Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts
Edited by Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé

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Layout
Astrid Kajsa Nylander

Cover
The front cover shows the three church fathers Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicholas of Myra and John Chrysostom in a 16th-century fresco of the Church of the Archangels in Matshkharishi, Latali, Svanetia (photography by Jost Gippert). All three fathers bear a board with text fragments from the Liturgy by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686) in Georgian; the text passage held by Cyril of Jerusalem is the beginning of the sentence ‘რამეთუ სახიერი და კაცთ-მოყუარე ღმერთი ხარ’ ‘For you are a benevolent and philanthropic God’, which also appears in lines 6–7 of Fig. 1 on p. 2 below (from an 11th-century scroll of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos, ms. Ivir. georg. 89).

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The Transmission of Cyril of Scythopolis’ Lives in Greek and Oriental Hagiographical Collections

André Binggeli | Paris – Aubervilliers

The Lives of the Monks of Palestine was composed in the second half of the sixth century by Cyril of Scythopolis and appears to have been originally conceived by the author, a monk himself at the Laura of Saint Sabbas in the Judean Desert, both as a hagiographical cycle meant to glorify the great figures of Palestinian monasticism who fought for the Chalcedonian creed and as a chronicle relating the history of foundations of monasteries around the Laura of Saint Sabbas. Cyril of Scythopolis’ hagiographical writing amounts to no less than seven Lives of figures who distinguished themselves in establishing the monastic movement in the Judean Desert during the fifth and sixth centuries: Euthymius (BHG 647–648b), Sabbas (BHG 1608), John the Hesychast (BHG 897–898), Cyriacus of Souka (BHG 463), Theodosius the Cenobiarch (BHG 1777), Theognius, Bishop of Betylia (BHG 1787) and Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea (BHG 12). One last Life, viz. that of Gerasimus of the Jordan (BHG 693), is sometimes associated with the Cyrillian cycle, but recent scholarship considers it to be pseudepigraphic.

It is the merit of Eduard Schwartz’s critical edition published in 1939 to have reconstructed the unity of Cyril’s authorial project and edited the collection of Lives to form a coherent work. In its present form, the collection of ‘Monastic histories’ (Μοναχικαὶ ἱστορίαι) consists of three ‘discourses’, or logoi (λόγοι), as shown by Bernard Flusin. The two longer Lives dedicated to the major monastic figures, Euthymius and Sabbas, are the first and second logos of the cycle, conceived as a kind of diptych and preceded by a dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella; the Life of John the Hesychast appears to be the first of the third logos, which would have comprised the minor Lives, although, as we will see, the precise number and sequence of Lives in this third logos is uncertain. For the needs of liturgy in Byzantium, where most collections were organised in terms of the liturgical year, the original corpus was dismembered and from the ninth century onwards, the Lives were included in the Byzantine menological collections at their liturgical date, some of them directly, some of them indirectly through metaphorical rewritings.

Notwithstanding its qualities, Schwartz’s edition is by no means the awaited editio maior of the Cyrillian cycle: he used a very limited selection of Greek manuscripts (mainly three); he barely looked at the Oriental versions, which are contemporary with the oldest preserved Greek witnesses; and he ignored the metaphorical rewritings. In themselves, all of these are sufficient grounds to look back at the textual transmission of the corpus. One more reason is that a great deal of new material has come to light since the publication of Schwartz’s edition that allows a new assessment of the corpus of Cyrilian Lives. Most of this new material comes from the New Finds made at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mt Sinai in 1975 and gives us access to some ancient ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts that were produced in Palestine in Greek and in Oriental languages, precisely in the same monastic environment where the original work was written and first circulated three centuries earlier.

The cycle of Lives composed by Cyril of Scythopolis thus appears to be a prefect case study for the present topic. Are there any means of evaluating the ways in which the cycle was read and circulated in different kinds of collections before it underwent the process of Byzantine standardisation? How exactly did the change from it being an authorial collection to a liturgical one occur? It is also the occasion to study a particular category of collections, viz. the ‘Spezial-
sammlungen’, in particular the collections of monastic Lives (‘Sammlungen von Mönchsleben’) that Albert Ehrhard discussed at the end of his monumental Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur (1952) and which have little in common with homiletic literature proper.4

1. The Greek corpus in Southern Italy

For his edition, Schwartz used three main Greek manuscripts that all contain a similar corpus of Lives. The oldest of the three, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373, a ninth-century early minuscule manuscript (241 folios, 245 × 175 mm), is a typical example of a monastic collection of hagiographical texts.5 In its present form, it begins in a mutilated form with the Life of Chariton (BHG 300z) the founder of Palestinian monasticism, followed by the Life of Anthony (CPG 2101) the founder of Egyptian monasticism, a block of three Cyrillian Lives in the middle, Euthymius, Sabbas and John the Hesychast, the latter mutilated at the end, and, after a lacuna of undetermined length, the Life of Gregory the Illuminator (CPG 7545.2). Although not specifically monastic, this last text – which is devoted to the founder of the Armenian Church, who allegedly converted Armenia to Christianity – goes with the general theme of this collection, which is centred on foundation stories.

The second manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1589, from the tenth century (305 folios, 224 × 160 mm), is a much larger collection and celebrates many more pioneering figures of Palestinian and Egyptian monasticism.6 It offers in particular a similar sequence to that of the first manuscript Ott. gr. 373 with the Lives of Chariton, Anthony, and the Cyrillic corpus, which appears here in an extended version preceded by the Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch and followed by the Life of Cyriacus of Souka.

The third manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 11.9, was copied in the early eleventh century (312 folios, 390 × 340 mm).7 The first part of the manuscript contains a large collection of Lives, many of them concerning monastic figures and practically all of Syrian, Palestinian or Egyptian origin; these include the block of three main Cyrillian Lives and the two minor Lives of Cyriacus of Souka and of Theodosius the Cenobiarch. The collection also contains a short section of ascetic literature. The second part of the manuscript contains a collection of homilies or Margaritai by John Chrysostom; this section appears to be a totally independent one that was originally copied from another model. The manuscript was used for liturgical purposes in a second stage and liturgical dates were added in the upper margin at the beginning of most of the Lives.

As Ehrhard pointed out, the three manuscripts are clearly related in their general structure and belong to the same general tradition, which he called ‘Sammlungen von Mönchsleben’.8 They contain the same block of three main Cyrillian Lives (Euthymius, Sabbas, and John the Hesychast), to which two more Lives (Cyriacus of Souka and Theodosius the Cenobiarch) are more loosely connected. They also have several other texts in common – the Lives of Anthony, Hilarion (CPG 3630), Chariton, and Pachomius (BHG 1396) – although not in the same version for this last text.9

This general structure is probably not a mere coincidence and could be due to a common model (see Table 1). When the history of these manuscripts is considered, it is striking that all three of them have a connection with Southern Italy. The origin of plut. 11.9 is proven by its colophon, which states that the manuscript was copied in 1020/1021 by two monks, Loukas and Isaias, belonging to the ‘itinerant scriptorium’ of Nilus of Rossano, for Isidoros, hegumen of the Basilian monastery of San Giovanni a Piro, in Campania.10 Vat. gr. 1589, formerly from the Monastery of Grottaferrata, a complex manuscript which was copied by no less than nine scribes, has equally been ascribed a Campanian or Calabrese

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5 On this manuscript, see Feron and Battaglini 1893, 191; Hagiographi Bollandiani and Franchi de’ Cavalieri 1899, 273–274; Ehrhard 1952, III, 917–918. Also see a complete description by Lafontaine 1973, 72–76 with reference to earlier bibliography.
6 It must be noted, however, that the last text in the manuscript is the Life of Stephen the Younger, a martyr of iconoclasm. On this manuscript, see Giannelli 1950, 211–215; Ehrhard 1952, III, 918–920. Also see the description by Faraggiana di Sarzana 2000, 48, and recently Ronconi 2018, which was published just as the current article was going into press.
7 On this manuscript, see Bandini 1764, I, 502–507; Ehrhard 1952, III, 938–940. Also see the description by Baldi 2009, 123–128.
8 Ehrhard 1952, III, 921.
9 Plut. XI.9 contains a substantial Pachomian dossier beginning with the Vita prima, of which it is the main witness, while Vat. gr. 1589 has the Vita altera (BHG 1400), the most widely circulated version of the text in Byzantium.
10 Baldi 2009, 127.
The origin of the last manuscript, Ott. gr. 373, is more difficult to specify. However, it has some features shared by our manuscript and Munich, BSB, gr. 457, an early minuscule manuscript, which is probably of Constantinopolitan origin.


12 Contrary to Garitte 1954, 75–76, and Lafontaine 1973, 76, who refer to Hengstenberg 1909, 38, there seems to be no particular reason to set the production of the manuscript itself in Palestine, even if the collection of monastic Lives that it contains is certainly of oriental origin. The script in any case is without parallel in Palestinian scripts of the ninth century. Giannelli 1950, 214, firmly believes the manuscript to be of Southern Italian origin, while Ehrhard 1952, III, 917, n. 1 is more cautious. The fact is that the manuscript has not been thoroughly examined on a palaeographical basis yet. Perria 2000, 65, however, rightly points out some common palaeographical features shared by our manuscript and Munich, BSB, gr. 457, an early minuscule manuscript, which is probably of Constantinopolitan origin.

13 As the second column of fol. 95r, at the end of the Life of Theodosius by Cyril of Scythopolis, has been left blank in the Vatican manuscript and the copyist has written in the margin ζητ(εῖται), Ronconi 2018, 165 and 182, assumes that the Life is mutilated. This assumption does not seem relevant. The Life lacks indeed a final doxology, but other short Cyrillian Lives, for example that of Theognius, have the same characteristic. The recent literary analysis of this Life by Déroche, 2018 pleads on the contrary for the completeness of the Life.
decoration was a later addition and does not hint at the place where the manuscript was originally copied, this feature does suggest that the book was used in an Italo-Greek environment at an early stage.

Besides this, their relatively large format – especially that of plut. 11.9 – indicates that they could have been used for community reading in monasteries. Thus the ‘corpus’ manuscripts of Cyrillian works are all monastic collections devoted to major Palestinian and Egyptian figures. They resemble similar thematic monastic collections that have been dated to Late Antiquity in other parts of the Mediterranean, in particular in the Syriac world. Although it is impossible to reconstruct a single original collection at this stage without having done a precise philological examination on each Life in the collection, these three manuscripts probably reflect the kind of collections that were brought to Italy in the sixth to eighth century with the migration of monks from the Eastern provinces. It would also be interesting to see if this collection had an influence on the early Latin translations that were made of Cyrillian Lives in Italy by comparing these manuscripts with the Latin versions. The Life of Euthymius was, indeed, translated in Naples by John the Deacon in the first decade of the tenth century, but this version appears to have had a very limited diffusion as it is only known by way of a single surviving manuscript. The Life of Sabbas, on the other hand, was probably translated into Latin in Rome in the monastery of Saint Sabbas, where Palestinian emigrants settled in the seventh century, and appears to have been circulated much more widely, as more copies of it have survived.

2. Early translations in the Palestinian milieu

Now let us come back to Palestine, where the Cyrillian corpus originated. It is unfortunate that Schwartz did not use the oldest known Greek manuscript, Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, gr. 494 (Figs 1 and 2), for his edition – it is a ninth-century manuscript in a sloping majuscule of Palestino-Sinaic origin (170 folios, 275 × 187 mm). In its present mutilated form, this manuscript only contains Cyrillian Lives, but it has a slightly different corpus than the one that is preserved in the South Italian manuscripts: the first text is the Life of Sabbas, which is acephalous, followed by the Life of John the Hesychast and the Life of Abraamius of Cratea, which is atelous; the Sinai manuscript is the only preserved Greek witness of this last text. Unfortunately, we do not have the end of the manuscript to see how the collection continued. The beginning is also missing, but the gap can be partly filled by three fragments. The first two, which James Rendell Harris described separately as fragments 17 and 28 in 1894, were reinserted into the main manuscript before

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14 The original initials, in a minuscule set back in the margin, are still visible on certain folios; see Lafontaine 1973, 73–74.

15 One later manuscript of Southern Italian origin, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2022 from the twelfth century, contains the Life of John the Hesychast and the Life of Paul of Thebes in a fragmentary part (fols 206–235), followed by some apophthegmata. Although it is of a smaller format (185 × 140 mm), it is probably related to the three ‘corpus’ manuscripts; see Ehrhard 1952, III, 923.

16 See Binggeli 2012, 60–62.

17 For more on this movement, see Sansterre 1993, for example.

18 BHL 2778d: see Dolbeau 1982.


20 Schwartz 1939, 319–328, nevertheless named the variants in a separate apparatus. For more on this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 121; Grégoire 1906a; Ehrhard 1952, III, 916–917.

the photographic mission of the Library of Congress in 1951, and now form the first folio of the manuscript, numbered ‘1a’: this is the initial folio of the fourth quire, with the signature Δ’ in the upper right-hand corner (Fig. 1). The first quire of the manuscript was found among the New Finds brought to light in Saint Catherine’s Monastery on Mt Sinai in 1975 and now bears the shelf mark Sin. gr. NF ΜΓ 57.

This discovery confirms the fact that the manuscript originally began with the *Life of Sabbas*, but it also has two curious features. Firstly, the dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella, which precedes the *Life of Euthymius* in the Southern Italian tradition, comes before the *Life of Sabbas*, albeit with a change of names and subject: ‘May faith be my guide in this narration (diegema) on the citizen of heaven Sabbas’ instead of ‘May faith be my guide in this sermon (logos) on Euthymius the well-named’. Secondly, the introductory phrase of the *Life of John the Hesychast*, which presented this text as the first of the ‘third’ logos, is lacking. These adaptations are probably due to the model or to the copyist himself, who probably wanted to copy a corpus suited to his own taste or to that of the monastic community for which the book was intended. However, it also suggests that the Cyrillian corpus was not as immutably fixed in Palestine as the Southern Italian tradition might let us think.

Another very fragmentary manuscript from Mt Sinai gives us one more example of manuscripts containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis that were copied for personal use in the monasteries of Palestine or Sinai. St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 28 (formerly Tischendorf Fragment 17) is a single folio from a very small manuscript (just 170 × 130 mm in size), which contains the beginning of the *Life of John the Hesychast*. The format of the fragment makes it unlikely that the original manuscript would have contained much more than one or two *Lives*.

The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought new Cyrillian material to light in Syriac, Arabic and Georgian. The Syriac version was completely unknown until the publication of the catalogues of the Syriac New Finds in 1995 and 2008, where several fragments containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis are described. All these fragments have a similar small format (148–165 × 115–120 mm) and were copied by at least two different hands in a Melkite transition script from the ninth or the tenth century. The fragments have been grouped into two different entities, according to the hands, the layout and the texts they contain. The first codex, Sin. syr. NF 11 (Fig. 3), contains the *Life of Sabbas* copied by a scribe shall simply call ‘A’ here. The second, Sin. syr. NF 13, to which several smaller fragments must be added, contains the *Life of Euthymius*, which begins in a mutilated form, the *Life of Geramius* and possibly a third *Life*, which ends in a mutilated form, copied by scribe ‘B’. On closer inspection, however, it appears that there is some overlapping of codicological features between both codices (see Table 2).

Firstly, the last quire of Sin. syr. NF 11, which contains the end of the *Life of Sabbas* by scribe A, also contains the beginning of the *Life of Euthymius* by scribe B and links up to the second codex perfectly. Secondly, this same quire, which was copied consecutively by both scribes, uses the same palimpsest manuscript with the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem as an undertext, as has been highlighted by the Sinai Palimpsests Project. Considering the fact that the second codex, after the transition quire copied by scribe B,
Fig. 2: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, gr. 494, fol. 1r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NF 11</th>
<th>NF 13</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 r–v (63076–63077)</td>
<td>1 r–v (63076–63077)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quires</td>
<td>Quires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First folio of first quire; the verso has the rubricated title</td>
<td>First folio of first quire; the verso has the rubricated title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribes</td>
<td>Scribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, title and ch. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 9</td>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 10–56?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B 1–6</strong> (Philothée 2008, 302)</td>
<td><strong>SP 36</strong> (Brock 1995, 32–33)</td>
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<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 r–v (63074–63075)</td>
<td>1 r–v (63076–63077)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quires</td>
<td>Quires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last folio of first quire; signature ܐ at the bottom of the verso</td>
<td>No signature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribes</td>
<td>Scribes</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, ch. 17–25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 56–87</td>
<td>Euthymius, ch. 2–17; first words: ... καὶ καλλίνικου μάρτυρος (Veuth 9, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not described by Philothée 2008</td>
<td>Not described by Philothée 2008</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>C 1–64</strong> (not described by Philothée 2008)</td>
<td><strong>M13N fols 1–52</strong> (Philothée 2008, 313–314)</td>
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<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
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<td>1–52 (no images)</td>
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<td>Quires</td>
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<td>Sabbas, ch. 10–56?</td>
<td>Euthymius, ch. 25–60; Gerasimus and possibly another Life</td>
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<td>Sabbas, ch. 10–56?</td>
<td>Euthymius, ch. 25–60; Gerasimus and possibly another Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C 65–104</strong> (Philothée 2008, 302)</td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, ch. 2–17; first words: ... καὶ καλλίνικου μάρτυρος (Veuth 9, 3)</td>
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<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
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<td>65–104 (63002–63059)</td>
<td>1–52 (no images)</td>
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<td>Quires</td>
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<td>Euthymius, ch. 25–60; Gerasimus and possibly another Life</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sabbas, ch. 56–87</td>
<td>Euthymius, ch. 25–60; Gerasimus and possibly another Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C 105–110</strong> (Philothée 2008, 302)</td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, ch. 25–60; Gerasimus and possibly another Life</td>
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<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
<td>Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist)</td>
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<tr>
<td>105–110 (63060–63069)</td>
<td>1–52 (no images)</td>
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<td>Quires</td>
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<tr>
<td>No signature</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 87–90; ends at the bottom of fol. 110</td>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 87–90; ends at the bottom of fol. 110</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, title and ch. 1?</td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, title and ch. 1?</td>
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<td>Not described by Philothée 2008</td>
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<td><strong>C 1–64</strong> (not described by Philothée 2008)</td>
<td><strong>C 65–104</strong> (Philothée 2008, 302)</td>
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<td>1–64 (no images)</td>
<td>65–104 (63002–63059)</td>
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<td>Sabbas, ch. 10–56?</td>
<td>Sabbas, ch. 56–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C 65–104</strong> (Philothée 2008, 302)</td>
<td><strong>Euthymius</strong>, ch. 2–17; first words: ... καὶ καλλίνικου μάρτυρος (Veuth 9, 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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31 For some pictures, see the website Sinai Palimpsests Project <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/>, a publication by St Catherine’s Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA.

32 The rubricated explicit of the Life of Sabbas, which was transcribed by Philothée 2008, 302, can be seen on the left margin of the image of fol. 109; see Fig. 4 (63069). According to Father Justin (16 February 2019), fols 110–111 are stuck together and cannot be photographed in their present state.
is also a palimpsest and that it has the same format and a similar layout, it seems very probable that both codices belong to the same manuscript: scribe B completed the volume containing the Life of Sabbas started by scribe A by adding two more Lives in his irregular – and rather ugly – hand, and by starting a new series of quire marks. A study of translation techniques in both parts, a thorough examination of the manuscript itself and deciphering of the undertexts in the second part would probably allow us to clarify whether both parts were foreseen in the original project and were copied contemporaneously or whether the second part is a later continuation.

Nonetheless, it can be observed that, as in the case of Sin. gr. 494, which was copied in the same Palestino-Sinaitic milieu and approximately in the same period, the Syriac manuscript appears to have been copied by monks for personal use in their cells because of its pocket format. Preference was given to the Life of Sabbas; as the first text in the manuscript, it seems to have been considered the main source of inspiration for the monks. The corpus was then enlarged in another direction, the Life of Euthymius being followed by a pseudopeigraphic text, the Life of Gerasimus and possibly one more work. This unusual Syriac ‘corpus’ manuscript of the work by Cyril of Scythopolis gives us a very different impression compared to those with a uniform Italo-Greek tradition.

The situation in Arabic is even more complex than in Syriac. The most representative manuscript is a very fragmentary one that is now dispersed between Leipzig, St Petersburg, Cambridge, UK and the New Finds of Mt Sinai. The manuscript cultures

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33 Sin. syr. NF 13 has not been examined by the Sinai Palimpsests Project, but the beginning of the manuscript is apparently a palimpsest according to Philothee 2008, 539 (described as M57N; see Gehin 2017, 183); according to Brock 1995, 33, the same goes also for the middle part (described as Sparagma 37). The last part (described as M13N by Philothee 2008, 312–314) is equally a palimpsest: it presents a Syriac undertext according to the images of fols 65r–72v which were kindly sent to me by Father Justin in February 2019 – let him be warmly thanked here.

34 Gehin 2009, 75.

35 For a reconstruction of the manuscript and the identification of the copyist, see Binggeli 2016, 100–106, with reference to earlier catalogues and bibliography. One last fragment from the manuscript, Cambridge, UL, Add. 1879.5, was identified by Tchernetska 2001. Also see Rossetto 2018 <sinai.library.ucla.edu>.
This is the only preserved ‘corpus’ manuscript in Arabic, but other manuscripts from the same milieu also exist containing one or two Lives by Cyril of Scythopolis.38 One of them in particular, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. ar. 71 (236 folios, 230 × 170 mm), was copied in 885 CE by Anthony David of Baghdad, again at the monastery of Mar Saba.39 It contains, at the beginning of a collection of hagiographic and ascetical literature, the Lives of Euthymius and of Sabbas, broadly in the same version, though slightly abridged according to Van Esbroeck.40

The Georgian tradition is very similar to the Arabic one, on which it appears to be largely based. The main manuscript for the Georgian tradition, which is now preserved in the British Library in London as ‘Additional 11281’ (see Fig. 5), is a large book of 369 folios (350 × 250 mm in size) that was copied at the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem during the first half of the eleventh century by a monk named Black John.41 It contains a collection of hagiographical texts concerning monks of Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian origin (see Table 4). Most of these texts, if not all of them, appear to have been translated from Arabic – even those on Syrian monks.42 This is especially true of the Cyrillian Lives, which are parallel texts to those present in the Arabic manuscript.43 What is striking here is that Add. 11281 has the same general structure of a monastic hagiographic collection as the Italo-Greek tradition, with some common texts (the Lives of Anthony and of Chariton). For the first time, however, the Lives by Cyril of Scythopolis are not presented as a coherent corpus, but are dispersed throughout the collection.

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38 See a preliminary survey of the Arabic manuscripts containing Cyrilian Lives by Graf 1944, 407–408.
39 On this manuscript, see Binggeli 2016, 82–83, 90–95, with reference to earlier catalogues and literature.
41 Wardrop 1913, 397–405 and the complete edition by Imnaišvili 1979. Also see the description on the British Library website Digitised Manuscripts <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_11281> (accessed on 10 September 2018) and the additional study in Gippert 2016.
42 This has been shown by Lamoreaux and Khairallah 2000, 446–447 for the Life of John of Edessa, by Outtier 1977, 103–104 for the Life of Ephrem, and by Peeters 1909 for the Life of Barlaam of Mount Casius.
43 On the Life of Cyriacus of Souka, see Garitte 1971; on the Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch, which is not, however, the version by Cyril of Scythopolis, see Van Esbroeck 1993.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L + P</th>
<th>Stephen of Mar Saba (inc. mut.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephen and Nicon (des. mut.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 3: Lives in the fragmented Arabic manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 2 (L) + St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 26 (P) + Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, arab. NF perg. 66 (S) + Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1879(C).
The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought some new fragments of the Cyrillian corpus in Georgian to light, apparently related to the same translation from Arabic that is found in the London manuscript. They represent both sides of the Palestino-Sinaitic book tradition in Oriental languages. On the one hand, we find small-format manuscripts for personal monastic use containing single Lives, such as Sin. georg. 43 and NF 94 (137 + 2 folios, 165 × 125 mm), which was copied in Palestine in the tenth century, possibly at the monastery of Mar Chariton or at Mar Saba, and then sent to Mt Sinai; this manuscript only contains the Life of Euthymius. On the other hand, we find larger hagiographical collections with several Lives, mainly those of holy monks, similar to the London manuscript – for example Sin. georg. NF 17 (132 folios, 180 × 140 mm), also from the tenth century, which contains the Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch and the Life of John the Hesychast.

The number of Palestino-Sinaitic manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries containing Cyrillian material has dramatically grown with the addition of the New Finds of 1975. This reminds us that the Lives of Cyril of Scythopolis were one of the favourite readings of the Palestinian monks – probably both as community reading and as private reading in their cells, as attested by the pocket-size books – and that they were translated at an early date in all the languages used in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai (Syriac, Arabic and Georgian), especially at Mar Saba. The Palestino-Sinaitic tradition in both Greek and Oriental languages seems to reflect the same general features as what we find in manuscripts from Southern Italy, albeit with more variety in terms of forms and usage. The authorial collection of Lives by Cyril of Scythopolis appears to have been transmitted originally as a coherent corpus independently or inside large collections devoted exclusively to monastic hagiography and having practically no intersection with homiliaries. At the same time, the Palestinian tradition shows much more fluctuation in the sequence of the Lives than the Italo-Greek tradition and reminds us that the reconstruction of the Cyrillian corpus by Schwartz is partly hypothetical.

3. Reception in Byzantium and the Greek metaphrastic version

The reception of the work of Cyril of Scythopolis in Byzantium brings us to the breaking up of the corpus into individual Lives to serve the purpose of the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Several questions arise here. How and when did the Lives arrive in Constantinople? Was it directly from Palestine or through Southern Italy? Did they arrive as a corpus or was the corpus already dismembered in Palestine, seeing as we have not encountered any corpus manuscript of proven Constantinopolitan origin yet?

44 On this manuscript, see Garitte 1956, 159–161; Aleksidze et al. 2005, 435.
45 On this manuscript, see Aleksidze et al. 2005, 390. For a preliminary survey of manuscripts containing the Lives of Cyril of Scythopolis in Georgian, see Garitte 1962, 399–400. Also see Gippert 2016 for the Life of Sabbas in Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 40.

46 To all the new witnesses that have been discovered over the last few decades, we should also add an extract of the Life of Euthymius in Greek, which has been identified at the end of one of the oldest dated manuscripts of Palestinian origin, the Uspensky Psalter (St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 216), copied in the year 862/863 or 878 CE at the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem; see Olivier 2011, 61–63.
47 Although it is not impossible that BAV, Ott. gr. 373 is of Constantinopolitan origin; see n. 12 above.
A manuscript that was not used by Schwartz gives us part of the answer to the second question: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VII.34, from the tenth century (242 folios, 311 × 219 mm),\textsuperscript{48} is badly mutilated now, unfortunately, and only contains parts of the \textit{Life of Euthymius}, but a later \textit{pinax} allows us to reconstruct the general structure of the collection it contained (see Table 5). It is clearly related to the three Italo-Greek manuscripts by its contents, and we find the same texts in it, mainly devoted to monastic founders of Egyptian and Palestinian origin. However, the texts have been reordered here according to the liturgical calendar, from September to January, as a prefiguration of the Byzantine \textit{menologion}.\textsuperscript{49} At the end, the manuscript originally contained the \textit{Lives} of several bishops: Gregory of Nazianzus, John the Almsgiver of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea. The liturgical calendar is curiously muddled in this last part, as if the copyist originally intended the collection to contain nothing other than monastic \textit{Lives} and \textit{Passions}, but on second thought he added bishops’ \textit{Lives} as well, albeit in a separate section.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Chariton} (28 Sept.) \\
\textbf{Cyracus of Souka} (29 Sept.) \\
\textbf{Gregory Thaumaturgus} (17 Nov.) \\
\textbf{Sabbas} (5 Dec.) \\
\textbf{John the Hesychast} (8 Dec.) \\
\textbf{Eustratius the martyr \\ & companions} (13 Dec.) \\
\textbf{Martyr monks of Sinai} (14 Jan.) \\
\textbf{Anthony} (17 Jan.) \\
\textbf{Euthymius} (20 Jan.) \\
\textbf{Gregory of Nazianzus} (25 Jan.) \\
\textbf{John the Almsgiver} (12 Nov.) \\
\textbf{John Chrysostom} (13 Nov.) \\
\textbf{Basil of Caesarea} (1 Jan.) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Lives in Venice, Marc. gr. VII. 34 (pinax).}
\end{table}

Van Ommeslaeghe has shown that this last part of the manuscript starting with the \textit{Life of John the Almsgiver} is composed of different units copied by different hands in the tenth century. The various parts of the manuscript were then put together before the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, but probably much earlier. So the original part of the manuscript up to the \textit{Life of Gregory of Nazianzus}, as reconstructed by the \textit{pinax} (if this actually reflects a unitary manuscript), was a \textit{menologion} for the first semester mainly

\textsuperscript{48} On this manuscript, see Ehnehard 1952, III, 920–921; Mioni 1960, 63–64. See especially van Ommeslaeghe 1982, who corrects Mioni’s mistakes.

\textsuperscript{49} The only preserved liturgical date in the first part of the manuscript, at the beginning of the \textit{Life of Gregory of Nazianzus}, appears to be original (fol. 29r in the upper margin): μηνὶ ἱανουαρίῳ κεʹ. The manuscript itself is posterior to the appearance of \textit{menologia} in Byzantium, however.
containing monastic Lives (but not exclusively), including four Cyrillian Lives. It is probably not a coincidence that its contents are very closely related to those of the Southern Italian collections, as already noted by Ehrhard, even if the texts are re-arranged here according to the Byzantine liturgical year. The fact is that the manuscript could be of Constantinopolitan origin if Van Ommeslaeghe’s identification in a handwritten note from the Monastery of the Acheiropoietos or of the Abraamites in Constantinople is correct. The close relationship that exists between the Byzantine and the Italo-Greek traditions thus seems to point to the fact that the same type of collections of monastic hagiography containing the corpus of Lives by Cyril of Scythopolis arrived from Palestine both in Constantinople and Southern Italy.

The case of the Life of Theognius also gives us some interesting insights into the process of the Cyrillian corpus’s transmission from Palestine to Constantinople. The Life is now preserved in a single Greek manuscript: Paris, BnF, Coislin 303 from the tenth century (364 folios, 235 × 185 mm). This is yet another collection of monastic hagiography, characteristic of the Palestinian tradition. However, it contains none of the usual Lives that have been referred to up till now. In fact, many of the texts are unica; some of them are related to the Monastery of Mar Saba, but they pertain to the period after the Arabic conquests of Palestine in the seventh century. The collection also contains lay hagiography devoted to Christian martyrs killed at the hands of the Arabs. In a note at the end of the manuscript, it is said that the collection was brought from Jerusalem; I have shown elsewhere that it was actually brought to Constantinople in the late ninth or early tenth century, probably to the Monastery of Stoudios or of Chora, a little after the period when the first pre-metaphrastic menologia were being constituted in the Studite milieu. Curiously, none of the hagiographic texts contained in the Coislin manuscript – including the Life of Theognius of Betylia by Cyril of Scythopolis –, which essentially form a corpus of ‘forgotten’ Palestinian hagiography, entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and the manuscript was buried in the Library of the Monastery of Stoudios or another Constantinopolitan monastery.

Conversely, it is probably not a coincidence that the oldest manuscript of the Life of Sabbas that is definitely of Constantinopolitan origin – Istanbul, Patriarχhikē Bibliothēkē, Trin. 88 from the late ninth to the early tenth century (286 folios, 390 × 270 mm) – is precisely a representative of the Studite pre-metaphrastic menologion for December. The Life of Sabbas by Cyril of Scythopolis was indeed well circulated in Byzantium in this period, viz. as the reading for 5 December. The Life of Euthymius was copied equally often in the pre-metaphrastic menologion as a reading for 20 January.

The fact is that the whole of the Cyrillian corpus did not have the same fate in Byzantium (see Table 6). Of the seven Lives written by Cyril of Scythopolis, only five entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and actually only the two Lives of the great founders Euthymius and Sabbas were widely circulated in the Constantinopolitan pre-metaphrastic menologia (i.e. collections of Lives). The minor Lives of John the Hesychast and Cyriacus of Souka appear to have had a very limited transmission in these pre-metaphrastic menologia, although they must have been read, since the saints entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople and metaphrastic Lives were composed. The Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarχ is a special case because it is the Life written by Theodore of Petra (CPG 7533), longer and more complete than that by Cyril of Scythopolis, which circulated in Byzantium and entered the pre-metaphrastic menologia as a reading for 11 January. The Lives of Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea, and of Theognius, Bishop of Betylia, which happen to be the two texts that were completely left out of the Greek ‘corpus’ manuscripts, had

54 For more on this manuscript, see Binggeli et al. 2019, 238–241.
55 On the insertion of the Life of Sabbas in the pre-metaphrastic menologion for December, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 509–521 and Schwartz 1939, 328.
56 On the insertion of the Life of Euthymius in the pre-metaphrastic menologion for January, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 532–540 and Schwartz 1939, 328. To the tenth-century manuscripts listed by Ehrhard and Schwartz, we can add a manuscript known as Glasgow, University Library, MS Gen 1112 (BE 8.x.5); see Halkin 1957.
57 The Life of John the Hesychast is found on 13 May in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 819, an eleventh-century menologion of the type “vermischter Metaphrast” running from May to August. A Slavonic translation is also included in the Codex Suprasliensis on 29 March, a witness of the Byzantine pre-metaphrastic menologion in Slavonic (see Christian Hannick, this volume, 133–134). The Life of Cyriacus of Souka is found on 29 September in a single menologion, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 866, a menologion for the whole year of the eleventh–twelfth century, of Southern Italian provenance.
no success whatsoever in Byzantium – they are completely absent in Byzantine menologia, no metaphrastic rewriting exists, and the saints never entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople.

Table 6: The Cyrillian corpus in Byzantium.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Synaxarion</th>
<th>Metaphrastic Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euthymius</td>
<td>20 Jan.</td>
<td>BHG 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbas</td>
<td>5 Dec.</td>
<td>BHG 1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hesychast</td>
<td>7 Dec.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus of Souka</td>
<td>29 Sept.</td>
<td>BHG 464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodosius the Cenobiarch</td>
<td>11 Jan.</td>
<td>BHG 1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraamius of Cratea</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theognius of Betylia</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Lives written by Cyril of Scythopolis were rapidly replaced in the Byzantine menologia by the metaphrastic rewritings, which appear to be of some value in understanding the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus experienced. Henri Grégoire pointed out the existence of a passage concerning the monk Gerasimus in the metaphrastic version of the Life of Euthymius, absent from all the Greek manuscripts except for one, Sin. gr. 524, which contains an odd collection of Lives (Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Agrigent, Gregory of Nazianzus, Euthymius, Barlaam and Ioasaph) from the eleventh or the twelfth century (195 folios, 300 × 225 mm). Schwartz and Flusin quite convincingly believe this passage to be an interpolation, probably going back to a sixth- to seventh-century rewriting of the Cyrillian Life made at the Old Laura (Souka) in Palestine in order to associate Gerasimus with the Sabaitic monastic tradition.

Whether or not this passage is an interpolation, it does provide some interesting insights into the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus went through on its way from Palestine to Constantinople. This manuscript could represent an alternative tradition that arrived in Constantinople and served as a basis for the metaphrastic version. As neither this manuscript nor the other manuscripts which contain the Life of Euthymius were collated by Schwartz, we cannot say what the diffusion of this particular version actually was at this stage.

4. Conclusion

This case study has highlighted the fact that the corpus of Lives of the Palestinian monks composed by Cyril of Scythopolis was mainly read and transmitted in a monastic environment, either through small manuscripts intended for personal use or through larger collections of monastic hagiography which circulated in Palestine. All of these older collections of monastic hagiography seem to have overlapped very little with homiletical collections, if at all. It is probable that one or more of these monastic collections arrived in Constantinople at an early date as well as in Southern Italy, but we have no trace of the reading of the corpus as a whole in Constantinople and no trace of a specifically monastic use of the collection. It was digested and then included in the standardised Byzantine liturgical collections very rapidly.

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58 PG 114, 672–673.

59 Two fragments of a manuscript apparently containing the same version have been discovered in flyleaves of Patmos manuscripts: Patmos, Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou, 13, fol. I’ + 43, fol. 327; see Kominis 1988, κη’ , 19, 112.

60 On this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 128; Grégoire 1906b. The manuscript contains some other strange textual features as well. On the Life of Barlaam and Josaphat, see Volk 2009, 442, who says it is the ‘wichtigste Zeuge für die systematisch verkürzte Familie des Barlaam-Romans’. On the Life of Gregory of Agrigent, see Berger 1995, 125: ‘Auf der Grenze zwischen einer variantenreichen Handschrift der alten Gregorios-Vita und einer eigenen Rezension steht die Fassung des Sin. Gr. 524 … möglicherweise sind alle diese Veränderungen das Werk eines einzigen Redaktors, der freilich nicht mit dem Schreiber der Handschrift identisch sein muss’; Berger 1995, 88, believes that the manuscript could be of Southern Italian origin.

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18 – Canones: The Art of Harmony. The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels, edited by Alessandro Bausi, Bruno Reudenbach, and Hanna Wimmer

The so-called ‘Canon Tables’ of the Christian Gospels are an absolutely remarkable feature of the early, late antique, and medieval Christian manuscript cultures of East and West, the invention of which is commonly attributed to Eusebius and dated to first decades of the fourth century AD. Intended to host a technical device for structuring, organizing, and navigating the Four Gospels united in a single codex – and, in doing so, building upon and bringing to completion previous endeavours – the Canon Tables were apparently from the beginning a highly complex combination of text, numbers and images, that became an integral and fixed part of all the manuscripts containing the Four Gospels as Sacred Scripture of the Christians and can be seen as exemplary for the formation, development and spreading of a specific Christian manuscript culture across East and West AD 300 and 800.

This book offers an updated overview on the topic of ‘Canon Tables’ in a comparative perspective and with a precise look at their context of origin, their visual appearance, their meaning, function and their usage in different times, domains, and cultures.

20 – Fakes and Forgeries of Written Artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern China, edited by Cécile Michel and Michael Friedrich

Fakes and forgeries are objects of fascination. This volume contains a series of thirteen articles devoted to fakes and forgeries of written artefacts from the beginnings of writing in Mesopotamia to modern China. The studies emphasise the subtle distinctions conveyed by an established vocabulary relating to the reproduction of ancient artefacts and production of artefacts claiming to be ancient: from copies, replicas and imitations to fakes and forgeries. Fakes are often a response to a demand from the public or scholarly milieu, or even both. The motives behind their production may be economic, political, religious or personal – aspiring to fame or simply playing a joke. Fakes may be revealed by combining the study of their contents, codicological, epigraphic and palaeographic analyses, and scientific investigations. However, certain famous unsolved cases still continue to defy technology today, no matter how advanced it is. Nowadays, one can find fakes in museums and private collections alike; they abound on the antique market, mixed with real artefacts that have often been looted. The scientific community’s attitude to such objects calls for ethical reflection.