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Document Version
Final published version

Link to publication record in Manchester Research Explorer

Citation for published version (APA):

Published in:
Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies

Citing this paper
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FIELD NOTES ON SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS II:
A PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPT OLIM MOSUL 35 REDISCOVERED

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ABSTRACT
The second installment deals with an East Syriac philosophical manuscript known as Mosul 35 preserved at the collection of the Chaldean Patriarchate. Besides a somewhat imprecise description by A. Scher there is no proper study of the manuscript and its content. The first part of the codex includes works related with Aristotle’s Organon (including two short lives of Aristotle), while the second part contains the

1 For a first installment see Hugoye 20.2 (2017), 419–434. The research leading to this article has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 679083 as part of the research project “Transmission of Classical Scientific and Philosophical Literature from Greek into Syriac and Arabic” (HUNAYNNET), carried out at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.
philosophical compendium Teğrāt teğrāṭā by Gregory Bar ʿEbrōyō. A preliminary examination demonstrates that the manuscript is one of the earliest East Syriac philosophical manuscripts produced in the early modern period. Moreover, it is highly likely that it served as a model for at least three manuscripts (Sachau 226, Sachau 211 and Vat. sir. 593/III).

The manuscript olim Mosul 35 needs no special introduction as it has been known to specialists of Syriac philosophy for a long time. The manuscript was described by Addai Scher (1867–1915) in his catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts preserved in the collection of the Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul.2

Over the course of the 20th century the manuscript was steadily mentioned either as inaccessible or even as lost.3 Moreover, some inaccuracies in Scher’s description (see below) led to confusion among scholars with regard to its content.4 To the best of our knowledge, the only scholar who was able to use it in his research was Arthur Vööbus (he probably possessed a microfilm copy) in his study of the scholarly activity of the School of Nisibis.5

With the exception of some manuscripts, the collection of the Chaldean Patriarchate was transferred to Baghdad in mid-20th century together with the office of the Chaldean

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2 A. Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul,” Revue des bibliothèques 17 (1907), 227–260, here 237. Scher’s catalogue covers 116 manuscripts. However, it seems that already at the time when Scher examined the collection it was much larger.


4 See below the description of item 3.

5 A. Vööbus, History of the School of Nisibis, CSCO 266, Subsidia 26 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1965).
patriarch. The manuscripts were examined in Baghdad by William Macomber who was even planning to produce a new catalogue but this plan never reached fruition. Another catalogue of that collection was prepared by the Chaldean Patriarch Raphael I Bidawid (1922–2003) but never went to press. Reportedly, it was destroyed during military operations against the Kurds in 1961. The collection of manuscripts remained in Baghdad until the year 2013 when after the rise of ISIS it was heroically safeguarded by a Dominican priest Najeeb Michaelel O.P. who while risking his own life brought the manuscripts to Qaraqosh and a year later to Erbil in Iraqi Kurdistan. While in Erbil, the manuscripts were digitized by the Centre numérique des manuscrits orientaux (CNMO) in collaboration with the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library. A cataloguing of the collection is underway and eventually all of the digitized manuscripts will be available at the vHMML Reading Room (www.vhmml.org).

The learned Chaldean bishop Addai Scher briefly presented the content of the codex while overlooking one text (no. 3) and not identifying the final one (no. 9). The philosophical miscellany olim Mosul 35 includes Prôha’s commentary on Porphyry’s Isagoge (no. 1), three commentaries dealing with the first part (up to Prior Analytics I 7) of Aristotle’s Organon (nos. 5–8), the Syriac version of the Categories by Jacob of Edessa (no. 3), two lives of Aristotle (no. 2), a Syriac version of Dionysius Thrax’ Τέχνη γραμματική (no. 4) and, finally, the philosophical compendium

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7 D. Wilmshurst, The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913, CSCO 582, Subsidia 104 (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), 11–12.

8 For a brief account about the digitization of the collection see an article of E. Reisinger in Illuminations 2017/Spring, 4–7.
Tegra ṭegunta by Gregory Bar ‘Ĕbrōyō (the text is lacking the title and was not identified by Scher).

Each of the texts present in the manuscript is attested also by other manuscript witnesses, but it is worth highlighting that there is a group of manuscripts that has a very similar content and one can argue that all of these derive from olim Mosul 35. The most noteworthy manuscript is Sachau 226 that was produced approximately in 1882. This manuscript is basically a mirror copy of the Mosul manuscript with the exception of the Tegra ṭegunta that does not feature in Sachau 226. According to a scribal note (Sachau 226, f. 90v), two persons were involved in the manuscript’s production: kaṭāḇā Eliyā Ḥomō and a makṭūḥānā Ḫaramyā. Thanks to the clarification of Sachau we learn that the manuscript was commissioned by Jeremiah Shāmīr on behalf of Sachau. Jeremiah Shāmīr was an industrious Chaldean book and manuscript trader and scribe who was active in the second half of the 19th century in Mosul. Many manuscripts from the local collections were copied either by him or for him on behalf of Western scholars and collectors. Given the virtual identity of olim Mosul 35 and

9 A digital copy of the manuscript is available at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001EC4F00000000> [accessed on February 20, 2018].

10 Eliyā Ḥomō (1856–1932), a prolific Chaldean scribe. Among many other manuscripts, he copied also a manuscript in the private collection of Bishop Jāk Ḫishaq that was presented in the first installment of the “Field Notes” (G. Kessel, “Field Notes on Syriac Manuscripts I: Two Medical Manuscripts Digitized by the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library,” Hugoye 20.2 [2017], 421).

Sachau 226 it is highly likely that the former served as a model for the latter.\(^{12}\)

As mentioned earlier, Sachau 226 lacks only the *Teğrat teğrātā* in comparison with *olim* Mosul 35. As it turns out, the treatise features in another manuscript of the Berlin collection, namely Sachau 211. The manuscript contains only the *Teğrat teğrātā* with exactly the same lacunae as *olim* Mosul 35 and thus may very well have been copied directly from the Mosul codex. Unfortunately, there are no scribal notes that could help to contextualize the manuscript, although Sachau himself says that the manuscript was produced “wahrscheinlich in Mosul oder Umgegend um 1888.”\(^{13}\) Given the similarity of the handwriting, it seems that the scribe, following the request of Jeremiah Shāmīr, copied the content of *olim* Mosul 35 in two separate volumes (perhaps to get more profit), which are now Sachau 226 and Sachau 211.

As a matter of fact, *olim* Mosul 35 may very well have been used as a model for two other manuscripts. First of all, Baghdad Chaldean Monastery 174 (*olim* Notre-Dame des Semences/Vosté 55)\(^{14}\) copied in the first quarter of the 19th century, which contains items 5–9. Unfortunately, we are not aware of the circumstances of the production of that manuscript. And secondly, Vat. sir. 593/III copied by an assiduous Syrian Orthodox scribe Mattai Bar Paulos in Mosul

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\(^{12}\) There is a mention of a manuscript copy of the *Teğrat teğrātā* in one of the letters from Jeremiah to Sachau — it most probably refers to Sachau 211.


contains items 2–5, 7 and 9.\textsuperscript{15} Due to the shared lacunae at the beginning of the \textit{Teğrat teğrätā} and elsewhere as well as the identical marginal annotations (see, for example, item 4 below) there can be almost no doubt that Vat. sir. 593/III derived from \textit{olim} Mosul.\textsuperscript{16}

Considering the value of the manuscript \textit{olim} Mosul 35 as a witness it is worth stressing that for three texts (viz. the first life of Aristotle and nos. 5 and 7) it is the oldest extant copy, while for the others unless there are copies (usually of Syrian Orthodox provenance) originating from Dayr al-Suryān, the manuscript witnesses are much younger (usually of East Syriac provenance) and \textit{olim} Mosul 35 takes the pride of place among those being the oldest one.

As far as the \textit{Teğrat teğrätā} is concerned, the presence of the treatise has not been known to scholars because Scher did not manage to identify the text. In fact, although the manuscript does not belong to the early witnesses of the text it nevertheless appears to be one of the oldest East Syriac copies.\textsuperscript{17}

All in all, \textit{olim} Mosul 35 belongs to the oldest philosophical manuscripts produced during the early modern period. And given the fact that most of the texts are either not edited at all or edited based on a smaller number of witnesses that one is aware of today, it deserves to be taken into consideration by any student of Syriac philosophy.

In what follows we provide a description of the manuscript while indicating the presence of the text in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 226 (B) and Vat. sir. 593/III (V).

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\textsuperscript{15} A digital copy of the manuscript is available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.593 [accessed on February 20, 2018].

\textsuperscript{16} The text of the \textit{Teğrat teğrätā} breaks off in Vat. sir. 593/III earlier than in the Mosul manuscript.

\textsuperscript{17} Another early East Syriac copy, \textit{olim} Mardin/Scher 61 is now available under the project number CCM 382 at \textit{vHMML}, (dated to the 16th century according to Scher).
**Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchate**

**CPB 223**

*olim* Mosul 35, *olim* Baghdad 522, *olim* Codex 52.2

Paper
264 fols.
1 col., 20 lines per page
22 × 16 × 10 cm
East Syriac handwriting without vocalization
Syriac foliation on the verso side and modern Arabic foliation on the recto side.

**CONDITION:** the manuscript is damaged (I–2, XIII–2, XIV–1, XXI+1, XXVII–2) and some of the leaves are torn; in its original form it most probably consisted of 27 quires, all of which are present with just a few folios wanting; the first quire could be originally a quaternion.

**CATALOGUE DESCRIPTION:** Scher, A. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul.” *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 237.

**DATE:** the colophon is lost; the manuscript was dated back to the 16th century by Scher (one can, most probably, narrow it down to the second half) but the first half of the 17th century cannot be excluded as well.

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18 The shelfmark is documented also in Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 331.

19 All three shelfmarks can be found in the manuscript.
CONTENTS:

1. ff. 1v–14v [B 4v–12v]

Prōḇā, Commentary on Porphyry’s Isagoge

Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Final rubric:

Ed.:

Lit.:


The manuscript contains only the second section of Proba’s *Commentary*, pertaining to the common and proper features of the *quinque voces* (Porph. *Isag*. 13.9–22.12 Busse). According to the indication that was incorporated into the title, the first section was already missing in the model of *olim* Mosul 35. British Library Add. 17215 and Dayr al-Suryān, Syr. Fragment no. 88 contain fragments of the first section of the text which complement each other; the two sections of the text are preserved complete in Mingana Syr. 606 and in three manuscripts from Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery 169, 170, 171 (*olim* Notre-Dame des Semences 51, 52 and 53), for the relationship among which as well as for further information on this work see Hugonnard-Roche, “Le commentaire syriaque de Probus.”

2. ff. 14v–16v  

Two lives of Aristotle

*General title:*

[scribal writing]

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20 Hugonnard-Roche (“Le commentaire syriaque de Probus” 230 n. 16) conflates the title of the work as supplied artificially by Baumstark in his edition (but not in his translation on p. 148) with the actual title of B, which nowhere has “fragments du commentaire de l’*Isagoge* composé par Proba d’Antioche.”
First life. Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Second life. Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Final rubric:

Ed:

Lit:


3. ff. 16v–64v

Jacob of Edessa's Version of Aristotle's *Categories*

**Title:**

Jacob Khaoury, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes.*

**Incipit:**

[Text in Syriac]

**Desinit:**

[Text in Syriac]

**Final rubric:**

[Text in Syriac]

**Ed.:**


**Lit.:**

Scher overlooked this item in his description of the contents of the codex. This omission generated some bibliographical confusion. In GSL 251 n. 4. Baumstark (followed by Georr, *Les Catégories d’Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, 27) includes the Mosul manuscript among the extant copies of Jacob of Edessa’s version of Aristotle’s *Categories*. And therefore King (*The Earliest Syriac Translation*, 283 n. 2) suggests that Baumstark was led to assume that Scher’s description of item no. II of his catalogue (p. 237) as “πραγματεία de la Logique composée par Aristote, philosophe” due to its position in the codex after the *Isagoge*, actually meant the *Categories*. It seems rather to be the case that Baumstark correctly inferred that the *Categories* was present in the manuscript and followed the lives of Aristotle in Mosul 35 relying on the evidence provided by B and V (cf. the following statement in his *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, 2: “Den Überlieferungszweig der griechischen γένη vertreten zwei syrische Lebensskizzen dieser Art die als Vorsatzstücke einer Übersetzung der Κατηγορίαι auf uns gekommen sind”).

For further information on the manuscript tradition of Jacob of Edessa’s version of the *Categories* — including a list of extant witnesses, a partial study of the relation between them, and corrections to Georr’s text — see King, *The Earliest Syriac Translation*, 283–296. Manuscripts B and V are not represented in King’s stemma on p. 288. As we noted above, B and V are in all likelihood apographa of our codex — and therefore not copies of one of the Notre-Dame des Semences manuscripts as King says on p. 288. The establishment of the proper stemmatic position of *olim* Mosul 35 remains hence a desideratum.
Syriac Version of the Τέχνη γραµµατική ascribed to Dionysius Thrax

Title:

 tragedía τον θεό σπάνται, γράφει το θεού το διά το θεού το σπάνται

Incipit:

 τον θεό σπάνται, γράφει το θεού το διά το θεού το σπάνται

Desinit:

 τον θεό σπάνται, γράφει το θεού το διά το θεού το σπάνται

Final rubric:

 τον θεό σπάνται, γράφει το θεού το διά το θεού το σπάνται

Ed:


Lit:


 King, D. “Elements of the Syriac Grammatical Tradition as these Relate to the Origins of Arabic Grammar.” In The
On f. 64v one comes across a pejorative remark of Chaldean patriarch Joseph VII Audo (1847–1878) on this grammatical treatise claiming that the work “deserves neither to be read nor to be copied.” The same note is present also in V. In all likelihood, the remark was penned by the Catholicos himself.

The Syriac version of the Τέχνη γραμματική does not include the first ten of the twenty sections of the work, beginning only with section 11 (22.3 sqq. Uhlig: Περὶ λέξεως. Λέξις ἐστὶ μέρος ἐλάχιστον τοῦ κατὰ σύνταξιν λόγου κτλ.).

Despite being younger than British Library Add. 14658, Merx argued that Add. 14620 preserves an older recension than the former. Merx was provided with a copy of B by Richard Gottheil when, as Merx mentions, his work was already in advanced stage and therefore he made only limited use of the manuscript.

The attribution of the translation to Joseph Ḥūzāyā appears only in the Mosul manuscript (and its apographs) and was considered by Merx as non-authentic, whereas Contini treated is as tenable.

5. ff. 79v–90v

Prōḥā, Commentary on Aristotle’s Prior Analytics I 2–7

Title:

Incipit:

[5. ff. 79v–90v]
Desinit:

Final rubric:

Ed:


See no. 7 infra.

6. ff. 90v–111r [B 63v–79r]

Severus Sêbokht, *Discourse on Syllogisms in Aristotle’s Prior Analytics*

Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Final rubric:
Ed.: not edited


7. ff. 111v–124r [B 79r–87v V 186r–192v]

Prōbā, Commentary on Aristotle’s Prior Analytics I 1

Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Final rubric:

Ed.:

Hugonnard-Roche, H. “Un cours sur la syllogistique d’Aristote à l’époque tardo-antique: le commentaire syriaque de Proba (VIe siècle) sur les Premiers Analytiques. Édition et traduction du texte, avec introduction et commentaire.” Studia graeco-

Lit.:

8. ff. 124r–128v

Letter of Severus Sēbokht to Aitilābā regarding προτάσις in Aristotle's De Interpretatione

Title:

Incipit:

Desinit:

Final rubric:

Ed.:
Hugonnard-Roche, H. “L'épître de Sève Sebokht à Aitilaha sur le Peri Hermeneias. À propos des propositions métathétiques

Lit.:

The text deals with some philosophical notions and expressions in Aristotle’s De Interpretatione, it can be productively compared with many other texts of the commentary tradition.

9. ff. 129v–264v

Gregory Bar ʿEbrōyō, Teğrat teğrātā

Author: <Gregory Bar ʿEbrōyō>
Title: <Teğrat teğrātā>

Incipit mut. (introduction to the treatise):

Desinit mut. (Book 4, ch. 4):

Ed.: The text remains unedited with the exception of a few fragments.

Lit.:
Both the beginning and end are wanting and there are some lacunae within the text. The text begins on the verso side of a folio with the recto side deliberately left blank. It suggests that the scribe had at his disposal a defective copy and decided to leave the space for the missing portion of the text. The end of the treatise (that must have occupied the two folios missing in the quire) is wanting due to a damage that occurred to the manuscript.

\textit{Teğraṯ teğraṯā (Tractatus tractatuum)} is one out of three philosophical compendia of Bar ʿEbrōyō that has not received so far the scholarly attention it deserves. This compendium consists of three books: logic (f. 129v), natural sciences (f. 172r) and metaphysics (f. 219r). According to Hidemi Takahashi, Bar ʿEbrōyō draws extensively on Ghazâlî’s \textit{Maqāsid al-falāṣifa}.

This copy of \textit{Teğraṯ teğraṯā} escaped scholarly attention because it was not identified by Scher. Being one of the oldest East Syriac copies of the treatise, one wonders if it was copied from an older East Syriac copy or from a Syrian Orthodox one. A close comparison of its text against the extant Syrian Orthodox copies might shed some light on the reception and transmission of the treatise in the East Syriac milieu.
Plate 1. CPB 223, f. 1v
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Plate 2. CPB 223, f. 114v
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