Medieval Multilingual Manuscripts

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Case Studies from Ireland to Japan

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Introduction

Manuscripts provide the key documentary evidence for understanding the history of cultural life across the breadth of Europe and Asia, throughout the long stretch of time that it is convenient to call the Middle Ages. As historical artefacts, they enable us to engage with the voices of medieval people, frozen in fragments of written discourse that are connected in varying degrees to the realities of contemporary communication.[1] Across the full extent of this geographical range and long time period, manuscript cultures created the sites for meetings between languages, worked out in sometimes similar and sometimes contrasting ways from eastern to western extremes.[2] The case studies in this collection range in date from the ninth century to the late fourteenth century CE and are concerned with specific regions from Ireland to Japan.

Linguistic interaction takes many forms in these heterogeneous sources. In some cases, we witness a virtual merger, with code-switching between languages so prominent that the resultant whole is a bilingual composition.[3] Other manuscripts present a dialogue between a pair of languages that relate to each other in diglossic terms, typically through interlinked learned and vernacular levels on a single page. There may, for example, be a main text in one language and an apparatus of glosses (scholia, marginalia, paratexts) in another. Alternatively, the marginalia may be couched in a mixture between learned and vernacular codes, and this in turn may reproduce a linguistic amalgam used in

1 Literature on medieval manuscript studies is extensive, ranging from introductory surveys aimed at the general reader, such as De Hamel 2016 and Wellesley 2021, both with a European focus, to detailed analysis of specific collections and traditions, as in Cherubini and Pratesi 2010, Galambos 2020, Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2017. Comparative studies remain relatively rare, but see Quenzer, Bondarev and Sobisch 2014 and Bausi 2015, as well as Agati 2009 (with a focus on codicology). The contributions in Albritton, Henley and Treharne 2020 are set in the context of important recent advances in the study of medieval manuscripts in a digital age. We are grateful to Dr Elizabeth Boyle, Maynooth University, for comments on this introduction, and for the reference to Wellesley 2021 (above) and to Ovenden 2021 (n. 8 below).

2 For a valuable set of studies involving Latin in interaction with other languages, see Garrison, Orbán and Mostert 2013. Communication across languages in various forms underlies the productive approach adopted in Kornicki 2018 in his study of East Asia.

3 See for example Pahta 2012 for late medieval English examples.

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schoolroom or court at the time of composition.[4] Regional languages, used in local or informal communication, can be seen reacting in complex ways to the overshadowing presence of an international, universalising language. One aspect of this in the context of a globalising religion – be it Christianity, Buddhism or Islam (to name only the most obvious examples) – is the appearance of manuscripts in which power-relationships between languages are visibly enacted on the page.[5] Here too, however, there is a wide range of variation – even within the history of Christianity, for example, the monolingual authority of the Latin text was asserted in Western Europe in a way that finds no direct equivalent in the Greek world.[6] On another level again, a dynamic synergy may be covertly at work through the practice of translation, which hides the source language under the cloak of another language altogether.[7] A text couched in a single surface code may thus be the result of a vigorous yet invisible interaction between source and target languages.

This collection of twelve studies of individual manuscripts presents cross-cultural evidence for these and other types of inter-language exchange, from horizons as diverse as the Atlantic West, Carolingian Europe, the Byzantine world, the Silk Roads, and East Asia. The essays function individually as discrete contributions, each aiming to 'curate' a single artefact as witness to the diversity out of which it emerged. Taken together, the essays highlight a range of overlapping themes and approaches, illustrating language interaction in global religions, pedagogical exchange, and in the construction of secular societies. The focus for each contributor remains the individual manuscript under scrutiny, but we hope that the implicit analogies will vindicate the comparative approach while adding resonance to the discipline-specific research enterprises on which they report.

Each manuscript holds meaning as a single, integrally united artefact, whatever the diversity of its constituent elements and the complexity of its production history. One particularly complex (and tragic) witness is provided by the scroll examined by John Whitman, which is no longer extant in its own

4 On the dynamics of medieval code-switching in the West, see the valuable case study by Blom 2017.

5 Pollock 2006 explores the interaction between the literary culture of Sanskrit and other cultures and languages in pre-modern India.

6 See the survey by van Liere 2014, 80–109.

7 For a recent collection of essays discussing the practice of translation in the medieval West, see Beer 2019.

right, since it has been destroyed in war.[8] Dating originally to the early ninth century, it survives only as a photographic reproduction made in 1939, presenting in two separate facsimiles what had originally been the opposite sides of a single sheet. Both show how Chinese writing was adapted in different ways by neighbouring peoples. On the recto side (the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* manuscript), a Korean cleric, P'yowŏn, wrote one of the earliest surviving Korean liturgical texts, but with punctuation marks and glosses that would enable it to be read either in Korean or in Japanese. The reverse side (the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* text) provides the earliest example of the graphic adaptation of Chinese, the *katakana* syllabary, to write a text so that it could be read in the Japanese language. As Whitman notes, the significance of each side, in the respective Korean and Japanese cultural contexts, has long been recognised in scholarship. Considered together, however, they become part of a new discourse, because they illuminate graphic nodes across and between languages – yet they also problematise the methodology of anyone who tries to assert without qualification that such a text is written in one language rather than the other.

The adaptation of the writing system of another prestige language, Latin, in the fifth century, made possible the emergence of fully-fledged manuscript cultures for the vernacular languages of Britain and Ireland. Two ninth-century manuscripts presented here illustrate how Latin and Irish on the one hand, and Latin and Welsh on the other, remain enmeshed in an educational context with vernacular glosses on Latin embodying the link, just as was the case with the Satō scroll. There, the Korean text was written around the turn of the ninth century CE, with the Buddhist prayers (*Tōdaiji fujumonkō*) being added some thirty years later. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 904 is almost exactly contemporary, and presents an analogous confrontation between languages. It may be more than merely coincidental that in each case the receiving language is that of an island people engaging with a centrally powerful culture (Chinese in one case, Latin in the other) which had itself engaged in an earlier process of transference, its sacred texts having originated in a still more ancient language (Sanskrit and Greek respectively).[9] The St Gall manuscript contains a copy of a foundational

8 For the phenomenon of a culturally crucial manuscript destroyed in war and now knowable only at second hand, a potent Western example is the richly-illuminated *Hortus Deliciarum* manuscript of the late twelfth century, destroyed in the Franco-Prussian war and reconstructed on the basis of earlier drawings and transcriptions from it (Green et al. 1979). For a general study of the destruction of manuscripts and books, compare Ovenden 2021.

9 See further Moran and Whitman (2022) on the analogy between the linguistic interplay of Sanskrit with Chinese in East Asian Buddhism, and that of Latin and Old Irish in the Christianity at the western extreme of Eurasia.

study of the linguistics of the Latin language, the 'Foundations of Grammar' (*Institutiones Grammaticae*) of Priscian, which was originally written in Constantinople for Greek-speakers of the sixth century CE, but later became a canonical text in the Latin schools of Carolingian Europe. Priscian's own text thus reflects the coming together of two linguistic traditions, Latin and Greek; but a further layer of multilingual interaction also features in this manuscript. As Pádraic Moran shows, copious commentary adorns its pages in the form of glosses both in Latin and in Old Irish, and often in a variety that fuses the two languages, showing how students of Priscian's work practised a deeply cross-linguistic style of engagement with grammatical science.[10]

A Welsh manuscript from the end of the ninth century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 153), examined here by Lars Nooij and Peter Schrijver, originated in an educational sphere akin to or overlapping with that which gave us the St Gall Priscian. The Cambridge manuscript enshrines another prominent Latin text, this time one that evokes the mysterious nature of learning itself: 'The Marriage of Mercury and Philology' (*De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*) composed around the turn of the fifth century CE by Martianus Capella, a native of Roman North Africa. Glosses in Welsh and Latin bear witness to a long period of sustained study of this complex allegory in a multilingual environment. A further linguistic dimension is involved when the manuscript's history is brought down to its transfer from Wales to England (perhaps Canterbury) by about the 930s. Its multiple layers preserve records of mingling speech-communities involving various vernaculars – British Celtic, Germanic and possibly also Irish – but also, crucially, a spoken variety of Latin itself. As Nooij and Schrijver show, the lone mixed Welsh-Latin gloss in this manuscript possibly bears witness to the survival of a spoken variety of regional British Latin as late as the end of the ninth century.

This theme, the phenomenon of an international learned language generating spoken varieties, throws up a further possible analogy in the form of the evidence for Sanskrit preserved in the bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese phrasebook on a scroll from the Library Cave at Dunhuang (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot chinois 5538), examined here by Sam van Schaik. This pedagogical text was added later to the verso of a scroll which also preserves on its recto a bureaucratically formal Khotanese letter of 970 CE. The Sanskrit-Khotanese document exemplifies the relationship between a local, regional language and

10 On the antecedents of the interaction between Greek and Latin witnessed by the text and manuscripts of Priscian, see Scappaticcio 2015, with her emphasis on multilingualism as the rule not the exception in the early history of grammatical science (see especially 16–17).

an international language that was used more widely in educational and religious contexts. As van Schaik argues, it also preserves a kind of everyday communicative Sanskrit, the preserve of merchants and Buddhist monks. If the Martianus Capella manuscript shows Latin used informally, even colloquially, in early medieval Britain, the Dunhuang phrasebook shows Sanskrit similarly becoming a mode of practical communication, in a community where speakers of many different mother tongues must have mingled.

As a nodal point on the Silk Roads,[11] Dunhuang's strategic location made it the site for many forms of cultural exchange. This is demonstrated by the evidence of a further manuscript of similar date and provenance: London, British Library, Or. 8212/161, dated to around 930 CE. The manuscript in question, the *Irk Bitig* 'Book of Omens', is celebrated for the unique Turkic composition that it contains. As Imre Galambos demonstrates, however, the very importance of the Turkic text has been allowed to overshadow the two Buddhist texts in Chinese characters with which the manuscript begins and ends. Looking at the manuscript from a purely codicological perspective, its physical form also bears witness to a further level of cross-cultural influence: this is not a scroll but a codex, a book-form that may only have been possible because of the emulation of forms of book-production that had originated in the West, ultimately in Late Antique Europe.

The physical constitution of the book is likewise significant in the case of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 911. This is a mid-eleventh-century copy of the Gospel of Luke in Greek, but it is accompanied by additional material and a translation in Arabic. The fact that the pages are turned to the left identifies it as a product of the Byzantine Greek world. As Christian Høgel shows, however, a skilful balance is achieved between the opposing directions of the two writing systems employed in this manuscript. A product of multilingual Sicily, it exemplifies the harmonious juxtaposition of two of the learned languages deployed in that island, characterised as it was by extraordinary modes of co-existence. Although Greek here retains its liturgical primacy, the supplementary information in Arabic indicates an arabicised audience requiring such tools to engage meaningfully with a Gospel text.

An Arabic-speaking audience is also suggested in the case of another product of multilingual Sicily from about a century later: London, British Library,

11 The term 'Silk Road(s)' remains a convenient shorthand, although its late nineteenth-century origins render it problematic as an historiographical construct (see Waugh 2007). The interdisciplinary archaeological survey in Whitfield 2019 is a valuable experiment in pushing the boundaries of the term to the widest possible extent.

Harley 5786. This is a trilingual psalter with Greek, Latin and Arabic translations of the Psalms set out in three columns. As Cillian O'Hogan observes, it may have served the practical purpose of helping speakers of Arabic to follow a liturgical rite conducted in Latin. The explanation for this configuration is as much political as religious. By situating the production of the manuscript within the politics of the court of Roger II of Sicily (who died in 1154), O'Hogan shows how the Harley Psalter speaks to the multilingualism which was a central feature of Roger's political programme, even when individual subjects and communities among the general population are likely to have remained monolingual.

Michael Rand crosses the Mediterranean to discuss another trilingual liturgical compilation composed a little later, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century: the First Order of Fustat, from the extraordinary trove of documents of the Cairo Geniza. Here again, the local spoken variety of Arabic is used for liturgical instructions, while Hebrew and Aramaic are deployed in the liturgical texts themselves. The relative distribution of these two sacred languages accurately reflects the space that they each occupied in Jewish liturgical practice at the time. Hebrew was the primary language of the synagogue, including in liturgical poetry (*piyyutim*), while Aramaic was generally associated with Targumic translations of specific passages of scripture and occasional *piyyutim*. This pattern is exemplified by the opposition between these two languages in the text edited and translated here by Rand.

To the century or so before the composition of the First Order of Fustat belong a pair of twin Irish manuscripts, those of the *Liber Hymnorum* or 'Book of Hymns'. Some of the hymns in question may have had a para-liturgical function, but the linguistic mixture and *mise en page* of the manuscripts suggest that this hymnal collection was much more likely to have served as a repository of venerable poetry. Whereas in the First Order of Fustat manuscript the paratext was written in Arabic, evidently serving as the functional vernacular, in the *Liber Hymnorum* the interpretative commentary surrounding the hymns is written in a hybrid of Latin and Middle Irish. But this variety is not a casual or private language, and the manuscripts are not simply collections used for private study. Instead, the carefully graded sequence of scripts and the richly illuminated initial letters indicate that the *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts were also used for display and may even have served as sacred relics. Here, Michael Clarke suggests, the hymns of the saints of Ireland were being exalted as a national literary canon in manuscripts whose form emulated those of the manuscripts of canonical Latin authors produced internationally in the same period.

Alongside the prevailing pattern of fusion and mingling exemplified by these manuscripts, there is also evidence for deliberate self-assertion and

carefully cultivated statecraft. The *Liber Hymnorum* arguably encodes exceptionalist claims on the part of the Irish Church in the eleventh century. The Harley Psalter reflects the cultural ideology of its royal patron, Roger II, in a way that was bound up with the wider political and religious currents of twelfth-century Sicily. Another aspect of this theme is borne out by Camillo Formigatti's study of a late fourteenth-century palm-leaf manuscript from Nepal (Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1698). Formigatti uses this artefact to give a glimpse of the cultural policy of King Jayasthitirājamalla (1382–1395). The manuscript contains two Newari commentaries on fundamental Sanskrit works, not only opening up direct access to this literature for Newari speakers but also, it is argued, providing avenues of inspiration and cross-fertilisation at a time when Classical Newari literature was coming into being.

Vincenzo Vergiani introduces another fourteenth-century palm-leaf manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832) with the same two languages, Sanskrit and Newari, but providing evidence for language interaction of a very different kind. Here again we have an accurate copy of an important Sanskrit treatise, in this case on horse-medicine. Some decades later, however, a draft of a loan-agreement was added to the manuscript, and this item is written entirely in the Newari language. We have, then, an educated group literate in Sanskrit but also in their own vernacular language, Newari, who are willing to switch to the latter for written documents pertaining to the practical business of daily life. Vergiani shows that this binary linguistic approach continued, even as a Newari literary culture was developing in the time of King Jayasthitirājamalla.

Our final contribution moves to the western edge of Europe at the same moment, the last decade of the fourteenth century on the Atlantic seaboard of Ireland. As Máire Ní Mhaonaigh explains, the encyclopaedic conspectus of world-knowledge and literary tradition in the Book of Ballymote (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12) exhibits a cultural self-confidence in its presentation of the past of Ireland and the world. The voice is predominantly mediated through the vernacular language, Irish, but it too reflects a dual-pronged engagement with the politics of competing codes. Even when the surface code is the vernacular, the underlying structure and authority of the collection is bound up with its resemblance to Latin encyclopaedic manuscripts current in the compilers' community of learning. The lesson here is that two languages may be in intense interaction even when only one of them, for the most part, is visible on the surface of the text.

Taken together, this collection of manuscript studies serves as a reminder that the essence of the life and creativity of medieval languages lay in fluidity and contact. The demarcation of manuscript studies within single-language

academic disciplines has often obscured this reality. A manuscript might, for example, be made famous as the conduit in which an earlier text in a learned language was transmitted to posterity; or it might be prized for glosses and marginalia representing early evidence for the beginnings of a new literature couched in the spoken vernacular of its makers. The first master narrative prizes a backward-looking classicism, the second celebrates a cultural nationalism whose ultimate purpose, all too often, was to validate the sense of identity experienced by those who own it or associate with it today. Neither narrative engages unconditionally with the concrete realities of the manuscript itself; and when that reality is restored to the foreground, the picture becomes more complex and uncertain, but simultaneously more nuanced and real.[12] This is the insight and the challenge to which we respond in this series of case studies. In drawing our examples from a wide range of sources and contexts, illustrating the endlessly variant manifestations of the culture of the book in our period, we hope that the analogies as well as the concrete points of connection between the individual case studies will underline the value of this cross-disciplinary approach.

This approach is a hallmark of the work of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures of the University of Hamburg which ranges across a variety of disciplines, considering an expanse of cultures, all the time with manuscripts to the fore. We are grateful to the Centre and in particular to its Director, Michael Friedrich, for publishing this collection in its 'Studies in Manuscript Cultures' (SMC) series, and to Caroline Macé who provided outstanding editorial assistance and directed the publication expertly through the press, suggesting very many invaluable corrections and improvements throughout. We are also indebted to Laurence Tuerlinckx who typeset the volume skilfully, correcting a number of errors in the process, and to a trio of attentive reviewers, Giovanni Ciotti, Steffen Döll and Jörg Quenzer. Our greatest debt is to our twelve contributors whose productive discussions on manuscripts between languages, as part of the workshop we organised at St John's College, Cambridge (7–8 May 2015), brought the idea for this collection into being. For their co-operation and patience in the intervening period, we are very grateful. The manuscript pages studied in the present collection allow readers to construct transnational history with a sense of entangled complexity which will, we hope, prove illuminating.

12 For a comparable approach to cross-cultural transfer in manuscript design and production, differing from ours in that it is focussed more on illuminations rather than on text, see Keene 2019.

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Language Interaction and Education

John Whitman

Contested Vernacular Readings, *c.* 800–830 CE: The Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* and the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*

Abstract: This ninth-century scroll, now destroyed in war, contained on either side the graphic record of strategies of writing, reading and interpretation between languages. On one side, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* text shows the *katakana* syllabary originally designed for glossing Chinese used for the first attested time to write Japanese in combination with Chinese characters; on the other side, the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* manuscript bears witness to the technique of 'vernacular glossing', enabling Chinese text written by a Korean cleric to be read in what can be argued to be either Korean or Japanese.

1 Introduction

Among the more than 170,000 buildings destroyed in the United States B-29 raid on Tokyo on April 13-14, 1945 was the residence of Baron Satō Tatsujirō 佐藤達次郎, director of Juntendō Hospital. Incinerated together with Baron Satō's personal library was a scroll designated in May 1938 as a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) with the description 'Paper document inscribed in ink, the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* fascicle 1, one scroll; on the reverse side of the paper is the *Tōdaiji fujumon* manuscript'.[1] Satō's adoptive father Satō Susumu 佐藤進 had acquired the scroll from the 75th abbot of Chion'in temple in Kyoto, Ugai Tetsujō 養鸕徹定, an early historian of Buddhism in Japan and a noted antiquarian. In 1939 Satō had a two-colour collotype reproduction made in a limited edition. Each side of the original was reproduced as a separate scroll. The reproduction was accompanied by a booklet[2] containing a preface by Satō, an exegesis by the prominent linguist and historian of Japanese, Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄, and a transcription of what has come to be known as the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* (東大寺 諷誦文稿) by Tayama Nobuo 田山信郎, member of the Committee for Preservation of Cultural Assets.[3]

1 Tsukishima 2001, 5. 紙本墨書華嚴文義要決巻第一一巻　紙背ニ東大寺諷誦文草本アリ.

2 Satō 1939.

3 English translation of the title *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is a vexed matter. Miller 1986, 231 excoriates Habein 1984 for translating the title as 'The Draft for the Recitation of the Sutra for Tōdaiji

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2 Adaptations of Chinese writing

Sinoxenic writing, developed by speakers of the languages around the periphery of the Chinese-speaking cultural sphere using the graphic resources of Chinese writing, is by its very nature a form of writing between languages. Graphic adaptations of Chinese characters were developed by speakers of Japanese, Khitan (Mongolic), Korean, Tangut (Tibeto-Burman), Vietnamese, and Zhuang (Tai) to write their own languages. The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is the earliest example of the *katakana* syllabary, a Japanese graphic adaptation, being used to write an extended Japanese text. *Katakana*, like their Korean counterpart *kugyŏl* (口訣) graphs, were developed from abbreviated Chinese characters as phonogram glosses for Chinese texts. In the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* they are used for the first time not to gloss Chinese but to write Japanese.

The *Kegon mongi yōketsu* manuscript on the recto side of the Satō scroll exemplifies another way of adapting sinography, the technique that we might call 'reading adaptation'. We now know that most of the non-Sinitic peoples who used Chinese writing practised 'vernacular reading': the custom of writing, or copying, a text in Chinese, but reading it in their own vernacular language.[4] The Japanese term for this practice is *kundoku* (訓読), while the term for the reading glosses is *kunten* (訓点), translated by Whitman et al. as 'vernacular glossing'.[5] The author, or compiler, of the recto side text was the Korean cleric P'yowŏn. The first line of the manuscript associates him with Hwangyongsa, the major temple in Kyŏngju, the capital of Silla (皇龍寺表員集; see Fig. 1). The text, Korean *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* (華嚴文義要決問答) 'Questions and answers on the essentials of the textual meaning of *Avataṃsaka*', is one of the oldest surviving

Temple', but does not suggest a translation himself. Miller characterizes the text as 'the unique interpolated palimpsest that preserves fragments from a number of different early Buddhist homilies and sacramentaries', but the manuscript is neither interpolated nor a palimpsest. Ono 1970, 44 translates it as 'Homilies of the Tōdaiji Temple', but (as Miller points out) the connection with Tōdaiji is speculative. Morse 2007's 'Text of Buddhist Recitations from Tōdaiji' faces the same difficulty. The title *Tōdaiji fuju mon* 'Tōdaiji recitation text' is used by Satō and Yamada 1939, while (as Miller notes) Nakada 1969, 179 adds a parenthetical *kō* 稿.'draft' to the title in his list of precious books originally in Ugai's possession. The standard title might simply be translated as *Tōdaiji recitation draft text* or *Tōdaiji recitation draft*.

4 See Imre Galambos' contribution to this collection for an example of vernacular reading of Chinese in Uighur.

5 Whitman et al. 2010, 77. On *kunten* glossing, see Seely 1991, 62–70, 91–95; Lurie 2011, 184, 202, 210, 332, 396*n*4.19, 415*n*7.2; and Whitman 2011, 103–112.

Korean liturgical texts.[6] It is written entirely in Chinese. The reason we know that this text was read in the vernacular is that the Satō manuscript is inscribed with punctuation, inversion marks, and morphosyntactic glosses, yellow ochre in the original manuscript and vermillion in the 1939 collotype. The punctuation might be useful for a Chinese reader, but the inversion marks convert the Chinese verb-object word order in the text to the object-verb order of Korean or Japanese, and the morphosyntactic glosses flag Japanese or Korean particles and affixes. There are no phonographic (sound) glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, or any kind of writing that is specifically Korean or Japanese. As far as current scholarship can determine, the text could have been read in Japanese, or Korean, or both. And a Chinese reader could have read it in Chinese, although it is unlikely that any ever did.

It is for these reasons that the Satō scroll, an object that no longer exists except in the form of its collotype copies, is a meaningful addition to the present collection of papers. The two manuscripts on the scroll exemplify the two ways in which Chinese writing was adapted by neighbouring peoples to write their own languages. More important, these adaptations, as they are attested in the Satō scroll, call into question the basic assumption of a fixed relationship between written and spoken language, the assumption that characterizes much Western thinking about texts. It is customary to describe a text as 'written in language X', or perhaps 'a mixture of X and Y', as if the correspondence between written form and spoken language were transparent and fixed. But in the case of the copyist and glossator of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu*/*Yogyŏl* manuscript, we do not know in which language he (for he was likely a man) intended the glossed text to be read. He almost certainly spoke little or no Chinese, and probably little or no Korean. He may have copied glosses in the text just because they were there in the original brought from Korea, or (just as likely) because the glosses were helpful for reading the text in Japanese due to the syntactic similarity of Korean and Japanese. In what follows I give a brief description of the glossing system used in the Satō *Yogyŏl* manuscript and the adaptations of sinographic glossing in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*.

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6 Translation of the title here follows McBride 2012, 73. McBride, following Korean scholarship, refers to the text as the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng munŭi yogyŏl mundap* (華嚴經文義要決問答) 'Questions and answers on the essentials of the textual meaning of Avataṃsaka Sūtra'. The character 經 'sūtra' is absent in the Satō-bon and Enryakuji-bon titles. *Mundap/mondō* (問答) 'questions and answers, dialogue' is present in the Satō-bon manuscript (see Fig. 1), but circled in black ink. It is omitted in the 1938 National Treasure designation and Satō's title for the text, and perhaps for that reason is typically omitted in citations of the title by Japanese scholars. I refer to the text as the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, an abbreviation of the Japanese and Korean titles.

3 The manuscripts

Satō himself writes that he was inspired by the expressions of filial piety in the *Tōdaiji fujumon* to publish the reproduction in memory of his distinguished forebears, founders of Juntendō Hospital in Tokyo, but his preface makes clear that he was aware of the broader historical importance of this text.[7] Nakata describes the excitement surrounding its discovery among *kokugogakusha* (scholars of Japanese language) in the 1930s.[8] The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* contains the first manuscript examples of *kanji kana majiribun* (漢字仮名混じり文) 'mixed *kanji* and *kana* writing', where Chinese characters are used to write content morphemes and *katakana* phonograms are used to write Japanese particles and suffixes. Since modern Japanese writing is based on this principle, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is well known among scholars and students of the language as the earliest exemplar of this aspect of Japanese writing.

Satō refers to the scroll in his possession as the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* (華嚴文義要決).[9] The description of the National Treasure cited by Tsukishima also designates the scroll by the title of this text.[10] The original scroll was made up of 18 attached sheets of mulberry paper (*kōzo* 楮 *Broussonetia papyrifera*), not all of equal size, measuring in total approximately 26.6 by 917 cm according to Yamada.[11] There is no dispute that it was created to inscribe a copy of P'yowŏn's *Hwaŏm(-gyŏng) munŭi yogyŏl mundap*. The *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* is written in the Chinese style of Buddhist commentaries of the period. The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* was written on the reverse of the scroll at a later date, estimated to be about 30 years later, in a less formal fashion. The focus of Japanese scholarship has been on the latter text; thus Yamada reverses the order of primary and secondary text in the title to his introduction *Tōdaiji fujumon narabi ni Kegon mongi yōketsu kaidai* (東大寺諷誦文幷華嚴文義要決解題) 'Exegesis of the *Tōdaiji fujumon* together with the *Kegon mongi yōketsu*'.[12] Later scholars have only the haziest of notions of the text on the recto side of the scroll: Miller simply makes it up when

7 Satō 1939, 1–2.

8 Nakata 1969, 1.

9 Satō 1939, 1.

10 Tsukishima 2001, 5. Satō correctly cites the last character in the title as 决. This less common variant of the character 決 is clearly visible in the reproduction of the Satō-bon manuscript. Subsequent Japanese and Korean scholarship uses the standard variant 決.

11 Yamada 1939, 15.

12 Yamada 1939, 3.

he describes the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* as 'several canonical texts written on the reverse of the scroll'.[13]

The focus of Korean scholarship is exactly the opposite, for the author of the *Yogyŏl* was a Korean. P'yowŏn's text is a compilation of citations and original passages, addressing fundamental questions such as where and when the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* was first preached, the location and timing of the earliest Buddhist assemblies, and doctrinal issues such as the meaning of the six characteristics (六相義) and the analogy of ten coins (數十錢喩). P'yowŏn's own identity is uncertain. Earlier Korean scholarship identified him with the Sillan cleric P'yohun (表訓), a disciple of Ŭisang (義湘), the founder of Korean Hwaŏm (華嚴 Huayan) Buddhism, but the content of the text makes it clear that P'yowŏn was a follower of Wŏnhyo (元曉), a more syncretic but highly influential contemporary of Ŭisang.[14]

Manuscript texts from this period of Korean Buddhism are exceedingly rare. The five manuscript copies of the *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* survive only in Japan. The oldest of these are the Satō-bon manuscript, which contains only the first of a total of four fascicles, and the Enryakuji-bon (延暦寺本) manuscript, which contains the first two. The Satō-bon is undated, but the Enryakuji-bon has colophons in black ink at the end of both fascicles which identify the date of copying as Enryaku 18 (799 CE).[15] The Enryakuji-bon is punctuated in yellow ink, and the first fascicle has an additional colophon in the same ink indicating that a certain Chi'en (智圓) punctuated the text on hearing it read aloud.[16] Yamada, who saw both originals, observes that the format and appearance of both manuscripts is essentially identical, aside from the titles, and Nakada adds that the

13 Miller 1980, 781.

14 Kim 1996, 3.

15 Yamada 1939, 15; Nakada 1969, 192. Both Yamada and Nakada point out that the title of the two manuscripts differs, but the style of punctuation is identical. The title of the Enryakuji manuscript is the *Kegon yōgi mondō* (華厳要義問答 *Questions and answers on the essential meaning of the* Avataṃsaka).

16 同年廿一年十月聞智圓 (Nakada 1969, 192). Nakada points out that Yamada (1939, 15) misreads 聞 'hear' as 閲 'review, proof-read'. The inference is that the text was punctuated by a scribe who listened to it read aloud. Nakada comments that the Enryakuji-bon is the second-oldest punctuated manuscript in Japan after the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript of the *Kegonkyō kanjōki* (華厳經刊定記) fascicle 5. As Nakada notes, both are Kegon (Huayan) texts. As Kobayashi (2008, 3–5) points out, the *Kegonkyō kanjōki* also has a strong Silla connection. It is cited in the *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*; the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript has punctuation and inversion marks that resemble those in the Satō-bon *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*, and one of the colophons in the Daitōkyū Kinen Library manuscript refers to correcting it against the Silla original at Tōdaiji in 783 CE (延暦二年十一月廿三日於東大寺與新羅正本自校勘).

style of punctuation is the same. Both authors conclude that the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* was also copied in or around the year 799.

The *Yogyŏl* first came to the attention of Korean Buddhist scholars through its publication in the *Shinsan dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* (新纂大日本続蔵経, Kawamura 1975–1989),[17] which published a version based on a manuscript in the Kyoto University library. This version was republished *in toto* in the *Hang'uk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ* (韓國佛教全書, P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe 1979–2004).[18] With the publication of Korean (Kim and Kim 1998) and English (McBride 2012) translations, the *Yogyŏl* has assumed the status of a canonical text of early Korean Buddhism. Black and white photographic and print editions of the *Tōdaiji fuju monkō* were published by Nakata in 1969 and Tsukishima in 2001.[19] Tsukishima also includes a photographic reproduction of the *Yōketsu*/*Yogyŏl*. In both cases photographic reproductions are taken from the 1939 collotype. As far as I am aware no photographs of the original scroll survive, although it must have been photographed to produce the collotype reproduction.

So there we have it: two texts sharing opposite sides of the same scroll by circumstance, separated into two scrolls by mid-twentieth-century mechanical reproduction and sundered completely by a mid-twentieth-century war. Both have canonical status in the nations that claim them, and there would be no further reason to consider them together except for an additional historical accident that brings into focus the contradictions in our assumptions about script, reading, and linguistic identity.

4 The glosses in the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* / *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*

In 2000 the Japanese *kunten* scholar Kobayashi Yoshinori was invited to view a tenth-century xylograph, the Chin-bŏn (晉本) *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra* 華嚴經) in the collection of the Seong'am Museum in Seoul.[20] Kobayashi is the leading specialist on Japanese *kakuhitsu* 角筆 drypoint or scratch glossing.

17 Vol. 8, 1978.

18 Vol. 3, 1982.

19 Nakata 1969; Tsukishima 2001.

20 This document is among the earliest of Korean xylographs; judging from the shape of the characters and the paper, the date of printing precedes the first edition of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (1011–1087 CE), suggesting that it is a tenth-century text. The xylograph is said to be based on a Silla dynasty manuscript of this sutra.

Kobayashi noticed that the Chin-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* contained drypoint glosses. The drypoint marks include punctuation, inversion glosses (which indicate that two are more characters are to be read in inverted order), and the type of morphosyntactic gloss known in Japanese as *okototen* (ヲコト点), and in Korean as *chŏmt'o* (點吐). This type of gloss indicates, by the placement of a dot or other mark around the character that is glossed, dependent elements such as case particles and postpositions or verbal suffixes that are absent in the Chinese text but required to properly read it in Korean or Japanese. Drypoint glosses, inscribed with a stylus, are often difficult to discern (see Fig. 2), a common challenge for glossing specialists east and west, but Kobayashi availed himself of a specially devised viewing device of his own design called a *kakuhitsu-sukōpu*, a 'drypoint-scope', which shines light on the inscribed surface from adjustable angles. Kobayashi was able not only to see but to interpret the glosses, although he knew almost no Korean, based on the morphosyntactic similarity of Japanese and Korean. He noticed something else: the scheme of placement of the morphosyntactic glosses in the Chin-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* xylograph closely resembled the glossing scheme in the early Heian period glossed manuscript that he knew as the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu*. Fig. 3 shows the *chŏmt'o* (點吐) morphosyntactic gloss scheme in a slightly later but more thoroughly glossed Korean xylograph of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the Chu-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng*.[21] Fig. 4 shows the morphosyntactic glossing scheme in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, based on Kobayashi.[22] The two schemes are almost identical. Proceeding clockwise from the upper left-hand corner, the order of glosses is as follows: Comitative/Noun coordination, Locative, Genitive, Copula/Declarative, Gerund/Verb coordination, Accusative/Object marker. The *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* scheme is simpler, lacking counterparts for the Korean *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* Suspective and Instrumental. Aside from this, the only difference is that the *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* scheme places the Topic marker in the middle of the character, while the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* places it on the centre right. This follows from the difference between drypoint and ink glosses: drypoint glosses can be placed on a graph without obliterating it, while an ink

21 Park 2006, 71. The titles Chin-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* 晉本華嚴經 and Chu-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* 周本華厳經 refer to the two Chinese translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. The Chin-bon (Chinese Jìn-běn) is the so-called 60 fascicle version translated from Sanskrit to Chinese by Buddhabhadra (佛馱跋陀羅) in the fifth century, during the Jin (晉) dynasty. The Chu-bon (Chinese Zhōu-ben) is the 80-fascicle version translated by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 at the end of the seventh century, during the short-lived Zhou (周) dynasty interregnum in the Tang period. Both versions were transmitted to Korea.

22 Kobayashi 2002, 27.

gloss cannot. Fig. 5 shows punctuation and compound marks as well as inversion glosses and morphosyntactic point glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*.

Previous Japanese research has ignored the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* morphosyntactic glosses, as no other known glossing system in Japan resembled them. Kobayashi suggested an explanation for this: the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* glosses came from Korea.[23]

Kobayashi's discovery set off an explosion of research among Korean *kugyŏl* scholars.[24] Hitherto glossing research in Korea had focused on *kugyŏl* phonogram glossing. The discovery of morphosyntactic point glosses similar to Japanese *okototen* meant that the full array of medieval glossing techniques studied in Japan for almost a century must also have existed in Korea. Scholars identified two traditions of glossing in Korea, primarily found during the early to middle Koryŏ dynasty: the tradition associated with Hwaŏm (Huayan, Avataṃsaka) texts, and another associated with Yogācāra or Pŏpsang (Fǎxiàng 法相 Dharma characteristics) texts. The morphosyntactic point glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* fall into the former tradition.

Korean scholars interpreted the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* glosses as the earliest surviving example of the Hwaŏm glossing tradition.[25] As shown in Figs 4 and 5, it is the same basic system as found in later Korean Hwaŏm texts. There are clear records of a copy of the original *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* being brought to Tōdaiji in Nara from Silla in the mid-eighth century. The specific glossing scheme in the manuscript is widely attested in Korea but not in Japan. According to this view, the original manuscript brought from Korea, which has not been found, contained the glosses and punctuation. When the Enryakuji-bon and the Satō-bon manuscripts were copied at the end of the eighth century, the former was copied with punctuation only, while the latter was copied with glosses as well. Kim points out that the hand of the glossator and the hand of the copyist of the Satō-bon are the same.[26]

The only difficulty with the view of the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* glossing scheme as a tool for reading Korean alone is the existence of discrepancies between the function of some of the glosses in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* and later Korean glossed Hwaŏm texts.[27] An example of such a discrepancy is the gloss located in the lower right-hand corner of the character 說 'theory, account' in Fig. 6, position

23 Kobayashi 2002, 34.
24 See, for example, Nam 2002, and the papers collected in Lee et al. 2006.
25 See, for example, Kim 2003 and 2006.
26 Kim 2003, 54.
27 Whitman 2009, 124 and 2015, 128–135.

55 according to the scheme of Park.[28] There are 12 examples of this gloss. It is slightly elongated in a vertical direction (see Fig. 6). As a Japanese vernacular reading, it is most naturally the copula *nari*, as read by Kobayashi.[29] Kim reads it as the Korean verbal declarative suffix *-ta*, as this is its clear function in the Chu-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* glosses in Fig. 3.[30] The difficulty with the latter view is that in the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* this gloss follows only nouns.

There are several possible interpretations of this fact. One is that the gloss in question originated in the Korean tradition as a gloss for the copula *i-*, and was later extended to mark inflecting (verbal and adjectival) predicates of all kinds. The problem with this idea is that among Koryŏ period point glosses, such as those in the Chu-bŏn *Hwaŏm-gyŏng*, this gloss is never used to indicate the copula, only the declarative suffix *-ta*. The alternative interpretation is that the copyist and glossator of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* found the original glosses useful, and did not copy them merely out of reverence or custom (for remember, glosses are not copied in the other manuscripts). Glossing in the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* is quite sparse. Marking declarative sentence boundaries, a main function of Korean *-ta*, is accomplished where necessary in the Satō-bon manuscript by punctuation. But distinguishing nominal and verbal predicates when reading a Chinese text in Japanese or Korean can be a challenge for any reader. By the Middle Chinese period, some characters could be read either as nouns or as verbs, although typically with distinct pronunciations. This posed a difficulty even for Chinese readers, to the extent that a type of point gloss, the so called *pòyīn* (破音) 'sound breaker', was invented in China to distinguish such different readings.[31] For readers in Korean or Japanese, where verbs inflect but nouns do not, and predicate nominals are normally accompanied by an inflected copula, proper reading depends even more critically upon making the distinction between predicate nominals and verbs. The sentence containing the gloss shown in Fig. 6 is a nominal predicate sentence, but it is potentially confusing to interpret because the character 說 'theory, account' could be interpreted as a verb in other contexts. Here, though, it is clearly a noun.

28 Park 2006, 69-70.

29 Kobayashi 2002, 27.

30 Kim 2002, 67 and 2006, 62.

31 Ishiduka 1993 shows that pòyīn were the source of the graphically similar sìshēng (四聲) tone marks in the Chinese tradition. It has also been suggested that they are the original source of Korean and Japanese morphosyntactic point glosses.

(1) 前之五會・是仏成道初七日説.
'(The) previous five assemblies, this is the account that they are the first seven days of the Buddha achieving enlightenment.'

Without the gloss indicating that 説 here is the predicate nominal, a Japanese or Korean reader might mistakenly take it to be a verb.

Further research has shown that the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* morphosyntactic glosses are not completely isolated within the Japanese tradition. In previous publications I showed that the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* glossing scheme is almost perfectly duplicated by another system of *okototen* reported by Tsukishima,[32] the *Ramaka-kyō* (羅摩伽経 Luómójiā-jīng); see Fig. 7.[33] This text is a translation of the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, and thus like the the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, is a Kegon/Huayan-related text.[34] Kobayashi sketches a path of development though which the *okototen* morphosyntactic point gloss system attested in the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* and the *Ramaka-kyō* develops into the complex of glossing systems found in Japanese Buddhist texts by the end of the ninth century.[35] If Kobayashi's hypothesis is correct, Japanese morphosyntactic glossing originated from Sillan, that is Korean, precursors. Given the massive importation of Huayan texts and learning from Silla to Nara that occurred in the eighth century, this is not surprising. Stepping back from the East Asian context, the transmission of morphosyntactic glossing is a particularly clear example of transmission across languages, but it is also an example of the transparency of the gloss: glosses help to render one language into others, but that rendition is not necessarily tied to a single specific target language.

5 The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*

Approximately 30 years after the copying of the Satō-bon *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl*, the reverse of the scroll was used to inscribe 395 lines of text, which appear to be drafts of prayers or sermons to be used at Buddhist memorial services (*hōe* 法会).

32 Tsukishima 1996, 417.
33 Whitman 2009, 124 and 2015, 135–136.
34 Properly the *Bussetsu ramaka-kyô* (佛說羅摩伽經 *Foshuo luomoqie-jing*). The translation corresponds to the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The translation was produced by Shengjian 聖堅 between 389 and 406, preceding the 60-fascicle translation (Hamar 2014, 37).
35 Kobayashi 2014, 56–62.

The text is the work of a single hand[36] but has no title or colophon; its author is unknown. Yamada suggests that the title *Tōdaiji fujumon* was given by Ugai Tetsujō in recognition of the Kegon (Huayan) origins of the *Yōketsu/Yogyŏl* on the recto side;[37] Tōdaiji was the main Kegon temple and location of the sutra-copying office in the Nara period. Nakada points out that both the *okototen* morphosyntactic glossing scheme in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* and some of its vocabulary indicate a close connection with the Hossō (法相 Dharma characteristics) school.[38] It is possible to roughly date the text by its orthographic retention of the Old Japanese distinction between /kwo/ ([ko], written with *kana* 古) and /ko/ ([kə], written with *kana* 己), and by the textual citations which it contains.[39] Kobayashi dates it to the period 824–834 CE.

The *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* is not a single unified text but rather a series of passages intended for oral recitation on ritual occasions. Some passages are general templates or memos for a prayer or other recitation, with the date or object of the prayer left unspecified. Take for example the following passage:

(2) 父[は]以某年月日長逝、母氏以某年月日没逝 (line 118)
'Father died in X year – month – day. Mother died in X year – month – day.'

Here the character 某 bō 'a certain, unspecified' is a placeholder for the priest delivering the prayer to fill in as appropriate.

The writing techniques used in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* are extraordinary in their variety, as if the author was experimenting with every expressive technique made available by the repertoire of *kunten* glossing. The first clear *katakana* occur in the second and third sentences or clauses of line 5. I have transposed and analyzed these two sentences in (3) and (4) below:

(3) a. 不信者不瞻佛金軀. (line 5, second sentence)
（みず）
b. 不信者(の)者(は)佛(の)金軀瞻(を)瞻不.
c. Pusin(=no) mono(=pa) potoke(=no) konku(=wo) mi-zu.
d. Nonbeliever(=GEN) person(=TOP) Buddha(=GEN) gold body(=ACC) see-NEG
e. 'Nonbelievers do not see the gold body of the Buddha.'
シテハ

36 Yamada 1939, 4.
37 Yamada 1939, 4.
38 Nakada 1969, 214–215.
39 Nakada 1969, 192–199; Kobayashi 1993.

(4) a. 卞和ガ玉モ不植時ニ不寶. (line 5, third sentence)
(あわず) (にあらず)
b. 卞和ガ玉モ時ニ植シテハ寶不.
c. Benka=ga tama=mo toki=ni apa-zu si-te=pa takara=niara-zu.
d. Bianhe=GEN jewel=also time=DAT match-NEG do-GER=TOP treasure=be-NEG
e. 'Bianhe's jade too, if it had not been right for its time, would not have been a treasure.'

In (2), (3), and (4), I have transposed the text horizontally. (3) and (4) represent the second and third sentences respectively of line 5. (3-4a) give the original text. In the original text corresponding to (4a), the third sentence of line 5, *katakana* representing the Japanese post-nominal particles *=ga* (genitive), *=mo* 'also', and *=ni* (dative-locative) appear for the first time in this text. These *katakana* are written below and slightly to the right of Chinese characters, while the conditional expression *si-te=pa* 'if doing', also written in *katakana*, appears to the right of the line (see Fig. 8). It is important to understand that the *katakana* are not in their standardized 20th century shapes; instead they are abbreviated versions of of the phonograms used in 8th century Japanese writing known as *man'yōgana*, many of which are not included in the modern *katakana* inventory. (3-4b) rearrange the graphs in the order of Nakada's and Tsukishima's vernacular readings.[40] The first and second sentences of line 5 have no *katakana* (the *hiragana* inserted in parentheses in (3-4b) are based on Nakada and Tsukishima's reading), but they sentence are set off from the third sentence by a full stop, inserted at the time of writing. The third sentence contains the *katakana* indicated by underlining in (4b and c). The particles *=ga* (genitive), *=mo* 'also', and *=ni* (dative-locative) were clearly inserted at the time of writing. In other words, rather than adding these phonographs as glosses to assist with vernacular reading, the writer composed Chinese character and Japanese phonograph in the order of a Japanese sentence. However, the conditional phrase *si-te=pa* ('if doing'), also in *katakana*, was added to the side of the main line, perhaps after the line was composed.

The two sentences in (3–4) exemplify a feature of the genre with which the *Tōdaiji fujumon* is usually associated: *ganmon* (願文), translated by Lowe as 'prayer texts'.[41] Lowe points out that *ganmon* texts mix the language of Buddhist piety with allusions from the classical Chinese canon.[42] Following the reference

40 Nakada 1969, 104 and Tsukishima 2001, 89.
41 Lowe 2016, 59.
42 Lowe 2016, 62–66.

to the golden body of the Buddha in the first sentence, the second sentence alludes to the story of Bianhe's jade that originates in the Han Feizi.[43]

The two sentences in (2) express another common subgenre in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*: prayers for departed relatives, particularly parents. But these sentences are written using a completely different technique, also drawn from vernacular glossing. Lines 80–122 are written in Chinese characters with relatively few interspersed *katakana* phonograms. Japanese bound morphemes are supplied by *okototen* morphosyntactic glosses, shown as vermilion in the collotype copy. In (2), from line 118, a vermillion dot at the lower right-hand corner of the first character 父 *titi* 'father' indicates that the topic marker *=pa* is to be inserted here. Horizontal vermilion lines are inserted at the end of each of the two sentences in (2) as punctuation marks, where I have indicated full stops in the English translation. Elsewhere this section of the text contains inversion and compound marks. All of these are quite distinct from the glosses and punctuation in the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* on the recto side. The latter seem to have played no direct role in the glossing system used in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*. The Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu* is judged by many scholars to be the earliest example of *okototen* morphosyntactic glossing in Japan, although as we have seen the date of the glosses is not completely certain. In a mere 30 years or so, *kunten* glossing seems to have begun to differentiate by sect, to be used in combination with *katakana* phonogram glossing, and become part of the first moves toward independent vernacular writing that mixes Chinese characters and phonographs.

Above all, the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* displays an astonishing virtuosity with the techniques of *kunten* glossing: phonograms, morphosyntactic glosses, inversion and compound marks, punctuation. The use of these techniques to compose in Japanese shows that *kunten* glossing was not just a passive gesture for the reception of Chinese texts. It was understood by its adepts as a way to write Japanese.

6 Conclusion

It is difficult to think of another single object comparable to the Satō scroll in respect of the wealth of information contained in it about written language, and

43 In this story, first attested in the Han Feizi (mid-third century BCE), Bian He presents a stone that eventually turns out to be a precious piece of jade to successive kings of Chu. It is a good example of a well-known trope in secular Chinese literature being used in a *ganmon* text.

about the subtleties of manuscript form and use across languages. A certain poignancy is added by the fact that the original object no longer exists. Scholarship on earlier stages of the Japanese language, perhaps more than equivalent research in the West, very rarely puts scholars in direct contact with original manuscripts, except in the case of research on *kunten* glossing. In the case of the Satō scroll, the physical configuration of the object forces us to reconsider what it means to 'write' 'in' a particular language.

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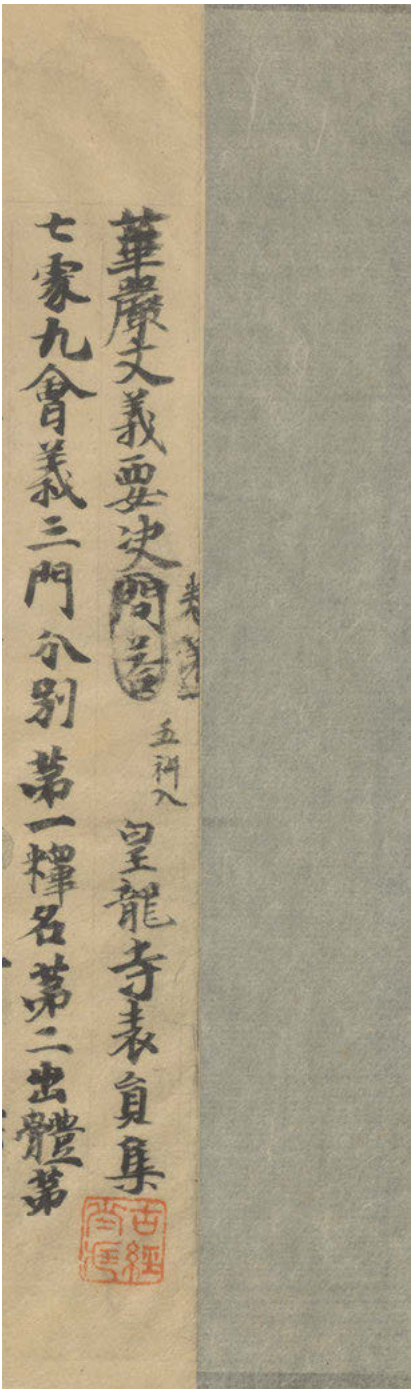

Fig. 1: The first line of the Satō manuscript of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu*/*Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴文義要決問答. The five characters at the bottom of the line 皇龍寺表員集 'Compiled by P'yowŏn of Hwangyongsa' identify the compiler as P'yowŏn of Hwangyongsa temple. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author's personal possession.

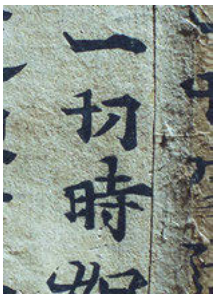

Fig. 2: Drypoint glosses in the Chin-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng* 晉本華嚴經 (*c.* 10th c.). Image courtesy of Chung Jae-young.

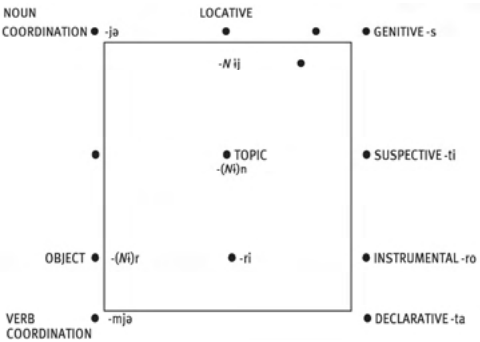

Fig. 3: Morphosyntactic gloss (*chŏmt'o* 點吐) scheme for drypoint glosses in the Chu-bon Hwaŏm-gyŏng 周本華嚴經 fascicle 36, based on Park 2006, 70.

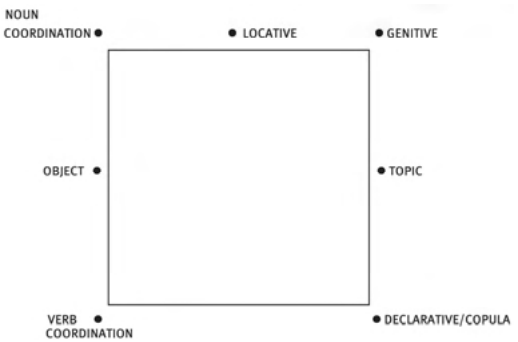

Fig. 4: Morphosyntactic glosses in the *Kegon mongi yōketsu*/*Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap* 華嚴文義要決(問答), based on Kobayashi 2002, 27, and Kim 2006, 62.

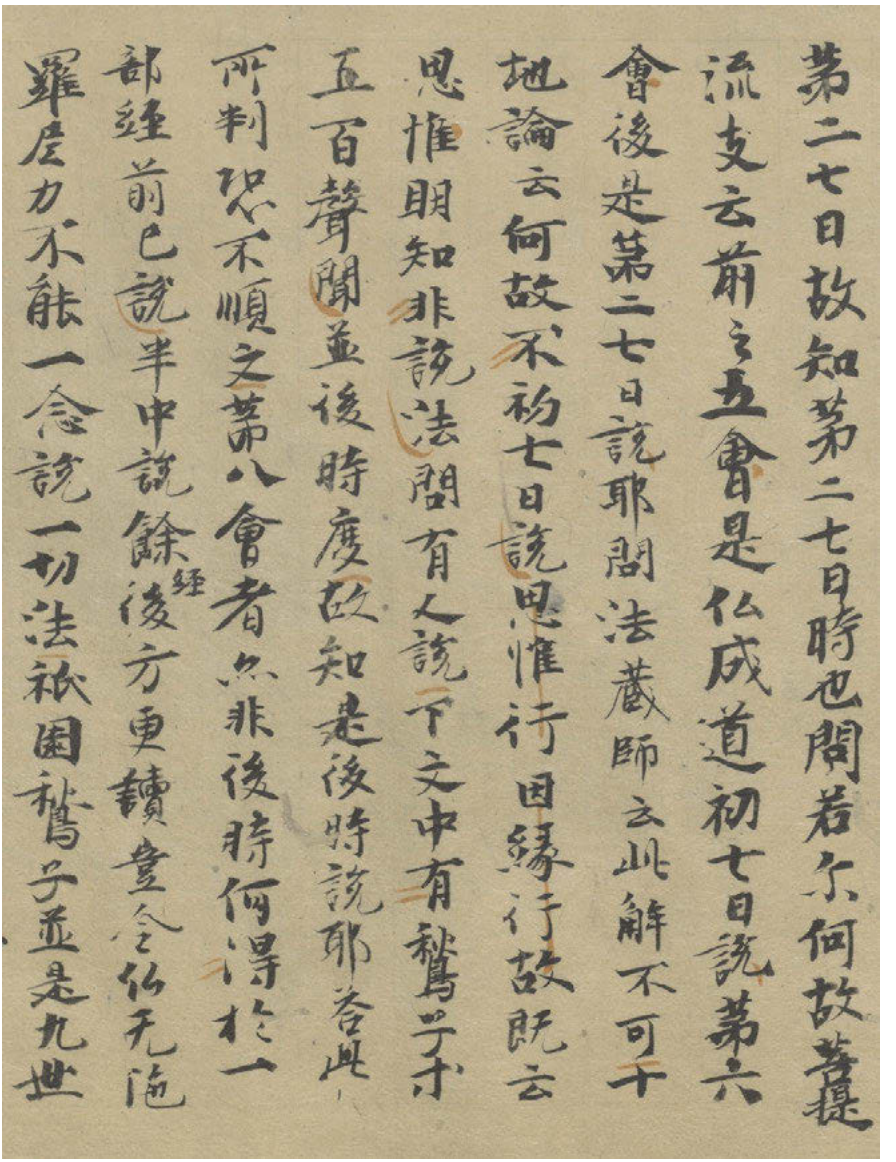

Fig. 5: Syntactic and morphosyntactic glossing in the Satō ms of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu*/*Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author's personal possession.

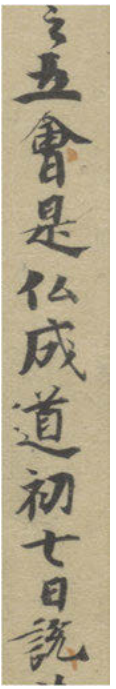

Fig. 6: The morphosyntactic gloss *-ta* (Korean declarative suffix) and/or *nari* (Japanese copula) in the Satō ms of the *Kegon mongi yōketsu* / *Hwaŏm munŭi yogyŏl mundap*. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author's personal possession. This detail is from the second line of the text in Fig. 5. The vermillion dot to the right of the third character, 會 'meeting' is a gloss indicating that this word is to be taken as the topic of the clause. The dot to the lower righthand corner of the character 說 'say, expound, theory' is a gloss indicating that this character is to be followed by the copula (if read in Japanese) or the declarative suffix *-ta* (if read in Korean). Here 說 clearly has a nominal interpretation, so the copula reading of the gloss is appropriate.

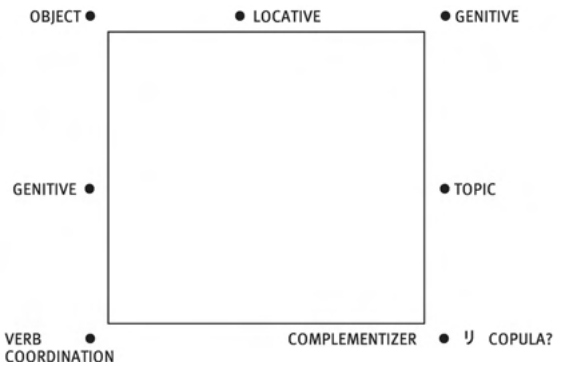

Fig. 7: Morphosyntactic glosses in the Ramaka-kyô 羅摩伽経, based on Tsukishima 1996, 417.

Fig. 8: Excerpt from line 6 in the *Tōdaiji fujumonkō*, showing the two sentences in examples (3–4) 'Nonbelievers do not see the gold body of the Buddha. Bianhe's jade too, if it had not been right for its time, would not have been a treasure'. Image from the Satō (1939) collotype reproduction in the author's personal possession.

Pádraic Moran

Latin Grammar Crossing Multilingual Zones: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904

Abstract: Priscian's Latin Grammar was originally written to enable Greek-speakers to study Latin. In this ninth-century manuscript, a further dimension is added by the presence of over 9,400 annotations written sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Old Irish, and often code-switching between the two, all in the service of the study of linguistic science.

1 Introduction

St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904 is a vellum manuscript of 240 pages dated to 850–851 CE.[1] It contains the *magnum opus* of the Latin grammarian Priscian of Caesarea,[2] composed at Constantinople around 527 CE, easily the longest and most comprehensive work in its genre, extending to nearly 1,000 printed pages in the modern edition.[3] The manuscript is generally held to have been written mostly in Ireland .[4] It was brought to the Continent soon after its completion, evidently between 855 and 863, and must have come to St Gall sometime later than 888, not being listed in the catalogue of books in Irish script at St Gall compiled in that year.[5]

Apart from the text of Priscian, the manuscript also contains a very copious commentary in the form of interlinear and marginal glosses (Fig. 1). There are about (9,400 verbal glosses in all, the majority of which are written in Latin, but about 37% (3,478) are Old Irish or some mixture of the two languages.[6] And

1 Ó Néill (2000) dates the completion of the main text to August 851, and estimates that it was written over about ten months. Images can be found online at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/> (accessed on 13 Oct. 2021).

2 For a biography of Priscian, see Ballaira 1989. Many aspects of the author are discussed in Baratin, Colombat and Holtz 2009.

3 Edited by Martin Hertz in 1855 and 1859: *GL* 2–3.

4 Hofman 1996, vol. 1, 12–31; Hofman 2000, 260–262; but for a contrary view, see Dumville 1997, 23–7, 34–36, 51–52.

5 Hofman 1996, vol. 1, 23–24.

6 Hofman 1996, vol. 1, 17.

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there are many additional glosses that comprise sets of symbols fulfilling a wide variety of functions, about 3,000 such groups in total.[7]

The main text is written mostly in two hands. The first signs himself Calvus Patricii (a Latinisation of the Irish name Máel Pádraig) in the upper margin of p. 157, where the second, anonymous scribe takes over (see Figs 2a and 2b). Their work is occasionally supplemented in short sections by others, some of whom sign their names: Finguine (p. 182b), Donngus (p. 194b and p. 207a). All of these write in a Latin minuscule script characteristic of Irish scribal training. The vast majority of the commentary glosses are written in Irish script by a single, anonymous scribe. However, a second glossator wrote glosses on two pages (pp. 66–67) and a scattering elsewhere, and there are up to 11 other glossing hands,[8] all dated to the ninth century and using a mixture of Irish and Continental scripts.

2 Priscian's grammar

Priscian's work follows the conventional structure of Latin grammars, discussing first linguistic units smaller than the word (e.g. letters and syllables; books 1–2), and then proceeding through the traditional eight parts of speech: nouns (including adjectives; 2–7), verbs (8–10), participles (11), pronouns (12–13), prepositions (14), adverbs and interjections (15–16). Despite the title *Institutio grammaticae* 'Foundation of grammar' in this St Gall manuscript (p. 1), the work is far from elementary.[9] Priscian himself produced a very short abridgement,[10] which he says 'should be sufficient for teaching children'.[11] Concluding a short overview on the Latin noun in the latter, he recommends to readers to consult the seven books 'in his other work' for a full discussion.[12] Priscian's major grammar is, by contrast, a highly discursive work aimed at scholars. Apart from

7 All of the glosses are published in a digital edition: Bauer, Hofman and Moran 2017, incorporating the partial edition in Hofman 1996.

8 Hofman 1996, vol. 1, 23–25.

9 The conventional title, followed by Hertz in his edition is *Institutiones grammaticae*, though De Nonno (2009, 251–259) has argued that *Ars Prisciani grammatici Caesariensis* is a better reflection of the manuscript tradition.

10 Passalacqua 1999, 5–41.

11 *in septem libris, quos de nomine scripsimus diligentius, invenire licet, et maxime in sexto et septimo* (Passalacqua 1999, 21).

12 *Et haec quidem compendii causa ad instituendos pueros sufficiat in praesenti dixisse* (Passalacqua 1999, 21).

its length, it is differentiated from other Latin grammars by the meticulous detail of its discussion; by the huge number of quotations from literary authors; and by having two entire books (17–18) given over to a discussion of Latin syntax, the first such treatment in the history of the language.[13]

Priscian's grammar, written at Constantinople in the heart of the Greek-speaking world, is characterised above all by its engagement with the Greek grammatical tradition. Like many other areas of the Roman intellectual tradition, Latin grammar was originally entirely derivative of Greek models at the time of its inception around the first century BCE.[14] But Priscian complains of a rupture in the two traditions, and charges previous Latin grammarians with ignoring the progress made in Greek linguistics by Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian, who wrote in the second and third centuries CE.[15] So his work sets out explicitly to update and renew Latin grammar, his innovative treatment of Latin syntax being a case in point, modelled closely on the work of Apollonius. He assumes a Greek readership, regularly drawing parallel examples from Greek literature in order to illustrate points of Latin grammar, or explaining unusual Latin words by providing Greek translations.[16]

So Priscian's work in its original context (before we come to consider its transmission and reception) already reflects deep interactions between languages and cultures, between the Latin and Greek linguistic and literary traditions. And this context is perhaps more complex than it may at first appear. We characterise Latin and Greek as Classical languages, that is, languages with standardised, prestige registers closely associated with literary canons. The fact that these languages dominate the surviving literary records tends to obscure the wide variety of everyday languages also spoken in the same period throughout a vast, ethnically diverse empire.[17] Constantinople, the 'New Rome' founded by Constantine as his imperial capital in 330 CE, would have hosted a wide of variety of immigrants – Jews, Goths, Huns, Thracians, Syrians, Egyptians, other North Africans, Illyrians, Italians – for many of whom Latin or Greek were second languages.[18] Furthermore, by the sixth century Priscian was writing in a post-Classical world. Politically, the Latin-speaking western Roman Empire had

13 Baratin 1989, 42.

14 Rawson 1985, especially chapter 8.

15 *GL* 2, 1–2.

16 These Greek explanations may have been in Priscian's original text or may well have been inserted by early readers at Constantinople. Hertz accepts many as original in his edition.

17 For a broad survey of the interactions of Latin with other languages of the Empire, see Adams 2003.

18 Horrocks 2010, 207–210.

been entirely disbanded, even as the Greek-speaking eastern Empire continued in its territorial integrity. Although the cultivation of Latin learning certainly survived in the West,[19] the Classical variety of Latin that Priscian minutely describes was by then at a considerable remove from the spoken language of native speakers, already evolving and diversifying in the direction of modern Romance languages.[20] The canon of literary authorities from which he cites was well established and already ancient: of the authors quoted most frequently – Virgil (1200 times, approximately), Terence (550), Cicero (470), Lucan (270), Sallust (250), Horace (200), Juvenal (190), Plautus (180), Ovid (100) – none postdate the beginning of the second century CE, already 400 years before Priscian's time, and many are considerably earlier. And the same applies to Greek authors: Priscian quoted sources as much as a millennium old – most frequently Homer (67 passages), Demosthenes (62), Plato (61), Isocrates (28), and Xenophon (22).[21] He also makes reference to various Greek dialects that had probably disappeared as spoken varieties five centuries earlier.[22] So Priscian inhabits a world of texts, an intellectual world disconnected from the linguistic realities of his time.

What is more, the Greek-Latin bilingualism that Priscian seems to take for granted is also somewhat illusory. Although proficiency in the Greek language had once been a central prop of Roman élite culture, the decentralisation of Roman administration and political division of East and West from the late third century marked the beginning of a significant linguistic rift. St Augustine, for example, in the late fourth century writes that he hated the Greek language and its literature, a remarkable thing for a former state-appointed professor of rhetoric to declare.[23] Certainly, by Priscian's time, knowledge of Greek in the West was in the process of vanishing almost completely. And in the Greek-speaking East, while Latin lasted as a language of administration until the seventh century, it too was gradually becoming obsolete.[24]

19 For a broad survey, see the magisterial work of Riché 1978.

20 Adams 2007.

21 Counts of Greek authors are based on Garcea and Giavatto 2007.

22 Moran 2015a; Conduché 2012.

23 *Confessions* I.13–14, ed. Verheijen 1981.

24 Bischoff 1951; Berschin 1988, 41–101.

3 Transmission

Despite the scholarly achievements of Priscian's encyclopaedic grammar, its influence in the generations immediately after him seems to have been limited. His work was known to Cassiodorus in Vivarium at the southern tip of Italy by 580 CE.[25] The next datable use is by the Anglo-Saxon scholar Aldhelm of Malmesbury towards the end of the following century, and linguistic archaisms in St Gall glosses indicate that the text was known in Ireland around the same time.[26]

In Priscian's manuscript transmission, the sixth and seventh centuries are (not unusually in the western tradition) entirely bare, and we begin to find manuscripts only from the very end of the eighth century, initially two from Italy. Then, an explosion: there are 51 extant manuscripts datable to the ninth century, and around 100 in the tenth.[27] By this period, Priscian's text was being read in radically new contexts. In the former Roman West, regional varieties of spoken Latin had clearly separated as Romance vernaculars. In the north-western margins of the Empire and beyond, Latin and Celtic had ceded to the Germanic languages of invaders and immigrants. And with the extension of Christianity beyond the Empire's former frontiers to Ireland and northern and central Europe, native speakers of radically different languages were now confronting his text.[28]

How did these native speakers of vernacular languages make sense of it? We have valuable evidence in the form of very copious interlinear and marginal glosses. Out of the 51 surviving ninth-century manuscripts, 31 are nearly complete, and all but 6 of these are glossed, some very heavily indeed. And some of these gloss commentaries provide a window on Classical and vernacular interactions. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 18375, for example, a mid-ninth-century manuscript from northern France or western Germany, has 280 glosses in Old High German, added in Tegernsee in the eleventh century;[29] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 114, a miscellany of grammatical texts compiled at Tegernsee at the end of the tenth century has around 160

25 Holtz 2009, 39–42; Szerwiniack 2009, 69–70.

26 Strachan 1905; Lambert 1996.

27 Passalacqua 1978; Ballaira 1982.

28 Ireland was already absorbing Latin culture when Priscian was writing in the early sixth century.

29 Edited in Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879–1922, vol. 2, 367–373; see Bergmann and Stricker 2005, vol. 3, 1221–1223, no. 642.

glosses as part of a Priscian commentary.[30] These glosses are invariably single-word lexical translations of Latin terms. The vernacular material in the St Gall Priscian is vastly more abundant, however. Of its 9,400 verbal glosses around 37% (3,478) draw on the vernacular, either Old Irish or a mixture of Old Irish and Latin, as noted above. Four other ninth-century manuscripts also contain Irish glosses, and in the context of medieval multilingual manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10290 is certainly the most complex.[31] This was written in Caroline minuscule script by a Breton scribe in the second half of the ninth century, and contains glosses in Latin, Old Irish, Old Breton and Old Welsh. The scribe copied 73 Old Irish glosses, which he apparently did not understand, as he frequently abridges them and sometimes Bretonises them, making what seem to be inadvertent changes.[32]

The complex language interactions in the Paris manuscript of Priscian have some parallels in the St Gall manuscript, particularly in the context of its later history. Hofman estimates that some ten other hands entered glosses after the initial stage of production.[33] Some of these are using Carolingian script and must therefore have been writing on the Continent. At the end of the fifth quire (p. 89), on a page originally blank, a scribe writing in Carolingian script copied a praise poem for Bishop Gunther of Cologne (in office 850–863); a corrector later made emendations in an Irish hand (Fig. 3).[34] Gunther is praised in several poems of Sedulius Scottus, the Irish scholar and poet based at Liège under the patronage of Bishop Hartgar (840–855), and the poem therefore seems very likely written by Sedulius or a close contemporary seeking to consolidate their network of support among powerful and wealthy episcopal patrons.[35] Passing through the area around Liège and Cologne on its way to St Gall, the manuscript was being read in a region where Old High German was the dominant spoken

30 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879–1922, vol. 2, 374–377; Bergmann and Stricker, 2005, vol. 4, 1713–1715, no. 892.

31 For other manuscripts, see Hofman 1996, 31–39.

32 See Hofman 1996, 35–38 for bibliography, and more recently Lambert 2005.

33 Hofman 1996, vol. 1, 23–25.

34 Lines 25–30 illustrate the tenor: *Gloriferae famae Guntari fertur honestas* / *Europae turmis laudibus almisonis:* / *Pacifer egregius* / *praesul venerabilis almus*, / *At patiens humilis largus et ipse pius;* / *Moribus et forma pietateque dignus honore,* / *Electus domini pastor et ipse gregis.* 'The reputation of the glorious fame of Gunthar is held in the throngs of Europe with charitable praises: outstanding peace-bringer, excellent, venerable, fruitful, and patient, humble, generous and very pious; worthy of honour in character, appearance and piety, chosen by the Lord as the shepherd of his flock'.

35 Godman 1987, 155, 164–165.

language, though with close scholarly and diplomatic links with the Romance-speaking lands to the west and south. For these local scholars, the Old Irish glosses would no longer have yielded any sense, and as the main script was now obsolete the book too seems to have fallen out of use. There are no indications of any glosses being entered after the ninth century.

4 Reading Greek in early medieval Ireland

The manuscript's three languages are for the most part written in two scripts: Greek script for Greek, Latin script doing service for both Latin and Irish. A small number of marginal notes are written in ogam letters, the indigenous Irish script found on archaic inscriptions, whose relationship to Latin writing is still debated.[36] Ogam occurs in one note in the lower margin (in Latin) and seven in the upper (in Irish). The first three record the date in the religious calendar: the feasts of Gaius and Martin, and Low Sunday. Pádraig Ó Néill has identified these dates as 27 October, 11 November and 29 March respectively.[37] The fact that Low Sunday (*minchásc*) is a moveable feast allowed him to fix the year as 851. Four subsequent ogams record the word *cocart*, meaning 'correction', referring presumably to a stage of editing, though the nature of the process is still opaque to us. The final ogam records the word *latheirt*, which appears to mean 'hung-over' (Figs 4a and 4b). A motivation for using ogam in these specific instances is difficult to identify. The possibility that it was used as a cipher seems undermined by the fact that *latheirt*, for example, is written out plainly in Latin letters in another margin (p. 189).

A similar freedom in the treatment of script is also evident in rubrics, where Greek letters often do service for Latin. This is a marked deviation from regular usage and also very inconsistent, as the scribe appears to mix Greek and Latin letters at a whim: *Εκπλϊcuiτ λiβer.ii. / inciπiτ λiβer.iii, de. / coμπαρατινίς* (Fig. 5), etc. The same usage occurs in other Irish manuscripts already from as early as the beginning of the eighth century.[38] Here in particular, it signals that the peritext areas of books were spaces where scribal conventions could be relaxed. Already distinguished in red ink, the switch to Greek script in headings further separates these from the main body of text.

36 McManus 1997, 65.
37 Ó Néill 2000, 178–179.
38 Moran 2012, 174–175.

Throughout the main text Greek words and phrases are in Greek script, and these are highlighted by the use of overlining in red ink (ending after p. 224). This draws attention to what was certainly the most challenging aspect of the text for any ninth-century readers in the West. Knowledge of Greek was scant at best, despite occasional achievements, notably among a few Irish scholars on the Continent in the mid-ninth century.[39] Generations of copying at the hands of scribes ill-equipped to transmit the language resulted in an extremely high level of textual corruption. Even if we imagine that a reader had a perfect knowledge of the language, in many cases no sense could possibly have been extracted.

We can illustrate the extent and difficulties of textual corruption with the example of a citation from Euripides' *Phoenician Women* occurring early on in the text (Fig. 6).

Priscian cites this passage to support his assertion that the combination of mute consonant (*b c d g h k p q t*, by his definition) followed by a liquid (*l r*) or nasal (*m n*) can be metrically either long or short. Initially, he provides a line from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.531, cited at *GL* 2, 10.10):

> piscosamque Cnidon grauidamque Amathunta metallis
>
> fishy Cnidos, and Amathus, heavy in metals

Here the glossator identifies the second letter of *Cnidon* as the liquid in question (*liquida*, gloss 5b13 k). He adds symbols to mark off the segment *-samque Cni-* and designates it (correctly) as a dactylic foot (with a gloss *.d.* meaning *dactylus*, 5b13 i). As a dactyl by definition comprises one metrically long syllable followed by two shorts, the glossator is here confirming the second syllable as short, despite being followed by two consonants, and this is what Priscian wanted to show. So far, so good. But although Priscian's subject is Latin grammar, he follows this with a citation from a Greek author (Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 542, cited at *GL* 2, 10.12), both to reinforce the point with an example more accessible to his Greek readership and out of a more general interest in comparativism:

Manuscript:	οτε, τατνετα, ξενκαι(α)ρε μοδια|ρισεν
Restored (Hertz):	Ἰσότης ἔταξεν κἀριθμὸν διώρισε

Equality has arranged and divided the number

39 Moran 2012.

Leaving aside for now problems of word separation, a cursory comparison of the manuscript's text against the restored version shows enough corruptions to challenge any Greek reader. Despite this, the glossators clearly persevere in trying to extract whatever limited sense they can. Their task is rendered hopeless immediately by the fact that the sequence -θμ-, the focus of the example, is missing entirely from the corrupted text. Instead the glossator hones in on a defective -τν- (adding '*.i. liquida*', 5b15 m). And on a false analogy with the line from Ovid he marks off the corrupt sequence -τατνετα- as a dactyl (5b15 n), not realising that this foot is alien here.

The glossator's efforts did not stop there, however. A *signe de renvoi* in the left margin acts as place marker, and the accompanying note *archiunn* 'ahead' points the reader to search forward for the referent of the same sign later on.[40] On page 25 of the manuscript, Priscian returns to the topic of syllable length and cites the same line of Euripides (*GL* 2, 52.7), this version only slightly less marred (Fig. 7):

Manuscript:	ισοτ(ν)ετατετα|ξενκαιριε μον διορισεν
Restored:	Ἰσότης ἔταξεν κᾀριθμὸν διώρισε

In this passage the crucial -θμ- is again missing, and the glossator, confronted with a text incompatible with Priscian's discussion of it, attempts to rectify the issue by borrowing the corrupt letter from the previous occurrence. He inserts a letter ν to follow τ (though in a slightly earlier position). The result is equally garbled, but the emendation does at least offer a superficial resolution, the glossator confirming 'híc .t. an*te* .n. posita 7 com*m*u*nem* sill*abam* facit' ('here the letter *t* has been placed before *n*, and makes a "common" syllable', 25a22 y). Clearly, the result does nothing at all to render a corrupt passage any more meaningful. But it does show that – however obscure the Greek text may have been, due to corruption and unfamiliarity – glossators were attempting to decode the Greek passages by whatever restricted means were at their disposal.

A central barrier for anyone trying to read Greek was word separation. The Greek text had been transmitted undivided in *scriptio continua*. Any hope of using glossaries and similar lexica to help decipher it would have been severely hampered by not knowing where individual words begin and end. The glosses show regular concern to tackle this problem. The example below is from a context where Priscian discusses Latin nouns and adjectives with ambiguous endings (*GL* 2, 174.4–5; see Fig. 8).

40 Lambert 1987, 220.

In this case specifically, *haec prima* 'this first', *sacra* 'holy' and *maxima* 'greatest' may be read either as feminine nominative singulars or as neuter nominative/accusative plurals. How does Priscian convey the double meanings? For him, and his readers, the most direct way is to supply the respective translations in Greek, where the ambiguities do not apply. The manuscript reads:[41]

h*aec* p*r*ima ΗΠΡΩΤΗ **ΚΑΙ**ΤΑΠΡΩΤΑ *sacra* ΗΙΕΡΑ **ΚΑΙ** ΤΑΙΕΡΑ *maxima* ΗΜΗΓΙΣΤΕ**ΚΑΙ** ΤΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΑ

haec prima [can mean] 'the first' (fem.) [ἡ πρωτή] *and* 'the first things' [τὰ πρῶτα];
sacra [can mean] 'the holy' (fem.) [ἡ ἱερά] *and* 'the holy things' [τὰ ἱερά];
maxima [can mean] 'the great' (fem.) [ἡ μεγίστη] *and* 'the great things' [τὰ μεγίστα]

For later Irish readers, of course, Priscian's Greek translations only serve to heap obscurity on to an otherwise straightforward point. Nonetheless, the glossators attempt to decipher as much as they can. The general sense of the Greek words could be inferred from the Latin equivalents, so the main difficulty is to identity word units. The common word καί 'and' (in bold here) is most easily identifiable. The scribe of the main text has already partially or fully separated these words (possibly from the archetype) and the glossator has marked the first two examples with a tiny Tironian abbreviation 7 'and'; in the third, he adds a point to separate it. Next the glossator isolates the Greek article (underlined in the above transcription), marking both ἡ and τά throughout with the Insular abbreviation for *haec* (in the first case with a gloss inside the letter!), and sometimes adding points to separate them from the following word. The rubricator evidently worked after the glosses had been entered, to judge from glosses here partly covered by red ink, and for the most part breaks the line to follow the division of words already established.

Priscian, in this way, regularly inserts Greek words as a means to disambiguate Latin words that are homophones or otherwise easily confusable. This would certainly have been practical for his original readership, but of little benefit in a later context when Greek was forbidding. In some cases, the Irish glossators employ a *third* language – their own vernacular – to fulfil the same clarifying function. So, for example, when Priscian lists pairs of Latin verbs that are identical in the first person singular only (*GL* 2, 403.7–11; Fig. 9):

41 The scribe here appears to have copied out a full line from his exemplar twice in error. Had he noticed it immediately he might have erased and overwritten it, but here it is scored out instead. A comparison of the two versions illustrates the propensity to disfigure the Greek: the form ΜΗΓΙΣΤΗ (μεγίστη) was copied more accurately on the second attempt.

mando ΕΝΘΕΛΛΟΛΜΑΙ mandas, mando ΜΑCΟΛΛΑΙ mandis; fundo ΘΕΜΕΗω fundas, fundo ΕΚΧΕω fundis; obsero ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛωΤΟΝ ΜΟΧΛΟΝ obseras, obsero ΠΕΡΙCΠΙΡω obseris; appello ΠΡΟCΤΟΡΕΥω appellas, appello ΠΡΟCωΤω appellis

a) *mando* = ἐντέλλομαι 'I enjoin' → *mand<u>as</u>*
   mando = μασῶμαι 'I eat' → *mand<u>is</u>*
b) *fundo* = θεμελιῶ 'I found' → *fund<u>as</u>*
   fundo = ἐκχέω 'I pour out' → *fund<u>is</u>*
c) *obsero* = περιβάλλω τὸν μοχλόν 'I bolt up' → *obser<u>as</u>*
   obsero = περισπείρω 'I sow' → *obser<u>is</u>*
d) *apello* = προσαγορεύω 'I address' → *apell<u>as</u>*
   apello = προσωθῶ 'I drive on' → *apell<u>is</u>*

Where ἐντέλλομαι and μασῶμαι originally distinguished the two meanings of *mando*, Irish glosses *imtrénigim* and *ithim* (146b10 m, 146b11 o) here perform the same role. Similarly, the two meanings of *fundo* are explained (firstly in Latin) with *fundamentum pono* and *dodálim*, *obsero* by *fescrigim* and *clandaim*, *appello* by *adgládur* and *inárbenim*, and so on. These Irish glosses fulfil multiple functions simultaneously. They provide the same disambiguation by language switch, while also providing for translations both the Latin terms and their Greek synonyms. Although Priscian used Greek as a convenient way to explain the meaning of Latin words, for Irish readers Latin now is the means for accessing rare words in Greek. This last function is highlighted by two marginal glosses that mark this passage with the letter *g*, for *graeca* 'Greek words'.

As a grammarian, Priscian is a prolific collector of unusual forms. Whereas the previous two examples show the advantage of Greek (and Irish) for the purposes of disambiguation, Greek is also used simply to explain the meaning of rare Latin words. For example, in a list of feminine nouns ending in *-x* and neuters in *-t* (*GL* 2, 167.4–9; Fig. 10), Priscian includes *filix* (a type of grass), *uibix (*a weal or contusion), and *git* (a spice, identified with black cumin / *Nigella sativa*). For his Greek readership Priscian pragmatically provides Greek translations for these rare words ἄγρωστις [manuscript ΑΦΡΟΙΣ], μώλωψ [manuscript ΜΟΛΟΥ], μελάνθιον.[42] But later Irish readers draw on independent resources. For *uibix*, two glosses draw on Latin lexicography: one cites a source *Cic[ero]* – apparently a glossary erroneously ascribed to the famous Roman orator – with the explanation *pugna* 'blows'; another says *uibices caesae plagarum* '*uibices*

42 It is possible that these Greek words were not part of the original text but were added originally as glosses in a very early stage of transmission. I quote the text reconstructed in Hertz's edition here for clarity, but it is worth remembering that the manuscripts' corruptions only render the problem more opaque.

[plural] are the cuts of blows', attributed to an unspecified *glo*[*ssarium*]. For *git*, the glossator adds identical symbol glosses over it and the corresponding Greek term to note that the latter is a synonym. *Git* itself is then explained by reference to the superordinate category *nomen etha* 'the name of a grain', in a gloss code-switching between Latin and Irish.[43] A later occurrence of the same word is similarly explained (*nomen farris*, 94b42 f), and an associated citation reveals the source of this knowledge, paraphrasing Isaiah 28:27: *ut in prophetia. 7 serris non triturabitur git* 'as in the Prophet: "and *git* will not be threshed by saws [i.e. threshing-wains]"'. *Filix*/ἄγρωστις are left unglossed: we have no way of confirming what meaning, if any, these terms may have had for their readers.

The example of *git*, a Latin word probably of Semitic origin (cf. perhaps קצח *qetsach*), and its translation μελάνθιον points to another challenge for readers of Priscian. Translation is not only lexical, but also cultural, and in an environment far removed from the eastern Mediterranean world, readers sometimes must have struggled to identify or imagine what his original readers may have taken for granted. Hence a large class of glosses (more than 200), in both Latin and Irish, that designate only superordinate categories: the 'name of a bird' (*nomen avis*), or an animal, a grain, a tree, a grass, a river, a fruit, a vegetable, a weight, a weapon and so on. These vague terms provide some degree of clarification, but in some cases like *git* the true referent may have been not only unknown to Irish readers, but unimaginable.

5 Conclusion

The St Gall Priscian manuscript presented here is emblematic of many encounters between languages. The sixth-century author of the text was writing about Latin in Latin, but was writing for a Greek-speaking audience and was deeply engaged in Greek linguistic and literary traditions. These Classical traditions were highly conservative and already archaic by Priscian's day, ignoring entirely both the progressive evolution of the two languages and the hugely diverse language communities in which they were studied.

Priscian could scarcely have imagined the environments in which his work went on to be studied. The accommodations that his grammar makes to its original Greek-speaking readership were later rendered entirely obsolete in northwestern Europe. In the latter context the status of Greek underwent a complete

43 Moran 2015b, 113–142; for a broader analysis of this phenomenon, see Bisagni 2013–2014.

inversion, from accessible vernacular to a language both exotic and prestigious. Now Priscian's Greek, once parenthetical, becomes an object of study in itself, despite the huge barriers of poor transmission and lack of auxiliary resources. And in some cases, its original explanatory function as a language contrastive to Latin is eclipsed by Irish.

This ninth-century manuscript had its own journey, one which illustrates the interconnectedness of native and scholarly languages in its day. Priscian scholars who were native speakers of Irish travelled to the Continent, probably through Wales and Brittany, where they were teachers of Latin in ecclesiastical centres inhabited by native speakers of Romance and German. In some ways the impressive mobility among these different ethnic groups may not have been so different from the cosmopolitan world of Priscian's day. And the Latin teachers of the ninth century were certainly concerned to follow Priscian's lead in preserving an ancient and venerable language tradition.

Acknowledgements
All figures in this article are reproduced courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen; the images were provided by the e-codices project: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0904>.

Abbreviation

GL 2–3 Martin Hertz (ed.), *Prisciani grammatici Caesariensis Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*, 2 vols (Grammatici latini, 2–3), Leipzig: Teubner, 1855 and 1859.

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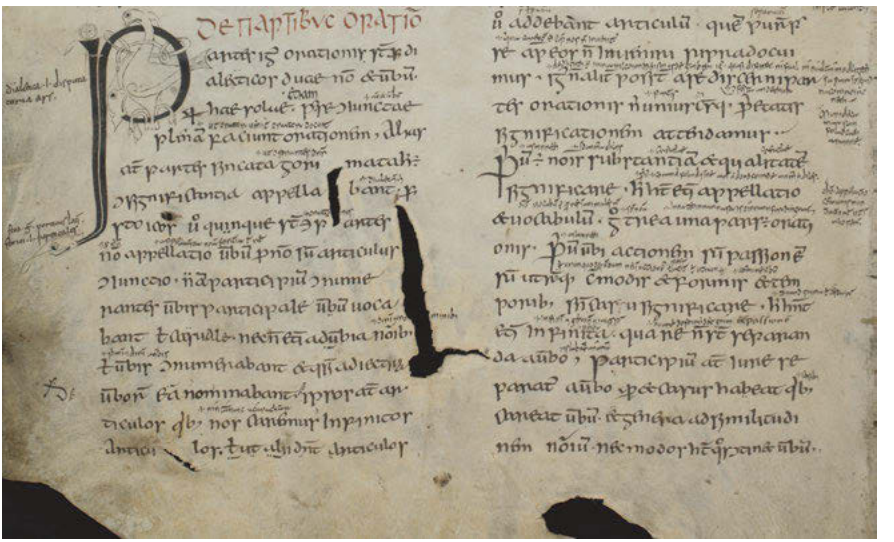

Fig. 1: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 26 (half page, lower part).

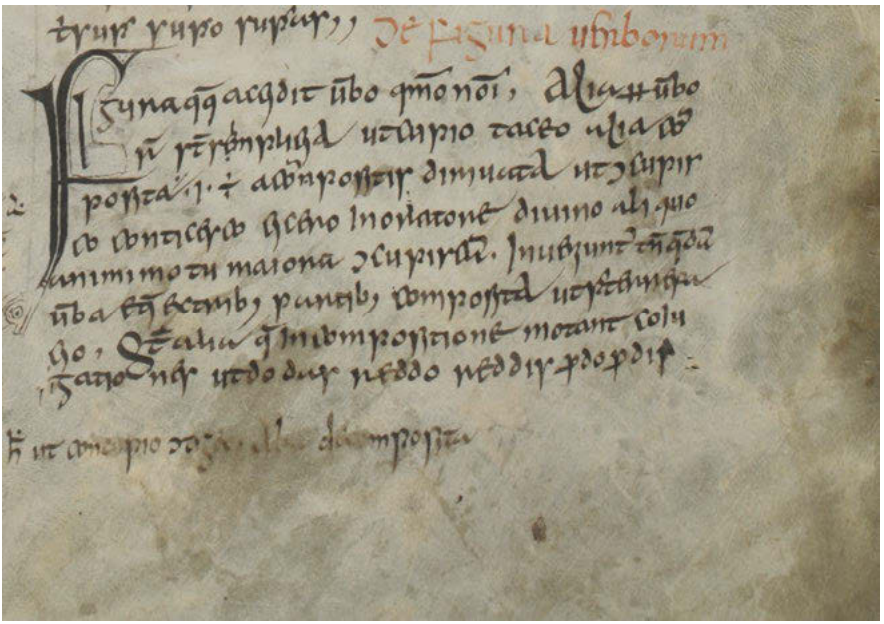

Fig. 2a: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 156b (detail: lower margin); scribe Calvus Patricii.

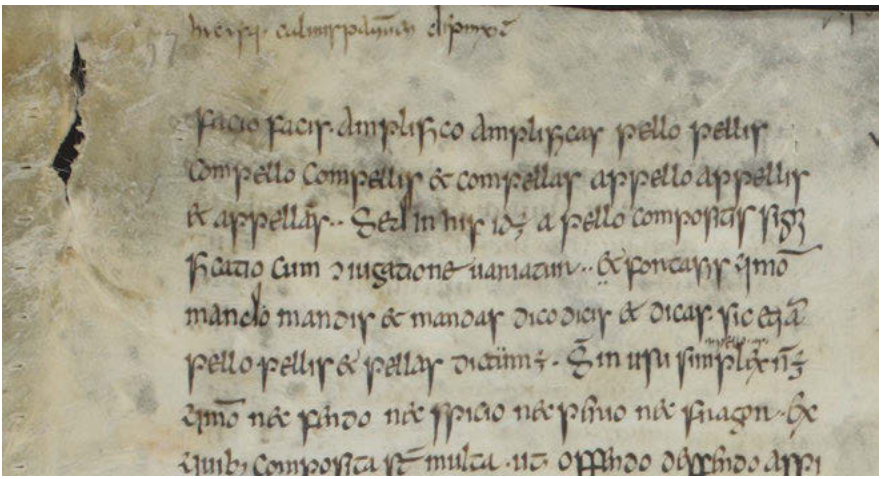

Fig. 2b: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 157a (detail: upper margin); scribe B takes over from Calvus Patricii.

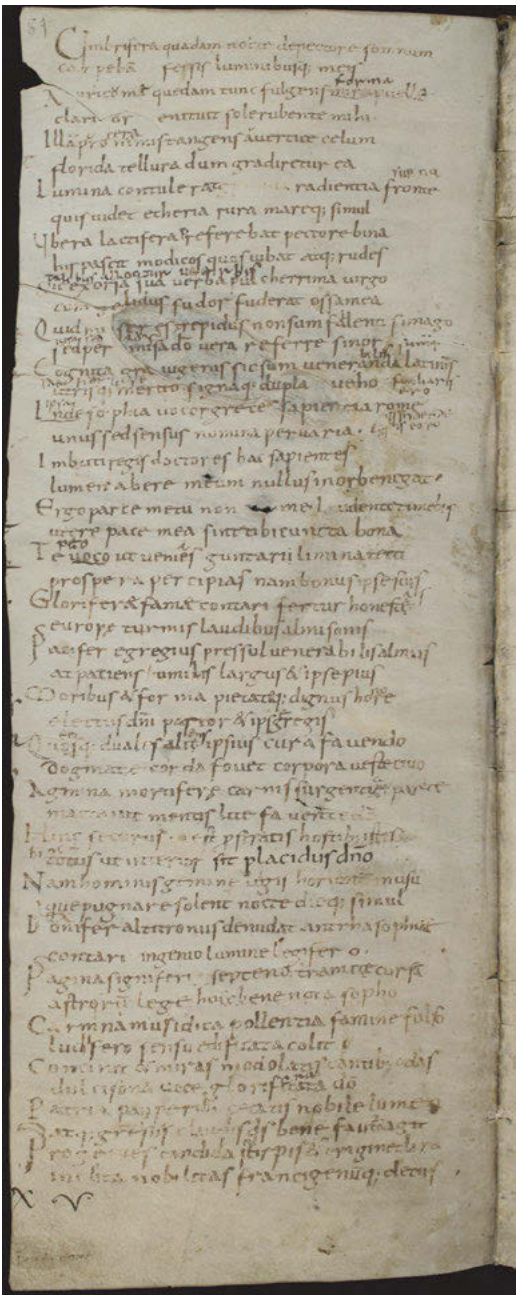

Fig. 3: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 89 (full page: only col. b is preserved); encomium to Gunther.

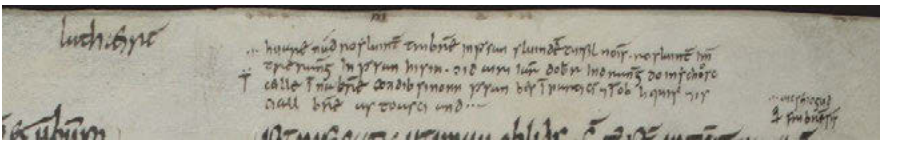

Fig. 4a: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 189 (detail: upper margin); *latheirt* 'hungover' in Latin script.

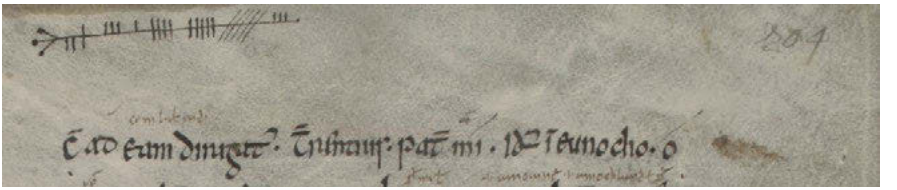

Fig. 4b: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 204 (detail: upper margin); *latheirt* 'hungover' in ogam script.

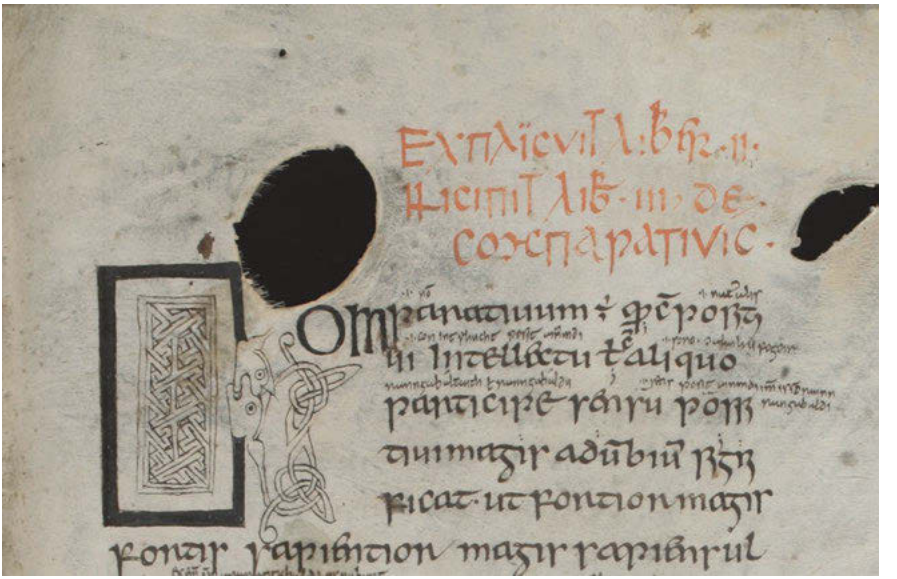

Fig. 5: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 39a (detail: top); Greek script for Latin.

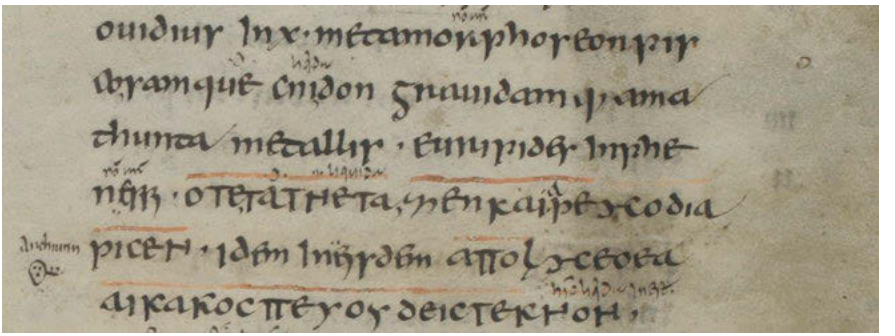

Fig. 6: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 5b (detail: ll. 12–17); Ovid and Euripides.

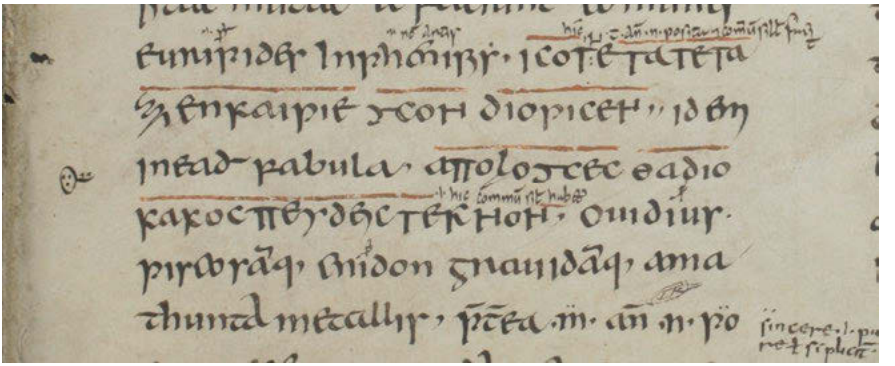

Fig. 7: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 25a (detail: ll. 22–27); Euripides.

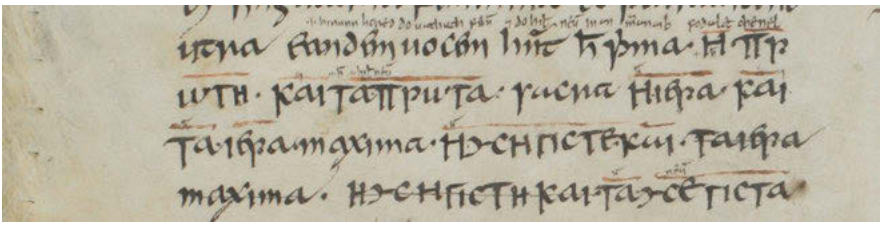

Fig. 8: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 72a (detail: ll. 14–17); Greek word division.

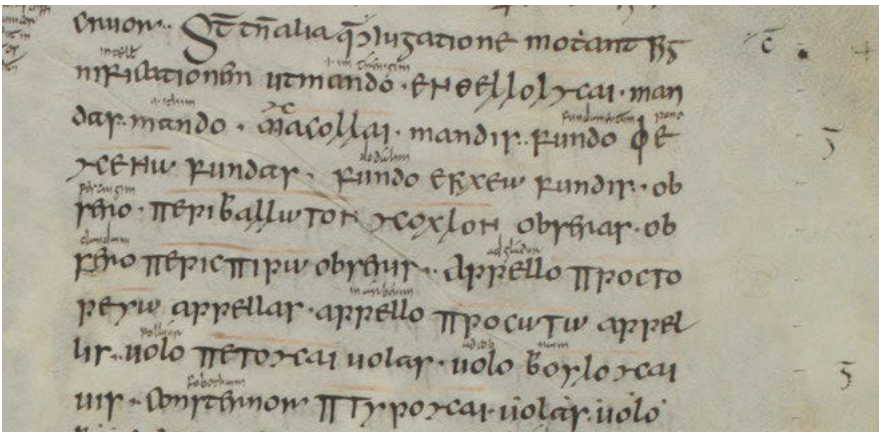

Fig. 9: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 146b (detail: ll. 9–17); disambiguation.

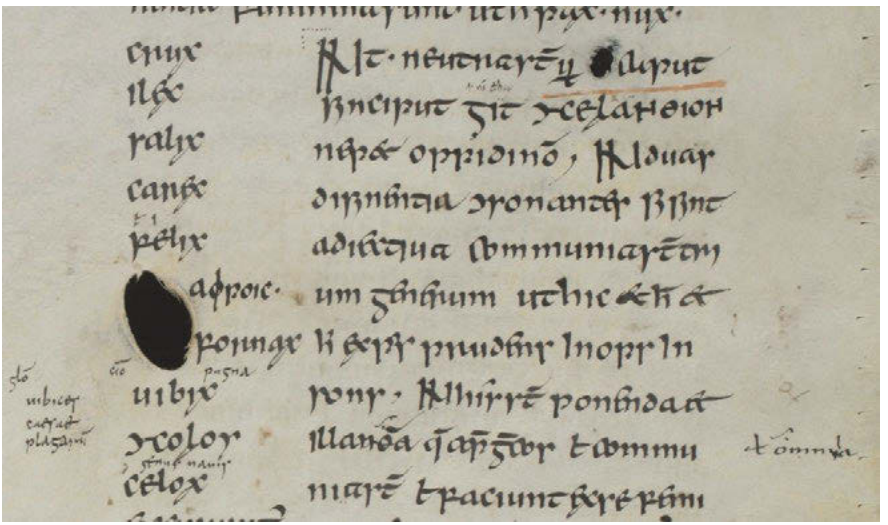

Fig. 10: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 904, p. 25b (detail: ll. 16–25); lexical glosses.

Lars Nooij, Peter Schrijver

Medieval Wales as a Linguistic Crossroads in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153

Abstract: The manuscript known as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153 contains a copy of Martianus Capella's Latin text *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*. Written in Wales around 900 CE, it includes marginal annotations in Latin and Old Welsh that open a window on the spread of Carolingian educational culture to Celtic-speaking Britain. Evidence is examined here for close interaction between some of the indigenous languages of the island and the learned Latin of the schools, and even for surviving traces of the variety of spoken Latin that had been current in Britain under the Empire.

1 Introduction

De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae, 'The Wedding of Mercurius and Philologia', is a Latin text that was composed around 400 CE, at a time when the Roman Empire had recently embraced Christianity as its official religion. The subject matter is the body of learning that constituted the full curriculum of late Latin teaching: the seven liberal arts. Grammar, logic and rhetoric formed its basis, the so-called *trivium*, which on a higher level was continued by the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and musical theory.[1] To each of these seven branches of learning is assigned a book, while two additional chapters serve as a literary framework: Learning, which is imagined as a girl called Philologia, is adopted amongst the ancient Roman gods by her marriage to the divine Mercurius. The author is Martianus Capella, who figures prominently in the text itself and who probably lived in North Africa.[2]

One of the most remarkable characteristics of *De Nuptiis* is that it is written in an exceptionally convoluted form of Latin.[3] Syntactically straightforward and

1 Bernt 2002.

2 For a general introduction to the text and a translation, see Stahl, Johnson and Burge 1971–1977.

3 Stahl, Johnson and Burge 1971–1977, vol. 1, 28–40; Teeuwen 2011, 11–12.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110776492-004

relatively short sentences form a minority of the text. Very long sentences, the structure of which can be resolved only by scrupulous attention to stylistic conventions as well as the rules of Latin grammar, are the norm. The vocabulary abounds in obscure Latin words, or common words with obscure meanings, and Greek words are plentiful. Many words allude to aspects of Classical literature and culture. *De Nuptiis* embodies one of its own central tenets: that access to learning is granted only to those who have a perfect command of the language and of the culture in which it is set.

There is little surprise, therefore, that when during the Carolingian period interest in the text once again soared, a rich medieval manuscript tradition of *De Nuptiis* arose, in which explanatory notes (so-called glosses) and commentaries abound. Three major gloss traditions came into being.[4] The first is known as the 'Oldest Gloss Tradition' and is believed to have originated in France in the 830s CE.[5] One of the most interesting manuscripts that contains the 'Oldest Gloss Tradition' is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153, better known in scholarly work as the 'Corpus Martianus Capella'.

It originated in late ninth-century Wales, where most of the main text and its many Latin glosses were copied. Moreover, about 140 Old Welsh glosses were added to the manuscript by one of its most prolific scribes. Afterwards, it was moved to England, where the main text was completed in the course of the 930s. Finally, a two-part, secondary collection of Latin glosses was added to it in the mid-tenth century. In this way, the manuscript was created in several stages over the course of over half a century and is the work of some ten scribes.[6]

2 Linguistic context

These scribes lived and worked in a linguistically diverse era. The centuries following the fall of Roman power in the West had initially seen educated, written Latin being transformed from the uniform language of Empire – maintained as it was by an imperial school system which enforced a rigid Classical standard of the language – into the plethora of early Romance dialects, which reflected actual speech and which by the end of the first millennium had developed into languages like French, Italian and Spanish. Peculiarities of Romance filtered

4 Teeuwen 2011, 13.
5 Teeuwen 2011, 14–18.
6 Nooij 2015, 7–23.

through into the written Latin of early medieval manuscripts.[7] The Carolingian scholastic reforms of the late eighth and early ninth centuries altered that situation. In an attempt to re-impose a single *lingua franca* over the multilingual Carolingian empire, Charlemagne and his successors ordered the creation of a new standard of written Latin. This reformed language was, again, based on Classical sources, rather than on any spoken dialect and was therefore highly distinct from the spoken variants of Late Latin on the continent.[8]

In Britain, the linguistic situation was complex. During the Roman era, Latin was not only the language of administration and the army throughout the island; it also developed into a prominent spoken language of the population of the Lowland zone, which essentially covers what is now the south-eastern half of England. By contrast, the Highland zone, which covers modern Cornwall, Wales and the northern half of England and southern Scotland, continued to be dominated more by British Celtic than by Latin.[9] Speakers of British Latin and British Celtic would have been found throughout the British provinces, and the languages were in continual contact with one another. After central Roman power had abandoned Britain in the early fifth century, Roman-style civil administration managed to hold on in the Lowland zone, but soon lost ground to the invading Anglo-Saxon tribes. In the Highland zone, a number of independent, petty kingdoms arose among the population of speakers of Latin and British Celtic, who also had to contend with invaders: Anglo-Saxons from the east and Irish raiders from the west. Over the following centuries, civil government collapsed as the Anglo-Saxons established themselves first in the Lowland zone and then throughout England, barring Cornwall. By the ninth century, the petty kingdoms of the Highland zone had also been pushed back, but managed to hold out in Wales, Cornwall and Strathclyde.[10] Linguistically, the tables had turned as large numbers of Latin-speaking refugees fled the Anglo-Saxon advance and joined their fellow Christians in the British Celtic kingdoms of the North and West. These speakers of British Latin soon adopted British Celtic as their second language, eventually allowing their native Latin, which was well on its way to becoming an early Romance language, to go extinct.[11] Those that remained in England soon found themselves speaking English.[12] Accordingly,

7 Wright 2016.
8 Wright 2016.
9 Schrijver 2014, 30–58.
10 Jackson 1953, 196–219.
11 Jackson 1953, 120–121; Schrijver 2014, 48.
12 Schrijver 2014, 91–93.

by the ninth century Old English was the dominant spoken language of the Lowland zone and had recently pushed into those regions of England that were originally part of the Highland zone. British Celtic had diversified into the dialects of Old Welsh, the predominant language of Wales, and Old South-West British, which would later turn into Cornish and Breton and was predominant in Cornwall and western Brittany.[13] Old Irish was also spoken in Irish settlements in Wales and Cornwall, as well as in ecclesiastical centres throughout the island.[14] Latin was present in two, distinct forms. Spoken British Latin may well still have been alive and actively spoken by several groups of speakers.[15] Revived Classical Latin, of the type stimulated by Carolingian scholars on the Continent, was written and no doubt spoken in educated, ecclesiastical circles. The latter was by far the most important written language of the period.

The origins of the material preserved in the Corpus Martianus Capella manuscript can be traced throughout this linguistically diverse world of ninth- and tenth-century Western Europe. As noted above, the main text is that of the Late Roman author Martianus Capella, which was rediscovered and subsequently copied by Carolingian scholars in the early ninth century. The exemplar of the Corpus manuscript has not survived, but given the limited amount of time between the scholarly rediscovery of *De Nuptiis* in the 830s and the first stage of work on this Welsh manuscript, it seems likely that its exemplar was one of the earlier Carolingian copies of the text.[16] The scholars working on this exemplar were most likely situated somewhere in the region between Fleury, Auxerre and Tours – where the 'Oldest Gloss Tradition' is known to have originated[17] – and would certainly have included native speakers of the early Romance dialect that was to become Old French. This late dialect of Latin had already undergone a number of phonetic and morphological changes, including a strong reduction of the Classical case system. However, although sound changes are sometimes visible in the use of variant spellings (e.g. *<-tio>* alongside *<-cio>*), the Classical morphology of the main text was maintained in the copying process. Revived Classical Latin is readily used in the Latin glosses on the text. Carolingian scholars were therefore using the learned, reformed, written form of Latin, rather than a spoken variety.

13 Jackson 1953, 18–28; Schrijver 2011, 4.
14 Jackson 1953, 154–156.
15 Schrijver 2014, 48; Nooij 2015, 82–84.
16 Nooij 2015, 18–20.
17 O'Sullivan 2011a, 53–54; O'Sullivan 2011b, 45–46.

3 Crossing borders

At some time in the decades following the 830s, a copy was brought to Wales, where its main text was reproduced, along with at least part of its array of Continental glosses. While in Wales, about 140 Old Welsh and bilingual Welsh-Latin glosses were added to this younger manuscript, together with an unknown number of new Latin glosses. Notably, two of the British Celtic glosses found in the manuscript may tell us something about the travels of the exemplar. These glosses are *it dagatte ail* gl. *conibere* (fol. 4ʳa 30, Fig. 1) and *ithr ir diu ail* gl. *glabella medietas* (fol. 9ᵛb 37, Fig. 2).

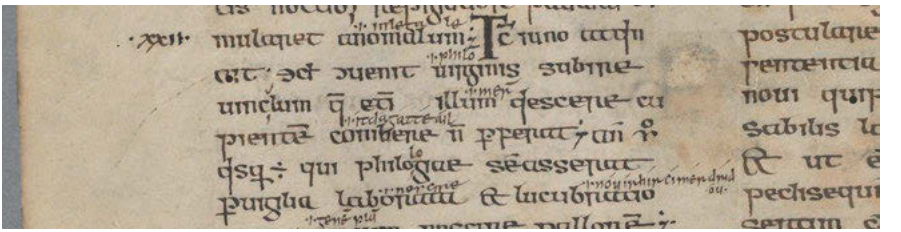

Fig. 1: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153, fol. 4ʳa (detail); courtesy of the Parker Library.

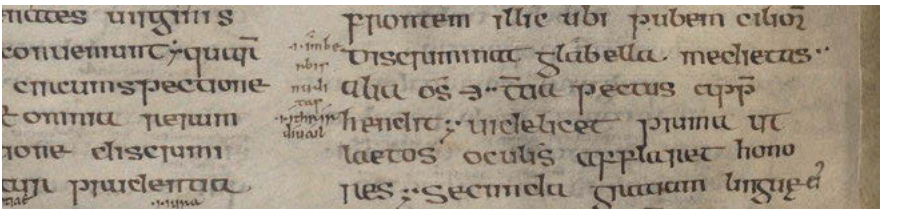

Fig. 2: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153, fol. 9ᵛb (detail); courtesy of the Parker Library.

The former translates as 'he let down an eyebrow' and glosses a Latin verb meaning 'to close the eyes', while the latter gloss can be translated as 'between the two eyebrows' and explains two Latin words which together mean 'the smooth middle' (i.e. between the eyebrows). The glosses – curiously both employing the word *ail*, 'eyebrow' – show South-West British forms, rather than

the Old Welsh forms which are otherwise typical of the vernacular glosses found in the manuscript.[18]

In order to appreciate the meaning of these two glosses in light of the history of the manuscript and its exemplar, it is important to know something of their scribe. Recently, in a study of some of the hands in the Corpus Martianus Capella, Nooij has argued that all but one of the vernacular and bilingual (Welsh-Latin) glosses were added by a single scribe.[19] This scribe, known as hand E,[20] was active along with a number of other early, presumably Welsh, scribes. They added the vast majority of the glosses – most of them in Latin and in large part copied from their exemplar, reflecting the 'Oldest Gloss Tradition'[21] – as well as some missing portions of the main text. They were active shortly after the primary scribe of the main text, known as hand A, finished his work.

The one vernacular gloss not added by scribe E is the work of a hand known as B. This scribe (along with scribes C and D) worked at a markedly later stage than scribe E and his fellow scribes.[22] Whilst the work of scribe A is extensively glossed by scribe E and a number of other scribes, each using a very similar, pointed insular minuscule, the folia added by scribes B, C and D (each using a different script) were glossed only by these scribes themselves. Moreover, in stark contrast to the virtual omnipresence of E and his contemporaries on the folia by scribe A, hands B, C and D are found nowhere beyond their own folia. That B, C and D did work together in a single period of time is confirmed by the facts that C and D copied a column each on a single folio (fol. 17^{r}a and fol. 17^{r}b respectively), and that B's work surrounds that of C and D (fols 16^{r}b 32–16^{v}b and

18 In the first gloss, *dagatte*, 3rd singular imperfect indicative ('he (used to) let go') is a form of what in Old Welsh would have been the verb *di(g)ad-*, Middle Welsh *dyad-*. Both go back to a proto-form **tu-gat-*. In Welsh, pretonic **u* turned into *ə*. In South-West British, however, a highly specific sound law turned **u* + velar + *a* into *a* + velar + *a*. This sound law was formerly supported by only a single example: Breton *lagad*, Middle Welsh *llygad*, 'eye' < **lukat-*. The vocalism of *dagatte* means that the sound law is now supported by two examples. In the second gloss, *diu* is the feminine singular of the number 'two', agreeing with Middle Breton *diu* and Middle Cornish *dyw*, but not with Welsh, where it is *dwy*, which would have been written *dui* in Old Welsh. The reading was for a time considered doubtful, as it was argued on general grounds that <*iu*> and <*ui*> might look very similar in a medieval manuscript. However, in the script used in the Corpus Martianus Capella, <*i*> and <*u*> are generally distinct; such is also the case for this gloss, which gives support for the reading <*diu*>.

19 Nooij 2015, 15–18.

20 See Bishop 1967 for the generally accepted identification of the scribes of the main text. He distinguished five hands, which he called A–E.

21 O'Sullivan 2011b, 42–46.

22 Nooij 2015, 19–20.

fols 17ᵛa–18ᵛb), demonstrating that they divided the pages amongst themselves. The complete absence of E and his fellow scribes on these folia seems best explained by them having already finished their work on the manuscript before B, C and D began. In his time, scribe E was therefore the sole hand to enter vernacular glosses into the manuscript. And it appears that this hand E added glosses in Latin, Old Welsh and Old South-West British.

It is not unusual for a glossator to use both Latin and a vernacular, and it is even known for glossators to use Latin alongside two different vernaculars.[23] However, what we find here is quite unique: a glossator, who operated in Wales and whom we must assume to have been a fluent and probably native speaker of Old Welsh, has added glosses in two distinct dialects of a single language. Old Welsh and Old South-West British had not yet diversified far enough to become mutually incomprehensible by the ninth century, but they were distinct dialects all the same.[24] Moreover, his other vernacular glosses are thoroughly Welsh, rather than South-West British. It would therefore seem unlikely that scribe E was the author of both the Old Welsh and the Old South-West British glosses; it is more likely that he simply copied the latter from his exemplar. In theory, he might have copied his Welsh and bilingual glosses from the exemplar as well, leaving him the author of no glosses whatsoever. However, this requires one to assume an intermediate, Welsh copy to have existed between the Carolingian manuscript and the Corpus Martianus Capella. This is certainly possible, but there is no positive evidence in favour of this more complex scenario. The same is true for the possibility of multiple exemplars having been used in the initial work on the Corpus Martianus Capella: it is possible, but again there is no positive evidence favouring it. Therefore, the most economical solution is to assume that scribe E himself was the author of the Old Welsh and bilingual glosses found in the Corpus Martianus Capella, and that the two Old South-West British glosses were copied by him from his continental exemplar. This implies that the exemplar spent some time in the hands of a Breton or Cornish scholar, who added at least these two glosses in his native tongue to it, before the manuscript arrived at the Welsh centre where it was used as the exemplar of the Corpus Martianus Capella.

23 E.g. in the Cambridge Juvencus (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.4.42) there are certain hands known to have added glosses in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish. For the most recent edition, see McKee 2000.

24 Schrijver 2011, 4.

After some time the manuscript was moved to England, where the main text was completed by filling a major gap.[25] Moreover, a two-part, secondary collection of Latin glosses on Martianus' text was appended. It is clear that the gap had already been in existence when the manuscript left Wales, as a start at filling the gap had been made by scribes B, C and D. The lacuna originated with the initial work of scribe A, who consciously left out what would later turn out to be over ten folios' worth of content, which may well reflect a defect in his exemplar. An English scribe, identified by his use of an Anglo-Caroline script typical of England in the 930s CE,[26] was responsible for completing the main text. He had access to a very different exemplar from the one used at the Welsh centre. This exemplar, though itself again lost, is thought to have been closely related to a set of German copies of the text. If the exemplar contained more than a mere handful of glosses, the scribe chose not to copy them into the Corpus Martianus Capella, rendering this section very different from its Welsh counterpart. A few decades later, during the mid-tenth century, yet another scribe set out to work on the manuscript, adding the aforementioned secondary collection of glosses to it by way of an appendix. This scribe, using a square minuscule script, is also likely to have been English. The extensive, two-part collection of glosses that he copied into the manuscript is also found in another, English manuscript, but as it is found nowhere else its ultimate source is unknown.[27]

With these two English additions, the manuscript was finally completed. By this point its text had almost certainly come into contact, through its scribes and exemplars, with speakers of the Late Latin dialect of France, revived Classical Latin, Old South-West British, Old Welsh, Old English and, quite possibly, the Germanic dialects of the Continent. It is likely that it had also come across speakers of Old Irish on its travels. Irish monks were active participants in the Carolingian scholarly world,[28] and may well have contributed to the original Latin glosses on the text. Moreover, there is a peculiar gloss that reads *mail* gl. *mutilum* (fol. 42^{v}a 29), i.e. 'bald, defective' glossing the Latin for 'shortened, mutilated'.[29] This gloss may well be Irish.[30] If so, it might mean that scribe E was

25 Bishop 1967, 263–265 and 273–274; Nooij 2015, 18–20.
26 Dumville 1994, 139–140.
27 Bishop 1967, 267–275.
28 Ní Mhaonaigh 2006, 38–40; Bisagni 2019.
29 Nooij 2015, 100.
30 *Mail* closely resembles Old Irish *máel*, 'bald'. The vocalism does not agree with the Middle Welsh cognate *moel*, 'bald', which would have been spelled *moil* in Old Welsh. The <*a*> might simply be a mistake for <*o*>, but the manuscript reading itself is clear.

a (non-native) speaker of Irish himself, or that this gloss – like the South-West British glosses – is another relic from his exemplar.

4 Spoken British Latin

We noted earlier that two types of Latin existed in post-Roman Britain: the written language was dominated by Classical Latin, or a language that still resembled it closely in terms of grammar. This type of Latin received a new lease of life as the language of the medieval Church and as the language of scholarship, particularly in the wake of the Carolingian Renaissance around 800 CE. The main text and the medieval Latin glosses of the Corpus Martianus Capella were written in this variety. The other variety is spoken British Latin, which was the insular counterpart of early medieval French, Spanish, Italian and the other Romance languages. Over the centuries, this developed a slightly different grammatical structure.[31] By the ninth century, the two had become so different that they could be labelled distinct languages. Spoken British Latin strongly affected a large corpus of Latin funerary inscriptions that were written between 400 and 1200 in the west of Britain, most particularly in Wales.[32] The Latin of those inscriptions deviates strongly from the Classical norm by a large number of sound changes and by the simplification of the case system. Those deviations are completely in line with developments in spoken Latin, and it is therefore possible to argue that the inscriptions arose in a community of people who used spoken British Latin as their day-to-day language, well after the collapse of Roman power in Britain in the early fifth century. Essentially, the scribes of these inscriptions aimed to write Classical Latin rather than spoken British Latin but were strongly influenced by spoken British Latin. An example of such an inscription runs as follows:[33] *Figulini fili Loculiti hic iacit*. In correct Classical Latin this should read *Figulinus filius Loculiti hic iacet*, and mean 'Figulinus, son of Loculitus, lies here'.

The spelling *iacit* for *iacet* 'lies' reflects a sound change that is typical of all spoken Latin, whether British or continental. More complex is the use of what look like the genitives *Figulini* and *fili* for the expected nominatives of the subject nouns *Figulinus* and *filius*. This confusion is not the result of sound

31 Schrijver 2014, 34–48.

32 Ibidem.

33 Nash-Williams 1950, 95.

change, but rather of grammatical change in spoken British Latin. In personal names and in nouns denoting family relationships, the Classical Latin vocative (rather than the genitive) form, as in *fili* 'o son!', developed a tendency to be used with the function of the nominative. Its final *-i* spread to other words, such as *Figulini*. Apparently, vocatives taking over the function of nominatives were a typical feature of British spoken Latin. [34]

There is a single mixed Welsh-Latin gloss in the Corpus Martianus Capella that shows the influence of spoken British Latin. On folio 14ᵛa 32 (Fig. 3), the main text reads *his mé Camena vicit* 'with these (words) Camena has conquered me'. This is glossed as *.i. hepp marciane*, which means 'i.e. says Martianus'. [35]

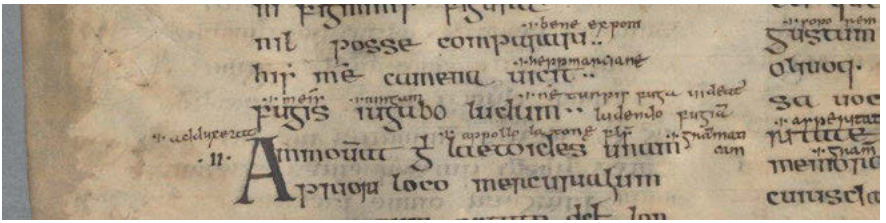

Fig. 3: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153, fol. 14ᵛa (detail); courtesy of the Parker Library.

The idea behind the gloss is that it explains who is speaking in the main text: in other words, who is referred to by *mé* 'me'. *Hepp* is the Old Welsh word for 'says', while *marciane* is a medieval spelling of Classical *Martiane*, the vocative of *Martianus*. So we see from the context that the vocative is used instead of the expected nominative. This is typical neither of Classical Latin nor any known variety of spoken Latin on the Continent, in all of which the subject of a verb would be in the nominative case. What is seen here, on the other hand, is characteristic of spoken British Latin. In this single gloss our Hand E slipped up by introducing an element of his spoken Latin into the text. That he could do this means that spoken British Latin must have survived at least until the later ninth century.

The implications are potentially far-reaching. We are used to thinking that in medieval Britain Latin died out as a native language and was re-introduced as a high-status language linked to the Church. On the basis of the Latin inscriptions

34 For a detailed treatment, see Schrijver 2014, 34–48.

35 Nooij 2015, 82–84.

of western Britain and our single gloss in the Corpus Martianus Capella, we may now assume that Latin continued to be spoken in Britain after the collapse of Roman power and well into the ninth century. That puts Britain in a similar situation to, say, medieval France, Italy and Spain, but for the fact that in Britain spoken Latin was contending with Celtic in the west and with English in the east, to which it was eventually to succumb. That fate may still have been a distant possibility for Hand E, who, we may assume, spoke both Latin and Welsh as his native languages. This state of affairs may help to explain the Welsh glossators' extraordinary command of Martianus' Latin. It may also shed new light on the origins of the exceptional flourishing of Latin literature in medieval Christian Ireland: the roots of Ireland's Christianity lie in Britain, and it may have been British missionaries and clerics that not only introduced Roman Christianity but also spoken Latin to Ireland.

5 Conclusion

Looking back, although the scribes of the Corpus Martianus Capella must have added their glosses to benefit the reader in understanding *De Nuptiis*, it is from their 'mistakes' that we gain most information. By allowing traces of their spoken languages to show in their writings, they afford us a rare glimpse of the linguistic landscape of ninth-century Wales and beyond. Nowadays we may no longer read Martianus for his Latin or his learning, but his core tenet is still valid: that knowledge is attained only through the mastery of the language and of the culture in which it is situated. Indeed, the continuing survival of an entire language may be revealed by a single gloss.

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Sam van Schaik

A Sanskrit-Khotanese Colloquy: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot chinois 5538

Abstract: This scroll from Cave 17 in Dunhuang is an exemplar of the multicultural and multi-lingual social setting of the trade routes linking India, Persia and China, popularly known as the Silk Road. The scroll, which contains a series of words and phrases in Sanskrit and Khotanese, shows how Sanskrit might have been used as a language of trans-regional and cross-community communication among the Taklamakan oasis states in the late first millennium. Phrases of practical usefulness are translated between Khotanese and Sanskrit, in the style of a phrasebook. On the other hand, the scroll is comparable to medieval European colloquies, and like them, may have been used in an educational setting.

1 Introduction

The Sanskrit-Khotanese manuscript that is the subject of this study seems at first glance to be a traveller's phrasebook, but was probably actually more of a learning tool, in a similar way to the colloquy texts used in the Latinate world of medieval Europe. Sanskrit was a trans-regional language, and during the first millennium CE it was used widely across Asia. Outside of India, this was primarily in Buddhist monasteries. The Khotanese language, on the other hand, was restricted to the kingdom of Khotan, in east-central Asia, and to smaller Khotanese communities in other towns on the Silk Routes, such as Dunhuang. This bilingual text is not simply an example of the relationship between a trans-regional and local language; it also seems to be a rare surviving record of a kind of Sanskrit spoken in Buddhist monasteries, and which may have served as a *lingua franca* among travellers.

The archaeological sites of east-central Asia (comprising primarily the modern Chinese provinces of Gansu and Xinjiang) have provided some of the most important sources for the study of Asian history, religion and material culture. In terms of manuscripts, the most important single site is the Buddhist cave complex at Dunhuang, known as Mogao or Qianfodung ('thousand buddha caves'). It was here that a small cave shrine was discovered in 1900, filled with

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manuscripts, paintings and other material. The latest dated manuscripts in the cave are from the early eleventh century CE, suggesting that the cave was closed soon after this time. The earliest manuscript dates from the late fourth century.[1]

The Dunhuang cave, often referred to as the 'library cave' or 'Cave 17' after the number assigned to it by the archaeologist Aurel Stein, contained some 60,000 items. The location of Dunhuang, at a meeting point of several trade routes on the network popularly known as the Silk Road, resulted in a multicultural environment. The largest group of manuscripts from the cave are those with Chinese texts, closely followed by Tibetan, and there are also smaller groups of Khotanese, Turkic, Sanskrit and Sogdian texts. The subject matter of the manuscripts is very varied. Though the materials that were deposited in the cave were primarily a Buddhist, secular texts such as letters and contracts were also found there, along with a minority of texts representing other religions, including Daoism, Manichaeism, and the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.

2 The manuscript

Pelliot chinois 5538 is a scroll from Cave 17 in Dunhuang. As with the vast majority of manuscripts from the cave, the material of the scroll is paper. Scrolls were made by gluing together sheets of paper; in some cases, usually for scrolls containing Buddhist scriptures, wooden rollers and silk ties were part of the manuscript's construction. In this case, probably because the scroll was made for a letter, these additional parts are not found. The scroll is 34.5 cm wide and 335.5 cm in length, and is in good condition, except for some damage at the top, and discolouration along one side that indicates water damage. The recto side of the scroll contains an official letter written in the Khotanese language and script. After the letter's arrival in Dunhuang, a bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese text was written on the verso, which would have originally been blank.[2]

The letter was sent in the year 970 CE by Viśa Śūra (r. 967–977), the king of Khotan, to Cao Yuanzhong, the ruler of Dunhuang. The Khotanese script is derived from the Gupta Brahmi script of India, and several different styles have been identified among the Khotanese manuscripts found in the Khotan region

1 For an overview of the Dunhuang manuscript cave and the reasons for its existence, see van Schaik and Galambos 2011, 13–34.

2 The bilingual text on the verso was first translated and transcribed in Bailey 1938. His *Khotanese Texts 7* (1985) contains a reprint of this. Another study with a new translation is Kumamoto 1988. The letter on the recto was first transcribed and translated in Bailey 1964, 17–26.

and Dunhuang. Here we have a late style, written in a neat, but not ornamental style. The beginning of each clause is written in larger letters that run to the very edge of the scroll, ignoring the left margin. At the end of each clause, the last letter is extended in a horizontal line through to the right edge of the scroll. Seals have been stamped near the bottom of the letter; they are in Chinese seal script, stating that this is a newly-issued official edict.[3] A strikingly large Chinese character, 32 cm in height, is written in the penultimate clause: this character, *chi*, indicates an imperial decree.[4]

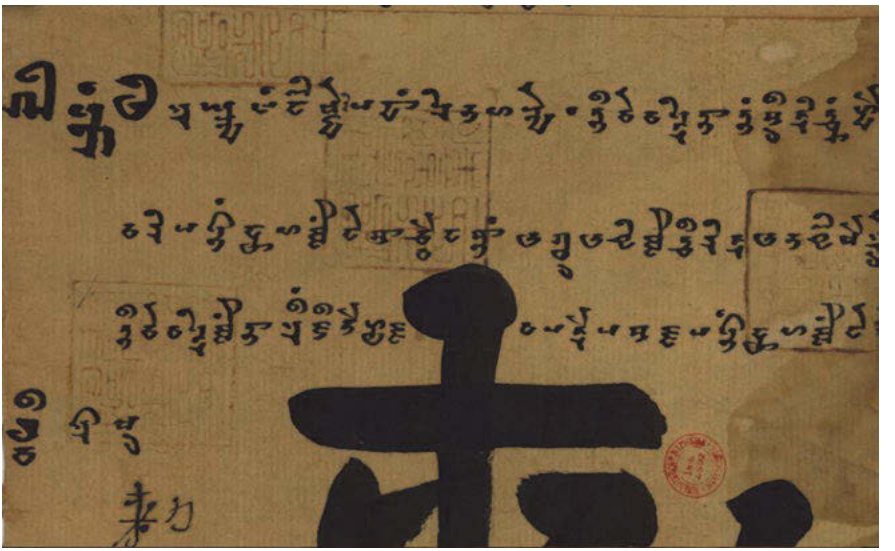

Fig. 1: Pelliot chinois 5538 (recto), detail showing the end of the Khotanese letter. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the letter the king of Khotan reports on the threat to his kingdom from the armies of the Qarakhanid ruler Chaghri Khan, based in the city of Kashgar. According to the annals of the Song dynasty, an envoy came to the Chinese court in the following year (971), reporting the defeat of Kashgar and bringing the gift of a captured elephant. Ultimately, this war ended with the fall of Khotan

3 The seal text, in two columns, reads *shu zhao xin, zhu zhi yin* 書詔新鑄之印.

4 The Khotanese text of the letter is translated and discussed in Bailey 1964. Along with the letter fragment Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot chinois 4091, this is the only Khotanese document from Dunhuang that appears to have been written in Khotan itself.

to the Qarakhanids; the Song annals state that in the year 1006 Yūsuf Qadïr Khan proclaimed himself the ruler of Khotan. This marked the beginning of the end for Khotan's role as one of the major centres of Buddhism on the Silk Road.[5]

The letter presumably passed through the court of the ruler of Dunhuang, after which the scroll seems to have found its way to the local Khotanese Buddhist community, where it was re-used. This is a very common pattern: many Buddhist texts in various languages in the Dunhuang collections are written on the verso side of re-used manuscripts. In this case, the text on the verso is written entirely in the Brahmi script, but it is bilingual: a series of phrases and words, each given in Sanskrit and then Khotanese, separated by two dots, which are sometimes extended into dashes. The hand is not as careful as that on the recto, and corrections have been made at various points. The text begins with a formulaic Sanskrit phrase, the beginning of a letter, and the opening line of a Buddhist sutra, which must be pen tests, and indicate that the text as a whole was an exercise.

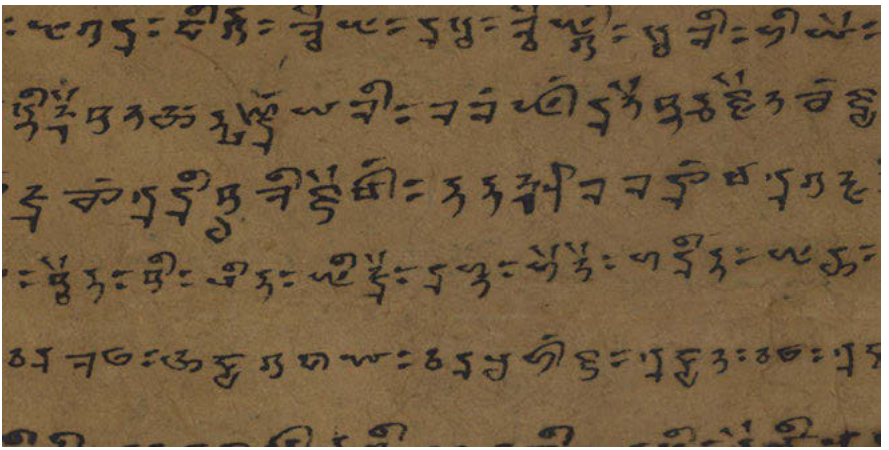

Fig. 2: Pelliot chinois 5538 (verso), the bilingual text. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The bilingual phrases begin as a conversation, apparently between a visiting Indian monk and a Khotanese monk living in Dunhuang, as follows:[6]

5 Kumamoto 1996, 89.

6 The English translation here is adapted from that of Bailey 1964 and Kumamoto 1988, with reference to the original Khotanese text.

— Are you well, at ease?
— By your favour, I am well. Is it well with you?

— Where have you come from?
— I have come from Khotan.

— When did you come from India?
— Two years ago.

— Where did you stay in Khotan?
— I stayed in a monastery.

— In which monastery did you stay?
— (no answer)

— Did you see the His Excellence the King?
— I saw His Excellence.

— Where are you going now?
— I am going to China.[7]

— What is your business in China?
— I shall see the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

This is a conversation on the theme of pilgrimage, concerning an Indian Buddhist on his way to the popular pilgrimage site of Wutaishan in China, known to Buddhists as the dwelling place of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. After this, the conversations turn to other topics, mainly concerned with teachers and students. For example, there is a request for teaching in which the basic divisions of the Buddhist doctrine are given:

— Do you have books?
— I have some.
— Which books?
— Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayāna; which would you like?
— I like Vajrayāna; please teach it!

There is a section that emphasizes the need to learn the Khotanese language in order to deal with the king:

— They are summoning you to the palace ...
— I do not understand the language.
— You must speak well before the king; stay here a little and learn the language.

7 The name of China appears in several forms in the colloquy. The Khotanese is *caiga kṣīra*, while the Sanskrit is *caina-deśa* and *cīna-deśa*.

And there is a scurrilous passage concerning a visiting Tibetan teacher and the rumours about him:

— A visiting teacher has come ... he is a Tibetan teacher.
— Liar! I will ask him.
— Ask then.
— He is dear to many women. He goes about a lot. He makes love.[8]

The reference to a Tibetan teacher dates the text to after the expansion of the Tibetan empire into Central Asia. Dunhuang was occupied by the Tibetans from the late eighth century to the middle of the ninth, but the influence of Tibetan Buddhists continued in the region after this. Therefore, the text of this colloquy may not predate the manuscript itself by very long; we can say at least that it was probably written in the tenth century.

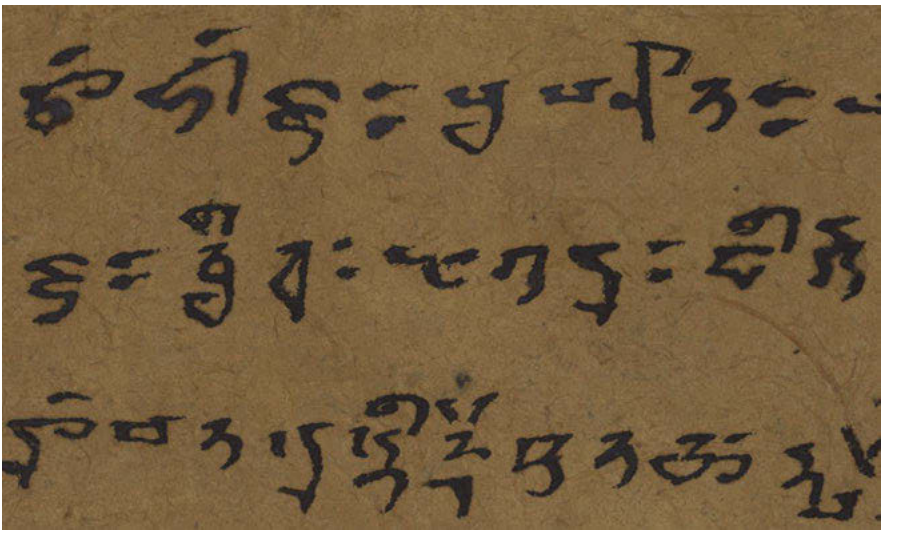

Fig. 3: Detail from Pelliot chinois 5538 (verso). © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Towards the end of the text, the conversational structure breaks down into disconnected phrases and words. These phrases continue to give a sense of

8 This last phrase ("He makes love") is only in the Sanskrit and may be intended as an explanation of the previous phrase ("He goes about a lot").

narrative, maintaining the scurrilous tone of the conversation about the Tibetan teacher:

— The host is coming. Conceal your things.
— Deed of assessment.
— Beat that person. Do not beat him.
— Put on your clothes. Take off your clothes.
— Bell. Parents. Teacher. Buddha.
— Let down your hair.
— He has returned.
— Pupil. Ink-pot. Old. Long. Short. Owner.
— Do not be angry with me. I will not pull your hair.
— When you speak unpleasantly, then I am angry.

Though the text initially appears to be a kind of phrasebook, it is clear by the end that it is more likely to have been a pedagogical tool, similar to the colloquies of medieval Europe. The passages on teaching situations can be compared to the Colloquy of Aelfric (955–1020 CE), a bilingual Latin-Old English text, which was used as a pedagogical tool for students learning the Latin language.[9] Aelfric's Colloquy is written as a dialogue between a Latin teacher and his English students, in which they are questioned about their professions and told about the importance of learning. Other colloquies contain more scurrilous and shocking language, perhaps in the belief that such phrases were more likely to be retained by students. An Old High German colloquy has been described as 'intermediate between the colloquy and the phrasebook', a description that could equally be applied to the colloquy in Pelliot chinois 5538.[10]

3 Trans-regional and vernacular languages in the manuscript

In the second to third centuries CE the role of Sanskrit began to change; from being primarily a language of ritual, it began to be used in the royal courts. This has been linked to the increasingly influential role of Brahmins at these courts. At the same time, Indian Buddhists began to use Sanskrit in preference to other languages, composed and translating their own texts into Sanskrit. This trend was strongest in northern India, and was resisted strongly in the Buddhist tradition

9 See Harris 2003.
10 This is the 'Paris Conversations', ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 7641. See Mantello and Rigg 1996, 125.

that became the Theravada, which continued to use the Pali language. The reasons for this shift to Sanskrit in the Buddhist social world have been debated, and remain unclear, though a strong argument has been put forward by some scholars that this was a political move in the competition for patronage:

> Sometime during the second century CE the Buddhists of north-western India shifted wholesale to Sanskrit. They did not do so because they liked Sanskrit, or because they liked the Brahmins whose language it was. Nor did they do so for some inherent quality that this language supposedly possesses. They did so because they needed to defend their interests at the royal courts in Sanskrit. They had to use Sanskrit at the courts because Brahmins had been able to secure themselves a central place at the courts by way of their indispensable skills, not because rulers had supposedly 'converted' to Brahmanism. This, as far as I can see, is the most plausible explanation of this otherwise puzzling change of language.[11]

The Buddhist shift to Sanskrit coincided with the conversion of the Silk Road kingdoms of eastern Central Asia to Buddhism. We have thousands of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts from these sites, dating from the second century CE onwards. The vast majority of these manuscripts were written in Brahmi script. From the sixth century onwards, Buddhist monks of these kingdoms began to translate texts into their own languages, especially Tocharian and Khotanese. And from the seventh or eighth century, texts were composed in these vernacular languages. The most important of these is the Buddhist compendium written in the Khotanese language known as *The Book of Zambasta*, after the patron who commissioned it. In the colophon to one of the book's chapters, there is a complaint about the reliance of Khotanese Buddhists on Sanskrit, which, apparently, was barely understood:

> The Khotanese do not value the *dharma* at all in Khotanese. Even though they understand it poorly in Sanskrit, in Khotanese it does not seem to them to be *dharma*. For the Chinese, the *dharma* is in Chinese. Kashmiri is very similar [to Sanskrit], so when they study it in Kashmiri they do understand the meaning. But for the Khotanese, though it seems like the *dharma*, they do not understand its meaning. When they hear it along with the meaning, it seems like an entirely different *dharma*.[12]

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11 Bronkhorst 2011, 129. Bronkhorst disagrees with Sheldon Pollock's argument (2006) that the spread of Sanskrit was linked to it being taken out of the realm of Brahminism, linking it instead to the rise in power of the Brahmins.

12 See Emmerick 1968, 343–345. My translation here is adapted from Emmerick. I interpret the reference to the Kashmiri language somewhat differently, and therefore disagree with Nattier's argument (1990, 211) that the author is using the term 'Kashmiri' as a synonym for 'Sanskrit'.

At around the same time, the Khotanese language in the Brahmi script was being used for non-religious matters. Thus we see a gradual progression, from the importing of a sacred language (Sanskrit) and writing system (Brahmi), to the adaptation of this writing system to local vernaculars, first used to translate these sacred texts, then for composition of new Buddhist texts, and for non-religious documentary texts. Sanskrit continued to function as the sacred language for scriptural texts, and also as the language of ritual efficacy, used for recitation of sacred texts and in spells (*mantra* or *dhāraṇī*) for a variety of purposes.[13]

4 Sanskrit as a *lingua franca*

The Sanskrit of this colloquy is far from the 'correct' Sanskrit based on the grammatical principles first set down by Pāṇini (fourth century BCE) and elaborated in the Sanskrit tradition of grammatical analysis (Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*). Nor can it be classified as 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit', the name given to the partially Sanskritic language of many Buddhist scriptures. The question, then, is whether we ought to call the language of the colloquy 'Sanskrit' or whether another more accurate name applies. The usual name given to Indian vernacular languages that are related to Sanskrit, but do not derive from it, is Prakrit.[14]

In fact, however, the language of the colloquy does not fit into any known form of Prakrit. The Prakrit languages had already discarded many of the

13 The role of Sanskrit in Central Asia was discussed insightfully in Nattier 1990. Nattier contrasts the adoption of Sanskrit in the Silk Road kingdoms with the choice of Chinese Buddhists to translate their scriptures into Chinese, interpreting this difference in social or psychological terms. According to Nattier, Chinese self-confidence as an ancient powerful culture, a 'Middle Kingdom mentality', meant that translation into their own language was necessary if Buddhism was going to be accepted, whereas Central Asian Buddhists lacked this cultural confidence. While this may well be true, the lack of a written language in the Central Asian kingdoms is a more obvious barrier to translation at the time when Buddhism was first becoming established there. Compare the situation in Europe, e.g. Ireland and Wales, where the spread of Latin effectively brought the vernaculars into being as literary languages which could be represented in writing.

14 Prakrit is a term from traditional Indian grammatical literature, but is often used now as roughly synonymous with the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) languages, which include Pali and Gandhari. There is another category, Apabhraṃśa, which may either refer to languages from a specific region of India, or to a development from the Prakrit languages but pre-dating the modern Indo-Aryan languages.

features seen in the language of the colloquy, such as conjugation according to gender and multiple conjugations of the past tense, many centuries before.[15] Therefore, we have either to consider the Sanskrit of the colloquy as a 'Sanskritized' Prakrit, or as a genuine form of Sanskrit – but certainly not one of which traditional grammarians would approve. Philologists indeed consider many Buddhist Sanskrit scriptural texts to be examples of Sanskritized Prakrit: the theory is that when Sanskrit was accepted as a sacred language by Buddhists from the second century CE onwards, many Prakrit texts were translated, often imperfectly, into Sanskrit.

However, this is unlikely in a language of conversation, which is what the colloquy is clearly meant to be teaching. It seems more likely that we are looking at a *lingua franca*, a form of Sanskrit used by Buddhist monks — and perhaps other travellers such as merchants — as a language of everyday communication. Here we might compare the spoken Latin that was in use in the monasteries of medieval Europe. The concept of a 'vernacular Sanskrit' is not well defined in scholarship on the language. Madhav Deshpande has shown that vernacular forms of Sanskrit described by Patañjali were Sanskrit/Prakrit hybrids that were similar to Buddhist Sanskrit, and these 'Sanskrit vernaculars' seem to have been in use outside of the restricted domain of Brahmin ritual.[16] In his influential work on the social role of Sanskrit in South Asia, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men,* Sheldon Pollock appears to deny the existence of spoken Sanskrit used for ordinary communication:

> Moreover, all that we can infer about the sociality of the language from the moment we can glimpse it provides further counterevidence to the belief that Sanskrit ever functioned as an everyday medium of communication. Never in its history was Sanskrit the vehicle for memories of childhood and adolescence, or for a whole range of comparable life experiences associated with this-worldly language use.[17]

But elsewhere in the book, in the context of comparing Sanskrit with Latin, Pollock accepts the existence of vernacular Sanskrit:

> To return to a question raised at the start of this account, a variety of Sanskrits, perhaps even what we might want to designate as 'vernacular Sanskrits', admittedly existed in spoken and certain written registers, but their use for the production of *kāvya* and *praśasti*

15 Gandhari, the geographically closest MIA language has many other differences: for example, Gandhari had lost the *ai* vowel and intervocalic consonants *th* and *dh* by the first century CE.

16 Deshpande 2008, 180.

17 Pollock 2006, 49.

> was completely restricted; the 'conservatism' and 'uniformity' of Latin literary culture were as characteristic of Sanskrit as its 'widespread geographical diffusion'.[18]

Thus, while acknowledging the existence of these vernacular Sanskrits, Pollock distinguishes them from literary Sanskrit, the latter being referred to simply as 'Sanskrit' elsewhere in the book. This explains the apparent contradiction with the first passage quoted. In any case, seeing the text in Pelliot chinois 5538 as a vernacular Sanskrit fits well with the role of the text as a colloquy used by Khotanese monks to learn the form of Sanskrit used for communication by Buddhist pilgrims and other travellers. This also opens the possibility of fruitful comparisons with the use of Latin as a spoken language in medieval Europe.[19]

5 Conclusion

The scroll Pelliot chinois 5538 has survived to the present day almost by accident. We do not know why it was placed in the small Cave 17 in the Buddhist cave complex at Dunhuang, but it is one of many ephemeral manuscripts from that cave reflecting the day-to-day life of the region in the tenth century. We are left to make our own educated guesses as to who used the manuscript, and for what purposes. As we have seen, Pelliot chinois 5538 was first a copy of an official letter to Dunhuang from the kingdom of Khotan. A little later, the blank verso side was used to copy bilingual phrases written Khotanese and a vernacular form of Sanskrit.

The bilingual dialogues on the scroll paint a picture of Buddhist monks from different parts of the world travelling on pilgrimages and communicating with each other across linguistic and cultural barriers. The use of vernacular Sanskrit for day-to-day communication by Buddhist monks has been little studied, and it is perhaps only through the fortuitous survival of ephemera such as this scroll that such things come to light. Rather than a phrasebook to be consulted on the road, the presence of this text on the scroll is most likely the result of an educational setting. Given the Khotanese setting of the text and the scroll on which it was written, it was probably used by a monk or nun whose first language was Khotanese, to learn a vernacular Sanskrit used by Buddhist pilgrims travelling along the Silk Routes towards China.

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18 Pollock 2006, 269.

19 See <http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/latin-in-medieval-britain.html> and the reference there to Wright 1982.

Appendix: A selection from the colloquy

The following selection, from the beginning of the colloquy, gives the Sanskrit and Khotanese phrases as they appear in the text. Underneath each Sanskrit phrase, a more standard version is given in italics.

Sanskrit (Classical Sanskrit in italics)	**Khotanese**
śāṃbana svastī kuśala śarīri *śobhanaḥ svastiḥ kuśalaḥ śarīriḥ*	śaika tta tta nai tsāṃṣṭa
ttava prrasadaina[20] kūśala *tava prasādena kuśalaḥ*	ttūñe mvaiśdi jsa ma śaika ttai
ttava śāṃbhana asti *tasya śobhano 'sti*	tvī tta śaika tta nai
kasmīṃ sthane agatta *kasmin sthāne āgataḥ*	kūṣṭa aunaka vā pastai āvai
gaustana deśa agatta *gaustanadeśāt āgataḥ*	hvanya kṣīra ānaka vāṃ āvūṃ
hīdūkadeśe kī kale agatta *hindukadeśāt*[21] *kim kāla āgataḥ*	hīdva kṣīra aunaka vā ca bāṃḍa pastai avai
sabatsara dvaya babūva *saṃvatsarau dvayau babhūvatuḥ*	dvī salī hamye
gāṃstanadeśai kūttra sthanai ttaiṣṭatta *gāṃstanadeśe kutra sthāne tiṣṭhati*	hvanya kṣīra kūṣṭa pastai mūdai
sagarmai ttaiṣṭatta *saṅghārāme tiṣṭhami*	sakhyairma mūdai
kasmī sagarmai *kasmin saṅghārāme*	kauña sakhyairma pastai mūṃda
rajsa śāṃbana drraiṣṭa *rāja/rājasya śobhanam dṛṣṭam*[22]	rai tta śaika sāṃṣṭa nai
śāṃbana drraiṣṭa[23] *śobhanaṃ dṛṣṭam*	śaika sāṣṭai

20 The vowel change *e* –> *ai* is common in this manuscript.

21 One of the Chinese words for India, Tianzhu 天竺 is a transcription of the Iranian, 'Hinduka'; see Bailey 1985, chapter 7, 'Hinduva'.

22 Note vowel change *ṛ* –> *rai*.

23 Note the same vowel change plus the double *rr*.

Sanskrit (Classical Sanskrit in italics)	Khotanese
īdanī kūtra gatsasī[24] *idānīṃ kutra gacchasi*	vañaṃ kūṣṭa tsai
cainadaiśa gatsamī *cīnadeśaṃ gacchāmi*	caiga kṣīra tsū
cainadeśaṃ kī karma astī *cīnadeśe kiṃ kārma asti*	caiga kṣīra va cī kīra
majāśrruī baudasatva paśamī *mañjuśrībodhisattvaṃ paśyāmi*	majāṃśrruī baudasatva sāśūṃ

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24 Consonant change *cha* –> *tsa*; compare Tibetanized Sanskrit.

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Language Interaction and Religion

Imre Galambos

The Bilingual Manuscript with the *Irk Bitig*: London, British Library, Or.8212/161

Abstract: This tenth-century manuscript from Dunhuang is celebrated for the Old Turkic divination text known as *Irk Bitig*, the Book of Omens. However, the same manuscript also contains two Chinese Buddhist hymns added to the beginning and the end of the Old Turkic text. Close examination of the manuscript in all its aspects sheds new light on the close interaction of texts, languages and religions in the Silk Road environment.

1 Former research and conservation

The Stein collection of Chinese and Central Asian manuscripts at the British Library in London contains a small booklet (pressmark Or.8212/161) written in Old Turkic using the so-called Runic script. The booklet was acquired by M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) in the early twentieth century, along with tens of thousands of other manuscripts found in a walled-up cave near the town of Dunhuang in what is now north-western China. Following their acquisition, the manuscripts were shipped to London and deposited at the British Museum, from where they were eventually transferred to the British Library. The manuscript discussed in this paper is known under the title *Irk Bitig* (alternatively spelled *Irq Bitig* or *Ïrq Bitig*): that is, *Book of Omens*. Its colophon dates the manuscript to the Year of the Tiger, which is a cyclical date that repeats every twelve years, but in this case probably refers to 930 CE. It is the only Old Turkic text written in the Runic script that survives as a complete book, and is also the longest one. The *Irk Bitig* is a divination text, and modern scholarship is of the opinion that it probably represents a native Turkic composition, rather than a translation from another language.[1] The colophon indicates that it may have been produced in a Manichaean monastery.[2]

The Old Turkic text comprises about 100 pages, but there are also 15 pages before and after it with content in Chinese. The Chinese pages contain two Buddhist texts with no apparent connection to the divination text. Although the

1 Thomsen 1912, 194; Erdal 1997, 66.
2 Hamilton 1975; Zieme 2010, 256.

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manuscript has generated considerable scholarly interest, almost all studies focused on the Old Turkic text, which is indeed exceptional in many respects. In contrast with this, scholarship has either ignored or merely mentioned the Chinese content, without trying to account for its presence in the manuscript.[3] There is no question about the significance of the divination text for the study of early Turkic culture, as it has important implications for language, script, culture, literature, society and religion. Nonetheless, there is a noticeable imbalance in taking almost no notice of 15 pages of writing in the same manuscript.

The manuscript is in the form of a small codex, which consists of 29 bifolia folded in half to produce 58 folia or 116 pages. The individual folia are 13.1 cm tall and 8 cm wide, so that the book is roughly the size of a modern passport. While at the British Museum, modern conservators bound it in a dark-red hard cover, thereby largely obscuring the original form of the manuscript. Moreover, they strengthened the inside edge of the folia with thick conservation paper and today this effectively prohibits us from seeing the physical structure of the booklet. Fortunately, the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927), the person credited with the decipherment of the Runic script, described the structure of the manuscript as it was prior to conservation.[4] Stein had sent the manuscript to Denmark and thus Thomsen was able to examine it in person at one of the public libraries. Thomsen understandably focused his attention on the linguistic particularities of the Old Turkic text, although he also provided a brief description of the manuscript's physical form, noting that the sheets were 'not stitched together, but glued together at the back, one by one'. He also noted that the book, at that time still in excellent condition, had no binding of any sort and the folded sheets were only glued together at the spine.[5] Almost a decade later, Stein's detailed report also records that the bifolia were pasted, rather than sewn, together at the back.[6] Indeed, this type of glued codex, in which single bifolia are glued together along the outer edge of their fold, represents one of the two major types of Chinese codices from Dunhuang.[7]

Both Thomsen and Stein published photographs of the manuscript, and these reveal that the corners of the folia used to be rounded, whereas today they are sharp.[8] In other words, the margins were cropped while at the British

3 A notable exception is Rybatzki and Hu 2015; for specific arguments, see below.

4 Thomsen 1912, 190–214.

5 Thomsen 1912, 190.

6 Stein 1921, vol. 2, 924–925.

7 The other is the sewn type, in which folded bifolia form quires, several of which may be sewn together into a booklet; see Galambos 2020, 32–36.

8 Thomsen 1912, 190, Plate II; Stein 1921, vol. 4, Plate CLX.

Museum (Figs 1–2). This is also noticeable at the top margin of page 57B where Stein's manuscript number is missing its top half. As expected, the cropping altered the dimensions, as Thomsen recorded the height of pages at 13.6 cm, whereas today they are only 13.1 cm.

In addition, conservators ironed out and restored the lower corners of the pages, shaping the heavily worn folia into regular rectangles and thereby largely eliminating signs of use. The old images further reveal that the bifolia used to be glued securely together, whereas in their current form the inside edges of the folia stand apart and are reinforced with modern paper (Figs 3–4). Presumably, these changes were made in an effort to conform to prevailing conservation standards rather than out of immediate necessity, as early descriptions stress the good condition of the manuscript.[9]

Apart from the disciplinary and linguistic divide between Turkic and Chinese studies, the main reason for disregarding the Chinese part of the manuscript was, paradoxically, the uniqueness and overall significance of the Old Turkic text. Marcel Erdal calls it 'the most noteworthy direct testimony of Turkic lore and culture in the first millennium'.[10] Demonstrating the singular focus of modern scholarship on the Runic text, Thomsen, the first scholar to work on the manuscript, numbered the pages from where the divination text began, disregarding the previous nine pages with Chinese writing altogether. Thus what he called pages 1–2 (Fig. 1) are in reality pages 10–11.

2 The Old Turkic text

As a text, the *Irk Bitig* consists of 65 entries describing the possible combinations resulting from three throws with a four-sided die. In reality, the number of possible combinations is 64 but the text has a small number of duplicate and missing possibilities.[11] The entries are preceded by triple sets of circles signifying the permutations of the die throws. The circles are drawn in the same black ink as the main text but are also coloured in with red. Similar red colour, or perhaps a little lighter, was used for retouching punctuation marks throughout

9 The same fate happened to some other Old Turkic codices in the British Library (e.g. Or.8212/109), the edges of which were cropped and the spine reinforced with conservation paper.

10 Erdal 1997, 64.

11 According to Rybatzki 2010, 89, three combinations occur twice, one occurs three times, and three possible combinations are missing altogether.

the book, as well as for writing the colophon. The first entry in the text begins with three sets of two circles, representing the combination 2-2-2; the second entry has three times four circles for 4-4-4, and so on. These combinations are then interpreted, concluding in each case with a pronouncement as to whether they constitute a good or bad omen. For example, entries Nos 53–54 offer, in Talat Tekin's translation, the following explanations:[12]

○○ ○○○ ○○

53. A grey cloud passed; it rained over people. A black cloud passed; it rained over everything. The crop ripened; the fresh grass sprouted. It was good for animals and men, it says. Know thus: [The omen] is good.

○ ○○○ ○

54. The slave's words are a request to his master; the raven's words are a prayer to Heaven. Heaven above heard it; men below understood it, it says. Know thus: [The omen] is good.

There seems to be little logical connection between the separate entries, although certain themes are noticeably common. Thus there are quite a few entries that involve animals (e.g. eagle, deer, bear, horse, raven), meteorological phenomena and agricultural themes. Some of these are thought to be related specifically to Turkic culture, which is one of the main arguments for seeing the *Irk Bitig* as a native Turkic work. Thomsen, for example, thought that some of the details were so closely connected with the way of life of the Turks that it was implausible that they were translated from another language.[13]

The prediction at the end is naturally the most important part of the divination, the very reason for throwing the die. It is notable that there are about twice as many good prognoses in the book as bad ones. Attempts to link this system with Chinese divinatory practices, and especially the tradition of the *Book of Changes*, have not been successful. Early on, scholars drew attention to parallels with some Tibetan divination manuals equally based on a three-dice system.[14] Among the texts brought in connection with this form of divination is London, British Library, IOL Tib J 740, a manuscript found inside the same library cave as the *Irk Bitig*.[15] This is a long scroll with a Chinese version of the *Golden Light Sutra* on the recto, and two seemingly unrelated Tibetan texts on the verso. The first of the Tibetan texts is a divination manual, whereas the

12 Translation from Tekin 1993, 23. The sequence numbers are a modern addition.

13 Thomsen 1912, 194.

14 Francke 1924, 11–12; Thomas 1957, 113–115; Hamilton 1975, 9–10; Erdal 1997, 65–58.

15 Thomas 1957, 140–141.

second is a series of questions and answers on legal matters.[16] Although the Chinese sutra on the recto of this manuscript has not been linked to the Tibetan texts on the verso, it shows an apparent parallel with the *Irk Bitig* manuscript in having a non-Chinese divination manual alongside a Chinese Buddhist text. Another parallel is that the Tibetan divination text has 62 combinations and the *Irk Bitig* has 65, evidently both intended to describe the 64 possible permutations.

A different Tibetan manuscript with a divination text is London, British Library, IOL Tib J 739, a codex of 15 × 12.5 cm. F. W. Thomas noted that it was comparable in form and size to the Turkic manuscript (i.e. 13.6 × 8 cm), and that the horizontal lines of text were similarly written in a portrait orientation. He also pointed out that the little circles above each paragraph were coloured in with red ink, as in the *Irk Bitig*. In addition, the introduction to the Tibetan manuscript began and ended with several lines written in red ink, which was comparable to the red colophon of the *Irk Bitig*.[17] Although the *Irk Bitig* is an exceptional text in Old Turkic literature, there are quite a few divination texts preserved in Tibetan, so much so that Thomas talked about a 'relative abundance' of such manuscripts which he rightly saw as evidence of their popularity.[18]

3 The Chinese content

In contrast with the unquestionable significance of the *Irk Bitig*, the Chinese content of the same manuscript has generated little excitement in scholarship. The beginning of the book has nine full pages in Chinese, plus a line or so on the page where the Old Turkic text begins. Except for the last line, the Chinese text stays clear of the Turkic text, demonstrating not only that it was written later but also that whoever wrote it tried to avoid writing over the divination text. The end of the book contains six full pages of Chinese text, preceded by a one-line title on a separate page. The first page of the Chinese text, as well as the title on the previous one, are on pages that are partially inscribed with Turkic text, although there is little actual overlap (Fig. 5). The Turkic colophon, however, appears on the following two pages, which are fully covered with

16 Dotson 2007, especially 17–30; Dotson 2015, 280–283.

17 Thomas 1957, 141–142; see also Dotson 2019a.

18 Thomas 1957, 140; on Tibetan divination texts in general, see Dotson 2019b.

Chinese characters.[19] In some places the red ink of the colophon seems to cover the black ink of the Chinese text, suggesting that it may have been written over the Chinese characters.[20] This observation, however, only holds true for the colophon, and the divination manual itself is likely to have been written before the two Chinese texts.

The Chinese content is written in a decidedly inferior hand with numerous mistakes and a writing style consistent with the tenth-century date. Both texts are in the same hand and were probably copied around the same time. The second text at the end of the book is entitled 'Hymn on the Boat for the Children of the Buddha' 佛子船讚 (hereafter: 'Hymn on the Boat'). The first text at the beginning has no title but it is a text that survives elsewhere as a text attributed to the Buddhist master Fazhao 法照 (d. 838), the fourth patriarch of the Pure Land school.[21] Some of these texts survive among the Dunhuang manuscripts, demonstrating the popularity of Fazhao's teachings in this region. Although the text bears no title in our manuscript, it appears elsewhere with the title 'Hymn on the Bliss of the True Dharma' 正法樂讚 (hereafter: 'Hymn on the Bliss').[22] It consists of heptasyllabic lines, every second of which carries a rhyme.

Since the text is known from other sources, we can immediately see that the version in our manuscript is incomplete. Apart from omitting the recurring words sung by the chorus, the manuscript is also missing the first four lines (i.e. 28 characters). This suggests that the booklet may have had an additional bifolium at the beginning. Yet it is also possible that there was no beginning, especially since the last part of the text, equivalent to nearly three full pages, is also missing. It is impossible to tell whether the discrepancy is indeed due to omission, or we are dealing with a shorter version of the text.

As for the 'Hymn on the Boat' following the *Irk Bitig* (see Fig. 5), this particular copy is the sole surviving exemplar. Similar to the 'Hymn on the Bliss' at the beginning of the booklet, it consists of pairs of heptasyllabic lines, although the rhyme pattern seems to break down after a while. The verses occupy six full pages beginning after the last full page of Turkic text. The traces of glue visible along the leftmost edge of the last bifolium indicate that the manuscript used to

19 The last two lines of the Turkic text before the colophon are also written on a page that is otherwise entirely in Chinese.

20 Rybatzki and Hu (2015, 150) have reached the opposite conclusion, observing that 'the Turkic colophon in red lies clearly beneath the Chinese characters in black'. Perhaps a scientific analysis will be able to settle the issue conclusively.

21 Rybatzki and Hu 2015, 159–161. This study also contains a full transcription of both Chinese texts.

22 T1984, 47 (references are to the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon).

have at least one additional bifolium, which became detached and is now lost. Therefore, the text may have been longer, or there were additional texts following it. Once again, there are numerous textual variants (some clearly errors), including both phonetic and graphic ones. The hymn opens with the following words:

> The Ocean of Suffering is boundless; the other shore is far;
> The River of Desire stretches as far as the eyes can see; it is hard to ford it;
> The sentient beings arriving here are immediately carried away by the current;
> It is only because their minds remain in delusion that they do not awaken.

It seems hardly a coincidence that the first four words of the hymn, 'the Ocean of Suffering is boundless' 苦海無涯, occur in Fazhao's hymns known from elsewhere. Although in later periods this phrase was also used by other authors, it was rare prior to the tenth century, which points to an affiliation with Fazhao's teachings. Similarly, the phrase 'the Five Defilements of the Human World' 閻浮五濁 in the 'Hymn on the Boat' appears in several hymns attributed to Fazhao. Indeed, a series of textual correspondences corroborate the connection between the 'Hymn on the Boat' and the writings of Fazhao. Significantly, the very title of the 'Hymn on the Boat' has direct resonances with Fazhao's teachings, which commonly rely on the boat metaphor to signify the means of reaching 'the other shore':

> Only the great Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,
> Currently in this land at Mount Wutai,
> Pities the sentient beings submerged in the Ocean of Suffering,
> And makes them ride the Dharma Boat across the waves of everlasting aeons.[23]

In these lines the Ocean of Suffering is juxtaposed with the boat that takes sentient beings across. A similar pairing of these two concepts, both central to Fazhao's teachings, appear in yet another hymn:

> Right away, chant the name of the Buddha, do not hesitate!
> If you want to cross the Ocean of Suffering, you need a boat;
> Invoke his name and establish what is right, thereby generating bliss,
> And forever sever the human world's stream of births and deaths.[24]

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23 'Hymn of the Six Roots' 六根讚, T1983. 47.

24 'New Hymns on the Western Direction' 西方新讚. This text survives in a scroll from Dunhuang (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot chinois 2963), dated to 951. That the date is close in time to that of the *Irk Bitig* manuscript is evidence of the popularity of

Once again, the boat is a soteriological metaphor that signifies the means by which people can find the way out of the cycle of births and deaths. The boat for the children of the Buddha in the title of the 'Hymn on the Boat' references the same metaphor, commonly used in Fazhao's teachings. In fact, the very end of the text mentions a preceptor who carries his disciples across the ocean to salvation on a Dharma Boat:

> The ocean of births and deaths is deep and there is no path to tread on,
> But our Master rides the Dharma Boat for us.
> Broad is his compassionate heart, he is saving us all,
> Our master's wisdom drives the boat forward.

In view of the rich matrix of intertextual references connecting the 'Hymn on the Boat' in the *Irk Bitig* manuscript with Fazhao's attested hymns, the master invoked here must be Fazhao himself. This also reveals that the 'Hymn on the Boat' was probably composed by someone who belonged to his school and regarded him as a master. Since the manuscript dates to at least a century-and-a-half later than the time of Fazhao, it is possible that the hymn in the manuscript is a copy of a text produced a few generations earlier. But it could just as well have been composed by someone from Fazhao's school during the first half of the tenth century, perhaps even locally. It is evident, however, that the hymn could not have been written by Fazhao himself, as it praises someone like Fazhao, calling him a teacher. In any case, it is clear that the hymn belongs to the Pure Land school of Fazhao and therefore should be added to the corpus of available texts associated with that sect.

In view of the above, from the point of view of the *Irk Bitig* manuscript, we can establish that the two Chinese texts at the beginning and the end of the book are closely linked, not only on account of having been written by the same hand but also in terms of their content and sectarian affiliation. They are both hymns associated with Fazhao's school of Pure Land Buddhism. But how and why did they end up in a manuscript that contained an Old Turkic divination text? To look for a connection between the Chinese and Turkic content, we need to examine the physical form of the manuscript. As mentioned above, the book consists of paper bifolia folded individually and glued together along their folded edge. Prior to its modern conservation, it had no binding whatsoever. Volker Rybatzki and Hu Hong were the first to note the incremental folio numbers

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Fazhao's teachings in the region during the tenth century (the second half of the title is mistakenly transcribed as 'miscellaneous hymns' 雜讚 in T2827, 85).

written in Chinese at the base of the outer edge of each bifolium.[25] As each folded bifolium represents four pages in the manuscript, the numbers appear on every fourth page but are, on account of their size and position, inconspicuous. Fig. 4 shows the number 7 (*qi* 七) at the base of the right-side folio, roughly around the centre of the image. As can be seen from Stein's old photograph from before conservation (Fig. 3), the number was originally hidden because it was in a place that was glued to the adjacent bifolium. These numerals most likely constituted technical notation that ensured that the person assembling the codex glued the bifolia together in the correct order.[26] A remarkable feature of the folio numbers is that they appear only on bifolia which contain the Old Turkic text and not on ones with Chinese content. They start from the first page of the Old Turkic text and continue until its last one. In this manner they go up only until 26, even though the book in its current form consists of 29 bifolia. Consequently, when the manuscript was first assembled, it probably only had the 26 bifolia containing the Old Turkic text without any Chinese writing except the hidden folio numbers. The two extra bifolia at the beginning and additional ones (of which only one is extant) at the back were added subsequently, and these, together with the unused pages of the original 26 bifolia, provided the space for copying the two Chinese texts.

It is possible that the extra bifolia were added to the book at the time when the core 26 bifolia were glued together, even if this had not been the plan when initially copying the Old Turkic text.[27] That the Chinese bifolia do not seem to differ physically from the other ones is an argument in favour of this. Another possibility is that they were added to the manuscript significantly later, years or decades after it had been assembled. Perhaps a new user added extra bifolia specifically to copy the Chinese Buddhist hymns. In either case, it seems unlikely that the Chinese and Turkic content is entirely unrelated. It is clear, for example, that the person adding the Chinese hymns to the booklet did not intend to recycle the paper with the Turkic text, as he or she largely wrote on the newly added pages. Also, if the Turkic divination manual was irrelevant for this person, it would have made more sense to leave it out altogether and glue the

25 Technically, these are bifolium numbers that appear on every second folio.

26 Rybatzki and Hu (2015, 154–155) argue that Thomsen was wrong when claiming that the manuscript had no pagination, but the numbers were indeed invisible when Thomsen examined the book. They were revealed only when the British Museum conservators disassembled the manuscript.

27 Rybatzki and Hu (2015, 154–155) believe that the extra bifolia were glued onto the original book as a protective cover. An argument against this theory is that none of the other roughly contemporary codices from Dunhuang have protective covers consisting of several pages.

bifolia with the Chinese hymns into a separate booklet, rather than keeping 100 pages of unwanted, perhaps even unintelligible, text in the middle. Instead, the structure of the manuscript and the distribution of texts in it show that the Chinese bifolia were added to the beginning and end of the divination text deliberately, intending to have all these texts together in a single booklet. Its compact size and the codex form itself suggest that the manuscript was carried on the body, perhaps in order to allow the texts in both languages to be consulted with relative frequency in different locations. Naturally, they did not necessarily have to have been used on the same occasion, and it is possible that the only connection between them is that they were used by the same person. Nonetheless, this is quite different from there being no connection between the texts.

In fact, there are several points linking the Chinese and Turkic texts, in addition to appearing on the same physical object. One of these is that the Old Turkic colophon runs over the beginning of the 'Hymn on the Boat' and was probably written after the addition of the bifolium with the Chinese hymn. Another point of connection is that the Chinese folio numbers are written on the bifolia with the Turkic text, which attests to the multilingual nature of contemporary culture. This is also evidenced by the manuscript coming from the Dunhuang library cave, which contained tens of thousands of manuscripts in Chinese and other languages. The bulk of this rich collection, including its multilingual part, probably represented the holdings of the library of a local Buddhist monastery. This type of mixture of languages and genres in the same physical manuscript is far from being unique, and there are many similar examples among manuscripts from Dunhuang and other sites along the Silk Roads.

4 Conclusion

The *Irk Bitig* manuscript is an example of the complex relationship between different parts of a multilingual manuscript. This booklet embodies a series of connections between diverse linguistic, cultural and religious aspects that characterized life along the Silk Roads during the tenth century. The manuscript is written in two different languages and the vertical lines of the Chinese text are in close proximity to the horizontal lines of the Turkic text, at times even overlapping with them. The physical form of the book itself embodies cultural interaction, as the codex form almost certainly comes from the West, even if the majority of the codices found in Dunhuang contain Chinese texts. In terms of religion, the manuscript contains a secular divination text, the colophon of which indicates that it was written in a Manichaean monastery. The two Chinese

hymns, in turn, are explicitly Buddhist in content. Finally, the divination technique in the *Irk Bitig* shows parallels with other cultures and languages across Central Asia, linking the manuscript with a significantly wider cultural sphere than that of the Turks.

The main argument in this brief article is that multilingual manuscripts should be examined in their entirety, including their physical structure, textual arrangement and the correlation between their parts. Similarly, it is worth looking at the broader context and exploring similar texts in neighbouring cultures, including those in other languages. Manuscripts that come down to us as a single scroll or codex are often composite objects assembled over several lifetimes. The initial creation of a manuscript does not end the process of its production, as new owners may continue to copy additional texts and add new folia. An approach that strives to reconstruct the earliest stage of a manuscript's life, its assumed 'original' form, is bound to disregard successive stages which may offer important clues regarding the manuscript's function and the reason for its ultimate survival. In the case of the *Irk Bitig* manuscript, its current form with three texts in two languages had been produced before the book was placed inside the Dunhuang library cave. Even though the Chinese texts were added later, they were deliberately added to a pre-existing booklet with an Old Turkic divination manual. At least from that point onward, the three texts became part of a single manuscript which was carried on its owner's body and was no doubt used from time to time. The connection of both Chinese hymns with the Pure Land school of Fazhao demonstrates the religious affiliation of the booklet's owner, while the Old Turkic divination manual may signify the same owner's linguistic background.

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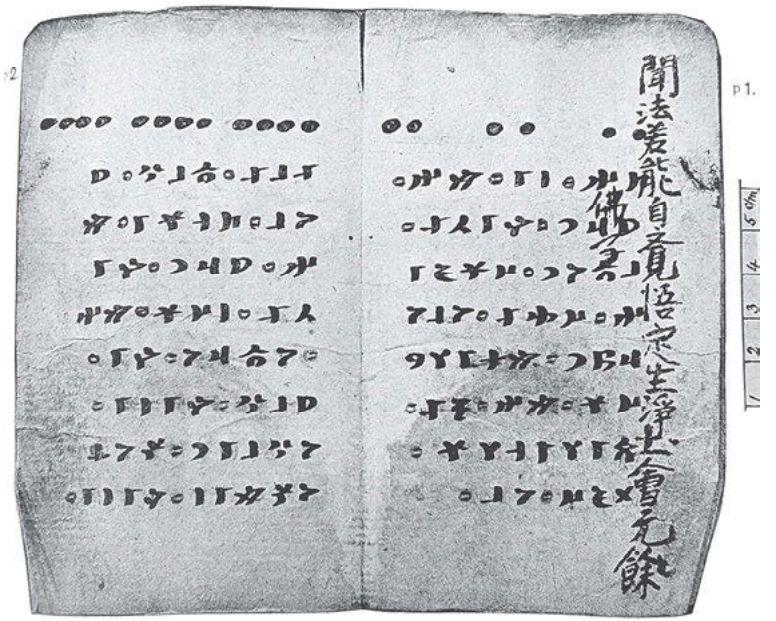

Fig. 1: Photograph from Thomsen 1912, 190, Plate II, showing pp. 10–11 marked as pp. 1–2.

Fig. 2: The two pages shown in Fig. 1 as they appear today (British Library Or.8212/161). © The British Library Board (Or.8212/161).

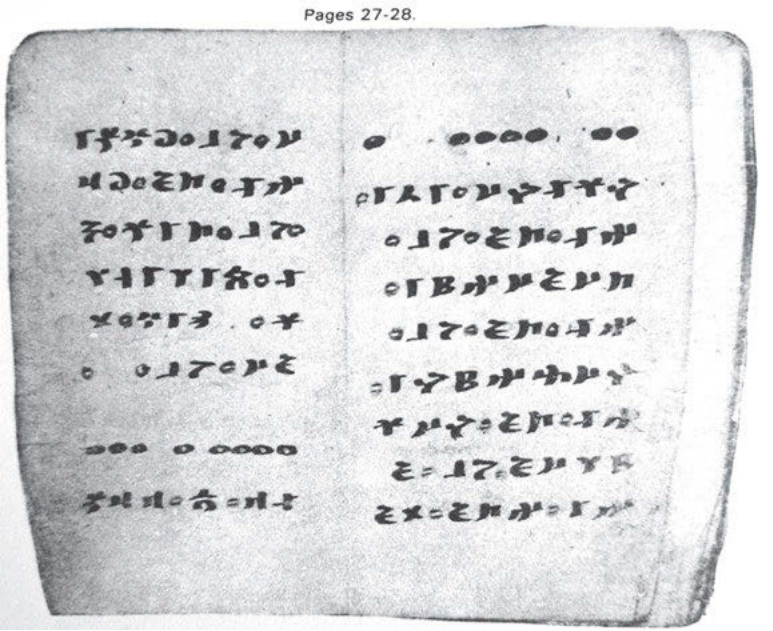

Fig. 3: Photograph from Stein 1921, vol. 4, Plate CLX, showing pp. 36–37 marked as pp. 27–28.

Fig. 4: The two pages shown in Fig. 3 as they appear today (British Library Or.8212/161). © The British Library Board (Or.8212/161).

Fig. 5: The end of the Old Turkic text and the beginning of the Chinese 'Hymn on the Boat for the Children of the Buddha' (British Library Or.8212/161). © The British Library Board (Or.8212/161).

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Fragments from the First Order of Fustat: Finds from the Cairo Geniza at Cambridge University Library

Abstract: This paper is concerned with a liturgical document from the Cairo Geniza known as the First Order of Fustat. After a short introduction by way of historical/cultural background, an edition, translation, and brief commentary are provided of the portion of the document that treats the ceremony of the sanctification over wine (*qiddush*) of the New Moon of Nisan.

1 Introduction

The First Order of Fustat is the name given by modern scholarship to a document whose leaves are scattered in the Cairo Geniza, a Hebrew manuscript trove containing tens of thousands of fragments that was 'discovered' in the latter portion of the nineteenth century by Western scholars in the attic room of a synagogue in Old Cairo (Fustat). The fragments are now kept in various collections, primarily in Europe and the United States. The largest single concentration is held in Cambridge University Library. Taken together, they constitute an immense wealth of information about numerous aspects of Jewish communal and intellectual life, with a concentration roughly on the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries (i.e. the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods in Egypt),[1] a period in Jewish history that is characterized by an intensive and complex intra-communal rivalry expressed in the social, religious (especially legal and liturgical), economic and political spheres in the form of a polarity between the two established centres of rabbinic learning – Palestine and Babylon (Iraq) – that was complemented by a third group, the Karaites.[2]

However, the exploitation of the Geniza materials for historical as well as textual study is seriously hampered by their fragmentary nature. The attic-Geniza accumulated gradually over the course of many centuries, written documents of

1 For an excellent introduction to the Cairo Geniza, see Hoffman and Cole 2011.

2 For Jewish communal history seen in this light and written on the basis of Geniza documents, see Rustow 2008.

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all sorts being unceremoniously discarded into it as they became worn out and no longer suitable for their original purpose (e.g. prayer book[let]s), or, in the case of ephemera (e.g. correspondence), after having served their intended function. Thus, by the time the Geniza became known in the West, it essentially constituted a centuries-old manuscript junk heap. Moreover, the process whereby the hoard was extracted from its resting place by antiquities dealers and scholars was likewise entirely accidental and uncontrolled. As a result of these factors, the several Geniza collections now in existence consist not of reasonably whole codices and documents, but rather of the *disjecta membra* thereof, to borrow a phrase from the famous description by Solomon Schechter, their principal Western discoverer, who acquired the vast majority of the materials now held at Cambridge University Library. Now, about a century and a half after the initial discovery of the Geniza, research in this field is crucially dependent on the basic and gargantuan task of attempting to re-assemble the scattered fragments to as great a degree as possible in order to maximize their usefulness for scholarly enquiry.

The First Order of Fustat is a liturgical compilation, composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century by Yedutun ha-Levi, the cantor (*ḥazzan*) of the Palestinian synagogue in Fustat, who seems to have been active during the last phases of a long-standing effort to preserve the remaining vestiges of the Palestinian liturgical rite from being replaced in favour of the Babylonian liturgy, the pro-Babylonian campaign being championed by Avraham, the son of Maimonides. Yedutun's activities have left a significant trace in the Geniza in the form of several liturgical compilations.[3]

The purpose of the First Order of Fustat is to document the liturgical customs and practices of the local Palestinian Jewish community.[4] The section that I have chosen to discuss documents in great detail the sanctification over wine (*qiddush*) in honour of the New Moon of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish liturgical calendar, during which Passover is celebrated. Sanctifying special occasions, mostly Sabbaths and festivals, by means of pronouncing a benediction over wine is a widespread and ancient Jewish custom. However, the

3 For Yedutun and his activities, see Elizur 2009, especially 305–308 on the controversy over the Palestinian liturgical rite. Yedutun's role on this controversy is overstated in Elizur's discussion, as he *cannot* be identified as the author of the various epistles that are ascribed to him there. However, his liturgical compilations – including the 'Compact' (*ketav amana*) mentioned on p. 306 – all of which are autographs, are more than sufficient to indicate that he played a prominent role in the controversy.

4 For an inventory of all the known fragments of this document and their reconstruction, see Rand 2015, 152–153.

sanctification in this manner of the New Moon, and the New Moon of Nisan in particular, is peculiar to the Palestinian rite.

The section in question, which has not been preserved in its entirety, is known today on the basis of six separate Geniza fragments, three of which join together into an almost-complete manuscript leaf (see below). The ceremony, which took place in the synagogue, was accompanied by the recitation of numerous liturgical poems (*piyyutim*, singular *piyyut*, from Greek ποιητής 'poet'), as well as short lections from the Aramaic translation of the Bible (Targum). The manuscript is trilingual: 1) prose liturgical texts as well as *piyyutim* in Hebrew, 2) lections, bits of liturgy and several *piyyutim* in Aramaic, and 3) liturgical instructions in (Judeo-)Arabic, the local vernacular.

The distribution of languages within the manuscript accurately reflects the historical/cultural situation of the community for whose use it was produced. The fundamental liturgical language of the Jews is Hebrew. This is the language in which their basic synagogue prayers are composed, and in which their cycle of Scriptural readings is conducted. Hebrew is by far the best-documented and most intensively studied member of a group known as the Canaanite languages, which along with Aramaic belongs to a larger grouping defined as Northwest Semitic. It was the language of the United Kingdom of Israel, as well as its successor states Israel and Judea, and therefore the language in which the bulk of the Jewish Bible is written.[5] The end of the independence of Israel and Judah, which came in the period from the eighth to the sixth centuries BCE, coincides with the spread of Aramaic in Syro-Mesopotamia together with the dynamic expansion of the geographical area in which Aramaic was employed, as a result of the spread of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires, the former of which did away with Israel as an independent political entity and the latter with Judea. It thus comes to be that starting from the end of the eighth century BCE we have evidence of the use of Aramaic by (Judean) Jews.[6] The process of the penetration of Aramaic into the Jewish community was given great impetus by the Exile to Babylon, which had by this point become the epicentre from which the use of Aramaic radiated as a function of territorial expansion and political control. With the rise of Persian hegemony in the Near East, the use of Aramaic

5 For the history of Hebrew, see Sáenz-Badillos 1993.

6 This evidence comes from the Bible's description of the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians in 701, during which Judean officials parleyed with the Assyrians from the city walls: 'Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah replied to the Rabshakeh, "Please, speak to your servants in Aramaic, since we understand it; do not speak to us in Judean in the hearing of the people on the wall"' (Isaiah 36:11; Jewish Publication Society translation). The import here is that Aramaic is a language of international diplomacy, not understood by the common folk of Judea.

as a lingua franca and a language of administration became quite general, and significant textual corpora are attested in various parts of the far-flung Persian realm, from Egypt to Bactria. It is within this context that the Aramaic parts of the Jewish Bible, Daniel and Ezra, were composed, in what ultimately evolved into a local, Palestinian variety of the imperial linguistic medium. This evolution may be traced historically in the Aramaic writings found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as in documents dating to the period of the Bar Kokhba revolt against Hadrian, and in the Late Antique Period (i.e. the period of Byzantine control of Palestine) it issued in the emergence of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. At the same time, the use of Aramaic persisted among the Jews of Mesopotamia. From the Hellenistic period down to the conquest of the Near East by the Muslims, Aramaic was therefore the vernacular language of Palestinian and Babylonian Jewry and served as a major vehicle for religious activity. The most evident fruits of this activity are the Aramaic translations of Scripture (Targumim), exegetical works belonging to the genre of midrash, and the two Talmuds – that of Palestine and Babylonia.[7] With the gradual penetration of Islam into the life-fabric of the peoples of the Near East, Arabic replaced Aramaic as the vernacular of Jews from Iraq to North Africa and Spain. However, because it had by this time been enshrined in documents that are of fundamental importance to Jewish religious and cultural life, the use of Aramaic persisted among them.

In the meantime, during the Second Temple period, Hebrew continued in active use, though as a spoken language its scope seems to have become increasingly restricted to Judea, until it finally died out – i.e. ceased to be the spoken mother tongue of anyone – around 200 CE. During this long period of 'decline', over the course of which Hebrew yielded to Aramaic as a spoken vernacular, the former remained robust as a language of literary activity, as amply documented in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the post-biblical Book of Ben Sira (the discovery of whose Hebrew original in the Geniza served as the principal impetus for the removal of the cache by Schechter), and 'nationalist' administration, as indicated by documents produced at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt.[8] Furthermore, it continued as the fundamental language of Scripture and liturgy (which overlap considerably in the synagogue), the latter coming in Late Antiquity to comprehend a rich tradition of *piyyut* (see below), and, alongside Aramaic, as a language of religious scholarship. Moreover, after the Muslim

7 For a history of Aramaic that covers the period sketched here, see the penetrating study of Gzella 2015.

8 See Gross 2012.

conquests, through either outright translation or adaptation/imitation of Arabic works, Hebrew experienced a prodigious efflorescence in numerous fields, among them philosophy and secular poetry.

As mentioned above, the *qiddush* ceremony for the New Moon of Nisan is a peculiarity of the Palestinian liturgical custom, and its recording in the First Order of Fustat is animated by an effort to save this custom from extinction. Our document is therefore a small part of the ample evidence supplied by the Geniza for the study of the relations, intellectual as well as political, between the two great loci of rabbinic Jewish learning and communal organization that vied for supremacy in the Medieval Jewish world: Babylon and Palestine. More narrowly, it (inadvertently) helps to document how the rite of Babylon came to predominate.

Returning to the matter of language and liturgy, the First Order of Fustat serves as a convenient illustration of the modus vivendi between Hebrew and Aramaic that emerged in Jewish liturgical practice. As indicated above, Hebrew is the fundamental language of the synagogue – the language of the basic prayers and of Scriptural lection. Overwhelmingly, Hebrew is also the language of *piyyut*, a type of liturgical poetry that grew up in Late Antique Palestine within the context of the Palestinian rite.[9] This genre developed as a replacement or embellishment for the prose statutory liturgy. The extensive corpus of *piyyut* that was produced in Late Antiquity, continuing almost seamlessly into the Islamic period, is couched in a special form of highly artistic, recondite Hebrew that is characterized by numerous morphological and syntactic peculiarities.[10] On the other hand, Aramaic, being the language of the Talmud and related rabbinic works, was primarily situated within the house of study, the place of the gathering of scholars. However, Aramaic also made some inroads into the world of the synagogue, particularly in the form of the Targumic translation of the Scriptural lections, the (vernacular) sermon, as well as certain marginal *piyyut* genres that are primarily – though not exclusively – associated with the Targum.[11] This functional specialization of Aramaic within the world of the synagogue is accurately reflected in our text, in which the use of Aramaic is tied to the appearance of Targumic translations of several scriptural verses that are relevant to the liturgical occasion. Within this framework, Aramaic is employed

9 The fundamental treatment of the subject is Fleischer 2007. For a convenient English-language introduction, see Rand 2014.

10 For an introduction to the *piyyut* idiom, see Rand 2013.

11 The role of Aramaic in Jewish liturgy is taken up in Heinemann 1977, 251–276. This work is also a superb introduction to the subject of Jewish liturgy in general.

in our text in the guise of short quotations of Targum, a prose liturgical pericope, a short litany, and three full-blown *piyyutim*. One of the latter is particularly interesting in the present context, as it is a late representative of a genre that has deep roots not only in the Palestinian tradition of *piyyut*, but in the poetic tradition of the Ancient Near East in general. The poem, *Itḥabberu yarḥei shatta* 'The months of the year joined together', is a versified precedence debate in which each of the months in turns offers arguments in favour of its own pre-eminence. In the end, Nisan emerges victorious.[12] This particular version was composed by Sahlan ben Avraham, a major figure in the Babylonian (!) community of Fustat in the eleventh century.[13] Sahlan's poem, however, clearly goes back to models from Late Antique Palestine.[14]

As we have seen, the liturgical material itself is either in Hebrew or Aramaic, each of which has a fairly well defined scope within the general matrix. On the other hand, the meta-text, which in the present case consists of short liturgical instructions, is in Arabic. This situation is entirely typical of the rite books of the time, and is well accounted for by the opposition between sacred-ancient (Hebrew/Aramaic) and profane/functional-modern (Arabic). In fact, this opposition persists in the rite books of traditional Jewish communities to this very day: the majority-Hebrew and minority-Aramaic liturgy has remained roughly stable, though the choice of *piyyutim* varies quite radically from rite to rite,[15] while the liturgical instructions may be given in whatever vernacular happens to be relevant for a given time and place.

The cultural and linguistic context in which the First Order of Fustat was created is fairly well documented and well understood. The work itself, which – owing to the limitations imposed on Geniza research by the scattered and fragmentary material (see above) – has yet to be reconstructed and studied in full, serves to underscore the multi-lingual and multi-local nature of Jewry within the Medieval Islamic Near East: the Jews of this time, at least the learned among them, could be expected to have command of at least three languages – Hebrew, Aramaic, and the vernacular – and to have fairly broad geographic horizons. This situation corresponds fairly well to the situation obtaining in the Medieval Islamic world at large.

12 For the Ancient Near Eastern background of *piyyut* in general, and for the debate genre in particular, see Münz-Manor 2010.

13 Sahlan is treated, along with other prominent community leaders documented in the Geniza, in Bareket 1999.

14 For a detailed treatment, see Rand 2012, 101–104.

15 Jewish liturgical rites, which are geographically defined (e.g. the German rite, the Italian rite), are primarily distinguished from one another in the choice of *piyyutim* that they employ.

2 Text

List of fragments from the First Order of Fustat giving the liturgy for the New Moon of Nisan:[16]

- Cambridge, T-S H 12.11 fol. 6.[17]
- Cambridge, T-S NS 125.96 (edited below).[18]
- Cambridge, T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88 (edited below; see Figs 1 and 2).[19]
- Cambridge, Mosseri VIII 394.[20]

Base manuscript: Cambridge, T-S NS 125.96 (**א**); Cambridge, T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88 (**ב**)

Editorial sigla: ⁒ = doubtful reading; [א] = lacuna; [..] = lacuna of less than one word; [...] = lacuna of one word or more (repeated as necessary to fill out a line); <א> = scribal abbreviation; <<א>> = scribal omission

Notes: Lines 1–18 of *Itḥabberu yarḥei shatta* are missing in the base manuscript, and lines 1–14 are therefore given on the basis of manuscript Cambridge, T-S NS 236.5 (lines 15–18 have not survived anywhere). For those *piyyutim* that are copied in the base manuscript and have already been edited by Fleischer, I have only given the beginning of the text and referred to his edition in the margin.

[א ע"א] [...] תוקפא ותושבחתא לאלה שמיא דעבֵד לאבהן ניס[י]ן ופורקג[י]ן. כן יעבד לן ניסין ו[פ]ורקנין ויתא משיחא רוכב על עננין. פרוקא לגלותהון דכל בית ישראל ולשכלל מהרה בית מלכות[יה]. כדכתיב וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוא ועד ע[תיק] יומיא מטא וקדמוהי הקרבוהי (דנ' ז, יג)

ויקול בין כל קול וקול מן אל[יסון א]ל[י] אלאכר שלים קיצא דבני יתיב חברון על יד משה ואהרן. ג[..]

16 See also Rand 2015, 152–153.
17 Edited in Fleischer 2012a, 874–878.
18 See Fleischer 2012b, 914–915 note 15 (verso), 915 (recto).
19 See Fleischer 2012a, 878-881; Fleischer 2012b, 916–918.
20 See Fleischer 2012c, 892–895.

[א ע"ב] [...]

אִיתְחַבְּרוּ יַרְחֵי שַׁתָּא
בְּאוֹרֵךְ זִימְנָא כַּד הֲוָה עִיתָּא
בַּאֲתָבּוּתְהוֹן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא
כָּל חַד אֲמַר כִּי לִי יְאֲתָה רְבוּתָא

פז<מון>

גַּלִּי אֲיָיר טְעֵים מִלּוֹלֵיהּ
וַעֲנָה וְחַבְרוֹהִי לְקָבְלֵיהּ
דְּבַר בִּי רַחֲמָנָה עַמֵּהּ מָנַטְלֵיהּ
וְאָחֵית לֵיהּ מָנָא וְאָוכְלֵיהּ

פז<מון>

הֲלָא סִיוָן לְהוֹן עֲנָה
כַּד חֲזֵה עוֹבָד יָאְיָא הוּא חֲשִׁיבָּה קַמֵּי רָמָא
וּבִי סְלֵק [מ]שֻׁוֵּה לְמָרוֹ[מָא]
וְאָחֵית תְּרֵין לְוּחֵי קְיָאמָא

[פזמון]

[ז.. ... ...]
[... ... ...]
[ח.. ... ...]
[... ...] עֲלַלְתָּא לְכַנָּשָׁא

פז<מון> בַּאֲתָבּוּתְהוֹן

טוּבַאי אֲמַר אָב מִכָּל יַרְחָא
וְאִתְיַקַּר עֲלֵיהוֹן לְאִישְׁתַּבָּחָא
יַחֲדוֹן בִּי עַמָּא מְשַׁבְּחָא
דְּבִי יִתְנַחֲמוּן אֲבֵלַיָּא וּבִי יִתְיְלִיד מְשִׁיחָא

פז<מון>

כַּד שְׁמַע אֱלוּל דָּא מִילָּה
וְהוּא עָדֵי כְּלִילָא
לִיבָּא דְּאַבְנָא בִּי יֶעְדֵי מִקַּהֲלָה
וְתִתְבְּנֵי קִרְיְתָא יַקִּירְתָא לְאִישְׁתַּכְלָלָא

[פ]ז<מון>

מַן דְּכָוְתִי בְּכֻלְכוֹן אֲמַר תִּשְׁרִי
דְּבִי עָבֵי רִבּוֹנִי וּמָרִי
[ב ע"א] נְהִירִין בִּי עַמֵּיהּ בְּמִפַּק סֵהְרִי
וְיִתְגַּוִּין חַגָּא בִּי וְיִתְסַף שִׂפְרִי

35 פז<מון>

סַגְיוּת מִלִּין אַסְגֵּיא מַרְחֶשְׁוָן
וַאֲמַר לְהוֹן אֲנָא הוּא דְּעַבְדִית אֶצְטְלָוָן
עֲבַד מָרְיָא לְעַמֵּיהּ בִּי [פִּרְי]שְׁוָן
וּנְצַחוּ בְּנֵי חַשְׁמוֹנַי עַל מַלְכֵּי יָוָן

40 פז<מון>

פּוּמֵיהּ פְּתַח כְּסָלָיו [וַאֲ]מַר
וּלְחַבְרוֹהִי טַעֲמֵיהּ אַגְמַר
צְלוֹתְהוֹן דְּעַמָּא בִּי אִשְׁתַּמְעַת [לְ]מֵימַר
וּמְעַיֵּיקְהוֹן אִיתְבַר וְאִיטְמַר

45 פז<מון>

קָם טֵבֵת וַאֲמַר מִי[לְ]תָּא
וַאֲנָא בִּי שֵׁזִיב רַחְמָנָ[א אֲ]מְתָא
רְבָת בִּי אֶסְתֵּר מַלְכְּתָא
וּבַטֵּילִית גְּזֵירְתָא דְּהָמָן בֶּן [הַמְּדָ]תָא

50 פז<מון>

שְׁבָט אַף הוּא כְּדַחֲזֵא [ע]וֹבָדָא
וְעַל כֻּלָּן אִיתְיַקַּר [כַּחֲ]דָא
שְׁבָחָא סַגְיָא לִי הוּא וְעָ[י]דָה
דְּבִי פֵּירֵשׁ מֹשֶׁה [אֲ]וּלְפָן אוֹרַיְתָא הָדָא

55 פז<מון>

תַּנִּי אֲדָר מַמְלַל פּוּמֵיהּ
וַעֲנָא וְחַבְרוֹהִי קֳדָמֵיהּ
תָּגָא לִי הוּא מָרִי חַתְמֵיהּ
דְּבִי אִיתְיְלִיד עִנְוָתָן דְּדַבַּר עִימֵיהּ

60 פז<מון>

סִיָּה דְנִיסָן אֲנָא הוּא מַלְכָּא בְּהַרְמוֹן עִילָּאָה
הֲלָא אֲנָא רֵישָׁא וְכָל יַרְח בְּתָרָאָה
לִי <<יָ>>אֲתָא רְבוּתָא וּמַלְכוּתָא וַאֲנָא נְשִׂיאָה
נְהוֹרִי נְהוֹר סַגִּיא וַאֲנָא יַרְחָא קַדְמָאָה

שלם קיצא דבני יתיב חברון / על יד משה ואהרן

תם ילחן מלילו עם כל כנישתא דישראל [למימ]ר בעשרה לירחא הדין ויסבון להן גבר אמר לבית [אבא] אימרא לביתא (שמ' יב, ג). כָּל כְּנִישְׁתָּא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל

מַלִּילוּ עִם אֲבָהָן [וּבְנִין] כָּל כְּ<נִישְׁתָּא> דְיִשְׂ<רָאֵל>
מַלִּי<לוּ> גִּיבָּרַיָּא וְדָחֲלַיָּא כָּל כְּנִי<שְׁתָּא> דְיִשְׂ<רָאֵל>
מַלִּי<לוּ> עִם [כָּ]הֲנַיָּא וְלֵוָיֵא כָּל כְּנִישְׁ<תָּא> דְיִשְׂ<רָאֵל>

דהכין כתיב ומפרש. ואמר יי למשה ולאהרן בארעה דמצרים <<למימר>> ירחא הדין <<לכון>> ריש ירחיא קדמאי הוא לכון לירחי שתא מלילו עם כל כנישתא כול' (שמ' יב, א-ג)

קול ל<חן> גדלו אהיה

יְשׁוּרוּן בְּיִרְאַתִי (!) צוּר תְּהֵא חָבִיב / שְׁמוֹר אֶת חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב פז<מון>

לְחָדְשֵׁי שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר
נִיסָן נָגִיד וְשָׂר ... [פליישר, 'ראש ראשי חדשים', עמ' 879–880]

שלם <קיצא דבני יתיב חברון / על יד משה ואהרן>

ל<חן> מטב בשורות
[ב ע"ב] למשה ז"ל

בְּרֹאשׁ לְכָל חָדְשֵׁיכֶם חַדְּשׁוּ רְנָנָה
רִאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחָדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה פז<מון>

מַלְכִּי שָׁמוֹ / רֹאשׁ לְכָל חֳדָשִׁים
וּבוֹ גָּאַל עַמּוֹ / מִיַּד כּוּשִׁים
וְלֶעָתִיד הַקִּימוֹ / לַעֲלוֹת חֲמוּשִׁים
לְצִיּוֹן [קִ]רַית חָנָה פז<מון>

שַׁדַּי בַּמַּחֲזֶה / דְּבֶר בְּכִשְׁרוֹן
לְצוֹפֶה וּמַזֶּה / מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן
הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה / לָכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן
לְ[גְ]אוֹל בּוֹ שְׁלִישִׁית אוֹם נֶאֱמָנָה פז<מון>

הָאֵל יְקַבֵּץ / עִם הס[..רי]ם
וַעֲדָתוֹ לְמַרְבֵּץ / יַעֲלוּ בְּשִׁירִים
וְאוֹיְבִים יְנַפֵּץ / כְּעָשָׂה בַּמִּצְרִים הטור בשוליים
וּבָאוּ צִיּוֹן בְּרִנָּה [פזמון]

15 חֶלְקִי יְיָ / אָמְרָה נַפְשִׁי
זְכוּת אֵיתָנַי / זְכוֹר לִי קְדוֹשָׁי
קַבֵּץ הֲמוֹנַי / אֵל מְקַדְּשִׁי
אָנָּא יְיָ הַצְלִיחָה נָא פז<מון> רִאשׁוֹן

שלם קיצא <דבני יתיב חברון / על יד משה ואהרן>

ויקול להקדים הודו ליי כי טוב (תה' קו, א). יגיבו כי לעולם חסדו (שם). מרשות רבותינ[ו]. יגיבו מרשות הש<מים>. ב<רוך> א<תה> יי אל<הינו> מ<לך> ה<עולם> בורא <<פרי>> הגפן. פאן כאן סבת יקול ב<רוך> א<תה> יי אל<הינו> מ<לך> ה<עולם> אשר קדשנו ורצה בנו אלי מקדש השבת. וישרב. ואן כאן לילה אל אחד יבדי הודו ומרשות ובורא פרי הגפן ועצי בשמים וב[ו]רא מאורי האש אלי בין קדוש (!) לחול. תם

בָּרוּךְ אֲשֶׁר קִדֵּשׁ עַם קְדֵשׁ
בְּבֵיאוּר כְּתָבֵי קֹדֶשׁ ... [פליישר, 'ראש ראשי חדשים', עמ' 880–881]

3 Translation

Note: Hebrew (and indeterminate) text is given in regular font, Aramaic in *italic*, and Arabic is underlined. The incipit of a *piyyut* the text of which is given in our source is marked by an asterisk. The *piyyut* 'On the chief of all your new moons', which is published here for the first time, is translated below. For the translation of 'The months of the year joined together', see the notes below. I have not translated the other *piyyutim*.

[...] *Might and Glory to the God of Heaven, who performed miracles of salvation for their fathers. Thus may He perform miracles of salvation for us, and may the Messiah come riding on clouds – a saviour for the exile of the entire House of Israel, and to quickly rebuild his royal house. As is written: 'And behold, with the clouds of heaven was coming one like a human being, and he reached the Ancient of Days, and they presented him to Him' (Daniel 7:13)*

And between every pericope, from *'Eleison'* until the end, one says: *The time of the sons of the Hebron-dweller has been accomplished / by the hand of Moses and Aaron* [...]

**The months of the year joined together...*

The time of the sons of the Hebron-dweller has been accomplished / by the hand of Moses and Aaron

Then one intones: *'Speak with the entire congregation of Israel, saying, on the tenth of this month each man shall take for themselves a lamb for a clan, one lamb per house' (Exodus 12:13; Targum Onqelos). The entire congregation of Israel*

Speak with fathers and sons	*The entire congregation of Israel*
Speak with mighty men and timid	*The entire congregation of Israel*
Speak with Priests and Levites	*The entire congregation of Israel*

For thus it is written and translated: 'And God said to Moses and Aaron in the Land of Egypt, saying: This month is for you the chief of the months, it is first of the months of the year. Speak with the entire congregation', etc. (Exodus 12:1-3; Targum Onqelos)

Poem, to the melody of: Gaddelu Ehye

*Yeshurun, be beloved by fearing the Rock / "Observe the month of spring" (Deuteronomy 16:1)

Of the twelve months
Nisan is chief and prince ....

The time of the sons of the Hebron-dweller has been accomplished / by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

To the melody of: Meitav besorot
By Moshe, may his memory be a blessing

*On the chief of all your new moons renew your cries of joy
'It is the first for you of all the months of the year' (Exodus 12:2) Refrain

My King made it / the chief of all months
And in it He redeemed his people / from the hand of the Cushites
And He established it for the future / [for them] to go up armed
To Zion, the city where [David] encamped Refrain

Shadday in a vision / spoke at an opportune [time]
To the Seer and the Sprinkler, / Moses and Aaron
'This month / is a remembrance for you'
To redeem the Third, the faithful people Refrain

God will gather / the nation of [...]
And His congregation to a resting place / will go up with songs
And He will smash [their] enemies / as He did with the Egyptians
And they will come with shouting to Zion Refrain

'The Lord is my portion', / says my soul
The merit of my steadfast [Fathers] / remember for me, my Holy [God]
Gather my multitudes / to my Sanctuary.
O Lord, let [us] prosper! Refrain – It is first

The time of the sons of the Hebron-dweller has been accomplished / by the hand of Moses and Aaron

Then one says: First 'Thank the Lord, for He is Good' (Psalms 106:1). They respond: 'For His mercy endures forever' (Psalms 106:1). By the leave of our masters. They respond: By the leave of heaven. Blessed are you, O Lord our God, King of the World, Creator of the fruit of the vine. And if it falls on a Sabbath, one says: Blessed are you, O Lord our God, King of the World, who has sanctified us and desired us, until Sanctifier of the Sabbath. And one drinks. And if it falls on the eve of Sunday, one begins: Thank, and By the leave of, and Creator of the fruit of the vine, and Creator of Spice trees, and Creator of the fiery lights, up to between holy and profane. Then

*Blessed is He who sanctified the holy people
Through the clarification of holy Writ ...

Notes on the text:
Eleison] This is the (Greek [!]) incipit of an Aramaic *piyyut* that appears earlier in the *qiddush* ceremony, in manuscript Cambridge, T-S H 12.11 fol. 6 (see above). The full text is given in Sokoloff and Yahalom 1999, 220–222.

The sons of the Hebron-dweller] A poetic epithet for Israel, the offspring of Abraham.

The months of the year joined together] For translation and commentary, see Rand 2015, 29–33.

Translated] For this meaning of Aramaic *mefarash*, compare 'They read from the scroll of the Teaching of God, translating (*meforash*) and giving it sense; so they understood the reading' (Nehemiah 8:8), where the Hebrew equivalent is interpreted in the Jewish tradition to refer to an Aramaic translation. See Babylonian Talmud, *Megilla* 3a.

To the melody of: Gaddelu Ehye] This is the most common form of musical notation in the liturgical documents of the Geniza: the precentor is instructed to perform a *piyyut* according to the melody of another *piyyut*, which is assumed to be familiar. The *piyyut* serving here as the melody-label is by the Golden Age Hebrew poet Yehuda ha-Levi. See Brody 1930, 192.

Yeshurun, be beloved by fearing the Rock] For the text, see Fleischer 2012a, 879–880.

Meitav besorot] This *piyyut* is attested in other Geniza manuscripts, in its own right (manuscripts Cambridge, Mosseri V.30; T-S NS 274.87), and as a melody-label (manuscripts London, Or 5557V.38; Cambridge, T-S AS 133.102).

By Moshe, may his memory be a blessing] The *piyyut* that follows is attributed to an unknown poet named Moshe. The formula following his name indicates that he was deceased at the time the copy was produced. Such attributions are common in Geniza *piyyut* manuscripts.

On the chief of all your new moons] This *piyyut* is published here for the first time, and I therefore provide a commentary below. It is of a Spanish type that is characterized by a 'girdle-like' structure, the basic principle of which is that each main strophe (in this case, lines 3–6, 7–10, etc.) has its own rhyme scheme while at the same time concluding with a line whose rhyme remains fixed throughout the poem and therefore 'undergirds' it. The rhyme of each of these

last lines corresponds to the rhyme of the opening strophe (in this case, lines 1–2), which also serves as a refrain. In the present case, the lines of the main strophes exhibit internal rhyme, and only the second line of the opening strophe serves as a refrain, as indicated in line 18. The rhyme scheme of the opening strophe and the first two main strophes is as follows (/ indicates a hemistich boundary; — indicates a line boundary): a—a, b/c—b/c—b/c—a, d/e—d/e—d/e—a.

1–2 *On the chief…*: The opening strophe is also attested in manuscripts Cambridge, T-S NS 273.230, T-S AS 122.79 at the head of a *piyyut* by Yehuda ha-Levi, the incipit of whose first main strophe is יעף על סבל. See Jarden 1985, 1069–1071.

4 *Cushites*: An epithet for the Egyptians.

5 *to go up armed*: Based on 'Now the Israelites went up armed out of the land of Egypt' (Exodus 13:18).

6 *the city where [David] encamped*: Isaiah 29:1.

7 *Shadday in a vision*: 'Shadday' is an ancient, biblical epithet for God. The phrase is based on the oracles of Balaam: '… beholds visions of Shadday' (Numbers 24:4, 16).

8 *the Sprinkler*: An epithet for Aaron the Priest, who sprinkled the sacrificial blood.

9 *This month is a remembrance for you*: Based on 'This day shall be for you one of remembrance' (Exodus 12:14).

10 *Third*: An epithet for Israel, based on 'Israel shall be a third with Egypt and Assyria' (Isaiah 19:24).

14 *And they will come with shouting to Zion*: Isaiah 35:10, 51:11.

15 *'The Lord is my portion', says my soul*: Lamentations 3:24.

16 *my steadfast [Fathers]*: An epithet for the Patriarchs, based on a rabbinic interpretation of the word *eitanim* 'steadfast' – see 'In the month of the *Eitanim*' (1 Kings 8:2) – [It is called thus] since the Patriarchs were born in it' (Jerusalem Talmud, *Rosh Hashana* 1:2 [fol. 51b; ed. Academy of the Hebrew Language, 664]).

17 *my Sanctuary*: The Temple.

18 *O Lord, let [us] prosper*: Psalms 118:25.

Blessed are you … Creator of the fruit of the vine] The benediction over wine, used in a *qiddush* ceremony.

Blessed are you … Sanctifier of the Sabbath] The benediction that marks a Sabbath *qiddush*.

The eve of Sunday] Saturday night, the end of the Sabbath.

Creator of Spice trees … Creator of the fiery lights] The first two benedictions marking the *Havdala* ceremony, performed the end of the Sabbath to usher in the beginning of the work week.

Between holy and profane] The concluding phrase of the third, and final, benediction of the *Havdala* ceremony.

Blessed is He who sanctified the holy people] For the text, see Fleischer 2012a, 880–881.

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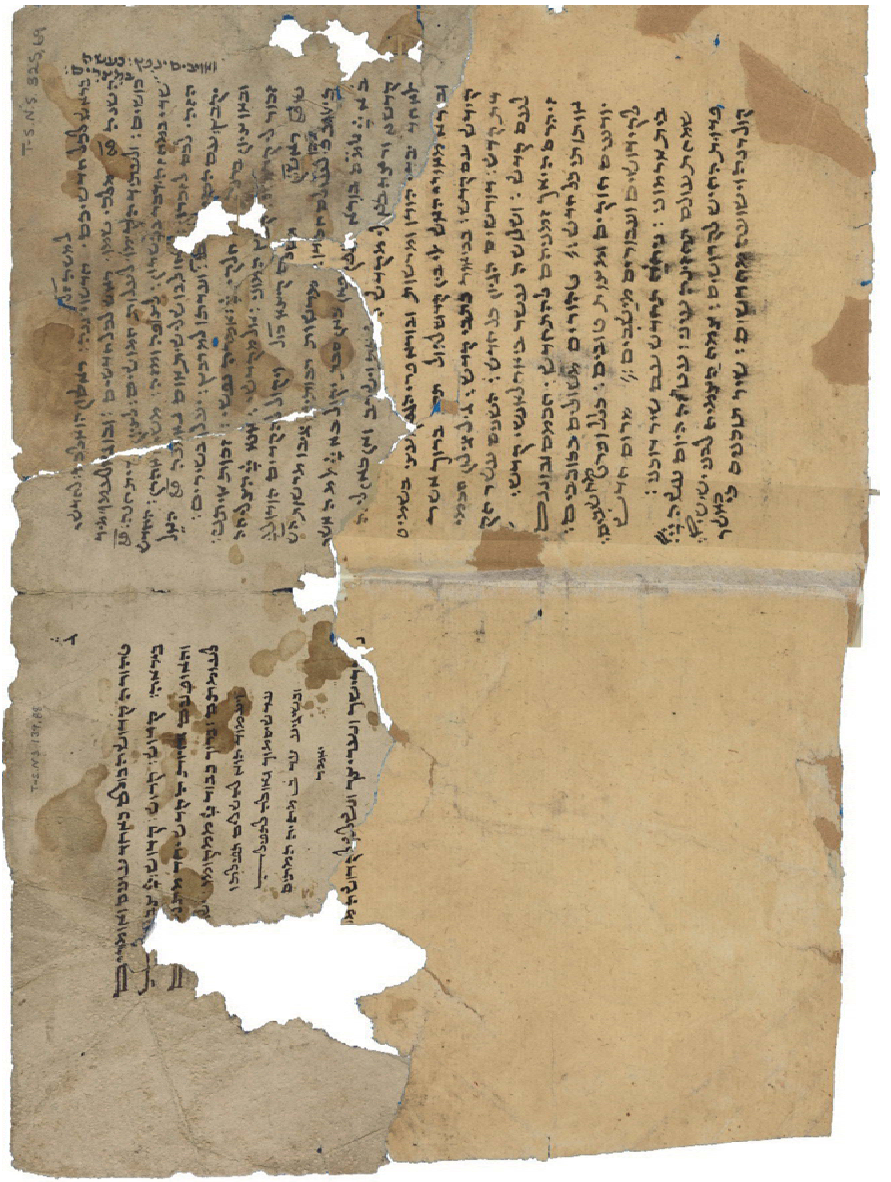

Fig. 1: Cambridge, University Library, T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88; Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 2: Cambridge, University Library, T-S 13 H 3.11 + T-S NS 325.69 + T-S NS 139.88; Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Michael Clarke

The Manuscripts of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, a Bilingual Anthology of Sacred Verse

Abstract: The Irish *Liber Hymnorum* is a collection of hymns and para-liturgical material contained in two glossed and richly-decorated manuscripts from the late eleventh century. The hymns themselves, and the commentary apparatus, exhibit a pattern of alternation and even virtual merger between Latin and Old Irish. It is argued here that this interaction between languages is essential to the representation of the poems as a national poetic and spiritual canon.

Five substantial manuscripts bear witness to the collection and codification of literature in the Irish language in the period from the late eleventh to the late twelfth century CE. What survives from before that time consists almost entirely of glosses and other marginalia in manuscripts whose main language is Latin. On the other hand, from the period after *c.* 1200 we have virtually nothing until the rise in vernacular manuscript production under lordly patronage in the second half of the fourteenth century.[1] If this pattern is more than an accident of survival, it suggests that our five manuscripts represent a phase of intensive activity among scholars and copyists.[2]

Three of these manuscripts are very well known.[3] Each is made up of a body of texts in prose and verse concerned with the past of Ireland – national origins, dynastic histories, chronology, the lore of place-names, heroic narrative – along with accounts of Graeco-Roman and biblical antiquity and chronology in similar

1 For surveys see O'Sullivan 2005, Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1993.

2 For an overview see Ní Mhaonaigh 2006; and for a useful illustrated survey of the manuscripts see O'Neill 2014.

3 The three are *Lebor na hUidre* the 'Book of the Dun Cow' (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 E 25), *c.* 1100 CE; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B502, *c.* 1130; the so-called 'Book of Leinster' (Dublin, Trinity College, 1339), begun in the mid-twelfth century and completed by 1200 or shortly thereafter. Arguably the number could be raised to four, since the first twelve folios of Rawlinson B502 (known as the first fragment of the 'Annals of Tigernach') were originally separate but are also dated within the time-frame given here (see Ó Cuív 2001,163–165).

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language and style.[4] The other two, however, remain more in the shadows: the two copies of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*,[5] one held in Trinity College Dublin (TCD) and the other in the Franciscan manuscript collection at University College Dublin (UCD).[6] They have been discussed at length rather seldom since the publication of the standard edition in 1898,[7] a neglect that is the more surprising because (against all statistical likelihood) they are cousins, almost certainly based on a common exemplar.[8]

This neglect is bound up with their peculiar linguistic ambiguity. They contain closely-related versions of a corpus of devotional and hagiographical poems, referred to internally as hymns (Latin *ymnus*, Irish *immun*), some of which are in Latin, some in Irish, and one in a mixture of the two languages, along with a number of devotional and para-liturgical texts from the international heritage of Latin Christianity.[9] In the prefaces and glosses that accompany the hymns, all but one[10] are claimed – no doubt spuriously – to have been composed

4 Among the vast range of scholarship on this group of manuscripts, the best starting-points are the collection of studies of *Lebor na hUidre* in Ó hUiginn 2015, and the survey of the Book of Leinster by Schlüter 2010.

5 The Irish collection should be sharply distinguished from non-Irish hymn compilations sometimes referred to by the same name *Liber Hymnorum*, most of which are associated with the international collections known as the 'Old Hymnal and 'New Hymnal': see Milfull 1996, 1–25 for the background.

6 These manuscripts are respectively Dublin, TCD 1441 (hereafter referred to as LH-T) and Dublin UCD, Franciscan A2 (hereafter LH-F). Images of LH-F are available online at <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html> (accessed on 21 Oct. 2021); the images of LH-T that provided the illustrations in this book were produced through the co-operation of Caoimhe Ní Ghormáin and Dr Bernard Meehan of TCD Library, thanks to a grant to the author's research from the Moore Institute at the National University of Ireland, Galway.

7 Bernard and Atkinson 1898. This is supplemented by Bieler's palaeographical study (1948), and the art-historical treatment by Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1961–1963, especially 129–134, for which see also Henry 1970, 56–60; otherwise the only substantial recent discussion known to me is the shrewd treatment in Herbert 2009, cf. Herbert 1989.

8 Of the other manuscripts of this period that include Irish-language material in the main text, the closest relative in terms of its artistic programme is the fragment that forms the first part of Rawlinson B502 (see above, n. 3, with Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1961–1963, 116–117). It is doubly striking that much of the text in this manuscript shows code-switching between Irish and Latin similar in kind to the 'intermediate language' of the *Liber Hymnorum* prefaces (see Stokes 1895, and below).

9 The details of the relationship between the two manuscripts, and the status of the additional items added to the TCD manuscript after the work of the main scribe was complete, are beyond the scope of this study.

10 The exception is the Hymn of St Hilary (Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 35–42), which is given no explicit Irish associations but is, however, found among other *Liber Hymnorum* items

by named Irish saints of previous ages, some stretching back to the fifth-century conversion. As we will see in detail below, this editorial apparatus is couched in a mixed language variety in which elements of Latin and Irish constantly jostle with each other, even within a single syntactic clause. This presumably encouraged the marginalisation of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the 'heroic age' of editing and publishing early Irish texts that began in the mid-nineteenth century, when the driving project was the restoration of a pure and uncontaminated form of the Old Irish language.[11] Characteristically, the work done on the *Liber Hymnorum* at that time was aligned with ecclesiastical politics: the first editor published it as *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland*, where the allusion to the modern (and Protestant) Church of Ireland links it to the claim that there was a primeval national Church with a part-vernacular liturgy independent of Rome.[12] It is easy with hindsight to see that this was a distorting approach, but it remains difficult to locate the *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts in the entangled cultural history of medieval Ireland.

1 The *Altus Prosator* in the *Liber Hymnorum*

Let us begin by considering a representative folio from the TCD manuscript (Fig. 1), which is the more formally designed of the two and probably the older, dated to the late eleventh century.[13] The page begins at the top with the antiphon that concludes the preceding item in the collection, the hymn *Te Deum* ascribed to St Augustine and St Ambrose: this antiphon is written in a large version of Gaelic minuscule script.[14] Next comes the hymn *Altus prosator*,

in earlier Irish prescriptions for para-liturgical rituals (see references in notes below, with Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 2, 126–128; Curran 1984, 22–34).

11 In the modern scholarly movement away from 'nativism' to 'revisionism' and then back towards a synthesis, the classic polemical work remains McCone 1990: for an important recent contribution see Johnston 2013.

12 Todd 1855–1869. For the background see Stevenson 1987, especially lxxxiii–lxxxiv on the *Liber Hymnorum* itself.

13 Bieler dates LH-T 'probably' to the eleventh century, LH-F to the late eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth (1948, 177). This view is confirmed by Henry and Marsh-Micheli in their study of the decorated initials, where they show that detailed stylistic considerations link these to a group of other Latin manuscripts with Irish glosses that can be securely dated to the decades either side of 1100 (1961–1963, 111 and *passim*).

14 See Bischoff 1990 for terminology.

ascribed to St Columba (known in Irish as Colum Cille) of Iona.[15] It is preceded by a lengthy Preface in a simpler, tiny version of the minuscule script, corresponding to the usual Gaelic hand seen in manuscripts of this and later periods. This is followed by the incipit of the *Altus Prosator* itself (here spelt *prositor*), written in elegant Gaelic majuscule capitals, loosely resembling the uncial scripts seen internationally in high-status display manuscripts of earlier centuries, back to the Carolingian period and beyond.[16] The initial letter *A* is richly illuminated, twisted into the shape of a beast whose head forms the crossing, with its limbs bent into the linear shapes of the letter; entwined around the body is a spreading network of closely interlaced tendrils. Clearly the page was planned with a space left blank for the Preface, while the Hymn itself with its decorated initial was executed in the first stage of the campaign before the work of adding the Preface began. This is confirmed when one observes how the lower lines of the Preface are squeezed into the space allowed by the sprouting shapes of the decorated 'A' below.[17] The verses of the Hymn are densely annotated: interlinear glosses provide lexical, exegetical and digressive information, with more extensive marginalia extending into the sides,[18] and each six-line stanza has a prose introduction (Latin *titulus*, Irish *titul*) interpreting the theological themes and biblical passages to which it alludes.

The text of the Preface is structured by a series of Latin headwords, giving the place, time, person and cause (*locus*, *tempus*, *persona*, *causa*) of its composition. From this it extends into a lengthy background story. According to this, the poem was sent to Rome as a gift for Pope Gregory in return for sacred treasures that he had sent to Iona, but the monks who brought it removed three stanzas 'to put Gregory to the test', only to be found out when the Pope observed the behaviour of angels who appeared miraculously during its recitation.[19] The Preface concludes with a close analysis of the metre. With this structure, it

15 On this poem see Clancy and Márkus 1995, 39–68 for text and translation; Stevenson 1999 is the major interpretative essay.

16 On scripts in this manuscript see Bieler 1948, 179. Bieler compares the majuscule script to that of the Macregol Gospels, which are dated to the first quarter of the ninth century: if this is right, it strongly suggests that this script was an archaising choice for our eleventh-century scribe.

17 Sometimes (though not conspicuously in the present case) the scribe of the Prefaces seems to have found his space inadequate, and the tiny script is squeezed into the furthest margins at left and right.

18 Preface and glosses from both manuscripts are published by Bernard and Atkinson with the main text of the poem (1898, vol. 1, 62–81, with translations of the Irish, vol. 2, 23–26, 142–169).

19 Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 63–65.

corresponds in form to the *accessus* or introductory matter set down in texts of sacred and pagan Latin authors – especially Vergil, Boethius, and Martianus Capella – throughout this period in the Christian West, and likewise the presence of copious glosses is typical of such manuscripts.[20]

In international terms, however, one extreme oddity stands out. The Preface, glosses and *tituli* are written neither in Latin nor in Irish, but in a fine-grained mixture of the two languages. The following extract, from the final section on metre, will give a sense of the mode of code-switching deployed, with a translation in which Irish is represented as underlined and Latin as *italics*:

> Ord aipgitrech fil hic more Ebreo. asind iris Cathalcda tucad fotha in chaip*til*-se .i. cretem óenatad co foisitin tredatad. tre rithim da*no* doronad 7 di ernail fuirri-side .i. artificialis 7 uulgaris. artifi*cialis* ubi fiunt traigid comamserda comfodlaide co cutrummas fo airse 7 teis. 7 corop subseq*ue*ns tí i lloc pr*e*cidentis inna tuaslucad. uulgaris im*morro* du i mbi imrecra sillab 7 cethraimthin oc*us* lethrann 7 is *ed* ón fil hic. (LH-T, fol. 11^{r} 25–29)

> It is alphabetical order that is *here, in the Hebrew manner*. From the Catholic faith was taken the foundation of the first verse, viz. belief in unity with confession of trinity. It was made through rhythm, and two divisions in that, *viz. artificial and vulgar. Artificial where there are made* feet co-timed and co-divided, with equal weight in arsis and thesis, and it is *the following one* that comes in place *of the preceding* in their resolution. *Vulgar,* however, where there is a correspondence of syllables, and quarter-verses and half-verses, and it is this which is *here*. (translation Atkinson 1898, vol. 2, 26, adapted)

The alternation between Latin and Irish takes place at every level of the discourse: between sentences, between clauses, and frequently within the clause. Here is another example, from the Preface to the Hymn of St Óengus mac Tipraite (d. 745 CE) in honour of St Martin, in this case following the version in the Franciscan manuscript (LH-F):

> Causa *imorro* Adamnan bói f*or* cuairt cell Col*uim* C*ille* in Hérind co roacht co Uisnech Mide co rogaired do cech fer g*ra*id fora rabi liud issin tir co roacht in t-eruac*ra* co hOeng*us* i n-

20 On this structure in the prefaces to texts of canonical Latin authors see Quain 1945, still the standard treatment, with Irvine 1994, 121–126; Ziolkowski 1998, especially 705–706; and compare the edition of a twelfth-century *accessus* collection by Wheeler 2015. For Irish engagement with the genre see Poppe 1999; cf. Bischoff 1976 [1954], especially p. 84, on arguments for Irish origins. Along with the *Liber Hymnorum* prefaces, which have not been systematically studied in recent times, the principal relevant example of comparable date is the Preface to the late Old Irish poem *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (The Eulogy of Colum Cille), a copy of which in fact appears as a later addition to the LH-T manuscript: see Herbert 1989. The structurally similar Preface to the poetic martyrology *Félire Óengusso* (The Calendar of Óengus) has been dated significantly later, to the second half of the twelfth century: see Ó Riain 2000–2001, 237–238.

aidche feile Martain 7 timuit valde. ut f*ec*it h*unc* y*mnum* in honore*m* M*artai*n dia soerad. Tanic tra Oeng*us* dochum arnabarach 7 a ym*m*um erlam leis. Oc*us* tarfas do Adamnan Martan fora laim deis Oengussa oc*us* atraracht t*r*a Adamnan reme. Et honorificavit eum osculo 7 om*nes* mirabantur causam honoris. Et d*ix*it Adam*n*an q*uod* vidit Martin*um* sec*um* conid ar Martan do bith i*m*malle fris dorat honoir do. Ro soerad t*r*a Oeng*us* amlaid sein. Et ostendit Oeng*us* y*mnum* suum 7 laudavit Adamnan y*mnum* 7 dixit gnúis-ermitiu fo*r*in tí gebas ic dul dochum dala *no* airechta [...][21]

The cause, indeed[22] – Adamnán was on a journey round the churches of Colum Cille in Ireland, until he reached Uisnech Mide, and there was summoned by him every man of [clerical] grade against whom there was an accusation in the land, and the summons reached Óengus on the night of Martin's feast, *and he feared greatly, so he made this hymn in honour of Martin* for the freeing of himself. Óengus indeed came in the morning having his hymn ready with him. And there was shown to Adamnán Martin by the right hand of Óengus, and Adamnán rose up before him. *And he honoured him with a kiss and all wondered at the cause of the honour. And Adamnán said that he had seen Martin with him*, so that it was because of Martin's being together with him that he gave honour to him. Thus Óengus was freed. *And Óengus showed his hymn and Adamnán praised the hymn and he announced* face-honour[23] for the one who recites it going to an assembly or a court [...]

There are no obvious syntactic 'triggers' for the switch between languages, nor is one language preferred to the other for content-related reasons – as, for example, for a particular kind of subject-matter, or for direct speech against narrative, or for digressive comments external to the story being told. To all appearances, then, the *accessus* has been composed in an intermediate variety which takes words and groups of words at random from both languages, as if the lexicon has been assembled as parallel sets of items with functional equivalence and the writer chooses from either at will.[24]

This impression is strengthened when a given passage in one of the manuscripts is compared word by word and phrase by phrase with the corresponding

21 Transcribed from LH-F, p. 23, with the original punctuation and minimal editorial adjustments. The folio is badly faded and rubbed, and in a few cases it has been necessary to rely for guidance on the readings followed by Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 46 with apparatus, while removing their editorially-imposed punctuation.

22 The manuscript contraction here could be expanded either as Latin or as Irish.

23 Taking *gnúis-ermitiu* as a compound noun.

24 On the phenomenon of code-switching between Latin and early Irish the fundamental study is Bisagni 2013–2014, principally based on the *prima manus* Würzburg glosses, which significantly pre-date the Prefaces studied here; a closer comparandum would be the glosses to *Félire Óengusso*, which are studied in depth by Stam 2017. In Clarke 2018 I discuss the development of more extended narrative composition in the intermediate variety, especially *Bethu Brigte* ('The Life of Brigit'), in comparison with the *Liber Hymnorum* poems and prefaces.

passage in the other. Often the sense is identical but the TCD manuscript uses Latin where the Franciscan manuscript uses Irish, while the opposite is the case in other instances.[25] The most economical explanation is that the composers and copyists were moving back and forth between languages and were effectively translating and re-translating in both directions as they worked – with a tendency, perhaps deliberate, to treat the alternation itself as the defining feature of this genre or register.

2 The Irish-language hymns

So far, we have seen the use of the 'intermediate language' as the medium for scholarly presentation and interpretation of a Latin hymn. A more stark indication of the involvement of the vernacular in the programme of the *Liber Hymnorum* is the inclusion in both manuscripts of a series of poems entirely in Irish. In the TCD manuscript, a subtle distinction in status is made between the Latin and Irish hymns.[26] In the folio illustrated here (see Fig. 1), we saw that the main text of the *Altus* was in Gaelic majuscule, while the closing antiphon of the *Te Deum* was in minuscule. Consistently throughout this manuscript,[27] the main text of each Latin hymn is in majuscule script; minuscule is used for the closing antiphons of the Latin hymns, for the entire text of each Irish-language hymn, and for the scholarly apparatus throughout.[28] The implied 'hierarchy of scripts'

25 The Preface to *Altus Prosator* presents this pattern of variation in a particularly noticeable form (see Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 62–65). Note also that the whole Preface is found in a much longer form in the fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac* ('The Speckled Book', Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 12, pp. 237b–238b); Bernard and Atkinson print the variants in their apparatus. Where a given sentence is witnessed in both manuscripts, here too they often show different choices between Latin and Irish.

26 In Bieler's estimation, in 'the main part of [the TCD manuscript]' (i.e. the first 25 hymns) all the hymns and versicles (and perhaps some of the glosses) are the work of a single scribe (1948, 178 with n. 4), so it is reasonable to seek an ordered explanation here.

27 This does not apply to the items in the final sections of the manuscript, which were added by other scribes and are beyond the scope of this article, as they do not overlap with the Franciscan copy and do not form part of the original *Liber Hymnorum*.

28 Cf. Bieler 1948, 179: I have clarified his brief observations by checking the alternations directly against the manuscript. It turns out that Bernard and Atkinson indicate the switch to large Gaelic minuscule accurately every time by using a slightly smaller font size, though this practice is left obscure when they state it in their Introduction (vol. 1, x). The principle that the alternation between scripts is determined by the movement from individual to communal voices is neatly confirmed by the fact that the minuscule script is used for the breviate Psalter

– a term originally used for a broadly comparable pattern used in scholarly Latin manuscripts from Northumbria two centuries earlier[29] – seems to imply that the voice of the *individual saint communicating in verse in the Latin medium* stands in contrast not only to the voice of a saint composing in Irish, but also to the collective Latin voices of those responding in the antiphons, and those of the scholarly community responsible for the glosses and Prefaces. In other words, the majuscule script marks out a special combination of individuality and universality for the authorial voices of the Latin hymns.

However, this should not be taken to imply that the Irish-language hymns have been given a less exalted status. Their minuscule is the same *size* as the majuscule of the Latin hymns,[30] their incipits are decorated to the same level, and they are preceded by equally elaborate Prefaces and glossed with the same level of linguistic and exegetical engagement. This impression is corroborated in a different way by the *mise-en-page* of the Irish-language hymns in the Franciscan manuscript, of which an example is shown in Fig. 2.

The main text here is the hymn *Génair Pátraic*, telling of the life and holiness of St Patrick and asserting the primacy of his episcopal seat of Armagh.[31] It is preceded by a Preface on its supposed composition by St Fiacc of Sleaty, a contemporary of Patrick himself: this is similar in theme to the Preface of the *Altus*, and characterised by similar switching between languages, albeit in this case the proportion of Irish to Latin is rather higher. On the hymn itself there are short interlinear glosses, whose functions are relatively simple – explaining words, supplementing the sense, identifying and briefly explaining proper names where they occur. These are largely shared word-for-word with the copy in the TCD manuscript, and they presumably go back to the same lost exemplar.

(LH-T, fols 22^{v}–25^{v}, 29^{r}–31^{r}; Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 144–156), which is not the authoritative text of the Psalms but a digest intended for recitation, as the Preface itself states (*si devota mente cantetur* …, see Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 144; vol. 2, 216–218).

29 The classic study is Parkes 1991, referring specifically to Northumbrian manuscripts of the ninth century: 'The study of ancient manuscripts […] led Anglo-Saxon scribes to adumbrate the concept of a hierarchy of scripts […] Anglo-Saxon scribes came to regard [uncial and rustic capitals] as peculiarly appropriate for such authoritative texts. As a result scribes began to employ these ancient scripts to distinguish the extracts from such authorities, which were incorporated into texts or commentaries copied in Insular Minuscule' (Parkes 1991, 14, illustrated by the Wearmouth-Jarrow copy of Bede's commentary on Proverbs, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819). Parkes associates the 'hierarchy of scripts' with a 'hierarchy of authority' (14–15), though this is necessarily more speculative.

30 I have confirmed this by measurement.

31 Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 96–104; see also Stokes and Strachan 1901–1903, vol. 2, 307–321.

But in the margins of the folio there is another series of annotations pursuing an entirely different level of interpretation.[32] Each item here is introduced by a lemma repeated from the words of the poem: sometimes (but not always) the initial letter of the lemma is highlighted in red, and the gloss then proceeds into a discursive commentary. I give one example to show the overall character. The hymn describes (lines 7–8) how the angel Victor instructed Patrick to leave Ireland, and this is followed by the following lines:[33]

Do faid tar Elpa uile,	He went over all Elpa,
De mair, ba amru retha. (9–10)	Great God, it was a wondrous course.

In the marginal paratext, the first word of this verse reappears as a lemma followed by a commentary entry:[34]

> do faid .i. ro faid *no* ro fuc Dia *no* in t-aingel. Cinnas do*no* a rad dar Alpain? ni *ansa*. Do Bretnaib ro fuc in t-angel co*m*mad dar Alpain da*no* ba chóir and .i. dar sliab nElpa ar robo ainm do inis Bretan ule olim Alba ut Beda dicit in principio suae historiae, Britania insola cui quondam nomen erat Alban eo quod pars quam illi tenuerunt suo vocabulo nominaverunt et vetus nomen Alpan quod invenerunt mansit.

> 'Do faid', viz. 'he went', or God brought him or the angel. How does he say 'over Alpa'? Not difficult. From Britain the angel brought him, so that 'over Alpan' was appropriate there, viz. over the mountain of Alpa, for the name for all the island of Britain was Alba *of old, as Bede says at the beginning of his history: 'Britain, the island whose name long ago*

32 The glosses to 'Fiacc's Hymn' have been published by Stokes 1887, vol. 2, 412–427, and by Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 97–103. Neither is fully reliable: Atkinson has matched glosses to particular lemmata even where the manuscript offers no indication as to which words they relate, and Stokes has rearranged the material into what seemed to him the right sequence but without clear reference to the placing of the materials on the manuscript page. Atkinson prints text in many places where the ink of the manuscript is now faded towards illegibility. It is impossible to tell whether this deterioration was subsequent to (caused by?) his work, or whether he relied at times on hope and guesswork; but I have yet to find a word printed by Atkinson for which *nothing at all* is visible in the manuscript. (The text published by Stokes and Strachan 1901–1903, vol. 2, 307–321, is still further removed from the evidence of the manuscripts and cannot be relied on).

33 Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 98, line 9.

34 I rely here on the transcription by Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 98. An independent new edition is not possible because the manuscript is badly faded here: there is just enough visible to inspire confidence that Atkinson's transcription is trustworthy and that more was to be seen when he worked. Note, however, that here as elsewhere he was unsystematic in the use of italics to indicate expansion of contractions, and where the word was Latin he tended not to italicise.

> *was Alban': because the part which those men held they named by their own word, and the old name 'Alpan' which they had invented remained.*

This example shows the technique of the commentator: clarifying the sense of the original, elucidating its elusive style, and explaining a difficult word – the name Alba – by citing Bede and then further elucidating its semantic history.[35] Other items among the marginalia are still more substantial, being accounts of events in the life of the saint that explain allusive references within the poem and expand into full narration, with the characteristic switching between Irish and Latin that we have observed throughout this discussion. These narratives usually correspond to episodes in the separately-attested Lives of Patrick, but they do not allow a precise match to any one surviving text.

What process led to this configuration? The evidence points in the following direction. First, a scholar produced a set of interlinear glosses on linguistic issues and background information, including the proper names and events referred to: from his work come the short items that are shared between our two manuscripts. Then at some later stage a (presumably different) scholar took the proper names and events alluded to in the poem and cross-referenced them to other texts, including Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and a Life of Patrick, and from this there was produced a new independent series of discursive notes – in effect, a full-scale literary and historical commentary – which provides the deep framing border of commentary. However, there is a further complication. The marginal commentary does not run continuously alongside the text: rather, it is divided into several parts that have been dislocated and rearranged. In the present folio, for example (see Fig. 2), the commentary begins at the upper edge of the page with a discussion of the name *Nemthur* from the first line of the poem; it proceeds down the left-hand margin until it reaches the decorated initial *G*, where it breaks off with a cue mark Θ :- .[36] The cue mark reappears near the middle of the opposite margin, where the commentary continues from where it had broken off; this section in turn ends

35 Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 2, 179, similarly Stokes 1887, vol. 2, 417) take *sliab nElpa* here to refer specifically to Drumalban, the mountain ridge separating Argyllshire from Perthshire, which is indeed standard in early medieval sources as the western boundary of the Pictish kingdom of Alba (see Hudson 1998, 137). In this case the *illi* 'those men' of our passage will be the ancient inhabitants of Scotland whose names were the first to be imposed on the landscape – presumably a reference to the Picts.

36 Many of these cue marks are formally identical to the 'technical signs' used by the scribes of manuscripts of Irish authorship as early as the Carolingian period (see Steinová 2017), though there appears to be no correspondence in function.

with another mark *I:*, which again reappears in the left margin just below the illuminated letter, from where the commentary continues down to the bottom of the page, eventually breaking off with the mark *...* . A final chunk of glossing, higher in the right margin, apparently comes next in the sequence,[37] though there is no cue mark to indicate this; and in the upper margin of the next folio (p. 37 of the manuscript) there appear notes corresponding to the words *Temrach* and *druïd* from the final lines of poetry in the illustrated p. 36 (see Fig. 2). What, then, has happened? The scribe seems to have been working not from a glossed copy of the poem but from an independent commentary text arranged by lemmata: he proceeded to copy this commentary into the marginal spaces, which had probably been left wide for this purpose; yet he made little or no effort to arrange the commentary in a way that would serve the needs of a reader trying to understand the poem.

3 Manuscripts as reliquaries?

The glosses, marginalia and *accessus* signal that the texts in these manuscripts have been gathered for study and exegesis, both in terms of their language and their content; but the richness of the illumination, and the formal regularity of the layout, suggest that the manuscripts were intended at least partly for display.

This encourages a closer look at the decorative programme, which is similar in overall conception across the two manuscripts. The principal embellishments are the decorated initials at the beginning of each hymn. These fall into three types. Some seem to reprise or continue the style of the decorated initials of the great age of Insular illuminated manuscripts two centuries earlier, the period of the 'Book of Kells' (Fig. 3a);[38] others are based on the body of an animal, curved into the shape of the letter and interlaced with narrower twisting forms (Fig. 3b); others again follow the form known as 'bent wire' shape and resemble the initials of learned Latin manuscripts produced in Irish scriptoria over the preceding centuries (Fig. 3c).[39] The TCD manuscript includes a higher number

37 Bernard and Atkinson print accordingly in their arrangement of the note to line 16 (1898, vol. 1, 99).

38 The initials of this type are closely aligned with those of the continuous tradition of Irish manuscript illumination in the tenth century: see Henry 1960–1961.

39 For analysis of these three types of initials in LH-T see Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1961–1963, 129–134.

that fall into the first two types, whereas in the Franciscan manuscript the 'bent wire' type preponderates, confirming the likelihood that the two manuscripts were created in different scriptoria.[40] At the same time, however, the affinities between the two are obviously close. For example, in Fig. 3d, from the Franciscan manuscript, the letter is the initial S of Colmán's Hymn *Sén Dé*, as is the S shown from the TCD manuscript in Fig. 3b. Although the body of the letter is constructed in completely different ways, the head of the beast is very similar in both, with the same ears and the same curlicue on the snout: a clue, perhaps, to their derivation from a common source manuscript, at whose date can only be guessed.

In terms of the overall communicative significance of these illuminations, there is a close parallel in a different Irish art-form of the same period, roughly 1000–1100: the metalwork embellishment of shrines enclosing relics, a significant number of which were made to contain sacred manuscripts of earlier date.[41] Among these, the *Soiscéal Molaise* (the Gospel of St Molaise) enclosed a (now lost) manuscript associated with St Molaise, and the front panel of the shrine is decorated with cast images of the symbols of the Evangelists which reprise the classic style of ninth-century Insular Gospel illuminations, perhaps those of the book within.[42] A still closer parallel is offered by the shrine of the *Cathach* (*c.* 1080 CE), which enclosed an earlier Psalter manuscript, said to have belonged to St Columba. The shrine's decoration[43] combines animal and abstract motifs from indigenous tradition with others aligned with the Norse style known as Ringerike, which has a strong international diffusion in the first half of the eleventh century and may have been introduced into Irish artists' repertoire via the Scandinavian settlement at Dublin.[44] Significantly, there are strong Ringerike influences in the decorated initials of the *Liber Hymnorum*, most obviously in the TCD copy, and it has been noted that the forms of the foliate ends of the

40 See Henry 1970, 57–59.

41 Besides those that I discuss here, other potentially relevant examples include the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (*c.* 1030) and the Misach (late eleventh century): for a survey see Moss 2014, 297–303. On the stylistic affinities of decorated metalwork in Irish shrines and reliquaries in this period see Ó Floinn 1987, 1994, 1997, and further references below; on the later development of the shrine-making tradition from the later twelfth century onward see Hourihane 2004, 115–137. It is difficult to tell whether there is an element of deliberate differentiation from international norms in the stylistic choices made by Irish artists in this period: cf. Harbison 2001, Murray 2015.

42 Mullarkey 2007.

43 See Ó Floinn 1987, 180–181; 2001, 91–93, with figs 4–5; Moss 2014, 44 fig. 38 c, d.

44 For a survey see Graham-Campbell 2013, 127–133.

tendril-shapes are closely comparable to those of the Shrine of the *Cathach* and other artefacts in the same group.[45] The Ringerike influence could be pursued further: for example, the design of the letter S in Fig. 3b could be associated with the classic Norse schema of the so-called 'Great Beast', its sinuous body intertwined with a narrower snake-like creature of more slender curvilinear forms. A slightly later group of Irish shrines combines indigenous metalwork traditions with those of the Urnes style, which succeeds the Ringerike in the Norse developmental sequence: examples include the Shrine of St Manchán enclosing the bones of the saint of *c.* 1120[46] and the Cross of Cong enclosing a fragment of the True Cross (1123 CE).[47] These metalwork artefacts offer a suggestive parallel to the *mise-en-page* seen in the *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts: on the one hand, we have sacred objects, from body parts to prayer-books, recontextualised artistically as objects of veneration, on the other, we have sacred poetry codified and canonised in manuscripts of equal decorative splendour.

4 Irish and international contexts in manuscript culture

It remains difficult to characterise the manuscripts in terms of the known norms of book-production in this period. In terms of layout, the most similar surviving example of Irish origin is a Latin Psalter manuscript: the Psalter of Caimín, dated likewise to the eleventh century.[48] The text here shows a similar spatial arrangement, with a rudimentary version of the 'hierarchy of scripts', abundant glossing, and decorated initials similar to the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*. It comes in all likelihood from the same scriptorium. In terms of status and function, however, this parallel should not be pushed too far: the makers of the *Liber Hymnorum* were hardly giving the same kind of authority to the hymns of

45 'A specific characteristic of the lobed tendrils [...] is the occurrence of a semicircular notch where the tendril springs from the stem' (Ó Floinn 1987, 181). Ó Floinn identifies the two *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts as close parallels.

46 Murray 2014, 230–261.

47 Murray 2014, especially 186–201. Murray compares the style of the metalwork in the Cross with that of the group of eleventh-century Irish illuminated manuscripts to which the *Liber Hymnorum* belongs (164–166, citing Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1961–1963).

48 Dublin, University College, Franciscan A1: images are available online at <https://www.isos.dias.ie/>. On the texts see Ó Néill 2007, and on the decorative programme see Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1961–1963, 117–19.

the Irish saints as to the psalms of David. Similar problems attend any attempt to characterise the *Liber Hymnorum* as a service book for real-life religious ritual. Although some of the hymns in the collection also appear as a group in paraliturgical prescriptions for sequences of prayer, preserved in sources dating back as far as the ninth century,[49] and in the later period there is one reference to the use of such a set of hymns in a rite of intercession,[50] nonetheless the scholarly apparatus of our *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts makes it hard to see them as service-books. In plan and in presentation, the compilation was clearly designed for the study of a literary canon, not for saving one's soul.

A more satisfactory context can perhaps be found in the international development of scholarship in the period. Throughout the post-Carolingian world of north-western Europe, monastic libraries and scriptoria were the focus for the growth and systematisation of collections of Latin texts glossed and annotated for the purpose of linguistic and exegetical study, collectively known as *grammatica*.[51] In an important study of this movement in book-production, Martin Irvine distinguishes two distinct categories of text, constantly cross-referenced to each other and often combined in a single compilation: on the one hand, treatises and manuals of grammatical study (*artes*), on the other, annotated texts of major authors constituting the proximate object of such study (*auctores*).[52] Irvine highlights the characteristic forms of the manuscript context for such texts: '[M]ost extant manuscripts of the canon of Christian Latin poets (Arator, Juvencus, Sedulius, Prudentius) and of the major classical writers studied in the early Middle Ages present the texts as part of an integrated corpus interpreted through an accompanying apparatus of glosses and prefaces'.[53] Although the works of the most prominent individual authors often occur in single-author manuscripts, multi-author compilations are also prominent. The

49 For an overview of the evidence for the use in ninth-century ritual of hymns corresponding to items in the *Liber Hymnorum* collection, see Jeffrey 2000.

50 In the Irish text known as the 'Second Vision of Adomnán' (Volmering 2014), a number of *Liber Hymnorum* works appear in a sequence of prayers prescribed to 'turn back the plague from the men of Ireland' (see text at §11, with note on p. 680).

51 Debate continues on the function of manuscript glossing in this period, and in particular on whether the presence of a gloss corpus in a given manuscript indicates that it functions as a 'class book' or a 'library book' – or perhaps both simultaneously. For key contributions to the debate see Holtz 1982; Wieland 1985, 1998; Teeuwen 2011. For the current state of scholarship on manuscript glossing, the essays in Teeuwen and van Renswoude 2017 are invaluable.

52 Irvine 1994, especially 334–404. On the (sometimes overlapping) categories of *artes* and *auctores*, see 334–344.

53 Irvine 1994, 346.

resulting 'prestigious and universally practised curriculum of *artes, auctores* and other poetry' was established by the mid-ninth century on the Continent and in England by the mid-tenth.[54] Significantly, at least one classic early example of such a compilatory manuscript, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 363, is the work of a group of Irish *peregrini* working in northern Italy and is glossed in Irish as well as Latin, providing a dramatic demonstration of the central involvement of Irish scholars in the growth of this cultural movement.[55]

Surviving evidence for Irish *grammatica* manuscripts from closer in time to the *Liber Hymnorum* is relatively slight,[56] but this gap is less problematic than it seems – the vicissitudes of time and dampness made it almost impossible for manuscripts of secular Latin from this period to survive in Ireland,[57] and there is every reason to expect that what survives from neighbouring parts of Europe in the same period will correspond well to the kind of manuscripts that were known and used in Ireland. There is a particularly suggestive group of examples from the *scriptoria* of the two monasteries at Canterbury, which were major centres for the production of such manuscripts of *artes* and *auctores*.[58] One example will suffice[59] to illustrate the conventional forms of the *mise-en-page* that characterises the Canterbury manuscripts (Figs 4a and 4b).

The manuscript shown here is an assemblage dominated by collections of riddles (*aenigmata*), a genre associated with metrical and poetic education – the page shown is the opening of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* with its double acrostic.[60] The opening of the main text is marked by display capitals and a decorated initial letter with interlaced foliage, and there is a well-ordered 'hierarchy of scripts' in the design of the page.[61] The text itself is marked both by interlinear

54 Irvine 1994, 355.

55 See Contreni 1982; Gavinelli 1983; Vocino 2017.

56 For examples of direct and indirect evidence for engagement by Irish-language scholars and students with Latin *grammatica* and related learning *c.* 1000–1150 CE see Duncan 2012; Ó Néill 1997, 2005; Clarke and Ní Mhaonaigh 2020.

57 Sharpe 2010; Ó Corráin 2011–2012.

58 See Brooks 1984, 267–278; Gameson 2000; Gameson 2012b, 104–105, 109, 114–115; Gameson 2012c; cf. Irvine 1994, 343, 383. The relationships and rivalries *between* the two Canterbury monasteries, and between their scriptoria, are beyond the scope of this paper.

59 For a further, particularly close parallel, compare Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.I.15 (Canterbury, *c.* 950–1000).

60 The Old English glosses to the *aenigmata* of Aldhelm in London, BL, Royal 12.C.23 have been edited by Stork 1990. The riddles themselves are translated by Lapidge and Rosier 1985, 61–95.

61 On the hierarchy of scripts in this group of *grammatica* manuscripts, Irvine notes a descending hierarchy: square capitals for titles, 'canonical minuscules' for main text, 'less formal

glosses and by the more extensive commentary in the margins, which were plainly ruled very wide for this purpose.[62] In overall conception and design, this exactly matches what we have seen for the *Liber Hymnorum* – and presents a far closer parallel than does anything of comparable date from within Ireland.

It is of course unnecessary to specify Canterbury in particular as the source of the models used by the Irish *literati*, but our examples illustrate how influence from more prestigious centres of book-culture could have inspired the design of the *Liber Hymnorum*. Similar modes of contact, in this case based on lay patronage, have been posited for the influence of eleventh-century English, as well as Continental ecclesiastical architecture on the development of the Irish Romanesque style in the following century and a half.[63] Strikingly, however, at the higher levels of ecclesiastical power-politics in this period the particular relationship between Canterbury and the Irish Church was a recurring point of contention. Initially, this primarily involved the Hiberno-Norse towns, several of whose bishops professed the primacy of Canterbury in the late eleventh century, but it probably also played a part in the shifting fortunes of the older monasteries both before and after the Synod of Cashel in 1101.[64] Below that level, contacts between ecclesiastical personnel (confrontational as well as benign) may well have provided a stimulus for innovation in cultural life, including the movement of prestige manuscripts across the Irish Sea and their imitation or emulation in the development of the Irish schools of book-production.

If this parallel is useful, it invites the hypothesis that the *Liber Hymnorum* manuscripts either result from or assert the claim that the hymns of the Irish saints are on a level with those of the key works of canonical Latin authors then enshrined in the most authoritative glossed manuscripts. There is, so far as I know, no parallel elsewhere in Europe in this period for assembling the works of the poets of the modern nation into such a corpus, nor for elevating the study of *auctores* writing in a vernacular language onto the same level as those in Latin. Here, however, the Canterbury tradition will again offer a possible transnational parallel.

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minuscules' for gloss and commentary (1994, 383–384, citing Bischoff 1990, in which see especially 79).

62 See Love 2012, especially 90 for this manuscript.

63 See Stalley 1981, and cf. O'Keeffe 2003, especially 89–90 (St Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe), 152–165 (Cormac's Chapel, Cashel), 179–181 (St Cronan's, Roscrea), 214–215 (Freshford church), 228 (Ardmore cathedral), 273–278 (Clonfert cathedral), with summary, 280–281; Ó Carragáin 2010, 248–253, 258–262.

64 Brett 2006; Flanagan 2010, 6–10.

A somewhat later product of the same cultural milieu is the mid-eleventh-century compilation from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury known as the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35). It is less elaborately produced than the manuscript illustrated in Figs 4a and 4b, but its contents are closely related: many of the poems occur in both, and the glosses to Aldhelm in the two manuscripts have clearly been taken from a single source (if not the one from the other).[65] The 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript falls into four parts, of which the first three form a collection of learned Latin texts in the mainstream *grammatica* tradition: these include hymns as well as secular-themed poems and riddles, and are heavily annotated with exegetical glosses and also with some examples of syntactic letter-glossing, in which the words of a sentence are indexed to the letters of the alphabet so that they can be rearranged in simpler sequence – a system, incidentally, which is paralleled in the TCD copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*.[66] It is possible to suggest specific Irish affinities, including the mysterious poem on the alphabet ascribed in the manuscript to *quidam Scottus*, 'a certain Irishman';[67] but for our purposes it is more significant that a generic parallel can be made with the *Liber Hymnorum*'s combination of established Latin texts with others of more vernacular affinities. This is because the fourth part of the manuscript adds to the corpus a range of Latin verse texts of much more recent composition, the so-called 'Cambridge Songs' themselves.[68]

Internal evidence shows that many of these 'Cambridge Songs' were composed at most a few decades before the making of the manuscript itself, and topical references and personal names suggest that they originated in the Rhineland. They include two examples in which Latin intermingles with the German vernacular, usually switching from half-line to half-line in a single

65 The standard survey remains Riggs and Wieland 1975; see also Ziolkowski 1998, xxvi–xxx; Irvine 1994, 358–364, with list of the contents of the first three parts of the manuscript. The glosses to Arator and Prudentius are edited by Wieland 1983.

66 See Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 38 at lines 25–26; on the syntactic glossing in the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript, which includes dot-sequence as well as letter-glossing, see Rigg and Wieland 1975, 115; Wieland 1983, 98–107. The fundamental discussions of this species of glossing are Robinson 1973 and Korhammer 1980.

67 *Versus cuiusdam Scotti de alfabeto*, fol. 381^{r}–382^{r}, one of the poems shared with London, BL, Royal 12.C.23, fol. 137^{v}. The poem is edited by Glorie 1968, 729–741. For other potential Irish affinities, note the presence of the hisperic poems *Rubisca* (fol. 419^{v}) and *Adelphus Adelpha meter* (fol. 420^{r}) and the hymn *Sancte sator legis lator suffragator* (fol. 388^{v}), its vocabulary particularly reminiscent of the *Altus Prosator*.

68 Edition by Ziolkowski 1998, replacing Breul 1915.

syntactic unit.[69] The 'Cambridge Songs' section is an integral part of the manuscript as a whole, and its scribe was also a major contributor to the classical Latin sections that precede it. It is clear, therefore, that the entire compilation was conceived as – or grew into the shape of – a curriculum that embraced not only established classics but also recent poetry from a geographically-defined region close to the world of the compilers, in which a non-Classical vernacular could potentially be admitted into a poetic canon defined by Latin composition.[70] As such, it offers a partial parallel for the assembly of texts of indigenous origin into a compilation supplementing the established canon of internationally-studied Latin *grammatica*.[71]

5 A dual-language poetic canon

Despite the suggestive implications of this parallel, it is clear that the *Liber Hymnorum* goes vastly further than the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript both in the scale of its scholarly apparatus and in its focus on a national literary corpus. How are we to conclude our attempt to characterise its purpose and affinities? The clue, I suggest, is in the very fact that it combines Latin with the vernacular so pervasively, both in the main texts and in the scholarly apparatus. Various

69 The key example is that usually known as *De Henrico* (no. 19 in Ziolkowski 1998), fol. 437^{r}b27–437^{v}a23. In the other example, *Clericus et nona* (no. 28 in Ziolkowski 1998), the text has been virtually obliterated and little can be read, but there is enough to see that it followed a similar structure of language-switching between half-lines, the subject being a cleric's attempted seduction of a nun.

70 See Ziolkowski 1998, xxi–xxv, arguing that the entire manuscript is a unified anthology into which the 'Cambridge Songs' have been subsumed; and compare the more ambitious reconstruction of Rigg and Wieland 1975, who see the 'Cambridge Songs' as the culminating section of a graded curriculum running from the beginning of the manuscript to the end. This latter view is problematic, not least because the 'Cambridge Songs' section is not glossed, so that any claim that it formed part of the *educational* programme of the manuscript is speculative.

71 A further, more speculative analogy has been drawn between the curriculum of the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript and of the poetic compilations in Old English, of which the Exeter Book and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 are the most spectacular examples (Tyler 2016). It remains a difficulty, however, that the parallel is easier to pin on book-collecting than on book-production. It is certainly significant, as Tyler points out, that the Exeter Book was juxtaposed with Latin *grammatica* manuscripts in Leofric's library, as seen from his bequest to Exeter Cathedral in 1072, but this does not shed light directly on its origins or constitution. The Exeter Book is not glossed or provided with a scholarly apparatus analogous to the *grammatica* studied in the present paper, so its value for the present discussion remains doubtful.

enactments of a mode of composition characterised by free intermingling between Latin and a vernacular, both between and within sentences and clauses, characterised the learned discourse of educational communication in the monastic communities of early medieval Europe, and are occasionally reproduced in written form in surviving manuscripts. A noteworthy and well-studied example is the bilingual prose variety (*Mischprosa*) between Latin and German used by Notker Labeo in his translations and exegetical reworking of the canonical texts studied in his school at St Gall around the year 1000.[72] In Irish-language circles from at least the eighth century onward, the evidence of glossed manuscripts shows that intermediate varieties combining Latin and Irish with varying degrees of closeness were characteristic of the culture of the scholarly classes in the monasteries, and the Old Irish gloss corpora represent the written trace or re-enactment of a bilingually functioning speech-community. It is also possible (but cannot be proven) that the Irish monastic communities of the eighth century, especially those associated with the ascetic *céli Dé* movement, gave an especially active role to the vernacular and may even have incorporated its use into the liturgy.[73] As we have seen, however, all the evidence is that the scholarly apparatus (and presumably the work of compilation) represented by the *Liber Hymnorum* dates to the early eleventh century: in which case its overall effect is to act as a monument not only to the compositions of the national saints but also to the prestigious heritage of monastic education and scholarship from the Irish past.

A sidelight is thrown on this by the one poem in the collection that enacts the confrontation between languages not only in the scholarly apparatus but within the words of the verses themselves, as in the examples from the 'Cambridge Songs' mentioned above. The hymn *Sén Dé*, supposedly by Colmán ua Cluasaigh (d. 661 CE),[74] is interlaced with bilingual lines like the following (in the translation, the Irish is again printed underlined and the Latin in italic):[75]

Soter soeras Loth di thein,	*The saviour* who saved Lot from the fire,
qui per secula habetur,	*who is held through the ages,*
ut nos omnes precamur	*as we all pray*
liberare dignetur.	*may he see fit to liberate us.*

72 Grotans 2006.

73 See Follett 2006, 209–212.

74 I present this section of text with more detailed notes and discussion in Clarke 2018, 9–12. See also Ó Dochartaigh 2007 for an important discussion of the metrical configuration binding together the two languages in this poem.

75 The text is from Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 27–28, with minor revisions from the LH-T manuscript.

Abram de Ur na Galdai,	Abram from Ur of the Chaldees,
snaidsiunn ruri ron-snada,	may the king protect us, let him protect us,
soersum soeras in popul	may he free me, he who saved the people
limpa fontis in Gaba.	*from the liquid of the pool in Gaba*.
Ruri anacht tri maccu	The king who saved the three boys
a surnn tened, co ruadi,	from the fiery oven, with redness,
ronn-ain amal ro anacht	may he save us as he saved
Dauid de manu Gólai.	*David from the hand of Goliath*.
Flaithem nime locharnaig	The ruler of lamp-filled heaven,
ar-don-roigse diar trógi	may he spare us for our wretchedness,
nat leic suum profetam	he who did not leave *his prophet*
ulli leonum ori.	*for any lions' mouth*.

One way of accounting for this peculiar bilingual composition is preserved in the Preface, which records the story that only part of the hymn was written by Colmán himself: he composed the first two quatrains, which are entirely in Irish, while the remaining quatrains (including those cited here) were composed in turn by the pupils of his school (Irish *scol*), each one contributing half a verse – in other words, one pair of half-lines as printed on a single line above.[76] As imagined in this story, the individual pupil was liable to switch languages within the section of verse that he contributed: and the patterns show that such a switch was liable to take place at any point in the flow of syntax and metre, often within a clause or within a single half-line (as, for example, in the second-last line cited above). Although there is no reason to doubt that this story is an eleventh-century invention, what is significant is that its maker associated the bilingual pattern with the linguistic environment of the schoolroom of an earlier age.

6 Conclusion

If we can extrapolate from this last example, it suggests that the project represented by the compilation as a whole was designed to enact and canonise the literary and educational achievement of that earlier age of Irish Christianity, perhaps at a time when its culture and language were seen to have passed away in the educational and devotional life of the nation and the Church. As such, the

76 See the Preface, Bernard and Atkinson 1898, vol. 1, 25, lines 12–15; detailed discussion in Clarke 2018, 11–12.

Liber Hymnorum may have made sense as something analogous to a reliquary – a reliquary enclosing not the remains of a saint, but the grammatical and literary culture of a world for whom both Hiberno-Latin and Old Irish sacred poetry could be placed on a level of cultural authority commensurate with Vergil or Boethius. If this compilation is unique in the European manuscript culture of its time, it is so because nowhere else was the dignity of a national literary inheritance asserted with such boldness in the Latinate world of *grammatica* and sacred verse. In the absence of any direct external evidence for the use or reception of the manuscripts, we can only guess at the cultural politics that motivated this extraordinary project.

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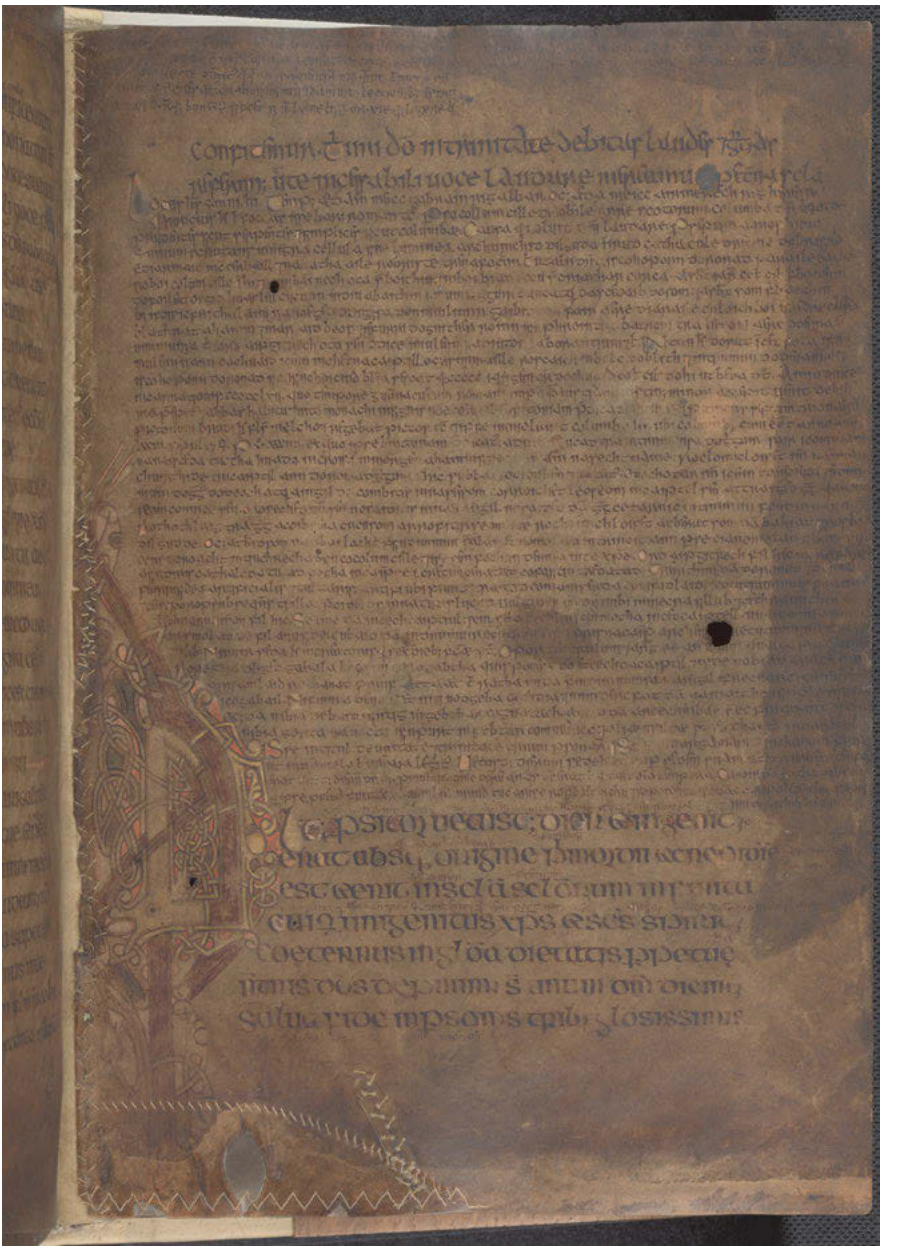

Fig. 1: Dublin, Trinity College, 1441, fol. 11r; courtesy of the Keeper of Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Trinity College Dublin.

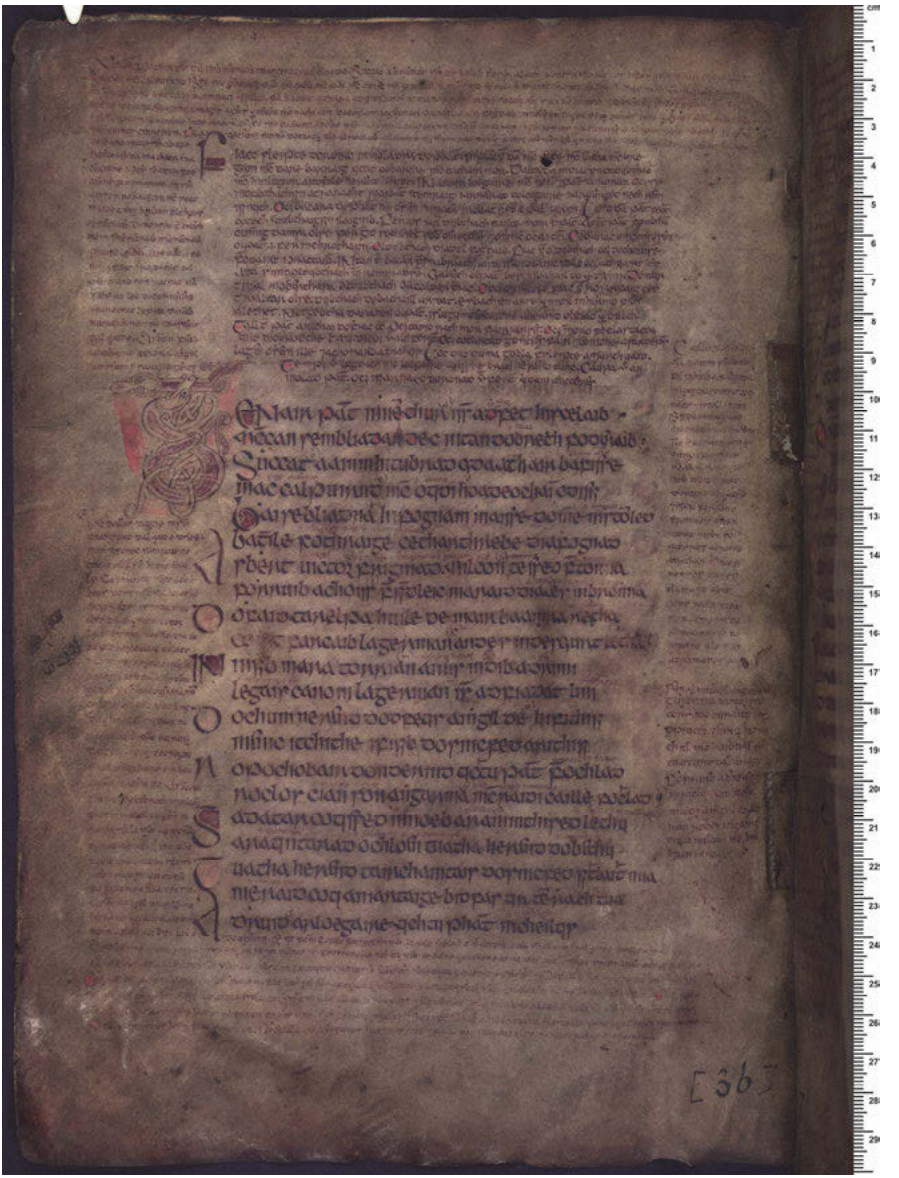

Fig. 2: Dublin, University College, Franciscan A2, p. 36; courtesy of UCD Archives, University College Dublin, and the Irish Script on Screen project, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies <https://www.isos.dias.ie/>.

Fig. 3a: Dublin, Trinity College, 1441, fol. 19^{v} (detail); courtesy of the Keeper of Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 3b: Dublin, Trinity College, 1441, fol. 5^{r} (detail); courtesy of the Keeper of Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Trinity College Dublin.

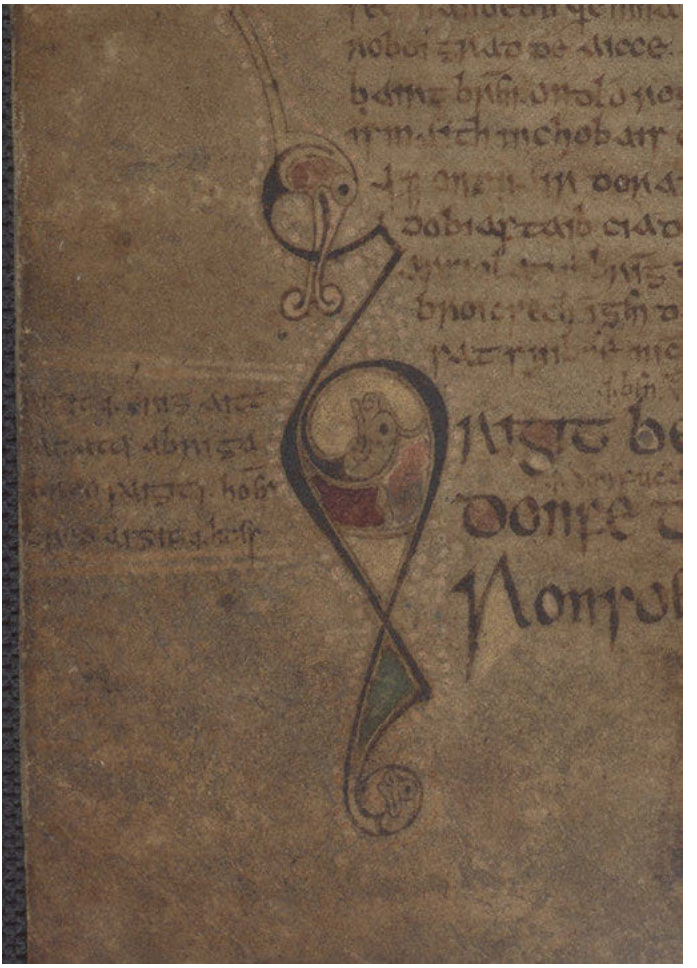

Fig. 3c: Dublin, Trinity College, 1441, fol. 16^{v} (detail); courtesy of the Keeper of Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 3d: Dublin, University College, Franciscan A2, p. 28 (detail); courtesy of UCD Archives, University College Dublin, and the Irish Script on Screen project, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies <https://www.isos.dias.ie/>.

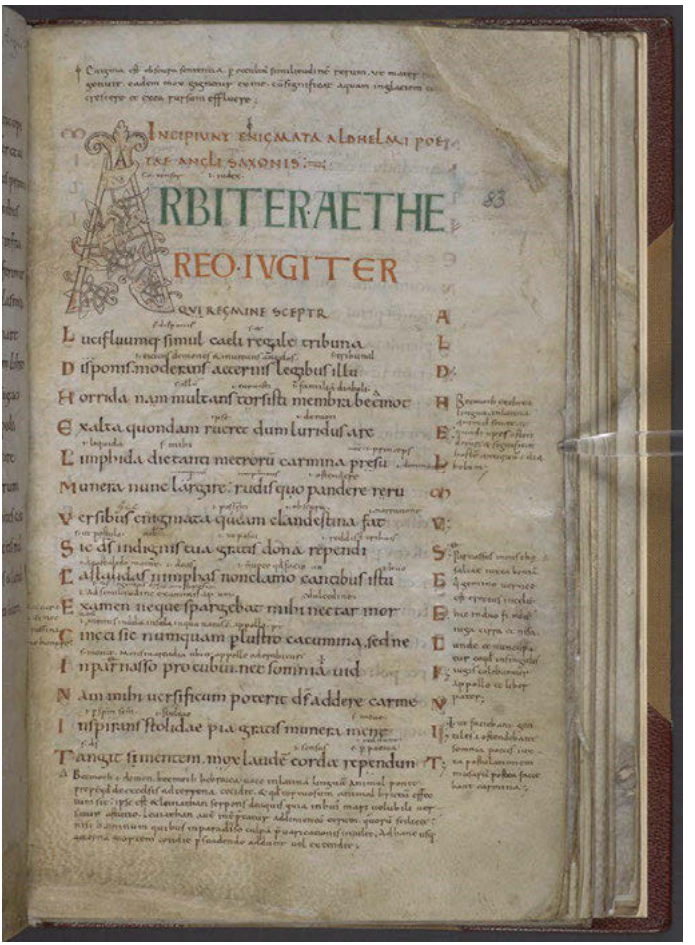

Fig. 4a: London, British Library, Royal 12.C.23, fol. 83r, Aldhelm, *Aenigmata* with glosses (Canterbury, *c.* 1000 CE). © The British Library Board (Royal 12.C.23).

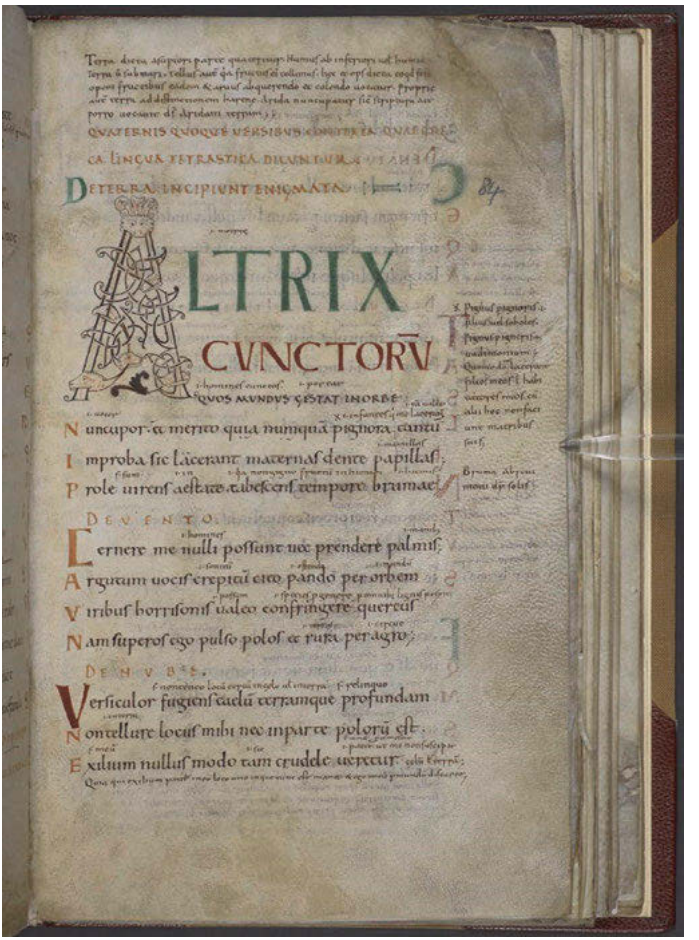

Fig. 4b: London, British Library, Royal 12.C.23, fol. 84^{r}, Aldhelm, *Aenigmata* with glosses (Canterbury, *c.* 1000 CE). Image © The British Library Board (Royal 12.C.23).

Christian Høgel

A Greek Gospel of Luke for the Arabophone: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 911

Abstract: This New Testament manuscript is written in Greek and Arabic, with colophons, annotations and other paratexts in Arabic. It bears witness to the fluid relationships between disparate cultures, languages and identities that characterised Norman-ruled Sicily and Southern Italy in the eleventh century.

In the year 1043 CE – the date of our manuscript – and for most of the eleventh century, Southern Italy and Sicily were going through chaotic times.[1] The area had, at least since the Byzantine emperor Constantine VIII recalled his *katepano* Boioannes in 1027, been under no clear sovereignty and was in fact a border zone contested by local barons and representatives of neighbouring empires. Arabs, coming mainly from Aghlabid Tunisia and Fatimid Egypt, had during the ninth and tenth centuries become rulers of most of Sicily. The Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II, who (legally speaking) was lord of Southern Italy, had ventured south only hesitantly in 1038, in order to restore the monastery of Monte Cassino and install Gaimar as prince of Capua; after that he instantly returned to Germany. The cause of the Byzantines, who had for a long time been losing ground in the region, in reality failed when their most brilliant general, George Maniakes, was pressurized into revolting against the throne in 1042 and was thereby diverted from his successful campaigns in Sicily. This Byzantine downfall in the region was to find its final completion with the loss of Bari in 1071 to the Norman commander, soon duke and finally count, Robert Guiscard. Since their arrival at the beginning of the eleventh century in Southern Italy, Norman mercenaries had been testing Lombard control over the region, and by a lucky strike a branch of these rose to become lords over all Sicily. With all these contestants, warfare in the area consisted mainly of quick raids and loosely founded alliances. And whoever was in possession of bands of loyal men came out the stronger, while old structures – whether local lords or representatives of the

1 The best account of this is (still) in Norwich 1967, chapters 1–3, on which the following account is based.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110776492-009

distant empires – lost out. Our sources speak almost exclusively of wars, shifting alliances and, in the distant centres, incompetent leadership.

1 A manuscript attesting to a flourishing multilingual culture

Such conditions would not seem to be the obvious backdrop for a literary culture to flourish: and yet, as we see in the later Norman kingdom of Sicily, it was under such circumstances that these competitors would together contribute to the creation of a new climate for the development of learning. Norman Sicily became famous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for nurturing, at least for a hundred years or so, a culture in which Latin, Greek and Arabic were all in use as literary languages at the same court and in various sections of society.[2] And, as we shall see, even before Norman control gradually settled on the island from 1060 and onwards, Greek and Arabic were already finding common ground. This we find clearly witnessed in a manuscript produced in 1043 by a certain Euphemios or Ophima (the Greek and the Arabic version of his name, respectively) and containing the Gospel of Luke in Greek, with accompanying introductions and translation of the complete gospel in Arabic (see Fig. 1). The manuscript, which today is at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris,[3] is in itself a wonderful document of a world in which what for us is an uncommon mingling of written (and probably spoken) languages was a perfectly mainstream phenomenon. For the producer of the manuscript, both languages and both literary worlds – the Greek/Byzantine and the Arabic – were familiar and cherished. Let us take a closer look at how this worked.

The manuscript is a small approximately square book (*c.* 172 × 140 mm), consisting of parchment quires (sets of interlaid folded sheets), held together by a later binding, almost certainly from Palestine, where the manuscript later came into the possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[4] Considered as a book, it looks quite Byzantine. Both the use of parchment (which in the Arab

2 On the literary culture, see Mallette 2005. On the surprisingly rich use of all three languages (Latin, Greek and Arabic) in various administrative areas of the island, see Metcalfe 2003.

3 Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 911 (Diktyon 53595), apart from a bifolio taken from it, today in St Petersburg, in the Russian National Library, Ф. № 906 (Gr.) 290 (Granstrem 199) (Diktyon 57362).

4 Devreesse, Astruc, and Concasty 1960, III.9–10, numéros 901–1371. The manuscript has been studied in Géhin 1997, who addresses its late medieval history, 171–173. There is a recent discussion of the manuscript in Degni 2018, 183–185.

world had already by the eleventh century to a large degree been replaced by paper) and the pattern of alternation between flesh-side and grain-side (the light and darker sides, respectively, of the treated animal skins of parchment) reflects common procedures in Byzantium.[5] And, not least, the way one turns the pages – to the left, as in any Greek (or Latin) manuscript, and not to the right, as in any Arabic manuscript – points to the fundamentally Greek-Byzantine nature of this book. The way the dating of the manuscript is done is also typically Byzantine. A colophon text on fol. 315^{r}, stated in both Greek and Arabic on the last page of the manuscript, gives us the name and position of the producer, the name of the commissioner, and the year of production: Euphemios/Ophima, cleric/*šammās* and reader, produced, for a certain Ioannes, in the year 1043, or, more precisely, in the year 6551 after the Creation, thus indicated in the Byzantine manner (see Fig. 2c).[6] Also the Greek writing offers us the final clue to the place of production. The Arabic handwriting is what specialists characterize as 'transitional late-*kūfi-nasḫī*'; a specific use of dots for the letters *fa* and *qaf* points loosely to the area of Andalus and Maghreb.[7] But more specific observations can be made concerning the Greek handwriting: the so-called 'as de pique' ('ace of spades') ligature in the writing of the letters *epsilon* and *rho* may indicate Sicily or Southern Italy as the place of origin.[8] And since these are the areas were Arabic and Greek literary cultures met, it seems reasonable to assume that Euphemios/Ophima must have been working somewhere in those areas.

The double signature that Euphemios/Ophima left in the final colophon is visible all through the book, although this bilingual configuration is not always present. He clearly knew both languages well, had intimate knowledge of book production with both scripts,[9] and a careful look at the book reveals a conscious wish to produce a completely Greco-Arabic integration. The book displays a neat solution for the balance of the two types of writing, each having their own direction (one written from the left, the other from the right), and it reflects a balanced blending, with reading aids and introductions mostly in Arabic, whereas title indications and the book as such are Greek. But why go to these complicated measures? Why did Euphemios/Ophima and/or Ioannes insist on

5 See Géhin 1997, 163.

6 Géhin 1997, 164 gives a full translation of both the Arabic and Greek colophon text into French.

7 See Géhin 1997, 167–169, and Monferrer-Sala and Urbán 2012, 121–122.

8 Géhin 1997, 167–168. Concerning the 'as de pique' ligature, see the bibliography quoted by Géhin 1996, 167 n. 14. The ligature alone cannot be used to locate a manuscript but must be considered alongside other criteria. Cf. De Vocht 1981.

9 Even if some modern scholars have found the decoration 'barbaric'; see Géhin 1997, 170.

having two languages just about equally represented in a book that would then double in size and in costs, at a time when manuscripts were immensely expensive? Let us delve further into the description of the book.

2 The parts of the book, and the status of the languages

The book essentially consists of three parts. In the first part, a short prayer in Arabic is followed by a long index, listing the 83 chapters (κεφάλαια *kefalaia* / Arabic not legible) into which Luke's text is here subdivided (fols 1–4^{v}). Such indexing was customary in most medieval biblical manuscripts, but here it is bilingual, with the Greek text on the left side of every page and facing Arabic on the right side of the page. This layout, which naturally and beautifully produces straight left and right margins, is utilized throughout the manuscript for pages presenting both Greek and Arabic text.[10] In the second part (fols 5^{r}–314^{v}), we have the complete Gospel of Luke (though some pages and even quires have gone missing in the course of time). The neat placing of the Greek text, in short lines with equal distance on the left side of the page, is balanced on the right by the Arabic, which closely follows the Greek, verse for verse, but often leaves more space between lines and verses, since the Arabic (at least in this writing) takes up lesser space. The third part (fols 314^{v}–315^{r}, Fig. 2a) begins with a short historical explanation as to who Luke was and where he wrote his gospel (fol. 314^{v}, Fig. 2b). This text is given in Arabic only, but with a heading in Greek. This is followed by the colophon, mentioned above, a single page (fol. 315^{r}, Fig. 2c) that – again bilingually – gives us information on the producer, commissioner, and date of the manuscript.

As we see, a fine balance between the languages is not only visible but stands out as clearly intentional on the part of the manuscript's creator. Apart from the small text giving historical facts about Luke and his gospel (in Arabic, but with a Greek heading), which gives a slight imbalance, only the initial prayer (solely in Arabic) seems to be additional to this pattern. Unfortunately, however, due to the fragile and worn state of the manuscript, we are not in a position to make a clear evaluation here. It seems – though we cannot know –

10 This distribution of Greek and Arabic text is thus unlike that of the manuscript Sinaiticus arab. 116, which offers Gospel readings in Arabic on the outer rim of the book and in Greek on either side of the middle; this manuscripts dates from 995–996 CE: see Géhin 1997, 162–164.

that the very first page of the manuscript (fol. 1^{r}, now glued to a modern paper page) originally contained no text. Instead, the reader of the book was meant to turn the page and find the first double page (fols 1^{v}–2^{r}) (see Fig. 3a).

On this double page, the reader would find the short prayer on the left and the beginning of the index on the right page. Both pages seem to have had an ornamental band on the top, with lots of green (or possibly gold) colouring.[11] Unfortunately, wherever this green colour was applied, rust or some similar process has decomposed the parchment and produced holes or, as in the case of the first open pages, has removed almost all of the stuffy material in the parchment, leaving only a thin and transparent film with little or no colour. For this reason, the translucent quadrangles left on these first pages do not reveal their original content to us. They may have been ornamental blocks (though not traditional Byzantine *pylai*, which were shaped as the Greek letter *pi*), but some writing here may also have announced the contents of the book (though also stated right above the index). On fol. 5 a similar block, also partly decomposed, announces in Greek capital letters ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, 'gospel', with the name of Luke having probably withered away. We cannot draw a final conclusion concerning the opening pages; as they stand, however, Arabic is given slightly more space, as is also the case with the final historical text on Luke. On the other hand, Greek is more often used in headings.

This prompts us to wonder why Arabic is more prominently represented in the textual configuration than might have been expected. Despite the scholarly attention given to this manuscript, the initial prayer has never been edited or even commented upon.[12] The text starts with what is graphically placed as a heading (with central rather than right alignment): 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit' in Arabic. This is obviously a well-known Christian formula, but its use as heading or initial formula is not markedly common. When found in an Arabic context, it resembles very much the almost universally-used initial formula in the Muslim world, the *bismillah*.[13] The formula here starts with exactly the same words in Arabic, but of course characterises itself as non-Muslim by naming the Trinity. This resemblance with standardized Muslim language is found again later in the (unfortunately fragmentary) text. The beginning of the

11 Images on Gallica are only available in black and white, and so unfortunately the colouring is not visible on the figures provided.

12 The only mention of the text is Géhin 1997, 170, who calls it an 'Arabic preface' with no further comments on its content or form. It is translated and discussed in the next section below.

13 For a discussion of the status and intention behind the common use of the formula in Christian Arabic texts, see Cicade 2015.

very last line in the prayer reads *jalla jalāluhu* 'May His glory be glorified', again common in Muslim parlance, but here used in a Christian context. There can be no doubt about Euphemios/Ophima and Ioannes being Christians, but their literary and/or religious language certainly owes something to the Arabic and Muslim world. From this prayer and the short historical introduction to Luke and his gospel at the end of the manuscript, we may surmise at the very least that Ioannes, the recipient of the book, was more comfortable with reading Arabic. Had Greek been his primary language, he would hardly have wanted introductions and background information in Arabic; in fact, he would not have needed the support of Arabic (most importantly given in the running and complete translation of the gospel). The Greek text is, however, not without significance. The authority of Greek as a medium lay not alone in the obvious fact that it was the original medium of the Gospels, but also in its status as the liturgical language of all of Orthodox Sicily (even after Latin arrived with the Normans). Its importance is highlighted by the title given in Greek alone, above the beginning of the gospel text and even above the historical introduction in Arabic. It is as if only a Greek heading could truly introduce the text. In the historical introduction, it is furthermore stated that 'the whole Gospel of Luke was written in Greek [*bi-l-yūnāniyat*], in Alexandria'. This does not conform to the usual ascription of Luke as originating from the city of Antioch, but it does – once again – insist on the importance of the Greek world.[14] Even through Arabic, a Greek allegiance is stressed.

3 The initial prayer and the persons involved

The question, of course, is whether this points to Euphemios/Ophima and/or Ioannes merely insisting upon being Christian/Orthodox, or whether he/they also wished to display some sort of loyalty to Byzantium in particular. The first, complete lines of the initial prayer go as follows (fol. 1^{v} l. 1–5, Fig. 3b):

باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس
bismi-'l-abi wa-'l-ibni wa-rūḥi 'l-qudsi
In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit

14 The short historical introduction on Luke resembles the later and common introduction by al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl (13th-c. Coptic scholar), but only shares the standard information on language and city of production; see Wadi 2006, 79-80.

الاله الواحد
al-illāhi 'l-wāhidu
the one God

الذي هدانا بتوفيقة بعد الضلالة والعمى
allaḏī hadānā bitaufiqihi buʿda 'l-ḍalālah wa-al-ʿamā
who guided us by His assistance away from the error and blindness

وبصرنا رشدنا بعد الهلكة والردى. وانار
wa baṣṣaranā rashshdanā baʿda al-halukah wa 'l-radan. wa anāra
and showed us guided us after (or away from?) the death and apostasy. And He enlightened

عقولنا بهكمته الباليغه ونوا ...
ʿuqūlanā bi-ḥikmatihi al-bālighati wa-nawā[...]
our minds by His deep wisdom...

It would be an over-interpretation to claim that the grievance expressed here is concerned with the fate of Maniakes or the desperate state of Byzantine power in the region. But the acknowledgment of 'error' (*al-ḍalālah*), followed by a reference to destruction and ruin, do seem to point to the lamentable state of affairs brought about by constant warfare. And, once again, we find that the word for 'error', here in a Christian lamentation, echoes Muslim religious language, from the end of surah 1 in the Qur'an (*al-ḍāllīn*).

From the colophon (fol. 315^{r}, Fig. 2c) we understand that both producer and commissioner were men of the church. Euphemios/Ophima had titles of cleric[15] and reader (ἀναγνώστης *anagnōstēs* / قاري *qāri'*), whereas Ioannes, the commissioner, was also *šammās*, his title not given in the Greek. At least Ioannes, if not also Euphemios/Ophima, must have been in need of a Greek Luke with Arabic support, and must have liked the idea of a Byzantine-looking manuscript with Arabic literary/religious features. Depending on his financial situation, it is quite possible that he commissioned similar copies of the three other gospels or of other biblical books. The Bible was hardly ever produced in one book in these centuries,[16] so it is no surprise to find a single gospel taking up a whole book.

Being a manuscript containing the full Gospel text rather than a lectionary, the manuscript was hardly meant for liturgical use. What the bilingual text offered was primarily a study tool, a support for exegesis. As Ioannes or some-

15 κλήρικον *klērikon* in Greek, which is probably equivalent to the stated Arabic شمّاس *šammās*; see Géhin 1997, 165.

16 What was customary for the Latin Bible holds true also for the Greek: see van Liere 2014, chapter 2.

body else read the text, he or she would at the same time be able to enjoy the fine page layout and the simple but meticulously executed ornamentation. Every verse initial letter was coloured in alternating red or green. And when a verse started with a red letter, the final stop of that verse would be in green (and the same colour as the following initial). This rule is followed throughout the manuscript. When we find *haplai* (i.e. Byzantine quotation marks, placed only on the left side of every line of a quotation), these are again in the colour contrasting with that used for the initial.[17] Similar red-green alternation continues into the title of the historical introduction (fol. 314^{v}, Fig. 2b). Only the colophon lacks this colour feature and is thereby marked out as paratext, as being particular to this book. From time to time Ioannes would have noticed that the Arabic, though generally following the Greek closely, incorporated minor divergences from it. Whether this is a sign of a different translator, or of a different practice by one close to or even identical with our main producer, is hard to tell.[18]

In any case, a thoroughly Arabicized Orthodox readership, and perhaps even a whole community, must be imagined behind the production of this manuscript. We may think of Orthodox Christians of Sicily having gradually become Arabophone and finding it progressively harder to follow the word and meaning of the Greek text. Nonetheless, a thoroughly Arabic literary culture would go hand in hand with complete familiarity with Byzantine customs in book production. Given that the work was completed the year after the sudden disappearance of the general George Maniakes, and with him the hope of Byzantine sovereignty, it is difficult not to take the lamentations of the initial prayer as a reflection – if no more – of continuous warfare that had brought no good to this community. Clearly, however, these people could a few decades later be part of the strong Arabic presence that met the new Norman lords and induced them to include this too among the learned languages in vogue at their court. As for Greek, its strength continued, with liturgy being performed in Greek throughout the Norman domination even after the introduction of the Western rite. Few centres were so multilingual or displayed the simultaneous use of so many learned languages, as did Sicily. To find anything approaching this in other political centres, we would have to go to Castile (though little Arabic was there

17 And will therefore change colour if continued into a new verse, as we see e.g. in fol. 32^{r} (alternating red-green-red: νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου … καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ; fol. 40^{r} (alternating red-green-red: φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ανδ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείαν). The Greek text has been normalised in the citations provided.

18 Both interpretations are offered by Urbán 2007, 95, and Monferrer-Sala and Urbán, 2012, 120–121. Géhin, 167 states that the Arabic text was translated directly a Greek text version, though not the one given in our manuscript.

produced at court) or Antioch (politically a much smaller unit). In this way, Euphemios/Ophima and Ioannes made their contribution – small in scale, but culturally rich – to a unique historical phenomenon.

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Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 911, fols 37^{v}–38^{r}, with facing Greek-Arabic text. Golden/green capitals have corroded the parchment, leaving holes. © Bibliothèque nationale de France. Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110040650/f44.item>.

Fig. 2a: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 911, fols 314^{v}–315^{r}. Top left shows the ending of the Gospel of Luke, with Greek text to the left and Arabic to the right. Bottom left gives the short historical account of the life of Luke, in Arabic but with a Greek title. On the page to the right is Euphimios/Ophima's signature, in Greek and Arabic. © Bibliothèque nationale de France. Source : <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110040650/f334.item>.

Fig. 2b: Fol. 314^{v} (detail).

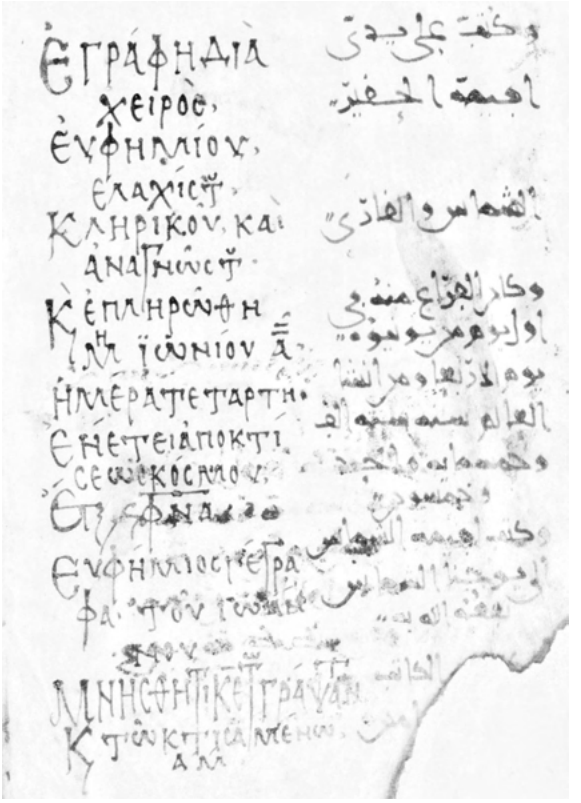

Fig. 2c: Fol. 315^{r} (detail).

Fig. 3a: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 911, fols 1ᵛ–2ʳ. On the left the initial prayer, to the right the beginning of the index of contents. © Bibliothèque nationale de France. Source : <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110040650/f4.item>.

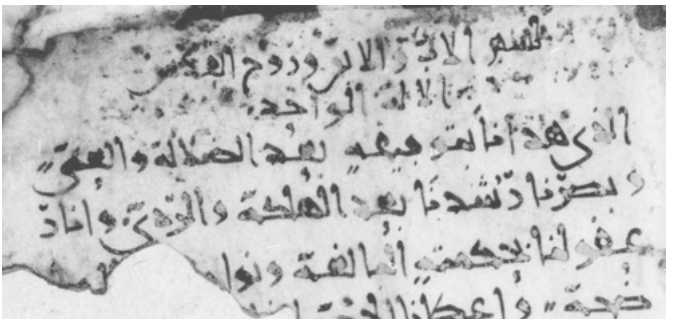

Fig. 3b: Fol. 1ᵛ (detail).

Language Interaction and Constructing Polities

Cillian O'Hogan

The Harley Trilingual Psalter, a Witness to Multilingualism at the Court Scriptorium of Roger II of Sicily

Abstract: Manuscript London, British Library, Harley 5786, an early twelfth-century Psalter from the circles around Roger II of Sicily, has parallel texts in Greek, Latin and Arabic. Detailed study of the arrangement of the manuscript, and the sequence of its composition, suggests close interaction between practitioners of the three languages in the scriptorium where it was made.

1 Introduction: multilingual Greek manuscripts

Many medieval Greek manuscripts display evidence of cross-linguistic or cross-cultural interactions.[1] Decoration and illumination often provides evidence of regional affiliations, or of influence from northern Eastern Europe, or the Middle East.[2] Similarly, annotations by owners and users of manuscripts let us see that Greek manuscripts were produced and read not only in the Byzantine sphere of influence but also in the distant West and the Middle East.[3]

Multilingual manuscripts proper, however, are less common in the Greek context. Aside from Carolingian copies of late antique *colloquia*, and manuscripts post-dating the beginnings of Greek migration to Italy in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[4] relatively few multilingual manuscripts

1 All manuscripts mentioned in this chapter are kept at the British Library, unless indicated otherwise.

2 For significant examples of manuscripts from this milieu see e.g. Add. 27860 (Diktyon 39058), a Gospel lectionary dating from *c.* 1100 CE, the illumination of which is distinctly Italian, or the miniatures of the eleventh-century Gospel book Harley 5647 (Diktyon 39607), which were added in the thirteenth century by a Syriac artist (see *British Library Summary Catalogue* 1999, 154–155). For a survey of Greek manuscripts of Italian origin in the British Library see Cataldi Palau 1992.

3 For example: Add. 47674 (Diktyon 39238), a Greek-Latin psalter, was created in Paris probably in the 1220s (Branner 1977, 48–49, 206); Add. 39604 (Diktyon 39183), a twelfth-century Gospel lectionary, owned by various monasteries in and near Jerusalem, contains various marginalia in Arabic.

4 See Herren 2015 and the editions of Dickey 2012–2015.

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containing Greek survive.[5] Those that do exist from the high Byzantine period fall into two categories: biblical manuscripts on the one hand, scientific or philosophical on the other. The latter are overwhelmingly bilingual in Greek and Arabic.[6] The former can take the form of bilingual manuscripts (Greek-Arabic or Greek-Latin), trilingual (Greek-Latin-Arabic) and in a couple of rare cases, quadrilingual (Greek-Latin-Arabic-Hebrew). It should be noted at this point that *all* trilingual Greek manuscripts that can be localised with any degree of confidence have Italy or Sicily as their place of origin.[7]

2 Multilingualism in twelfth-century Sicily

The common origin of these trilingual manuscripts should not come as a surprise, given the multicultural character of southern Italy and Sicily in the high Middle Ages.[8] By the time of the twelfth century, Sicily had been ruled successively by Greeks, Saracens, and Normans, resulting in a widely diverse and multilingual community. Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, and Norman French were all spoken in twelfth-century Sicily, and it is clear that inhabitants of different linguistic communities lived side by side, both in Palermo and in smaller communities elsewhere on the island.[9] As the Norman kings consolidated their hold over Sicily into the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, Latin grew in dominance as the primary language, while Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic diminished in importance. But in the early part of the twelfth century, and above all during the reign of Roger II, the charismatic leader who united and consolidated Norman rule in Italy, many languages co-existed in Sicily. It should be stressed that multilingualism does not imply religious tolerance, and that there is clear evidence that there was considerable discrimination against Muslims.[10] Arabic-speaking Christians, however, formed an important group in Norman Sicily.

5 See Wilson 1992, 1–53 passim; for Bessarion's library as the key exception, ibidem, 57–67.

6 For a good example see Pormann 2003.

7 See especially Piemontese 2002, Pormann 2003, Cataldi Palau 2004. Degni 2018 discusses Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 11 (coll. 379) (Diktyon 69482), a slightly later trilingual copy of the Acts and Epistles, also likely of Sicilian origin.

8 The literature on what follows is vast, but see especially Wolf 2009, von Falkenhausen 2014, Metcalfe 2002 and 2009, Mallette 2003, Johns 2002, Houben 2014.

9 See Metcalfe 2002, and for the broader context, the essays collected in Mersch and Ritzerfeld 2009.

10 Note the careful comments of Loud 2002, 3–4.

Certainly, a large part of the ideology surrounding Roger II consists of his efforts to present himself as an integrated ruler of many linguistic groups.[11] The ways in which Roger presents himself as a Byzantine ruler, in particular, have been discussed at length over the years.[12] I shall return later to the ways in which the multilingual psalter that is the subject of this paper fits into the broader ideology of the court of Roger II. For the moment, however, it suffices to note that Roger's policy appears to have resulted in a marked increase in the importation and copying of luxury Greek manuscripts (the Madrid Scylitzes being the example *par excellence*), and in the importation of Arabic-speaking scribes from the *dīwān* of North Africa.[13] Roger appears to have been eager to reach his subjects in multiple languages, and the official multilingual policy would seem to have inspired the similar multilingual tendencies of commemorative inscriptions erected by ranking officials of the court.[14] On a larger scale, we can see this policy in, for instance, the Capella Palatina, which incorporates elements from Byzantine, Norman, and Arabic architecture.[15] Or we could point to the famous Byzantine-style mosaic in the church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, depicting Christ crowning Roger II in the form of a Byzantine monarch.[16]

It should be stressed that this multilingual approach adopted by Roger is not merely inward-looking and focused within the kingdom. It clearly has implications for how Roger wanted to be perceived outside of Sicily. The very practice of importing manuscripts and scribes would send a signal to others elsewhere in the Mediterranean basin. The wider religious and political context is significant too. As Herde has stressed, Roger II was initially warm and positive towards the Greek churches in Sicily.[17] This resulted from a need to cement

11 See Wolf 2009, 47–55 and Tronzo 1997a.

12 See the classic treatment of Kitzinger 1950.

13 On the Madrid Scylitzes see Wilson 1978 and Cavallo 2000, 151. Johns 2002 on the Arabic scribes of Norman Sicily is fundamental. Canart 1978, especially 118, believed that during the Norman period a certain rapprochement between the style of Italian Greek hands and those elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world can be identified. This view is doubted by Cavallo 2000. The problem is indicative of the striking general uniformity of Greek hands in comparison to the Latin hands of the same period, but a return to the Constantinopolitan norm would make sense in the wider context of greater influence of imported manuscripts at the court of Roger II.

14 See the discussion of the funeral plaque to Anna, mother of Grisandus, later in this paper.

15 See Tronzo 1993, 1997a, 1997b.

16 For the ways in which this mosaic combines Byzantine and Western elements, see Kitzinger 1950.

17 For what follows see Herde 2002, 218 and passim. See also von Falkenhausen 2002, 263 and 2014 on Roger's attitude towards the Greeks in Sicily.

his authority on the island, but was also related to his support of Anacletus II's claim to the papal throne in return for investiture as the king of Sicily. Roger's approach changed, however, after he had consolidated his hold on mainland Italy and had secured concessions from the papacy. With less need for political support from the Greek churches, Roger had no reason to maintain his positive approach. In other words, we should be mindful of viewing multilingualism, especially in relation to religion and religious texts, not merely as a neutral expression of tolerance, but rather in the context of broader debates about religion, politics, and the churches of twelfth-century Europe. Nonetheless Roger's multilingual and multicultural stance was clearly an important part of his self-presentation and ideology, and this had the knock-on effect of causing court officials to adopt similar stances of multilingualism in an effort to demonstrate their own loyalty to Roger and his policies.[18]

3 Harley 5786: its date and origin

My focus in this paper is Harley 5786, commonly known as the Harley Trilingual Psalter, a copy of the Psalms in parallel Greek, Latin, and Arabic translations.[19] I begin by establishing the date and origin of the psalter. The *terminus ante quem* is helpfully provided by a Latin inscription on the final flyleaf (fol. 173^{v}), which reads '<Anno> I<ncar>nationis dominice m c liij Indictione <i> mensis Januarij die octauo die mercurij' (Fig. 1).

This inscription is badly faded, but was copied in the eighteenth century by Thomas Birch and William Watson.[20] Multi-spectral imaging undertaken at the

18 Further treatment of the wider translation contexts of Sicily at this time can be found in Piemontese 2002 (treating Harley 5786 on p. 459); see also Haskins 1927, 155–193.

19 Diktyon 39681. For basic information about the manuscript, see the current descriptions on the British Library Digitised Manuscripts page, with high-resolution images <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5786> (accessed on 26 Aug. 2020) and the Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8087&CollID=8&NStart=5786> (accessed on 26 Aug. 2020), drawing on the descriptions in *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* 1808–1812 and *British Library Summary Catalogue* 1999.

20 The transcription (on fol. 174^{r}) is signed 'Tho. Birch / W Watson'. The former is certainly Thomas Birch (b. 1705, d. 1766), secretary of the Royal Society between 1752 and 1765, who was involved in the early organization of the British Museum Library and in the preparation of the Harleian catalogue of 1759. The latter is William Watson (b. 1715, d. 1787), physician and natural historian, also a member of the Royal Society and made a trustee of the British Museum

British Library in May 2015 by Christina Duffy has enabled a much clearer picture of the original inscription and confirms the transcription of Birch and Watson (see Fig. 2).

It should be noted that the hand is not the same as any of the six Latin hands identifiable in the manuscript, and it should further be noted that the 8th of January 1153 was, in fact, a Thursday, not a Wednesday.[21] Consequently, we can only say that the manuscript predates 1153 on the evidence of this inscription. Further evidence as to date and location relies on palaeography. According to Jeremy Johns, the Arabic script is characteristic of the *dīwāni* style, which was only brought to Sicily by Roger on or shortly after his accession in 1130.[22] Thus we have a date range of 1130–1153. A Sicilian origin is confirmed by the Greek and Latin hands. The Greek script is of a south Italian style, as has frequently been noted.[23] The Latin script, the work of six hands, is also consistent with an Italian origin.[24] While such a manuscript could, in theory, have been produced in a range of places in southern Italy or Sicily, the scale of the manuscript and the number of hands involved (at least eight) surely points to a large urban setting, most likely the imperial scriptorium at Palermo itself.[25] The clear evidence that scribes from different linguistic traditions worked together, which I

when it was founded in 1756 (see Schaffer 2004). Watson and Birch were close friends, and Watson was with Birch when he died (see Miller 2004).

21 Such minor errors in colophons are not totally unknown, and do not indicate, for instance, that the colophon was added later than the date marked. See e.g. Add. 20003, fol. 57^{r}, for a similar type of mistake, with the comments of Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 156.

22 Johns 1995, 141.

23 See e.g. Wilson 1967; Canart and Leroy 1977, 256–258. Degni 2018, 194 suggests the Greek scribe may be one Georgios, associated with the monastery of S. Salvatore *in lingua phari* at Messina; though she too inclines towards a Palermo origin. Comparable scripts include Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, Δ.α.XIV (Diktyon 17658); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2290 (Diktyon 68921) (viewable online at <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.2290>, accessed on 26 Aug. 2020); and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 395 (Diktyon 67026), all found in Canart and Lucà 2000, nos. 39, 34, and 31 respectively. The Madrid Scylitzes (Madrid, BNE, Vitr. 26-2, Diktyon 40403) and the Vatican Medical Codex (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 300, Diktyon 66931, viewable online at <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.300>, accessed on 26 Aug. 2020) are also closely similar, and may even derive from the same writing workshop.

24 Watson 1979, no. 838.

25 Some have asserted that it was produced in Rossano or Patir: see e.g. Lucà and Venezia 2010, 87, contra see Piemontese 2002, 459 amongst others. Leaving aside the fact that the Reggio style cannot be so carefully localised, the fact that Roger brought in scribes and materials from outside Sicily could easily point to the recruitment of scribes based on the Italian mainland for his Greek writing workshop.

will outline in further detail below, also restricts the number of potential locations in which this manuscript could have been copied. Moreover, the similarity between the Indian numerals in Harley 5786 and a manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1371) containing a Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, made in Palermo, also points to an origin in this context.[26] Finally, it is worth reiterating the point that all trilingual manuscripts containing Greek with clear indications of provenance can be placed in Italy or Sicily.[27]

4 The layout of Harley 5786

The Psalter is laid out in three columns: the Greek on the left, the Latin in the centre, and the Arabic on the right. It contains the text of the Psalms in three translations: that of the Septuagint in Greek, that of the Vulgate in Latin, and that of Abū l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-muṭrān al-Anṭākī, deacon of the Melkite church of Antioch, in the Arabic.[28] This last translation was relatively recent, having been originally made in the middle of the previous century. Different inks appear to have been used by the scribes of each language. The initials in the Latin and Greek texts are rubricated at the beginning of each verse, while the initials at the beginning of each Psalm are decorated and titles are in red (see Fig. 3).

As is customary for Greek psalters, headpieces are found at the beginning of Psalms 1 (fol. 1^{r}) and 77 (fol. 99^{v}).[29] Some pen-flourishes in red occur at the end of individual verses in the Arabic text, but this is otherwise unadorned. The Psalms are numbered in each column according to the numbering convention of that language, i.e. in Roman numerals for the Latin, Greek numerals for the Greek, and Indian Arabic numerals for the Arabic text.[30]

26 For this see Burnett 2002, 244–245. Roger II was the first ruler (either European or Arabic) to put Indian numerals on his coins, as Burnett notes (2002, 244–245). Such significance provides added weight for seeing the Trilingual Psalter as a product of his royal scriptorium.

27 Piemontese 2002 (treating Harley 5786 on p. 459); Pormann 2003.

28 For Ibn al-Faḍl and Arabic translations of the psalms, see Graf 1944–1953, vol. 1, 116–120; vol. 2, 52–64. Arabic translations of the Hebrew and Christian bibles remain understudied; see Vollandt 2018 for a recent overview of the *status quaestionis*.

29 See Parpulov 2014, 66, and references cited there, for the decoration of Greek psalters.

30 For the numerals in this manuscript, see Burnett 2002, 243–244, 258, and 2005, 41–45, 47, figs 1–5. Note that Burnett 2002, 258 thinks that some of the Arabic numerals were added after the initial production of the manuscript, possibly at the same time as the marginalia were added.

There is relatively little by way of marginalia in the manuscript – but what does exist is particularly noteworthy. Aside from some later annotations in Latin and Italian, this material is exclusively in Arabic, and relates to lection notes: as I discuss below, this would appear to point to usage in liturgical settings according to the Latin rite. Some typical paratextual markers survive, such as marginal notes indicating to the rubricator which decorated letters to include, as discussed below. The style of decoration of the Greek and Latin initials is for the most part characteristic of the respective languages at this place and time – but this is not consistent throughout, as we shall see. The manuscript is in twenty-five quires of eight, numbered a-y (in Latin letters). Its present binding is a typical Elliott Harleian binding.[31] On the final flyleaf (fol. 173^{v}), along with the dating inscription discussed above, is a list of Greek books, and some Latin and Italian notes in a fifteenth-century hand. There is relatively little illumination, aside from a small face in a historiated initial on fol. 158^{r}. The manuscript shows clear signs of considerable use, especially in the form of finger smudges along the bottom right corner and in the centre of the outer margin. Some water damage remains on the opening folios, and there are some instances of candlewax stains (for example, on the lower margin of fol. 24^{r}).

5 Scribal collaboration across languages

The Psalter sheds significant light on one particular area of linguistic interdependence and cross-language collaboration in Sicily: namely, the matter of scribal collaboration. It is clear that the manuscript is the product of a scriptorium in which scribes of different languages worked together: a scriptorium, in other words, on the model known to us from the famous illumination in the 1196 manuscript of Peter of Eboli's panegyric in honour of Henry VI (Fig. 4).[32] In this illumination, a scriptorium contains Greek, Latin, and Arabic scribes, all individually identified, depicted as working in the same location, before presenting a completed work to the king (in a lower illumination on the same folio). The Harley Trilingual Psalter gives us an example of the sort of manuscript produced in such a scriptorium.

This is clear from the fact that individual quires were written by scribes in different sequences. For instance, in the seventh quire it is evident that the Arabic

31 Nixon 1975, 170, 189 n. 40.

32 For this image see Kölzer and Stähli 1994, 58–59.

was written first, then the Latin, then the Greek. That the Arabic was written before the Latin can be demonstrated by the fact that in those few cases where the two columns encroach onto one another, it is clear that the Latin scribe makes efforts to avoid the Arabic script, for instance at fol. 51^{r} (see Fig. 5). On those occasions where the Latin scribe could not find room to avoid writing over the Arabic script, it is clear from the ink that the Latin overlays the Arabic (see Figs 6a and 6b). In most quires, the main Latin text adapts to accommodate Greek text that encroaches into the middle column, for example on fol. 23^{v} in the third quire (see Fig. 7). However, in this seventh quire, the Latin always hangs very close to the vertical column ruling on the left (see Fig. 8).

Note that here the rubrication is a little squashed, but this is because the Greek scribe still continues to write right up against the edge of his column. These examples indicate that different quires were taken up first by scribes of different languages. In some quires, the Arabic was the first column written, while in others, the Greek was written first. This is surely indicative of a scriptorium in which scribes of different languages were all working at the same time, since for the sake of efficiency Arabic and Greek scribes could be working simultaneously on different quires of the same manuscript.[33]

The foregoing is good evidence of the manuscript having been produced in a multilingual environment, but does not rule out the possibility that there were distinct scriptoria for each language group, and that quires were ferried between them as needed. There is, however, further evidence that, taken all together, seems to clinch the case for the manuscript being created in a multilingual environment. First, note that on fol. 60^{r}, in the eighth quire, the Latin was clearly written before the Greek, as the regularity of the Latin column and the relatively squashed nature of the Greek column would indicate (Fig. 9).

However, the rubricator of Latin initials appears to have omitted to add the initial A of *astitit* in the sixth line. This A is written in the same ink as the Greek text and was presumably added by the Greek scribe after the rubrication of the Latin initials had taken place, raising more widely the question of whether the rubricators for both Greek and Latin added their text immediately after their respective columns were completed, before handing the manuscript on to the scribe of the next language.

Additionally, the occasional marginal notes to rubricators, identifying which letter to add, here take on an additional interesting cross-linguistic quality, as on several occasions the Greek letter-name is written out in full in Latin, for the rubricator to add to the manuscript (Figs 10a, 10b and 10c). Elsewhere,

33 There are no quires in which the Latin text can be said definitely to have been written first.

the rubrication between both Greek and Latin appears to have undergone mutual influence, as for example with the initials on fols 71^{r}, 76^{r}, and 80^{v} (see Figs 11a, 11b, 11c).

6 Audience and use

What were the purpose and the intended audience of this manuscript? All signs appear to point to use by Arabic-speakers. In particular, the lection notes found throughout the manuscript suggest Arabic Christians unfamiliar with the Latin rite. So, for example, the marginal Arabic note on fol. 87^{r} says 'Reading for Thursday night' (Fig. 12).

It appears, then, that the manuscript was used in liturgical services held according to the Latin rite. Yet the manuscript cannot have had such a straightforward purpose – after all, if it had been aimed specifically at Arabic-speakers to help them follow the Latin rite, why was the text of the Septuagint also included? Practical concerns alone do not explain the purpose of this manuscript.

One possible explanation may be the fact that Latin-speakers were still, in the mid-twelfth century, in the minority in Sicily, far outnumbered by Greek-speakers and Arabic-speakers. An attempt to appeal to the majority on the island by promoting a policy of tolerance and multilingualism was a cornerstone of Roger II's reign.[34] In practice, however, this multilingualism was probably not reflective of the wider society. While some ordinary citizens may have been comfortable speaking in more than one language, for instance members of the Greek and Arabic communities outside of Palermo, who had lived in close proximity for centuries, in general most communities would have remained largely monolingual. This is reflected in official documents, such as charters, which are almost never multilingual, but are instead issued in multiple editions in different languages.[35] The use of multilingual documents and inscriptions, by contrast, may have been largely the domain of members of the imperial court, useful for exemplary purposes to the community at large, but even more useful as a means of distinguishing oneself at the court.

To attempt to answer the question of who commissioned the manuscript will always be somewhat speculative. However, I think it unlikely that Roger II himself commissioned the manuscript: though of good quality, it is by no means

34 See further Metcalfe 2009, 115, and Houben 2014.

35 See von Falkhausen 2002.

lavish or luxurious, and stands in particular contrast to the Madrid Scylitzes, not to mention the imperial Gospel books and psalters known to us from other contexts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[36] In contrast, I suspect this is the work of a member of Roger's imperial court. A useful point of comparison is a multilingual funerary epitaph dating from 1148 (now in the Museo d'arte islamica in Palermo), which contains text in three languages: Greek, Latin, and twice in Arabic, once in Arabic script and once in Hebrew script.[37] It memorialises Anna, the mother of Grisandus, a cleric. As Barbara Zeitler has shown in her study of this monument, it serves a political as well as a personal purpose, in its effort to represent Sicily as a 'trilingual people', *populus trilinguis*, as the Latin inscription states.[38]

Zeitler stresses that the multi-cultural monument conveys an emphatically Christian message, and locates the monument, along with the Harley Trilingual Psalter, in the context of efforts to emphasise the accommodations being made for Arabic-speaking converts to Christianity. The Greek Orthodox church played a particularly significant role in encouraging the conversion of Muslims to Christianity in twelfth-century Sicily, and it is in this context that we should view the Psalter.[39] It may have been commissioned by a Mozarab Christian, eager to stress his loyalty to Roger's multi-lingual project, and to Christianity. Or it could have been commissioned by a Greek official who had played an important role in encouraging the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. But here we are firmly in the realm of speculation.

7 Conclusion

To sum up, all indications are that the place of origin of this manuscript was in the court scriptorium of Roger II of Palermo, some time between 1130 and 1153. The manuscript makes it clear that the institution of the multilingual court scriptorium, in a form resembling that known to us from the later illumination in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 120.II (see Fig. 4), was already in existence in the first half of the twelfth century. And it fits into the wider context of twelfth-century Sicilian culture, exemplified in other contexts by the funerary monument

36 For an excellent example see the in-depth treatment of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 54 (Diktyon 49615) in Maxwell 2014.

37 Most recently edited by Johns 2006.

38 Zeitler 1996.

39 Zeitler 1996, 132–139.

of Anna and the Cappella Palatina. To conclude, the comments of Mallette on the gold coins (*tarì*) of Norman Sicily are relevant here:

> We tend to think of translation as an importing of content, typically (in the medieval context) of scientific documents. What the Normans generated in the taris was something more like the exporting of content. The Normans cobbled together fragments of languages and symbols, translating the same content – the message of the strength of the Sicilian state and of Norman kingship in Sicily – into the dominant languages of the medieval Mediterranean.[40]

The Harley Trilingual Psalter, like other cultural artefacts from the reign of Roger II, served a dual purpose: to stress linguistic tolerance within the kingdom of Sicily, and to emphasise its internal unity to the outside world.

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40 Mallette 2003, 155.

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Fig. 1: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 173^{v} (detail); inscription dated to 8 January 1153.

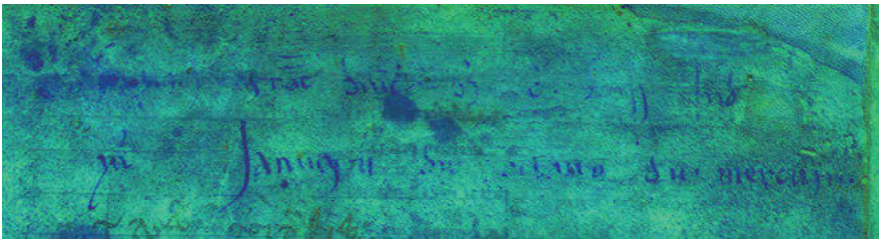


Fig. 2: Multispectral imaging of text on Fig. 1.

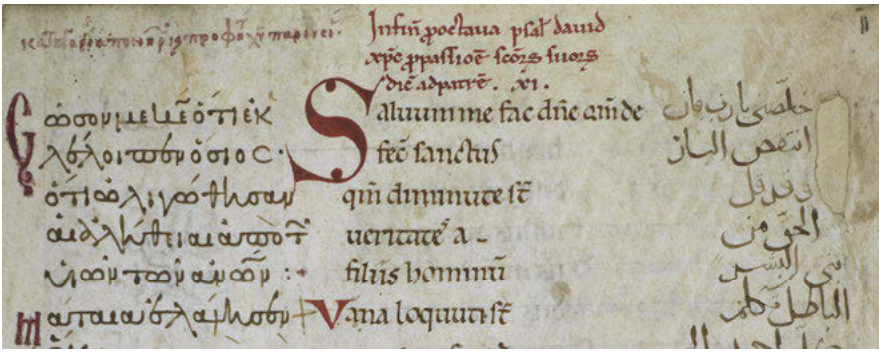


Fig. 3: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 12^{v} (detail); decorated initials at the beginning of Psalm 11.

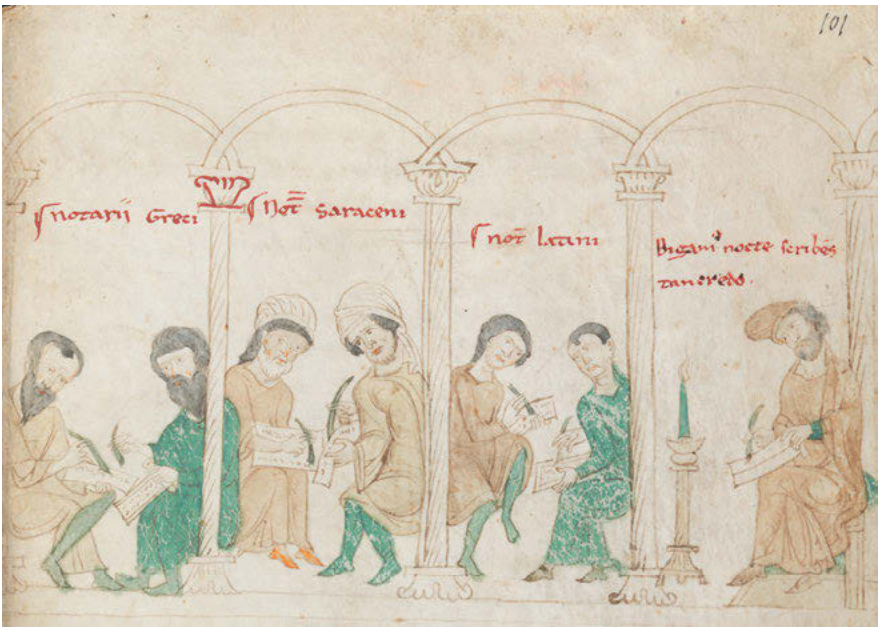


Fig. 4: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 120.II, fol. 101r; a multilingual scriptorium. Photograph: Codices Electronici AG, <https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0120-2>, accessed on 26 August 2020.

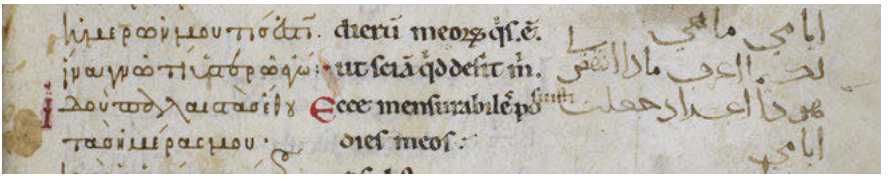
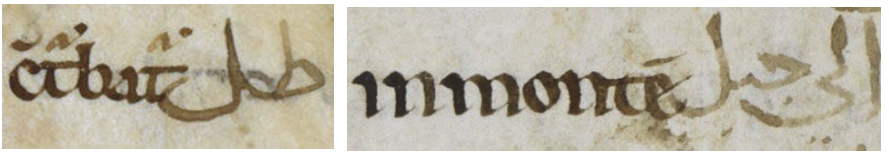


Fig. 5: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 51r (detail).



Figs 6a and 6b: British Library, Harley 5786, fols 51v and 56v (details).

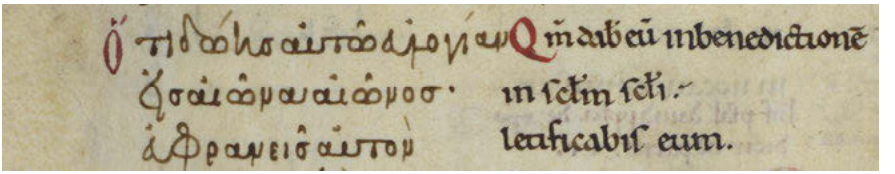


Fig. 7: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 23^{v} (detail).

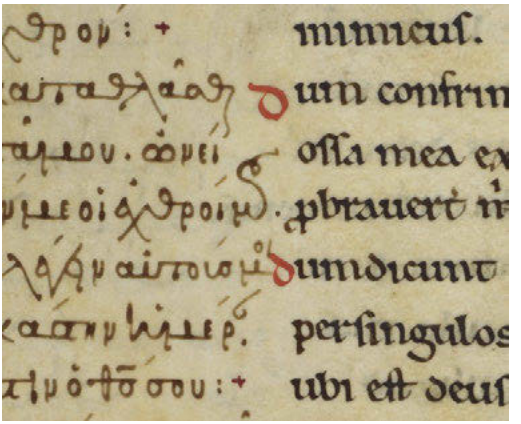


Fig. 8: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 56^{r} (detail).

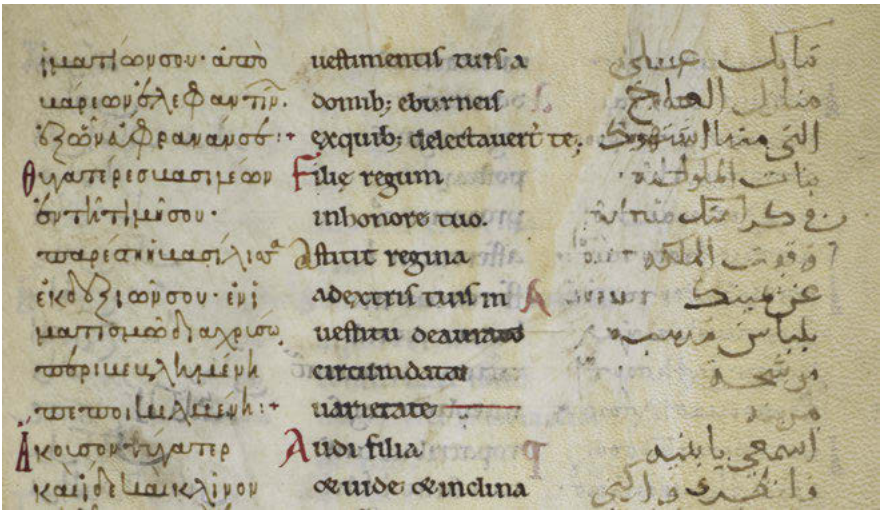
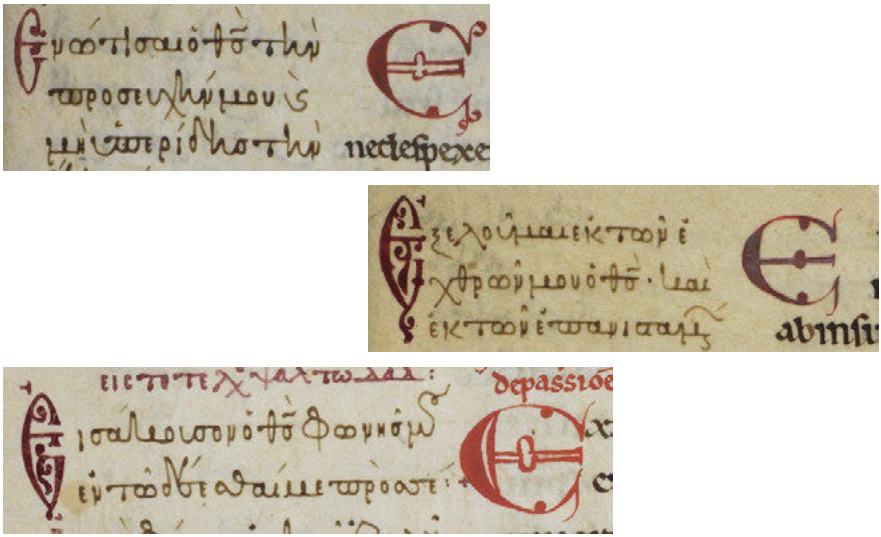


Fig. 9: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 60^{r} (detail).

Figs 10a, 10b, 10c: British Library, Harley 5786, fols 4^{v}, 11^{r}, 35^{r} (details).



Figs 11a, 11b, 11c: British Library, Harley 5786, fols 71^{r}, 76^{r}, 80^{v} (details).

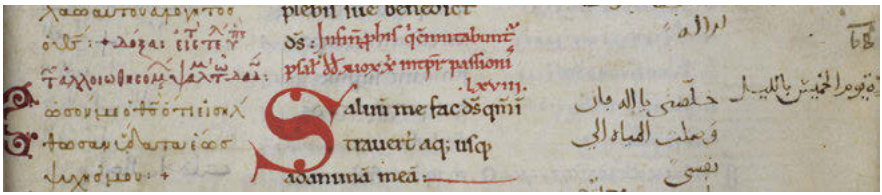


Fig. 12: British Library, Harley 5786, fol. 87^{r} (detail).

Camillo A. Formigatti

A Gateway to the Six Languages: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1698

Abstract: This late fourteenth-century palm-leaf manuscript from Nepal bears witness to close scholarly engagement with Sanskrit texts by speakers of the Tibeto-Burmese language Newari. It contains a Newari translation-cum-commentary of Amarasiṃha's lexicographical masterpiece, the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, prepared by the scholar Maṇika. According to the author, the purpose of this Newari commentary is to provide a tool to become proficient in the Six Languages, i.e Sanskrit as well as the Prakrit languages needed to compose dramatic works. It is an example of the vibrant cultural programme that flourished in Nepal under the King Jayasthitimalla.

1 Historical background

Colophons of manuscripts are an invaluable source for the reconstruction of both the political and the cultural history of late fourteenth-century Nepal.[1] The second half of this century witnessed a struggle for power between different kingdoms in the Kathmandu Valley (in Sanskrit *Nepālamaṇḍala*, 'the country of Nepal'). The two most important centres were Pātan and Bhaktapur, which rivalled each other in terms of political as well as cultural influence. Pātan was officially ruled by King Jayārjunadeva (r. 1361–1382 CE), the scion of the two royal houses of Bhonta and Tipura, while Bhaktapur was witnessing the rise of a newcomer in the political arena of the Valley, King Jayasthitimalla. Although he was the protégé of the powerful noblewoman Devaladevī,[2] his political influence amounted to *de facto* rule over the city and its kingdom. The tension between these two centres of power most probably started already during Jayarājadeva's reign over Pātan (1347–1361).

1 This article is partly an abridged and revised version of Formigatti 2016, with some additions.

2 On Devaladevī's origins and political role see Regmi 1965, 306–342 *et passim*; Slusser 1982, 54–55; Petech 1984, 119–133.

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Jayasthitimalla's strong political influence is reflected in many documents. He is first mentioned in an ancient Nepalese chronicle,[3] in a passage in which it is said that immediately after the invasion of Nepal from Bengal by the army of Sultān Shams ud-dīn in 1349, Jayasthitimalla rose to power and celebrated his marriage with Rājalladevī, Devaladevī's grand-daughter. Both Petech and Slusser seem to agree that he was not from the Kathmandu Valley, and they trace his origin back to Mithilā.[4] On the other hand, Brinkhaus is more cautious and points out that the descent of the late Mallas from the Karṇāṭa line of Tirhut, as described in late chronicles, seems to be a later construction, fostered by the Malla kings in order to justify their claim to power.[5] The position of the legitimate rulers was becoming weaker during the second half of the fourteenth century. They owed much of their power to the influential Rāmavardhana family, who ruled in the neighbouring region of Banepa and from whose ranks came the king's chief ministers and counsellors (*mahātha*, *mahattaka*). During Jayarājadeva's reign the *mahātha* was Anekarāmavardhana (also spelled Anekha), whose son Jayasiṃharāma was the attendant of Prince Jayārjunadeva.[6] Anekarāma died only two years after Jayasthitimalla's wedding with Rājalladevī,[7] leaving the actual power over Pātan to his son Jayasiṃharāma.

The political history of this period has been described and examined by numerous scholars,[8] while very little attention has been devoted to the cultural environment in these two centres of power. The importance of Jayasiṃharāma is not only evident from chronicles and inscriptions, it is also reflected in the colophons of manuscripts dated to his reign.[9] He commissioned the writing of

3 *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, fols 28^{v}8–29^{r}. The *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, 'Chronicle of the Lineage of King Gopāla', was edited and translated into Nepali and English by Malla and Vajrācārya in 1985. It is not a unitary work, but consists of different parts. Bendall and Petech think that the manuscript contains three different chronicles, while Malla divides it into two parts. It is not my aim here to provide an examination of these two hypotheses. It is worth noticing that the reliability of Malla's and Vajrācārya's edition and translations has been called into question by Mahes Raj Pant in a long review article (Pant 1993).

4 Petech 1984, 127–129; Slusser 1982, 58.

5 Brinkhaus 1991.

6 Petech 1984, 124.

7 According to the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, the date is *476 dvirāśāḍha vadi 11*, corresponding to 24 July 1356 (Petech 1984, 129). All dates mentioned have been verified by Petech 1984.

8 Overviews of this turbulent period are provided in Regmi 1965, 345–372; Slusser 1982, 57–61; Petech 1984, 137–146.

9 On Jayasiṃharāma's political career, see Petech 1984, 151–157.

numerous manuscripts, among which an edition of the *Mahābhārata* stands out for its cultural (and possibly political) importance.[10]

2 MS Add.1698 and courtly cultural policy

The palm-leaf manuscript discussed in this article played a central role in the cultural battle between the Pātan and Bhaktapur courts.[11] It was written in Bhaktapur in 1386 CE (506 Nepāla Saṃvat), during the reign of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395 CE). At first sight, it might seem a rather unspectacular manuscript, but in fact it provides us with a direct glimpse of this king's cultural policy. It contains a commentary in the Newari language on the Sanskrit work entitled *Amarakośa* (also known as *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*).

The *Amarakośa* ('Amara's Dictionary')[12] is the most renowned Sanskrit lexicographical work, seemingly composed around the middle of the first millennium CE by Amarasiṃha, probably a Buddhist author. Like many other Sanskrit lexicographical works, 'the *Amarakośa* is a synonymic dictionary whose articles are grouped subjectwise'.[13] The fame of the 'Immortal Lexicon' goes far beyond the boundaries of the Indian subcontinent, as testified by its renderings into Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, Sinhalese and Burmese, among other languages. A further proof of its importance and popularity is the number of commentaries dedicated to it: at least eighty, of which many still remain unpublished.[14]

Who composed this commentary? Who wrote the manuscript? The answer to both questions is the same: Māṇikya, also known as Maṇika (in Sanskrit; Manaku in Newari), an important intellectual at Jayasthitimalla's court.[15] Maṇika is the author of at least five works belonging to different literary genres:

10 See Petech 1984, 153–154, 157.

11 See below for a full codicological description of the manuscript.

12 The Sanskrit title *Amarakośa* is a compound consisting of two words and concealing a pun: the last member of the compound is *kośa* ('treasury [of words]; lexicon'), while the first member, *amara*, can be taken both as the personal name of the author, Amara, or in its literal meaning, 'immortal'.

13 Vogel 2015, 22.

14 This information is taken from the description of MS Add.1698 in the Cambridge Digital Library: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01698/1> (accessed on 16 Febr. 2021).

15 On Maṇika's role at Jayasthitimalla's court and the importance of his works in the cultural history of Nepal in the second half of the fourteenth century, see Formigatti 2016, 56–63.

1 *Nyāyavikāsinī* ('Extensive Explanation of Laws'), Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2137: fols 28–118; Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project [hereafter NGMPP] A 1160–6;[16]
2 *Amarakośavivṛti* ('Commentary on Amara's / the Immortal Lexicon'), Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1698;
3 *Abhinavānandarāghavanāṭaka* ('The Novel Drama on Rāma's Joy'), Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1658.1;
4 *Mahārāmāyaṇanāṭaka* ('The Great Rāmāyaṇa Drama'), NGMPP A 20–2;
5 *Bhairavānandanāṭaka* ('The Drama on Bhairava's Joy'), NGMPP A 1027–9,[17] NGMPP B 15–19, NGMPP T 10–3.

The first work in the list, the *Nyāyavikāsinī*, is an important work that confirms a specific aspect of Jayasthitimalla's political agenda, the reformation of law and administration.[18] Maṇika's poetic endeavours are represented by the three dramas in this list, the *Bhairavānandanāṭaka*, the *Abhinavānandarāghavanāṭaka*, and the *Mahārāmāyaṇanāṭaka*. Sanskrit dramas were usually composed in a mixture of Sanskrit, an Old Indo-Aryan language, and various Prakrits, that is Middle Indo-Aryan literary languages. On the other hand, Maṇika's native language was Newari, a Tibeto-Burmese language with a totally different structure. How could he master these languages to such a degree that allowed him to write these dramas? The best witness of his proficiency in these Indo-Aryan literary languages is precisely our Cambridge manuscript, MS Add.1698. A close reading of the seven stanzas added at the end of the work (fols 161^{r}4–161^{v}3) helps us to understand why Maṇika's Newari commentary to Amara's Lexicon is a key

16 For a description of this manuscript, see Shastri 1905, 43, no. 1230 ca.

17 For a description of this manuscript, see Shastri 1905, 119, no. 1078 kha.

18 Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2137 is a palm-leaf manuscript, written in Pātan in 527 Nepāla Saṃvat (1407 CE) by a certain Rāmadatta, and contains three works in Newari. Besides two works still unidentified (of which the first one is a legal text), it also contains the oldest recension of the *Nāradasmṛti* ('Nārada's Treatise on Law'), accompanied by the *Nyāyavikāsinī*, Maṇika's Newari commentary/translation. This recension of the *Nāradasmṛti* is the 'one normally found in Nepalese manuscripts as well as in the closely related text called *Nāradīyamanusmṛti*. […] The *Nāradasmṛti* is the only legal treatise from the first millennium that focuses solely on strictly juridical procedures, lacking therefore the portions on righteous conduct (*ācāra*) and atonements (*prāyaścitta*) common in other legal *smṛti*s. As already hinted at by Lariviere, it is highly possible that the *Nāradasmṛti* was among the legal texts chosen by the Malla kings for the legal administration of their kingdoms' (from the description of the manuscript on the Cambridge Digital Library: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02137/1> (accessed on 16 Febr. 2021); see also Regmi 1965, 366–367; Shastri 1905, x).

document for understanding his knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as Jayasthitimalla's cultural programme:[19]

śrīśrījayasthitiśasya malladevasya bhūpateḥ |
amātyaśrījayadbrahmā svāmikāryaparāyaṇaḥ || 1 ||

[1] The glorious Jayadbrahmā, the minister of the twice glorious king Jayasthitimalla, ruler of the earth, was completely devoted to the service of his master.

sa svaputrāya vidhivad imāṃ ṭīkām acīkarat |
śrīmatpātrakulānāṃ yo viśiṣṭo maṇḍanocitaḥ || 2 ||

[2] He, who was the foremost delightful ornament among the venerable community of ministers, commissioned [the composition of] this commentary for the sake of his own son and according to the rules.

māṇikyam iva māṇikyanāmā paṇḍitasattamaḥ || 2a ||
kṛtaiṣāmarakoṣasya tena nepālabhāṣayā
vivṛtir nāma liṅgānāṃ ṭippanī bālabodhinī || 3 ||

[3–3a] The chief of the pandits was Māṇikya, similar to a ruby. He created this short commentary (*ṭippanī*) of the *Amarakośa* on grammatical genders (*liṅga*) in the language of Nepal (i.e. Newari), entitled 'Explanation' (*vivṛti*), which enlightens the ignorant.

ṣaṭuttare pañcaśate gate 'bde |
nepālike māsi ca caitrasaṃjñe ||
kṛṣṇe ca pakṣe madanābhidhāyāṃ |
tithau śaśāṅkātmajavāsare ca || 4 ||
śrījayasthitibhūpale nepālarāṣṭraśāstari |
śrimadbhaktapure deśe grathitvā likhitā tadā || 5 ||

[4–5] In the venerable region of Bhaktapur, he first composed it (*grathitvā*) and then wrote it down (*likhitā tadā*), in the expired Nepalese year five hundred and six, in the month called Caitra, during the dark half of the lunar month, in the lunar day called Madanā, and in the weekday of Wednesday, when the glorious king Jayasthiti was ruling the country of Nepal.

imām vijñāya loko 'yaṃ turṇṇam astu mahākaviḥ |
ṣaḍbhāṣasāgarasyāpi pārīṇaḥ śāstrakovidaḥ || 6 ||

19 The stanzas are written in two different metres: stanzas 1–3 and 5–7 are *anuṣṭubh*, stanza 4 is an *upajāti*; one stray *anuṣṭubh* verse, numbered here as 2a, is inserted between stanza 2 and 3. The text presented here has been normalized and small errors have been silently corrected. In the manuscript, the same information is provided in prose in the colophon. A full diplomatic transcription of the stanzas and the prose colophon is provided below, section 3.4.2.

> [6] After having learned this [commentary], the people will quickly become great poets, cross the ocean of the Six Languages, and become knowledgeable about the technical treatises (*śāstra*).
>
> *prajāḥ sukham avāpnuvantu viprā devān yajantu ca |*
> *daṇḍanītyā nṛpāḥ yāntu, kāle varṣantu toyadāḥ ||* 7 ||
>
> [7] May the subjects obtain happiness and the Brahmins worship the Gods, the kings proceed with the administration of justice, the clouds rain at the proper season!

As we read in the stanzas, this work was composed for the sake of the son of Jayasthitimalla's minister Jayadbrahmā (also known as Jayata).[20] Moreover, this manuscript is unique for another reason: not only it is the personal copy of Jayadbrahmā's son, it is also Maṇika's autograph. This commentary on the most famous Sanskrit lexicographical text is a fundamental witness to this author's broad intellectual interests. In fact, it represents the link between Maṇika's political and cultural roles at Jayasthitimalla's court. According to the author, the purpose of this Newari commentary is not only to become skilled in the Sanskrit technical treatises (*śāstra*s, i.e. treatises on various topics, including law), but also to enable people to become great poets quickly, and proficient in the ocean of the Six Languages. What are these Six Languages? They are precisely Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages needed to compose dramatic works.[21] Moreover, MS Add.1698 is among the earliest manuscript witnesses of Classical Newari literature. As pointed out by Malla,

> Classical Newari literature exists in all the three major genres – prose, poetry, and drama. It began as a bilingual literature of translation and commentary in prose under the court patronage of Jayasthiti Malla (A.D. 1380–1395). The earliest group of manuscripts belongs to this period.[22]

It is striking that the composition by Maṇika of two Newari commentaries of fundamental Sanskrit works, one of which is precisely the *Amarakośavivṛti*, coincides with the beginnings of Classical Newari literature.

20 For the identification of Jayadbrahmā with Jayata, see Formigatti 2016, 57–58.

21 Different lists of the 'six languages' are extant, some of them including Sanskrit and various Prakrits, some of them including only Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa. However, it is obvious from the context that Maṇika meant Sanskrit and the Prakrits of the dramas.

22 Malla 1982, 2; see also Lienhard 1988, xii- xiii.

3 Description of Cambridge, University Library MS Add.1698

The present description is based on the description in the Cambridge Digital Library, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01698/1>. A brief description of this manuscript is also provided on the page *Description of Source Manuscripts of Amarakośas* on the website Newari Lexicon, <https://newari.net/source.html> (accessed on 16 Febr. 2021).

Previous descriptions of MS Add.1698 are found only in handwritten lists and catalogues, all listed below in chronological order:[23]

1 Bradshaw, Henry, 'Notes on the Collections of Oriental, Thibetan and 'Additional' Manuscripts' [unpublished manuscript] (Cambridge, 1870-1880). Shelfmark: ULIB 7/3/55.
2 Griffith, Ralph T. H. and Daniel Wright, 'Assorted Lists of Manuscripts and Books, chiefly Oriental, acquired by the Library, with Related Papers' [unpublished manuscript] (Cambridge, 1873). Shelfmark: ULIB 7/1/4.
3 'List of Additional Manuscripts 923–1827' [unpublished manuscript] (Cambridge, 1878).
4 'List of Oriental MSS. Class Catalogue of Oriental MSS.' (Cambridge, 1900–).

3.1 Previous editions of the texts in the manuscript

The *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* is available in several printed editions together with commentaries. In the present study I relied on Śarmā and Sardesai's 1941 edition, which includes Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary, the *Amarakośodghāṭana*. The *Amarakośavivṛti* is unpublished in book form. A draft edition by John Brough is kept in the library of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge (Classmark JB N/2):

– Brough, John, 'Notes on the *Amarakośa* Based on a Manuscript in Cambridge University Library (Add.1698). With an Earlier Sanskrit Vocabulary English, Sanskrit and Newari' [unpublished manuscript] (Cambridge: Undated)

23 The present description is slightly adapted from the description in the Cambridge Digital Library, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01698/1>.

A digital edition of both the Sanskrit and Newari texts is available online at <http://newari.net/index.html> (accessed on 30 Oct. 2021).

3.2 Conventions and symbols

The following tables provide a short reference to the conventions employed for the transcription of excerpts from the manuscript. The aim of the transcription is to provide a *diplomatic transcription*, i.e. every error in the original is faithfully reproduced (*yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitam*). A *sic* symbol (!) follows a word or passage which for some reason is considered to be either incorrect or unusual.[24]

ꣿ	Treatise–initial symbol (*siddhi*)	꣸	Line–filler
◎	String–hole	,	Word and *sandhi* divider

sa[-1-]pteti, [.rī]	Physically damaged character(s); if these are no longer readable, digits indicate the missing number of *akṣaras*, while each dot indicates a single missing element of an *akṣara*, for instance part of a ligature.
[ja]gad	Character(s) difficult to read.
⟦⟧ ⟦-4-⟧	Characters or words deleted (expuncted or erased) by the scribe (including later deletions; numbers and dots as above).
\ta/thā, ra\ā/jāya	Insertion by the scribe (interlinear or marginal; if used to add a vowel replacing the inherent short a, the latter is retained in the transcription).
⟦-4-⟧ \rājādhirā/ja	Correction: deletion of text and addition by the scribe.

24 An exception to this practice is the reduplication of a final nasal, which is pretty common in Nepalese manuscripts, but the function of which has yet to be explained. Since I consider it as a simple orthographic variant, I retain it in the transcription without adding a *sic* symbol. Another similar instance is the use of *visarga* as a segmentation mark, which has so far escaped the attention of most scholars, who consistently use *sic* for forms ending with what only seemingly is a superfluous *visarga*.

3.3 Description

Physical location: Cambridge, University Library. Classmark: MS Add.1698.
Alternative titles: *Amarakoṣaṭippaṇī*; *Amarakoṣaṭīkā*; *Naipālabhāṣāṭippanī*; *Bālabodhinīvivṛti*.
Date of creation, origin, place, and scribe: 506 Nepāla / 1386 CE, Wednesday March 28; Bhaktapur; written by Maṇika/Māṇikya.
Languages: Sanskrit (main text) and Newari (commentary).
Material, extent, and dimension: palm leaf; 159 folios (fols 4 and 88 are missing); folio height 4.5 cm, width 32.5 cm.
Condition: incomplete. The first folio is damaged with loss of text. Many folios are damaged at the margins. The writing is often faded and difficult to read. Some passages seem to have been retraced (see, for instance, fol. 97^{v}). Many modern restorations.
Binding: wood cover, original binding. On the inner front cover, a note in pencil in Latin script: 'Amara Kosha with Parbatiya translation NS 506 AD 1386.' On the right side of the inner back cover, a note in Nepālākṣarā script: '[l1] ꠰ śrī kāma[sa]śā[strasa] [l2] [ddha].' One string hole.
Script: first hand: Nepālākṣarā in black ink (main text and commentary); second hand: Nepālākṣarā in black ink (main text and commentary).
Scribe: although in the colophon it is stated that the manuscript was written by a single person, Maṇika/Māṇikya, it seems that at least two different hands alternate without a definite pattern; third hand: Nepālākṣarā in black ink (annotations and corrections).
Foliation: 1. original: Nepālākṣarā letter-numerals, mid-left margin, verso. 2. original: Nepālākṣarā numerals, mid-right margin, verso.
Layout: written area height: 3 cm, width: 29 cm. 5 lines per page, approximately 55 *akṣara*s per line. Akṣara height: 4-5 mm. Interlinear space height: 2-3 mm. One string hole, in the left part of the folio, approximately in the middle of a blank space. String-hole spaces height: 2 cm, width: 2.5 cm. Folio 132 is smaller than other folios, but it seems to belong to the same codicological unit.
Marginalia: some marginal corrections.
Provenance and date of acquisition: bought by Dr. D. Wright on behalf of the Cambridge University Library in 1875. Acquired 4 September 1875 (ULIB 7/3/55).

3.4 Excerpts

In the manuscript, the Sanskrit main text and the Newari commentary are written continuously one after the other. However, for the sake of clarity they are presented separately in the transcription.

3.4.1 Main text

Incipit: [1^{v}1] [*-2 lines-*] [1^{v}3] samāhṛtyānyatantrāṇi saṃkṣiptaiḥ pratisaṃskṛtaiḥ | sampūrṇṇam ucyate varggair nāma[1v4]liṅgānuśāsanaṃ ||]

[Amarakośa 1.2. Introduction (Skt. *prastāvanā*)] After having united other treatises, I teach a complete *Treatise on Names and Genders*[25] by means of condensed and structured sections.

Fig. 1: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1698, fol. 161^{r}; explicit of the *Amarakośa* and of Maṇika's commentary; reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Explicit: [161^{r}1] kṛt˽ karttary asaṃjñāyā[26] [161^{r}2] kṛtyāḥ karttari karmaṇi | aṇādyantās tena raktādyarthe nānārthabhe©dakāḥ | ṣaṭsaṃjñās triṣu samāḥ | yuṣmadasmattiṅavyayaṃ | param virodhe śeṣaṃ[161^{v}3]m tu jñeyaṃ śiṣṭaprayogataḥ ||

[Amarakośa 3.5.45] Words derived from *kṛt* affixes (Skt. *kṛtaḥ*)[27] denote the agent (Skt. *karttari*), not in the case of proper nouns (Skt. *asaṃjñāyām*);[28] derivatives from *kṛtya* affixes denote the agent (Skt. *karttari*), the action (Skt.

25 Skt. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, the title of the work. I have rendered the passive form of the Sanskrit as active in order to achieve a less clunky English translation.

26 Read *asaṃjñāyām*.

27 The manuscript reading is wrong, read *kṛtaḥ*.

28 *Saṃjñā* is used here in the sense of *saṃjñāśabda* or *yadṛcchāśabda*, i.e. nouns having special meanings ('a proper noun which is given accidentally without any attention to derivation or authority', Abhyankar and Śukla 1986, 313 and 404).

karmaṇi).[29] Adjectival words with various meanings and derived from secondary affixes (Skt. *aṇādi*)[30] are used in the sense of 'coloured by that and so on' (Skt. *tena raktādi*).[31]

[Amarakośa 3.5.46] Numerals from five to ten (Skt. *ṣaṭsaṃjñā*) are the same in the three genders,[32] as well as personal pronouns in the first and second person (Skt. *yuṣmadasmat*), inflected verbs (Skt. *tiṅ*),[33] and indeclinable words (Skt. *avyaya*). In case of a conflict [between rules], the [rule mentioned last] is superior; as to the rest, it is to be learned from the practice of knowledgeable authors.

Final Rubric, section: [161^{r}3] ity amarasiṃhakṛtau © nāmaliṃgānuśāsanaṃ(!)[34] | sāmānyas tṛtīyaḥ kāṇḍaḥ sāṅga eva samarthitaḥ || ||

In the *Treatise on Names and Genders* composed by Amara the third chapter on general topics, including all its parts, is finished.

Final Rubric: [161^{r}3] samāptañ cedaṃ [161^{r}4] nāmaliṃgānuśāsanaṃ || ||

The *Treatise on Names and Genders* is completed.

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29 *Kṛt* is a technical term used by Sanskrit grammarians to indicate 'affixes applied to roots to form verbal derivatives' (Abhyankar and Śukla 1986, 126), here used in the sense of *kṛdanta*, i.e. declined nouns; *kṛtya* is again a technical term to indicate a specific class of *kṛt* affixes used in the sense of 'should be done' (cf. the Latin gerundive) (*ibidem*).

30 I.e. words derived by adding a *taddhita* (secondary) affix to a noun and not directly to a verbal root like in the case of *kṛt* (primary) affixes: *aṇāditaddhitāntā vācyaliṅgāḥ* (Śarmā and Sardesai 1941, 357).

31 In other words, a word like *hāridrī* (f.) / *hāridra* (m.), 'yellow', is derived from the construction *haridrayā raktā / raktaḥ*, 'coloured by turmeric'; a word like *kārttikī* (f.) / *kārttika* (m.) (a month corresponding to part of October and November) is explained as *kṛttikābhir yuktā kārttikī paurṇamāsī, kārttiko divasaḥ*, 'connected to the Pleiads (Skt. *Kṛttikā*): the lunar month Kārttikī, the day Kārttika' – as for instance in Kṣirasvāmin's commentary (Śarmā and Sardesai 1941, 357).

32 Cf. Pāṇini 1.1.24, *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*, '[Numerals] ending in ṣ and n are called ṣaṭ', i.e. numerals from five to ten; this *sūtra* is quoted also by Kṣirasvāmin, who provides examples of numerals precisely in this range (Śarmā and Sardesai 1941, 357); see also Abhyankar and Śukla 1986, 399 (I would like to thank Elisa Freschi for suggesting to add this reference in a note).

33 *Tiṅ* is a technical term used by Sanskrit grammarians to indicate the eighteen personal endings of finite verbs, here however it stands for *tiṅanta*, i.e. all inflected verbal forms.

34 Read °*krte* [...] *nāmaliṅgānuśāsane*.

3.4.2 Commentary

Incipit: [1^{v}3] [-2 lines-] kasa lakṣmī, paratra mokṣa gāva jñānīlokana sevara©pā gvana || || [...] [1^{v}4] meṃva meṃva śāstrasa kāṃsyaṃ, muṃṇa, va©rga jiyakaṃ, nāma no liṃga no seya dvayakaṃ saṃpūrṇṇa yāṅa thama dvayakaṃ, nāmaliṃgānuśāsana ¦ [1^{v}5] dhāyā nāma thva graṃtha, amarasiṃha paṃṭisana lhāyā, thva || ||

[Commentary ad *Amarakośa* 1.1.1-2] [...] he who desires prosperity in this world and salvation in the next world, who is served by (those) wise men (?). Having collected (New. *kāṃsyaṃ*), having taken (New. *muṃṇa*), from other treatises (New. *meṃva meṃva śāstrasa*), arranging in sections (New. *varga jiyakaṃ*), in order to teach (New. *seya dvayakaṃ*, lit. 'making to learn') nouns and genders, Paṇḍita Amarasiṃha teaches (New. *Amarasiṃha paṃṭisana lhāyā*) this complete (New. *saṃpūrṇṇa yāṅa*, lit. 'made complete'), i.e. composed by himself (New. *thama dvayakaṃ*), treatise called *Nāmāliṅgānuśāsana*.

Explicit: [161^{r}2] thvataivuṃ vācyaliṃgaḥ || || [*main text*] [161^{r}3] [*main text*] thvate aliṃgaḥ ||

[Commentary ad *Amarakośa* 3.5.45-46] These are also adjectival (New. *thvataivuṃ vācyaliṃgaḥ*). These are genderless (New. *thvate aliṃgaḥ*).

Explicit: [161^{r}4] śrīśrījayasthitīśasya malladeva©sya bhūpateḥ | amātyaśrījayadbrahmā, svāmikāryaparāyaṇaḥ || sa svaputrāya vidhiva,d imāṃ [161^{r}5] ṭīkām acīkarat_ | śrīmatpātrakulānāṃ yo, viśiṣṭo maṇḍanocitaḥ || māṇikyam iva māṇikyanāmā paṇḍita\sattama/ḥ || kṛteṣā(!) 'marakoṣasya, tena nepālabhāṣayā || vivṛ[161^{v}1]tir nāma liṅgānāṃ ṭippanī bālabodhinī || ṣaṭuttare pañcaśate gate 'bde, nepālike māsi ca caitrasaṃjñe | kṛṣṇe ca pakṣe madanābhidhāyāṃ tithau śaśāṅkātmajavāsare ca [161^{v}2] || śrījayasthitibhūpale, nepālarāṣṭraśāstari | śrimadbhakta©pure deśe grathitvā likhitā tadā || imām vijñāya loko 'yaṃ, turṇṇam astu mahākaviḥ | ṣaḍbhāṣasāga[161^{v}3]rasyāpi, pārīṇaḥ śāstrakovidaḥ || prajāḥ sukham avāpnu©vantu, viprā devān yajantu ca | daṇḍanītyā nṛpāḥ yāntu, kāle vaṣantu(!) toyadāḥ ||

[This passage is translated above in section 2.]

Final Rubric: [161^{v}3] iti māṇikyavira[161^{v}4]cito 'marakoṣasya naipālabhāṣāṭippanī samāpteyaṃ || © ||

The Short Commentary of the *Amarakośa* in Newari language, composed by Māṇikya, is completed.

3.4.3 Colophon

[161v4] svasti śrīmannepālikasamvatsare 506 caitrakṛṣṇatrayodaśyāṃ, budhavāsare rājādhirājaparame¦[161v5]śvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrīpaśupaticaraṇāravindasvitaśrīmāneśvarīvaralabdhapratāpaśrīśrījayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye māṇikyena grathitvā likhiteyaṃ ||

Prosperity! Māṇikya composed and wrote this [Short Commentary of the *Amarakośa* in Newari language] in the venerated Nepalese year 506, in the thirteenth lunar day of the dark half of the month Caitra, on a Wednesday, during the victorious reign of the venerable Malla king Jayasthiti, foremost of kings, Supreme Lord, Paramount Sovereign, who served at the lotus feet of the venerable Lord of the Beasts (i.e. Śiva) and obtained glory as the groom of the goddess Śrī Māneśvarī.

4 Conclusion

In the Sanskrit lexicographical tradition, Amarasiṃha's position is as authoritative as Pāṇini's in the realm of Sanskrit grammar. Bilingual lexica like Maṇika's were undoubtedly a fundamental help for Newari speakers in the process of learning Sanskrit. They represented the gateway to the world of Sanskrit literature, from which Newari authors drew inspiration for the composition of both new Sanskrit works as well as of a new type of literature in their own native language. As explained in the introductory verse itself, the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* is at the same time a lexicographical treatise (Skt. *nāmānuśāsana*) as well as a treatise explaining the different genders of Sanskrit words (Skt. *liṅgānuśāsana*). This aspect is all the more important for Newari speakers, since the Newari language does not distinguish between genders. Significantly, Maṇika's work is more than a simple translation, for he employs a technique we might consider as a sort of minimal commentary, similar in its style to full-fledged Sanskrit commentaries. In the first stanza extant in his commentary, for instance, Skt. *samāhṛtya* is rendered in Newari with two different synonymic verbs, respectively from the roots *kāye* and *mune*; likewise, Skt. *sampūrṇam* is first translated into Newari as *saṃpūrṇṇa yāṅa*, 'made complete', which in turn is glossed in Newari as *thama dvayakaṃ*, 'composed (literally 'made') by himself (i.e. Amara). Moreover, as Maṇika explicitly states at the end of the work, his commentary is not only an aid to learn Sanskrit, but also Prakrit languages, for mastery of Sanskrit is a prerequisite needed to learn these literary languages in order to be able to compose poetical works and, above all, dramas. In fact, as we have seen

Maṇika himself composed several dramas in which he displayed his knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrits. Moreover, from the fourteenth century onwards, several other Nepalese authors attempted to compose dramas in Sanskrit, Newari, Bengali, and Maithili – sometimes even using these languages together in the same work.[35] In this respect, Maṇika's commentary acquires even more importance if we consider that apparently very few manuscripts of Prakrit grammatical works were circulating in Nepal before the fifteenth century.[36]

Before Maṇika set out to translate and comment on Amara's masterpiece, seemingly only another Newari translation/commentary to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* had been composed in the Nepālamaṇḍala. This work, called *Putrapautrādibodhana* or *Putrapautrādibodhinī* is transmitted in a *codex unicus* kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (NGMPP B 14–11, NAK 4/590). According to the colophon, this manuscript is the personal copy (Skt. *svapustako* ⟨' ⟩ *yaṃ*) of a certain Jasaraja, a medical doctor (Skt. *vaidya*), who wrote it in 1381 during the reign of King Jayārjunadeva for the sake of his own use (Skt. *svapadārthahetunā*).[37] If we take into consideration Maṇika's wider role within the cultural landscape of his time, most probably his commentary had more influence and reached a wider audience than the *Putrapautrādibodhana*. All these aspects render Maṇika's work even more central in the history of Newari literature and in the cultural history of Nepal at large.[38]

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35 On this topic, see for instance Brinkhaus 2003.

36 Vergiani 2017, 114–116.

37 NGMPP B 14–11, NAK 4/590, folio 78r, line 1-2; see also <http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/B_14-11_Amarakośanepālabhāṣāṭippaṇī> (accessed on 27 Oct. 2021) (some readings need correction); the colophon is published also in Pant 2006, however I did not have the opportunity to consult this publication.

38 Classical Newari is still an understudied language, however it is apparently witnessing a small revival (or, if you prefer, renaissance; see for instance Otter 2021). Nevertheless, a thorough examination of Maṇika's works in Newari is still a *desideratum*.

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Vincenzo Vergiani

Scribbling in Newar on the Margins of a Sanskrit Manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832

Abstract: This Nepalese manuscript of a Sanskrit treatise on horse-medicine, with a Newar colophon, provides an example of the interaction between Sanskrit as a learned, universalising language and the regional vernaculars spoken by those who embraced and disseminated Sanskrit literary culture throughout the South Asian world.

The manuscript Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832[1] is a fourteenth-century copy of the *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta,[2] a Sanskrit treatise on horse-medicine (*aśva* = horse, *vaidyaka* = medicine), produced in Nepal. On the verso of the last folio there is a short note in medieval Newar (also known as Nepal Bhasa, Newah Bhaye or Newari), a language of the Tibeto-Burman family still spoken in the Kathmandu valley in central Nepal. The note, which I discuss in greater detail below, has no evident connection with the content of the manuscript. Nevertheless, even this snippet of text provides an interesting illustration of the complex interplay between Sanskrit, the cosmopolitan language of South Asia, and Newar, one of the vernaculars or regional languages that became literate and (to differing extents) literary languages at various times in the course of almost two thousand years, roughly between the late first millennium BCE and the early modern period.[3]

1 The whole manuscript can be accessed on the Cambridge Digital Library at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02832/> (accessed on 18 Febr. 2021).

2 Jayadatta, who in the initial verses calls himself the son of Vijayadatta, is believed to have flourished in the early second millennium CE, since he quotes Śālihotra, the author of the *Aśvāyurveda*, a renowned treatise on horses, generally dated around 1000 CE (see Meulenbeld 2000, 565–566).

3 For the distinction between 'cosmopolitan language' and 'vernacular' in the context of premodern South Asia (though the classification may well usefully apply to other regions and epochs too), see Pollock 1996 and Pollock 2006.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110776492-012

1 Physical description of the manuscript

The manuscript consists of 96 folios made of palm leaves, approximately 4.5 cm high and 28 cm wide, held between dark wooden covers produced at a later date but of local manufacture (see Fig. 1). The manuscript is complete and in quite good condition. Most folios appear to be palimpsests, as is evident from fol. 95^{v}, which was erased but left blank. The right edge of some folios is worm-eaten, and a few folios are smudged.

The text is written in black ink in the Nepālākṣara script (also called Newari or Bhujmoli in secondary literature), used in the Kathmandu valley. Its evolution can be traced from around the mid-first millennium CE through inscriptions and manuscripts. The form found in MS Add.2832 is the 'hooked' variant of the script, so called because of the small hook-like sign appearing on top of most letters, which is purely ornamental. This was virtually ubiquitous around the time the manuscript was copied, whereas it is not found in earlier and later forms of the script.

As is common in the case of many South Asian palm-leaf manuscripts, the leaves show a string hole, slightly to the left of the centre, placed roughly in the middle of a 2 cm-wide blank square space, framed above and below by the top and bottom lines of the text. The written area, which is approximately 3 cm high and 24.5 cm wide, is comprised of 5 lines per page, and on average each line has 54 *akṣara*s ('graphemes') per line. The ends of sections are marked by a double vertical stroke known as *daṇḍa* ('stick, rod'), which was the only punctuation sign in Indic scripts, followed by a space (often containing a little circle in the middle) and another double *daṇḍa*.

The manuscript bears a double foliation: one in Nepālākṣara letter numerals on the mid-left margin of the verso, from 1 to 95; the other in Nepālākṣāra numerals on the mid-right margin of the verso, also from 1 to 95. The last folio is not numbered but, as I will explain below, there are good reasons to believe it belongs to the original bundle.

On the front cover, a modern hand-written label in Roman script bears the words 'Jayadatta's Açvavaidyaka' in small characters in pencil, at the top, and underneath 'see Bibl.Ind'; further below, 'Rasayan Kulp year 444 Nepalese (Present Nepalese year 1006) Complete', in large characters in brownish ink. The number '444' is crossed with a pencil stroke; the number '484' is written in pencil above, while the date 'A.D. 1364' appears underneath.

2 The main text

The *Aśvavaidyaka* was most probably composed in the early second millennium CE. It is also known with alternative synonymous titles (something not at all uncommon in medieval India) such as *Aśvāyurveda* or *Aśvacikitsā*. Veterinary was considered a branch of medicine and followed the same theoretical principles as Āyurveda proper. The two domains that were most developed and gave rise to conspicuous production of scientific literature are those of horse and elephant medicine, these being the two domestic animals that were most closely associated with kingship both symbolically, as emblems of royal power and prestige, and practically, because of their military use in battles and expeditions. It is not surprising, then, that in the colophons of other copies of this work the author of the treatise, a certain Jayadatta, of whom virtually nothing is known, is often said to be a *mahāsāmānta*, a grand feudatory prince. On the other hand, the colophon of this copy calls him a *mahāśānta*, a 'great ascetic', but given the subject matter, this seems far less likely and may be a simple *lapsus calami* where the syllable *mā* in *sāmānta* has been dropped, especially considering that in medieval Nepal the three Sanskrit sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s* are frequently confused (most probably under the influence of Newar phonology).

The colophon of the manuscript, on fol. 95^{r}, l. 4–5 (see Fig. 2), gives the date of the copy of the *Aśvavaidyaka*, but unlike other Nepalese colophons it does not provide any further information such as the circumstances of the copying, the name of the scribe, or the recipient or commissioner of the work:

> *samāptā*[4] *cedam aśvāryurvedaśāstraṃ*[5] | ○ *kṛtir iya*[6]
> *mahāśāntaśīijayadattasya*[7] || * || ꠸ *samvat*[8] 484 *māghakṛṣṇe* [*tra*]*yo* ||○||
> *dasyāṃ śravaṇanakṣatre bṛhaspativāsare likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ* |
>
> 'And this treatise on horse medicine is completed. This is the work of the great ascetic Jayadatta. This book was copied in the year 484,[9] on Bṛhaspati day[10] the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight[11] of Māgha,[12] under the asterism of Śravaṇa.'[13]

4 For *samāptaṃ*.

5 For *aśvāyurvedaśāstraṃ*.

6 For *iyaṃ* (this is probably simply a misspelling due to oversight).

7 Probably for *mahāsamānta-śrī-jayadattasya*.

8 The sign at the beginning of the line, before the word *samvat*, reproduces an auspicious symbol frequently found in medieval Nepalese manuscripts.

While the manuscript is generally quite correct, the few lines of the colophon contain a few mistakes and misspellings. The most serious is the lack of gender agreement between the past participle *samāptā* ('completed', in the feminine) and the compound *aśvāyurvedaśāstraṃ*, which is neuter. Interestingly, in South Asian manuscripts these flaws tend in fact to occur more frequently at the edges of the main text, in paratexts such as glosses, rubrics and colophons.

3 The Newar text

There is one more folio in MS Add.2832, which contains various texts and two more dates, both of them later than the one found in the colophon of the *Aśvavaidyaka*. The fact that Indic manuscripts are frequently comprised of loose leaves makes the insertion of heterogeneous materials an easy and not infrequent occurrence, just like the random loss of one or more leaves from any place in the text. What is worse, this may have happened at any stage in the history of the manuscript – in ancient times, or on the occasion of its purchase, or even after its acquisition by Cambridge University Library. However, some clues allow us to surmise with reasonable certainty that fol. 96 belongs to the original manuscript. Firstly, the leaf looks like all the other folios in texture and colour. Secondly, most or all the leaves, including the final one, look like palimpsests. This is particularly evident in the case of the penultimate folio: fol. 95^{r} contains the end of the treatise and the colophon. When the scribe realised he would not need the other side to complete his assignment, he wrote the folio number on the recto – thus breaking the North Indian convention of marking the foliation on the verso – because he knew the verso would remain blank. However, he had already prepared the verso by erasing whatever text it had previously contained.

9 The era is the Nepāli Samvat, which began on 20 October 879 CE. Therefore, the date in the colophon corresponds to a day in early February 1364. The Cambridge manuscript is the oldest known dated copy of this work (see Meulenbeld 2000, 566).

10 The term *vāsara* (or *vāra*) indicates a solar day; *bṛhaspati-vāsara* is Thursday.

11 The Nepāli calendar is a lunisolar calendar of the *amānta* kind, in which months start and end with a new moon (*amā*). Thus, the first half, the bright half (*śuklapakṣa*), is the waxing moon, while the second half, the dark fortnight (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*), is the waning moon.

12 The lunar month Māgha corresponds to the solar months January/February.

13 A *nakṣatra* is a 'lunar mansion', namely the twenty-seventh part of a sidereal month, each of which corresponds to one of twenty-seven lunar constellations traditionally associated with a presiding deity.

It seems likely, then, that the original bundle of leaves consisted of 96 folios, but 95 proved enough to copy the whole *Aśvavaidyaka*. The passage in Newar is found on fol. 96^{v}, l. 1 to the right of the string hole (see Fig. 3). It is is written in a form of the Nepālākṣara script that is not dissimilar from that of the main text:[14]

(l. 1) ꠰ ŚREYO 'STU || SAMVAT 561 JAIṢṬAŚUKLA[15] TRIYODASYĀ TITHO ŚRĪ *amakhā ṭvāla* śrī *amakhā*</damage>

(l. 2) *ccheṃ amakhā bhārosa hastādāra gun* DAMMA ŚIVAKĀ DVAYA DĀMĀDVIKA[16] PAÑCA *plākṣata*[17] *pla* 5 DA

(l. 3) MMA 2 TASA VARṢA[18] PRATI KALANTRA[19] *pla* PRATI DAMMA 2 *mvadvava* SĀLAPĀṬA 3 *sāyesa dāma jurom*

(l. 4) *thva* DĀMMA *yā dhāṃ ni*.

Here is a tentative translation of the passage:

> May there be happiness. On the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the [month of] Jyaiṣṭha [= May/June] of 561[20] [of the Nepāli Era = 1441 CE] Sir such and such, of such and such respectable house, in the such and such respectable ward, has received the sum of five *pala*s and two *dām*s of the *damma-śivakā* [a currency unit], in figures 5 *pala*s 2 *dammas*, as a loan, to be repaid to the creditor at an annual interest rate of 2 *dammas* for [each] *pala* or alternatively of 3, {...?} to be added to that money [i.e. the original amount]. {...?}"

The content is not entirely clear (especially the final part), but it looks like the draft of a loan agreement, something one might have jotted down before writing up the actual document recording the deed. This is clearly suggested by the use

14 In the transliteration all the Sanskrit loanwords (called *tatsama*, literally 'same as that', in Sanskrit) appear in small capitals, while those clearly adapted from Sanskrit (*tadbhāva*, literally 'originating from that') are italicised and underlined. Newar terms and those of uncertain origin are in italics but not underlined.

15 For *jyaiṣṭhaśukla*.

16 For *dāmādhika*.

17 Probably for *plāṅkata*, a string consisting of the words *pla*, from Sanskrit *pala* (the name of a coin), and *aṅkata*, Sanskrit *aṅkataḥ*, 'in numbers', from *aṅka* 'number, numeral', followed by the secondary suffix *taḥ*, which here has the value of a modal ablative. Note that the merging of the two /a/ vowels into a long /ā/ is a common Sanskrit sandhi.

18 For *varṣaṃ*.

19 For *kalāntara*.

20 The reading 6 for the second figure is uncertain. The appearance of the script rather points to an earlier date.

of the word *amakhā*, a Newar adaptation of the Sanskrit demonstrative *amuka* ('so and so', 'such and such'). Far from being the only borrowing from Sanskrit, *amakhā* is found side by side with several loanwords in which often only the Sanskrit case endings are missing. Among these are the auspicious formula *śreyo 'stu*; terms of the calendar (e.g. *samvat* 'year', *tithi* 'lunar day',[21] etc.); names of coins *damma*, *pala* (rendered as *pla*), *śivakā*; numbers (*pañca* 'five', *dvaya* 'two'); some of the technical commercial vocabulary (*hastādāra* 'loan by hand'; *kalāntara* 'interest rate'; *varṣaṃ prati* 'per year'); the honorific appellative *śrī*, etc. But many other words are of Newar stock (*ṭvāla*[22] 'ward', *ccheṃ* 'house', *thva* 'this', etc.), and the syntax and grammar are definitely Newar. And it is worth noting that a typical Nepalese title such as *bhāro*[23] (followed by the Newar genitive/locative marker *-sa*), translated above as 'Sir', of uncertain origin, is frequently found in the Sanskrit colophons of Nepalese manuscripts, usually in the form *bhāroka*, in which the pleonastic suffix *ka*, ending as it does in a short /a/, makes it easily declinable.[24]

4 The other texts on fol. 96

At the bottom of fol. 96^{v}, under the Newar passage, a devotional invocation in a different hand is found, followed by the same auspicious formula seen above, accompanied by yet another date:

> *namo nāṭeśvarāya śreyo 'stu~~ḥ~~* || *samvat* 510 *yo*
>
> Homage to the Lord of Dance [i.e. Śiva], may there be prosperity. Year 510.

The sign for the *visarga*, /ḥ/,[25] which appears erroneously after the imperative form *astu* ('may there be'), is crossed out with a zigzag. The year corresponds to 1390 CE. Except the invocation to Śiva, the same formula is found on the front

21 The form *titho* used here is certainly an adaptation of the Sanskrit locative *tithau* usually found in dates.

22 An alternative spelling for *ṭol*/*ṭola*.

23 Petech (1984, 88) translates *bhāro* with 'nobleman', but according to Kölver and Śākya (1985, 91), it is 'a very common title, apparently of Vaiśyas', namely the class (*varṇa*) of traders and farmers.

24 Conversely, in Sanskrit there are only two stems ending in /o/ (*go* 'cow' and *dyo* 'sky'), and their declensions are quite irregular.

25 Phonetically, the *visarga* is a voiceless aspiration following the preceding vowel. It mostly occurs as a substitute for /s/ as a result of sandhi.

leaf, fol. 1^{r}, where the spelling mistake is not corrected. However, the hand on fol. 1^{r} is different and appears to be somewhat older than that of the formula on fol. 96^{v}. The most plausible explanation seems to be that the date on the front leaf, added twenty-six years after the copying of the *Aśvavaidyaka*, was then copied for unknown reasons under the passage in Newar after this was written (that is, after 1441 CE), with the addition of the invocation to Śiva Nāṭeśvara (or Nāṭarāja, a common epithet of the god), but correcting the spelling mistake found on the front cover. This is further proof that fol. 96 is indeed part of the original bundle.

On the recto of fol. 96 (see Fig. 4), we find a seemingly random selection of verses, written in a different hand from that of the main work, but in a form of the Nepalese script that is very similar palaeographically, and appears to be roughly contemporary. The verses are taken from two well-known works, the *Vikramacarita*, a collection of stories (*carita*) on the exploits of the eponymous king Vikrama told by the statuettes decorating his throne, and the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, a popular anthology of compositions of various poets. It is impossible to decide whether these verses were copied at the same time as the *Aśvavaidyaka* and for what purpose, if any.

The verso of fol. 96, where the Newar text is found, also shows another text to the left of the string hole, in a definitely later and more angular hand. This is a set of verses in praise of Vāgīśvara, the 'Lord of Speech', an epithet of Mañjuśrī, a popular *bodhisattva* in Buddhist mythology.

5 The interaction of Sanskrit and Newar in Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832

The two languages represented here, Sanskrit and Newar, had co-existed in the Kathmandu valley for a long time, well before the manuscript of the *Aśvavaidyaka* was copied, occupying different spheres of the same sociocultural space. The history of their interaction goes back to the first millennium CE. Sanskrit is attested in inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty starting from the fifth century CE, while Newar appears only sporadically before the end of the first millennium, especially in personal names, toponyms, and, interestingly, in the terminology of taxation.[26] Later on, it is initially used for the technical portions of an inscription, such as land measurements, details of donations to temples,

26 See Malla 1982, 6–7.

etc. The main portion of the inscription, which traditionally contains a eulogy in verse of the person issuing it – the king or some other wealthy, powerful, and influential figure – is almost exclusively in Sanskrit until the fifteenth century. This is a pattern that is regularly observed throughout South Asia from about the second century CE: the epigraphic language of political rhetorical discourse is Sanskrit, usually of a sophisticated and florid variety, while the local vernacular, if it appears at all, is confined to the practical and legal aspects of the recorded events. In other words, for most of the early medieval period one generally finds either monolingual inscriptions in Sanskrit or bilingual inscriptions with a sharp division of labour, as it were, between Sanskrit and the vernacular.

With reference to Nepal, the oldest known document written in Newar is a manuscript from the Buddhist monastery of Ukū Bāhāḥ (also known by the Sanskrit name Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra) in Patan, one of the important urban centres of the valley, dated Nepāli Samvat 235, corresponding to 1114 CE. The manuscript records the agreement on the sharing of income and crops 'among the tenant-farmers tilling the monastery's land and the members of the monastic order',[27] and belongs to an archive of legal and commercial documents dating from the tenth century onwards preserved in the monastery, many of which were published in Kölver and Śākya 1985. As they note, in these bilingual documents '[g]eneral principles, the framework, the formula are stated in Sanskrit, while the particulars of the case are given in the vernacular', Newar.[28] Many of the highly standardised formulas employed in these documents closely resemble the one found in Add.2832. They show that by the early second millennium CE Newar had become a literate language commonly used in private documents for pragmatic purposes (such as accountancy, administration, and private law), and for that purpose had developed a specialised lexicon with numerous loanwords from Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages of North India. A few centuries later, a Newar literary culture began to emerge at the court of King Jayasthitirājamalla (r. 1382–1395), who consolidated his power after a couple of centuries of domestic strife, precisely around the time when the manuscript of the *Aśvavaidyaka* was copied.

The picture I have very briefly outlined of the interaction between the two languages seems to be well illustrated by the Cambridge manuscript. All of it, except the last folio, is devoted to a treatise belonging to one of the most ancient scholastic traditions of 'high' Sanskritic culture, namely Āyurveda. Overall, the copy of the *Aśvavaidyaka* is remarkably correct, showing that the person who

27 See Malla 1990, 16.

28 Kölver and Śākya 1985, 27.

transcribed it, whether a professional scribe or a veterinarian who made a copy for his personal use, had a good mastery of Sanskrit. Not many years later, judging from the appearance of the script, the person who was then in possession of the treatise used the spare leaf at the back to write the Sanskrit verses on the recto. It was almost another eighty years (if the date of Nepāli Samvat 561 is reliable) before the loan agreement template in Newar was added. We do not know whether in the meantime the manuscript had stayed in the possession of the same family (the practice of medicine was commonly cultivated by lineages of physicians and transmitted from father to son), but the juxtaposition of the two texts in the same bundle suggests that the Sanskrit treatise contained in the manuscript was still being consulted when the loan formula was inscribed. This points to the existence in medieval Nepal of a milieu of educated Newar speakers who could read Sanskrit, which alternated with their mother tongue in various areas of daily life.

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Fig. 1: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832, front wooden cover; reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 2: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832, fol. 95^{r} with colophon; reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 3: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832, fol. 96^{v} with Newar passage; reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 4: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.2832, fol. 96^{r} with Sanskrit verses; reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Máire Ní Mhaonaigh

International Vernacularisation, *c.* 1390 CE: The 'Book of Ballymote'

Abstract: The 'Book of Ballymote' is a late fourteenth-century manuscript written in Ireland and predominantly in the vernacular (the Irish language). In its focus on history, local, regional and global, it draws on and develops biblical and classical themes. It does so in a way that demonstrates how medieval Irish scholars moulded their own language to occupy this international cultural space. Their continued use of Latin in specific contexts underlies their creativity and skill.

1 Introduction: manuscripts, language and history

Medieval Irish textual culture, as represented by its manuscripts, is rich and diverse. The earliest extant manuscripts dating from the eighth and ninth centuries CE are predominantly in Latin but present the vernacular in productive, imaginative dialogue with the canonical language of education and the Church. Energised by this interaction, which had become significant with the spread of Christianity in Ireland in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, Old Irish was developed as a deft and sophisticated literary medium, nourished by the Latinate environment in which it played an increasingly vital part. From the beginnings of this recorded history, the vernacular language acquired authority and importance in the world of learning, functioning as a confident, creative partner in no way subordinate to the globalising learned language with which it was in close embrace. Too often, however, this entanglement is obscured in scholarship, since a given manuscript is often categorised as if it were the edifice of a single language, the one that is predominant in its surface code. For this reason, manuscripts in which Latin is dominant are usually set apart from those in which the vernacular, Irish, is to the fore. An important codex, the 'Book of the Dun Cow' (*Lebor na hUidre*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 E 25), written around the turn of the twelfth century, is deemed to be a monument to medieval Irish (language) text-production. However, its principal scribe was also responsible for creating manuscripts written entirely in Latin.[1] In the same way, the 'Book of the

1 Duncan 2012.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110776492-013

Dun Cow' and two other predominantly vernacular twelfth-century manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 502 and the 'Book of Leinster' (Dublin, Trinity College, 1339), are rarely considered in conjunction with their bilingual contemporaries, a pair of interconnected copies of a single collection of hymns, the *Liber Hymnorum*, which Michael Clarke has elucidated as a compilation of canonical texts with a learned apparatus. As the *Liber Hymnorum* reflects the medieval tradition of *grammatica*, textual culture in the broadest sense, so the vernacular codices should also be read as products of, and contributions to, the same intellectual milieu in which Latin and Irish co-existed in a fluid, creative symbiosis.[2]

A primary concern of these three manuscripts in which the Irish language functions as the primary surface code – the 'Book of the Dun Cow', Rawlinson B. 502, and the 'Book of Leinster' – was *historia*, the investigation and narrative evocation of the past.[3] That past was ever-present, and contemporary occurrences acquired meaning when set against the backdrop of earlier events. In the western Middle Ages, history involved a narrative determined by Creation, Covenant and Redemption, the here-and-now being part of a linear progression moving towards salvation itself.[4] With reference to biblical and classical markers, past deeds and happenings could be placed within an overarching framework, local events being interpreted in the context of the overall destiny of the human race. Within this sphere of Latinate learning, all history was universal; the concept of *historia* was the defining principle for much medieval discourse concerned with the past, with Christology, and with the Last Things.[5]

This discourse was conducted along Latin and vernacular pathways, as well as in both languages concurrently. Authors could navigate this global space adroitly, whatever their linguistic choice. In the case of the earliest extant vernacular Irish manuscript, *Lebor na hUidre*, an expansive account of events from the era of the Patriarchs and the Flood of Noah to the present, encompassing pivotal moments from the pre-Christian and conversion periods in Ireland, is presented within its pages. The history depicted sets the Irish into a biblical structure, and a primary focus is time's trajectory, salvation in the next life.[6] The importance of eternity, the consummation of history, is underlined by the

2 On the *Liber Hymnorum*, see Michael Clarke's contribution to this volume; Hayden 2018 discusses the concept of *grammatica* as reflected in the manuscript under consideration here, the 'Book of Ballymote'.

3 Ní Mhaonaigh 2018b.

4 See Boyle 2021.

5 Goetz 1991; Goetz 2002, 143–145.

6 Boyle 2015, 129–130; Toner 2015, 132, 134.

exposition of the world's preparatory six ages, as set out in the extensive vernacular reworking of the international scheme of world history, *Sex aetates mundi* (the 'Six Ages of the World'), which frames the presentation of the past both in *Lebor na hUidre* and in the near-contemporary codex, Rawlinson B. 502.[7] Read in conjunction with a text outlining the origins of the Irish, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (the 'Book of Invasions')[8] which may once also have formed part of *Lebor na hUidre*, the universal and local dimensions are combined. It is with the earliest surviving version of the construction of Ireland's history detailed in *Lebor Gabála* that the third extant vernacular manuscript surviving from this period, *Lebor na Núachongbála* (the 'Book of Oughavall', more commonly known as the 'Book of Leinster'), begins. History and historiography form its unifying principle.[9] It displays an image of the past bearing witness to its own present, while also preserving many traces of the process of synthesis by which this depiction came into being.

In their concern with *historia*, these three textual artefacts, produced within about a hundred years of one another, are comparable with a number of later manuscripts dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the 'Yellow Book of Lecan', the 'Book of Uí Mhaine', the 'Book of Lecan' and the 'Book of Ballymote'. These are generally treated as a decisively younger manuscript-group, though this categorisation obscures the fact that in their general structure and thematic concerns they exhibit many of the same characteristics as the earlier codices.[10] The vernacular retains its focus in these later literary specimens – not surprisingly, considering the intellectual environment in which they took form. While their predecessors are the products of ecclesiastical enclaves in which Latin and Irish intermingled, these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century codices emanated from the hands of professional families primarily concerned with secular learning in the vernacular language. Moreover, a number of them may be patrons' books, each a prestige object for a ruler whose aspirations and standing were embodied in the physical appearance and contents of the work.

While their milieu may differ from that of earlier learned compilations, these manuscripts remain poised between languages, straddling linguistic worlds. Their intellectual ideology is informed by the same Latinate, multilingual

7 Ó Cróinín 1983, Tristram 1985.

8 See Carey 2005.

9 Schlüter 2010.

10 Dublin, Trinity College, 1318 (the 'Yellow Book of Lecan'); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.ii.1 (the 'Book of Uí Mhaine') and Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 2 (the 'Book of Lecan'). Images and information concerning these manuscripts are available on the Irish Scripts on Screen website: <www.isos.dias.ie> (accessed on 21 Oct. 2021).

learning that is more readily visible on the manuscript page of earlier scribes; their content reflects intense ongoing interaction between and among languages in significant ways. The voice may be predominantly vernacular, but its timbre has been influenced by the Latin with which it was in sustained contact: this is a vernacular that supports a complexity of themes and is capable of subtle exposition, as well as nuanced speculation. These manuscripts are inextricably linked with their predecessors from the twelfth-century period, as noted above, and in many cases may be directly derived from them.[11] Whatever the precise association, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scribes had frequent recourse to earlier texts. Inheriting a highly-developed scribal culture shaped by its bilingual milieu, later literary craftsmen remained drawn to the past to create textual monuments of relevance for their own day. *Historia*, therefore, retained its significance in the changed context within which the secular scribes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were writing, demonstrated most tangibly perhaps in the detailed genealogical material preserved in manuscripts such as the 'Book of Lecan' and the 'Book of Ballymote'.[12] Local and regional history is represented in these later codices, but when viewed in its entirety, the picture presented has a global hue. The extent to which Latinate learning has become internalised in these manuscripts, informing their structure, as well as outlook, will become clear from our analysis of one such codex, the 'Book of Ballymote'.[13]

2 Introducing the 'Book of Ballymote'

The 'Book of Ballymote' is a monumental compilation with a specific historical focus, in which themes recur and texts are made to chime with one another. Its large collection of varied texts includes genealogies, origin legends, king-lists, saga narratives and stories explaining place-names, among other genres. This subject-matter clearly reflects the interests of its scribes, who worked closely

11 Herbert 2015, 90–97.

12 Ó Corráin 1998, 178.

13 A facsimile of the manuscript has been published: Atkinson 1887. Digital images of the manuscript are available at <www.isos.dias.ie> (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, the 'Book of Ballymote'), from which illustrative images here are drawn by kind permission of the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. This contribution is based on Ní Mhaonaigh 2018a, but with an additional focus on the interplay between languages in the manuscript. The reader is referred to the earlier contribution for further detail on history-writing in the 'Book of Ballymote'.

together, the most prolific of them being Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin.[14] A member of a professional learned family associated with several hereditary elite groups in Connacht (the western part of Ireland), he can be seen to continue the provision of historical learning (*senchas*) with which his earlier scholarly kinsmen had been concerned in previous generations of text-production. He was also connected to another learned family, that of Mac Aodhagáin, and a colophon in the manuscript suggests that he was the pupil of one of their number, Giolla na Náemh Mac Aodhagáin.[15] On his death in 1399, this Giolla na Náemh was described as belonging to the highest grade of scholar (*ollamh*) in law.[16] It can be assumed, therefore, that legal learning also formed part of the training of Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin, as it may well have done in the case of at least one of his collaborators, Solamh Ó Droma. In any event, both scribes wrote part of the manuscript in the house of the younger brother of the teacher-figure, Giolla na Náemh. Another section of the manuscript was written in the house of a secular lord, Tomaltach Mac Donnchadha, in Ballymote (Co. Sligo), from where the manuscript acquired its name.[17] It has been argued that this Connacht chieftain may have been the patron for whom the compilation was made, notwithstanding a comment by Maghnus Ó Duibhgheannáin that he himself was the owner of the book (*fear in leabhairsea*).[18] The manuscript's elaborate programme of illumination, including historiated initials and marginal arabesques, suggests that it was designed, at least partially, for formal display.[19] Evidence for Mac Donnchadha's interest in the past is suggested by specific mention of his name after his pedigree had been recorded.[20] A work of local, regional and world history, therefore, may have been a fitting tribute to him. Ornate lettering and skilfully executed images underline the esteem in which these varied historical texts were held (see, for example, Fig. 1). The 'Book of Ballymote' was a book by and for those with an abiding interest in history. History-writing of all types, Irish, biblical and classical, provides the manuscript's unifying thread.

In this, as we have seen, the manuscript was not unique. In conception and content the 'Book of Ballymote' bears closest comparison with the 'Book of

14 Elizabeth Duncan (2018) has argued that the script previously associated with this single scribe represents eight distinct palaeographical hands, a number of whom worked closely together and some of whom acted as relief scribes for others.

15 Ó Concheanainn 1981, 21; Ó hUiginn 2018b, 201–204.

16 Freeman 1944, 372–373.

17 Ó Concheanainn 1981, 19–21; for the historical context, see Ó hUiginn 2018b, 192–201.

18 Carey 2009, 23; Ó hUiginn 2018b, 203–204.

19 See Ralph 2018.

20 Mulchrone 1934, 436.

Lecan', which was also being written around this time. Much of the same historically-orientated material is preserved in the two manuscripts, and there are references to many of the same sources.[21] The connections between these two parchment compendia, as well as others of this period, most notably the 'Yellow Book of Lecan', are illustrative of intense, ongoing intercourse among proponents of learning in this period. In this mobile textual culture, sections of one manuscript might have functioned as a model for another, particularly when scribes were writing with similar intentions in mind. Like the Ballymote patron, Tomaltach Mac Donnchadha, the chieftain with which the 'Book of Lecan' is associated, Ruairí Ó Dubhda, would also have benefitted from the presentation of his dynasty's past within a broader historical framework. Common themes and texts bind this group of manuscripts together; yet each of these codices was meticulously designed and executed for its own particular purpose and bears witness to the specific concerns of patrons and households in terms of ancestry, identity and traditions. The elusive nature of the multifaceted meaning of each manuscript in its own right, may be challenging, but the glimpses it provides of individuality within an interconnected textual community should not be allowed to disappear from view.

3 Universal language

The grouping of material, as well as a manuscript's overall structure, can provide significant insights into the particular approach taken by its scribes. The 'Book of Lecan' commences with the 'Book of Invasions' (*Lebor Gabála Érenn*), positioning Ireland's history within that of the wider world. Moreover, one of the scribes included a different version of the same text later in the codex, to conclude it, if its current foliation records an earlier state of affairs. This particular recension of the 'Book of Invasions' also forms part of the 'Book of Ballymote', where it is surrounded by other biblical material, as well as texts pertaining to specific Irish dynasties. However, our manuscript opens with *Sex aetates mundi*, a universal account of the 'Six Ages of the World' in Irish. The subsequent narratives, which pertain specifically to Ireland, are to be read within this broad sweep of Christian, 'global' history. Significantly, it is with a group of vernacular adaptations of classical material, which do not form any part of the 'Book of Lecan', that the 'Book of Ballymote' ends. These are (in order of

21 Ó Muraíle 2018.

appearance) *Togail Troí* ('The Siege of Troy'), a dramatic expansion in Irish of *De excidio Troiae historia* ('The History of the Destruction of Troy') by Dares Phrygius; *Merugud Uilixis* ('The Wandering of Ulysses'), a revisionist recreation of the tale of Ulysses; and *Imthechta Aeniasa*, a prose rendering of the story of Vergil's *Aeneid*.[22] This particular grouping and the manuscript as a whole finishes with a history of Alexander the Great.[23] In commencing the codex with the 'Six Ages' text and in concluding with thematically related matter concerning Alexander the Great, the scribes of the 'Book of Ballymote' were following a carefully constructed and logical chronological plan. Moreover, the texts contained between these book-ends were interpreted in the light of the very deliberate focus on world history and historiography with which the manuscript begins and concludes. The local becomes global when viewed in this textual constellation; Irish events are positioned within a framework pertinent throughout the wider Christian scholarly world.

In employing this universal language, Irish scribes in this period do so primarily by means of the vernacular, though Latin is occasionally employed, as in a short text dealing with the 'Ages of the World', beginning *Ab Adam usque ad diluuium* in the 'Book of Ballymote'.[24] More frequently, Latin functions as a structural marker, orientating the reader and signalling the beginning of a new text. Its prominent use at the beginning of a number of interconnected chronological texts has added significance, since the narratives in question anchor world history, and Irish history as part of it, within a frame formed by precise synchronisms between events plotted to the same historical moments in different nations and empires.[25] The juxtaposition of histories is signalled linguistically with the dual Latin-Irish wording with which these texts begin. The beginning of the series is highlighted by the Latin phrase, *Prima etas mundi*, immediately followed by a translation: *.i. in ced ais don doman* 'i.e., the first age of the world' (Fig. 2).

Similarly, a cycle of poems on world kingdoms related to it is hailed with a Latin flourish announcing Adam, the first father (*Adam primus pater fuit*), followed by a description of Eve, the world's first woman, in the vernacular (Fig. 3). In introducing the 'Book of Invasions', the scribe repeats in Latin and the vernacular the biblical phrase 'in the beginning God created heaven and earth' (see Fig. 1). A compilation of British and Pictish pseudo-history based on the Latin text *Historia Brittonum* (the 'History of the Britons'), is prefaced by the

22 Mac Gearailt 2018.
23 Peters 1967.
24 Boyle 2018, 54–55.
25 See Boyle 2021, 137–140.

words of its supposed author *ego Neinnius Eluodugi discipulus* (Fig. 4).[26] Genealogical material is similarly introduced with a Latin account of the Flood (Fig. 5). Latin is thus an important part of the authors' scholarly discourse, but as part of an integrated linguistic and learned world. This integration is demonstrated clearly in the text of an elaborate topographic narrative contained in the manuscript, *Dindshenchas Érenn*, 'Historical Knowledge about Ireland's Notable Places' (Fig. 6).

Authority is established with reference to a fabricated account of how the material was related to the scholar Amairgen, at a gathering hosted by the sixth-century king, Diarmait mac Cerbaill. Amairgen's informant was a venerable elder, Fintan, who had lived since the Flood in various bodily forms, and so recounted how the land of Ireland had been inhabited from the time of Cessair, granddaughter of Noah, to Diarmait's own time.[27] The account then commences with the story of Tara (*Temair*), a place depicted as of central importance in Ireland's pre-history. The title 'king of Tara' signified the most powerful king of Ireland in early medieval sources. Explanations of the name link it with Ireland's early settlers; etymologically deconstructed as *Tea-múr*, Temair is explained as the rampart (*múr*) of Tea, who was married, according to successive versions, to a grandson or son of Míl of Spain, from whom the origins of the Irish are traced in texts such as the 'Book of Invasions' and elsewhere. Alternatively, according to the account, the name is derived from *Teipe-múr*, the rampart of Teiphis, daughter of the king of Spain, which Tea imitated in having her own *múr* constructed and which became her burial mound.[28]

The explanatory approach adopted here is that of Isidore of Seville, whose seventh-century *Etymologiae* became influential in Irish learned circles very soon after its composition. Isidorean analysis of words through their division into distinct elements was taken up in medieval Ireland with creativity and skill and also applied to the vernacular, as this example of Temair shows.[29] In the narrative of *Dindshenchas Érenn*, a third explanation of the name is then given in Latin, in which *Temair* is claimed to have its origin in the 'Greek word' *temorio*, the Latin equivalent of which *conspicio* is also provided.[30] The name is taken as a single entity and unnamed authors affirm (*auctores affirmant*) that 'every

26 Van Hamel 1932: 1–2.

27 Stokes 1894, 277, 278–279.

28 Stokes 1894, 277–279, § 1–2.

29 See Baumgarten 1990.

30 This is etymology based on a constructed correspondence with the first element of Temair. Michael Clarke has suggested to me that the underlying word implied here is probably θεωρέω 'I observe, I watch', as the exact semantic match with the Latin *conspicio* wold suggest.

conspicuous and eminent place, whether on a plain or in a house, or wherever it may be, may be called by this word *Temair*'.[31] In this way, the pre-eminence of the place Temair, positioned as the first in a narrative of conspicuous and eminent places, and the name of which itself designates 'a conspicuous and eminent place' (*locus conspicuous et eminens*) is underlined. And this additional emphasis is provided in Latin, Tara's special status being highlighted linguistically as well.

The linguistic intermingling continues, the Latin passage on Tara making reference to a further mark of the esteem of the place 'in an Irish proverb' (*in prouerbio Scotico*) which is then given in the vernacular *Temair na tuaithe agus Temair in taige* 'Temair of the land and Temair of the house'. The following explanation in Latin interprets the Irish phrase as meaning that Temair surpasses all other territories and households, and so legitimises what is understood as the appropriation by Temair, the best of eminent places, of a common noun, *temair*, meaning 'eminent place'. Moreover, the source for the proverb quoted is said to be a Glossary, specifically termed in a parallel manuscript – but not in the 'Book of Ballymote' – as a 'Glossary of Cormac'.[32] A ninth-century glossary associated with a king-bishop of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennáin, has survived in a number of versions, some of which do indeed preserve the proverbial phrase, while associating the name Temair with a 'corrupted Greek form', *temorio*, equated with Latin *conspicio*.[33] The proverb in this Glossary is linked to the meaning of Temair proposed therein: an eminent place with a view, whence is said 'Temair of the land and Temair of the house'. 'Temair of the land' is then specified as a hill (*tulach*), while 'Temair of the house' is a sunny bower or upper room (*grianán*).[34] Notwithstanding this variation and the contrast between the vernacular of 'Cormac's Glossary' and the predominant Latin of this passage in the *Dindshenchas*, it is clear that both relate to a common source.

In the context of the version of *Dindshenchas Érenn* in the 'Book of Ballymote' (and related manuscripts),[35] the alternation between Latin and Irish is an integral part of the introduction to the narrative, highlighting the superior status of

31 Stokes 1894, 278, 280 § 4. Stokes' edition and translation is from a variant manuscript, Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, 598, identical with the 'Book of Ballymote' in the case of this passage, except in one instance discussed below.

32 Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, 598: see Stokes 1894, 278, 280 § 4.

33 See Moran 2011, 45, no. 102.

34 Meyer 1912, 105 § 1212. The variant versions of this text, including the entry of Temair, can be compared with one another on the Early Irish Glossaries Database (search term *Temair*): <https://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/> (accessed on 21 Oct. 2021).

35 See Stokes 1894, 279.

Temair, the first place described in this extended landscape narrative. A Latin source may also underlie this section, as we have seen, while biblical citations, as well as passages from other Latin texts, are found elsewhere in the manuscript as well. In other instances, Latin words and phrases function as stylistic markers, a number of which were noted above. Deliberately used in tandem, therefore, Irish and Latin form part of a learned cultural continuum within the manuscript in which both languages play their part. What is revealed in the 'Book of Ballymote' is an extended, unified space of inter-language transfer and connection in what could have been a crevice between languages. The interstices between languages have become core and give meaning to the whole.

4 Universal history

In the same way, the biblical and classical Latin history within the manuscript's pages accords significance and structure to the entire content. The international context has been internalised, and through it Ireland's history is enriched by and incorporated into a Latinate cultural world, expressed predominantly in the vernacular, though Latin is used for strategic and stylistic effect throughout the 'Book of Ballymote', as described above. The strategic positioning of *Sex aetates mundi* and material concerning Alexander the Great as the manuscript's two pole points provides a potent illustration of this approach. Following on from the story of Troy, the journey of Ulysses and the adventures of Aeneas are related in correct chronological order, the story of Alexander is also given its proper place on the same timeline some centuries on. Though thematically linked to the preceding classical material, in that it too relates the adventures of a hero conquering the east, it is more firmly anchored in time than are the distant Trojan tales, being located in the fourth century BCE. It is the Alexander material, however, which draws the story of Troy and its aftermath into the purview of world history as recounted in the 'Book of Ballymote' (and elsewhere). Troy becomes part of universal history structured by the Christian concept of time when linked with the biblical material with which the manuscript opened, the 'Six Ages of the World' and related texts. Moreover, Alexander functions as a chronological lynchpin for the whole, since it is in his person that imperial power was seen to have shifted from Babylon in the east, via Alexander's Macedonia, to Rome, the Babylon of the West. At the centre of this fundamental concept of *translatio imperii*, Alexander's rulership was pivotal in the successful 'transfer of rule' between kingdoms that defined the ordered passing of time

signalling continuity.[36] In Aeneas' Rome, cradle of Christianity, the new religion could then go on to triumph and thrive.

For medieval authors, Alexander's importance also stemmed from the fact that he was a biblical figure, featuring in the first chapter of the First Book of Maccabees (1: 1–10). This in turn ensured that he was assigned pivotal importance in the elucidation of the scheme of world kingship by the Church Fathers.[37] Jerome, who produced the Vulgate translation of the Bible, cast Alexander as the third of four beasts that emerge from the water in the account of Daniel's vision in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 7: 3, 17–18, 22).[38] In this interpretation, Daniel's four great kingdoms represented by the beasts are the Assyrians and the Persians, the third being Alexander's Macedonians, and the fourth the Romans.[39] According to the Ages of the World chronology, Alexander's kingdom was in the fifth age. In returning to Alexander, therefore, to complete his history, the conscious creator of the interlinked network of texts preserved in the 'Book of Ballymote' was reminding his reader of contemporary history before Christ was due to come again. Having commenced with the 'Six Ages' as set out in his version of *Sex aetates mundi*, he brought his reader round once more to that pivotal point in time before the final age.[40]

When taken together, the universal history to which these opening and closing accounts contribute became greater than the sum of its parts. In the case of the story of Alexander and *Sex aetates mundi*, which are most intimately linked, the periodisation of ages of the latter, when read alongside the division into kingdoms of the former, provided a unified history of space and time. Moreover, that history becomes more comprehensive when one text is read in light of the other: specifically, 'The Story of Alexander' (*Scéla Alaxandair*) provides an augmented account of the fifth age. While this period is also related in the Irish *Sex aetates mundi*, that text is concerned with the earlier ages to a much greater degree. In this way, in conjunction with one another, *Sex aetates mundi* and *Scéla Alaxandair* provide a punctuated linear world history of universal time. Read within the framework provided by the 'Six Ages' text, the account of Alexander's

36 The classic discussion remains Goez 1958 and see Rubenstein 2019 for a recent contribution, for which reference I am indebted to Elizabeth Boyle; the concept in an early English context is analysed in Leneghan 2015. Elizabeth Boyle (2021, especially 118–150) provides a detailed analysis of the chronological framework and underlying concepts in an Irish scholarly milieu.

37 Tristram 1989, 148.

38 Migne 1884, cols 529-534 (S. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Danielis* VII).

39 Tristram 1990, 660.

40 See Boyle 2021, 118–150.

kingdom is anchored in concrete fashion in relation to other world events and the Alexander material links Trojan origins and Christian history, as we have seen. These book-ends then provide a context for the account of Ireland's history developed in other narratives in the 'Book of Ballymote'.

The many historiographical compositions, co-ordinating and juxtaposing discrete histories and lineages in a universal frame, furnish details for aspects of that history in turn. The 'Six Ages' theme continues to be explored in a series of synchronistic texts following on from *Sex aetates mundi*, as noted above. *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, which then follows, was also clearly understood as part of this wider scheme. Moreover, the focus on nations so prevalent in *Sex aetates mundi* is augmented by the account of the origin of their languages at the Tower of Babel, as recounted in *Auraicept na nÉces* ('The Poets' Primer'), also preserved in our codex.[41] In addition, a foundation is provided for the exploration of the history of Britain set out in *Historia Brittonum*, an Irish version of which is also found in the 'Book of Ballymote', as we have seen (see Fig. 4). The classical adaptations with which the manuscript closes provided an extra dimension. In the case of the Troy material, its links with a universal history are consciously highlighted and these are explained further by means of Alexander at the end. In this way, the manuscript offers a coherent, comprehensive account of regional, Irish and world history within a carefully constructed frame.

5 Language, history and learning

History of all hues, local, national and 'global', as interpreted by medieval scholars, therefore, is what we find in the 'Book of Ballymote'. This is a learned compendium and scholarly interests predominante. The authors looked to earlier sources and the manuscript preserves material which predates its compilation by some considerable extent, including *Sex aetates mundi* and *Scéla Alaxandair*, both of which may be tenth century in date. Eighth-century material is also included, the core text of *Auraicept na nÉces* being a prominent example. Among the named poets whose work is featured are the early eleventh-century eulogist, Cúán ua Lothcháin, as well as twelfth-century practitioners, Gilla Mo Dutu ua Casaide and Gilla na Náem ua Duinn. A poem by a contemporary of the Ballymote scribes, Seán Ó Dubhagáin, is also recorded in the manuscript. In the main, however, our manuscript presents the writing of previous centuries, with

41 See Hayden 2018.

tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-century material being to the fore. The authority of many now lost codices is acknowledged; the names of a number of them, such as *Cín Dromma Snechtai* (the 'Book of Drumsnat') and *Lebor Lothra Ruadáin* (the 'Book of Lothra, of Ruadán'), are known also from elsewhere. The focus of the 'Book of Ballymote' on history-writing links it to earlier extant vernacular manuscripts, as noted above. Synchronisation and the construction of integrated history, encompassing sacred and secular, local and 'global', ages and empires, were matters of immense import in the learned milieu of medieval Ireland. Compositions dating from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, including *Sex Aetates Mundi*, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, as well as a plethora of classical adaptations, attest to cultivation of this interest in particular in that period. This intellectual activity retained currency, however, as our analysis of the content of the 'Book of Ballymote' has shown.

The 'Book of Ballymote' is a monumental testimony to the use of universal history as a structuring principle and conscious craft. Read as part of a 'global', providential continuum, local genealogies and the dynastic history of Tomaltach Mac Donnchadha, the Book's possible patron, were granted added status and prestige. In opening the codex with *Sex aetates mundi*, the scribe may have been following the pattern of earlier codices; closing with material on Alexander which deliberately sought to echo the 'Six Ages' narrative was much more creative and skilful and accords the manuscript as a whole a polished structure based on a sense of synoptic unity. Reading the 'Irish Alexander' and the 'Six Ages' material as ends enveloping thematically related narratives illuminates the overall coherence of the 'Book of Ballymote'. It is as a classical, biblically-influenced account of a pivotal age in world history that the material is presented; its language of expression reflects the centuries of scholarly enterprise which informed its creation. In occupying the cultural space once between languages, it and its manuscript predecessors showcase a vision of history and a language of authoritative communication that is uniquely Irish, and simultaneously an up-to-date expression of outward-looking intellectualism positioning Ireland within a wider world.

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Fig. 1: The opening of *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (the 'Book of Invasions'), Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 8ʳa, beginning *In principio creauit deus celum* et *terram* id est *ro thuissim*h *dia neam*h agus *talum*h *ar tus* (a vernacular translation following the Latin, 'in the beginning God created heaven and earth'). © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

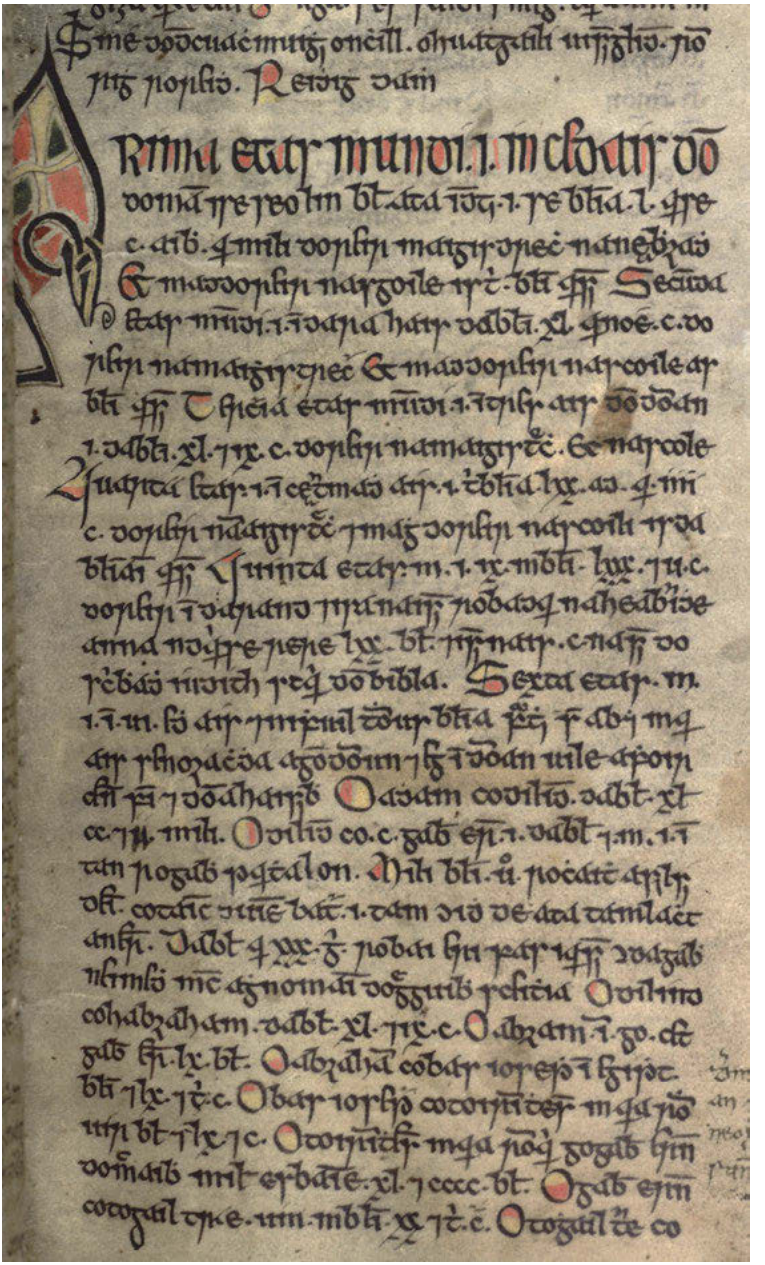

Fig. 2: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 5ra (detail), *Prima etas mundi .i. in ced ais don doman* (a vernacular translation following the Latin 'the first age of the world'). © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

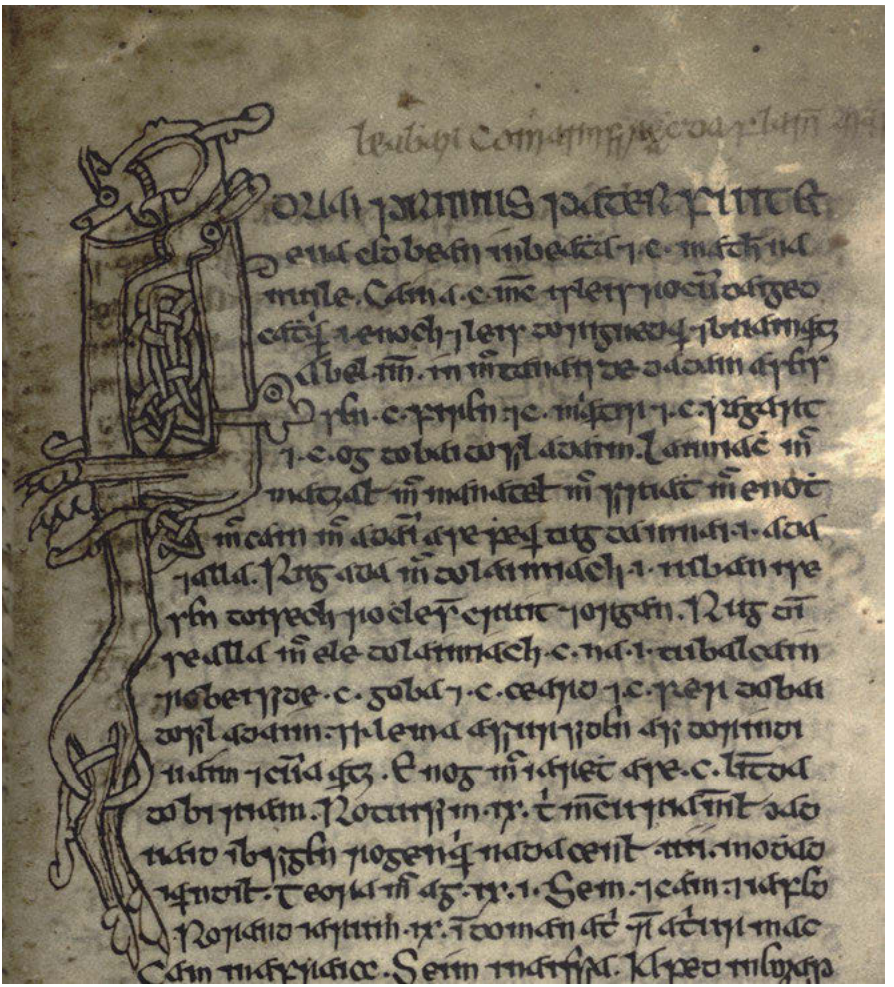

Fig. 3: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 6ra (detail), *Adam primus pater fuit* 'Adam was the first father', followed by a description of Eve in the vernacular: *Eua cedbean in beatha* 'Eve was the first woman of the world'. © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

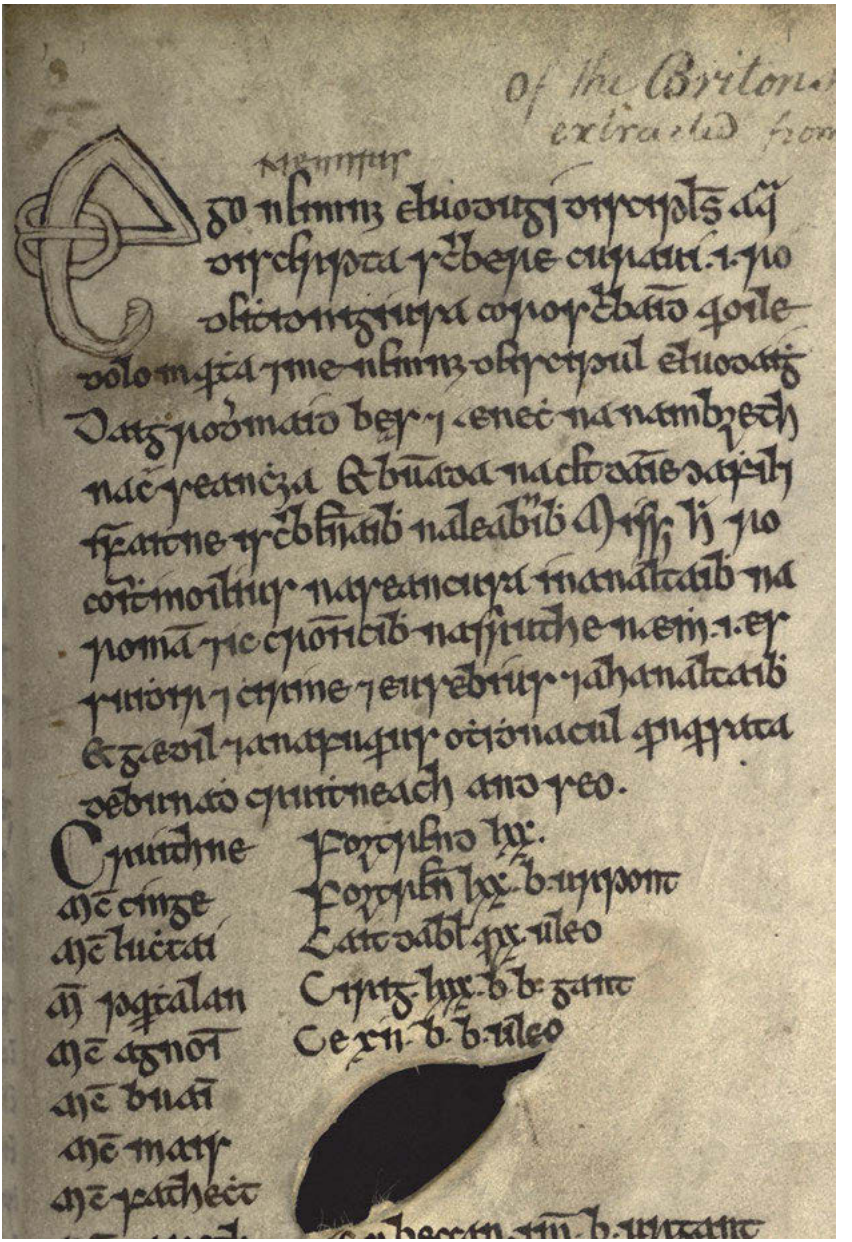

Fig. 4: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 113ra (detail), opening of the Irish version of the *Historia Brittonum* (the 'History of the Britons'), beginning *Ego Neinnius Eluodugi discipulus*. © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

Fig. 5: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 43ʳa (detail), genealogical tract beginning *Diluuium factum est .xl. diebus* et *.xl. noctibus super terram.* © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

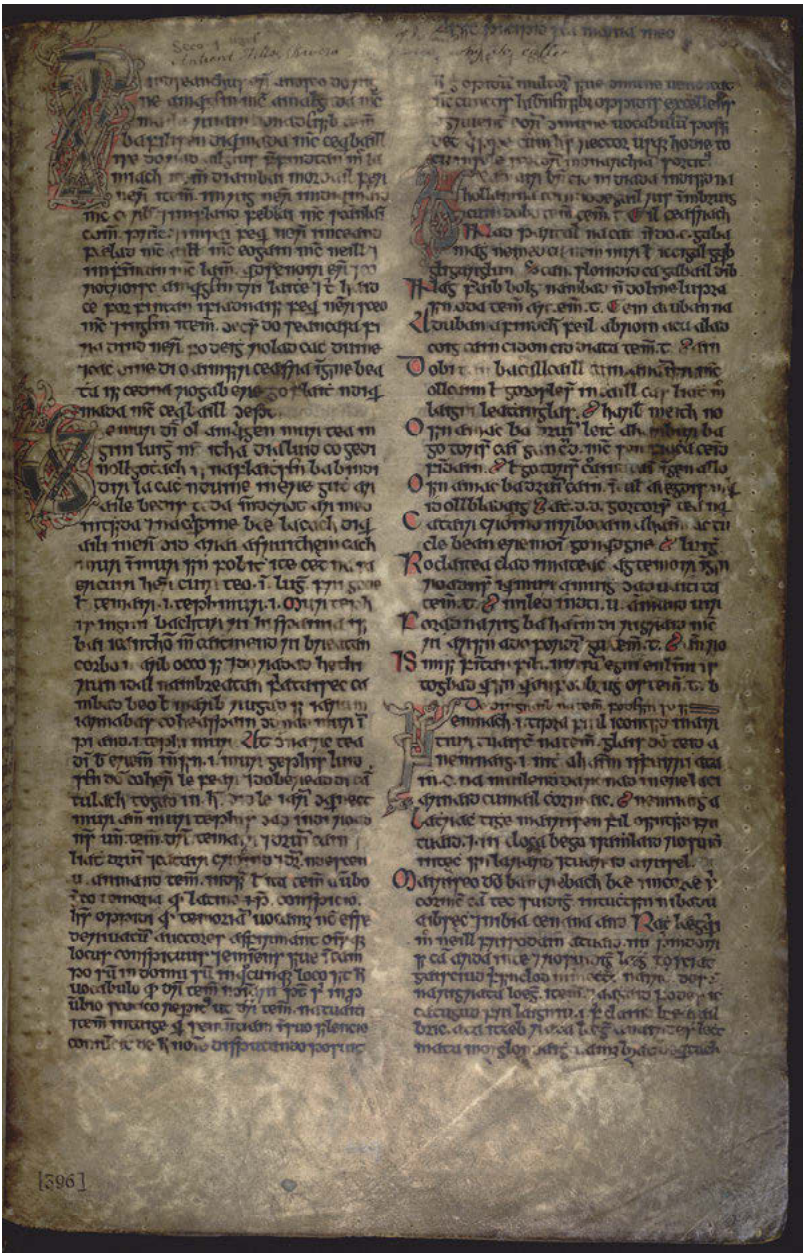

Fig. 6: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12, fol. 188r, beginning of *Dindshenchas Érenn*, the Latin passage discussed is at the bottom of column a and the top of column b. © Dublin Royal Irish Academy.

Indices

The volume contains two indices. The first includes the manuscripts that are mentioned in the book. Page numbers with an asterisk refer to illustrations.

The second index lists objects and concepts that are potentially cross-disciplinary and that may help readers orient themselves within the book. Terms that are overly general or whose meaning is too ambiguous, such as 'author', 'document', or 'content', have not been included. The general index was made with the invaluable help of Jost Gippert, to whom we are very grateful.

Caroline Macé and Laurence Tuerlinckx

Index of Manuscripts

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General Index

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