *ocak* on its own, namely the Teslim Abdal Ocağı. See Akın and Yılmaz 2017.

74 One of the main questions concerns the mismatch between the first lines, which trace Kul Mustafa, the supposed holder of the document, back to Şeyh Ahmed Dede via Şeyh Cüneyd and the following detailed passage, in which the lineage goes via Şeyh Şemseddin to Şeyh Ahmed Dede.

75 See Akın and Yılmaz 2017, for example.

that Kul Mustafa is descended from Kılıç Abdal and Şeyh Ahmed Dede, while the latter, in turn, is descended from Abbas, the son of Imam Ali. It comes as no surprise, then, that Ali Dede attributed the Qur'an copy to a member of the Kılıçoğulları, naming the scribe's ancestors as Kul Mustafa and Kılıç Abdal in the note that he added later.⁷⁶

4 Education in family networks

In order to understand how Ali Dede and other *dedes* in Şeyh Hasan Köyü used manuscripts for teaching and learning, I searched for evidence in the books I was able to access. I quickly realised that the practice of teaching with manuscripts strongly depended on oral tuition, as I could hardly find any annotations, corrections or other kinds of glosses that could be cited as examples of educational work with them. Fortunately, the users of some of the books occasionally left notes that helped me gain insights into the educational network of certain families (see Diagram, p. 181). Unfortunately, I have not been able to reconstruct this tightly woven network in its entirety, but my findings indicate how teaching might have been organised on a wider scale.

The earliest dated evidence of teaching found in the manuscripts so far lies between the lines of the first colophon from *Hatice Hatun* (MS 2, fol. 58^r), in which the scribe, Hasan Efendi (b. 1839/1840), says he was thirteen years old on 8 Şaban 1268 AH (28 May 1852) and the pupil of a certain Milla Yusuf. The title 'milla', or 'molla', does not necessarily indicate he was a teacher, but Ali Dede remembers that several *dedes* were called 'milla' because they were actively involved in educating *ocak* members and followers. Interestingly, he elaborated that his grandfather and great-grandfather were called Milla İsmail and Milla Yusuf respectively, which, in turn, led to the naming of the latter's family and descendants as the Milla Yusufilar, or the Milla Yusufus. Ali Dede is certain that it was his great-grandfather Milla Yusuf who trained Hasan Efendi and that he was mentioned in the colophon in return.⁷⁷

Given Hasan Efendi's young age when copying the texts, this was presumably part of his training – the unsteady and rather muddled handwriting suggests this, too. *Ebu Müslim* (MS 10) is possibly another example of this practice as it is

⁷⁶ In MS 4, fol. 107^r, for instance, its scribe Topal Hasan used the colophon to mention his lineage, but most of the colophon was erased (on purpose). And the scribe Hasan Efendi emphasised his descent from Teslim Abdal in the colophon of MS 2, fol. 58^r.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 3 Oct. 2013, Malatya, Turkey.

also written in unsteady handwriting, parts of which are even illegible. Since the last few pages of this manuscript are missing and may have contained a date, we can only speculate about the scribe, Yusuf Efendi, son of İsmail, who says in the colophon that his father educated him. Following Ali Dede's claim that his father Yusuf Çavuş (1899/1900–1989) was the scribe of *Ebu Müslim*,⁷⁸ he must have done the copying before he was fifteen or sixteen years old. This would support my hypothesis that the scribe was in his early years of training.

Once again, it is *Hatice Hatun* that contains evidence of teaching activities in Şeyh Hasan Köyü. Marginalia in the book reveal that it passed into the hands of Hüseyin Efendi, the nephew of its scribe, Hasan Efendi, and Ali Dede's teacher later. A short annotation that was probably written by Hoca Mehmed Efendi (b. May/June 1858)⁷⁹ is particularly interesting (see Fig. 4): 'In 1321, Hacı Ağa's grandchild Hüseyin Efendi went to Yusuf Ağa's son Mehmed Efendi for tuition. He acquired knowledge and left in 1323'.⁸⁰ Hüseyin Efendi may not have received any training from his uncle Hasan Efendi, whose book – *Hatice Hatun* – he used and owned, but he did study with Hoca Mehmed Efendi, namely from 1321 AH (1903/1904) to 1323 AH (1905/1906). Just as Ali Dede stayed at the Fountain of Hacı Ağa outside the village because his teacher lived there, young Hüseyin Efendi must have been obliged to lodge with his teacher Hoca Mehmed Efendi in the village. Like Ali Dede and Hasan Efendi, Hüseyin Efendi was around thirteen years old when his training started. The students that Hoca Mehmed Efendi taught and about whom Ali Dede reports included his own son, Hasan Gültekin (1895–1941/1942), aka Topal Hasan. Topal Hasan later settled in Hilan Köyü (now known as Uğrak, part of Dilek Mahallesi), which lies approximately 40 kilometres west of Şeyh Hasan Köyü on the other side of the Euphrates, where he worked as a teacher (*hoca*) and looked after his family's religious followers who lived there.⁸¹

I assume that Hoca Mehmed Efendi used *Hatice Hatun* when he taught Hüseyin Efendi. The book may have been in his possession or Hüseyin Efendi may have brought it along with him. It is also very likely that he used *Müseyyib Gazi* for his lessons since its marginalia suggest that the book had been in the

⁷⁸ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 8 Oct. 2013, Malatya, Turkey.

⁷⁹ This date is based on two notes on his birth in Şevval 1274 AH (May/June 1858) in *Müseyyib Gazi*, probably written by his father Yusuf Ağa (MS 1, fols 162^v and 233^r).

⁸⁰ 'Hacı Ağa'nın hafidi Hüseyin Efendi sene 321 tarihinde Yüsuf Ağa'nın maḥdümü Mehmed Efendi yanına okuma geldi için 'ilm peydâ edüb sene 323 tarihinde çıktı' (MS 2, fol. 23^r). I thank my colleague Hülya Çelik, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, for her well-reasoned comments on my reading of this and the following quote (footnote 82).

⁸¹ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 2 Oct. 2018, Malatya, Turkey.

family of Hoca Mehmed Efendi for quite a while. This is particularly surprising because the manuscript was a religious endowment (*vakıf*) to the *tekke* of Şeyh Ahmed Dede. If we rule out the possibility that someone went to the *tekke* every now and then to read the text and make private notes in the book, then *Müseyyib Gazi* must have been in the hands of Hoca Mehmed Efendi's father Yusuf Ağa by 1858 at the latest (see n. 79), only a few decades after it was donated in 1820. Perhaps, it was common practice in the village for the *ocak* members, who were responsible for the *tekke* anyway, to take endowed books with them, keep them in their household and write notes in them. Ultimately, they did not seriously violate the *vakıf* conditions stated in the colophon (see Fig. 5).⁸²

Although the manuscript did not stay at the *tekke* as one would expect, it did remain in the village. And several people read and listened to the epic of Müseyyeb b. Necebe, complying with the request in the colophon. The book will have been removed from the *tekke* in 1925 at the latest when its closure was decreed by law. But as Ali Dede stressed, he did not see the *tekke* of Şeyh Ahmed Dede, which was said to have collapsed.⁸³ This could be another reason for the removal of *Müseyyib Gazi* from its place of donation.

Ownership statements and other private notes are tracks which show who had access to the books and used them. One illustrative case is that of Ali Dede's teacher Hüseyin Efendi, who was probably one of the last educational 'hubs' in the village. It is not surprising that the photograph of him one can find on the internet and in houses of relatives, for example, depicts him sitting with a book in his hands.⁸⁴ He is said to have been a passionate reader with a command of calligraphy, writing it in a clear hand. The manuscripts that relate to him bear witness to this skill. Nonetheless, Hüseyin Efendi does not differ in any great respect from other users and owners of the manuscripts, as he hardly annotated the texts they contained. The only exception worth mentioning here concerns a copy of 'Divan-i Nizamoğlu' by Topal Hasan (MS 4), in which he left several short comments and made corrections on religious beliefs that he did not feel were adequately reflected in the poems. Additionally, he noted the date of Topal

⁸² 'You should not let [the book] be put in another place or desire it. It should only be read and listened to in Şeyh Hasan [Köyü]. Anyone who takes [the book] to village so-and-so and thinks 'I can own [it] myself' will be far away from the intercession of the victorious fighters and martyrs of this book and from God's mercy.' ('[...] sâ'ir yere çıkartmaya heves etmeyesiniz hemân Şeyh Hâsan'da okunub diñlene filân köye götürüb şâhib olurum diyen bu kitâbın içindeki gâzileriñ ve şehidlerîñ şefâ'atinden ve hağkîñ raħmetinden dūr ola.')

⁸³ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 2 Oct. 2018, Malatya, Turkey.

⁸⁴ See Aydın, Topalcengiz and Onarlı (s.a.).

Hasan's death twice, emphasising that he had been the scribe of this book (MS 4, fol. 29^v and 69^v) (see Fig. 6).

Hüseyin Efendi usually left ownership statements or private notes which enable us to name some of his readings with certainty. *Hatice Hatun*, the book that he had received from his uncle Hasan Efendi, must have been particularly dear to him since he continued to use it for family-related notes just like his uncle had done. It is a fine example of how families kept such records and added extra value to the volumes by doing so. In *Ebu Müslim*, Hüseyin Efendi only seems to have left an ownership note, but it is a well-phrased one that is impressive, filling the margin in a calligraphic manner. It reads: 'The owner of this book is your servant Hüseyin, son of İbrahim, son of Hacı Ağa. O Lord, forgive our sins, drown them in the ocean of mercy'.⁸⁵ He added his title, 'efendi', in tiny writing a little way from his name, as if he was trying to accommodate both his humbleness towards God and his higher social status in the statement.

Ebu Müslim further exemplifies how manuscripts that changed owners for educational purposes, such as teaching a class of pupils or self-study, became keepsakes that were not read any longer. The earliest marginal note in it that I found is from 1330 *maliye* (1914/1915) and it says that a man from Atabey Köyü, an Alevi village that lies on the opposite side of the Euphrates further downstream, has been killed in battle (probably World War I) and that his son was born the very same year. Given that Ali Dede claims that the manuscript was copied by his father, Yusuf Çavuş, this note could have been written by him. A subsequent entry is from Ali Dede, who used Arabic and Latin characters to record the beginning of the military service that his brothers İsmail (b. 1927) and Hüseyin (b. 1929) had to do in 1944 and 1947 respectively. Another entry by him from 1951 suggests that Hüseyin Efendi received the book that year or later, as Ali Dede remembers Hüseyin Efendi asked for it in order to study the text.⁸⁶ Still, it seems that *Ebu Müslim* did not remain in his hands for very long, as Veysel Dede's brother Hüseyin Gültekin (b. 1928) made several notes in Latin characters in its margins in 1955. Interestingly, he also added a note on the scribe who copied the book, which reads: 'Dear brothers, Milla İsmail is said to have copied this book'.⁸⁷ His careful wording may indicate that his skills in Ottoman Turkish were not good enough for him to decipher the scribe's name in the colophon; either he misinterpreted the name formula 'Yusuf, son of İsmail' or he relied on hearsay when he

⁸⁵ 'Bu kitabın şâhibi Hacı Ağa'nın oğlu İbrâhîm oğlu Hüseyn bendeleridir başışla şucımızı yâ rabb ki rahmet bahrine garç ét.' (MS 10, fol. 120^v).

⁸⁶ Interview with Ali Göktürk Dede by Janina Karolewski, 2 Oct. 2018, Malatya, Turkey.

⁸⁷ In Turkish, 'Sayın kardeşler bu kitabı mıla ismayel yazmış.' (MS 10).

wrote this note. Probably, neither Hüseyin Gültekin nor his brother Veysel Dede were able to use the manuscript for their education the way Milla Yusuf, Ali Dede and Hüseyin Efendi had done before them.

5 Final remarks

While it is still unclear to what extent external schooling facilities were used, my research shows that the family networks in Şeyh Hasan Köyü possessed a self-sufficient educational system of their own in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As we have seen, the manuscripts from Şeyh Hasan Köyü were circulated in the village community in order to hand down textual knowledge among the male members of the *ocak*. The copying of texts by inhabitants of Şeyh Hasan Köyü gives us clues about the presence of other books that were used as exemplars: These manuscripts may have been kept in the village, borrowed from elsewhere or consulted in other places.

Most of the manuscripts from the village are widely dispersed now, being in the hands of several families living in different parts of Turkey or abroad. It was not possible to trace all these private collections and gain access to the manuscripts. Hopefully, future research on Şeyh Hasan Köyü and its manuscript culture will be able to add more detail and colour to the modest picture I have drawn of it here. In view of this situation, no conclusions can be drawn on textual ‘completeness’ based on the range of manuscripts of which I am aware. If anything, one could speculate on why certain family members have specific manuscripts in their possession (or why they do not).

Most of the manuscripts examined for this article were collective rather than personal belongings. Up until recently, they were not kept by the scribes and their direct descendants as a keepsake, but changed owners frequently. *Dedes* who were involved in educational activities presumably served as temporary ‘hubs’ where books were collected for teaching purposes and self-study before being passed on to another *dede* who acted as a teacher or sought further readings in order to improve or refresh his own knowledge, for example.

The line of teachers I have reconstructed shows that teaching was not always done by a father instructing his own son, but some teachers and pupils were certainly relatives, either close ones or distant. Ali Dede, for instance, did not have the chance to get any training from members of his own family and therefore joined an educational network of families that all claim descent from Şeyh Şemseddin, a grandchild of Şeyh Ahmed Dede. The books that Ali Dede used during his training and received later from his teacher Hüseyin Efendi bear witness

to individuals with this lineage. Even *Müseyyib Gazi* and *Ebu Müslim*, the two manuscripts probably written by scribes from Ali Dede's family, were in the hands of the Şeyh Şemseddin lineage. While the former found its way into Ali Dede's collection, the latter is now in the hands of Veysel Dede, who has a Şeyh Şemseddin lineage.

The fact that most of the manuscripts available to us from Şeyh Hasan Köyü were copied in the nineteenth century is not surprising, as it is actually common to such collections in general. Presumably, this is not only due to the higher probability of accessing recent written sources as compared to older ones, but it hints at 'heydays' of manuscript culture in some Alevi villages in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Era, a period of social reform and transformation. But education in reading and writing Ottoman Turkish came to an end in most Alevi village communities around the late 1950s, a few decades after the alphabet reform in 1928. Like many others from Şeyh Hasan Köyü, Ali Dede moved to Malatya once he had started working in the city's state-run sugar factory in the mid-1950s. His sons neither learnt Ottoman Turkish from him, nor did they receive any specific religious training from him. Nonetheless, his son Selahattin Göktürk, who now lives in Germany, is the chairman of the Alevi Cultural Centre of Cologne ('Alevi Kültür Merkezi Köln'), thus representing what Markus Dressler has called 'the modern *dede*',⁸⁸ who no longer receives the same training as his father and grandfather.⁸⁹

List of manuscripts

- MS 1 (= *Müseyyib Gazi*). Manuscript book; paper; 233 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; title: 'Kitab-i Sultan Müseyyeb Gazi'; scribe: Kılıçoğlu Mılla İsmail ibn Seyyid Yusuf ibn Kul Mustafa; date: 10 Cemazi l 1235 AH (25 February 1820); place: not mentioned, but probably Şeyh Hasan Köyü;⁹⁰ size: 15 × 21 × 4.5 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey. See Fig. 5.

⁸⁸ Dressler 2006.

⁸⁹ I am profoundly grateful to Benjamin Weineck, Universität Bayreuth, for his early interest in and much needed support of this contribution. I also wish to thank him for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this contribution.

⁹⁰ I cannot be sure that all the scribes whom I believe were inhabitants of Şeyh Hasan Köyü copied texts for their manuscripts in the village. This is very likely, but I also know about visits to other villages where they could equally have copied texts for their own ends. This applies to all the manuscripts in the list that are presumed to have been copied in Şeyh Hasan Köyü.

- MS 2 (= *Hatice Hatun*). Manuscript book; paper; 70 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; six texts, among others: 'Hikayet-i Hadice Hatun' (fols 1^v–24^r), 'Hikayet-i Mansur' (fols 41^r–52^r), 'Hikayet-i Cümcüme' (fols 53^r–57^r), 'Kitab-i İbrahim Edhem' (fols 59^r–69^r); scribe: Seyyid Hasan Efendi bin Seyyid el-Hacı Mustafa Ağa bin Seyyid Hasan Askeri bin Seyyid Derviş Muhammed; date: 8 Şaban 1268 AH (28 May 1852 CE) and Muharrem 1270 AH (October/November 1853 CE); place: not mentioned, but probably Şeyh Hasan Köyü; size: 16 × 21.5 × 1.5 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey. See Fig. 4.
- MS 3 (= *Hüsniye*). Manuscript book; paper; 108 folia, last folia missing; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; title: 'Kitab-i Hüsniye'; scribe: not mentioned, but presumably Topal Hasan (see MS 4); date: not mentioned, but a marginal note gives the *terminus ante quem* as 1955 and my assumption about the scribe (see above) suggests 1897–1943; place: not mentioned, but presumably Şeyh Hasan Köyü; size: 11.5 × 17.5 × 1.5 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 4 Manuscript book; paper; first folio missing, 107 folia in all; Turkish in Arabic characters; single work; title: not mentioned, presumably 'Divan-i Nizamoğlu' by Seyyid Nizamoğlu (d. 1601); scribe: Topal Hasan Efendi; date: 9 Ramazan 1333 AH or 9 Temmuz 1331 *maliye* (22 July 1915 CE); place: not mentioned, presumably Şeyh Hasan Köyü; size: 17 × 24 × 1 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey. See Fig. 6.
- MS 5 Manuscript booklet, *cönk* type; paper; 94 folia; Turkish in Arabic characters; collection of poems by Teslim Abdal, Pir Sultan Abdal, Şah Hatayi and many others; scribe: not mentioned; date: not mentioned, but presumably around 1270 AH (1853 CE); place: not mentioned; size: 7.6 × 19.6 × 0.6 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 6 Manuscript book; paper; first and last folia missing, number of folia unknown; Arabic; Qur'an copy; scribe, date and place: not mentioned; size: 14.5 × 21.5 × 2 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 7 Manuscript book; paper; first and last folia missing, number of folia unknown; Arabic; Qur'an copy; scribe, date and place: not mentioned; size: 14.4 × 21.5 × 2 cm; present collection: privately owned by Aydın Gültekin Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 8 Manuscript book; paper; commercially available blank book with squared pages; 111 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; no title, but presumably 'Kitab-i Kerbela' by Darendeli Bekayi (d. 1785) (similar to MS 9); scribe: Kangallı Topal Ahmed; date: 14 Mart 1363 *maliye* (27 March 1947); place: not mentioned; size: 19 × 27 × 2 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.

- MS 9 Manuscript book; paper; first folio missing, 124 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; no title, but presumably ‘Kitab-i Kerbela’ by Darendeli Bekayi (d. 1785) (similar to MS 8); scribe: es-Seyyid Muhammed Bedri bin müezzîn Ali Efendi el-mulakkabî-Leblebicizade; date: Rebi II 1288 AH (June/July 1871 CE); place: not mentioned; size: 17 × 24 × 2.5 cm; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 10 (= *Ebu Müslim*). Manuscript book; paper; first folia missing, approx. 165 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; no title, but presumably ‘Kitab-i Ebu Müslim’; scribe: İsmail oğlu Yusuf Efendi; date: not mentioned, but a marginal note gives the *terminus ante quem* as 5 Kanun I 1330 *maliye* (18 December 1914); place: karye-i Şeyh Hasan; size: 22.5 × 32 × 7 cm; present collection: privately owned by Veysel Gültekin Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 11 (= *Ahmed Zemci*). Manuscript book; paper; first folia missing, approx. 86 folia; Turkish in Arabic script; single work; no title, presumably ‘Kitab-i Ahmed Zemci’; scribe: not mentioned; date: not mentioned, but a marginal note gives the *terminus ante quem* as 1180 AH (1766/67 CE); place: not mentioned; size: 15 × 21 × 2.5 cm; present collection: privately owned by Veysel Gültekin Dede, Malatya, Turkey.
- MS 12 Manuscript document; scroll; paper; Arabic; presumably a genealogical certificate (*şecere*) for a member of the Şeyh Ahmed Dede Ocağı; scribe: not mentioned; date: 1135 AH (1722/23 CE); place: Kerbela; size: not measured; present collection: privately owned by Ali Göktürk Dede, Malatya, Turkey.

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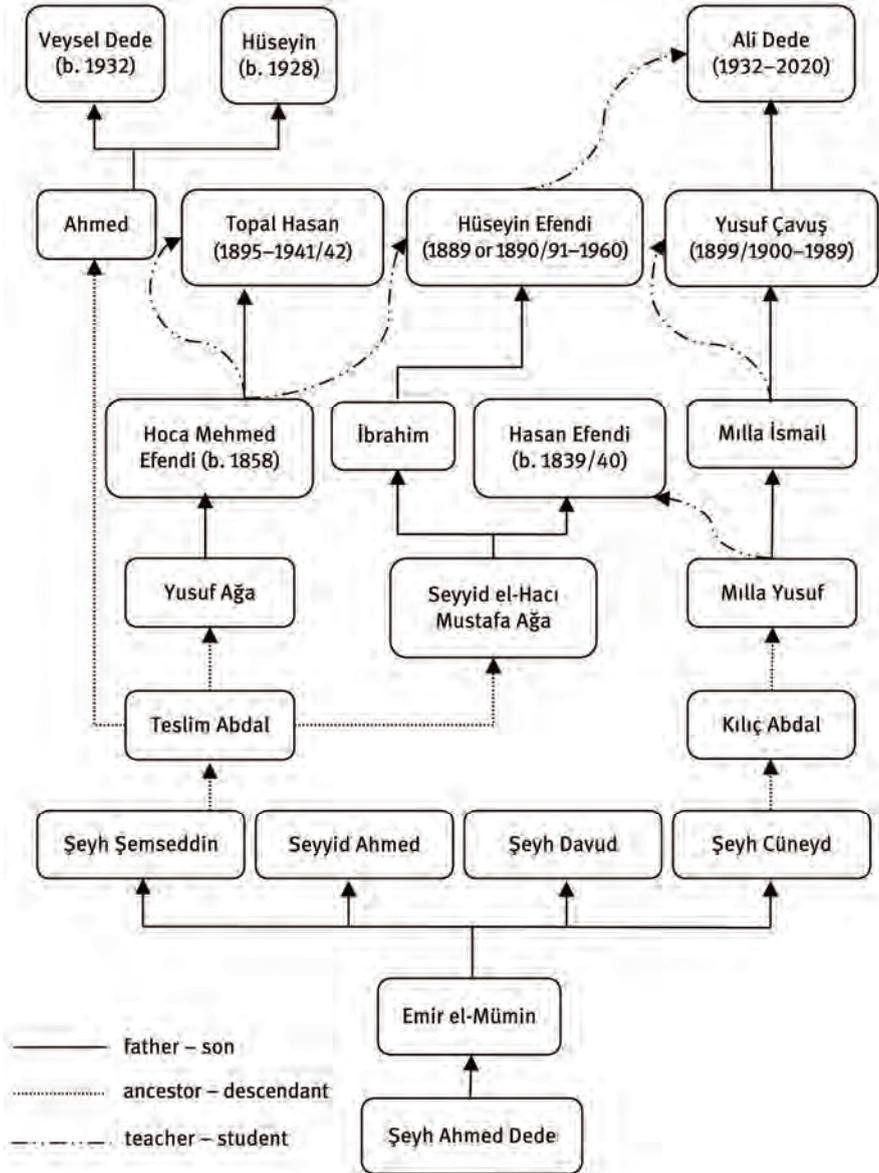
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Diagram: Family and teacher–student relations



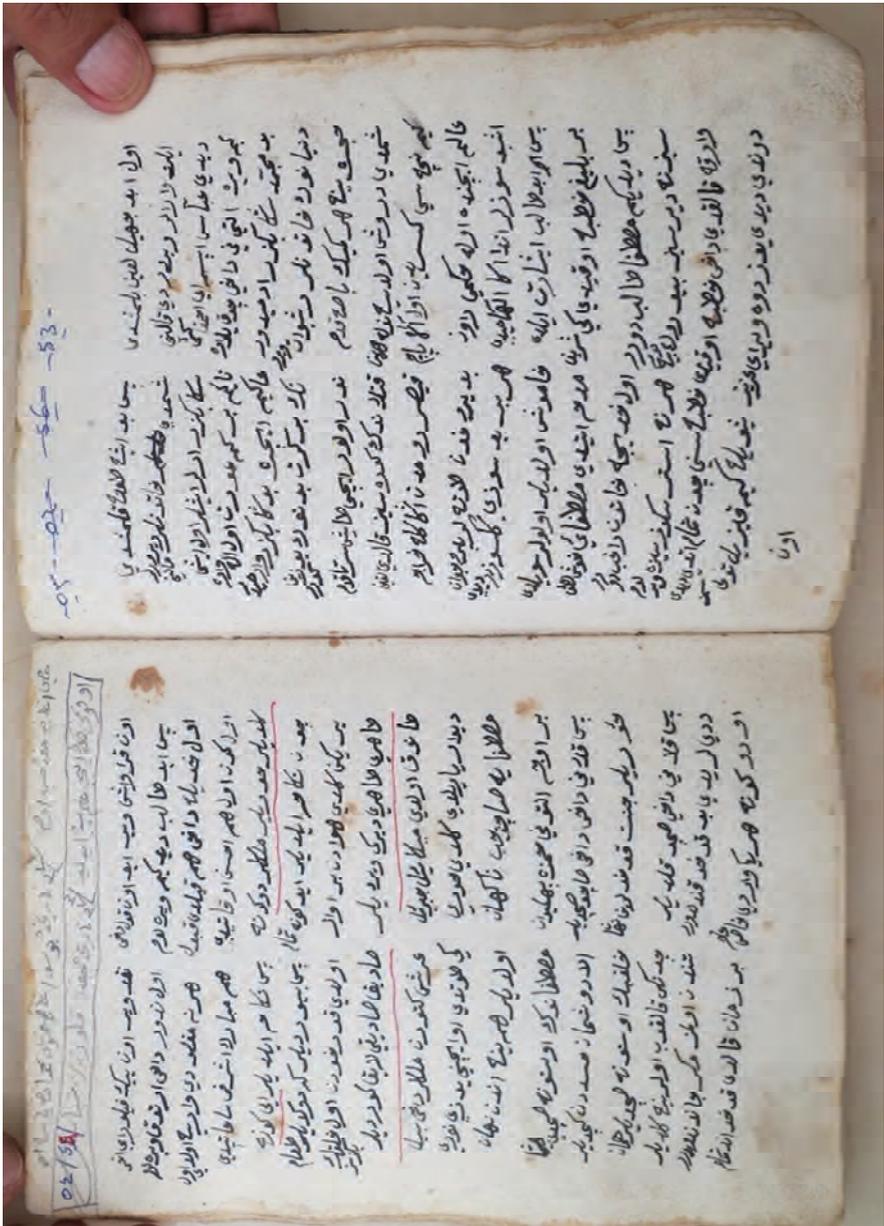


Fig. 4: MS 2, *Hatice Hatun*, fols 22^v–23^r, copied by Hasan Efendi on 8 Şaban 1268 AH (28 May 1852) and in Muharrem 1270 AH (October/November 1853 CE). In the upper margin on fol. 23^r, there is a note on Hüseyin Efendi’s training by Mehmed Efendi from 1321 to 1323 AH (1903/4–1905/6 CE). © Ali Göktürk. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.

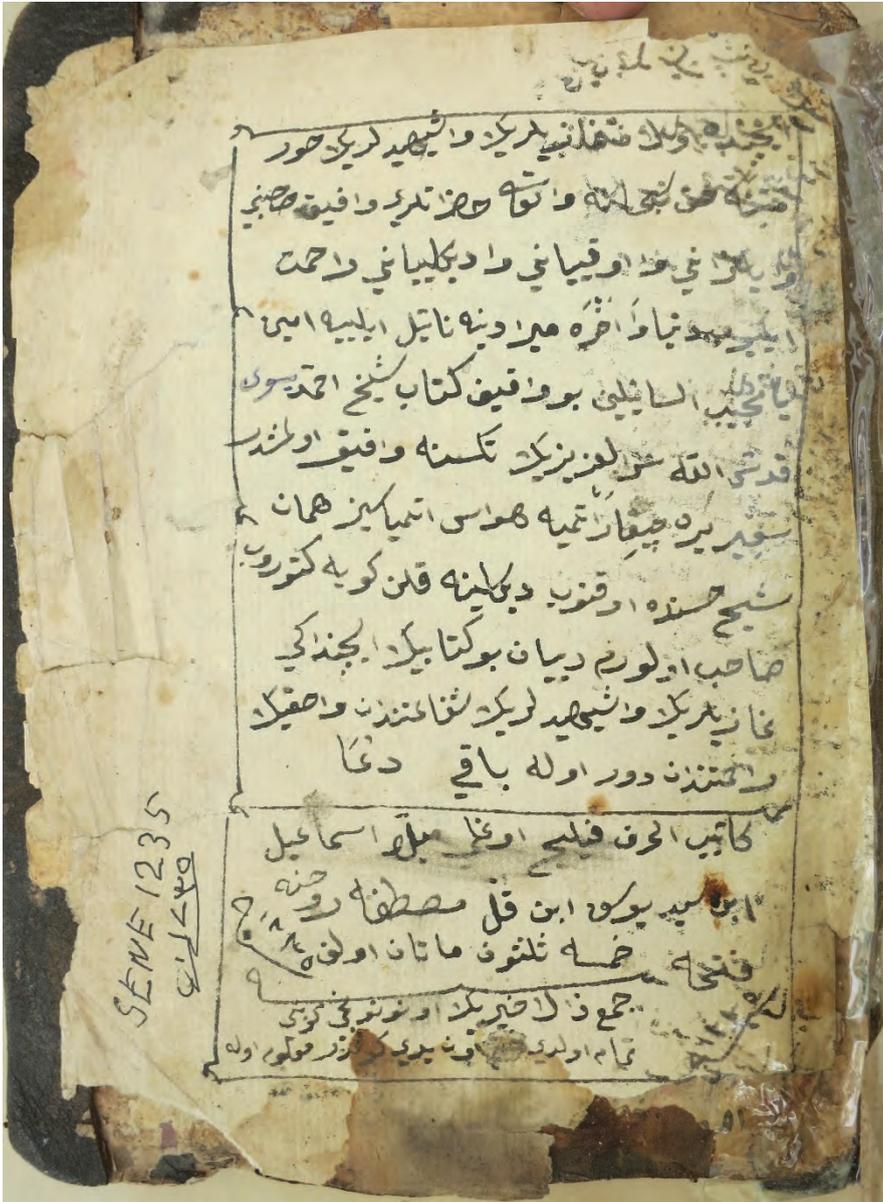


Fig. 5: MS 1, fol. 232', *Müseyyib Gazi*, copied by Kılıçoğlu Milla İsmail on 10 Cemazi l 1235 AH (25 February 1820 CE). Parts of the book's colophon mention the endowment's conditions, the scribe's name and the date of copying. © Ali Göktürk. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Fig. 6: MS 4, fols 28^r–29^v: the poetry collection of Nizamoğlu, copied by Hasan Gültekin, aka Topal Hasan, on 9 Ramazan 1333 AH (22 July 1915 CE). In the upper right-hand margin on fol. 28^r, there is a faint note by Hüseyin Efendi on Hasan Topal's death in 1360 AH (1941/42 CE). © Ali Göktürk. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Exegetical Practices: Annotations and Glossing

Stefano Valente

Introduction: Material Evidence for Exegetical Practices and Intellectual Engagement with Texts

Exegetical practices usually originate in learning contexts. Manuscripts containing annotations often represent an instantiation of an educational and/or scholarly engagement with a given text in a given time and place as well as through the centuries and in different places. So, such written artefacts may offer evidence for uncovering teaching and learning contexts as they were used to store knowledge and guide readers in approaching the commented text(s) they preserve.¹

The educational and scholarly practice of explaining a text originates from various cultural needs by different users within or outside given institutions.² The manuscriptological and textual study of such annotations is therefore telling for the material, cultural and social environments in which they were produced and used. In studying this, it is also important to distinguish between individual achievements and widely attested patterns within the transmitted exegeses. Hosting annotations of different kinds and for different purposes written by one or more scribes, manuscripts mediate between tradition and individuals. They may preserve traditional exegetic materials that have been modified and can also be further modified, updated, and adapted for the different needs of user(s) in different times and contexts.³

Orality should also be taken into account when dealing with exegetical practices, and manuscripts may also offer evidence for oral modes of teaching. In those cultures in which teaching and learning practices were performed

¹ The following introductory remarks do not intend to offer either any comprehensive or theoretical analysis of exegetical activities in general, but merely to highlight common material, textual and cultural patterns among the manuscript cultures here sampled. Given their limited range, further exegetic phenomena within these and other manuscript cultures has, intentionally, not been taken into account.

² See Stefanie Brinkmann's introduction, pp. 3–14.

³ See Eva Wilden's introduction, pp. 373–377.

mainly orally, manuscripts usually preserve only scanty but still valuable traces for reconstructing the original performative contexts.⁴

The difficulty of a text, its language and/or content, its ‘curricular’ use within teaching and learning contexts⁵ are but a few aspects which may have led to comment upon a text in written form. Manuscripts are therefore precious witnesses of exegetical engagements with texts at various levels, from a rather elementary approach devoted to render the bare meaning of a given word to a more general intention toward an in-depth interpretation of a given treatise or poem. Diagrams and illustrations belong to the exegetical apparatus as well, being tools for reading and quickly grasping the content of the main text to which they refer.

The typologies of annotations vary significantly not only in the materials used, but also in their layout: manuscripts may have been prepared in such a manner for the purpose of offering a structured space for planned annotations. Such notes, be they short lexical explanations or more structured commentaries, may be placed between the lines of a text, just above, below or even next to the word to be explained. For this purpose, sufficiently wide interlinear space may have been planned. The same occurs also for the margins of a manuscript, where longer annotations may find their place. Wide marginal space may have been provided for this need and planned, for instance when ruling the page. Regarding marginal annotations, a cross-reference system can sometimes be detected for the purpose of linking each comment to the relevant word or sentence it is commenting upon. Furthermore, the position of annotations within a manuscript may have a semantic dimension, deserving of proper investigation. On the other hand, manuscripts transmitting commentaries, glossaries or lexica referring to another text(s) contained in different manuscript(s) present different layouts and are structured in different ways.

A material change may also influence the (re-)use of annotations. For instance, a user of one or more manuscripts containing a main text along with a more or less structured corpus of annotations, such as glosses and/or commentaries, can also decide to copy this exegetic material into a second manuscript without the text to which they refer. This new collection may be arranged according to different ordering criteria and a more or less planned structure: in

⁴ See Peera Panarut’s paper on Thai literature in this section (pp. 215-239) as well as those by Darya Ogorodnikova on Islamic manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali (pp. 127–150), and Simon Whedbee on teaching practices of the Latin Bible in twelfth-century Northern France (pp. 49–69).

⁵ See Giovanni Ciotti’s article, pp. 315–351.

the case of short glosses, for example, they may follow the sequence of the text originally referred to or be structured according to an alphabetic or thematic order.⁶ Once the annotations and glosses had been transferred onto a different written artefact, and after their original paratextual nature has been transformed, such exegetical texts may enjoy a wider circulation and usage than previously when they were more closely linked to a given text in a given manuscript.⁷

More specifically, the three papers collected in the present section set out to sample only few of the manifold typologies of exegetical practices – such as annotating, commenting, and glossing a text – in different manuscript cultures. The contributions deal respectively with exegetical practices in written artefacts within Greek Byzantine, Thai manuscript and medieval Latin cultures.

Stefano Valente's paper, *Annotating Aristotle's Organon in the Byzantine Age: Some Remarks on the Manuscripts Princeton MS 173 and Leuven, FDWM 1*, examines a few of the Greek Byzantine manuscripts transmitting Aristotle's logical treatises with a rich exegetical apparatus of annotations and glosses written in the margins and between the lines. The complex interactions between text, glosses and commentaries within a single manuscript as well as among two different manuscripts are investigated here according to their purposes of both personal learning and teaching activity. The progressive stratification of annotations written by different scribes and scholars over at least two centuries shows how the exegetic material in a single written artefact was constantly augmented and updated according to the needs of the owners and users. In so doing, the original bulk of annotations copied by the scribe along with the production of the manuscript has been extended by inserting excerpts of other commentaries. Furthermore, the strategies of annotating the text by adapting previous materials have also been analysed.

Peera Panarut's paper, *Scholarship between the Lines: Interlinear Glossing in Siamese Literary Manuscripts*, focuses on the not too common practice of writing interlinear annotations in Siamese literary manuscripts from late eighteenth and nineteenth century. The glossing practice displayed in some manuscripts chiefly concern lexical explanations of archaic, obscure and foreign words contained in literary texts. These glosses mostly reveal an individual character, being the product of the exegetic activity of a single teacher or scholar. However,

⁶ In the present section, the first case is illustrated in the papers by Peera Panarut and Stefano Valente, the latter in Till Hennings' contribution.

⁷ See Till Hennings' paper on this point.

in a few cases a similar or even identical corpus of annotations has been discovered in more than one manuscript, thus providing evidence for the existence of a kind of institutionalised exegetical tradition. This would also be structured later in the form of separate commentaries. Even when the manuscript evidence is limited, the extant annotations are testament to the intensive study of Siamese literature and how individual contributions may play a role in creating a shared commentarial tradition.

Till Hennings' *From Marginal Glosses to Translations: Levels of Glossing in an Early Medieval Manuscript (Munich, BSB, Clm 19410)* not only offers terminological considerations relating to the terms 'gloss' and 'glossary' in Latin medieval studies, but also investigates a further step in organising the result of exegetical practices into a new form. The glossaries in this manuscript dated from the latter half of the ninth century represent copies of previous collections produced in an educational context: in them, glosses and annotations to different texts were extracted from the original manuscript sources and arranged into a new lexicographic form. Furthermore, the sixteen glossaries collected here contain not only lexical explanations in one language (Latin) but one even approaches a literary translation from one language to another (Latin to Old High German). This collection testifies to the different usages of these explanations at various stages of the clergy's education.⁸

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In July 2017 I joined the CSMC and I was charged with directing this section that had formerly been supervised by Vito Lorusso, who had selected, structured and coordinated the work of the contributors to the present section until June 2017.

⁸ See also Simon Whedbee's paper, pp. 49–69.

Stefano Valente

Annotating Aristotle's *Organon* in the Byzantine Age: Some Remarks on the Manuscripts Princeton MS 173 and Leuven, FDWM 1

Abstract: In the Byzantine world, the activity of annotating the *Organon* – the collection of six treatises on logic written by Aristotle – was quite a customary practice in learning and teaching activities of educated people since logic was a constitutive part of the standard scholastic curriculum. Byzantine scribes and scholars used to fill the blank spaces in a manuscript with short glosses and excerpts mostly taken from pre-existing commentaries by Late Antique and Byzantine authors. Each manuscript that transmits Aristotle's texts along with annotations reflects the scholarly activities carried out on those texts over centuries. The manuscript Princeton MS 173 of the Princeton University Library is analysed here as a case study. It was produced towards the end of the thirteenth century by a single scribe who copied Aristotle's treatises as well as some commentaries on them placed in the margins. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the manuscript was in the possession of scholars who judiciously augmented the exegetical apparatus by inserting glosses and further commentaries. In the present paper, the exegetic activity on *Posterior Analytics* in this manuscript will be scrutinised and some exemplary passages from Book 2 selected. The interactions between this manuscript and another one now kept in Leuven (KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections, FDWM 1) will be also investigated.

1 Introduction

If we consider the surviving manuscript production of the Byzantine age, we will discover that the secular author whose works were most often copied was

Aristotle: over a thousand codices of his works are still preserved.¹ However, not all of his treatises enjoyed the same popularity throughout the Byzantine millennium. The most widespread Aristotelian treatises were those included in the *Organon*. This is a structured collection of six works on logic: *Categories*, *On interpretation*, *Prior Analytics* (two books), *Posterior Analytics* (two books), *Topics* (eight books) and *Sophistical Refutations*.² Usually, they were introduced by Porphyry's *Isagoge*.³ It is by no means surprising that these logical treatises were so widespread since they provided the learning and teaching background for standard higher education in Byzantium within both the civil and the religious sphere. In fact, the teaching of Aristotelian logic – essentially based on *Categories*, *On interpretation* and the first chapters of the *Prior Analytics* – was a key part of the trivium together with grammar and rhetoric.⁴ In this context, the practice of commenting was one of the main scholarly activities that every producer and/or user of a manuscript of the *Organon* undertook.

To this end, Byzantine scholars had a wealth of Late Antique and Byzantine commentaries at their disposal that were usually taken as a starting point for studying the text: they were copied both in autonomous manuscripts and in the blank spaces of manuscripts transmitting Aristotle's treatises. Concerning the latter case, the rich manuscript tradition testifies to the intensive and long-lasting practice of commenting and annotating the texts of the Stagirite. The manuscripts can therefore provide us with invaluable clues about scholastic and scholarly activities in the Byzantine world.

The practice of annotating Aristotle's texts by adding extracts from commentaries of various origins has been reviewed by Sofia Kotzabassi in a lucid way (2002, 52). As she says,

in some cases the scribes copied the entire text of a commentary; in other cases they preferred to take excerpts from one or more commentaries, which they wrote in the margins of each page or between the lines [see her n. 5: 'in most of these manuscripts the space between the lines is wider than usual so that the scribe could add scholia or glosses above

1 See, among others, Oehler 1964; Harlfinger 1971, 40–41 ('in über 1000 griechischen Handschriften – unterschiedlich in Zahl und Zusammenstellung der einzelnen Texte –, die aus dem 9. bis 16. Jh. datieren [...], sind uns die Schriften des Aristoteles erhalten. Aristoteles ist damit der handschriftlich meistvervielfältigte profane griechische Autor; er wird in der Verbreitung durch Manuskripte nur von einigen christlichen Texten und Schriftstellern, z.B. allen voran vom Neuen Testament, von Johannes Chrysostomos und Johannes Damaskenos, erreicht oder übertroffen'); Hunger 1978, 11–15, 25–41.

2 See e.g. Malink 2011.

3 See e.g. Barnes 2003, XIX–XXIII.

4 See e.g. Erismann 2017.

the text']. Rarely do two manuscripts of a text have exactly the same excerpts from the same commentators [see her n. 6: 'sometimes the scribes or scholars who copied them changed the text or compiled different scholia or versions of the commentaries, making it difficult for modern researchers to identify their sources']. Moreover, these medieval manuscripts belonged to a succession of owners, many of whom over the centuries tried to enrich their manuscripts by adding new scholia, which they copied from other manuscripts, often ones borrowed from fellow scholars. So, for instance, it is very common to find in manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century scholia written by several later hands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These scholia document the intensive use of philosophical manuscripts and the continuing interest in Aristotle during the late Paleologan era.

Kotzabassi (2002, 53–62) exemplifies this process by introducing a manuscript produced around the end of the thirteenth century and now kept at the University Library of Princeton: manuscript 173. It was acquired in 2001. The first modern description of it in a catalogue is from 2010.⁵ Literature on this item is therefore quite limited: besides Kotzabassi's seminal paper on the history of this 'new' manuscript (2002), Nikos Agiotis (2016) brought some fundamental aspects to light relating to the use of the manuscript by the Byzantine scholar John Chortasmenos. In particular, he stresses that 'Princeton MS 173 offers [...] the opportunity to study how a Byzantine scholiast would bring together, organize, display and finally refer to the content of different manuscripts' (Agiotis 2016, 435).

As Kotzabassi and Agiotis remark, the multi-layered apparatus of comments on the Aristotelian texts in this manuscript is a fairly typical example of commentarial activity performed by Byzantine scribes and scholars between the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. The present paper will focus on few relevant aspects of this precious written artefact, concentrating in particular on the apparatus of comments on *Posterior Analytics*.⁶

2 Case study: the manuscript Princeton MS 173

The manuscript Princeton, University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, MS 173 is a large-format manuscript (330 × 245 mm in size) produced by a single, anonymous scribe by the end of the thirteenth century, as

⁵ Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 147–149, 150.

⁶ On *Posterior Analytics* in Byzantium from the twelfth to fourteenth century, see e.g. Ebbesen 2015, 11–16.

the writing style reveals.⁷ It is now composed of 164 folios of paper without watermarks and contains four treatises of the *Organon* with an extensive apparatus of annotations: the treatise *On Interpretation* opens the manuscript, then *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics* and *Topics* follow. The latter work is incomplete because the last folios of the original manuscript have been lost.⁸ Because of this loss, it is impossible to say whether the last treatise of the *Organon*, the *Sophistical Refutations*, was originally included in the manuscript or not.

The scribe who produced the manuscript used the margins to copy a rich apparatus of comments to the main texts.⁹ Later hands dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth century introduced further explanatory notes in the blank spaces. Some of these hands can be traced back to well-known Byzantine scholars and possibly owners of the manuscript: in particular, Kotzabassi (2002, 55–56)¹⁰ attributed some of these notes to Nikephoros Gregoras (1295–1360), who probably owned the manuscript for a while.¹¹

Furthermore, Kotzabassi (2002, 57–62) identified the hand of another important scholar in the Princeton manuscript: John Chortasmenos. He was a notary in the chancery of the Patriarchate in Constantinople and lived between the fourteenth and fifteenth century (c. 1370–1430/1).¹² On fol. 78^r, where the first book of *Posterior Analytics* begins, Chortasmenos wrote a personal note

7 The script shows some features typical of the so-called ‘beta-gamma style’, attested between the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century: see Kotzabassi 2002, 53–54 along with n. 10 for further literature; Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 148.

8 See Kotzabassi 2002, 54: ‘from the collation, we can conjecture that in its original condition the manuscript began as it does today, that is, without *Categories*, the work with which most of the *Organon* manuscripts begin’. The first quire number appears at the bottom of fol. 17^r, but it was probably written by a later hand. The first quire number attributable to the first hand can be discovered on fol. 33^r (ε’ = 5), as Kotzabassi remarks (2002, 54 n. 12). See also Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 148. Furthermore, the absence of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* is also remarkable.

9 He probably reproduced the exegetical apparatus of the manuscript he used as model. As for *Posterior Analytics*, the same corpus of annotations occurs also in other manuscripts of the Paleologan age, such as the *Ambrosiani* B 103 sup. and D 82 sup., the *Laurentianus pluteus* 72,4 and the *Bodleianus Baroccianus* 177. The study of these manuscripts and their annotations is currently in progress.

10 See also Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 148–149.

11 On Nikephoros Gregoras, see e.g. *PLP* 4443.

12 On this important intellectual figure of the late Byzantine age, see Hunger 1969; *RGK I* no. 191, II no. 252, III no. 315, *PLP* 30897. See also Kotzabassi 2002, 57 n. 22 and Cacouros 2017–2018, 88–90 for further literature.

between the title of the treatise and the beginning of the main text. The text is particularly relevant, as Kotzabassi pointed out (2002, 58). It reads as follows:¹³

By myself, John Chortasmenos, patriarchal notary (...) during the reign of the most pious emperor Manuel Palaiologos [1392–1425] and the patriarchate of the most holy patriarch Matthew [1397–1410] in the year after the battle with the Turks [1402?].

According to the historical data, this autograph note could date to 1403.¹⁴ However, traces of even earlier activity can be found in another note in the lower margin of fol. 119^v. This refers to a passage in the first book of *Topics* (I 4, 101b28) concerning the difference between ‘problem’ and ‘protasis’.¹⁵ After the explanation taken from another scholar from the early fourteenth century, Joseph Rhakendytes,¹⁶ Chortasmenos wrote the following remark:¹⁷

Our teacher, the first notary (*protonotarios*), our brother [name erased] <says> that problem and protasis have the same meaning: for he understands the <??> on the basis of both of them.

Leaving aside the problems of interpreting the exact meaning of the second part of the explanation, which depends on the word that should stand for the erased one, it is clear that Chortasmenos recalls an interpretation given by his master here, who was *protonotarios* at the Patriarchal Chancery in Constantinople. Apparently, his master did not agree with Aristotle, who pointed out the difference between ‘problem’ and ‘protasis’. According to Kotzabassi (2002, 58–59), this anonymous teacher may have been Michael Balsamon, who ‘was appointed as *protekdikos* of the Great Church of Constantinople and professor of dialectic,

13 Greek text and translation by Kotzabassi 2002, 58: ‘ἔδι’ ἐμοῦ ἰωάννου τοῦ χορτασμένου πατριάρχου νοταρίου τ.κ.τ... ..χα.τος ὄρας /φφικίωος] ἐπὶ τῆς / βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ μανουήλ τοῦ παλαιολόγου καὶ ~~ματθαίου~~ πατριαρχείας τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου / κυροῦ ματθαίου ἔτους ἐνεστῶτος τῆς μετὰ τῶν τουρκῶν μάχης’. She also remarks that ‘the first two lines have been struck through in brown ink’.

14 See Hunger 1969, 16; Kotzabassi 2002, 58 n. 24.

15 See. e.g. Brunschwig 1967, 5–6, 118–122; Smith 1997, 59.

16 See Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 148 for the text. See also Kotzabassi 2002, 58 n. 25. This quotation may come from Rhakendytes’ *Synopsis variarum disciplinarum*. However, since the Greek text is still unedited, I have not been able to recover it yet. On Rhakendytes, see e.g. Gielen 2016, LXXI–LXXIV with further literature.

17 See Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 148 with some corrections: ‘+ ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος [διδά]σκαλος ὁ πρωτονοτάριος ἀδελφός [approx. 15 letters] καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνειν, τὸ τε πρόβλημα καὶ τὴν πρότασιν’ ἐφ’ ἐκατέρων γὰρ καὶ τὸν [approx. 6/7 letters] οὐ συνυπακούεται. See also Kotzabassi 2002, 58.

rhetoric, philosophy, and theology by the patriarch Matthew, that is, after 1397; before this appointment, he held the office of *protonotarios*. Thus, we can assume that the scholion of fol. 118^v [*immo* 119^v] was written before 1397’.

Consequently, we can gather some time references for Chortasmenos’ scholarly work on this manuscript, which probably began at the very end of the fourteenth century. Since his additions to it were written in inks of various colours, Kotzabassi suggested that his scholarly activity was performed ‘at different times’.¹⁸

Chortasmenos was also a teacher and worked both privately as well as at the Patriarchal school.¹⁹ His wide range of interests encompassed theology, astronomy and logic in particular. The Princeton manuscript holds some evidence of his scholarly activity on this latter topic. How Chortasmenos came to possess this codex is still not known.²⁰

2.1 John Chortasmenos’ use of Princeton MS 173

We can distinguish three main scholarly activities that Chortasmenos carried out on the texts of the *Organon* contained in the Princeton manuscript, probably at different times:²¹

1. attribution of the anonymous marginal notes already present in the manuscript to the respective authors, whose names were written in red ink. This implies that Chortasmenos had a library at his disposal where different commentaries on Aristotle’s writings were available, thus having the chance to check the references against the sources;
2. addition of annotations and excerpts from further commentaries in the blank spaces. Since some of these notes can be discovered in the deep inner margins, Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko are probably right in saying

18 See Kotzabassi 2002, 59 n. 27: ‘Chortasmenos added scholia in the margins of Princeton MS 173 at different times, a hypothesis that is strengthened by the fact that his scholia are written in different colours of ink’.

19 See Hunger 1969, 14–19.

20 However, there was another manuscript in his private library which belonged to Nikephoros Gregoras, viz. the manuscript *Vaticanus gr.* 1365 with the text of the *Astronomy* by the Byzantine scholar Theodoros Metochites (1270–1332; see Hunger 1969, 24–25). This codex belonged to the library of the monastery of Chora in Constantinople. It may be that Chortasmenos acquired these two manuscripts together. For recent literature on this manuscript, see the relevant file in the online database *Pinakes* (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67997/>).

21 Not in chronological order.

that 'it is possible that the manuscript was disbound at the time' (2010, 149). This would also explain how Chortasmenos was able to write some entries by turning the page 90° to the left or right;

3. addition of cross-references: Chortasmenos linked the main text and the marginal comments by using symbols; he sometimes refers to other comments in different parts of the same manuscript by adding more complex symbols; finally, he placed references to another manuscript between the lines of the main text, which only contained commentaries on the Aristotelian treatises.

Some selected examples will now be discussed in order to illustrate the multi-layered process of annotating the main text. In particular, I intend to briefly consider Chapter 12 of *Posterior Analytics*, Book 2. Together with the previous chapter (11), this also deals with the discussion of the notion of 'cause' (*aitía*, αἰτία) as a middle term within a syllogism in relation to time.²² In the Princeton manuscript, Chapter 12 begins on line 14 of fol. 111^r (see Fig. 1):

Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, II 12 (95a10–14):²³ Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ αἰτιὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς οὖσι (τὸ γὰρ μέσον αἰτιῶν), πλὴν τοῖς μὲν οὖσιν ὄν, τοῖς δὲ γινομένοις γινόμενον, τοῖς δὲ γεγενημένοις γεγενημένον καὶ ἐσομένοις ἐσόμενον.

What explains why something is coming about (and why it has come about, and why it will be) is the same as what explains why this is the case: it is the middle term which is explanatory. But if something is the case, the explanatory item is the case; if it is coming about, it is coming about; if it has come about, it has come about; and if it will be, it will be.²⁴

In the adjacent right and lower margin, the main scribe added some anonymous explanations on Aristotle's text without linking them to the respective passages (see Fig. 1). The excerpts are only separated from one another by a punctuation mark (':-') and a blank space. Furthermore, the scribe did not add any comment between the lines.

²² See, among others, Ross 1949, 648–653; Barnes 1975, 223–229; Detel 1993, II, 717–738, esp. 717: 'In Kapitel 12 setzt Aristoteles die Diskussion des Ursachenbegriffes in Demonstrationen fort, die in II 11 begonnen hatte, und zwar mit Erwägungen zum zeitlichen Verhältnis von Ursache und Verursachten ("Wirkung")'; Barnes 1993, 233–240.

²³ Here and below, I quote from the edition by Ross 1949.

²⁴ Translation by Barnes 1993, 61.

Chortasmenos acted in this way: he marked the beginning of the chapter by a punctuation mark in red ink (‘:’) and added the name of the author of the excerpted commentary in the margin: in this case, he wrote ‘of Philoponus’ (τοῦ Φιλοπόνου). Then, he cross-referenced the individual comments on the respective sentences in the main text by using symbols in red-ink, both between the lines of the main text and in the blank space before the commentary: concerning the sentence of *Posterior Analytics* quoted above, we find the symbol ‘↑’ in both places. The text of this comment reads as follows:²⁵

τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον· λέγω δὲ τὸ εἰδικόν· περὶ αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ μόνου τοῦ εἰδικοῦ αἰτίου ὠρισμένου τοῦτο διαλαμβάνει· ὀφείλει εἶναι τῇ φύσει σύστοιχον καὶ σύγχρονον καὶ ὁμόγονον τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς· συνεξομοιοῦται γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον αἴτιον τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τριμέρειαν:–

The same thing (is) cause: I mean the formal cause. For he [i.e. Aristotle] makes this distinction in relation to this which is the only one to be defined as formal cause. (This cause) has to belong by nature to the same series, time, and genus as the effects. For such a cause is assimilated to the effects according to the tripartition of time.

It should be remarked that this and other excerpts copied by the main scribe in the margins of *Posterior Analytics*, which Chortasmenos later attributed to Philoponus, have not yet been edited. In *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (CAG), a series published by the Academy of the Sciences in Berlin, Volume 13 contains the edition of Philoponus’ commentary on *Posterior Analytics* (Wallies 1909). Regarding the second Book, the excerpts in the Princeton manuscripts do not coincide with those printed there (Wallies 1909, 334–440). However, the authorship of the commentary on the second Book is controversial, as the author is likely to be the twelfth-century scholar Leon Magentinos.²⁶ Thus, the Princeton manuscript may be a valuable source for recovering the lost text of Philoponus’ commentary.

After cross-referencing the text and the pre-existing commentary, Chortasmenos undertook the task of enhancing the exegetic apparatus of the Princeton manuscript. First of all, he wrote some short exegetic glosses in

²⁵ The orthography and the punctuation have been standardised.

²⁶ See Ebbesen 1981, I, 302–313; Ebbesen 2015, 13 with n. 4. See also Goldin 2009, 1–4, who suspects that this is ‘a largely paraphrastic condensation of either a lost commentary on *An. Post.* 2 by Philoponus, or of another commentary on this book that derives from the lectures of Ammonius. (...) Nonetheless, the matter of authorship and the ultimate source of this material remains highly uncertain’ (p. 4). Recent investigations have shown how Magentinos’ commentary fairly re-worked Philoponus’ materials: see Brockmann 2020; Valente 2021.

brownish ink between the lines to explain some phrases which may otherwise have been considered ambiguous. For instance, in the opening sentence of Chapter 12 mentioned above, we can find the following glosses above the line: τοῖς γεγενημένοις, 'what has come about', τοῖς ἐσομένοις, 'what will be', and τοῖς οὖσι, 'what is', which are explained respectively as τοῖς παρεληλυθόσιν, 'what has happened, the past events', τοῖς μέλλουσιν, 'the future events', and τοῖς ἐνεστῶσι, 'the present events'. The expressions that are explained are not particularly difficult to understand, but Chortasmenos clearly wanted to point out their implicit meaning in the context used here. In this case, the focus is on the constant relationship between a given cause and a given effect in the present, in the past and in the future. The explanation is therefore necessary, particularly in an educational context. These short glosses may have been a sort of *aide-mémoire* that Chortasmenos could have used in his teaching activity in order to remember the need to explain such words to his students. Similar glosses can be found all over the manuscript.

After having added these glosses to explain the opening sentence of Chapter 12, Chortasmenos copied some excerpts from another commentary in the blank space between the lines. Such additions in brown ink were made when the short glosses had already been written, as the layout of the commentary reveals: above the beginning of the chapter, the commentary was written in a column; the third line runs up to the right margin below the glosses. Chortasmenos then turned the page 90° to continue the copy between the text and the commentary in the margin. Finally, he wrote the last sentence between the last line of the main text and the commentary at the bottom of the page. A red line links the last sentence to the previous one. As for the content of the exegesis, the text reads as follows:

δείξας ὡς ἔστι τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖξαι διὰ διαφορῶν αἰτίων, νῦν μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἕτερόν τι θεώρημα, ὅτι τὸ αἴτιον ἀνάγκη συνεχῶς ἀλλάττεσθαι τῷ προκειμένῳ ζητήματι καὶ ποικίλ<λ>εσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον,²⁷ μὴ μέντοι γε καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ μένειν τῷ εἶδει ἀμετάβλητον ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ προκειμένον ζήτημα:—

Having proven that it is possible to prove the same thing by means of different causes, he (i.e. Aristotle) now turns to another topic: that the cause and the proposed object of investigation must change together and show variation in regard to time, but not so in respect

27 Here, Chortasmenos wrote at first κατὰ τὸ εἶδος taking it from the following part of the text, but he immediately acknowledged the mistake and corrected it deleting τὸ εἶδος.

to kind; rather [the cause] must remain unchanged in kind, as does the proposed object of investigation.²⁸

The anonymous text does not stem from the pen of Chortasmenos himself, since it coincides with the commentary on the second book that is attributed to Philoponus in Maximilian Wallies' edition.²⁹ A comparison with the printed text shows that Chortasmenos only copied a small part of it, namely the first five lines.³⁰

In the Princeton manuscript, the text of Chapter 12 of *Posterior Analytics*, Book 2, continues on the next verso. Here, we discover further aspects concerning the scholarly activity that Chortasmenos performed. In the blank space in the upper left corner of fol. 111^v (Fig. 2), he drew the schema of a syllogism Aristotle used to explain the opening sentence of this chapter:

Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, II 12 (95a17–21): τί ἐστι κρύσταλλος; εἰλήφθω δὴ ὅτι ὕδωρ πεπηγός. ὕδωρ ἐφ' οὗ Γ, πεπηγός ἐφ' οὗ Α, αἴτιον τὸ μέσον ἐφ' οὗ Β, ἐκλειψις θερμοῦ παντελῆς. ὑπάρχει δὴ τῷ Γ τὸ Β, τούτῳ δὲ τὸ πεπηγέναι τὸ ἐφ' οὗ Α. γίνεται δὲ κρύσταλλος γινομένου τοῦ Β, γεγένηται δὲ γεγενημένου, ἔσται δ' ἐσομένου.

What is ice? – Assume that it is solidified water. Water C, solidified A; the explanatory middle term is B, complete absence of heat. Thus B holds of C; and being solidified, A

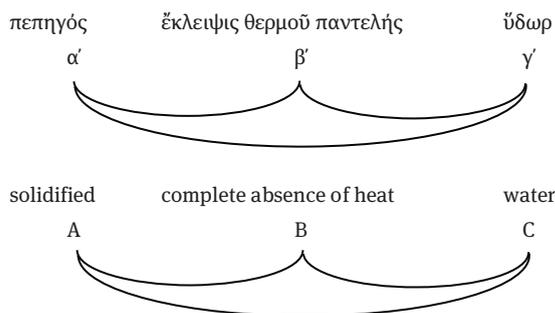
²⁸ Transl. Goldin 2009, 78 with changes.

²⁹ See above, p. 198.

³⁰ Wallies 1909, 386.2–6 (with minor changes); the rest of the full text reads (Wallies 1909, 386.6–15): [...] τοῦ δὲ ζητήματος συνεξαλλαττομένου κατὰ τὸν χρόνον συνεξαλλάττεται καὶ τὸ αἴτιον. οἷον αἰτία ἐστὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος πήξις διὰ παντελῆ στέρησιν τοῦ θερμοῦ. εἰ μὲν οὖν προτεθῆ τὸ ζήτημα κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα χρόνον, ἀποδοθήσεται καὶ τὸ αἴτιον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα· εἰ δὲ γινόμενόν ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ αἴτιον γινόμενον ἀποδοθήσεται· καὶ εἰ γεγενημένον τὸ προκείμενον ἢ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοιοῦτον ἀποδοθήσεται. οἷον διὰ τί κρύσταλλός ἐστι; διότι πήγνυται τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ παντελῆ ἐκλειψιν τοῦ θερμοῦ. διὰ τί ἐγένετο; διότι ἐπήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ παντελῆ ἐκλειψιν τοῦ θερμοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως, [...] but when the object of investigation changes in respect to time the cause too changes with it. For example, the cause of ice is the solidification of the water that comes from total depletion of heat. Now if one were to propose the object of investigation by reference to it in the present tense, its cause too will be rendered in the present. And if the fact is coming to be, the cause too in each case will be rendered similarly. And if that which is proposed is past or future, the cause too will be rendered as this sort of thing. For example, why does ice exist? Because water is solidified on account of the total disappearance of heat. Why did it come to be? Because the water became solidified on account of its total disappearance of heat, and likewise in the other cases' (transl. Goldin 2009, 78).

holds of *B*. Ice is coming about if *B* is coming about; it has to come about if it has come about; and it will be if it will be.³¹

In the upper margin on the right, the main scribe had already drawn the diagrams of two syllogisms which are now quite faded.³² Moreover, the left one does not reflect the exact order of the main text. Thus, Chortasmenos provided a new drawing:



After this syllogism, Aristotle discusses a further topic: the chronological co-existence of cause and effect. Chortasmenos marked this transition by inserting a dicolon in red ink (':'), just like at the beginning of Chapter 12.³³ The next sentence of Aristotle's treatise reads as follows (95a22–24):

τὸ μὲν οὖν οὕτως αἴτιον καὶ οὐ αἴτιον ἅμα γίνεται, ὅταν γίνηται, καὶ ἔστιν, ὅταν ᾗ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ ἔσεσθαι ὡσαύτως.

When an item is explanatory in this way and the item of which it is explanatory comes about, then they both come about at the same time; when they are the case, they are the case at the same time; and similarly for 'have come about' and for 'will be'.³⁴

In the procedure just described, Chortasmenos wrote some short explanatory glosses between the lines. Then, he used symbols in red ink to link the main text (Fig. 2, line 5) to the existing commentary in the right and lower margin (in this case, something like 'Υ') (Fig. 2, line 9). The author of the commentary is

³¹ Transl. Barnes 1993, 61.

³² On diagrams in Aristotle's manuscripts, see e.g. Bülow-Jacobsen and Ebbesen 1982, 50–52; Panizza 1999; Cacouros 2001; Prapa 2012; Rambourg 2012.

³³ See above, p. 197.

³⁴ Transl. Barnes 1993, 61.

identified as Philoponus: Chortasmenos appended his name in red ink both at the beginning of these excerpts (τοῦ Φιλοπόνου, ‘of Philoponus’) and, more extensively, at the bottom of the page: τοῦ Φιλοπόνου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου ἡ ἐξήγησις αὕτη, ‘this is the explanation of the Master John Philoponus’. Furthermore, in the right margin of the commentary, rotated by 90°, Chortasmenos also wrote his own remarks as a reader, student and teacher: ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖα πάνυ, ‘all these (comments) are absolutely indispensable’. This attests once again to the scholar’s intensive engagement with the Princeton manuscript and its Aristotelian corpus.

In some other cases, Chortasmenos inserted cross-references to other passages within the manuscript itself in order to establish connections between the comments on different treatises. This is what happens in the right margin of fol. 38^r (Fig. 3), for instance. Chortasmenos wrote the following note in red ink toward the end of Chapter 22 of *Prior Analytics* (40b16) concerning the hypothetical syllogism:

ζητει καὶ ἕτερον σχόλιον πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τῶν ὑποθετικῶν συλλογισμῶν τοῦ Φιλοπόνου ὄπισθεν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἑρμηνείας Ἀριστοτέλους συντάγματι, ἐν ᾧ εὐρήσεις σημείον * τόδε.

Also look above for another very necessary comment by Philoponus on the hypothetical syllogisms in Aristotle’s treatise *On Interpretation*, in which you will find this symbol: *.

The symbol can be found on fol. 13^r between the lines of the text he was referring to (lines 5–6 of the main text), where the comment can be found.

2.2 Cross-referencing manuscripts: the Princeton manuscript and the manuscript FDWM 1 of the KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections

Chortasmenos’ exegetic activity on the Princeton manuscript also goes beyond the boundaries of this very manuscript. He actually added cross-references between the lines of *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics* and *Topics* by inserting a progressive numbering in red ink. As Nikos Agiotis first acknowledged (2016, 436–437), these numbers should be interpreted as cross-references to another manuscript.

In order to illustrate this practice with an example, let us turn to the beginning of the aforementioned sentence of the *Posterior Analytics* (see above, p. 197). In the Princeton manuscript, we read the numeral ξθ’, i.e. ‘69’ (see Fig. 2,

line 5). Chortasmenos also wrote a personal remark in red ink in the right margin: θαυμασία ἐξήγησις εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ Μαγεντηνοῦ, 'Magentino's' explanation of this passage is marvellous'. Furthermore, a similar remark by Chortasmenos can also be seen between the name of Philoponus and the commentary in the left margin of the same verso (see Fig. 2): πολλῶ βέλτιον εἰς ταῦτα λέγει ὁ Μαγεντηνός, 'Magentino speaks much better on this point [scil. than Philoponus does]'. However, no trace of Magentino's interpretation can be found on this particular folio of the Princeton manuscript. The cross-reference points to another manuscript, now fragmentarily preserved at the KU Leuven University Library (Special Collections, FDWM 1).³⁵

The Leuven manuscript is composed of seven dossiers written by Chortasmenos himself plus three flying leaves originally belonging to older manuscripts. As Agiotis has pointed out (2016, 437), 'the seventh and last dossier [...] contains half of the missing folio of the *Analytica posteriora* in Princeton MS 173 [between fols 81–82]'. As for the other two leaves, I was able to identify that they belong to the manuscript Paris, BnF, gr. 1845 (thirteenth century).³⁶ On the other hand, a leaf from the Leuven manuscript was found in the Princeton manuscript (now MS 173A).³⁷ Both the Leuven and the Princeton manuscript were kept in the library of the Seminario Arcivescovile in Siena until 1971, where this accident may have taken place.³⁸ As for the core of the Leuven dossiers,

35 The manuscript was acquired in 1990 by the De Wulf-Mansion Centre of the KU Leuven. The first accurate description of the content is in Cacouros 1996. See also Agiotis 2016, 436–439. On the relationship between the Leuven and the Princeton manuscripts, see Kotzabassi 2002, 56–57 n. 21; see also Cacouros 2017–2018, 91–93. The manuscript is digitized: <http://depot.lias.be:80/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE3499721> (accessed on 31 July 2018).

36 This manuscript transmits the *Organon* as well: see the description by D. Reinsch in CAGB online: <<https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id=51471>> (accessed on 30 Jan. 2018). It can be consulted online: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107218100>> (accessed on 23 Oct. 2018).

37 See Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 150. See also Kotzabassi 2002, 59: '[...] a separate paper leaf laid in but not bound between folios 115 and 116. [...] This loose folio is a piece of Western paper [...] with a watermark dating to about 1425. On it are written, alternatively, parts of the commentaries of Themistios and John Philoponus on the first book of *Analytica posteriora*. The style of the script is that of John Chortasmenos'. See also Cacouros 2019, 92–93.

38 See Kotzabassi 2002, 62; Kotzabassi and Patterson Ševčenko 2010, 149; Agiotis 2016, 437. On the other hand, the *Parisinus graecus* 1845 seems not to have ever been in this library. It is therefore still to clarify where the three manuscripts were the last time together and when the passages of folia from the one to the other took place. Another hypothesis has been advanced by Cacouros 2019, 91–92, who has suggested that Chortasmenos himself may have been responsible for bounding together different codicological units and single leaves from three

these contain excerpts from different Late Antique and Byzantine commentaries ‘on sections of the *Analytica priora* I, both books of *Analytica posteriora* and *Topica* I’ (Agiotis 2016, 436). Each comment is numbered progressively in the margin using a numeral in red ink. The numbering corresponds exactly to the numbers in the Princeton manuscript.³⁹

Concerning commentary no. 69 on *Posterior Analytics*, Book 2, Chapter 12, the respective passage in the Leuven manuscript can be read in Dossier IV, fol. 6^v, line 19–28 (Fig. 4).⁴⁰ The text corresponds to a quite extensive explanation taken from the commentary attributed to Philoponus, but actually written by Magentinos, as the Leuven manuscript confirms in this case. The comment reads as follows:⁴¹

Τὸ μὲν οὖν οὕτως αἴτιον καὶ οὐ αἴτιον ἅμα γίνεται ὅταν γίνεταί: Περί αἰτίου λέγει ἐνταῦθα εἰδικοῦ, ὅπερ ἅμα ἐστὶ τῷ αἰτιατῷ. καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται ἀκολουθήσις⁴² τοῦ τε αἰτίου καὶ αἰτιατοῦ,⁴³ ὅθεν ἂν τις ἄρξηται, εἴτε⁴⁴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ· ἀντιστρέφουσι γὰρ πρὸς ἄλληλα. εἰ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πέπηγε δι’ ἐκλειψιν τοῦ θερμοῦ, ἀνάγκη καὶ κρύσταλλον γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰ κρύσταλλος γέγονεν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐκλειψιν θερμοῦ γενέσθαι πηχθέντος τοῦ ὕδατος, πλὴν εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ ἀκολουθήσις τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ αἰτιατοῦ⁴⁵ γίνεται, ὅθεν ἂν τις ἄρξηται, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὖν διαφορὰ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ αἰτίου τεθέντος ἔψεται τὸ αἰτιατόν, ἔστι κυρίως ἀπόδειξις, διότι⁴⁶ ἢ ἀπόδειξις ἐκ προτέρων καὶ αἰτίων γίνεται· εἰ δὲ τεθέντος τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ⁴⁷ ἔψεται τὸ αἴτιον,⁴⁸ γίνεται τεκμηριώδης ἀπόδειξις. ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων ἢ καὶ δευτέρων μέτρα φέρει

manuscripts possibly preserved in the monastery of St John Prodromos (‘the Forerunner’) in the district of Petra in Constantinople.

³⁹ See Agiotis 2016, 437.

⁴⁰ See Cacouros 1996, 95.

⁴¹ Wallies 1909, 386.20–387.5. In the footnotes to the Greek text, I account for variant readings of the manuscripts as reported by Wallies in his edition of the text: Paris, BnF, Coisl. 157 (*siglum* E, fifteenth century), Paris, BnF, Coisl. 167 (C, fourteenth century) and Paris, BnF, gr. 1972 (F, fourteenth century). He also refers to the first printed edition of the Greek text in the Aldine Presse (Venice 1534, second edition): see Wallies 1909, VI–VII. In the Leuven manuscript, the numeral, lemma and first letter of the explanation are rubricated.

⁴² ἢ ἄκ· *codd.*; only the *Aldina* and the *Lovaniensis* omit the article.

⁴³ τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ E; also the manuscripts C, F, the *Lovaniensis* and the *Aldina* omit the second τοῦ. The *Lovaniensis* has the particle τε as well.

⁴⁴ ἦγουν εἴτε *codd.*; the *Aldina* and the *Lovaniensis* omit the particle ἦγουν, a typical feature of Magentinos’ style: see Ebbesen 2015, 13 with n. 4 with further literature.

⁴⁵ τοῦ αἴτ· *codd.*; the *Aldina* and the *Lovaniensis* omit the article.

⁴⁶ διότι καὶ *codd.*; also the *Aldina* and the *Lovaniensis* omit καὶ.

⁴⁷ The reading of the manuscripts in the printed edition is τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ τεθέντος. Once again, the Leuven manuscript agrees with the *Aldina* here.

⁴⁸ Here, we read ἐξ ἀνάγκης in the *Lovaniensis*, later deleted by Chortasmenos himself.

ἀποδείξεως⁴⁹ ὡς ταύτης ἐκπίπτουσα. ἐδίδαξε καὶ⁵⁰ πρότερον περὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ αἰτίου, διότι ἀρχὴ⁵¹ ἐρρέθη εἶναι ἄμεσος, ἦγουν πρότασις, ἢ διότι ἐν τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ περὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ αἰτίου ζητοῦμεν, εἶγε⁵² δυνατόν⁵³ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἴτε καὶ μή.

69. 'Now that which is a cause in this way and that of which it is a cause come to be at the same time'. Here he speaks about the formal [cause], which [occurs] at the same time as the effect. And there is a necessary entailment between the cause and the effect, from whichever one might begin, whether from the cause or from the effect, for they convert with each other. For if water has solidified on account of the disappearance of heat, ice too must have come to be, and if ice came to be, there must have been a disappearance of heat when the water solidified. However, even if there is a necessary entailment between the cause and the effect (from whichever one might begin, whether from the cause or from the effect), there is nonetheless this distinction [to be made] in the [two] cases. For if when the cause is posited the effect will follow, there is demonstration in the strict sense, because demonstration comes from things that are prior and are causes. But if, when the effect is posited the cause will follow, there is a sign-demonstration. The syllogism from posterior or even from secondary premises meets standards of a lower order than those of demonstration, since it falls short of being a demonstration.⁵⁴ He first taught also about the formal cause, because it was said to be an immediate principle (that is, premise), or because in the present book we are investigating about the formal cause, whether or not there can be a demonstration of it.⁵⁵

The paper that Chortasmenos used in the Leuven manuscript seems to date to around the year 1425, that is, about twenty years later than the first datable record by this scholar in the Princeton manuscript.⁵⁶ Therefore, it may be cautiously suggested that Chortasmenos worked with both manuscripts for decades and did not stop improving the Princeton manuscript.

49 The reading of the manuscripts and of the printed edition is: ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὑστέρων ὁ συλλογισμὸς προέβη· ἢ δὲ τοιαύτη ἀπόδειξις ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων δεύτερα μέτρα φέρει ἀποδείξεως (see below, n. 54). The reading of the *Lovaniensis* is the same as the *Aldina* once again, except for the article ἢ before the preposition ἐκ.

50 The *Lovaniensis* and the *Aldina* read καὶ against the particle δέ of the manuscripts CEF.

51 The reading of the manuscripts in the printed edition is καὶ ἀρχή. The Leuven manuscript agrees with the *Aldina* again in that it omits the conjunction καὶ.

52 εἶγε is an easy mistake for εἴτε of all the manuscripts.

53 δυνατόν ἐστίν is the reading of all the manuscripts except for the *Lovaniensis* and the *Aldina*.

54 The correct reading should be 'for the syllogism proceeded from [posterior] premises. Such a demonstration which is based on posterior premises meets standards [etc.]' (transl. Goldin 2009, 79). See above, n. 49 for the Greek text.

55 I reproduce the translation by Goldin 2009, 79 but in two passages (see above, nn. 50 and 51).

56 See Kotzabassi 2002, 59 with n. 29: see above, n. 38.

Further examples of cross-references can be found elsewhere in the Princeton manuscript, such as on fol. 114^v. Here Chortasmenos wrote the following note between the lines in red ink: ζήτει εἰς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Μαγεντηνοῦ ἐξήγησιν σαφηνίζουσαν ταῦτὸ τοῦτο καὶ δι' ἑτέρου παραδείγματος, 'also in this case, look for Magentinos' explanation which also explains the very same passage by using another example'. This passage comments on Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, II 13 (97b7). The relevant comment is numbered σθ', i.e. '209'; the long explanation can be found in the Leuven manuscript in dossier IV, fol. 10^v (line 39–end).

Conversely, some cross-references to the text of the Princeton manuscript can also be discovered in the Leuven manuscript. The 'parallel use of the two manuscripts' has already been pointed out by Agiotis for the first book of *Posterior Analytics* (2016, 437).⁵⁷ To make another example from the second book, in dossier IV of the Leuven manuscript, fol. 7^v (lines 7–8), we read:⁵⁸

νη' ὅτε δὲ ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος' (Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* II 8, 93a21–22): σημειῶσαι ὅτι ἡ ἐξήγησις τοῦ ῥητοῦ τούτου κεῖται ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ.

(58) 'when grasping something of the object itself' (Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* II 8, 93a21–22): *nota bene*: the comment on this passage is in the book.

Here, the lemma taken from *Posterior Analytics* was commented on simply by referring to 'the book', that is, to the related book containing the main text with annotations, which is the Princeton manuscript.⁵⁹ The passage can be found there on fol. 108^r. Chortasmenos inserted the explanation from Magentinos' commentary in the left margin (rotated 90°).⁶⁰ This annotation in the Leuven manuscript is of particular importance because it reveals that Chortasmenos possibly copied the extracts from commentaries on the Aristotelian treatises after having studied and annotated the Princeton manuscript. After the production of the Leuven manuscript – or at the same time as it was being produced – Chortasmenos added the cross-references to the Princeton manuscript in order to improve his manuscript of the *Organon* even further. Chortasmenos was

⁵⁷ See also Cacouros 1996, 90.

⁵⁸ The text was first published by Cacouros 1996, 95. Before the 'rediscovery' of the Princeton manuscript, Cacouros could only form the hypothesis that 'il doit s'agir de l'ancien manuscrit consulté'.

⁵⁹ Elsewhere in the Leuven manuscript, Chortasmenos uses the expression 'old book' to refer to the Princeton manuscript (dossier IIIa, fol. 14^v: see Agiotis 2016, 437).

⁶⁰ The Greek text can be read in Wallies 1909, 367.30–368.15; the English translation is that by Goldin 2009, 56.

therefore aware of the great value of the Princeton manuscript, which he considered essential for his learning and teaching activities.⁶¹

3 Conclusions

Aristotle's logical treatises were part of the standard educational curriculum of every cultivated man during the Byzantine age. Because of their complex content, students and scholars alike felt the need to supplement the manuscripts at their disposal with annotations of various kinds and from different sources. To illustrate this practice, which was quite common at the time, the manuscript Princeton MS 173 with its heavily annotated collection of four Aristotelian logical treatises offers some insights into the Byzantine exegetical practices from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century.

The scribe who produced the manuscript at the end of the thirteenth century copied the Aristotelian treatises together with a corpus of marginal comments, which likely have already been present in his model. Later on, the annotations were constantly updated and enhanced by the various readers and owners of the manuscript. The Byzantine scholar and teacher John Chortasmenos possessed the manuscript from the very end of the fourteenth century and kept it over the first quarter of the fifteenth century, during which time he sensibly improved the exegetical apparatus. In particular, he also introduced cross-references to a separate manuscript he had produced, the manuscript FDWM 1 of the KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections. This only contained extracts from commentaries on the treatises included in the Princeton manuscript.

The result of this multi-layered annotations is the Princeton manuscript, a sort of work-in-progress written artefact for the sake of teaching and learning in

⁶¹ Chortasmenos' study of Aristotelian *Organon* is also attested in other manuscripts. In fact, he composed an introductory treatise on Aristotelian logic, based upon Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and he collected extracts and paraphrases from *Posterior Analytics* and *Topics*. These excerpts are known thanks to two calligraphic manuscripts written by Chortasmenos himself: the manuscript Vienna, Austrian National Library (ÖNB), *Supplementum graecum* 75 and the manuscript Bologna, University Library, 3637: see Hunger 1969, 32f. Regarding the Bologna manuscript, see also D. Harlfinger in Moraux et al. 1976, 66–69 (an updated version is now available online: <<http://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id=9765>> [accessed on 9 Sept. 2017]). Concerning the Vienna manuscript, see e.g. Hunger 1994, 124–130; Cacouros 2019, 94–96 with further bibliography.

the context of traditional Byzantine education. This manuscript represents a valuable example of the intense exegetic activities concerning the *Organon* in the late Byzantine age.

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Abbreviations

PLP	Erich Trapp (ed.), <i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1995.
RGK	Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger and Herbert Hunger (eds), <i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600</i> , I: <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens</i> ; II: <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs</i> ; III: <i>Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan</i> , Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989, 1994 and 1997.

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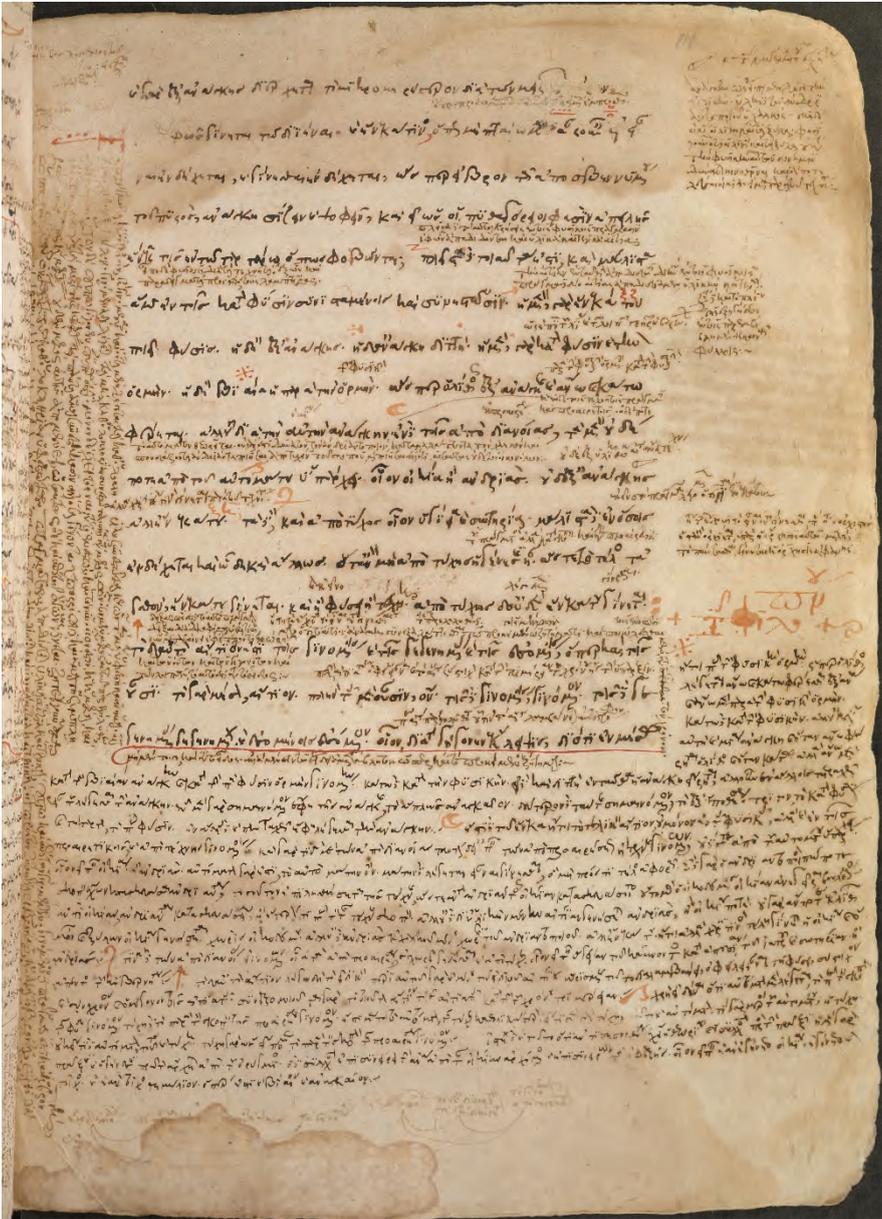


Fig. 1: Princeton, University Library, MS 173, fol. 111'; courtesy of Princeton University Library.

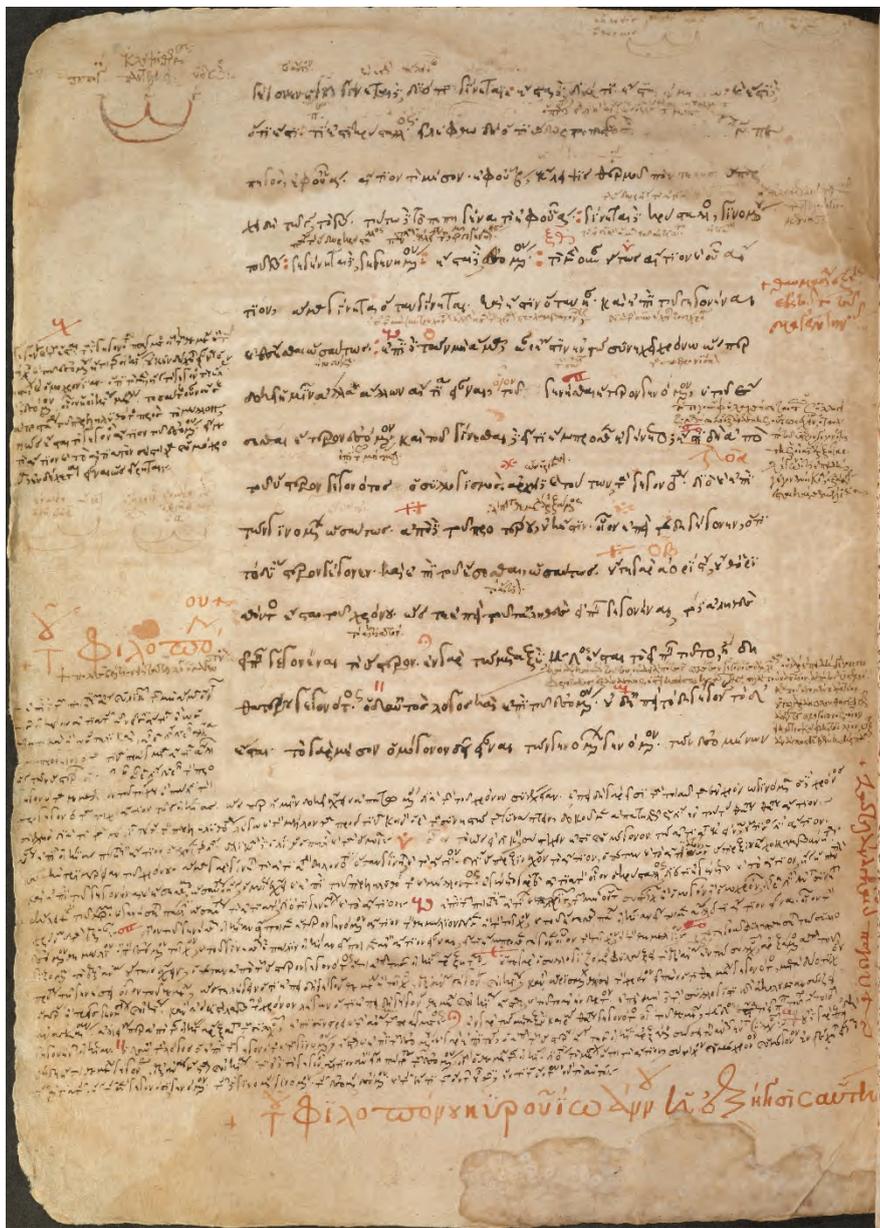


Fig. 2: Princeton, University Library, MS 173, fol. 111v; courtesy of Princeton University Library.

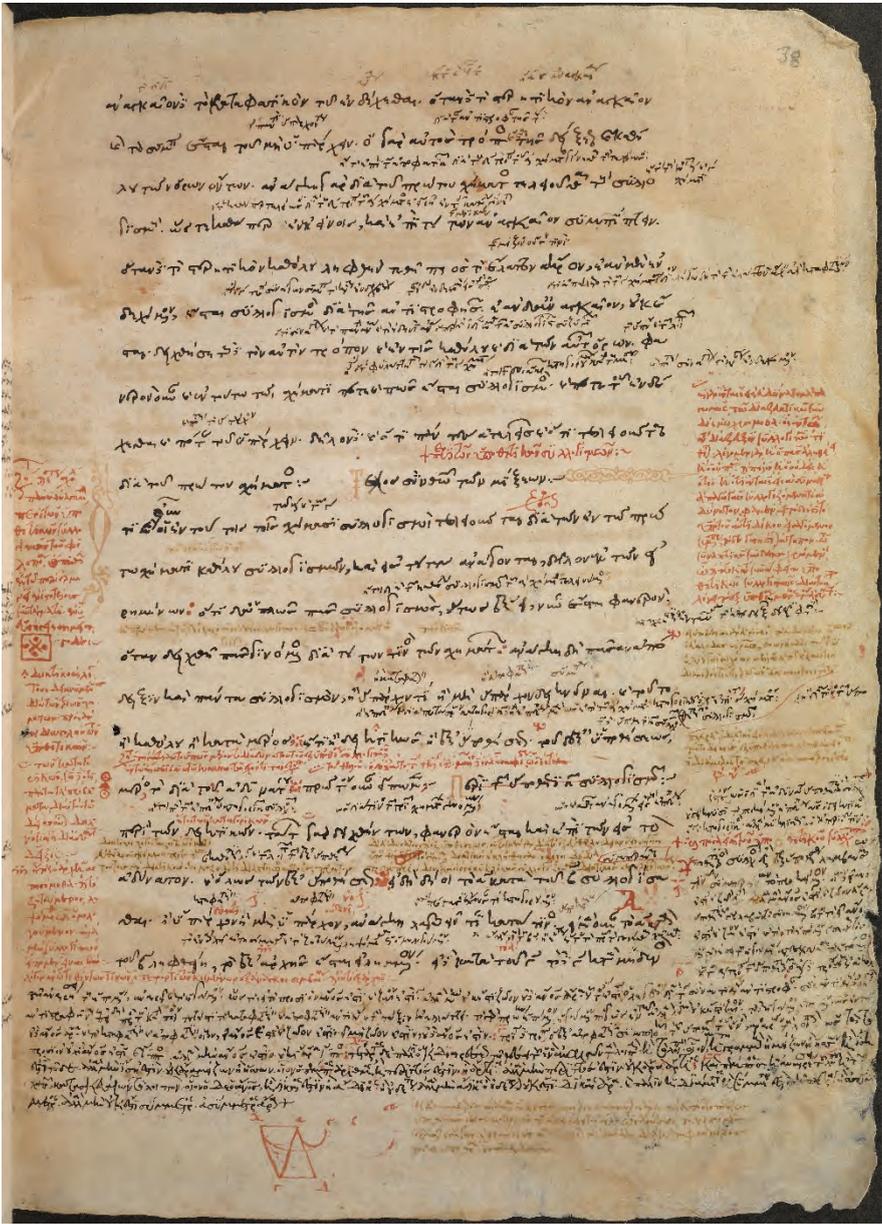


Fig. 3: Princeton, University Library, MS 173, fol. 38^r; courtesy of Princeton University Library.

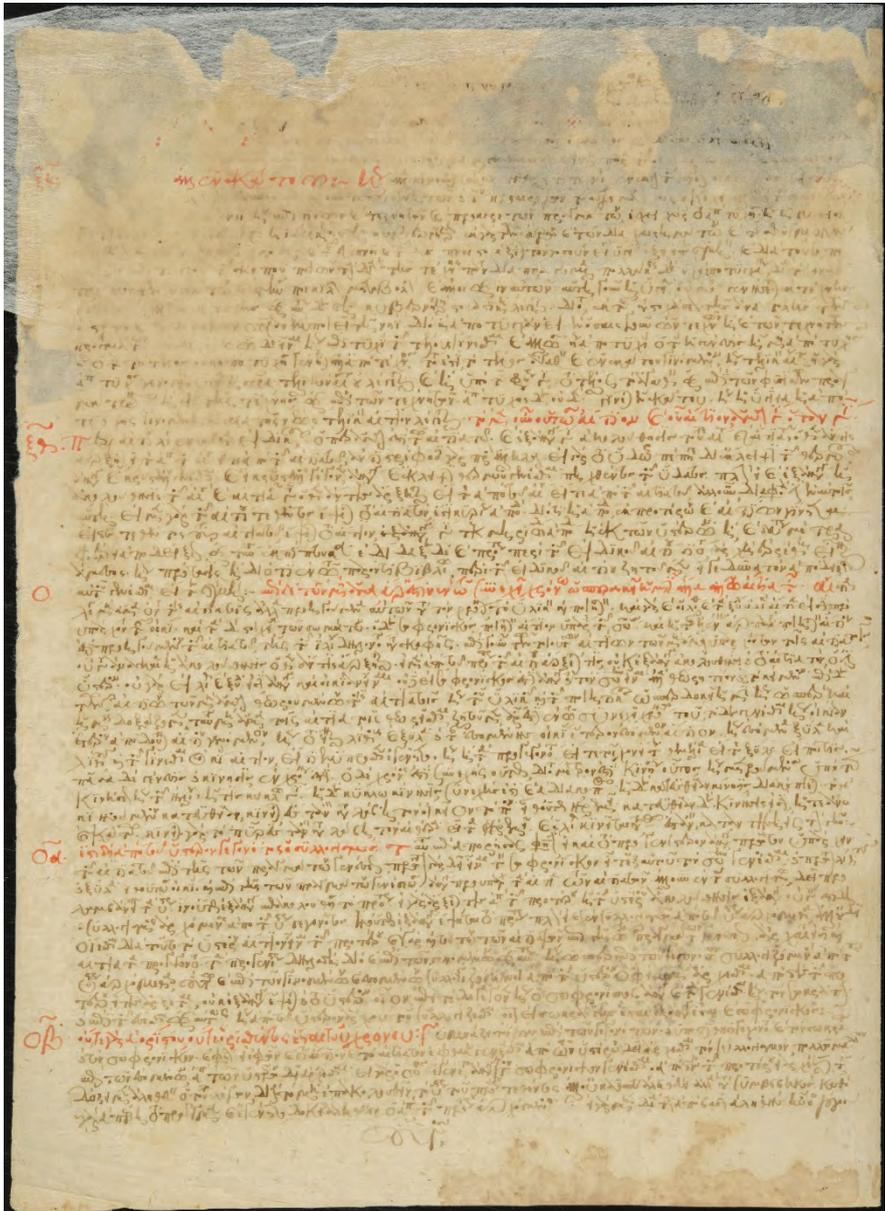


Fig. 4: Leuven, KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections, FWM 1, dossier IV, fol. 8r; © KU Leuven.

Peera Panarut

Scholarship between the Lines: Interlinear Glossing in Siamese Literary Manuscripts

Abstract: This article explores the tradition of writing interlinear glosses in Siamese literary manuscripts dated to the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century. The glosses annotate archaic and obscure words found in texts transmitted from the kingdom of Ayutthaya and in texts adapted from foreign poetry, such as pieces of writing in Khmer and the Lan Na Tai language, reflecting an attempt by traditional scholars of the Bangkok period to comprehend these archaic and foreign literary texts. The glosses from each literary manuscript appear to have been added separately and are not identical. The only text which reflects the glossing tradition is *Yuan Phai*, an archaic royal eulogy from fifteenth-century Ayutthaya in which identical glosses can be found in multiple manuscripts. Furthermore, the glosses in *Yuan Phai* were also adopted and enhanced, eventually constituting a separate commentary of the text in the late nineteenth century. Although the number of glossed manuscripts that have survived is limited, the interlinear glosses in them reveal how literary texts were interpreted by traditional scholars and readers and should therefore be regarded as significant evidence of the study of Siamese literature and Siamese manuscript culture.

1 Introduction

Glossing between the lines, annotating obscure words and commenting on the main text are editorial activities that are not found very frequently in Siamese manuscripts. This is because learning in pre-modern Thailand was mainly based on oral traditions in which knowledge was transmitted directly from teachers to students. Therefore, students in old Siam tended to learn how to interpret literary texts in the presence of their teachers. However, in some cases involving old Thai literary pieces, which were supposedly considered obscure in terms of reading and interpretation, individual readers and users of manuscripts wrote glosses between the lines, providing the meaning of archaic words and sometimes explaining the meaning of a particular stanza. Interlinear glosses are generally unique to the manuscript in which they occur; only one case of archaic poetry

exhibiting a tradition of annotation has been found so far. This article explores interlinear glossing in Siamese manuscripts, its function and the key role it played in deciphering the meaning and significance of the old texts they contain, particular when approaching the texts from a modern viewpoint.

In this article, the words ‘Siamese’ and ‘Thai’ refer to the traditional culture of the central and southern regions of modern Thailand, which constitutes the country’s national culture today. The Siamese or Thai belong to the south-western group of the Tai-Kadai ethno-linguistic family, whose ancestors migrated southwards from Southern China to mainland South-east Asia presumably in the ninth to twelfth centuries.¹ These south-western Tai interacted with indigenous peoples living in mainland South-east Asia, most of whom were from an Austro-Asiatic background, and gradually became influenced by their culture and religion, particularly that of the Khmer and the Mon. Literacy among the Tai is considered part of their Mon-Khmer legacy. Writing emerged among different groups of southern Tai-speaking people for the first time in the Sukhothai Kingdom in the upper part of the Chao Phraya river basin in Central Thailand. This occurred sometime around the late thirteenth century, based on the writing of the Khmer, who ruled over the area for many centuries. Around the same time, the neighbouring Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya (1351–1767) in the lower parts of the Chao Phraya river basin adapted Sukhothai writing and developed it further over the centuries. When the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya was conquered by Burmese troops in 1767, the Siamese loyalists succeeded in re-establishing the defeated kingdom by moving the capital closer to the sea, first to Thonburi (1767–1782) and then to Bangkok on the opposite bank of the River Chao Phraya (from 1782 onwards). The restored Siamese kingdom at Thonburi and Bangkok was considered the successor state of Ayutthaya in terms of culture and political power and it actually became the most powerful kingdom in the Tai-speaking world in the nineteenth century.

Traditional manuscripts must have been used by the Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya for many centuries, but we have not any evidence of an earlier date due to the limited durability of the writing material. The earliest extant manuscripts² have been dated to the seventeenth century. The most common types of

¹ The terms ‘Siamese’ and ‘Thai’ are often used as synonyms. In this sense, the term ‘Thai’ refers to the Thai-speaking population of central and southern Thailand, which is differentiated from the generic term ‘Tai’ referring to the larger ethno-linguistic family to which the Thai belong together with the Lao, Shan and many other smaller groups. For more details on the history of the early Tai, see Wyatt 2003 and Baker 2002.

² The earliest Siamese palm-leaf manuscript has been dated to 1615, while the oldest extant *khô*-paper manuscript is dated to 1680 (Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010, 24, 38).

traditional manuscripts are palm-leaf and *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts. Roughly speaking, palm-leaf manuscripts are most frequently used for writing Buddhist texts in both canonical Pali and vernacular Thai, while *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts are more often used for recording secular texts such as historical records, non-religious treatises and poetry. *Khòì*-paper manuscripts are made of a long piece of *khòì* paper produced from the bark of the *khòì* tree (*Streblus asper*) and are folded in a leporello style. This article focuses mainly on the glossing of vernacular Siamese poetry, with *khòì* leporello manuscripts providing the main data.

Vernacular Siamese poetry plays an important role within the traditional system of Siamese education, both as a topic of study and as a medium for the transmission of other fields of knowledge. In the traditional education system, which by and large was housed within the monasteries, children who were mainly male were obliged to learn how to read poetry in simple verses as soon as they had acquired a grasp of basic orthography, as many different treatises or manuals (in Thai: *tamra*) on orthography were written in verse form. Furthermore, after mastering basic orthography, the students began working with a more advanced text – a key treatise called *Cindamani* (literally, ‘Jewel of Thought’) – in order to understand more sophisticated orthography and learn how to read and write advanced poetic metres as well. *Cindamani* contains examples of old poems in different verses cited from different texts.³ These citations of poetry were a topic for study and discussion among teachers and students for many generations. After their training on orthography and poetics, students were expected to be able to access a number of old literary pieces that had long been read and studied as poetic models, such as old epic and lyric poetry. In addition, some texts also had a specific function as didactic or ceremonial texts. Apart from the study of poetics, literate students began studying other fields of knowledge as well such as Buddhist education, mathematics, astrology, divination and medicine or began training in other skills and lore,⁴ which was necessary for occupations, trade or working as an official at the royal court. As treatises from some branches of knowledge are still written in a poetic form, knowledge about orthography and poetics has long been perceived as a precondition for acquiring further kinds of knowledge.⁵

It is worth noting here that orality also played a significant role in the traditional education of the Siamese. Although written treatises also appear in some

3 See Thawat Punnothok 1995, 43–58.

4 Wyatt 1969, 14–16.

5 Brun 1990, 44.

fields of knowledge including orthography and poetics, treatises did not function as instructive manuals for autodidacts, but rather as a collection of lessons with formulas and lists of keywords; we rarely find treatises with thorough, comprehensive explanations. Students probably obtained further explanations orally from their teachers, while the treatise itself generally only records core knowledge.⁶ Even though literate students read and studied the pieces of poetry, we seldom have any evidence of how they actually interpreted the texts contained in the manuscripts.

Nevertheless, among the literary works which were read and studied by scholars in the Bangkok period, there are several cases in which annotations and commentaries on texts were provided as glosses between the lines of the main texts and sometimes in the blank margins of the manuscript ‘page’. In these instances, the manuscripts not only served as carriers of texts, but as *carriers of knowledge within the texts*, which can rightly be perceived as part of traditional textual scholarship in pre-modern Siam. As traditional textual scholarship was mainly transmitted through an oral tradition, glosses between the lines provide significant evidence revealing how the text was read and interpreted.

2 Interlinear writing in Siamese manuscript culture

In manuscripts of Siamese poetry, the main text is often written in neat, uniform handwriting (Thai *tua bancong*) in which each written character can easily be recognised. Copying texts carefully in a neat hand takes some time, but it ensures that the texts will be accessible to any literate person in future. In contrast, scribbled handwriting (Thai *tua wat*) can be done quickly. Indeed, many scribes are likely to have suffered from a shortage of time when copying a text, and scribes also had to record what was dictated to them as quickly as they could. Scribbled handwriting cannot be read easily, so it is not the best way of producing a text for long-term use, unlike the more legible neat handwriting. In many cases, the principal text in Siamese poetry has therefore been written in a neat hand – one employed in most manuscripts, in fact. Additional writing was often added between the lines of the main text later on, sometimes in handwriting, style or content that differed from the main text. Different handwriting is often employed by modern scholars to differentiate interlinear writing added later from the principle text

⁶ See Brun 1990 for more details.

written by the original scribe. It is noteworthy that interlinear writing in manuscripts of Siamese poetry is sometimes planned and written by the scribe himself, thus appearing in neat, uniform handwriting corresponding to that of the main text, although such cases are rather rare.

Most cases of interlinear writing found in Siamese manuscripts were intended as *corrections of the main text*, however, since the latter had been mis-copied or certain words omitted. When making interlinear corrections, the scribe or reader would either cross out the mistake in the main text or mark it with a cross (+) and write the correct word above or below it. The example of an interlinear correction shown in Fig. 1 comes from a manuscript of Siamese poetry entitled *Phra Suthon Kham Chan* ('The Poem of the Tale of Sudhana Jataka') and shows the correction of an omitted letter, which has been written in a scribbled hand. In this case, the cross was inserted above the line, while the added letter was written beneath the line.



Fig. 1: Example of corrections between the lines: Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Siam 4, Volume I, recto 9; © Copenhagen, The Royal Library.

This way of making corrections appears to have been quite common in almost every genre of Siamese manuscripts and can even be traced back to the epigraphic evidence of the Sukhothai kingdom, as it also appeared in the 'Pa Nang Mò Inscription' (inscription no. 288) dated between 1392 and 1404⁷. In this inscription (Fig. 2), a mistake has been crossed out and marked with a cross (+) below it, while the new words have been written in the following line, indicated by the cross at the beginning of the line.

⁷ Fine Arts Department 2005, 185.

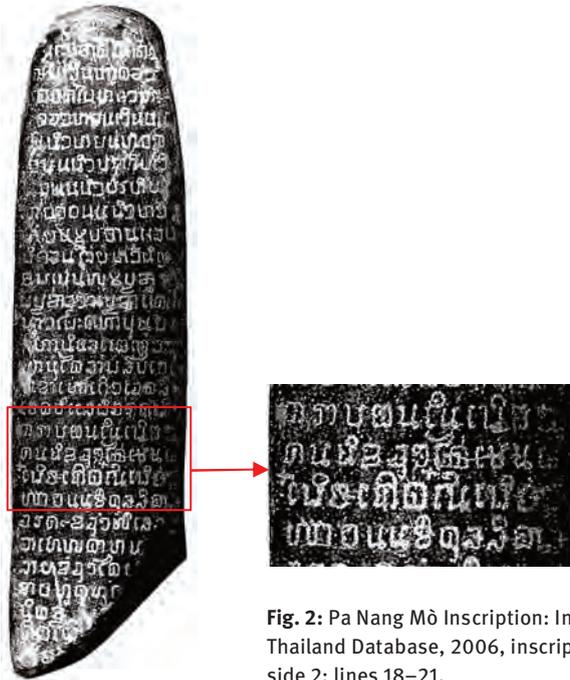


Fig. 2: Pa Nang Mò Inscription: Inscriptions in Thailand Database, 2006, inscription no. 288: side 2: lines 18–21.

Besides containing corrections added between the lines, some manuscripts also include glosses written between the lines, although these are not as frequent. In most cases, glosses were added by readers who wrote down the meaning of archaic words or interpreted more complex sections of the text. It can be argued that there was no tradition of writing separate commentaries to any complete vernacular Siamese text until the late nineteenth century, unlike the canonical texts in Pali whose commentaries have been transmitted separately, a tradition that can be traced back to India and Lanka many centuries ago.⁸ Glosses in Siamese poetry only occur partially, mainly out of necessity due to nearly unreadable stanzas or archaic words without any other aids to understanding their meaning.

One example of glossing can be found in a manuscript recording the *Khlong Lokkanit* ('Didactic Poem on Worldly Conduct'), which only contains glosses for some of the most difficult stanzas. The manuscript contains 200 stanzas of the text in all, but glosses are only provided for four of them (nos 72, 84, 156 and 176). The interlinear gloss in this manuscript begins at the space below the last line of

⁸ For more details, see Hinüber 2000, 100–153.

the stanza and continues into the right margin of the page. The example below (Fig. 3) offers an interpretation or a paraphrase of the last line of stanza no. 156.

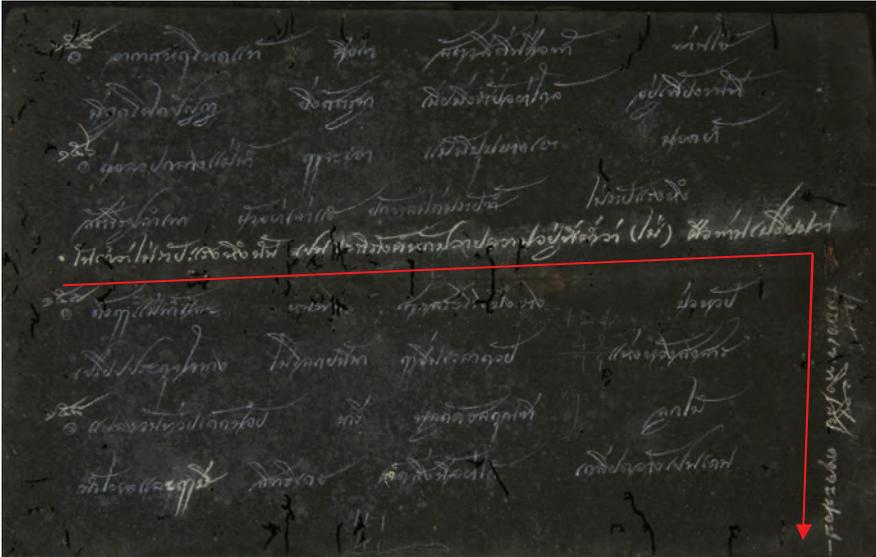


Fig. 3: Glossing of an interpretation of the text found in the manuscript of *Khlong Lokkanit*: National Library of Thailand, *Khlong Suphasit* Subsection, MS no. 106, verso 26–30; © National Library of Thailand.

The stanza in the manuscript of *Khlong Lokkanit* (Fig. 3) and its English translation:⁹

ต่อลอยกลางแม่น้ำ	ฤาจะเฝ้า
แม่มีนุบบางเบา	มอดขี้
สัตรูปลำภา	ผัวหยาเล่าแฮ
ยักหล่มถมร้ายซ้ำ	ไม่ร้ายแรงหึ่ง
Thò lòi klang mae nam	rü ca ao
Mae mi bup bang bao	mòt yam
Satri rup lam phao	phua ya lao hae

⁹ Most of the English translations of Thai literary texts in this article have been done by me, except for *Yuan Phai*, whose English translation done by Baker and Phongpaichit (2017) is available. When cited the English translation from other publications, its source will thus be given as a reference.

Yak lom thom rai sam mai rai raeng hüng

A pole floating in mid-river should not be taken,
[because] it is either too light or it has been eaten [i.e. damaged] by the red flour beetle.
A divorced woman, no matter how beautiful she is, [cannot be taken either,]
[because] one would be inauspicious or she would be too jealous.

The Gloss in the same manuscripts reads as follows:

ในคำที่ไม่ร้ายแรงหึ่งนั้น เป็นชะติงคักหักปลายความอยู่ที่คำว่า (ไม่) คือท่านเปรียบว่า ไม่ต่อเขาหึ่งเสีย
คงจะบอบบางตามอดคัก หึ่งรุงงามผัวอย่าเสีย ถึงจะเป็นชกหล่มถ่มร้าย หาไม่ก็ร้ายแรงหึ่ง
อย่างหนึ่งอย่างใดพึงเข้าใจ.

Transliteration and translation:

nai kham wa mai rai raeng hüng nan pen yatiphang hak plai khwam yu thi kham wa (mai)
khü than priap wa mai thò khao thing sia khong ca bòp bang rü mòt kat ying rup ngam
phua ya sia thüng ca pen yak lom thom rai ha mai kò rai raeng hung yang dai yang nüng
phüng khao cai

In the expression *mai rai raeng hüng* there is a punctuation mark after the word *mai*. The stanza concerns a wooden pole which has been thrown away or abandoned, either because it was too light or it had been eaten away by a beetle. In the same way, a beautiful woman who is divorced cannot serve as a support, as one would be inauspicious or troubled by her jealousy.¹⁰ One should understand [the stanza this way].

This manuscript is the only one out of 27 to have preserved the same version of the text and its glosses. The explanation above may have been added by the anonymous owner of the manuscript. Apparently, the main text had been copied completely before the glosses were added, as there is very little space left for the glosses. Furthermore, the handwriting and the writing substance – in this case white steatite pencil – look slightly different to the main text. Only four stanzas have been annotated in this manuscript; these were considered too obscure to be interpreted by the scribe or the owner. Although the text mentioned above has been partially annotated, the glosses reveal how traditional readers understood the text. Thus, we can assume that a gloss of this kind was not a standard one and was probably added by a reader to help him understand the text. Only by looking more closely at these kinds of interlinear notes can we get any idea of how educational texts were analysed by the reader beyond what has been passed

¹⁰ In traditional Siamese culture, which is male-dominated, a divorced woman is often blamed for her jealousy, as a Siamese male tends to have several spouses at the same time. This didactic poem undeniably reflects the bias against women in the traditional polygynous society.

on in canonical form from one generation to the next. Thus, the glosses should be regarded as an important source of information on how knowledge about each stanza was transmitted and not just as a way of explaining archaic or foreign words used in a text.

3 Annotating archaic and foreign words

The manuscripts examined here contain extended glosses, which are limited to the old poetry and mainly explain the meaning of obscure words. Earlier poetry transmitted from the kingdom of Ayutthaya (1351–1767) always contains obsolete words, either archaic Thai words or loanwords from Pali, Sanskrit or Khmer. These three languages strongly influenced the literary language of the Siamese and the colloquial language used today. The loanwords from these languages have been used for poetic beauty, simultaneously signifying the higher levels of education and skills of the poet. In addition, texts which have been adapted or translated from foreign literature, such as Buddhist Jataka tales or Sanskrit epics, tend to use loanwords as well. It is thought that the pleasure that traditional Siamese readers gained in reading old poetry came from an appreciation of the poet's eloquence and the poetic embellishment of his thoughts rather than from the story narrated in the text, which was widely known from oral tradition anyway¹¹. Readers of old Siamese poetry in the pre-modern period must therefore have had some knowledge of these foreign languages.

Nonetheless, many loanwords must have already been considered obsolete when the old texts were transmitted to the Bangkok period, seeing as the texts needed to be annotated while they were being read and studied. In most cases, readers recorded the meaning of archaic words as interlinear glosses in their own manuscripts, perhaps as a reminder to themselves when reading the text.

One particular manuscript with glosses of archaic words contains *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. This work compiles three different poems from the kingdom of Ayutthaya concerning the elephant ceremony performed at the royal palace. Two of these texts are believed to have been recited at a ceremony in the Ayutthaya period. The texts are considered models of the ceremonial elephant treatises written in the Bangkok period. Dozens of manuscripts preserving this

¹¹ Eoseewong 2005, 12.

collection of texts have survived. The language of these old poems on the elephant ceremony has clearly been influenced by Old Khmer and Sanskrit.¹² The particular manuscript¹³ referred to here has impressively preserved the annotations about obscure words, especially in the initial part of the text, and also contains comments and corrections in certain parts. While the main text has been written in yellow ink in neat, uniform handwriting, the glosses are in scribbled handwriting in a white steatite pencil. The handwriting used for the glosses throughout this manuscript looks consistent enough to have been added by one particular person rather than several different users.



Fig. 4: An example from *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* with glosses annotating some obscure loanwords: National Library of Thailand, *Chan* Subsection, MS no. 16, recto 5; © National Library of Thailand.

The main text (Fig. 4) is written in yellow ink (highlighted in the transcriptions below), while the glosses are written in white steatite pencil:

๑ ข้าฯ ไหว อินสว	กระซิบ กษัตริย์ เทวดา	
อัญขอม บังคม ภูษะสระ	เสกชูป เกิด เจ้านาย ผู้เป็นใหญ่	สืบกันเป็นทำเนียมเยี่ยงหย่าง
	มนตร ชา กรุงชนะ	นิตย เทวดา ผอง
	เปน	คดี ทั้งปวง
	krasip kasat thewada	
kha wai insuan	sek chup koet caonai	süp kan pen thamniam
	[phupenyai	[lyiang yang
Ankhayom bangkhom phuwasawa	montra cha krung chana	nitya thewada phòng
	pen	khadi thang puang

¹² Santi Pakdeekham (2004a, 125) even points out that the beginning of the text (the part called *Dutsadi Sangwoei*) may have been taken directly from an earlier Khmer poem rather than being composed by the Siamese poet Khun Thepkawi as it contains so many Khmer words and Sanskrit loanwords in Khmer; the influence of the Thai language is less prominent here, unlike the other parts of the text.

¹³ National Library of Thailand, *Chan* Subsection, MS no. 16.

	whispering	kings, deities	
I worship Lord Shiva	casting spells	emerge royalties, lords	long practiced as a tradition
I revere Phuwasawa,	whose power is over the lords	and the long worshipped gods entirely,	
	be	way	all

In the stanza above, all the words used are Khmer and Sanskrit. Consequently, practically all of them have been annotated to help the reader understand the stanza better, except for the word *thewada* ('god'), which was widely known and used in the Siamese language. It seems that the person who wrote these glosses was a scholar with considerable knowledge of ancient languages, royal ceremonies and elephant lore. Unfortunately, we do not have any information on the commentator of this manuscript, which the National Library of Thailand says was donated in 1908 by Mò̃m Phaichayonthep or Mò̃m Ratchawong Phin Sanitwong (1870–1916), whose grandfather was Prince Wongsathirat Sanit (1808–1871), a prominent scholar in the mid-nineteenth century. This manuscript therefore seems to have been in the possession of this princely family at some point. The glosses it contains may have been added under the supervision of a scholar from the family or were possibly even added by Prince Wongsathirat Sanit himself.

Another text that required glosses is a poetic travelogue called *Nirat Hariphunchai* ('A Poetic Travelogue for Hariphunchai'), which was originally written in the Lan Na Tai language sometime between the fifteenth and seventeenth century.¹⁴ It was then translated into Siamese and adapted.¹⁵ Although Lan Na Tai or Kam Müang, the language spoken in the Lan Na Kingdom in the upper north of Thailand, belongs to the same linguistic family as Siamese and Thai, many Lan Na Tai words used in this poem can be considered foreign to Siamese readers, while some Pali loanwords used in the text are in the forms adapted in the Lan Na language. Two of the four extant manuscripts of this text therefore contain different glosses, annotating obscure words – mostly the Lan Na Tai words and the Pali loanwords in the Lan Na Tai language.

The examples below both indicate the same stanzas of the *Nirat Hariphunchai* from two different manuscripts¹⁶. Although the same words have been glossed in some cases, the two manuscripts generally contain annotations about different words.

14 See the discussion of its dating in Lagirarde 2004.

15 See the comparison between two versions in Prasert Na Nagara 2004.

16 National Library of Thailand, *Khlong Nirat* Subsection, MSS nos 402 and 405.

Transcription and translation:

ผู้แผลง	น้อง	บัดนี้	ได้
บองกันเกาทันทรัง	โดยจ่านงพโอนเสนาหา	อิฐูบานอัมฤตต	คยจ่านงในพอนุนสรี่
ถือ			
phi phlaeng	nòng	bat ni dai	
Bong kan kaohan song doi camnong pha-on saneha iluban ammaritta doi camnong pha-un sari			
phi thü			
I shoot [an arrow]	you [my dear]	now	gain
I hold the arrow out of desire for you, my dear!		Now I gain heavenly desire for you, my lady!	
I hold			

The glosses do not provide full translations of any of the stanzas, though, probably because the explanations of the obscure words were sufficient for the Siamese readers to make sense of the text; the words that were not glossed were used in Siamese and were therefore considerably easier for Siamese readers and speakers to understand despite their Khmer origin. The examples of the archaic and foreign poetry given above pertain to the extended glosses appearing in manuscripts of classical Siamese poetry, which have been added by an individual rather than being copied to uphold a further tradition. The only case in which transmitted glosses have been found in Siamese poetry is a manuscript containing the *Yuan Phai*, a royal eulogy from the kingdom of Ayutthaya.

4 The glossing tradition of *Yuan Phai*: a single case of the archaic royal eulogy

Yuan Phai, or literally ‘The Defeat of the [Tai] Yuan [of Lan Na]’, is one of the most complex royal eulogies ever written in Siamese. The text, originally written around the fifteenth century, focuses on the victory of King Trailokkanat of Ayutthaya (r. 1448–1488) in the war against the kingdom of Lan Na (known as ‘Yuan’) in 1474. It begins with words of praise for King Trailokkanat, employing complicated foreign words and literary allusions to Buddhist texts, Hindu mythology and the Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. The text, significantly, provides historical information and also represents the most complicated of literary arts in Siamese poetry. *Yuan Phai* was widely transmitted during the Bangkok period, influencing the poetry of Bangkok as a model for royal eulogies. However, the beginning of the text, embellished with complex figures of speech,

is considered to be so complicated and hard to understand that most readers give up reading it and never get round to appreciating the remaining part of the text²⁰. The anonymous author was a great poet and scholar of the period, and readers of the text consequently require a considerable amount of knowledge about foreign words, Buddhist texts and Sanskrit epics in order to understand *Yuan Phai* properly, especially the initial part of the text.

There are twenty stanzas in this literary work that are particularly complicated and they all occur in a row: nos 12–32. These all play on the repetition of Pali and Sanskrit numerals from one to ten to describe the various prestigious characteristics and abilities the King possesses. For instance, stanza no. 17 employs the repetition of the Sanskrit word for ‘four’ (Skt: *catur*) to describe the King’s knowledge in different categories of four, as shown below:

จตุรมัคยล โยคแจ้จ	จตุรพิทท เพรอศแฮ
แจ้จจตุรพรรณ	พ้อเลียง
จตุรพุทททิต	จตุรเทศ
แจ้จจตุรพัคค์รเพียง	ฟ้างอารย
Caturamak yon yok caeng	caturaphit phroet hae
Caeng caturaphan	lò liang
Caturaphut thit	caturathet
Caeng caturaphak phiang	phang an

An English translation of the stanza by Baker and Phongpaichit²¹ goes like this:

He understands four paths, and four insights.
 He knows the fourfold castes and is their patron,
 Four weapons and directions, continents,
 Four views sublime He knows like noble ones.

A proper understanding of the stanza and the others in this particular part of the work requires a sound knowledge of Buddhist texts for the reader to see what the four paths and four insights refer to, quite apart from knowledge of the foreign words employed throughout the stanzas. In some of the manuscripts, glosses have been added to these twenty stanzas to explain the different categories in more detail and explain the meaning of archaic words.

Seven of the twenty-four extant manuscripts of *Yuan Phai* which are currently preserved at the National Library of Thailand contain glosses for these twenty

²⁰ Baker and Phongpaichit 2017, 2.

²¹ Baker and Phongpaichit 2017, 21.

stanzas. Furthermore, the glosses show the same content and wording in all seven manuscripts, albeit with some variant spellings, suggesting a common origin. Apparently, the scribes always left some space under each quarter of a stanza (or ‘bat’ in Thai) for lengthy glosses, which indicates that they realised that an explanation was called for and therefore ‘planned ahead’ by leaving enough blank space for adding such glosses. In most of these manuscripts, the handwriting and writing substance seem to be identical in both the main text and the glosses, although the glosses are a little smaller in size sometimes, probably in order to save writing space and distinguish the glosses from the main text. The example below shows the glosses for stanza no. 17, in which the meaning of each of the four categories is clarified:



Fig. 8: A manuscript of *Yuan Phai* with glosses between the lines, this part bears the text of stanza no. 17: National Library of Thailand, *Lilit* Subsection, MS no. 188, recto 20; © National Library of Thailand.

Transcription and translation:

จตุรมคยลโยคแจ้ง
มรรค ๔ โยค ๔

จตุรพิทช เพรอศเส
จะตฺปติสัสมิธาญาติ อรรถ
นิริติ
ปติทาน
นิถระนะ

แจ้งจตุรพรรณ
ชาติ ๔ ขรตฺย ชาติ
พราหมณ
สุธ
เวศ

พ้อเลี้ยง

จตุรพุทธทิศ

อาวุธ ๔ ทิศ ๔

แจ้งจตุรพักตร์เพียง

แจ้งไปในหมู่พรหม

Caturamak yon yok caeng

mak 4 yok 4

Caeng caturaphan

chat 4 khattiya chat

phrammana

sut

wet

Caturaphut thit

awut 4 thit 4

Caeng caturaphak phiang

caeng pai nai mu phrom

He understands four paths,

magga (path) 4 *Yoga* (bond) 4

He knows the fourfold castes

jāti (caste) 4 (consisting of)

Four weapons and directions,

āvudha (weapon) 4 *disa* (direction) 4

Four views sublime

Enlightened among all the Brahmans

จตุรเทศ

ทวีป ๔

ฟ้างอารย

ตั้งพระอริยเจ้า

caturaphit phroet hae

catupatisamphithayan

attha

niruti

patiphan

nitharana

lò liang

caturathet

thawip 4

phang an

dang phra ariya cao

and four insights.²²*catupatisambhidhāñāṇa* (insights) 4 *atthañāṇa**niruttiñāṇa**pitiñāṇa**nitharanañāṇa*

and is their patron,

*khatthiya-jāti**brahmaṇa-jāti**suda-jāti**vessa-jāti*

continents,

dvīpa (continent) 4

He knows like noble ones.

like the Lord Buddha

22 The translation of this stanza comes from Baker and Phongpaichit 2017, 21, while the translation of the gloss belongs to me.

Although the glosses were not always copied together with the main text in all the extant manuscripts, common glosses do appear in significant numbers – on roughly a third of the manuscripts. The identity of the commentators who originally wrote the glosses is unknown. Still, according to the National Library’s acquisition history and the opinion of scholars in the late nineteenth century, these manuscripts once belonged to the royal palace’s manuscript collection, implying that the glosses were written at the royal court of Bangkok²³.

Glosses were not always simply copied along with the main text without any further additions being made. In MS no. 196, for instance, which is one of seven manuscripts containing an annotated version of *Yuan Phai*, other stanzas have been glossed as well, not just stanzas 12–32. The scribe prepared the space for these twenty stanzas, but glosses for other stanzas were simply added between the lines. Perhaps the commentator adopted the transmitted glosses of these twenty stanzas in this particular manuscript and then added further glosses of his own to some of the other stanzas. As the manuscript was originally from the monastery of Wat Molilok (in present-day Bangkok), *Yuan Phai* will have been transmitted and read by members of this Buddhist monastery as well, and in this case, the commentator may have been monk-scholars based at Wat Malilok.

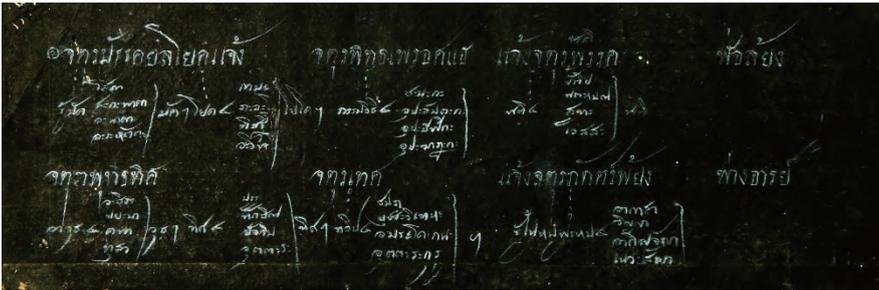


Fig. 9: The glosses of stanza no. 17 from manuscript 196, indicating the same glosses in other manuscripts, but in more detail: National Library of Thailand, *Lilit* Subsection, MS no. 196, recto 21; © National Library of Thailand.

23 Santi Pakdeekham 2007, 2–3.

Transcription and translation:

จตุรมัคชลโยคแจ้ง

รุ่มัก โสดา มัคฯ
 สะกะตาคา
 สะกะตาคา
 อะระหัตตะ

โยค ๔ กามะ โยโคฯ
 ภาวะ
 ภาวะ
 อวิชา

จตุรพิทท เพรอศเฮ

กรรมวิธ ๔ ชนกะ
 อุปะสัมภะกะ
 อุปะสัมภะกะ
 ปะมาฎกะ

แจ้งจตุรพรมณ

ชาติ ๔ ขัตติย ชาติ
 พราหมณ
 สุทธะ
 เวสสะ

พ้อเลียง

จตุรพุทธทิส

อาวุทธ ๔ วชิระ วุฑฯ ทิส ๔ บุร ร ทิสฯ
 นยนา ทักขิน
 กทา บัจจิม
 ทุสตา อุตตะระ

จตุรเทศ

ทวิป ๔ ชมภู
 บุปพิเทหะ
 อมร โคยาน
 อุตตะระกูร

แจ้งจตุรพัตร์เพ็ง

รุ่มในหมุพรม ๔ อากาสา
 วิญญา
 อากิญจัญญา
 เนวะสัจญญา

พ่างอารย

Caturamak yon yok caeng

ru mak 4 soda mak
 sakatakha
 anakha
 arahatta

yokha 4 kama yokho
 phawa
 thitthi
 awitcha

caturaphit phroet hae

kammawithi 4 chanaka
 upasamphaka
 upapilaka
 upakhataka

Caeng caturaphan

chat 4 khattiya chat
 phrammana
 sut
 wet

lò liang

Caturaphut thit

awut 4 wachira
 naiyana
 khatha
 thusa

thit 4 bun(aphe)
 thaksin
 patcim
 uttara

caturathet

thawip 4
 chomphu
 bupphawitheha
 amònkhoyan
 uttarakuru

Caeng caturaphak phiang

ru nai mu phrom 4 akasa
winya
akincanya
newasanya

phang an

He understands four paths, and four insights.²⁴

<i>Magga</i> (path) 4 <i>sotā-magga</i>	<i>Yoga</i> (bond) 4 <i>kāma-yoga</i>	<i>Kamma-vidhi</i> (method of deed) 4 [<i>janaka-vidhi</i>]
<i>sagatāgā-magga</i>	<i>bhava-yoga</i>	<i>upasambhaka-vidhi</i>
<i>anāgā-magga</i>	<i>diṭṭhi-yoga</i>	<i>upapīlika-vidhi</i>
<i>arahatta-magga</i>	<i>avijjā-yoga</i>	<i>upaghatāka-vidhi</i>

He knows the fourfold castes and is their patron,

Jāti (caste) 4 (consisting of) *khatthiya-jāti*
brahmaṇa-jāti
suda-jāti
vessa-jāti

Four weapons and directions, continents,

<i>āvudha</i> (weapon) 4 <i>vajirāvudha</i>	<i>disa</i> (direction) 4 <i>pubba-disa</i>	<i>dvīpa</i> (continent) 4 [<i>jambu-dvīpa</i>]
<i>nayanāvudha</i>	<i>dakkhiṇa-disa</i>	<i>pubbavideha-dvīpa</i>
<i>gadāvudha</i>	<i>paccima-disa</i>	<i>amaragoyāna-dvīpa</i>
<i>duśāvudha</i>	<i>uttara-disa</i>	<i>uttarakuru-dvīpa</i>

Four views sublime He knows like noble ones.

Wise among 4 [types of] Brahmins *ākāsā-brahma*
viññā-brahma
ākiñcaññā-brahma
nevapasaññā-brahma

²⁴ The translation of this stanza comes from Baker and Phongpaichit 2017, 21, while the translation of the gloss belongs to me.

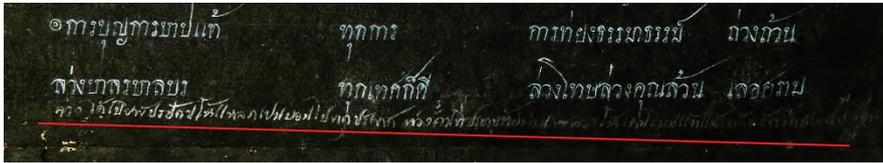


Fig. 10: An example of glosses added to another stanza (no. 49), which does not appear in any other manuscript with interlinear glossing. Thus, this glossing has been added by the commentator; National Library of Thailand, *Lilit* Subsection, MS no. 196, recto 46; © National Library of Thailand.

Transcription and translation:

การบุญการบาปแท้	ทุกการ
การที่ยังธรรมาธรรม์	ถ่างถ้วน
ถ่วงบาลบาลบร	ทุกเทศกัถิ
ถ่วงได้เบียดพรบิภยให้เหลกเป็นบอนไปทุกประเทศ	
ถ่วงโทษถ่วงคุณถ้วน	เลอศราม
ถ่วงรู้คนที่ประทุษร้ายท่าน ๆ ถ่วงให้เหนคุณแท้แล้วกลับรักท่านเลอยิ่งขึ้นไป	
Kan bun kan bap thae	thuk kan
Kan thiang thammathan	thuang thuan
Luang ban raban bòn	thuk thet kò di
Luang dai bian pòrapak hai laek pen bòn pai thuk prathet	
Luang thot luang khun luan	loe sam
Luang ru khon thi prathutsa rai than than luang hai hen khun thae laeo klap ma rak [than loet ying khün pai	
On merit and demerit,	every point; ²⁵
On dhamma and its absence,	every word;
On war and government	in every land;
Having been through (<i>luang</i>) conquering all of his enemies throughout the lands.	

²⁵ The translation of this stanza comes from Baker and Phongpaichit 2017, 30, while the translation of the gloss belongs to me.

On virtue and on vice; his grasp is firm.

Knowing all (*luang ru*) the one who hates him, he shows them the true virtues that
[make them love him.

Yuan Phai is the only piece of Siamese poetry that appears to have been transmitted together with glosses, which is no doubt due to its highly complex language and style. Furthermore, it is also the first Siamese poem to have been ‘translated’ (or in this case paraphrased) entirely into modern Thai in the form of a separate piece of commentary²⁶. At least two versions of the commentary on *Yuan Phai* from the late nineteenth century have survived: ‘A Prose Version of *Yuan Phai*’ (1887) and ‘A Translation of *Yuan Phai*’ (1888). Both were written by the same author, Phra Ubali Khunupamacan (Pan) (1828–1904), who was the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Monastery and a prominent scholar and poet in the late nineteenth century. The first commentary, ‘A Prose Version of *Yuan Phai*’, presents a paraphrase of the text in prose, while the latter records the main text parallel to the translation of each word or line. Phra Ubali Khunupamacan must have consulted the glosses in a manuscript as well, given that some of the explanations correspond to the transmitted glosses found in the manuscripts (albeit imperfectly). Late nineteenth-century readers (and scholars) may have felt that a complete translation was necessary, not just those found in the twenty stanzas. *Yuan Phai* has become a unique case in Siamese literature, displaying the practice of manuscript glossing and writing separate commentaries.

5 Concluding remarks

According to manuscript evidence, the glossing of literary texts was not a common practice in Siamese manuscript culture. This can be deduced from the fact that very few manuscripts have survived that contain glosses, and those that have are limited to a group of archaic texts requiring a refined understanding of the language and content. In the case of *Yuan Phai* with its poetic eloquence and the case of *Kham Phak Ramakian – The Khmer Version*, which was transcribed into Thai, the texts may have been impossible for Siamese readers from the traditional period to read and understand had it not been for the explanatory glosses that were added. Despite the fact that the number of glossed extant manuscripts is small, the glosses should nonetheless be considered significant evidence of the study of Siamese manuscript culture and historical Thai literature.

²⁶ Santi Pakdeekham 2007, 3.

The surviving glosses indicate how the readers engaged actively with their manuscripts and that readers and/or scholars were at work there, probably for purposes of their own, but also partly to explain certain key terms to future generations of readers. In the unique case of *Yuan Phai*, the glosses that were made originally were replicated in manuscript copies over the course of time. These manuscripts do not just serve as carriers of texts, but also as carriers of traditional knowledge, namely, textual scholarship. For modern scholars, glosses not only help us to gain a better understanding of a text's meaning in terms of its ancient vocabulary or encrypted stanzas, for example, but they also give us a better understanding of the textual meaning in the past since they are evidence of scholarly reflection on the dynamic learning tradition associated with that particular piece of writing. They give us an idea of how traditional readers and scholars made sense of difficult passages in the texts and show us how they employed manuscripts as a tool for recording their own learning, even if they just regarded such glosses as personal notes rather than reflections on common interpretations. With respect to traditional Siamese education in particular, in which an oral tradition predominated, these glosses have become a rare piece of written evidence of the traditional textual scholarship that once existed in nineteenth-century Thailand and are a part of Siamese manuscript culture which should be further examined and appreciated.

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Till Hennings

From Marginal Glosses to Translations: Levels of Glossing in an Early Medieval Manuscript (Munich, BSB, Clm 19410)

Abstract: Clm 19410 contains a variety of texts, most of them of rather drab and unassuming nature like questionnaires, moral sayings or writing templates. Taken together, they constitute a utilitarian manuscript to be used in education and for self-study in more advanced topics or even practice in them. Hidden among the different texts lay a multitude of glossaries of varying educational levels, from explanations of basic monastic texts to esoteric farm vocabulary, as well as a glossed version of an Anglo-Saxon poem. The glossaries and the poem are analysed in regard to their setting in the manuscript as well as to their internal characteristics. This analysis reinforces the impression of the manuscript as a dual use tool for education as well as advanced activities of the learned clergy of the time.

1 Introduction

Glosses provide a unique view of the way texts were used by a medieval readership, often showing the hand of the users themselves. But far from merely being occasional annotations, they evolved into a complex supplementary genre of their own, displaying a bewildering variety of forms ranging from the humble note to the alphabetical lexicon. These different levels of organisation are neither exclusive of each other nor are they in a simple chronological sequence ranging from simplicity to complexity: lexica can be broken up into marginal notes, and conversely, marginal notes can be grouped into lexica according to the needs of the users of the texts. Manuscripts often display a synchronic collection of glosses at various levels of organisation, even more so if their contents and hence the materials to be explained cover different fields of knowledge. The present paper aims to analyse the collection of glosses in a single manuscript in order to interpret their functionality in the codex as a tool for performing different educational purposes.

2 A case-study: the manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm 19410

Before studying glosses and glossaries of the manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, it is helpful to have a look at the manuscript itself, its contents and its origin.¹ Clm 19410 is a handy size, measuring 22 × 13 cm, and consist of 34 folios (68 pages). It was long thought to have been written at the monastery at Tegernsee in Southern Bavaria, where it was stored for hundreds of years before being moved to the Bavarian State Library in the nineteenth century. However, recent studies have shown that it is more likely to have been produced in Passau, an episcopal see in Upper Bavaria.² This is indicated by the mention of a bishop and of ‘St Stephen’s altar’,³ and also by the addition of a letter by Hartwig, who was Bishop of Passau from 840 to 866.⁴ The mention of the tenth year of the reign of King Louis the German (843) in a formula on p. 44,⁵ puts the manuscript’s creation somewhere in the latter half of the ninth century. The writing shows marked variations in appearance, so a slow growth over time seems probable, even if it was not written by several different scribes.⁶

I will start this paper with an overview of the contents of the manuscript. The glossaries, which occur between the main texts of the manuscript, will be treated as a group in the second part of this paper. On pp. 1–23 there is a collection of questions and answers (Q&A) regarding various subjects. This Q&A approach gave the manuscript its medieval title *interrogationes*, written on the flyleaf. This textual unit is split into two parts. The first part, without title, consists of a local version of a work circulating in a number of highly variable forms and known as *Sententiae defloratae de diversis causis* (‘Excerpts on different themes’).⁷ There are some indications of its earlier use in the missionary work of the border bishopric.⁸ Here, the local version of that work has been mixed with other contents

1 See Halm 1878, 242; Bischoff 1960, 163–164; Rio 2009, 248–249; Brunhölzl 2000; Gretsche and Gneuss 2005, 17; Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 660.

2 See Brunhölzl 2000, 28–62.

3 Zeumer 1882, 456. Stephen (German ‘Stephan’) was the patron of the cathedral: see Bauer 1997.

4 Boshof 1992, 35.

5 Zeumer 1882, 458, Z. 17.

6 The case for ‘mostly one writer’ was made by Bischoff 1960, 163.

7 Edition and analysis: Soage 2016; Orth 2017. I would like to thank Mr Orth for providing me with a copy of his work.

8 Brunhölzl 2000, 43. For a criticism of this view, see Orth 2017, 44–45 and 55.

– all copied as one block of text – and seems to have lost this possible original purpose, as the whole manuscript is not of a missionary character.⁹ The *Joca monachorum* ('Jokes of the monks'), which makes up the second part of the collection of Q&A, contains quizzes and riddles.¹⁰ On pp. 24–39 there is a 'collection of sayings, admonitions, and excerpts of a religious and moral kind'.¹¹ It is difficult to sort out the origins of every single sentence in this florilegium, but there are strong agreements between this manuscript and insular collections of the same kind, which may have come from the British Isles and belonged to itinerant teachers. Three sequences of sayings in particular can be traced back to Irish and Anglo-Saxon traditions.¹²

On pp. 41–51 there is a collection of model letters and charters called *Collectio Pataviensis*, or Passau Collection.¹³ Clm 19410 is the only witness of these templates and formulas. The tell-tale sign of a formula is the substitution of personal names and dates through placeholders such as *ille*, 'he' (see Fig. 1: *ille*, alone or in combination with other nouns, stands roughly for 'this person' or 'this place', so as to leave the information unspecified). The formulas are followed by a collection of poetry on diverse topics, some of which display an educational or formulaic character. A poem composed from clippings of older poems by Charlemagne's court teacher Alcuin¹⁴ and Eugenius, Archbishop of Toledo,¹⁵ has been carefully anonymised and provided with metric strokes above the accented syllables (see Fig. 2).¹⁶ It is followed by a series of inscriptions which have also been ascribed to Alcuin, although only on the basis of their proximity to the preceding poem connected to him.¹⁷ Another series of Roman Christian

⁹ For information on similar collections, see Orth 2017, 44–49.

¹⁰ Text of Clm 19410 edited in Brunhölzl 2000, 54–62; Clm 19410, 13–19 (§§ 71–135). It is referred to as codex 'F' of version 'JM_i's of the *Joca* in Suchier 1955, 114–119. Edition from Paris, BnF, Lat. 13246 in Wright 2004.

¹¹ Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 18.

¹² For more on the genre, see Wright 1993. Brunhölzl is critical of Wright: Brunhölzl 2000, 34, n. 94.

¹³ Edited (as *Epistolae Alati*) by Rockinger 1857, 169–185; Zeumer 1882, 456–460. For an analysis of the collection, see Rio 2009, 37–39.

¹⁴ Heil 1980.

¹⁵ Prelog 1989, 84–85.

¹⁶ SK nos 3980, 11004, 7223, 1984; edition on the basis of our manuscript, in *MGH, Poetae*, 1: *Poetae aevi Carolini (I)*, Alcuinus, *Carmina*, LV.1–4 (p. 266); between vv. 3 and 4: *MGH, Auct. ant.*, XIV, Eugenius, *Carmen II (Commonitio Mortalitatis Humanae)* (p. 233) (SK 10951).

¹⁷ SK 6949, 7299, 1175, 5391, 5997; *MGH, Poetae*, 1: *Poetae aevi Carolini (I)*, Alcuinus, *Carmina*, LV.5–9.

inscriptions¹⁸ that are similar in terms of their content and style were probably lifted from the *Liber epigrammatum* by Bede, the Anglo-Saxon writer.¹⁹ A kind of poetic dialogue between the Church Fathers Jerome and Damasus,²⁰ normally found as an introductory poem in manuscripts of the Psalms, closes this lyrical section of the manuscript.²¹

A double page (pp. 58–59) presents a variety of alphabets, among them a runic one²² and three different Greek ones (see Fig. 3). The texts that follow the alphabets are later additions, which resume previous themes and genres such as template texts and poetry. The first of two episcopal letters on pp. 61–62 has been made into a formula by eliminating the proper names.²³ Three epitaphs resume the epigraphic content of pp. 53–56 as well as the formulaic one by formularising the second epitaph.²⁴ Two prose-letters conclude the collection.²⁵ The first, from a pupil to his teacher (*alumnus presbytero*), has been formularised as well and is written in a curious way just like the preceding verses, with line breaks for non-existent verses. This should likely be attributed to a distracted scribe who copied this prose text as being poetry under the influence of the previous text in this collection.

The contents of the manuscript can be loosely classified into two groups: 1. elementary materials like the Q&A collections and possibly the alphabets;²⁶ 2. advanced materials like the formulaic texts, which cover charters as well as epistolary writings. The glossaries have to be interpreted in this latter textual context.

18 SK 9571, 428, 9183, 13027, 7704, 14746, 8822; De Rossi 1888, 286.

19 Bernt 1968, 164–172. Bede wrote a comprehensive curriculum of books on the topics treated in early medieval education.

20 Jerome (Hieronymus) is famous for his Latin version of the Bible: the Vulgate. Pope Damasus I was crucial in his support for this project (Frank 1986).

21 SK 12730, 10728. *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* II A, nos 585, 595, 929. Bruyne 2015, 66. Ferrua 1942, Nr. 60.

22 Derolez 1954, XXXIX, 206–212.

23 *MGH, Concilia*, 2,1, 196 and 197, note for line 5.

24 Epitaph of Eio of Ilimmünster: SK 10246; *MGH, Poetae*, 6,1 (pp. 156–157). Riculf: SK 16108; *MGH, Poetae*, 1, p. 432. Hothroc: SK 6483; *MGH, Poetae* 4,2,3, p. 1035.

25 Rockinger 1857, 22 n. 22; 23 n. 23.

26 These can also be used in simple cryptographic operations, which are not for beginners. Apart from being employed in important correspondence, substitutive cryptography was also playfully used in ‘secret’ scribal names or prayers. See Bischoff 1981.

3 Interlude: What are glosses and glossaries?

There is no consensus about what exactly constitutes a ‘gloss’ in an early medieval manuscript.²⁷ Some proponents argue in favour of a very wide definition such as this one: ‘anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text’.²⁸ Following this definition, then, every addition to the main text, excluding additions with no relation to it,²⁹ would be counted as gloss. Consequently, additions such as technical signs, like obeli or asterisks, would have to be included as well as musical notation. While this definition has the advantage of including all the countless ways in which manuscripts could be annotated, it has the disadvantage of diluting the definition of what was traditionally meant by gloss – a short explanation of a difficult word. In fact, many kinds of glossaries are left out of this definition because they are transmitted as the main text and not as paratexts. In my opinion, wider terms like ‘paratext’ or ‘annotation’ are better suited to the many forms of additional texts and notes.

Traditionally speaking, glossing has a narrower meaning in Western medieval studies, which I will use in this paper. Glosses are ‘a translation of Latin units’, with the addendum that ‘language difference should be the basis of any definition’.³⁰ Definitions of this sort are the most widely accepted historically, especially with regard to studies of Old High German, which was largely transmitted via bilingual glossaries.³¹ This definition catches the characteristics of the most common texts: they are translations of uncommon Latin words and they often use the vernacular language (in our case: Old High German). It should be noted, though, that the usual language of explanation was Latin, both for synonyms and definitions. It is also difficult to subsume all traditional glosses under the umbrella term of ‘translation’, as a gloss may explain a difficult concept or make a correction to the text. For practical purposes, one should therefore take the variety of contents into account that can be expressed in the form of a gloss without making the definition meaningless by encompassing all kinds of annotations.

27 Major editions of glosses: Götz 1888; Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879; Manuscripts for Old High German glosses: Bergmann and Stricker 2005; Introductions to the topic: Bergmann and Stricker 2009; Schiegg 2015.

28 Wieland 1983, 7. Cited according to Schiegg 2015, 8, see his discussion of the terms.

29 For example pen tests, doodles or unrelated notes.

30 Glaser 1994, 184; Glaser 2003. Both are cited in Schiegg 2015, 9.

31 The number of glossaries and the wide distribution of them dwarf the small number of literary texts that exist. For a comprehensive overview of Old High German literature, see Bergmann 2013.

Glosses can be distinguished from similar sorts of texts by certain additional criteria. For one thing, they are less than translations because they do not make up a coherent text.³² Some translations however are very close to a glossary in terms of their form and style, as we will see shortly. Furthermore, glosses are different from scholia because they are not copied in manuscripts with a specific layout, to say with wide margins where the commentaries can be hosted. However, the dividing line between glossing a text and making a proper commentary is unclear, as a commentary also contains many glossographical elements in addition to long explanations.

A gloss consists of two parts: the word to be explained, i.e. the ‘lemma’, and the explaining word, phrase or sentence, i.e. the interpretation or Latin *interpretamentum*. For practical purposes – preparing editions, for example – the interpretation alone is often referred to as the ‘gloss’. The first two kinds of glosses are additions to a pre-existing work – for example a book of the bible on which they comment. They are added by the users of the manuscript and can be differentiated by their position relative to their lemma. The first kind is the interlinear gloss, so named because of its position between the lines. It is the most basic of designs and is closely connected to the readers of the book, which were often the annotators. Closely related to the interlinear gloss is the marginal gloss – it only differs in the position of the *interpretamentum*; the contents are basically the same. What these two kinds of glosses have in common is that they are both additions to the main work, which is also intelligible without them. But glosses and works may often merge in transmission, thus turning into a single ‘text’ itself: in it, the commented work and its glosses are habitually copied together.³³

The next step in the evolution of glosses is taken by the development of glossaries as a special form of text: In this case, the lemma and *interpretamentum* alternate in one line, while the uncommented text is left out. The lemmas thus do not constitute a readable text. This is a transition from annotations on a text to a text made of annotations. Glossaries serving as texts in themselves can be subdivided even further. ‘Textual glossaries’, as they are known, are closest to the original form of an annotated text. They include the lemmas in the order of their appearance in the source text (hence ‘textual’). They are no longer marginal (as to their position on the page) like glosses that can be easily left out when the main work is copied into a new manuscript, but constitute texts of their own. The level

³² Schiegg 2015, 10.

³³ This combining of the text and its commentary can also be seen in manuscripts containing texts and independent commentaries or even in the habitual grouping of separate text and commentary-manuscripts in a library.

of abstraction is raised further by different arrangements and choices of glosses. Topical glossaries collect explanations on certain areas of knowledge and are mostly independent of any special base texts. For example, a glossary on grammatical terms would normally incorporate the vocabulary from many elementary grammatical introductions and thus go beyond the limits of a single, annotated text. An even higher order of self-contained abstraction is achieved in alphabetical glossaries. While none of these reached the stage of what we would call an alphabetically ordered encyclopaedia, some of them present an astonishing breadth of knowledge. The largest glossaries of the early Middle Ages are of this kind.

4 The glossaries in Clm 19410

Clm 19410 contains a variety of glossaries at different levels of abstraction and difficulty. There are Latin-Latin and Latin-German glossaries interspersed between texts of other kind.³⁴ All in all, this manuscript contains sixteen different glossaries, often written in between other blocks of text without any distinction being made, which makes the count arbitrary. Many of these topical glossaries are written together, forming larger mixed glossaries on various subjects. These contain a total of 217 Old High German words. The glosses are intralinear, or *Kontextglossen*, meaning they are not written above the line, but within it³⁵ and thus constitute discrete, easy-to-copy texts in themselves. Here are some examples:

- p. 24: a mixed glossary on a variety of topics.³⁶ It directly follows the *Joca monachorum* and is written by the same scribe.³⁷ There is no apparent source text for the lemmas, nor any obvious theme, although there is a certain penchant for Greek words, such as *problema* (problem), *pisteuo* (believe), *ciliarcus* (captain (military)), *lithostrotos* (paved with stones), a widespread topic in medieval glossography.

³⁴ All glosses (Latin and German) conveniently edited and provided with a linguistic commentary in Frank 1984, 127–133. An overview to the standard edition (of only Old High German glosses) is in Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, IV 567–568 (no. 443) and Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 660.

³⁵ Only one gloss is interlinear (p. 15).

³⁶ Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, no. MCCXXXI.

³⁷ More specifically, the double alphabet (1. Inc. *A Adam B benedictio* Expl. *Z zelus*, 2. Inc. *A pro alfa* Expl. *Z pro zona quam cinxit adam*) with which they close in this manuscript.

- p. 33: glossary to Virgil (?) in the moral florilegium (pp. 24–39).³⁸ It is palaeographically identical and visually indistinguishable from the surrounding florilegium, but disrupts the text for the reader; this suggests a highly composite model where the glossary was nested in between two parts of the florilegium. This distinction was wiped out by a joint copy of all the texts, however. The glossary seems to be on the *Aeneid*, where most of the terms occur. Virgil's *Aeneid* on the exploits of Aeneas, the Roman national hero, was a staple school text throughout the Middle Ages.³⁹
- pp. 36–38: glossaries on various subjects.⁴⁰ Four glossaries follow one another without any clear distinction, thus forming now a textual unit by copying four previously independent texts. A textual glossary on the Rule of Benedict, the fundamental monastic rule of the Early Middle Ages, is preceded by a two-lemma fragment of an *Aeneid* (?) glossary (*trinacria*, *alumnus*). The lemmas follow the order of the text of the *Regula Benedicti* and would have been of practical use in a collective reading, where the teacher was supplying the pupils with the correct interpretation of the word when it occurred. A glossary with no apparent source or topic follows, although a biblical or moralistic context is likely, judging by the vocabulary: *abrenuntio* (renounce), *abstinentia* (abstinence), *sub auctoribus* (!) (under [the supervision of] teachers), *nugaces* (drollery), *temeritas* (temerity). The two biblical glossaries that follow are shorter versions of a more comprehensive glossary on the first book of the *Bible*.⁴¹ The four glossaries all deal with basic texts – Virgil's *Aeneid* (?), the *Rule of Benedict*, and the *Bible*, which would have occurred in elementary Latin education.
- pp. 39–41: *Carmen ad Deum*, a gloss-poem (a poetical paraphrase) on an earlier Latin model; see below.
- pp. 58–60: glossaries on various subjects.⁴² The four glossaries are placed around the double-page alphabets on pp. 58–59 and continue on p. 60. A glossary on Isidore of Seville concerning parts of the body, a list of highly unusual agricultural terms, rare words from the *Bible* and terms relating to

38 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, no. MCXCVI.

39 Glauche 1978, 147, s.v. 'Vergil'.

40 The parts have been edited separately: Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, nos DLXI, MCXCV, XIII, XXXVI.

41 The *Rz Genesis glossary. See Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, V 108ff., on Hadrian and Theodor (connected to the gloss poem further below), 400; Baesecke 1924.

42 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, nos DCCCCLVII, MCXXXIX, CCCLXVI^a, DCCXIII^b.

ecclesiastical offices. These four glossaries are of a higher educational level than the preceding ones.

In the standard edition,⁴³ the glossaries have been edited separately according to their subject matter, but it should be kept in mind that the manuscript displays most of them as if they were linked to each other or to the surrounding texts. My impression of the stock of glossaries so far is that they concern mostly elementary texts, but contain intermediate vocabulary. The works – as far they can be identified – would have been required reading in a young monk's education (the Bible, the Rule of Benedict, and Vergil). The elementary glossaries are tightly integrated into the surrounding elementary texts of other genres, to the point of merging visually as if they were one text. The glossaries which were written or added in the blank spaces around the alphabets, on the other hand, are more easily distinguishable, convey more advanced vocabulary and are also separated – by their position at the end of the manuscript – by a host of other material from the other groups of glossaries.

One glossary (pp. 39–41), if it can be called that, transcends the mere utilitarian nature of the previous word lists: the *Carmen ad Deum*, a German translation of a Latin poem of Anglo-Saxon origin.⁴⁴ Its layout closely resembles that of the preceding glossaries (lemma and interpretation alternating), and the verse line break has been abandoned in favour of prose-style writing. The same hand wrote the poem, the previous school texts and the formulae that follow immediately in the manuscript seemingly in one session. The Latin poem has a long and tangled history, but ultimately came to the Continent via Alcuin.⁴⁵ The present text is the result of multi-level glossation. It preserves traces of an older Latin glossation as well as those of an Anglo-Saxon translation, which can only be treated in passing:⁴⁶ some words of the Latin texts disrupt the rhyme and thus cannot be the original wording. They are common synonyms for rare words that stand originally in the text and thus have the character of explanatory glosses in Latin. Other evidence of a Latin gloss is preserved in the Old High German translation. There are cases where it does not match its Latin counterpart, but rather resembles a translation of a gloss. Old English glossing is also apparent: sometimes the

43 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879.

44 SK 14640. Many editions exist, the most notable being Gretsch and Gneuss 2005; Hellgardt 2008. On the author and origin, see Lapidge 1996. Previously on the same subject: Baesecke 1948.

45 As part of manuscripts of his *Enchiridion*: Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 9–11, 14–16. Fravventura 2017, 88–89.

46 This is covered exhaustively in Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 21–32.

German translation includes a very rare German word, which is morphologically similar to a much more common English word, thus pointing to the use of loan-words. The Old High German glosses are easily placed in this context: they accompany the difficult Latin of the poem for the better understanding of the pupils. The translation is not a literary work in itself, but a word-by-word translation meant to be read alongside the Latin, although it forms a syntactically coherent text in itself.⁴⁷ The whole educational nature of this text is underlined by an explanatory note at the end of it about dactyls and spondees, the metrical feet.⁴⁸ Thus the poem was annotated in the context of its English origin and – as the Old English glossation shows – it was used in an educational context. When this annotated version of the poem found its way to Passau – most likely in the libraries of travelling Anglo-Saxon scholars – the knowledge preserved in it was only accessible to the teachers themselves. This knowledge had to be adapted to the special circumstances of the Bavarian school where it would be put to use. A new translation was made in Old High German for this purpose, relying heavily on the Latin-English glosses. The translation, in the layout of a glossary, was included among other educational texts. This text collection as a whole was then copied into the present manuscript. This manuscript, in turn, being a copy of an earlier collection, presents us with a standardised compendium of educational materials.

5 Conclusions

Glossing in Clm 19410 is on a continuum from simple annotations to highly abstracted collections of glossographical and lexical materials. The glossaries show the same range – from elementary to advanced level – as the other texts in the manuscript and thus reinforce its hybrid nature. Interlinear or marginal notations occur here as ‘solidified’ into glossaries: they became texts of their own and were transmitted as such. The scholarly work done on these texts results in their multi-layered nature, where a glossing of a substrate text is often changed and expanded by continuous additions and new combinations. The gloss-poem of the *Carmen ad Deum* is a good example of this in view of its three-layered

⁴⁷ On the continuity between a simple word-matching gloss and a poetical translation, see Sonderegger 1974, 78–79.

⁴⁸ Which incidentally do not match the trochaic metre of the Latin poem.

stratigraphy of glosses, which have kept the poem relevant as a mean of teaching ever since it was created, even as its linguistic environment changed.

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Abbreviations

MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</i>
SK	Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, <i>Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> , Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977.

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46.
 In clito & amabili domino Comiti. Egypen
 nemindno sat. p & obonitate uram ut
 memores sitis mei. tam in facie regis quam
 magistror. & q; fidelium & bene de me loq
 sic pmissis in & in iura Confidoubiq; caritate
 mihiq; urm seruitiu inuungere dignemini.
 Venit ad nos homo. nr. n. & narravit qd ho
 mines ur. n. domu & infringerent & boues
 fusto nocturno furarent. ideo misimus tu
 ad uos cu indiculo nro. ac p & in ut pleniter
 iustria e fieri uibeatis sic uultis. ut & nos de
 urō homine faciam. Quidam homou. n.
 Ante altare sci stefani uenit. & ibi querēbat
 auxiliū eo qd occiderit aliu hominem urm
 neessitate compulsus sic iste nob referebat
 ex ordine. p & iur q; ut sibi uergetū eius
 componere licuisset. ideo p cam ut quia
 auxiliū ab istolo loquesierat. misericordia
 urā ab eo n recedat. & delicta p emendat.
 ill. com & successorib; tuis atq; minorib;
 nrū seruissis dominicis p te pra

Fig. 1: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 42; courtesy of the BSB. The abbreviated placeholder 'ille' is visible at the bottom left.

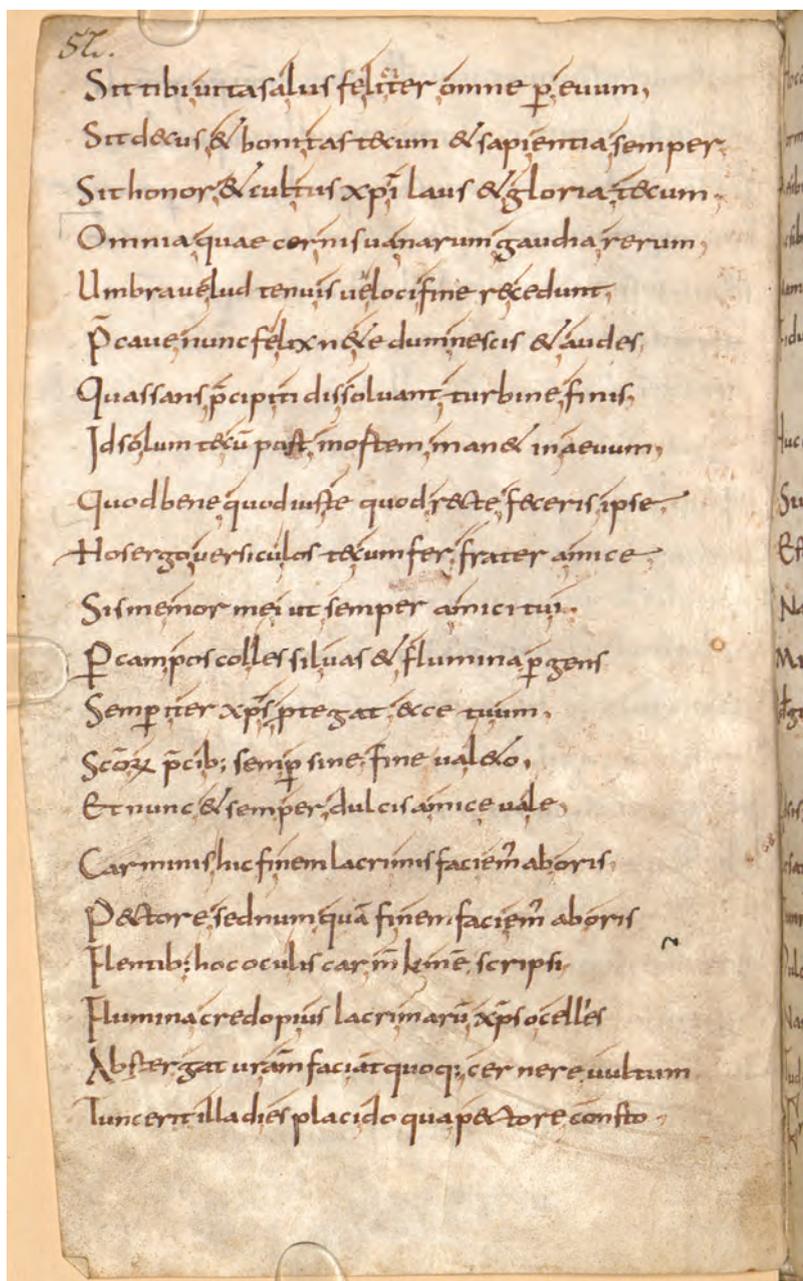


Fig. 2: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 52; courtesy of the BSB. Poetry with metric annotation.

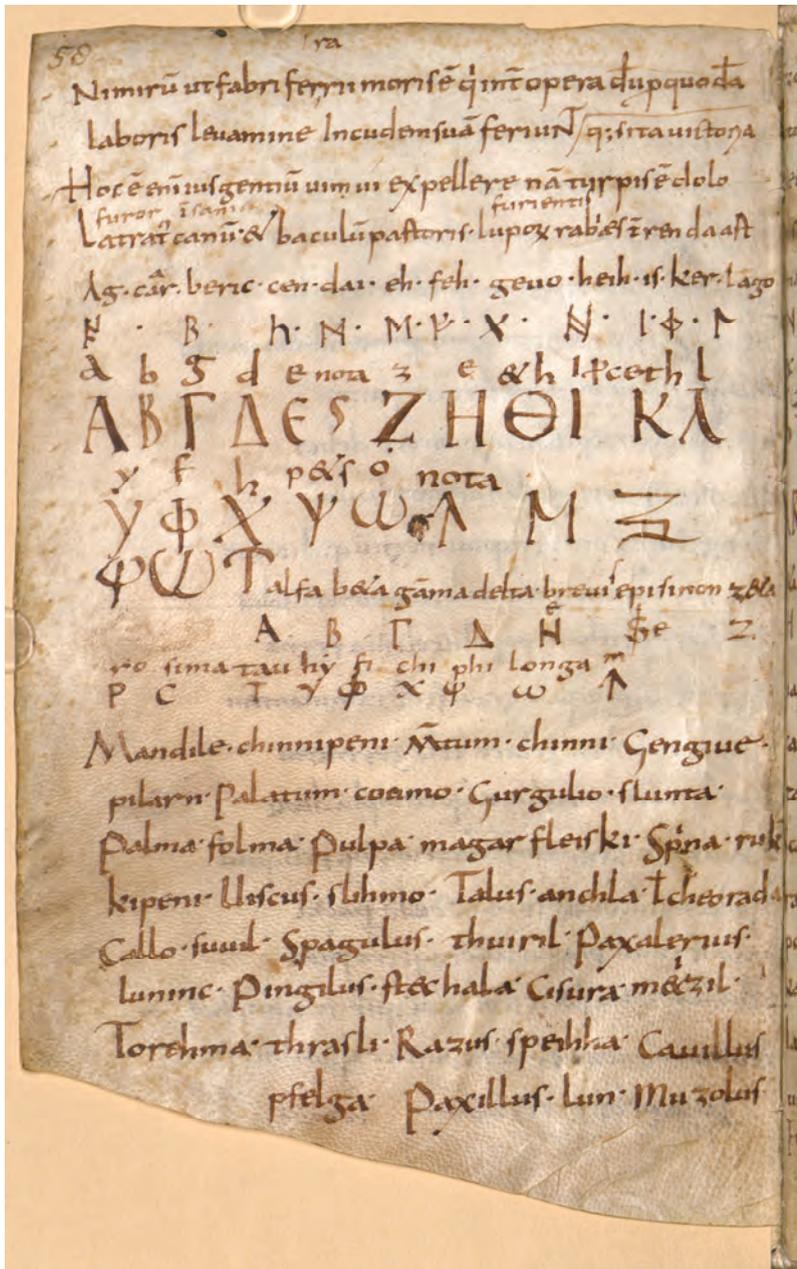


Fig. 3: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 58; courtesy of the BSB. Various alphabets.



Organising Knowledge: Syllabi

Giovanni Ciotti

Introduction: On the Interplay between Syllabi, Texts and Manuscripts

ekasmiñ jīva ekaṃ śāstram

‘one discipline per life’

(Sanskrit saying)

1 Introduction

Throughout the centuries, *manuscripts* have served as learning and teaching tools in the hands of students and teachers in most learned cultures. It is therefore to be expected that many of these artefacts may reflect – and thus be used to investigate – the educational practices of the individuals and communities by which they have been produced and used. Similarly, if we happen to possess evidence that a particular group of subjects, i.e. a *syllabus*, was deemed relevant and worthy of studying by a certain tradition, we can ask what connection such a set of subjects may have had with the *manuscripts* that were produced by that very same tradition. Predictably, at the intersection between subjects and manuscripts, we find the *texts* that instantiate the contents of the former and are written down in the latter.

The present section of this volume focuses on the interplay between (a) syllabi, i.e. more or less defined groups of subjects, (b) texts that are relevant to teaching and studying those syllabi, and (c) manuscripts that contain those texts. Ultimately, the aim here is to link the work of the intellectuals who established and promoted certain categorisations of knowledge and certain texts to be transmitted from teachers to pupils with the work of those involved in the production of manuscripts (sponsors/patrons and scribes) and use of them (teachers and students, and readers and listeners).¹

¹ One should obviously bear in mind that these various roles could be performed by a single person or a group of people.

2 Syllabi

A syllabus, or course of study, is understood here as a group of subjects that are to be studied and taught and which are selected according to specific educational aims (e.g. literary, grammatical, bureaucratic, scribal, legal, scientific, or religious).²

Since our study adopts a cross-cultural perspective, a few caveats are in order. First of all, only certain traditions overtly address and label the topics forming specific syllabi, one of the most well-known examples being that of the allegorical representation of the seven liberal arts by Martianus Capella in his *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.³ However, in many other traditions, syllabi can only be reconstructed from secondary evidence such as the combination of topics dealt with by texts contained in specific manuscripts. An interesting example in this respect is the case of certain Sumerian scribal syllabi that can only be reconstructed for the Old Babylonian period thanks to the evidence provided by the extant clay tablets.⁴

Furthermore, syllabi are mutable entities. Once they have emerged from various complex historical circumstances through processes of knowledge negotiation, they may undergo transformations to different degrees, enjoy an amount of diffusion beyond their place of origin or may even be supplanted by entirely new syllabi. Thus, it is sometimes possible to study the emergence of syllabi in their infancy, such as those pertaining to mediaeval Arabic technical literature, the inception of which is witnessed in the paratexts contained in certain pertinent manuscripts.⁵ On other occasions, one can appreciate the modification of a

2 The term ‘syllabus’ is preferred to ‘curriculum’ here. The field of educational sociology has produced a large body of literature attempting to define the term ‘curriculum’, and despite the lack of any agreed definition, its scope is usually perceived as being broader than that of ‘syllabus’. The general trend seems to be that of understanding a curriculum as a guided formative experience led by members of an institution (e.g. a school, a museum, but also more generally a community), which aims at transmitting not only specific contents (i.e. the syllabus), but specific values and qualities that students are meant to possess. For an introduction to the field of curriculum studies, see Kridel 2010.

3 The seven liberal arts are composed of the *trivium*, which includes grammar, logic and rhetoric, and the *quadrivium*, which includes arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.

4 See Tinney 1999 and Section 5.4 below.

5 See Raggetti in this volume and Section 5.4 (Case study 1) below. Raggetti’s study offers a critical edition and a detailed analysis of the *Ringkomposition* found in manuscripts containing copies of the *Ḍaḥīrat al-Iskandar* (‘Treasure of Alexander’). This paratext attributes the authorship

syllabus over time, as in the case of the topics that are said to form the field of Tamil grammar (*ilakkaṇam*), the number of which increased from three to six in the course of the second millennium CE.⁶

Finally, syllabi can be of various sizes, ranging from restricted ones, i.e. the study of the topics relevant to a specific discipline such as the lists provided by Isidore of Seville in the *Etymologiae* about each of the seven arts,⁷ to broad ones such as Islamic education, which includes the study of the Qurʾān, the Arabic language, the life and traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, theology, and law.⁸

3 Texts

Besides oral instruction, the topics that form a syllabus are, of course, engaged with through the study of texts. Sometimes, we have access to historical records that inform us about what texts were studied to cover the subjects of a specific syllabus. In particular, we can encounter prescriptive lists of texts, such as that presenting required reading for advanced students at the *madrasas* of the

of the text, which is actually an anthology of excerpts, to Alexander the Great, thus forging the identity of a new syllabus.

6 See Ciotti in this volume and Section 5.1 (Case study 1) below. From an initial threefold configuration of Tamil grammar, including the study of *eḷuttu* (phonology/orthography), *col* (morphology), *poruḷ* (poetics), throughout the course of time a few disciplines are singled out from the already existing ones and given an autonomous status, namely *yāppu* (metrics), *aṇi* (figures of speech), and *poruttam* (appropriateness [to literary conventions]).

7 For instance, some of the topics pertaining to grammar are parts of speech (nouns and verbs, pronouns and adverbs), participles, conjugations, prepositions, interjections, letters, syllables, metres, prosodic accent, signs, etymology, rhetorical figures and genres (see Barney et al 2006, 39–67).

8 See Makdisi 1981, 80–91 and Hall and Stewart 2011, 111–112, for example, both of which are discussed in Section 5.3. Also see n. 37 for a similar case concerning the High Middle Ages based on Scrivner 1980. In the context of classical India, one syllabus comparable in size to that of Islamic education is that of Brahmanical education. This is the education that the *brāhmaṇas* are expected to acquire, i.e. the members of the social group traditionally responsible for handling scholarly knowledge that is usually transmitted in Sanskrit. According to several sources (here we quote from *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* 1.3, ed. Khiste and Hośiṅga 1930, 8), there are 14 *vidyāsthānas* ('seats of knowledge') that must be learnt: 'The [four] Vedas, together with *purāṇa* ("traditional lore"), *nyāya* ("logic"), *mīmāṃsā* ("Vedic exegesis"), *dharmasāstra* ("the study of ethics and law"), and the [six] *Vedāṅgas* ("Vedic auxiliary disciplines") (*purāṇanyāya-mīmāṃsādharmaśāstrāṅgamiśritāḥ | vedāḥ [...]*). Unfortunately, so far no study has tried to investigate whether any direct links exist between such a list and the production of manuscripts or the formation of specific manuscript collections.

Ottoman empire established by a *fermān* ('edict') dated 1565⁹ or the one found in the *Sacerdos ad Altare* (c. 1210) by Alexander Neckam,¹⁰ which is, in fact, no more than a desideratum addressed to potential students. Alternatively, we may possess descriptive sources mentioning texts that were commonly studied, but that were not explicitly associated with an overt syllabus. For instance, both the (auto-)biographies of Islamic intellectuals¹¹ and the reports about traditional Sanskrit education in colonial India¹² provide the titles of numerous texts that were engaged with by generations of students.

In certain traditions some texts can be perceived as belonging together, in our case for example because they are used for a specific educational aim. These texts thus form a corpus that can be more or less canonical, i.e. perceived as closed or open, at different times. In manuscript cultures, manifestations of such corpora are often anthologies of excerpts, such as the *Heptateucon* (c. 1140) of Thierry of Chartres¹³ or digests epitomising the subjects of a specific syllabus such as encyclopaedias, like Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*,¹⁴ or doxographical treatises such as the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* by the Jain scholar Haribhadra (c. eighth century) and many more that present and contrast the views of the six Sanskrit philosophical systems (*darśanas* or *tarkas*).¹⁵

At some other times, the fact that certain texts are – overtly or covertly – perceived by a given culture as belonging together emerges from their being written down in the same manuscript.

4 Manuscripts

The way in which single texts or groups of texts are written down in manuscripts reflects how specific kinds of knowledge were supposed to be transmitted within a given tradition and how certain texts were used and modified in order to pursue

⁹ See Ahmed and Filipovic 2004, discussed below in n. 43.

¹⁰ See Section 5.2.

¹¹ See Section 5.3.

¹² William Adam's three reports dated 1835, 1836 and 1838 (see Long's 1868 reprint) carefully list the titles of the texts studied in the traditional Sanskrit schools of Bengal and Bihar.

¹³ See Section 5.2.

¹⁴ See Barney et al. 2006, 10–17. Note that the label 'encyclopaedia' is here used anachronistically (see König and Woolf 2013, 1–5).

¹⁵ See Gerschheimer 2007 for an account of which systems were included in such sixfold lists at various moments in the history of classical Indian philosophy.

particular educational aims. Thus, numerous single-text manuscripts – and in particular their paratexts – provide evidence that can be used to investigate their links to syllabi and corpora.¹⁶

Furthermore, certain manuscripts can contain a selection of texts – either in full or as collections of excerpts – addressing specific educational fields. Even when syllabi and their relevant texts are overtly mentioned in the sources, it is likely that what is actually found in manuscripts is a series of variants of the recorded list of subjects and texts. In fact, a manuscript will often approximate the number of texts (n) that, as we are informed or can assume from the evidence at hand, are supposed to cover a specific syllabus. It is due to this variance that the value of each manuscript is of historical value, whether it contains n texts, $n \pm 1$, $n \pm 2$, and so on.¹⁷ However, even though information about syllabi and corpora is available, it may not always be sufficient or even relevant for researchers to make sense of the actual arrangement of texts in manuscripts.

Alternatively, a text that is deemed to match an entire syllabus by itself can be parcelled out over different manuscripts, or rather volumes of the same manuscript, thus addressing different stages of the learning process. The *Minhāğ at-ṭālibīn*, an Arabic treatise by Yaḥyā b. Šaraf an-Nawawī (d. 1277) on Islamic Šāfi‘ī law, is a relevant case study in this respect: apparently, contrary to all other Islamic manuscript traditions in which the text is studied, its chapters are always transmitted in separate volumes in the manuscript tradition of Harar (Ethiopia).¹⁸

In cases where we have no other source of information about specific educational fields, manuscripts are the only tools available that allow us to glimpse or

16 Concerning syllabi, see Raggetti (already mentioned in Section 2) in this volume, also summarised below in Section 5.4 (Case study 1).

17 This idea reflects that of a ‘corpus organizer’ discussed in Bausi 2010. An important point here is that the relationship between certain multiple-text manuscripts and corpora is a function of the relationship between matter and knowledge. Bausi further states that ‘[i]n its form and contents, a “corpus-organizer” realizes the contents contained in the “projectual intention” of the copyist, or of those who are behind him’ (Bausi 2010, 35). In our terms, such a ‘projectual intention’ would be dictated, or at least heavily influenced, by an existing syllabus. For a specific case-study, see Ciotti in this volume.

18 See Gori in this volume and Section 5.1 (Case study 2) below. Within the domain of printed books, a similar case has been recorded concerning Manuel Álvares’ (1526–1582) *De institutione grammatica libri tres*, which was printed in several volumes in certain parts of Europe, namely Germany (Dillingen), Czechia, and Poland/Lithuania, to match the progressive nature of the local syllabus (see Rolf Kemmler, ‘The Emergence of Divergent Text Traditions of Manuel Álvares’ *De institutione grammatica libri tres* in Sixteenth-Century Europe’, a paper presented at the 14th International Conference on the History of Language Sciences, in Paris 2017).

even attempt to reconstruct the composition of syllabi and their relevant corpora.¹⁹

The types of manuscripts that can be taken into consideration in such investigations are the following, each of which is examined through a case study offered in the essays included in the present section of this volume:

1. Single-text manuscripts [STM], in particular compendia (see Raggetti).
2. Multiple-text manuscripts [MTM], regardless of whether they are the result of a single production act (see Ciotti).²⁰
3. Multi-volume manuscripts (see Gori).²¹

If we were to broaden our view beyond individual artefacts, one could also include the study of collections (e.g. public, personal or institutional libraries). This latter case is not investigated by any of the contributions in this section of the volume, but it is accounted for below, in a brief summary of the results of Hall and Stewart's 2011 study of the collections of Islamic manuscripts in Sahel.²²

5 Interplay

In this subsection I will outline some of the ways in which the interplay between syllabi, texts and manuscripts can be studied on the basis of the availability or absence of sources that inform us about the structure of syllabi, i.e. which and how many subjects they entail, and the texts that can be studied in order to master those subjects. Each section contains illustrative case studies.

19 See Section 5.4.

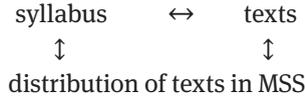
20 Also summarised below in Section 5.1 (Case study 1). It is possible to limit the use of the label 'multiple-text manuscript' to manuscripts containing more than one text that were conceived and produced as such in one production act or to which later codicological units (*strata*), which were produced specifically for the same manuscript, were added. This categorisation would set apart 'composite manuscripts', i.e. manuscripts with more than one text that are made of codicological units taken from pre-existing manuscripts (*à la* Frankenstein). This convention is discussed in Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 15–16, for instance.

21 Also summarised below in Section 5.1 (Case study 2). To the best of my knowledge, no literature exists yet that defines what a 'multi-volume manuscript' is or discusses the matter in detail. This label is actually used by scholars involved in manuscript studies, however. Take Alekseev 2015, for example, who writes about manuscripts containing the Mongolian Buddhist canon kept at the library of St Petersburg University.

22 See Section 5.3. See also n. 37 for a similar case concerning the High Middle Ages.

5.1 Sources relevant to manuscripts are available on both syllabi and texts

For certain traditions it is possible to retrieve information on a specific syllabus and the texts that are used for it. Once this information is checked against the manuscripts, it will emerge that at least some of the latter reflect or approximate the arrangement of the former:



Case study 1: The topics of Tamil grammar²³

Information about the syllabus

Numerous sources scattered through the two thousand odd years of Tamil literature provide information concerning the names and number of topics that are said to be part of the field of Tamil grammar. Historically, it is possible to trace the transformation of how such a syllabus is outlined, with the inclusion of a number of topics that range from three to five or even six, the fivefold one (*ilakkaṇa-p-paṅcakam*) clearly being the most popular among the available sources.

Information about the texts

Lists of grammatical texts are only known from sources dating from the eighteenth century onwards. The Jesuit missionary to India and much respected Tamil poet Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi SJ (1680–1742) has provided us with two different lists of texts that are deemed apt for addressing the fivefold syllabus. The first list appears in his Latin grammar of Tamil dated 1730, where Beschi mentions the *Naṅṅūl* for phonology/orthography and morphology, the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* for poetics, the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* for metrics, and the *Taṅṅiyalaṅkāram* for figures of speech. The second list appears in another grammar composed around 1735, where Beschi adds the *Purapporuḷvenpāmālai* to the same list, which completes the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* as far as the topic of poetics is concerned, and also includes an unspecified text belonging to the Pāṅṅiyal genre. The inclusion of the latter is

²³ See Ciotti in this volume, which updates the pertinent observations made in Buchholz and Ciotti 2017, in particular Section 4.

of particular relevance since it hints at the recognition of a sixth topic dealt with in Pāṭṭiyal texts, namely that of *poruttam* ('appropriateness [to literary conventions]'). The same list appears in an essay penned by the well-known Tamil Sri Lankan scholar Ārumuka Nāvalar (1822–1879) in 1860 and addressed to students of Tamil, in particular those who adhered to Śaivism.

Information from the manuscripts

Tamil libraries have numerous multiple-text manuscripts and a few composite ones, the content of which matches either Beschi's or Ārumuka Nāvalar's lists of texts to various degrees. The selection of texts in a significant number of these manuscripts clearly reflects the emergence of the sixfold syllabus during the nineteenth century – the century in which most of the extant manuscripts were produced – with the inclusion of Pāṭṭiyal texts. What is also conspicuous is the fact that many of these artefacts contain copies of literary texts, indicating that grammars were propaedeutical to an engagement with *belles lettres* in traditional Tamil education.

Case study 2: The *Minhāḡ aṭ-ṭālibīn* in the Harari manuscript culture²⁴

Information about the syllabus

Islamic jurisprudence – in particular Sunni – acknowledges the existence of four branches of substantive law (*furū' al-fiqh* 'branches of jurisprudence'). These deal with rituals, sales, marriage and injuries respectively. Such a fourfold division is clearly mentioned by aš-Ša'rānī (1493–1565) – an Egyptian scholar, mystic, and Šāfi'ite jurist – in his *al-Mizān al-Kubrā*, for instance.²⁵

Information about the texts

Many legal texts focusing on substantive law cover the four branches mentioned above,²⁶ although in a variety of sections, called 'books' (*kutub*), which far exceed the total number of four. The Šāfi'ite *Minhāḡ aṭ-ṭālibīn* by an-Nawawī (1234–1277) is a notable example of the genre, which is well known throughout

²⁴ See Gori in this volume.

²⁵ See Hallaq 2009, 551–552.

²⁶ Hallaq 2009, 551–552.

the Islamicate world: it contains 71 ‘books’, many of which are divided into ‘chapters’ (*abwāb*).²⁷

Information from the manuscripts

The *Minhāġ aṭ-ṭālibīn* is one of the standard educational texts for Islamic law in Harar (Ethiopia), where manuscript copies of the text are always distributed over four volumes, thus forming what can be called a multi-volume manuscript. As Gori observes, ‘[it] is easy to see that each of the four quarters corresponds to one of the main branches of Islamic law according to the classification currently applicable in the Šāfi‘ite school’.²⁸ In this case, the arrangement of the text in the manuscripts not only reflects the fourfold interpretation of juridical matters acknowledged by the Šāfi‘ite tradition, but it also represents an educational tool shaped around the expected progression of law students – step by step through the four topics.

5.2 Sources relevant to manuscripts are available on syllabi, but not on texts

A different scenario is that in which the actual distribution of texts in manuscripts does not reflect the prescribed or described selection of texts that is available from overt information that can be found in a given culture about a specific syllabus and its corpus. There may be no list of texts mentioned in the sources for studying a given syllabus that has a statistically relevant connection to the selection of texts in manuscripts, for instance. Each manuscript can thus be understood as the result of the personal preference or educational intent of individual scholars and students, in the same way as the lists of texts can be understood as educational desiderata of individual scholars.

Nevertheless, it may be possible to extrapolate statistics about the frequency of the combination of certain texts in order to trace trends in the constitution of corpora:

distribution of texts in MSS ↔ syllabus
↓
texts

²⁷ See Howard’s 1914 translation. For a study on the *Minhāġ aṭ-ṭālibīn*, see Calder 2010, 99–106.

²⁸ See Gori in this volume, p. 366.

Case study: The seven liberal arts in the Early and High Middle Ages

Information about the syllabus

The list of seven liberal arts (*artes liberales*), further divided into a *trivium* and *quadrivium*,²⁹ forms a syllabus that has been used in the West ever since the Early Middle Ages. This list has been most notably epitomised by the work *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella (end of the fifth century), the *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum* (in particular book two) by Cassiodorus (late sixth century), and the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville (early seventh century), which were all widely circulated during the Early and High Middle Ages.³⁰

Information from the manuscripts

Bernhard Bischoff has already discussed a few manuscripts that address most of the syllabus of the seven arts.³¹ Two Carolingian manuscripts that are now lost were part of the library of the Abbey of Reichenau in Germany. One is described in the catalogue from 821 (or 822) and contains texts about arithmetic, geometry, rhetoric, astronomy and medicine, the latter being a discipline that Martianus Capella discusses in his *De nuptiis*, but which, like architecture, is not actually included in the list of the seven arts. A second manuscript is described in the catalogue prepared by the librarian Reginbert between 838 and 842, in which one would have found sixteen texts about ‘history, grammar (including metre and elementary reading texts), arithmetic, music, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric, dialectic and geography, and [...] the architecture of Faventinus and the herbal of Pseudo-Apuleius’.³² A later manuscript, part of which is supposed to have survived in Paris, BnF, lat. 2974, is described in the eleventh-century catalogue of the collection of Le Puy (France) as containing works on dialectic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, all of which – curiously – attributed to Alcuin.³³

²⁹ See n. 3.

³⁰ Copeland and Sluiter 2009, 9.

³¹ Bischoff 2007, 106.

³² Bischoff 2007, 106.

³³ Bischoff 1967, 80–81 mentions two more pertinent manuscripts from the eleventh century. The first one, which is dealt with in detail, is Munich, BSB, Clm 14272. It hailed from St Emmeram (Regensburg, Germany) and, as Bischoff writes, contains works ‘von Boethius, Cicero, Hucbald, Adalbold von Utrecht, Adalbero von Laon, Priscian und verschiedenes Anonyme über Musik, Metrologie, Arithmetik und Logik, also Lehrbücher aus nahezu sämtlichen Artes liberales’ (‘by Boethius, Cicero, Hucbald, Adalbold of Utrecht, Adalbero of Laon, Priscian and various [other] anonymous [authors] about music, metrology, arithmetic and logic, i.e. textbooks from almost all of the liberal arts’). The full list of its texts can be found in the catalogue of the Bayerische

Possibly the most ambitious of these projects was the *Heptateucon* (c. 1140) by Thierry of Chartres, which was the first attempt at collecting all the fundamental texts of the seven arts in their original form in a single anthology (*in unum corpus voluminis*, ‘in a book forming a single corpus’), i.e. not in the form of summaries or personal re-elaborations, as in the case of Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville, for instance, and many more who came after them.³⁴ The *Heptateucon* is known through its only – albeit incomplete – copy, which fills two volumes, namely manuscripts 497 and 498 at the Bibliothèque municipale in Chartres (France). Both volumes were destroyed during a bomber raid in 1944, but fortunately they were microfilmed before the disaster.³⁵

Information about the corpus

Apart from the *Heptateucon* by Thierry of Chartres, there only seems to be one text with a prescriptive character that lists works that should be studied in order to engage with the seven liberal arts. This is the *Sacerdos ad Altare* (‘A priest who is about to approach the altar’, c. 1210) by Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), which ‘moves from the rudiments of grammar to the classical literary canon to the other elements of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and to medicine, canon law, and civil law, ending with the sacred knowledge of the Scripture’.³⁶ However, one should bear in mind that both these texts only exist as single exemplars, pointing to the

Staatsbibliothek (BSB) in Munich (Helmer 2011, 34–42). A further manuscript, namely Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2269, is only mentioned in a footnote (Bischoff 1967, 81, n. 26). However, according to the online description (<manuscripta.at/m1/hs_detail.php?ID=11444> accessed on 15 Oct. 2020) it contains 26 works on topics such as rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music and astronomy. Another interesting example is Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 855 (first half of the ninth century), which contains a selection of texts that link grammar to rhetoric and astronomy – in a way thus representing what can be defined as an approximation of the syllabus, which was probably a response to a specific educational aim. In fact, it not only contains the *incipit* of the *Ars Major* by Donatus, the *De metris* by Mallius Theodorus and the *Ars rhetorica* by Alcuin, but includes a work entitled *capitula de diversa miracula quae sunt super terra* (derived from the *De cursu stellarum* by Gregory of Tours), *De natura rerum* (Chaps 39, 43, 46 and 47) by Isidore of Seville, and *De eclipsi lunae* by Sisebut. Finally, there is also a copy of book two of Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones*, i.e. the book where the seven liberal arts are discussed, which can be seen as a *trait-d’union* that links the other texts in the manuscript to the grand narrative of the liberal arts. Codex *Sangallensis* 855 is described here: <e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0855> (accessed on 15 Oct. 2020); also see Meeder 2018, 141.

³⁴ See Bischoff 2007, 106; Evans 1983; Copeland and Sluiter 2009, 10, 374, 439–440; and Copeland 2013, 87–88.

³⁵ The full content of the *Heptateucon* is described in Evans 1983.

³⁶ Copeland and Sluiter 2009, 10, 531–536.

fact that they may have been the result of a personal elaboration rather than a record of widely attested instruction in the seven arts. Hence, to the best of my knowledge, one can assume for the time being that these two lists had virtually no impact on the actual selection of texts for the compilation of further manuscripts. In other words, scholars had much leeway in assembling pre-existing texts, parts of them, or personal summaries and re-elaborations. Trends no doubt existed and one can imagine obtaining statistics concerning the diffusion of certain clusters of texts.³⁷

5.3 Sources relevant to manuscripts are available on texts, but not on syllabi

In yet another possible scenario, information may be available on texts, but not on syllabi. This happens, for instance, when (auto-)biographies of scholars or colonial reports name the texts that were studied. The information extrapolated from these sources can be compared with the frequency with which certain works are found together in individual manuscripts or even library collections. It is then possible to attempt to reconstruct the list of subjects in a particular syllabus on the basis of the topics touched upon by the most frequently combined texts:



³⁷ A further source of information about the emergence of corpora could be found in lists of library holdings. However, these lists are descriptions of a *status quo* and do not have any prescriptive value or active educational intent – contrary to the intentions of Thierry of Chartres and Alexander Neckam and their lists. In other words, they are the product of presumably consistent attempts at collecting all the available texts on a particular subject or list of subjects and unique historical circumstances, with manuscripts and books coming into the collection from all walks of life. See Scrivner (1980) on the potentials and limitations of using library catalogues from the High Middle Ages in order to link manuscripts and their texts to more or less overt syllabi. Scrivner’s analysis describes a broad syllabus, which includes at least the Scriptures, patristics and a combination of grammar, rhetoric and Latin classics. Other associations also exist ‘between works concerned in various ways either with time (history, the computation of time, the observance of time through liturgy) or with law (civil law, canon law, monastic rules)’ (Scrivner 1980, 436). In a way, such a broad syllabus, or rather syllabi, emerging from the study of library catalogues is quite similar to the outcome of Hall and Stewart’s 2011 outline of Islamic education in West Africa (see Sections 2 and 5.3).

Case study: Islamic knowledge in manuscript collections in the Sahel region³⁸

Information on the texts

Plenty of (auto-)biographical sources – descriptive in nature rather than prescriptive – inform us about the texts studied by illustrious scholars throughout the history of Islamic knowledge.³⁹ Hall and Stewart particularly list sources that are relevant for studying Islamic knowledge in the Sahel region:⁴⁰

- 1 ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sa‘dī’s (died after 1655/56) *Ta’rīkh as-Sūdān*;
- 2 aṭ-Ṭalīb Muḥammad al-Bartilī’s (d. 1805) *Faṭḥ aš-šakūr fī ma‘rifat a‘yān ‘ulamā’ at-Takrūr*;
- 3 Abdallahi dan Fodio’s (d. 1829) *Īdā‘ an-nusūḥ man akhadhtu ‘an-hu min aš-šuyūḥ*;
- 4 al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall’s (d. 1864) *Bayān mā waqa‘a baynanā wa-bayn amīr Māsina Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. aš-Šayḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Lobbo*.

Information from the manuscripts

There are two criteria that Hall and Stewart 2011 followed to reconstruct what they call the ‘core curriculum’ (i.e. the fundamental range of topics to master in Islamic education in the Sahel region): first of all, the distribution and number of copies of specific texts held in libraries (as documented in the West African Arabic Manuscript Database, WAAMD), and secondly, the mentions of such texts in the works of the above-mentioned West African literati (‘chosen to represent a chronological and geographical cross-section of Sahelian scholarship’).⁴¹

³⁸ See Hall and Stewart 2011.

³⁹ See Makdisi 1981, 80–91 and Sobieroj 2016, 53–82, for example.

⁴⁰ Hall and Stewart 2011, 113–116.

⁴¹ Hall and Stewart 2011, 115. The two scholars also add a couple of caveats to their investigation. In particular, they specify that ‘[...] not all titles mentioned in these West African sources are widely distributed in libraries today, and conversely, there are many works that are widely attested in the AMMS [i.e. the Arabic Manuscript Management System, now known as WAAMD (<https://waamd.lib.berkeley.edu/home>) – GC] data that are not mentioned by these West African authors’ (Hall and Stewart 2011, 116). Furthermore, Hall and Stewart also acknowledge that their methodology is limited in that it does not take into consideration the implications of oral education or the memorisation of texts fully into account (Hall and Stewart 2011, 113–114, n. 13).

Information on the syllabus

A general consensus seems to exist in the secondary literature concerning the fact that within the institutions of Islamic knowledge – both *madrasas* and one-to-one educational settings – there was no fixed syllabus.⁴²

Apparently information about the syllabus (or ‘core curriculum’ in Hall and Stewart’s wording) is not provided by the tradition of Islamic education in the Sahel and can thus be extrapolated from the cross-reference of collections and (auto-)biographical texts that are relevant to educational practices. In this respect, Hall and Stewart write:

[There are] six clusters of the Islamic sciences that reappear with regularity in accounts of subjects studied across the breadth of the Sahel and over several hundred years: Qur’anic studies (recitation, abrogation, exegesis), Arabic language (lexicons, lexicology, morphology, syntax, rhetoric and prosody), the Prophet Muḥammad (biography, devotional poetry, ḥadīth and history), theology (tawḥīd), mysticism (taṣawwuf) and law (sources, schools, didactic texts, legal precepts and legal cases/opinions).⁴³

42 In his study of the Islamic institutions of learning, Makdisi, for instance, writes that ‘[...] the sequences of courses found in the biographical notices of professors, either in reference to the courses they taught or to their own careers as students, indicate the lack of a prescribed pattern’ (Makdisi 1981, 80). Similarly, in his survey of some selected Arabic multiple-text manuscripts, Endress concludes by stating that ‘[i]f we were to point out a characteristic trait of Arabic Islamic book culture, resulting from the scholarly activity in the medieval institutions of learning we focused upon in our short survey, it is the intellectual identity of the individual compiler and reader of these “one-volume libraries” [i.e. the multiple-text manuscripts – GC] emerging from many of these codices. Not a standard syllabus or *cursus studiorum* is documented in these collections, but a library growing under the hands of dedicated students who, rather than single-minded “nerds”, will spare no effort when enticed by the name of a reputed author or the title of a rare and sought-for text in order to secure new resources of learning. Not complete works or “best of” collections, nor corpus sets [...], are united in such volumes, but treasure troves resulting from months, or even years, of activity’ (Endress 2016, 203–204). Much the same observation is made by Brentjes 2018, 161–168 concerning the teaching and learning of sciences.

43 Hall and Stewart 2011, 111–112. Notably, Makdisi 1981, 80 extrapolates a similar list of topics from the various educational accounts he consulted: ‘The sequence of courses appears to have proceeded in the following order: Koran; hadith; the Koranic sciences: exegesis, variant readings; the sciences of hadith, involving the study of the biographies of the transmitters of hadith; the two *usuls*: *usul ad-din*, principles of religion, and *usul al-fiqh*, principles, sources and methodology of the law; *madhhab*, the law of the school to which one belonged; *khilaf*, the divergences of the law, within one’s own school, as well as between schools; and *jadal*, dialectic’. A further (similar) list was produced by Subtelny and Khalidov 1995, 222–225 based on their study of some *iğāzas*, i.e. teachers’ written authorisations granted to students who had studied a specific corpus and were then allowed to pass their knowledge on to new students. Another configuration of an even broader syllabus emerges from the study conducted by Robinson 1997, who

5.4 Unavailable sources on both syllabi and texts

Manuscripts are the only source we have for reconstructing possible configurations of both syllabi and texts when pertinent information is otherwise unavailable. Scholars may be able to resort to paratexts, for instance, which can help interpret the content of the manuscripts and link it to its broader educational environment, or statistical accounts of the frequency with which certain texts occur together, thus providing an indication of the topics they cover. This situation clearly implies unidirectionality in the analysis:

distribution of texts in mss → texts → syllabus

investigated three lists of books arranged according to subject headings. These lists belong to the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal milieus and are dated to the late sixteenth century, the 1930's (but reflecting the post-1700 period) and the early eighteenth century, respectively. Similarly to what emerges from Scrivner's 1980 study on library catalogues from the High Middle Ages (see n. 37 above), Robinson's study shows the existence of a very broad syllabus, or rather, syllabi, which reflect the twofold subdivision of knowledge of Al-Ghazālīan memory (see Bakar 1998, 111) into *al-'ulūm an-naqliyya* ('transmitted science') and *al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya* ('rational sciences'), i.e. sciences of a religious nature (including those that are propaedeutical to religious studies, such as grammar) and sciences that are produced by the human intellect (e.g. mathematics). On the other hand, a narrower configuration of the Islamic syllabus emerges from a close-up of 'the highest course of study' at the *madrasas* of the Ottoman empire 'in accordance with the decree of the Padishah' in Ahmed and Filipovic 2004; the two quotations are from pp. 188 and 186 respectively. These two researchers analysed a single sheet of paper dated to 1565 (item number E/2803/1 in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi [Topkapı Palace Archive, Istanbul]) containing a list of books to be studied by advanced students. It is possible to infer from this prescriptive list that the syllabus included Quranic exegesis, the study of Hadiths, and law (both *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *furū' al-fiqh*); topics such as grammar and logic were probably already mastered at lower levels of the educational training. Here it needs to be mentioned that recent studies have put into question the strong religious focus that has been ascribed to the Islamic syllabus by the secondary literature. In particular, Hirschler 2016, 103–104 is very vocal in stating that 'Middle Eastern history has certainly moved away from the idea that the madrasa necessarily had a narrow and restricted curriculum, as was expressed in the words of George Makdisi that "neither the madrasa nor its cognate institutions harboured any but the religious sciences and their ancillary subjects" and in those of Heinz Halm that "teaching at the madrasa was always limited to religious knowledge. The instruction and study of medicine or astronomy, algebra or geometry, took place elsewhere" [...]''. Among others, in depth studies on library collections, such as that of Hirschler 2016 on the Ašrafiyya *madrasa* library in Damascus, reveal a different situation.

Case study 1: The *Ringkomposition* of the *Daḥīrat al-Iskandar* in its single-text manuscripts⁴⁴

The *Daḥīrat al-Iskandar* ('Treasure of Alexander') is a compendium of texts about the 'sciences of nature', the sources of which are only partly retrievable today. The manuscripts of this compendium contain an introduction plus conclusion (a 'cyclic composition' or *Ringkomposition* in German) that lends consistency to the textual ensemble by means of a fantastic narrative concerning its authorship, which is attributed to Alexander the Great. This represents a particularly elaborate strategy for justifying the emergence of a new syllabus of technical knowledge by assembling texts that are, at least in part, covertly in a dialogue with the – very open – corpora of Hermetic and Pseudo-Aristotelian texts.⁴⁵

Case study 2: Old Babylonian scribes and Sumerian literature

Primary sources on how Akkadian-speaking scribes-to-be familiarised themselves with Sumerian and its literature are available, but of questionable historical reliability.⁴⁶ It is, however, safe to assume that students copied lexical lists as far as elementary exposure to the language was concerned. In contrast, the picture is much less clear in the case of more advanced levels of instruction, when literary texts were first encountered.⁴⁷ Specialists seem to have successfully found a way to investigate this later stage using a combination of codicological and textual features, which are pedagogically relevant when taken together.

Four texts share a particular set of characteristics, namely *Lipit-Eštar hymn B*, *Iddin-Dagan hymn B*, *Enlil-bani hymn A* and *Nisaba hymn A*. These present a variety of grammatical forms, which made them suitable pieces for students who wanted to practise reading texts and, to a lesser degree, provided eulogistic content, which was a useful topic to master in the scribal profession.⁴⁸ These four works have been found inscribed on lenticular tablets, which usually witness the uncertain hands of beginners, both in Nippur and Uruk, thus 'suggesting that the use of at least these four compositions early in the curriculum was not an isolated

⁴⁴ See Raggetti in this volume.

⁴⁵ For more information about the Arabic *Hermetica*, see van Bladel 2009.

⁴⁶ Note that Sumerian was already a classical language for Akkadian speakers in the Old Babylonian period (the twentieth to sixteenth century BCE). Concerning primary sources in Sumerian in which students describe their life at school, see George 2005, for instance.

⁴⁷ See Waetzoldt 1989 discussed in Veldhuis 1997, 40.

⁴⁸ See Tinney 1999, 162–168 and, in particular, Vanstiphout 1979.

local phenomenon'.⁴⁹ More to the point, we know of four six-faced prisms, each of which contains one of the four texts.⁵⁰ Since the four prisms all share the same colophon, it can be assumed that they originally formed a single set of manuscripts – in other words, a multi-volume manuscript. Furthermore, we also have one tablet written by a beginner's hand, containing an anthology of four texts, three of which belong to our fourfold corpus.⁵¹

Other groups of texts that, presumably, were used in educational contexts are known from catalogues – in our current working frame, they are primary evidence of the corpora. A fourteen-fold corpus is described by Robson 2001 and a tenfold one is described by Tinney 1999.⁵² The latter is of particular interest to us because it is partly attested in two multiple-text manuscripts, namely IB 1511, which contains texts 6 to 10 (according to Tinney's numbering), and the prism UR 89-14-1, which contains texts 2 to 4 in its present damaged state, but possibly texts 1 to 5 originally, if one takes certain features of its layout and format into account.⁵³

6 Conclusions

Within educational settings, manuscripts serve to produce and reproduce particular modes of knowledge organisation, reflecting various stages in a continuum that ranges from the creation of new links among previously disconnected subjects to cases of fully fledged compartmentalisation of knowledge, as is the case in the establishment of closed corpora, for instance.⁵⁴

49 Tinney 1999, 162.

50 *Lipit-Eštar hymn B* in AO 8863, *Iddin-Dagan hymn B* in AO 8864, *Enlil-bani hymn A* in W-B 160, and *Nisaba hymn A* in YBC 13523 (see Tinney 1999, 162).

51 The manuscript in question is tablet H 156+ containing *Lipit-Eštar hymn B*, *Iddin-Dagan hymn B*, and *Nisaba hymn A* (see Tinney 1999, 163).

52 See Tinney 1999, 168–170. The ten texts are: *Šulgi A*, *Lipit-Eštar A*, *Song of the Hoe*, *Ninmešarra*, *Enlilsuraše*, *Hymn to Keš*, *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, *Inanna and Ebih*, *Nungal Hymn* and *Gilgameš and Huwawa*.

53 See Robson 2001, 52 on the actual archaeological distribution of the evidence of the tenfold corpus described by Tinney 1999.

54 Cf. the idea of the 'hardening of the categories' in education (e.g. in Postman and Weingartner 1969, 80). Note that such compartmentalisation may even correspond to forms of social control. As Bernstein (2003, 156) remarks: 'How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge that it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control'. Although Bernstein refers explicitly to forms of public knowledge, it is not hard to imagine that the same consideration befits cases in which access to knowledge is reserved to restricted communities.

In this respect, manuscripts can be appreciated as educational tools. They are produced and used by individuals who are involved in negotiating the definition of knowledge and its categories – a process that is essential to the transmission of knowledge itself – and who are also involved in selecting and reading texts that are representative of their own intellectual tenets and those of their milieu, as well as in devising and making use of the ways of transmitting those texts in writing (via forms, formats, layouts and suchlike).

In conclusion, although secondary literature on topics as broad as the classification of knowledge or as narrow as the description of individual manuscripts is definitely vast in all fields of the humanities, studies that openly look for connections between the broad and the narrow are rare, in particular when it comes to investigating the interplay between syllabi, texts (and corpora), and manuscripts. The literature discussed in this introduction and the case studies contained in the current section of this volume will hopefully trigger the reader's curiosity to make those connections in their own fields of choice.

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Lucia Raggetti

***The Treasure of Alexander* – Stories of Discovery and Authorship**

Abstract: In modern times, the author has acquired a role and a connotation that deeply influence our perception of the ways in which texts were produced and circulated in different historical contexts. Authorship of mediaeval texts worked differently, and this peculiarity is even more evident in the case of pseudo-authorship. The case of Alexander the Great as the alleged author of technical treatises is an example of the emergence of a new syllabus by means of the attribution of a specific corpus to an authoritative, though fictional, author. The materials ascribed to Alexander found their way into many different texts dealing with technical and scientific topics. This paper explores the contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*, and attempts to delineate the complex dialogue between *The Treasure* and other works. The known manuscript and new witnesses are brought together and become objects of a comprehensive philological analysis, in order to reconstruct the textual history of *The Treasure*. In the appendices to this paper, I offer a new edition and English translation of the *Fundlegende*, which serves as frame tale for the technical syllabus, along with its table of contents.

1 *The Treasure of Alexander*

The Treasure of Alexander (*Kitāb ḍaḥīrat al-Iskandar*) is a compilation of technical materials, collected from widely different sources. It is arranged into ten sections, the contents of which range from alchemy to the engraving of astrological talismans and the useful properties of animals. *The Treasure of Alexander* has already

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been the object of scholarly and non-scholarly attention. Julius Ruska, in 1926, included it in his anthology of early alchemical materials in Arabic.¹ He studied the manuscript copy kept in what was, then, the ‘Preußische Staatsbibliothek’, namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II 1209, hereafter referred to as ‘B’.² Manfred Ullmann in his repertory of Arabo-Islamic natural and occult sciences mentions the work in the section on magical texts.³ Together with the Berlin manuscript, Ullmann mentions several other copies, and I was able to acquire the reproduction of two of them: the manuscript from the British Library, in the collection of the India Office (London, BL, India Office, 673) hereafter referred to as ‘I’,⁴ and the one kept in the Escorial (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Arab. 947/1) hereafter referred to as ‘E’.⁵ In 1999, Ana Maria Alfonso-Goldfarb and Safa Abou Chahla Jubran published a translation based on the Escorial copy. The Arabic text is given in the form of a black-and-white photographic reproduction in an appendix to the book. Alfonso-Goldfarb also claims to have taken manuscript B into consideration, in order to embellish her translation into Portuguese.⁶ In 2010, an English version, translated by Nicholaj

1 In the fifth section of his long essay, Julius Ruska offered the Arabic text together with a German translation of the *Fundlegende*, the incipits of Chaps 1–7 alongside a summary of part of their contents, and a synthetic description of Chaps 8–10. See Ruska 1926, 68–107.

2 Today ‘Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz’. See Ahlwardt 1887–1899, III, 541–542 (No. 4193). A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN645083135&PHYSID=PHYS_0006&DMDID> (accessed on 19 October 2020).

3 Ullmann 1972, 376. Several manuscripts mentioned by Ullmann and other scholars were impossible to obtain. The copy supposed to be in the *Dār al-Kutub* in Cairo, for instance, went missing long ago, and that there is no microfilm for the call number *ḥurūf wa-asmā*’ 56. It was not possible either to include in the *recensio* the manuscript copies kept in Indian libraries, see Sezgin 1971, 103–104 and Stapleton 1936, 129. On the other hand, I came across two different manuscripts of the Persian versions of *The Treasure of Alexander*. The first reproduction that I received from the British Library was of a Persian manuscript, bearing the signature ‘Johnson Ms. 928’. On the first blank page, an uncertain hand added the title *Daḥīrat Skandar* (sic) *Risāla durr al-ḥawāṣṣ*. The text, however, is not a complete translation from the Arabic version. It lacks the *Fundlegende*, and shares only parts of the contents, mainly those related to talismans (London, BL, India Office 928, fols 11^v–23^r). Emily Cottrell informed me that another copy of *The Treasure* was available online. It is a shorter version in Persian, which contains talismans that are not attested in other witnesses, see for instance Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, LJS 414, fol. 154^v (<dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_5145509&rotation=0¤tpage=312>, accessed on 19 October 2020).

4 See Loth 1877, 130–131.

5 See Derenbourg 1941, 76–78.

6 For Alfonso-Goldfarb, the composition of the work can probably be ascribed to some (pseudo-)Sabeans, and set in the third AH / ninth CE century. She presents the text as a manifesto

de Mattos Frisvold and edited by Christopher Warnock, appeared in the non-scholarly series ‘Renaissance Astrology’.⁷

In spite of their heterogeneous appearance, the different textual materials included in *The Treasure of Alexander* share a technical character, and they all deal with the sciences of nature, as intended in the early Abbasid period.⁸ This type of compilation and juxtaposition required a strong and external narrative element that could justify and structure it. The device chosen to carry out this literary strategy is an introduction that explains the origin of the book and its rediscovery in the ninth century. The compilation is presented as a piece of antediluvian knowledge received by Alexander from his master Aristotle, put in writing in a golden book, and then hidden in order to avoid its disclosure to the unworthy. The book was left in anticipation of a king as wise as Alexander.⁹ A final paragraph, built on some elements from the longer introduction, completes the structure, creating the effect of a *Ringkomposition*.¹⁰

It seems unlikely that the relationship between *The Treasure of Alexander* and its sources follows a straight line. The frame story holds together a great number of erratic blocks of text,¹¹ reorganised for this occasion into ten chapters. In some instances, the size of the block may correspond to an entire chapter, as in the case of the planetary seals. However, the sequence of the three sections on talismans (Chaps 5–7) contains two well-defined groups (Chap. 5 on planetary talismans, and Chap. 6 on healing talismans), whereas the third one collects miscellaneous talismans that did not fit properly into either of the two groups, but which were still worthy of mention. Within this miscellaneous group, are the two talismans prepared by Apollonius for two Syrian cities, which are recognisable as part of the *Kitāb al-ṭalāsīm al-kabīr* (‘The Great Book of Talismans’),¹² in which

of Oriental Hellenisation, marked by the hybridisation that is characteristic of Oriental sources (see Alfonso-Goldfarb and Jubran 1999, 33 and 105).

7 See Warnock 2010.

8 For the table of contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*, see Appendix 2.

9 The *Sirr al-asrār* has a similar composite introduction that counts many different voices. See Forster 2006, 48–55. For the manuscript tradition of the frame story, see B (fols 1^v–4^v), E (fols 1^v–5^v), I (fols 1^v–5^v).

10 For the explicit in the manuscript tradition, see B (fol. 42^v), E (fols 60^v–61^f), I (fols 58^v–59^f).

11 In this way, Manfred Ullmann defines the genesis and the movement of erratic blocks: ‘When cultures meet and manifest themselves in great translating activities, it is customary to differentiate between two phases: one of reception and one of assimilation. In the phase of reception, which precedes in time, the foreign books are at first only translated; later, in the phase of assimilation, the translated texts themselves are independently worked into new books. But reception and assimilation may occur also at the same time and in one person.’ (Ullmann 1978, 24).

12 See Ullmann 1972, 380; and Raggetti 2019.

Apollonius tells us, in the first person, about his work as a wandering magician. The coherence of a textual block does not make its origin easier to recognise, nor is its thematic coherence a guarantee for a straightforward attribution to a source at all. For instance, a single and very coherent chapter may well be connected with different sources. As noted above, differences in the style and structure of some poison recipes suggest different sources for the preparations included in this section (Hermetic and non-Hermetic ones). There is also the case, however, in which the same textual block is attributed to a plurality of sources. The planetary talismans, for instance, are also transmitted under the name of 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad and Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, and are also included in the larger recension of pseudo-Aristotle's *Book of Stones*.¹³

In terms of the date of composition of *The Treasure of Alexander*, there is no argument strong enough to point to a precise date. Nevertheless, some textual clues hint at an early period, contemporary to or shortly after the translation movement. The overabundant combination of elements in the *Fundlegende* conveys an artificial impression, but the single elements themselves are realistic and accurate. The significant presence of numerous non-Arabic names also indicates an early period. The addition of explanations to alleged foreign names in a translated text reminds of a practice adopted in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. In his translation of the ninth book of Galen's *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* ('Book on Simple Drugs'), Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq explains that the Greek names *gālāṭītis* and *mālāṭītis* respectively mean 'milk stone' and 'honey stone'. Moreover, he used the very same expression attested in *The Treasure of Alexander* (*watāfsiruhū*) to introduce the paraphrase of the name.¹⁴

¹³ Paris, BnF, ar. 2775 contains two different copies of the same text; moreover, the two incipits attribute the composition in one case to 'Uṭārid (fols 102^r–112^v), in the other to Ḥunayn (fols 76^r–89^v). In Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610 (fol. 144^v), this text on planetary talismans is included in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Book of Stones*, along with other short texts dealing with stones. This copy is not illustrated, unlike the corresponding section in *The Treasure of Alexander*, and all the different versions of the text preserved in Paris, BnF, ar. 2775. This section is also attested to in the *Picatrix*, where parts of the materials are attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, see Ritter 1933, 106–112. In spite of the strong internal coherence on the textual block (talisman of a particular planets with all its attributes), four different possible (pseudo-)authors compete for its paternity. For other examples of erratic blocks in Arabic literature dealing with stones, see also Raggetti 2020.

¹⁴ For this passage in Ḥunayn's translation of Galen, see Escorial 793 (fols 146^v–147^r); Escorial 794 (fol. 62^v); Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Or. 193 (fol. 173^r), Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 2083 (fol. 204^v). Julius Ruska boldly attempted to identify the original words behind paraphrases of non-Arabic names as given in *The Treasure of Alexander*, see Ruska 1926, 86–105. In the economy of the transmission of a text, foreign names transliterated in Arabic letters are a heavy burden: they are difficult to preserve in the copying process, mostly because their meaning is not

The elaborate frame tale offers a privileged example to study this complex combination of historical and literary elements – that deserve to be analysed separately – that aim to confer coherence to the compendium and historical accuracy to this narrative.¹⁵

1.1 Setting in time and space

The rediscovery of this treasure of knowledge and wisdom left by Alexander the Great is set in the first half of the ninth century CE, during the acme of the Abbasid dynasty. The Caliph al-Mu‘ṭasim (r. 218–227 AH / 833–842 CE), the third of Hārūn al-Rašīd’s sons to become ‘Commander of the Believers’, is leading a military campaign against the Byzantine Empire. In the course of this expedition, the city of ‘Amurriyya in Phrygia (the Greek Amorion) was conquered by the Muslim army in August of 223 AH / 838 CE.¹⁶ Thus, the Caliph is in Asia Minor with his army and court, when he is told that an invaluable treasure from the past is being kept in a convent built by Antiochus, a disciple of Alexander the Great. This treasure consists of either prophetic relics, or of books containing ancient knowledge. After an intense diplomatic exchange with the monks of the convent, who beg the Caliph not to storm the holy place, he sends a team of experts to evaluate the situation at the monastery. The team consists of a geometer, an astrologer, and the head of the postal service, in other words the head of the intelligence. They inspect the place and, in a moment of brilliant intuition, the geometer discovers a secret room beneath the floor of the convent. However, a wall must be knocked down in order to gain access to the hidden shrine. The Caliph is reluctant to destroy the wall, since he does not think it is appropriate for a king to ravage a

transparent. The *Cyranides*, for instance, was translated from Greek into Arabic, and the model of talisman proposed there met with great success. The text itself, so tightly bound to the Greek alphabet for its linguistic and magical structure (a stone engraved with animal figures, and a vegetal element placed between the stone and the bezel: the names of the stone, the plant and the animals always beginning with the same letter), was less successful. The talismanic model was accepted and successfully transmitted in Arabic, but not the text itself. For the edition and translation of the Arabic version, see Toral-Niehoff 2004.

15 For the edition (based on the three manuscripts mentioned above) and English translation of the frame tale, see Appendix 1.

16 The city of Amorion was the place of origin of the dynasty ruling the second Rome at that time. The city’s fall created a very difficult moment for the Emperor Theophilus (813–842), polemically called by his contemporaries ‘Sarakenophron’ (Saracen-minded). See Ostrogorsky 1963, 169–175.

holy place built by another king, and so, for the time being, he relinquishes the whole idea.

1.2 The Caliph's dream

The stalemate is resolved by an unexpected oneiric twist. Al-Muʿṭasim has a dream, in which his brother and predecessor al-Maʿmūn appears to him. After al-Maʿmūn was famously visited by Aristotle in a dream that served as propaganda for the translation movement, now it is his turn to become the carrier of a message concerning ancient knowledge and its relation with Abbasid power.¹⁷ The dead Caliph reveals to his brother that the shrine contains a treasury of knowledge left by Alexander the Great, and reassures al-Muʿṭasim about the righteousness of his claim to it. The three men at the service of the Caliph are sent to the convent again, this time with a large group of workers, to demolish the wall that separates the Caliph from the treasure.

1.3 The book and its chest

From the ruins of the wall a brass chest locked with iron clasps emerged; inside it, another chest made of red gold, and inside this a golden book: the tangible treasure of Alexander. The codicological description of this book is rich in details and particulars: the format of the book is one by three cubits, it has 360 pages made of red gold with twelve lines of writing per page. The script is engraved on only one side of each page, which is half a finger thick to prevent the engraving from cutting through the page. The material description of the book is designed to impress the reader, although its physical existence is made impossible by this very accumulation of details.¹⁸ No information is given, however, about the binding that was supposed to keep these precious leaves together.

¹⁷ For the dream of al-Maʿmūn, see Gutas 1998, 95–104 and Weststeijn 2010.

¹⁸ Julius Ruska took this description very seriously and attempted to calculate the amount of gold required to produce this book and – with a pinch of irony – its value in modern currency: ‘Man kommt nach den Angaben des Verfassers, wenn man die Elle gleich 6 dm setzt und auch im übrigen runde Zahlen annimmt, auf folgende Werte: Oberfläche einer Tafel 108 qdm, Rauminhalt 10,8 cdm bei einer halben Fingerdicke vom 1 cm; Rauminhalt des ganzen Buchs $360 \times 10,8 \text{ cdm} = 3888 \text{ cdm}$, rund 3900 cdm. Multipliziert man mit 19 als dem Eigengewicht des Goldes, so ergeben sich als Gewicht des Schatzes 74000 kg oder 1480 Zentner, die nach dem alten Goldwert von 2780 Mark für das Kilogramm Gold einen Gesamtwert von über 200 Millionen darstellen, ungerechnet die hermetische Weisheit’. See Ruska 1926, 76.

The chests that contain the book serve not just to protect a treasury of knowledge, but also to carry two different messages in Greek. One is directly engraved on the inner chest, the other on a stone placed in the outer chest. The first inscription explains that the great king, sensing the end approaching, decided to hide the book as he did not want to expose his greatest asset to any debasement or defilement. The book was not placed in its hidden shrine at a random moment, but rather at the point of a precise and favourable configuration of the sky: the constellation of Virgo rising, with the Moon and Mercury in conjunction, and Saturn in its own house of Capricorn. Aristotle reminds the king, too, that he had to wait for a favourable sky to retrieve this knowledge, as Alexander had instructed at the beginning of his great adventure.

The inscriptions on the stone are recorded in the first person. They were placed there by Antiochus,¹⁹ a disciple of Alexander. The reasons, however, remain the same: the book must be protected and kept safe from unworthy hands. Antiochus obeyed his master's order to conceal the chest and understood that it contained prophetic relics. Thus, it is clear that Antiochus must have ignored the content of the inner chest. Secrecy plays an important role, and the importance of protecting this knowledge is reiterated ('since only a few are worthy of it, but many are those who look for it').

1.4 Translators and translation technique

The Caliph's dream is a clear sign of the connection between the acquisition of knowledge and the translation movement.²⁰ The introduction adds that the text is written in *luġa yunāniyya wa-luġa rūmiyya* (the language of the ancient Greeks and the language of the Byzantine Greeks).²¹ The translators are divided into two groups on the basis of their expertise, and then made to work separately. This remark about working in segregation infers that only a single text was under discussion, albeit a 'bilingual edition'. In any case, this expression seems to point to

¹⁹ A historical figure that might have inspired this 'Antiochus, King of the Greeks' could be Antiochus I Soter (281–261 BC), who inherited the Seleucid Empire from his father Seleucus I Nicator, one of Alexander's generals.

²⁰ Curiously, the only activity in the field of translations attributed to the Caliph al-Mu'tašim is *The Treasure of Alexander*. Gutas argues that the vigour of the caliphal patronage was in proportion to their political success. The fact that al-Mu'tašim undermined the caliphal authority by relying on the massive support of Turkish troops would explain his modest contribution as a patron of translations. See Gutas 1998, 123.

²¹ See Forster 2006, 53; see also Di Branco 2015.

two distinct languages, perhaps Greek and Latin, or Classical Greek and Byzantine Greek. Arabic authors and intellectuals were aware of the existence of different languages spoken and written in the Oriental Roman Empire, and of their diachronic configuration. Before 232 AH / 847 CE, al-Ġāḥiẓ composed an essay on the non-Islamic civilisations that he considered worthy of interest (Arabs, Indians, *Rūm*, and Persians). For him, the ancient Greeks were philosophers and physicians, whereas the Byzantine Greeks of his time were mere craftsmen. Nevertheless, he pretends to confuse the two peoples, so that he can fully accept all the sciences from ancient Greece, without any concern about their pagan origin, since they were transmitted by the Byzantines.²² One century later, in his ‘Book of notification and verification’ (*Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-iṣrāf*), al-Mas‘ūdī explains that the Romans (*al-Rūm*) completely assimilated the Greeks after the victories of Augustus in Syria and Egypt.²³ This historical process produced confusion and disagreement about whether many philosophers, literates, and physicians were of Greek or Roman origin. Al-Mas‘ūdī tells us that, with the help of quotations from the works of those ancient authors, he clearly demonstrated their being Greeks (*Yūnāniyyūn*) in his ‘Book of the different kinds of knowledge and events of the past centuries’ (*Kitāb funūn al-ma‘ārif wa-mā ġarā fi-l-duhūr al-sawālif*), now unfortunately lost.²⁴ However, when al-Mas‘ūdī considers later periods, he uses the ethnonym *al-Rūm* to indicate the Byzantines.²⁵ In the context of translations from Greek into Arabic, another example is the incipit of the ‘Byzantine Book of Agriculture’ (*Kitāb al-filāḥa al-rūmiyya*), composed in the sixth century by Cassianos Bassos Scholastikos and translated into Arabic (*min al-lisān al-rūmī ilā al-‘arabī*) by Sirġīs b. Hiliyā al-Rūmī. Here, the original author of the text and its translator, both called *al-rūmī*, could be anything but Byzantines.²⁶ From these few examples, it can be inferred that *rūmī* had a polysemic value, determined each time by the context of use, whereas *yūnānī* seems always to refer to the ancient Greeks. In the *Fundlegende of The Treasure of Alexander*, however, it cannot be entirely excluded that the two names are in fact redundant,

22 See Pellat 1967, 71–72 and 86.

23 See al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-iṣrāf*, ed. de Goeje 1894, 115; tr. Carra de Vaux, 1896, 162.

24 This work, mentioned several times in the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, seems to have dealt with the Greeks, the Byzantines, and the population of North Africa, see Pellat 2012.

25 See, for instance, the chapter on the ransoms exchanged between the Muslims and the Byzantines, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-iṣrāf*, ed. de Goeje 1894, 189; tr. Carra de Vaux, 1896, 255.

26 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 414, fol. 1^v.

and that they represent another stylistic device to aid the creation of a more refined and richer intellectual atmosphere.²⁷

No reference to a particular language appears alongside the non-Arabic names for various preparations and talismans mentioned in *The Treasure of Alexander*. In many cases, however, the meaning of a foreign name is paraphrased in Arabic.²⁸ Usually, these odd words or expressions seem to be the name given to a certain preparation. This does not exclude, however, that the name of a physician or alchemist was also used eponymously for the name of a potion that he had developed.²⁹

Ultimately, the Caliph wants to compare the two translations. His evaluation is that of a connoisseur and leads to approval: the only differences he can find between the two translated versions are those accounted for by the different languages of origin.

1.5 The chain of transmission

The introduction reconstructs an actual *isnād* ('chain of authorities') for the transmission of *The Treasure of Alexander*. Aristotle left a note in the book explaining that Hermes threw the best part of the antediluvian knowledge into the abyss of the sea, out of fear that it would be defiled by the unworthy. Bālīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) was the only one who could recover it, and then he passed it on to Aristotle, who, in turn, gave it to his disciple Alexander. From the plaques on the chest, we know that Alexander was gripped by the same fear that led Hermes to bury the book in the depths of the sea, and so he decided to hide it for a second time, involving his disciple Antiochus in the operation. The mention of 'a king who loves wisdom', as the one who, ultimately, will be worthy of retrieving the book and propagating its knowledge, clears the way for the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim and strengthens his role.

In the text, however, only Hermes and Apollonius are explicitly mentioned as sources. Comparing the chain of transmission with the other information provided by the different messages, plaques, and notes, the composition of the text belongs to the ancient and mythical period of Hermes and Apollonius. Later, the

27 In the translation of the frame tale, in order to solve this semantic conundrum, 'Romans' has been used as a literal translation of *al-rūmī*, see Appendix 1.

28 The explanations given to these transliterated names are introduced by three different expressions: *tafsīr* ('explanation'), *ta`wīl* ('interpretation'), and *ma`nan* ('meaning').

29 For a list of the names of Indian physicians associated with recipes for poisons, see Levey 1966, 14.

keepers of this knowledge did not modify the text: Alexander had it written in a golden book. Antiochus simply placed the golden chest inside another one, together with the inscribed stone. The last person in the chain, in this case the Abbasid Caliph, collected the paratextual traces left by the previous owners, together with the book itself, and had them all translated into Arabic, enriched by a new introduction. This prestigious chain of transmission has the effect to strengthen the construction of the syllabus that carries the name of Alexander in the title, presenting it as a compendium of all ancient technical knowledge.

As for the contents, their variety points to a large number of sources, certainly more numerous than those mentioned in the introduction. Unfortunately, these sources remain implicit, and in only a few passages they are generically referred to as ‘ancient wise men’. Sometimes, it is possible to make a realistic guess by comparing the style and contents of different passages. In the third chapter, ‘On the preparation of poisons’, this hypothesis about the compilation of materials coming from different sources finds more solid ground. All the recipes attributed to Hermes have an astrological component: in order to be effective, the poison has to be prepared when certain aspects and conjunctions occur. Only one recipe in the third chapter lacks this astrological set of instructions, and it is attributed to Qīnān son of Enoch. In this case, it is clear that the different structure of this recipe corresponds to a different source; while, vice versa, a particular authorial attribution includes materials that share homogeneous contents and structures.

1.6 The final Abbasid touch

The geometer Muḥammad b. Ḥālid, whose brilliant intuition led to the discovery of the hidden shrine, is rewarded by the Caliph. He is entrusted with the composition of a signed introduction to the translation that encloses all the concentric circles of the frame tale.³⁰

2 The authorship of Alexander the Great

Modern scholarship appears reluctant to recognise a precise authorial space – though clearly fictitious – for Alexander the Great in Arabic literature. Studying this text, Julius Ruska reported that its title was not exactly revealing, and that

³⁰ See Gutas 1998, 123.

no author's name is given. In fact, one has to work one's way through a long *Fundlegende*, and an anthological survey of the text is the only way to glean any idea about the contents.³¹ Alfonso-Goldfarb and Jubran maintain that (pseudo-)Sabeans wanted to compose a pseudo-Aristotelian work, which can be inferred from the Aristotelian mark on the cosmography described in the first chapter. Even if one is determined to deny Alexander the role of protagonist in the construction of pseudo-authorship,³² it would be perhaps more precise to reformulate this hypothesis, and say that the aim was to compose a text from and for the Hermetic corpus, especially for that part connected to natural sciences. Moreover, the first chapter gives practical remarks on basic astrological notions, rather than a systematic cosmography.³³

By contrast, this study aims to define the authorial space occupied by Alexander the Great, with the idea that the attribution to this alleged author was the cultural mean adopted for the creation of a new syllabus devoted to the sciences of nature and technical knowledge. The association between Alexander the Great and technical materials is confirmed by another title attributed to him, the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal wa-l-ḥurūb* ('The book of stratagems and wars').³⁴

31 See Ruska 1926, 68.

32 Pseudo-epigraphy is meant here as the attribution of a certain composition to a renowned author; whereas pseudo-authorship is meant as the attribution of a work either to a historical or literary character that offers a good thematic anchor for the contents of the text. Both approaches share the same idea of enhancing the credibility and broadening the circulation of a text. The historical figure of Alexander the Great has been through extensive literary elaboration, eventually resulting in a prominent place for him in Arabic literature, and making him eligible for pseudo-authorship. Other examples of this phenomenon are the Biblical prophets Enoch and Daniel (for geomancy and other forms of divination), Iṣrāsīm (the Indian slave-girl of Hārūn al-Rašīd, for alchemy and magic), and 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad (for astrological talismans). Many of these texts are still unpublished. Manfred Ullmann has provided the most comprehensive list of references, see Ullmann 1972.

33 Sezgin also counts *The Treasure of Alexander* among the pseudo-Aristotelian works on alchemy; see Sezgin, 1971, 103–104. In the introduction, the words attributed to Aristotle seek to imitate a Neo-platonic philosophical discourse – with rather vague references to the opposition between a perishable and an eternal world, the presence of lights, the celestial harmony, etc. – but do not exactly sketch a cosmography.

34 Four manuscript witnesses of this work are known to me: two in the Leiden University Library with the shelf marks Or. 72 and Or. 499, a third in the Topkapı Library in Istanbul with the shelf mark Saray Ahmet III 3469(2), and a fourth in the British Library with the shelf mark Add. 14055. See Witkam 2007, 47 and 218–219, and Ritter 1929, 151–152. The British Library manuscript can be accessed from the following link: <http://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100000000046.0x000086> (accessed on 26 Jan. 2021). For the story of the acquisition of this

The first striking feature that it has in common with *The Treasure of Alexander* is the presence of a *Fundlegende*. Though much shorter, the introduction of the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* places the book in an underground vault (*dīmās*) not far from Alexandria, where it is found by the ‘Two-Horned One’: the book is hidden between two stones pressed against each other, the original text is in Greek, later translated into Arabic. Along with descriptions of many fighting techniques and weapons, instructions for siege and battle, and a number of hydraulic machines, the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* contains preparations for Greek fire, wildfire, pyrotechnic games, different kinds of naphtha (*nafza/nafzā*), and other flammable substances. This highly specialised knowledge in recipe form recalls technical alchemy, and can be compared with the materials in the second chapter of *The Treasure of Alexander*.³⁵

The British Library copy has a second introduction that opens a new section of the text, after the chapter on incendiary substances. The *Fundlegende* of the first introduction is retold, but with additional details. Here, Alexander, sensing that death is near and fearful that this knowledge could be lost, writes a book for his son [sic].³⁶ Alexander’s perception that he is living his last days on earth and his worry about the destiny of his precious knowledge is a recurring theme in Arabic literature. This second introduction to the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* reads as follows:³⁷

These are the chapters about weapons, the destruction of fortresses, and all the stratagems, the influence of the sun and the moon, the making of simulacra that resemble beasts of prey to be placed around the army during the war – and the simulacra jump 10 cubits or more and kill every man or animal that approaches them, and at the end go back to their place –

manuscript, see <qdl.qa/en/earl-collection-and-gun-curious-provenance-british-library-manuscript> (accessed on 26 Jan. 2021).

35 In Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 3469(2) and in London, BL, Add. 14055 this technical knowledge is mainly concentrated in three chapters: Chap. 6 (‘On the knowledge of the different kinds of naphtha and flammable oils’ [fol. 70^v]), Chap. 7 (‘On the lanterns to place around the army’ [fol. 82^v]), and Chap. 8 (‘On the methods to make clothes that resist discolouring’ [fol. 89^v]). In fact, there are only a few recipes for textile dyeing, followed by many more on different kinds of naphtha. The foliation number refers to the British Library manuscript, for the table of contents of the Istanbul manuscript see Ritter 1929, 151–152. In Leiden Or. 72 the same material is found in a second part that contains the chapters on the preparation of naphtha and its uses, shooting with fire and flammable oils, the knowledge of oils, the extraction of fire from water, and a fire-proof ointment (fols 66^r–149^v).

36 It is well known that Alexander died without any legitimate heir. The name of this alleged son is reminiscent of that of his father Philip. A variant produced during the transmission of the text was able to conceive an heir for Alexander the Great.

37 London, BL, Add. 14055, fols 122^v–123^r, and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 499, fols 1^v–2^r. For the different literary developments of Alexander’s death, see Doufkar-Aerts 2003.

the construction of a mirror that burns with its rays from a distance of 100 cubits. These chapters also deal with other wise sayings and wonders that kings need in the administration of their kingdom, its provinces, and their government.

All these chapters derive from the wisdom (*ḥikma*) that Alexander, the Two-Horned One, discovered, and with which he conquered the country. Wise men transmitted it on to us, and we display it in this book of ours. It is said that this wisdom was in a book extracted from a cave close to Alexandria, between two stones placed one against the other. It was written in Greek and translated into Arabic by order of its author Aqlis son of Alexander.³⁸

This happened when Alexander had grown old and was afraid that death may take him at any moment. So, Alexander entrusted his son with the wisdom and the directions, and wrote this book that deals with different branches of wisdom. We have no other intent than being worthy of this book on the art of war, on weapons, on the knowledge of the stratagems and devices to defeat the enemy and conquer his country. In these chapters, we will mention what needs to be mentioned about this, God willing.

Alexander also appears to be a technical authority on stones in a brief quotation from the short alchemical treatise ascribed to Democritus, dealing with the four elements, colours, and natures. Here, Alexander addresses his anonymous son and instructs him about the origin and the use of a stone that originates from the sea and that can be transformed into lime:³⁹

The King Alexander said to his son: ‘The stone that comes from the sea is not generated by a seed, but it is formed in the sea, just as the weeds intertwine one with the other, so as to become like a stone. It is found on the shores of the sea, and you can find it there. When the waves and the South wind pour forth and gush and pour, then it is its moment. Then it is brought where the North wind blows, and since this wind is moist, this stone is produced from its moistness, and in the same way it is brought forth. Then it is crushed. And you, if you crush it, will see that it has rays like the sun. Then make it into a fine powder together with the moistness that is inside it [and derives] from the dew. Then it has to be dried in the sun, and it becomes lime (*kals*). Then let it evaporate with rain water and evaporated white vinegar. Then let it dry again, and wash it with the water of the dew. Repeat this operation until it becomes white. All your operation consists in what I have told you, so understand it’.

Alexander’s authorship plays a role not only in the transmission of knowledge, but also in the particular use of stones in the making of talismans. For instance, Alexander is mentioned in connection with a small group of stones in pseudo-

38 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 499, fol. 1^v: ‘translated into Arabic on the orders of Alexander for his son, F/Q(i)lis son of Alexander’.

39 This text is preserved in two copies: Istanbul, Carullah, 1086, fols 7^v–14^r and London, BL, Or. 13006, fols 57^v–66^r. Incipit: *Kitāb al-ḥakīm al-māhir Ḍīmūqrāṭīs qāla yanbaḡi li-man yaṭlubu ḥādīhi l-ḥikma an ya’rifā li-l-arkān allatī wuḍi’at ‘alayhā wa-l-aḡnās wa-l-ṭabā’i’ wa-l-awlān* (Carullah 1086, fol. 7^v), see also Sezgin 1971, 50.

Aristotle's 'Book of Stones' (*Kitāb al-aḥḡār*).⁴⁰ The four stones related to the name of Alexander are attested only in the more inclusive recension preserved in the manuscript Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, and not in the text of Paris, BnF, ar. 2772, marked by the creative and fluid hybridisation characterising ancient and pre-modern sources.⁴¹ All these stories told in connection with a stone are associated with the military expeditions of Alexander. These campaigns were also explorations of mysterious lands full of wonders. The section on the *bahta* stone⁴² contains some narrative elements that derive from storytelling, here merged into a technical text. The foundation of a 'City of Brass' (*Madīnat al-nuḡās*)⁴³ and an expedition organised by the Umayyad Caliph are themes that also appear in the *Romance of Alexander*, in his *Sīra*, and in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Fictitious or not, this city is also mentioned in a number of historical and geographical sources.⁴⁴ Many scholars have read, in the tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*, the allegory of a spiritual quest.⁴⁵ The corresponding paragraph in the *Kitāb al-aḥḡār* is a concise summary of some of the main points of the narrative, but it

40 See Ullmann 1972, 107.

41 See Ullmann 1972, 105–107; Sezgin 1971, 103; and Ruska 1912. I was also able to verify that the manuscripts Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1840; Istanbul, Bağdatlı Vehbi, 2248, and Cairo (*Dār al-Kutub*), Taymūr, Ṭabī'iyāt 60 witness to the same recension as Paris, BnF, ar. 2772.

42 Charles Genequand worked on a version of the tale in which Baht is the name of the city, probably with reference to the material with which it was built. See Genequand 1992, 328. Andras Hamori focusses on the role of Solomon in connection with the city (the third constitutive element of the story pointed out by Mīa Gerhardt): the first person to discover the city, where he confined some rebellious jinns. See Hamori 1971. In Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, the name of the stone is spelled with *tā'* *marbūṭa*, whereas in the other sources the name is spelled with a *tā'* *maftūḡa*, which might very well be simply an orthographical variant.

43 The word *nuḡās* can mean either 'copper' or 'brass'. Both translations have been adopted in different languages, and also by different authors using the same idiom. Since the pseudo-Aristotle is not the only text to describe the colour of its stone as similar to that of marcasite, I prefer to translate it as 'brass' (which also seems to be the conventional solution in English).

44 For a detailed survey of the historical and geographical works, see Doufikar-Aerts 2010, 21–34. The theme of the 'City of Brass' is not discussed further in this study; however, it emerges quite frequently, see Doufikar-Aerts 2010, 129, 136, 219, 221, 223. For this theme in the *Nights*, see Gerhardt 1963, 195–235. The presence of Alexander's pseudo-authorship – and the uncertainties about it – are mentioned in the introduction of the 'Book of Poisons' attributed to Ibn Waḡṣiyya: 'Also, there is a book on poisons attributed to a man called Alexander. I do not know whether he is Alexander the physician or the other one who is a philosopher. I know two Alexanders aside from Alexander who compiled a book on art. The latter is an Egyptian, and he is a philosopher and scholar'. See Levey 1966, 22a.

45 See Hajjar 2012.

seems to be completely free from allegorical elements.⁴⁶ The Caliph – in the *Nights* it is ‘Abd al-Malik – is not mentioned by name, but a curious detail is given: he decided to send an expedition because he had read about this city in the ‘Book of Stones’.⁴⁷ This story is recorded for antiquarian reasons, in order to prevent this city from sinking into oblivion, since the Umayyad expedition found that the city was already crumbling away. The element of the bird that counteracts the lethal effect of the *bahta* stone is mentioned in the ‘Book of Poisons’ of Ibn Waḥshiyya. The story is included in the first chapter of the account of Yārbūqā⁴⁸ on poisons that kill even from a distance.⁴⁹

Kitāb al-ḡawāhir wa-l-aḥḡār (‘Book of Precious Substances and Stones’), copied for the Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay (d. 901 AH / 1496 CE). Frontispiece of the Pseudo-Aristotle’s ‘Book of Stones’.

46 Elisabetta Benigni, in a recent article, provides a large bibliography on the spiritual and allegorical interpretations of the ‘City of Brass’. See Benigni 2015, 139.

47 One wonders whether this is the pseudo-Aristotle itself or another work bearing the same title. In the *Nights*, the Caliph happened to learn, from different conversations about the glory of Solomon, that the prophet and king imprisoned some demons in brass bottles. He is taken by the desire to possess some of those bottles, so he organises an expedition to retrieve them. See Gerhardt 1963, 199.

48 The main source of Ibn Waḥshiyya is supposedly a translation of the ‘Book of Poisons’ from the Nabatean author called Yārbūqa al-Nabaṭī al-Kasadānī, see Levey 1966, 12a.

49 ‘There is a stone that is found on the islands near the land of the Chinese; its colour is black, like the colour of marcasite, and is made of iron. If a man sees it, he will laugh until he dies, even if he has covered his face after having seen it. It does him no good, so that his laughing does not cease until his death. The remedy that removes the effect of this stone is a bird that lives on the same islands. It is green-feathered and as big as a sparrow. If, on seeing the stone, one sees also, by chance, the bird at the same time, then the lethal power of the stone is destroyed. If he sees the stone and does not meet the bird by chance at that place, then it will snow, as much as the weight of a man or more. He will undress and feed on the snow and begin to swallow it. He will keep swallowing it and, in this way, may escape death. But he may become ill, for as long as he lives, from distress in the body and in the corruption of its composition as long as he lives. However, on looking at the bird which we mentioned just a little earlier, the death of the man is prevented and the illness disappears’, see Levey 1966, 27a. The element of death by laughter is also attested in the *Nights*, as the horrible way in which the soldiers, who tried to enter the ‘City of Brass’, died in the attempt, see Genequand 1992, 29. In the section on poisons in *The Treasure of Alexander*, a potion that kills with laughter is mentioned in the third chapter on poisons and antidotes. The same stone with similar properties is also mentioned by al-Ġildakī, *Durrat al-ḡawwāṣ wa-kanz al-iḥtiṣāṣ* [1433], ed. Burḡaklı 2012, 128.

The following texts are the three passages of the recension found in Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610 that mention Alexander in connection with wondrous and exotic stones.

The Philosopher's Stone (Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, fol. 58^v)

The explanation is that during the day this stone is iridescent with many different colours – red, yellow, and green – and it does not cease to scintillate in all possible colours. When the night comes, it emits a light as if it were a mirror reflecting light, or as the indirect light of the sun and the moon. So, Alexander ordered some of his soldiers to carry these stones during the day; and when the night came, a shower of stones surprised them from every direction, but they could not see anybody, or who was doing this to them. Alexander was so impressed that he brought one of these stones with him and, after he had left that place, he discovered its occult property: that the jinns and the evil spirits flee from the place where this stone is. The same happens with the snakes and the vermin, which had left his military encampment. And so, these stones became one of his most precious treasures.

Tadmur Stone (fol. 85^v)

This is a stone that can be found in the extreme West, on the shores of the sea, but it cannot be found in any other place. Its white colour resembles marble. It has a peculiar property: if a man sniffs it, then his blood coagulates inside the body and he dies on the spot. Some soldiers of Alexander's army did that, and they died immediately.

Bazqī Stone (fol. 86^r)

Its nature is warm and dry, and it has the same nature as fire. If it is brought close to a living being, then it will arouse coitus. Once Alexander broke this stone and found inside it the image of a scorpion. And if one grinds four *šā'ir* of this stone, and gives it to a man suffering from the presence of purulent water (lit. 'yellow water') in his body to drink, then this will be useful to him, and will immediately purge him. The man who carries this stone under his tongue will never be thirsty, his voice will become nicer and his words eloquent.

Bahta Stone (fol. 94^v)

Its mines are on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean; these stones can be either small or big, they resemble the golden marcasite, sometimes the *Okeanos* throws them on its shores, so this stone can be found there as well. The army of Alexander discovered these stones, but everybody who approached this stone in order to fetch it, happened to open his mouth wide, his veins stopped pulsing, and he could not move anymore. Then they found a small bird coming from the *Okeanos* river. This bird sat upon this stone, and its effectiveness ceased. So, Alexander brought with him a huge quantity of this stone in order to build a city of brass with it. Then some Umayyad Kings read the 'Book of Stones' and sent someone to see this city. The exterior aspect of the stone had changed due to the effects of dust and time; whereas inside, it had not changed its colour and it amazed everyone who saw it. In this stone there is no occult property other than this, and what we have just mentioned about this stone is for no other reason than to preserve the memory of it among the other stones.

The *Kitāb al-ḥawāṣṣ* ('Book of Occult Properties') by Abū al-ʿAlā b. Zuhr (d. 525 AH / 1130 CE) seems to confirm the existence of a steady relation between Alexander and mineralogical lore.⁵⁰ All the passages attributed to him deal with metals and precious stones, with a particular focus on the making of talismans. The episodes are included in the frame of the military expeditions of Alexander the Great. Two of these wondrous findings are made by the king among the remains of an Egyptian temple, near the city of Homs (Emesa). So, there seems to be an archaeological component to Alexander's antiquarian interests. Below is a translation of the relevant passages from the 'Book of Occult Properties'.

Swallow (sāḡūr, Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 2086, fol. 25^v)

The jaundice stone is useful for the beard. Alexander found it in the belly of a swallow, in its nest, the first time it nests and appears. In the spring, in the farthest East, there are only two white, or red and white, stones: if one is hung on a frightened man, then this will cure him. If the white stone is applied on an epileptic man, then he will recover. If the white stone is applied to a constipated man, then this will loosen him up. If the red one is hung on a man suffering from urine retention, then this will cure him. Sometimes these two stones look different: one of the two is oblong, the other round. If it is put in a calf skin, hung on a man suffering from obsession, and he carries it, then this will cure him. This has been tried out (*muğarrab*).

Flies (fol. 35^r)

Alexander said: 'I found among the ancient Egyptian ruins in Homs two buried temples. I explored them and found a talisman that disperses flies, sitting on a table, and it kept the flies away from it. It is made of hellebore and red sulphur'. *Iqlimās* [name of a source?]: if the same quantity of the two ingredients is ground, kneaded with sea onion water, make a figurine with it, and place it on the table, then flies will not approach it as long as it remains there.

Alexander said: 'In this temple I found something hung on the door, and it kept flies away'. He said: 'Take the wood called *banādryūn*, hang it on the door and the flies will not enter'.

Saker falcon (fol. 50^{r-v})

Alexander used to have a talisman made from the copper of Cyprus; it is said that the one who mounts it in a ring should not speak until the work has been completed. On the stone, the figure of a crescent has to be engraved, with a star next to it. The ring should be made of gold. The man who wears it should place it on his waist, and then he will no longer suffer from bladder complaints, pain in the abdomen, or colic.

He said: 'Take copper and good white ceramics, grind them into a fine powder, pour Palestinian oil on it, and half a dirham of quicksilver, mix it, leave it until it dries, and you will find that this transmutes things into silver'.

⁵⁰ For the structure of this alphabetical collection of occult properties and its particular position in Arabic technical literature, see Raggetti 2014.

A talisman that allows the one who wears it to have sexual intercourse without getting anyone pregnant: its figure is a monkey, pierce it on the back side and tie it to your waist with a silk thread, whenever you want to have sexual intercourse, without the woman getting pregnant. When you want the effect to cease, simply untie it from your waist.

Talisman to repel bedbugs: make the image of a bedbug, take a hair from the tale of a mare at the very moment she is mounted by a stallion, tie all the bedbugs with the hair and give it the shape of a hedgehog, then put it into a new pot made either of clay or of copper, seal its opening, and bury it in the middle of the doorway, then not a single bedbug will enter.

Qalaqand, that is vitriol (zāḡ) and qulqaṭār (fols 72^v–73^r)

Alexander said: 'I found among the ancient Egyptian ruins in Homs a lamp (*qindīl*) that illuminated the place without any fire, as if it were made of red ruby'. Description of its preparation: take some green Persian *qalaqand* that has no impurity; put it in a ceramic pot, roast it in an oven, and leave it there for one night. On the second day, take it out and you will see it turning red. Do the same for the second night and keep doing this until it has become completely red. Then grind it, and pour three times its quantity of sublimated vinegar onto it, put it into a long-necked bottle with a large opening for three days, shaking it every now and then. Then purify its water that is as red as purple and ruby. Sprinkle it inside the house, and you will see wonders.

Diamond (fol. 86^{r-v})

He said: 'The first one to look for this stone was Alexander the Greek, thanks to his love for precious stones. They cannot be found anywhere on earth, but in a valley in the East, beyond Khorasan, in the direction of India. No one has ever travelled there, since there are many kinds of snakes, whose peculiarity is that every living being that looks at them dies, as long as the snake is alive. Once it has died, it loses this peculiarity, and it is no longer harmful to look into its eyes. They have a winter and a summer regimen. When Alexander arrived in this valley, he did not hesitate to cross it; so, he ordered them to make mirrors [with polished metal]. And when the snakes looked at their images, they saw themselves and they were killed by their own image. There are similar snakes in Khorasan, on one of the mountains of the country called *Luyūn*.'

Alexander said: 'Once Alexander [sic] had seen the death of the snakes, he left the place. He only took some precious stones from the valley, because there was still something that he desired for himself. So, from outside the valley, he ordered that young goats should be brought, slaughtered, skinned, and thrown into the valley, then the birds of prey should be released. When the goat meat reached the bottom of the valley, the diamonds stuck to it, the birds seized the meat, and Alexander and his companions chased them, after they had emerged from the valley, and collected the stones. Since Alexander, no one has been able to take the diamonds out from the valley, except in this way. [...]

Its property (*ḥāṣṣiyya*): it breaks stones and precious substances, but almost no other thing can break it. What can really break it is the magnet for gold, and this attracts gold wherever this may be. And if a bit of it remains in contact with gold for a while, then the gold will be corrupted'.

Concluding remarks

If pseudo-epigraphy is the attribution of a new composition to a renowned author based on a stylistic and thematic continuity with his corpus, the creation of pseudo-authorship is a way of authorial attribution that rests upon the commonly shared literary and narrative lore related to a certain character. Pseudo-authorship may very well be linked to a historical figure, but literary aspects tend to prevail over the historical ones nevertheless. This mechanism of attribution was productive in the creation of new syllabi, and guaranteed the transfer of knowledge from one cultural and linguistic context into a new one. The pseudo-authorship of Alexander the Great is an example of this: the constitutive elements of the pseudo-authorship derive from the Romance and popular narratives, rather than from historical sources.⁵¹

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⁵¹ For the many facets of Alexander's character, see Stoneman 2003 and Doufekar-Aerts 2010, xix–xx.

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Appendix 1: Edition and translation of *The Treasure of Alexander's* frame tale

Conspectus siglorum

- B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II 1209 (fols 1^v–4^v and 42^v)
- E El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Arab. 947/1 (fols 1^v–5^v and 60^v-61^v)
- I London, British Library, India Office, 673 (fols 1^v–5^v and 58^v-59^v)

Since it was not possible to make a complete *recensio* of the manuscript witnesses to *The Treasure of Alexander*, and considering that the equally acceptable variants do not yield any stemmatic clue, the editorial choices were based on internal criteria, in particular the *usus scribendi* of the textual genre. The orthography of the text has been normalised, linguistically relevant phenomena are noted in the apparatus.

كتاب ذخيرة الاسكندر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- كان الامير المعتصم بالله بعد ان فتح عمورية قد سمع ان بها ديرًا قديمًا ينسب الى انطيوخوس
تلميذ الاسكندر ذي القرنين بن فيلبس اليوناني وان انطيوخوس بناه وحصّنه وجعل فيه قومًا
يخدمونه ويحفظون بيتًا فيه
5 زعموا انه يشتمل على شيء من آيات الانبياء واثارهم وان انطيوخوس وقف على جماعة الموكلين
بحفظ الدير عدة ضياع وكتب بهم سجلات ثبتها في رومية الكبرى واخذ العهد على الروم واليونان
ان لا يمكنوا احدًا من قصرهم والتعرض لما وقف عليهم وان لم يمكنوا احدًا من فتح باب بيت الاتار
اجلالا له وصيانة لما فيه
- 10 فارسل المعتصم الى اهل ذلك الدير وامرهم ان يمكنوا من بيت الاتار وقال ان يكن هذا
البيت ليس فيها الا اثار الانبياء كما تزعمون فانا لا نناله بضرورة ولا نتعرض وان يكن فيه مال او
كتب حكمة فلا فائدة في تركها محرزة بعد موت اصحابها ونحن الان بها احق
فسألوه المهلة الى ان ياتيهم جواب رسالة ارسلوها الى ملك الروم فاملهم مدّة
ثم عاودهم ثانية وفي خلال ذلك هم محاصرون يضيق عليهم فسألوه ان يحلف لهم على ان يؤمنهم
على انفسهم ودينهم اذا اسلموا اليه الدير ففعل المعتصم ذلك واعطاهم من المواثيق ما رضوا به
15 وسكنوا اليه

BEI

add. I, on top of the first page by a different hand 1 كتاب ذخيرة الاسكندر در علم حكمت وغيره *B, om. E,* كتاب ذخيرة اسكندراني [كتاب ذخيرة الاسكندر
بن فيلبس | *BE* ذو [ذي | *B* الاسكندري] الاسكندر 4 *om. B* [قديمًا 3
العهد | *om. B* [بهم 7 *B* الات [آيات 6 *B* يخدمون [يخدمونه 5 *E* ابتناه [ناه | *B, I, om. E* بن فيلقس اليوناني [اليوناني
I وامرهم على ان *B,* وامرهم الى ان [وامرهم ان | *B* الامير [المعتصم 10 *om. B* [وان | *om. E* [احدًا... يمكنوا 8 *E* العهد
بالحاء المهمولة من الجور وهو [محرزة 12 *I* لما فيه [وان يكن فيه | *I* بالضرور [بضرورة | *B* يزعمون [تزعمون | *om. B* [لا 11
B سلّموا [اسلموا 15 *B* فهم [هم | *E* خلاف [خلال | *E* ففي [وفي 14 *I* مخزنة *add. B,* الحصن محرزة

Book of the Treasure of Alexander

In the Name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate.

After the Caliph al-Mu‘taşim bi-Llāh had conquered the city of ‘Amūriyya, he heard that there was an ancient convent there, whose foundation could be traced back to Antiochus, disciple of Alexander, the Two-Horned One, son of Philip the Greek. He heard also that Antiochus had built and fortified it, and then made some people settle there, so that they could serve there as ministers, and live there.

It was also maintained that relics and signs of the prophets were kept there, that Antiochus ordered all the acolytes to guard the temple: he stipulated with them a legal pact about their loyalty to the ‘Great Rome’. He obtained the oaths of the ‘Romans’ and the Greeks so that they would never allow anyone to enter the door of the temple containing noble relics and that they would protect what was kept there.

Al-Mu‘taşim sent a message to the people in that convent and ordered them to allow him into the place where the relics were kept, and he said: “If there are actually relics of the Prophets in this place, as you maintain, then we will not damage it in any way, and will leave them untouched. However, if there is a treasure there, or books of knowledge, then there is no reason to spare the fortification after the death of its acolytes. Because now our claim is more rightful.”

So they asked him to grant them a deferment, until they had received an answer to the message sent to the king of the ‘Romans’, and they obtained some time.

After that, they went to him again, in order to ask for a second time frame, but meanwhile they were kept under siege, so that they could not forget about their commitment. For this reason, they asked him to swear that he would spare their lives and religion, in case they had to surrender the convent to him. Al-Mu‘taşim promised that, granted them what they were beseeching, and they were reassured by this.

ثم انه انفذ اليهم عبد الملك بن يحيى صاحب البريد وعلى بن احمد المنجم ومحمد بن خالد المهندس وامرهم بالتفتيش عن مخائى هذا الدير وان يخبروه بما فيه ففعلوا ما امرهم به المعتصم ففتحوا باب بيت الاثار ودخلوه فوجدوه خاليًا من كل شيء يحس فانكروا ذلك وكثر تعجبهم منه فقال بعضهم يا قوم لولا انا وجدنا اقفال ملوك الروم واليونان على باب هذا البيت لظننا ان اهل الدير قد حوّلوا عنه ما كان فيه

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فلما عزموا على الانصراف الى صاحبهم قال لهم محمد بن خالد المهندس يا قوم ان هذا البيت لم يصنعه انطيوخوس مجانيًا فانّ له شائًا وانّ صاحبنا لا يقنع متًا بالرجوع اليه بغير خبر يعتد به فذروني امسح ارض هذا البيت وامسح اعلاه فانه يتخيل الى ان اعلاه اوسع من اسفله فقالوا له وما عسى ان يحصل لك من ذلك وهذا انما قصد به القوم تحصين البيت ومنعته

10

فقال لهم يا قوم انه لو كان قصدهم التحصين فقط لكان ذلك في حائط الدير جميعه لا في حائط البيت لان الذي بنى هذا الدير واهتم به هذا الاهتمام الذي تشاهدونه ما كان ليعجزه ان نشد جميع حائط الدير هذه الهيئة فقالوا شانك وما تريده

فمسح صحن البيت فوجده عشرة اذرع في اثنا عشر ذراعًا غير ثخانة البناء وهو عَرْض الحائط ثم عادوا الى المعتصم فاعلموا بذلك

15

فقال نخاف ان نحن هدمنا الحائط ان لا نجد فيه شيئًا فيستتبع متًا هُدّمه بغير فائدة فان الملوك لا تهدم اثار الملوك من غير عداوة بينها ولا سبًا البيوت الموسومة باثار الانبياء وضرب عن ذلك صفحًا

فرأى في منامه كأن المأمون بالله يقول يا اخي دونك وهدم الحائط ففيه دخيرة ذي القرنين وعلم ارسطوطاليس وهرمس الاكبر فهيننا لك يا اخي ما اوتيتّه من الفضل والفتح والغنيمة والملك الباهر

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B لشانًا [شائًا] 7 E بان ان | B الروم اليونان | الروم واليونان | B اذا [انا] 4 E مخائى [مخائى] 2 om. B | يحيى | om. B | انه 1 [فقط] | B انهم [انه] | om. E | لهم 10 B ومنعته [ومنعته] | I لوماً, om. E | له 9 B لي [الى] | E فان [فانه] | om. B | ارض 8 om. B | [ان] | om. E | ان نحن | I نخاف [نخاف] 15 B الامير [المعتصم] | E عاودوا [عادوا] 14 E ثخانة [ثخانة] 13 om. B | B اخاه [اخى] | E ارسطوطاليس [ارسطوطاليس] 19 I البيت [الحائط] | E واهدم [وهدم] | B اخاه [اخى] | om. E | كان 18

Then he sent to them ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yaḥyā, Master of the Post, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad the Astrologer, and Muḥammad b. Ḥālīd the Geometer, and ordered them to carry out an inspection of the hiding places of the convent, and to report to him about what was in there. They did what al-Mu‘taṣīm had ordered them to do: they opened the door of the relics’ chamber, and entered it only to find that it was completely empty. They could not believe this, and great was their amazement.

One of them said: “Oh people, if we had not found on the door of this temple the seals placed there by the kings of the ‘Romans’ and the Greeks still in their place, we would have thought that the acolytes of the convent had already taken away what was in there.”

When they were about to go back to their sire, Muḥammad b. Ḥālīd the Geometer told them: “Oh people, for sure Antiochus did not build this place without a reason – he must have had a purpose – and our sire will not be pleased if we go back to him without any information. So let me make a survey of the surface of this temple and its height, since it gives me the impression that its upper part is wider than the lower part.”

They replied to him: “And what could you possibly derive from this? The only purpose of these people was the fortification and the inviolability of the temple!”

But he answered them: “Oh people, if their only purpose had been the fortification, then the entire convent would have been surrounded by a wall, and not only the temple; because it is impossible that the one who built this convent and took care of what we are observing could not fortify the whole wall of the convent in this way.” So they replied: “It is your responsibility, do as you wish.”

Then he made a survey of the chamber and found out that it was only ten cubits of the total twelve cubits, without considering the thickness of the construction that is the thickness of the wall. Then they went back to the al-Mu‘taṣīm, and reported what they had discovered.

[The Caliph] said: “We are afraid that, if we demolish the wall, we will not find anything there, and that this pointless destruction will be considered heinous: because kings do not destroy the monuments of other kings without a reason of enmity between the two parties, nor do they spoil the temples where relics of the Prophets are kept.” So he desisted from this.

In his dream, however, he saw al-Ma‘mūn who told him: “Oh brother, behold! Destroy the wall, since behind it is the treasure of the Two-Horned and the knowledge of Aristotle and of the Great Hermes. So I greet you, my brother, for the excellence, the victory, the prize, and the magnificent reign.”

فاستيقظ المعتصم واحضر لساعته محمد بن خالد المهندس وامره بهدم الحائط وان يجعل بذلك
 فركب محمد ابن خالد ومعه اربع مائة من الفعلة فهدم الحائط الى وقت صلوة العصر فلم يظهر
 لهم في الحائط شئ فعلاهم الفتور وكادوا ينصرفوا فانفذ اليهم المعتصم ان احضروا اساس الحائط
 ايضاً فلما ابتدؤا بحفره ظهر لهم منه صندوق من النحاس مغشى بالحديد الصيني فعلا تكبيرهم
 5 وتسابق المبشرون الى المعتصم بالخبر وحمل الصندوق الى بين يديه فامر بالاحتياط لكسر قفله
 فكسر وفتح الصندوق فوجد فيه صندوق من الذهب الاحمر مقفولاً بقل من الذهب ومفتاحه من
 الذهب معلق فيه بسلسلة من الذهب وعلى الصندوق كتابة باليونانية مجتمعة
 فامر بفتح الصندوق فوجد فيه كتاباً من الذهب واوراقه وصفحاته جميعاً من الذهب الاحمر
 كل ورقة منها ستمكها نصف اصبع وطول الكتاب ذراع وعرضه ثلاثة اذرع
 10 وهو مكتوب بكتابة هي نقش في الذهب بمقدار نصف ثخانة صحيفة في احدى جانبي الورقة
 والجانب الاخر خال من النقش والكتابة وغلط الكتابة بمقدار غلط الشعيرة وعدد الاوراق ثلاثئة
 وستون ورقة في كل ورقة اثنا عشر سطراً والكتابة بعضها باليونانية وبعضها بالرومية
 فامر باحضار النقلة والمترجمين وامرهم بنقله فوجدوا الكتابة على ظهر الكتاب . هذه دخيرة
 الاسكندر الملك بن فلبيس ذي القرنين وهي اعز ما ملكته يده من ملك الارض ضت بها ونقص
 عليها حتى اذا حضر وقت انفصاله من العالم المستحيل وارتفاعة عنه لم ير ان يجعلها معرضة
 15 للابتدال لتتلاعب ايدي الجهال بها والناقصين عنها ولا استحسن اعدام الفضيلة واتلافها لعلمه
 بجلالة الطريق الذي علم به علمها وعزة وجود الا للانبياء الابرار الذين هم صفوة الناس واشرفهم
 فادع هذا الجملة مخزناً وثيقاً وكترًا حصيناً يعصمها عن الابتدال وكان وقت ترك هذا الكتاب
 في هذا الصندوق بطالع السنبله وفيه عطارد والقمر متصل به من الجوزاء وكان زحل بالجدي
 20 وشكل الفلك معسوداً

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فعلا | E الحفرة | بحفره 4 E احفر | احفروا | E اليه | اليهم 3 B صلاة | صلوة | om. BI | ابن خالد 2 B بساعته | لساعته 1
 BI باليوناني | باليونانية 7 E مقفل | مقفولاً | B صندوقا | صندوق | E وكسر | فكسر 6 add. B فعلا مكرهم وتكبيرهم | تكبيرهم
 E الاخرى | الاخر 11 E ثلثة | ثلاثئة 9 E اوراقه | اووراقه 8

Then, al-Mu‘taşim woke up and immediately summoned Muḥammad b. Ḥālid the Geometer, and ordered him to destroy the wall, and to be quick about it.

So Muḥammad ibn Ḥālid rode there with four hundred men and they kept demolishing the wall until the afternoon prayer, but nothing appeared there; they were already tired and wanted to leave, but al-Mu‘taşim told them to dig up the foundations of the wall. When they started to dig there, a brass chest locked with Chinese iron clasps emerged, and this made them jubilantly cry “God is Great”.

So emissaries went to give the news to al-Mu‘taşim, and the chest was brought in front of him. He ordered them to find a way of breaking the locks: they were forced, and the chest opened. Inside it there was another chest of red gold, sealed by a golden lock, whose key – also made of gold – was attached to it with a golden chain. On the chest there was a Greek inscription in relief.

He ordered them to open the chest, and inside it there was a book made of gold, all its pages and folia were of red gold, each page was a half-finger thick, the height of the book was one cubit, while its width was three cubits.

The writing was engraved in the gold, the engraving reached a depth of one half of the page on one side, whereas the other side was not engraved. The body of the script was of one grain (*şā’ir*); there were 360 pages, with twelve lines per page, part of the text was in Greek and part in “Roman”.

Then [the Caliph] ordered them to summon the interpreters and the translators, he ordered them to translate and they found out what the inscription on the chest meant: “This is the treasure of King Alexander, son of Philip, the Two-Horned One, and this treasure was the greatest wealth he ever had on earth. He was so attached to it and afraid of its ruin that, when the moment of his departure from the world of transition and his separation from it came, he did not want to see that his treasure was exposed to debasement, so that the hands of ignorant men might defile it, without any regard for the destruction of its excellence and its science, with the greatness of the way of learning its science, and the excellence that belongs only to pious prophets, who are the best and the most noble of men.

So he deposited the whole of it in a safe storeroom and in a protected shrine in order to protect it from debasement. The book was placed in this chest when the constellation of the Virgo was rising, and Mercury and the Moon were in conjunction from Sagittarius, while Saturn was in Capricorn, and the sky was in a favourable configuration.

وقصد بذلك ان لا يتيسر اخراج هذا الكتاب من مخزنه الا لملك محب الحكمة فليقر عيئاً واليهنئه عظيم الشرف الواصل اليه ونسئله ان يسلك طريقنا في صيانتته وحياطته وتنزيهه عمن لا يستحقه فذلك سرّ الاله في خلقه وله عتاً حسن الشاء وجميل الاحاد

وكان في ذلك الصندوق الأكبر النحاس تحت الصندوق الذهب حجر على مقدار طول الصندوق وهو على هيئة اللوح وقد نُقش فيه كتابةً باليونانية فترجمها اليونانيون فكان فيها قال 5 انطيوخوس ملك اليونان تلميذ ملك الملوك الاسكندر ذي القرنين اليوناني ان ملك الملوك لما احسن بارتفاعه عن عالم الاستحالة اتوني ان أضير هذا الصندوق حيث لا تصل اليه يدٌ وذكر لي ان فيه شيء من اثار الانبياء التي لا يجوز تبديلها ؟ ولسئ اشكّ انّ فيه من الحكمة ما كره ملك الملوك ان يطلع عليه احد من اهل زمانه لان ملك الملوك لم يكن لينفس على شيء من جواهر الدنيا الا الحكمة ونفائس العلوم ولم يكن يسعني ان أخالف ما امرني به ملك الملوك فلذلك جعلت هذا 10 الصندوق حيث امر فمن وصل اليه فقد انبأته انباه بخبره

فلما نقله اصحاب اللسان اليوناني وهم في خلال ذلك مؤكّل بهم محاطّ عليهم دُفع الكتاب الى اصحاب اللسان الرومي فنقلوه جميعاً الى العربية ٢ ثم امر المعتصم ان يقابل بما نقله اليونانيون فوجد متفقين في سائر المعاني والاعراض ولم يوجد بينها اختلاف شيء العبارة لان الكتاب كان مكتوباً باللسانين اليوناني والرومي فاحسن الى النقلة وصلهم 15

وزاد ذلك في تقريب محمد بن خالد ووصله واكرمه وامره ان يكتب هذا المقدمة وليضيفها في اول الكتاب فيكون باسمه وهذا اول الكتاب المترجم باسم الواحد الواجب الوجود بنتدى والى سابق علمه انتهى له عالم النور والتأثير وعالم الاستحالة والتغيير علة الكل ومدير الفلك لعظمتته خشعت النفوس وبالإضافة الى ملكه نقص كل كاملٍ وبه اتصلت افكارنا وهمنا بجانب قدسه لاذت ومن

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E, عنا حسن الغناء [عتاً حسن الشاء 3 EI سبيله [ونسئله | I وليهنة, B, واليهنة [واليهنة 2 I فليبتقر [فليقر | B يحب [محب 1 B اسكندر [الاسكندر 6 E حجراً [حجر | B في داخل [في ذلك 4 B جمع حمد [وجميل الاحاد | I عتاً حسن الشناء E تبذلها [تبدليها 8 I يصل [تصل | E حتى [حيث | E لطمس, B ان اظهر [ان أضير | B امرني [اتوني | B حس [احسن 7 B مع الملوك [ملك الملوك | B om. B [ما | E ليسعني [يسعني 10 E ليتنفس [ينفس | I تكن [يكن | B om. B [الملوك 9 اختلاف | E يجد [يوجد | I والاعراض [والاعراض 14 om. B [اللسان 12 I انبأته بخبرة [انبأته انباه بخبره | E هو [امر 11 E الى [في] | E ليضيفها [وليضيفها | I في ذلك تقرّب, E في ذلك تقرّب [ذلك في تقريب 16 om. E I شيء | E خلاف وفهمنا [وفهمنا 19 B ومدبر [ومدير | E لكل, B, الكمل [الكل 18 B يتبدى [يتبدى | B كتاب [الكتاب 17 B

By this, he meant that the book could not be taken from the place in which it was kept, except by a king who loves wisdom. So he should rejoice for the great nobility he has attained. And we beg him to follow our way of protecting it, guarding it, and keeping it untouched by those who do not deserve it. Because this is the secret of God in His creation, to Him the greatest obedience and the highest praises.”

In this very large brass chest, under the golden chest, there was a stone as large as the chest, in the shape of a board with an inscription in Greek engraved on it, and this said: Antiochus, king of Greeks disciple of the Greek King of Kings Alexander the Two-Horned said: “When the King of Kings felt that he was about to leave the world of transition, he ordered me to hide this chest where no hand could reach it and reminded me that, inside it, there were relics of the prophets that should not be adulterated. I have no doubt that in it there is the knowledge that the King of Kings did not want to be known by anyone of his own time, because the King of Kings desired no treasure from this world, but wisdom and the finest sciences. I could not refuse what he had ordered me to do, and for this reason I put this chest where I was ordered to. And the one who reaches it will be told its story.”

When the translation from Greek was completed by the translators of this language – all the while kept in custody – the book was handed over to the translators of ‘Roman’, so that they could translate it all into Arabic. Then al-Mu‘taṣim ordered that it be compared with what had been translated from the Greek, and he found that the translations were in agreement about their meanings, and that he could not find any difference between them except for idiomatic expression in each language, because the book was written in two languages, Greek and ‘Roman’. So he congratulated and praised the translators.

He praised Muḥammad b. Ḥālid even more, and ordered him to write this very introduction bearing his name, in order that it be added to the beginning of the book, and this is the beginning of the translated text: “In the name of the One, the Necessary Existence we begin, and with the One, Whose knowledge is surpassing, we end. His is the world of light and effect, and the world of transition and of change. The cause of all and the One who sets the sphere in motion. To His Greatness the souls submit, and compared to His power every perfect thing is lacking. Our thoughts and our ambitions become one with Him.

نوره اشرفت العقول هو الذي نوره يستعلى عن الابصار ويتنزه عن الالوان كثيرة الانوار الشعاعية عن كثافة الجسمية وكل صفة كمال تُناط به غير ذاته فهو برئ منها مستغن عنها وهي عنه وعند الاتقياد لا ينطلق عليه فتحميده الحقيقي انه لا هو الا هو فذلك مبلغ القول من تقديسه وجهد الطاقة من تحميده

- 5 قال ارسطوطاليس انت ايها الملك لعزة موقعك مني وجلالك في نفسك واستكمالك خلال الفضل واستمالتك على احمد الصفات الملوكية حقيق بان تكون وارثاً لعلم الحكمة السايوية التي اودعها الملك هرمس الكبير السرب البحري خير علم بما يكون من حال الناس وما لهم الى الطوفان والغرق ولم يقدر على استخراجه من السرب البحري الا الرجل الحكيم بليناس وعنه اخذته ومنه استفدته وكنت ايها الملك قد سمعت مني بذكر هذا الكتاب عند اول خروجك من مقدونية وتكرر مني الطلب له ولم يكن الفلك على شكل يصلح لاطهاره الى الان فليتبتن الملك الوصول اليه 10 وليتمتع بفوائده فاما تجديد الوصية بحفظه والمبالغة في صيائنه فلا حاجة الى استثنائه لانه قد تكرر مني مشافهة الملك ومعاهدته عليه وكيف لا يكون ذلك كذلك وهو مستودع اشرف العلوم التي بها يمكن التصرف بها في العالم الكوني

اخر الكتاب

- 15 قال النقلة المترجمون لهذا الكتاب هذا اخر ما وجدناه من هذا الكتاب الذهبي الموضوع بذخيرة الاسكندر وهو اخر ما كان في الكتاب الذهبي المودوع في صندوق الذهب وفي اخره مكتوب قال الاسكندر ذو القرين بن فليس اليوناني ايها المطلع على هذا الكتاب قد ظفرت بملك الارض ان ساعدك الحظ ولم يقعد بك الحرمت وان اهتديت لاجتناء الثمرة من هذا الشجرة وان لم يستظل

BEI

E I فتحميده [فتحميده | B هو [وعند 3 E مستغني [مستغن | E فكل [وكل 2 B كتبه [كثيرة | E تستعلى [يستعلى 1
علم | E om. | على | E I جلال [واستالتك 6 B جلايل [خلال | B موقفك [موقعك 5 E فتحميده | B فتحميده [من تحميده 4
B I om. | الى 11 I فليبتا | E فليين [فليتبتن | I الى 10 E منك [منى 9 B حير [خير 7 I للعلم والحكمة [الحكمة
بذخيرة [بذخيرة الاسكندر 16-15 B المعروف [الموضوع 15 E I om. | ايها | I مستوع [مستودع 12 E استينافه [استثنائه
I بملك | E فليس | B I فليقس [فليس | B om. | بن 17 E الصندوق [صندوق 16 B الملك الاسكندر
B فان [وان | E I يقعد [يقعد 18

Our intellects seek shelter with Him and are illuminated by His light. He is the One whose light rises over the sights. He is above the colours just like the radiating lights are above the bodily thickness. Every attribute of perfection linked with him does not speak of his Essence. For He is free from them and they are dispensable for Him, and He for them. And in compliance, they cannot be applied to Him. And His glory is that there is not He but He. And this is the extent to which one can speak about His glory and how far striving to obey him will bring one in His praise.”

Aristotle said: “You, oh King, for the greatness of your condition compared to mine, the majesty in your person, your excellence in the sublime merits, and the excellence in the most praised royal qualities, deserve to be the heir to the knowledge of heavenly wisdom that King Hermes the Great deposited in the abysses of the sea: the best part of the science before the flood and the inundation, but there was no one capable of recovering it from the abyss of the sea except for the sage Apollonius [of Tyana], and I received it directly from him. But you, King, have already heard about this book, when you left Macedonia for the first time, and you have repeatedly asked me to search for it; but the stars have not been favourable to retrieve it until now. So may the King rejoice for its finding, and for the great benefit that derives from it. As for the renewal of the commitment to protect it and guard it, there is no necessity to do it again, because I have already promised it, more than once, to the King, and there is already an agreement about this. And how could it be different, since it is the repository of the noblest sciences that can be applied in the world of being?”

End of the Book

The translators of this book said: “This is the end of what we found in the golden book entitled *The Treasure of Alexander*, and this is the end of what was in the golden book placed in the golden chest, and at its end there was written: Alexander the Two-Horned son of Philip the Greek said: ‘You who look upon this book, I have already obtained sovereignty on the earth, if luck is on your side and nothing hinders you, if you are on the right way to harvest the fruit of this

الملك الى مقاصدك فاجعل شكر صانع العالم على ما خوّلك صيانة هذا العلم الشريف عن ايدي الناس وعن نواظرهم

فان مسحّته قليل وطالبه كثيرٌ ولذلك امرنا بالاحتفاظ حيث رايته واجعل شكرنا على ايننا لم نرفع عن الايدي بالكلية موافقتنا على ما رايناه من صيانتته وقبول عهدنا اليك في ذلك والصلاح فيه راجع اليك ومنتصل بك لاننا نحن قد ارتفعنا عن عالم الاستحالة والتغيير الى عالم البقاء والانوار 5 فلا نخجل عندنا الان ولا غم ولا حسد ولا فاقة وقد حرمت كما حرم الله تعالى جلّالا من الحرام هذا الكتاب من اي الجهال ومن معرفتهم ومن علمهم وفقنا الله لما يجب ويرضي من القول والعمل

BEI B

[موافقتنا | I فالكلية |بالكلية | B نرفعه |نرفعه 4 E وكذلك, om. B, |ولذلك | om. E |وطالبه كثيرٌ 3 om. E I |الملك 1 وقد حرمت كما حرم الله تعالى جلّالا من الحرام هذا الكتاب من اي الجهال | add. B |تم |فاقة 6 I |والصلا |والصلاح | B موافقتنا والحمد لله رب العالمين على اتمام والصلوة على محمد, add. E, ومن معرفتهم ومن علمهم وفقنا الله لما يجب ويرضي من القول والعمل وعلى والهنا المخصوصين بحمده الذات وعلو الصفات في الافتتاح والاختتام كُتب في غُزة (شهر) ذي قعدة من سنّي الهجرة العبد add. I المذنب اماموردي

tree, and if power does not overshadow your judgement, then give thanks to the Maker of the World for He granted you the protection of this noble science from the hands of people and their gazes.’

Only a few are worthy of it, but many are those who look for it. For this reason we ordered them to keep and protect it in the place where you have seen it. Be thankful to us that it was not touched by any hand, with all our great efforts for its protection, your acceptance of the guardianship, and the success of this depends on you, and is connected to you. Because we have already elevated ourselves from this world of transition and change, towards the world of permanence and lights. So now we do not have with us any affliction, or envy or need. I have kept – as God the Highest has kept [his] Excellence from that which is forbidden – this book from any ignorant man, from his knowledge and learning. May God grant us success, and approve the words and the work.”

Appendix 2:

Table of contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*

First section: *On the principles and the prolegomena to what is necessary to this science*

الفن الاول في ذكر اصول ومقدمات ما يحتاج الى علمها

Introduction on the movement and influence of the celestial and earthly bodies – Trigons and sextiles – On sun and moon – On the five climates – On the different natures of people – Influence of the sun on plants – About animals – Influence of the moon on the sea level and other aspects of nature – On the five celestial bodies [the planets]

Second [section]: *On the principles of the [alchemical] craft and the preparation of elixirs*

الثاني في ذكر اصول الصنعة وتدبير الاكسيرات

Gold – Silver – Preparation of the first water called *ṣābiyūn* – Preparation of the second water called *qūriyāl* – Preparation of the third water called *ra'rāsiyūs* – Preparation of the fourth water called *ṭarīrās* – Peculiar properties of this water called *ṭarīrās* – Section on the preparation of the substance that contains the faculty of Mars – Illustration of its useful properties – Chapter on the purification of arsenic – Another [way] – Chapter on the vaporisation of purified arsenic – Chapter on the purification of copper – Chapter on the whitening of copper – Another [way] – Chapter on the softening of copper – Preparation of the great softening water – Chapter on the conversion of copper, from its appearance to that of gold – Way to purify white vitriol – White vitriol as elixir to change the appearance of copper into that of gold – Chapter on the purification of silver – Chapter on the elixir of silver [in four precepts] – Way of pouring this elixir on silver.

Third [section]: *On the composition of poisons*

الثالث في تركيب السمومات

The first is *al-ḡabatā'* poison – Preparation of the poison called *waysindār* by Hermes – Preparation of *al-ṭāliyūs* poison – Preparation the *bīṣ burbiṣ* poison – *anālīmūs* poison – Preparation of the *ḡaḡrāniyās* poison – Preparation of the poison composed by Qīnān son of Enoch – Composition of the poison called *ilāws* – Preparation of *al-qiyātārā* poison – Preparation of *al-abrādīs* – Preparation of the *āṭānāsiyālis* poison – Preparation of the *šīšālānās* poison – Preparation of the poison called *siyātūs* – Poison that kills with haemorrhagic diarrhoea – Preparation of the poison that kills with laughter – Preparation of the poison called *anādūs* – General explanation of the effect of poison in an astrological context

Fourth [section]: *On the antidotes that dissolve the poisons* الرابع في الترياقات المخلصة من السموم

Preparation of the theriac known as *al-biyānūs* – Preparation of the theriac of Hermes the Great – Preparation of the theriac called *aṭīrsāliyūs* by Hermes – Preparation of the theriac composed by Hermes against all poisons – Preparation of the theriac called *īlalūniyūs* by Hermes – Preparation of the *dardahālūš* theriac

Fifth [section]: *On the making of talismanic stones useful against illnesses that are difficult to cure* الخامس في صنعة الخرزة الطلسمية النافعة من الامراض العسرة البرء

Talisman that cures all the diseases of the throat – *Bīlāwānūs* talisman for the sciatica – Talisman for urine dripping – Description of the amulet that placates wrath – Talisman against liver complaint – Talisman against kidney complaint – Amulet called *salāriyūs* for a permanent erection – Preparation of the talismanic amulet for pangs in the eye – Preparation of the talismanic amulet called *anāliyūsīs* against toothache

Sixth [section]: *On the seals of the seven planets* السادس في خواتم الكواكب السبعة

Preparation of seals in the way described by Hermes, who impressed many kings by wearing them (Sun and Moon) – Preparation of the talisman of Saturn to calm sexual desire, agitation of the blood, fevers, and plague – Preparation of the talisman of Jupiter for the heart and the feeling of suffocation – Preparation of the talisman of Mars that strengthens the heart and protects from robbers and foes – Preparation of the talisman of Venus for love, women, and the increase of sexual desire – Preparation of the talisman of Mercury that helps with the subjugation of viziers, writers, penmen, and wise men

Seventh [section]: *On some different talismans* السابع في ذكر فنون شتى في طلسمات

Talisman that stops different kinds of bleeding and dysentery – Talismans against scorpions made by Apollonius [of Tyana] – Preparation of the seal that cures the scorpion sting – Talisman against snakes made by Apollonius [of Tyana] – Way to prepare the talisman that chases locusts away – Talisman made by Hermes against strong winds – Preparation of the talisman against tertian fever – Preparation of the talisman against yellow fever – Talisman to destroy a country called *āfsanṭīnūs* – Talisman called *kīklānūs*

Eighth [section]: *On fumigations, and the chapters on love and hatred* الثامن في البخورات وابواب العطف والبغضة

Different practices to arouse love, to exploit the influence of celestial bodies and astrological configurations: how to conquer hearts, how to placate the wrath of kings, how to kindle love or hatred

Ninth [section]: *About the occult properties attributed to wondrous plants*

التاسع في ذكر خواص تتعلق بالنباتات
المستحيلة

Chapter called *asṭīyālīṭūs 'iyānūs*, that means 'the one that approaches the spiritual entities that lead to the natures' – Preparation of the melon (*baṭṭīḥ*) called '*asīsālānūs* – Preparation of the melon called *kaliyās* – Preparation of the melon called *kīṭṭiyātā*

Tenth [section]: *On the occult properties of animal parts*

العاشر في ذكر خواص اعضاء الحيوان

Occult properties of animal parts from Hermes – Human brain – Section on love – Description of a mortal poison and its theriac – Talisman of the horse – Advantages that Hermes obtained from swallows – Advantages that Hermes obtained from owls and pigs – Chapter on enmity – To bind desire – Wounds – Chapter on enmity: black dog – Occult properties of the black cat

Giovanni Ciotti

Tamil *Ilakkaṇam* ('Grammar') and the Interplay between Syllabi, Corpora and Manuscripts

Abstract: The field of traditional Tamil grammar (*ilakkaṇam*) offers an ideal case for studying the interplay between syllabi, corpora and manuscripts. The former two categories are reflected in the internal organisation of certain Tamil grammatical texts or listed in a number of Tamil (and Latin) literary sources as subjects of learning and teaching. In turn, manuscripts, in particular multiple-text manuscripts the content of which is pertinent to the field in question, are not just the mere material instantiation of syllabi and corpora, but represent their concrete realisation in educational settings, where abstract lists may be actualised or, quite often, rather approximated.

Then said Ægir: 'In how many ways are the terms of skaldship variously phrased, or how many are the essential elements of the skaldic art?'

Then Bragi answered: 'The elements into which all poesy is divided are two.'

Ægir asked: 'What two?' Bragi said: 'Metaphor and metre'.

*Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál*¹

1 Introduction

Ilakkaṇam – this is the name by which the traditional field of Tamil grammar is known – has had a long history, spanning over almost two millennia,² during which it has constituted a fundamental component of the learning and teaching

1 Þá mælti Ægir: 'Hversu á marga lund breytið þér orðtökum skáldskapar, eða hversu mörg eru kyn skáldskaparins?' Þá mælti Bragi: 'Tvenn eru kyn, þau er greina skáldskap allan'. Ægir spyr: 'Hver tvenn?' Bragi segir: 'Mál ok hættir'. (*Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál*, tr. Brodeur 1916, 96).

2 The oldest treatise is the *Tolkāppiyam* of Tolkāppiyar, allegedly composed some time during the first half of the first millennium CE.

practices of pre-modern and early-modern Tamil scholarship.³ Throughout its history, *ilakkaṇam* has witnessed vigorous theoretical efforts aimed at defining its own perimeter, the composition of several treatises and the production of numerous grammar-related manuscripts.

In this respect, *ilakkaṇam* represents a suitable field for the study of the interplay between the categories of syllabus, corpus and manuscript.⁴ Several Tamil textual sources refer to grammatical syllabi, i.e. lists of topics that a connoisseur of grammar is expected to master. The existence of different syllabi is also reflected in the internal organisation of certain Tamil grammatical texts – one can, for instance, look at the titles of their sections. Furthermore, specific selections of certain grammatical texts, in particular those which deal with one or, at the utmost, two grammatical topics, are mentioned in a number of secondary sources in a way that in fact describes well-defined corpora, which we can find instantiated, or sometimes approximated, in the selection of texts contained in several multiple-text and composite manuscripts.

2 *Ilakkaṇam* and its growing syllabus

The term *ilakkaṇam* is usually translated as ‘grammar’, although it in fact encompasses domains of linguistic inquiry that do not only include topics such as speech-sounds, word formation and sentence building, i.e. topics that in modern Western linguistics would fall within the scope of disciplines such as phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax and, to a certain extent, pragmatics. *Ilakkaṇam* also includes domains that deal with matters concerning the poetical usage of Tamil, such as poetic matter (i.e. the list of *topoi* suitable for poetry), metres, rhetorical figures, etc.

In what follows we will encounter these domains as they are listed in Tamil primary sources, many of which are prefatory materials to grammatical treatises. We will thus be able to map the syllabus of Tamil grammar as represented by the indigenous point of view, observing in particular that the number of domains grows in time.

We will start our perusal having a look at relevant texts that are dated to the first millennium. Thanks to these sources, we can identify two kinds of syllabi: a

³ See, for instance, Ebling 2010, 37–55.

⁴ See the introduction of the current section of this volume, where, in particular, the definition of syllabus is discussed in detail. Here it suffices to say that this term is used to indicate any list of topics to study and teach.

threefold one, which enjoyed a long life in the Tamil scholarly domain, and a possible fourfold one, which on the other hand seems to have had an ephemeral destiny. When we enter the second millennium it seems clear that a fivefold syllabus became prominent, representing the standard syllabus until today. Finally, a sixfold syllabus appeared on the nineteenth-century Tamil scholarly horizon, but apparently did not gain enough momentum to become widely accepted.

It is evident that the number of grammatical domains increases in time, although we should not forget that some of these domains do not represent brand new innovations, but rather topics that already existed in the grammatical literature and which were later singled out and elevated to the rank of full-fledged domains.

2.1 Threefold *Ilakkaṇam* (*eḷuttu*, *col* and *poruḷ*)

The earliest attestation of a threefold syllabus pertaining to *ilakkaṇam* is exemplified by the *Tolkāppiyam* of Tolkāppiyar, i.e. the earliest extant grammar of Tamil (first half of the first millennium CE). The text is divided into three main sections (*atikārams*) entitled *eḷuttu-atikāram* ('section on sounds and letters'), *col-l-atikāram* ('section on words') and *poruḷ-atikāram* ('section on poetic matter'). The first section covers matters of phonetics, with the description of the articulation of sounds, phonology, in particular external sandhi (i.e. sound-related phenomena that occur to words when these are strung in a sentence) and, marginally, orthography. The second section covers nominal and verbal morphology as well as certain aspects of pragmatics. Finally, the third section investigates the main *topoi* characterising much of the early literary production in Tamil, which are, in turn, subdivided into the two main categories of *akam* and *puṛam* (respectively, interior and exterior themes, i.e. love matters and everything else, in particular war, respectively), metrics and language ornaments (i.e. rhetorical figures).

This tripartite architecture of grammar is explicitly mentioned in the *ciṛappuppāyiram* ('special introduction') of the *Tolkāppiyam*, attributed to Paṇampāraṇār (date uncertain).⁵ In lines 5 and 8 of the *ciṛappuppāyiram* we

⁵ Thus, according to Nacciṇārkiṇiyar's commentary. *Ciṛappuppāyirams* are metrical compositions that, despite forming an integral part of the grammatical treatises, are supposed to have been composed not by the author of the treatise in which they are found, but by one of its evaluators. Hence, at times, it cannot be clearly decided whether *ciṛappuppāyirams* are

read that எழுத்துஞ் சொல்லும் பொருளும் நாடிச் [...] புலமந்தொகுத் தோனே போக்கற பனுவ⁶ ('after having investigated letters/sounds, words and subject matters [...], he [i.e. *Tolkāppiyar*] knowledgeably composed a faultless treatise').⁷

Much scholarship has maintained this tripartite understanding of the *Tolkāppiyam*, as for instance does Nacciṅārkiṇiyar (c. fourteenth century), one of its most important commentators.⁸ However, we will later observe that other sources clearly speak of the *Tolkāppiyam* as a fivefold grammar.⁹

Another grammatical treatise, the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* of Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar (seventeenth century), also contains three main sections bearing the same titles as those of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Not without reason, it is in fact known as *kuṭṭi-tolkāppiyam* ('little *Tolkāppiyam*').¹⁰ Its *ciṟappuppāyiram*, attributed by some to Vaittiyanāta Tēcika's own son, called Catāciva Tēcikar,¹¹ also confirms that the treatise is about *eḷuttu*, *col* and *poruḷ* (line 8): எழுத்துமுதல் மூன்றையும் யாவரும் தெரியத்¹² ('so that everyone can understand the three [topics] beginning with *eḷuttu*'). As in the case of the *Tolkāppiyam*, we will later observe that some sources refer to the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* as a fivefold grammar.¹³

2.2 Fourfold *Ilakkaṇam* (*eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ* and *yāppu*)

A fourfold syllabus is indirectly hinted at in Nakkīraṅ's commentary to the *Irāiyaṅār Akapporuḷ* (both dated to the eighth/ninth century). Nakkīraṅ recounts that the king of the Pāṇṭiya country was forced to dismiss all his scholars due to a long-lasting famine. Once the famine ended, the king sent emissaries to

contemporaneous with the composition of the treatises they are found in, or whether they are later additions.

6 *eḷuttum collum poruḷum nāṭi-c* [...] *pulam tokuttōṅ-ē pōkkaṟu paṇuva*[!] (Iḷavaḷakan 2003, 57).

7 All translations are mine unless differently stated.

8 Nacciṅārkiṇiyar comments as follows about the passage *eḷuttuñ collum poruḷum nāṭi*: அவ்விலக்கணங்களுள் எழுத்தினையும் சொல்லினையும் பொருளினையும் ஆராய்ந்து (*avvilakkaṇaṅkaḷuḷ eḷuttinaiyum collinaiyum poruḷinaiyum āraiyntu*, Iḷavaḷakan 2003, 63; 'having scrutinised sounds/letters, words and subject matters in the [previous] grammars').

9 See Section 2.3.

10 See Tāmōtarampiḷḷai's introduction to his edition of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* (Tāmōtarampiḷḷai 1889, ed. Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṅ 2004, 93).

11 See Tāmōtarampiḷḷai's introduction to his edition of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* (Tāmōtarampiḷḷai 1889, ed. Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṅ 2004, 93–94).

12 *eḷuttu-mutal mūṇṇaiyum yāvarum teriya-t* (Gōpālaiyar 1971, 56).

13 See Section 2.3.

find experts in the various branches of knowledge. As it will emerge from the following passage, *yāppu* ('metre') is added to the three topics of *eḷuttu*, *col* and *poruḷ*:

அக்காலத்துப் பாண்டியனாடு பன்னீரியாண்டு வற்கடஞ் சென்றது. செல்லவே பசுகடுகுதலும், அரசன் சிட்டரையெல்லாங் கூவி, 'வம்மின், யான் உங்களைப் புறந்தரகில்லேன்; என் தேயம் பெரிதும் வருந்துகின்றது. நீயிர் நமக்கு அறிந்தவாறு புக்கு, நாடு நாடாயின ஞான்று என்னை யுள்ளி வம்மின்' என்றான். என, அரசனை விடுத்து எல்லாரும் போயின பின்றைக் கணக்கின்றிப் பன்னீரியாண்டு கழிந்தது. கழிந்த பின்னர், நாடு மலிய மழை பெய்தது. பெய்தபின்னர் அரசன், 'இனி நாடு நாடாயிற்றுகளின், நூல் வல்லாரைக் கொணர்க' என்று எல்லாப்பக்கமும் ஆட்போக்க, எழுத்ததிகாரமும் சொல்லதிகாரமும் யாப்பதிகாரமும் வல்லாரைக் தலைப்பட்டுக் கொணர்ந்து, 'பொருளதிகாரம் வல்லாரை எங்கும் தலைப்பட்டிலேம்' என்று வந்தார். வர அரசனும் புடைபடக்கவன்று, 'என்னை, எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் யாப்பும ஆராய்வது பொருளதிகாரத்தின் பொருட்டன்றே; பொருளதிகாரம் பெறேமெயினிள், இவை பெற்றும் பெற்றிலேம்' என [...].¹⁴

At that time a famine of twelve years occurred in the land of the Pāṇṭiyas. As this occurred, as soon as the hunger increased, the king summoned all the scholars and said: 'Come, I cannot protect you, my land (*tēyam*) suffers greatly. You go your own way (lit. in the way that is known to you); at the time [this] land will [once again] be a land, remember me and come [back]'. So said, after everyone left the king and departed, an everlasting (*kaṇakk' inri*) twelve years passed. After they passed, the land knew abundant rains. After it rained, the king said: 'Now, since the land is [once again] a land, we should bring together experts of the treatises'. Men went in all directions. They met and gathered experts of the study of *eḷuttu*, *col* and *yāppu*, [but] they returned saying: 'We have not met anywhere experts of the study of *poruḷ*'. As they returned, even the king became greatly distressed and said, 'What? Is not the investigation of *eḷuttu*, *col* and *yāppu* aimed at the study of *poruḷ*? Even if we obtain these [three], but we do not obtain the study of *poruḷ*, we do not obtain [anything]' [...].

The problem caused by the impossibility of finding experts in the field of *poruḷ* will be finally solved thanks to the divine intervention of Śiva, who composed

¹⁴ *Akkālattu-p pāṇṭiya-nāṭu paṇṇīriyāṇṭu varkaṭam ceṇratu. Cellavē, paci kaṭukutalum, aracaṇ ciṭṭaraiyellān kūvi, 'vammiṇ, yān unkaḷai-p puṇantarakillēn; eṇ tēyam peritum varuntukiṇratu; niyir numakku aṇṭa-v āru pukku, nāṭu nāṭu āyiṇa ṇāṇru eṇṇai-y uḷḷi vammiṇ' eṇṇān. Eṇa, aracaṇai viṭuttu ellārum pōyiṇa piṇṇai-k, kaṇakkiṇri-p paṇṇīriyāṇṭu kaḷintatu. Kaḷinta piṇṇar, nāṭu maliya maḷai peytatu. Peyta piṇṇar, aracaṇ, 'iṇi nāṭu nāṭu āyiṇṇākaliṇ, nūl-vallārai-k koṇarka' eṇru ellā-p pakkamum āṭ pōkka, eḷuttu-atikāramum coll-atikāramum yāppu-atikāramum vallārai-t talaippaṭṭu-k koṇarntu, 'poruḷatikāram vallārai erikum talaippaṭṭilēm' eṇru vantār. Vara aracaṇum puṭaiṇṇa-k kavaṇru 'eṇṇai, eḷuttum collum yāppum āṇyavatu poruḷatikāraṭṭiṇ poruḷṭaṇṇē. Poruḷatikāram peṇṇē-y eṇiṇ, ivai peṇṇum peṇṇilēm' eṇa [...]* (Pāvanantam Piḷḷai 1916, 8).

and made the king receive the verses that constitute the text of the *Iraiyāṇār Akapporuḷ*.

To the best of my knowledge, such a fourfold syllabus – if ever *ilakkaṇam* was actually perceived as such – left no trace in the field of Tamil scholarship.¹⁵

2.3 Fivefold *ilakkaṇam* (*eḷuttu, col, poruḷ, yāppu* and *aṇi*)

The most overtly addressed conformation of the grammatical syllabus in Tamil sources is without any doubt the fivefold one, which is variously labelled as *ilakkaṇappañcakam*, *aiṅtilakkaṇam* or *pañcalakṣaṇam* ('grammatical quintet' or 'five grammatical topics'). This includes *aṇi* ('ornamentation', also called *alaṅkāram*), which is the study of rhetorical figures.

Its earliest mention is in Puttamittiraṅ's *Viṛacōḷiyam* (c. eleventh century). The third stanza of the *pāyiram* ('introduction') of the *Viṛacōḷiyam* reads:

நாமே வெழுத்துச்சொ னற்பொருள் யாப்பலங் காரமெனும்
பாமேவு பஞ்ச வதிகார மாம்பரப் பைச்சுருக்கித்
தேமே வியதொங்கற் றேர்வீர சோழன் நிருப்பெயராற்
பூமே லுரைப்பன் வடநூன் மரபும் புகன்று கொண்டே¹⁶

After condensing the beautiful expanse of the five topics which inhabit verse – the letters that dwell on the tongue, words, good subject matter, meter, and ornamentation – he will, after learning the way of the northern treatises, explain [these five topics] upon this earth under the sacred name of *Viṛacōḷaṅ*, whose chariot has festoons dripping with honey.¹⁷

Later we will discuss the discrepancy between the statement of this verse and the actual internal structure of the *Viṛacōḷiyam*, which contains, at least according to its printed editions, just four *atikārams* ('chapters').¹⁸

The next attestation in chronological order of the fivefold classification of *ilakkaṇam* is found in the *ciṛappuppāyiram* of another grammatical treatise, namely the *Naṅṅūl* of Pavaṇanti (twelfth–thirteenth century). Possibly the most popular grammar in the history of the Tamil literature of the second

¹⁵ Daringly, one could envisage the *Viṛacōḷiyam* as a fourfold treatise. In this respect, see Section 3.2.

¹⁶ *nā mēvu eḷuttu col nal poruḷ yāppu alaṅkāram eṇum | pā mēvu pañca atikāram ām parappai curukki | tēm mēviya toṅkal tēr viṛacōḷaṅ tiru-p peyarāl | pū mēl uraiṇṇa vaṭa nūl marappu pukaṇru koṇṭu-ē* (Kōvintarāja Mutaliyar 1942, 1).

¹⁷ Tr. D'Avella 2021, 404.

¹⁸ See Section 3.2.

millennium,¹⁹ this text in fact teaches the rules of just two domains, namely *eḷuttu* and *col*. Nonetheless, a passage from its *cīrappuppāyiram* reads (lines 9–10): [இருந்தமிழ்க் கடலுள் அரும்பொரு ழைந்தையும் யாவரு முணரத் [...] தருகெனத் [...]]²⁰ ('May someone give [us a treatise] so that everyone understands the five difficult topics (*arum poruḷ aintaiyum*) in the vast ocean of Tamil'). Already in the first commentary to the *Naṇṇūl*, which is ascribed to a scholar called Mayilainātar (thirteenth century?), allegedly one of Pavaṇanti's pupils, 'the five difficult topics' are glossed as எழுத்துச் சொற் பொருள் யாப்பு அணியென்னும் அரிய பொருளைந்தையும்²¹ ('the five difficult topics are *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu* and *aṇi*').

Later we will observe that, as far as the *Naṇṇūl* is concerned, there is not just a discrepancy between the mention of five topics in its *cīrappuppāyiram* and the structure of the text as in the case of the *Viracōliyam*, but between such piece of information and the actual content of the treatise.²²

From the eighteenth century the genre of fivefold grammars become popular and their *cīrappuppāyirams* often mention that the treatise in question deals with all five grammatical topics. Furthermore, these texts do not present discrepancies between what their *cīrappuppāyirams* state and their internal division, since the latter is always made of five chapters (*atikārams*).

The first in chronological order among these treatises is the *Toṇṇūlviḷakkam* completed by the Italian Jesuit missionary and renowned author of Tamil poetry Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680–1742) in c. 1730.²³ Its *potuppāyiram* ('general introduction') reads நூல் | மேவிய ஐம்பொருள் விளக்கல் உணர்ந்து²⁴ ('having understood how to illuminate the five topics that pertain to a treatise [about grammar]'). Furthermore, in the *cīrappuppāyiram* it is said: நன்னூல் ஆய்ந்தோர் நவின்ற ஐம்பொருள் | தொன்னூல் விளக்கம் முன் சொல்லுதும் எழுத்தே²⁵ ('The

¹⁹ See, for instance, Ebeling's remarks on the popularity of the *Naṇṇūl* in the nineteenth century (Ebeling 2009, 244–246).

²⁰ [i]rum tamiḷ-k kaṭaluḷ arum poruḷ aintaiyum yāvarum uṇara-t [...] taruka eṇa-t [...] (Kaliyāṇa Cuntaraiyar 1946, 1).

²¹ *eḷuttu-c cor poruḷ yāppu aṇi-y eṇṇum ariya poruḷ-aintaiyum* (Kaliyāṇa Cuntaraiyar 1946, 15).

²² See Section 3.3.

²³ First published in 1838 (see Ebeling and Trento 2018, 22).

²⁴ *nūl | mēviya aiṃporuḷ viḷakkal uṇartu* (Cuppīramaṇiyaṇ 1978, 73).

²⁵ *naṇṇūl āyntōr navinṇra aiṃporuḷ | toṇṇūl viḷakkam muṇ collutum eḷuttē* (Cuppīramaṇiyaṇ 1978, 74). The copy of the edition that I have consulted, which is held at the library of the École française d'Extrême Orient (Pondicherry branch), actually reads *corrutum* (Cuppīramaṇiyaṇ 1978, 74). However, an anonymous reader, who I suspect must have been the owner of the book, i.e. the late scholar T. V. Gopal Iyer, emended it into *collutum*, which is in fact a more suitable reading.

Tonṇūlvilakkam will first speak of sounds/letters [among] the five topics that those learned in the good treatises have mastered’).²⁶ Finally, in rule 370 the five topics are named: எழுத்துச் சொல் பொருள் யாப்பு அணி என இவண் வழத்திய ஐம்பொருள் வழக்கம் சுருக்கி²⁷ (‘having summarised the usage of the five topics that are extolled in this world as *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu* and *aṇi*’).

Another of Beschi’s works, namely the *Grammatica latino-tamulica ubi de elegantiori linguæ tamulicæ dialecto செந்தமிழ் [centamiḷ] dicta* was completed in 1730 as the *Tonṇūlvilakkam*.²⁸ Although it represents an exception compared the other grammars composed from the eighteenth century onwards, not only because it is composed in Latin, but also because it is not divided according to the Tamil fivefold model, it nevertheless lists the five topics by their names in its introduction.²⁹ Interestingly, in the same passage, Beschi adds the remark, which is not always met with in the treatises, that *akam* and *puṛam* are two distinguished subtopics of *poruḷ*.³⁰

In the nineteenth century, the *Cuvāminātam* of Cuvāmikkavirāyar deals with all five grammatical topics. In this respect, the son of the author, called Civacuppīraṇṇiyaṇ, says in the *ciṛappuppāyiram* that his father, who followed the tradition of the preceding grammatical treatises, dealt with five topics in a metre called *akaval-viruttam* (verse 2, lines 2–3, 5, 8) [...] தமிழ் ழியல்ழந்தும் அகவல்வி ருத்தமதால் | ஆ(ம்)முன்னூல் வழியாய் [...] சுவாமிநாதம் பகர்ந்தான் [...] சுவாமி கவிராசன் ளனுநூல்வல் லோனே³¹ (‘the expert of treatises called Cuvāmikkavirāyar [uttered (*pakartān*)] the five topics of Tamil in *akaval-*

26 Note that the term *naṇṇūl* is ambiguous. Literally, it means ‘good treatise’, but it could also be understood as the title of Pavaṇanti’s above-mentioned work. The latter option can be, however, safely ruled out on the basis of the fact that Beschi himself discusses in another of his works, the *Grammatica latino-tamulica ubi de elegantiori linguæ tamulicæ dialecto செந்தமிழ் [centamiḷ] dicta*, the fact that the *Naṇṇūl* deals with only two grammatical domains (see Section 4).

27 *eḷuttu-c col poruḷ yāppu aṇi eṇa ivan vaḷuttiya aimporuḷ vaḷakkam curukki* (Cuppīraṇṇiyaṇ 1978, 170).

28 The original Latin version of the *Grammatica* was published much later in 1917, edited by L. Besse. Instead, an English translation by B. G. Babington was already published in 1822 with the title *A Grammar of the High Dialect of the Tamil Language, Termed Shen-Tamil*.

29 See Beschi 1730, ed. Basse 1917, xii and Babington 1822, ix–x.

30 See Section 4 for further details on the corpus that according to Beschi is associated with the study of the five grammatical topics.

31 *tamiḷ iyal aintum akaval-viruttam atāl ā(m)-muṇ-ṇūl | vaḷiy āy [...] cuvāminātam pakartān [...] cuvāmikkavirācaṇ eṇum nūl vallōṇ-ē* (Caṇmukam 1975, 2).

viruttam metre and composed (*pakartāṇ*) the *Cuvāminātam*, following the way of the preceding treatises').³²

Similarly, another nineteenth-century treatise, which was apparently composed directly for the press, namely the *Muttuvīriyam* of Muttuvīra Upāttiyāyar, reads in its *ciṟappuppāyiram* (lines 7–8) எழுத்தொடு சொற்பொருளியாப்பணியைந்தும் | எளிதிற்புலப்படவியற்றித் தருகென³³ ('may one compose so that the five [topics of] *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu* and *aṇi* fall under the scope of something easy [to grasp]').³⁴

Finally, flipping through John Murdoch's ever useful 1865 *Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books*, it appears that at least a couple of new treatises were composed in the nineteenth century, which addressed all 'five parts of Grammar'. These are the *Ilakkaṇac Curukka Viṇāviṭai* of Tiruttaṇikai Vicākapperumālaiyar Āyyar,³⁵ and the *Pañcalaṭcaṇac Curukka Viṇāviṭai* of P. S. Rājagōpāla Mudaliyār.³⁶ Both texts are in the genre of *viṇā-viṭai* ('question and answer'). Unfortunately, I could not access these texts directly and, to the best of my knowledge, one cannot exclude that manuscript copies produced before the printed editions may have in fact existed.³⁷

³² The understanding that the phrase *tamiḷ iyal aintum akaval-viruttam atāl* depends on a supplied *pakartāṇ* is based on the explanation of the text provided by its editor, Ce. Vai. Caṇmukam (Caṇmukam 1975, 2–3). I thank Jean-Luc Chevillard for pointing out to me this source.

³³ *eḷuttoṭu col poruḷ iyāppu aṇi-y aintum | eḷitir pulappaṭa-v iyarri-t taruka eṇa* (Pulney Andy 1889, 1).

³⁴ An observation worth recording about the appreciation of late-nineteenth century scholars for fivefold grammatical texts can be read in the first complete edition of the *Muttuvīriyam* dated 1889. In the publisher's note S. Pulney Andy writes (Muttuvīra Upāttiyāyar 1889, unnumbered page): 'The first two parts of this Grammar were published in 1881, by the kind aid of Mr. Pattabīram Pillay, a deputy Collector in Government service. It will be admitted that a complete Tamil Grammar, treating of the 5 parts in a style like that of the present work, is a desideratum amongst the present scholars; and I have therefore ventured to publish the "Muthuviriyam" in full, by obtaining the work in manuscript from the author.'

³⁵ Murdoch 1865, 212.

³⁶ Murdoch 1865, 213.

³⁷ More texts are bearing titles such as *Ilakkaṇac Curukkam*, *Ilakkaṇa Viṇāviṭai* and the like are found in the list of nineteenth century publications given by Vēṅkaṭacāmi 1962, 148–154. However, contrary to Murdoch's 1865 *Catalogue*, Vēṅkaṭacāmi does not provide us with a summary of the contents of these books, thus we cannot say whether or not they cover more than one field of Tamil grammar.

2.4 In search for a sixfold *ilakkaṇam*

The emergence of a sixth *ilakkaṇam* is a process that never reached mainstream Tamil scholarship, in the sense that a sixfold *ilakkaṇam* never became, for instance, a *topos* like the fivefold one. However, its emergence was clearly a process *in fieri*, at least during the nineteenth century. This is witnessed by a few textual sources analysed in this section and, above all, by the selection of texts found in certain multiple-text and composite manuscripts (see Section 5.3 below).

This is particularly true for the topic of *poruttam* ('appropriateness'), which loosely speaking deals with some features that literary compositions should have in order to be considered an appropriate piece of literature, such as auspicious words with which a composition should begin. This topic is presented, among others, in the subsection of the *atikāram* on *poruḷ* of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* entitled *pāṭṭiyal* or in several texts belonging to the *Pāṭṭiyal* genre, the oldest of which, namely the *Pannirupāṭṭiyal*, possibly dates back to c. the tenth century.³⁸ Despite the fact that – to the best of my knowledge – there is no *ilakkaṇam* list that includes *poruttam* as its sixth item, there are hints that in fact at least some scholars considered it as a grammatical topic per se.³⁹

For instance, U. Vē. Cāmiṇātaiyar (1855–1942), often referred to as *tamiḷ tāttā* ('grandfather of Tamil') for his epoch-making contribution to Tamil studies, mentions in his autobiography, *Eṇ Carittiram*, that he studied the *Navanītapāṭṭiyal*,⁴⁰ which he says is one of the *porutta-nūls* ('treatises on appropriateness') and which Zvelebil decided to render in his translation with the Tamil expression *porutta ilakkaṇam*: கஸ்தூரி ஐயங்காரிடம் நவநீதப் பாட்டியல் முதலிய பொருத்த நூல்கள் சில இருந்தன. எனக்கு அவற்றிலும் சிறிது பழக்கம் உண்டாயிற்று⁴¹ ('Kastūri Aiyaṅkāra also had in his possession *porutta ilakkaṇam* texts like *Navanītap Pāṭṭiyal*. I got acquainted with them to some extent.').⁴²

38 See Zvelebil 1995, 518.

39 Explicit mention of both *pāṭṭiyal* and *poruttam* as two separate *ilakkaṇams* is found in one of A. Tirumalaimuttucāmi's works (Tirumalaimuttucāmi 1959, 191). However, such a claim is not discussed in detail nor supported with further evidence, and thus has to be taken as the personal opinion of that author.

40 For more details, see Section 4.

41 *kastūri aiyaṅkāriṭam navanīta-p pāṭṭiyal mutaliya porutta nūlkaḷ cila iruntaṇa. Eṇakku avarilum ciṭitu paḷakkam uṇṭāyirru* (Kaliyāṇacuntariyar 1950, 152).

42 Tr. Zvelebil 1990, 75.

In addition, there is a short treatise called *Poruttavilakkam*, composed by a certain Kulām Kāṭiṟu Nāvalar of Nākūr in 1880 (but published in 1900). However, if the *poruttam* treatise mentioned by Cāmiṇātaiyar, namely the *Navanītapāṭṭiyal*, is a Pāṭṭiyal that deals with quite a large gamut of topics, the *Poruttavilakkam* is only concerned with the so-called *pattu-p poruttan̄kal* ('ten *poruttams*').⁴³

As it will be shown later,⁴⁴ the inclusion of Pāṭṭiyal texts in the selection of certain multiple-text and composite manuscripts offers the most convincing piece of evidence for arguing in favour of a *poruttam à la Cāmiṇātaiyar* – rather than its more restricted understanding witnessed in the *Poruttavilakkam* – as a sixth independent grammatical topic.

Finally, a brief mention ought to be made of another project that envisaged a sixfold grammar. The *Aṟuvakaiyilakkaṇam* ('Grammar in Six Parts') of Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ (1839–1898) explicitly mentions a sixth grammatical topic in combination with the other five we previously discussed. The new topic is here called *pulamai* ('scholarship', or 'genius' according to Zvelebil's translation⁴⁵) and it appears to be a combination of skills that an ideal Tamil scholar should possess.⁴⁶ *Pulamai* is mentioned in the *ciṟappuppāyiram* and the text is consistently divided into six chapters.⁴⁷

3 Discrepancy between the lists of topics and the internal architecture of the grammatical texts

Discrepancies between what the prefatory materials of some of the grammatical treatises and their subdivision into chapters have already been mentioned in

⁴³ For more details about the ten *poruttams* and the Pāṭṭiyals in general, see Clare 2011, 59–83.

⁴⁴ See Section 5.

⁴⁵ Zvelebil 1995, 651.

⁴⁶ தேற்றம் தவறு மரபு செயல்வகை | எனும்நால் வகைத்தாய் இயம்புதும் புலமையே || (*tērram tavaru marapu ceyalvakai* | *eṇum nāl-vakaittu āy iyamputum pulamaiyē*, Venkaṭṭarāmarāja 1893, 96; 'Scholarship is said to have four components: clarity/knowledge, [absence of] error, tradition and action.')

⁴⁷ Furthermore, Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ also composed one more treatise, entitled *Ēlām-ilakkaṇam* ('The Seventh Grammar'). Here, he introduces *tava-v-iyalpu* ('the nature of penance') as a seventh discipline. It is clear that Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ's agenda aimed at including within the same scholarly domain, namely *ilakkaṇam*, fields that are not, or at least not immediately, related to language and its use in literature.

the previous section. Here, we will discuss some of the sources from which such discrepancies emerge.

3.1 Three vs five

We have seen that the *ciṛappuppāyirams* of both the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* tell us that these are threefold grammars.⁴⁸ The subdivision into *atikārams* ('chapters') of these texts, as it has been transmitted to us, confirms such a configuration. However, there are sources that state that these two texts are in fact fivefold grammars.

For instance, stanza 60 from the *Pāṇṭimaṅṭalacatakam* of Aiyamperumāḷ Piḷḷai (seventeenth–eighteenth century?) states that the *Tolkāppiyam* is *pañcalaṭcaṇam āṇa* ('fivefold'):

கரைபெற்ற தோர்பஞ்சு லட்சண மானதொல் காப்பியமுந்
தரைமுற்றும் போற்றிய சிந்தா மணியுந் தமிழ்ச்சங்கத்தின்
னிரைபெற் றுயர்பத்துப் பாட்டும் விளங்க நிசவுரையை
வரைநச்சி னூர்க்கினி யார்வாழ்வு பாண்டியன் மண்டலமே⁴⁹

The Pāṇṭiya land is the residence of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyan, who has obtained the [other] shore [of the ocean of knowledge], [and] who wrote his own commentaries so that the *Tolkāppiyam*, which is a fivefold treatise, the *Cintāmaṇi*, praised by the whole earth, and the excellent *Pattuppāṭṭu*, which has entered the system (*nirai perṛu* ?) of the Tamil Caṅkam [corpus], became clear (*viḷaṅka*).⁵⁰

Concerning the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, the editor of its first printed edition dated 1889, namely Ci. Vai. Tāmōtarampiḷḷai (1832–1901) – also one of the most

⁴⁸ See Section 2.1.

⁴⁹ *karai perṛat' ōr pañcalaṭcaṇamāṇa tolkāppiyamum | tarai muṛṛum pōṛriya cintāmaṇiyum tamil caṅkattil | nirai perṛ' uyar pattuppāṭṭum viḷaṅka nica-v uraiyai | varai nacciṇārkkīṇiyar vāḷvu pāṇṭiya maṅṭalamē* (n.n. 1932, consulted online).

⁵⁰ Cf. Wilden's translation of the same verse printed in U. Vē. Cāmiṇātaiyar's edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Wilden 2017, 189 n. 20), which however contains a minor variant in the fourth line. Note that the expression *nirai perṛu* is particularly problematic both grammatically (should *perṛu* 'having obtained' be read as *perṛa* 'which obtained?') and semantically (could *nirai* mean 'corpus?'). Wilden refers to the original text in which the verse is found as *Pāṇṭi Nāṭu Catakam*. On the other hand, Zvelebil (1974, 204) refers to it as *Pāṇṭimaṅṭalacatakam*, which is tantamount to the former in meaning and is also the one found in the 1932 edition (of which I could consult the retyped online version available on projectmadurai.org). Neither Wilden nor Zvelebil attempt to date the text, however all the other *Catakams* mentioned by Zvelebil are dated between the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

influential Tamil scholars of the nineteenth century – argues that the text is the only one to offer a full-fledged instruction into the five grammatical topics. The same status is also implicitly attributed to the *Tolkāppiyam*, since – we are told – the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* is called the 'Small *Tolkāppiyam*':

[...] சிறுவர் முதலியோர் இலக்கணம் பயிற்ற்கு உபயோகமாகப் பவணந்தியாதியோர் பலரும் நன்னூல் சின்னூல் காரிகை என்றின்னன சிற்றிலக்கண நூல்கள் பல செய்வாராயினர். அவை பெரும்பாலும் தமிழ் நன்கறிதற்கு இன்றியமையாத ஐந்து இலக்கணங்களையும் முற்றக் கூறுது ஒன்றென்று ஒன்றிரண்டு மாத்திரம் உணர்த்தா நின்றன. சிறுபான்மை வீரசோழியம் போன்றன ஐந்தும் எடுத்துக் கூறினவேனும் மிகச் சுருங்கியவாய்க் கற்போர்க்கு வேண்டிய அளவு இலக்கண நூலனப் கொடாமையிற் பெரும்பயன் தருவனவல்லவாயின. இவ்விரு திறத்தனவும் போலாது பஞ்சலக்ஷணமும் மாணக்கர்க்குப் போதுமான அளவு செறிந்தது[.] இலக்கண விளக்க மொன்றே. இதன் மகிமை இதற்குச் சான்றோரால் வழங்கி வரும் “குட்டித் தொல்காப்பியம்” என்னும் பெயரானே இனிது விளங்கும்.⁵¹

[...] many, such as Pavaṇanti, composed several short grammatical treatises, such as the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Čiṇṇūl* [i.e. the *Nēminātam*] and the *Kārikai* [i.e. *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*], as they are useful to children and the like for learning grammar.⁵² For the most part, they just teach either one or two [grammatical topics], without fully expanding the fivefold grammar (*aintu ilakkaṇaṅkaḷaiyūm*) that is essential for understanding Tamil well. The minority [of texts], such as the *Viṛacōḷiyam*, as they are very succinct, even if they take up all five [topics], do not yield great fruit, since they do not offer the grammatical knowledge to the extent that is required for scholars. Contrary to those two kinds, a fivefold grammar (*paṅcalakṣaṇam*) is complete as far as it is sufficient for the students. The *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* is precisely that one [kind of grammar]. Its fame nicely appears through the name “Small *Tolkāppiyam*”, which is current among the learned (*cāṇṇōrāl*).

Furthermore, S. Pulney Andy, the publisher of the first full edition of the *Muttuvīriyam*, justifies the composition and publication of the *Muttuvīriyam* as the attempt to meet the demand of scholars, who at the time were eager to have

51 [...] *ciṅṅvar mutaliyōr ilakkaṇam payiṛarṅku upayōkamāka-p pavaṇantiyātiyōr palarum naṇṇūl čiṇṇūl kārikai eṇru iṇṇaṇa ciṅṅ-ilaṅkaṇa-nūlkaḷ pala ceyvārāyīṇār. Avai perumpālum tamil naṅku aṛitaṅku iṇṇiyamaiyāta aintu ilakkaṇaṅkaḷaiyūm muṛṅga-k kūṛātu onṇu-onṇu onṇu-iraṅṅtu mātṭiram uṇarttā niṇṇaṇa. Čiṅṅpāṇmai viṛacōḷiyam pōṇṇaṇa aintum eṭuttu-k kūṛiṇa-v eṇum miṅka-c curuṅkiya-v āy-k karpōrṅku vēṇṇiya aḷavu ilakkaṇa ṇāṇaṅ koṭāmaiṇṇi perumpayaṅ taruvaṇa-v alla-v āyīṇa. Ivv-iru-tiṛattānavum pōlātu paṅcalakṣaṇamum māṇākkarkku-p pōtumāṇa aḷavu ceṛintatu[.] Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam onṇē. Itaṅ makimai itaṅku-c cāṇṇōrāl vaḷaṅki varum “kuṭṭi-t tolkāppiyam” eṇṇum peyarāṇē iṇitu viḷaṅkum* (Tāmōtarampiḷai 1889, ed. Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṅ 2004, 92–93).

52 The *Nēminātam* is a twelfth- or thirteenth-century grammar that, like the *Naṇṇūl*, deals with *eḷuttu* and *col*; the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* is a tenth-century treatise exclusively focused on the topic of *yāppu*.

access to a fivefold grammatical treatises that included developments in theory, although fivefold treatises had already been composed: அகத்தியம், தொல்காப்பிய முதலிய முன்னூல்களும், இலக்கணவிலக்க முதலிய பின்னூல்களும், ஐந்திலக்கணத் தனவாயினும் [...]’⁵³ (‘Although both the early treatises, such as the *Akattiyam* and the *Tolkāppiyam*, and the late[r] treatises, such as the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, are fivefold grammars [...]’).⁵⁴

One could argue that understanding the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* as fivefold can be justified in light of the fact that the last chapter of both works, namely the *poruḷ-atikāram*, deals with topics that do not only concern *poruḷ* (‘poetic matter’), but also *yāppu* (‘metrics’) and *aṇi* (‘[language] ornamentation’, i.e. rhetorical figures). In both chapters, in fact, we find among others a subsection entitled *ceyyuḷ-iyal* (‘nature of stanzas/poems’) as well as one called *uvamai-y-iyal* (‘nature of the simile’) in the *Tolkāppiyam* and one called *aṇi-y-iyal* (‘nature of the [language] ornamentation’) in the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*.

In this respect, we could assume that scholars of the nineteenth century did not perceive the discrepancy between what is stated in the *ciṛappuppāyirams* of the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and their subdivision into *atikārams* as the result of a tension, possibly because they did not deem necessary a one-to-one correspondence between the two.

3.2 Five vs four

Another case of discrepancy concerns the *Viṛacōḷiyam*. The verse discussed in Section 2.3 states that this is a fivefold grammar, but its internal structure is in fact divided into four main sections. As D’Avella observes:

[...] none of the editions print *alaṅkāra atikāram* or the like as a name for the final section, simply *alaṅkārap-paṭalam*, in contradistinction to the other chapters which are clearly labeled as *atikārams*, e.g., *poruḷatikāram* [...]. One wonders whether these divisions were original to the VC [*Viṛacōḷiyam*] or perhaps later additions once the idea of the *aintu ilakkaṇam* ‘five characterizations (of poetic language)’ had taken deeper root [...]. Additional manuscripts might reveal a different picture of the situation.⁵⁵

⁵³ *akattiyam, tolkāppiya mutaliya muṇ-nūlkaḷum, ilakkaṇaviḷakkam mutaliya piṇ-nūlkaḷum, aintilakkaṇattaṇa-v āyinuṇum* [...] (Pulney Andy 1889, v).

⁵⁴ Muttuvira Upāttiyāyar 1889, unnumbered page. Allegedly, the *Akattiyam* of Akattiyāṇ is the first grammar of Tamil, which survives today only in fragments.

⁵⁵ D’Avella 2021, 335.

For the mere sake of speculation, one could think about the *Vīracōḷiyam* as a fourfold grammatical treatise, in which *aṇi* (here called *alaṅkāram*), has not yet risen to the status of independent discipline and is still considered part of *yāppu*. In this respect, the chapter structure of the *Vīracōḷiyam* would be the closest instantiation of the syllabus hinted at in Nakkīraṇ's story about Śiva's composition of the *Iraiyāṇār Akapporuḷ*, in which the Pāṇṭiya king sent for experts in the topics of *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ* and *yāppu*.⁵⁶

3.3 Five vs two

The case of the *Naṇṇūl* of Pavaṇanti is even more extreme. Its *ciṟappuppāyiram* mentions five topics, but the text clearly deals with just two of them, namely *eḷuttu* and *col*.

This discrepancy was noted, for instance, by Beschi, who was of the opinion that Pavaṇanti did not complete the *Naṇṇūl* and that other authors composed other treatises on single topics (poetic matter, metrics and rhetorical figures) in order to create an exhaustive grammatical anthology.⁵⁷

Another source presents a different interpretation of the textual history of the *Naṇṇūl*. This is the commentary to one of the *taiṇiyaṅs* ('stray verses') added as an invocation to the *Periya Tirumōli* of Tirumaṅkai Ālvār,⁵⁸ which seems to be of the opinion that the *Naṇṇūl* was originally a full-fledged fivefold treatise, thus evidently assuming that part of it went lost. The *taiṇiyaṅ* reads:

நெஞ்சுக்கிருள்கடிதீபம் அடங்கா நெடும் பிறவி
நஞ்சுக்கு நல்லவமுதம் தமிழ்நன்னூல் துறைகள்
அஞ்சுக் கிலக்கியம் ஆரணசாரம் பரசமயப்
பஞ்சுக்கனலின்பொறி பரகாலன் பனுவல்களே⁵⁹

A torch that drives off the darkness/ignorance from the heart, good ambrosia against the poison (*nañcukku*) that is unending rebirth (*aṭaṅkā neṭum piṛati*, lit. non-shortening long birth), literature/exemplification of the five [that are] the topics (*turaiṅkaḷ*) of the good

⁵⁶ See Section 2.2.

⁵⁷ Beschi 1730, ed. Basse 1917, xii-xiii. This passage is discussed in detail in Section 4.

⁵⁸ As far as dating is concerned, not much can be said about this stray verse, apart from the fact that it most probably post-dates Tirumaṅkai Ālvār (ninth century?). I would like to thank G. Vijayavenugopal for bringing this source to my attention.

⁵⁹ *neñcukk' iruḷ kaṭi tīpam aṭaṅkā neṭum piṛati | nañcukku nalla-v-amutam taiṇi-ṇūl turaiṅkaḷ | añcukk' ilakkiyam āraṇa-cāram paracamaya-p | pañcukk' aṇaliṅ porī parakālaṅ paṇuvalkaḷ-ē* (Rāmanujācāryar and Muttukruṣṇanāyūtu 1904, 4).

treatise about Tamil,⁶⁰ the essence of the *Āraṇam* [i.e. the Veda], a spark of fire (*aṇalin porī*) that burns (lit. for) the cotton [thread] of other schools of thought (*paracamaya-p-paiṇcukku*): [these are] the treatises of Parakālan [i.e. Tirumaṅkai Ālvār].

The commentary to this verse composed by the Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar Piḷḷai Lōkam Jiyar (seventeenth century?) reads as follows.⁶¹

திராவிடசாஸ்த்ரம், எழுத்து, சொல், பொருள், யாப்பு, அலங்காரம் என்கிற விலக்கணமான பஞ்சலக்ஷணத்தோடே கூடியிறே யிருப்பது. அன்றிக்கே, தமிழுக்கு எழுத்து முதலான அஞ்சலக்ஷணத்தையும் அறுதியிடுவதான, நன்னூலென்று - ஒரு சாஸ்த்ரமுண்டு [...].⁶²

A Tamil treatise (*tirāviṭa-cāstram*) includes the diverse five grammatical topics (*lakṣaṇam*), namely *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu* and *alankāram*. In fact, there is one treatise called *Naṇṇūl* that fully treats (*arutiṭiṭuvat' āṇa*, lit. brings to completion) the five grammatical topics (*añcu-lakṣaṇattai-y-um*), [i.e.] *eḷuttu*, etc., for Tamil.

Interestingly, in this passage it is clear that Piḷḷailōkam Jiyar understands the compound *tamiḷ-ṇaṇ-ṇūl* as corresponding to Pavaṇanti's work, which is thus believed to have, at least originally, been a text that covered all five domains of grammar. On the other hand, the editor of the 1904 printed edition of the *Periya Tirumoli*, Māṭapūci Rāmānujāryar of Ciṅkapperumaḷkōyil, understood in his word-by-word glosses *ṇaṇ* as meaning *vilakṣaṇam* ('special') and *nūl* as part of the compound *tamiḷ-nūl-tuṛaikaḷ* meaning *trāviṭa-cāstra-mārkkam-āṇa* ('that is the way of the Tamil treatises').⁶³

60 Or of the Tamil *Naṇṇūl* (see below).

61 I would like to thank Erin McCann for helping me clarify the identity of Piḷḷailōkam Jiyar.

62 *tirāviṭa-cāstram*, *eḷuttu*, *col*, *poruḷ*, *yāppu*, *alankāram enkiṛa vilakṣaṇam āṇa pañca-lakṣaṇattōṭē kūṭi-y-iṛē y-iruppatu. aṇrikk'-ē, tamiḷukku eḷuttu mutal āṇa añcu-lakṣaṇattai-y-um arutiṭiṭuvataṇa, naṇṇūl eṇru - oru cāstram uṇṭu, [...]* (Rāmānujācāryar and Muttukruṣṇanāyātu 1904, 4–5).

63 Another treatise that is considered by some to have been in its original redaction a full-fledged fivefold grammar like the *Naṇṇūl* is the *Tamiḷneriṭiḷakkam*, which, as we know it, in fact deals only with the *akam* sub-topic of *poruḷ*. The earliest source I have been able to trace that argues in this direction is the introduction to a 1972 edition of the *Muttuvīriyam*: தமிழ்நெறி விளக்கம் என்பது முழுமையாகக் கிடைத்திலது (*tamiḷ-neri-ṭiḷakkam eṇpatu muḷumai-y-āka-k kiṭaittilatu*; 'the *Tamiḷneriṭiḷakkam* is not available in its entirety'; Cuntaramūrṭti 1972, 1). Unfortunately, the editor, Ku. Cuntaramūrṭti, does not bring any argument in support of his claim. However, I strongly suspect that there may be earlier sources that share the same idea about the history of the *Tamiḷneriṭiḷakkam*.

4 Corpora

The history of Tamil grammatical literature knows many texts that do not cover all the topics of the syllabus (or syllabi), but rather focus on one, or maybe two of them. For instance, a popular text such as the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* deals exclusively with *yāppu*, whereas the above-mentioned *Nannūl* describes the domains of *eḷuttu* and *col* only.

In this respect, it can be easily imagined that one can conjure up a corpus that selects enough of these texts to be able to cover the whole grammatical syllabus. And this seems to have in fact been the case. Evidence of this scholarly phenomenon are found in secondary sources, as well as in manuscripts and to a limited extent in printed books.⁶⁴

The oldest attestation of a grammatical corpus is given in Beschi's 1730 *Grammatica latino-tamulica ubi de elegantiori linguæ tamulicæ dialecto செந்தமிழ் [centamil] dicta*. In his introduction, Beschi provides a list of texts that are to be studied to engage with the five grammatical topics. These are the *Nannūl* for *eḷuttu* and *col*, the *Akapporuḷvīlakkam* for *poruḷ* (note that the text is not mentioned by its title but by the name of its author, namely Nāṅkavirāca Nampi), the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* for *yāppu* and the *Taṅṅiyalaṅkāram* for *aṇi*. It is interesting to note that, according to Beschi's understanding of the history of Tamil grammatical literature, these texts were composed one after the other in a multigenerational attempt at devising a complete fivefold grammar – the historiographical value of this observation being rather debatable:

The term Panjavilaccaṇam, which we here used, is the general expression for these five heads.

Pavanānti not having completed his design, his *Nannūl* comprises only the two first heads, viz. *Letters* and *Words*; on each of which he has treated at considerable length. On his death, a person named Nārccavirāja Nambi took up the subject and wrote on the third head, or *matter*.⁶⁵ A devotee called Amirdasāgaren (sea of nectar) composed a treatise on

⁶⁴ For the latter two categories, see Sections 5 and 6, respectively.

⁶⁵ From this passage one has the impression that Beschi thought that the *Akapporuḷvīlakkam* deals with the whole topic of *poruḷ*, including both its subtopics *akam* and *puṇam*. This not being the case since, as the title itself reveals, the text deals only with *akam*, one can assume that Beschi simply deemed unnecessary to provide more details about this grammar of *poruḷ* in the context of the introduction to his grammar of Tamil. Margherita Trento, who is currently engaged in the study of Beschi's *Tonnūlvīlakkam*, has confirmed to me (email exchange dated 05.10.2018) that a close reading of the *poruḷ* section of the text makes clear that Beschi was familiar, among other texts, with the *Akapporuḷvīlakkam*. I thus here correct an observation

the fourth head, or *Versification*, which he entitled *Cârigei*; and lastly, a person named Tandî wrote on the fifth head, or *Embellishment*: his work was called from him *Tandiyalancâram*; the word *Alancâram* being the same as *Añi*.⁶⁶

Interestingly, at the end of another of his works, namely the *Clavis humaniorum litterarum sublimioris tamulici idiomatis* composed in c. 1735,⁶⁷ Beschi mentions a corpus of seven grammatical works:

Dear reader, you now have that promised key (*clavem*) and thanks to that you have those five systems (*opes*) of the Tamil language unfolded. The Tamilians have transmitted diffusely and confusedly those rules, which I have transmitted, spread across seven works (*libris*): 1. *Naññûl*, 2. *Akapporuḷ*, 3. *Puṟapporuḷ*, 4. *Kârikai*, 5. *Yâpparuñkalam*, 6. *Pâṭṭiyal*, 7. *Tañṭiyalañkâram*.⁶⁸

There are two main points of interest in this passage that concern us. First, it explicitly mentions the *Puṟapporuḷvenṇpâmālai*, i.e. the treatise (with illustrative stanzas and commentary) that deals with the *puṟam* matters of *poruḷ*, the *akam* matters being dealt with in the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam*. Second, despite the fact that Beschi still openly connects this alternative corpus to the fivefold syllabus, which, as we have seen, he also presents in the *Tonñûlviḷakkam* and in the *Grammatica*, we can observe the inclusion of an unspecified *Pâṭṭiyal* text, which we can interpret as a hint towards (the emergence of?) a sixfold syllabus.

I made elsewhere (Buchholz and Ciotti 2017, 135 n. 21) on the fact that it could have seemed possible that Beschi was not familiar with the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam*, given for instance that this is the only work in the list to which he refers by mentioning the name of its author, rather than its title. The *Grammatica* and the *Tonñûlviḷakkam* were in fact completed in the same year 1730.

66 Tr. Babington (1822, x). The Latin original reads (Beschi 1730, ed. Basse 1917, xii-xiii): 'Hæc quinque sunt quæ பஞ்சவிலக்கணம் vocant. Ex his, dictus பவணந்தி in quo நன்னூல் de litteris ac vocibus tantum diffuse scripsit; coque morte absumpto, alter cui nomen நாராகவிராசநம்பி, extense quæ ad பொருள் spectant tradidit. அமிர்தசாகரன் autem, et ipse monachus, cujus nomen Ambrosiæ more interpretatur, de யாப்பு sive de versibus scripsit librum quem காரிகை nominavit. Tandem de அணி seu figuris egit quidam nomine தெண்டி, unde et liber vocatur தெண்டியலங்காரம், அலங்காரம் enim idem est ac அணி.'

67 The date of completion of the *Clavis* can only be approximated on the basis of indirect evidence, since the manuscript does not contain a date (see Chevillard 1992, 78) and it was only published for the first time in 1876. The *Clavis* is a sort of adaptation, rather than a direct translation, of the *Tonñûlviḷakkam* into Latin.

68 The Latin original reads (Beschi 1876, 159): 'Habes jam, amice lector, quam promiseram clavem, eaque reseratas habes quinque Tamulici sermonis opes. Has, quas tradidi regulas, Septem libris dispersas fuse et confuse tradidere Tamulenses: 1. நன்னூல், 2. அகப்பொருள், 3. புறப்பொருள், 4. காரிகை, 5. யாப்பருங்கலம், 6. பாட்டியல், 7. தண்டியலங்காரம்.' I would like to thank Margherita Trento for drawing my attention to this particular passage.

A little more than a century later, a document written by the well-known Tamil Sri Lankan scholar and reformer Ārumuka Nāvalar (1822–1879) in 1860 and entitled *Tamilppulamai* ('Knowledge of Tamil') is witness of a sixfold corpus.⁶⁹ Here, Ārumuka Nāvalar lays down a – rather ambitious – list of texts that students of Tamil, in particular those who adhere to Śaivism (*caiva-camayika!*), should be familiar with. As far as grammatical education is concerned, he mentions a basic knowledge (*ilakkaṇa-c-curukka[m]*), which should be attained by young pupils, followed by a first list of texts to be studied, presumably by intermediate students.⁷⁰ The list reads:

நன்னூல் விருத்தியுரை, அகப்பொருள்விளக்கவுரை, புறப்பொருள்வெண்பாமாலையுரை, காரிகையுரை, வெண்பாப்பாட்டியலுரை, தண்டியலங்காரவுரை என்னும் இலக்கணங்களைக் கற்றறிந்து, தாம் கற்ற இலக்கியங்களில் இவ்விலக்கணவிதிகளை அமைத்துப் பழகுக.⁷¹

'*Naṇṇūl* with *Viruttiyurai*, *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* with commentary, *Puṟapporuḷvenpāmālai* with commentary, [*Yāpparuṅkalak*]*kārikai* with commentary, *Venpāppāṭṭiyal* with commentary, *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* with commentary. Once these grammars are learned, they [i.e. the students] should practice applying the rules of these grammars in the literary works that they studied'.

A couple of aspects of this list are particularly important. First, it mentions not just the *Naṇṇūl*, but one of its commentaries, namely the *Naṇṇūl Viruttiyurai*.⁷² Second, contrary to Beschi's *Clavis* a specific Pāṭṭiyal work is mentioned, namely the *Venpāppāṭṭiyal* – curiously even before the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*.

⁶⁹ The document of Ārumuka Nāvalar that is here under investigation dates October–November 1860 (the original date is: Jovian year Rauttiri, month of Aippaci, Kali year 4962). It has been reprinted together with several other writings of Ārumuka Nāvalar in a volume entitled *Ārumukanāvalar Pirapantattiraṭṭu* and edited by Ta. Kailāca Piḷḷai of Nallūr, which I could access in its 1922 edition (pp. 25–28). I would like to thank Krissy Rogahn for drawing my attention to this particular source.

⁷⁰ Ārumuka Nāvalar 1860 [1922], 25.

⁷¹ *Naṇṇūl viruttii-urai, akapporuḷviḷakkav-urai, puṟapporuḷvenpāmālaiy-urai, kārikaiy-urai, venpāppāṭṭiyal-urai, taṇṭiyalaṅkārav-urai eṇṇum ilakkaṇaṅkaḷai-k kaṟṟarintu, tām kaṟṟa ilakkiyaṅkaḷil ivv-ilakkaṇa-vitikaḷai amaittu-p palakuka* (Ārumuka Nāvalar 1860 [1922], 25).

⁷² I assume that the *Naṇṇūl Viruttiyurai* in question is the one authored by Civañāṇa Cuvāmikal (alias Civañāṇa Muṇivar), possibly the most renowned Tamil intellectual of the eighteenth century, which is in turn a revised edition of the commentary by Caṅkaranamaccivāyar (seventeenth century). This text was in fact edited in printed form by Ārumuka Nāvalar himself a few years before in 1851 (according to Zvelebil 1995, 175; or in 1854 according to Ebeling 2009, 245). Alternatively, but less likely, Ārumuka Nāvalar could be referring to another *Naṇṇūl Viruttiyurai*, which was composed by the *ingenium perfervidum* (according to George Uglow Pope) of Mukavai Irāmānucakavirāyar and published in 1846 (see Zvelebil 1995, 266).

It is worth noting that a further list follows (Ārumuka Nāvalar 1860 [1922], 26) with more grammatical texts to study. However, these are clearly regarded as non-essential, since it is explicitly stated that students should engage with them only ‘if time allows’ (*kālam uḷatāyin*).⁷³

It should be remarked, however, that the lists of texts made by Beschi and Ārumuka Nāvalar may represent some sort of ideal corpora. The actual sequence in which those texts were taught and studied was most probably not always so linear, but might have had gaps or included other texts, too. This state of affairs can be deduced, for instance, from *En Carittiram*, the autobiography of U. Vē. Cāmiṇātaiyar. In Chapter 19, Cāmiṇātaiyar narrates that he learned the *Naṇṇūl* as well as part of the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* from Kastūri Aiyaṅkār. Later in Chapter 65 he devotes a few sections to reminisce about the grammars, among several other texts, that he studied under the guidance of Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar, his teacher at the *Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt* (‘monastery’) after the demise of his beloved teacher Miṇaṭcicutaram Piḷḷai in 1876. First, Cāmiṇātaiyar mentions his desire, at the time, to study the *Naṇṇūl Viruttiyurai* (see above). He also mentions that he studied the commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṇāvraiyaṇar to the *eḷuttu* and *col* sections of the *Tolkāppiyam*. In this respect, it must be said that, at that point of his life, Cāmiṇātaiyar was not anymore a beginner – he was, for instance, already given teaching duties at the *mutt*, while perfecting his studies. Thus, he reached a level of scholarship that allowed him to engage with more complex texts and study grammar through different sources at the same time. Furthermore, Cāmiṇātaiyar refers to the fact that he studied both the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* and the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. Finally, and most interestingly, he remarks that he studied the whole fivefold syllabus, but that, as far as *poruḷ* is concerned, on the one hand, he studied *akam* only through a commentary to a particular poem and not as a distinct topic and, on the other hand, that he did not study *puram* at all.⁷⁴

73 The list reads: *tolkāppiyam iḷampūraṇarurai, cēṇāvraiyaṇarurai, nacciṇārkkīṇiyarurai, pirayōkavivēkavurai, ilakkaṇakkotturai, tolkāppiyaccūttiravirutti, iraiyaṇārakapporuḷurai* (‘*Tolkāppiyam* with Iḷampūraṇar’s commentary, Cēṇāvraiyaṇar’s commentary, [and] Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary, *Pirayōkavivēkam* with commentary, *Ilakkaṇakkottu* with commentary, *Tolkāppiyaccūttiravirutti*, *Iraiyaṇārakapporuḷ* with commentary’).

74 எழுந்து, சொல், பொருள், யாப்பு, அணி என்னும் இலக்கண நூல்களைத்தான் பாடம் கேட்போம். அகப்பொருள் இலக்கணத்தைக் கேட்கவில்லை. திருச்சிறும்பலக் கோவையாரை உரையுடன் கேட்டபோது அவ்விலக்கியத்திலிருந்தே இலக்கணத்தை அறிந்துகொண்டோமே யன்றித் தனியே அகப்பொருள் இலக்கண நூலைப் பாடம் கேட்கவில்லை. அக்காலத்தில் அவ்விலக்கணத்தைத் தனியே படிப்பார் மிகக் குறைவு. பொருளிலக்கணத்தின் மற்றொரு பிரிவாகிய புறப்பொருளைப்பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சியே இல்லை (*Eḷuttu, col, poruḷ, yāppu, aṇi eṇṇum*

In conclusion, it would be hasty to cast a judgement over the corpora described by Beschi and Ārumuka Nāvalar, whether they represent an alternative model to the more well-rounded texts, such as the *Tolkāppiyam* or the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, or they are to be understood as complementary to them, possibly offering a more beginner friendly way into *ilakkaṇam*.⁷⁵ Certainly, selecting texts and building up a corpus offers a more flexible way of tackling the grammatical syllabus, given that one can add, subtract and substitute texts according to what, for instance, may have been local and personal educational strategies. Cāmiṇātaiyar's case further shows us how the engagement with such corpora may be an activity made over several years. In this respect, multiple-text and composite manuscripts are witnesses of such a malleable modularity.⁷⁶

ilakkaṇa nūlkaḷaittāṅ pāṭam kēṭpōm. Akapporuḷ ilakkaṇattaik kēṭkavillai. Tiruccirṛampalak kōvaiyārai uraiyuṭaṅ kēṭṭapōtu avvilakkiyattiliruntē ilakkaṇattai arintukoṅṭōmē yaṅṅrit taṅiyē akapporuḷ ilakkaṇa nūlaiṭ pāṭam kēṭkavillai. Akkālattil avvilakkaṇattait taṅiyē paṭippār mikak kuṅaiṅ. Poruḷilakkaṇattin maṅṅoru pīrīvākiya puṅṅapporuḷaiṅpaṅṅiya āṅycciyē illai, Kaliyānacuntaraiyar 1950, 560; 'Thus we studied all parts of grammar: phonetics and phonology, morphology, literary convention, prosody and rhetoric. However, we did not study grammars of love-poetry akam. While studying the commentary on Tiruccirṛampalak kōvaiyār, we learnt the akam conventions – grammar of love poetry. But we haven't studied any akam grammar separately. At that time there were only very few who would make a specific study of it. There was also no study at all of the other great division of the subject puṅṅapporuḷ of poruḷilakkaṇam – puṅṅam literary conventions'; tr. Zvelebil 1994, 281. *Sic rebus stantibus*, it is quite remarkable that Cāmiṇātaiyar will be the editor of the second ever printed edition of the *Puṅṅapporuḷveṅṅpāmālai* in 1895 – the first edition being that prepared by Tāṅṅavarāya Mutaliyār together with Mānēcar A. Muttuccāmiṅṅiḷḷai in 1835 (see below, Section 6). Another example of a flexible syllabus that includes some of the texts mentioned so far is that followed by Tāṅṅavarāya Mutaliyār (1790–1850), one of the most important Tamil headmasters at the Madras College of Fort St George (see Venkatachalapathy 2009, 120–121).

75 The latter interpretation seems to emerge from reading Ārumuka Nāvalar, who ascribes the *Tolkāppiyam*, among other works, to a later stage of education.

76 See Section 5 below. It goes without saying that flexibility can be reached also with a text that deals with all topics of grammar, simply by selecting only certain passages from it during, for instance, a teaching section. However, the intellectual impulse to realise a more stable source of knowledge, such as the corpora that are mentioned here, should not be underestimated.

5 Grammatical corpora as they emerge from manuscripts

In this section we will explore what could be labelled as the *material* realisation of the *ilakkaṇam* syllabi and corpora in multiple-text and composite manuscripts. In particular, we will investigate twenty such palm-leaf manuscripts that were selected on the basis of both direct inspection (either personal or through digital reproductions) and the information gathered from library catalogues.⁷⁷ Evidently, the list is not exhaustive.

The artefacts analysed here surely have their own idiosyncrasies – hardly ever two manuscripts are the same – but they do help outline certain patterns in the production of grammar-related manuscripts, in particular the extent to which the selection of the texts that they contain matches or approximates the classification of *ilakkaṇam* as three-, five-, or sixfold. The resulting grouping of the manuscripts should thus be understood as a way to highlight the interplay between syllabi, corpora and manuscripts, rather than the application of definitive descriptive categories.⁷⁸

Other patterns will also emerge such as, for instance, the apparent approach to *poruḷ*, which one may want to think of as complete only in those manuscripts that include copies of both the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* and the *Puṟapporuḷvenṇpāmālai*, i.e. the treatises that deal with the sub-topics of *akam* and *puṟam*, respectively. A further, particularly important pattern consists of the inclusion of a literary text along with a selection of grammatical treatises. Asking whether the literary texts are there to exemplify the teachings of theoretical texts, or the latter are there to help understand the former would probably be a pointless question. What is in fact evident is the educational purpose of these manuscripts, which showcase the synergy between grammar (*ilakkaṇam*) and literature (*ilakkiyam*), in particular the texts of the *Patineṅkiḷkkaṇakku* corpus and the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*.⁷⁹ Mastering both these domains used to be the

⁷⁷ In what follows, I will specify when the information concerning the description of a particular manuscript was obtained from the catalogues. In all other cases, even if catalogue descriptions are available, the information provided is based on my direct inspection.

⁷⁸ The main inspiration for such kind of investigation comes from the idea of applying the concept of multiple-text manuscripts as corpus-organisers laid out by Bausi 2010. See the introduction to the current subsection of this volume (in particular n. 17) for more details.

⁷⁹ The *Patineṅkiḷkkaṇakku* is a corpus of eighteen texts that deal with the topics of *akam*, *puṟam* and *niti* ('moral conduct'). The *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* is one of the Tamil *peruṅkāppiyams* ('great poems') narrating the life and adventures of prince Cīvaṅkaṇ.

bread and butter of a certain kind of traditional Tamil scholars at the time in which the manuscripts that we still have were in fact produced and used.⁸⁰

5.1 The threefold syllabus

So far, I could find just one manuscript that matches the threefold syllabus constituted by *eḷuttu*, *col* and *poruḷ*.

- MS no. 438 of the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library of Chennai (UVSL): *Naṇṇūl* (438, fols 1^r–21^v) and *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (438a, fols 22^r–44^r).

While inspecting the manuscript, I noticed that the left margin of fol. 22^r, l. 5–7 reads அகப்பொருண்மூலமும் புறப்பொருட்கிலக்கியத்தோடு வெண்பாமாலைமூலமும்⁸¹ ('the root-text of the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* and the root-text of the [*Purapporuḷ*]venṇpāmālai with the literature of the *poruḷ* topic of *puṇam*'. This seems to suggest that the original, but unfulfilled, intention of the scribe was that of copying the *Purapporuḷvenṇpāmālai*, too, so to encompass the full scope of *poruḷ*.⁸²

5.2 The fivefold syllabus

A first group of four manuscripts presents selections of texts that are very close to that recorded by Beschi's 1730 *Grammatica*,⁸³ thus arguably representing an understanding of *ilakkaṇam* as a fivefold field of study.

- MS no. 639 of the Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library of Thanjavur (SSMLT): *Naṇṇūl* (639a), *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (639b), *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (639c) and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (639d).⁸⁴

This is arguably the closest instantiation of Beschi's 1730 corpus that I came across.

- MS no. 67 of the UVSL: *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* with a commentary (67), *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (67b),⁸⁵ and *Naṇṇūl* (67c).⁸⁶

80 Concerning the education of Tamil scholars (*pulavars*), see e.g. Ebeling 2010, 37–55.

81 *akapporuṇmūlamum purapporuḷkilakkiyattōṭu venṇpāmālimūlamum*.

82 Note that *Purapporuḷkilakkiyattōṭu Venṇpāmālimūlam* is the title by which the *Purapporuḷvenṇpāmālai* is also mentioned in its first ever edition dated 1835 (see Section 6).

83 See Section 4.

84 Information obtained from the *Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library* (Olaganatha Pillay 1925, entries nos 90–93).

This manuscript, a composite one,⁸⁷ presents us with a deficient approximation of Beschi's 1730 corpus; only the *Akapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam* is missing.

- MS no. 601 of the UVSL: *Tirukkuraḷ* (601a, recorded in the catalogue as 601, fols 1^r-23^v), *Cūṭāmaṇinikaṇṭu* (601a2, not recorded in the catalogue, fols 23^v-62^v), *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (601b, fols 62^v-92^v), *Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai* (601c1, not recorded in the catalogue, fols 93^r-101^r), *Tirikaṭukam* (601c2, not recorded in the catalogue, fols 101^v-109^v), *Nālaṭiyār* (601d, fols 109^v-147^r), *Nanṇūḷ* (601e, fols 147^v-162^v) and *Akapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam* (601f, not recorded in catalogue, fol. 162^v, incomplete copy).⁸⁸

This manuscript is a deficient approximation of the corpus found in Beschi, given the absence of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. UVSL601 also contains a lexicographical work, namely the *Cūṭāmaṇinikaṇṭu* and, furthermore, three *Patīṇṅkīḷkkaṇakku* works dealing with ethics, namely the *Tirukkuraḷ*, the *Tirikaṭukam* and the *Nālaṭiyār*. In this respect, the manuscript represents a platform for the combination of grammars and literary texts, similarly to UVSL589 (see below).

- MSS nos 5549-5552 of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Chennai (GOML) constitute in fact a single codicological unit. They contain: *Nanṇūḷ* (5549, fols 1^r-3[.]^v),⁸⁹ *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (5550, fols 1^r-8^v), *Akapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam* (5551, fols 1^r-34^v) and an incomplete copy of the *Purapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam* (5552, fols 35^r-44^v), which stops abruptly in the middle of the text.

Although the number of texts in the manuscripts could have been originally larger, their extant corpus approximates the one presented by Beschi, with the exclusion of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. A peculiarity to be noted is the inclusion, instead, of the *Purapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam* along with the *Akapporuḷṅṅaḷakkam*, so that the whole topic of *poruḷ* is fully treated, since both *akam* and *puram* are covered.

⁸⁵ Notably, the left margin of fol. 168^r reads ஐந்தாவது | இலக்கணம் | யணி (*aintāvatu | ilakkaṇam | yaṇi*; 'aṇi is the fifth [topic of] grammar'). This points to the fact that the manuscript indeed suits the concept of a fivefold syllabus.

⁸⁶ The numbering of the texts follows *Descriptive Catalogue* 1956, entries nos 82, 119 and 177.

⁸⁷ The fact that UVSL67 is a composite can be inferred by the fact that the last text to be found in the manuscript, i.e. the *Nanṇūḷ*, was copied (from Aug. 1838 to Sept./Oct. 1838) before the copy of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* was completed (May 1839) and, furthermore, its foliation begins anew. I thank Marco Franceschini for checking with me the colophons of this manuscript.

⁸⁸ Cf. the information recorded in *Descriptive Catalogue* 1956, entries nos 118, 169, 252 and 287.

⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the margins of the manuscript are sometimes heavily damaged and the folio number of the last folio containing the end of the *Nanṇūḷ* can only be partially read.

- MS no. 589 of the UVSL is a rather unique artefact containing not only grammatical treatises, but also a large number of excerpts or full copies of numerous literary texts, such as the *akam* works of the *Paṭiṇeṅkiḷkkaṇakku* corpus, the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, the *Kallāṭam*, etc.⁹⁰ As far as grammatical texts are concerned, UVSL589 has copies of the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam*, the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* and the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. Furthermore, it quotes in three sections of the bundle stanzas from the *Purapporuḷvenpāmālai*, which is the only one among the *ilakkaṇam* texts to include stanzas that illustrate its rules.⁹¹ In this respect, not only this manuscript matches Beschi's 1730 corpus, but puts it in dialogue with literary texts.
- MS no. 13 of the Tavattiru Cāntaliṅka Aṭikaḷār Kalai Ariviyaḷ Tamilḷ Kallūri Nūlakam of Perur (TKNP): *Naṇṇūl* (fols 1–25), *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (fols 26–87) and *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (fols 88–102). To these three works, which show a continuous foliation, two more texts are added on unnumbered folios: *Nēminātam* (eight leaves) and *Kēcātipātavupamāṇam* (one leaf).

As the manuscript stands now, the topics of *eḷuttu* and *col* are reduplicated given the inclusion of both the *Naṇṇūl* and the *Nēminātam*. However, since the folios containing the latter text are unnumbered, it is plausible to assume that this was a later addition to the original plan of the manuscript. Similarly, the addition of the very short text called *Kēcātipātavupamāṇam* on an unnumbered folio suggests that at a certain point someone must have wanted to extend the scope of the content of the manuscript. The term *kēcātipātavupamāṇam* indicates a particular convention of describing a person from head to foot through a series of similes.⁹² Although this is a topic dealt with in some *Pāṭṭiyal* texts, there are a few texts specifically devoted to it, which secondary literature ascribes to the domain of *aṇi*. The text of the *Kēcātipātavupamāṇam* found in TKNP13 corresponds to the third section of one of these texts, namely the *Uvamāṇacaṅkirakam*.⁹³

⁹⁰ A detailed study of this manuscript is found in Buchholz and Ciotti 2017.

⁹¹ As for the other *ilakkaṇam* texts, illustrative stanzas are usually found in their commentaries.

⁹² See *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, *Poruḷatikāram*, *Pāṭṭiyal* 111 (Kōpālaiyar 1974, 253–254).

⁹³ See Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ 2009, 580–581.

5.3 The sixfold syllabus

Several manuscripts contain not only the texts mentioned in Beschi's 1730 *Grammatica*, but also at least one Pāṭṭiyal text. In this respect, these manuscripts are the best witnesses of the sixfold syllabus of Tamil *ilakkaṇam*, which, as it was shown before, primary sources only marginally refer to.⁹⁴ As a matter of fact, the selection of texts in these manuscripts can be compared to the kind of corpus mentioned by Beschi's c. 1735 *Clavis* and by Ārumuka Nāvalar's 1860 *Tamilppulamai*.⁹⁵

- MS no. 127 of the Madurai Tamil Sangam of Madurai has three sections. One contains in continuous foliation the texts mentioned in Beschi's 1730 corpus: *Nannūl* (fols 1^r–25^v), *Akapporuḷṭṭakkam* (fols 25^r–51^r, with double fols 25 and 39), *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (fols 51^r–58^v) and *Taṅṭiyalaṅkāram* (fols 59^r–67^v). Two more sections are added, containing respectively copies of the *Purapporuḷveṅpāmālai* (fols 1^r–7^r; only rules, no illustrative stanzas) and the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* (fols 1^r–?).⁹⁶

Interestingly, the first section of the manuscript ends with the following statement: எழுத்து - சொல் - பொருள் - யாப்பு - அலங்காரம் -  - இலக்கணமுற்று (fol. 67^v, lines 4–5) (*eluttu - col - poruḷ - yāppu - alaṅkāram - {āka} 5 - ilakkaṇamuṟṟum*; 'sounds/letters, words, poetic matter, metres, ornamentation: in total 5 - grammar is completed') (see Fig. 1).⁹⁷

Such a statement clearly shows that the original project of the manuscript was to represent a fivefold grammar through the corpus described by Beschi 1730. Furthermore, the addition at a later stage in the life of the manuscript of the *Purapporuḷveṅpāmālai* (only rules without illustrative stanzas) and the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* shows the influence of a broader understanding of the grammatical syllabus, with the inclusion of *puram* in order to complete *poruḷ* and a Pāṭṭiyal text in order to include *poruttam*.

- MS Indien no. 187 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris: *Akapporuḷṭṭakkam* (fols 56^r–66^v), *Purapporuḷveṅpāmālai* (fols 67^r–75^v; only

⁹⁴ See Section 2.4.

⁹⁵ See Section 4.

⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the section of the manuscript occupied by the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* is heavily damaged and only a few folio numbers are left to read (the highest digit being 11). It is thus unclear how many folios were used in total for reproducing this copy of the text.

⁹⁷ What is probably a second hand has added for each *ilakkaṇam* the number of rules found in its corresponding text, the total number of rules found in the five texts combined (the computation is however problematic) and an invocation.

rules, no illustrative stanzas), a text entitled *Alaṅkāraṇūl* (fols 76^r–82^r; in fact, corresponding to the *Taṅṭiyalaṅkāram*) and *Veṅṇāppāṭṭiyal* (fols 83^r–87^r).

This manuscript presents some remarkable codicological features. The recto of the first folio of the manuscript reads *tirukkurukūr - cuppiramaṇiya tiḱṣitar cetya pirayōkavivēkamūlamum uraiyum* ('text and commentary of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* composed by Cuppiramaṇiya Tiḱṣitar of Tirukkurukūr'). Since the first 55 leaves of the manuscript are missing, one can assume that it originally contained a copy of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* – a seventeenth century text that covers *col* in a Sanskritic fashion – that was removed from the bundle and never put back.⁹⁸ In this respect, most probably, the manuscript originally represented a deficient approximation of a corpus befitting the six-fold syllabus, with the curious inclusion of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, which does not deal with *eḷuttu*, and the odd exclusion of metrics.⁹⁹

- MS no. 6368 of the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library of Thiruvananthapuram (ORI): *Taṅṭiyalaṅkāram* (6368a, fols 1^r–75^v), *Tol-kāppiyam* (6368b, fols 77^r–98, removed), *Nēminātam* (6368c, fols 99^r–112^r), *Naṅṅūl* and *Veṅṇāppāṭṭiyal* (6368d and 6368e, fols 113^r–140^v),¹⁰⁰ and

⁹⁸ For a rough estimate of how many palm-leaves would a copy of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* occupy, one can compare MS no. 47 of the Centamiḷk Kallūri - Tamīḷc Caṅkam (Madurai), an incomplete copy containing 45 folios (c. 14 lines per folio) and MS no. 316 of the Tiruvāvaṭuturai Āṭiṇa Caracuvati Makāl Nūlkaḷ (Thiruvavadhurai), a complete copy of 34 folios (c. 16 lines per folio). The latter manuscript was presumably part of a multiple-text manuscript, since its foliation is 95^r–129^r. We can thus assume that the 55 missing leaves of Indien 187 (c. 14 lines per folio) could have contained an entire copy of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*.

⁹⁹ Notably, the manuscript contains a double foliation. This was probably added by a second hand: the numbers are, in fact, visibly larger than those of the first foliation, which are instead of the same size of the characters used to write the texts. According to this second foliation, the texts are distributed in the manuscript as follows: *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (fols 161^r–171^r), *Puṟapporuḷveṅṇāmālai* (fols 172^r–180^v), *Alaṅkāraṇūl* (fols 184^r–187^r) and *Veṅṇāppāṭṭiyal* (fols 188^r–192^r). If our estimate that the copy of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* occupied c. 50 folios (see n. 98 above), it is clear that, at a certain stage of the life of the manuscript, more or less a hundred more leaves were added to the bundle. Was a further codicological unit added and, consequently, all the leaves renumbered? Or, was the present bundle part of a multi-volume manuscript (possibly even from its original production plan)? Finally, was this extra section occupied by a text on metrics?

¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, due to time constraints at the time of my inspection of this manuscript (7 Sept. 2016), I could not carefully check on which folios the *Naṅṅūl* ends and the *Veṅṇāppāṭṭiyal* begins. The *Index of Tamil Manuscripts* (Padmakumari 2009) does not record this detail.

Akapporuḷvīlakkam (not mentioned in the *Index*, fols 141^r–143^v, probably incomplete).¹⁰¹

This manuscript presents the reduplication of *eḷuttu* and *col* with inclusion of both the *Nēminātam* and the *Nanṇūl*. It however excludes *yāppu*, unless of course one considers the section on metre within the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* – allegedly included in this artefact but missing at the time of my assessment (7 Sept. 2016).

- MS no. 636 of the SSMLT: *Nanṇūl* (636a), *Akapporuḷvīlakkam* (636b), two *Yāpparuṅkalams* (636c,d), *Citamparappāṭṭiyal* (636e), *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāra* (636f) and *Nālaṭiyār* (636g).¹⁰²

Note that in this manuscript the *Yāpparuṅkalam* is preferred to the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai*. Furthermore, note also the inclusion of the *Nālaṭiyār*, one of the ‘didactic’ poems of the *Paṭiṇeṅkīlkkāṇakku* corpus.

- MS no. 631 of the SSMLT: *Nanṇūl* (631a), *Irāiyanār Poruḷ* (631b),¹⁰³ *Akapporuḷvīlakkam* (631c), *Yāpparuṅkalam* (631d), *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* (631e), *Citamparappāṭṭiyal* (631f), *Veṅpāppāṭṭiyal* (631g), *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (631h), *Tolkāppiyam* (631i), *Nēminātam* (631j) and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (631k).¹⁰⁴

This manuscript represents an anthology of a good deal of the grammatical literature in Tamil with 11 grammatical works. In addition, it also contains a copy of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, which however seems to be contained in a different codicological unit. If confirmed, this feature would imply that SSMLT631 is a composite manuscript and not a multiple-text one.

- MS no. 40 of the UVSL: *Taṅcai-vāṇaṅ-kōvai* (40), *Tēvāram-akattiyar-tirattu* (40b), *Varaiyaruttappāṭṭiyal* (40c), *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (40d), *Veṅpāppāṭṭiyal* (40e), *Akāratinikaṇṭu* (40f), *Irattinaṅcurukkam* (40g) and *Nēminātam* (40h).¹⁰⁵

In this manuscript, two literary works, namely the *Taṅcai-vāṇaṅ-kōvai* and the *Tēvāram-akattiyar-tirattu*, are accompanied by a series of grammars that cover all fields of the sixfold syllabus, with the odd exclusion of *yāppu*.

101 The numbering of the texts follows the *Index of Tamil Manuscripts* (Padmakumari 2009, entries nos 1632, 2085, 2152, 2289 and 3248).

102 Information obtained from the *Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* (Olaganatha Pillay 1925, entries nos 83–89).

103 Concerning the unique edition of the *Irāiyanār Poruḷ* (aka *Irāiyanār Akapporuḷ*) found in this manuscript, see Wilden in this volume.

104 Information obtained from the *Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* (Olaganatha Pillay 1925, entries nos 72–82).

105 Information obtained from *Descriptive Catalogue* 1956, entries nos 3, 40, 80, 140, 181 and 186, 1961, entry no. 924 and 1962, entry no. 1399.

Noteworthy is the presence of the *Irattiṇaccurukkam*, a text possibly by Pukaḷēnti (twelfth–thirteenth century?) or Villiputtūr Vēṅkaṭaiyar (unknown date)¹⁰⁶ that deals with similes. This is one of those few short treatises devoted to *aṇi* that were mentioned above while discussing manuscript TKNP13 and its copy of the *Kēcātipātavupamāṇam*. Furthermore, UVSL40 also contains a lexicon, entitled *Akāratinikaṇṭu*. Lexicons are as essential to the understanding of literature as grammars are, but are seldom included in multiple-text manuscripts, possibly due to their bulkiness.

5.4 Alternative projects

A few manuscripts contain selections of texts in which more than two fields are left uncovered and no pattern seems to emerge that conforms to those outlined in the previous sections. Hence, these artefacts were probably produced in order to meet scholarly needs that, for the time being, cannot be fully ascertained. For instance, they may have been simply produced to fill the gaps in the collection of manuscripts of certain libraries.

En passant, it is worth noting that the *Nēminātam* seems to have been chosen in place of the *Naṇṇūl* in three occurrences, namely UVSL40, SSMLT645 and ORI6361, and the *Yāpparuṅkalam* in place of the *Yapparuṅgalakkārikai* in GOML R 1200, SSMLT170 and SSMLT645 (cf. SSMLT636 in Section 5.3).

– MS no. 45 of the UVSL: *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (45) and *Puṟapporuḷvenṇpāmālai* (45a).¹⁰⁷

This manuscript has a clear focus on the topic of *poruḷ*.

– MS no. 4/34 of the TKNP: *Akapporuḷviḷakkam* (fols 1r–23r) and *Taṅṭiyalaṅkāram* (fols 24r–25v; incomplete).

– MS no. R1200 of the GOML: *Yapparuṅgalakkārikai* with commentary (1200a) and *Nitappāṭṭiyal* (1200b).¹⁰⁸

– MS no. 170 of the SSMLT: *Taṅṭiyalaṅkāram* (170a), *Yāpparuṅkalam* (170b) and *Kucalavar Katai* (170c).¹⁰⁹

– MS no. 645 of the SSMLT: *Veṇṇpāppāṭṭiyal* with commentary (645a), *Yāpparuṅkalam* (645b) and *Nēminātam* with commentary (645c).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ See *Descriptive Catalogue* 1956, 57.

¹⁰⁷ The numbering of the texts follows *Descriptive Catalogue* 1956, entries nos 31 and 155.

¹⁰⁸ Information obtained from *A Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* (Bahadur and Chandrasekharan 1949, 2133–2134).

¹⁰⁹ Information obtained from the *Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* (Olaganatha Pillay 1925, entries nos 114–116).

- MS no. 8068 of the ORI: *Yapparuṅgalakkārikai* (8068), a *tuti* ('eulogy') entitled *Pañcātaccappirakaraṇam* (8068a) and *Naṅṅūl Eluttatikāram (kaṅṅikai)* (8068b).¹¹¹
- MS no. 6361 of the ORI: *Nēminātam* with commentary (6361a) and *Veṅṅāppāṭṭiyal* (6361b).¹¹²

6 Multiple-text printed books

At the time when most of the manuscripts discussed in the previous section were produced, print culture was consolidating its presence in the Tamil scholarly world. A few early printed books seem to be the result of an attempt at assembling corpora that represent specific grammatical syllabi.

One such book is the *Ilakkaṅappañcakaṅkaḷil Naṅṅūnmūlamum Akapporuṅmūlamum Puṟapporuṅkilakkiyattōṭu Veṅṅāmālamūlamum* published in 1835 by Tāṅṅavarāya Mutaliyār together with Mānēcar A. Muttuccāmiṅṅai – who, at different times, will both hold the position of head Tamil pundit at College of Fort St. George of Madras/Chennai.¹¹³ The title of this publication interestingly seems to indicate that the editors made a conscious choice in assembling a selection of texts that represented a threefold understanding of *ilakkaṅam*, i.e. the one including *eḷuttu*, *col* and *poruḷ* (*akam* as well as *puṟam*), but aware that this represents a subset of a fivefold grammar, which is explicitly mentioned in the title (*ilakkaṅappañcakaṅkaḷil* 'among the five grammars').

Another book entitled *Naṅṅūl mūlam, Nampī Akapporuḷ mūlam, Puṟapporuḷ Veṅṅā Mālai mūlam, Yāpparuṅkalam mūlam, Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai mūlam, Taṅṅiyalaṅkāram mūlam* and edited by one Naraciṅkapuram Vīrācāmi Mutaliyār in 1864 seems to have contained copies of the six grammars mentioned in the title itself.¹¹⁴ Here all topics of fivefold *ilakkaṅam* are covered through the texts

¹¹⁰ Information obtained from the *Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* (Olaganatha Pillay 1925, entries nso 99–101).

¹¹¹ Information obtained from the *Index of Tamil Manuscripts* (Padmakumari 2009, entries nos 2159, 2323 and 3000).

¹¹² Information obtained from the *Index of Tamil Manuscripts* (Padmakumari 2009, entries nos 2288 and 3249).

¹¹³ I consulted a copy at the Roja Muthiah Research Library of Chennai, item no. 100503. Another copy is also held at the British Library according to the online catalogue. About the two editors, see, for instance, Zvelebil 1992, 159 n. 36 and Blackburn 2003, 96–102.

¹¹⁴ I was unable to find a record of any library holding a copy of this book. Thus, I completely rely upon the information provided about it by Vēṅkaṅcāmi 1962, 151.

that we know from Beschi's 1730 list, with the peculiarity that the topic of *yāppu* is treated twice with inclusion not only of the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*, but also of the *Yāpparuṅkalam*.

Interestingly, a major discrepancy between manuscripts and printed books that have been taken here into consideration seems to be the fact that the latter do not include Pāṭṭiyal texts.

7 Towards an integrated approach to the study of Tamil grammar

Studying the interplay between syllabi, corpora and manuscripts – through the combination of philological and codicological observations – has the potential to help us reach a better understanding of premodern and early-modern Tamil scholarship. In the previous sections, I have tried to specifically apply this method to the study of *ilakkaṇam*, the traditional field of Tamil grammar.

What has emerged is that knowing the history of *ilakkaṇam* as it is represented in the primary sources allows us to make sense of certain collections of texts found in multiple-text and composite manuscripts and, at the same time, investigating manuscripts allows us to obtain a more precise picture of the history of Tamil grammar. In this respect, one of the most interesting results of the present perusal is that it was possible to trace the marked emergence of a sixfold syllabus during the nineteenth century – the century in which most of the extant manuscripts were produced, thus including those examined in this article. This syllabus and its corpus, which saw the inclusion of Pāṭṭiyal texts, were very rarely referred to in the literature, but are manifest in the selection of texts of several manuscripts.¹¹⁵

Notably, the first comprehensive grammatical treatise to include the topics that were found in Pāṭṭiyal texts is the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, which places it as a sub-topic of its section on *poruḷ*. However, these topics were not included in the following comprehensive grammars, i.e. the *Toṇṇūlvilakkam* of C. G. Beschi (1730), the *Cuvāminātam* of Cuvāmikavirāyar (nineteenth century) and the *Muttuvīriyam* of Muttuvīra Upāṭṭiyāyar (nineteenth century). We can thus

115 See Section 5.3.

observe a divergence in the syllabus between these treatises and certain manuscripts that include *Pāṭṭiyal* texts in their selection of texts.¹¹⁶

On a more general level, a consideration that emerges from the materials that have been here taken under analysis pertains to the way one may narrate the history of Tamil grammar, in particular the way in which grammatical knowledge was passed down through generations. A possible historiography would see in the field of *ilakkaṇam* a constant tension between the composition of comprehensive treatises that aimed at covering the whole gamut of grammatical topics – whether they were thought to be three, five, or else – and corpora of treatises dealing in-depth with one or maximum two topics at the time. Such a view seems to be supported by certain multiple-text and composite manuscripts, which just contain the ‘monographic’ treatises that we find, for instance, in the list of texts compiled by Beschi in his 1730 *Grammatica*.¹¹⁷ However, there are also other manuscripts, namely ORI6368 and SSMLT631, that include both the ‘monographic’ treatises and, for instance, copies of the *Tolkāppiyam*, which steadily enjoyed the status of the paragon of Tamil grammars.¹¹⁸

This latter configuration clearly points to the direction that already emerged, for instance, from Cāmiṇātaiyar’s autobiography, where a flexible account of the way in which grammatical treatises were studied and taught is depicted.¹¹⁹ Scholars were freely roaming through all available grammars, according to their level of proficiency and competence in the field of *cen-tamiḷ* (‘Classical Tamil’), thus in fact contributing to the constant reshaping of the boundaries of both syllabi and corpora. At the same time, one should not forget the obvious, i.e. that manuscript hardly existed in isolation, but were parts of larger collections, where, it is not hard to imagine, a manuscript containing the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Akapporuḷviḷakkam*, the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai* and the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* – or a manuscript containing just a selection of them¹²⁰ – lied next to another manuscript containing, for instance, a copy of the *Tolkāppiyam*.

116 It is also interesting to observe the great variety in the selection of *Pāṭṭiyals* that are copied in the manuscripts. None in particular seems in fact to have emerged as the most popular or authoritative.

117 See Section 5.2.

118 This was not the case, for instance, for the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, which was harshly criticised by Civaṇṇa Cuvāmikal in his *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkaccuṟāvaḷi* (‘Cyclone on the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*’). Is it just a case that so far we could not find any multiple-text or composite manuscripts including a copy of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*?

119 See Section 4.

120 See Section 5.

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Abbreviations

GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Chennai).
ORI	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library (Thiruvananthapuram).
SSMLT	Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library (Thanjavur).
TKNP	Tavattiru Cāntaliṅka Aṭikaḷār Kalai Ariviyal Tamiḷk Kallūri Nūlakam (Perur).
UVSL	U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library (Chennai).

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Fig. 1: MS no. 127 of the Madurai Tamil Sangam (fol. 67v, lines 4–5) reads: *eḷuttu - col - poruḷ - yāppu - alaṅkāram - {āka} 5 - ilakkaṇamurum*.

Alessandro Gori

Law Syllabi and Text Production among Šāfi‘ite Ethiopian Muslims: A Short Note on Some Manuscripts of al-Nawawī’s *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn*

Abstract: One of the most powerful factors triggering the production and diffusion of manuscripts among the Ethiopian Muslim communities is the necessity of providing teachers and students with texts to be studied at the traditional learning institutions. In the present paper I will exemplify this connection by analysing the way the *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn* by Nawawī (d. 1277), a renowned handbook used in the Ethiopian syllabus for advanced students of Islamic law, is copied and circulated. Differently from what happens in other areas of the Muslim world, in Ethiopia the text is mostly distributed into four codices, each of which corresponds to a branch of the law, which is studied at different stages of the local curriculum.

1 Preliminary remarks: the school of al-Šāfi‘ī and the Horn of Africa

The legal school of al-Šāfi‘ī (Ar. *al-maḏhab al-šāfi‘ī/al-šāfi‘iyya*) is one of four legal schools (*maḏhab*) unanimously regarded by all Sunni Muslims as giving an equally acceptable interpretation of Islamic law.¹ Initiated by Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 820), a former disciple of Mālik b. Anas (the founder of the eponymous Mālikite school) and of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Šaybanī (a student of Abū

¹ I have tried to avoid the word ‘orthodox’ here as it is extremely problematic to define an Islamic interpretative ‘orthodoxy’. Despite their being at variance on many important issues, Šāfi‘ism and the three other schools (the Ḥanafī, the Mālikī and the Ḥanbalī) all recognise each other as fully legitimate ways of expounding the sources of law and make up the bulk of traditional Islamic Sunnite jurisprudence. For a general description of Islamic law and its four Sunni schools, see the handbook by Hallaq published in 2009.

Ḥanifa's, the founder of the Ḥanafī school), it is considered to be the third most widespread school of law in the Sunni world; it is well established in Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, the Kurdish regions of the Middle East, Dagestan, Chechenia and Ingushetia, Hijaz, Yemen, the Horn of Africa, the whole Swahili coast, the Maldives, coastal areas of India and Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines.

As for the Ethiopian region, it can be reasonably hypothesised that since at least the second half of the eighteenth century, the law school of al-Šāfi'ī has been overwhelmingly strong in the hinterland of central, eastern and southern Ethiopia. Nowadays it is possibly the most widespread *maḏhab* in the country, representing the absolute majority in the southern and eastern regions and sharing Islamic law instruction and practice with the Ḥanafite school in the central and northern areas.

The history of the arrival and diffusion of Šāfi'ism in the Horn of Africa is still practically unknown. The overall picture that has been gleaned so far from the few scattered sources that are available is that the Šāfi'ites eventually managed to impose themselves at the expense of the school named after Abū Ḥanifa, which was originally the most popular *maḏhab* in the whole area.

In the 1330s, the classical Arabic geographer and historian Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umārī (d. 1349) compiled a vivid description of the living conditions of Ethiopian Muslims, collecting information in Cairo from the renowned Ḥanafī law scholar (*faqīh*) of Zayla'² Ğamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Zayla'ī (d. 1360)³ and a group of other jurists from the same geographical area,⁴ from 'Abd al-Mu'min,⁵ an otherwise unknown *šayḥ*, and from

² Zayla' is an ancient port city on the coast of the present-day republic of Somaliland. In classical Arabic sources, the relation adjective (Ar. *nisba*) al-Zayla'ī is commonly used to refer to people who not only come from the city itself, but from its hinterland as well (see the introductory article in Gori 2014).

³ Ğamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Zayla'ī became extremely famous in the Islamic world as the author of two huge collections of prophetic sayings, one extracted from the handbook of law according to the Ḥanafī school, *al-Hidāya* by al-Marġinānī, and the second from the commentary on the Qur'an by al-Zamaḥšarī.

⁴ It is interesting to note that *faqīh* Ğamāl al-Dīn was a Ḥanafite and a disciple of another renowned Hanafī law expert originating from the city of Zayla' and living in Cairo, Faḥr al-Dīn Uṭmān b. 'Alī al-Zayla'ī (d. 1342; the author of the *Tabyīn al-ḥaqā'iq*, a commentary on the handbook of law according to the Hanafī school, *Kanz al-daqa'iq* by al-Nasafī). The presence of several learned Hanafī men from the Horn of Africa in Cairo is in itself proof of the strength of that law school in the north-east African region in the middle of the fourteenth century.

⁵ In the last edition of the Arabic text of al-'Umārī's *Masālik* (2010), this personage is identified by the editor as Šafi' al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥanbalī al-Baġdādī (d. 1338), a

a merchant called *al-ḥāğğ* Farağ al-Fuwwī (or al-Fawwī). The data was used by the author to write the eighth chapter of his encyclopaedic work *Masālik al-abšār fī mamālik al-amšār*, which was intended as a handbook for educating the officials of the Mamlūk chancellery.⁶ According to the data provided by al-‘Umarī, Ethiopian Muslims were under the administration of seven different kingdoms (*mamālik*): the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ifat, the biggest and strongest of them, were mostly Šāfi‘is. In the six remaining kingdoms, Ḥanafites were in the majority.

It is possible to compare this data with what the legal expert of the Ḥanafi school Ḥāmid b. Šiddīq of Harar (one of the main Islamic centres of education in the Horn of Africa) wrote in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁷ Apparently, in the course of four centuries, the situation described by al-‘Umarī had changed radically (and dramatically): the Ethiopian jurist lamented that his school was disappearing from the cultural and social landscape of his city and Šāfi‘ites had become the strongest group.⁸ In fact, he said, Harar was almost entirely Šāfi‘ite at the time of writing and Ḥanafism had practically disappeared.⁹

Combining these two sources, we can therefore surmise that Šāfi‘ism slowly established itself as the leading school of law in eastern and southern Ethiopia between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century while Ḥanafism slowly lost its influence and eventually only survived as a tiny minority stream.¹⁰

On the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, this process of change was made more complicated by the arrival of the Ottomans in the middle of the sixteenth century. Ḥanafism was always the law school officially supported by the Sublime Porte and wherever the Ottomans managed to extend their influence, they fostered its expansion.¹¹ The Horn of Africa was no exception here: starting from the shores of contemporary Eritrea and Djibouti, Ḥanafism spread into the

representative of the Ḥanbalī school of law and author of an abridged version of the geographical dictionary of Yāqūt. No reference or source is provided to justify the identification, though, which thus remains a tentative one.

6 A French translation of Chapter 8 of al-‘Umarī’s *Masālik* was produced by the famous Arabist Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927).

7 For more on *faqīh* Ḥāmid, see the general article in Wagner 2005.

8 On the position of the Ḥanafite Ḥāmid against the Šāfi‘ites, see Brunschvig 1974 (in particular 452–454).

9 See Cerulli 1936, 45 on this point; at the time the book was published, only one area of the city was still following the Ḥanafi school.

10 The chronology and the general picture is different in Somalia, where there is no hint of Ḥanafism’s earlier supremacy over Šāfi‘ism.

11 Peters 2005, 147–158.

Ethiopian hinterland and highlands thanks to the Ottomans. However, it is still unclear whether the strong presence of Ḥanafism in Eritrea, northern Ethiopia and the Awsa region was caused by this later wave of diffusion facilitated by the Ottomans or it was a well-preserved remnant of the older Ḥanafite establishments mentioned by al-ʿUmarī in the fourteenth century. A third possible explanation (and probably the most plausible one) is that the Ḥanafite majority in those areas is due to a combination of both elements: some well-rooted remnants of an older presence resisted the expansion of Šāfiʿism and were subsequently revived by the Ottoman influence, enabling them to survive and flourish to this day.

The reasons why Ḥanafism lost ground in favour of Šāfiʿism in most of the Ethiopian Muslim communities are impossible to discover in any detail. There are, however, a number of sources that provide us with a vivid account of how the shift of schools generally took place.

A tale preserved in one of the hagiographies of the renowned holy man *šayḥ* Ḥusayn of Bale, a southern region of Ethiopia, who possibly lived in the thirteenth century,¹² shows a Ḥanafite legal expert disputing with the *šayḥ*, who was a Šāfiʿite, on the legal status of sorghum/*tef* beer (Arabic *maḍar*; Oromo *farso*, Amharic *ṭälla*). The Ḥanafite *faqīh* considers the beverage licit, whereas *šayḥ* Ḥusayn strongly forbids its usage and in the end manages to prove that his legal opinion is the best.¹³

Moreover, the same text recounts how *faqīh* Mūsā al-Muqriʿ, a devotee of *šayḥ* Ḥusayn, eventually came back to Ethiopia from Yemen, where he had completed his education under the guidance of the famous law experts Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1298) and Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ʿUḡayl (d. 1291). The learned Ethiopian man took with him knowledge of the *Tanbih* and the *Muḥaḍḍab*, two fundamental books of the Šāfiʿite *maḍhab* authored by the renowned Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Širāzī (d. 1083).¹⁴ Thanks to the strong support he received from *šayḥ* Ḥusayn, *faqīh* Mūsā managed to get these two ‘new’ handbooks to replace the ‘Book of al-Ḍumayrī’, which was previously used in the region as a reference work for legal education.¹⁵

This second hagiographical story confirms that a decisive push for the arrival and the further spread of Šāfiʿism in Ethiopia (as elsewhere in the Horn of Africa)

¹² See Gori 1996 for an introductory description of the texts and the holy man.

¹³ See Cerulli 1938, 8–10 for the full story.

¹⁴ It is not clear from the text whether the Ethiopian student in Yemen also brought manuscript copies of the two books by al-Širāzī with him or simply obtained permission (*iğāza*) to teach them orally after having learnt them from his own teacher.

¹⁵ See Cerulli 1938, 17–19 and Gori 1996, 60–62 for the tale. The ‘Book of al-Ḍumayrī’ remains impossible to identify, unfortunately.

was given by the learning centres of the school in Yemen. Many foreign students went to central Yemen and Haḍramawt in order to study Šāfi'ite legal interpretation, in particular the city of Zabīd in the former region and the town of Bayt al-Faqīh in the case of the above-mentioned tale, where Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. 'Uḡayl was based. The cities of Tarim and Say'ūn in the latter region were also popular destinations.¹⁶

In terms of the early modern era, it is a well-known fact that Ethiopian and Somali scholars went to study in northern Yemen and Haḍramawt and then proceeded to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. Coming back to their native regions, they spread or strengthened Šāfi'ism, teaching all the main reference texts of the school the way they had learnt them abroad. Yemeni scholars came to Ethiopia together with traders in order to teach (sometimes it is impossible to distinguish between the two). Harar was a particularly popular goal. Some of them settled in the Muslim areas of the country and definitively anchored Šāfi'ism in the regional culture.¹⁷

Finally, in very general terms, apart from the fact that the legal theory that the Šāfi'ite school developed was possibly more attractive than the one of other schools, the capability to organise and transmit the *maḍhab's* corpus of knowledge presumably played a role in making the 'new' school more appealing than the older one(s). In addition, teaching and learning methodologies may have facilitated the transfer of students and teachers from one school to the other. This idea needs to be scrutinised further in the light of a comparative analysis of each school's organisational structure and its capability to foster the spread of its syllabus, however.¹⁸

16 See Cerulli 1938, 26 on this point. The Swahili coast and Indonesia are two more regions of the Islamic world that present the same picture as the Horn of Africa: in both those areas, it was the Ḥaḍramī scholarly and commercial diaspora that caused the first introduction and further diffusion of the Šāfi'ite school of law.

17 As for Ethiopia, see the case of *mufī* Dāwūd b. Abī Bakr (1724–1819), for example, as well as that of *šayḥ* 'Umar al-Dabarzītī, Ibrāhīm al-Ifātī and others mentioned in 'Abdallāh Ḥiḍr 2014, 144–145. A learned Yemenite man in Ethiopia in 1249–1255 is discussed in Cerulli 1943, 276–278.

18 A very general description of the possible reasons for Šāfi'ism spreading in Yemen at the expense of Ḥanafism and Mālikism can be found in Bāḍib 2009, 184–187.

2 The transmission of knowledge within the Šāfi'ite school and the *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn*

Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn wa-'umdat al-muftīn fī fiqh maḍhab al-imām al-Šāfi'ī (referred to in short as *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn* or even *Minhāğ tout-court*)¹⁹ is a text for the advanced study of Islamic law according to the exegetical principles of the Šāfi'ite school authored by the famous and revered Syrian scholar Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. Šaraf al-Nawawī (d. 1277) and possibly completed in 669 AH / 1270–1271 CE.²⁰ The importance of the *Minhāğ* in the Šāfi'ite *maḍhab* should not be underestimated.

While masterfully analysing the ways of transmission of the traditional corpus of knowledge in the Šāfi'ite school,²¹ Eduard Sachau pointed out five text constellations that became the pivots around which the school's teaching and learning were structured. The fourth text cluster he described is one formed around the *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn*.

The 'Minhāğ gruppe', as Sachau called it,²² consists of the text of al-Nawawī's work and some of its commentaries, 'super-commentaries' and glosses. Sachau divided it into two subgroups: firstly, the one composed of (a) *Šarḥ al-minhāğ* by Zakariyā' al-Anšārī (d. 1520), (b) *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāğ* by Ibn Ḥağar al-Haytamī (d. 1566) and (c) *Nihāyat al-muḥtāğ* by al-Ramlī (d. 1596),²³ and secondly, the one composed by (a) the *Manhağ al-ṭullāb*, an abridged version of the *Minhāğ* by Zakariyā' al-Anšārī, (b) the glosses of Sulaymān al-Bağirmī (d. 1806) on this text (*Ḥāšiyat al-Bağirmī 'alā Manhağ al-ṭullāb*), (c) the glosses of Nūr al-Din 'Alī al-Šabarāmlisī (d. 1676) on Zakariyā' al-Anšārī's commentary on the *Minhāğ*

19 One possible English translation of the title is 'The way for the students and the pillar for the muftis concerning the legal practice of the school of *imām al-Šāfi'ī*'. Significantly, the word *minhāğ* has come to mean 'course of study' or 'academic programme' in Modern Standard Arabic.

20 On the personality and work of al-Nawawī, see the introductory article by Wilhelm Heffening 1993. The learned man acquired widespread fame throughout the Islamic world thanks to his collection of 'Forty ḥadīṡ' (*al-Arba'in al-nawawiyya*) and his devotional/pietistic *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* ('The gardens of the righteous', also a selection of sayings by the Prophet).

21 Sachau 1897, XIX–XXIV.

22 Sachau 1897, XXII–XXIV.

23 Some Arabic sources from Yemen (e.g. al-Saqqāf *s.a.*, 118–119) point to the tendency of the Šāfi'ites of Egypt to prefer the *Nihāya* by al-Ramlī to the *Tuḥfa* by al-Haytamī, which is considered more reliable by the Šāfi'ite scholars of Ḥaḍramawt, Syria, the Kurdish region, Daghestan and most of Yemen and Ḥiğāz.

(*Ḥāšiyat al-Šabarāmlisī 'alā šarḥ al-Minhāğ*) and (d) Zakariyā' al-Anšārī's commentary on his *Manhağ al-ṭullāb* (entitled *Faṭḥ al-Wahhāb bi-šarḥ Manhağ al-ṭullāb*).

In a very detailed and critical review of Sachau's volume on Šāfi'ism he wrote in 1898 (and published a year later), Snouck Hurgronje²⁴ strongly underlined the special position that the '*Minhāğ* group' occupies among the handbooks of the Šāfi'ite school. In particular, al-Nawawī's text gained unchallenged prestige: via the *al-Muḥarrar* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāfi'ī (d. 1226), al-Ġazzālī's (d. 1111) *al-Wağiz* and the *Nihāyat al-maṭlab* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ġuwaynī (1085), the teachings of the *Minhāğ* reach the very source of Šāfi'ite tradition, i.e. the *Muḥtaṣar al-Muzanī*, authored by one the most outstanding direct disciples of al-Šāfi'ī, the eponymous founder of the school.²⁵

The exceptional importance of the *Minhāğ* in the school of al-Šāfi'ī is confirmed by the fact that the title is mentioned as one of the main reference books of the *maḏhab* all over the Islamic world. Practitioners of law and students at higher-level educational institutions have recourse to the *Minhāğ* scholars. The text is used by advanced students who have already gone through simpler or introductory handbooks, for example in Somalia²⁶ and Ethiopia,²⁷ and it is considered one of the fundamental law texts in Indonesia²⁸ and East Africa as well.²⁹

Unfortunately, no comprehensive survey of the manuscript tradition of the *Minhāğ* has been conducted so far and such a study would go well beyond the scope of the present paper. I am therefore obliged to limit myself to making some very general observations on this point.

Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (GAL¹) and its supplement volumes (GAL S) list a total of 22 manuscripts of al-Nawawī's work scattered over many different countries in the Islamic world and various European

²⁴ Snouck Hurgronje 1899, 144.

²⁵ Earlier references to a direct connection between al-Nawawī's *Minhāğ* and the *Muḥtaṣar* al-Buwayṭī (d. 846; another of al-Šāfi'ī's direct disciples) that were particularly contained in nineteenth-century European sources need to be reassessed in light of the later publication (1998) of the *Muḥtaṣar* that al-Muzanī wrote (d. 877–8).

²⁶ See al-Šumālī 2015, 243–244.

²⁷ Hussein Ahmed 1988, 94–106 (especially 100).

²⁸ Van den Berg 1882, viii. The importance of al-Nawawī's text is the reason why the Dutch colonial administration in Indonesia decided to publish it and have it translated into French; van Bruinessen 1990, 226–269.

²⁹ Becker 1911, 1–48 (particularly 21–22 here); Farsy 1989, *passim*; Loimeier 2009, 179, 182, 208 confirms that the *Minhāğ* is still being taught as a major reference text in twenty-first-century Zanzibar.

libraries as well.³⁰ Obviously, though, this number should only be considered a vague hint of the text's diffusion among Muslim scholars; an updated analysis of all the catalogues and manuscript collections now available could easily multiply this figure a number of times.

A cursory look at the description of some of the known codices of the work shows that the text was normally copied completely, producing a relatively thick manuscript.³¹ This is the case for the following manuscripts, for example:

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. 3023 (94 fols);
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 4522 (210 fols, octavo, 17.75 × 12.5 cm; 15 lines; no date);
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 4523 (Wc. 1425; 243 fols, octavo, 15 lines, 18.5 × 131.3 cm; 12.5 × 8.5 cm; no date, *terminus ante quem* 1353 CE);³²
- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 955 (234 fols, 25.5 × 17.5 cm; 17 lines; 18 *rağab* 891 = 20 July 1486);
- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 956 (281 fols; 17.5 × 13.5 cm, 15 lines; no date);
- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ar. 957 (196 fols, 20.5 × 15 cm, 18 lines, 21 *dū al-qa'da* 728);³³
- the three codices in the Sammlung Haupt in Berlin (137: 440 'Seiten' [220 fols?] 17.7 × 25.2 cm, 15 lines, dated 'x64' [possibly 864 AH / 1459–1460 CE or 964 AH / 1556–1557 CE according to the catalogue]; 138: 500 'Seiten' [250 fols?], 21.5 × 30.5 cm, 12 lines, no date *terminus ante quem* 1015 AH / 1606–1607 CE; 139: 598 'Seiten' [299 fols?], 15.5 × 21.6 cm, 7–12 lines, dated 915 AH / 1509–1510 CE);³⁴
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 707 (141 fols; dated 1469);
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Or. 217 (234 fols; dated 1440);
- Cambridge, University Library, Or. 479 (251 fols; 20.5 × 15.3 cm; 15 lines; dated 1468);

30 GAL¹, 395–396; GAL S, 680–682.

31 Unless otherwise stated, the following list is based on the (sometimes surprisingly scanty) data provided by the available online catalogues of Arabic manuscripts (e.g. <archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr>; <fihrist.org.uk>; <searcharchives.bl.uk>; <orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de> [all accessed on 10 Dec. 2020]) and aims to give the reader an initial – albeit still rather vague – idea about how the text has been copied and circulated in the Islamic world.

32 Ahlwardt 1892, 97–98.

33 Pertsch 1880, 223–224.

34 Hartmann 1906, 16. It is unclear if the German term 'Seiten' is used here to refer to pages or folios.

- Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3181 (196 fols, 17.3 × 12.7 cm; 17 lines; possibly dated to 16 *rabi' al-awwal* 806 [3 Oct. 1403]);
- Paris, BnF, Ar. 1002 (174 fols; 17 × 13 cm; 19 lines; dated *rabi' al-tānī* 860 [March–April 1456]), Ar. 1003 (207 fols; 20.5 × 15 cm; 17 lines; 25 *dū l-ḥiġġa* 997 [4 Nov. 1589]), Ar. 1004 (fols 2^r–154^r; 21 × 16 cm; 20 lines; 7 *šawwāl* 704 [3 May 1305]) and Ar. 4545 (fols 40^r–279^r; 20 × 13 cm; 13/15 lines; dated 1070 [1659–1660]);
- the manuscript in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library in Patna Ar. 1840 (340 fols, 12.5 × 8.5–8.5 × 5.5 cm; 9 lines; not dated, possibly tenth century AH);³⁵
- the eight copies mentioned in the catalogue of the manuscripts in the libraries of the *madrasas* of Mosul.³⁶

Among some of the more recently digitised manuscripts of the work, there is also EAP466/1/13 from the Riyadha Mosque in Lamu (Kenya; 413 pages [206 fols] 32 × 22 cm; nineteenth century) and EAP144/3/26 from the Surau Lubuk Ipuh Collection (Pariaman, Sumatra, Indonesia; 354 images available; possibly nineteenth century), which contain the whole of al-Nawawī's *Minhāġ* in one volume.

Finally, the four manuscripts on which the critical edition of the *Minhāġ* by Muḥammad Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ša'bān is based (2005) feature the full work copied in a single codex.³⁷ As they are among the oldest known testimonies of the text, it is possible to infer from them that copying the text as a whole in one manuscript was common practice ever since the *Minhāġ*'s manuscript tradition began.

From the brief survey above, it therefore seems that al-Nawawī's text has been approached in a compact form in different areas of the Islamic world as a

³⁵ See Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library 1980, 96.

³⁶ See al-Ġalabī al-Mawšili 1927, 114 (Madrasat al-Ḥaġġiyāt, no. 208), 133 (al-Madrasa al-ḥasaniyya, no. 195), 160 (Madrasat 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ġalabī al-Ša'iġ, no. 184), 182 (al-Madrasa al-muḥammadiyya fī ḡāmi' al-zaywānī, no. 218), 200 (Madrasat al-mullā Zakar – al-ḥāġġ Zakariyyā, nos 211 and 212), 220 (Madrasat al-nabi Šīṭ, nos 140 and 150).

³⁷ *Minhāġ* 2005; the edition is based on the following manuscripts: al-Ahsā' Library (KSA), n.n., 158 fols (19 lines, 12 words per line), dated 26 *ġumādā al-ūlā* 785 (26 Aug. 1383); the above-mentioned Paris, BnF, Ar. 1002 (the editor, oddly enough, does not mention the shelf mark of this codex); Damascus, al-Zāhiriyya, n.n., 191 fols (15 lines, 13 words per line), not dated but *terminus ante quem* 879 AH / 1474–1475 CE; Riyadh, al-'Abikān [al-Obeikan] Library, n.n., incomplete codex (missing from the subchapter on menstruation to the book of bankruptcy and the whole book on testaments), 162 fols (15 lines per page, 9 words per line), dated 14 *šawwāl* 745 (18 Feb. 1345).

reading/study unit to be copied and gone through from beginning to end.³⁸ A few known *iğāzāt* issued by a teacher to authorise one of his students to teach the *Minhāğ* also treat the text as a whole.³⁹ However, these documents do not contain any details about the way it was taught and studied, but simply attest the student's capability to start teaching.

In terms of its structure, the text is divided into 71 chapters (actually called *kitāb*, literally meaning 'book'⁴⁰). Longer chapters are divided into subchapters (*faṣl*, literally '(sub)chapter', 'section', or *bāb*, 'chapter'); shorter sections devoted to specific aspects of a more general issue are dealt with in subparagraphs (*far'*; lit. 'branch'). No further internal division can be detected: themes and topics discussed in the text flow according to an organising logic that partially recalls that of the collections of sayings of the Prophet, but is apparently based directly on examples from the *Nihāyat al-maṭlab* by al-Ġuwaynī, to which the *Minhāğ* stands in a direct textual relationship, as mentioned above.

No research has been carried out so far to ascertain when the *Minhāğ* is introduced and studied in the schools where it is used as a reference book in a student's education. Generally speaking, the teaching and studying methodology of the different branches of the Šāfi'ite school is only known very vaguely and the students' progression from the simpler books to the more difficult ones is also difficult to follow up.⁴¹

A general teaching practice in Yemen, at least, seems to be that al-Nawawī's *Minhāğ* is only covered after seven to eight basic books have been read.⁴² The text

38 One remarkable exception is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arab. c. 87 (201 fols; possibly nineteenth century), which contains the second half only, beginning with the section on marriage (*Kitāb al-nikāḥ*).

39 They are published as an appendix to the above-mentioned edition of the *Minhāğ* 2005, 603–607.

40 The terminology is calqued on that in use in the collections of sayings of the Prophet and subsequently in treatises on law.

41 To my knowledge, the best description of the levels through which the Šāfi'ite students go (with direct reference to the books used at each step of the progression) is the one contained in Loimeier 2009, 163–173, where the situation in Zanzibar is analysed. This outstanding contribution, however, does not go into any specific detail on the way the *Minhāğ* is studied in Zanzibar (or any other law book, for that matter).

42 On a website devoted to the study of Islamic law (<ahlalhddeeth.com/vb/showthread.php?t=21333>, accessed on 5 Dec. 2018), which refers explicitly to the practice of the Šāfi'ite students in Yemen (particularly in Ḥaḍramawt), a user called Abū Ḥamza affirmed on 19 July 2004 that study begins with the *al-Daḥīra al-Muṣriḥa* by al-Ḥabīb 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Ḥafīz, then it continues with the *al-Risāla al-ğal-la* by Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Ḥabašī and then the *Safīnat al-nağāh* by Sālim b. Samīr. On the same portal (<<https://www.ahlalhddeeth.com/vb/showthread.php?t=299387.html>>, accessed on 29 Sept. 2019), an article by Fahd 'Abdallāh

is thus only considered accessible once a student has acquired a sound knowledge of the basic principles of Islamic law and is already able to cope with fairly complicated juridical issues and disputes.

3 Studying Šāfi‘ism in Ethiopia: manuscripts of the *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn*

Only very general information is available on the *curriculum studiorum* of the Muslims in Ethiopia. Law is always one of the core subjects of learning and teaching activity in any Islamic society. In Harar and Wällo, the two Islamic areas of the country for which more detailed data is available, the *Minhāğ* is held in a respected position by scholars of the Šāfi‘ite school. In both regions, al-Nawawī’s work is used in higher education as a standard text in Islamic law. In Harar, a mosque came to be called *Kabīr Minhāğ* after a teacher who was given this nickname because he spent every evening lecturing his students on the *Minhāğ*.

As further undeniable proof of the text’s wide circulation, intensive and extensive research carried out as part of the research project ‘Islam in the Horn of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach’⁴³ has enabled researchers to locate forty testimonies of the *Minhāğ*, including printed books (two copies of the same edition) and fragments (both handwritten [eight] and in print [five]).

Leaving printed books,⁴⁴ fragments, and excerpts aside in the present context,⁴⁵ the information yielded by the aforementioned group of codices can be

al-Ḥubayšī published on 12 December 2012 argues that students start from the *Safīnat al-nağāh* and then go on reading Abū Šuğā’ and its commentary by Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim.

43 The research project (identified by the acronym *IslHornAfr*) is based at the University of Copenhagen and was financed by the European Research Council (Advanced Grant no. 322849 for the period from 2013 to 2018). The Principal Investigator is the present writer; for further details, visit the project’s website: <islhornafr.eu> (accessed on 10 Dec. 2020).

44 Aggaro shaykh Kamal, 00041, pp. 1–167; Jimata Muhammad Abba Jamal, 00024, pp. 1–167.

45 Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 02660, fols 1^r–2^v, 8^r–8^v; Aggaro shaykh Kamal, 00047, fols 2^r–4^v; Hargeisa Cultural Centre, 00035, pp. 145–160, printed book only; the *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* from the edition of Cairo Dār al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-kubrā *ramaqān* 1328 September–October, 1910 printed on the margin of Zakariyā al-Anṣārī’s *Manhağ*; Jimata Muhammad Abba Jamal, 00041, pp. 247–514, 00045, pp. 1–208 printed on the margin of the *Muğni al-muhtāğ ilā ma’rifat ma’āni alfāz al-Minhāğ* (second part), Dār al-Kutub al-‘arabiyya al-kubrā *s.a.*, 00054, *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn* (vol. 2), al-Qāhira: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Šarafiyya 1314 AH (1896–1897); Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00018, fols 30^v–38^v excerpt from the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* inserted in a manuscript of the commentary *Tuḥfat al-muhtāğ*,

summarised as follows. Only two manuscripts have a colophon: Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 04570 dated to 1260 AH / 1844–1845 CE and Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 04582 dated to 29 *ḡumādā al-ūlā* 1260 AH (16 June 1844). All the others are undated, but judging from their palaeographical features, they can be tentatively assigned to a period starting from the last part of the eighteenth and stretching well into the nineteenth century. More precise chronological boundaries are difficult to set, as research on the palaeography and the material aspects of the Ethiopian Islamic manuscript tradition is still in its infancy.⁴⁶

As for the geographical distribution of the testimonies, all the Šāfi‘ite areas of Ethiopia are attested: Wällo, central-western Ethiopia, and Harar in eastern Ethiopia.

The overwhelming majority of the codices are thickly annotated and glossed in the margins.⁴⁷ Most of the notes are taken from some famous commentaries or ‘super-commentaries’ on the *Minhāḡ* and are of a lexicographical nature and/or contain legal explanations and observations on more complicated aspects of the text. The content of the marginalia (all in Arabic and not in local languages) and the way they are distributed on the page seem to point to their usage as an aid for teaching and studying. The production process of the codices of the *Minhāḡ* in the Horn of Africa therefore seems to be localisable to the educational environment.

The most striking feature of the Ethiopian testimonies of the *Minhāḡ* is that with the exception of four instances the text is copied in manuscripts containing only a quarter of the work, which is thus spread over four volumes.

The following is a brief list of the 25 codices containing a quarter of the *Minhāḡ* retrievable in the *IslHornAfr* database:

1. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 02655, fols 3^r–95^v: from the beginning of the book (*Kitāb al-ṭaḥāra*) to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥāḡḡ* (1/4)
2. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 02660, fols 11^r–137^v from the end of *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* to the beginning of *Kitāb al-tadbīr*; incomplete at the beginning and end (it corresponds to the second half, 2/2 [2/4, 3/4 and 4/4]);

Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00149, fols 87^r–87^v; Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00174, fols 1^r–2^v; Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00174, fols 130^r–131^v); Wälqite, Zabbi Molla Library, 00007, fols 81^r–83^v; Wälqite, Zabbi Molla Library, 00226, pp. 153–190, printed excerpt from the first part of the work.

⁴⁶ However, see Regourd 2014, 2018a and 2018b.

⁴⁷ See the pioneering article by Hernández López 2017 on the distribution, content and function of marginal notes in some Ethiopian Islamic manuscripts.

3. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04491, fols 1^v–95^v from *Kitāb al-ğirāḥ* to the end of *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (4/4);
4. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04498, fols 4^v–84^r from *Kitāb al-ğirāḥ* to the end of *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (4/4);
5. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04501, fols 1^r–86^v from *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥağğ* (1/4);
6. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04516, fols 2^v–80^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ğī'āla* (2/4);
7. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04517, fols 3^v–73^r from *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥağğ* (1/4);
8. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04518, fols 2^v–78^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ğī'āla* (2/4);
9. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04519, fols 1^v–54^v from *Kitāb al-ğirāḥ* to the end of *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (4/4);
10. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04560, fols 2^v–76^r from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb qism al-ṣadaqāt* (2/4);
11. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04569, fols 1^r–98^r from *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥağğ* (1/4);
12. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04570, fols 1^v–130^r from the beginning of *Kitāb al-farā'id* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (2/2; colophon 1260 AH = 1844–45 CE);
13. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04572, fols 1^r–68^v from *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥağğ* (1/4);
14. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04573, fols 2^v–77^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ğī'āla* (2/4);
15. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04582, fols 5^r–179^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (2/2; colophon 29/5/1260 AH = 16 June 1844 CE);
16. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04666, fols 1^v–80^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-farā'id* to the end of *Kitāb al-nafaqāt* (3/4);
17. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 04673, fols 1^v–120^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (2/2);
18. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 05507, fols 1^v–85^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ğī'āla* (2/4);
19. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 05518, fols 1^v–81^r from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ğī'āla* (2/4);
20. Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 05519, fols 1^r–116^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (2/2);

21. Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00002, fols 1^v–101^v from *Kitāb al-ḡirāḥ* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (4/4);
22. Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00018, fols 43^v–103^r from the *Kitāb al-ṭaḥāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥaḡḡ* (1/4);
23. Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00082, fols 2^r–86^r from *Kitāb al-ḡirāḥ* to *Kitāb ummahāt al-awlād* (4/4);
24. Washington, Catholic University, Weiner Collection, 00180, fols 1^r–85^v from the *Kitāb al-ṭaḥāra* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḥaḡḡ* (1/4);
25. Wälqite, Zabbi Molla Library, 00021, fols 1^r–71^v from the beginning of *Kitāb al-bay'* to the end of *Kitāb al-ḡi'āla* (2/4).

It is easy to see that each of the four quarters corresponds to one of the main branches of Islamic law according to the classification currently applicable in the Šāfi'ite school: 1) *'ibādāt* ('rules concerning cult and religious practice'); 2) *mu'āmalāt* ('civil law'); 3) *nikāḥ* ('marriage and family law');⁴⁸ 4) *ḡināyāt wa-muḥāṣamāt* ('criminal law').

As it appears from the analysis of the representative selection of testimonies of the *Minhāḡ* carried out in this paper, the fourfold distribution of the text has not been attested anywhere else in the Muslim world yet. To my knowledge and at least until further research is conducted, it seems to be a very specific feature of the way al-Nawawī's handbook was copied in the manuscripts of the Horn of Africa.

This copying practice can be explained in connection with the usage of handwritten books in the teaching and studying syllabus in Ethiopian Islamic higher educational establishments. The student is supposed to go through the branches of Islamic law step by step, starting with the issues connected with canonical religious practice, which are unanimously considered to be part of the basic knowledge which every believer should possess to be able to perform his (or her) daily religious duties properly. At another stage of his studies, the student can go on to analyse civil law and its many sections (*mu'āmalāt* and *nikāḥ*), but he can only start delving into penal law and all its cases (*ḡināyāt* and *muḥāṣamāt*) later on.⁴⁹

48 It is interesting to note that in the manuscripts of the Horn discussed here, the quarter of the text dealing with family law (*nikāḥ*) starts (with the exception of IES04560) from the *Kitāb al-farā'id* (the chapter on the rules governing inheritance). According to the general classification in Islamic jurisprudence, inheritance actually falls under *mu'āmalāt* ('civil law').

49 An inquiry recently carried out for the *IslHornAfr* project by Dr Andreas Wetter in the Islamic areas of central Wällo (central Ethiopia) revealed that the *Minhāḡ* is normally studied in four (or

The connection between the testimonies of the *Minhāḡ* and teaching and studying at the Šāfi'ite schools of the Horn is also backed up by the chronological frame in which the available manuscripts can be situated: during the nineteenth century, many educational institutions were founded in Muslim regions of Ethiopia and blossomed rapidly, giving a strong impulse to the production of codices.

To conclude this article, the peculiar distribution of the text of the *Minhāḡ* in the manuscripts copied in the Horn of Africa can be taken as proof of the close relationship existing between the educational practice of the teaching institutions in the region and manuscript production. Further research will probably nuance the picture further by adding other relevant environments fostering the copying of codices, but so far, it can be affirmed that education was one of the most powerful catalysts of the manuscript tradition in this geographical and cultural landscape.

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Modifying Tradition: Adaptations

Eva Wilden

Introduction

When one looks into manuscripts, seeking information on the practices of teaching and learning, one aspect one must come to terms with is the amazing variability of sources. This may sound trivial at first, given that the first credo of manuscript studies is that every manuscript, copy or not, is a unicum, a unique and individual instantiation of contents that may be new or inherited, in contradistinction to a printed and consequently automatically copied and multiplied book. But when enquiry is made into the reasons for such variability it becomes clear this is not a matter to be taken lightly. While the erstwhile Hamburg Research group sought external reasons for variability in the material preconditions provided by different media, as well as in the conventions that develop with them, (and indeed other parts of the present book examine general strategies of (re)shaping material to be apprehended and comprehended, such as forming syllabi or developing exegetical tools that help comprehension, such as glosses, thus painting tendencies with a broad brush) the current section looks into individual agency and questions, at the micro-level of an individual manuscript or act of production (that may include more than one manuscript), to discover what the motivations and strategies of an individual author, scribe or compiler could have been.

The term chosen here to describe what is done to the material to be transmitted is adaptation. What is meant by adaptation is conscious and intentional modifications in content, order, selection, presentation, or layout made by an individual agent who may or may not state his reasons for doing so explicitly. The term appears at the same time to be broad enough to cover a partly motley range of potential individual choices and narrow enough to distinguish such personal contributions from other forms of agency that result in change, some of which, as mentioned above, are also taken up in the current volume. Regarding adaptation the focus is not on the process of the secondary use of a given manuscript e.g., in the form of marginal and interlinear annotation (as applied in the work on layered manuscripts in one of the Current Cluster of Excellence's research fields *Understanding Written Artefacts*), but an individual project of manuscript production.

As explicit explanation of reasons for adaptation is the exception rather than the rule (although in some traditions prefaces provide a natural locus for

such matters to be discussed), the focus of the five case studies here is on the material instantiation of change in the individual manuscripts. Obviously, such an approach presupposes the existence of predecessors, both at a textual and manuscript level, in other words, a tradition, against which the changes observed may be outlined. In terms of tradition, a vital aspect of such changes found and described in an individual manuscript is whether or not it had the power (or the good fortune or chance) to influence (some of) the manuscripts that followed it, that dealt with the same materials. Thus, instances of adaptation can be ‘snapshots’ of an individual undertaking that garnered no followers or consequences, as in Eva Wilden’s case study, which in terms of a tradition appear to be mere aberrations. Or they may signify a shift in perception, an advance in knowledge, something a tradition would call progress, as in the case Martin Delhey takes up. However, they may also herald general historical changes, changes in teaching and learning practices, or of a transmission line of knowledge that crosses boundaries of any kind (physical, social, cultural etc.), as exemplified by the work of Janina Karolewski.

Although the focus rests on individual instantiations or snapshots, it is quite possible to observe trends, either by comparison with parallel material or, in some cases, consulting normative texts that are supposed to regulate usages, as Elisabeth Hufnagel examines in her contribution. Both the momentary image and the potential trend may also be observed against the grand axis of bi-polar movements, which represent the extremes of either side of an open continuum, as in:

- individualisation – standardisation/systematisation
- inclusion – exclusion
- expansion – condensation

A scholar or teacher may adapt a given set of materials for his own personal use and purpose (which may even include a novel concept of teaching) and according to his own level of knowledge. Or he may streamline unadjusted data (which might have been adjusted to another purpose) along a set of conventions or even norms dictated by a tradition. In so doing, he may include other similar material or exclude material perceived as redundant, unnecessary, or even obsolete, as described by Philippe Depreux in his study. Finally, he may tailor what he found by expanding on the existing content (thus tricking a tradition into saying more than was accepted which is frequently observed in Indian commentary traditions), or he may curtail and condense it, making it more hermetic or elegant in the process.

The reasons or motives for doing so can vary extremely. The human factor cannot be discounted i.e., the mental capacities and degree of mastery attained in a field by a teacher, student, or scholar engaged in the production of a manuscript – which may represent anything from a student’s class notes to the mature project of a fully trained scholar. Another aspect of the human factor is what may be termed fashion, that causes changes of didactical strategies, and with them the contents to be taught. Adaptation may go back to regional or local differences, when knowledge travelled, and at times knowledge travelled far. This may also have been the consequence of changes occurring within the social groups involved, implying shifts in dialect or sociolect. The processes become ever more complex when considering the interlingual transmission of knowledge which demands acts of translation, often coupled with intercultural transmission of knowledge that may require a more or less complete re-contextualisation of contents and/or form.

In short, processes of adaptation may reflect general developments in social, political, legal and cultural history. Needless to say at the other end of the spectrum of reasons for change there are simply differences in material culture (e.g., different writing supports etc.), which affect not only the transmission of texts in general but the practices of teaching and learning in particular. It is self-evident these case studies cannot cover the full range of possibilities, mental and material, but they may make this range palpable. The five case studies assembled here cover considerable spatial and temporal ground. Two are from the Indian subcontinent, one from the North, in fourteenth-century Sanskrit, the other, in late eighteenth-century Tamil, from the South. Europe is represented by a ninth-century Latin manuscript and a fifteenth-century musical manuscript. One case from the Middle East deals with the virtually contemporary Alevi tradition. As mentioned above, Delhey’s Sanskrit manuscript represents the author’s copy of a school founder or at least disseminator, the Buddhist Tantric master Vanaratna. Wilden’s Tamil exemplar is an anonymous individual scholar’s manuscript that remained inconsequential to the tradition. Depreux deals with a collection of formulae that appear to have been adapted for convenience. Hufnagel demonstrates how an innovation in the musical notation system was employed practically. Last but not least, Karolewski follows the efforts of a recent scholar, Mehmet Yaman Dede, who undertook a pragmatic adaptation for the sake of a community that could no longer read the traditional script.

Martin Delhey, *The ‘Vanaratna Codex’: A Rare Document of Buddhist Text Transmission* (London, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson MS 35), deals with a manuscript based on the translation of orally received teachings, unique for the

direction of transfer, for it is not as one would normally expect, from Sanskrit to Tibetan, but Tibetan to Sanskrit. Vanaratna was a North-East Indian scholar active at the turn of the fourteenth to fifteenth century who travelled to Tibet extensively and received oral instruction, partly with the aid of an interpreter, a Tibetan master, whose Sanskrit name appears in the manuscript as Ānandamatidhvajaśribhadra, identified here in Tibetan as Shar kha pa Kun dga' blo gros. During or after his first sojourn in Tibet he started, over a period of several years it seems, to note down what he heard in Tibetan in Sanskrit (his own language of learning). In so doing, he was breaking the taboo of secrecy, and thereby bringing Buddhist doctrine back to India and Nepal at a time when the religion's existence was under threat – in its very own homeland.

Eva Wilden, *Personal Poetics: An Adapted Version of a Well-Known Treatise in Old Tamil*, takes up a personal copy made by an anonymous scholar of a well-known Tamil treatise on poetics. She demonstrates how the treatise deviates in arrangement and length from the standard text and traces the extensions back to material quoted in the standard commentary. This reveals how the scholar, while having the temerity to copy the text on his own and interfere with its hallowed integrity, demonstrates simultaneously the perfect familiarity he has with the tradition he manipulates. One of the quotations he turns into a new aphorism can even be traced back to another even older and more venerable treatise, modifying its wording in a manner that may arguably represent an emendation of the standard text. Motives for the whole project remain unstated but there is some plausibility in regarding the unknown scholar as concerned with the practical application of this work in commenting on poetry. Incidentally, this manuscript is also a fine example of the typical Tamil minimal-layout copy – no visual sign of any interference can be perceived, and only a very close reading of the copied text reveals what is afoot.

Philipp Depreux, *Variations on Some Common Topics in Medieval Latin Letters: The Case of the Salzburg Formulae Collection (Late Ninth Century)*, shows how the manuscript referred to as the Salzburg collection of formulae is in fact a patchwork of model letters and charters of different origin – i.e., the material can be traced back to other manuscripts – and how even sentences within these letters and charters have been taken up and re-arranged into new phrases or paragraphs in their new surroundings. As is only to be expected in a language so strongly formulaic, sentences may be found *verbatim* in other collections, but they may also be newly adapted within a range of conventional phrasing deemed appropriate in a particular context e.g., in a letter from one cleric to another. Depreux also points out that the copyist (or the copyists, should the thesis about three subsequent hands be accepted) betrays no awareness of the

fact that he is arranging material that looks disparate to the historian, but instead gives the impression he is making free use of what he may have perceived as an open repertoire fully at his disposal. In cases like these any detailed reasons for such choices remain beyond the grasp of the modern reader.

Elisabeth Hufnagel's *Adapting the Concept of Proportio to Rhythm in the Ars subtilior: Ugolino da Orvieto's Compositions and his Statements on Proportion Signs in Codex Casanatense 2151*, bears with it a very different perspective. In the case of early musical notation, comparisons can be made between what is prescribed in treatises and how music is noted down in practice, and in her example, both were actually produced by the same author, Ugolino da Orvieto (who, however, was not the copyist of the manuscript). Here the question is to what extent theory and practice influenced each other and which of the two adapted to the other. Hufnagel finds that (a) not even the proportion signs used in various pieces of music noted down in the same manuscript and ascribed to the same composer appear to follow the same usage, and (b) none of those modes of presentation is congruent with the description of proportion signs in the treatise. She discusses the possibility that an innovation towards a more precise depiction of music took place that found entry in a non-standardised manner in the pieces of the period and that theorists in reaction (unsuccessfully) tried to develop a standard. However, she also considers the possibility that theory and practice were simply divorced by different concerns, speculation on the one hand and the actuality of making music on the other.

Janina Karolewski's *Adaptation of Buyruk Manuscripts to Impart Alevi Teachings: Mehmet Yaman Dede and the Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, is the only contribution in this section dealing with a living tradition, placing her in the most enviable position of being able to consult not only the manuscript but to talk to its possessor. Mehmet Yaman Dede is a religious specialist in a period that demands multiple adaptation processes from the Alevi community (urbanisation, state education and a change in alphabet from Arabic to Latin), which in turn are mirrored in a manuscript transmission on the verge of becoming a print tradition. The three greatest changes are the revision of a policy of restriction that left direct access to the written work in the hands of specialists like Mehmet Yaman Dede, the preparation of such manuscripts for print in a new layout, thus making them widely and indiscriminately accessible, and, finally, doing so in the Latin alphabet and in modern Turkish, as used in public education. As a result, the printed books can be read without any need for further education; nonetheless, its interpretation remains the professionals' prerogative.

Martin Delhey

The ‘Vanaratna Codex’: A Rare Document of Buddhist Text Transmission (London, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson MS 35)

Abstract: The present article deals with a palm-leaf manuscript that contains multiple texts in Sanskrit language (and one text in Apabhraṃśa) and is written in Old Bengali script. It is an autograph of – or at least closely associated with – the Indian Buddhist Tantric master Vanaratna (1384–1468 CE). The manuscript contains not only texts copied from other manuscripts but also Vanaratna’s Sanskrit translations of seemingly orally transmitted texts in Tibetan language, which the Indian master must have received during one of his travels to Tibet. Because hardly any cases are known of translation of Tibetan texts into Sanskrit, the present manuscript is a document of unique historical value. The article gives an overview of the contents of the manuscript, tries to identify the Tibetan master of Vanaratna and provides an introductory discussion of the processes and purposes of adaptation at work here.

The multiple-text manuscript dealt with in the present contribution is closely associated with Vanaratna (1384–1468 CE) and his activities. He was a scholar and Buddhist master who belonged to the esoteric-ritualistic, or Tantric, strand of this religion. Vanaratna hailed from the Chittagong district in Eastern India (present-day Bangladesh). After extensive journeys and sojourns in Sri Lanka and various parts of India, including parts of the old heartland of Buddhism in present-day Bihar, he settled down in the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal, where he spent roughly the last four decades of his life. Additionally, he undertook three travels to Tibet during this second half of his life. Vanaratna was not only a key figure in the last chapter of the history of Indian Buddhism, but also attracted followers and acquired great fame in both Nepal and Tibet. In Tibet, he was often designated as the ‘last pandit’ of Indian Buddhism.¹ Relatively much information on his life, travels and activities can be gathered from various sources, among which three

¹ Pal 1989, 189; Parajuli 2014, 289 (with some further references).

biographies written by Tibetan contemporaries are the most important.² Besides the manuscript dealt with in the following pages, extant cultural artefacts associated with Vanaratna include at least one Tibetan portrait painting.³ According to David Jackson, a gilt-copper statue from Tibet can also be identified as portraying Vanaratna, although its inscription poses major problems of interpretation.⁴ Furthermore, there is a particularly significant and fascinating painting from Nepal,⁵ several fifteenth-century grammatical Indian manuscripts that have been copied for Vanaratna,⁶ and another manuscript written in Bengali script, which according to the colophon was commissioned by him.⁷ Moreover, several of his own works are preserved in Sanskrit or/and in a Tibetan rendering, and there are extant translations of works by other Indian authors into Tibetan in which he participated.⁸ There is also the original Sanskrit text of a hymn as well as its Tibetan rendering composed in praise of Vanaratna.⁹ Finally, manuscript copies of four bilingual (i.e. Sanskrit and Tibetan) letters written by Vanaratna's Tibetan disciple Khrims khang lo tsā ba bsod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482) are extant. The first two were sent to Vanaratna, when he had returned from Tibet to Nepal, whereas the others have been written after Vanaratna's death and are directed to a Nepalese boy who was considered to be Vanaratna's reincarnation.¹⁰ bSod nams rgya mtsho also acted as a translator for Vanaratna during his third and last

2 For a list and comments on these three works, see Parajuli 2014, 289f.

3 See Ehrhard 2004, 264–265; Jackson 2011, 50–51 and 94–95.

4 Jackson 2011, 96–98.

5 See Vajracharya 1987; Pal 1989, 194–195; Huntington and Bangdel 2003, 143–145; Tuladhar-Douglas 2006, 140. A later copy of this painting is extant as well. For all particulars regarding both the original and the copy see the references above.

6 Hori 2018. Cf. also n. 14 below.

7 Pal 1989, 195–196, where a translation of the colophonic statement that mentions (and praises) Vanaratna can be found. For two further mentions of Vanaratna in Sanskrit manuscript colophons, see Pal 1989, 195, and Szántó 2012, I, 236, n. 59.

8 See Ehrhard 2002a, 113–117 for a list of Vanaratna's translations of works into Tibetan and for an overview of those of his own works that are extant in Tibetan. Some of Vanaratna's works are preserved in the original Sanskrit: in edited form, the *Ratnamālistotra* or **Stavaratnamālā* (a hymn; see Hahn 1996, 32–34) and the *Rahasyadīpikā* (a commentary on Kṛṣṇācārya's *Vasantīlakā*; edited in Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1990) are available. Moreover, in manuscript form a work entitled *Acalakramadvaya* (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935, no. 162) and the *Acalābhisamaya* (according to an entry in Péter-Dániel Szántó's Thor bu – Curiosia Indo-Tibetica Blog, posted 28 Febr. 2010 (<<http://tibetica.blogspot.com/2010/02/>>, accessed on 17 Nov. 2020) seem to be extant.

9 For an edition and German translation of this text see Hahn 1996.

10 For the facsimile edition of the four letters see Ehrhard 2002b; for their transcription and English translation, see Ehrhard 2002a, 101–111.

journey to Tibet.¹¹ However, arguably the most fascinating trace of Vanaratna's activities available to us is the multiple-text manuscript to which the present contribution is devoted.

Our multiple-text manuscript was found in Nepal and is kept since the nineteenth century at the Royal Asiatic Society in London (shelf mark Hodgson MS 35). It contains numerous Old Indo-Aryan, that is to say, Sanskrit, texts as well as one single text in the late Middle Indo-Aryan Apabhraṃśa language. For a long time, its value remained hidden to the modern scholarly world. This oversight can, among others, be explained by the fact that in their catalogue, the nineteenth-century Sanskritists Cowell and Eggeling classified this codex erroneously as paper manuscript and as having been written in the end of the eighteenth century.¹² It was Harunaga Isaacson who has drawn attention to this manuscript and its importance.¹³ He labels it as 'a unique treasure', points out that the writing support is palm leaf rather than paper and that there are reasons to assume that it is the autograph of the Tantric Buddhist master Vanaratna, or has at least been prepared under his close supervision.¹⁴ As reasons for this assumption, Isaacson adduces the facts that in one place of the manuscript Vanaratna refers to himself in the first person¹⁵ and that various lineages of teachers who transmitted individual texts are given, and all but one of these lineages end with Vanaratna as final recipient. Moreover, Isaacson deduces from the facts that the manuscript contains several references to Tibetan teachers and to the Tibetan language that the manuscript most probably has been written between 1426 (the date of Vanaratna's first visit to Tibet) and 1468 CE (the year of Vanaratna's death) rather than in the late eighteenth century, as Cowell and Eggeling assumed.¹⁶ The script

11 Ehrhard 2004, 256.

12 Cowell and Eggeling 1876, 26–28. In the pertinent catalogue entry they do not specify the writing support at all. In the introduction to the catalogue, however, they establish the following rule for such a case: 'The material of the MSS. consists of Indian paper, unless otherwise stated' (Cowell and Eggeling 1876, 1).

13 Isaacson 2001, 460–461; Isaacson 2008 *passim*.

14 In his discussion of grammatical manuscripts that have formerly been in the possession of Vanaratna, Hori (2018, 46) argues that at least some of the marginal annotations in these manuscripts have very likely been written by Vanaratna himself. Moreover, he wonders whether the hand is in these cases the same as in the Vanaratna manuscript. He refers to two plates in his article of which each shows a single folio page with a few annotations. I have the impression that two of these annotations fit very well to the hand of our manuscript. However, this might be a rather subjective impression and should be tested against the testimony of more of these annotations.

15 Cf. n. 26 below.

16 Isaacson 2008, 2–3.

used in the manuscript is Old Bengali, a fact that seems to corroborate both the fifteenth-century origin and the hypothesis that it is an autograph by Vanaratna. It has already been mentioned above that Vanaratna hailed from the far east of the Indian subcontinent. Even if he has not learnt a form of Old Bengali script there, he certainly came into contact with it at the latest when he spent in his younger years also some time in the area of present-day Bihar.¹⁷ We have several contemporaneous extant Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from this region that have been written in Old Bengali script.¹⁸

The palm leaves measure 12 × 2 inch, which results in the typical oblong format of this writing support. The texts are written with black carbon-based ink. Except for the last two folios, each page contains 10 lines of text. They are written in *scriptio continua* from left to right and parallel to the oblong sides of the leaves. The blocks of texts are framed by margins on all four sides; some of them contain brief additions and corrections. In lines 4 to 7 of each page a square is cleared for the binding holes. The latter enabled the users to string the palm leaves together. Except for very few notable exceptions – I will return to this matter later – all letters of the manuscript are written in the same peculiar and elegant hand. The folios are numbered in the right margin of the *verso* sides. New texts begin without the insertion of a line break or page break, as it was usual in North-East Indian and Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts. The texts are only separated from each other by text colophons, which are highlighted by various kinds of section markers and empty spaces amounting to the breadth of some letters. The manuscript is not preserved completely. The number of extant folios amounts to 62. Some folios are damaged in the right margin, which results in the loss of a certain amount of page numbers and of some letters from the text block.

Regarding the foliation, the manuscript poses some problems, in particular because of the fact that it is a multiple-text manuscript. To begin with, the manuscript text starts on the *verso* side of page 7. It was usual to leave the first *recto* side empty, but why does Vanaratna give the number seven rather than the number one to the first folio? A reasonable hypothesis might be that he paginated a certain amount of folios beforehand (at least seven), filled the first six folios with text and, as a second step, gave them away to somebody. Afterwards, when he continued filling the manuscript with text, he did not change his original pagination of folio 7 (or of folio 7 and an unknown number of further folios), but left 7 *recto* blank in order to indicate the new start of the manuscript.¹⁹ Unless these

17 Roerich 1976, 797–798; Pal 1989, 189–191.

18 Hori 2015.

19 Oral communication by Harunaga Isaacson.

folios reappear in the future, we will probably never be able to gain some knowledge about the character and the contents of the first six folios.

The next problem concerns the foliation numbers 51 to 66. Due to damage of the margins of the leaves, these folio numbers are not preserved. However, between fol. 50 and fol. 67 the manuscript only contains six rather than sixteen folios. This can only be due to one of the two following alternative reasons: Either Vanaratna erroneously made an upward jump by ten digits, while adding the folio numbers on the verso sides of the palm leaves, or ten folios in between have been lost. If the latter scenario is the correct one, the only possibility would be the loss of ten folios after fol. 50, because only there the beginning of a new text coincides with a change of folios. However, the text ending on fol. 50 and the one beginning on the next folio are, judging from their titles and their contents, rather closely related, so that it is doubtful whether here really ten folios have been lost. Therefore, I tend to the hypothesis that an erroneous upward jump by ten digits occurred during the foliation of the leaves. A tiny part of the folio number on the first folio after fol. 50 seems to be preserved (namely the top left part), and in my view this fits better to an original number '61' than to the number '51'. Therefore, I suppose that Vanaratna's error regarding the pagination started here rather than on the later folios.²⁰

The last two folios of our manuscript do not bear any foliation. Since the immediately preceding fol. 78 ends abruptly somewhere in the middle of the text *Prāṇāyāmadhāraṇayor Upadeśah*,²¹ an unknown number of folios has been lost. Hence, we do not know the real number of these two folios, and I have simply called them 'A' and 'B'.

After this rather technical, but not unimportant discussion, it is time to move to the contents of the multiple-text manuscript.²² The first striking thing one notices when scanning the folios of the manuscript is that we have a colophon typical for manuscript endings somewhere in the middle rather than at the end of the manuscript, namely on fol. 45^v. Here, the manuscript is declared to be a religious gift (*deyadharmā*) by Vanaratna himself, and he dedicates the religious

20 On the damaged folios, a modern hand (perhaps one of the cataloguers Cowell and Eggeling) has supplied folio numbers with pencil and in Arabic numerals. These folio numbers are not in agreement with my hypothesis. What I call fol. 61, for instance, is designated as '51' on the manuscript. In the table of contents appended to this contribution, I add the pencil marks in parentheses after my own numbering.

21 This has already been noted by Cowell and Eggeling (1876, 28).

22 I will only discuss select aspects here. For a complete table of contents, which contains many items not listed in the catalogue Cowell and Eggeling 1876, the reader may refer to the appendix of this contribution.

merit derived from producing / writing it to his teachers, parents and all other sentient beings, as it was customary in Buddhist manuscripts, especially in those written by adherents of the altruistic ‘Great Vehicle (*mahāyāna*).²³ Seemingly, Vanaratna first wanted to end the manuscript on the fol. 45^v, but changed his mind later on and wrote further texts on palm leaves of the same dimensions. Accordingly, he also went on with his numbering of the folios rather than start with folio number one again.

If we look now at the titles (and partly also the authors) of these texts assembled here, it becomes immediately clear that we are dealing with Buddhist Tantric, i.e. esoteric-ritualistic texts. The Tantric variety of Buddhism was seen by many Indian Buddhists as belonging to the altruistic ‘Great Vehicle’ mentioned above; the main difference lies in the fact that in Tantric Buddhism it is claimed that the common goal of becoming a *buddha* can be achieved much faster than in the more conventional ‘Great Vehicle.’

In spite of the common Tantric character of all the texts, there is in fact a huge difference between the first few texts and the bulk of all the remaining texts. The first four texts of the manuscript (i.e. the texts found on fol. 7^v1 to fol. 47^r8, except for the above-mentioned colophon) are presumably simply copied from manuscripts that cannot now be identified and may well no longer be in existence, which Vanaratna might have found either in Nepal or during one of his journeys to Tibet.²⁴ Of all these texts we have other Sanskrit manuscripts or at least Sanskrit fragments; therefore, we can be very sure about this. The following texts (i.e. the texts that can be found on fol. 47^r8 to fol. 78^v10) have an entirely different character, and this is also signalled on folio 47 recto with a sudden change of ink; i.e. Vanaratna has not immediately continued to write the second group of texts. We do not know of any other manuscripts containing the wording of any of these texts. At the end of the first text of this second group, Vanaratna himself adds the following verses:

Now [the verses] of another [person]:²⁵ The accurate explanation of the meaning of the accomplishment text that has been handed down in the [teaching] lineage and has been

²³ See Isaacson 2008, 2 and n. 6; cf. Fig. 1a.

²⁴ Due to the fact that Indian Buddhism was on the decline since several centuries when Vanaratna was born and because of the more favourable cultural and climatic conditions in Nepal and Tibet, these were the two places, where he was most likely to find manuscripts of important old texts.

²⁵ That is to say: Verses written by Vanaratna himself. Immediately before, the manuscript contains verses that Vanaratna has marked by the expression ‘[verses] of the author of the text’ (*granthakāraḥasya*).

well preserved in the country of Tibet in Tibetan language does not accomplish the perfection of welfare of the remaining sentient beings (i.e. the non-Tibetan sentient beings). Desiring that the perfection of the welfare of the whole world may be accomplished and in the wish for the [long] preservation of the Good Teaching, I, the glorious Vanaratna,²⁶ have discarded the Tibetan language and duly composed and written this accomplishment text in the Sanskrit language; may those who are intent on the meaning take this up without clinging to the wording.²⁷

(*aparasya tu ||*
*pāraṃparyīkṛtaṃ siddher nīṇaṃ (!)*²⁸ *arthavarṇanam |*
*yad *bhoṭaviṣaye samyak sūsthitam *bhoṭabhāṣayā ||*
na sādhayati śeṣāṇaṃ sattvānāṃ hitasampadam |
*apy eva nāma sādhyeta*²⁹ *sarvalokārthasampadam*³⁰ *||*
*ity evam ābhilāṣeṇa(!)*³¹ *saddharmasthīkāṅkṣayā |*
*mayā śrīvanaratnena bhāṣāṃ samtyajya *bhoṭikāṃ*³² *||*
granthitā likhitā samyak siddhiḥ saṃskṛtabhāṣayā |
śabdagrahaṃ parityajya grhṇantv arthaparāyaṇā iti ||)³³

26 Isaacson 2008,8 has already drawn attention to this phrase and adduced it as one of the arguments in favour of his assumption that the manuscript is 'probably an autograph', although he explicitly mentions the possibility that it has only been prepared under Vanaratna's close supervision. The Sanskrit word *śrī* (translated by me as 'glorious' here) is usually added to names and text titles as a term of respect. In Buddhism, it is, for example, often prefixed to names of deities and titles of scriptures. In the present manuscript it appears before the name 'Vanaratna' in almost all cases, and in one of the rare counter-examples, the respectful suffix *°pāda* is used instead. In my view, which is rather vaguely based on my reading experience, such a way to refer to oneself is not impossible, in particular in Tantric Buddhism. It should be kept in mind that the self-identification with a high-ranking deity in ritual and meditative visualisation is a common practice in this tradition. Therefore, I do not think that the reference to oneself as 'glorious' is a valid argument against the hypothesis that this text is an autograph. However, it would certainly be rewarding to devote a study to the ways of referring to oneself in Buddhist texts.

27 It is a text originally composed in Sanskrit, but Vanaratna only had access to the Tibetan translation. Seemingly, he is well aware of the fact that his back-translation can hardly restore the original wording.

28 Wrong spelling of Sanskrit *nīṇam*.

29 The manuscript reading is *sādhyetat* rather than *sādhyeta*. However, above the ending of the word is a mark that possibly signifies cancellation of the final *t*.

30 In this line, Vanaratna seems to use as final member of the compound a neuter word with the stem form *sampada* rather than the feminine word *sampad* of classical Sanskrit.

31 Normally, this word should be spelt *ābhilāṣeṇa*.

32 See n. 34 below.

33 Fol. 50^v7–9 (cf. Fig. 1b). Orthography standardized; *nīṇam* and *ābhilāṣeṇa* have been left unaltered in the text, because they are orthographical mistakes rather than orthographical variants.

Note that the words referring to Tibet and the Tibetan language (**bhoṭaviṣaya*, **bhoṭabhāṣā*, **bhoṭika*³⁴) are reconstructed here. The manuscript in its actual state has in all three places a different, clearly secondary reading; I will come back to this topic later.

In the verses quoted above, Vanaratna leaves no doubt that he has translated this text from Tibetan to Sanskrit (*saṃskṛtabhāṣā*). After another text of this second group one finds a similar remark by Vanaratna.³⁵ He specifies the text as having been transmitted in Tibetan and says that he has written it down in the highest language (*bhāṣottama*), which is obviously a reference to Sanskrit, the ancient Indian language used preferably for holy and scholarly texts.

One of these texts is even attributed to an author with a virtually untranslated Tibetan name, namely Ko Brag pa (1182–1261; appearing as *kobraḥpāda* in Vanaratna's codex³⁶), and thereby immediately recognizable as being an indigenous Tibetan text. The text itself is, of course, preserved here in Vanaratna's Sanskrit.

Moreover, many of these texts are accompanied by an often very long lineage of teachers (*gurupāraṃparya*) through which the respective esoteric instruction has been handed down. Almost all of these texts end with the name Śrīvanaratna as final recipient of the text, and the immediately preceding names of text transmitters can, although they usually appear in Sanskrit translation, be identified as referring to Tibetan masters.

One of these lineages has already been analysed by Harunaga Isaacson. The list starts with Indian teachers. However, in at least one case, obviously the Sanskrit name is wrong, and the mistake can best be explained by the fact that Vanaratna has been told the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit name and simply misheard one vowel. He confused the Tibetan syllable *thub* with the phonetically very similar syllable *thob*. This seems to be a clear indication that Vanaratna has translated the lineage of teachers from oral instruction.³⁷ In at least one place, he

34 In the usual dictionaries of the Sanskrit language, I have only found the adjective *bhoṭiya* as equivalent of 'Tibetan', but the reading *bhoṭiyām* would violate the metre of this verse. However, judging from the vocabulary of some new Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Nepali (see Turner, 1931, s.v. *bhoṭiyā*), *bhoṭiyām*, which is unproblematic in terms of metric requirements, can be considered as an alternative to the reconstruction as *bhoṭikām*. It would have the advantage that it makes it slightly more easily explainable why all three syllables rather than only the first two have been erased and overwritten with the word *deśikām* by a second hand. However, the reading *bhoṭikām* sounds somewhat more Sanskritic.

35 Fol. 73^v5–6.

36 Fol. 75^v10.

37 Isaacson 2008, 4.

apologizes for committing a secret teaching to writing,³⁸ thereby implying that he received it in oral form. In view of all these facts, it seems to be reasonable to suppose that Vanaratna has received all texts and lineages of teachers in the second part of the manuscript not only in Tibetan language but also in oral rather than in written form. Most texts seem to go back to former Indian Tantric masters as authors; in a sense one might call them back-translations to Sanskrit, although one should be aware that the texts due to their nature as oral instructions handed down through the centuries from master to master have probably been more or less fluid in character, whereas the term back-translation rather suggests an attempt to regain a text of a solid and invariable nature. Moreover, it has already been mentioned above that at least one text is ascribed to the Tibetan master Ko brag pa. Tibetan origin can perhaps also be postulated for one of the very brief instructions towards the end of the manuscript. There, the author is designated as Śāluguru, which might be Vanaratna's way to refer to 'a/the master from Zhwa lu'.³⁹ Zhwa lu is a place in Tibet and seat of a relatively famous monastery.

The last two folios of the manuscript, which are called folios A and B in the present contribution, do not belong to this long section of translations. They contain a verse text written in the late Middle Indo-Aryan language Apabhraṃśa, and it seems more likely that Vanaratna has found and copied this text either in a Tibetan library or after his return from Tibet in Nepal and supplemented it with interlinear notes and a commentary in Sanskrit.⁴⁰

The present manuscript provides a unique example of intercultural and interlingual transmission and adaptation of knowledge. In particular, it should be noted that the direction of text transfer between India and Tibet has virtually always been of the opposite kind. In a huge translation project covering the period of roughly the eighth to the fifteenth century, the Tibetans have translated thousands of Indian Buddhist texts into their own language. It is no exaggeration to say that they managed in this way to transplant the huge and old tree of Indian Buddhism to their own country.⁴¹

Until recently, Vanaratna has mainly been known as a transmitter of various circles of esoteric texts and the corresponding Tantric techniques to Tibet rather than as a person, who was actively engaged in a bidirectional exchange of

³⁸ See Isaacson 2008, 3 n. 7.

³⁹ Fol. 78^v8.

⁴⁰ Note, however, that the latter text is called *Amarasiddher Sārasaṃgrahaḥ* rather than **Amṛtasiddher Sārasaṃgrahaḥ*, which suggests some kind of connection to many of the texts translated by Vanaratna from Tibetan (see below).

⁴¹ This is, of course, not meant to deny the fact that they also introduced some major changes in the Buddhism they inherited from India.

knowledge. The contents of the present multiple-text manuscript prove that the latter comes nearer to the truth. Moreover, recently a textual passage has been noted where the fact that Vanaratna received himself initiations into and instructions in esoteric Buddhist texts is mentioned, and it is this textual passage that also seems to solve the problem of the identity of Vanaratna's Tibetan teacher.

Wherever Vanaratna gives a lineage of text transmission in the manuscript with himself as final recipient, he mentions that a master called *Ānandatidhvajaśrībhadrā* was the teacher who instructed him in this text. This is a Sanskrit name and must be Vanaratna's translation of his teacher's Tibetan name. Vanaratna treats almost all Tibetan names in the text in this way. *Ānandatidhvajaśrībhadrā* is a compound consisting of five different words and forms a Buddhist religious name. Since the Tibetans tended to model their religious names on Sanskrit names and since the Tibetans in their huge translation work created very long lists of exact Tibetan correspondents to Sanskrit technical terms, it is not difficult to uncover the Tibetan original of this name. However, the individual parts of this name are not very specific, and Harunaga Isaacson detected no less than three Tibetan masters from the fifteenth century who can be meant by *Ānandatidhvajaśrībhadrā*.⁴² Actually, the Tibetans tended to identify the individuals behind these names by means of further specifications referring, for instance, to the region from which a master comes. Thanks to a recent article written by Roberto Vitali, we can now be fairly certain which of the three persons is meant. In this paper, Vitali deals with a relatively little-known author from the princely Shar kha pa family called Kun dga' blo gros (1365– after 1439). The family hailed from the Eastern Tibetan region of Khams, but moved more to the centre of Tibet, namely to the region of gTsang, more exactly to the area of Upper Nyang, in this period. Kun dga' blo gros calls himself by the full name Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po in the colophon of one of his works,⁴³ and this is the exact Tibetan equivalent of *Ānandatidhvajaśrībhadrā*. Moreover, Vitali quotes a passage in which it is related that pan chen Nags rin, i.e. 'the great pandit Vanaratna', received many oral instructions from this Tibetan master.⁴⁴

The identification of Vanaratna's teacher *Ānandatidhvajaśrībhadrā* with Shar kha pa Kun dga' blo gros also fits very well with the testimony of other historiographical sources gathered by Franz-Karl Ehrhard in his article on

⁴² Isaacson 2008, 5.

⁴³ Vitali 2015, 515 n. 3. I am indebted to Mr. Sonam Spitz for drawing my attention to this article.

⁴⁴ Vitali 2015, 517 n. 6. Several of these instructions are mentioned by name in this source, but I was not yet able to identify any of them with one of the texts in Vanaratna's autograph.

Vanaratna's three journeys to Tibet. During Vanaratna's first two travels (1426 and 1433–1436) he met the local ruler Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags pa (1389–1442) in Upper Nyang. During his first visit he stayed two times in the town of rGyal [mKhar] rtse, the ruler's place of residence. In undertaking his second journey to Tibet, Vanaratna even followed an invitation by Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags pa.⁴⁵ The latter was none other than the nephew of Shar kha pa Kun dga' blo gros. Vanaratna's Tibetan teacher was almost 20 years older than Vanaratna, but according to Vitali his year of death 1429 given by one historical source is wrong. He was definitely still alive during Vanaratna's second journey.⁴⁶ Kun dga' blo gros resided as abbot in the monastery of rTse chen, a place that is not far away from the town of rGyal [mKhar] rtse. The information we have about Vanaratna's sojourns in Upper Nyang and his interaction with members of the Shar kha pa family seems to narrow down the period in which the Vanaratna Codex was written to the period of c. 1426–1436.⁴⁷

Regarding the nature of the texts translated by Vanaratna, it is conspicuous that many of them are concerned with a set of Buddhist Tantric techniques labelled as 'supernatural accomplishment for [becoming] an immortal (*amarasiddhi*)'. There is a (hitherto unedited) Sanskrit text which contains this set of techniques and bears it in its title, namely the *Amṛtasiddhi* ('Supernatural Accomplishment of Immortality'). The difference in wording is a good example for the difficulties Vanaratna faced in translating instructions that ultimately originated in India. Vanaratna has, of course, received the text names in Tibetan and has, in terms of historical truth, chosen the wrong back-translation to Sanskrit. The word *amṛta* is a polyvalent term and is, accordingly, translated in various ways in Tibetan. One of the possible translations is '*chi med*', and actually, this translation is attested in the Tibetan rendering of the word *amṛtasiddhi*. The term '*chi med*', however, can also be a rendering of the Sanskrit word *amara*. Obviously, Vanaratna never encountered a copy of the Buddhist Sanskrit text called *Amṛtasiddhi* or other texts belonging to the same text cycle. In an article that has just been published, James Mallinson deals with the original *Amṛtasiddhi*. He argues that it is the earliest text that contains a whole set of teachings belonging to a certain kind of *yoga*, namely the so-called *haṭhayoga*, which is still well-known in modern India. Actually, '[t]he modern yoga widely

45 Ehrhard 2004, 248–249.

46 Vitali 2015, 518.

47 In my view, it is more likely that it was written during Vanaratna's second visit to Tibet, i.e. between 1433 and 1436 (see below).

practiced around the world today is derivative of Haṭha Yoga [...].⁴⁸ Usually, it has been supposed that this Yoga originated in Hindu circles, but at least the first codification of its central and typical techniques seemingly happened in a Buddhist Tantric milieu.⁴⁹ In view of the fact that research on *haṭhayoga* as a historical phenomenon has only recently come of age, it may be appropriate to define it here in the words of James Mallinson, who is doubtlessly one of the leading experts in this field:

The word *haṭha* (lit. force) denotes a system of physical techniques supplementary to *yoga* more broadly conceived; Haṭha Yoga is *yoga* that uses the techniques of *haṭha*. Haṭha Yoga is first referred to by name in Sanskrit texts dating to around the 11th century CE, but some of its techniques can be traced back at least a thousand years earlier, to the epics and the Pali canon. Why these techniques were called *haṭha* is not stated in the texts that teach them, but it seems likely that, originally at least, they were called thus because, like *tapas* (asceticism), with which they were associated, they were difficult and forced their results to happen.⁵⁰

In the part translated by Vanaratna from Tibetan, there seem to be no theoretical discussions of doctrinal, philosophical or other scholarly problems. At any rate, this section is mainly characterized by an assemblage of religious texts in which many practical instructions are given, how partly mundane, partly religious goals can be attained. Among these techniques, physical postures and Tantric physiology often come into play. Not only in *haṭhayoga* but in Tantric Buddhism in general, the mortal body, which has been connoted rather negatively in earlier Buddhism, becomes a means to achieve higher ends. Perfecting the body even is an acceptable goal in itself. Physical (and mental) wellbeing, especially freedom from ailments, immortality of the body and mind, or the attainment of supernatural powers are repeatedly mentioned as goals of certain practices. One instruction has the objective to lead one to a good rebirth, as is already indicated by the title.⁵¹ However, very often and in prominent places of the texts, the ultimate soteriological goal of becoming a *buddha* in this very life is mentioned.⁵²

The adaptation processes, which the instructions underwent in Vanaratna's translation, are hard to uncover in detail. Even when one manages to find similar

⁴⁸ Mallinson 2011, 771.

⁴⁹ Mallinson 2020.

⁵⁰ Mallinson 2011, 770.

⁵¹ Fols 77^v7–78^r2: *Sugatayupapattiyupadeśa* ('Instruction on Rebirth in a Good Existence') or *Maraṇakṣane Sugatiprāptiyupadeśaḥ* ('Instruction on the Attainment of a Good Existence in the Moment of Death').

⁵² See e.g. fols 47^r9, 50^v5 (cf. Fig. 1b), 61(51)^r1, 68^r4.

instructions among the transmitted Tibetan texts, because someone, like Vanaratna has done, has committed them to writing, one can, due to the fluidity of the texts, never be sure about the exact contents of the instructions of Vanaratna's teacher himself, although the fact that his teacher seemingly has been identified now (see above), makes it possible that we find one of his own oral instructions in written form somewhere. Nevertheless, the discovery and comparison of similar texts as handed down by different teachers remains a desideratum. One of the texts, the *Śalākapañcaka*, has already been treated in this manner within the framework of an MA thesis.⁵³

Another problem concerns the fact that we have identified Vanaratna's teacher by now, but do not know much about the exact circumstances of the translation and writing process. It is, for instance, not clear, how good Vanaratna's own Tibetan language proficiency was. It is almost certain that he had some knowledge of Tibetan. As mentioned above, he is said to have participated in the translation process of various Sanskrit texts into Tibetan, and Isaacson has, as mentioned above, shown that at least once he has obviously misheard one of the Tibetan names in a lineage of teachers communicated to him, which resulted in a wrong back-translation of the name into Sanskrit.⁵⁴ However, we know that at least during Vanaratna's first visit to Tibet, the fact that no interpreter was available, was a major impediment to one or the other activity of Vanaratna.⁵⁵ During his second visit to Tibet, he was welcomed in Upper Nyang by a Tibetan interpreter,⁵⁶ and it is, in my view, likely that he received the instructions during this visit and that the new interpreter accompanied him on this occasion. The fact that Vanaratna obviously still needed a translator during his third and last journey to Tibet,⁵⁷ makes it not very likely that he would have been able to translate the oral instructions during the second visit without any help.

On a more general level, many features of Vanaratna's adaptation process can, of course, be gathered from the manuscript itself. Interesting is certainly the fact that he also noted down the lineage of teachers who transmitted the text in the case of all major works. Admittedly, to give teaching and initiation lineages is not unknown outside of Tibet, but in Tibet this habit rose to paramount importance. These lineages of teachers, which were, if possible, traced back to India or even the putative author, were important for the Tibetans to show the

⁵³ Spitz 2015.

⁵⁴ Isaacson 2008, 4.

⁵⁵ See Ehrhard 2004, 246 and 248.

⁵⁶ Ehrhard 2004, 249.

⁵⁷ Ehrhard 2004, 255.

authenticity of certain teachings, the more so, when they were handed down orally and/or esoteric in nature. Obviously, Vanaratna regarded this as a feature, which should not be omitted from his manuscript. It is also interesting that Vanaratna clearly tried to render each and every name into Sanskrit, although he made some exceptions. In the case of the Indian teachers, the back-translations were sometimes wrong, and the translations of the names of original Tibetan teachers partly result in rather strange Sanskrit compounds. Moreover, his teacher seemingly sometimes called one and the same Tibetan person differently, that is, he omitted one or the other part of the full name. At least, this is the most probable reason for the fact that the lineages sometimes contain different names, when one and the same person must be meant. Why has Vanaratna taken these troubles to translate all names? Perhaps he thought, even names of Tibetan masters should appear, if possible, in the highest language (*bhāṣottama*), as he calls Sanskrit in one place of the manuscript.⁵⁸ However, it is also possible that he did not see any chance to differentiate clearly between Indian and Tibetan teachers, because all names were obviously given to him in Tibetan, anyway.

Regarding the reasons for his translation work, he adduces himself that these texts should be translated in order that all sentient beings can learn the salvific teachings and that the Good Teaching (*saddharma*; i.e. Buddhism) can survive longer. Reasons like this for activities like composing or copying texts are stereotypically adduced throughout Indian Buddhist literature. However, I see in this case no reason to suspect that Vanaratna pays only lip-service. In the case of the first reason, he also adds that in Tibetan language it cannot be helpful for the remaining sentient beings, and one can very well imagine that he also has the fact in mind, that there have always only been very few Tibetans in the world. There is also good reason to express the wish that the Good Teaching should remain in the world. The Buddhists always entertained the idea that Buddhism will become extinct one day, but in the case of fifteenth century India, this threat was very real. At this time, there were only very few Buddhists left in the native country of this religion. It is also very well-known that Vanaratna had followers in Nepal, probably even very many, so he must have thought that he will have the opportunity to transmit these teachings further, although there seems to be no positive evidence that he did so. The manuscript contains no marginal annotations in a second hand, and to the best of my knowledge, there are no later copies of the manuscript or of some texts contained in it. Certainly, Vanaratna regarded these texts as useful for his own practice, too. As has been argued above, he seemingly did not know anything about the set of techniques called

⁵⁸ Fol. 73^v5.

amṛtasiddhi, but obviously, he found it interesting enough to translate several texts on this topic and had no doubts about their authenticity.

Finally, one further thing should be noted, which can, if one likes, also be regarded as some kind of adaptation of the Vanaratna Codex to one's own needs, though a very peculiar one, which hardly belongs to adaptation processes as they are usually encountered in teaching and learning contexts. I have mentioned above that several words referring to Tibet and the Tibetan language have secondarily been changed in verses that are found on fol. 50v.⁵⁹ In another place of the manuscript, a reference to Tibetan language has remained unaltered.⁶⁰ The latter fact as well as the remaining traces of the original letters in the other three places strongly suggest that the original text really contained several explicit references to Tibet. The changes have been made by a second, clearly Nepalese hand. The references to Tibet were replaced by words meaning 'region' or 'local language'. Moreover, in yet another place Vanaratna seemingly referred to his own place of origin but here the letters have been erased so thoroughly that even with the use of modern technique (i.e. with the help of multi-spectral imaging) they could not be retraced anymore.⁶¹ Obviously, one Nepalese wanted to disguise both the fact that Vanaratna, who was highly revered in Nepal, received teachings in Tibet and the fact that Vanaratna was not a Nepalese by birth. This is the way how Nepalese Buddhism and history comes into play in this unique manuscript as well. It is hard to tell why exactly the manuscript has been manipulated in this way. However, if it is true that the fifteenth century was a period of major political and religious rivalry and change, and if Vanaratna really was 'a bone of contention for several Himalayan polities' one can certainly imagine scenarios, which make the disguise of both Vanaratna's Indian origin and indebtedness to Tibetan Buddhists a logical step.⁶² It would certainly be interesting if specialists in Nepalese Buddhism and history were to think about this problem.

Acknowledgements

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59 Cf. Fig. 1b.

60 Fol. 73^v5 (*sambhoṭabhāṣānugam*).

61 Fol. 45^v10. Cf. Fig. 1a.

62 See Tuladhar-Douglas 2006, 120 and *passim*.

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Appendix: Table of contents of the Vanaratna Codex

fol. 7 ^v 1–40 ^v 3	<i>Amṛtakanīkā nāma Śrīnāmasaṃgītiṭippaṇī</i> ; copied text
fol. 40 ^v 3–45 ^r	<i>Abhiṣekanirukti</i> (by Sujayaśrīgupta), copied
fol. 45 ^v 4–45 ^v 9	<i>Hevajrasahajasadyoga</i> (by Ratnākaraśānti), copied
fol. 45 ^v 9–10	colophon, donor formula etc. typical for manuscript endings
fol. 46 ^v 1–47 ^v 8	<i>Pañcakramopadeśa</i> (by Ghaṅṅāpāda), copied

fol. 47 ^r 8–50 ^v 10	<i>Amarasiddhyantrasya Sūryaprabho nāma Guruhastagrāhaḥ</i> (by Vīryasiṃha); translation
50 ^r 7–9	Vanaratna's verses on his work of (back-)translation
50 ^r 9–10	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 61(51) ^r 1–63(53) ^r 1	(<i>Śrīmad</i> -) <i>Amarasiddhyantraka</i> (by Prajñāsiṃha); translation
63(53) ^r 1	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 63(53) ^r 1–65(55) ^r 7	<i>Mahad Amarasiddhyantram</i> (by Virūpākṣa); translation
65(55) ^v 6–7	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 65 ^r 8(55)–68 ^r 4	<i>Marmopadeśa</i> (by Nāropāda); translation
68 ^r 2-4	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 68 ^r 4–73 ^v 6	<i>Śalākapañcaka</i> ; translation
68 ^r 4–9	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i> ; as introductory narrative)
73 ^v 5–6	Vanaratna dedicates the merit gained by translating the text into Sanskrit to the attainment of buddhahood by all sentient beings.
fol. 73 ^v 6–75 ^v 10	(<i>Haḥ</i> -) <i>Ālambanasamudra</i> (by Kobraḥpāda [i.e. Ko brag pa]); translation
fol. 76 ^r 1–76 ^v 1	<i>Marmopadeśa</i> (by Ḍombīheruka); translation
76 ^r 10–76 ^v 1	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 76 ^r 2–77 ^r 5	<i>Rāgamārgopadeśa</i> (by Indrabhūti); translation
77 ^r 3–5	lineage of teachers (<i>gurupāraṃparya</i>)
fol. 77 ^r 5–77 ^r 7	<i>Cūṣaṇopadeśa</i> (by Ḍombīheruka); translation
fol. 77 ^r 7–77 ^v 7	<i>Vāyukarman</i> (by Goputra); translation
fol. 77 ^v 7–78 ^r 2	<i>Sugatyupapattyupadeśa</i> or <i>Maraṇākṣane Sugatiprāptyupadeśaḥ</i> (by Mahāśīkharadharmasvāmin); translation
fol. 78 ^r 2–78 ^r 5	<i>Kalpaśamanopadeśa</i> (by Vibhūticandra); translation
fol. 78 ^r 6	<i>Dhyānasya Upadeśa</i> (anonymous, if my understanding of the genitive is correct); translation
fol. 78 ^r 7–78 ^r 8	<i>Cakrasamvarasya Yantram</i> (anonymous); translation
fol. 78 ^r 8	an unnamed <i>upadeśa</i> (by Śāluguru); translation
fol. 78 ^r 8–78 ^r 9	<i>Oḍiyānayantra</i> (anonymous); translation
fol. 78 ^r 9–78 ^v 10	<i>Prāṇāyāmadhāraṇayor Upadeśa</i> (by Śrīvajrayoginī?); translation; incomplete
fol. A ^r –A ^v	an Apabhraṃśa verse text, copied (?) and provided with interlinear notes
fol. A ^v +B ^r	<i>Amarasiddheḥ Sārasaṃgrahaḥ</i> (commentary on the Apabhraṃśa text); composed by Vanaratna on the basis of his own interlinear notes?



Fig. 1: Figs 1a and 1b: London, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson MS 35, fol. 45^v (above/left) and fol. 50^v (below/right); courtesy of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Eva Wilden

Personal Poetics: An Adapted Version of a Well-Known Treatise in Old Tamil

Abstract: This article is a case study of one text in a multiple-text manuscript of grammatical works in Old Tamil, now kept in the Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library in Tañcāvūr under shelf mark 631. It gives a personal (or local?) adaptation of a well-known and important treatise on poetics, the *Iṟaiyaṅār Akapporuḷ* (seventh century?), normally transmitted together with the even more famous commentary by Nakkīraṅ (ninth century?), whom many regard as the founder of the Tamil tradition of theoretical commentary. The text deviates from the canonised standard version in the number of *sūtras* (aphorisms) it contains and, in the order in which they are listed, some *sūtras* having been omitted and others added to it. The provenance of the extra *sūtras* is clearly part of the repertoire of anonymous quotations from older, partly lost treatises on poetics that are found within Nakkīraṅ's commentary, thus proving that the author-copyist of the manuscript was well acquainted with the commentary and deliberately chose not to copy it along with the text. His purpose may have been to teach *akam* (love) poetics to his students. His choice of additions was probably motivated by what was perceived as lacunae in the standard text with respect to one important application of poetic theory, namely the writing of miniature commentaries elucidating the speech situations encountered in a single poem (*kiḷavi*, later *koḷu*) for classical poetry. This was an activity demonstrably still pursued by copyists as late as the nineteenth century, most likely in connection with one of the later poetic genres, the *kōvai*, the kind of poetic text that corresponded most closely to the treatise and that was alive until then.

1 Introduction

1.1 The Tamil tradition of producing scholarly manuscripts

Unlike most manuscript traditions mentioned in this volume, the learned Tamil traditions, while making use of palm-leaf and the corresponding *pothi* format typical of all Indic traditions, have produced very few examples of manuscripts that

stand out because of their intricate layout. On the contrary, the standard characteristics of a Tamil scholarly manuscript are the following:

- maximum exploitation of space on the folio by condensing the writing and creating minimal margins
- regular lines and smooth writing
- *scriptio continua* with minimal mark-up, if any, resulting in the text and commentary having an integrated structure
- no or next to no corrections (except for the occasional letter cancelled by a dot above it)
- no interlinear or marginal glosses (although omitted words are occasionally noted in the margin)
- information on the textual tradition in pre- or post-posed verses, but only rarely information on the individual manuscript.

As a consequence, there are two possibilities if material is to be added, be it exegetical or complementary: either to add extra folios at the beginning and end of a manuscript or to re-copy the whole text and integrate the additions. The only type of complexity possible is that of a multiple-text manuscript. Composite manuscripts are rarer and more difficult to produce: since almost every manuscript comes in a non-standard size and with the holes made in different positions, it is not easy to insert folios of different provenances into the same object, and if they do get inserted, the difference in size is usually obvious at first sight. The manuscript under scrutiny in this article, Tañcāvūr, Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvati Mahāl Library (hereafter MSSML), 631, is a typical multiple-text manuscript from the Tamil tradition of grammar and poetics (*ilakkaṇam*), that is, the tradition of language-related disciplines that are needed in the education of poets and connoisseurs. While the overall structure and contents of the manuscript will be subject of a separate investigation, the focus here is on one of the texts contained in it, a unique personal adaptation of a well-known and important short treatise on Tamil poetics called the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporu!* ('the Lord's Poetics on Love [Poetry]').

1.2 A brief history of Tamil poetics and the position of the *Iṟaiyaṇār Akapporu!*

When the first collections of early Tamil love poems were made (perhaps around the late sixth century), these were to become the core of today's *Eṭṭuttokai* ('Eight Anthologies'), one of two basic collections constituting the Classical Tamil corpus. Each poem was provided with a kind of miniature commentary traditionally

named *kiḷavi* ('speech situation'). Originally, they named the speaker, listener and poetic situation involved. This was presumably one reason why the branch of poetics dealing with such situations and sub-situations was particularly prolific. The close connection *kiḷavis* had with the early treatises is evident as all of them share a phrasal inventory that in part points to an oral substratum, but in part already allows the identification of exact quotations, thus pointing to written sources.¹

The in core earliest depiction (although reworked many times over a long period) is found in the third part of the *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest surviving fairly comprehensive grammar of Tamil and the core text of the most important grammatical school, which was continued by commentators up to the fifteenth century at least. The third part deals with poetics, and the sub-situations of love poetics are treated in Chapters 3 and 4, *Kaḷaviyal* and *Karpiyal* ('section on the secret phase' and 'section on the married phase'). The *Tolkāppiyam*, however, is not actually organised as a progressive description of situations, but as an enumeration of speakers.² One of the simplest arguments to demonstrate that the text is made up of disparate elements lies in the fact that the speakers are treated no less than three times (in Chapter 1 of the third part, in Chapters 2 and 3, and in Chapter 8), and all the three presentations betray a different level of development.³

The first (surviving) attempt at standardisation may have been made in the second treatise, the one in question here, that is, the *Kaḷaviyal* ('section on the secret phase')⁴ alias *Iraiyānār Akapporuḷ* (hereafter 'IA'). It did not comprise the whole of poetics, but just the two sections on the speech situations of love poetry; they were sorted into a progressive sequence of events for the first time here. The work is usually transmitted along with the famous commentary by Nakkīraṅ (ninth century?), reputedly the first commentator of the Tamil grammatical tradition. It is presented by the commentary as a work produced at the court of a Pāṇṭiya king, the Pāṇṭiyas of Madurai being the dynasty that is connected with the famous Caṅkam legend (the legend about the consecutive literary academies at the Pāṇṭiya court told in the preamble to the commentary of this text); this dynasty was strongly involved in the first anthologisation of the classical corpus. Its practical use at the time of its composition may well have been the production of *kiḷavis* for the early anthologies.

¹ See Wilden 2006.

² Takahashi 1995.

³ Wilden 2006 and 2009, but for a different interpretation, cf. Takahashi 2004.

⁴ The text was originally named after its first section, but just like the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Kaḷaviyal* is followed by a *Karpiyal*.

It is this commentator, Nakkīraṇ, who links up the earlier poetic tradition with a new poetic development: the *Kōvai* ('stringing') genre. The basic structure of a *Kōvai* is a depiction of poetic situations treated as a sort of serialised event in love poetry, i.e. a kind of dramatic backbone script ranging from a couple's first meeting and falling in love with each other to their married life and quarrels. Nakkīraṇ quotes extensively from the oldest *Kōvai*, the *Pāṇṭikkōvai* ('stringing on the Pāṇṭiyas'),⁵ and cleverly uses its numerous poems to extend the number of sub-situations, thus building a bridge between the early tradition of *kiḷavis* and the later *koḷus* ('gist'), which accompany the whole set of situations in the later *Kōvais*, with a standard number of 400 verses.⁶ Both the rewriting of *kiḷavis* when copying older texts and the composition of *Kōvai* with its *koḷus* remained alive well into the nineteenth century. This is attested for the former by the numerous (and substantial) *kiḷavi* variants in the extant manuscripts and for the latter by the continued production of new works in the *Kōvai* genre.

2 The multiple-text manuscript MSSML 631

2.1 Remarks on the recent history of the manuscript

The Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library (MSSML) in Tañcāvūr is one of the old royal libraries built by the Nayaks in the seventeenth century and taken over by the Maratha king Serfoji II (1798–1832). Its manuscript collection comprises works in both Northern and Southern languages, but the bulk of them, as usual, are in Sanskrit, followed by Tamil. There is no air conditioning in the building to this day, and, due to humidity and neglect, the collection was in a sad state for a long time until manuscripts became fashionable again with the recent debate on classicism that, in 2004, led to Tamil being declared the second classical language of India besides Sanskrit, followed by several other languages. I went there for the first time in spring 2004, looking for the manuscript of the *IA* mentioned in the catalogue,⁷ and was allowed to see the bundle of palm-leaves that contained it. At that time I was not interested in multiple-text manuscripts, just in

⁵ The second constitutive element of the *Kōvai* is that every single word of it praises the patron who sponsored the work – in this case a Pāṇṭiya king (whose identity is disputed).

⁶ This list of 400 verses does not really correspond to 400 sub-situations because the poet is allowed to make multiple verses on the same *koḷu*, poetic variation on the same topic being a mark of the poet's prowess.

⁷ See Chellamuthu 1989–1991, III, 1036.

that one particular text, so I did not take note of what surrounded it. Permission to photograph or obtain a copy was denied; only during my second visit was I allowed to file a request and pay for a reproduction of the three leaves containing my text. (This was still the period of analogue photography and manual scanning.) After waiting for the copy in vain for a few months, I went back to Tañcāvūr again in the winter and asked for my reproductions in person. Since I had written evidence of having paid for them (just a few hundred rupees at the time), the librarian in charge that day had the manuscript brought out and put it on an ordinary photocopying machine to make me a copy there and then. At that point in time, the bundle was dusty and not well cared for, but it was still intact except for a few insect holes and its crumbling margins.

I scanned this paper copy, and it has turned out to be perfectly good for reading and editing the text. The photo team from the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) went back to the library in 2018 in order to negotiate the reproduction of the whole manuscript bundle for me. In most libraries the team is allowed to take digital images for its own use (providing the library with copies and acknowledging the provenance, of course), but the library now has its own photographer and refused to let another team take pictures of the bundle. They provided their own images, which turned out to have three drawbacks unfortunately:

1. the resolution is very poor in places, making any text there hard to read;
2. the manuscript has badly deteriorated over the course of time (13 years); while I first saw an intact bundle with a few holes in it, numerous pieces are now missing and quite some of the leaves are broken;
3. the sequence the folios are in is now in complete disorder; they have even been mixed up with those from another manuscript (the *Civakacintāmaṇi*, one of the early epics). Since the bundle is still a large one with some 250 folios (corresponding to 500 pages), the task of putting it back in the right order is no small one, especially as many of the left-hand margins (where the folio numbers and inter-titles are normally found) have been lost.

2.2 The content of MSSML 631

However, even in this imperfect reproduction, the manuscript turned out to be a fascinating compendium of grammatical treatises. A few dozen folios stand out on the grounds of their poetic content, as already mentioned, but the difference in their width clearly betrays the fact that they actually come from a separate codicological unit. Looking at the photographs, however, it is not clear whether the mix-up is due to the folios just being in a single loose bundle or whether the

mistake occurred when saving the images – a new type of conundrum that will plague researchers in the digital age. So far, I have managed to identify pieces of the following texts in the bundle, like the one to be analysed here, mostly root texts without a commentary:

- *Nanṇūl* (image 002; *Eḷuttu* and *Col*)
- *Tolkāppiyaccūttiram tokai* (image 018; *Eḷuttu*, *Col* and *Poruḷ*)
- *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* (main title missing, but with a marginal chapter title: image 275)
- *Nēminātam* (image 299)
- *Iraivaṇār Poruḷ* (image 340)
- *Veṇṇpāpaṭṭiyal* (image 409)
- *Citamparappāṭṭiyal* (image 499)

This small group of works covers almost the whole breadth of Tamil grammar. Many of the chapter titles show that certain texts present originally are now missing. At the beginning the *Nanṇūl* ('Good Treatise') is found, an early 13th-century work on grammar in the strict sense (phonetics, morphology and syntax), the most widespread standard treatise on grammar until the nineteenth century. It managed to outmode the more complex and archaic *Tolkāppiyam* (a proper name referring to the author), which follows it in this manuscript. Both of these major grammatical schools mostly come with their own set of commentaries, but not so here. The next text that could be identified is the *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* ('Lamp on Love Poetics'), the standard treatise on Tamil love poetry, which was composed in the twelfth century and was also transmitted very broadly. Then follows the *Nēminātaṅ* (proper name); this is a small treatise only on phonology, morphology and syntax that is possibly from the twelfth century as well, perhaps pre-dating the *Nanṇūl*, but which proved far less popular. Next in line is *Iraivaṇār Akapporuḷ* ('the Lord's Love Poetics'), which bears the title of *Iraivaṇār Poruḷ* in this manuscript (see Fig. 1 below); this should be regarded as a phonetic deviation in the first part (-v- being used as a glide instead of -y-) and as an abbreviation in the second part, leaving out the specification referring to love poetry.⁸ Furthermore, there are several texts from a later grammatical genre of *Pāṭṭiyal* ('Nature of Songs'), which deals with definitions of later poetic genres.

⁸ Note that with respect to what we know about the curriculum in teaching grammar, the *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* took over from the *IA*, just as the *Nanṇūl* took over from the *Tolkāppiyam*.



Fig. 1: MSSML 631 with a marginal title for *IA*; © Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjavūr (no better image exists).

Whatever the purpose of the collective bundle may have been should be discussed only on the basis of a thorough investigation of its overall contents, not only with respect to the missing headings and other texts that the manuscripts originally contained, but with respect to the wording of the individual treatises as well. On close inspection, it turns out that this copy of *IA* does not actually transmit the standard text of the well-known treatise under discussion here.

3 The text presented in this manuscript

The types of changes made here with respect to the established text can be described as a re-arrangement of the treatise by

- changing the order and number of the *sūtras*,
- omitting some of the *sūtras*,
- adding extra *sūtras*.

The result is that the sixty standard aphorisms of *IA* become sixty-one here, leaving out four standard *sūtras*, adding another four and splitting one standard *sūtra* in two.

3.1 Changes in order and number

The differences in order and number are best presented in a table juxtaposing the standard numbers (which are identical in all the editions) with the ones given in MSSML 631:

/A standard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10										
MSSML 631	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10										
/A standard	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20										
MSSML 631	11	12	13	14	15	32	33	16	17	18										
/A standard	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30										
MSSML 631	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28										
/A standard	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	–	–	40								
MSSML 631	29	30	31	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42								
/A standard	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50										
MSSML 631	43	44	45	–	–	–	46	47	48	49										
/A standard	51	–	52	–	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	–							
MSSML 631	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57, 58	59	60	61	–	61							

The table shows that the only substantial change in order is found in the second chart after *sūtra* 15 (a standard *sūtra*); all the other differences in number are direct consequences of the additions and omissions. In order to understand the motivation behind the first re-arrangement, it is necessary to understand the types of *sūtra* concerned and the way this treatise is structured. Very broadly, it can be said that the aim of the whole treatise was to categorise the actions that are possible within the poetic universe. The fundamental distinction is the one between the ‘secret’ and the ‘married’ phase (*kaḷavu* and *karpu*) mentioned above in section 1. Thus the first *sūtra* in the treatise defines *kaḷavu* and then begins to enumerate the sub-situations to be found in it. Some *sūtras* add options, whereas others add exceptions. However, there are also a number of *sūtras* interspersed that range on a higher theoretical level and thus provide more background information or discuss points of contention within the tradition.

One of the latter type of *sūtra* is no. 15, the last in the first long sequence of identical numbering. It defines *karpu*, not in order to begin the actual *karpu* section (which starts with *sūtra* 34), but in order to clarify the boundaries of *kaḷavu*. In the standard treatise, it is followed by two more *sūtras* (16 and 17) that deal with additional or exceptional situations within *kaḷavu*; the former treats the

possibility of the series of secret meetings before marriage being interrupted, the latter a particular sub-situation that equally leads to an (involuntary) interruption, namely the topos of a sign misunderstood (*allakuṛi*), that is, an appointment gone wrong, meaning that the couple are unable to meet. These two *sūtras* are postponed in the manuscript until the end of the *kaḷavu* section. The rationale behind this choice may simply have been the wish to have the exceptions at the end, but there was probably another reason in the case of the misunderstood sign. In standard *sūtra* 18 we find the definition of the assignation (*kuṛi*), that is, an appointed time and place when the lovers can meet in secret, and *sūtras* 19–21 enumerate the sub-types of *kuṛi* and their conditions. Given the fact that standard *sūtra* 17 on *allakuṛi* is an exceptional case of *kuṛi*, it is oddly positioned in the standard order, being placed before the definition *sūtra* that initially tells us what a *kuṛi* is. This problem is resolved with the manuscript's re-arrangement.

One last little re-arrangement takes place towards the end where standard *sūtra* 56 is split into two aphorisms numbered 57 and 58. The splitting of *sūtras* is a well-known issue that caused disagreement between different commentators as well as variations in numbering, as we can see in the *Tolkāppiyam*, for example. Usually, however, this is done in cases where the *sūtra* contains parts that may be construed as independent sentences, which is not so here.⁹

56. [The ten constituents of *akam* poetry]

திணையே கைகொள் கூற்றே கேட்போ
ரிடனே கால மெச்ச மெய்ப்பாடு
பயனே கோளென் றுங்கப் பத்தே [57]¹⁰
யகனைந் திணையு முரைத்த லாறே [58]

tiṇai kaikōḷ! kūṟṟu kēṭpōr
iṭam kālam eccam meypṭāṭu
payan kōḷ enṟāṅkap pattē
akaṇ aintiṇaiyum uraittal āṟē

Tiṇai (i.e. setting), love phase, speaker, listener,
place, time, ellipsis, manifestation of emotion,
outcome, syntactic construction –

these ten [points] are the way of explaining the five *tiṇais* of love [poetry].

⁹ The quotations of standard *sūtras* that follow are generally taken from an unpublished critical edition and translation of the *IA* that is the joint work of five scholars, namely Jean-Luc Chevillard, Sascha Ebeling, Thomas Lehmann, Takanobu Takahashi and myself. The choices between multiple ways of translating that have been used here were made by me personally. I also edited and translated the additional *sūtras* from the *Taṅcāvūr* manuscript.

¹⁰ The manuscript adds the number 57 here and the number 58 after the next part.

The *sūtra* is the first among the general ones at the end of the treatise and simply enumerates the elements that are indispensable for understanding and composing a love poem. The manuscript splits off the last line with the predicate noun, thus producing two noun strings, neither of which makes sense in itself. This is the one place in the manuscript where it is hard to explain the author's decision.

3.2 Omission of *sūtras*

Four standard *sūtras* are missing in our manuscript, namely nos. 44–46 and the final one, no. 60, that is, one block and one last statement that sums up the treatise. The second section on the married phase (*karpu*) starts in *sūtra* 34 and basically consists of an enumeration and discussion of the various types of separation possible during the married phase, ranging from going on a mere business trip to going to war on behalf of the King, as well as short absences on account of a rival woman, who may be a second spouse or a courtesan (34–44). This is followed by a number of specifications concerning certain poetic utterances by the hero and heroine (45–46) and by the second important topic of the married phase, the heroine sulking or quarrelling with her unfaithful husband (47–50). The first row of omissions concerns the last *sūtra* in the block on separation, a specification about the possible (remorseful?) return of a philandering husband to his wife and quiet married life:

44. [Return from the rival woman]

கற்பினுட் பிரிந்தோன் பரத்தையின் மறுத்தந்
தறப்பொருட் படுப்பினும் வரைநிலை யின்றே

karpiṇuḷ pirintōṇ parattaiyiṇ maruttantu
aṟapporuḷ paṭuppinum varai nilai inṛē

If he who has separated [from the heroine] during *karpu*
returns from the rival woman and [thus] respects the path of virtue,
this is not to be excluded.

The wording of the *sūtra* suggest that a return of this kind was not an event that really inspired poetic imagination. In fact, this seems to be true of Tamil poets in general: no poetic example springs to mind of a husband mending his ways of his own account, whereas male attempts at reconciliation and female recrimination can be found in abundance. Perhaps the author simply regarded the *sūtra* as expendable.

Similarly, he may have thought the following aphorisms were off the point as they do not advance the enumeration of sub-situations, but specify the way marital (dis)approbation may or may not be expressed.

45. [Possible characterisations of the hero]

புகழும் கொடுமையுங் கிழவோன் மேன

pukaḷum koṭumaiyum kiḷavōṇ mēna

[Receiving] praise and [being called] cruel are for the hero.

46. [Possible characterisations of the heroine]

கொடுமை யில்லைக் கிழவி மேன

koṭumai illai kiḷavi mēṇṇē

[Being called] cruel is not for the heroine.

The poetic situation we are concerned with here is that of the hero coming back to the marital home after an encounter with his lover, a rival woman. The heroine may both cajole and blame him on such an occasion (45), while she who is blameless should not be blamed by him (46). From the point of view of the poetry, however, this is a surprising statement because the hero frequently accuses his wife of being cruel when she fails to accept his apologies and forgive him. This may have been an additional reason for leaving out the latter *sūtra*.

By contrast, the presence or absence of the very last aphorism poses a completely different kind of problem. The last five *sūtras* of the treatise, 56–60, do not actually belong to *kaḷavu* or *karpu* any more, but concern general poetic features including figures of speech, for example. *Sūtra* 59 is a caveat that makes room for additional features and figures that have not been enumerated yet, but may be added by an educated reader. This looks like a perfectly satisfactory ending for the treatise, but then *sūtra* 60 follows as a kind of summarising afterthought:

60. [Idealisation of *kaḷavu* and *karpu*]

களவு கற்பெனக் கண்ணிய வீண்டையோ

ருளாநிக முன்பி னுயர்ச்சி மேன

kaḷavu karpu eṇak kaṇṇiya iṇṭaiyōr

uḷam nikaḷ anpiṇ uyarcci mēna

Those that are considered as *kaḷavu* and *karpu* [stand] for the idealisation of the love that occurs in the hearts of those who live in this world.

Whatever may have been the exact meaning of that sentence, it conveniently brings the total up to a round figure of sixty *sūtras*, but it does not add anything to our knowledge of poetic situations or techniques. The author of the manuscript decided to end it with the caveat. That this was a deliberate decision and not one of the hazards of transmission transpires from the fact that *sūtra* no. 61 is followed by the usual end titles: ‘The second section on the married phase ends [here]. The *Īraivaṅār Poruḷ* is finished [and] ends [here]’ (*iraṅṅāvatu karpiyal murrum*. *Īraivaṅār Poruḷ muṭintatu murrum*).

3.3 Addition of *sūtra*

An equal number of *sūtras*, namely four, have been added to the standard text. The questions to be answered here do not only concern the rationale of inserting them, but also their provenance – none of them have been produced *ad hoc*; they have all been quoted from other sources, albeit with alterations. The first two belong together. In fact, they are two halves of one *sūtra* that is found in the more extensive *Karpiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*. The context is some further specifications for a particular speech situation during a separation, namely the travelling hero talking (to his heart or to his charioteer). This topic is simply not raised in the standard treatise.

The *Tolkāppiyam* makes a distinction here as to when the hero is allowed or not allowed to talk about the wife he left at home, pining and lonely (See Fig. 2: *sūtras* 40 + 41).

Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram 184i.

கிழவி நிலையே வினையிடத் துரையார்
வென்றிக் காலத்தும் விளங்கித் தோன்றும்

kiḷavi nilaiyē viṅaiyittatt’ uraiyār
venrik kālattum viḷaṅkit tōṅṅum

They (scholars or heroes?) don’t talk about the state of the heroine at [the hero’s] workplace; it clearly appears at the time of victory too.

The wording is as elusive as *sūtras* go, but the point is presumably the following: when the hero is engaged in his business (either working or fighting), he is not supposed to talk about his wife and home, but he may (and will) once the victory has been won. Two elements of the wording are puzzling. First of all, the negative honorific plural form *uraiyār* at the end of line 1 is odd. The subject is not mentioned explicitly; one would expect it to refer to the hero, but that would normally be done using a masculine singular, whereas the honorific plural is mostly

reserved for the scholars of poetics who made the rule. Second, the coordinative *-um* on *kālattu* in line 2 does not fit in well with the context as the second line is contrastive and not additional. Our manuscript provides a solution on both counts here by altering the text slightly and expressing disagreement with the *Tolkāppiyam* incidentally.

MSSML 631: 40. [Talking about the heroine]

கிழவி நிலையே வினையிடத்து வரையார்

kiḷavi nilaiyē viṇaiyiṭattu varaiyār

They do not exclude [speaking about] the heroine's state at [the hero's] workplace.

Splitting the *sūtra* into two parts is just a matter of convenience here as we have two separate sentences. The really significant change is that the manuscript author changes *uraiyār* to *varaiyār*, a customary phrasal element of *sūtras* that stipulates an exception: 'they (i.e., the scholars) do not exclude x'. In other words, unlike in the *Tolkāppiyam*, the hero is given leave to speak about his wife here even though he is still engaged in business and/or travelling. From the point of view of the poetry, this seems perfectly reasonable because there are many poems where he does precisely that. The coordinative in the second half makes perfect sense now, too:

MSSML 631: 41. [Talking about the heroine in the event of victory]

வென்றிக் காலத்தும் விளங்கித் தோன்றும்

venṇirik kālattum viḷankit tōṇṇum

It (the talking) clearly appears in times of victory, too.

The two following additions are slightly different types. Within the logic of the treatise itself, the first of them simply looks out of place as it talks about a *tiṇai*, one of the settings in an interior landscape, the famous correlations between a type of landscape and the feelings of the protagonists.¹¹ This is a topic only alluded to and presupposed in *IA*, but *in extenso* it is treated by the commentator, who also quotes this older anonymous aphorism in connection with his exposition of the types of separation possible (subsequent to *IA* 51), since Pālai, the

¹¹ The five key settings in Tamil poetry are Kuṇiñci, Mullai, Neytal, Marutam and Pālai, that is, a mountain, forest, the seaside, a river valley or a desert, each correlating with poetic moods and themes. In the case of Pālai, the desert, it is associated with separation and suffering. The term 'interior landscape' was first brought up by Ramanujan 1967; the basic conventions are explained, for example, in Zvelebil 1986.

desert region, is the part of the poetic universe where most of these separations take place (See Fig. 3: *sūtras* 51 + 53 on image 341).

MSSML 631: 51. [Definition of *Pālai*]

பொருள்வயிற் பிரியினும் புரைந்துடன் போகினு
மதுபிரி வுரைப்பினும் பாலை யாகும்

*poruḻvayinḻ piriyaḻnum puraint' uṭaṇ pōkiḻnum
atu piriv' uraippiḻnum pālai ākum*

When [he] separates for the sake of wealth, when they go away together honourably and when [the mother] talks about that as separation, it is *Pālai*.

This short verse neatly summarises the three main sub-situations of *Pālai* encountered in Tamil poetry, namely the solitary journey of the hero, the elopement of hero and heroine, who are not allowed to marry, and finally the heroine's mother pining after her daughter who has gone away to be together with the man. This *sūtra* defining a single *tiṇai* thematically makes perfect sense in the light of *kiḻavi* conventions: the only regional specification to be found there regularly is *iṭaicurattu*, 'in the middle of the desert'. This is a very important addition for somebody engaged in writing the miniature commentaries that add the speech situations to the individual poems (*kiḻavi*).

Similarly, the last additional *sūtra* is an anonymous quotation from Nakkīraṇ's commentary on *IA* 52, but here it is more difficult to understand the copyist's choice. The topic is a trance dance (*veṛi*), which is part of an exorcism ritual initiated by a mother if she is afraid that her daughter's health and beauty are failing, a thing she attributes to malevolent deities and not to the absence of the hero (which she does not know about yet). This is one of the sub-situations that lead to marriage and as such does not have a place in the section on marital life itself (*karṇiyal*):

MSSML 631: 53. [Leaving, although the *veṛi* dance is imminent]

ஆடிய வெறியு மழுங்கிய செலவு
நாடுங் காலை யில்லென மொழிய

*āṭiya veṛiyum aḻuṅkiya celavu
nāṭum kālai illeṇa molīpa.*

Even a *Veṛi* to be danced is not a [reason for] going to be dispensed with, [so] they say at the time of examination.

The aphorism says that the hero may not delay his departure even if the *Veri* dance is about to be performed, thus exposing the secret love affair.¹² Just as in the case of *Pālai*, the *veri* dance is not treated in the standard treatise, which is very concise, but is an element that plays a role in the production of *kīlavis*. This does not seem to be the point here, though, since what is explained is not the normal situation where the *veri* dance occurs in poetry, namely in the phase of secrecy (*kaḷavu*) when a mother starts an exorcism rite to help her daughter regain her health, but the relation between the dance and the topic of separation: even though discovery may be imminent – because the *veri* dance is one of the occasions that lead to the discovery of the secret love affair (and then to marriage) – the hero should not postpone his journey. So it is not clear (to me at least) what the text gained by adding this *sūtra*.

In sum, then, what all four additional *sūtras* have in common is that they are quoted in the standard commentary; the scholar who produced this manuscript was definitely familiar with *Nakkīraṅ*, but chose to leave his commentary out for some unknown reason.

4 The end of the text

At the end of the text in the manuscript – not the final summarising *sūtra* of the standard treatise (no. 60), but the caveat that precedes it – the customary end titles do not form a transition to a colophon, either textual or scribal. (The latter would have been surprising as we are still a good way from the end of the manuscript.) But the folio ends with the quotation of two poems which provide some information about the environment and interests of our author-copyist. The first one is the most famous *Caṅkam* poem in the whole corpus, *Kuṟuntokai* 2 (*koṅkutēr vāḷkkai*), the poem that Śaivite legends say Śiva composed himself in order to help his poor but devout devotee Tarumi win the poetic contest instigated by the Pāṇṭiya king in the Madurai academy hall and be rewarded with a thousand gold coins. When all the works of the *Eṭṭuttokai* ('Eight Anthologies') and *Pattuppāṭṭu* ('Ten Songs') were long forgotten, this one poem lived on in public memory. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether our author was actively engaged in re-copying the classical corpus or he only knew the later legends as told in the later Śaiva tradition of the *Tiruvīlaiyāṭarpurāṇams*, for example.

¹² The second line contains a mere metrical filler, as the 'time of examination' refers to the debates among scholars when setting up the rules.

The second poem, which is longer, is the first item in the eleventh *Tirumurai*, book eleven of the Śaiva devotional canon, which is also believed to have been composed by Śiva himself under the name of Tiruvālavāyūṭaiyar (the lord of the sacred temple of Ālavāy in Madurai). In other words, both poems betray strong Śaiva leanings and a definite local affiliation with Madurai, the capital of the Southern Pāṇṭiya dynasty, far from the Cōla city of Tañcāvūr where the manuscript was found. The whole manuscript needs to be studied carefully before any meaningful conclusions about it can be drawn, however, especially the colophons and any other satellite material¹³ it contains.

5 Some tentative conclusions

Obviously, we can only speculate about the purposes that this intelligent adaptation of the standard treatise may have served in this manuscript. It seems fair to say that it is not a chance corruption caused by a loss of information, however. It is quite likely that it had some practical goal such as teaching *akam* (love) poetics to students. Many choices can be convincingly explained as being motivated by what may have been perceived as lacunae in the standard text with respect to one important application of poetic theory, namely the writing of miniature commentaries to the individual poems (*kiḷavi*). These practices were still being pursued by copyists as late as the nineteenth century, as can be seen in the many variations and alternative versions of the *kiḷavis* that come with the early classical corpus. An additional concern may have been the writing of *kōvais*, the genre that corresponded most closely to the treatise, which was kept alive until well into the nineteenth century. Further research will hopefully reveal more to us in the future.

¹³ See Wilden 2017 for a preliminary discussion of the concept of satellite material (free-floating stanzas surrounding the main texts in manuscripts, which were copied and connected with their transmission history).

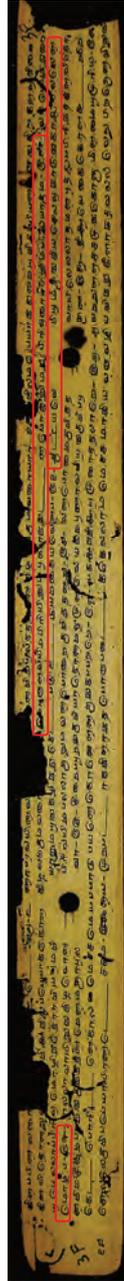
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Figs 2 and 3: The additional *sūtras* found in MSSML 61: *sūtras* 40 + 41 on image 337 (left) and *sūtras* 51 + 53 on image 341 (right); © Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tañcāvūr.

Philippe Depreux

Variations on Some Common Topics in Medieval Latin Letters: The Case of the Salzburg *Formulae* Collection (Late Ninth Century)

Abstract: The Latin manuscript 4650 of the Bavarian State Library is a collection of templates for charters and letters (so-called *formulae*) most probably written in Salzburg in the late ninth or early tenth century. Some of these *formulae* have only been transmitted in that manuscript, but most have been transmitted elsewhere as collections and were probably composed a few generations earlier. It is therefore obvious that this manuscript is a patchwork (or the copy of such a heterogeneous collection), but the heterogeneity of the sources is not apparent at first sight. Only a close analysis of the sequence of the *formulae*, the use of red ink, and small textual changes permits an appreciation of the technique of medieval scribes when adapting previous models for the creation of new collections more suitable to their own needs.

This article deals with the ways in which medieval scribes used letters or models for letters to create new templates for their own use. During the early Middle Ages (c. 500–1050), models of this kind were often copied as collections containing templates for charters as well as models for writing letters, both of which were called *formulae*.¹ This study is devoted to a collection made in Carolingian times and preserved in the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4650 (or Clm 4650 for short). This rather small codex (135 × 107 mm) was written around the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.² The quality of

1 On collections of *formulae*, see Brown 2009; Rio 2009. On medieval letters, see Constable 1976; Perelman 1991; Ysebaert 2015. On formularies as a mixture of letters and charters, see Depreux (forthcoming).

2 A description can be found in Glauche 1994, 283–284; Rio 2009, 247–248. For more information on the codex, see the book on East Frankish manuscripts containing collections of *formulae* to be published by Till Hennings and myself.

the parchment is average:³ the volume is not a deluxe edition, but a booklet intended for everyday use.

Most of the codices containing *formulae* are miscellaneous manuscripts. Only a few of them just contain templates for charters and letters. Clm 4650 is one of these; a medieval scribe who lived later, probably in the eleventh century, wrote at the top of the first folio that the codex was a ‘handbook for various matters’ (fol. 1^r: *liber breviarum uniuscuiusque rei*), and a late medieval scribe wrote on the verso of the cover sheet that it was a ‘formulary for letters’ (*formularium epistolarum*) – in noting this, he was only focusing on one specific kind of text copied in the codex, though. Because of a mistake made by a bookbinder, the manuscript is not preserved in its original form, but the right order can easily be restored. The end of the codex has been lost, however.⁴

During the Middle Ages, this manuscript was kept at Benediktbeuern Abbey from at least the eleventh century onwards, but it was probably written in or near Salzburg.⁵ The close connection to the archbishopric church of Salzburg is attested in some of the charter models by the mention of saints who were particularly revered in Salzburg.⁶ Since *formulae* are generally anonymised documents, such information is excellent evidence of the collection’s place of composition. For this reason, the editors of the collection in the nineteenth century called it the ‘Salzburg Formulary’ (*Salzburgisches Formelbuch*⁷ – meaning the whole codex – or *Formulae Salzburgenses*⁸ [abbreviated as Form. Salz. hereinafter] when referring to the *formulae* transmitted at the end of the manuscript).

³ By way of example, the size of fol. 38 and fol. 65 is smaller than the others because the scribe used waste leaf.

⁴ Rozière 1859, 11; Bischoff 1980, 201–202. See the table in the present article indicating the right order of the quires and the precise description of their content.

⁵ Bischoff 1980, 201–202; Bierbrauer 1990, 78–79 (Kat. 144).

⁶ Rozière 1859, 13; Schröder 1892, 165–166.

⁷ Rockinger 1858, 45 (concerning the whole manuscript).

⁸ Zeumer 1886, 438 (specifically relating to the models only preserved in that manuscript).

1 The homogeneity of a heterogeneous manuscript

Clm 4650 contains *formulae* of diverse origin copied without any indication of their heterogeneous provenance; the layout is very uniform, in fact.⁹ It is unclear whether the scribe made a selection himself or if he copied a ready-made collection that was at his disposal. Consequently, it is hard to say if he was aware he was copying texts that belonged to various collections. Indeed, it is unclear whether these different collections ever existed in the form in which they were published in the late nineteenth century. Traditionally, Clm 4650 has been described – and perceived – as a series of three collections,¹⁰ but this is actually far from certain. Historians were sure for a long time that these *formulae* belonged to different collections, but we now know that these ‘certitudes’ need to be treated with great caution, as Karl Zeumer’s edition is an ‘editorial fiction’ in many cases.¹¹ Along with the *Formulae Salzburgenses* and a small collection of letters written by Alcuin framing the end of the codex, we find texts edited by Zeumer as parts of collections arbitrarily called *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae*, *Addimenta* to the *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae* and *Formulae Marculfinae aevi Karolini*.¹² None of these collections have been copied *en bloc*: Clm 4650 is a patchwork – albeit a nicely arranged one (or a copy of one) since no transition from one quire to another coincides with a rupture within a text (or – in the case of the first and second quire – within a coherent group of texts). The following overview should make this clear.

9 Sonnlechner 2007, 215: ‘Ebenso sticht die Regelmäßigkeit des Buchblocks ins Auge, wie die gesamte Handschrift auch generell einen homogenen Eindruck macht und eine einheitliche Konzeption erkennen läßt’.

10 Schröder 1892, 165: ‘Nach ihrem Inhalte zerfällt diese Sammlung in drei Teile, von denen die beiden ersten auch als selbständige Sammlungen vorkommen [...]. Der Salzburger Kompilator hat [...] diese im Lande [i.e. Bavaria] schon bekannte Sammlung nur durch Hinzufügung des die eigentlichen Salzburger Formeln enthaltenden dritten Teils erweitert’; Sonnlechner 2007, 214: ‘Dieser Codex enthält drei Sammlungen, zuallererst die sogenannten *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae*, dann die sogenannten *Formulae Marculfinae aevi Karolini* und schließlich die *Formulae Salzburgenses*’.

11 Brown 2013, 129 (referring to Rio 2009).

12 See Rio 2009, 101–110 on these collections.

Table 1: *Formulae* collections in Clm 4650

Quire	Folios	Text	Edition
1	1 ^r –7 ^v	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., nos 1–7	Zeumer 1886, 266–271
2	8 ^r –15 ^v	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., nos 8–14	Zeumer 1886, 271–277
	15 ^v	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., <i>Additamenta</i> , no. 1 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 282
3	16 ^r –18 ^r	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., <i>Additamenta</i> , nos 1 (end)–3	Zeumer 1886, 282–283
	18 ^r –23 ^v	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., nos 15–20 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 277–281
5	32 ^r –33 ^r	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., nos 20 (end)–21	Zeumer 1886, 281–282
	33 ^r –39 ^v	Form. Marculfinae aevi Karol., nos 1–12 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 115–119
4	24 ^r –25 ^v	Form. Marculfinae aevi Karol., nos 12 (end)–14	Zeumer 1886, 119–120
	25 ^v –28 ^v	Form. Marculfinae aevi Karol., nos 17–21	Zeumer 1886, 120–122
	28 ^v –29 ^r	Form. Sal. Lindenbrog., <i>Additamenta</i> , no. 4	Zeumer 1886, 283–284
	29 ^r –31 ^v	Form. Marculfinae aevi Karol., nos 22–25 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 122–124
8	56 ^r –63 ^r	Form. Marculfinae aevi Karol., nos 25 (end)–31 [<i>finit</i>]	Zeumer 1886, 124–127
	63 ^r – ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 1–2 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 439–440
9	64 ^r –66 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 2 (end)–6	Zeumer 1886, 440–441
	66 ^v –68 ^r	Moral and spiritual considerations ¹³	Rockinger 1858, 133–134
	68 ^r –71 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 7–16 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 441–444
6	40 ^r –41 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 16 (end)–20 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 444–445
	41 ^v –42 ^v	Moral and spiritual considerations ¹⁴	Rockinger 1858, 141–142
	42 ^v –47 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 20 (end)–39 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 445–448

13 *Jam quondam fidelis mentem in anima coram Deo proficiendo solet esse.* There is no physical border between Form. Salzb. 6 and these moral and spiritual considerations (only the first letter of the latter is marked in red). This text was also edited by Rozière (1859, 38–39). Karl Zeumer did not edit it, as he thought that these spiritual considerations had nothing to do with *formulae* (Zeumer 1886, 441, footnote 6d: ‘quae in c. sequuntur omisi, cum ad formulam pertinere non viderentur’).

14 *Erat quidam iudex in civitate ut non desinat esse quod antea fuit.* There is no physical separation between Form. Salzb. 20 and these moral and spiritual considerations either (only the first letter of the latter is marked in red). This text was also edited by Rozière (1859, 44–45). Karl Zeumer chose not to edit it for a similar reason to the one just mentioned (Zeumer 1886, 445, n. 20c).

Quire	Folios	Text	Edition
7	48 ^{r-v}	Form. Salzb., nos 39 (end)–43	Zeumer 1886, 448–449
	48 ^v –49 ^r	Questions and answers on God and creation ¹⁵	Rockinger 1858, 151–152
	49 ^r –55 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 44–60 (beginning)	Zeumer 1886, 449–453
11	80 ^r –84 ^v	Form. Salzb., nos 60 (end)–66	Zeumer 1886, 453–455
	84 ^v –85 ^v	Alcuin, letter no. 294 (to an English pupil) (beginning)	Dümmler 1895, 451–452
10	72 ^{r-v}	Alcuin, letter no. 294 (end)	Dümmler 1895, 452
	72 ^v –74 ^r	Alcuin, letter no. 107 (to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 153–154
	74 ^r –75 ^r	Alcuin, letter no. 167 (to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 275
	75 ^r –76 ^r	Alcuin, letter no. 146 (to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 235–236
	76 ^r –77 ^v	Alcuin, letter no. 165 (to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 267–268
	77 ^v –78 ^v	Alcuin, letter no. 150 (to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 245–246
	78 ^v –79 ^r	Alcuin, letter no. 153 (possibly to Arn of Salzburg)	Dümmler 1895, 248
	79 ^{r-v}	Alcuin, letter no. 173 (to Arn of Salzburg) (beginning ¹⁶)	Dümmler 1895, 286
	79 ^v	Alcuin, letter no. 156 (to Arn of Salzburg) (beginning ¹⁷)	Dümmler 1895, 253

Clm 4560 opens with the *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogiana*. These *formulae* are also transmitted in a manuscript written in the late ninth century and now kept at The Royal Library in Copenhagen.¹⁸ In the middle of this collection there are three templates that have only been transmitted here¹⁹ (Zeumer called them ‘supplements’: *additamenta*). The first one is a model for a mutual donation between married people (*carta inter virum et uxorem*), which is an abbreviated adaptation

15 *Interrogatio: Quid sit inter substantiam et una divinitas*. There is no physical separation between Form. Salzb. 43 and this questioning either (the abbreviation for *interrogatio* and the first letter of the phrase are marked in red, though). The questioning is a heavily abbreviated summary of a letter that Alcuin sent his pupil Arn, who later became the archbishop of Salzburg: Dümmler 1895, 426–427 (no. 268).

16 The text ends abruptly in the middle of a phrase (Dümmler 1895, 286 l. 18: *per rivolos sanctitatis*).
17 The next quire has been lost; the text ends with *licet dubitationem aliquam* (Dümmler 1895, 253 l. 14).

18 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1943 4°; description in Rio 2009, 242–243.

19 Rio 2009, 108.

of a widely circulated late Merovingian *formula* on the same topic (Marculf, II, no. 7; the Marculfian *formula* contains a more detailed description of the goods that a man gives his wife and the gift she makes him in return).²⁰ Both of the other *formulae* are model texts for making a donation to a church (*donacio ad ecclesiam Dei* and *Donatio ad casam Dei*). The beginning of the first one could be (but was not necessarily) influenced by a charter from Freising Cathedral.²¹ The following *formulae* are adaptations of other Marculfian *formulae* as well, some of which have also been transmitted in another manuscript written in the late ninth or early tenth century and now kept at Leiden University Library.²² Three of these *formulae* (*Formulae Marculfinae aevi Karolini* nos 15, 16, and 32) are only found in the Leiden manuscript.²³ In the middle of these *formulae* in Clm 4650, there is a model of a circular announcing the death of a cleric or monk and asking for people to pray for his soul (*Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogiana, Additamenta*, no. 4). This model of a letter has also been transmitted in the Copenhagen manuscript mentioned previously.²⁴ This is crucial evidence of how scribes could create a collection of *formulae*: they did not copy one collection slavishly, but invented compilations of their own on the basis of heterogeneous material they selected and adapted to their own needs. Some fragments of a ninth-century manuscript²⁵ used for bookbinding prove that another collection with similar (but not exactly the same)²⁶ material existed elsewhere in Bavaria, namely in Saint-Emmeram (Regensburg).²⁷

The next group of texts copied in Clm 4650 (i.e. the *Formulae Salzburgenses*) mostly consists of models of letters.²⁸ In some cases, it is possible to identify the origin of the texts copied there, but not always. The letters of one of

20 Zeumer 1886, 79–80.

21 John 1936, 93. The reason for that presumption is the mention of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

22 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. O.86. A description of it is in Rio 2009, 246–247.

23 Rio 2009, 108–109.

24 Rio 2009, 242.

25 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29585/2; see Bischoff 1974, 258; Bischoff 1980, 247. The fragments of the Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg discovered and published by Jürgen Sydow in 1957 have now been lost (email from Nicole Geiger to my colleague, Christoph Walther, 19 Nov. 2018).

26 Sydow 1957, 525: ‘die Textgestaltung schließt sich hier nahe an die [...] Handschrift Clm. 4650 aus Benediktbeuern an, ohne daß man aber direkt von einer Abhängigkeit sprechen könnte’.

27 Zeumer 1883; Zeumer 1886, 461–468 (‘Formularum codicis S. Emmerami fragmenta’); Sydow 1957.

28 Most of the *Formulae Salzburgenses* are models for writing (parts of) letters, but one can find models for charters as well (see Form. Salz. 4 and 5).

Charlemagne's most venerated and prominent advisors, the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin, were obviously of great importance in the creation of that collection.²⁹ The scribe who wrote out Clm 4650 (or the author of this collection if we assume that Clm 4650 is not an original compilation) had various letters written by Alcuin at his disposal and copied short extracts of them or abbreviated them. He used the beginning and end of a letter to the monks of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow Abbey³⁰ and he recycled the last sentence elsewhere in his collection;³¹ he used the first phrase of that letter and combined it with the beginning of a letter to Aethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, for another *formula*.³² The author of the Salzburg collection also used other letters from and to Alcuin: a letter to Riculf, archbishop of Mainz,³³ the beginning of a letter to a priest named Monna,³⁴ a letter to an unnamed friend celebrating their affection for each other, together with the end of a letter to the king of Mercia,³⁵ a letter to Ricbod, archbishop of Trier,³⁶ a letter of recommendation for a pilgrim travelling to Rome,³⁷ a letter to Arn of Salzburg addressing questions of faith,³⁸ a letter to Angilbert, abbot of Corbie³⁹ and a letter to Pope Leo III.⁴⁰ He also quoted the ending of a letter sent to Alcuin by Charlemagne's sister Gisla and one of his daughters (Rodtruda).⁴¹ The author

29 Bischoff 1973, 10: 'Geplündert wurden dafür die unter Arn angelegten Handschriften der Alcuin-Briefe; neben ganzen ausgeschriebenen Briefen verteilen sich kürzere Entlehnungen in neuen Formeln fast über die ganze Sammlung'. On Alcuin's Letters see Veyrard-Cosme 2013; short allusion to Clm 4650 in Veyrard-Cosme 2013, 82 (the indication of date ["c. 840"] cannot refer to the manuscript but to the compilation of Alcuin's letters).

30 Letter no. 19 (Dümmler 1895, 53 up to l. 15 and 56 ll. 19–22) used for Form. Salz. 34 (Zeumer 1886, 447).

31 Letter no. 19 (Dümmler 1895, 56 ll. 25–26) used for Form. Salz. 42 (Zeumer 1886, 449).

32 Letter no. 19 (Dümmler 1895, 53 ll. 9–11) and letter 17 (Dümmler 1895, 45 ll. 12–16) used for Form. Salz. 43 (Zeumer 1886, 449).

33 Letter no. 35 (Dümmler 1895, 77) used for Form. Salz. 35 (Zeumer 1886, 447).

34 Letter no. 38 (Dümmler 1895, 80 ll. 21–23) used for Form. Salz. 40 (Zeumer 1886, 448).

35 Letter no. 39 (Dümmler 1895, 82 up to l. 25: *permaneat fraternitas*) used for Form. Salz. 33 (Zeumer 1886, 447 up to l. 20: *permaneat caritas veraque fraternitas*); letter 61 (Dümmler 1895, 105: *Divina te in omni bonitate pietas florere faciat, fili carissime*) used for *Divina te in omni bono florere faciat pietas, fili et frater karissime* (Zeumer 1886, 447 l. 23).

36 Letter no. 49 (Dümmler 1895, 93 ll. 11–17 and 22–24) used for Form. Salz. 36 (Zeumer 1886, 448).

37 Letter no. 140 (Dümmler 1895, 222) used for Form. Salz. 1 (Zeumer 1886, 439–440).

38 Letter no. 268 (Dümmler 1895, 426–427) used for some questions and answers on God and creation (Rockinger 1858, 151–152: no. XCIX).

39 Letter no. 151 (Dümmler 1895, 247) used (with some modifications) for Form. Salz. 52 (Zeumer 1886, 450).

40 Letter no. 180 (Dümmler 1895, 298) used for Form. Salz. 60 (Zeumer 1886, 452–453).

41 Letter no. 196 (Dümmler 1895, 325) used for Form. Salz. 6 (Zeumer 1886, 441).

used not only the Anglo-Saxon master's letters, but also other models (for instance Augustine's).⁴² The end of the codex consists of a small collection of letters that Alcuin wrote to Arn of Salzburg (785–821). Unlike the *formulae*, these letters were not anonymised. It has been supposed that Arn himself may have adapted Alcuin's letters and diplomatic material to the needs of the archbishopric chancellery,⁴³ but a closer look at the text does not support that hypothesis.⁴⁴ It is more likely that the collection called *Formulae Salzburgenses* was made during the episcopate of Archbishop Liupramm (836–859) and Master Baldo.⁴⁵ For that reason it is rather unlikely that Clm 4650 is the original manuscript of this collection of letters; it is probably a copy of a manuscript that has now been lost or is still unknown.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Archbishop Arn of Salzburg greatly influenced the content of Clm 4650, which is also an important testimony to the intercultural exchange between the core territory of Carolingian power and the periphery: no-one other than Arn, who was also the abbot of Elnone Abbey (today Saint-Amand-les-Eaux in Northern France), was responsible for the introduction of Frankish legal wording to Bavaria (as attested by the *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae*).⁴⁷

2 Layout and textual interpretation

The historians who edited Clm 4650 in the nineteenth century disagreed about the number of texts it contains: 126⁴⁸ or 132.⁴⁹ The reason for that is the difficulty in determining where some texts begin and where they end, as there is not always a clear distinction between *formulae*. Based on the structure of the collection and on the fact that texts in different places in the manuscript occur in other manuscripts as well, Clm 4650 is most probably a fusion of smaller collections.⁵⁰ One thing is certain, however: the scribe(s) of Clm 4650 made no distinction between

⁴² Form. Salzb. 54 (Zeumer 1886, 451).

⁴³ Lhotsky 1963, 158–159.

⁴⁴ Bischoff 1973, 10–11.

⁴⁵ For more on him, see Bischoff 1980, 78–82.

⁴⁶ In Theodor Sickel's opinion, Clm 4650 is a copy of Vienna, ÖNB, 808. See Bullough 2002, 74 on the link between both manuscripts.

⁴⁷ Sonnlechner 2007, 207–221.

⁴⁸ Rockinger 1858, 5.

⁴⁹ Rozière 1859, 11.

⁵⁰ Rozière 1859, 14; Rio 2009, 101–110. The identification of the diverse texts upon which this codex rests is a difficult task and cannot be covered in detail here.

what we now see as different parts of that collection; there is no codicological distinction, nor any clear separation between the texts copied before the *Formulae Salzburgenses* and that collection, which is only transmitted in Clm 4650 and begins with a model for writing a letter of recommendation indicated by the heading ‘*Tractura*’ (for *tractoria*, i.e. ‘credentials’) – similar to many other headings in the codex (Fig. 1). The scribe was obviously aware of at least one thing: he knew that the text he had copied on the last leaf of that quire, which contained various models for charters, was a new model of a letter, as the text copied before that model for a *tractoria* ends with the word *finit* (‘the end’). It is not really clear, however, if this means ‘the end of that particular text’ (i.e. the model for a *confirmatio regalis* – a charter of confirmation issued by the king)⁵¹ or ‘the end of that section’ (i.e. the part with models for charters which their editor, Karl Zeumer, thought was a coherent section ending there⁵²). As we have already seen, Clm 4650 is a mixture of texts of diverse origin: these templates were parts of various collections in the eyes of Karl Zeumer and his readers, but not necessarily in the eyes of the medieval scribe. One important piece of evidence for the presumption that medieval scribes in or near Salzburg did not regard these templates as different texts that had been grouped together, but as a continuum is palaeographical. Bernhard Bischoff distinguished three different hands: the first transition from one hand to the other is supposed to occur on fol. 16^r and the second change is supposed to occur on fol. 69^v. If Bischoff’s palaeographical analysis is correct,⁵³ then the changes occur in the middle of two *formulae* and not at the end of a section: the same scribe (the second one, according to Bischoff) copied models of charters and models of letters without any obvious break. In any case, I do not find Bischoff’s conclusion entirely convincing (see Fig. 2).

Unlike modern editions, the *formulae* are not numbered in the manuscript. Some letters contain elements in red ink, but there is no systematic distinction between the different models as such: the scribe used red to underline important words or make subdivisions in his text. He did it in the same manner for parts of one and the same *formula* as well as between two different *formulae*. Let us take Form. Salz. 3–5, for example (the text is shortened and the letters in red are underlined here):

51 Clm 4650, fols 61^v–63^r, edition: Zeumer 1886, 126–127 (*Formulae Marculfinae aevi Karolini*, no. 31).

52 Zeumer 1881, 42–43.

53 Bischoff 1980, 202. The first change is supposed to occur in the middle of *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogiana*, *Additamenta*, no. 1 (edition: Zeumer 1881, 282); the second change is supposed to occur in the middle of Form. Salz. 10 (Zeumer 1881, 442).

[Fol. 64^v] End of Form. Salzb. 2: *domino sanctissimi fratres*. End of the line left blank.

Beginning of Form. Salzb. 3 on a new line: *Domino eximio meritoque honorabili pio pastori et sanctae sedis presuli N. humilis servulus vester ...*

[Fol. 65^r] End of Form. Salzb. 3: *cosmi polique creator!* Very little space is left blank.

Beginning of Form. Salzb. 4 on a new line: *Ille igitur utitur bene de istis transitoriis et caducis rebus ... sempiterna. Quapropter ego in Dei nomine ...*

[Fol. 65^v] Form. Salzb. 4: *Christo propitio in omnibus habeant potestatem. Isti sunt testes per aures tracti, qui ipsam traditionem viderunt et confirmare debent, quorum hic nomina subter tenentur inserta. Actum in mallo publico sub die mensis ill.* End of Form. Salzb. 4 at the end of a line. Beginning of Form. Salzb. 5 on a new line: *Quia pro aeternae beatitudinis memoria necesse est ...*

As this example shows, the beginning of each *formula* is marked by a red letter, but red has also been used to mark the placeholder for the name of the author who wrote the letter ‘Form. Salzb. 3’ (N.) and in the charter ‘Form. Salzb. 4’ to mark the beginning of the dispositive clause (*quapropter*: ‘therefore’...) and the beginning of the list of witnesses and another strategic place in that announcement (‘those [*isti*] are the witnesses, who’ – according to a specific Bavarian custom – ‘have been dragged by the ears, saw how this donation was made and must confirm it, whose [*quorum*] names are written below’). But there is no rule, and to be honest, such differentiation sometimes makes little sense because the words beginning with a red letter are not all at the beginning of a sentence or another strategic place. Scribes felt free to emphasise certain words and sentences in a way we hardly understand today. Often, however, it is worth trying to understand why they did so because it can help us to see their perception of the structure of the texts they copied and to edit and read them correctly.

3 Examples of variations

Writing a medieval letter is something like improvising variations upon a theme. The comparison between two similar texts shows how it works. Let us take a collection of 21 letters as an example. These were copied by Frobenius Forster, the abbot of St Emmeram in Regensburg, on the basis of a ninth-century manuscript, which has since been lost. The collection is structured alphabetically: the first letter begins with the word *almifico*, the second letter with *beatissimo*, the third

with *clarissimae*, and so on.⁵⁴ This collection, which probably dates from the beginning of the ninth century (one letter was written before 796, another in 807 and a third document may have been written in 814⁵⁵), contains some models that are similar to letters in the last part of Clm 4650.⁵⁶ Obviously there was either a primitive collection which was the source of inspiration for both scribes (the scribe of Bischoff's 'Alphabetische Sammlung' and the scribe of Zeumer's *Formulae Salzburgenses*) or the scribe who wrote out the *Formulae Salzburgenses* had the manuscript of Bischoff's 'Alphabetische Sammlung' at his disposal – and not vice versa since the text of letters 2 and 5 of the 'Alphabetische Sammlung' is more accurate than the texts of Form. Salzb. 62 and 60 respectively; these were anonymised more and therefore cannot have been used as models for the 'Alphabetische Sammlung'.⁵⁷ Such models of letters were not transcribed slavishly, however: the scribes took some liberty in copying the *formulae*, as a comparison between the first item in the 'Alphabetische Sammlung' and Form. Salzb. 59 makes clear (see below; the words that are identical in both are in italics, while the differences are in normal type). The first sentence is almost exactly the same (only one word has been added in the Salzburg model). The occasion is a similar one: in the first case, the writer reminds his addressee of his promise to send more relics of saints and asks him to do so right away; in Form. Salzb. 59, the speaker also alludes to the promise made by the addressee and asks for some medicine. In both cases, the required goods are to be given to the messenger. Both writings are clearly variations on a similar theme. The topic and rhetoric are the same, though. Apart from the beginning, the wording is different throughout:

'Alphabetische Sammlung', no. 1 (Bischoff 1973, 34)	Form. Salzb. 59 (Zeumer 1886, 452)
Beginning: <i>Almifico et glorioso et per omnia colendo viro ill. Ego ill. In Christi nomine devotus vester cum totis visceribus in domino Iesu Christo perpetuam atque rosifluam deprecimus salutem et gloriam.</i>	Beginning: <i>Almifico et glorioso et per omnia colendo viro ill. Ego ill. In Christi nomine devotus vester cum totis visceribus serviens in domino Iesu Christo perpetuam atque rosifluam deprecimus salutem et gloriam.</i>

⁵⁴ Published by Bischoff 1973, 34–42; see Löfstedt and Lanham 1975 on this edition.

⁵⁵ Bischoff 1973, 13–14.

⁵⁶ Bischoff 1973, 13. Bischoff mentions seven letters, but in his edition he refers to eight identical models (*Formulae Salzburgenses* nos 57 and 60–66) and two quite similar texts (*Formulae Salzburgenses* nos 58–59).

⁵⁷ Bischoff 1973, 13, 34 and 35.

'Alphabetische Sammlung', no. 1
(Bischoff 1973, 34)

Form. Salzb. 59
(Zeumer 1886, 452)

Allusion to the promise made by the addressee:

Recordare dignetur pia almitas vestra, *quod praesenti* nostrae locutione aliquas reliquias sanctorum nobis pollicere dignata est.

Request for relics:

Enimvero *humiliter deprecamus* magnam ac piam prudentiam vestram, *ut per praesentem nostrum* gerulum eas nobis mittere dignemini, ut Deus glorificetur in illis et vita nostra proficiat cum illis et merces vestra in aeterna gloria ad crescat pro illis.

Ending:

Valeat et vigeat magna caritas vestra multis feliciter in hoc saeculo annis et in futuro in caelestibus sedibus atque *angelorum* coetibus in gloria perpetua vos Iesus Christus collocare dignetur, coronam *aeternae* vita percipere mereamini.

Allusion to the promise made by the addressee:

Recurret ad memoriam gloriae dignitatis vestrae, *quod* nobis bonitas promisit vestra *praesenti* fabulatione medicum unum praestare, nostros egrotos ac infirmos medicinali arte curare.

Request for medicine:

Propterea *humiliter deprecamur* largam clementiam vestram, *ut nobis per presentem* missum *nostrum* eum dirigatis usque ad nos, hac de causa sollicitandi.

Ending:

Nos autem vestrum condignum servitium impendere, undecumque nobis iubere dignetis, parati sumus, sicut dignum est tali viro Deique servo fidelique amico facere. *Valete* nunc et semper feliciter et in *aeternum* cum *angelorum* laudibus choris.

Bernhard Bischoff proposed a connection between the Bavarian collections (the 'Alphabetische Sammlung' he edited and the *Formulae Salzburgenses* edited by Zeumer) and a small collection of ten model letters (*Collectio codicis Havniensis 1943* edited by Zeumer) also probably dating from the 820s (one letter is addressed to Pope Paschalis, who reigned from 817 to 824), which is preserved in the Copenhagen manuscript mentioned above⁵⁸ and is also organised alphabetically.⁵⁹ Bischoff's hypothesis is based on a comparison between the beginning and end of these letters,⁶⁰ but this is not convincing, as the following list of occurrences based on Bischoff's indications in his edition shows (again, the

⁵⁸ Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1943 4°.

⁵⁹ Edition: Zeumer 1886, 522–524.

⁶⁰ Bischoff 1973, 15.

shared words are in italics); not only does the wording differ significantly, but there is very little overlap between the addressees:

Collectio codicis Havniensis 1943 (Zeumer 1886, 522–524)		Form. Salzb. (Zeumer 1886, 452–455) ≈ ‘Alphabetische Sammlung’ (Bischoff 1973, 34–42)	
No. 1 (beg.)	To an emperor: <i>Almifico</i> adque excellentissimo domino meo ill., a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatore, ego ill. humilissimus servulus vester.	Form. Salzb. 59 = Bischoff, no. 1 (beg.)	To an important person: <i>Almifico</i> et glorioso et per omnia colendo viro ill. ego ill. in Christi nomine devotus vester cum totis visceribus (serviens) in domino Iesu Christo perpetuam atque rosifluam deposcimus salutem et gloriam.
No. 1 (ending)	<i>Valeat</i> gloriosissimus dominus meus multis feliciter in seculo annis, et in futuro in angelorum choro coronam aeternae gloriae percipere beatissimam mereamur. Amen.	Bischoff, no. 1 (ending)	<i>Valeat</i> et vigeat magna caritas vestra multis feliciter in hoc saeculo annis et in futuro in caelestibus sedibus atque angelorum coetibus in gloria perpetua vos Iesus Christus collocare dignetur, coronam aeternae vita percipere mereamini.
No. 2 (beg.)	To a king: <i>Beatissimo</i> et gloriosimo domino meo illo, christianissimo viro a Deo et angelis eius electo adque in imperio sublimato, ego ill. servulus vester ubique devotus adque fidelis in omnibus obediens.	Form. Salzb. 62 = Bischoff, no. 2 (beg.)	To an archbishop (ad archiepiscopum): <i>Beatissimo</i> et nutu divino honorabiliter atque honorifice in cathedra episcopali sacerdotii dignitati functo ill. episcopo ill., quamvis indignus, tamen, annuente divina gratia, abba vocitatus vester ex totis recordiis fidelis ac devotus famulus per hanc seriem litterarum nostrarum in Deo patre inmarcescibilem atque in rosifluo odore optamus perennem salutem.

Collectio codicis Havniensis 1943
 (Zeumer 1886, 522–524)

Form. Salzb. (Zeumer 1886, 452–455)
 ≈ ‘Alphabetische Sammlung’
 (Bischoff 1973, 34–42)

No. 3 (beg.)	To a queen or another woman (Ad regina sive qualibet femina): <i>Carissimae aelectae Dei illa amica sanctorum</i> et socia angelorum <i>ac consolatrix pauperum et peregrinorum</i> ego ill. fidelissimus serviens <i>vester</i> secundum intelligentiam parvitatatis nostrae.	Form. Salzb. 63 = Bischoff, no. 3 (beg.)	To a nun (Ad monialem sanctam) <i>Clarissimae</i> virgini, <i>electae Dei</i> et <i>amicae sanctorum ac consolatrici pauperum et peregrinorum</i> ill. sponsa Christi ill. humillimus servus servorum Dei monachus, <i>vester</i> fidelis in parvitate orationum nostrarum orator, in rosarum niveoque candore speciem pulchritudinis vestrae felicem optamus salutem.
No. 3 (ending)	<i>Valeat</i> domine meae genetrix gloriosa <i>nunc et semper et in aeterna feliciter</i> Dei gloria cum sanctis angelis perpetualiter.	Form. Salzb. 63 = Bischoff, no. 3 (ending)	<i>Vale</i> , virgo gloriosa, <i>nunc et semper in aeterna feliciter</i> secula.
No. 5 (beg.)	To a bishop (Ad episcopum): <i>Eximio et orthodoxo viro a Deo coronato</i> ill. episcopo ego ill. in domino Iesu Christo sempiternam obto salutem.	Form. Salzb. 60 = Bischoff, no. 5 (beg.)	To the pope (Ad papam): <i>Eximio et orthodoxo, a Deo coronato</i> , magno viro, gemma a sacerdotum, ill. summo presuli, sede summa aureaque Romana cum gloria et omni honestate feliciter regente, ille vilissimus omnium servorum Dei servus.
No. 7 (beg.)	To a brother or a friend (Ad fratrem vel amicum): <i>Glorioso</i> et venerabiliter desiderando domino meo, germano carissimo illo, ego ill. In fide et caritate et tota dilectione vestram dulcissimam fraternitatem <i>salutem</i> , vitam, pacem et gloriam obtamus in <i>Domino</i> sempiternam.	Form. Salzb. 65 = Bischoff, no. 7 (beg.)	To an abbot (Ad abbatem): <i>Glorioso</i> atque spiritu sapientiae repleto ill. abbati (...) etenim ill. vesterque fidelis discipulus in <i>domino</i> Iesu regi regum felicem deposcimus <i>salutem</i> .
No. 8 (beg.)	To a sister (Ad sororem): <i>Karissime</i> itaque desiderantissime sorori meae ill. ego ill. in domino Iesu Christo <i>sempiternam salutem</i> .	Form. Salzb. 58 = Bischoff, no. 10 (beg.)	(no specific addressee) <i>Karissimo</i> et amabili viro ill. ego ill. per has apices gloriae dignitatis vestrae <i>sempiternam</i> ac gloriosam opto <i>salutem</i> .

Collectio codicis Havniensis 1943
 (Zeumer 1886, 522–524)

Form. Salzb. (Zeumer 1886, 452–455)
 ≈ ‘Alphabetische Sammlung’
 (Bischoff 1973, 34–42)

No. 9 (beg.)	To a friend (Ad amicum fidelem): <i>Laudabiliter cum omni dilectione et amore nominando fideli amico ill. ego ill. in marcissibilis gloriae salutem.</i>	Form.	To a friend:
No. 10 (beg.)	To a friend (Item ad amicum): <i>Magnifico viro et honorifice diligendo illo amico fideli ill. aeternam salutem.</i>	Form. Salzb. 11 (beg.)	<i>Laudabiliter cum omni dilectione et amore caritatis amabiliter amplectendo illo fideli amico ille quamvis exiguus in vincula caritatis Christi vobis connixus in Deo patre aeterno aeternam ac iocundam destinamus salutem.</i>
No. 10 (ending)	De aliis quoque causis, unde indiguerit, <i>bonitas vestra</i> adiutorium illis inde inpendat. Sic inde agite, ut in vestram fidi sumus bonitatem. Bene <i>valeto</i> .	Bischoff, no. 12 (beg.)	<i>Magnopere diligendo et cum summa veneratione fideliter nominando illo vilis etenim ille vester devotus famulus in Christi benedictione optabilem atque gloriosam optamus salutem et pacem.</i>
		Bischoff, no. 12 (ending)	Taliter inde agere studeatis, qualiter in sanctam ac praeclaram <i>bonitatem vestram</i> in omnibus semper bonis freti sumus de vobis. <i>Valete</i> nunc et semper, vir gloriosissime, feliciter in Christo Iesu et in omnibus sanctis eius. Amen.

As Bischoff rightly argued,⁶¹ the end of the first letter in the Copenhagen collection is similar to the ending of the first piece of the ‘Alphabetische Sammlung’ he edited:

Collectio codicis Havniensis 1943, no. 1
 (Zeumer 1886, 522)

‘Alphabetische Sammlung’, no. 1
 (Bischoff 1973, 34)

Valeat gloriosissimus dominus meus multis feliciter in seculo annis, et in futuro in angelorum choro coronam aeternae gloriae percipere beatissimam mereamur. Amen.

Valeat et vigeat magna caritas vestra multis feliciter in hoc saeculo annis et in futuro in caelestibus sedibus atque angelorum coetibus in gloria perpetua vos Iesus Christus collocare dignetur, coronam aeternae vita percipere mereamini.

⁶¹ Bischoff 1973, 34.

But the topic being dealt with is a common one in Christian thought. Therefore this fails to prove that one scribe's inspiration is to be found in one specific text. Many letters end in that manner – although the wording is different, the meaning is still more or less the same.⁶² These formulations are more likely to be variations on a common theme than a faithful copy. Adaption is the core idea of these *formulae*, as some final examples from the beginning of the 'Formulae Salzburgenses' will show.

On the basis of a letter Alcuin sent to a friend asking him to welcome a pilgrim to Rome, the scribe made a model of a *tractoria*. For this purpose, he modified the beginning and the end of the original text. The address is transformed and extended into a template for various occasions: the author – called a devoted slave (*vernula*) of the Church – could be a bishop, an abbot or a count:

Alcuin, letter no. 140 (Dümmler 1895, 222)

Omnibus venerabilibus viris et diversarum potestatibus dignitatum et sanctae caritatis filii humilis levita Alcuine sempiternae beatitudinis salutem.

Form. Salzb. 1 (Zeumer 1886, 439)

Omnibus venerabilibus viris et diversarum potestatibus dignitatum et sanctae caritatis filii humilis sanctae catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae vernula, episcopus scilicet, sive abbas aut comis, sempiternae benedictionis in domino Salvatore salutem.

⁶² *Collectio Flaviniacensis*, no. 117 (h) (Zeumer 1886, 488): *Tam multiples vobis salutis dirigere cupimus et reliqua, obsecrantes piissimo Domino, ut vos una cum culminis sublimitatis vestre longa per tempora trina conservet Deitas, et, quandoque terrena linquetis, suffragantibus sanctis, angelorum mereatis cetibus glomerare, precelestissime et inclite domne. Formulae Sangallenses miscellaneae*, no. 7 (Zeumer 1886, 383) and no. 17 (Zeumer 1886, 387): *Salus aeterna, quae Christus est, et in hoc presenti tempore vobis longevam salutem et in futuro cum sanctis et electis sempiternam largiri dignetur. Collectio sancti Dionysii*, no. 17 (Zeumer 1886, 505): *Deus omnipotens evis temporibus in presenti seculo vos sanum et incolomem custodiat et in futuro cum sanctis angelis letabundum efficiat. Amen. Formularum epistolarium collectiones minores: e codice Parisiensi lat.* 13090, no. 3 (Zeumer 1886, 530): *Non cessat pes tuus, non cessat manus tua, veniet [dies remunerationis], quando dicitur tibi: 'Venite benedicti et accipe coronam, que tibi a Domino re promissum est'. Rogo insuper, ut memor sis mei, quia ego non obliviscar tui. Vale valeasque perhenniter, amicissime mihi. Formulae extravagantes II*, no. 14 (Zeumer 1886, 560): *Bene valentem et pro nobis orantem beatitudinis vestrae coronam divina misericordia semper et ubique tueatur atque custodiat. MGH, Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. 1, 348 (S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae, no. 76): *Alma trinitas et una divinitas fraternitatem vestram et hic sanctis virtutibus proficientem ac valentem augeat et custodiat et in futura beatitudine, inter splendida angelorum agmina gaudentes remunerando, glorificet.*

The next model, distinguished from the preceding text only by the red colouration of the first letter (*Omnibus*), is another elaborate template on the same topic.⁶³ The address is inspired by imperial diplomas, especially those from Italy (based on the mention of the unique Italian office of the *gastaldi*): *Omnibus venerabilibus viris et fratribus, episcopis, abbatibus, abbatissis, ducibus, comitibus, vicariis, centenariis, castaldiis et omnibus credentibus et Deum timentibus, in partibus Italiae atque Romaniae per monasteria et urbibus atque vicis et villis in Dei nomine permanentibus*. This formulation matches the so-called *praeceptum negotiatorum*, a letter by which Emperor Louis the Pious informed all office-holders in his realm that the merchants named in the document enjoyed his special protection.⁶⁴ Although this text is a unique document that has not been copied word-for-word in other diplomas,⁶⁵ it is a good example of such a letter of recommendation in a diplomatic context.

After a short letter of congratulation⁶⁶ and two models for making donation charters,⁶⁷ there is a letter assuring the addressee that the author is praying to the Lord for his salvation. The *formula* contains a model for phrasing the beginning and end of the message (in prose); the author was supposed to write poetry (*Cetera metrum*) between these two parts. The title ‘to a friend of the same age’ (*Ad amicum coetantum*) is not appropriate; the addressee – a bishop – is called ‘holy father’ (*pater sancte*) and the author, who has known him ‘since his younger days’ (*a primeva iuventutis flore semper mihi familiares fuistis*), is apparently his ‘servant’ (*servulus vester*). This is clearly a letter that a former pupil sent to his master. The end is taken from a letter sent to Alcuin by Gisla, Charlemagne’s sister:

Alcuin, letter no. 196 (Dümmler 1895, 225)

Form. Salzb. 6 (Zeumer 1886, 441)

Spiritus paraclitus omni veritatis doctrina et perfectae caritatis scientia vestra impleat pectora, dulcissime magister.

Spiritus paraclitus omni veritatis doctrina et perfecte caritatis scientia vestra resplendeat pectora, reverentissime presul. Augeatur vobis salus vitaeque perennis!

⁶³ Clm 4650, fols 63^v–64^r = Form. Salzb. no. 2 (Zeumer 1886, 440).

⁶⁴ Zeumer 1886, 314–315 (*Formulae imperiales*, no. 37); see Ganshof 1957 on that document.

⁶⁵ Patt 2016, 169.

⁶⁶ Clm 4650, fols 64^v–65^r = Form. Salzb. no. 3 (Zeumer 1886, 440).

⁶⁷ Clm 4650, fols 65^{r-v} = Form. Salzb. no. 4 (Zeumer 1886, 440–441): donation to the Church of St Rupert made by a man and his wife, to be effective after their death; Clm 4650, fols 65^v–66^r = Form. Salzb. no. 5 (Zeumer 1886, 441): donation to the Monastery of St Peter, to be effective after the donator’s death.

The collection continues – without a visible interruption except for a red initial (Fig. 3) – with a text without a title,⁶⁸ which could be part of the letter before (this interpretation is Dümmler’s, who edited the *formula* as a letter sent to a bishop by a pupil greeting him, but then complaining about his anger).⁶⁹ This text is a collage of religious and moral maxims, which could be taken as a form of homework that a master set his pupil. There are examples of various types of short letters (*Incipiunt indicolorum salutis*) after that. Again we find an example of a letter that a pupil sent his teacher;⁷⁰ it is an adaption of a letter sent by Alcuin to Charlemagne saying that congratulations proceed from love:

Alcuin, letter no. 126 (Dümmler 1895, 185)

Solent itaque de fonte caritatis saepius verba fluere salutationis, vel, si longinquitas terrarum vocis officia neget, apices dilectionis atramento formati multoties recurrant.

Form. Salzb. 7 (Zeumer 1886, 442)

Solent plerumque de fonte caritatis etiam fluere verba salutationis. Nunc vestra melliflua epistola, omni procul dubio auro obrizo dilectior, ad memoriam reducit, quanta bona quantaque humilitate de vobis, magistro et pedagogo meo, amatori nostro, quem etiam nunc intercessorem nostrum, ubicumque est, nullatenus dubito.

The next example (*item alia*) is a letter to a spiritual leader – possibly a bishop – sent by the head of a religious community.⁷¹ This model was copied quite accurately later in that same collection:

Form. Salzb. 8 (Zeumer 1886, 442)

Domino sancto et venerabili patri ill. ill. una cum ceteris famulis ac fidelibus vestris die noctuque oratoribus in sancta religione degentibus in dilectione Dei patris et aspersione sanguinis Iesu Christi sanctique Spiritus amore salutem. Notum ergo sit vobis, venerabilis pater, quod ...

Form. Salzb. 26 (Zeumer 1886, 446)

Domino sancto ac venerabili atque desiderabili patri ill. ill. una cum ceteris famulis ac fidelibus die noctuque oratoribus in ill. congregatione degentibus in dilectione Dei patris et aspersione sanguinis Iesu Christi sanctique Spiritus amore salutem.

⁶⁸ Rockinger 1858, 133–134 (the text begins with the words *Iam quondam fidelis mentem inpatientis furor* ...). Zeumer did not edit this text.

⁶⁹ Dümmler 1895, 498–500 (Epistolae variorum, no. 5): *Episcopum quendam discipulus eius salutatur eique de iracundia cuiusdam queritur.*

⁷⁰ Clm 4650, fol. 68^v = Form. Salzb. no. 7 (Zeumer 1886, 441–442).

⁷¹ Clm 4650, fol. 68^v = Form. Salzb. no. 8 (Zeumer 1886, 442).

We could pursue this brief analysis of the Salzburg collection further and make other comparisons, but it would turn out to be quite repetitive: the originality of the texts assembled here is not to be found in the idiosyncrasy of the thoughts presented in these *formulae*, but in the way in which the scribe put familiar models together to create a new patchwork or collage. The originality of these *formulae* rests upon the adaption of old models in new compilations.

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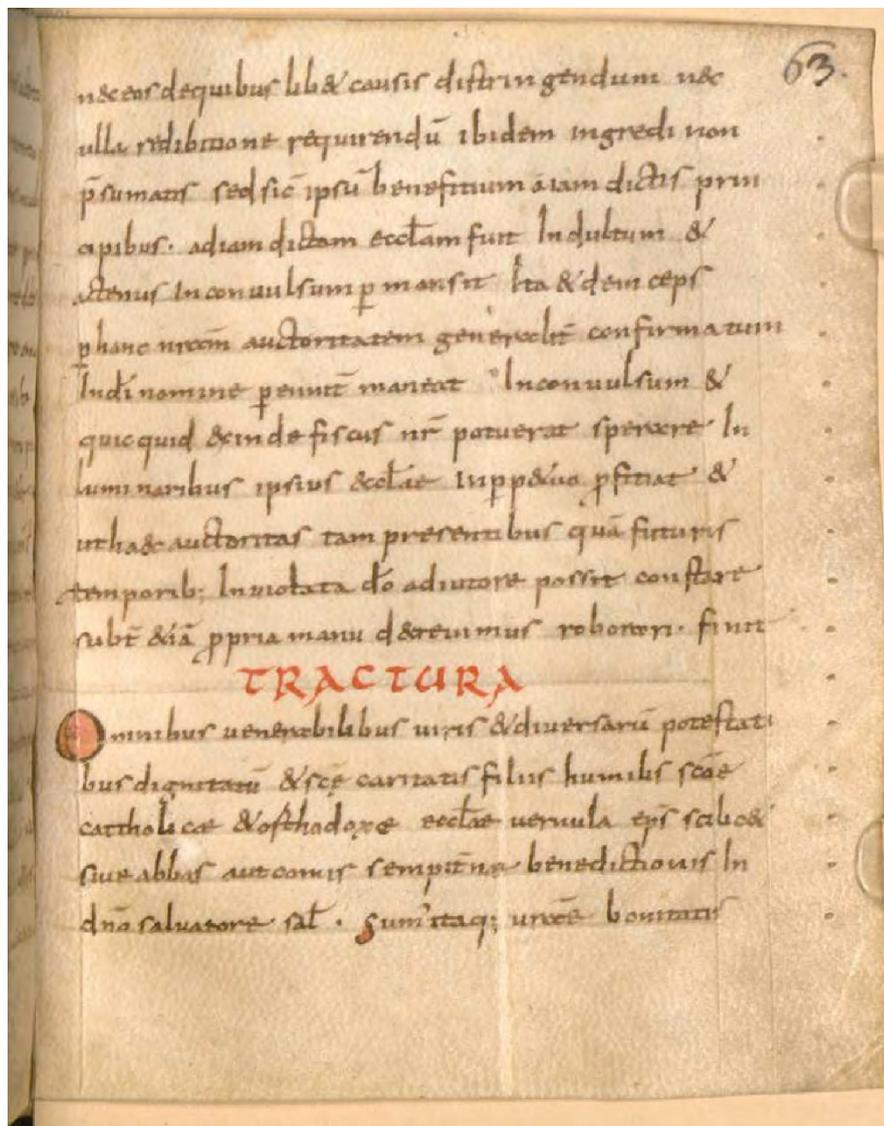


Fig. 1: Clm 4650, fol. 63r (beginning of the 'Salzburg formulae collection'); courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

prosperitate vestra ad augmentum christiani
 populi bonam & libertatem prosperitatem vestram
 semper audivi quod in vestro est deprecari vestram
 magnam clementiam & carissimam paternitatem
 humiliter deprecari quatenus sacro sanctis litteris
 vestris desideratissimam nobis sospitatem vestram
 nobis superius lenificare certos facere dignamur.
 reverentia vestra quam nobis divina pietas in
 omni bono prosperitatem & prosperitatem multos
 annis concedere dignatur;
Dilectissimo & indissolubili caritatis nodo
 amplissime huius divina procurante gratia summo
 pontifici illi illi humiliter procul incontinuitatem
 perennis gloria ac salute. Nos enim impuri
 recordamur in precibus vestris rogantur vos ut memores
 sitis nostri in precibus; **Vultis**
 Divinis muneribus ditato omniumque virtutum
 genere nobilissimo seu celsissimo cordis

Fig. 2: Clm 4650, fol. 69^v (with a supposed change of writing hand at line 12); courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

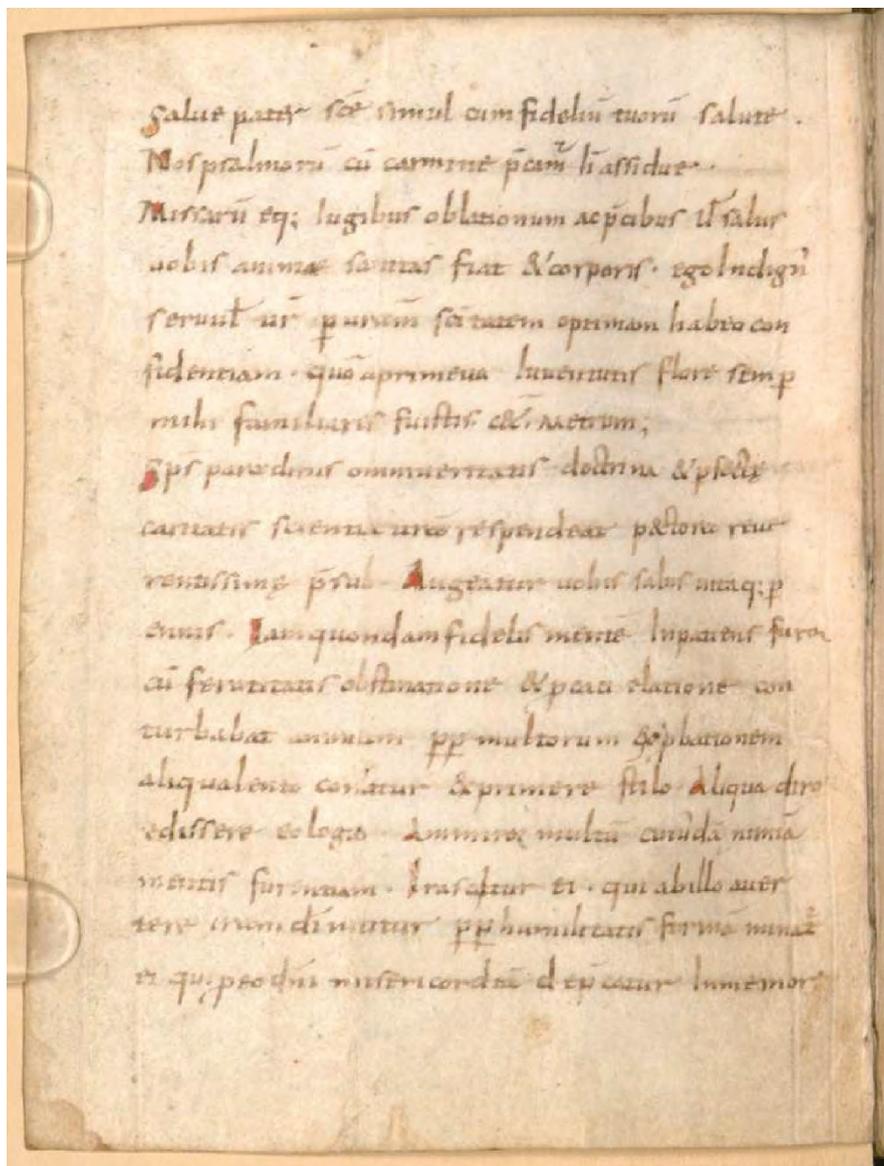


Fig. 3: Cm 4650, fol. 66^r; courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Elisabeth Hufnagel

Adapting the Concept of *Proportio* to Rhythm in the *Ars subtilior*: Ugolino da Orvieto's Compositions and his Statements on Proportion Signs in Codex Casanatense 2151

Abstract: Music manuscripts as well as music treatises from the early fifteenth century bear witness to major adaptations in music notation. The compositions of the so-called *Ars subtilior* feature notational innovations (e.g. new note shapes, notes in differently coloured ink, and proportion signs) which enable the depiction of complex rhythms. Simultaneously, discussions of notational innovations appear in music treatises, which were used in contexts of teaching and learning. This paper aims to investigate to what extent the adaptations in music treatises and compositions are interrelated, focusing on the manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151, which transmits three songs as well as the music treatise *Declaratio musicae disciplinae*. Both songs and treatise are attributed to the Italian music theorist and composer Ugolino da Orvieto (c. 1380–1452). A comparison of proportion signs contained in Ugolino's songs and his statements on music notation will allow us to explore the question whether teachings on music reflect actual notational practice and vice versa.

1 Introduction

When asked about their notion of music from the Western European Middle Ages, most people reply that they think of simple, slow, and archaic pieces, which are performed by a handful of monks in a large cathedral. Many are unaware of the elaborate and highly refined compositions of the *Ars subtilior*.¹ This particular musical style flourished in the decades surrounding the year 1400 in the regions

¹ The term *Ars subtilior* ('more subtle art') designating a musical style was proposed by Ursula Günther (1963) in her renowned article on the post-Machaut generation of composers. Although it has also been criticised in the past (cf. for example Haas 1982, 385–386), it has become commonly accepted in recent decades and is even used to designate an epoch.

of today's southern France and northern and central Italy and it is most notably distinguished by the compositions' rhythmic complexity.² The corpus of *Ars subtilior* pieces that have survived is predominantly comprised of three-part secular French songs notated in black mensural notation³ and transmitted in decorated manuscripts.

However, music manuscripts are not the only music-related manuscript transmissions from that period which have survived into our times. Quite the contrary, hundreds of manuscripts containing music treatises account to the fact that music was also an integral part of education in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Yet, music as it was taught in Western European educational institutions at that time constituted a subject which is fundamentally different from our modern idea of it. Music was one of the four disciplines of the *quadrivium*, which also included arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy and thus belonged to the four mathematical arts.⁴ Surviving manuscripts bear witness to a scholastic tradition in which *musica* was considered to be a *scientia*. As such music was primarily regarded from a mathematical and philosophical perspective. This so-called *musica speculativa* harks back to Ancient Greek philosophers, especially Pythagoreans and Neo-Pythagoreans, and usually comprises a study of numbers and numerical proportions, which is closely linked to discussions of musical intervals and calculations thereof. In medieval music theory, practical music (*musica practica*) regularly only came second.⁵ A distinction was made between a *musicus*, who had undergone a musical education in the quadrivial discipline, and a *cantor*, who was a mere practitioner.⁶ However, one can witness a departure

² Other distinguishing features of the *Ars subtilior* are described in Fallows 1996, 21–23.

³ Mensural notation is a general term for the system of musical notation that evolved in the decades before 1300 and was used for the transmission of European polyphonic vocal music in the following three centuries. The innovative feature of this notation when compared to older music notation systems, e.g. neumatic notation, was its measurability, i.e. each note had a defined duration in terms of numerical proportions between the different note values or, practically speaking, when sung, one note sounded, for example, three times as long as a note of a smaller degree. The specific term 'black mensural notation' refers to the fact that the note shapes are not void as, for example, some notes in modern musical notation.

⁴ The combination of *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and *quadrivium* constituted the seven liberal arts, which formed the foundation of Western European education until the Renaissance. Scholars were expected to study the seven liberal arts before entering higher education, e.g. theology, medicine, or law.

⁵ For an account of the differences between *musica practica* and *musica speculativa* in music treatises see Herlinger 2001, esp. 297–300. An exhaustive bibliography of literature discussing the differentiation can also be found in Dyer 2007, 3 n. 1.

⁶ On this distinction see, for example, Reimer 1978, esp. 18–28.

from the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition in music theory from the fourteenth century onwards.⁷ Late medieval and early Renaissance music treatises often contain both speculative approaches as well as chapters on practical aspects, such as instructions on music notation, e.g. descriptions and illustrations of signs and note shapes, as well as voice-leading techniques – called counterpoint – in polyphonic music.

With the evolution of mensural notation in Europe in the last decades of the thirteenth century proportions are increasingly discussed in rhythmic contexts.⁸ This development can be described as the central adaptation process in music treatises of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Before that time proportions had only been treated in the context of musical intervals and their derivation, i.e. in the realm of *musica speculativa*. The most important intervals in Western music are based on simple numerical proportions. For example, when the simplest of all proportions, *dupla* (2:1) proportion, is applied to a string – i.e. one first plucks the whole string, then presses down in the middle of it and plucks one of the halves – the half will sound an octave above the whole string. Similarly, *sesquialtera* (3:2) proportion results in a perfect fifth and *sesquitercia* (4:3) proportion in a perfect fourth. All other musical intervals in Western music can be derived from these three proportions with the help of basic arithmetic operations. However, in measured music, proportions also occur in rhythmic contexts: A note can sound twice as long as another, or three notes can have the same duration as two others, etc. Several fourteenth-century authors mention this circumstance.⁹ General adaptation can therefore be observed in the gradual adoption of the teachings of proportions in contexts concerned with *musica practica*, for example in treatises or chapters on mensural notation.

As already mentioned, *Ars subtilior* music is particularly distinguished by its rhythmic complexity. Incidentally, one particular *Ars subtilior* ballade was once described as ‘the acme of rhythmic intricacy in the entire history of music’.¹⁰ Rhythmic complexity in *Ars subtilior* music is primarily evoked by proportional rhythms and syncopation. Proportional rhythms are in principle comparable to

7 For a summary of these developments see Tanay 1999, 1–13.

8 For a detailed account of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treatises mentioning proportion in rhythmic contexts see Gallo 1984, 334–356.

9 Cf. Gallo 1984, 334–336.

10 Apel 1942, 432. In this quotation, Willi Apel was referring to Zacara da Teramo’s ballade *Sumite karissimi*. As Fallows (1996, 22) notes, this statement was made before Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928–2007) or Pierre Boulez (1925–2016) had published any compositions featuring the extremely complex rhythms typical of their oeuvre, but agrees that ‘it was true at the time’.

duplets, triplets, quadruplets, etc. in modern notation. Today, these rhythms are indicated by small Arabic numerals and the notes to which the proportion should be applied are either grouped by beams or by brackets. However, the notation of *Ars subtilior* music was less standardised and therefore more ambiguous. A large variety of notational devices were applied in order to depict a comparatively small set of rhythmic proportions, mostly *sesquialtera* (3:2) and *sesquitercia* (4:3) proportion. Thus, *Ars subtilior* compositions often feature new note shapes, notes in differently coloured ink, or proportion signs. Proportion signs can be geometric shapes (e.g. circles or semicircles), Arabic numerals, or stacked Arabic numerals (i.e. fractions without the line drawn between them), and they indicate the beginning of a section with proportional rhythms.

It is not surprising that discussions of these notational devices also appear in music treatises. New note shapes and note colours were already discussed in fourteenth-century treatises while proportion signs make their first appearance in Prosdocimus de Beldemandis' *Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris* of 1404.¹¹ It is evident that there was adaptation in music treatises as well as music notation concerning the notation of rhythmic proportion. It is less apparent, however, how far these two adaptation processes are interrelated. Are the discussions of notational devices in music treatises prescriptive or descriptive? Did *Ars subtilior* composers – or perhaps even scribes – first invent new notational devices and did theorists then discuss these innovations or was it the other way around? It also seems conceivable that new notational devices were invented by theorists in order to standardise notation and that the theorists' suggestions were then gradually implemented by composers and scribes. In how far do the teachings of music treatises reflect on actual notational practice? Finding answers to these questions is complicated by the fact that research involving medieval and Renaissance sources deals with many uncertainties, as for example the origin of a manuscript, the identity of a composer or author, and so forth. Since we have to assume regional and cultural differences in the notation of mensural music, different sources of unknown origin or authorship are unsuited for the comparison of music treatises and music manuscripts.

¹¹ For an edition of this passage see Gallo 1966, 141–142. Note that Busse Berger's often-cited monograph (1993, 164) mistakenly calls Prosdocimus' 1408 *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis* the first treatise mentioning proportion signs.

2 The manuscript *Cas* and its contents

The manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151 (henceforth *Cas*), however, constitutes an exception. It contains the music treatise *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (henceforth *Declaratio*),¹² which includes a discussion of notational devices to indicate rhythmic proportion, as well as three *Ars subtilior* songs (see Figs 2–6) featuring such devices, namely coloration and proportion signs. Both treatise and songs are attributed to the same author, namely Ugolino di Francesco da Orvieto, who was a cleric, musical theorist, composer, and singer. Due to this congruent authorship of treatise and compositions, *Cas* is a particularly suitable candidate for a comparison of statements from the music treatise and actual music notation.

Ugolino lived and worked in the Italian cities of Forlì, Florence, and Ferrara between c. 1380 and 1452 and it is assumed that he wrote his treatise around the year 1430, although the autograph is lost.¹³ Ugolino seems to have enjoyed a high reputation within the Italian musical world, as can be deduced from the praise of his contemporary Flavio Biondo: ‘And what shall I say of Ugolino Urbevetano? Born and raised in Forlì, by universal consent he surpasses all the musicians of our time, and the book he has published on music will eclipse the labors of all who have written before him.’¹⁴

The manuscript *Cas* is one of only two complete copies of the *Declaratio* and it is the only copy transmitting Ugolino’s three compositions.¹⁵ Unfortunately,

12 With 427 chapters the *Declaratio* is one of the most comprehensive music treatises of the fifteenth century. It comprises five books: 1: *musica plana* (fundamentals of music and the modes based on Boethius and Marchetto da Padova); 2: *melodiatae musicae seu contrapuncti ratio* (counterpoint based on Prosdocimus de Beldemandis); 3: *musica mensurata* (mensural notation based on Johannes de Muris); 4: *omnium generum proportiones* (teachings of proportions based on Boethius); 5: *musica speculativa* (cf. Herlinger 2001, 255).

13 Cf. Seay 1955, 118 and MacCarthy 2014, 408. Amongst others, Lockwood (2009, 85) also considers a later date of completion of the treatise possible. The latest biographical account of Ugolino da Orvieto can be found in Janke 2016, 127–134, esp. 127–128. MacCarthy 2015 gives c. 1390 as the year of his birth.

14 ‘Quid quod Ugolinus cognomine Urbevetanus Forlivii genitus et nutritus ornnes aetatis nostrae musicos sine contradictione superat, editusque ab eo de musica liber haud secus omnium qui ante se scripserunt labores obscurabit [...]’ This commendation was first reported by Haberl 1895, 43. Translation taken from MacCarthy 2014, 402.

15 For a detailed description of the manuscript see Seay 1955, 128–133. *Cas* also contains Ugolino’s monochord treatise *Tractatus monochordi*, which is only transmitted in *Cas*, London, British Library, Add. 33519, and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbin. lat. 258. The latter manuscript is the only other complete copy of the *Declaratio*.

neither scribe nor origin of the *Cas* copy of the treatise have yet been identified but Albert Seay has stated that the scribe's Italian humanistic book hand points towards a copying date around the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ The three songs are part of a gathering of six folios (fols 340^r–345^v), which also contains a part of the index to the treatise preceding the compositions.¹⁷ Therefore, the three songs were presumably entered after the index was completed.¹⁸ It can be ascertained that the music scribe is the same for all three compositions and that he was in all likelihood also responsible for copying the musical examples within the treatise.¹⁹ This would imply that treatise and compositions form one codicological unit.²⁰ Hence, the songs are in all probability not as far removed from the copying of the treatise as their position after the index as appendix to the manuscript might suggest.

Furthermore, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that the author of the treatise and the composer are the same person, namely Ugolino, since each song carries the attribution 'Idem Ugolinus' and he is identified as author in *Cas* as well as in several other surviving copies of the treatise. *Cas* therefore provides suitable material for the study of adaptation processes concerning the notation of rhythmic proportions in the *Ars subtilior*. This paper aims to compare Ugolino's remarks on that issue in the *Declaratio* with his *Cas* compositions.

Cas contains the following three compositions: a Latin ballade and two Italian *ballate* (see Table 1 and Figs 2–6). As already stated, all three works are unique to *Cas* and do not appear in other copies of the *Declaratio* nor in any other surviving music anthology.²¹ Until the discovery of the San Lorenzo palimpsest, which contains five further pieces by Ugolino, the *Cas* compositions were believed to be the only surviving music by the composer.²²

16 Cf. Seay 1955, 129.

17 Cf. Fallows 2010, 19.

18 Cf. Janke 2016, 136.

19 A comparison of the clefs and custodes in the musical example on fol. 102^v of the treatise with the compositions in *Cas* strongly suggest that the same scribe was at work in these different sections of the manuscript. See note 24 below for a comment on the manuscript's foliation.

20 It should be noted, however, that the text scribe of the three songs is not the text scribe of the treatise.

21 Three other copies of the *Declaratio* contain music, though none of the compositions are attributed to Ugolino as in *Cas*. The manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 42 includes three anonymous two-voice Italian songs (fols 185^v–188^r), Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, G.IV.31 contains a textless anonymous three-voice song (fol. 97^v), and Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 714 contains 19 polyphonic songs of various composers (fols 51^v–79^r).

22 The discovery of musical compositions in the manuscript Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (henceforth *SL*) was first reported by D'Accone 1984. Due to overwriting on

Unlike modern polyphonic songs, in which voice parts are usually arranged in the so-called score format, the compositions in *Cas* are set in the then standard fashion of separated parts. In *Cas* the two voice parts are juxtaposed on facing pages. The upper voice (cantus) is written on the *verso* side and the lower voice (tenor) is notated on the *recto* of the following folio.

Table 1: Ugolino's compositions in *Cas*²³

Incipit	Genre	Folios (Pages) ²⁴	Mise-en-page ²⁵
<i>Se videar</i>	ballade	343 ^v –344 ^r (679–680)	cantus 1–6 tenor 1–5 canon 6–7
<i>L'alta virtute</i>	ballata	344 ^v –345 ^r (681–682)	cantus 1–8 tenor 1–5 residuum 8 canon 5
<i>Chi solo a si</i>	ballata	345 ^v –[346 ^r] (683–[684])	cantus 1–8 [tenor] residuum 8

All three compositions are notated in black mensural notation. However, all three songs also contain additional visual elements, namely coloration (notes in red ink) and proportion signs, which in all probability indicate the complex rhythms typical for *Ars subtilior* repertory. In the case of the ballade *Se videar* and the ballata *L'alta virtute* this can be stated with certainty because they exhibit canons, i.e. explanatory texts which give instructions on the interpretation of the proportion signs contained in the compositions. In the case of the last composition, the ballata *Chi solo a si*, the interpretation of the cantus, which features red and void red notation, is not straightforward, because the composition is incomplete. Folio

almost all folios the majority of music contained in the manuscript was undecipherable. Recently, Andreas Janke and John Nádas (2016) published a volume of multispectral images of all folios from the codex, which provide (partly) legible reconstructions of the original layer, thereby enabling further research on the repertory. The compositions by Ugolino contained in *SL* are edited and discussed in Janke 2016.

23 A similar table can be found in Janke 2016, 135 (table IV.1). It contains an error concerning the *mise-en-page* of *Se videar*, however.

24 The folios of the *Cas* manuscript contain three different sets of numbers. There is complete (most likely stamped) foliation in the lower right-hand margin of each *recto*, which is used by the Casanatense Library and which I therefore decided to refer to in this paper. Moreover, there is complete pagination in the upper right-hand corner of each *recto*, which Albert Seay used for his edition of the manuscript and which is given in brackets here. And finally, there is an early foliation, which has been cut away on many folios and therefore disregarded here.

25 The numbers in the two columns refer to the staves (five lines in red ink) on the folios.

346^r, which presumably contained the tenor, is missing from the manuscript. Due to water damage faint imprints of the note shapes from the recto of the missing folio are visible on folio 345^v (see Fig. 6).²⁶ It might even be possible to reconstruct some parts of the second voice with the aid of multispectral imaging. Until then the meaning of red and void red notation in *Chi solo a si* remains in the realm of speculation. The following discussion therefore focuses on the two complete compositions, *Se videar* and *L'alta virtute*.

3 Proportion signs in the *Cas* compositions

The two songs contain ten different proportion signs. Several observations can be made from a comparison of the proportion signs and their interpretation²⁷ as illustrated in Table 2:

1. Appearance: The proportion signs in the *Cas* compositions appear as six different single Arabic numerals and four different geometric shapes, namely circles and semicircles.²⁸ As can be seen from Table 2, both songs contain single Arabic numerals as well as geometric shapes, i.e. neither composition strictly uses either one form or the other.
2. Congruence: Only two proportion signs have a concordant interpretation in the two pieces. The Arabic numeral 2 indicates *dupla* (2:1) proportion in both cases and the semicircle C indicates *sesquialtera* (3:2) proportion.
3. Divergence: Two proportions appearing in both songs are indicated by different proportion signs. *Tripla* (3:1) proportion is indicated by the Arabic numeral 3 in *Se videar* but by the circle O in *L'alta virtute*. *Sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion is indicated by 8 in *Se videar* but by 4 in *L'alta virtute*. Furthermore, 4 is used to signal another proportion in *Se videar*, namely *subdupla* (1:2) proportion. And finally, the circle with one dot indicates *sesquialtera*

²⁶ Cf. Janke 2016, 135.

²⁷ The ratios given as interpretation of the proportion signs in the two songs operate at the minim level, i.e. minims are the rhythmic units compared to each other in the given ratio. For example, three minims replace two minims in *sesquialtera* (3:2) proportion. A comparison of minims in rhythmic proportions is common practice in *Ars subtilior* compositions. The two canons given in the two compositions confirm this since they also refer to minim level.

²⁸ Anna Maria Busse Berger (1993, 183) erroneously mentions stacked Arabic numerals ('fractions') in pieces by Ugolino. However, stacked Arabic numerals neither appear in the *Cas* songs nor in Ugolino's *SL* compositions.

(3:2) proportion in *Se videar* but *dupla sesquiquarta* (9:4) proportion in *L'alta virtute*.

Table 2: Proportion signs and their interpretation in the *Cas* compositions

	2:1	1:2	3:1	3:2	2:3	4:3	3:4	9:2	9:4
<i>Se videar</i>	2	4	3	Ⓒ and 0	9	8	6		
<i>L'alta virtute</i>	2		0	Ⓒ		4		⊕	0

It can be noted that the use of signs in the two compositions is not consistent in the sense that one particular proportion sign always indicates one rhythmic proportion. This accords with findings in other *Ars subtilior* manuscripts.²⁹ The adaptation process of introducing notational innovations in compositions does not seem to have been standardised, even in the music by one composer. In *Cas*, this impression is reinforced by the presence of canons in both pieces. These canons present detailed instructions on the interpretation of the signs found in the compositions. It can therefore be assumed that even readers of the treatise were not expected to know how to interpret the proportion signs without additional explanation. Several of the proportion signs used do indeed call for such an additional explanation because their choice does not seem to be obvious. Indicating *subsesquialtera* (2:3) proportion by the Arabic numeral 9 and *subdupla* (1:2) proportion by the Arabic numeral 4 are examples for such choices.

4 Comparing teachings and songs

We will return to the compositions later in this paper. Prior to this, I would like to compare the proportion signs in the two compositions to Ugolino's statements concerning the notation of rhythmic proportions in the treatise. In his *Declaratio* Ugolino writes:

Moderni enim cantores volentes in suis cantibus notarum proportiones ostendere, signa quaedam proportionibus conformia scribunt, nam si inter notas comparisonem seu proportionem facere volunt sexquiterciam hoc in canone signum $\frac{4}{3}$ subscribunt. [...] Si sexqui-

²⁹ For more information on this issue see my PhD thesis (in preparation).

alteram volunt significare proportionem hoc signum describunt $\frac{3}{2}$. [...] Possunt etiam multiplicatae proportiones huiusmodi per signa multiplicata significari, ut si fiat proportio in notis tripla, tripla in cifris proportio demonstratur hoc modo $\frac{3}{1}$, si quadrupla hoc modo $\frac{4}{1}$, et sic de ceteris. [...] Aliis etiam signis moderni cantores utuntur ostendendae diminutionis causa, quorum unus est semicirculus sua semicirculatione partem sinistram respiciens qui talis est \circ , hoc enim signum ponunt moderni [...] et eum sexquitertia proportioni attribuant. Quidam vero alia signa ponunt, scilicet, semicirculos, quorum unus partem superiorem, alter partem inferiorem respicit, sub quibus diversas intelligunt proportionem, ut sub hoc semicirculo \smile duplam faciunt proportionem, sub hoc \frown subsexquialteram. Aliud etiam signum apponunt hoc, scilicet, \diamond , quatuor laterum pro quo sexquitertia utuntur proportionem, sed nobis plus placet cifrarum positio qua proportionum clarior ostenditur demonstratio. In eis namque nulla deceptio, in his autem ambiguitas cadere potest et error.³⁰

Ugolino's description of proportion signs begins with the two most common rhythmic proportions, namely *sesquitertia* (4:3) and *sesquialtera* (3:2) proportion, which are indicated by the stacked Arabic numerals $\frac{4}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ respectively. He resumes with a description of proportions of the *multiplex* type: *tripla* (3:1) proportion indicated by $\frac{3}{1}$ and *quadrupla* (4:1) proportion signalled by $\frac{4}{1}$. The supplement *et sic de ceteris* suggests that all rhythmic proportions may be indicated by stacked Arabic numerals. Ugolino then continues by stating that the reversed

30 'If modern cantors want to show proportional notes in their chants, they write signs to emphasise such proportions, so if they want to make a *sesquitertia* proportion between notes they write this sign $\frac{4}{3}$ in the canon. [...] If they want to indicate *sesquialtera* proportion, then they will write $\frac{3}{2}$. [...] Even *multiplex* proportions can thus be signified by *multiplex* signs, so that if the proportion in the notes will be *tripla*, *tripla* in proportion figure shall be demonstrated in this way $\frac{3}{1}$, *quadrupla* in this way $\frac{4}{1}$, and so on. [...] The modern cantors, incidentally, use other signs to show diminution, one of these is the semicircle, whose semicircle part looks back left, which is [written] like this \circ . This sign is placed by the *moderni* [...] and they attribute *sesquitertia* proportion to it. Certain people use other signs, namely semicircles, of whom one faces the upper part and the other one the lower part, and in them they distinguish different proportions, so that in this semicircle \smile they make *dupla* proportion and in this \frown *subsesquialtera* [proportion]. Again, others place this sign \diamond , four of these sides are used for the *sesquitertia* proportion. But we prefer to use of numbers, because with them we can show the proportions more clearly. In them there is no deception, in these others there can be ambiguity and error.' *Declaratio*, Book 3, Chapter VI: 'De signis', article 7 (edition in Seay 1960, 210–211).

semicircle \circ indicates diminution and that this diminution also results in *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion. Other semicircles are also mentioned: \smile indicates *dupla* (2:1) proportion and \frown signals *subsesequialtera* (2:3) proportion. Finally, Ugolino declares that a diamond-shaped sign (\diamond) may also indicate *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion but that he would recommend the use of numerals, i.e. stacked Arabic numerals, because they are less ambiguous than the other signs.

A direct comparison with the statements on proportion signs from the *Declaratio* reveals that none of the signs described in the treatise matches those found in the two pieces (see Table 3).

Table 3: Comparison of proportion signs in Ugolino's *Declaratio* and his compositions in *Cas*

	2:1	1:2	3:1	4:1	3:2	2:3	4:3	3:4	9:2	9:4
<i>Declaratio</i>	\smile		$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{4}{1}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	\frown	$\frac{4}{3}$ or \circ or \diamond			
<i>Se videar</i>	2	4	3		C and O	9	8	6		
<i>L'alta virtute</i>	2		0		C		4		⊕	0

Out of the eight proportion signs depicted in the *Declaratio* only one sign, namely the reversed semicircle \circ , frequently appears in *Ars subtilior* compositions, though not in the three songs in *Cas*. In the majority of cases, \circ indicates *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion – this interpretation is also given in the treatise – and it can even be found in Ugolino's ballata *La vista di costei* from the San Lorenzo codex (*SL*), though its meaning there is unclear due to poor legibility.³¹

The stacked Arabic numerals mentioned by Ugolino are a common form for the visualisation of ratios in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance and they can be found in numerous texts in which rhythmic proportions are discussed.³² The notation of ratios as x:y only came into use in the seventeenth century.³³ Nevertheless, stacked Arabic numerals only appear in a handful of *Ars subtilior* compositions and they are much less common than single Arabic numerals.³⁴ It

³¹ Cf. Janke 2016, 46–47.

³² See my PhD thesis (in preparation). Within texts, however, proportions are most commonly referred to by their Latin names *dupla*, *tripla*, *sesquialtera*, *sesquitertia*, etc.

³³ Cf. Baxandall 1972, 95.

³⁴ Among these are Petrus de Goscalch's *En nul estat*, Anthonello de Caserta's *Dame d'onour*, *en qui tout mon cuer maynt* and *Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martire*, and Baude Cordier's two

is telling that no stacked Arabic numerals can be found in Ugolino's surviving oeuvre and that the *Cas* compositions contain six different single Arabic numerals.

Most remarkably, we can find two semicircles (\smile and \frown) in Ugolino's description which seldom if ever appear in surviving *Ars subtilior* music manuscripts.³⁵ *Dupla* (2:1) proportion is usually expressed by the single Arabic numeral 2 – as in the two *Cas* compositions – and *subsesquialtera* (2:3) proportion is most often applied in order to revoke *sesquialtera* (3:2) proportion, in which case the sign for the initial mensuration is used again.³⁶ In *Se videar*, *subsesquialtera* (2:3) proportion is indicated by the Arabic numeral 9. And finally, the diamond-shaped sign (\diamond) would be most unsuitable for the indication of proportion in notated music because it has the exact same shape as the semibreve and would therefore not be distinguishable from the notes.³⁷ Ugolino even remarks upon this ambiguity: 'in

rondeaux *Tout par compas* and *Belle, bonne, sage*. Of these five works only the Cordier compositions and Caserta's *Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martire* employ stacked Arabic numerals as proportion signs. In Goscalch's ballade and Caserta's *Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cuer maynt* stacked Arabic numerals are used as alternative mensuration signs (see note 36 for an explanation of the term).

35 I am only aware of one *Ars subtilior* music source using the semicircle opened at the top (\smile), namely the Boverio codex (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2), where \smile appears in Johannes Suzoy's ballade *Pytagoras, Jobal et Orpheus* – indeed indicating *dupla* (2:1) proportion as stated in Ugolino's treatise. Cf. Stoessel 2010, 325. Stoessel (2010, 342) has already remarked upon the fact that the transmissions of Suzoy's ballade in Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 22069 contain written instructions underneath the music instead of \smile . The semicircle \frown does – to my knowledge – not appear in any surviving *Ars subtilior* music manuscript.

36 Mensuration signs indicate the mensuration of a certain piece or parts thereof. Mensurations describe the proportional relationship between notes of different note values and can be compared to meters in modern notation. Unlike today, where meters are always indicated at the beginning of a composition, e.g. $\frac{4}{4}$, mensurations are rarely indicated in mensural music and have to be deduced from the context. In medieval music, the proportional relationship of one note value to that of a smaller degree can be binary or ternary. In imperfect time (*tempus imperfectum*), the breve (notated as black square) is worth two semibreves (notated as diamonds). In perfect time (*tempus perfectum*), on the other hand, the breve contains three semibreves. Other relationships can be binary or ternary according to the same principle. The relationship between semibreve and minim (notated as diamond with stem) is referred to as *prolatio*, which is either *maior* or *minor*.

37 It should be noted that the sign (\diamond) is void and not full black – at least in the *Cas* version of the *Declaratio*. One wonders whether Ugolino meant that void notation in general would indicate *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion. But then he would more likely have given a minim instead of a

his autem ambiguitas cadere potest et error.³⁸ But why does Ugolino describe seven proportion signs, which do not reflect on contemporary notational practice, and only one sign (∩), which is actually being used in *Ars subtilior* music?

The third book of the *Declaratio*, in which we can find the above description on the different ways to notate proportional rhythms,³⁹ is in large parts a commentary on the famous music treatise *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* (henceforth *Libellus*) of c. 1340, generally attributed to Johannes de Muris, which was written almost a century before the *Declaratio*. Proportion signs do not appear in the music of Johannes de Muris' time. Hence, Ugolino's description of proportion signs represents an adaptation to the *Libellus*, which takes into account recent developments in music notation, namely the use of proportion signs in *Ars subtilior* music.⁴⁰ However, in practice these proportion signs were not used in a standardised manner, which is also reflected in the two *Cas* compositions. It is conceivable that descriptions of proportion signs in music treatises were a reaction to their inconsistent use in music notation. These discussions of notational devices to indicate rhythmic proportion might actually have been intended to standardise music notation.

It stands to reason that Ugolino's adaptation in the *Declaratio* should be regarded as a suggestion for a future notation practice rather than representation of a contemporary practice, which was not standardised. The fact that he recommends the use of numbers rather than other signs by arguing that numbers are less ambiguous points towards the intention to achieve more clarity and consistency in music notation.⁴¹ After elaborating on these preferred stacked Arabic numerals he moves on to describing the only proportion sign in *Ars subtilior* music, which has a rather consistent meaning, namely the reversed semicircle ∩,

semibreve. Moreover, coloration of notes and its interpretation is discussed elsewhere in the same chapter. Cf. *Declaratio*, Book 3, Chapter VI: 'De signis', article 7, phrases 29–33 (edition in Seay 1960, 211–212).

38 Reference and translation in note 30 above.

39 The full version of the third book of Ugolino's *Declaratio*, which other than the abridged version contains this description, is transmitted in five different manuscripts (see MacCarthy 2014, 424–425 for details).

40 Even before 1430, ∩ is discussed in music treatises as a proportion sign indicating *sesquitercia* (4:3) proportion. Ugolino is therefore not the first person to mention ∩ in writings on music even though the mention of the sign is an adaptation to the *Libellus*. The same is true for stacked Arabic numerals. Stacked Arabic numerals as proportion signs as well as the reversed semicircle ∩ are already discussed in Prosdocimus de Beldemandis' *Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris* of 1404.

41 '[...] nobis plus placet cifrarum positio qua proportionum clarior ostenditur demonstratio.' Reference and translation in note 30 above.

which commonly indicates *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion.⁴² The semicircle C also exists in music notation, but it usually does not have a proportional meaning. It indicates the mensuration *tempus imperfectum* with *prolatio minor*. With \supset and C already established in music notation, isn't it conceivable that Ugolino simply added the other two semicircles (\smile and \frown) and attributed contrived interpretations to these signs? They might also have been derived from diagrams of intervals, in which proportions are often displayed as arches. In any case, the description of the two semicircles \smile and \frown may also be regarded as suggestion for future music notation. As to why he decided to include a sign (\diamond) in his description, which is – as already stated – completely unsuitable for the use in practical music remains unclear to me. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find this sign in contexts other than music.

As established above, the proportion signs described in the *Declaratio* do not appear in the compositions in *Cas*, and – with the exception of \supset – very rarely or not at all in other *Ars subtilior* music manuscripts. However, there is an overlap between the *Declaratio* and the ballata *L'alta virtute* concerning the notation of rhythmic proportions which I would like to discuss in the remainder of this paper.

L'alta virtute contains a proportion sign which is rarely used in *Ars subtilior* music, namely a circle with three dots \ominus indicating *quadrupla sesquialtera* (9:2) proportion. To my knowledge, the sign only appears in two anonymous ballades in the manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 and the ballade *Le sault perilleux* by J. Galiot in Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564. However, \ominus is regularly featured in music treatises, where it is often discussed as mensuration sign⁴³ indicating *tempus perfectum* with *prolatio maior* (ternary division of both breve and semibreve, comparable to a 9/8 meter).⁴⁴ In fact, it is described by Ugolino as preferable to the more common sign \circ for this particular mensuration:

Quidam vero ignari peritiae pro tribus in quadrangulo tractulis ad modi minoris ostendendam perfectionem, uno duntaxat utuntur tractulo et ad minoris imperfectionem modi nullo penitus utuntur. Similiter in significanda prolotione maiori pro punctis tribus uno utuntur et in minori pro duobus nullo. Hi namque nulla ratione fundati quod agunt penitus ignorant, nam numerus ternarius pro significanda perfectione positus perfectus est, et binarius pro imperfectione imperfectus. Perfectionem igitur et imperfectionem ii numeri continent

⁴² There are only a handful of alternative interpretations of \supset in *Ars subtilior* music. For details see my PhD thesis (in preparation).

⁴³ See note 36 above for an explanation of the term.

⁴⁴ A list of treatises describing \ominus as sign for *tempus perfectum* with *prolatio maior* can be found in Busse Berger 1993, 236–237. Among the authors are some of Ugolino's contemporaries: Johannes Ciconia (d. 1412), Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (d. 1428), and Giorgio Anselmi (d. c. 1440–1443).

et important, sed unitas quae pars numeri est et non numerus perfectionem vel imperfectionem nullatenus significare potest, ergo unus tractulus quem isti ponunt pro tribus, vel unus punctus nec modi nec prolotionis significant perfectionem. Similiter ex nihilo nihil fit, igitur ex nullo signo nulla mensurae imperfectio potest significari, cuius oppositum isti ponunt.⁴⁵

According to Ugolino, the indication of major prolotion by a single dot in a circle or semicircle is refutable because the value 1 – thought of as ‘unity’ – is not a number. Similarly, a void space in a circle or semicircle cannot represent minor prolotion because a void space is ‘nothing’ and therefore cannot indicate anything. The customary signs \emptyset , \circ , \odot and \ominus , which are even found in Ugolino’s own compositions, are rejected. In this example, we can observe another discrepancy between music notation described in treatises and actual notational practice. The statements in the treatise are clearly influenced by philosophical doctrine, especially the statement according to which a void space in a circle cannot indicate anything. The existence of the more common form of mensuration signs with one or no dot is acknowledged, but their use is attributed to less talented composers.

By using \odot in *L’alta virtute*, is Ugolino taking the above statements into consideration? The answer is: probably not. Regarding the proportion signs used in *L’alta virtute* in order of their appearance, we can observe that the more common forms of circles and semicircles with one or no dot are used first (see Fig. 1).

⁴⁵ ‘Certain people, wanting in skill, in order to show perfection in minor modus, employ only one tail in a quadrangle instead of three, and, in order to show imperfection in minor modus, employ none. Similarly in signifying prolotion maior, instead of three points they use one and in showing prolotion minor use none. These people do not know any reason by which they do this, for a ternary number placed for the signifying of perfection is perfect, and a binary one for imperfection [is] imperfect. Therefore these numbers contain and impart perfection and imperfection, but unity, which is a part of a number and not a number, can in no way signify perfection or imperfection. Therefore one tail, which they use instead of three, or one point signify neither perfection of the modus nor prolotion. Similarly nothing is made from nothing, therefore from a sign showing nothing no perfection of mensuration can be signified, whose opposite these people put forward.’ *Declaratio*, Book 3, Chapter VI: ‘De signis’, article 2 (edition in Seay 1960, 200–201; translation taken from Seay 1955, 154).

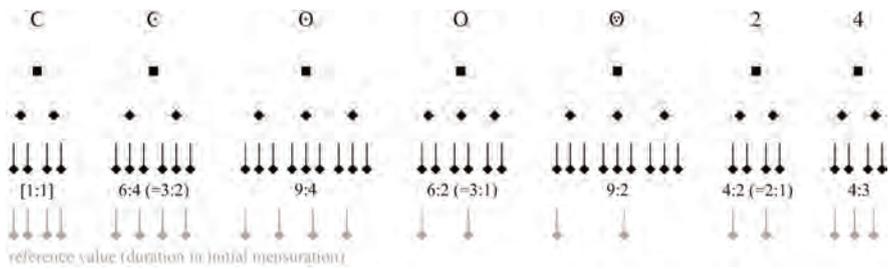


Fig. 1: Proportion signs and their interpretation in *L'alta virtute* in order of their appearance.

All geometric shapes in the ballata function as proportion signs as well as mensuration signs, i.e. the general distribution of semibreves and minims is changed under each sign in addition to them having a proportional meaning. The mensuration first changes from the initial *tempus imperfectum* with *prolatio minor* (C) to *tempus imperfectum* with *prolatio maior* (Ċ). Breve equivalence leads to a proportional change at the minim level: Three minims under Ċ replace two in C. Subsequently, the mensuration changes to *tempus perfectum* with *prolatio maior*, which is indicated by the common sign Θ. With breve equivalence still operating, the proportional change at the minim level is 9:4. After a change to yet another mensuration (*tempus perfectum* with *prolatio minor* indicated by O) the ballata returns to *tempus perfectum* with *prolatio maior*. This time, however, diminution is also involved, i.e. the breve under ⊕ is equivalent to a semibreve in the initial mensuration in C. Ugolino therefore needed an alternative sign for Θ, because he already used the circle with the single dot for the indication of *dupla sesquiquarta* (9:4) proportion. He reverts to the sign ⊕, which the treatise praises as superior to the circle with the single dot, only in need of an alternative. This demonstrates that despite the statements in the treatise, the sign ⊕ is still only number-two choice in music notation.

5 Conclusion

The comparison of music treatise and songs in the *Cas* manuscript has shown that the adaptation processes in music notation, i.e. the introduction of proportion signs, and the discussion thereof in music treatises are not as interrelated as might be expected. We can observe a high amount of divergence between Ugolino's statements on proportion and mensuration signs on the one hand and the signs used in the compositions transmitted in *Cas* on the other hand.

Apparently, the adaptations in music notation and in music treatises proceeded independently of each other. Common ground can only be established on two very general levels: 1) In music treatises, proportions are not only discussed from a speculative perspective but also in chapters which discuss practical matters, such as music notation. Authors adapt the concept of *proportio* – hitherto only applied to intervals – to rhythm. This corresponds with developments in music notation, in which proportions are applied on rhythmic levels. 2) Music notation in *Ars subtilior* sources features notational innovations, namely new note shapes, notes in differently coloured ink, and proportion signs. Simultaneously, signs for the depiction of proportional rhythms are discussed in music treatises. However, we can find discrepancies between music treatises and *Ars subtilior* compositions even when they are attributed to the same author.

The proportion signs discussed in the sixth chapter of the third book of the *Declaratio* seem for the greater part to have been adopted from other contexts. They may have a speculative background, as stacked Arabic numerals or fractions respectively have their origin in arithmetic and the two unusual semicircles resemble arches used in the depiction of intervals. Out of the eight proportion signs which Ugolino mentions only the reversed semicircle ⊃ is commonly used in *Ars subtilior* compositions, though not in the *Cas* songs. The discussion of stacked Arabic numerals could be interpreted as attempt to achieve more clarification in the future, but we can observe that the use of single Arabic numerals is still the prevalent custom in music notation. Disregard of the instructions in the treatise can also be discerned in the use of mensuration signs with one dot or without a dot instead of signs with three or two dots. As has been shown, the sign with three dots is only reverted to on rare occasions. In the case of *Cas*, it was the need for an alternative sign for *tempus perfectum* with *prolatio maior* (⊕), because ⊙ was already used for another purpose. This example as well as the inconsistent use of signs in the two compositions demonstrate that proportion signs seem to have been chosen more or less arbitrarily according to their availability. This pragmatic approach contrasts with the theoretical approach in the *Declaratio*.

The discrepancies between statements in music treatises and notational practice discussed in this paper should particularly be taken into account when treatises are consulted for the purpose of interpreting devices of rhythmic notation in compositions. Several sources of *Ars subtilior* music are incomplete or partly illegible, for example because of water damage or scraping, in which case scholars often draw on contemporary treatises in order to provide partial transcriptions and editions. This is even true for *Cas*. In his discussion of the incomplete ballata *Chi solo a si* transmitted on the last folio of the manuscript, Albert Seay turned towards Ugolino's *Declaratio* for guidance on the interpretation of

coloured notes in the composition.⁴⁶ As I will explain elsewhere, however, Ugolino's statements cannot be applied to red void notation in the song.⁴⁷ Not least to caution against such approaches, this paper has aimed to establish that discussions of music notation in treatises and actual notational practice should be regarded in their context and are not necessarily congruent.

Teaching materials which offer instructions on the notation of mensural music, such as the third book of Ugolino's *Declaratio*, exhibit strong influences of quadrivial scholarship. Hence, these instructions sometimes contradict conventions in musical notation. It seems probable that the adaptation of the concept *proportio* to rhythm – manifested in *Cas* in the discussion of proportion signs – was strongly influenced by speculative paradigms that were not connected to practical music. Simply put, the teachings on the notation of complex rhythms seem to have been applied only rarely in music notation. It is telling that even compositions which are part of a manuscript transmitting teaching materials do not implement the instructions found therein. The manuscript *Cas* thus provides rare insights into the differences between these two traditions.

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⁴⁶ The discussion of the three compositions can be found in Seay 1955, 152–162.

⁴⁷ See my PhD thesis (in preparation).

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Fig. 3: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151, fol. 344' (p. 680); Tenor of *Se videar*;
© Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

IDEM V'GOLINVS.

Alta virtute te di perficere vi-
ta. Cheza cialchunchela preza sia bea-
to. Ogi dagli motal pochesse giu-
ta. Per chela uo-
gla cu pra z qua-
ra. In si ci a ta e fuoz-
so-
ne.

Qualunq; di costei che tanto ama /
Predito troua copre, ad i cason /
Cumi gli orenem suoi in sua mansone /
Copara si crede quella cobaperta. /
Ada seropesi, e vizi roman untra. Lalta virtute.

Fig. 4: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151, fol. 344^v (p. 681); Cantus of *L'alta virtute*;
© Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.



Fig. 5: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151, fol. 345^r (p. 682); Tenor of *L'alta virtute*;
© Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

IDEM V'GOLINVS.

The manuscript page features a single staff of music with square neumes on a four-line red staff. The text is written in a Gothic script below the staff. The lyrics are: "Veni sancte mi serua ere", "gratias", "Benedicimus tuogreco in ter ri se gra", "Al ere de tempesta re ne ma chi", "de re. Semeloccur paridogli fuosta tu. Che in picchia si troua pio", "ma tu. Dapigoliero diuisti sede re", and a final section with two columns of text: "Edi astre nato non sa proned ere. Machi unu uora ben possedere. Oz su oz qui di qua di la limera. A lehu non rumba aeche. Nosteneri no troua clareta. Che daueder habia echi eto d'edep. Per la mobilita del suo sapere. Chi solo a si." The page shows signs of age, including a large brown stain at the top and some fading of the ink.

Fig. 6: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2151, fol. 345^v (p. 683); Cantus of *Chi solo a si*; © Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

Janina Karolewski

Adaptation of *Buyruk* Manuscripts to Impart Alevi Teachings: Mehmet Yaman Dede and the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*

Abstract: Today, many Alevis believe that the central teachings of their religious tradition are represented in a book called *Buyruk*, or *Command*. In the last decades, some twenty books have been published to make the relevant texts, originally written in the Perso-Arabic alphabet of Ottoman Turkish, available for readers familiar only with the Latin-based alphabet of modern Turkish. However, too little is known about the manuscripts that served as exemplars for these printed works. The *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* is such a manuscript, however, through its last owner Mehmet Yaman Dede, a religious specialist of the tradition, it can now be understood how variously he adapted its contents for presentation in a published version for community members eager to become acquainted with these writings. It is suggested here that his work on both text and manuscript reflects earlier practices, partly rearranged, however, and that his endeavours must be reflected in light of his life story, and his educational history in particular.

Buyruk is a living document. There is no single definitive version agreed upon by all Alevis. Numerous versions of the text exist in manuscript form. It is readily available in a variety of inexpensive published versions. Although these versions differ both in length and content, they generally contain a similar collection of narratives, descriptions of ritual, poetry, and explanations of theology.¹

This definition of *Buyruk*, as presented by Vernon Schubel, alludes to major questions that are to be raised in the following. In the absence of a definitive version of *Buyruk*, can we assume that some scribes, compilers and others involved in the production of such manuscripts were free to make changes in order to adapt the texts to certain needs? Moreover, are there adaptations that can be linked to requirements in teaching and learning? And last but not least, how do recent print versions relate to the previously handwritten collections of texts?

¹ Schubel 2010, 331.

Given the different text versions in *Buyruk* manuscripts, it is apparent that they have been subject to adaptation from the outset.² Indeed, it is probably fair to admit there has been a generally unstable transmission of *Buyruk* texts. But some manuscripts known to us thus far, display massive textual parallels. When cursorily comparing the latter, we observe a number of recurring modifications – among them abbreviated or expanded text versions, but also differences in spelling or word choice.³ An ideal case, however, enabling an understanding of which scribe departed from his exemplar when copying and which copyist tried to faithfully reproduce the texts before him, is a rarity. For this reason, we have decided to focus here on an individual case in which we can compare the manuscript exemplar with the resultant adaptations, albeit in print.

Following an overview on *Buyruk* manuscripts and printed versions, we will introduce the Alevi religious specialist Mehmet Yaman Dede (1940–2014)⁴, who worked intensively with written sources of his tradition. Then, we will zoom in on the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, the manuscript which served Mehmet Yaman Dede as an exemplar for his printed *Buyruk* publications. Finally, we will analyse his adaptation strategies, which, as proposed, can be interpreted to some extent as continuations and rearrangements of practices that were already commonly employed with manuscripts.

1 *Buyruk* books: From manuscripts to prints

The Alevis are members of a marginalised religious tradition from Anatolia and other neighbouring regions, often referred to as Alevilik, or Alevism.⁵ In their private book collections so-called *Buyruks* or *Buyruk* manuscripts are often

² See e.g. Karakaya-Stump 2010, 279; Kehl-Bodrogi 1997, 135; Otter-Beaujean 1997, 224; Yildiz 2017, 80.

³ The first critical *Buyruk* edition was accomplished by Rıza Yıldırım only after the submission of the present paper (see Yıldırım 2020). We thank him for sharing parts of his, at that time, still unpublished book with us.

⁴ We feel deeply indebted to the late Mehmet Yaman Dede and his son Prof. Dr. Ali Yaman, Abant İzzet Üniversitesi, Bolu, Turkey, for their boundless confidence through all the years. Our research would not have been possible in this form without their support. We also express our thanks for giving the authorisation for publishing all images reproduced here.

⁵ For a short introduction to the Alevi tradition see Dressler 2008; and for a special focus on teaching and learning in Alevi communities, see the contribution by Janina Karolewski in the present volume (Section ‘Educational Setting’, pp. 151–184).

found.⁶ The designation *Buyruk*, translated as ‘command’, can be understood as a label that Alevis used to apply to books belonging to a corpus or set of texts. It is said that this corpus or set contains the central religious and social teachings of Alevi communities. It seems to have been a rare exception to indicate this label within the manuscripts, either as a heading or on the cover. *Buyruks*, therefore, can have both identical or non-identical titles, if at all, and they can comprise similar texts, display textual differences, vary in extent and order, and so forth.⁷ The earliest copies are said to date back to the first quarter of the 17th century⁸, but most of the recently documented manuscripts were copied between the late eighteenth and early twentieth century.⁹ *Buyruk* texts are usually composed in Ottoman Turkish, i.e. Turkish written in Perso-Arabic characters¹⁰, with occasional use of short phrases in Arabic.

Alevi religious specialists educated in the Arabic alphabet made use of these text collections to acquire knowledge themselves and disseminate it among their community members and followers. The specialists were not allowed, however, to disclose the texts to outsiders, and it is even said that access to *Buyruks* had been restricted to chosen, presumably male-only members of the *ocaks*, or holy lineages. Such esoteric codes of conduct, in part at least, are present in many *Buyruks*¹¹ and are a common feature regarding mystic interpretations of Islam.

The common use of *Buyruks* and many other manuscript books came to an almost absolute end by the mid-twentieth century approximately. Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, several reforms and modernisation programmes took hold in Turkish society, severely affecting the educational practices of Alevi communities. The most significant and obvious repercussion was the conversion to the Latin alphabet, which was implemented by means of

6 For short overviews on *Buyruks* see e.g. Otter-Beaujean 1997; Karakaya-Stump 2010; for comprehensive analysis, see Kaplan 2010; Yıldırım 2020.

7 We suggest this understanding of *Buyruk* (Karolewski 2018, 81–82), which is based on the concept of multiple-text manuscripts as ‘corpus organisers’ (see Bausi 2010). See also Ayfer Karakaya-Stump 2010, 279.

8 On these copies see e.g. Yıldırım 2012, 178, n. 5. The earliest occurrence of the label *Buyruk*, however, has been attested as 1857, when the protestant missionary Dunmore reported on Alevis in larger Dersim (see e.g. Karakaya-Stump 2010, 278). It remains unclear when the label *Buyruk* came into being.

9 See e.g. Kaplan 2010, 43–58; Yıldırım 2020.

10 Also referred to as Arabo-Persian characters or alphabet.

11 See e.g. Kaplan 2010, 92; Karakaya-Stump 2010, 282; and the text sample in Appendix 1 and 2.

various literacy campaigns and the introduction of public schooling.¹² Furthermore, social changes such as secularisation, industrialisation and urbanisation led to an abandoning of Ottoman Turkish manuscripts for the transmission of Alevi practices and beliefs. Many young Alevis opted for state school and university education, paving the way for well-paid jobs, especially in the civil service, thus supporting social mobilisation in manifold ways. Not only did education shift to other domains of knowledge, but Alevis left their villages for fast-growing provincial capitals and urban centres such as Ankara and Istanbul, some even migrating abroad.¹³

In 1958, Sefer Aytekin was the first to publish texts from several *Buyruk* manuscripts in the form of a small book (Aytekin 1958), which was well-received by many Alevis, interested in what they assumed to be their written tradition. In the following years, other popular *Buyruk* publications in the Latin alphabet were published.¹⁴ The editors, frequently Alevis themselves, often published their own books or worked with small publishing houses specialised in such publications. Towards the late 1980s in particular, these publishing houses began to meet the demand of many young Alevis who felt the need to engage with their tradition, from which they felt they had become estranged from over the previous decades.¹⁵

Aside from the numerous popular editions and compilations that still appear to this day, growing academic interest in *Buyruks* has spurred further publications and editions from the early 2000s.¹⁶ The most outstanding among them, nevertheless, were those appearing in the series titled *Alevî-Bektaşî Klasikleri*, that is to say *Alevi-Bektaşî Classics*. The series was established by Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, or Religious Foundation of Turkey, which is a subordinate to Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, the Presidency of Religious Affairs.¹⁷ The presidency had previously turned down requests by Alevis to receive recognition of their own religious authorities or forms of religious practice. But the situation purportedly changed in 2007, when the government initiated the so-called ‘Alevi Opening’ for the purpose of bringing together state officials, Alevi functionaries and specialists on the issue.¹⁸ While this process ended without any real political outcome around 2015,

¹² On the Turkish language reform, see Lewis 1999, esp. chap. 2 and 3.

¹³ For these social transformations see e.g. Massicard 2005; Shankland 2003; Yıldırım 2017.

¹⁴ On these publications see e.g. Kaplan 2010, 95–98.

¹⁵ Vorhoff 1998, 34–36.

¹⁶ See e.g. Bisâfi 2003; Kaplan 2010.

¹⁷ *Alevî-Bektaşî Klasikleri*, 15 vols, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007–2015. For an overview on the volumes see Kaplan 2019.

¹⁸ See e.g. Borovalı and Boyraz 2014; Özkul 2015.

the *Alevî-Bektaşî Klasikleri* volumes remain its tangible product, which was both supported and criticised by Alevis.¹⁹

In the past, *Buyruk* manuscripts had been embedded in an educational environment that strongly depended on unwritten forms of knowledge adaptation such as oral interpretations and explanations, most probably supplied by the *dedes*, or religious specialists.²⁰ As David Shankland observed in the village where he conducted fieldwork in the late 1980s, these practices were also employed using printed *Buyruk* books:

[...] *dedes* absorb those aspects [from the *Buyruk*] they find interesting in their own time and recount them in the course of commentaries, *yorum*s, on songs and poetry first sung by minstrels. The *Buyruk* would therefore appear to be a rich source of ideas, one that shapes the villagers' thoughts within the overall, mostly oral, traditions [...].²¹

But a different situation arises when Alevis who have not yet acquired profound background knowledge consult such print editions for self-study. The language is in parts quite difficult to understand and the content too dense for many readers to digest alone, without help.

Already in the late 1990s, it was suggested that the function of such print versions is beyond that of mere reading material for knowledge acquisition: 'The book and its title, in the bookstore and in the bookshelf at home [...] demonstrate and define the presence of an identity.'²² This use of printed books resembles in some ways what was at times reported by Alevis about manuscripts. The *dedes* are said to have exhibited books and documents to the large number of illiterate lay followers as well as *ocak* members or have read from them on rare occasions, and the community members related objects to their tradition and its teachings²³.

2 Mehmet Yaman Dede's education and the role of manuscript books

Unlike many editors of *Buyruk* texts before him, Mehmet Yaman Dede (see Fig. 1) represents the *dedes*, or religious specialists, of the Alevi tradition, hence the title

¹⁹ See e.g. Weineck and Zimmermann 2019; A. Yaman 2016.

²⁰ Olsson 1998, 200–201.

²¹ Shankland 2005, 312.

²² Olsson 1998, 206. See also Vorhoff 1998, 35.

²³ See e.g. Karolewski 2020.

‘dede’ after his name.²⁴ Ocak Köyü, the village in Erzincan Province in Eastern Turkey, where Mehmet Yaman Dede was born in 1940, is not only home to several families with a long *dede* tradition, but is the centre of the Hıdır Abdal Sultan Ocağı, an Alevi holy lineage²⁵. For the *ocaks*, or holy lineages, becoming a *dede* was the prerogative of male members only. In Ocak Köyü, as Mehmet Yaman Dede writes in his own memories, religious specialists had plenty of books at hand:

The shelves and chests in each house of our village had been full of manuscript books that had come down from earlier centuries, were preserved as holy and read as well as interpreted by our *dedes* in village assembly rooms and during *cem* [called] worship services. Many Alevi villages, especially the villages where *pirs*²⁶ stayed, were not any different from that.²⁷

It comes as no surprise that Mehmet Yaman Dede remembers how, at an early age, he felt inclined to read the books in Ottoman Turkish left by his ancestors. Already before he was sent to *ilkokul*, or primary school, in 1947 where he would be trained in the Latin script of modern Turkish, a male relative taught him the Arabic alphabet.²⁸ As his father Hayri Dede had died when Mehmet Yaman Dede was only a few years old, he initially stayed with his mother and sister in the village after finishing primary school in Ocak Köyü and the neighbouring Dutluca (formerly Aşutka, or Aşotka in Armenian).

When he left his village for Istanbul in 1954, at the tender age of fourteen, he first worked in a shop selling grains and similar wares. In his spare time, however, he learnt Ottoman Turkish vocabulary, continued reading a variety of subjects and began to compile his own book on the Alevi tradition²⁹. Only two years

24 In this subchapter, we make intensive use of the following published autobiographical accounts by Mehmet Yaman Dede: M. Yaman 2018; Aydın 2014a and 2014b; and <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfPGwmziwvk>> (accessed on 1 Aug. 2019).

25 On Hıdır Abdal Sultan Ocağı and Ocak Köyü see e.g. M. Yaman 2014; Şimşek 1993.

26 *Pir* is a rank in the hierarchy of Alevi specialists as well as holy lineages (A. Yaman 2004, 81–82).

27 ‘Köyümüzün her evinde raflar, sandıklar yüzyıllar öncesinden kalan, kutsal olarak korunan, köy odalarında ve Cem ibadetlerinde dedelerimiz tarafından cemaate okunup yorumlanan el yazması kitaplarla dolu idi. Birçok Alevi köyleri özellikle de Pirlerin bulunduğu köyler bundan farklı değildi.’ (M. Yaman 2018, 188). Throughout the article we do not mark peculiarities of orthography or interpunctuation in both Ottoman Turkish and modern Turkish quotes as long as understanding is guaranteed.

28 M. Yaman 2018, 56.

29 M. Yaman 2018, 61; and <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfPGwmziwvk>> (accessed on 1 Aug. 2019), see video sequence 05:07–05:44. This compilation is yet unpublished.

later, in 1956, he was permitted to attend an İmam-Hatip Okulu, or vocational high school for prayer leaders and preachers, and went on to continue his studies at İstanbul Yüksek İslam Enstitüsü, or Istanbul Higher Islam Institute, till 1967. As with many graduates from the same institute, Mehmet Yaman Dede worked most of his life as a teacher of religious education, but also taught classes such as Arabic, English and German. He served as a religion teacher at the famous Pertevniyal Lisesi in Istanbul, one of Turkey's oldest and most successful public educational institutions, and as school director and teacher at the *ortaokul*, or secondary school, in Dutluca.³⁰

His higher education was initially enabled by various seniors from his village and its surroundings who lived in Istanbul. Prominent among them were Abbas Erturan (1901–1962) and his wife Güllü Ana, in whose garden house Mehmet Yaman Dede lived for eleven years.³¹ Abbas Erturan had left Ocak Köyü at an early age for Istanbul, and had established his business as a trader.³² Güllü Ana was a very respected woman from the village, whose words carried weight. On her initiative, Abbas Erturan sent Mehmet Yaman Dede to an İmam-Hatip Okulu.³³ As Mehmet Yaman Dede narrated once in an interview, published on YouTube, enrolment at this school was closely related to his obligations as *dede*, namely to study the writings of the Alevi tradition and to teach them to his following:

Abbas Erturan, the late, said, 'Will you study? You show interest in this matter'. I said, 'Uncle, I will study, of course'. He took me away from there [, from the shop I worked at in Istanbul], [and] he enrolled me in a school. I [went and] saw, it is a İmam-Hatip Okulu in Çarşamba. What do I know? I came from the village. What means İmam-Hatip Okulu and imam and so on ...? Yet, his [, Abbas Erturan's] idea was this: There, they used to teach the old script [, that is the Arabic alphabet], they used to teach Arabic and so on. Also in our village, in Ocak Köyü, with tons, I say, in each house ... There is even a house of ours there, a neighbour of ours, a house that they call 'pasha house'. It is a mansion with four floors. On each of its floors, wheresoever, there is, um, a library, a bookcase, shelf, shelf, shelves full of volumes, manuscript books. He, Uncle Abbas, said to me ... I actually called him 'Uncle Abbas'. I loved him a lot. Well, he was a very generous man. For eleven years, he made me study. [So] he said, 'I want you to study here [at the İmam-Hatip Okulu]. Our *hocas* [, or religious teachers,] [and] *dedes*, one by one, they pass away. You at least may be educated in the future, you may help and read to us from these books and so on in the years

30 M. Yaman 2018, 129, 257 and 271.

31 M. Yaman 2018, 78 and 146.

32 See e.g. Şimşek 1993, 239–240.

33 Ali Yaman, personal communication, 26.12.2020; Aydın 2014a and M. Yaman 2018, 66–67.

to come, you may share knowledge [with us]'. This is what he thought. He was a forward-looking man.³⁴

This case illustrates how parts of the Alevi community from Ocak Köyü – themselves no longer residing in the village, but in Istanbul – sensed the effects of recent social transformations and reacted to them. The financial support given by Abbas Erturan and others was vital as it secured Mehmet Yaman Dede's livelihood, for he had no family in Istanbul. Aside from which, however, the *hemşehrilik* networks, or networks of fellow countrymen, played another important role in Mehmet Yaman Dede's education, ensuring he was able to continue taking part in Alevi community life.

The assemblies which Mehmet Yaman Dede had attended during his years in the village and now attended in Istanbul³⁵ were crucial for his religious training. As the son of a *dede*, he was allowed to be present during rituals from an early age, although usually only married couples were authorised for full attendance. Mehmet Yaman Dede recalled that the affiliated layman communities in neighbouring villages asked him to conduct their rituals, as a mere ten-years-old.³⁶ By then, however, he had already experienced how oral and aural transmission, combined in part with reading from books and singing poetry to instrumental accompaniment, was employed during rituals and social

34 'Abbas Erturan, rahmetli, "Sen okur musun?" dedi, "Meraklısın bu işe.". Dedim "Dayı, okurum, tabii ki.". Oradan götürdü beni, bir okula yazdırdı. Baktım, Çarşamba'da bir İmam-Hatip Okulu'dur. Ne bileyim ben? Köyden gelmişim. İmam-Hatip Okulu, imam ne demek filan ...? Oysa onun derdi şuymuş, orada eski yazı öğretilirmiş, Arapça filan öğretilirmiş. Bizim köyümüzde de, Ocak Köyü'nde, tonlarla diyeyim ben, her evde ... Hatta bir evimiz orada, bir komşumuz, ev vardır ki paşa evi derler. Dört katlı bir konaktır. Her katında, neredeyse, şey vardır, kütüphane, kitaplık, raf raf raflar dolusu ciltlerle, el yazması kitaplar. O bana söyledi, Abbas dayı, ... Zaten Abbas dayı derdim ben ona. Çok severdim. Yani çok cömert bir insandı. On bir sene beni okuttu. Dedi ki, "Ben senin burada okumanı istiyorum ki, o hocalarımız, dedelerimiz teker teker gidiyorlar, bari sen gelecekte yetişmiş olasan, gelecek yıllarda o kitaplardan filan bize yardım edesin, okuyasın, bilgiler veresin" diye. İleri görüşlü bir adamdı.' (<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NFGwmziwvk>> (accessed on 1 Aug. 2019), see video sequence 06:59–08:05). We thank Aysel Özdilek, Universität Hamburg, for her careful proof-reading of our interview transcript and translation. For the sake of authenticity, we decided against polishing his speech in Turkish, but inserted additions in the translation. The punctuation, both in Turkish and the translation, is ours, added to ease understanding (an ellipsis without square brackets indicates a pause, not an omission).

35 M. Yaman 2018, 73 and 78.

36 Aydın 2014a. The case of Mehmet Yaman Dede has to be considered in the knowledge of his father's early death and how the young boy, felt it his responsibility to succeed him (see e.g. M. Yaman 2018, 56).

gatherings.³⁷ On these occasions, he became not only familiar with the fixed textual lore of his tradition, but also gained access to the unfixed interpretations of both written and oral texts, and learnt how *dedes* imparted knowledge to the community.

The educational career of Mehmet Yaman Dede reads quite extraordinarily for a member of the Alevi tradition, most of all because he attended schools specialised in Sunni Islam, the dominant interpretation of Islam in the Republic of Turkey. Many Sunnis in Turkey, especially religious authorities, do not accept several Alevi beliefs and practices as 'Islamic'.³⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising that Mehmet Yaman Dede had to face all sorts of discrimination, during his school days as well as his years as religion teacher.³⁹ For him, however, as for many Alevis, his tradition constitutes a form of Islam,⁴⁰ and, therefore, he did not see any contradiction in his Islamic theological education, as he stated in an interview: 'There must be *ilahiyatçıs*, or theologians, among Alevis, but under the condition of remaining Alevi.'⁴¹ Additionally, Mehmet Yaman Dede emphasised how much he had benefited from extensive language training at schools and in private classes.⁴² He learnt the Arabic alphabet to enable him to read Ottoman Turkish, the language of most of the written texts that circulated in Alevi communities, and, he had excellent knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

3 Mehmet Yaman Dede's *Buyruk* publications

When Mehmet Yaman Dede began publishing *Buyruk* texts in the early 1990s,⁴³ several similar publications had already appeared. Nonetheless, he had good reason for publishing his own articles and books. For instance, the *Buyruk* manuscripts he had access to contained texts never previously published.

37 M. Yaman 2018, 52 and 58. As a five-year old Mehmet Yaman Dede started to play the long-necked lute *saz* and memorized poetry and liturgical songs (M. Yaman 2018, 47).

38 See e.g. Pehlivan 1993; A. Yaman 2015. On the historical background see e.g. Dressler 2005.

39 M. Yaman 2018, *passim*.

40 Alevis have different understandings of their tradition today. Among the many differences some see it as a form of Islam, others interpret it as an independent religion or a non-religious lifestyle.

41 'Aleviler'den de ilahiyatçı olmalıydı, Fakat Alevi kalmak şartıyla.' (Aydın 2014a).

42 See e.g. Aydın 2014a.

43 See e.g. MAAKMDK 2000; M. Yaman 1994; and Mehmet Yaman Dede's series of articles in *CEM: Aylık Siyasi Kültürel Dergi* from 1991 till 1993.

Furthermore, he was not overly happy with the work of previous editors;⁴⁴ a matter clearly related to his own curriculum vitae and occupation as teacher. And last but not least, Mehmet Yaman Dede was able to reach a wide Alevi readership with his publications both in Turkey and abroad.

From early on, Mehmet Yaman Dede was heavily involved in defining and negotiating how Alevis could maintain their tradition amidst rapid social transformations. According to him, the Alevi tradition performed an adaptation (*adaptasyon*) to the urban setting, and publications on Alevism, including *Buyruks*, were part of this process.⁴⁵ As Refika Sarıönder underlines regarding *Alevilik'te Cem* ('The Cem Ritual in Alevism'),⁴⁶ a manual Mehmet Yaman Dede had compiled, the hope was for his publication to enable Alevis (re)acquire their ritual practices by reading before they could return to mimetic forms of transmission.⁴⁷ For the purpose of mediating or imparting knowledge, Mehmet Yaman Dede did not rely purely on printed publications, but strongly advocated attending courses at Alevi associations. He himself led countless of these courses, which had their beginnings in Turkey, but then also took place in Alevi communities abroad, such as in Germany, France, the Netherlands and England. After his retirement, Mehmet Yaman Dede devoted even more time than before to these educational initiatives, which he considered his duty to the Alevi community.⁴⁸ The opening statement in his last *Buyruk* book from 2000, which was published in Mannheim, Germany, reads accordingly:

This book, which is a classic work of the Alevi belief and culture, is been presented in order to be used in Alevism courses or in schools that are to be opened in all Alevi cultural centres, [dervish convents, called] *dergahs*, associations, foundations, and [houses of worship, called] *cemevis*.⁴⁹

Mehmet Yaman Dede persistently encouraged the Alevi community as a whole to start schooling their members. He saw it as necessary for Alevis to compensate for the loss of former educational institutions and practices or at least partly revive them.⁵⁰ The Alevi courses and schools Mehmet Yaman Dede had in mind,

⁴⁴ See e.g. M. Yaman 1994, 38; MAAKMDK 2000, xiv–xv.

⁴⁵ MAAKMDK 2000, x.

⁴⁶ M. Yaman 2003.

⁴⁷ Sarıönder 2005, 169–172.

⁴⁸ See e.g. M. Yaman 2018, 286–303.

⁴⁹ 'Alevî inanç ve kültürünün klâsik bir yapıtı olan bu kitap, tüm ALEVÎ KÜLTÜR MERKEZLERİ, DERGÂHLARI, DERNEKLERİ, VAKIFLARI ve CEMEVLERİ'nde açılacak ALEVİLİK KURSLARI ya da okullarında yararlanılmak için sunulmuştur.' (MAAKMDK 2000, inside title page).

⁵⁰ See e.g. M. Yaman 2018, 206–207.

may be understood as new forms of previously common educational settings such as social and ritualised gatherings.

It appears that when Mehmet Yaman Dede published *Buyruk* texts he never questioned the Alevi religious hierarchy or worried about its diminution, and made them accessible to a wide audience. The laymen who had been present at regular reading sessions from *Buyruks* in the past had indeed also acquired considerable insights into such text collections. Nevertheless, they relied on *dedes* to interpret and contextualize the text passages when read to them; this necessity persists, even though laymen are literate and can read the printed *Buyruks*.

Among the possible readership of *Buyruk* prints are undoubtedly a number of Alevi religious specialists lacking access to the written texts of their tradition – largely because their families did not possess the relevant manuscripts or they were unable to read the Perso-Arabic alphabet. Precisely this loss of knowledge was of major concern to Mehmet Yaman Dede, and he openly expressed his worries that numerous *Buyruk* texts had not been transferred from Ottoman Turkish to modern Turkish.⁵¹ Indeed, it is claimed here that Mehmet Yaman Dede – as well as other editors before him – focused mainly on adapting *Buyruk* texts to modern Turkish and its Latin alphabet. Clearly these adaptations were greatly needed for the transmission of the textual knowledge preserved in *Buyruks* and many other manuscript books. A note left by Mehmet Yaman Dede in one of his *Buyruk* manuscripts emphasizes this very significance:

When Adile Bacı, the wife of dear (Uncle) İsmet Taner from Çimen, died, I recited the Qur'an. In the talk following my recitation, he [i.e. İsmet Taner] gave me [this manuscript] and said: 'The *Buyruk* of Safi is the Alevi foundation; there is everything [in it]. I give it to you as a gift. I grew old. It should be yours. But may you translate all of it [into Turkish]'.⁵²

⁵¹ M. Yaman 1994, 38; and 2018, 184–190.

⁵² 'Çimenli Sn. İsmet Erdan (amca), eşi Adile bacının ölümünde okuduğum Kur'ân sonundaki sohbette "Safi Buyruğu علو [sic] temelidir, herşey vardır. Bunu sana armağan ediyorum. Ben ihtiyarladım, senin olsun. Amma, tümünü çeviresin" diye bana verdi.' (handwritten note on a card inserted in MS 1, signed by M. Yaman, dated 7 Aug. 1995). By mistake, Mehmet Yaman Dede confused the family name of the owner; it is 'Taner' and not 'Erdan'. Later, he repeated the wrong family name occasionally (see e.g., Aydın 2014b). Thanks to Ali Yaman, this lapse has been explained (personal communication, 27 Feb. 2020) and the correct name has been used in the translation above.

3.1 The *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*

Mehmet Yaman Dede received this manuscript in August 1995, and it was crucial for his editorial work on *Buyruk* texts. Already in June 1991, he had acquired a photocopy of the manuscript, indicated by a note he signed and dated: ‘This photocopy was made from the manuscript copy of İsmet Taner from Çimen.’⁵³

Çimen is an Alevi village, located approximately fifteen kilometres to the South-East of Ocak Köyü as the crow flies.⁵⁴ When Doğan Kaplan wrote about the same manuscript in 2010, he named it *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, arguing that its owner İsmet Taner was from Çimen.⁵⁵ The *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* is a copy of several texts with a final colophon, dated 11 Rebiülahir 1241 AH (22 November 1825 CE) on fol. 118^r. Although the names of the scribe and the possessor appear in the colophon, there is no mention of their descent or the place of copying. The collection of texts includes, among others, a lengthy work that begins on fol. 9^r. In the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, this work is titled ‘Kitâb-i Mağâm-i Menâkıb-i Şerîf-i Kûṭbu l-‘Ârifin Ḥazret-i Şeyḫ Seyyid Şafî’ (‘The Book of the Place of the Sacred Deeds of the Chief of the Knowledgeables, the Exalted Şeyh Seyyid Safi’), but appears under different, yet similar titles in other manuscripts⁵⁶. In the following, it will be referred in short as ‘The Book of Sacred Deeds’.

As mentioned in the quote above, İsmet Taner is said to have referred to the manuscript copy or its text collection as ‘*Buyruk* of Safi’. Indeed, as we have observed, it is very common today to apply short titles such as ‘Safi Buyruğu’ or ‘Şeyh Safi Buyruğu’ for the work in question; and some use such titles as labels for manuscript books containing this work. It is commonly agreed that the core of ‘Şeyh Safi Buyruğu’ is a dialogue between Şeyh Safiyyüddin Erdebili, the founder of the Safavid Order, and his son Şeyh Sadreddin. This conversation between father and son – as well as master and disciple – serves as a model for tuition on the central teachings of the mystical path.

53 ‘Bu fotokopi Çimenli İsmet Taner’in nüshasından alınmıştır.’ (MS 1–XEROX, fol. 1^r).

54 At an administrative level, Çimen is a *mahalle* (‘neighbourhood’) of the Arapgir district, Malatya province since several years. The village comprises of its main settlement and a small hamlet named Ballica. For these and all following details on Çimen, we are highly indebted to Ali Yaman, Bolu, Turkey, who obtained this information and shared it with us (personal communication, 14 and 27 Feb. 2020).

55 Kaplan 2010, 51. Ayfer Karakaya-Stump names the same manuscript *Buyruk-Erzincan*, explaining that it comes from an Alevi *dede* family from Erzincan (Karakaya-Stump 2012, 371). She probably refers to the Yaman family and Ocak Köyü. Karakaya-Stump as well as Kaplan accessed the copy when it was in Mehmet Yaman Dede’s hands.

56 For several title versions see e.g. Kaplan 2010, 43–54.

Before Mehmet Yaman Dede acquired the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* in 1995, the book may have remained for several years within a circle of owners all connected to the same village, namely Çimen. İsmet Taner put his ownership note under the original colophon of the copy, presenting himself as the second owner of the manuscript⁵⁷. However, İsmet Taner must surely have been aware he was not the second owner. He left other notes directly above an older and partly erased ownership note (see Fig. 2), informing that the manuscript was in possession of another individual from Çimen in the 1910s⁵⁸. Hence it is possible that this *Buyruk* copy circulated for a minimum of eighty years among owners of the same village.

This is intriguing, for the inhabitants of Çimen are Alevi laymen related to the holy lineage of Şeyh Hasan from the village Onar, located circa ten kilometres South as the crow flies.⁵⁹ As is already known from other Alevi communities, older villagers from Çimen can still recall today how family members had received education for the purpose of reading the Qur'an and reciting prayers in Arabic.⁶⁰ It is possible these literate lay followers obtained access to *Buyruk* copies, although it is usually believed to have only been the prerogative of *dedes*. As religious specialists came to Çimen from the nearby village Onar, it may be discounted, for now, that laymen in Çimen took on duties normally reserved for *dedes*.

Unfortunately, we have no information from contemporaries or their descendants telling how its owners from Çimen used the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*. The manuscript itself hosts four 'guest texts',⁶¹ but discloses only one piece of

57 'Its second owner, your humble servant İsmet Taner from Çimen Köyü, [sig.:] İsmet Taner' ('İkinci şâhibi Çimen Köyünden el-fakir 'İşmet Taner [sig.:] İsmet Taner') (MS 1, fol. 118^r).

58 'The humble owner, Çimen village, ..., son of ..., my sovereign ..., in 21 ... year 1331.' ('Şâhibü l-fakir Çimen kıryesi ... zâde hünkârım ... fi 21 ... sene 1331') (MS 1, fol. 118^v). It is not possible to fully decipher the date; thus, it could be 1331 AH (1912/1913 CE) or 1331 *maliye* (1915/1916 CE). In addition, another documentary note on the front flyleaf relates to Çimen Köyü; although it appears someone has tried to erase the note, it is still partly legible: 'Çimen village ... Mehmed Efendi's ...' ('Çimen kıryesi ... Mehmed Efendiniñ ...') (MS 1, fol. 1^r).

59 In Balıca, however, a hamlet of Çimen, families settled there that belong to the İmam Zeynel Abidin Ocağı. They are said to have migrated from the village Mineyik (today Kurudere), the centre of their holy lineage, located some 35 kilometres as the crow flies to the South-West. (Ali Yaman, personal communication, 14 Feb. 2020).

60 Ali Yaman, personal communication, 14 Feb. 2020.

61 The four Ottoman Turkish 'guest texts' appear to be by three different hands. So far, it can only be posited that they were added before 1994, as all are present in Mehmet Yaman Dede's photocopy. On the front flyleaf are a poem with the opening line 'Çoğ fikir etdim hayâle daldım / Hâkka adam da evlâdımız bildim gâziler', which is presumably attributed to Divli (MS 1, fol. 1^r),

evidence directly related to the use of its text collection by someone from Çimen. On fol. 1^r, reads the following: ‘The punishments for ill-treatment are explained on page 81 and 82’.⁶² The person who left this note may have been particularly interested in the sentences and fines for acting against the rules of the mystical path. To conveniently consult this text section again, the person may have found it useful to note down the relevant page numbers. Similarities in handwriting indicate that İsmet Taner wrote this note and added page numbers to the book.⁶³ This, however, and the other few additions to the manuscript are the only traces of its users and owners before Mehmet Yaman Dede worked upon it himself.

3.2 The work with the manuscript

The lack of users’ notes in the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* is not an exception but something quite common when researching the *Buyruk* manuscripts. Users’ additions providing hints on how the books were used are rare. Mehmet Yaman Dede, however, left numerous notes; he summarized text sections in a few words, marked names and terms, or documented his own work and involvement with the original volume (see e.g., Fig. 3) and its photocopy (see e.g., Fig. 4). In addition, he marked text sections that he published later in the magazine *CEM Dergisi* and his book *Erdebili Şeyh Safî ve Buyruğu*. In the latter, Mehmet Yaman Dede utters his intent to publish the entire text of the consulted manuscript copy in the very near future.⁶⁴ After having received the original volume in August 1995, he finally began his task of rendering all texts from the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* to Turkish, leaving a note on the last folio of the manuscript, dated 22 June 1996: ‘NOTE: First, I have finished carefully reading it once from beginning to end in

and two poems of the *Düvazdeh İmam* kind (MS 1, fol. 1^v). The first *Düvazdeh İmam* with the opening line ‘Hakk Muhammed ‘Alî geldi dilime / kalma günâhıma mürüvvet yâ ‘Alî’ is attributed here to Kul Himmet, and the second one with the opening line ‘Ey Hoca-i Hızır şıgındım şaňa / birliğin hakkıçün bağışla bizi’ misses the last lines, which may have been on the now missing first folio (see note 63 in this contribution). The fourth ‘guest text’ is a short note about a ritual sequence on fol. 30^v, a blank page, which the scribe skipped for unknown reasons.

⁶² ‘81 şahîfe 82’de sitâm [read here: sitem] hakkı ta’rif edilir’ (MS 1, fol. 1^r).

⁶³ It is assumed İsmet Taner added the second set of page numbers, all written with a lead pen. He may have considered it necessary, since the previously inserted set of page numbers in the utmost outer corner on the top of the pages are barely legible due to creases and fading. Further, the page number on fol. 1^r is ‘2’, with which İsmet Taner did not agree, thus began with ‘1’. The manuscript most likely had a ‘frontispiece folio’, but this folio was already missing when İsmet Taner renumbered the pages.

⁶⁴ M. Yaman 1994, 152, n. 1.

order to translate it all into Turkish. Now it is time to translate it into Turkish. In the village [Ocak].’ (see Fig. 2).⁶⁵

From June 1996 onwards, Mehmet Yaman Dede left at least twenty-eight notes in the margins of the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* and marked how far he had proceeded each day he translated the text. After he had worked intensively during his stay in Ocak Köyü that summer, he returned to Istanbul in September 1996 and continued almost a year later, in May 1997 (see fols 62^r and 63^r). As he placed his last dated mark on fol. 74^r, in the second third of the manuscript, in June 1997, it is not known when he finished translating the last third, but the publication in which he finally presented his translation appeared in 2000 with the title *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç, İbadet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* (*Buyruk: The Principles of the Alevi Belief, Worship and Ethics*)⁶⁶.

In his publications, Mehmet Yaman Dede does not discuss how he proceeded when adapting *Buyruk* manuscripts to print, regarding script, language, or layout. Before he published *Buyruk* texts, however, he had already had years of experience with such kind of work. In 1965, he prepared a modern Turkish version of ‘Gülzar-i Haseneyn’ (‘The Rose Garden of İmam Hasan and İmam Hüseyin’), which remained unpublished⁶⁷, and in 1976, his translation of the Ottoman Turkish divan by the famous Sufi poet Seyyid Nizamoğlu (d. 1601) appeared⁶⁸. Moreover, although it is known he used other *Buyruk* manuscripts available to him, there is but little knowledge of them.⁶⁹ One copy belonged to Yamakzade Seyyid Mehmed Dede (d. 1930), his great-grandfather, who copied the text collection during his visit in 1880 to the Bektâşi convent in what is today Hacıbektaş.⁷⁰ Another copy belonged to the Babagil family from Ocak Köyü, also members of the Hıdır Abdal Sultan Ocağı. In an interview Mehmet Yaman Dede estimated the manuscript age to be 250 years.⁷¹

65 ‘NOT: Komple Türkçeye çevirmek için önceden bir kez baştanbaşa dikkatle okuyup bitirdim. Şimdi sıra Türkçeye çevirmede. Köyde.’ (MS 1, fol. 118^v).

66 MAAKMDK 2000.

67 M. Yaman 2018, 119.

68 Seyyid Nizamoğlu 1976.

69 See the following note by Mehmet Yaman Dede in MS 1-XEROX, fol. 1^r: ‘Note: Pages one to two that must have preceded are missing. For the entirety see the *Buyruks* that are with M.Y.’ (‘Not: Bundan önce olması gereken 1–2 sh. yok. Tamamı için bk. M.Y. deki *Buyruklar*.’).

70 Aydın 2014b; MAAKMDK 2000, 203; M. Yaman 2018, 35–36.

71 Aydın 2014b. It is assumed that this copy is the manuscript labelled ‘Y3, Kemaliye-Ocak, Mustafa Kızılkaya Nüshası’ in Yıldırım 2020, 269–273. On the copy by Mustafa Kızılkaya, see M. Yaman 2018, 190.

As we have no access to these other *Buyruk* manuscripts, great care is to be taken in assessing the changes occurring between the texts from *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* and Mehmet Yaman Dede's translation. Although he stated that the *Buyruk* texts he published were derived from İsmet Taner's book, one can see how Mehmet Yaman Dede noted textual parallels between the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, his great-grandfather's copy, and a second copy from the Babagil family⁷². Therefore, it is quite probable Mehmet Yaman Dede occasionally used wording from other manuscripts. Furthermore, it must be remembered here that Mehmet Yaman Dede wrote by hand his entire life and prepared his several translations of *Buyruk* texts in the form of manuscripts, to which we have no access. Mehmet Yaman Dede certainly had his own ideas on how to adapt the manuscript for print, whether in terms of book layout, text structuring, or paratexts, as he had long been involved in publishing. Nonetheless, some of these adaptations may also be referred back to the respective publishers.

3.3 The adaptation strategies

In the notes left in *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, Mehmet Yaman Dede refers to his work as *çeviri*⁷³, a term usually denoting interlingual translations, but also commonly used for the more unique instance of intralingual translations from Ottoman Turkish to modern Turkish⁷⁴. The rewording of Ottoman Turkish texts into modern Turkish, which includes changes in vocabulary, grammar, syntax or style, is often termed 'translation into today's language' ('bugünün diline çeviri') or 'translation into today's Turkish' ('günümüz Türkçesine çeviri')⁷⁵. Accordingly, Mehmet Yaman Dede appears on the inside title page of his 2000 *Buyruk* publication as 'the translator into the Turkish of our days' (literal translation of 'günümüz Türkçesine çeviren'). Indeed, *çeviri* also refers to the transfer of a text from one writing system to another, which Mehmet Yaman Dede also accomplished when exchanging the Perso-Arabic for Latin characters. But he did not limit his work to mere transcription, for here and there he made linguistic, lexical and content-related adjustments.

72 'See Yamak Copy p. 43' ('bk. Yamak Nüshası sh. 43') (MS 1, fol. 32^v); and 'See at Babagil p. 22' ('bk. Babagil'de sh. 22) (MS 1-XEROX, fol. 9^v). The second Babagil copy is most probably 'Y2, Mehmet Yaman Nüshası' in Yıldırım 2020, 265–268.

73 See MS 1, fols 19^v, 20^v, and 58^v.

74 See Berk Albachten 2015.

75 Konar 2019, 30.

The most obvious difference between the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* and Mehmet Yaman Dede's various print publications is the layout. The prose text in the manuscript is written consecutively without punctuation marks with the poems arranged in columns; for emphasis, orientation or decoration purposes some words, phrases, and bullet point-like graphic symbols are written in red ink (cf. Fig. 5). For the print publications, Mehmet Yaman Dede decided to arrange the text in paragraphs, but did not only implement the text divisions as present in the manuscript; but at some other junctures in the text also inserted paragraphs (cf. Fig. 6). Particularly regarding long passages written in continuous text, he splits the text into several paragraphs. Noteworthy also, is how Mehmet Yaman Dede uses punctuation marks to divide phrases or mark indirect speech. We believe all this was done to make for a clearly arranged text, suitable for readers accustomed to the layout conventions and text structuring of printed books.

In addition, Mehmet Yaman Dede introduced headings for prose passages and poems, which had not existed previously in the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*. The choice for new paratexts clearly relates to his overall aim to add more structure to the text and to facilitate orientation. His notes on the photocopy and in the margins of the original manuscript make it clear how Mehmet Yaman Dede gave short key words to text passages, which partly turned into headings in his translation. For those parts of the text collection in which Şeyh Sadreddin poses questions to his father and master Şeyh Safiyyüddin, Mehmet Yaman Dede usually extracts the heading from the opening interrogative sentence of a passage. In creating poem headings, he usually picked a line or a part of a line from the relevant poem, either from the first, last or any other couplet (cf. Fig. 6). Most probably, he appreciated those lines or perceived them as a central message of the poems, which in turn relate to the prose text. As the poems in question did not have titles nor were handed down with titles, Mehmet Yaman Dede was not able to use titles as templates for the headings. The scribes or compilers of manuscripts that came before him were in the same situation. A few poems from *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* also have headings, but only mention the poet's name, e.g., 'Poem by Teslim Abdal' ('Deyişat-i Teslim Abdal') (MS 1, fol. 114').

The matter of titles is indeed intricate, for only a few of the headings in the *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* are titles easily perceived as inseparable parts of the accompanying text units. These are, first of all, the headings presenting book titles: 'The Book of the Sermon of the Twelve Imams' (fol. 1') and 'The Book of the Place of the Sacred Deeds of the Chief of the Knowledgeables, the Exalted Şeyh Seyyid Safi' (MS 1, fol. 9'). From fol. 70' onwards we find several headings and

phrases, usually written in red ink, which could be titles to shorter independent text units, and some may still belong to the previous text units.⁷⁶

The phrase written in red ink on fol. 70^r reads as follows: ‘and after this, it should be known that this is the letter that Seyyid Abdülbaki Efendi of the Sublime Lodge sent to the believers of pure faith, who are friends of the saints,’ (‘dađı bundan Őnra ma’lüm ola ki dergâh-i ‘âlîde Seyyid ‘Abdülbâkî Efendiniñ evliyâya muđıb olan mü’min-i pâk i’tikâdlara gönderdüđi mektûbdur’). Mehmet Yaman Dede not only recognised this phrase as start of a new text unit but named it ‘Small *Buyruk*’ (‘Küçük Buyruk’), with a footnote explaining that all previous text parts belong to the ‘Great *Buyruk*’ (‘Büyük Buyruk’).⁷⁷

In 1963, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı first claimed that Alevi distinguish between the ‘Great *Buyruk*’, (the ‘Book of Sacred Deeds’), and the ‘Small *Buyruk*’, (the ‘Letter by Seyyid Abdülbaki’ for short).⁷⁸ Nowadays, all scholars working on *Buyruks* question this claim, for which Gölpınarlı provides no substantiation.⁷⁹ Karakaya-Stump also refutes it, for ‘there is nothing in the manuscript or in Alevi oral culture to warrant such an identification’.⁸⁰ Mehmet Yaman Dede, however, used both denominations on several occasions,⁸¹ and it cannot be decided to what extent his wording was influenced by Gölpınarlı. It is remarkable, however, that Mehmet Yaman Dede also mentions the *Buyruk* books being referred to as ‘Great *Buyruk*’ in Ocak Köyü.⁸²

Regarding other changes Mehmet Yaman Dede made, we can say that they often relate to language, grammar, lexis, or even content, all very common to intralingual translations. To illustrate these changes, we have chosen a short passage from *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruđu*, juxtaposed it with the relevant part by Mehmet Yaman Dede and added our English translation (see Appendix 1 and 2 at the end

76 In understanding *Buyruk* manuscripts to be evolving text collections, titles, headings, or sub-headings are considered dynamic in terms of each individual copy. For further comment see Karakaya-Stump 2010, 279.

77 M. Yaman 1994, 118; MAAKMDK 2000, 148.

78 Gölpınarlı 1963, 86.

79 Kaplan 2010, 101; Karakaya-Stump 2010, 281; Yıldırım 2019, 466 n. 65. As with Yıldırım, it is suggested here that the ‘Book of Sacred Deeds’ ends only after the ‘Letter by Seyyid Abdülbaki’ with the short passage on fol. 72^r (see Appendix 1). This passage resembles texts that usually precede colophons or merge into them, and indeed, a scribe’s colophon is present after the respective passage in another *Buyruk* copy (MS 2, fol. 158^v). Interestingly enough, this colophon includes an older date of copying, most probably copied by the scribe from the exemplar, before adding his own. For a similar instance in a different manuscript, see Yıldırım 2019, 480.

80 Karakaya-Stump 2010, 281.

81 See e.g. Aydın 2014a; M. Yaman 2018, *passim*.

82 Aydın 2014b.

of this contribution, and see also Figs 5 and 6). In the following, all line numbers given refer to the appendices, if not marked differently.

As Mehmet Yaman Dede aimed at rewording the Ottoman Turkish texts into modern Turkish, he was able to avoid some problems that scholars usually face when preparing transliterations. On the one hand, Ottoman Turkish texts in Perso-Arabic characters are often ‘under-specific’ in regard to several sounds, and many vowels can even remain unrecorded if vocalisation signs are missing, as is usually the case. On the other hand, some Ottoman Turkish texts, although copied at a later period, preserve earlier common vocalisation or spelling habits.⁸³ Without bothering to reconstruct the outdated phonetics of the texts, Mehmet Yaman Dede almost always used the written standard of modern Turkish as defined by the Turkish Language Society, or Türk Dil Kurumu.

He employed, for instance, the labial vowel harmony in cases such as the genitive (e.g., *menâkıbınıñ* > *menakıbının*,⁸⁴ *ilminüñ* > *ilminin*, see ll. 10, 11) and the definite past participle (e.g., *oldığı* > *olduğu*, *bilmediğin* > *bilmediğini*, see ll. 11, 19). In other cases, he updated the vocalisation of words to their present spelling (e.g., *deñlü* > *denli*, *içün* > *için*, see ll. 11, 12).

Mehmet Yaman Dede also adapted peculiarities of Ottoman Turkish grammar to modern Turkish grammar. One such peculiarity is the abbreviated accusative after the third person possessive suffix (e.g., *edebin ve erkânın* > *edeb ve erkanını*, *bilmediğin* > *bilmediğini*, see ll. 7, 19). The abbreviate accusative is not too common anymore, and as the texts in *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* are in parts quite dense, we assume that Mehmet Yaman Dede intended to facilitate understanding by dissolving this form. Another peculiarity of Ottoman Turkish grammar Mehmet Yaman Dede partly removed from the text is the *izafet* construction, used to create genitive compounds or attributive connections. As the *izafet* construction was almost exclusively employed with loanwords from Arabic and Persian, Mehmet Yaman Dede not only dissolved these compounds, but also introduced Turkish words in their place (e.g., *muhibb-i evliyâ* > *erenlere* [read here: *evliyaya*] *muhib*, and *kitâb-i menâkıb-i şerif* > *kutsal buyruk* [read here: *şerif menakıb*] *kitabı*, see ll. 7–8, 20–21). In modern Turkish, a considerable number of fixed *izafet* expressions still exist, and therefore Mehmet Yaman Dede kept phrases, which are particularly common in the religious register of Turkish (e.g., *Masum-i Paklar*, see l. 15; and *Hazret-i [...]*, *Ehl-i Beyt*, *mürşid-i kamil*, see MS 1, *passim*).

⁸³ See e.g. Boeschoten 1988; Schmidt 2019.

⁸⁴ The first mentioning before ‘>’ is from the manuscript, the one afterwards is from Mehmet Yaman Dede’s translation. Where suitable, italics have been implemented to highlight the relevant alteration.

A very obvious adaptation, of course, is the exchange of Ottoman Turkish words and expressions with equivalents from modern Turkish. On the one hand, Mehmet Yaman Dede often replaced loanwords from Arabic and Persian with synonyms of Turkish origin (e.g., *evliyā* > *erenler*, *ġāyet* > *son*, *taʿām* > *yemek*, see ll. 7, 11, 16), but sometimes also with other Arabic or Persian loanwords (e.g., *itmām* > *tamam*, *zīrā ki* > *çünkü*, *ammā* > *fakat*, see ll. 10, 19). On the other hand, Mehmet Yaman Dede replaced Turkish words that are not in general use today (e.g., *işideler* > *dinleyeler*, *değme* > *rastgele*, see ll. 17, 20). In some cases, he also transferred idiomatic expressions from Ottoman Turkish into modern Turkish (e.g., *qādir oldığı/oldukları deñlü* > *gücü yettiği kadar/güçleri yettiğince*, see ll. 13–14, 17–18).

Most of the above adaptations made by Mehmet Yaman Dede can be observed among several *Buyruk* manuscripts in Ottoman Turkish, in which similar innovations already appear. In this regard, *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu* exhibits vocalisations, spellings and linguistic peculiarities that predate its time of copying, namely the early 19th century. By preparing a faithful copy of the exemplar, its scribe preserved all these features, which indicates the period in which the text was composed. Analysing the same passage as our text sample from another *Buyruk* manuscript (MS 2, fol. 158^v), copied in Ocak Köyü in the 1890s, we find several changes similar to those made by Mehmet Yaman Dede: By writing the respective vowels, the labial vowel harmony is employed (e.g., *ʿilminiñ* > *ʿilminiñ*, *bilmedüğün* > *bilmediğini*) and the vocalisation of some words is updated (e.g., *deñlü* > *deñli*, *içün* > *için*). Furthermore, the abbreviated accusative is partly dissolved (e.g., *edebın ve erkānın* > *edebini ve erkani*, *bilmedüğün* > *bilmediğini*), and though rarely, some rewording occurs (e.g., *zaʿif* > *fağır*, *deñlü* > *qadar*).

Even regarding layout and text structure, we observe differences between *Buyruk* manuscripts. For instance, in some copies the poems are arranged in continuous text and the interrogative sentences of the dialogue between Şeyh Safiyüddin and Şeyh Sadreddin are not highlighted in red ink. Thus, we see such adaptations by Mehmet Yaman Dede as partly rooted in the manuscript culture he experienced in his early years and continued to study. He must have been aware of the differences between *Buyruk* manuscripts, in terms of text arrangement, language form or vocabulary, and he obviously saw no contradiction in making further adjustments in his publications. Mehmet Yaman Dede touched on this issue in an interview: ‘In short, [*Buyruk*] is a fundamental book for Alevism. But, of course, some adjustments must be made to the *Buyruk*, it must be adapted

to the time. Or better said, it must be reworked in a form appropriate to the times, without destroying its essence.⁸⁵

From this general statement it is hard to understand which adaptations Mehmet Yaman Dede had in mind. Judging from his translation work, however, he also included changes that went beyond general linguistic rewording. One could say that he aimed at harmonizing the Alevi written tradition with Alevi oral lore and cultural practices. In our text sample, we find an excellent example to illustrate how he attempted this. The selected passage finalizes the long text unit titled ‘The Book of the Place of the Sacred Deeds [...]’ and makes reference to exactly this text by phrases such as ‘this book’, ‘these “Sacred Deeds”’, ‘these “Deeds of the Saints”’, or ‘this “Book of Sacred Deeds”’ (see Appendix 1, ll. 7, 10, 17, 19–20). At one point in the passage, Mehmet Yaman Dede added ‘*Buyruk*’ in parenthesis next to ‘this book’ and at other points he replaced ‘Deeds’ with ‘*Buyruk*’ (Appendix 2, ll. 7, 17, 19–20). He most probably did so, in order to finally introduce, or better inscribe, the orally prevalent title ‘*Buyruk*’ into these text collections, which have other titles in the respective manuscripts. Throughout his *Buyruk* publications, we see how he put ‘*Buyruk*’ next to the other titles or replaced the latter with ‘*Buyruk*’.⁸⁶

Last but not least, Mehmet Yaman Dede made use of paratextual elements that had not been part of *Buyruk* manuscripts. Among other things, there are the table of contents, which lists the headings that he had assigned to passages of the prose text, and the two indices at the end of his last *Buyruk* publication. While the table of content facilitates navigation for readers who are interested in particular topics, the indices collect words and phrases with their meaning, which is in part peculiar to the Alevi tradition, and give brief information on the religious figures appearing in the text. For the latter, we can imagine how a *dede* would have made similar short explanatory excurses during his readings from a *Buyruk*, to supply additional or necessary information on the text.

Conclusion

The writings in *Buyruks* or other fixed texts such as the frequent orally transmitted songs and hymns existed side by side with, as yet textually unfixed knowledge that circulated within and among Alevi communities. A major part of

85 ‘Yani Alevilik’le ilgili temel bir kitap oluyor. Ama tabii Buyruğun üzerinde bazı düzenlemelerin yapılması gerekiyor. Çağa uydurulması, daha doğrusu çağa uygun bir şekilde, aslını bozmadan yeniden uyarlamak gerekiyor.’ (Ayhan 2014b).

86 Cf. MS 1, fol. 20^f, with MAAKMDK 2000, 39. For another example, see Karolewski 2018, 85–86.

the latter constitutes the interpretations of fixed texts, which had to be acquired in a non-written way, namely by attending educational meetings or rituals. For several centuries, at least, these interpretative, and also commentative, practices must have belonged almost exclusively to the domain of oral transmission. Thus, it is not surprising at all that there are no written interpretations or commentaries for *Buyruk* texts so far.

Mehmet Yaman Dede realised the need to fix the orally transmitted knowledge of his tradition in writing, which becomes most apparent in his textual additions to the *Buyruk* texts and content-related changes. His modifications in layout and text structuring, however, are clearly inspired by conventions of print publications, and the numerous adaptations to modern Turkish also mirror the long-term impact of the Turkish Language Reform, from its beginnings in the 1930s. Many strategies, however, that Mehmet Yaman Dede applied when adapting *Buyruk* copies to book publications are continuations and rearrangements of practices from the respective manuscript tradition. Other copyists and compilers before him adjusted texts while copying from one or more exemplars and they made both conscious and unconscious changes, whether in text structure, language or word choice. Thus, the textual transmission allowed for adaptations, and Mehmet Yaman Dede continued these practices to make the teachings from *Buyruks* understandable to Alevis of today.

Acknowledgements

We are profoundly grateful to Hülya Çelik of Ruhr-Universität Bochum whose informed comments and attention to detail have done much to improve this contribution. In addition, we thank Antonella Brita and Darya Ogorodnikova, both of Universität Hamburg, for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this contribution.

List of Manuscripts

- | | |
|------------|--|
| MS 1 | (= <i>Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu</i>): Dated 11 Rebiülahir 1241 AH (22 November 1825 CE). In private possession, bequeathed by M. Yaman. |
| MS 1–XEROX | photocopy of <i>Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu</i> with notes by M. Yaman, in private possession, bequeathed by M. Yaman. |
| MS 2 | (= <i>Buyruk</i> manuscript from Ocak Köyü Müzesi): Copied in Ocak Köyü. Dated 16 Eylül 1306 <i>maliye</i> (28 September 1890 CE), 13 Nisan 1309 <i>maliye</i> (25 April 1893 CE) and 1309 <i>maliye</i> (1893/1894 CE). Ocak Köyü Özel Müzesi, Ocak Köyü Kitaplığı, Inv.nr. 73. |

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Appendix 1: Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu

Source: MS 1, fol. 72⁸⁷

{7} imdi evliyânîñ edebin ve erkânın biz bu kitâb içinde yazdık-kim muhibb-i {8} evliyâ olan tâlibler okuyub ‘amel âdeler ve her okudukça bu za‘îfi {9} hayır du‘adan unutmayalar bir kişiniñ ‘ömri Nuh peygamber ‘ömrince olsa {10} bu menâkıb-î şerîfi yazub itmâm edemeyeler • zirâ ki evliyâ menâkıbınıñ {11} gâyeti ve bâtın ‘ilminüñ nihâyeti yokdur bu deñlü olduğı dağı tâliblere {12} hemân bir irşâd ecliçündür her şeyhe ve halîf[e]ye ve pireye lâzım olan {13} oldur ki âzine geçeleri olduğda çerâğın uyarub kâdir olduğı {14} deñlü Allâh rızâsıçün ve Muhammed ‘Alî ve On İki İmâm Çehârdeh {15} Ma‘şüm-i Pâkler ve geçmiş pîrlere ve beşkademler [sic] rûhıçün atası {16} ve anası canıçün ta‘âm yedüre ve ta‘âmdan-soñra cemâ‘at {17} tağılmadan bu evliyânîñ menâkıbı okuna tâlibler ve muhibbler işideler kâdir {18} olduqları deñlü edebinden ve erkânından tutub ‘amel âdeler {19} kişi bilmedüğün bilmek lâzımdur • ammâ erkân erenleri bu kitâb-i {20} menâkıb-î şerîfi her kimüñ önünde gerekse okumayalar ve değme kişilere {21} vèrmeyeler ve göstermeyeler evliyâ muhibbleri okuyalar

Thus {imdi}⁸⁸, we wrote down the rules and customs of the saints {evliyâ} in this book, so that the disciples who are friends of the saints {evliyâ} should read it and act in accordance with it, and whenever they read it, they should not forget to ask blessings for this weak one [i.e. the author or scribe of the book]. Even if someone has the age of Prophet Noah, they could not have written and finished {itmâm edemeyeler} these ‘Sacred Deeds’, • since {zirâ ki} the ‘Saints’ Deeds’ have no finish {gâyet} and the inner knowledge has no end. Even being [only] this much, [the book] is just {hemân} a teaching for the disciples. What is necessary for each şeyh, each halife and each pire is this: They should wake their lamp on Friday {âzine} nights, according to their capabilities {kâdir olduğı deñlü} they should spend a meal {ta‘âm} for God’s approval, for the souls of Muhammad-Ali, the Twelve Imams, the Forty {Çehârdeh} Innocent as well as the passed away pîrs and pişkademler and for the souls of their father and mother. And after the meal {ta‘âm}, before the community falls apart, these ‘Deeds of the Saints’ should be read. The disciples and friends should listen {işideler} to it, according to their capabilities {kâdir olduqları deñlü} they should learn their rules and customs and they should act in accordance with them. It is necessary {lâzım} that someone knows what they do not know. • But {ammâ} the masters of the rules [of the mystical path, or only its rituals] should not read this ‘Book of Sacred Deeds’ in front of anyone, they should not give it to as well as show it to random {değme} people and the friends of the saint(s) should read it.

⁸⁷ Transliteration and translation are ours. For better comparison with the Turkish original, we prefer a quite literal translation. For a literary translation into English, cf. Yıldırım 2019, 467.

⁸⁸ Here and in Appendix 2, these braces indicate, when different wordings in Turkish translate to the same English words or expressions.

Appendix 2: Version of Mehmet Yaman Dede

Source: M. Yaman 1994, 124; and MAAKMDK 2000, 151.⁸⁹

{7} Bunun için, erenlerin edeb ve erkânını biz bu kitabın (Buyruğun) içinde yazdık ki, erenlere {8} muhib olan tâlibler okuyup, gereğince amel edeler ve her okudukça bu zaîfi {9} hayır duâdan unutmayalar. Bir kişinin ömrü Nuh Peygamberin ömrü kadar olsa, {10} bu MENÂKİB-İ ŞERİF'i yazıp, tamam edemezler. Çünkü, Evliya Menâkıbı'nın {11} sonu ve BÂTİN İLMİ'nin nihayeti yoktur. Bu denli olduğu da tâliblere {12} ancak bir irşad içindir. Her müşide ve halîfeye ve Pîr'e lâzım olan {13} şudur ki:

Cuma geceleri geldikte çerağın uyarıp, gücü yettiği {14} kadar ALLAH rızası için ve MUHAMMED-ALÎ ve ONİKİ İMAM ve ONDÖRT {15} MASÛM-İ PÂK'ler ve geçmiş pîrler ve beş kademler ruhu için, atası {16} ve anasının canı için yemek yedire ve yemekten sonra cemâat {17} dağılmadan bu evliya'nın buyruğu okuna, tâlibler ve muhibler dinleyeler, güçleri {18} yettiğince edebinden ve erkânından öğrenip amel edeler. {19} Kişi bilmediğini öğrenmek gerektir. Fakat, erkân erenleri bu {20} kutsal BUYRUK Kitabı'nı her önüne gelenin yanında okumayalar ve rastgele kişilere {21} vermeyeler, göstermeyeler, yalnızca Erenlere muhib olanların yanında okuyalar.

Thus {bunun için}, we wrote down the rules and customs of the saints {erenler} in this book (*Buyruk*), so that the disciples who love the saints {erenler} should read it and act in accordance with it, and whenever they read it, they should not forget to ask blessings for this weak one [i.e. the author or scribe of the book]. Even if someone has the age of Prophet Noah, they could not have written and finished {tamam edemezler} these 'Sacred Deeds'. Since {çünkü} the 'Saints' Deeds' have no finish {son} and the inner knowledge has no end. Even being [only] this much, [the book] is just {ancak} a teaching for the disciples. What is necessary for each *seyh*, each *halife* and each *pir* is this:

They should wake their lamp on Friday {cuma} nights, according to their capabilities {gücü yettiği kadar} they should spend a meal {yemek} for God's approval, for the souls of Muhammad-Ali, the Twelve Imams, the Forty {Ondört} Innocent as well as the passed away *pîrs* and five feet {beş kademler} and for the souls of their father and mother, and after the meal {yemek}, before the community falls apart, this 'Command of the Saint(s)' should be read, the disciples and friends should listen {dinleyeler} to it, according to their capabilities {güçleri yettiğince} they should learn their rules and customs and they should act in accordance with them. It is necessary {gerek} that someone knows what they do not know. But {fakat} the master of the rules [of the mystical path, or only its rituals] should not read this sacred '*Buyruk* Book' in the presence of everybody and they should not give it to random {rastgele} people, they should not show it, they should read it only in the presence of those who love the saint(s).

⁸⁹ The respective line numbers of the manuscript have been inserted here to better facilitate comparison between both text versions.



Fig. 1: Mehmet Yaman Dede, in front of his bookshelves. Istanbul, August 1976; © Ali Yaman.

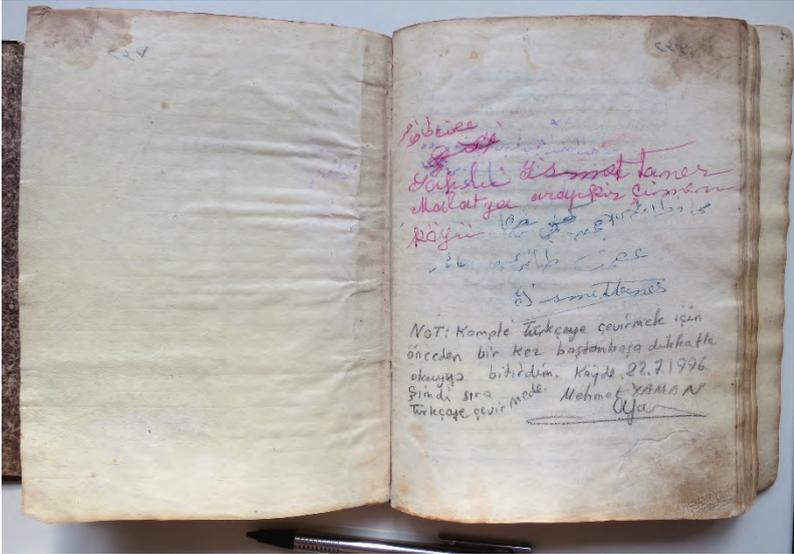


Fig. 2: MS 1, *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, fols 118^v–119^r; © Ali Yaman. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Fig. 3: MS 1, *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, fols 11^v–12^r; © Ali Yaman. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Fig. 4: Photocopy of MS 1-XEROX, *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, fol. 9^v-v; © Ali Yaman. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.



Fig. 5: MS 1, *Arapgir-Çimen Buyruğu*, fols 71^v-72^r; © Ali Yaman. Photograph by Janina Karolewski.

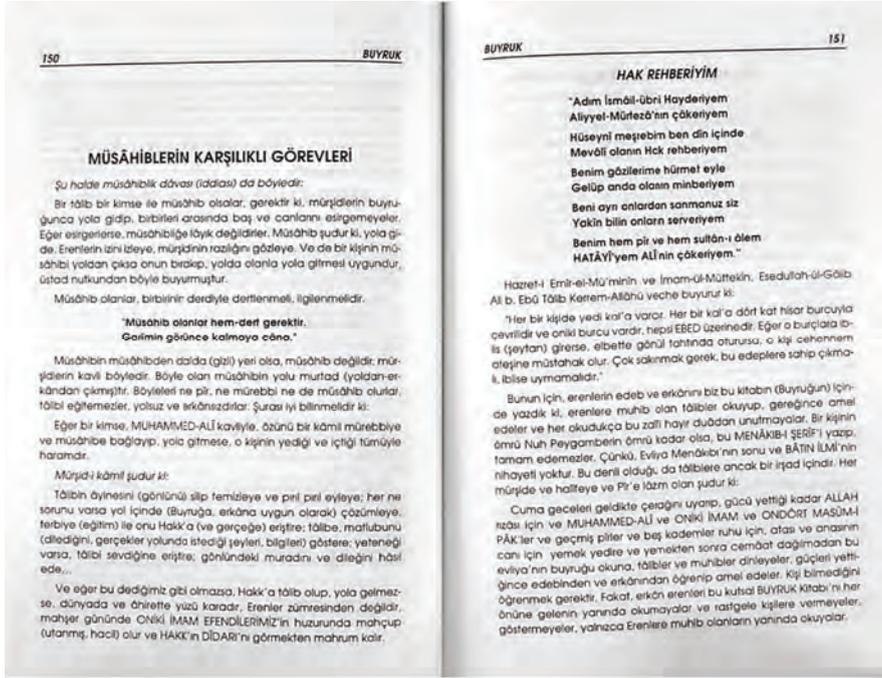


Fig. 6: MAAKMDK (2000), *Buyruk*, pp. 150–151; © Janina Karolewski.

