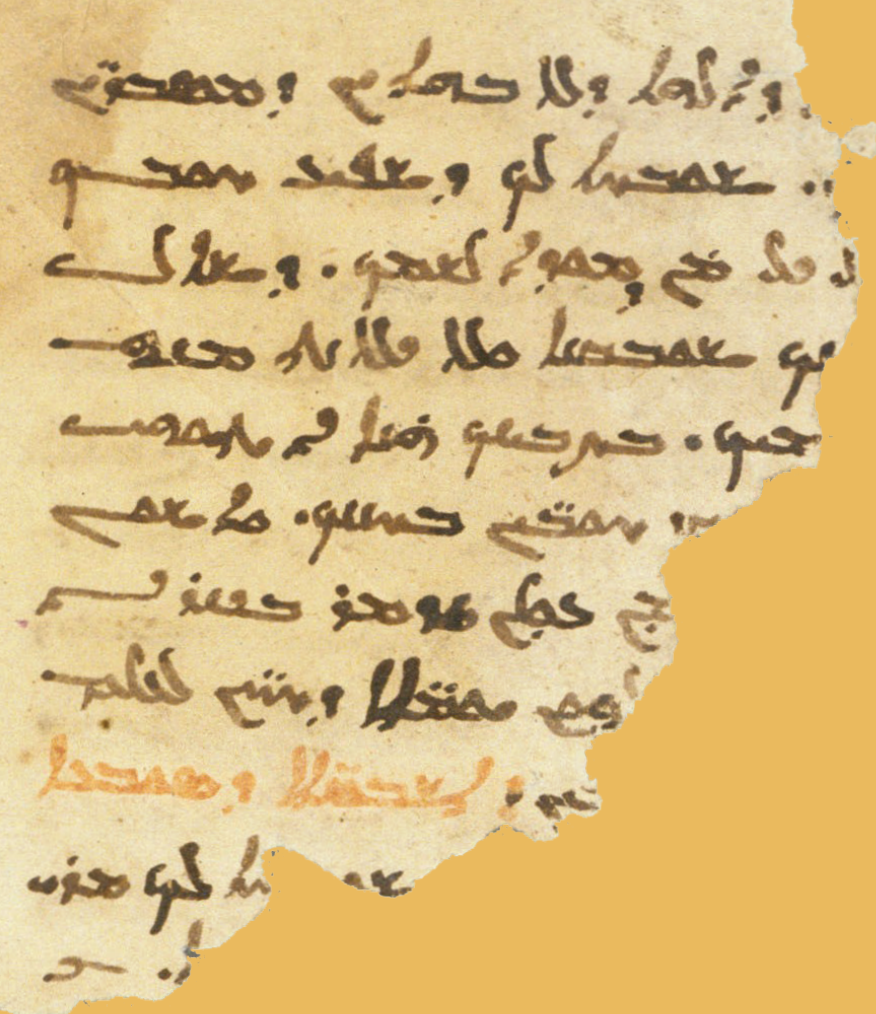




Martina Galatello

The Syriac Script at Turfan: First Soundings

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First Soundings



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CONTENTS

SIGLA AND CONVENTIONS	11
SOME USEFUL PALAEOGRAPHICAL TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS	12
INTRODUCTION.....	13
1. New Trends in Palaeography	13
2. Syriac Palaeography: Steps Forward in the Last Two Decades.....	15
CHAPTER I. THE SYRIAC SCRIPTS: TERMINOLOGY AND PROPOSED TAXONOMIES.....	19
I.1 Syriac Scripts in the Middle East	19
I.2 Syriac Script Typology in Central Asia and in the Turfan Oasis.....	22
CHAPTER II. THE SYRIAC AND SOGDIAN CHRISTIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT FROM TURFAN.....	25
Syriac Fragments in Syriac Script	30
Sogdian Fragments in Syriac Script	46
Bilingual	60
II.1 Presence of Forms Belonging to Different Syriac Scripts	61
II.2. Scribes and Distinctive Handwritings.....	68
CHAPTER III. INCIDENCE OF THE EAST-SYRIAC FORMS OF <i>DĀLATH</i> AND <i>RĒSH</i> AND OF THE FINAL LIGATURE OF <i>TAW</i> AND <i>ĀLAPH</i> IN TURFAN	73
III.1 Introductory Note	73
III.2 Reversed C-Shaped <i>dālath</i> and <i>rēsh</i>	75
III.3 East-Syriac Ligature <i>taw-ālaph</i> and Isolated V-Shaped <i>taw</i>	80
CHAPTER IV. SOME COMMON FORMS AT TURFAN	83
IV.1 Graphic Forms of <i>taw</i>	83
IV.2 Forms of <i>ṣādē</i> at Turfan	91
CHAPTER V. COMPACT SCRIPTS: CONTIGUOUS, CONNECTED LETTERS OR LIGATURES AT TURFAN	103
V.1 Joins Between Letters in the Syriac Fragments of the Berlin Turfan Collection.....	107
V.2 Joins Between Letters in the Sogdian Fragments in Syriac Script From Turfan	114
V.3 Joins Between Letters in the Bilingual Syriac-Sogdian Fragments in Syriac Script From the Berlin Turfan Collection.	120
CHAPTER VI. A CASE STUDY: OPEN AND CLOSED <i>MĪM</i> AND FINAL <i>MĪM</i>	123
VI.1 Open <i>mīm</i> and Closed <i>mīm</i>	125
VI.2 Final <i>mīm</i>	129
CONCLUSIONS	133
BIBLIOGRAPHY	139
LIST OF CITED MANUSCRIPTS.....	145
Index of Cited East-Syriac Manuscripts.....	145

Index of Other Cited Manuscripts	147
INDEX OF CITED EPIGRAPHS	148
INDEX OF THE MENTIONED FRAGMENTS	149
Mentioned Syriac Fragments in Syriac Script.....	149
Mentioned Sogdian Fragments in Syriac Script.....	152
Mentioned Bilingual Syriac and Sogdian Fragments in Syriac Script	154
Other Mentioned Turfan Fragments.....	155
PLATES	157

SIGLA AND CONVENTIONS

side (a)	side of fragment bearing signature sticker, not necessarily the <i>recto</i> (Hunter-Dickens 2014)
side (b)	other side of fragment, not necessarily the <i>verso</i> (Hunter-Dickens 2014)
R	<i>recto</i> (Sims-Williams 2012)
V	<i>verso</i> (Sims-Williams 2012)
r	<i>recto</i> (used for MIK III 45 and for other Syriac manuscripts cited in this work)
v	<i>verso</i> (used for MIK III 45 and for other Syriac manuscripts cited in this work)
SyrHT	Syrische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden
MIK	Museum für Indische Kunst
n	Nestorianisch
So	Sogdica
U	Uigurica
*	the asterisk at the top indicates the lost fragments, which today can only be studied thanks to photographic reproductions

SOME USEFUL PALAEOGRAPHICAL TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS

Contrast	Thick or thin nature of the strokes that make up the letters; it can be heavy or light
Ductus	Number, order, and direction in which the individual strokes of a letter are executed
Flow	Degree of rapidity with which letters are written; it can be set or cursive
Form	Shape
Ligature	Spontaneous joins in writing found in cursive script
Line of writing	The arrangement of the script on the line; it may not coincide with the ruling line
Ruling line	Line, made with a sharp dry instrument or ink, guiding the scribe in preparing the page before writing
Bookhand	A script ordinarily used in transcribing manuscripts
Calligraphic hand	Script characterized by a set flow
Cursive script	Handwriting in which letters are usually joined within words
Monumental script	Usually: the script of inscriptions. Concerning Syriac: a calligraphic script of inscriptions and of manuscripts in which the flow is set and the majority of letters do not join within words
Semi-cursive script	A cursive script that retains some of the features of monumental ones
Utilitarian script	A script commonly used for everyday use

INTRODUCTION

1. NEW TRENDS IN PALAEOGRAPHY

In a 2014 article¹, Alessandro Bausi stresses how the study of the social context of written evidence is a focal point of the modern conception of palaeography. The discipline examined here can, in fact, provide important information about the cultural groups—or ‘circles’—behind manuscript production, as well as help to focus on the figure of the scribe and to fully understand the complexity of scribal practice².

Buzi and Maniaci (2015)³ argue that a greater focus on social context emerged when palaeography, from the study of written evidence only on light media (e.g., papyrus, parchment, and paper), also moved towards the analysis of texts inscribed on a less corruptible medium (such as tablets, *ostraca*, and graffiti). This change was produced by the growing awareness of the importance of an integral palaeographical analysis that included the study of writing in relation to the support and the material and social dimension associated with it.

Similarly, in recent years, several studies have placed emphasis on the diachronic⁴ and dynamic⁵ aspects, jointly with an attempt to apply quantitative methods to the discipline in a more systematic way. Sampath (2016)⁶ reports that Gilissen (1973)⁷ had already suggested the possibility of employing quantitative methods in palaeography, proposing the use of formulas that could describe in a more objective way some of the seven factors: form, angle of writing (in relation to the base line), *ductus*, modulus (proportions of letters), contrast (the difference in thickness between the hair lines and the shadow lines), writing support, internal characteristics of the text - proposed in 1952 by Mallon⁸ in order to distinguish the hands of different scribes. In particular, Gilissen proposed quantifying two of the seven elements above: modulus and writing angle. The new methods proposed were immediately the subject of debate. Sampath reports, in particular, the reservations

¹ Bausi 2014.

² The need in palaeographical research to include attention to the social element, that is, the socio-cultural environment of the executor of the document, the social diffusion of writing in the environment in which he lived, and his purpose in writing the document in question, began to emerge in the second half of the last century, thanks mainly to Mallon (1952) and Petrucci. According to the latter, palaeography, which could have provided a social interpretation of written texts, was to be configured as a true history of written culture (*Prima lezione di paleografia*, ed. 2002, p. vi) that would deal, therefore, with “della storia della produzione, delle caratteristiche formali e degli usi sociali della scrittura e delle testimonianze scritte in una società determinata, indipendentemente dalle tecniche e dai materiali di volta in volta adoperati” (translation: the history of the production, formal characteristics and social uses of writing and written evidence in a given society, regardless of the techniques and materials used from time to time) (*ibid.*). See, for example, Petrucci 1969b; 1972; 1973; 1978; 1986b; 2002. Buzi and Maniaci 2015 (p. 267) report that, although in our day it seems that the inclusion of the social element in palaeography has been accepted as long as this does not compromise the focus on formal analysis, Petrucci’s view met with resistance from some scholars, especially Alessandro Pratesi (Pratesi 1979), according to whom the inclusion of the social element within palaeography could have distorted the very identity of the discipline, turning it into something else.

³ Buzi and Maniaci 2015.

⁴ Buzi and Maniaci 2015, pp. 268-269, explain the distinction between synchronic and diachronic analysis in palaeography as follows: “In the synchronic analysis, carried out on a single manuscript or on a group of similar manuscripts, the structure, production and style of the script are the elements which should be considered. [...] In a diachronic perspective, aimed at the reconstruction of the origin, organization, diffusion, and transformation of different graphic systems, neither models nor universally valid interpretative paradigms exist. The comparison between the cursive and calligraphic levels can be very useful”. Still on the subject of the diachronic aspect of palaeographical analysis, Stansbury 2009 argues that, after Mabillon and *De re diplomatica* (1681), the first to address again the question of the development of letters over the centuries was Jean Mallon.

⁵ Canart 2006.

⁶ Sampath 2016.

⁷ Gilissen 1973.

⁸ Mallon 1952.

made against Gilissen about the universality of these methods by Poulle (1974)⁹ and d'Haenens (1975)¹⁰. In the following decades, numerous variants of Mallon's list were presented¹¹.

Sampath reports, moreover, the attempt of some scholars to model through various paradigms the act of writing in its dynamic nature—an extremely complex activity from the cognitive, neural and muscular point of view, exclusive to the human being. The *Handwriting Models* include, along with models focused on the shape of the letters (*Shape Simulation Models*), models dedicated to their realization (*Movement Simulation Models*), which may concern the neurological and neuro-muscular interactions of the act of writing (*Top-Down Approach*) or focus on the movement of the hand on the writing support (*Bottom-Up Approach*). In the latter case, the trajectory of the hand on the support is analyzed and modeled taking into account physical parameters such as speed, force and pressure, as in the case of the model proposed by Plamondon and Maarse in 1989¹².

Of particular interest is the *Kinematic theory of rapid hand* advanced by Plamondon in 1995¹³. It describes human handwriting as composed of *strokes* and is based on the use of log-normal functions¹⁴ that can be used in two types of models: the *Delta-Lognormal model*, useful for predicting straight handwriting strokes, and the *Sigma-Lognormal model*, capable of predicting more complex curvilinear strokes. The latter model, also used by Sampath in his study, is still widely used today and allows to represent each stroke as the result of six parameters¹⁵ and, finally, the trajectory as a vector sum of all the strokes.

In conclusion, the development of Digital Humanities has favored the establishment of Digital Palaeography in recent decades. The expression *Digital Palaeography* is due to Ciula (2005)¹⁶, who used it to define the application of digital methods to palaeography, in their many forms. Among them, we mention visual analysis (used for automatic character recognition), gesture recognition (through which we intend to obtain more information about the hand movements made by the scribe), and the use of systems designed, for example, to improve the definition of images and to create accurate reproductions useful to scholars.

In the field of manuscript studies, digital techniques were initially used mainly by codicology, but, as Stokes (2015)¹⁷ has rightly pointed out, it is also in palaeography that the application of such techniques has been concentrated in at least the last ten to fifteen years. Artificial Intelligence, to which palaeographical studies are increasingly looking, is a discipline belonging to computer science, aimed at designing hardware systems and software programs capable of providing computers with information and performance that would seem to be the exclusive domain of human intelligence. Such digital techniques could make it much easier to analyze and quantify most of the elements considered in palaeographic analysis, especially those related to writing seen as a dynamic process.

Van Lit (2020) devotes an entire chapter to the application of Digital Humanities tools to palaeographical research¹⁸. He argues that there are at least three areas in which computers can help improve the work of palaeographers:

⁹ Poulle 1974.

¹⁰ d'Haenens 1975.

¹¹ See, for example, Aussems 2006 for a study of palaeography in medieval manuscripts.

¹² Plamondon-Maarse 1989.

¹³ Plamondon 1995.

¹⁴ Log-normal functions are distributions whose logarithm is a normal function. See Holgate 1989 for more details.

¹⁵ The six parameters are: stroke amplitude (D), stroke start time ($t0$), stroke start angle (θs), stroke end angle (θe), two neuro-muscle parameters (μ ; σ).

¹⁶ Ciula 2005.

¹⁷ Stokes 2015.

¹⁸ Van Lit 2020. Van Lit also founded the online magazine *The Digital Orientalist*, to which scholars, librarians, and students from different fields of Oriental studies contribute.

One is that a digital solution can be created, allowing a user to apply their traditional methodology more easily. Another is that a computer can execute the methodology itself and merely return back the final answer. Last, the digitality of digitized manuscripts and the computing power available can open up possibilities to come up with entirely new questions and new methodologies. All of these different ways of digital palaeography depend on digitized manuscripts¹⁹.

At present, there are many *big questions*²⁰ animating the debate on Digital Palaeography. One question is, for example, how to ensure that results obtained through computer-based methods can be easily read by scholars of palaeography, or how to transform such methods into practical tools in the hands of palaeographers, or what the right balance is between the use of Digital Palaeography and the expertise of scholars in the field. Hassner, Rehbein, Stokes and Wolf (2013)²¹ argue that one of the biggest difficulties to be addressed concerns communication between computer scientists and palaeographers and, in particular, the different terminologies used by the two groups of scholars.

If the first achievements of Digital Palaeography are remarkable, there are still many questions awaiting answers.

2. SYRIAC PALAEOGRAPHY: STEPS FORWARD IN THE LAST TWO DECADES

Even today, points of reference for all scholars of Syriac palaeography are the palaeographical information found in some repertories and catalogues of Syriac manuscripts²². However, the last few years have seen a remarkable increase in studies on Syriac palaeography, in line with questions and innovative trends that have characterized palaeographic research in recent decades. Equipping it with its own method and language is a common goal among scholars and researchers. Schmidt (2015)²³ points out how numerous studies (Briquel-Chatonnet 2000; Healey 2000; Desreumaux 2004; Kaplan 2008; Kiraz 2012) have attempted a reformulation of the classification of Syriac script and introduced new elements that can be considered palaeographical analysis in Syriac, such as ligatures, the space between letters and words, and the degree of curvature of strokes.

Also in the Syriac context, diachronic analysis, i.e., the study approach that pays particular attention to the genesis and development of a script and its characters over the centuries, has taken on an even more relevant role alongside synchronic analysis²⁴.

Recent studies devoted to palaeography also include the work of Kaplan (2015, 2016, 2019). The scholar has proposed a new method inspired by Latin palaeography, especially the work of Mallon²⁵ and Gilissen²⁶, and that of Sirat²⁷ in the Hebrew context. One of her personal contributions to the new method is the *Dynamics*

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

²⁰ Stokes 2015, p. 2.

²¹ Hassner *et al.* 2013.

²² Assemani 1742, Assemani 1758-1759, Hatch 1946, Wright 1870-1872, Wright 1901. Assemani's catalogue, Wright's catalogue and Hatch's palaeographical repertory collect only some of the Syriac written evidence that has come down to us in the form of the codex, one of the most frequent forms of writing in the Syriac tradition, on parchment or paper. In this regard, Van Rompay, in his introduction to the reprint of Hatch's catalogue (2002), calls for the publication of a repertory of Syriac texts that also includes other types of written documents, such as those on scrolls, graffiti and inscriptions on mosaics. In addition, he stresses the need to include in this repertory all the texts known so far, considering also those pertaining to the centuries after the tenth, only partially included in the Hatch *Album* and its reprint. The works of Land (1862) and Hoffman (1867) are also worth mentioning. Like Hatch's *Album*, Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* contain, though in smaller numbers, some useful plates for palaeographical study, to which Land devotes some space. In his *Grammatica Syriaca*, then, Hoffman reserves a few pages especially for the final form of certain consonants and to explain how to distinguish similar Syriac letters from each other.

²³ Schmidt 2015, p. 319.

²⁴ Consider, for example, of the two articles published in 2000, respectively by Healey and Briquel-Chatonnet, in which the two scholars retrace the different phases of the evolution of Syriac scriptures.

²⁵ Mallon 1952.

²⁶ Gilissen 1973.

²⁷ Sirat 1976.

of *composition*, which aims to understand how the scribe, influenced by a range of factors including medium, context, and his own personality, tends to fill the scriptural surface. The Dynamics of composition could be a further element of support to identify a scribe or a *scriptorium*²⁸ and to obtain valuable information about the historical, geographical, cultural, and social context in which the scribe lived.

Syriac palaeography is beginning to benefit from Digital Palaeography as well. Syriacists such as Michael Penn and Émilie Villey are involved in projects with the aim of creating software capable of recognizing Syriac writing. Of particular relevance is the *Automated Scribal Identification Project*, founded in 2010 by Penn (Stanford University), Howe (Smith College), and Crouser (Smith College). The aim of the project is to help scholars identify the provenance of a Syriac manuscript (if it is not known from the colophon), the writing of a scribe and to trace the diachronic evolution of Syriac writings. Of course, any hypotheses about a place of provenance consider not only the palaeographical aspect, but also other factors such as the support, the format, the binding, the *mise en page*²⁹. Among the results of the project is, for example, the *Syriac Script Chart Generator*, a generator of Syriac palaeographic charts based on the criteria that characterize the research in question each time. The functioning of this generator is based on a considerable database (more than one hundred and ten thousand images of individual letters); according to the founders of the project, it is the largest database of images of Syriac letters in the world³⁰.

The *SYR-EYE* project (CNRS – UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée), headed by Émilie Villey, aims to obtain, from photographs of manuscripts, a text file that can be read by word processing software. This would make it possible to facilitate the construction of a *corpus* of Syriac texts that will benefit the work of scholars in many aspects of research, primarily lexical and philological. Among other things, the project, which began in the spring of 2017, aims to train the software to recognize the signs of the different Syriac manuscripts (letters, vowels, diacritical signs)³¹.

Other recognition software not initially designed for Syriac handwriting is also beginning to be applied to reading Syriac manuscripts. One example is *Transkribus*, which is part of the EU-funded project *Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents* (READ)³². An efficient application of *Transkribus* to Syriac is the *Qoruyo* project by Beth Mardutho. Using *Transkribus*, Beth Mardutho's team has trained three handwritten-text recognition (HTR) models to recognize handwritten Syriac in three scripts, *eṣṙangēlā*, East Syriac, and *serṭā*, with up to 98% accuracy³³.

²⁸ Assuming that it is possible to talk about a *scriptorium* in an Oriental context. Kotsifou 2012, p. 216, points out that the term *scriptorium* is characterized by particularly Western connotations and that it would be preferable to avoid using it in Eastern contexts. In fact, it is not known whether the reality of the transmission of texts and scribes of the different Eastern traditions can be perfectly described by the term *scriptorium*, which usually indicates 'a considerable number of monks working together under the same roof copying manuscripts'. See also, in this regard, Debié (2010) who writes 'Le travail de copié était individuel et, pour autant que l'on sache, les tâches n'étaient pas réparties à l'avance entre les copistes. Cependant les manuscrits pouvaient être copiés par une ou plusieurs personnes, dont toutes n'étaient d'ailleurs pas nécessairement des moines' (p. 150).

²⁹ Within the *Automated Scribal Identification Project*, research is also being carried out on the correlation between the type of writing and the genre of the texts examined. The project has benefited from the support of the Andrew Mellon Foundation (New York), the American Council of Learned Societies (New York), the American Academy of Religion (Atlanta), Mount Holyoke College and Stanford University.

³⁰ See for further discussion: Crouser *et al.* 2018.

³¹ The *SYR-EYE* project benefits from the collaboration of the *Association pour l'Arménien Classique*, which set up the digital platform *Calfa.fr*, and from the contribution of Margherita Farina. Still concerning Paris, we would like to mention the *Multi-Pal* portal created by a collaboration between EPHE, Collège de France, GRPT and IRIS.

³² See Seaward and Kallio 2017.

³³ These models were trained as part of the Beth Mardutho Summer Fellowship Program 2019. The *eṣṙangēlā* and *serṭā* models were trained by Kyle Brunner (NYU), and the East Syriac model was trained by Abigail Pearson (University of Exeter). Among the Syriac Digital Humanities tools conceived by Beth Mardutho it is important to mention also *Simtho*, *The Syriac Thesaurus project*, a database of Syriac literary texts freely available online.

These initiatives move towards a collaboration between Syriac palaeography experts and computer scientists, which is certainly useful in the current panorama of an increasing number of digitized manuscripts and therefore more easily accessible to scholars³⁴.

³⁴ Notable in this regard is the HMML project of the *Hill Museum & Manuscript Library* in Minnesota (USA), one of the largest collections of digitized manuscripts. The project website also offers the possibility of learning some notions of Latin, Arabic and Syriac palaeography. The related Syriac palaeographical records are by Adam Carter Bremer-McCollum, University of Notre Dame.

CHAPTER I. THE SYRIAC SCRIPTS: TERMINOLOGY AND PROPOSED TAXONOMIES

I.1 SYRIAC SCRIPTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Syriac script is nowadays usually classified into three main forms: the *eṣṭrangēlā*, the West-Syriac or *serṭā*, and the East-Syriac, formerly also called ‘Nestorian’³⁵. This is a tripartition which arose in the West in the sixteenth century with purely indicative value.

In fact, as pointed out by Borbone, this classification does not correspond to those of the Syrian authors themselves and their readers of the past³⁶.

The *eṣṭrangēlā* script, probably born in Edessa (modern Şanlıurfa, Turkey), is described as early as the ninth century by lexicographer Bar Ali as ‘the writing of the gospel’, a ‘venerable, great script’. According to Bar Bahlul, a lexicographer who lived in the tenth century, this writing was inspired by God to its creator ‘so that with large and splendid letters the thought would proceed more fluently and quickly in the readings’³⁷.

To the tenth century is also where the testimony of Ibn al-Nadim, who describes the *eṣṭrangēlā* script as the most elegant and the best, belongs. He calls it *al-maftuḥ*, an Arabic term which means ‘open’. Additionally, he names two other scriptures used by the Syrians: *al-muḥaqqaq* (i.e., accurate), also referred to by the author as *askulthīyā* (i.e., ‘scholastic’) and *mudawwar* (i.e., ‘round’), and, finally, *al-sarṭā*³⁸. The three scriptures mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim do not correspond to the tripartite classification of Syriac scriptures given above.

The etymology of the term *eṣṭrangēlā* is debated. The term does not appear in the sources before the ninth century. Assemani, in the eighteenth century, traced it back to the Greek term στρογγύλη, i.e., ‘round’. But already Bar Ali and Bar Bahlul, who wrote in Syriac and Arabic, suggest a different origin of the term, as reported by Michaelis³⁹, relating not to the form of the letters, but to the kind of manuscripts in which they were used, namely the gospels. According to this reading, the term *eṣṭrangēlā* would derive from the Arabic سَطْرُ أَنْجِيلٍ, i.e., ‘writing of the gospel’. As a clear and large script, it is considered particularly suitable for public liturgical reading and was used mainly, though not exclusively, for lectionaries and gospels⁴⁰.

The Syriac term ܫܪܬܐ (*serṭā*) literally means ‘writing’. Generally, this term is juxtaposed with adjectives such as ‘simple’, ‘western’, and ‘eastern’. Using the term *serṭā* to refer to a Western cursive script, the earliest mature examples of which date back to the eighth century, is a common simplification, which for convenience will often be adopted in this volume as well.

As Van Rompay states in his introduction to the reprint of Hatch's⁴¹ *Album*, the *eṣṭrangēlā* script was first considered the oldest by scholars. The Western *serṭā script* would have developed only later, from a minuscule script employed occasionally from the sixth century and which would itself have been derived from the *eṣṭrangēlā* script. This belief rested on the fact that the earliest dated codex in the *serṭā* script, the London, British Library, Add. MS 14548, dated from the year 790 A.D.⁴². Recent studies⁴³ have, however, proposed that

³⁵ On the misuse of the term ‘Nestorian’ for the Church of the East, now the Holy Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East, see Brock 1996.

³⁶ Borbone 2021.

³⁷ Borbone 2009, p. 44.

³⁸ Dodge 1970, p. 22.

³⁹ Michaelis 1784, p. 15. See also Duval 1881, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰ Regarding the etymology of the term *eṣṭrangēlā* see also Aggoula 2005, who suggests a link with the region north of Amida.

⁴¹ Hatch 2002, p. V.

⁴² In Hatch 1946, the oldest codex classified among the *serṭā* manuscripts is, however, the Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Semitic Museum, Cod. Syr. 115 (Hatch PLATE XCV), which was believed to be dated to 731-732. The dating of the manuscript in question was, however, later questioned by Goshen-Gottstein 1979, who proposed the tenth century.

⁴³ Healey 2000, Briquel-Chatonnet 2002.

the *serṭā* script was derived from a less formal, cursive script that had existed since the beginnings of Syriac writing and developed in parallel with the *eṣṭrangēlā* script. From the eighth century onwards, the *serṭā* script would have begun to be used in manuscripts to an increasing extent in the regions west of the Euphrates, to the detriment of the *eṣṭrangēlā* script which, however, never completely disappeared.

Indeed, during the ninth century the *serṭā* script would replace the *eṣṭrangēlā* within the Syrian Orthodox and Maronite communities, becoming the script regularly used by the two communities⁴⁴, at least as far as manuscripts⁴⁵ are concerned. However, from the end of the tenth century and in some regions (Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, Melitene), there was a revival of the *eṣṭrangēlā* script, especially in liturgical codices intended for public use⁴⁶. Meanwhile, a further type of cursive script, the East-Syriac script, had developed within the East-Syriac Church from the *eṣṭrangēlā*.

Another Syriac script, known as the ‘Syro-Melkite script’ and originating from the Western *serṭā*, arose and was used within the Syrian communities in the regions of Antioch, Damascus and Sinai from the eleventh century onwards⁴⁷.

As already reported recently by Schmidt⁴⁸, in the main Syriac manuscript catalogues and repertories of Syriac writings published between the eighteenth and the second half of the twentieth century⁴⁹ there are six main entries: ‘*eṣṭrangēlā*’, ‘*serṭā*/Jacobite’, ‘Nestorian/Chaldean’, ‘Melkite’, ‘Palestinian’ and ‘*karšūnī*’⁵⁰. However, not all authors make equal use of the above terms. Moller⁵¹ reports that Assemani, for example, never uses the term ‘*serṭā*’ and does not distinguish the Melkite script from the *eṣṭrangēlā*. Wright⁵² uses the term *serṭā* only in the expression *nestorian serṭā*. Hatch⁵³ groups the plates in his *Album* into the following five categories: ‘*Eṣṭrangela*’, ‘*Serṭā*’, ‘Nestorian’, ‘Melkite’, and ‘Palestinian’. Tisserant⁵⁴ had previously adopted a similar solution, but he did not include manuscripts in Syro-Palestinian characters.

It is interesting to note that the categories used by Land in his *Anecdota syriaca*, in which he seems to follow the terminology of Latin palaeography, were of a rather different nature. The scriptures he mentions are ‘*scriptura majuscula saec. V*’, ‘*minuscula saeculi VI*’, ‘*minuscula usque ad. init. saec. VII*’, ‘*semiminuscula*’ and *scriptura ʿkārṣ ūnica*’⁵⁵.

⁴⁴ Briquel-Chatonnet 2019, p. 256.

⁴⁵ For Syriac inscriptions see, for example, Desreumaux (2004), Brock, Goldfus and Kofsky (2007), Desreumaux (2015), Harrak (2010) and Moriggi (2014).

⁴⁶ In this connection, see also the information on John of Bet *Sbirinā* or Bet Sebrinā, a metropolitan who, between the tenth and eleventh centuries, promoted the revival of *eṣṭrangēlā* writing in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, under the relevant entry in Barsaum 2000, p. 137 and in Barsaum 2003, p. 19, Palmer 1989, p. 71 and in Hatch 1946, pp. 28-29. On the correlation between the revival of *eṣṭrangēlā* in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and the cultural and economic context of this revival, see Palmer 1986 and 1989.

⁴⁷ Schmidt 2015, p. 318.

⁴⁸ Schmidt 2015, pp. 318-319.

⁴⁹ Assemani 1742, Assemani 1758-1759, Hatch 1946, Tisserant 1910, Wright 1870-1872, Wright 1901.

⁵⁰ In fact, only the first four are Syriac scripts. The Syro-Palestinian script is actually used to write Syro-Palestinian Aramaic and not the Syriac language; *karšuni* or *garšuni* is, rather, a writing system in which the Syriac script in its various forms is used to write the Arabic language in book or documentary and epigraphic texts. Lately, the term ‘garshunography’ is being used to refer to any script used to write the Arabic language or another language. See the various articles published in den Heijer et al. 2014 and Hugoye: *Journal of Syriac Studies*, volume 17 (2014), available at <https://hugoye.bethmardutho.org/volume/17> (last accessed 07/2023).

⁵¹ Moller 1998, pp. 157-158.

⁵² See footnote 22.

⁵³ See footnote 22.

⁵⁴ Tisserant 1914.

⁵⁵ Land 1862, pp. 64-101.

The lack of uniformity in the terminology at the time corresponded, as Moller complains⁵⁶, to considerable discordance in the attribution of manuscripts to a specific palaeographical category by one author, and those considered within the same category by another author. Thus, to cite only one of the many examples, the writing of manuscript XCIX⁵⁷ in Hatch is labeled *serṭā*, but Assemani had described the writing of the same codex as *eṣṭrangēlā*.

To this day, scholars do not always agree on defining the script of a particular Syriac manuscript. An experiment presented in 2018 by Bush, Penn, Crouser, Howe, and Wu demonstrated an almost complete lack of agreement among five Syriacists surveyed in defining the script of manuscripts containing both forms typical of *eṣṭrangēlā* script and forms typical of *serṭā*⁵⁸ script.

In a recent article⁵⁹, Penn reports about thirty examples of Syriac writings in colophons and annotations of codices dated between the late fifth and late seventh centuries, which are distinguished from the script of the main text of the manuscripts in question. He points out that many of the colophons and notes he examined are written in a combination of *eṣṭrangēlā* and *serṭā* forms and reports how some scholars have recently argued for a new palaeographical terminology in Syriac, one that takes into account the simultaneous presence of *eṣṭrangēlā* and *serṭā* forms. According to Penn, expressions such as ‘medial’, ‘intermediate’, or ‘cursive semi-monumental’ are sometimes considered better to define the various scripts⁶⁰.

The need to introduce different classifications and terminologies in Syriac palaeography had already been felt many years earlier by Moller⁶¹. He recognized an internal variety in the *eṣṭrangēlā* script, distinguishing an *eṣṭrangēlā A* script, i.e., the more formal type (found, according to the author, in BL Add. 12150), and an *eṣṭrangēlā B*, which shows some variations that will later be formalized in the *serṭā* script (closure of *wāw*, *hē*, *mīm*; more curvilinear realization of *dālath* and *rēsh*). The latter is often found in the colophons of manuscripts whose main text is in the *eṣṭrangēlā* script or in scribal annotations of a different nature (the same script is sometimes found in the counting of verses at the end of the gospels)⁶².

Healey (2000)⁶³, Briquel-Chatonnet (2002)⁶⁴ and Schmidt (2015)⁶⁵ imagine the genesis of the *eṣṭrangēlā* and *serṭā* scripts, in their standardized forms, as a gradual process starting from two (or perhaps more) script variants, respectively a monumental and a more cursive one, used since the early centuries. From these two pre-existing variants, the *eṣṭrangēlā* and *serṭā* scripts as we know them today would slowly develop on parallel paths.

The nexus between the Syriac scriptures and the three Syriac Churches (Syrian Orthodox, Church of the East, Melkite) has been questioned in particular by Kaplan (2016, 2019)⁶⁶. Instead, she proposes a taxonomy based on the formal/informal and monumental/cursive contrasts, a taxonomy that stems from the application of a method applied by the scholar to about ninety manuscripts in the British Library in which four main Syriac scripts are distinguished: monumental, semi-cursive monumental, semi-monumental cursive, and formal cursive⁶⁷.

⁵⁶ Moller 1988.

⁵⁷ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 92.

⁵⁸ For further discussion see Bush, Penn et al. 2018.

⁵⁹ Penn 2020.

⁶⁰ See in this regard Palmer 1989, Brock and Van Rompay 2014, Kaplan 2015, 2016, 2019.

⁶¹ Moller 1988.

⁶² Borbone 2008, pp. 47-48.

⁶³ Healey 2000.

⁶⁴ Briquel-Chatonnet 2002.

⁶⁵ Schmidt 2015.

⁶⁶ Kaplan 2016, Kaplan 2019.

⁶⁷ Kaplan 2015. On a possible role played by the geographical factor, i.e., the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, see Kaplan 2016.

In a more recent article⁶⁸, Kaplan reclassified the palaeographical plates of Hatch's *Album* using the terminology given above. In particular, she associates the term 'monumentale' with the writing traditionally defined as *eṣṭrangēlā*, the expression 'monumentale semi-courante' with the writing she defined as 'Medial Estrangelo', i.e., a monumental writing that also presents some more cursive forms, 'courante formelle' with 'Later Serto'. Finally, with the term 'courante semi-monumentale' Kaplan identifies the so-called 'Early Serto', a cursive writing in which monumental forms are also recognizable. According to Kaplan, many of the plates classified by Hatch as *eṣṭrangēlā* show, rather, a 'monumentale semi courante' handwriting, such as the BAV, Vat. Sir. 137 (564 A.D.)⁶⁹, which would also be the oldest Syriac codex in this type of writing. Similarly, examples of monumental semi-cursive handwriting are also detected by Kaplan among the plates classified as *serṭā* by Hatch: one example is the BL, Add. 12165 (1015 A.D.)⁷⁰. According to Kaplan, moreover, Hatch's 'Nestorian' plates would reveal examples of 'monumentale' and 'monumentale semi-courante' writing, while a true East-Syriac cursive variant would have appeared around the thirteenth century.

I.2 SYRIAC SCRIPT TYPOLOGY IN CENTRAL ASIA AND IN THE TURFAN OASIS

Recent studies count additional script types within the set of Syriac palaeographical variants⁷¹. In particular, Briquel-Chatonnet (2019)⁷² mentions a Syriac script documented in Central Asia, in the regions that saw the spread of the Church of the East. This is an 'often irregular' Syriac script⁷³, which seems to show forms found later in the East-Syriac script. She prefers to assume that these Central Asian testimonies reflect 'an informal script'⁷⁴ that was already in use by the East Syrians, rather than postulating an influence of the Syriac script found in Central Asia on the later East-Syriac script.

Little has been written about this Central Asian Syriac script, defined by Briquel Chatonnet as 'Syrian-Turkish script'⁷⁵. Some important information comes from Dickens (2013)⁷⁶, who analyzes the Syriac script used by the Christian communities of Turfan for texts in Syriac, Sogdian, Old Turkic and Neopersian languages.

Dickens⁷⁷ examines the realization of some letters in the Turfan fragments, including *lāmadh* and *pē*. With regard to *lāmadh*, he states that the oblique stroke of the letter often ends in a bulb at the top, or turns downward, giving it a characteristic hook shape. He further notes that the realization of *pē*, in some Syriac language texts from Turfan, seems to have been somewhat influenced by the adaptation of *pē* used for the phoneme /f/ in Sogdian language texts but in Syriac script. The author argues that only the final *eṣṭrangēlā* forms of *mīm*, *qōph*, and *shīn* occur in Turfan texts. Final *kāph* and *nūn*, on the other hand, would appear in both the *eṣṭrangēlā* form and the *serṭā* form. Final *semkath* in proper names or terms of Greek origin would present a vertical tail, while *dālath* and *rēsh* would be found, according to Dickens, only in their *serṭā* form and, finally, *hē*, would

⁶⁸ Kaplan 2019.

⁶⁹ Hatch 1946, Plate XXVI.

⁷⁰ Hatch 1946, Plate CXIX.

⁷¹ Concerning the Syriac script variant that arose in Kerala from the eighteenth century onwards, see Briquel-Chatonnet, Desreumaux 2010.

⁷² Briquel-Chatonnet 2019.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 257.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Dickens 2013.

⁷⁷ Dickens 2013, pp. 10-11.

often be closed, as in the *serṭā* script. Dickens also records the use of the Syriac pointing to indicate vowels in numerous texts⁷⁸.

Regarding the classification of the writing of the Turfan fragments in Syriac script, Dickens states that ‘nearly all of the Christian fragments are written in what is essentially the Estrangelā form of Syriac, with certain letters formed according to the East Syriac script, resulting in what William Wright called “Nestorian Estranghelā”’⁷⁹. Along the same lines of thought is the definition of the writing of the Syriac texts in Syriac script from Turfan used in the catalogue published by Hunter and Dickens in 2014⁸⁰. In the section of the aforementioned catalogue entitled *Arrangement of the catalogue entries*, this script is defined under the heading *Palaeography* as ‘East Syriac Estrangela’ in the sense of ‘a script that retains most of the characteristics of the old Estrangela script in contradistinction to the Eastern script well known from later manuscripts and printed works’⁸¹.

A few years later, in the introduction of the volume dedicated to the liturgical manuscript MIK III 45, Hunter and Coakley traced some of the features of this writing, which they called ‘Turfan Syriac hand’⁸². This handwriting, characterized by the presence of some specific forms, is present only in a part of the Turfan fragments, perhaps all from the same *scriptorium*, while it does not appear in others, such as MIK III 45. This may point to a different origin. Elements proper to this script, which Hunter and Coakley recognize, for example, in the fragments SyrHT 48-49, would be:

- (1)  which has an upright right-angled corner on the left side, another right-angled corner in the lower right, and an ascender with a ball terminal; (2)  which is a single stroke, often as here in a backward s shape; (3)  which is particularly wide, as is here also ; and (4)  which has a forked, not flat, top.

Given the extraordinary state of preservation of MIK III 45, the writing of this manuscript will be explored in depth in Chapters II, V and VI⁸³, depending on the issues addressed in each case.

In the light of the situation briefly described above, the present study of the Syriac script used in the Turfan fragments aims not only at its description but also provides documentary elements to improve the understanding of the history of Syriac writing in general.

⁷⁸ The Syriac script, as well as the scripts of almost all other Semitic languages, is based on a consonantal system. The Syriac pointing is a method of vocalization consisting of seven signs formed by dots and placed above and below consonants. This system is also found in manuscripts prior to the tenth century, at least since the ninth century, as in London, BL, Add. 14492 (861-862), and is still used by the Syrians, not exclusively by those of the East Syriac denomination. Another well-known method of vocalization, developed in a West Syrian context, probably in the tenth to eleventh centuries, consists instead of indicating the five vowels of the West Syriac vowel system by means of five signs derived from Greek vowels, placed above or below the consonants. See Coakley 2011. The oldest system of vocalization was invented by Jacob of Edessa in the seventh century. It was not, however, meant to be used by scribes, but for the treatment of phonetic phenomena. For the main bibliography on the subject, see: Briquel-Chatonnet 2019, pp. 258-260; Dickens 2013, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁹ Dickens 2013, p.9.

⁸⁰ Hunter and Dickens 2014. Worth mentioning for the purposes of this study is the catalogue devoted to texts in Sogdian and Syriac script from Turfan and published by Sims-Williams in 2012.

⁸¹ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 12.

⁸² Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 12.

⁸³ Specifically, at pp. 12; 105-110; 119-123.

CHAPTER II. THE SYRIAC AND SOGDIAN CHRISTIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT FROM TURFAN

The Christian Syriac and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script of the Berlin Turfan Collection were found in the oasis of Turfan, now part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in northwestern China. They were discovered during the second and third of four archaeological expeditions organized by the Berlin Museum for Ethnology (*Museum für Völkerkunde*) between 1902 and 1914.

Most of the fragments were unearthed at the monastic site of Shuipang, near Bulayiq; a smaller number of fragments were found at other sites in the same area, including Astana, Qocho, Kurutka and Toyoq.

The Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments in Syriac script that are the subject of the present study were found together with many other Christian and non-Christian texts, written in numerous languages and scriptures⁸⁴.

It is important to emphasize that the oasis of Turfan, located along the Silk Road, an extremely important trade route at the time, saw the presence of numerous and varied communities from a cultural and religious point of view. Among these communities, an important place was probably held by the East-Syrian Christian community, which was widespread in Central Asia and had been present in China, since at least 781, the year in which a stele was erected in Chang'an (Xi'an), inside the enclosure of a monastery, by order of Emperor Taizong⁸⁵.

That the monastic site of Shuipang is the result of the missionary activity of the East-Syrian community is the hypothesis now shared by most. Sims-Williams⁸⁶ supports this theory on the basis of the content of the fragments found at the monastery in question; Barbati points out that this deduction, i.e., that the ruins of Shuipang are the remains of an East-Syrian monastery, is nowadays almost shared by all those who deal with Christianity in Turfan, although in-depth research on this subject is still a *desideratum*⁸⁷.

Not much is known about how these paper fragments were produced and where they were written, as nothing is known for sure about the writing instruments used. It is possible that scribes used the *calamus* (reed pen), but also the brush, which, as Borbone and Briquel-Chatonnet note, was certainly used for some manuscripts written in Central Asia and China, such as the Dunhuang *bifolium*, Historical Museum, Mogao Ku B 53:14, and the fragment of Qara Qoto no. 123⁸⁸.

Barbati (2017) writes that studies concerning the collation, pagination, puncture system, ruling, and ordering of the quirses of the Turfan manuscripts are still ongoing. With regard to ruling, in particular, Sims-Williams (2012) noted the rare cases of partial and total ruling of the margins of the written area in Christian

⁸⁴ Most of the unearthed fragments, as Dickens 2009 writes, come from a Buddhist and Manichean religious context; however, just over one thousand one hundred fragments come from Christian manuscripts, written in Syriac, Sogdian, and ancient Uighur languages with different alphabets. Overall, the fragments brought to light have been written in more than twenty-two languages and twenty scripts. See, in this regard, Dickens 2009, pp. 22-42.

⁸⁵ See for further discussion Borbone 2009; Dickens 2015; Riboud 2015.

⁸⁶ Sims-Williams 1990.

⁸⁷ Barbati 2015, p. 92. See also Sims-Williams 2012, pp. 26, 59, 192, 100, 194. While going to press, we are waiting for the forthcoming publication of the proceedings of the 6th Salzburg International Conference on Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia that took place in Almaty in 2019 and were hosted by Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang. This volume will surely represent another precious step in the study of Syriac Christianity in the region of Turfan, as probably in the study of the Syriac scripts in the oasis, as has already been shown by the fertile soil of the International Symposium *Medieval Turfan - An Oasis for Christianity?*, organized on 29th November 2019 by the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and PRO ORIENTE (convener: Chiara Barbati; <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/ifi/veranstaltungen/event-details/medieval-turfan-an-oasis-for-christianity>; last accessed 07/2023). On that occasion, I presented some preliminary results of my palaeographical study and I had the occasion of sharing some insights and hints with many colleagues, among them Erica Hunter.

⁸⁸ Borbone and Briquel-Chatonnet 2015, p. 255.

Sogdian fragments: in the *verso* of fragment E3 (ink ruling in the inner margin), in the *recto* and *verso* of E17 and E47 (black ink ruling for all four margins, for E17, and at least three out of four as far as E47 is concerned); they are joined by traces of ruling in fragments E27/1d (on the *verso*) and E54 (*recto* and *verso*, red ink)⁸⁹. It is interesting to note that ink ruling is common in the Manichean codices of Central Asia, while Syriac manuscripts from the Mesopotamian milieu usually have lead point or sharp point rifling. In Syriac manuscripts, ink ruling is much less common and is observed in relatively recent codices.

As far as dating is concerned, as we read in Dickens⁹⁰, until a few years ago part of the *corpus* of Christian fragments from Turfan, all on paper, was dated with some probability to between the ninth and fourteenth centuries based on palaeographical or linguistic assessments.

Some of the Uighur Christian texts had been dated by Zieme to the Mongol Yuan period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) on the basis of the occurrence of specific terms; such is the case with fragment U 338, a small Uighur prayer book (with some parts in Syriac) in which the term *ärkägün* is used to refer to Christians.

Dickens further states that, according to Sims-Williams, the Christian fragments in Sogdian can also be dated approximately to the ninth and tenth centuries, based on a comparison of the script of these fragments with that of other non-Christian Sogdian texts⁹¹.

With regard to the Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments in Syriac script, palaeographical evaluations had led Maróth to propose the ninth or tenth century for the SyrHT 1 fragment⁹², the tenth century for the SyrHT 2 fragment⁹³, and the tenth or eleventh century for the fragments containing the *Legend of St George*⁹⁴. Sachau⁹⁵, likewise, proposed the twelfth-thirteenth century for the SyrHT 41-43 *bifolia*, later postdated to the mid-thirteenth century by Hunter⁹⁶, and the ninth-tenth century for the MIK III 45 manuscript⁹⁷.

However, more recent studies on the paper of some fragments have allowed us to obtain new information about their dating and their probable place of origin.

In fact, the Carbon-14 method made it possible to determine the date of MIK III 45, one of the manuscripts with liturgical content, of which sixty-one folios are preserved, fixing it between 771 and 884⁹⁸. Hunter and Coakley argue that these chronological coordinates are in accordance with the content of the manuscript and its temporal location a hundred years before the liturgical reform of Catholicos Isho' yahb III.

Analyses of the paper of MIK III 45 and of the fragments SyrHT 71 (Psalter E), 72 (Psalter C) and 221 (Prayer-booklet H) provided information on the composition and the type of processing of their paper. The paper of MIK III 45 is composed of rag fibres that have undergone a mechanical defibration process, as revealed by microscopic observation. On the other hand, observing the papers of SyrHT 71, 72 and 221, one notices in addition to the rag and mulberry fibres (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) the addition of large starch grains to facilitate the processing of the fibres, subjected to a maceration phase instead of mechanical defibration, as can be seen from the good condition of the mulberry fibres.

Anna-Grethe Rischel⁹⁹ points out that the different composition of the paper from MIK III 45 and the three fragments examined indicates a different location of papermaking. She argues that the rag fibre paper of MIK

⁸⁹ Barbati 2017, pp. 406-407.

⁹⁰ Dickens 2013.

⁹¹ Dickens 2013, p. 11.

⁹² Maróth 1984.

⁹³ Maróth 1985.

⁹⁴ Maróth 1991.

⁹⁵ Sachau 1905.

⁹⁶ Hunter 2012.

⁹⁷ Sachau 1905.

⁹⁸ Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 11.

⁹⁹ Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 273-280 (Appendix).

III 45 suggests its origin from ‘a more western region of the Silk Road where, [...], older paper-making technology persisted behind the advances made in China’.

Rischel speculates, in fact, that the innovation involving a maceration stage devised in China may nonetheless still have been little known in the more western regions of Central Asia, where this paper was probably produced and perhaps written¹⁰⁰.

The discovery of Syriac and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script at Turfan is also very important for the study of the history of East-Syriac script because of the paucity of earlier and contemporary evidence from the regions of the Near and Middle East from which the Eastern Church later spread¹⁰¹. In fact, according to Brock's¹⁰² findings, the preserved East-Syriac manuscripts are far fewer in number than the Western ones¹⁰³.

In spite of this, taking into account the connection of the site of Shuipang with the Church of the East and the dating between the end of the eighth and the thirteenth century of the material studied, a comparison can be made between the Syriac script of Turfan and that of some East-Syriac codices from the regions from which the Church of the East spread, namely the Middle East, up to Merv, “the easternmost province of the Church of the East”¹⁰⁴.

The following table lists in chronological order the East-Syriac codices considered in this study.

	Codex	Year (A.D.)	Contents	Place of production
1	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14460	599-600	The Four Gospels according to the Peshitta version	District of Beth-Nuhadra
2	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14471	614-615	The Four Gospels according to the Peshitta version	Nisibis
3	London, British Library, Add. MS. 7157	767-768	The Four Gospels, Acts, James, I Peter, I John and the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) according to the Peshitta version	Convent of Rabban Mar Sabar-Yeshu' (Sabriho'), near the river Zaba Rabba, in the district of Adiabene
4	Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchat of Babylon, N 801 (formerly AS 94)	794	Table of Contents to the Paradise of the Fathers; Lausiatic history; History of the monks of Egypt	Not known
5	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14492	861-862	First part of an Old Testament Lectionary	al-Fuṣṭat (Old Cairo)

¹⁰⁰ Another possibility is that the rag paper of MIK III 45 was brought to Turfan by travelers moving along the Silk Road and later written there. However, Hunter and Coakley (2017) tend to dismiss the hypothesis that MIK III 45 was written in a *scriptorium* or monastery in Turfan on the basis of two other considerations. The first is that, according to the scholars, the writing of MIK III 45 would not show those characteristics typical of the so-called *Syriac Turfan hand* about which has been written in the previous chapter; the second is that MIK III 45 does not give any hint of a monastic origin, since some key terms, such as ‘monastery’ and ‘monk’, are missing. The manuscript in question is, moreover, a *Penqita*, i.e., a liturgical book indispensable for services, which ‘any local church, even an outlying one, would have had to acquire’. Although it is a liturgical volume, written in red and black ink and therefore intended to be read at church, its dimensions are small (22 ½ × 14 cm), which would certainly have made it easier to transport. Hunter and Coakley, finally, observed that in MIK III 45 special attention is paid to the saints Mart Shir, Mar Barshabba and Zarvandukt, who were commemorated in the city of Merv. Moreover, in the morning service for the week of MIK III 45 the term MRSP'D appears, probably of Middle Persian origin and it is significant that Middle Persian is a native language of Merv. It is for all these reasons, along with the ‘different kinds of poetry that appear in it’, that scholars suggest that MIK III 45 was probably written in Merv and later brought to Turfan. See Hunter and Coakley 2017, pp. 11-16.

¹⁰¹ In particular, Merv was in the sixth century the easternmost province of the Church of the East and represented, therefore, ‘the jumping-off point for the church’s further eastward mission’. Hunter and Coakley, p. 16.

¹⁰² Brock 2007.

¹⁰³ For a summary list of the East-Syriac manuscripts come down to us see Brock 2007.

¹⁰⁴ Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 16.

	Codex	Year (A.D.)	Contents	Place of production
6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 342 ¹⁰⁵	893/4	The Four Gospels, Acts, James, I Peter, I John and the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) according to the Peshitta version	Monastery of Rabban Joseph in the village of Awana, opposite Balad (Eski Mosul)
7	London, British Library, Add. MS. 12138 ¹⁰⁶	899	The book of excerpts of terms and phrases in Holy Scripture (East-Syriac Masora)	Harran
8	New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Library, Cod. Z 107.31 ¹⁰⁷	917-918	The Four Gospels, Acts, James, I Peter, I John and the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) according to the Peshitta version	Monastery of Mar Elia on the Tigris, Mosul.
9	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 1	928-929	Old Testament: Pentateuch	Monastery of Mar Elia, near Mosul
10	Mosul, Mar Ishaya Church (relocated)	X-XI th cent.	Hudra, beginning with the end of the Office for Christmas lands and continuing on to the end of the liturgical year	Possibly copied at the Upper monastery ¹⁰⁸ .
11	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 467	1186/1187	Life of Yusuf Busnaya, hymns and stories	Monastery of Mar Elia, near Mosul
12	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 354	1186/1187	The first part of this manuscript contains Sergius of Rēsh'aina's Treatise addressed to Theodore on Aristotle's Categories. The last quire of this first part, probably from an original different manuscript, was copied by another scribe, named Zainon.	Not given
13	Newton Center, Massachusetts, Andover Newton Theological School, MS. ZE 607-1198 ¹⁰⁹	1198	The Four Gospels, Acts, James, I Peter, I John, and the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) according to the Peshitta Version	Not given
14	Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon 24; (formerly Codex 12.22; Diarbekir 10; Notre Dame des Semences, XV).	1199/1200	New Testament according to the version of the Peshitta	Monastery of Rabban Hormizd, Alqosh
15	Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard university, Houghton Library, Harvard, Syr. 4	1197-1198	New Testament, according to the Peshitta version	Monastery of Mar Sabar-Yeshu' (Sabriho'), in Qardu (probably a village near Nisibis)
16	Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana 544	XII-XIII th cent.	Christological and controversial work which upholds the Diophysite doctrine of the incarnation	Not given
17	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 471	1224	New Testament, according to the Peshitta version	Monastery of 'Abdisho' of Kom, in the Sapna region

¹⁰⁵ Hatch 1946, Plate CLXV.

¹⁰⁶ Hatch 1946, Plate CLXVI.

¹⁰⁷ Hatch Plate CLXVII.

¹⁰⁸ Based on the writings of the scribe Eliya (f. 365v, page 731 according to the Arabic-Indian numbering in the codex), Macomber assumes that the oldest part of the codex may have been written, as well as regularly read, in the Upper monastery of Mosul. It is possible that the codex formerly belonged, in fact, to the Tahra Church of Mosul, i.e., the church of the Upper monastery, which is now annexed to the parish of Mar Isha'ya.

¹⁰⁹ Hatch 1946 Plate CLXVIII.

	Codex	Year (A.D.)	Contents	Place of production
18	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 417	1246	Bar Ali's dictionary (Syriac and Arabic)	Baghdad
19	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 148	1267	George of Arbela, Liturgical commentary	Arbela
20	Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral	1287	Hudra for the second part of the Lent period	Monastery of Mar Awgen, Mount Izla
21	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 622	1298		Found in Northern Mesopotamia, but maybe written in Central Asia or in China ¹¹⁰
22	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Sir. 22	1301	Pauline Lectionary	Southern India
23	Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, Peshitta Institut, Ms. N. 4 ¹¹¹	1306/7	Old Testament, Prophets	Not known
24	Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, MS 60.19	XIV th cent.	Homilies by Narsai	Monastery of Mar Michael
25	London, British Library, Add. MS. 7174	1702	Fragments of hymns	Not known
26	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS. Syriac 4 (John Rylands Library, Ms. 70)	1725 (copy of a lost manuscript dated 752-753, probably written in the city of Soba)	Peshitta Prophets, Psalms and East Syriac canticles and part of the Lives of the Prophets	China

As for the literary genre of the fragments under investigation, it ranges from the genre of the Gospel and Lectionary to the liturgical texts (Hudra and Taksa), from the genre of Psalter to that of Prayer-amulets, from the exercises of the scribes to the epistolary genre¹¹².

In the following tables the contents of the individual fragments and the manuscript to which each of them belongs have been set out, based on the tables in the catalogues of Hunter, Dickens and Sims-Williams¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ See Borbone 2003, pp. 72-73.

¹¹¹ Previously Leiden, Peshitta Institut, Ms. N. 1. See Baars 1963.

¹¹² The epistolary genre is so far represented by a single fragment, SyrHT 2, specifically SyrHT 2 (I), side (a) and SyrHT 2 (II), side (b). This is a draft letter addressed to a Byzantine official. The letter has been dated to the tenth century by Maróth (1985) on palaeographical grounds.

¹¹³ Hunter and Dickens 2014; Sims-Williams 2012.

SYRIAC FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

Bible - Old Testament

Psalter B (Syr-NP)	MIK III 112	Psalms 131:18-132:1; 133 heading-133:2; 146:5-8; 147 heading-147:3
	SyrHT 153	Psalms 146:8-147 heading; 147:3-7
Psalter C	SyrHT 72, fol. 1-2	Psalms 72:18-74:1
	SyrHT 348	Psalms 73:1 + prayer, 73:8-9
	SyrHT 72, fol. 3	Psalms 117:23-118:4
	SyrHT 379	Psalms 137:7-Psalms 138 heading; 138:3-5
	SyrHT 228	Psalms 137:8-Psalms 138 heading; 138:4-8
	SyrHT 79	Psalms 140: 1-141:2
	SyrHT 72, fol. 4-5	Psalms 143:5-144:17
	SyrHT 72, fol. 6-9	Psalms 145:9-150:4
Psalter D	SyrHT 129	Psalms 72:8-73:4
	SyrHT 377	Psalms 74:21-23; 75:8-10
	SyrHT 180	Psalms 87:1-88:12
	SyrHT 119	Psalms 89:12-20, 23-33
	SyrHT 224 (I)	Psalms 89:35-42, 48-53
	SyrHT 64	Psalms 89:46-47; 90:2
	SyrHT 157	Psalms 92:8-13; 93:1-5
	SyrHT 239	Psalms 94:12-15; 94:23-95:1
	SyrHT 224 (II)	Psalms 95:4-7; 96:1-2
	SyrHT 63	Psalms 95:9-10; 96:5-8
	SyrHT 308	Psalms 103:2-4, 15-16
	SyrHT 191	Psalms 118:133-142, 146-153
Psalter E	SyrHT 71	Psalms 22:8-26:3
Psalter E	n399	Psalms 22:8-10, 18-20
Psalter F	SyrHT 14	Psalms 66:13-15; 67:5
	SyrHT 17	Psalms 66:13-15; 67:5
	SyrHT 15	Psalms 66:13-15; 67:5-6
	SyrHT 174	Psalms 73:25-27; 74:4-7
	SyrHT 90&91	Psalms 78:26-64
	SyrHT 93	Psalms 79:9-80: 12
	SyrHT 92	Psalms 84:3-85:5
	SyrHT 172	Psalms 85:6-9; 86:1-3
	SyrHT 175	Psalms 85:8-11; 86:2-5
	n418	Psalms 85:11-12; 86:5-8

	SyrHT 173	Psalm 90:2-5,9-14
	SyrHT 176	Psalm 90:2-7,9-16
	SyrHT 177	Psalm 90:4-7,12-16
	SyrHT 367 (?)	unidentified, possibly from Psalter F
Psalter G	SyrHT 96	Exodus 15:15-21 ; Isaiah 42:10-13; 45:8.
Psalter H	SyrHT 62	Deuteronomy 32:31-40
Psalter I	SyrHT 108	Psalm 10: 12-12:3
Psalter J	SyrHT 113	Psalm 14:7-16:5; 18:35-50
	SyrHT 164	Psalm 18:51-19:2; 19:4-7
Psalter K	SyrHT 120	Psalm 35:7-17; 35:22-36:3
	SyrHT 121	Psalm 36:7-37:2; 37:7-16
	SyrHT 220	Psalm 37:20-23, 34-38
	SyrHT 357	Psalm 38:8-12; Psalm 39 heading-39:3
	SyrHT 358	Psalm 141:5-142 heading; 143:15-144:4
Psalter L	SyrHT 203	Psalm 118:31-46, 63-75
	SyrHT 98	Psalm 118:32-49, 64-80
Psalter M	MIK III 110	Psalm 24:3-4; 25:3-6
Psalter N	SyrHT 382	Psalm 22:26-30; 23:6-24:4
	SyrHT 6	Psalm 65:8-11; 66:7-12
	SyrHT 7	Psalm 65:10-13; 66:10-14
	SyrHT 5	Psalm 65:12-66:2; 66:14-19
	SyrHT 295	Psalm 65:13-66:3; 66:15-Psalm 67 heading
	SyrHT 4	Psalm 66:2-4; 66:20-Psalm 67 heading
	n301	Psalm 83:8-14; 84:3-8
	SyrHT 181	Psalm 84:10-85:3; 85:12-86:5
Psalter O	SyrHT 312 & 313	Psalm 22:21-24, 27-29; 23:1-3; 23:6-24:2
	SyrHT 314	Psalm 24:7-9; 25:2-5
	SyrHT 315	Psalm 25:10-12, 18-21
	SyrHT 333	Psalm 25:10-12, 18-21
	SyrHT 378	Psalm 101:2-3; Psalm 102 heading-102:2
Psalter P	SyrHT 230	Psalm 9:20-10:14; 10:17-11:1
Psalter Q	SyrHT 342	Psalm 2:7-11; 3:9-4:3
'Uighur Psalter' ¹¹⁴	SyrHT 20	Psalm 14 :7-99 :1-5; 99:5-100:1
	SyrHT 22	Psalm 101:6-8; 101:1-6
	SyrHT 23	Psalm 12:6-13:3; 11:6-12:6
	SyrHT 26	Psalm 13:3-14:1; 14:1-7

¹¹⁴ Syriac transcribed into Uighur script.

	MIK III 58	Psalm 86:11-87:7
	SyrHT 21	Psalm 87:7-88:7; 88:8-15
	SyrHT 24	Conclusion of the Hymn of Mar Ephrem and beginning of the Hymn of Mar Narsai for the Festival Morning Office on side (b); continuation of the Hymn of Mar Narsai for the Festival Morning Office on side (a)
	SyrHT 25	Continuation of the Hymn of Mar Narsai
	SyrHT 27	Conclusion of the Hymn of Mar Bābai of Nisibis for the Festival Night Office during Epiphany on side (b); beginning of the Hymn of Mar Ephrem for the Festival Morning Office on side (a)
‘Reverse Psalm’	SyrHT 386	Psalm 148:1-3; verses written in reverse order
Psalter?	SyrHT 9	Deuteronomy 32:2-4, 10-11

Psalms in other Fragments

Psalm 45 incipit	SyrHT 106	Hudra F
Psalm 25 incipit	SyrHT 31	Hudra J
Psalm 27 incipit	SyrHT 50	Hudra J
Psalm 30 or Psalm 144 incipit	SyrHT 31	Hudra J
Psalm 104 incipit	SyrHT 75	Hudra J
Psalm 140 incipit	SyrHT 61	Hudra J
Psalm 140 incipit	SyrHT 74	Hudra J
Psalm 97 incipit	SyrHT 33	Hudra K
Psalm 110 incipit	SyrHT 188	Hudra K
Psalm 3 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 13 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 26 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 88 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 102 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 103 or 104 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 115 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 128 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 129 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 142 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)
Psalm 145 incipit	SyrHT 87	Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)

Bible – New Testament

Gospel A	SyrHT 123	John 3:21-36 from Gospel A: side (b) = John 3:21-28; side (a) = John 3:28-36.
Gospel B	SyrHT 324	Matthew 16:5-6 from Gospel B.
	SyrHT 325	Matthew 17:1-3 from Gospel B
Gospel C	SyrHT 326	Mark 6:27-33, 36-41 from Gospel C: side (a) = Mark 6:27-33; side (b) = Mark 6:36-41.
Gospel D?	SyrHT 383	John 7:4-6, 8-10 from either Lectionary C or Gospel D ¹¹⁵ : side (b) = John 7:4-6; side (a) = John 7:8-10.
Lectionary A	SyrHT 48 & 49	Romans 1:24-2:6; 5:12-21; 7:1-5, from Lectionary A: SyrHT 48, side (a) = Romans 1:24-30; SyrHT 48, side (b) = Romans 1:31-2:6; SyrHT 49, side (b) = Romans 5:12-18; SyrHT 49, side (a) = Romans 5:18-21; 7:1-5.
	SyrHT 370	Unidentified, from Lectionary A or Lectionary B.
	SyrHT 373	Romans 15:9-11; 11:17-18, from Lectionary A: side (a) = Romans 11:17-18; side (b) = Romans 15:9-11.
	SyrHT 380	Romans 12:13-16; II Corinthians 12:19-20, from Lectionary A: side (a) = Romans 12:13-16; side (b) = II Corinthians 12:19-20.
	n311	Unidentified, from Lectionary A.
	n438	Unidentified, from Lectionary A.
Lectionary B	SyrHT 241	Luke 1:1-21, from Lectionary B. This fragment joins with SyrHT 277 and SyrHT 300 and forms a dislocated join with n327 to produce an almost-complete folio: side (a) = Luke 1:1-10; side (b) = Luke 1:10-21.
	SyrHT 277	Luke 1:4-8, 15-20, from Lectionary B. This fragment joins with SyrHT 241 and forms dislocated joins with SyrHT 300 and n327. Side (b) = Luke 1:4-8; Side (a) = Luke 1:15-20.
	SyrHT 300	Lectionary heading and Luke 1:10-12, from Lectionary B. This fragment joins with SyrHT 241 and forms dislocated joins with SyrHT 277 and n327. Side (b) = lectionary heading; side (a) = Luke 1:10-12.
	SyrHT 370	Unidentified, from Lectionary A or Lectionary B.
	n327	Luke 1:1-2, 12-14, from Lectionary B. This fragment forms dislocated joins with SyrHT 241, SyrHT 277 and SyrHT 300. Side (b) = lectionary heading, Luke 1:1-2; side (a) = Luke 1:12-14.
Lectionary C?	SyrHT 383	John 7:4-6, 8-10 from either Lectionary C or Gospel D. This can not be determined, because the text does not include the boundary between lectionary readings. Side (b) = John 7:4-6; side (a) = John 7:8-10.

¹¹⁵ This is unable to be determined since the text does not include the boundary between lectionary readings.

Liturgy

MIK III 45 (manuscript)	61 leaves	Service-book containing: - ff. 1r-7r: offices for the Rogation; - ff. 7r-21r: offices for the saints; - ff. 21r-27v: the rite for the consecration of a new church; - ff. 27v-33r: <i>'onyata</i> for ordinary days; - ff. 33r- 52v: burial services for all orders; - ff. 54v-61v: <i>'onyata</i> suitable for various occasions ¹¹⁶ .
Hudra A	SyrHT 11	Unidentified, from Hudra A.
	SyrHT 35	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Sixth Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>) and possibly part of the week. II. 3-5 contains a paraphrase the Peshitta version of the encounter between Jesus and the Canaanite woman (Matthew 15:21).
	SyrHT 44	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Fourth Sunday of Summer (<i>Qayṭā</i>) or the Fourth Sunday of the Cross (<i>Škhātā</i> , <i>Šlibā</i>), with a rubric for Night Prayer on side (a).
	SyrHT 56 & 57	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Second Friday and Third Sunday of the Cross (<i>Škhātā</i> , <i>Šlibā</i>), with rubrics for Compline and Night Prayer on SyrHT 57, side (a), l. 4 and SyrHT 56, side (b), l. 17.
	SyrHT 59	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, with rubrics for Compline and Morning Prayer on side (b), l. 5 and side (a), l. 8, but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 60	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Sixth Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>) or the First Sunday of Moses (<i>Muše</i>).
	SyrHT 292	Liturgy from Hudra A for the Fifth Sunday and Fifth Friday of Summer (<i>Qayṭā</i>).
Hudra B	SyrHT 13	Unidentified, from Hudra B.
	SyrHT 159	Hymns (ܐܡܢܐܝܐ) for Compline from Hudra B, with rubrics for Compline on side (a), right folio, l. 9 and side (b), right folio, l. 11, along with a heading for Compline on Mondays on side (b), left folio, l. 6; side (a), left folio, ll. 1-11 = Hymn for ordinary weeks in Lent by Shimun bar Saba'e, Chicago <i>Qdam</i> , 197, ll. 6-15.
	SyrHT 248	Post-communion hymns (ܐܡܢܐܝܐ) from Hudra B.
	SyrHT 310	Unidentified, from Hudra B.
Hudra C	SyrHT 65	Liturgy from Hudra C for either the Third or Fourth Sunday in the liturgical season of the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddaš 'ēdtā</i>).
	SyrHT 187	Liturgy from Hudra C for an episcopal service, which is not found in the <i>Takse kumraye</i> .
Hudra D	SyrHT 130	Office for the Commemoration of the Dead from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45); matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 134	Unidentified, from Hudra D.
	SyrHT 162	Office for St. John the Baptist, from the same manuscript as SyrHT 165 (probably Hudra D).
	SyrHT 163	Unidentified liturgical text from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45).
	SyrHT 165	Night Office for Good Friday (celebrated on Maundy Thursday evening), including a hymn sung during the washing of the feet which equates the apostles and the months of the calendar year on side (a) and Office for St. John the Baptist referring to his beheading by Herod on side (b), from the same manuscript as SyrHT 162 (probably Hudra D).

¹¹⁶ See Hunter and Coakley 2017, pp. 1-2.

	SyrHT 178	Office for the Solitaries from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45), with a reference to Friday at the end of the Fast of the Apostles (<i>Ṣawmā d-Šliḥe</i>); matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 214	Antiphons from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45).
	SyrHT 288	Midday prayer from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45) for an unspecified Friday, possibly from an unknown Commemoration of the Saints, with a reference to Lent (<i>Ṣawmā Rabbā</i>) on side (a), l. 5.
	SyrHT 394	Unidentified, from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45).
	SyrHT 395	Unidentified, from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45).
	MIK III 45 (fragment 2)	Unidentified, from Hudra D (possibly from the same scribal hand as MIK III 45).
Hudra E	SyrHT 41 ¹¹⁷	Liturgy from Hudra E for the season of Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>).
	SyrHT 42 ¹¹⁸	Liturgy from Hudra E for the season of Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>) and for Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 43	Liturgy from Hudra E for the season of Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>) and for Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>). ¹¹⁹
	SyrHT 208	Unidentified, from Hudra E.
	SyrHT 253	Unidentified, from Hudra E.
	SyrHT 371	Unidentified, from Hudra E.
	n446	Unidentified, from Hudra E.
Hudra F	SyrHT 52	Liturgy from Hudra F for Monday of either the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>) or the Rogation of the Ninevites (<i>Bā'uthā d-Ninwāye</i>).
	SyrHT 81&82	Liturgy from Hudra F for Wednesday of the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>).
	SyrHT 85	Liturgy from Hudra F for Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>) with a rubric for the following Sunday on side (a), l. 16.
	SyrHT 86	Liturgy from Hudra F for the Sunday of the Entry to Lent (<i>Ḥadhbshabhā d-'alī</i>), joins with n300.
	SyrHT 106	Liturgy from Hudra F for Monday of the Rogation of the Ninevites (<i>Bā'uthā d-Ninwāye</i>), with the incipit of Peshitta Psalm 45 on side (b), l. 10.
	SyrHT 107	Liturgy from Hudra F for an unidentified Sunday.
	SyrHT 143	Rite for renewing the Leaven (now part of the Taksa) from Hudra F; portions appear to be from the Commemoration of Peter and Paul, but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 145	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 150	Liturgy from Hudra F for the First Sunday of the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddaš 'Idta</i>).
	SyrHT 151	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 190	Liturgies for the Second and Sixth Sundays in Lent (<i>Ṣawmā Rbhā</i>) from Hudra F.

¹¹⁷ Dated initially by Sachau to the 11th or 12th century and subsequently by Hunter to the mid-13th century, based on palaeography. See Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 53.

¹¹⁸ Dated by Hunter to the mid-13th century, based on palaeography. See Hunter and Dickens 2014, pp. 54-55.

¹¹⁹ Dated by Hunter to the mid-13th century, based on palaeography. See Hunter and Dickens 2014, pp. 56-57.

	SyrHT 199	Liturgy from Hudra F for one of the weeks after Easter (<i>Qyāmtā</i>), and the week after Ascension (<i>Sulāqā</i>), with a rubric for the Sunday after Ascension and Compline on side (b), ll. 12-14.
	SyrHT 200	Liturgy from Hudra F for an unidentified Sunday.
	SyrHT 201	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 212	Liturgy from Hudra F for the Sixth Sunday of Lent (<i>Ṣawmā Rbhā</i>), including extracts from the parable of the ten virgins on side (b), ll. 6-7 (Matthew 25:6, 12).
	SyrHT 217	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 218	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 219	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 227	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 231	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 269	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 270	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 271	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
	SyrHT 294	Liturgy from Hudra F for the First Sunday of the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>).
	SyrHT 327	Liturgy from Hudra F for an unidentified Sunday.
	SyrHT 369	Unidentified, from Hudra F.
Hudra G	n300	Liturgy from Hudra F for the Sunday of the Entry to Lent (<i>Ḥadhbshabhā d-M'ali</i>), joins with SyrHT 86.
	SyrHT 47	Chants (ܬܠܬܐ) from the end of the Festival of Epiphany (<i>Denhā</i>) and part of the introduction to the commemoration of John the Baptist from Hudra G. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra, but portions of it occur in an East Syriac rite for Epiphany ¹²⁰ .
	SyrHT 73	Unidentified, from Hudra G.
	n91	Unidentified, from Hudra G.
	n92	Unidentified, from Hudra G, with references to Zechariah being filled by the Holy Spirit (cf. Luke 1:67) as well as to the Holy Spirit and the Jordan River.
	n120	Unidentified, from Hudra G.
	n121	Unidentified, from Hudra G.
	n122	Unidentified, from Hudra G.
Hudra H	SyrHT 55	Liturgy from Hudra H for the first Sunday after the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>), with a rubric for Compline on side (b), l. 2.
	SyrHT 100	Unidentified, from Hudra H.
	SyrHT 122	Liturgy from Hudra H for the Third Sunday in an unspecified liturgical season, with notes in Syriac (ll. 1-11) and Sogdian (l. 12) written in several hands on the originally blank recto side, including a reference on l. 10 to the Cantic on the Pharisees and Christ, edited in Mingana, <i>Narsai</i> II (1905), 396f. The blank side probably indicates the beginning of a quire, cf. other folios from this Hudra: SyrHT 124 and SyrHT 286 & 287).

¹²⁰ As reported by Hunter and Dickens 2014 p. 60, this East Syriac rite for Epiphany is found in the following extant manuscripts of the *Beth Gazzā*: Vatican, Borgia Syr. Ms 60; Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Ms 12 and Ms 4; Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Syr. d. 8; Princeton Theological Seminary PTS Syr 13 and PTS Syr 2; British Library Add. 7179.

	SyrHT 124	Folio from Hudra H with notes in Syriac and Uighur script written in several hands on the originally blank verso side.
	SyrHT 125	Liturgy from Hudra H for the First Friday and First Sunday after the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>), with references to the Magi presenting gold, myrrh and frankincense.
	SyrHT 126	Unidentified, from Hudra H with rubrics for Compline and Morning Prayer on side (a), l. 12 and side (b), l. 19.
	SyrHT 142	Liturgy from Hudra H for an unidentified Sunday, joins with SyrHT 148.
	SyrHT 148	Liturgy from Hudra H for an unidentified Sunday, with a rubric for Compline on side (a), l. 3, joins with SyrHT 142.
	SyrHT 204	Unidentified, from Hudra H.
	SyrHT 209	Unidentified, from Hudra H, with a rubric for Compline on side (a), l. 6 and references to the bread and wine on side (a), l. 8 and the mocking of Christ and the crucifixion between the robbers on side (b), ll. 13-14.
	SyrHT 211	Unidentified, from Hudra H, with a rubric for Morning Prayer on side (a), l. 5.
	SyrHT 266	Unidentified, from Hudra H.
	SyrHT 286	Office for the Martyrs from Hudra H, forming a dislocated join with SyrHT 287.
	SyrHT 287	Office for the Martyrs from Hudra H, forming a dislocated join with SyrHT 287, with sporadic lines of Syriac written in Uighur script by a later, different hand (or hands) on the originally blank verso side.
Hudra J	SyrHT 28	Liturgy from Hudra J, probably for the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 29	Liturgy from Hudra J, probably for Easter (<i>Qyāmtā</i>) or Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>).
	SyrHT 30	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Sixth Sunday of Summer (<i>Qaylā</i>).
	SyrHT 31	Liturgy from Hudra J for one of the Lord's Festivals or Memorials of the Saints.
	SyrHT 34	Liturgy from Hudra J for an unidentified Friday.
	SyrHT 36	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 39	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Fourth Sunday in an unnamed season.
	SyrHT 50	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Third Sunday in an unnamed season.
	SyrHT 61	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Seventh Sunday in an unnamed season.
	SyrHT 74	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Second and the Fourth Sundays after Pentecost, joins with SyrHT 251.
	SyrHT 75	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Seventh Sunday of Summer (<i>Qaylā</i>).
	SyrHT 97	Probably a communion anthem from Hudra J, but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 118	Liturgy from Hudra J for an unidentified day, probably one of the Lord's Festivals or Memorials of the Saints.
	SyrHT 135	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Fourth Sunday in an unclear liturgical season.
	SyrHT 136	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 155	Fragment from Hudra J mentioning the Roman soldier martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, which may be from a Commemoration for Sergius and Bacchus in use at the time.
	SyrHT 160	Liturgy from Hudra J for one of the Lord's Festivals or Memorials of the Saints.
	SyrHT 167	Chant used in consecrating the bread and wine from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 169	Unidentified, from Hudra J.

	SyrHT 170	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 171	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 182	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Fifth Sunday in an unidentified liturgical season.
	SyrHT 192	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 193	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Night Office of the 'Friday of Gold' (<i>'rubhā d-dahbhā</i>).
	SyrHT 216	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Last Friday of an unclear season, possibly Lent (<i>Ṣawmā Rbhā</i>).
	SyrHT 222	Martyrs' Anthem (ܩܝܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ) for Saturday Morning Prayer from Hudra J, followed by the Night Office.
	SyrHT 225	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 250	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 251	Liturgy from Hudra J for the Second and the Fourth Sundays after Pentecost, joins with SyrHT 74.
	SyrHT 257	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 261	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 278	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 293	Unidentified, possibly from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 298	Liturgy from Hudra J for the First Sunday of the Cross (<i>Ṣkhātā, Ṣlibā</i>).
	SyrHT 338	Unidentified, from Hudra J.
	SyrHT 363	Unidentified, possibly from Hudra J.
Hudra K	SyrHT 32	Unidentified, from Hudra K, joins with SyrHT 40, probably from the liturgical season of the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>).
	SyrHT 33	Liturgy from Hudra K for the Second Friday in an unspecified liturgical season, possibly Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>).
	SyrHT 37	Night Office from Hudra K for an unidentified Friday in one of the Lord's Festivals or Memorials of the Saints.
	SyrHT 40	Unidentified, from Hudra K, joins with SyrHT 32 and containing an anthem, probably from the liturgical season of the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>).
	SyrHT 131	Liturgy from Hudra K for an unidentified Sunday, possibly for Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>).
	SyrHT 179	Liturgy from Hudra K for a Night Office.
	SyrHT 188	Liturgy from Hudra K for the First Friday and First Sunday after the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 207	Liturgy from Hudra K from either the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>) or Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>).
	SyrHT 237	Unidentified, from Hudra K.
	SyrHT 244	Liturgy from Hudra K for the Second Friday in an unspecified liturgical season, possibly Epiphany (<i>Denḥā</i>).
	SyrHT 252	Unidentified, from Hudra K.
Hudra L	SyrHT 111	Liturgy from Hudra L for the 'Friday of Gold' (<i>'rubhā d-dahbhā</i>) and perhaps also the Fifth Sunday of the Apostles (<i>Ṣliḥe</i>).
	SyrHT 112	Liturgy from Hudra L for the 'Friday of Gold' (<i>'rubhā d-dahbhā</i>) and perhaps also Pentecost Sunday.

	SyrHT 149	Liturgy from Hudra L for Pentecost Sunday or one of the Sundays of the Apostles (<i>Šliḥe</i>).
Hudra M	SyrHT 58	Martyrs' Anthems (ܥܝܢܐ ܥܡܢܐ) from Hudra M.
	SyrHT 184	Martyrs' Anthems (ܥܝܢܐ ܥܡܢܐ) for Saturday Morning Prayer from Hudra M.
	SyrHT 213	Liturgy from Hudra M for the Feast of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>), joins with So 13033.
	SyrHT 374	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	SyrHT 375	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n319	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n336	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n341	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n439	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n453	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	n455	Unidentified, from Hudra M.
	So 13033	Liturgy from Hudra M for the Feast of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>), joins with SyrHT 213.
Hudra N	SyrHT 53	Liturgy from Hudra N, probably for the liturgical season of the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>) or the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 54	Liturgy from Hudra N, probably for Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 140	Liturgy from Hudra N for the Commemoration of Cyriacus and Julitta (15 Tammuz = July).
	SyrHT 141	Liturgy from Hudra N for the Commemoration of Cyriacus and Julitta (15 Tammuz = July).
	SyrHT 256	Liturgy from Hudra N for the Friday after Pentecost, also known as the 'Friday of Gold'.
	SyrHT 258	Liturgy from Hudra N for the Commemoration of St. George (23 Nisan = April).
	SyrHT 259	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 260	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 262	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 263	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 337	Liturgy from Hudra N, probably from the Commemoration of Mary, which follows Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	SyrHT 341	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 346	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	SyrHT 353	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
	n421	Liturgy from Hudra N, probably for the liturgical season of the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>) or the Nativity/Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>).
	n425	Unidentified, from Hudra N.
Hudra O	SyrHT 156	Liturgy from Hudra O, probably the Office for the Ninth Hour of Good Friday. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra. The fragment joins with SyrHT 215.

	SyrHT 215	Liturgy from Hudra O, probably for the Saturday following Good Friday. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra. The fragment joins with SyrHT 156.
Hudra P	SyrHT 51	Unidentified, from Hudra P.
	SyrHT 78	Two originally non-contiguous folios from Hudra P containing the Commemoration of St. George, including the date of 23 Nisan (= April) and a Commemoration of John the Baptist.
	SyrHT 127	Liturgy from Hudra P for either the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddaš 'Idta</i>) or the Consecration of an Altar (cf. SyrHT 290).
Hudra Q	SyrHT 385	Liturgy from Hudra Q, possibly for a Commemoration of the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	MIK III 111	Liturgy from Hudra Q for the Feast of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>).
Hudra R	SyrHT 80	Combination of the Martyrs' Anthem (ܐܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ) for Friday and the Commemoration of John the Baptist from Hudra R.
Hudra S	SyrHT 77	Compline service for the First Friday or the Fifth Sunday of Lent (<i>Šawmā Rbhā</i>) from Hudra S, joins with SyrHT 197.
	SyrHT 196 & 197	Two non-contiguous folios from Hudra S, comprising part of the liturgy for Tuesday in the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>) on SyrHT 196 and a Compline service for the First Friday or the Fifth Sunday of Lent (<i>Šawmā Rbhā</i>) on SyrHT 197, the latter joins with SyrHT 77.
	SyrHT 311	Unidentified, from Hudra S.
Hudra T	MIK III 109	Liturgy from Hudra T for Palm Sunday (<i>'Idā d-Awša'nā</i>), but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
Hudra U	SyrHT 210	Liturgy from Hudra U for Epiphany (<i>Denhā</i>), or one of the Sundays following it, but matching text is not found in either the printed Hudra ¹²¹ .
	SyrHT 356	Liturgy from Hudra U for the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, but matching text is not found in the printed Hudra or the <i>Breviarium Chaldaicum</i> .
Hudra V	SyrHT 38	Commemoration for an unidentified saint from Hudra V.
	SyrHT 137	Unidentified, from Hudra V.
	SyrHT 144	Unidentified, from Hudra V, perhaps from the Martyrs' Anthems (ܐܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ).
	SyrHT 238	Unidentified, from Hudra V.
	SyrHT 272	Unidentified, from Hudra V.
Hudra W	SyrHT 249	Liturgy from Hudra W for Palm Sunday (<i>'Idā d-Awša'nā</i>), which joins with SyrHT 254. Two marginal notes, one in Syriac and one in Sogdian, have been added in separate hands. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
	SyrHT 254	Liturgy from Hudra W for Palm Sunday (<i>'Idā d-Awša'nā</i>). It joins with SyrHT 249. A marginal note has been added in a separate hand. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.
Hudra X	SyrHT 243	Unidentified, from Hudra X.
	SyrHT 296	Liturgy from Hudra X for the Fourth Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>), that is the First Sunday of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>); joins with SyrHT 297.
	SyrHT 297	Liturgy from Hudra X for the Fourth Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>), that is the First Sunday of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>); joins with SyrHT 296.

¹²¹ As written by Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 209, this text is not found in either the printed Hudra or the Epiphany rite published by Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (1905).

Hudra Y	SyrHT 317	Liturgy from Hudra Y for an unspecified Sunday of either the Apostles (<i>Šliḥe</i>) or the Finding of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>); joins with SyrHT 318 and dislocated joins with SyrHT 319 and SyrHT 320.
	SyrHT 318	Liturgy from Hudra Y for an unspecified Sunday of either the Apostles (<i>Šliḥe</i>) or the Finding of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>); joins with SyrHT 318 and dislocated joins with SyrHT 319 and SyrHT 320.
	SyrHT 319	Liturgy from Hudra Y for an unspecified Sunday of either the Apostles (<i>Šliḥe</i>) or the Finding of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>). There are joins with SyrHT 318 and dislocated joins with SyrHT 319 and SyrHT 320.
	SyrHT 320	Liturgy from Hudra Y for an unspecified Sunday of either the Apostles (<i>Šliḥe</i>) or the Finding of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>); dislocated joins with SyrHT 317, SyrHT 318 and SyrHT 319.
Hudra Z	SyrHT 245	Liturgy from Hudra Z for the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>), the Nativity/ Christmas (<i>Beyt Yaldā</i>) or possibly one of the commemorations of the Virgin Mary.
Hudra AA	SyrHT 183	Liturgy from Hudra AA for the Second Sunday, Second Monday and Third Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>).
Hudra BB	SyrHT 189	Liturgy from Hudra BB for Monday of the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>).
Hudra CC	MIK III 45 (fragment 1)	Liturgy from Hudra CC for the sixth Sunday of Pentecost.
Hudra DD	SyrHT 89	Unidentified, probably from Hudra DD.
	SyrHT 133	Unidentified, from Hudra DD.
	SyrHT 147	Unidentified, probably from Hudra DD.
	SyrHT 306	Unidentified, from Hudra DD.
	SyrHT 376	Unidentified, from Hudra DD.
	SyrHT 384	Unidentified liturgical text from Hudra DD.
Hudra EE	SyrHT 132	Unidentified, from Hudra EE.
	SyrHT 205	Liturgy from Hudra EE for the Feast of the Resurrection/Easter Sunday (<i>Qyāmtā</i>) or one of the Sundays of the Resurrection.
	SyrHT 301	Unidentified, from Hudra EE.
	SyrHT 303	Liturgy from Hudra EE.
Taksa A	SyrHT 109	Pre-Anaphora prayer in the final part of the Order of the Eucharist (Rite of Addai and Mari) from Taksa A. It joins with SyrHT 194.
	SyrHT 110	Post-Eucharist prayer in the final part of the Order of the Eucharist (Rite of Addai and Mari) from Taksa A. It joins with SyrHT 195.
	SyrHT 194	Pre-Anaphora prayer in the final part of the Order of the Eucharist (Rite of Addai and Mari) from Taksa A. It joins with SyrHT 109.
	SyrHT 195	Post-Eucharist prayer in the final part of the Order of the Eucharist (Rite of Addai and Mari) from Taksa A. It joins with SyrHT 110.
Taksa B	SyrHT 186	Part of the burial service for a priest or bishop from Taksa B.
Taksa C	SyrHT 290	Rite for the consecration of liturgical vessels from Taksa C.
Hudra?	SyrHT 103	Unidentified liturgical fragment, probably for the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddaš 'Idta</i>).
Hudra?	SyrHT 104	Unidentified liturgical fragment, probably for the liturgical season of Ascension (<i>Sulāqā</i>). Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra.

Hudra?	SyrHT 166	Unidentified liturgical fragment for a penitential period, from perhaps the same folio as SyrHT 223. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra, either for the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>) or the Rogation of the Ninevites (<i>Bā'uthā d-Ninwāye</i>).
Hudra?	SyrHT 223	Unidentified liturgical fragment for a penitential period, from perhaps the same folio as SyrHT 166. Matching text is not found in the printed Hudra, either for the Rogation of the Virgins (<i>Bā'uthā da-Bhtulāthā</i>) or the Rogation of the Ninevites (<i>Bā'uthā d-Ninwāye</i>).
Taksa?	SyrHT 76	Unidentified liturgical fragment, possibly from a monastic profession.
Taksa?	SyrHT 202	Unidentified liturgical fragment, probably from a Taksa (possibly from a monastic profession).
Service book E9 (Syr-Sog)	n394	Vespers and Compline from an Office for Martyrs, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E9.
	n395	Responses of the Dawn Prayer and the Midday Prayer from the Common of Saints (recited on Wednesdays), with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E9.
Service book E10 (Syr-Sog)	n176	Liturgy for an Evening Office, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E10, including the incipit of Peshitta Psalm 28.
	n397	Liturgy, possibly for the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddas 'Idā</i>), with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E10.
Service book E11 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 3	Second prayer that opens the ferial Office of Morning Prayer, with faded rubrics (possibly including instructions to the priest in Sogdian), from bilingual service book E11.
	n296	Liturgy from Hudra X for the Fourth Sunday of Elijah (<i>Elia</i>), that is the First Sunday of the Cross (<i>Škhātā, Šlibā</i>). It joins with SyrHT 297.
Service book E12 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 66	Early East Syriac baptismal service, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E12.
	SyrHT 88	Early East Syriac baptismal service, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E12.
Service book E13 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 87	Night Office for bishops, priests and deacons, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian and New Persian, along with Syriac incipits of Peshitta Psalms 102, 115, 129, 13, 26, 88, 3, 102, 142, 128, 103 or 104, and 145, from bilingual service book E13. Matching text is not found in the printed Taksa.
Service book E14 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 83	Signing and breaking of the consecrated bread and wine in the Eucharistic Liturgy of Mar Addai and Mar Mari, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E14.
	SyrHT 84	Signing and breaking of the consecrated bread and wine in the Eucharistic Liturgy of Mar Addai and Mar Mari, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E14.
Service book E15 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 158	Unidentified daily office with reference to the Martyrs' Anthems (ܐܨܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܕܐܢ) and with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E15.
Service book E16 (Syr-Sog)	SyrHT 146	Mid-morning (third hour) Prayer from an office of commemoration for Wednesday, with instructions to the priest in Sogdian, from bilingual service book E16.

Prayers

Prayer-amulet A	SyrHT 114	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A, written for a recipient called Jonah, with references to Mark 2:10-11 and Isaiah 38:2-5.
	SyrHT 115	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A, written for a recipient called Jonah.
	SyrHT 116	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A mentioning divinations, incantations and sorceries, and with allusions to Psalm 68:2 and Exodus 17:5-7.
	SyrHT 117	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A, written for a recipient called Jonah.
	SyrHT 206	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A. It joins with SyrHT 235 and SyrHT 316 to form a complete folio.
	SyrHT 235	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A, which joins with SyrHT 206 and SyrHT 316 to form a complete folio.
	SyrHT 316	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A, joins with SyrHT 206 and SyrHT 235 to form a complete folio.
	SyrHT 334	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A. It may possibly be joined with SyrHT 335.
	SyrHT 335	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A. It may possibly be joined with SyrHT 334.
	SyrHT 344	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A.
	SyrHT 354	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A.
	n227	Fragment from the Anathema of Paradise from Prayer-amulet A.
	n234	Fragment from the Anathema of Paradise from Prayer-amulet A.
	n236	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A.
	n266	Fragment from the Anathema of Paradise from Prayer-amulet A.
	n320	Fragment from the Anathema of Paradise from Prayer-amulet A.
	n346	Fragment from Prayer-amulet A.
Prayer-amulet B	SyrHT 99	Fragment from Prayer-amulet B. It forms a dislocated join with 330.
	SyrHT 330	Fragment from Prayer-amulet B. It forms a dislocated join with 99.
Prayer-amulet C	SyrHT 102	Fragment from Prayer-amulet C, containing the Anathema of Mar Cyprian.
Prayer-amulet D	SyrHT 274	Fragment from Prayer-amulet D. It forms a dislocated join with SyrHT 275 and SyrHT 276.
	SyrHT 275	Fragment from Prayer-amulet D. It forms a dislocated join with SyrHT 274 and SyrHT 276.
	SyrHT 276	Fragment from Prayer-amulet D. It forms a dislocated join with SyrHT 274 and SyrHT 275.
Prayer-amulet E	SyrHT 152	Prayer-amulet E, consisting of a drawing of a cross and two words, disposed vertically on its sides.
Prayer-amulet F	n364	Three separate texts, including a prayer-amulet, on the same folio: 1. side (b) [recto], ll. 1-9 = part of Prayer-amulet F, forming a dislocated join with n365; 2. side (b), ll. 10-11 = a Sogdian text (or texts) added later; 3. side (b), ll. 12-18 = a separate Syriac text in a second hand; 4. side (a) [verso] = a Sogdian text (or texts) added later.
	n365	Part of Prayer-amulet F. It forms a dislocated join with n364.
Prayer-amulet G	SyrHT 279	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.
	SyrHT 280	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.

	SyrHT 281	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.
	SyrHT 282	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.
	SyrHT 283	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.
	SyrHT 284	Folio from Prayer-booklet G.
Prayer-amulet H	SyrHT 221	Prayer-booklet H, invoking God's blessing on an unnamed individual or individuals and his/their household, lands and property and on the church.
Prayer-amulet I	U 338	Prayer-booklet I, with four different texts: two Syriac texts (pages 3, 8-15) and two Uighur texts, one written in Syriac script (pages 1-2, 4-5, 20), the second in Uighur script (pages 6-7, 16-19). The Syriac text (pages 8-15) is the prayer of the imposition of hands from the East Syriac Euchologion recited before the dismissal of the catechumens.

Hagiography

Legend of Barshabba	SyrHT 45 & 46	Part of the Legend of Barshabba. Bifolium.
Legend of St. George	SyrHT 95	Part of the Legend of St. George, comprising a polemic between the saint and the pagan magician Athanasius ¹²² .
	SyrHT 359	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 360	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 361	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 362	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 364	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 365	Part of the Legend of St. George.
	SyrHT 381	Part of the Legend of St. George.

Miscellaneous

Calendrical tables & fragments	SyrHT 67	Fragment of a calendrical table to determine the beginning of Lent in any year. It possibly comes from the same original table as SyrHT 273 and shows a Sogdian calendrical calculation in Syriac script on the reverse.
	SyrHT 68	Fragment of a calendrical table to determine the beginning of Lent in any year. It shows three lines of Sogdian script on the reverse.
	SyrHT 69	Syriac calendrical fragment giving possible dates for the beginning of the liturgical seasons of the Hallowing of the Church (<i>Quddaš 'Idta</i>) and the Annunciation/Advent (<i>Subbārā</i>). The fragment shows a text in Sogdian script on the reverse mentioning several months in the Sogdian calendar.
	SyrHT 70	Syriac calendrical fragment with part of a list of months in reverse order at the bottom, with the number of days in each month.
	SyrHT 101	Syriac calendrical fragment with the name of the month Adar and the number of days in it.
	SyrHT 264	Unidentified, possibly calendrical, with a reference to the month of Former Teshri and the number of days in it.

¹²² The fragments SyrHT 95, SyrHT 360, SyrHT 361, SyrHT 362, SyrHT 364, SyrHT 365 and SyrHT 381 were dated by Maróth to the 10th or 11th centuries, based on palaeography.

	SyrHT 273	Calendrical table to determine the beginning of Lent in any year, possibly from the same original table as SyrHT 67.
	SyrHT 291	Syriac calendrical fragment, consisting of a list of months in reverse order with the number of days in each month.
	n354	Fragment of a calendrical table designed to determine the beginning of Lent in any year, with a Sogdian text in Syriac script on the reverse.
	So 15850	Unidentified, from a calendrical table that seems to have been left unfinished due to a scribal error, with Sogdian script on the reverse.
	U 3858	Calendrical fragment, consisting of a list of months in reverse order, with the number of days in each month and a text in Sogdian script on the reverse. This Sogdian text may also be calendrical.
Dialogue between Christian and Jew	SyrHT 19	Part of a polemical dialogue between a Christian and a Jew on the Trinity.
	SyrHT 94	Part of a polemical dialogue between a Christian and a Jew on Trinitarian issues, from the same manuscript as SyrHT 19.
Draft letter	SyrHT 2	SyrHT 2 (I), side (a) and SyrHT 2 (II), side (b) = draft letter to an unnamed Byzantine official with the incipit 'Peace to my lord so and so' ¹²³ .
List of names	SyrHT 161	List of names, featuring the heading ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ <i>scholars</i> and one Uighur name.
	SyrHT 355	List of names.
Pharmaceutical recipe book	SyrHT 1	Fragment of a pharmaceutical recipe book; it joins with SyrHT 388 ¹²⁴ .
	SyrHT 388	Fragment of a pharmaceutical recipe book; it joins with SyrHT 1.
Philosophical	SyrHT 255	Unidentified philosophical text forming a partial folio with n419, n417, SyrHT 285, n420 and n415, including a dislocated join with n415 and a possible join with SyrHT 285.
	SyrHT 285	Unidentified philosophical text forming a partial folio with n419, n417, n420, n415 and SyrHT 255, including dislocated joins with n419 and n417 and a possible join with SyrHT 255.
	SyrHT 389	Unidentified philosophical text.
	n415	Unidentified philosophical text; it forms a partial folio with n419, n417, SyrHT 285, n420 and SyrHT 255, including a join with n420 and dislocated joins with SyrHT 255 and possibly SyrHT 285.
	n417	Unidentified philosophical text; it forms a partial folio with n419, SyrHT 285, n420, n415 and SyrHT 255; it forms dislocated joins with n419 and SyrHT 285.
	n419	Unidentified philosophical text; it forms a partial folio with n417, SyrHT 285, n420, n415 and SyrHT 255.
	n420	Unidentified philosophical text; forms a partial folio with n419, n417, SyrHT 285, n415 and SyrHT 255.
Scribal exercises?	SyrHT 265	Unidentified Syriac text transcribed into Uighur script.
	SyrHT 321	Random jottings, possibly scribal exercises. This might be a calendrical calculation.
	SyrHT 322	Random jottings mentioning Peter and Paul, the Evangelist(s?) and (the Rogation of?) the Ninevites (<i>Bā'uthā d-Ninwāye</i>). This might be a calendrical calculation to mark upcoming days of liturgical importance.

¹²³ It was dated by Maróth to the 10th century, based on palaeography.

¹²⁴ It was dated by Maróth to the 9th or 10th century, on palaeographical considerations.

	SyrHT 323	Random jottings mentioning Peter and Paul and the splendor of the Lord. This might be a calendrical calculation to mark upcoming days of liturgical importance
	U 7252	Folio with miscellaneous texts: side (a) = 4 lines of Syriac (ll. 1-4) + 7 ½ lines of Uighur in Uighur script (ll. 5-12) + ½ line of Uighur in Syriac script (l. 12) side (b) oriented 90° to side (a) = 6 columns of numerals in Syriac and Sogdian (in Syriac script), possibly to help scribes make the correct correspondences between Syriac numerical letters and Sogdian ordinal numbers in various manuscripts.
Syriac texts in Uighur script	So 20131	Unidentified Syriac text transcribed into Uighur script.

SOGDIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

Bible – New Testament

Gospel Lectionary E5	E5/5 (n166)	Luke 1.44, 55-56: part of the Gospel for the Second Sunday of Advent.
	E5/6a-b (lost = n507* + n166 [part])	Luke 1.63-80 and Matthew 1.1: respectively end of the Gospel for the Third Sunday of Advent and beginning of the Gospel for the Fourth Sunday of Advent.
	E5/19 (n149)	John 1.19-35: end of the Gospel for the Second Sunday after Epiphany and beginning of the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Epiphany, with preceding Syriac rubric.
	E5/21a-b (n413d + lost)	John 1.51; 2.3-5; 2.9-11: part and end of the Gospel for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany and beginning of the Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany, with preceding Syriac rubric.
	E5/23 (n150)	John 3.18-21; 3.26-27: part of the Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany and part of the Gospel for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany.
	E5/28a-b (n151 + n409)	Matthew 5.30-33; 5.38-41: part of the Gospel for the First Monday of Lent and beginning of the Gospel for the First Tuesday of Lent.
	E5/34 (n152)	Luke 13.3-4 and Matthew 20.17-19: presumably part of the Gospel for the Second Friday of Lent and part of the Gospel for the Third Sunday of Lent.
	E5/38 (lost = n499*)	Matthew 21.28-43: part of the Gospel for the Fourth Sunday of Lent.
	E5/41 (lost = n500*)	John 5.24-40: part of the Gospel for the Fourth Tuesday of Lent.
	E5/48 (n153)	Luke 16.2-15 and John 9.39: respectively end of the Gospel for the Fifth Friday of Lent and beginning of the Gospel for the Sixth Sunday of Lent.
	E5/51 (n154)	Matthew 24.24-26; 24.32-33: part of the Gospel for the Sixth Friday of Lent.
	E5/65 (lost)	Matthew 27.54(?), 57; 27.64-65: part of the Gospel for Good Friday and part of the Gospel for Easter Saturday or for the evening of Good Friday.
	E5/72 (n156)	Luke 24.19-32: part of the Gospel for the Tuesday after Easter.
	E5/73 (n157)	Luke 24.32-35 and John 15.18-20: respectively part of the Gospel for the Tuesday after Easter and part of the Gospel for the Wednesday after Easter.
	E5/75-76 (n158[part] + n413a1 + n158 [part] + n413a2)	Matthew 10.14-15; 10.16-26; 10.19-20, 10.27-33 and John 20.19-25: end of the Gospel for the Thursday after Easter, beginning, part and end of the

		Gospel for the Friday after Easter and beginning and part of the Gospel for the First Sunday after Easter.
E5/78 (n413b)		John 14.11-12; 16.19: respectively part of the Gospel for the Second Sunday after Easter and part of the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Easter.
E5/79 (lost – n502*)		John 16.19-32: part of the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Easter.
E5/80 (lost – n503*)		John 16.32-33; 21.1; 21.5-7: respectively end of the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Easter and beginning of the Gospel for the Fourth Sunday after Easter.
E5/83a-b (n159b + lost)		John 17.24-6, end of the Gospel for the 5 th Sunday after Easter; Luke 24.36-47, beginning of the Gospel for Ascension Day, including the opening words in Syriac.
E5/91 (n162)		Luke 10.34-42; 6.12-17: respectively end of the Gospel for the Second Sunday after Pentecost and beginning of the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Pentecost.
E5/100-101 (n160 + n161)		John 9.9-38: part of the Gospel for the Third Sunday of Summer, i.e, the Ninth Sunday after Pentecost.
E5/109 (n163)		Matthew 13.17-19; 13.24-25: respectively part of the Gospel for the Second Sunday of Elijah, e.g., the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost and beginning of the Gospel for the Third Sunday of Elijah, e.g., the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost.
E5/125-126 (lost – n505* + lost – n506*)		Luke 19.15-27 and Matthew 25.31-33: respectively end of a Gospel for a saint's day and beginning of the Gospel for the commemoration of Saint Barshabbā.
E5/127a-c (n164 [part] + n164 [part] + n167 [part])		Matthew 25.45-46; 16.24-28; 17.1-6: end of the Gospel for the commemoration of Saint Barshabbā and beginning of the Gospel for the commemoration of Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus.
E5/130a-b (n165 + n413c)		Luke 12.35-39; 12.42-44 and John 5.19: end of the Gospel for an unidentified day and part of the Gospel for All Saint's Day or probably for the day of Commemoration of the Dead ¹²⁵ .

Liturgy (see above Service-Books), Hymns and Prayers

E17	MIK III 59 (So 12601)	End of a hymn and beginning of the Nicene Creed. All of the text is in Sogdian script, except from the title of the Creed in Sogdian in Syriac script included in R12.
E18	E18a-d (n192 [part] + n192 [part] + n192 [part] + n192 [part])	Gloria in excelsis Deo: Sogdian translation of the hymn “Gloria in excelsis Deo” on verso side; Chinese text on recto side.
E19	E19a-c (n457 + n456 + n428)	Prayer, in Sogdian apart from a Syriac sentence in V/5-6.
E20	E20 (n289)	Prayers.
E21	E21 (n348)	Prayer. The shape of the fragment suggests that it may have been intended to act as padding for the sole of a shoe. One side on the fragment is in Syriac script, the other in Sogdian script.
E22	E22 (n221)	Prayer invoking a blessing on the persons named in lines 4-7.

¹²⁵ See Barbati 2016, p. 47.

Hagiography, Homilies and General Christian Literature

E23	E23/1 (n11)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/2 (n9 [part])	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/3+6 (n6)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/4+5a (lost)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/5b (n10)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/7 (n9 [part])	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/8 (n1)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/9 (n2)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/10 (n3)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/11 (n4)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/12 (n5)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/13 (n7)	Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/14 (n345)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/15 (lost)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/16 (lost)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/17 (n347)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/18 (n8)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/19 (n471)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
	E23/20 (n316)	Presumably part of the Martyrdom of St. George.
E24	E24/1 (n181)	End of an unidentified hagiographical text and beginning of the legend of the Invention of the Cross, including the title in Syriac and Sogdian (R11-V12).
	E24/2a-b (n179 + n188)	Legend of the Invention of the Cross.
	E24/3 (n184)	Legend of the Invention of the Cross.
	E24/4 (n185)	Legend of the Invention of the Cross.
	E24/5 (n183)	Legend of the Invention of the Cross.
	E24/6 (n182)	Martyrdom of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus.
	E24/7 (n180)	Legend of St. Barshabbā.
	E24/8 (n186)	Legend of St. Barshabbā.
	E24/9-10 (MIK III 44 [part] + MIK III [part])	Legend of St. Barshabbā.
	E24/11 (n189)	Legend of St. Barshabbā.
	E24/12 (n187)	Unidentified.
E25	E25/1a-b (lost)	Life of St. Serapion.
	E25/2 (284a)	Unidentified.
	E25/3 (n284b)	Unidentified.

Miscellany

E26	E26/1 (n146)	Admonitions addressed to a (spiritual) son.
	E26/2 (n147)	Homily on the transitoriness of earthly things.
	E26/3 (n145)	Polemic against the Manicheans.
	E26/4 (lost)	Unknown.
	E26/5a-b (lost + lost)	Possibly the conclusion of the anti-Manichean found in E26/3 and beginning of a text interpreting natural phenomena such as thunder, earthquakes and rainbows as omens according to the month in which they occur.
	E26/6 (n126)	Continuation of the omen text begun in E26/5.
	E26/7 (n132)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/8 (n93)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/9 (n88)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/10 (n125)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/11 (n96)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/12 (n87)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/13 (n89)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/14 (n99)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/15a-b (n98 + n102)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/15c (n97)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/16 (n94 + n95)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/17 (n101)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/18 (n103)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/19 (n100)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/20 (n105)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/21 (n106)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/22 (n104)	Life of John of Dailam.
	E26/23 (n107)	Conclusion of the life of John of Dailam and colophon by the copyist Solomon. Beginning of the Life of Serapion.
	E26/24a-b (n137 + n108)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/25 (n109)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/26a-b (n124 + n110)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/27a-c (n111 [part] + lost + n131)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/27d (n90)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/27e (n129)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/28a-g (n112 + n111 [part] + n111 [part] + lost + n127 + n130a + n114)	Life of Serapion.

	E26/29 (n115)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/30 (n116)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/31 (n123)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/32a (n117)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/32b (n118)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/32c (n119)	Life of Serapion.
	E26/33 (n130b)	Unidentified.
	E26/34 (n410)	Unidentified.
	E26/35 (n128)	Unidentified.
	E26/36 (n408)	Unidentified.
	E26/37 (n133)	Unidentified.
	E26/38 (n134)	Unidentified.
	E26/39 (n135)	Unidentified.
	E26/40 (n136)	Unidentified.
	E26/41 (n138)	Unidentified.
	E26/42 (n139)	Unidentified.
	E26/43 (n140)	Unidentified.
	E26/44 (n141)	Unidentified.
	E26/45 (n142)	Unidentified.
	E26/46 (n143)	Unidentified.
	E26/47 (n144a)	Unidentified.
	E26/48 (n144b)	Unidentified.
	E26/49 (n144c)	Unidentified.
	E26/50 (n144d)	Unidentified.
	E26/51 (lost)	Unidentified.
E27	E27/1a-d (n69 + lost + n70 + n71 + n72)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/3a-b (n481.2/MIK III 67 + n12)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/4 (n13)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/5a-b (n25 + n26)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/6a-b (n15 + n480.1/MIK III 66)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/7a (n480.2/MIK III 66)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/7b (n480.4 + n480.3/MIK III 66)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/7c (n29 [upper part])	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/7d (n27)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.

E27/7e (n28)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/7f (n29 [lower part])	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/11a-b (n17 + n18)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/12a-c (n479/MIK III 65 + n74 + n73)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/13 (n486/MIK III 72)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/14a-b (n75 + n76)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/17 (n19)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/19 (n14)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/22 (n482/MIK III 68)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/23a-b (n483/MIK III 69 + n16)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/24a-b (n23 + n480/MIK III 66)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/25a (n78)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/25b (n77)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/25c (n80)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/25d + 26b (n81)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/26a (n79)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/27 (n21)	Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
E27/31 (lost)	Unidentified homily on the three periods of the solitary life.
E27/39 (n24)	Dādišo' Qaṭrāyā's Commentary on the Fifteenth Homily of Ābba Isaiah.
E27/40a-c (n496/MIK III 82 + n22 + lost)	Dādišo' Qaṭrāyā's Commentary on the Fifteenth Homily of Ābba Isaiah.
E27/48a-b (n20 + n478/MIK III 73)	Dādišo' Qaṭrāyā's Commentary on the Fifteenth Homily of Ābba Isaiah and beginning of a metrical homily (memrā) by Bābai the Less (i.e. Bābai of Nisibis) "On the final evil hour", the first verse of which (R26-8) is cited in Syriac.
E27/51a-d (lost + n82 + n494/MIK III 80 + n83)	Part of the homily by Bābai of Nisibis "On the final evil hour".
E27/52 (n34)	Perhaps part of the homily by Bābai of Nisibis "On the final evil hour".
E27/53 (n495/MIK III 81)	Uncertain, perhaps part of the homily by Bābai of Nisibis "On the final evil hour".
E27/54 (n490/MIK III 76)	end of the homily by Bābai of Nisibis "On the final evil hour".
E27/55a (n491a + n491b/MIK III 77)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles.
E27/55b (lost)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles.
E27/56a (n84)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles.

E27/56b (n492/ MIK III 78)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles.
E27/56c (n491/ MIK III 77)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles.
E27/56d (n85)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles on the R, Commentary on the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies entitles "Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church".
E27/56e (n86)	Apostolic Canons, with appendices on ecclesiastical titles and on the fates of the Apostles on the R, Commentary on the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies entitles "Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church" on the V.
E27/57a-b (n35 + lost)	Commentary on the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies entitled "Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church" and beginning of an unidentified homily "On the divine Mercy to Creation".
E27/60 (n489/ MIK III 75)	Citation from Exodus 32.4 as the conclusion of an unidentified text, perhaps the homily "On the divine Mercy to Creation"; excerpts "from the Sayings of the Old Men", i.e. from the Apophthegmata Patrum.
E27/61 (n493/ MIK III 79)	Questions and answers from the Apophthegmata Patrum.
E27/64 (n37)	End of an unidentified text; Persian martyrs under Shapur II, Martyrdom of St. Shahdost.
E27/65 (n33)	Persian martyrs under Shapur II, Martyrdom of St. Shahdost on the R; Martyrdom of St. Tarbo on the V.
E27/66 (n484/ MIK III 70)	Persian martyrs under Shapur II, Martyrdom of St. Tarbo.
E27/68 (n32)	Persian martyrs under Shapur II, Martyrdom of the 120 Martyrs and Martyrdom of St. Barba'smin.
E27/69a-c (n478/MIK III 64 + lost + n31)	Persian martyrs under Shapur II, Martyrdom of St. Barba'smin.
E27/77 (n30)	Legend of the Sleepers of Ephesus.
E27/83 (n38)	Martyrdom of St. Eustathius.
E27/86 (n39)	Martyrdom of St. Eustathius.
E27/87a-b (n485/MIK III 71 + n40)	Martyrdom of St. Eustathius.
E27/91 (n488/ MIK III 74)	Martyrdom of St. Eustathius and beginning of Abbā Isaiah's homily "On humility".
E27/94a-b (lost + lost)	End of the so-called Sixth Letter of Macarius the Egyptian and beginning of the Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
E27/102a-b (n474/ MIK III 60 + n41)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
E27/104 (n475/MIK III 61)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
E27/105 (n476/MIK III 62)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
E27/108 (lost)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
E27/111 (n42)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.

	E27/120 (n477/MIK III 63)	Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus, Syriac heading to the Martyrdom of St. Pethion and beginning of the same text in Sogdian.
	E27/121 (n46)	Probably part of the Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/122 (n47)	Probably part of the Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/123 (n48)	Probably part of the Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/124 (n49)	Probably part of the Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/125 (n50)	Probably part of the Martyrdom of St. Pethion.
	E27/126 (n51)	Probably part of the homily “On the divine mercy to Creation”.
	E27/127 (n36)	Apophthegmata Patrum (?).
	E27/128 (n52)	Uncertain, perhaps part of the metrical homily by Bābay of Nisibis “On the final evil hour”.
	E27/129 (n53)	Unidentified.
	E27/130 (n45)	Unidentified.
	E27/131 (n481.1/MIK III 67)	Unidentified.
	E27/132 (n43)	Possibly from the Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
	E27/133 (n54)	Unidentified.
	E27/134 (n55)	Uncertain, possibly from the Antirrheticus of Evagrius Ponticus.
	E27/135 (n56)	Unidentified.
	E27/136 (n57)	Unidentified.
	E27/137 (n58)	Unidentified.
	E27/138 (n59)	Unidentified.
	E27/139 (n60)	Unidentified.
	E27/140 (n61)	Unidentified.
	E27/141 (n62)	Unidentified.
	E27/142 (n44)	Unidentified.
	E27/143 (n63)	Unidentified.
	E27/144 (n64)	Unidentified.
	E27/145 (n65)	Unidentified.
	E27/146 (n66)	Unidentified.
	E27/147 (n67)	Unidentified.
	E27/148 (n68)	Unidentified.
E28	E28/1+2 (n148 [part] + n148 [part])	End of an unidentified text, selected sayings of Šemʿon d-Ṭaibuteh.
	E28/3 (n209)	Unidentified.
	E28/4a-b (n460 + 241)	Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyāʿs Commentary on the Fourteenth Homily of Ābba Isaiah.
	E28/5a-b (n461 + n237 + n238 + n436)	Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyāʿs Commentary on the Second Homily of Ābba Isaiah.
	E28/6 + 7a (n251)	Unidentified + Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyāʿs Commentary on the Second Homily of Ābba Isaiah.

E28/7b (n293)	Unidentified + Dādišo‘ Qaṭrāyā’s Commentary on the Second Homily of Ābba Isaiah.
E28/8a-c (n254 + n385 + n208)	Dādišo‘ Qaṭrāyā’s Commentary on the Second Homily of Ābba Isaiah and Dādišo‘ Qaṭrāyā’s Commentary on the “Paradise of the Fathers”.
E28/9a-c (n443 + n167 + n426)	History of Mār Awgen.
E28/10a (n235)	Probably part of the History of Mār Awgen.
E28/10b-c (n368 + n169)	History of Mār Awgen.
E28/11a-d (n434 + n375 + n210 + n307)	Admonitions to a spiritual son on the ascetic life.
E28/12 (lost = n529*)	On the ascetic life.
E28/13 (n291)	On the ascetic life.
E28/14 (n211)	Unidentified text on the ascetic life.
E28/15a-d (n451 + n279 + n464 + n269)	Unidentified.
E28/16 (n168)	On the ascetic life.
E28/17 (n382)	Exhortations on the transitoriness of earthly things, possibly from a work of John Chrysostom.
E28/18 (n290)	Admonitions from a father to his (spiritual?) son on the ascetic life.
E28/19a-b (n459 + n367)	On the ascetic life.
E28/20a-d (n366 + n369 + n412 + n207)	On Christian love.
E28/21a-c (n470 + n252 + n268)	On the ascetic life.
E28/22a-b (n305 + n435)	From a homily?
E28/23 (MIK III 52)	Poem in couplets on Christian patience.
E28/24a-d (n282 + n448 + n225 + n406)	On the ascetic life.
E28/25 (n469)	On Christian virtues.
E28/26a-b (n452 + n400)	Perhaps belonging to the same text as E28/25 and/or E28/24.
E28/27a (n174)	Unidentified + Title and opening words of the Martyrdom of Tarbo and presumably its continuation.
E28/27b (n373)	Martyrdom of Tarbo.
E28/28 (n170)	Unidentified.
E28/29 (n171)	Unidentified.
E28/30 (n172)	Unidentified.
E28/31 (n173)	Unidentified.
E28/32 (n191)	Unidentified.
E28/33 (n363)	Unidentified.

E28/34 (n370)	Unidentified.
E28/35 (n371)	Unidentified.
E28/36 (n372)	Homily?
E28/37 (n374b)	Unidentified.
E28/38a-b (n374a + SyrHT 105)	On the ascetic life?
E28/39 (n383)	Unidentified.
E28/40 (n384)	Unidentified.
E28/41 (n386)	On the ascetic life?
E28/42 (n387)	Unidentified.
E28/43 (n388)	Unidentified.
E28/44 (n393 + n403)	Unidentified text citing examples from the historical books of the Old Testament.
E28/45 (n389)	Unidentified.
E28/46 (n390)	Unidentified.
E28/47 (n391)	Unidentified.
E28/48 (n232)	Unidentified.
E28/49 (n226)	Unidentified.
E28/50 (n228)	Unidentified.
E28/51 (n229)	Unidentified.
E28/52a-b (n242 + n230)	Unidentified on the ascetic life.
E28/53 (n231)	Unidentified.
E28/54 (n233)	Unidentified.
E28/55 (n402)	Unidentified.
E28/56 (n407)	Unidentified.
E28/57 (n414)	Unidentified.
E28/58a-b (n422b + n422a)	Unidentified.
E28/59 (n423)	Unidentified.
E28/60 (n424)	Unidentified.
E28/61 (n431)	Unidentified.
E28/62 (n432)	Unidentified.
E28/63 (n429)	Unidentified.
E28/64 (n430)	Unidentified.
E28/65a-b (n323 + n433)	End of an unidentified text, beginning of a homily on the solitary life and two stories concerning Abbā Apellen.
E28/66 (n239)	On the ascetic life.
E28/67 (n240)	Unidentified.

E28/68a-b (n441 + n440)	Admonitions?
E28/69a-b (n248 + n442)	Unidentified.
E28/70 (n445)	Unidentified.
E28/71 (n447)	Unidentified.
E28/72 (n444)	Unidentified.
E28/73 (n247)	Unidentified.
E28/74 (n249)	On “the effectiveness of night vigils”.
E28/75 (n215)	On “the victoriousness of the holy fathers, the anchorites”.
E28/76 (n250)	Unidentified.
E28/77a-b (n253 + n304)	On the ascetic life?
E28/78 (n255)	Unidentified.
E28/79 (n256)	Unidentified.
E28/80 (n257)	Unidentified.
E28/81 (n258)	Unidentified.
E28/82 (n259)	Unidentified.
E28/83 (n260)	Unidentified.
E28/84 (n261)	Unidentified.
E28/85a-b (n343 + n262)	Unidentified text on the ascetic life.
E28/86 (n263)	Unidentified.
E28/87 (n264)	Unidentified.
E28/88 (n265)	Unidentified.
E28/89 (n267)	Unidentified.
E28/90 (n270)	Unidentified.
E28/91 (n271)	Unidentified.
E28/92 (n272)	Unidentified.
E28/93a-b (n278 + n273)	Unidentified.
E28/94 (n274)	Unidentified.
E28/95 (n275)	Unidentified.
E28/96 (n276)	Unidentified.
E28/97 (n277)	Unidentified.
E28/98 (n280)	Unclear, then beginning of a “discourse on the prayers of the seven (canonical) hours” on the R; Unidentified text on the V, possibly a continuation of that on R about a nun who ate only once a week.
E28/99 (n281)	Unidentified.
E28/100 (n283)	Unidentified.

	E28/101+102 (n285)	Unidentified.
	E28/103 (n286)	Unidentified.
	E28/104 (n287)	Unidentified.
	E28/105 (n458)	Unidentified.
	E28/106 (n339)	Unidentified.
	E28/107 (n338)	Unidentified.
	E28/108 (n337)	Unidentified.
	E28/109 (n335)	Unidentified on the R; maybe beginning of a homily “On love” or “On the importance of love”.
	E28/110 (n340)	Unidentified.
	E28/111 (n292)	On the ascetic life.
	E28/112 (n297)	Unidentified.
	E28/113 (n294)	Unidentified.
	E28/114 (n155)	On the ascetic life.
	E28/115 (n472)	Unidentified.
	E28/116 (n473)	Unidentified.
	E28/117 (n309)	Unidentified.
	E28/118 (n308)	On the ascetic life.
	E28/119 (n313)	Unidentified.
	E28/120 (n315)	Unidentified.
	E28/121 (n326)	Unidentified.
	E28/122 (n334)	Unidentified.
	E28/123 (n332)	Unidentified.
	E28/124 (n331)	Unidentified.
	E28/125 (n463)	Unidentified.
	E28/126 (n468)	Unidentified.
	E28/127 (n465)	Unidentified.
	E28/128a-b (n466 + n467)	From a commentary?
	E28/129 (n449)	Unidentified.
	E28/130 (n450)	Unidentified.
	E28/131 (n454)	Unidentified.
E29	E29/1-2 (lost)	Homiletic text which cites the stories of Moses and David and quotes the Ten Commandments and Psalm 2.7-8.
	E29/3a-b (n193 + n194)	Story of Daniel, the R corresponding approximately to the biblical book of Daniel.
	E29/4 (n195)	Story of Daniel, corresponding approximately to the biblical book of Daniel, 2.37ff., and to the story of Bel and the Dragon in the Apocrypha.
	E29/5 (n196)	Homily on fasting.

	E29/6 (n197)	An encounter between Simon Peter and Simon Magus, only distantly related to the corresponding episode in the Acts of Peter.
	E29/7 (n199)	Text concerning the Apostles.
	E29/8 (n198)	Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julitta ¹²⁶ .
E30	E30/1-2 (n220)	Dormition of Mary.
	E30/3-4 (n219)	Wisdom of Ahiqar.
	E30/5 (n217)	Wisdom of Ahiqar.
	E30/6a-b (n216 + n218)	Wisdom of Ahiqar.

Homily

E31	E31a-i (n355 + n359 + n357 + n358 + n362 + n361 + n360 + n356a + n356b)	Homily on the ascetic life (nine fragments which can in theory be joined).
E32	E32/1a-d (n377 + n381 + n378 + n380)	Homily?
	E32/1e+2b (n379)	Homily?
	E32/2a (n376)	Homily?
E33	E33 (n302)	Unclear, perhaps a homily.
E34	E34/a-b (n365 + n364)	Syriac prayer-amulet (R1-9); unidentified Sogdian text (R10-11); unidentified Syriac text (R12-18); Unidentified Sogdian text, perhaps a homily on the Cross on the V.
E35	E35/1 (n299)	Unclear, a homily or perhaps a poem.
	E35/2 (n298)	Unclear, a homily or perhaps a poem.

Riddles on biblical subjects

E36	E36/1 (n349)	Riddles on biblical subjects.
	E36/2a-b (n350 + n353)	Riddles on biblical subjects.
	E36/3+4 (n351)	Riddles on biblical subjects.
	E36/5 (n352)	Unidentified.

Miscellaneous, secular and indeterminate texts

E37	E37/1 (M 7340)	New Persian pharmacological text with some Syriac words.
	E37/2 (n175)	New Persian pharmacological text with some Syriac words.
E38	E38 (n303)	Pharmacological text.
E39	E39 (SyrHT 343)	Uncertain, possibly a pharmacological text.

¹²⁶ It corresponds to Bedjan, AMS III, 255-6, but in a different recension.

Calendrical texts

E40	E40 (n295)	Calendrical texts.
E41	E41 (n288)	Explanation of the procedure for consulting a calendar table.
E42	E42 (n354)	Part of a table of Syriac numerical letters for finding the date of the beginning of Lent (A1-9); Unclear text in Manichean script (A10); Calendrical text concerning the dates of Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost on V.
E43	E43 (SyrHT 67)	Part of a table of Syriac numerical letters for finding the date of the beginning of Lent on R; Calendrical calculation or colophon on V.

Notes written on Syriac liturgical books

E44	E44 (MIK III 45, f. 37)	Casual jotting.
E45	E45 (SyrHT 122)	Scribal note.
E46	E46 (SyrHT 249)	Syriac text, perhaps a liturgy for Palm Sunday (R1-V7); Sogdian translation of the beginning of the Syriac phrase in the side margin (V8).

List of numerals

E47	E47 (U 7252)	List of numerals in Syriac and Sogdian (R, columns 1 and 3); various texts in Syriac and Uygur (rest of R and V).
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Miscellaneous unidentified fragments

E48	E48 (U 6090)	Unclear.
E49	E49 (n374c)	Unclear.
E51	E51 (lost)	Unclear.
E52	E52 (lost)	Unclear.
E53	E53 (So 14468)	Unclear (the language is probably Sogdian rather than Syriac). ¹²⁷
E55	E55 (n437)	Unclear.
E56	E56 (n427)	Unidentified.
E57	E57 (n404 + n405)	Uncertain.

¹²⁷ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 194.

BILINGUAL

Lectionary or gospel E1 (Syr-Sog)	E1/1a (n177)	Matthew 1:5-7, from a bilingual Syriac-Sogdian text of the four gospels or a bilingual lectionary (E1). It forms a dislocated join with n178. Side (b) is blank.
	E1/1b (n178)	Matthew 1:10-13, from a bilingual Syriac-Sogdian text of the four gospels or a bilingual lectionary (E1); side (a). It forms a dislocated join with n177. Side (b) contains a text in Arabic script.
	E1/2 (n213)	Matthew 6:20-23, 29-32 from a bilingual Syriac-Sogdian text of the four gospels or a bilingual lectionary (E1): side (b) = Matthew 6:20-23; side (a) = Matthew 6:29-32.
Lectionary E2 (Syr-Sog)	E2/1 (n214)	John 14:28-30; 16:4-7, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E2: side (a) = John 14:28-30; side (b) = John 16:4-7.
	E2/2b (n223)	Matthew 19:10-11, 17-18, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E2: side (a) = Matthew 19:10-11; side (b) = Matthew 19: 17-18.
	E2/2a (n224)	Matthew 19:10-11, 17-18, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E2: side (a) = Matthew 19:10-11; side (b) = Matthew 19: 17-18.
Lectionary E3 (Syr-Sog)	n190	Luke 2:10-20 and Matthew 2:1-3, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E3: side (a) = Luke 2:10-16; side (b) = Luke 2:17-20; Matthew 2:1-3.
Lectionary E4 (Syr-Sog)	n212	Luke 1:1-4, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E4.
Lectionary E6 (Syr-Sog)	E6/5 (n200)	Titus 3:2-7 and Romans 11:13-15, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (a) = Titus 3:2-5; side (b) = Titus 3:6-7; Romans 11:13-15.
	E6/3 (n201)	Galatians 3:25-4:6, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (a) = Galatians 3:25-4:1; side (b) = Galatians 4:1-6.
	n202	Romans 11:18-20, 22-23, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (a) = Romans 11:18-20; side (b) = Romans 11: 22-23.
	E6/7b (n203)	I Corinthians 5:7-8; 11:23-25, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (b) = I Corinthians 5:7-8; 11:23; side (a) = I Corinthians 11:24-25.
	E6/12 (n204)	I Corinthians 1:24-25, 27-28, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (a) = I Corinthians 1:24-25; side (b) = I Corinthians 1: 27-28.
	E6/20a (n205)	I Corinthians 12:13-15, 17-19, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6. It joins with fragments n206 and n411. Side (a) = I Corinthians 12:13-15; side (b) = I Corinthians 12:17-19.
	E6/20c (n206)	Corinthians 12:15-17, 20-21, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6. It joins with fragments n205 and n411. Side (a) = I Corinthians 12:15-17; side (b) = I Corinthians 12:20-21.
	E6/20b (n411)	I Corinthians 12:13-14, 17, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (a) = I Corinthians 12:13-14; side (b) = I Corinthians 12:17.
	E6/18 (n398)	Timothy 2:9-10, 14-15, from bilingual Syriac-Sogdian lectionary E6: side (b) = I Timothy 2:9-10; side (a) = I Timothy 2: 14-15.
E50 (bilingual?)	E50 (n322)	Unclear, the text on one side appears to be Syriac and that of the other side Sogdian.
E54 (bilingual?)	E54 (n222)	Unclear, maybe from a manuscript intended for liturgical use, perhaps a bilingual lectionary.

II.1 PRESENCE OF FORMS BELONGING TO DIFFERENT SYRIAC SCRIPTS

The Syriac script of the fragments examined can be considered closer to cursive graphic forms. What emerges is the lack of attestation of the Syriac script monumental *eṣṭrangēlā*¹²⁸ in favor of the use of cursive forms.

The only exception is partly represented by the fragment of manuscript MIK III 110¹²⁹ (Psalter M), in which it is possible to detect some features that usually distinguish the monumental *eṣṭrangēlā* writing: the only example of open *he* within the Turfan corpus (e.g., MIK III 110/side (a)/3 ) , the realization of the letters *āalph*, *gāmal*, *wāw* (sometimes also open *wāw*) and *mīm* (e.g., MIK III 110/ side (a)/3 ; e.g., MIK III 110/side (b)/2 ; e.g., MIK III 110/side (b)/1 ; e.g., MIK III 110/side (a)/4 ). However, alongside these features, realizations of letters such as *dālath*, final *kāph*, *pē*, *rēsh* and *taw*, which are more cursive, have been detected (e.g., MIK III 110/side (a)/2 ; e.g., MIK III 110/side (a)/3 ; e.g., MIK III 110/side (b)/3 .

What is described above thus shows, on the one hand, cursive in use more in western than in eastern Syrian communities in eighth to tenth-century Mesopotamia and, on the other hand, the lack of monumental graphic type and a predilection for cursive scripts attested by the Christian Syriac and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script in the *Berlin Turfan Collection*.

In addition, graphic forms related to not one, but several Syriac scripts, especially cursive, were detected in the same fragment.

Such coexistence of distinct Syriac scripts in the same manuscript is not an isolated factor found only in Turfan. In fact, in Syriac manuscripts from the original regions of Syriac culture, it is common to find in the same codex, sometimes in the same *folio*, letters of different Syriac scripts. Perhaps the most frequent example of this phenomenon is the presence in the same *folio* of the graphic type *eṣṭrangēlā* and of the vertical cursive type (*serṭā* and Syro-oriental) for *āalph*, as in *folio* 108, of the codex London, British Library, Add. MS.12152 ( and ) (Antioch area, 837)¹³⁰. Other cases may involve the juxtaposition of the angular form of *dālath* with a more cursive graphic form on the same page, as in *folio* 58 of the codex London, British Library, Add. MS. 17170 ( and ) (Edessa, 774 or 775)¹³¹.

Nevertheless, the coexistence of letter forms of different Syriac scripts in the same fragment seems to play a greater role in the documentation found at Turfan. Consider, for example, the Hudra C manuscript and in particular the fragment SyrHT 65. In this fragment it is possible to note that the realizations of the letter *dālath* and, in most cases, of *āalph* are close to the corresponding forms *eṣṭrangēlā* (), while those of final *kāph*, *mīm*, *rēsh* and *taw* are more reminiscent of the graphic forms of Western *serṭā* (   ) and that of *gāmal* the corresponding East-Syriac form (). In the same fragment there are also two different forms for the letter *āalph*: the three-stroke one, close to the *eṣṭrangēlā* type, and the vertical one, typical of the cursive Western *serṭā* (; e.g., SyrHT 65/side (a)/9).

Among the Syriac liturgical manuscripts from Turfan there are other cases, such as Hudra F and Hudra L,

¹²⁸ With 'monumental *eṣṭrangēlā* writing' I refer to the *eṣṭrangēlā A as codified by Moller (1988)*. As explained by Moller *eṣṭrangēlā A* script shows angular *dālath* and angular *rēsh*, open *hē*, open *wāw*, open *mīm* and unconnected *semkāth*.

¹²⁹ The signatures found in this book follow the system adopted by the catalogue of Syriac manuscripts from the Berlin Turfan Collection by Hunter and Dickens (2014) and by the IDP database (<http://idp.bbaw.de>; last accessed 07/2023) for the Syriac fragments in Syriac script. The Sogdian fragments in Syriac script will be indicated using the double signature adopted by Sims-Williams (2012); I will report firstly the signature in which each number is preceded by a lower-case n (= 'nestorianisch'), which is the same followed by the IDP database (<https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>; last accessed 07/2023), and the new classification adopted by Sims-Williams, which uses a capital E (= '[Church of the] East') followed by a number from 1 to 57. See Sims-Williams 2012, p. 16. As anticipated at the beginning of this book, this work refers to *recto* and *verso* with 'side (a)' and 'side (b)', for what concerns Syriac fragments in Syriac script, and 'R' and 'V', for Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, following the use of respectively Hunter and Dickens (2014) and Sims-Williams (2012).

¹³⁰ See Hatch 1946, Plate LXVI, p. 117.

¹³¹ Hatch 1946, Plate LVII, p. 108.

in which the same coexistence of graphic forms inherent in distinct Syriac scripts is manifested.

In the SyrHT 81-82 *bifolium* (Hudra F), the graphic forms used by the scribe are the three-stroke (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/1 ) and vertical (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/3 ) ones for *ālaph*, the East-Syriac type for *gāmal* (e.g., SyrHT 81/side (a)/8 ) and final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/2 ) with the exception of SyrHT 82/side (a)/1 where the scribe uses Western *serṭā* , Western *serṭā* type for *ṣāde* (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/2 ) and *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/4 

The fragment SyrHT 111 (Hudra L), in addition to the double realization of *ālaph* (three-stroke and vertical), shows a triple rendering of *dālath* and *rēsh* (angular as in *eṣṭrangēlā* A: e.g., SyrHT 111/side (a)/2 ) and SyrHT 111/side (a)/3 ) rounded as in *eṣṭrangēlā* B and Western *serṭā*: e.g., SyrHT 111/side (a)/10 ) and SyrHT 111/side (a)/9 ) reversed C-shaped as usual in the late East-Syriac script: e.g., SyrHT 111/side (b)/8 ) and SyrHT 111/side (a)/4 ). Finally, in the fragment under consideration, the letter *gāmal* is made according to the East-Syriac type (e.g., SyrHT 111/side (a)/3 ) and *taw* appears in the Western *serṭā*/ East-Syriac type without and with the oblique bar and in a variant of the Western *serṭā* type (e.g., SyrHT 111/side (a)/4 , SyrHT 111/side (a)/5 ) and SyrHT 111/side (a)/3 

Among the Syriac script of the Psalters from Turfan, Psalter H (Psalter H) shows the presence of forms related to different Syriac scripts in a concomitant manner. In the fragment SyrHT 62 it is possible to detect two forms for the letter *ālaph*, the three-stroke type (reminiscent of the *eṣṭrangēlā* type, e.g., side (a)/1 ) and the vertical type (reminiscent of the Western *serṭā* and East-Syriac graphic form, e.g., side (a)/3 ) *gāmal* is always made according to the East-Syriac script (e.g., side (b)/6 ), while at least two different realizations of the letters *dālath* and *rēsh* are noted, the type *eṣṭrangēlā* A and the type Western *serṭā*/*eṣṭrangēlā* B for *dālath* (e.g., side (b)/4 ) and side (b)/3 ) and those Western *serṭā*/*eṣṭrangēlā* B and East-Syriac for *rēsh* (e.g., side (b)/8 ) and side (b)/13 ). The letter *wāw* is sometimes drawn in the open mode typical of the monumental *eṣṭrangēlā* (e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/3 , , ), while in the rest of the cases it is closed (e.g., side (a)/6 ) -- a feature found in *eṣṭrangēlā* B and in the cursive scripts Western *serṭā* and East-Syriac). The final *kāph*, in most of its occurrences (e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/2 ) and SyrHT 62/side (b)/1 ) is vernacularized according to the Western *serṭā* type, but in one case the typical realization of the *eṣṭrangēlā* script is found (SyrHT 62/side (a)/10 ). The final *lāmādh* recalls the corresponding and characteristic Western *serṭā* form (e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/9 ) and, finally, *taw* is transcribed in different ways and refers in the same fragment to the typical forms of the scripts *eṣṭrangēlā* (e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/8 ), Western *serṭā*/ East-Syriac (without and with sidebar; e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/3 and ) e.g., SyrHT 62/side (a)/1 

Equivalent to the preceding ones, in terms of the occurrence of different graphic forms, is, among others, Psalter L (Psalter L). By examining the writing of SyrHT 203, one of the two fragments, it is possible to highlight the use of the type closest to the *Eṣṭrangēlā* script for *ālaph* (e.g., SyrHT 203/side (a)/3 ), of the East-Syriac form for *gāmal* (e.g., SyrHT 203/side (a)/6 ), of the Western *serṭā* /*eṣṭrangēlā* B type (in most cases) for *dālath* and *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 203/side (a)/6 ) and SyrHT 203/side (a)/8 ) ; of the Western *serṭā* type for final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 203/side (a)/5 ) and of the open type *eṣṭrangēlā* A/monumental for *mīm* in initial and medial position (e.g., SyrHT 203/side (a)/10 

As evidence of the phenomenon described here, other examples taken from the Christian Sogdian documentation in Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan Collection follow.

In fragment n212, the only witness to the *Gospel lectionary* E4 that has come down to us, the scribe has juxtaposed *ālaph* similar to the *eṣṭrangēlā* type (e.g., n212/R/2 ) and vertical *ālaph* (rare and at the end of words e.g., n212/R/6 ), *gāmal* of the East-Syriac type (e.g., n212/R/2 ), *dālath* made according to the *eṣṭrangēlā* A type (but with rounded upper corner; e.g., n212/R/4 ), final *kāph* and *ṣāde* of the Western *serṭā* type (e.g., n212/R/10 and n212/R/5  e

The miscellaneous codex in Sogdian language and Syriac script E26 is a further example of this phenomenon. In fragment n87 (E26/12), containing part of the *Life of John of Dailam*, it is possible to identify at least two graphic forms for *āalph* (three-stroke and vertical types; e.g., n87/R/2  and n.87/R/3 ) and two for *dālath* and for *rēsh* (rounded, typical of the Western *serṭā* and *eṣṭrangēlā* B scripts, and reversed C-shaped, as in the late manuscripts of East-Syriac origin; e.g., n87/V/8  and n87/V/12  for *dālath*; e.g., 87/R/3  and n87/V/6 for  *rēsh*).

Like the previous manuscript, the miscellaneous codex E28 presents the same phenomenon, namely the juxtaposition in the same fragment of forms related to different Syriac scripts. Consider, for example, n148 (E28/1 and E28/2). It shows mostly *āalph* similar to the *eṣṭrangēlā* type, the top of which often end in a bulb (e.g., n148/R/5 ) and, less frequently, *āalph* of the vertical type (never in initial position, e.g., n148/R/3 ). Along with them there are *dālath* written according to *eṣṭrangēlā* B and Western *serṭā* scripts (n148/R/4 ) and *gāmal* of the East-Syriac type (e.g., n148/R/3 ) and *ṣāde* of the Western *serṭā* type (n148/R/9 ) ; *rēsh* is found in the graphic form *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā* (n148/R/3 ) , but also as the East-Syriac type (n148/R/4 ) .

Although, as we have seen, the artificial subdivision of Syriac scripts comes somehow more from the tables of Syriac grammars than from the observation of the manuscripts in these scripts which, in fact, demonstrates a much less rigid situation than we think. It can be sometimes useful to mention these categories to better describe the graphic variety of the fragments studied here.

The coexistence at Turfan of graphic forms related to different Syriac scripts in the same fragment can perhaps be seen in relation to the so-called “mixed script”¹³² theorized by Lidia Perria during her palaeographical study of some ancient Greek manuscripts of Syro-Palestinian provenance¹³³. In a 2008 article¹³⁴, D’Aiuto supports Perria’s thesis, according to which this particular Greek script, characterized by an alternation between upper and lower case, is not an intermediate stage in the transition from upper to lower case, but rather the result of a conscious stylization. She even recognizes two variants of this “mixed” script. In her article, D’Aiuto supports Perria’s thesis, sharing her impression of a non-episodic and long-lasting use of this style.

As can be deduced from the above examples, the Syriac script of the Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments also shows a juxtaposition of graphic forms related to different scripts. However, a clarification must be made: while the two graphic variants of the “mixed script” proposed by Perria are two fixed graphic repertoires created by one or more scribes, in our case it is not always possible to identify a standardization to glimpse a reason behind the scribes’ choices. In fact, there are cases in which it is possible to find in the same fragment not only different letters whose forms are made according to distinct Syriac scripts, but even a plurality of different realizations for the same letter. This leads to exclusion of a rationale and, consequently, the application of a model behind the scribe’s choices.

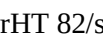
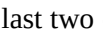
The already mentioned *bifolium* SyrHT 81-82 (Hudra F) is a good example of what has been described above. In it, in fact, there is a considerable interchangeability of forms related to the same letter, starting from the letter *āalph*, which occurs in the three-stroke form and in the vertical one. In particular, in the same context, sometimes after the same consonant and in the same position within the word, the scribe uses different graphic types for *āalph*, as in SyrHT 82/side (a)/7 and in SyrHT 82/side (a)/9. In the former case, we find a vertical *āalph* after the consonant *ḥēth* and in final position within the term  (seventh line; ) , and in the

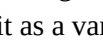
¹³² D’Aiuto 2008, p.9. The Italian expression ‘scrittura mista’ could be translated as ‘mixed writing’ or ‘mixed script’.

¹³³ Perria 1999 and 2002.

¹³⁴ D’Aiuto 2008.

latter the *three-stroke* type, again after the consonant *ḥēth* and at the end of a word, within the term  (ninth line; ).

Moreover, the same fragment shows two distinct realizations of the final *kāph*: one close to the common type in Western *Serṭā* script, the other closer to the typical form of the East-Syriac script. In the fragment SyrHT 82/side (a), there is only one example of the first of the two graphic types of final *kāph* found here and it is found after the letter *rēsh* in the term  (first line; ). The remaining occurrences of final *kāph* show instead the East-Syriac type (). One could perhaps assume that the Western *serṭā* type of final *kāph* is used only immediately after letters that do not connect on the left side. However, this hypothesis would be contradicted by the graphic form of final *kāph* in SyrHT 82/side (a)/3 at the end of the word  and in SyrHT 82/side (a)/4 in the term . In fact, in the last two cases mentioned, final *kāph* follows a consonant that does not join on the left side and is realized according to the East-Syriac type and not the Western *serṭā*.

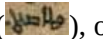
In conclusion, concerning *taw*, the scribe writes it as a variation of the Western *serṭā* type (; see Chapter IV) and as the triangular shaped type (; common in late East-Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East, but also in manuscripts of West-Syriac origin). For the letter *taw* also, in the same position, i.e., within the desinence *taw-ālah*, and in both cases after a letter joining on the left side, it is possible to detect two different forms in SyrHT 82/side (a)/3 () and in SyrHT 82/side (a)/7 ().

A further example is provided by the Hudra L. In SyrHT 111, in fact, two distinct Syriac graphic forms for *ālah*, at least three for forms for *dālah* and *rēsh*, and two for *taw* have been noted.

Regarding *ālah*, the three-stroke type is more frequent than the vertical type. Both types are often used in the same context, e.g., after a consonant that does not join to the left and at the end of a word, as in SyrHT 111/side (a)/1 () and in SyrHT 111/side (b)/1 (); and after a consonant that joins with the next letter and at the end of a word, as in SyrHT 111/side (a)/4 () and in SyrHT 111/side (a)/10 ().

The juxtaposed use of forms related to different Syriac scripts to write the same letter in SyrHT 111 is also verifiable for *dālah* and *rēsh*. It is possible to find the angular type of *dālah* (typical of *estrangēlā* A) in medial position and after a letter that joins on the left, as in SyrHT 111/side (a)/2 (), as well as, in the same context, the rounded form of *dālah* (normally common in Western *serṭā* and *estrangēlā* B) in SyrHT 111/side (a)/10 () and the reversed C-shaped form (common in late East-Syriac manuscripts), under the same conditions, in SyrHT 111/side (b)/8 (). The same happens with forms of *rēsh* in SyrHT 111/side (a)/3 (), SyrHT 111/side (a)/9 () and SyrHT 111/side (a)/4 ().

Finally, the consonant *taw* appears in the *serṭā* variant without oblique bar, as in SyrHT 111/side (b)/1 (), and with a bar, as in SyrHT 111/side (a)/13 (). In both cases *taw* follows a letter that joins on the left; *taw* also connects on the right to an *ālah* at the end of the word.

Reflections on the possible lack of a rationale in the choice between several graphic forms for the same letter can also be made on the Sogdian manuscript E26, which is considered to have been written in the same “distinctive, very small handwriting”¹³⁵. Fragment n87 (E26/12), in particular, shows the vertical graphic type of *ālah* either after a consonant that is connected to it on the left, as in n87/R/3 (), or immediately after a consonant that is not joined with it on the left, as in n87/R/2 (). All things being equal, the fragment in question also shows the use of the three-stroke graphic type, as shown by the examples in n87/R/2 () and in n87/R/5 ().

Similarly, in the same fragment we note the use of the rounded form and the reversed C-shaped type of *dālah*. Here, in the same context, i.e., at the beginning of a word, the scribe uses different graphic forms for no apparent reason in n87/V/8 () and in n87/V/17 (). A similar situation occurs for *rēsh*, for the

¹³⁵ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 80.

rendering of which the scribe uses the two types already employed for *dālath*, e.g., in medial position, even within the same word in n87/V/10 () and in n87/V/6 ()

Finally, still in fragment n87, *taw* both with (triangular shaped *taw*) and without the oblique bar on the right side seem to be interchangeable for the scribe, both recurring immediately after letters that are joined on the left, as in n87/R/8 () and in n87/R/1 ()

In other cases, it has been possible to detect a certain consistency in the scribe's choices. Such consistency is owed to the fact that a letter is always written according to one form only, and not using several graphic forms as in the above cases.

This consistency can be noted in some Syriac and Sogdian Christian manuscripts from Turfan, including Hudra C and E23.

As for the Hudra C manuscript, of which the only surviving fragments are SyrHT 65 and SyrHT 187, it is possible to find only one graphic form for *gāmal* (; East-Syriac type), for *dālath* and *rēsh* (; although sometimes the point of the *dālath* is placed under and not inside the letter), and for *taw* (; the variation of the Western *serṭā* type already mentioned). In general, each letter is always written according to a unique graphic form, except for *āalph* - the more frequent three-stroke type is used together with the vertical type - and for final *kāph* - usually rendered with the *serṭā* form except in a few cases where the scribe uses the East-Syriac graphic form (e.g., SyrHT 65/side (b)/1 ; SyrHT 65/side (b)/8 ).

A further example that makes us reflect on the presence of a possible pattern behind the choice of a single form to render the same letter is the Sogdian manuscript E23, containing the Martyrdom of St. George. It shows no examples of vertical *āalph*; *gāmal* is always written according to the East-Syriac type (e.g., n9 or E23/7, R/right folio/10 ) , *dālath* and *rēsh* are almost always found in their angular-shaped form (e.g., n9 or E23/7, R/right folio/1 ;  R/3 ; an exception for *dālath* is found on the *recto* of the small fragment n8 or E23/18, R/2 ) and the scribe always uses for *taw* the Western *serṭā* form without the oblique sidebar (e.g., n7 or E23/13, R/6 )

These reflections lead us to keep in mind the note made by Del Corso regarding the Greek “mixed script” in contrast with the positions expressed by Perria and Crisci¹³⁶. It is helpful to quote, in this regard, the words shared by Del Corso in a more recent contribution:

Una scrittura simile, più che costituire una stilizzazione autonoma e indipendente, sembra piuttosto il prodotto di mani che sono abituate a scrivere documenti, oltre che testi letterari, e, di fronte alla necessità di allestire un manoscritto per intero, incrociano e sovrappongono elementi diversi della propria educazione grafica¹³⁷.

[Transl. Such writing, rather than constituting an autonomous and independent stylization, seems instead the product of hands that are accustomed to writing documents, as well as literary texts, and, faced with the need to prepare a manuscript in its entirety, cross and overlap different elements of their graphic education].

Therefore, one might wonder whether this consideration can be shared also for the Syriac writing of the fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection, and, if so, whether entirely or only in part.

A further perspective of investigation, linked to the above quotation, concerns the different literary genres to which the material under examination belongs. As noted previously, the material studied here belongs to a very wide range of genres, including the genre of the Gospel Book and of the Gospel Lectionary, other liturgical text (Hudra and Taksa), the Psalter, the prayer-amulet, the exercises of the scribes and the epistolary genre.

If, in detecting a coexistence of distinct Syriac graphic forms within each of these manuscripts of the Berlin

¹³⁶ Crisci 1998, pp. 95-96.

¹³⁷ Del Corso 2008, p. 110, in D'Aiuto 2008, p. 26.

Turfan Collection, the content of the manuscript is also taken into account, then, it seems possible to argue that:

- the question of literary genre does not seem to affect the genre of the Hudra and the Psalters too much
- the question of literary genre seems more frequently to play a role in what concerns Lectionaries and Gospels.

The first of the two considerations is based on the fact that in some Hudra and Psalter manuscripts it is possible to discern a rationale behind the scribe's choice to always use the same form for the *ā* letter (as in Hudra C and Psalter H), while in others this does not occur (as in Hudra F and Psalter L).

For the second consideration, relevant examples come from Lectionary A, Lectionary B, Gospel A, Gospel B and Gospel C, with regard to the fragments in Syriac language, and from Gospel E1 (bilingual; Gospel according to Matthew), Gospel Lectionary E2 (bilingual; Gospel according to Matthew and according to John), Gospel Lectionary E3 (bilingual; Gospel according to Luke and according to Matthew), Gospel Lectionary E4 (bilingual; Gospel according to Luke), Gospel Lectionary E5 (Sogdian with rubrics in Syriac language; Gospel according to Luke, according to Matthew and according to John) and Epistle Lectionary E6 (bilingual), with regard to the bilingual fragments and the Sogdian fragments.

The fragment SyrHT 48 (Lectionary A) shows an almost exclusive use of the three-stroke type for *ā*laph (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/1 ) and with rare exceptions (always at the end of words) where *ā*laph of the vertical type is found instead (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/2  and 3 ). It also consistently features the East-Syriac type for *gāmal* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/7 ) the *eṣṭrangēlā* A one (but with the upper corner rounded) for *dālath* and for *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/1  and SyrHT 48/side (a)/13 ) the Western *serṭā* type for *šāde* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/1 ). In general, all letters are always realized by means of the same form, except for the final letter *kāph* and for *taw*: the former is sometimes realized according to Western *serṭā* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (b)/6 ) sometimes according to East-Syriac script (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (b)/5 ); the latter, appears both in the triangular type (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/3  and SyrHT 48/side (b)/1 ) and in the Western *serṭā* variant (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/2 ).

Lectionary B shows an even greater graphic consistency. In the SyrHT 241 fragment the scribe always uses three-stroke type to write *ā*laph (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/3 ) and *eṣṭrangēlā* A type (but with an upper rounded corner) for *dālath* (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/5 ; with the exception of SyrHT 241/side (a)/3 , in which we find the graphic form typical of *eṣṭrangēlā* B and *serṭā*), the East-Syriac type for *gāmal*, the *serṭā* type for final *kāph*, the *eṣṭrangēlā* B and Western *serṭā* type for *rēsh*. Finally, the letter *taw* is written always and only according to the Western *serṭā* type with a small loop, derived in turn from the *eṣṭrangēlā* type (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/9 ).

A similar situation occurs in Gospel A, whose only witness is the fragment SyrHT 123. It shows, however, in addition to very rare occurrences of vertical *ā*laph (e.g., SyrHT 123/side (b)/1 ) the constant use of the *eṣṭrangēlā* A form for *gāmal* (e.g., SyrHT 123/side (a)/13 ) of the *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā* type for *mīm* (final and non-final) and *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 123/side (a)/1 and 10 ; e.g., SyrHT 123/side (b)/2 ) of the Western *serṭā* form for final *kāph* and *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 123/side (b)/11 ; e.g., SyrHT 123/side (b)/6 ).

It is not possible to obtain much palaeographical information from Gospel B, whose only surviving fragments, SyrHT 324 and SyrHT 325, are incomplete and small. Despite this, by observing them it is possible to note the balanced use of a double rendering for *ā*laph—the three-stroke type and the vertical one (the latter only at the end of the word; e.g., SyrHT 324/side (a)/2 , SyrHT 325/side (a)/2 )—as well as the constant use

of *eṣṭrangēlā* A *dālath* (again with the rounded upper corner: e.g., SyrHT 324/side (a)/1 ) and of *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā mīm* (e.g., SyrHT 325/side (a)/3 )

To conclude, the script of Gospel C, whose only fragment is SyrHT 326, shows a less precise stroke and the scribe does not seem to choose only one graphic form for each letter: *ālaph* is written either using the three-stroke type (SyrHT 326/side (a)/6 ) or by means of the vertical type (SyrHT 326/side (a)/5 ) the East-Syriac form is always used for *gāmal* (SyrHT 326/side (a)/7 ) but *dālath* shows a double realization (e.g., SyrHT 326/side (a)/5  e SyrHT/side (a)/8 ) and, likewise, *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 326/side (a)/4  and SyrHT/side (a)/7 )

Turning now to the script of the Sogdian and bilingual Christian fragments, in fragment n213 (E1/2), containing part of the Gospel of Matthew, it is possible to detect a certain graphic consistency in the constant use of the type *eṣṭrangēlā* A for *gāmal* (e.g., n213/R/2 ) of Western *serṭā šādē* (e.g., n213/R/4 ) and of the *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā* type for *rēsh* (e.g., n213/R/5 ) The letter *ālaph*, however, is written using the *three-stroke* and the vertical forms¹³⁸.

Despite the poor readability of the fragments belonging to the bilingual Gospel Lectionary E2, in n214 (E2/1) the two forms of *ālaph* already seen in the previous examples are clearly distinguishable, the vertical type occurring only at the end of words (e.g., n214/V/8 ) In addition, the fragment shows the East-Syriac type for *gāmal* (e.g., n214/V/7 ) and the *eṣṭrangēlā* B/*serṭā* type for *rēsh* (e.g., n214/R/4 )

The only *folio* of the Gospel Lectionary E3 that has come down to us, n190, shows a very frequent, though not exclusive, use of the three-stroke *ālaph* (e.g., n190/R/1 ) but also n190/R/7 ) the East-Syriac type for the rendering of *gāmal* (e.g., n190/V/22 ) the Western *serṭā* type for final *kāph* (e.g., n190/R/6 ) and the *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā* type for *rēsh* (e.g., n190/R/7 ) are consistently noted.

The Gospel Lectionary E4 has already been mentioned in the previous pages. Here, it is possible to notice a high graphic coherence, the only exception being the double rendering of *ālaph* through the three-stroke type and the vertical one (rare and used only at the end of words)¹³⁹.

Fragment n149 (E5/19), part of Gospel Lectionary E5, shows almost always *ālaph* of the *three-stroke* type, with a few exceptions, often at the end of a line (e.g., n149/V/11 ) but also within words (as in n149/V/15 ) The E5 scribe primarily uses the type *eṣṭrangēlā* B/Western *serṭā* for *dālath*, *rēsh* and *mīm*, although in some cases it is possible to detect other graphic forms for *dālath* (e.g., the East-Syriac form in n499/V/12¹⁴⁰  and angular in n507/R/1¹⁴¹ ) and for *rēsh* (see the use of the East-Syriac form in n500/R/18 ) In the fragment a characteristic form for the letter *šāde* (e.g., n149/R/5 ) alongside another form found, for example, in the rubric in V/3 ) can be noticed, found only in E5. Finally, we note an exclusive use of the Western *serṭā* form for *taw* (e.g., n149/R/14 )

The last lectionary examined is the bilingual Epistle Lectionary E6. Of the nine surviving fragments originally belonging to this manuscript, fragment n201 (E6/3) could be a useful sample. In this fragment it is possible to notice the more frequent use of the three-stroke type than the vertical one for *ālaph* (e.g., n201/R/5 ) near the end of the line), the constant use of the East-Syriac type for the rendering of *gāmal* (e.g., n201/R/3 ) of the *eṣṭrangēlā* A form (but with rounded upper corner) for *dālath* (n201/R/8 ) and of the *eṣṭrangēlā* B/*serṭā* type for *mīm* (in initial, medial and final position; e.g., n201/R/13 ) and *rēsh* (n201/R/1 ) Finally, in fragment n201, two graphic forms for *taw* appear, both variants of the *serṭā* type (e.g., n201/R/1  and

¹³⁸ The condition of the fragment does not help in discerning whether the context in which these two forms of *ālaph* are found is similar or somewhat different.

¹³⁹ See in this regard p. 66.

¹⁴⁰ The entry n499 corresponds to the fragment E5/38.

¹⁴¹ The n507 corresponds to the fragment E5/6a.

n201/R/3 , which seem to be used interchangeably.

II.2. SCRIBES AND DISTINCTIVE HANDWRITINGS

A complete study on the scribes of the Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments in Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan Collection has not yet been done.

As Dickens (2013) points out¹⁴², the only places where the scribes sign themselves are some marginal notes, which, however, are usually written in a different handwriting from the text¹⁴³. In this regard, for example, in the verse of U 5545 and SyrHT 287, we can observe a marginal note signed by a certain “Yuhannan, the sinner”. On side (b) of another fragment, SyrHT 122, which was originally blank, a few annotations in Syriac and Sogdian script have subsequently been added, one of which is signed by a monk, also named *Yuhannan*¹⁴⁴.

Sims-Williams (2009) suggests that the Christian documents of Turfan (in Sogdian, Syriac, Uyghur, Pahlavi, Persian, New Persian and Greek), derive from about forty different hands, “some attested by a single fragment, others by a hundred or more”¹⁴⁵.

With regard to the Christian fragments in Syriac and Sogdian languages and in Syriac script, it is possible to identify some peculiar hands, in which the shape of the letters and the *ductus* stand out¹⁴⁶. Dickens (2013) had already noted some “very distinctive scribal hands¹⁴⁷” within the material examined, focusing on the writings of the Sogdian manuscript E24, Hudra C, Hudra D, the two fragments containing the *Legend of Barshabba* in Syriac (SyrHT 45 and 46) and Psalter G, whose only *folio* that has come down to us is SyrHT 96.

Moreover, Dickens¹⁴⁸ provides other information on the hands of Psalters C and D and underlines the peculiarity of the handwriting of Psalters F (“another very¹⁴⁹ distinctive hand”), G (“another distinctive hand”¹⁵⁰) and M (“an attractive hand”¹⁵¹). Regarding, in particular, the hand of Psalter C, the scholar argues that its scribe seems to be the same as that of the two Syriac lectionaries A and B and of Psalter K. Similarly, Dickens proposes the hypothesis, which I fully agree with, that the scribe of Psalter D is the same as that of

¹⁴² Dickens 2013, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴³ No colophon dated according to the Seleucid era has been preserved, but only a few colophons in which the name of the scribe is not indicated in a few Sogdian and Uyghur texts in Syriac script. These texts are dated according to the Turkic-Chinese calendar of the twelve animals. An example is fragment U 338 (Prayer-booklet I ^(Syr-Uig)), which bears as its date the twenty-third day of the first month of the year of the ox.

¹⁴⁴ As Dickens points out, Yohannan is a very common name in Syriac tradition. See Dickens 2009, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ Sims-Williams 2009, p. 272. It is hoped that, in part due to the data provided by the present work, subsequent studies will continue to investigate the scribes of Turfan, increasing the information on scribes that we have obtained so far.

¹⁴⁶ *Flow*, in Italian *ductus*, is defined in the online Treccani Encyclopaedia: ‘il modo e il grado di rapidità con cui viene tracciata una scrittura. Può essere corsivo, quando la scrittura è vergata rapidamente e le lettere sono legate fra loro e inclinate a destra, oppure posato, quando la scrittura è accuratamente disegnata e le lettere sono fra loro separate e diritte’ (‘the manner and degree of rapidity with which a writing is traced. It can be cursive, when the writing is written rapidly and the letters are bound together and inclined to the right, or set, when the writing is carefully traced, and the letters are separated and not inclined’). Cencetti 1978, p. 22 describes it as ‘il modo di tracciare le lettere’ (‘the way of tracing the letters’). It should be differentiated from the *tracciato*, that is: ‘il numero, la successione e l’orientamento dei tratti che costituiscono ogni singolo segno grafico’ (‘the number, the succession and the orientation of the strokes that constitute each single graphic sign’), Crisci and Degni 2011 (reprinted 2012), p. 19.

¹⁴⁷ Dickens 2013b, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Dickens 2013a.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 368.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 369.

Hudra B¹⁵².

In their catalogue, Hunter and Dickens noted some similarities between the scripts of some fragments: in particular, between the writing of SyrHT 185 (unidentified) and n312 (unidentified)¹⁵³; of SyrHT 186 (Taksa B) and Hudra G¹⁵⁴; between that of fragment SyrHT 166 (Hudra?) and SyrHT 223 (Hudra?)¹⁵⁵; of SyrHT 76 (Taksa?) and Hudra F¹⁵⁶; of fragments n176 and n397 (Service book E10Syr-Sog) and the manuscript Hudra G¹⁵⁷; of SyrHT 3 (Service book E11^{Syr-Sog}) and Psalter N¹⁵⁸; of SyrHT 146 (Service book E16^{Syr-Sog}) and Psalter Q¹⁵⁹; of SyrHT 19 (Dialogue) and SyrHT 94 (Dialogue)¹⁶⁰; of SyrHT 355 (List of names), SyrHT 391 (unidentified) and SyrHT 392 (unidentified)¹⁶¹; between the script of SyrHT 389 (Philosophical) and that of fragments SyrHT 255, SyrHT 285, n415, n417, n419 and n420¹⁶².

The last two cases, i.e., the writing of Psalter D and Hudra B, are part of a group of several characteristic hands. This group also includes Hudra H and Prayer-amulet B, as far as the Syriac fragments are concerned, and the manuscripts E23, E24 and E37, as far as the Sogdian fragments in Syriac script are concerned.

We will first consider the script of the fragments belonging to Psalter D (eleven fragments) and Hudra B (four fragments). These fragments show in their totality the same graphic characteristics: identical shape of the letters and the same cursive flow. Plate I shows a comparison between the writing of the fragment SyrHT 119 (Psalter D) and that of SyrHT 159 (Hudra B). In these last fragments, the letter *ālaph* is written in both the three-stroke and vertical forms: we find the same realization and inclination of *ālaph* of the *three-stroke* type, with a bulb on the top of the major stroke, the left minor stroke slightly inclined, forming an acute angle with the line of writing, and the right minor stroke almost parallel to the line of writing (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/4 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/3 ). Similarly, the fragments show the same realization of the vertical type of *ālaph*, without and with a short stroke at the bottom right (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/7  and SyrHT 119/side (a)/2 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/left folio/4  and SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/1 .

Comparing the two fragments mentioned above, it is possible to notice an identical execution of all the other letters as well, such as *dālath* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/2 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/8 , *he* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/4 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/5 , final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/12 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/3 , final *lāmādh* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/10 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/left folio/10 , final *mīm* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/12 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/left folio/9 , *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/4 ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/7 ) and *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/5 and ; SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/1 and 4 ). For this reason, we agree with the hypothesis put forward by Dickens about a common scribe for both manuscripts.

The distinctive character of the handwriting of Psalter D and Hudra B lies in the peculiar realization of some letters, such as *ālaph* and final *lāmādh*, and in the rapidity of execution of the stroke. This rapidity seems to affect the realization of letters that do not lie neatly on the line of writing, creating a disharmonious

¹⁵² In the catalogue of Syriac script fragments from Turfan, published by Hunter and Dickens (2014), specifically on page 190, a possible common scribe is also argued for the hand of Taksa B, whose only fragment that has come down to us is SyrHT 186, and that of Hudra G.

¹⁵³ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 190.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 173.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 362 and 403.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 318.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 342.

Regarding the first element, i.e., the unusual execution of some letters, we have already mentioned *ālah*: final *lām* shows a characteristic double hook shape, reminiscent of a capital S (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/10  and SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/3 ). A hooked realization of the upper part of the letter is also found, albeit less markedly, in median and sometimes initial *lām* (e.g., SyrHT 119/side (a)/8  and SyrHT 159/side (a)/right folio/2 ).

Starting with the exposition of some singular graphic forms in Hudra H, consider side (a) of fragment SyrHT 122. Here, we can see a characteristic two-stroke form of *ālaph*, with the main stroke arched, sometimes with a marked bulb, and the minor stroke oriented to the right (the principal stroke goes below the line of writing and it is, in his final part, also oriented to the right; e.g., SyrHT 122/side (a)/8 ) and that of the consonant *pe*, unusually high (SyrHT 122/side (a)/4 ). In another fragment of Hudra H, in which the same script is found, there is also a peculiar realization of final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 125/side (a)/17 ).

As far as the modulus is concerned, in the same manuscript there is a strong variation, even in the realization of the same letter. Some examples of this phenomenon occur with *ālahp* (SyrHT 122/side (a)/1 vs  SyrHT 122/side (a)/8 ) , *hē* (SyrHT 122/side (a)/1 vs  SyrHT 122/side (a)/5 ) and *semkath* (SyrHT 122/side (a)/11 vs  SyrHT 122/side (a)/8 ) .

A quite heavy contrast characterizes the script of Prayer-amulet B (SyrHT 99 and SyrHT 330), along with a disharmonious cursive flow and a marked modulus variation. The quite heavy contrast depends on the use of thin strokes in the rendering of most letters (e.g., *ālaph* in SyrHT 99/side (a)/3 ) , together with the use of thicker ones in others, as in *dālath* (SyrHT 99/side (a)/2 and 6  ), *hē* (e.g., SyrHT 99/side (a)/1 ), *mīm* in SyrHT 99/side (a)/9 , *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 99/side (a)/3 ) and *shīn* in SyrHT 99/side (a)/6 . Modulus variation can be noticed, for example, with *ālaph* (SyrHT 99/side (a)/1  vs SyrHT 99/side (a)/4 , *hē* (SyrHT 99/side (a)/1 vs  SyrHT 99/side (a)/2 and 4 , *mīm* (SyrHT 99/side (a)/7 and SyrHT 99/side (a)/5) and *rēsh* (SyrHT 99/side (a)/2 and SyrHT 99/side (a)/3)¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶³ Dickens 2013a, p. 369.

¹⁶⁴ Regarding the Prayer-amulet B fragments, Hunter 2013 (p. 26) writes: ‘Both SyriacHT 99 and SyrHT 330 are written in the same distinctive *Estrangela* hand’.

The Sogdian manuscript E23 contains a Sogdian translation of the Martyrdom of St. George. None of the publications of fragments belonging to it¹⁶⁵ provide any palaeographical information concerning this manuscript.

What emerges at a palaeographical level is a neat and extremely harmonious cursive flow, the uniformity in the choice of a single graphic form for the same letter, the lack of modulus variation and a care in not crossing the line of writing with the body of the letter.

In fragment n001 (E23/8) it is possible to observe how the scribe's hand seems to slide securely on the paper, maintaining an almost constant balance between the height and width of the letters. Moreover, the scribe chooses one form for each letter, as for example with *ālahph*, for which the scribe uses exclusively the three-stroke form with bulb (e.g., n001/V/1 ) , for *gāmal* (e.g., n001/V/5 ) and for the consonants *dālath* and *rēsh*, constantly written using the angular form (e.g., n001/V/8  and n001/V/7 .

A very special case is that of manuscript E24, about which Sims-Williams (2012) writes: 'The manuscript is written in a very distinctive hand, described as "pure Estrangēlā" in ST II, 512'¹⁶⁶. E24 contains at least three texts of hagiographic genre and has come to us in a dozen fragments.

The handwriting of the Sogdian manuscript E24 is characterised by a set *flow*, angular strokes and the marked accentuation of the length of the ascending strokes of some letters. The prominence given to the vertical thrust of some letters contrasts with the horizontal flattening on the line of writing of others; this recalls the Arabic kufic script, typical of the early Islamic era¹⁶⁷.

Taking fragment n182 (E24/6) as an example, the angularity of the strokes is found in almost every letter except for a few *wāw* (e.g., n182/R/10 ) . Angular strokes are particularly pronounced in the letters *ālahph* (e.g., n182/R/2 ) , *tēth* (e.g., n182/R/3 ) , *mīm* (e.g., n182/R/9 ) and *pē* (e.g., n182/R/2 )¹⁶⁸.

Among the letters affected by the accentuated vertical movement we can note *ālahph*, *gāmal*, *tēth*, *pē* and *taw* (Plate III). Finally, there is a peculiar realization of the final letter *nūn*, which is traced almost entirely above the line of writing (e.g., n182/R/5 ) .

The last example of a particularly distinctive Syriac script is manuscript E37 (a pharmacological text in New Persian with some words in Syriac). It is transmitted to us thanks to two surviving fragments, M 7340 (E37/1) and n175 (E37/2).

The handwriting of this manuscript is characterized by a neat, cursive *flow*, light contrast, and the almost total absence of modulus variation.

Looking specifically at fragment n175, which is easier to read, the light contrast is given by the uniform thickness of the strokes, which seem to have been written with a brush or constantly with the same inclination of the calamus. With regard to modulus, the only cases of modulus variation are found with *semkath* (e.g., n175/R/5 vs. n175/R/8) and *taw* (e.g., n175/V/4 vs. n175/V/6) (see Plate IV). This is a clear and neat cursive script, corresponding entirely to the East-Syriac writing, as it appears as a mature and typified script in some sixteenth century manuscripts. This assertion is substantiated by the East-Syriac realization of *ālahph*, not straight but slightly arched and inclined (e.g., n175/R/4  and 10 ) , *gāmal* (e.g., n175/R/3 ) , *dālath* (e.g., n175/V/3 ) , final *lāmādh* (e.g., n175/R/7 ) , *pē* (e.g., n175/V/10 ) , *semkath* (e.g., n175/R/5 ) , *rēsh* (e.g., n175/R/5 ) and *taw* (e.g., n175/R/4  and n175/V/3 .

¹⁶⁵ Hansen 1941; Gershevitch 1946; Benveniste 1947.

¹⁶⁶ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 73.

¹⁶⁷ It should be remembered in this regard how some scholars have seen in the Syriac script, particularly in the epigraphic Syriac script, the origin of this Arabic script. For further study see Cohen, 1958; Grohmann, 1971; Garbini, 1979; Endress, 1982.

¹⁶⁸ Although I do not consider this writing a cursive writing, I would have reservations in defining it as monumental, because I do not think that this writing corresponds to *estrangēlā* A. It seems a handwriting of its own in which the scribe introduced new stylistic parameters.

CHAPTER III. INCIDENCE OF THE EAST-SYRIAC FORMS OF *DĀLATH* AND *RĒSH* AND OF THE FINAL LIGATURE OF *TAW* AND *ĀLAPH* IN TURFAN

III.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Our study has made it possible to observe some forms that were thought to be consistently present only in manuscripts of East-Syriac provenance dated after the thirteenth century. These are the semicircular forms of *dālath* and *rēsh* and the final ligature of *taw* and *ālaph*.

Regarding the first two forms, Hatch states that ‘A peculiar form of ܐ, like a reversed C with a point below it, occurs in some Nestorian manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries’.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, a few pages later Hatch writes about *rēsh*: ‘Nestorian scribes employed both the angular ܐ and the rounded ܐ; and in some Nestorian codices copied in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries ܐ resembles a reversed C with a point over it’.¹⁷⁰

As for the East-Syriac ligature *taw-ālaph*, here *taw* is reduced in size and assumes a ‘v’ shape written partially below the line of writing. Henceforth, this form will be here defined as *v-shaped taw*. *Ālaph* in this ligature appears in its cursive shape, consisting of a line with vertical or oblique orientation.

However, some information about the graphic form of *taw* described here comes to us mainly from two sources. In his *Anecdota Syriaca*¹⁷¹, and precisely in paragraph 18 concerning ‘Nestorianorum ecclesia’, Land notes that ‘Peculiaris Nestorianorum mos est literam ܐ subinde in compendium redigendi (cf. spec. Nostrum 106 in tab. XXII, in versiculi quarti quarta voce)’, alluding in brackets to a *taw* shown in the *taw-ālaph* ligature in the fourth word of the fourth verse of example 106, in table XXII of the above volume (see Plate V). The codex to which Land refers and of which he reports a detail of fol. 217 is Add. MS. 7174, dated A.G. 2013 (A.D. 1702). It is, therefore, a fairly late manuscript with respect to the period we are considering.

Among the authors of grammars, Duval, in the paragraph devoted to the ‘écriture chez les Nestoriens’¹⁷², after stating that the East-Syriac cursive script (‘cursif nestorienne’) took specific forms only from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, notes that this style is characterized ‘surtout par le forme du dālath et du riš qui se rapproche à celle du kāph et une forme toute particulière du taw (v. notre tabl. synopt.)’.¹⁷³

No mention of this peculiar graphic form of *taw* is found instead in Hatch¹⁷⁴. In section XII of the *Introduction* of his *Album*¹⁷⁵, entitled ‘Observations on the Forms of Certain Letters’, Hatch, in fact, does not report any information about the East-Syriac *taw-ālaph* ligature considered here.

A number of manuscripts observed for this study has, however, revealed that the earliest occurrences of the semicircular forms of *dālath* and *rēsh* and of the *taw-ālaph* ligature are to be anticipated by at least four or five centuries with respect to the period advocated by Land, Duval, and Hatch.

If in the oldest East-Syriac manuscripts known to us, such as the BL, Add. MS. 14460 (599-600), and the BL, Add. MS. 14471 (614-615)¹⁷⁶, *dālath* and *rēsh* appear as more squared, with rarely curved forms

¹⁶⁹ Hatch 1946, p. 32.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

¹⁷¹ Land 1862.

¹⁷² Duval 1881, p.8.

¹⁷³ *Idem*. In the synoptic table quoted above, found on page XIV, two forms for East-Syriac *taw* are found: the first is the one similar to *serṭā* form, the second is the v-shaped *taw*.

¹⁷⁴ Hatch 1946.

¹⁷⁵ Hatch 1946.

¹⁷⁶ Hatch 1946, Plate CLX and Plate CLXI. Our manuscripts (1) and (2), both containing the four gospels according to the Peshitta version (see table in Chapter II, pp. 27-29).

(respectively: e.g., f. 55  and ,  and ; f. 70  and ,  and ), other manuscripts, already from the end of the eighth century also show different realizations.

The earliest codex that has come down to us in which we have been able to observe them is Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon, N 801 (Storia lausiaca, 794)¹⁷⁷: here, next to slightly curvilinear forms of *dālath* and *rēsh*, semicircular realizations also begin to appear (e.g., f. 3v ). This seems to be the first manuscript in which the *taw-ālah* ligature appears (e.g., f. 3v ), and in some cases the use of v-shaped *taw* is also observed when not followed by *ālah* (e.g., f. 3v )¹⁷⁸.

Some typical features of the later East-Syriac script, namely that mentioned by Land and Duval, are found in the codex Paris, BnF, syr. 342 (New Testament, Peshitta, 893-894). Here, squared *dālath* realizations are rare, if not very rare (they are found especially at the beginning of words, e.g., f. 1v ), while semicircular shapes become usual (e.g., f. 1v , ). In addition, *taw-ālah* ligature appears, although this does not seem to be the most frequent solution adopted by the scribe (e.g., f. 1v  and )¹⁷⁹.

Also useful for the purposes of our research is the script of ms. BL, Add. MS. 12138 (Masora, 899)¹⁸⁰, about which Wright himself writes: “The manuscript is written in a small, Nestorian character¹⁸¹. The script of this manuscript seems, indeed, quite different, both from that of the two oldest known East-Syriac codices, ours (1) and (2), and from that of the Parisian codex syr. 342. In fact, the semicircular realizations of *dālath* and *rēsh* and *taw-ālah* ligature are missing¹⁸².

A manuscript of particular interest for our study, because of its liturgical content, is a paper codex of which one part, the oldest, is probably dated to the tenth or perhaps eleventh century, while a second, later part dates to the thirteenth century. This is our manuscript (10), an uncatalogued liturgical codex preserved in the library of the church of Mar Isha‘ya in Mosul and used by Macomber for his edition of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari¹⁸³.

The script of the oldest section of this codex, unfortunately partially damaged by water, is a very accurate handwriting, in which some peculiar forms appear¹⁸⁴. As for the consonants studied in this chapter, we note that semicircular forms of *dālath* and *rēsh* appear (e.g., f. 238r ; f. 243v ; f. 8v ) alongside other realizations (e.g., f. 239v ; sometimes, in initial position and slightly squared, as in f. 7r ; f. 238r ; e.g., f. 239v ). Also striking is the occasional, but not rare, presence of *taw-ālah* ligature at the end of words (e.g., f. 4v ; f. 5r ; f. 7r ; f. 238r  and ). This ligature appears, however, together with different realizations of the sequence of these two letters (as, for example, in f. 238r:  and .

What emerges from these observations, then, is the presence of East-Syriac forms in manuscripts of a much earlier period with respect to what Land, Duval and Hatch hypothesized. In fact, as shown above, these shapes appear as early as the late eighth/ninth century. This obviously does not exclude the possibility that in other

¹⁷⁷ Corresponding to manuscript (4) in the table on p. 27.

¹⁷⁸ In general, the handwriting of the Baghdad manuscript can be defined as a semi-cursive script due to the less set *flow* and the ligatures; despite this, we could define it as a ‘bookhand’ due to the high readability and a certain care in the overall rendering of the text, which is also evident from the uniform line-spacing, from the tendency to fill the final part of each line and from the constant inclination of the ascending strokes of *ālah*.

¹⁷⁹ However, we noted the sporadic presence of open *waw* and three-stroke *ālah* alongside the vertical realization.

¹⁸⁰ Corresponding to manuscript (7) in the above-mentioned table.

¹⁸¹ Wright 1870-1872, Part I, p. 101.

¹⁸² The colophon, beginning at f. 310v, offers the possibility of observing a still cursive, but different script.

¹⁸³ Macomber1966.

¹⁸⁴ Macomber argues that the scribe was ‘rather negligent’ and his writing quite difficult to decipher. In particular, he noted that *nūn*, *yūdh*, and *hēth* were hardly to be distinguished from one another. Other observations: three-stroke *ālah*, together with the cursive form (e.g., f. 238r  and f. 243v , flat-top *shīn* (i.e., the upside-down triangle-shaped *shīn*, often ‘empty’ (e.g., f. 238r ), along with a plurality of realizations for *taw* (e.g., f. 5r , f. 238r ) and the final triangular *taw* f. 5r (). See, with respect to *taw* forms, Chapter IV.

East-Syriac manuscripts of the same period and a little later, such as our codex (8)¹⁸⁵, a very different script continues to appear, much closer to the typical bookhand writing of the gospels¹⁸⁶.

III.2 REVERSED C-SHAPED *DĀLATH* AND *RĒSH*

The palaeographical analysis of the above-mentioned fragments revealed the use of different forms for *dālath* and *rēsh*.

These graphic forms have been divided into five different types: the angular type (A; e.g., SyrHT 133/side (a)/2  and e.g., n197/V/8 ) , the rounded type (B; e.g., SyrHT 71/side (a)/11  and e.g., n148/R/3 ) , the reversed C-shaped type (C; e.g., SyrHT 58/side (a)/left folio/7  and SyrHT 58/side (a)/left folio/18 ) , and a fourth graphic form similar to the angular type, which has, however, the upper corner rounded (D; e.g., SyrHT 50/side (a)/13  and e.g., n162/V/5 ) . A fifth group includes all forms that are not ascribable to one of the previous groups (E; e.g., SyrHT 287/side (a)/13 , e.g., n477/V/11 )¹⁸⁷. This subdivision is applicable to both *dālath* and *rēsh*.

Regarding *dālath* specifically, most of the fragments considered show either the *rounded* (B) type of *dālath* or the type with rounded upper corner (D). Sometimes the diacritical point of *dālath* in type A and more frequently in type D is not placed inside, but below the letter. In the latter case, the form of *dālath* becomes similar to type C.

The reversed C-shaped *dālath* appears in about 10% of the fragments. Within this group of fragments, in 2.16% of the cases this *dālath* type is the only one attested in the fragment, while in the rest of cases it is found together with other forms.

In the following two histograms it is possible to observe the frequency of the various types of *dālath*, respectively in the Syriac fragments in Syriac script and in the Christian Sogdian fragments in Syriac script found at Turfan.

As can be seen in the first histogram, most Syriac fragments in Syriac script in which the letter *dālath* appears show for this letter the graphic type D (i.e., the type similar to the angular type but with a rounded upper corner) with one hundred and ninety-seven fragments; after this there is type B (one hundred and eighty-six fragments), followed by type A (forty-seven fragments), type C (thirty-nine fragments) and, finally, type E (eight fragments).

By examining the occurrences of type C of *dālath*, the reversed C-shaped, it is possible to distinguish the cases in which this is the only type present and those in which it coexists with other types in the same fragment. The ring chart shows the percentages corresponding to the eight fragments in which C is the only type present and to the thirty-one fragments in which other *dālath* forms appear. They account for 20% and 80%,

¹⁸⁵ New Haven, Yale University Library, Cod. Z 107.31 (Mar Elias on the Tigris, Mosul, 917-918), corresponding to Hatch 1946, Plate CLXVII, p. 218. See for further discussion the table on pp. 27-29.

¹⁸⁶ Semicircular forms of *dālath* and *rēsh* and *taw-ālah* ligature are also observed in other later manuscripts. These mss. are dated before the fourteenth century and include Vat. sir. 467 (1186/7), Vat. sir. 148 (1267) and Vat. sir. 622 (1298), our codices (11), (19) and (21) (see table pp. 27-29). In particular, the semicircular shape of *dālath* and *rēsh* is particularly marked in Vat. sir. 148 (e.g., f. 7r  and ) , and in Vat. sir. 622 (e.g., f. 8r  and ) , but they are also found in Vat. sir. 467 (e.g., f. 52v  and ) . On the other hand, we have observed a very limited use of *taw-ālah* ligature and of *v-shaped taw* in Vat. sir. 622 (only in f. 141v  and f. 157r ) , while they are more frequent in Vat. sir. 467 (e.g., f. 223v  and ) and Vat. sir. 148 (e.g., f. 35v  and f. 36r ) .

¹⁸⁷ The terminology adopted here is based on that used by Hatch in his *Album* (1946). It should be noted, however, that other scholars make use of slightly different expressions when referring to particular graphic forms. Hunter and Dickens (2014), for example, refer to angular *dālath* and *rēsh* with the expression 'square cornered' and to type C with 'backward-C shaped'. See Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 12.

respectively, of the thirty-nine Syriac fragments in Syriac script with type C of *dālath*.

The second histogram, concerning the Christian-Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, shows very different results from the first one, at least with regard to the number of fragments in which the different types are present. In this case, the type of *dālath* that appears in the highest number of fragments is not type D, as verified for Syriac fragments in Syriac script, but B (i.e., the rounded type), which is found in two hundred and twenty-five fragments. After this, in order and with a considerable gap, come types D, C, A, and E.

The second ring chart, concerning the occurrences of type C of *dālath* within the Sogdian fragments, shows similar percentages to the previous chart, with 23% of cases in which this type is the only one to appear in the fragment and 77% in which it coexists with other types in the same fragment.

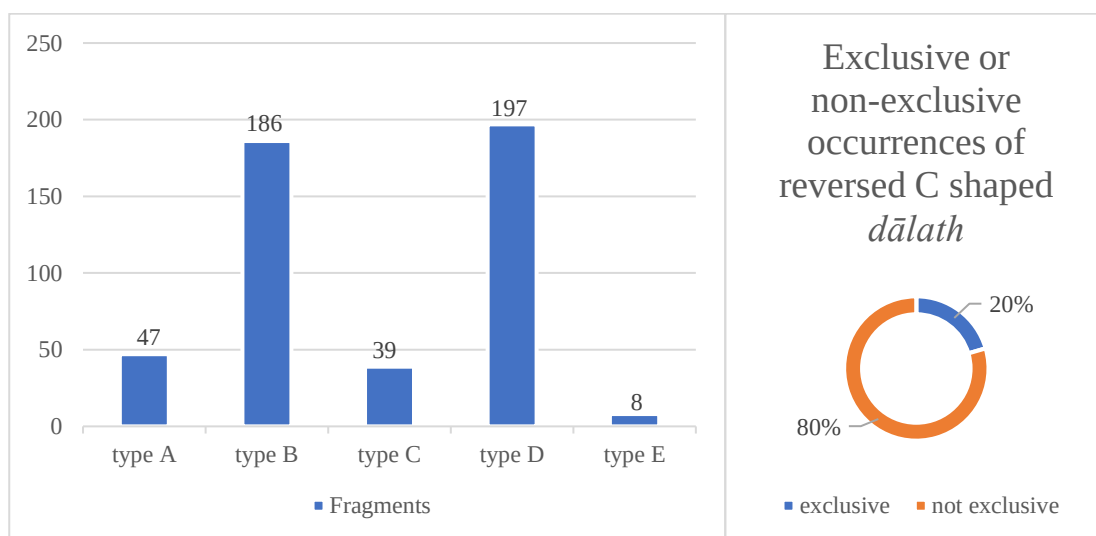


Chart 1: Number of fragments in Syriac script and Syriac language in which each type of *dālath* is present.

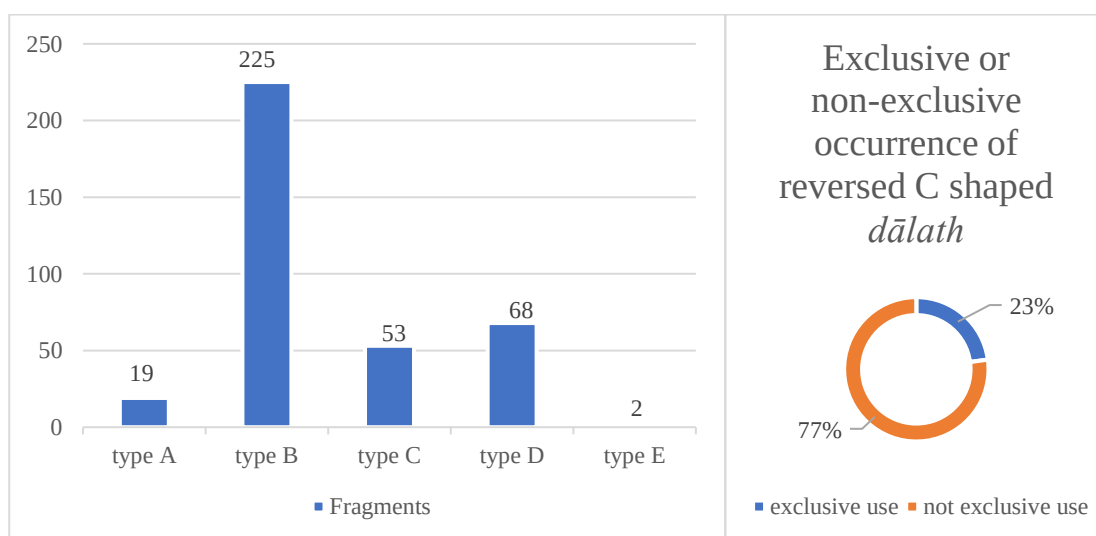


Chart 2: Number of fragments in Syriac script and Sogdian language in which every type of *dālath* is present.

As far as *rēsh* is concerned, there is a further change in the types found. As the following histograms show, both in Syriac fragments in Syriac script and in Christian-Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, the graphic type

of *rēsh* that appears in the largest number of fragments is B, with a total of two hundred and fifty-one Syriac fragments and two hundred and fourteen Christian-Sogdian fragments.

As for the other types of *rēsh*, as far as Syriac fragments are concerned, there is a considerable difference between the number of fragments in which type B appears and the number of fragments in which the second most frequent type, type C, is found. It, in fact, appears in precisely seventy-five fragments. The difference is less remarkable with regard to the Christian-Sogdian fragments, with two hundred and fourteen fragments bearing type B and one hundred and fifteen type C.

In addition, the percentages showing the exclusive or non-exclusive use of reversed C-shaped *rēsh* (type C) show the predominance of the exclusive use of it in 53% of Syriac fragments and in 57% of Christian-Sogdian fragments.

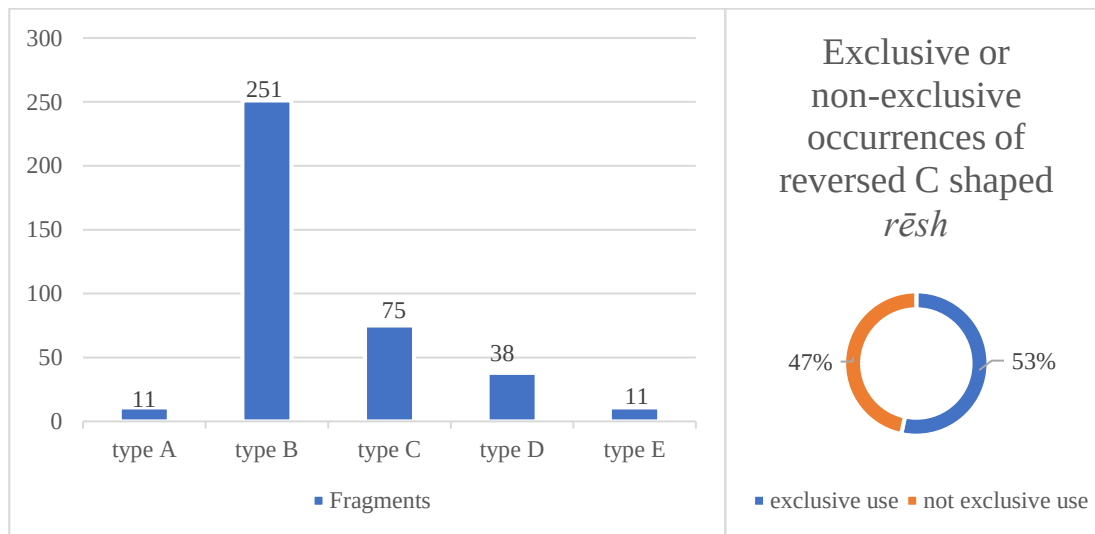


Chart 3: Number of Syriac fragments in Syriac script in which each type of *rēsh* is present.

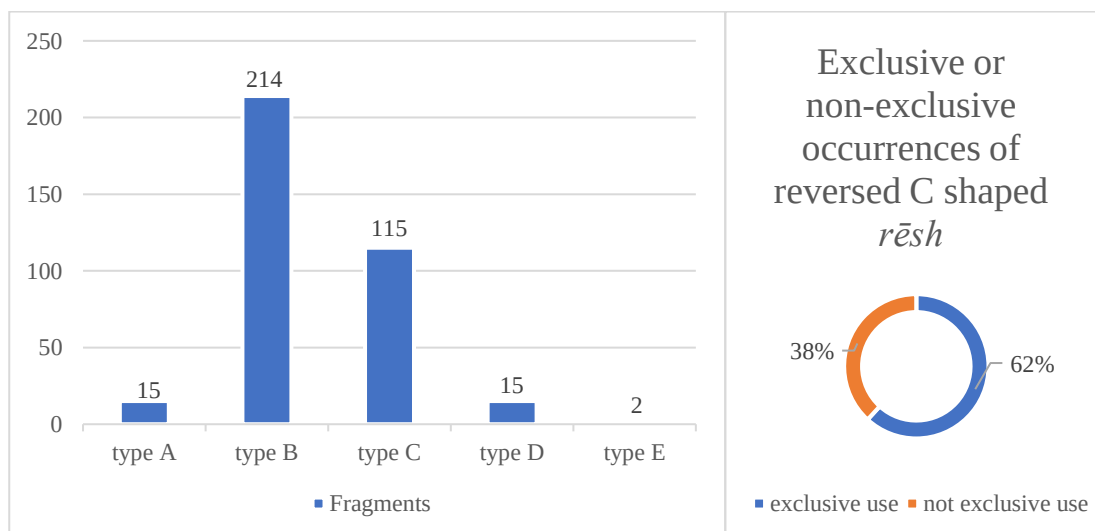


Chart 4: Number of Sogdian fragments in Syriac script in which each type of *rēsh* is present.

What is generally noticeable is the higher number of fragments in which type C of *rēsh* appears compared to those in which the same type appears for *dālath*. In fact, for type C *dālath* appears in 9.92% of the fragments, the percentage grows up to 20.49% considering only the occurrences of type C *rēsh*.

It is also important to report that the percentage of fragments in which the scribes use type C to write *dālath* and *rēsh* is higher in Christian-Sogdian fragments than in Syriac fragments, being 5.72% and 12.40% for Sogdian fragments and *ca.* 4.21% and 5.72% for Syriac ones, respectively.

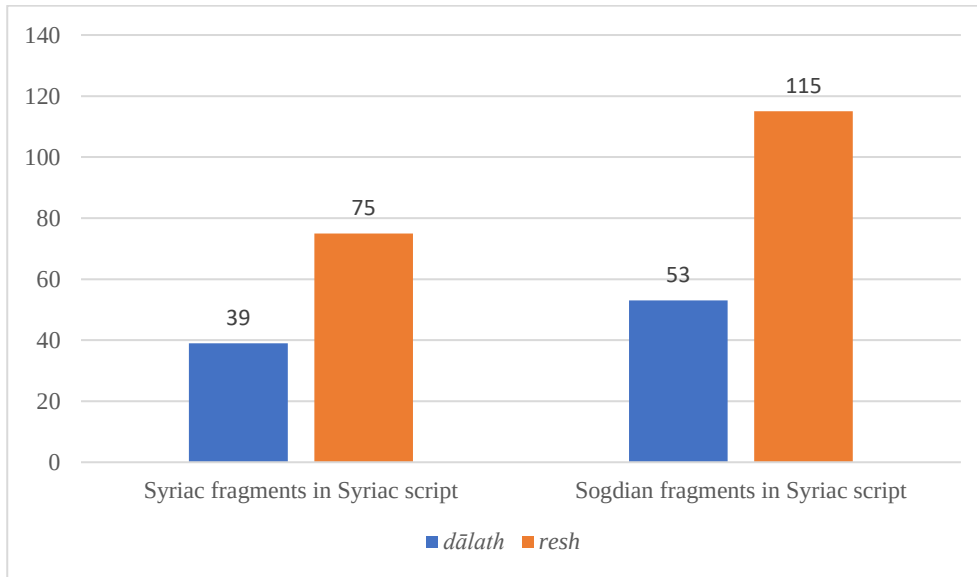
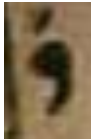


Chart 5: Occurrence of C reversed shaped *dālath* and *rēsh*.

It is also important to note that most of the fragments in which type C of *dālath* and *rēsh* is shown have not been dated, except for the Syriac fragments containing the *Legend of St. George*, dated by Maróth¹⁸⁸ to the tenth to eleventh centuries. An example is the Syriac fragment SyrHT 365, in which type C of *dālath* (e.g., SyrHT 365/side (b)/7 ) and *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 365/side (b)/2 ) appears, alongside other types, such as B.

As for the genre of the texts, if we consider the fragments in which type C is the only one attested for *dālath*, most of them belong to the genre of prayer, prayer-amulet or exercises of scribes; this shape appears, therefore, within *utilitarian* writing. As far as *rēsh* is concerned, the reversed C-shaped type is attested in fragments belonging to a wider range of genres, including the genres of prayer-amulets (e.g., SyrHT 335/side (a)/2 ) and of scribal exercises (e.g., SyrHT 321/side (b)/4 ), but also of Hudra (e.g., SyrHT 122/side (a)/3 ) and the genre of Lectionary (New Testament Lectionary) or of Gospel (e.g., SyrHT 383/side (b)/3 )

¹⁸⁸ Maróth 1991.

<i>dālath</i>			
SyrHT 133 (Hudra DD)	Unidentified		Type A (the angular type)
SyrHT 71 (Psalter E)	Psalms 22:8-26:3		Type B (the rounded type)
SyrHT 58 (Hudra M)	Martyrs' Anthems		Type C (the reversed C-shaped type)
SyrHT 50 (Hudra J)	Liturgy from for the Third Sunday in an unnamed season		Type D (the angular type with the upper corner rounded)
<i>rēsh</i>			
n197 (E29)	An encounter between Simon Peter and Simon Magus		Type A (the angular type)
n148 (E28)	End of an unidentified text, selected sayings of Šem'on d-Ṭaibuteh		Type B (the rounded type)
SyrHT 58 (Hudra M)	Martyrs' Anthems		Type C (the reversed C-shaped type)
n162 (E5)	Luke 10.34-42; 6.12-17		Type D (the angular type with the upper corner rounded)

Turfan graphic forms for *dālath* and *rēsh*. Some examples.

III.3 EAST-SYRIAC LIGATURE *TAW-ĀLAPH* AND ISOLATED V-SHAPED *TAW*

Another typical East-Syriac script form that appears in some Syriac and Christian Sogdian fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection is *taw-ālahph* ligature.

In some of these fragments and outside of *taw-ālahph* ligature, it has also been possible to detect the above-mentioned v-shaped *taw*. In such circumstances it will be referred to as *isolated v-shaped taw*. It should be noted that the term *isolated* does not in any case refer to the graphic connection of v-shaped *taw* with other letters within the word in which it is found, but only to its use outside of the aforesaid East-Syriac ligature.

Among the fragments studied here, none of the Sogdian fragments show the ligature or the isolated v-shaped *taw*. Twenty-two of the Syriac fragments show the ligature of *taw* and *ālahph* at the end of the word. This form of *taw* also appears outside the ligature in nine of the fragments.

In almost all fragments showing isolated v-shaped *taw*, *taw-ālahph* ligature is also present; the only exception is fragment SyrHT 254 in which isolated v-shaped *taw* appears in a marginal note, in medial position.

As can be seen from the following table, in *taw-ālahph* ligatures in most cases the rod of *ālahph* is inclined more or less markedly to the right, with a few exceptions, such as SyrHT 128 in which *ālahph* is inclined to the left (in the same fragment, however, most *taw-ālahph* ligatures show reverse inclination).

In some cases, *taw* within the ligature forms a less acute angle, resulting in a more curvilinear form, as for example in the SyrHT 274 fragment.

A characteristic rendering of *taw* within *taw-ālahph* ligature is that of SyrHT 152. Here *taw* is written in its v-shaped form, but it is bigger in modulus, and it is not properly connected with the following letter (*ālahph* is not visible, but ܐܠܗܦܗ seems the most likely reading of the word)¹⁸⁹.

The isolated v-shaped *taw* appears in both medial and end-word positions. Sometimes, as in the case of SyrHT 94, n415 and n420, it is attested in both positions.

It is remarkable, as already mentioned, that none of the fragments considered here belongs to the genre of the Gospel or the lectionary.

As shown in the following pie chart, the twenty-three fragments in which v-shaped *taw* appears in its isolated form or within the East-Syriac ligature *taw-ālahph* pertain to various literary genres, including hagiography, liturgy, philosophical texts¹⁹⁰, amulet-prayers, and scribal exercises. Some of these fragments come from the same manuscript and from the same hand: these are the fragments containing the *Legend of St. George*¹⁹¹ and the philosophical fragments¹⁹² which, according to Hunter and Dickens (2014), would be part of the same *folio*. A probable join has also been detected by the same scholars between the fragments SyrHT 321 and 323, containing what appear to be scribal exercises. Unlike the above fragments, SyrHT 152 and SyrHT 274, also classified by Hunter and Dickens (2014) as amulet-prayers, do not come from the same manuscript and do not appear to be from the same hand.

The four fragments labeled as “Others” in the chart below are SyrHT 1 (Pharmaceutical recipe book), SyrHT 128 (unidentified, possibly from a liturgical or prayer text), SyrHT 264 (Calendrical?)¹⁹³, and SyrHT 393 (Uighur Turkic text in Syriac script).

¹⁸⁹ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 161.

¹⁹⁰ These are as yet unidentified philosophical texts. See Appendix 1 of Hunter and Dickens 2014, at pp. 425-431.

¹⁹¹ SyrHT 95, SyrHT 360, SyrHT 361, and SyrHT 365; see Maróth 1991.

¹⁹² SyrHT 255, SyrHT 285, SyrHT 389, n415 and n420.

¹⁹³ This is an as yet unidentified fragment, probably of calendrical content. See Hunter and Dickens 2014, pp. 253-254 and Appendix 1 of the same catalogue, at pp. 425-431.

Content and ms.	Fragment	Taw-ālahp ligature	Isolated v-shaped taw
LITURGY			
Hudra F	SyrHT 151	attested (e.g., SyrHT 151/side (b)/5 )	not attested
Hudra W	SyrHT 254	not attested	attested (SyrHT 254/side (a)/marginal note )
Hudra Z	SyrHT 245	attested (e.g., SyrHT 245/ side (a)/right fol./9 )	attested (e.g., SyrHT 245/side (a)/left fol./8 )
Unidentified liturgical fragment, possibly from a Taksa	SyrHT 76	attested (e.g., SyrHT 76/ side (a)/5 )	not attested
PRAYERS			
Prayer-amulet D	SyrHT 274	attested (e.g., SyrHT 274/ side (a)/2 )	not attested
Prayer-amulet E	SyrHT 152	attested (e.g., SyrHT 152/ side (a)/2 )	not attested
HAGIOGRAPHY			
Legend of St. George	SyrHT 95	attested (e.g., SyrHT 95/ side (a)/right fol./14 )	not attested
	SyrHT 360	attested (e.g., SyrHT 360/side (a)/6 )	not attested
	SyrHT 361	attested (e.g., SyrHT 361/side (a)/6 )	not attested
	SyrHT 365	attested (e.g., SyrHT 365/side (b)/6 )	not attested
DIALOGUES			
Christian-Jewish Dialogue	SyrHT 94	attested (e.g., SyrHT 94/ side (a)/right fol./7 )	attested (e.g., SyrHT 94/side (a)/left fol./6  and SyrHT 94/side (b)/right fol./14 )
PHILOSOPHY			
Philosophical?	SyrHT 255	attested (e.g., SyrHT 255/ side (a)/4 )	attested (SyrHT 255/side (a)/2 )
Philosophical?	SyrHT 285	attested (e.g., SyrHT 285/side (a)/6 )	attested (SyrHT 285/side (a)/5 )
Philosophical?	SyrHT 389	attested (e.g., SyrHt 389/side (a)/2 )	attested (e.g., SyrHT 389/side (a)/3 )
Philosophical?	n415	attested (e.g., n415/R/2 )	attested (e.g., n415/V/3  and n415/R/ 5 )
Philosophical?	n420	attested (e.g., n420/V/3 )	attested (e.g., n420/V/4  and n420/V/5 )
SCRIBAL EXCERCISES			
Scrival exercises?	SyrHT 265	attested (e.g., SyrHT 265/side (b)/Block II-hand 3/5  and SyrHT 265/side (b)/Vertical Line III-hand 4 )	not attested

Content and ms.	Fragment	<i>Taw-ālah</i> ligature	Isolated v-shaped <i>taw</i>
Scribal exercises?	SyrHT 321	attested (e.g., SyrHT 321/side (b)/2 )	not attested
Scribal exercises?	SyrHT 323	attested (e.g., SyrHT 323/side (b)/2 )	not attested
OTHERS			
Pharmaceutical recipe book	SyrHT 1	attested (e.g., SyrHT 1/side (a)/3 )	attested (e.g., SyrHT 1/side (a)/4 )
Unidentified, possibly from a liturgical or prayer text	SyrHT 128	attested (e.g., SyrHT 128/ side (a)/1 )	not attested
Calendrical?	SyrHT 264	attested (e.g., SyrHT 264/ side (a)/1 )	not attested
Uighur Turkic text in Syriac script ¹⁹⁴	SyrHT 393	attested (e.g., SyrHT 393/side (a)/5 )	not attested

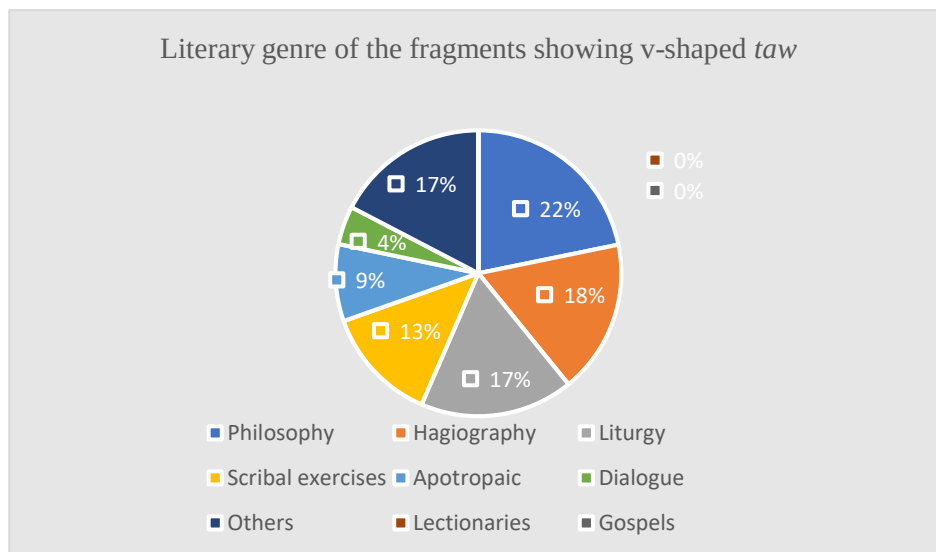


Chart 6: Literary genre of the fragments showing v-shaped *taw*.

¹⁹⁴ See Zieme 2015.

CHAPTER IV. SOME COMMON FORMS AT TURFAN

Some forms of *taw* and *šādē* deserve a deeper analysis.

In the case of *taw*, in particular, the use of a form less common in the Middle East has been noted. *Taw*, very frequent in Syriac language for morphological reasons, is also found in Sogdian fragments and often it gives rise to interesting realizations when followed by *ālah* at the end of a word.

Second, the wide range of variants of graphic forms of *šādē* present both in Syriac and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script from the Berlin Turfan Collection require specific attention.

The case of *šādē* in Sogdian language is somehow similar to that of *taw* in Syriac, in terms of frequency and combination possibilities. The Syriac letter *šādē*, in fact, corresponds to the Iranian phoneme *c*, which appears, for example, in the preposition *cn*. In this latter case, *šādē* appears in combination with the letter *nun*, sometimes giving rise, as we shall see, to interesting ligatures.

IV.1 GRAPHIC FORMS OF TAW

IV.1.1 The ‘vertical’ *taw*

The Syriac and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script of the *Berlin Turfan Collection* show a remarkable variety of forms for *taw*. They can be traced to the known cursive types listed below:

- Type 1: the typical cursive form (), which according to Hatch “developed out of the Estrangēlā  with a small and solid loop¹⁹⁵, ¹⁹⁶;
- Type 2: the triangular *taw*, which consists of the cursive type 1 form with a connecting stroke from the bottom right to the top left on the right side ();
- Type 3: a variation of type 1 () in which the arc¹⁹⁷ located at the base of *taw* tends to be oriented no longer downwards, but to the left; in this way, the letter shows what the writer believes can be defined as a more “vertical” attitude (e.g., SyrHT 122/side (a)/4 ; Hudra H).

Each of these three types appears in different variants. For example, type 1 is found both with and without a loop at the bottom and with and without a *bulb* in its upper portion.

Psalter K (e.g., SyrHT 120) shows several examples of *taw*, including examples of type 1. They show a small loop (e.g., side (b)/9 ). In other cases, the loop is even more pronounced, as in SyrHT 242, unidentified content (e.g., side (a)/1 ). The fragments of Lectionary B also show, among others, *taw* with a small loop (e.g., SyrHT 277/side (a)/6 ). In contrast, the same form of *taw*, devoid of a loop, appears in Hudra K (e.g., SyrHT 207/side (a)/7 ) and in Sogdian manuscripts E5 (e.g., n150/V/6 ), E28 (e.g., n148/R/7 ) and E36 (e.g., n349/R/9 ).

Sometimes the loop of Type 1 *taw* may take a more triangular, rigid, less rounded appearance, as occurs in Epistle Lectionary E6 (e.g., n398 or E6/18, R/3 ).

A further distinctive element is represented by the presence or absence of bulbous apex or by its greater or lesser accentuation. Lectionary B and Hudra K are both characterized by the presence of some *taw* with a

¹⁹⁵ Hatch 1946, p. 37.

¹⁹⁶ See column 70 and following columns of Euting’s palaeographical tables in Chwolson 1980.

¹⁹⁷ The term ‘arc’ is used here *lato sensu* and not in its precise geometrical meaning of part of a regular curve between two points.

bulbous apex at the top: it appears with less prominence in the *taw* of Lectionary B (e.g., SyrHT 277/side (a)/6 ) and with greater accentuation in some *taw* of Hudra K manuscript (e.g., SyrHT 131/side (a)/8 ). Hudra E, on the other hand, shows examples of *taw* of type 1 with no loop at the bottom of the letter and no bulb at the top (e.g., SyrHT 253/side (a)/3 ).

Type 2 is roughly triangular in shape and often has an arc, a sort of semicircle at the bottom. This *taw*, as well as type 1, is the usual form in West-Syriac, East-Syriac and Melkite manuscripts.

In fact, according to Hatch, it derives from the *serîā* graphic form of *taw* (), which is provided with an oblique stroke when it is connected to the preceding letter, as already pointed out by Hatch in his work¹⁹⁸. It seems appropriate to distinguish a type 1 and a type 2, since the latter is occasionally used in the Turfan fragments studied here even when *taw* is not connected to the preceding letter. This is an anomaly that is also found in the East-Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East. Hatch writes: ‘The Serîā  is regularly used in Nestorian codices of the Serîā type, and in these it has the oblique stroke when it is not connected with the preceding letter and even when it stands at the beginning of a word’¹⁹⁹, probably meaning by ‘Nestorian codices of the Serîā type’ the East-Syriac codices in cursive script.

In our fragments, type 2 is frequently attested, both in Syriac and Sogdian manuscripts. However, in most cases, the *taw* arc, usually facing downwards in the Middle Eastern context, here is turned to the left (e.g., n382 or E28/17, V/13  and SyrHT 347/side (a)/4 ). The only two exceptions are found in the *Legend of St. George* (e.g., SyrHT 365/side (a)/11  and in Prayer-booklet I (U338-08/4 ) where the arc faces downwards.

Within the *corpus* considered, the triangular *taw* form shows, like type 1, numerous variants. In Hudra F, for example, the triangular *taw* often acquires a serpentine-like shape, with a rounded apex, as in SyrHT 145 (side (a)/6 ) and SyrHT 106 (side (a)/12 ); in other cases, such as in Psalter F (e.g., SyrHT 172/side (a)/1 ) it shows no arc.

In the latter codex, whose peculiar handwriting I have mentioned in Chapter II (in particular in II.2), it is possible to see clearly the *ductus* of the letter *taw*: it originates on the line of writing, continues with an ascending line inclined to the left which, after having changed direction, occasionally forming a loop at the top, descends through a second slightly oblique line (e.g., SyrHT 176/side (a)/6 ).

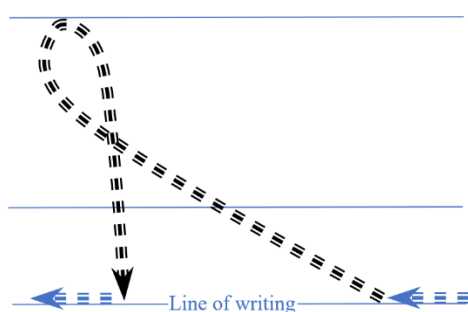


Figure 1: *Ductus* of *taw* in Psalter F.

¹⁹⁸ Hatch 1946, p. 37.

¹⁹⁹ Hatch 1946, p. 37. Some examples of such usage indicated by Hatch 1946, are found in ms. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Syr. 88 (Petermann I, 9), a codex in East-Syriac script dated 1259-1260 and containing works of philosophical, grammatical, and theological nature (Hatch plate CLXXIII) and in ms. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. Syr. 10, written in East-Syriac script, dated 1380 and containing the work by Isho'dah “An Explanation of Difficult Passages in the Holy Scriptures” (Hatch Plate CCLXXVI).

A further variant of triangular *taw* is observed, alongside the standard form, in SyrHT 59 (SyrHT 59/side (a)/12 ; Hudra A) in which the semicircle on the left side of the letter has a lower appendage that curves to the right.

There is also a variant of triangular *taw* of smaller size and without the arc. This is a graphic form, which seems to derive from a stylization of the usual triangular form, and which is also attested in manuscripts from the Middle East. This graphic form is reminiscent of the v-shaped type described in the previous chapter. The v-shaped *taw* appears, however, as an inverted triangle below the line of writing, while this other type of *taw* is written above it; it appears either next to *ālah* at the end of a word, or next to other letters in medial and final position (see for example the fragments SyrHT 2 (II)/side (b)/5  and 8 , and n146 = E26/1, R/10 ). The following images show the *ductus* of the smaller triangular *taw* variant described here.

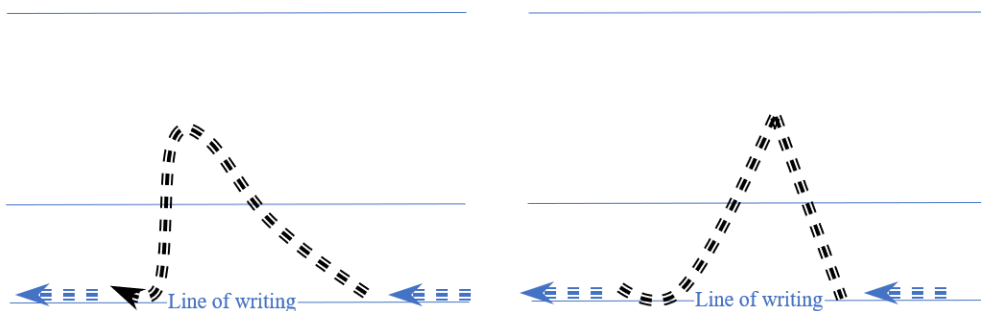


Figure 1: The two images above show two *ductus* of the smaller type of triangular *taw*. These *ductus* can be observed, for example, in SyrHT 2 and E26/1.

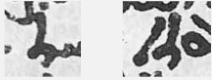
It is possible that this smaller triangular *taw* and the *v-shape taw* constitute two distinct, perhaps consecutive, stages of the process which, beginning with the triangular *taw*, led, in the case where it was followed by *ālah* and at the end of a word, to the East-Syriac *taw-ālah* ligature mentioned in the previous chapter.

As for type 3, it is quite frequent in the Syriac and Sogdian fragments studied here. I will refer to it as ‘vertical *taw*’, by reason of the peculiar orientation of this graphic form, which has only one point of contact or intersection (in the case where *taw* partially crosses the line of writing) with the line of writing and not two (as it occurs with type 1).

Like the other forms of *taw*, vertical *taw* is not exclusively found in the Turfan oasis and Central Asia. In fact, it is also possible to observe this *taw* in manuscripts from the Middle East.

In this regard, it has been possible to detect at least eight cases in which this form appears in Syriac codices not coming from Central Asia dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century. The following table illustrates these cases with examples, and shows the date, provenance, and content of each manuscript²⁰⁰. The manuscripts highlighted in grey are West-Syriac codices, while the last manuscript is Melkite. The rest of the codices are of East-Syriac origin.

²⁰⁰ The images in the table and the information about the dating, provenance, and content of the manuscripts are taken from the repertoires of Hatch 1946 and Wright 1872, with the exception of the Hudra (Mosul, Mar Ishaya Church) and Mingana 544, whose images and information have been taken respectively from <https://www.vhmmml.org/readingRoom>, for the former, and from <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/facilities/cadbury/birmingham-quran-mingana-collection/mingana-collection/index.aspx> and Mingana’s catalogue, Vol. I, col. 1101-1004, for the latter (both last accessed 07/2023).

Codex	Date	Place	Contents	Example of <i>taw</i>
London, BL, Add. 14623	823	Once belonged to the Convent of St. Mary Deipara in Nitria. It was written in the Thebaid of Egypt	John of Lycopolis, Eight Discourses; Evagrius, Three Discourses; id. A Dialogue of a Teacher and a Pupil; id. An Admonition; id. Two Letters; Jacob of Serûg, Two Letters; Ephraem Syrus, A Letter to the Monks Who dwelt in the Mountains; John Chrysostom, Nine Extracts; Ephrem Syrus, Two Discourses (extracts); The Catholic Epistles of the New Testament according to the Peshîttâ Version; Jacob of Serûg, A Metrical Discourse on the Prophet Jonah; Severus of Antioch, A Discourse on the Trisagion; id. Five Extracts from the Homiliae Cathedrales; Basil, An Extract from the Regulae brevius tractatae; id., A Letter to the Recluses; John Chrysostom, A Consolatory Discourse for the Dead; Abraham ܠܝܬܐ, Three Short Selections; Basil, Extracts from and Epistle on the Ascetic Life; Nilus the Monk, A Discourse; Philoxenus of Mabbûg, A Letter to Patricius of Edessa; Evagrius, A Treatise on the Distinction of the Passions; Cyril of Alexandria, Two Extracts; Jacob of Serûg, Two Canticles on Penitence; Isaiah of Scete, An Extract.	 e.g., fol. 46 (Hatch, Pl. XCVIII)
London, BL, Add. 14580	866	Edessa	Evagrius, A Treatise on Foul Thoughts; John of Lycopolis, Letters, Discourses and a Dialogue; Philoxenus of Mabbûg, A Letter to Patricius, a Monk of Edessa; Jacob of Serug, Six Metrical Discourses	 e.g., fol. 65b (Wright, Pl. IX)
London, BL, Add. 12138 ²⁰¹	899	Convent of Mār Gabriel of confessors, near Ḥarrān	The book of excerpts of terms and phrases in Holy Scripture (East-Syriac Masora)	 e.g., fol. 190a (Wright, Pl. XIII)
London, BL, Add. 14668	865-866	Unknown	Part of the History of Pachomius; Extracts from the Apophthegmata Patrum; and Isaiah of Scete, Fragments	 e.g., f. 40v (Hatch, Pl. CIII)
London, BL, Add. 17194	885-866	Unknown	The Book of the Demonstrations of the Holy Fathers	 e.g., f. 39v (Hatch, Pl. CX)

²⁰¹ i.e., manuscript (7); see table on p. 28.

Codex	Date	Place	Contents	Example of <i>taw</i>
Mosul, Mar Ishaya Church (relocated) ²⁰²	X-XI th cent.	Possibly copied at the Upper monastery.	Hudra, beginning with the end of the Office for Christmas lands and continuing on to the end of the liturgical year	 e.g., f. 13v
London, BL, Add. 14734	1085	The manuscript was written in the Convent of St. Mary Deipara in Nitria	Samuel, The History of Bar-Šaumā	  e.g., fol. 58v (Hatch, Pl. CXXIV)
London, BL, Add. 14679	1102	The manuscript was written in Gazarta, which was also called Nikios, in the neighbourhood of the desert of Scete and Cairo and Alexandria	Daniel of Ṣalah, Commentary on the Psalms, Vol. II	  e.g., fol. 117v (Hatch, Pl. CXXV)
Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana 544	XII-XIII th cent.	Unknown	Christological and controversial work which upholds the Diophysite doctrine of the incarnation	 f. 1v
London, BL, Add. 14711	1222	The name of the place where the manuscript was written is not given. The codex once belonged to the Convent of St. Mary Deipara in Nitria	Select Offices for Various Occasions according to the Melkite Use	  e.g., fol. 74 (Hatch, Pl. CLXXXVII)

In two of the above-mentioned manuscripts, namely London, BL, Add. 14668 and London, BL, Add. 14679 it was also possible to note cases of triangular *taw* with an arc facing left and not down (e.g., fol.40v, Hatch, Pl. CIII: ; fol. 117v, Hatch, Pl. CXXV: .

As far as we have been able to observe, vertical *taw* appears exclusively in three East-Syriac manuscripts, the oldest of which is dated to 899. The rest of the examples come from West-Syriac codices (the oldest dated to 823) and a Melkite manuscript (1222).

Considering the discrete presence of the vertical *taw* type in the Middle Eastern manuscript material, it is striking how much more frequently this graphic form is found in the Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments of the Berlin Turfan Collection.

In fact, the vertical type of *taw* appears in a total of three hundred and eighty-nine fragments (of which one hundred and sixty-one are Sogdian fragments and two hundred and sixteen Syriac fragments), attributable to at least seventy manuscripts. It is also observed in ten bilingual fragments, most of which come from manuscript E6.

In particular, within the Sogdian manuscript material in Syriac script the vertical *taw* type is the only form attested in ninety-two fragments, while it appears alongside other types in eighty-one fragments. As for Syriac fragments, vertical *taw* is found alone in forty-seven fragments and with other forms in one hundred and sixty-

²⁰² i.e., manuscript (10); see p. 28.

nine fragments. Finally, with regard to the bilingual manuscripts, both vertical and triangular *taw* appear in E1, as well as in E3, E4, and E6; in the only fragment of E2 only the vertical type appears.

As with *taw* types 1 and 2, vertical *taw* also appears within the material under examination in several variants, which are distinguished primarily by the presence or absence of a loop and bulb. The fragment SyrHT 309 (unidentified content) shows, for example, a loop in the point of intersection between the arc oriented to the left, below, and the line above (side (b)/2 ) , a loop which is even more pronounced in SyrHT 247 (side (b)/3 ) . Another interesting example of a vertical *taw* is found in Hudra M manuscript (e.g., SyrHT 213/side (a)/11 ) and side (a)/7 ) , where the line above the arc arches backwards to the right and ends in a bulb²⁰³.

The majority of Syriac manuscripts in which vertical *taw* appears belong to the liturgical genre; the Old Testament, the prayer genre, the miscellany genre, the New Testament, and the hagiographic genre follow.

As far as Sogdian manuscripts are concerned, however, the majority of codices in which vertical *taw* appears belong to manuscripts with miscellaneous content; the New Testament, liturgical and hagiographic genres, and the prayer genre follow.

Gospels and lectionaries cover 8.86% of the total number of Syriac, Sogdian, and bilingual manuscripts in which the above type appears. These are Gospel A, Lectionary A and Sogdian lectionaries E1, E2, E3, E5 and E6.

The majority of Syriac and Sogdian Christian fragments in Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan Collection show more than one of the three types of *taw* described above. An exception is that of the fragments from Lectionary B, in which only type 1 appears.

Some manuscripts are characterized by the use of all three types of *taw*, as is the case with the Prayer-booklet H (e.g., SyrHT 221/4b/14 ) , 5 ) ; e.g., SyrHT 221/4a/13 ) , the Hudra J (e.g., SyrHT 222/side (a)/5 ) , 6 ) , 16 ) , the Service book E9 (e.g., n394 or E9/1, V/10 ) , V/4 )) and the E28 (e.g., n343 or E28/85a V6 ) , R6 ) , V5 )).

The simultaneous use of type 1 and type 2 or type 2 and type 3 is particularly interesting in light of what Hatch wrote about the above anomaly. According to Hatch, in fact, in East-Syriac manuscripts of Middle Eastern origin, the cursive *taw* is often provided with an oblique stroke on the right even when it is not connected with the letter preceding it and when it is placed at the beginning of the word. This is also the case of some Turfan fragments, such as the fragment SyrHT 221/6a (e.g., SyrHT 221/6a/12 ) ; Prayer-booklet H).

In several cases, the triangular *taw* alternates with the other two or with one of the other two types in the same fragment, with no apparent explanation as to why some *taw* of type 1 or type 3 are connected to their right, even though they have no oblique tract. A striking case is the fragment SyrHT 212 (Hudra F), in which type 2 and type 3, i.e., triangular *taw* and vertical *taw*, appear. In the fragment in question, in fact, both types are connected to the right to the letter that precedes them (SyrHT 212/side (b)/8 ) , side (a)/2 )).

Finally, the attestation of the vertical type of *taw* in other regions of Central Asia different from Turfan is noteworthy. In one of his studies²⁰⁴ about funerary epigraphs found near Semirech'e region, corresponding mainly to present-day Kyrgyzstan, Sluckij shows some *taw* realizations similar to the previous examples of

²⁰³ This type of *taw*, although it is not the only one in Hudra M, in which more common triangular and vertical *taw* are also observed, is very frequent in this manuscript. Here, the scribe often endows *ālah* with a bulb (e.g., SyrHT 213/side a/6 ) . We also note a tendency to accentuate the length of the descender of *gāmal* and *šādē* (e.g., SyrHT 212/side (a)/7 ) and /6 ) and a characteristic realization of final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 213/side (a)/9 )).

²⁰⁴ Sluckij 1889.

Fragment (manuscript to which the fragment belongs, if known)	Example
Type 3	
SyrHT 122 (Hudra H)	
SyrHT 213 (Hudra M)	
SyrHT 309 - unidentified content –	
SyrHT 247 - excerpts from the Psalms, presumably from a liturgical text –	
n343 (E28)	

Graphic forms of *taw*. Some examples.

IV.1.2 Reflection on the possibility of a comparison between the graphic forms of Turfan and the epigraphic forms of *taw* found in Central Asia

Already Sluckij, in one of his studies²⁰⁶ on the funerary epigraphs found in Semirech'e, reports, as we have seen, some realizations of *taw* similar to the examples of vertical *taw* and triangular *taw* with arc facing left.

One of the oldest of such epigraphs²⁰⁷ is SA 14347 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage). It is dated to 1575 A.G., the year of the Rat, corresponding to 1264. It is the funerary epigraph of a man, in Syriac language, showing *taw* of two types: the first, circled in blue (see Plate VI), is similar to the form *estrangēlā*, which is also found at Turfan; the second, circled in red and in final position, is instead identical with the vertical form of *taw* common at Turfan.

The second example proposed is the funerary epigraph AO 28052 (Paris, Louvre) dated to 1618 A.G., the year of the Sheep, i.e., 1307²⁰⁸. The epigraph in Syriac language and script shows only one type of *taw*, the triangular *taw* with an arc facing left (circled in green in Plate VII). This is the triangular *taw* already attested at Turfan perhaps a few centuries earlier. It is significant to note that in this epigraph the engraver uses this type of *taw* in the initial position. A similar situation has been noted at Turfan, particularly in the fragment SyrHT 221 (Prayer Booklet H), a case mentioned in IV.1²⁰⁹, and it is also documented in East-Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East, such as Vat. sir. 622 (1298)²¹⁰.

²⁰⁶ Sluckij 1889.

²⁰⁷ Sluckij 1889, Chwolson 1890.

²⁰⁸ Published in Chwolson 1897 and Desreumaux 2015.

²⁰⁹ See p. 88.

²¹⁰ It corresponds to manuscript (21) in the table on p. 29.

Finally, we report the case of the funerary epigraph SA 14302 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage), dated to 1629 A.G., the year of the Horse, i.e., 1318²¹¹. Here two types of *taw* appear—the triangular type with arc facing left (circled in green; see Plate VIII) and the vertical type (circled in red)—and, in addition, the East-Syriac ligature of *taw* and *ālah* (circled in white). It is significant to note that, unlike the engraver of AO 28052, the one who engraved the epigraph in question uses triangular *taw* within and at the end of words when connected to the right, while vertical *taw* exclusively in the initial position.

In conclusion, I believe that studies on Syriac Turfan palaeography in particular, and Syriac in general, would certainly benefit from a comparison with the script of Central Asian Christian epigraphs. Such a comparison would allow us to frame the Syriac palaeography of Turfan not only in relation to the regions that have traditionally represented the fulcrum of Syriac culture, but also in a broader Central Asian context²¹².

IV. 2 FORMS OF *ṢĀDĒ* AT TURFAN

IV.2.1 Proposal for a taxonomy

It has been possible to trace all the forms of *ṣādē* that appear in the fragments under investigation to four main types:

- Type 1  : a curvilinear line similar to an arc open upwards on the line of writing; the descender, on the left, is a wide and fluent curve going down to the left, as in the case of SyrHT 212 (side (a)/3 ; side (a)/1 ; Hudra F);
- Type 2  : an arc opened upwards on the line of writing and a descender consisting of two parts: a straight or slightly oblique line and a curve similar to an ellipse arc open on the left; at their point of intersection the two parts form a marked acute or right angle. Some examples of this graphic form can be seen in n184 (E24/3, R/5 ; Legend of the Invention of the Cross) and in n205 (E6/20a; R/2 ; Syriac/Sogdian bilingual lectionary E6);
- Type 3  : an arc opened upwards on the line of writing and a descender consisting of two lines forming a highly acute angle: the first line going down to the right, the second going to the left. This is, for example, the case with of *ṣādē* that appears in SyrHT 254/side (a)/6 (; Hudra W);
- Type 4  : an arc opened upwards on the line of writing and a descender dropping sinously and curvilinearly below the line of writing - not to the left, as in fragment n466 (E28/128a, V/3 ; Miscellany).

The frequency with which each of the above-described forms appears in these Syriac and Sogdian fragments varies considerably.

As far as Syriac fragments are concerned, letter *ṣādē* appears at least once in one hundred and eighty fragments. Of these fragments, one hundred and five show type 1 of *ṣādē*, forty-six type 4, sixteen type 3 and thirteen type 2.

Thus, type 1 () represents by far the most frequent in Syriac manuscripts.

²¹¹ Edited in Chwolson 1886, in Sluckij 1889 and in Chwolson 1890.

²¹² I thank Pier Giorgio Borbone for having given me access to the database of Turkish-Syriac inscriptions curated by him, from which I have taken the images and the information on the funerary epigraphs brought as an example in these pages.

However, considering the Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, the most frequent graphic types of *šādē* are type 1 (𐩦𐩣𐩪) and 2 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠), which appear at least once in one hundred and sixty and one hundred and fifty fragments, respectively. These are followed by type 4 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪), which appears in eighty-seven fragments, and, finally, type 3 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪𐩠), which is found in fourteen fragments. The letter *šādē* appears, therefore, in a total of four hundred and eleven fragments.

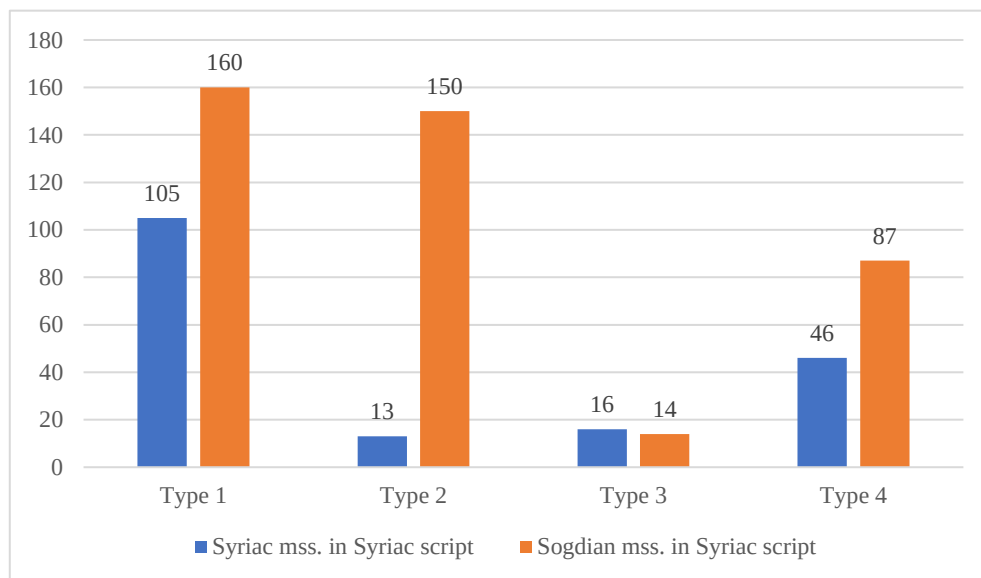


Chart 7 Frequency of the letter *šādē* by type.

As seen in the graph above, the two types that generally appear most frequently are type 1 (𐩦𐩣𐩪) and type 2 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠). On the other hand, type 3 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪𐩠) is, according to the data in our possession, the least used type in Turfan.

Moreover, the graph above shows that the largest gap, comparing the number of Syriac and Sogdian fragments, occurs for type 2 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠): the latter is the second most frequent for Sogdian fragments, while it is the least frequent for Syriac fragments.

It is important to shed light on which are the literary genres in which each of the four types appears most assiduously.

As for Syriac fragments in Syriac script, type 1 (𐩦𐩣𐩪) is the one that appears in most fragments of all literary genres, except the hagiographic genre. The latter is characterized by the majority use of type 3 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪𐩠), which is found, for example, in the *Legend of St. George* (e.g., SyrHT 359/side (b)/2 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪𐩠).

With regard to Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, type 1 (𐩦𐩣𐩪) prevails in those belonging to the genre of prayers (e.g., E18, E22, E34) and miscellanies (e.g., E26, E28); in other literary genres, type 2 (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠) prevails (e.g., E5 for New Testament texts; E27 for miscellanies).

The graphs below illustrate the presence of each of the four types in the Syriac and Sogdian fragments taking into account the literary genre to which they belong.

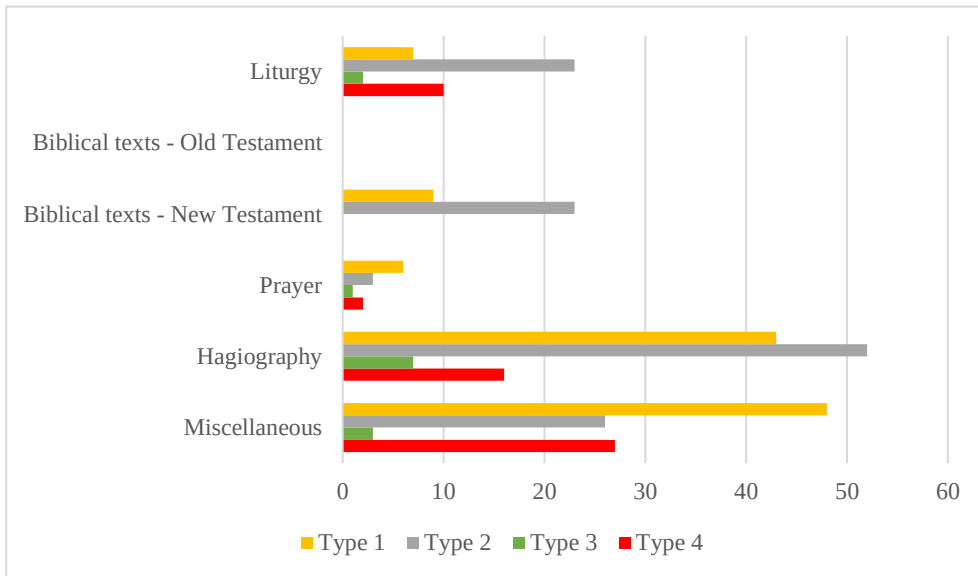


Chart 8: Frequency of *šādē* types in Syriac mss. by genre.

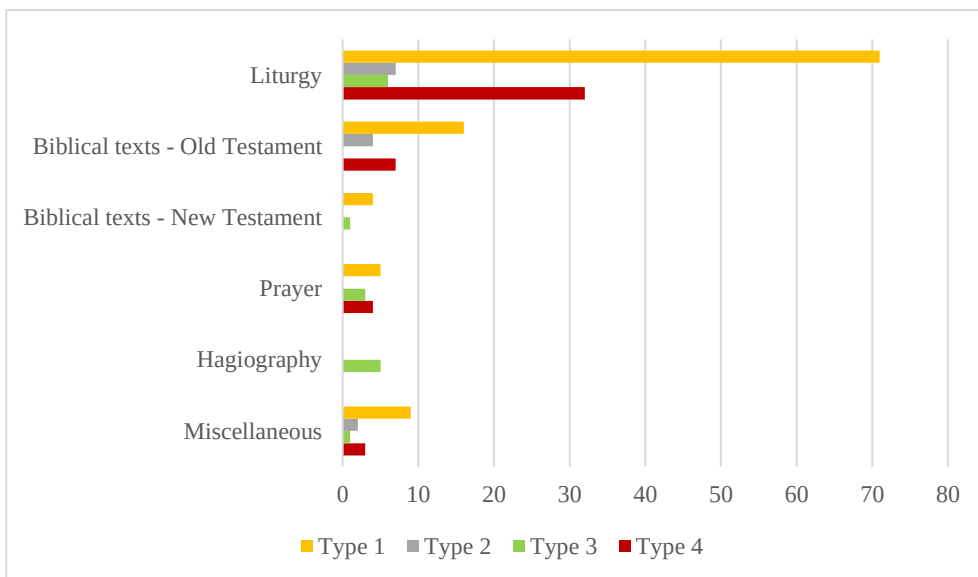


Chart 9: Frequency of *šādē* types in Sogdian mss. by genre.

To the fragments belonging to the preceding literary genres must be added those whose identification is uncertain. In this last category of fragments, type 1 (𐩦𐩣𐩬) is the most frequently attested both in Syriac fragments and in Sogdian fragments in Syriac script.

In some fragments only one of the four proposed typologies appears, while in other fragments more than one of them occurs. The first is the case, for example, in Syriac fragments in Syriac script containing the *Legend of St. George* (SyrHT 95, SyrHT 359, SyrHT 360, SyrHT 361, SyrHT 365 and SyrHT 381)²¹³; it is written by a single scribe, and the only type of *šādē* he uses is type 3 (e.g., SyrHT 361/side (b)/7 𐩦𐩣𐩬).

On the contrary, a different situation may arise when two or more forms for *šādē* appear in the fragment. This may be due to two causes: the different forms of *šādē* present in the fragment were executed by the same

²¹³ In the other two fragments containing the Legend of St. George, SyrHT 362 and SyrHT 364, the letter *šādē* does not appear.

hand, which for some reason made use of both, or they belong to different hands (as, for example, in the case of glosses). In the first of the two hypotheses, therefore, to the same scribe could correspond not one but two or more different realizations of the letter in question. This is the case, among many other instances, in the fragment SyrHT 59 (Hudra A) for types 1 and 4 (e.g., SyrHT 59/side (a)/7  and 16 ) and again, with regard to Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, in n79 (E27/26a - *Martyrdom of St. Pethion*) for types 2, 3 and 4 (e.g., R/1 , R/6  and V/5 ) and in n364 (E34b - Homily?) for types 1 and 4 (e.g., R/6  and R/4 )

With regard to the present question, Gospel Lectionary E5 represents a particularly interesting case. It is a codex that Sims-Williams supposes to have been written ‘in a very distinctive hand’²¹⁴. Indeed, the marked similarity between the handwriting of the main text and that of the rubrics leads even the author of the present study to agree with the assertion that it was written by a single hand²¹⁵.

However, two different types of *šādē* appear in it. The specificity of Gospel Lectionary E5 lies in the fact that the two different types of *šādē* that occur there, i.e., type 1 () and type 2 (), are subject to a somewhat differentiated usage and that this usage implies a precise regularity. Fragment n149 (E5/19) together with eight other fragments from the same codex (n153 or E5/48, n158 (part) or E5/75a, n162 or E5/91, n164 or E5/127, n165 or E5/130a, n497* or E5/6a, n498* or E5/21b, n505* or E5/125)²¹⁶, show two different *šādē*, namely type 1 () and type 2 (), each of which is found in a different context. Type 2 (), in black, is always found in the main text; type 1 () within the red Syriac text of the rubrics (e.g., n153  and n162 ) or within a Syriac term (e.g., n498). This element persists in all nine fragments of Gospel Lectionary E5 in which two forms for this letter appear. In none of the the fragments of E5 type 2 of *šādē* appears within the red text.

It should be noted that the nine cases here coincide only in part with those reported by Barbati, who mentioned nine cases in which in E5 the rubric in Syriac is immediately followed by a sentence, also in Syriac but in black ink, and then by its version in Sogdian²¹⁷. In fact, although five of the fragments mentioned by Barbati (E5/48, E5/75a, E5/91, E5/125, and E5/127) are also cited by me for the presence of type 1 *šādē* within their Syriac rubrics, none of the Syriac sentences following the rubrics contain a *šādē*.

Looking closely at the nine fragments observed here it can be noted, first, that in seven of them (n149 or E5/19, n158 (part) or E5/75a, n162 or E5/91, n164 or E5/127, n165 or E5/130a, n497* or E5/6a and n505* or E5/125) type 1 of *šādē* () appears, within the rubrics, only in the Syriac term , indicating a section of text, or within an abbreviation of this term (e.g., n162/V/8  ‘in section 6’). In two other cases (n153 and n498*), in addition to appearing in the rubric in red, within the Syriac equivalent for ‘section’, type 1 of *šādē* is used in two other words. The first one appears in the rubric of fragment n153, in the term , which indicates ‘the fast’, ‘Lent’. Here it is preceded by the preposition *d-* (n153/V/18 ). The second case concerns fragment n498*, in which this form of *šādē* is used twice to write the Syriac term  ‘Easter’. However, in this latter case, if the first time this term appears in the Syriac rubric, preceded by the preposition *b-* (n498*/V/8 ) , the second time it is found as a loan in the Sogdian text (n498*/V/9 .

In my opinion, these examples are very useful to understand the scribe’s method of working. If, as one is led to believe after observing the script of E5, the hand of the Sogdian text and that of the Syriac rubrics are the same, it seems reasonable to suppose that the constant presence of type 1 of *šādē* () within the Syriac

²¹⁴ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 28.

²¹⁵ Note, for example, the extreme similarity between the letters *ālah*, *bēth*, *dālath*, and *mīm* in the main text of fragment n153 (E5/48) and their realizations in the rubrics of the same fragment:  (n153/R/19),  (n153/R/10),  (n153/R/9),  (n153/R/16), and  (n153/R/17),  (n153/R/18),  (n153/R/17),  (n153/R/18).

²¹⁶ The asterisk indicates lost fragments. Black and white reproductions of them are preserved.

²¹⁷ Barbati 2016, p. 32. The nine cases in question are E5/48/v/18-19/; E5/75a/1r/4-6/; E5/75a/1r/6-7/; E5/83a-b/1r/8-10/; E5/91/v/8- 9/; E5/109/v/1-3/; E5/125-126/1v/15-17/; E5/127a-c/1r/6-7/; E5/127a-c/1r/8- 10/. For more information see Barbati 2010.

rubrics or in Syriac loanwords within the Sogdian text and type 2 () in the Sogdian text in Syriac script may be the result of a conscious choice of the scribe.

The singular case of E5 leads us to pay further attention to the forms of *šādē* within the Syriac-Sogdian bilingual lectionaries of the Berlin Turfan Collection. As observed from the study of the related fragments, type 1 () type 2 () and to a lesser extent type 4 () of *šādē* appear in the bilingual lectionaries E1, E2, E3, E4, E5 and E6. Type 1 () appears, in addition to the above-mentioned fragments of manuscript E5, only in a limited number of other fragments containing lectionaries: n178 (E1/1b), n204 (E6/12), n213 (E1/2), n224 (E2/2a) and n398 (E6/12). In fragments n204 (E6/12), n224 (E2/2a) and n398 (E6/12) type 1 and type 2 appear, while in fragments n178 (E1/1b) and n213 (E1/2) type 1 is the only one present. Considering that Gospel according to St Matthew E1 has come down to us in only three fragments and that the letter *šādē* appear only in two of them, i.e., in n178 and n213, and it appears with the type 1 shape (e.g., n178/V/5 ) , one can conclude that perhaps type 1, at least on the basis of the data in our possession, was the only one present in the E1 manuscript. Moreover, in the ten cases in which letter *šādē* appears in fragments n178 (twice) and n213 (eight times) it seems that it is always found within Sogdian terms²¹⁸.

Consider now in greater detail the three fragments of bilingual lectionaries which, as E5, bear the two types 1 and 2 of *šādē*, namely n204, n224 and n398. Two of them, n204 and n398, belong to the same manuscript, Epistle Lectionary E6; n224 instead comes from Gospel Lectionary E2.

Starting with n224, together with fragment n223, which according to Sims-William belongs to the same folio, it contains Matthew 19.10-11, 17-18²¹⁹. In this fragment type 1 () appears on the *verso* (n224/V/4 ) and type 2 () on the *recto* (n224/R/2 ) . Although it is very difficult to interpret what is written on the *recto* of n224²²⁰, the term in which type 1 appears on the *verso* of the fragment seems clearly to be read as the Syriac word ܫܕܝܐ () , the masculine singular participle *pa'al* of the Syriac verb ܫܕܝܐ 'to will'. It is found in Matthew 19 (Peshitta), only once between verse 10 and verse 18, precisely in verse 17.

If this interpretation is correct, it would be possible to associate at least this realization of *šādē* as type 1 with a Syriac and not a Sogdian text²²¹.

Consider now, however, the fragments of manuscript E6 within which it is possible to note a double realization of letter *šādē*, namely n204 and n398.

Firstly, on the *recto* of n204 (n204/R/6) type 1 of *šādē* () appears in the Sogdian preposition *cn* () ; this is the only example on the *recto* where this graphic form is present, which is also matched by type 2 () , e.g., n204/R/4 , n204/R/6 ) . On the *verso* of the same fragment, however, type 1 is used in the Syriac term ܫܕܝܐ, consisting of the Syriac preposition ܫܕܝܐ 'to, with, at', preceded by two other prepositions, *d-* and *b-*, with the meaning of 'that with/that together'. This term appears in Syriac Peshitta in 1 Corinthians 1.28, which is part of the content of the fragment²²².

Finally, *šādē* appearing in n398/R/4, the only *šādē* in the fragment, is part of a non-Syriac term ()²²³.

So, in the light of what has been examined above, the fragments belonging to lectionaries E2 and E5 show a use of type 1 of *šādē* somehow related to Syriac language, while manuscript E1 and E6 do not share this feature.

²¹⁸ See Sundermann 1981, 211-12, Text 33, lines 9-15; Sundermann 1981, 203-6, Text 29.

²¹⁹ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 24.

²²⁰ On page 25 of his catalogue Sims-Williams reports, regarding fragments n223 and n224, that "The text on both sides is partly obscured by mirror-image impressions from other pages".

²²¹ The fragment is edited in Sundermann, 1981, 208.

²²² Sims-Williams 2012, p. 46.

²²³ For information about the fragment see Sims-Williams 2012, p. 46. Fragment n398 contains 1 Timothy 2.9-10, 14-15.

It has been deemed important, as well, to consider those Syriac fragments in which instructions in Sogdian language, but in Syriac script, appear. Dickens in his *Multilingual Christian Manuscripts from Turfan*²²⁴ mentions exactly six fragments which would contain instructions in Sogdian language written in Syriac script: SyrHT 66, SyrHT 83, SyrHT 84, SyrHT 87, SyrHT 88 and SyrHT 158. It seems that all of them, except SyrHT 84 show letter *šādē*²²⁵.

SyrHT 66 and SyrHT 88 constitute two adjacent fragments of a baptismal rite with instructions for the priest in Sogdian. In the first of the two fragments *šādē* occurs four times: on the *recto* (type 1) in the Syriac word ܥܠܝܬܐ ‘cross’, loanword within the instructions in Sogdian (side (a)/15); once on the *verso* (type 2) in the Sogdian word *c'hw* (side (b)/3) and twice in the Syriac text (type 1: side (b)/7 and side (b)/9). In SyrHT 88, however, it appears only on the *recto*: first, as type 2 within the Sogdian instructions (side (a)/2) and then, instead, twice as type 1 within the Syriac text and precisely in the term ܥܠܝܬܐ (side (a)/7).

In fragment SyrHT 83, containing a Eucharistic rite with instructions for the priest in Sogdian (Service book E14), type 1 of *šādē* appears within a *pa'al* masculine plural participle from the Syriac verb ܩܪܥ ‘to break bread’ (side (a)/10). The Sogdian text of instructions does not contain any *šādē*. Similarly, SyrHT 87, containing a nocturnal rite for bishops, priests, and deacons (from Service book E13) shows type 1 of *šādē* in the Syriac text (side (a)/10; side (b)/8 and side (b)/9); no example of *šādē* is found in the Sogdian instructions of the fragment.

Finally, in the Sogdian instructions of SyrHT 158 (Service book E15) it is possible to observe three instances in which a type of *šādē* intermediate between type 1 and type 4 appears on lines 8, 9 and 10 of the *recto*: the first example is found within the Sogdian preposition *cn*, in black (side (a)/8); the second and third in the Sogdian adverb *prcy* ‘afterwards’ in red (side (a)/9 and side (a)/10)²²⁶.

Therefore, with regard to the bilingual fragments containing instructions for the priest in Sogdian, it seems that the phenomenon of alternation between type 1 (side (a)/15) and type 2 (side (b)/3) of *šādē*, somehow related to the language of the text and previously found in E2 and E5 lectionaries, occurs again. The only exception is SyrHT 158 fragment, in which, however, the type of *šādē* does not correspond to type 2, but more to type 4 (side (a)/2).

I think it is important to now dwell on some reflections about the phenomenon just described. If, on the one hand, the exceptions of the lectionaries E1 and E6, in which type 1 (side (a)/15) of *šādē* is used in the Sogdian text as well, should be kept in mind, on the other hand, in the remaining cases, i.e., in the lectionaries E2 and E5 and in the four Syriac fragments containing instructions in Sogdian mentioned²²⁷, this phenomenon occurs with regularity.

One wonders, first of all, whether the scribes of E2, E5 and the fragments with instructions in Sogdian were aware of such use and, if so, what were the motivations behind the use of type 1 (side (a)/15) of *šādē* within Syriac terms or text parts and type 2 (side (b)/3) of *šādē* within Sogdian text. What we emphasize is that such use appears as regular, almost methodical, at least in the fragments mentioned above. In our opinion, this element reinforces the hypothesis that the scribes made a differentiated and conscious use of types 1 (side (a)/15) and 2 (side (b)/3) of *šādē* within the Syriac-Sogdian bilingual texts. As suggested by Borbone²²⁸, it is possible that this use depends on a

²²⁴ Dickens 2009, pp. 26-27.

²²⁵ The reading of the *verso* of SyrHT 84 is not totally clear. It is possible that on line 5v there is a *šādē*, but the text is partially damaged. None of the publications mentioning the fragment provide a reading of the section under consideration. See in this regard Dickens 2009, p. 26-27; Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 101-102; Raschmann 2009, 417-418.

²²⁶ Dickens 2009, p. 27.

²²⁷ SyrHT 66, SyrHT 83, SyrHT 87, SyrHT 88.

²²⁸ Personal communication.

different pronunciation of *ṣādē* in Syriac and Sogdian. It appears reasonable to me that, in the Sogdian words, the letter *ṣādē* is used to mark the voiceless postalveolar affricate (tʃ), a missing phoneme in the Syriac language.

If this hypothesis is acceptable, we could try to investigate the possible reasons behind this usage. As stated at the beginning of this paragraph, type 1 () of *ṣādē* in Syriac fragments is much more frequent than the other types, being observable in one hundred and five fragments out of a total of one hundred and eighty fragments. In the rest of Syriac fragments, type 4 (; forty-six fragments), type 3 (; sixteen fragments), and finally type 2 (; thirteen fragments) appear, in order of frequency. As for the Sogdian fragments, the most frequent type of *ṣādē* is still type 1 (; one hundred and sixty fragments), but second in frequency is type 2 (; one hundred and fifty fragments), with only ten units of gap from type 1; followed by type 4 (; eighty-seven fragments) and, finally, type 3 (; fourteen fragments).

As can be seen from the numbers above, type 2 () covers an important slice of the total number of Sogdian fragments. This is not the case in Syriac fragments where type 2 () is the last in frequency of use (only thirteen fragments). In addition to the hypothesis related to the different pronunciation of these two graphemes, the question arises whether it is possible that those scribes could somehow perceive type 2 () of *ṣādē* as a form closer to Sogdian language, and, therefore, culturally and linguistically connoted, and, on the contrary, type 1 () of *ṣādē* as a form somehow more associated with Syriac language. This could perhaps collimate with the rarity of type 2 of *ṣādē* in Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East and with the presence of this type in regions of Central Asia to be discussed in the coming pages. If so, it would be possible that the Sogdian scribes in writing the Syriac text felt somehow obliged to no longer use type 2 () of *ṣādē*, used instead in the Sogdian text, but type 1 (), which they felt was perhaps more suitable for a Syriac text. This might also explain why scribes were inclined to use type 1 even when they had to transcribe a Syriac word within the Sogdian text (as happens for example in n498*/V/9 or E5/21b with the term  and in SyrHT 66/side (a)/15 ).

Another hypothesis to be considered is that the scribes considered type 1 () of *ṣādē* more elegant and, therefore, reserved it to the rubrics or to particular terms with some relevance or sacredness such as  'Easter' and  'cross'. This usage, at least as far as rubrics are concerned, is not alien to Middle Eastern Syriac manuscripts, where in some cases within a codex whose main text is written in one script, rubrics or sections of text that are intended to stand out for some reason are instead written in a more elegant or particularly decorative handwriting²²⁹. However, in some of the liturgical fragments with instructions in Sogdian, it is possible to observe type 2 () of *ṣādē* in rubrics in red ink and Sogdian language, as in the already described case of SyrHT 66/side (b)/3 (c'nw ) and in SyrHT 88/side (a)/2 (pbyn? )²³⁰. In addition, the rest of the letters in the rubrics are written in a very similar, if not identical, manner to the corresponding forms in the main text. These elements would seem to exclude, at least for the moment, this second hypothesis, namely that type 1 was reserved for rubrics in red ink.

Starting from the proposed taxonomy we will now take a closer look at some peculiar forms of the letter *ṣādē* attested in Turfan. They partially differ from the others belonging to the same type for the characteristics that will be highlighted each time.

Among the Syriac fragments, in which, as noted above, the number of occurrences of *ṣādē* is smaller, some realizations of this letter are peculiar in the fragments SyrHT 94 (Christian-Jewish Dialogue; e.g., side (b)/right

²²⁹ See in this regard Bausi *et al.* 2015, pp. 258-262.

²³⁰ Brock and Sims-Williams write: "The first word seems to be *pbyn* (with non-final *nūn*), which must be an abbreviation for the noun *pbynt* 'answer', or for a form of the corresponding verb 'to answer'. (Urmia edition): 'They respond, It is right...'. See Brock and Sims-Williams 2011, p. 87.

folio/14  and 9  and SyrHT 153 (Psalter B ^(Syr-NP); side (a)/8 , SyrHT 320/side (a)/3 (Hudra Y , SyrHT 366 (unidentified [no signature number]; side (b)/2 ) and n121 (Hudra G; side (b)/2 ). The first and second examples stand out for their serpentine-like shape: while in the first *ṣādē* of SyrHT 94  a clear division between the base of the letter and the descender is still discernible, this is no longer discernible in the second image taken from SyrHT 94  and in the example from SyrHT 153 , where, moreover, the descender develops below the base of the letter (type 4). The same happens in SyrHT 320 (side (a)/3 , while the realization of *ṣādē* in SyrHT 366/side (b)/2 , type 1, sees a marked lengthening of the *descender*. Finally, the example taken from n121 , type 3, is characterized by a peculiar descender that in its second stroke is written in an arched way.

Considering, instead, the Sogdian fragments, some interesting executions of *ṣādē* are found in n13 (E27/4 Martyrdom of St. Pethion; R/2 ) and in n17 (E27/11a; Martyrdom of St. Pethion; side (b)/3 , in n58 (E27/137; Unidentified; V/3 , in n216 (E30/6a; Wisdom of Aḥiqar; R/9 , in n299 (E35/1; unclear; V/3 ) and in n355 (E31a; Homily on the ascetic life; R/2 ). The first and second examples, i.e., the realizations of *ṣādē* in fragments n13 and n17, are characterized by an inversion in which the descender starts from the right side of the base of the letter instead of the left; rather, from the latter, a short vertical line departs downwards. *Ṣādē* of n58 ) is similar to *ṣādē* in SyrHT 153 , described above. In n216 ) the whole body of the letter is inclined to the right and the descender is considerably reduced in size. In the realizations of n299 ) and n355 ) the first part of the descender is somehow shifted to the left and tends to arch strongly outward. The second part of the descender is characterized by two different outcomes in n299 and in n355: in the first case we find a rounded outcome, in the second case the tract folds on itself forming an acute angle.

The occurrences of *ṣādē* in manuscript E5, and in particular those in black ink, mentioned earlier (e.g., n153 , n162 ) are also distinguished by the final part of the descender. In the forms in question the *descender*, instead of arching into an ellipse or a similar shape, bends at right angles and remains open also on the lower side, as well as on the left side.

The question will now arise as to whether the four types of *ṣādē* found at Turfan are also attested elsewhere, beginning with the Syriac manuscript documentation from the Middle East.

In the *Styles of writing* section of his *Album*²³¹, Hatch devotes no line to the letter *ṣādē*. However, the numerous entries in Hatch's repertory allow us to investigate which forms of *ṣādē* were most widely used in codes of a precise time and confessional and geographical context.

What emerges from Hatch's repertory is that, with regard to codices classified by his author as *eṣṭrangēlā*, dated between 411 and 1193-94, most show a *ṣādē* akin to Turfan's type 3. Two examples appear in ms. London, British Library, Add. MS. 12135 (Hatch Plate L), written in the convent of  near Ras'ain and dated to 726 ()²³² and in ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 31, dated 1203 ()²³³. Within the codices defined as *eṣṭrangēlā* by Hatch there are, however, other forms of *ṣādē*, such as that in ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 55 ()²³⁴, dated 1202-1203.

Regarding the manuscripts classified as *serṭā* within Hatch's repertory, until the eleventh century the most common realization of *ṣādē* coincides largely with the type 1. Observe, for example, *ṣādē* in ms. London,

²³¹ Hatch 1946, pp. 24-40.

²³² Hatch Plate L, London, British Museum, Add. MS. 12135, Ezekiel XXVI-XLVIII, Peshitta version, f. 15.

²³³ Hatch Plate LXXXVIII, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 31, Four Gospels, Acts, Peter I, John I, Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), Peshitta version - Place of writing unknown (1203), f. 152r.

²³⁴ Hatch Plate LXXXVII, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. Syr. 55, Four Gospels, Harklean Version - Monastery of Mar Elias, Amid (1202-1203), f. 101r.

British Library, Add. MS. 12159 ()²³⁵ and in London, British Library, Add. MS. 17111 ()²³⁶. There are, nevertheless, some exceptions, as in the case of ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 92²³⁷, in which, next to this form, a second realization, very similar to our type 3 also appears ()²³⁸.

From the twelfth century onwards Hatch's repertory records, in *serṭā* section, a further realization of *ṣādē* characterized by the lack of base; two examples can be observed in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall MS. 671 ()²³⁸ and in ms. London, British Library, Add. MS. 21210 ()²³⁹.

As for the manuscripts classified as 'Nestorian' in the *Album*, they are characterized by the majority presence of type 3 of *ṣādē*. An example can be observed in ms. London, British Library, Add. MS. 14471 ()²⁴⁰. However, beside the mentioned type, other forms appear as in the case of ms. London, British Library, Add. MS. 14492 ()²⁴¹, ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 22 ()²⁴² and ms. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. Syr. 10 ()²⁴³. The first of the latter three examples is comparable to type 4 of the taxonomy that I have proposed for Turfan fragments; the second is similar to the base-free type already seen in *serṭā* section of Hatch's repertory; finally, the third is extremely interesting, as it is analogous to type 2 of Turfan.

Among the East-Syriac manuscripts listed in Chapter II, two of which have already been mentioned²⁴⁴, ms. BnF, syr. 342 (6) (893/4) shows type 3 of *ṣādē* (e.g., f. 1v )²⁴⁵, as do most of the remaining codices. Exceptions are ms. Chaldean Patriarchat of Babylon, N 801 (4) (794) and the tenth/eleventh century Hudra of the Mar Isnaya Church, our codex (10), in which forms traceable to type 3 and type 4 are observed (cod. (4): f. 8r ; f. 84v ; cod. (10): f. 243v ; f. 238r .

The case of the Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. Syr. 10 () represents one of only two uses known to me of this graphic form of *ṣādē* in manuscripts outside of Central Asia. The second example appears in the ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Sir. 417 ()²⁴⁵, copied in Baghdad in 1246, where, however, this realization is found alongside other forms ()²⁴⁶. This is a very significant element, especially if one considers that this type represents the second most common form within the Syriac and Christian Sogdian documentation of Turfan. Equally significant is the fact that this type is the only one of the four found at Turfan that seems extremely rare within the manuscript production in the Mesopotamian *milieu*.

²³⁵ Hatch Plate CV, London, British Museum, Add. MS. 12159, *Homiliae Cathedrales* of Severus of Antioch, - Place of writing unknown (867-868), f. 271v.

²³⁶ Hatch Plate CXIV, London, British Museum, Add. MS. 17111, Psalms, Peshitta version - Convent of St. Mary Deipara in Nitria (927), fol. 31.

²³⁷ Hatch Plate XCIX, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 92, Burial Offices - Place of writing unknown (823), f. 49r.

²³⁸ Hatch Plate CXXVI, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall MS. 671, Offices in commemoration of Mar Jacob - Place of writing unknown (1128-1129), f. 10r.

²³⁹ Hatch Plate CXXXVI, London, British Museum, Add. MS. 21210, Moses bar Kepha, Thirty-seven Festal Homilies and Other Discourses *et al.* - Church of Mar Thomas, Mosul (1242), f. 139 v.

²⁴⁰ Hatch Plate CLXI, London, British Library, Add. MS. 14471, Four Gospels, Peshitta version - Nisibis (614-615), f. 70r. Our codex (2) in the relevant table in Chapter II.

²⁴¹ Hatch Plate CLXIV, London, British Museum, Add. MS. 14492, East-Syriac lectionary, Peshitta version - Place of writing unknown (861-862), f. 88r. Our codex (5) in the relevant table in Chapter II.

²⁴² Hatch Plate CLXXV, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 22, Pauline Epistles Lectionary, Peshitta version - India (1301), f. 5

²⁴³ Hatch Plate CLXXVI, Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. Syr. 10, An Explanation of Difficult Passages in the Holy Scriptures by Isho'dadh - Place of writing unknown (1380), f. 161r.

²⁴⁴ See *supra* notes 240 and 241.

²⁴⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Sir. 417, fol.13r.

²⁴⁶ *Idem*.

Considering, however, other evidence from Central Asia, there is a relevant form already noted by Géhin in an article on the Syriac Psalter of Leiden, a palimpsest probably written in the tenth century on an Armenian commentary by John Chrysostom²⁴⁷. Géhin observes how this form () is characterized by ‘un tracé bouclé très caractéristique’. In fact, this execution appears very similar to type 2 () of *šādē* that appears in numerous Christian Sogdian fragments from Turfan: it consists of a base and a descending oblique line, followed by a curvilinear line similar to an arc of an ellipse, open to the left²⁴⁸.

Géhin hypothesizes that this Psalter is linked to a Melkite community, a community whose existence in Central Asia alongside East-Syriac communities, he writes, is ‘une réalité bien établie’²⁴⁹. He shares Sims-William’s reflection that such a manuscript would have been written at Turfan or in Sogdiana, leaning towards this second option²⁵⁰.

Finally, the question has been raised whether the same form can be found in other regions of Central Asia. The only other Christian-Syriac evidence that has reached us from Central Asia are the epigraphs of Semirech’e. Euting, within the tables in which he collects, among others, all the Syriac forms of the epigraphs of Semirech’e, reports at least one form similar to type 2 (). This *šādē*, denoted by the number 39 in Euting’s plates ()²⁵¹ consists of a shorter descending stroke, below the base, followed by an irregular ellipse arc; the latter is very disproportionate to the rest of the letter. It is probable that the peculiarity of this form could be due to the particular handwriting of the engraver or simply to the support. As a matter of fact, the type we find in Turfan () is characterized by more rounded strokes, which may be more difficult to engrave, compared to the rectilinear ones of other forms, such as type 3 (). Such a reflection might perhaps be useful in understanding the reason why type 2 of *šādē* is apparently not the most common within the epigraphs from Semirech’e. Other epigraphs show executions of *šādē* comparable to types 1, 3 and 4 of the taxonomy proposed for Turfan, as in the case of the funerary epigraphs SA 14412 ()²⁵², SA 14417 ()²⁵³ and SA 14354 ()²⁵⁴.

IV.2.2 The combinations of the letter *šādē* and *nūn*

An important part, though not the majority, of the four hundred and eleven Sogdian fragments in which letter *šādē* appears contains the Sogdian preposition *cn*, in which the two Syriac letters *šādē* and *nūn*, in its final form (as at the end of the word), result in different combinations. An attempt will be made here to expose and describe the main combinations on the basis of the taxonomy proposed in section IV.2.1.

The juxtaposition of type 1 of *šādē* with *nūn* within the Christian Sogdian manuscripts from Turfan results in three main executions:

- a) *nūn* crosses the descender of *šādē* below the line of writing (e.g., E28/28 n170 ; unidentified);
- b) *nūn* does not cross the descender of the letter *šādē* (e.g., E28/12 n529* ; On the ascetic life);

²⁴⁷ Géhin 2017.

²⁴⁸ The observation of the peculiarity of the graphic form of *šādē* reported by Géhin was one of the factors behind our reflections on the Syriac palaeography at Turfan. Already Barbati (see Géhin, p. 280, note 14) had noted how such a form of *šādē* was not the only one present in the Turfan documentation and how some fragments showed “la forme-standard de la lettre”. Barbati already pointed out how that very détail paléographique could serve as a basis “à l’établissement d’une chronologie ou à la distinction de lieux de production”.

²⁴⁹ Géhin 2017, p. 292-293.

²⁵⁰ *Idem*.

²⁵¹ Chwolson 1890, palaeographical plates.

²⁵² St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. no. SA 14412; see Chwolson 1890 and Zhumagulov 2011.

²⁵³ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. no. SA 14417, dated 1653 A.G.; see Chwolson 1890 and Zhumagulov 2011.

²⁵⁴ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. no. SA 14354, dated AG 1634; see Chwolson 1890.

- c) the descender of *šādē* begins its descent, then rises above the line of writing joining the beginning of letter *nūn* and forming a loop (E26/12 n87 ; Life of John of Dailam).

This last execution of *šādē* juxtaposed with *nūn* is so far attested exclusively at Turfan, where it appears only in the Christian Sogdian manuscript E26.

Regarding the type of combination (a) described above, it is perhaps useful to mention that the only case of the preposition *cn* found in Syriac fragments belongs to this category. This is SyrHT 249 (Hudra W), in which the combination appears within a note in Sogdian language (); it is a realization very similar to those found in the Sogdian manuscripts E6 and E28. Consider, in this regard, the above example of n170 () from manuscript E28: in it appears the same type of *šādē* as in the note of SyrHT 249, the same mode of combination and the same bulbous in *nūn*.

Type 2 of *šādē*, which by itself is the subject of very different executions from scribe to scribe, when juxtaposed with *nūn* gives rise to at least five outcomes:

- nūn* crosses *šādē* below the line of writing (e.g., E29/4 n195 , Story of Daniel);
- the letter *nūn* ends at the point of intersection with the descender of the *šādē*, below the line of writing (e.g., E29/3a n193 , Story of Daniel; e.g., E27/11a n17 , Martyrdom of St. Pethion);
- letter *nūn* and letter *šādē* have no points of intersection and are next to each other, on the same level (e.g., E26/9 n88, , Life of John of Dailam);
- letter *nūn* and letter *šādē* have a point of intersection and are at two different heights (e.g., E24/7 n180 , Legend of Mār Barshabba);
- letter *nūn* and letter *šādē* do not share any point of intersection and are at two different heights (e.g., E24/3 n184 , Legend of the invention of the Cross).

As can be seen from the examples proposed above, *nūn* is also the subject of very different realizations. Firstly, if in the case of n195 (a), 193 (b1), n17 (b2) and the two realizations of E24, namely n180 (d) and n195 (e), *nūn* shows an oblique course, in the case of n88 (c) it retains a vertical course for almost its entire length. Secondly, note the bulbous apex of *nūn* in n195 (a) and especially in n193 (b1), totally absent in the other cases.

Type 3 of *šādē*, though less usual, gives rise to at least three types of combinations with letter *nūn*, and there is no case in which the two letters do not intersect:

- nūn* crosses the descender of *šādē* at a non-final point in the letter (e.g., E28/26a n452 , On Christian virtues?);
- nūn* crosses the descender of *šādē* in the final part of the letter and has a point of intersection with it (e.g., E27/87a n485/MIK III 71 , Martyrdom of St. Eustathius);
- the descender of *šādē* forms a single track with *nūn* creating a loop on the line of writing (e.g., E26/31 n123 , Life of Serapion).

It is significant to note, in my opinion, that the ligature described in (c) is found exclusively in manuscript E26, alongside the other aforesaid ligature of type 1 of *šādē* and *nūn*; even in fragment E26/31 n123, taken as an example above, both combinations appear ( and .

Finally, as far as type 4 of *šādē* is concerned, the sequence *šādē-nūn* appear in three ways:

- a) the descender of *nūn* intersects *šādē* at a non-final point of letter *šādē* (e.g., E28/1 and E28/2 n148, );
- b) the descender of *nūn* intersects *šādē* in its final part (e.g., E3 n190 , Gospel lectionary E3);
- c) *nūn*'s descender does not intersect *šādē* (E28/104 n287 , unidentified).

In conclusion, another fact that emerges is the variation of modulus that affects *šādē* in some fragments. This phenomenon occurs without apparent reason, it is sometimes quite evident. Some examples can be observed at least in the miscellaneous manuscripts E26 and E27, as in the case of fragments n72 (E27/1d), n117 (E26/32a), n478 (MIK III 64 E27/69a), n486 (MIK III 72 E27/13), n490 (MIK III 76 E27/54), n495 (MIK III 81 E27/53). As can be seen from Plate IX, in n117, belonging to manuscript E26, it is possible to recognize not only graphic forms of *šādē* of different modulus, but also of a different type. One could therefore think that the modulus depends on the type used by the scribe, but this hypothesis is weakened by the comparison between the minor modulus of *šādē* inside the preposition *cn* at line 2, belonging to type 2, and the numerous examples of *šādē* in the same fragment, classified within the same type, but with a much higher modulus.

The second example (see Plate X), fragment n490/V, from manuscript E27, shows exclusively type 2 of *šādē*, which appears however with some variability in the form. What emerges in this case, but also in the case of fragment n117/V, is that the form of *šādē* within *cn* combination and at least with regard to type 2 shows smaller dimensions than other *šādē* appearing in the fragment.

The aim of this dense paragraph devoted to letter *šādē*, was, first, to propose a taxonomy of the forms of *šādē* that appear in the Turfan fragments. Secondly, it seems useful to show the frequency of each of the four realizations of *šādē*, also indicating their occurrence within the different literary genres. In addition, some peculiar executions of this letter observable in Turfan have been highlighted.

It has been helpful to give space to a brief survey of the forms of *šādē* that appear in Syriac codices from the Middle East. Some forms of *šādē* attested in other regions of Central Asia have been reported, namely the peculiar attestation of the Syriac Psalter of Leiden and the forms of *šādē* engraved on the epigraphs of Semirech'e.

Finally, the main combinations to which *šādē* gives rise when juxtaposed with final *nūn* have been widely observed.

CHAPTER V. COMPACT SCRIPTS: CONTIGUOUS, CONNECTED LETTERS OR LIGATURES AT TURFAN

Syriac script can involve joins between letters, which take different forms depending on their position, initial, medial or final. Letters can be joined to each other by a stroke on the line of writing. Some letters, especially but not only in monumental writing, in the initial or medial position are connected to the letter that precedes them but not to the next one. There are eight Syriac letters that generally do not connect to their left: *ālahph*, *dālahth*, *hē*, *wāw*, *zayn*, *ṣādē*, *rēsh*, and *taw*²⁵⁵.

The terminological problem that could arise from words such as ‘contiguous’, ‘connected’ or ‘ligature’ is evident. Therefore, it is considered appropriate to make some clarifications. Sometimes it happens that, in a sequence of two or more letters, they are written by the scribe one next to the other, without there being a connecting line between them, or that the scribe writes the second letter of the sequence connected to the first through a line, but after having lifted the *calamus* (the reed pen) or the brush from the paper, that is, independently of the realization of the next letter. For this reason, I have considered it more correct to use the term ‘ligature’ only when the scribe actually writes two letters in sequence without lifting the *calamus* or the brush between the first and the second. I have preferred, in other cases, to use other terms such as ‘connected’ (when there is a connecting line between the letters, but the two *ductus* are independent) or ‘contiguous’ (when the two letters are written independently, but one or more points of their skeleton are overlapped). However, what, in my opinion, is significant is that these terms all denote the lack of a blank space left by the scribe. I believe that such an element in case it is often present for the same letter in the same manuscript, can only occasionally represent an oversight of the scribe and can be, rather, a valuable element to investigate²⁵⁶.

The fact that some consonants do not connect with the following letter is not an exclusive factor of Syriac writing. In fact, it also concerns other Aramaic scripts, such as Nabataean, and more generally, other Semitic scripts, such as Arabic. It is a phenomenon that can be traced back to multiple transformation processes that have seen Syriac characters from initially separate forms (as in the ancient inscriptions from Edessa) develop joins for most letters.

As Duval rightly observed, in the oldest Syriac manuscripts, dating back to the beginning of the fifth century, *semkath* is often not connected with the following letter. He, in his *Traité*, provides more detailed information about the alternation of graphic habits over the centuries and within the distinct communities of Syriac tradition. In it we read, for example, that in the cursive in use from the sixth century onwards by the ‘Jacobites’, the consonant *semkath* is always connected with the following letter, and sometimes even *ālahph*, *wāw* and *taw*, are connected with the following letter²⁵⁷. Duval specifies, however, that, with regard to these last three letters, ‘cette licence n’a pas été consacrée par l’usage et n’a été qu’une tentative isolée’²⁵⁸.

Kaplan (2015) calls these ‘irregular’ joins ‘non conformes’ or, rather, ‘liaisons informelles’, thus distinguishing them from ‘liaisons formelles’. The scholar stresses the importance, in a palaeographical method as complete as possible, of reserving space for the finding of ‘liaisons informelles’ and for understanding, as far as possible, their causes²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁵ Syriac writing is traced from right to left, so when a letter links with the next letter, it links to its left.

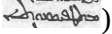
²⁵⁶ Cencetti 1978, p. 23, describes ligatures as ‘reciprocal connections’ and again as ‘spontaneous and natural connections of two or more letters with each other’. What, however, seems to happen in many of the examples given about Syriac writing in Hatch’s plates is that the letters in question are simply juxtaposed with one another, overlapping in one or more places, and that the scribe lifts the *calamus* from the paper between letters.

²⁵⁷ Duval 1881, p. 6.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁹ Kaplan 2015, pp. 312-313.

What already emerges from the observation of Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East is an occasional tendency of these letters, namely *āalph*, *dālath* (only in MIK III for the sequence *dālath-shīn*), *hē*, *wāw*, *zayn*, *ṣādē* and *taw*, some more than others, to be contiguous to each other or even connected by a clearly visible line to the following letter. This occurs in Syriac bookhand scripts, and in general in those tending to cursive. On the contrary, this phenomenon is rarer in other manuscripts written in calligraphic hands and, in particular, in monumental script.

In the oldest Syriac codex known to us, Add. 12150 (411)²⁶⁰, *āalph*, *hē*, *wāw*, *ṣādē*, and *taw* are not always separated from the following letter by a blank space, but, on the contrary, are sometimes contiguous to the letter that follows them. Some examples of this can be observed on folio 154r of the mentioned manuscript, on lines four (*āalph*: ) , seven (*hē*: ) , eight (*wāw*: ) , twelve (*ṣādē*: ) and two (*taw*: ) of the first column of the folio²⁶¹. However, this behaviour is not constant in the manuscript: most of the times *āalph* is not contiguous to the following letter (first column: second line ) ; ninth line ) ; eleventh line ) and, similarly, sometimes *hē*, *wāw*, *ṣādē* and *taw* are not joined to what follows them (first column, respectively: fourth line ) ; eleventh line ) ; thirty-first line ) ; fourth line ) . The script of this manuscript could be described as a compact script, that is a script in which the scribe tends to write the letters very close together.

From the observation of the behaviour of these eight letters in the tables of Hatch's repertory, we notice a peculiar phenomenon, which consists in the lack of a space after *āalph*, *hē*, *wāw* and *taw* when followed by the consonant *shīn* in the tables of Syriac codices classified as "estrangelâ" and "Nestorian" by Hacht, at least from the earliest Syriac manuscripts (beginning of the fifth century) to the tenth century. This is probably due to the fact that the initial stroke of *shīn* is very elongated, but it is nevertheless, in my opinion, an important element to be considered: four of the eight (or nine, counting also the consonant *semkath*) letters which generally show a lesser tendency to join with the following letter, are always connected or contiguous²⁶² to *shīn* when this consonant follows them. This is observed very frequently also when *wāw* is followed by the consonant 'ē. Both phenomena described occur in the initial and medial position²⁶³; some examples are given below. As for the manuscripts classified as *estrangelā*, in Hatch Plate IV (463-464 A.D.)²⁶⁴ the letters within the sequences *āalph-shīn* and *wāw-shīn* are always contiguous to each other, as in the fourth line of the second column (left column ) ; elsewhere, in the rest of the folio there is always a space to the left of *āalph* and *wāw* when they are at the beginning of a word (there is only one exception concerning the sequence *wāw*- 'ē at the twenty-second line of the left column ) . Other examples can be seen in Hatch Plate XLI (615 A.D.)²⁶⁵ where it is possible to observe the adhering sequences *āalph-shīn* and *wāw-shīn* (e.g., right column, thirteenth line ) ; e.g., left column, sixteenth line ) , in Hatch Plate XLVII (720 A.D.)²⁶⁶ for

²⁶⁰ London, British Library, Add. MS. 12150. Written at Edessa. See Hatch 1946, Plate I.

²⁶¹ From Hatch 1946, Plate I.

²⁶² In the case where these letters precede *shīn*, the terms 'connected' and 'contiguous' could be almost completely overlapping, since the connecting line between the two letters coincides with the final right part of letter *shīn*.

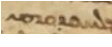
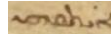
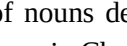
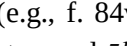
²⁶³ This is particularly significant for some Syriac letters such as *waw*, which, in my opinion, the scribe tends rather to join within word and not at the beginning.

²⁶⁴ London, British Library, Add. MS. 14425, f. 95r. Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, according to the Peshitta version. The first half of the codex was written by John, a deacon, in the city of Amida. The name of the scribe and the place of production of the second part of the codex are not known.

²⁶⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 69, f. 137r. The codex contains the work of John Chrysostom, 'On Ephesians' (Homilies I-XXIV). The place of production of the manuscript is not present.

²⁶⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 27 (ff. 94v.-149r), f. 101r. Content: Books of Kings in the Syro-Hexapla and Daniel in the revision of James of Edessa. The place of production is unknown, but the scribe, Yuḥannon, was an anchorite from the convent of Sarin-Castra.

the sequences *āalph-shīn*, *wāw-shīn* and *wāw-‘ē* (e.g., fifteenth line , seventh line  and twenty-first line ) in Hatch Plate LIII (740-741 A.D.)²⁶⁷ for the sequences *hē-shīn*, *wāw-shīn*, *taw-shīn* (respectively: right column, twenty-first line ; left column, nineteenth line ; right column, twenty-ninth line ) and in Hatch Plate LX (804 A.D.)²⁶⁸ in which the sequences *āalph-shīn*, *hē-shīn*, *wāw-shīn* (in annotation) and *taw-shīn* are written next to each other without any space (e.g., twenty-second line ; note - second line ; eighth line ; tenth line ). In contrast, with regard to the manuscripts classified by Hatch as *Nestorian*, the sequence of letters *wāw-shīn* appears without blank spaces, apparently connected, for example, in Hatch Plate CLX (599-600)²⁶⁹ (e.g., eighth line ) and in Hatch Plate CLXIII (767-768)²⁷⁰ (right column, twelfth line ).

The script in ms. Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchat of Babylon, N 801 (794), our East-Syriac manuscript (4)²⁷¹ is quite interesting. Here, the scribe seems never to join *āalph* and *šādē* with the following letter, while he often connects *hē*, *wāw*, *semkath* and *taw* and does so with a clearly distinguishable stroke (e.g., f. 99r/12  and/22  and f. 98v/5 ). Note how *wāw* is not usually connected with final *nūn*, e.g., in third person of the plural pronominal suffixes and in the desinences of the masculine plural second persons of the perfect and imperfect tenses (e.g., f. 85r/7 ; f. 87r/11 ). The scribe almost always connects *semkath* to the following letter, but there are a few exceptions, for example, this does not occur before final *nūn* (f. 84v/6 ; f. 86v/24 ). As for *taw*, the connecting line between this letter and any final suffix pronouns is clearly visible, as in the twentieth line of f. 98v () and the twenty-second line of f. 97v (). However, the scribe seems not to connect *taw* when it is part of the prefix of *ethpe’el* and *ethpa’al* and of nouns derived from those forms (e.g., f. 84v/8 , /11  and /22 ). Finally, as we saw in Chapter III, some ligatures of *taw* and *āalph* also appear in the manuscript in question.

With regard to the phenomenon described above, i.e., the tendency of *āalph*, *hē*, *wāw*, and *taw* to be connected on the left side when followed by the consonant *shīn*, we can note that in the Baghdad codex this is not usually the case for *āalph* (f. 99r/3  and /8 ) instead of what usually happens with *wāw* (e.g., f. 96v/12  and /13 ) and *taw* (f. 86v/24 ; f. 98v/9 ).

In the already mentioned ḥudrā of the tenth or perhaps eleventh century (10)²⁷², one can see at least some of the palaeographical characteristics already seen in the Baghdad codex. For example, there are numerous instances of *wāw* and *taw* joining on the left with *shīn* (f. 238r/18  and /20 ; f. 240r/15 ); *wāw* does not join on the left with final *nūn* (e.g., f. 240/23 ); *taw* is not connected or contiguous to the following letter, especially when it is part of the prefix of forms *ethpe’el* and *ethpa’al* (e.g., f. 238r/26 ; f. 240r/18 ) but it is always connected to pronominal suffixes and the connecting stroke is often clearly distinguishable (e.g., f. 238r/26 ; f. 240r/16 and /19 ).

In another twelfth or thirteenth-century East-Syriac codex, Mingana 544 (16), we can observe that *āalph* is not connected on the left, while there are numerous *hē* and *wāw* connected with the following letter (e.g., .2r/3

²⁶⁷ Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Syr. 26 (Sachau 321), f. 148v. Contents: Lives and writings of various ecclesiastics; Legend of the Seven Sleepers; The *Doctrina Apostolorum*. Place of production unknown.

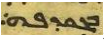
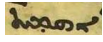
²⁶⁸ London, British Library, Add. MS. 12151, f. 43r. Contents: Ps. Dionysius the Areopagite, ‘On the Celestial Hierarchy’; id., ‘On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy’; id., ‘On Divine Names’; id., ‘On Mystical Theology’; and id., ‘Ten Epistles’. Place of production unknown.

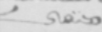
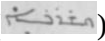
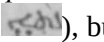
²⁶⁹ London, British Library, Add. MS. 14460, f. 55r. Contents: the four Gospels, according to the Peshitta version. The manuscript was written in the district of Beth-Nuhadra.

²⁷⁰ London, British Library, Add. MS. 7157, f. 105r. Contents: the four Gospels, Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John, Pauline Epistles (including *Hebrews*), according to the Peshitta. The name of the scribe is Sabar and the manuscript was written in the Convent of Rabban Mar Sabar-Yeshu’, in the district of Adiabene.

²⁷¹ See *supra* pp. 27-29, table of East-Syriac manuscripts.

²⁷² Mar Isha’ya Church in Mosul.

; f. 2r/4  and f. 9r/7 ); *wāw* is never connected when followed by final *nūn* (e.g., f. 8v/10 ). *Semkath* is always connected or contiguous with a few exceptions where the following letter is *gāmal* (f. 1v/33 ; 2r/12 ). *Taw* shows variable attitude, even with suffix pronouns (f. 1v/21 ; f. 2r/15 ; f. 2r/22 ). However, *taw* is not connected on its left when it forms part of the prefix of the forms *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* (e.g., 1v/14 ; f. 2r/9 ). As in the Baghdad codex (4), no cases were observed in Mingana 544 where the sequence *āalph-shīn* was connected (f. 2r/14 ), but there are several examples of connected *wāw* and *taw* (e.g., f. 8v/1 ; note in this example the way the scribe connects *taw* and final *āalph*).

Finally, it is interesting to make some remarks on ms. Manchester, Syriac 4 (26), a copy of an East-Syriac manuscript written near Nisibis in 752/3 and now lost. The copy was made in China by a scribe who did not know Syriac and therefore copied the signs stroke by stroke²⁷³. The text of this manuscript is not perfectly legible. The handwriting changes: it is more set in the first part of the manuscript (defined by Coakley as “a regular and open estrangela”), while it is more compact and cursive from f. 221v. In this second part some peculiar triangular *taw* appear; they are connected very similarly to that of Mingana 544 (f. 8v/1 ), i.e., connected by the lower end of the arc and not by the upper. Examples are found on f. 222r/34 () and on f. 229v/27 (), in both cases at the end of the line. In the first part of the manuscript, there are also cases where *hē* and *wāw* are connected or in ligatures (in the case of *wāw*) to *shīn*, for example on f. 2v/17 () and f. 141r/20 (). As for the sequence *taw* and *āalph* in final position, in the early part of the manuscript *taw* is sometimes connected to final *āalph* (f. 170r/33 ), but when this happens *taw* does not have a triangular form.

It is important to emphasize these peculiarities because they can not only tell us more about Syriac script in general, but also help us to know the customs of individual scribes.

What has been observed is that, with regard to the Syriac fragments from Turfan, of the nine letters that tend not to join on the left, *hē*, *wāw* and *taw* sometimes join with the following letter. These letters, moreover, many other times are not joined in ligatures, but are connected or attached on their left side. In a few Syriac manuscripts there are cases where even some *āalph*, *dālath* and *ṣādē* are connected or contiguous to the letter that follows them. The manuscript MIK III 45, which will be examined later in detail, represents an example of what has just been described.

Regarding the Christian Sogdian fragments, in addition to the occurrence of joined *āalph*, *hē*, *wāw*, *ṣādē* and *taw*, there are some peculiar realizations of *āalph* connected to the following letter or, even, in ligatures; there are also ligatures introduced by *ṣādē*.

Semkath is almost always contiguous or joined to the following letter, in both Syriac and Sogdian fragments.

What emerges, therefore, is the scribes' predilection for compact writings, in which the maintenance of minimum spaces after specific letters seems to lose importance, in contrast to what usually occurs in set and calligraphic scripts.

Let's take a closer look at what has been anticipated.

²⁷³ Coakley 1993, pp. 120-123.

V.1 JOINS BETWEEN LETTERS IN THE SYRIAC FRAGMENTS OF THE BERLIN TURFAN COLLECTION

As far as Syriac fragments in Syriac script are concerned, *ālaph* is connected or contiguous on the left at least once in thirteen fragments to which fifty-five of the folios of MIK III 45 must be added; *hē* in two hundred and nineteen; *wāw* in three hundred and eighty-six (in many of which within ligatures); *taw* touches the following letter (other than final *ālaph*) in one hundred and fifty-seven fragments, while it is connected or joined in ligatures to *ālaph* at the end of the word in one hundred and forty-nine fragments. This number includes also the cases of East-Syriac *taw-ālaph* ligatures mentioned in Chapter III and some peculiar ligatures of the same sequence observed in MIK III 45 that we shall examine later.

If one considers that the number of Syriac fragments is approximately four hundred and fifty fragments, one can easily realize the significance of the phenomenon.

Moreover, it has been possible to detect six (or seven)²⁷⁴ cases in which *semkath* is not connected on the left: SyrHT 94/side (a)/right folio/4 (*Legend of St. George*; ) , SyrHT 123/side (a)/12 (*Gospel A*; ) , SyrHT 126/side (a)/10 (*Hudra H*; ) , SyrHT 330/side (a)/3 (*Prayer-Amulet B*; ) , SyrHT 386/side (a)/2 (*‘Reverse Psalm’*; ) and MIK III 45 (fr. 1)/side (a)/6 (*Hudra CC*; ) .

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact *ductus* of *ālaph*. It is useful to note that the *ductus* of *ālaph* is generally independent of that of the next letter. Usually, the scribe writes the letter in its *three-stroke* form, but it is not possible to determine with certainty which stroke he writes first. It is likely that the two strokes of the lower part of the letter are drawn first and then the upper inclined rod. The direction of the strokes is hypothetical: there are no clues to determine the direction of the lower strokes, while it is more likely that the inclined rod was traced from bottom to top, as suggested by the bulbs at the upper end of some *ālaph*. In most of the fragments the left base stroke of *ālaph* falls below the ideal line of writing (e.g., SyrHT 44/ side (a)/8 ) .

Given this *ductus* of three-stroke *ālaph*, we cannot speak of joined *ālaph*. There are thus two possibilities: either *ālaph* touches the next letter or it is connected to the next letter by a stroke drawn after having lifted the *calamus* or the brush from the paper.

Another *ductus* of *ālaph* might be assumed for some of the fragments at Turfan. Here, the scribe, before drawing the oblique rod at the top of the letter, draws the two lower strokes as the two sides of an acute angle, which begins more or less from the line of writing and not from the lower end of the rod. If this hypothesis is correct, looking at the sheet (not rotated for convenience of explanation)²⁷⁵, there are two possibilities:

- the scribe starts with a movement from the bottom on the right, continues up to the apex of the angle (the vertex) and then, descends again to the line of writing; he later lifts the *calamus* or the brush from the paper to draw the inclined rod (Figure 3);
- the scribe starts with a movement from below on the left, tracing the same strokes but in a specular way, and then lifts the *calamus* or the brush and draws the inclined rod in the upper part of the letter (Figure 4).

²⁷⁴ A seventh case may be found in f. 37/side (a)/8 of MIK III 45 () , where *semkath* is followed by final *yūdh*. However, it is not easy to discern whether the two letters touch or whether there is a space between them, because the scribe tends to write *semkath* next to the following letter.

²⁷⁵ The Syrians usually wrote turning the paper about forty-five degrees to the left. See Desreumaux 2009.

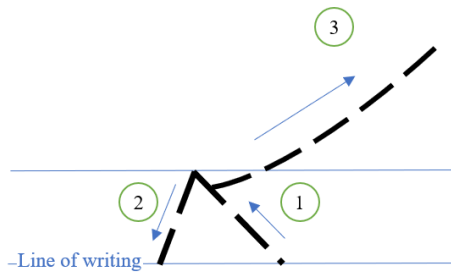


Figure 3

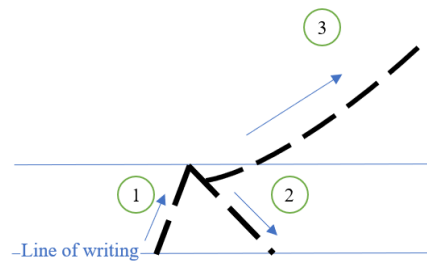


Figure 4

As can be seen, the vertex of the corner drawn by (1) and (2) does not coincide with the beginning of line (3). This *ductus* is conceivable for some realizations of *ālaph* such as the one on f. 37v of MIK III 45, on the second, third, eighth and twelfth lines of an annotation written on the folio, originally empty, by someone who does not coincide with the scribe of the main text (e.g., line eight ; line twelve ). In these examples, it seems that the scribe begins drawing the angle from the right rather than from the left (as in Figure 3), as the partial overlap of ink between the left line and the right line seems to suggest. In spite of this, this scribe always writes *ālaph* well separated from the letters that follow it and never connects it, contrary to what he does, for example, with *wāw* (e.g., first line ). Regarding the latter, the scribe draws also peculiar ligatures, such as the sequence *wāw-taw* on the tenth line (.

Other realizations of *ālaph* that appear to derive from the same *ductus* as that in Figures 3 and 4 are observed, for example, in Hudra A (SyrHT 44/side (a)/2 , /4 , /9  and /10 , in Hudra C (e.g., SyrHT 65/side (a)/1 , in Hudra L (e.g., SyrHT 112/side (b)/4  and /10 .

A different *ductus* for *ālaph* is shown in Psalter G (e.g., SyrHT 96/side (a)/8 ). The following image shows two enlarged *ālaph* from SyrHT 96, preceded by their supposed *ductus*.

Figure 5: Model of *ductus* with examples from SyrHT 96/side (a)/16 e /8.

The examples of *Psalter G* seem to suggest a type (a) *ductus*, in which the scribe, before drawing the inclined rod of *ālaph*, draws the two lower strokes starting from the right and forming an acute angle. In this case, once the letter is completed, the scribe would be forced to lift the calamus (or brush) and move it to the left side of *ālaph* to continue writing; *ālaph*, thus, can not be joined in ligature with what follows.

We point out that a similar shape could be obtained by means of another *ductus*, examples of which may be the realizations in SyrHT 65/side (a)/4 and /7 ( , ). Here the scribe probably first draws the rod of *ālahph* from bottom to top, and then draws a second and final line, ending on the right of the letter.

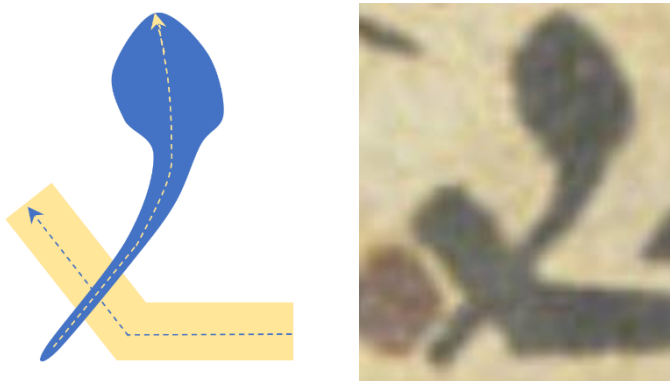


Figure 6: *ālahph* in SyrHT 65/side a/4, preceded by probable *ductus*.

It is not our wish to move away from the subject of this chapter. This recording of the remarkable variety of the *ductus* for *ālahph* in Turfan fragments is useful to show how the *ductus* affects the joins (adhesions, connections and ligatures) of *ālahph* and the letter on its left side.

It is remarkable that there is no ligature of *ālahph* in the Syriac fragments from Turfan, but only connected or contiguous *ālahph*. These realizations appear, though not always, in Hudra A (nine fragments; e.g., SyrHT 44/side (a)/10 ), Hudra D (one fragment; SyrHT 163/side (a)/6 ), Hudra J (two fragments; e.g., SyrHT 28/side (a)/right folio/7 ), in the E14 (one fragment; SyrHT 83 or E14/1/side (a)/8 ) and in the MIK III 45 (fifty-five fragments; e.g., f. 2r/12 ).

In no manuscript *ālahph* is always connected or contiguous to the following letter; however, this attitude is quite strong in Hudra A. It seems that *ālahph* always has a space after it in the prefix of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* verb forms, in which it is followed by *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 56/side (a)/6  ; SyrHT 60/side (a)/13  ; SyrHT 60/side (b)/10 ). It is connected, instead, in the prefixes of the same verb forms when by metathesis *shīn* swaps with *taw* after *ālahph* (this is probably favored by the form of *shīn*, which has a basal tract of considerable length; e.g., SyrHT 44/side (b)/10 ). The latter phenomenon does not always occur with *semkath* and *shīn* under the same circumstances, as can be seen in SyrHT 60/side (b)/12 (). More generally, it seems that *ālahph* tends not to join on the left when followed by *taw*, as , for example, in the plural noun ܐܬܬܐܬܐܪܐ (from the singular ܐܬܐܪܐ “a sign, a character, a letter of the alphabet”) in SyrHT 44/side (b)/10 (), in the masculine singular participle ܐܬܐܪܐ “that comes” in SyrHT 56/side (a)/16 (preceded by the conjunction *d-*: ) and in the noun ܐܬܐܪܐ “place” in SyrHT 56/side (b)/19 ().

If we look at the writing of the scribe of Hudra A, as it appears for example in SyrHT 45, we can notice a general tendency to join the letters of the same word, especially those in medial position (e.g., side (a)/5  , /8  and /12 ). This tendency is accompanied by the presence of a short horizontal line drawn by the scribe to the left of *wāw* and *hē* at the end of the word, where they are not followed by any letter (e.g., side (a)/4  , /6  , /7 and /10  ). Nevertheless, the scribe never joins *ālahph* in the prefixes of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al*.

With regard to *ālahph* connected on the left in SyrHT 83/side (a)/2 (), it is important to report that this occurs only once within anaphora in E14 and, specifically, within an instruction for the priest in Sogdian, in

red ink. In the remaining occurrences of *āalph* found within instructions in Sogdian, in SyrHT 84 (side (a)/12 ; side (b)/12 , *āalph* is not connected on its left; the same occurs in the Syriac text. So far, there are no studies to clarify whether the author of the Syriac text is the same as that of the Sogdian instructions found in manuscript E14. The realization of *āalph* in the Syriac text (e.g., SyrHT 84/side (a)/10 ) and in the Sogdian text (e.g., SyrHT 84/side (a)/12 ) appears similar; in contrast, the rounded *loop* shape of *ṭēth* in the Sogdian instructions of SyrHT 83/side (a)/8 ) and SyrHT 84/side (a)/12 ) differs, though only slightly, from the more angular one shown in the Syriac text of SyrHT 83/side (a)/5 

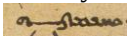
The remaining four cases in which the letter *āalph* connected or contiguous to the letter on its left are been observed, however, in *Lectionary B* (precisely in SyrHT 241/side (a)/6 , SyrHT 241/side (b)/15 ) and in n327/R/2 ) where *āalph* is followed by *shīn*, and in the *Legend of Barshabba* (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/right folio/3 ; SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/right folio/15 ) as will be better described below.

Considering *hē* and *wāw*, they touch in general quite often to the letters on their left, the latter to a greater extent than the former. In Turfan, as in the Middle East, it is more probable that these two consonants have a space after them in initial, rather than and medial position. Moreover, sometimes these two letters connect with the following letter by means of a short, clearly visible stroke (e.g., SyrHT 274/side (a)/2 , Prayer-amulet D), at other times they simply touch it (e.g., SyrHT 301/side (a)/3 , Hudra EE). Despite this clarification, in both cases described here there is no space between *hē* or *wāw* and the following letters.

The instances of unjoined *semkath* just mentioned, in SyrHT 94/side (a)/right folio/4 (*Legend of St. George*; , SyrHT 123/side (a)/12 (*Gospel A*; , in SyrHT 126/side (a)/10 (*Hudra H*; , in SyrHT 330/side (a)/3 (*Prayer-Amulet B*; , in SyrHT 386/side (a)/2 (*‘Reverse Psalm’*; ) and in MIK III 45 (fr. 1)/side (a)/6 (Hudra CC; , represent the only six examples detected in the entire Syriac and Sogdian Christian documentation from the Berlin Turfan Collection. Two of them, SyrHT 94 and SyrHT 126, contain an unjoined sequence of *semkath* and *gāmal*; in SyrHT 123 fragment, however, an unjoined sequence *semkath-hē* appears, as occurs in SyrHT 386; in SyrHT 330 and MIK III 45 (fr. 1) the unjoined sequence *semkath-yūdh*. It is relevant to note that within four of the six fragments in question *semkath* is connected to the following letter in the rest of the cases, as in SyrHT 94/side (a)/left folio/3 , in SyrHT 123/side (b)/8 , in SyrHT 126/side (a)/12 ) and in MIK III 45 (fr. 1)/side (a)/5 ). In contrast, in SyrHT 330 and SyrHT 386 there is only one *semkath* and it does not connect on its left.

Taw is a very frequent consonant in Syriac, also within the sequence *taw-āalph*. In Turfan fragments, *taw* and *āalph* are very often joined, and in such cases, when the graphic form of *taw* is the triangular or the vertical one, the connecting point between *taw* and *āalph* is the upper end of the arc of *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 204/side (b)/7 , Hudra H). In contrast, *taw* usually does not join in ligatures, nor is it connected in the prefixes of *ethpe’el* and *ethpa’al* forms. This often occurs even when in the fragment *taw* is connected or touch to its left in almost all other cases, as, for example, in fragment SyrHT 71 (Psalter E; e.g., SyrHT 71/3a/10  and 14  vs. SyrHT 71/3a/5  and 13 ) and in SyrHT 93 (Psalter F; e.g., SyrHT 93/side (a)/4 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/5 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/6  vs. SyrHT 93/side (a)/3 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/7 ).

One issue to keep in mind is the common practice among scribes to avoid, as much as possible, leaving blank spaces at the end of the line, either by lengthening the strokes of the final letters of the line or by inserting marks to fill in any gaps. This system, which responds to the need for justification of the text, is also common within the Syriac world and is found in the Turfan documentation. An example is clearly observable in the fragment SyrHT 73/side (a)/11 (, Hudra G), where the scribe inserts a horizontal line in order to fill the empty space at the end of the line. In other cases, the scribes join and extend, even in a very pronounced manner, some letters at the end of the line, as can often be seen in Psalter F (e.g., SyrHT 93/side b/left folio/2

; SyrHT 93/side b/right folio/5 (). It happens even in the Syriac fragments from Turfan that sometimes at the end of the line usually not connected letters are instead connected with the following letter and that often the connecting line is extended for the length necessary to cover the empty space. This occurs, among many other cases, in SyrHT 42/side (a)/right folio/14 (, Hudra E), where *taw* is connected to the left with the pronominal suffix *-h* and the line between the two letters is extended to justify the text. Note that in the same fragment in some cases *taw* is neither connected nor contiguous to pronominal suffixes when it is not at the end of the line (e.g., SyrHT 42/side (a)/left folio/9 (); SyrHT 42/side (a)/left folio/19 ())²⁷⁶.

The fact that *taw* at the end of a word is written connected, contiguous or not to pronominal suffixes is another element that, in my opinion, can be useful in identifying the peculiarities in the handwriting of each scribe²⁷⁷. Some of these cases will be discussed.

We shall now observe some of the Syriac manuscripts from the oasis of Turfan in which *āalph*, *wāw*, *hē*, and *taw* are sometimes or often connected to their left.

They will be presented divided by literary genre.

Among the liturgical Syriac manuscripts examined, Hudra B and Hudra H are particularly illustrative. In the first of the two manuscripts *hē*, *wāw* and *taw* are always contiguous or connected to the following letter, as can be seen from Plate XI (fragment SyrHT 159/side (b)). In Hudra H, on the other hand, although *hē* and *wāw* are sometimes contiguous or connected on the left, this rarely happens with *taw*, which hardly seems to connect to its left. In Hudra H there are, however, seventeen examples where *taw* is connected to the left. In ten of the seventeen cases (from fragments SyrHT 55, SyrHT 122, SyrHT 124, SyrHT 126, SyrHT 142, SyrHT 204, SyrHT 204, SyrHT 287) *taw* is connected with *āalph* at the end of the word. In particular, in seven of them (SyrHT 122/side (a)/6 (, SyrHT 124/side (b)/9 (, SyrHT 126/side (b)/13 (, SyrHT 142/side (a)/19 (, SyrHT 204/side (a)/1 (, SyrHT 204/side (b)/7 (, SyrHT 287/side (a)/15 () the sequence in which *taw* is connected with *āalph* is at the end of the last word of the line. This could be somewhat explained by the scribe's need to justify the text without leaving blank spaces at the end of the line, although in other cases, albeit at the end of the line, the scribe seems not to care about the problem (e.g., SyrHT 126/side (b)/12 (). In an eighth case, however, SyrHT 55/side (a)/10 (, the sequence *taw-āalph*, with joined letters, is found at the beginning of the line, but concludes a word from the previous line (, the term ܐܠܦܗܝܬܐ, preceded by the conjunction *d-*.

There are three remaining examples: SyrHT 287/side (a)/3 (, 9 (, 11 (). The first of them, from SyrHT 287 (, is not clearly legible, but it seems that, close to the damaged margin, there is the sequence *taw-āalph* and that *taw* is connected to *āalph*. What is clear is that this sequence cannot be at the end of the line, since the portion of missing paper, and consequently of text, is considerable. In contrast, with regard to SyrHT 287/side (a)/9 and /11, the text is clearly legible and shows the connected sequence *taw-āalph*, in both cases within the line. I would like to point out that although there are ten instances where *taw* is connected to *āalph* at the end of a word, in Hudra H there are at least sixty-five other instances where in the same circumstance *taw* does not join with *āalph*.

Finally, six more *taw* appear in the manuscript Hudra H and are contiguous or connected to the subsequent letter. They are found in SyrHT 125/side (a)/15 (, SyrHT 126/side (b)/7 (, SyrHT 126/side (b)/9 (, SyrHT 126/side (b)/17 (, SyrHT 142/side (a)/6 () and SyrHT 142/side (b)/10 (). Of

²⁷⁶ For further information on the graphic signs in the material under investigation, see Marra 2021 “On Line Fillers in the Christian Medieval Central Asia Manuscript Tradition”, another work that is part of the project *Scribal habits. A case study from Christian Medieval Central Asia* funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and directed by Chiara Barbati.

²⁷⁷ For similar cases with *tēth* in Sogdian language, we refer to the next paragraph.

the latter six examples, four *taw* are followed by a suffix pronoun (SyrHT 125/side (a)/15, SyrHT 126/side (b)/9, SyrHT 126/side (b)/17 and SyrHT 142/side (b)/10) and in two (SyrHT 126/side (b)/7 and SyrHT 142/side (a)/6) *taw* appears to be connected on the left to *shīn*²⁷⁸.

Having detailed the seventeen exceptions in which in Hudra H *taw* is connected, it may be inferred that the scribe tends not to connect the letters *āalph* and *ṣādē* and the letter *taw* on his left, with the few exceptions set forth.

Hunter and Coakley write about another Syriac liturgical manuscript, MIK III 45²⁷⁹, informing us that in it *hē* and *wāw* ‘can join on the left, against the classical rules’. The scholars add that ‘*He* usually touches a following letter but occasionally the join is visible’, as for example on the third line of folio 27a ( and ).

There is more about this manuscript that shows some peculiar characteristics. The first scribe of MIK III 45 (up to f. 33r)²⁸⁰, as well as the second, tends not to separate *wāw* from *nūn* in the final position, sometimes lengthening the connecting line (f. 4r/12 ; f. 19v/19 ; f. 40v/2 ).

In general, the handwriting of MIK III 45, both that of the first and that of the second scribe, is very compact and both scribes often write the letters contiguously without any blank space. This happens also for the sequences introduced by *āalph*, not exclusively when *shīn* follows (e.g., f. 2r/12 ; f. 2r/15 ) and even for the sequence *dālath-shīn* (e.g., first scribe: f. 1r/20 ; second scribe: f. 49r/14 ); in the latter, however, the connecting stroke seems to coincide with the lower right part of *shīn*. *Semkath* seems always to be joined to the letter on its left, if we exclude the exception shown above. *Ṣādē* is also often joined to the following letter, as we see, for example, in f. 3r/11 (; first scribe) and f. 37r/7 (; second scribe).

Taw in many cases is contiguous, if not connected, to the letter that follows it; however, it often is not, and some examples are observed within prefixes of *ethpe’el* and *ethpa’al* forms (e.g., f. 2r/28 ; f. 3r/4 ). *Taw* usually joins with *āalph* in final position (e.g., f. 37r/2 ) and when followed by *shīn* (e.g., f. 3r/4 ).

A separate place deserves some characteristic ligatures of sequences introduced by *taw* made in a very similar way by the first and second scribes of MIK III 45. We can observe some examples of these on folios 8r/12 () and 45v/18 () with regard to *taw-nūn*; 8r/24 () for *taw-final āalph* sequence; 26r/6 (; end of line) and 39v/30 (; end of line) for *wāw-taw-āalph* sequence, found at the end of the word. It is interesting that the two scribes, in connecting *taw* to final *nūn*, join to *nūn* not at the upper end of the arc of *taw*, as was the case elsewhere in Turfan (e.g., SyrHT 126/side (b)/17 ), but at its lower extremity, modifying also the *ductus* of *taw* within *taw-āalph* ligatures. Examples of *taw* connected by the lower extremity of their arc are also found at least in London, BL. Add. MS. 17194 (e.g., f. 39v/7 )²⁸¹ and in the East-Syriac ms. Mingana 544 (16), as we can see on ff. 7v (/4  , /7  , /13  , /28  , /33  , /34 ; all at the end of the line) and 8r (/2  and /35 ; both at the end of the line) and in the second part of ms. Manchester, Syriac 4 (26)²⁸². The scribe of Mingana 544 does not consistently lean towards this solution and often connects *taw* from the upper extremity of his arc (e.g., f. 7v/15  , also at the end of the line: /31 ). In this codex we also find another

²⁷⁸ In the case of SyrHT 142/side (a)/6 () *taw* seems to join with *shīn*, but, looking very closely, it is possible that a very short gap divides the two letters. It is significant to note, however, that in most cases in Hudra H *taw* does not join either when followed by a suffix or when followed by *shīn*, as can be seen in SyrHT 125/side (a)/16 (), SyrHT 125/side (a)/18 (), in SyrHT 211/side (a)/7 () and SyrHT 126/side (a)/20 ().

²⁷⁹ Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 7.

²⁸⁰ See Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 4.

²⁸¹ The manuscript, in vellum, is dated 885-886 A.D. and contains the Book of the Demonstrations of the Holy Fathers. See Hatch 1946, Plate CX.

²⁸² See p. 106.

realization of *taw* similar to the one joined with final *āalph* in some examples from MIK III 45: at f. 7v/27 (𐤀𐤋𐤍) we find almost the same *ductus* as in f. 39v/30 (𐤀𐤋𐤍). However, in Mingana 544 the scribe writes a less cursive *āalph* and, in doing so, is obliged to lift the writing instrument from the paper.

Regarding the subject of this paragraph, two of the most interesting Psalters in Syriac language and script from Turfan are Psalter F and Psalter N.

Psalter F is characterized by a significant regularity of the scribe, who never connects or writes the letters *āalph*, *dālath*, *ṣādē*, and *rēsh* contiguous to the next letter, while *wāw* and *hē* are always connected or contiguous with what follows. Moreover, he always connects *taw* with the following letter (thus also when followed by *āalph* or a pronominal suffix), except when it forms part of the prefix of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al*, and in the term ܠܚܫܐ ('vengeance, punishment'; ܠܚܫܐ) in SyrHT 93/side (b)/6. Plate XII shows cases of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* forms in which *taw* does not join, as at the fifth and sixth lines of the verso of SyrHT 93 (𐤀𐤋𐤍; 𐤀𐤋𐤍), and examples of pronominal suffixes connected to *taw* (e.g., SyrHT 92/side (b)/3 𐤀𐤋𐤍 and SyrHT 92/side (b)/9 𐤀𐤋𐤍).²⁸³

Representative of many other manuscripts of the same content is Psalter N, where *āalph*, *dālath*, *ṣādē*, and *rēsh* are neither connected, nor contiguous to the following letter, and in which, unlike Psalter F, the tendency of *wāw* and *hē* to be joined to what follows is frequently, but not always, verified. In Psalter N *taw* is always contiguous to *āalph* at the end of the word, while it usually does not connect on the left with other letters.²⁸⁴

As regards Lectionaries and New Testament manuscripts, it is interesting to note that in Lectionary A *wāw* is always connected to the following letter in medial position, but sometimes not at the beginning of words (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/8 𐤀𐤋𐤍); this letter is usually not connected with final *nūn* also when it is found in third person plural pronominal suffixes (e.g., SyrHT 48/side a/5 𐤀𐤋𐤍 and SyrHT 48/side (a)/15 𐤀𐤋𐤍), in the enclitic forms of third-person plural independent personal pronouns (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/4 𐤀𐤋𐤍) and in the endings of plural masculine second persons of perfect and imperfect (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/9 𐤀𐤋𐤍). *Hē* in Lectionary A is always connected to its left; the same occurs almost always for *taw* when followed by *āalph* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/2 𐤀𐤋𐤍) and always when followed by *shīn* (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/2 𐤀𐤋𐤍; SyrHT 48/side (b)/16 𐤀𐤋𐤍; SyrHT 373/side (a)/3 𐤀𐤋𐤍), while it is never connected in the prefixes of *ethpe'el* or *ethpa'al* forms (e.g., SyrHT 48/side (a)/6 𐤀𐤋𐤍; SyrHT 48/side (b)/7 𐤀𐤋𐤍; SyrHT 49/side (a)/11 𐤀𐤋𐤍); in the rest of the cases *taw* shows no specific habit. In this manuscript, as in Hudra A, there is also a tendency of the scribe to extend the final letters *wāw* and *hē* by a short stroke on the line of writing, as in SyrHT 49/side (a), in the first (𐤀𐤋𐤍), second (𐤀𐤋𐤍) and eighth (𐤀𐤋𐤍) lines.

Another manuscript of the same genre, Lectionary B, shows only three *āalph* connected to the left: in the first two, *āalph* is clearly followed by *shīn* (SyrHT 241/side (a)/6 𐤀𐤋𐤍; SyrHT 241/side (b)/15 𐤀𐤋𐤍); in the third, n327/side (a)/2, although the fragment is incomplete, the reconstruction in Hunter and Dickens (2014)²⁸⁵ reports a *shīn* on the second line of side (a) of the fragment exactly after *āalph*. So, in all three cases *āalph* is connected on the left with the letter *shīn*. As for *hē* and *wāw*, the former is usually connected to its left, while the latter almost never is. Finally, in contrast to Lectionary A, in Lectionary B *taw* is never connected to *āalph* either within or at the end of a word (e.g., SyrHT 277/side (b)/3 𐤀𐤋𐤍), while it joins

²⁸³ In the participle ܬܪܫܐ, in SyrHT 92/side (b)/1 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), *taw* joins left with the following letter, *rēsh*. It is important to point out, however, that this is not an *ethpe'el* or *ethpa'al* form, but a participle of the denominative verb ܬܪܫܐ.

²⁸⁴ There are at least five cases where *taw* is connected with a letter other than *āalph*: SyrHT 5/side (b)/3 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), SyrHT 6/side (b)/5 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), SyrHT 295/side (a)/6 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), SyrHT 295/side (b)/6 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), SyrHT 382/side (a)/9 (𐤀𐤋𐤍), n301/R/3 (𐤀𐤋𐤍) and n301/V/5 (𐤀𐤋𐤍). As can be seen, in at least four of them *taw* is followed by a pronominal suffix. Moreover, in SyrHT 295/side (a)/6 *taw* is followed by *shīn*.

²⁸⁵ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 392.

on the left as far as it is followed by *shīn* (e.g., SyrHT 277/side (b)/3 ); in the other cases, the consonant *taw* does not show a specific habit.

Among manuscripts belonging to the prayer genre, Prayer-amulet A shows *hē* and *wāw* generally contiguous to the next letter and *taw* always connected on the left with *āalph* in final position (e.g., SyrHT 116/side (a)/3 ; SyrHT 206/side (b)/5 ); the consonant *taw*, moreover, is never connected in the prefixes of *ethpe'el* or *ethpa'al* forms (e.g., SyrHT 114/side (b)/4 ; SyrHT 116/side (a)/2 ).

The bifolium SyrHT 45&46 belongs to the hagiographic genre and is the only surviving fragment of the *Legend of Barshabba*. Here *āalph* is sometimes written contiguous to the next letter (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/right folio/3 ); in one of these cases, it is followed by *shīn* (SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/15 ). However, I do not consider that in this case the presence of *shīn* affects the tendency of *āalph* to be joined or not since on other occasions in the same fragment *āalph* is not joined despite being followed by the letter *shīn* (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/right folio/10 ). As for *hē* and *wāw*, however, they are generally joined with the next letter (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/left folio/8 ), although sometimes this does not occur with *wāw* at the beginning of a word (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (b)/right folio/7 ), especially when it is followed by *āalph* (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (a)/right folio/2 ; *idem*/6 ). Finally, *taw* does not manifest a specific habit, although it seems to avoid connections to *āalph* at the end of words, but joins with the following letter in other cases, including when it is followed by *shīn* (e.g., SyrHT 45&46/side (a)/right folio/10 , /4  and /13 ).

V.2 JOINS BETWEEN LETTERS IN THE SOGDIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT FROM TURFAN

A comparison between the data obtained from Syriac fragments and Sogdian fragments in Syriac script shows, first of all, a decrease in cases of contiguous, connected or joined in ligatures *hē* and *taw* (*hē*: twenty-five fragments; *taw*: thirty-three fragments with a letter other than *āalph*, forty-eight fragments with *āalph*). This decrease is probably related more to a linguistic phenomenon than to a palaeographical one: it is important, in fact, to consider that *hē* and *taw* seem to be less frequent in Sogdian than they are in Syriac. Secondly, it is in some Sogdian fragments, specifically in manuscript E26, that we observe peculiar *āalph* connected to their left and ligatures of *šādē* and *nūn*.

Gospel Lectionary E5 is the only Sogdian manuscript with New Testament content. In fact, although this manuscript includes rubrics and, in nine cases²⁸⁶, short sentences in Syriac following the rubrics, the readings contained in it are exclusively in Sogdian.

In six fragments belonging to E5, *āalph* is contiguous and sometimes connected to the letter on its left; they are: n150/R/1 ( connected), V/2 ( connected) and /3 ( connected)²⁸⁷; n153/R/19 ( connected) and V/3 – in the latter case in the middle and at the end of the line – ( contiguous) and ( contiguous)²⁸⁸; n497 (contiguous and connected: e.g., V/3  – contiguous; e.g., V/8  – connected)²⁸⁹, n500 (contiguous: e.g., R/8 )²⁹⁰, n503/R/3 ( connected)²⁹¹ n505/V/3 ( connected), /5 ( contiguous) and perhaps V/9 ( connected?)²⁹².

²⁸⁶ Regarding the nine cases mentioned, see Barbati 2016, p. 32.

²⁸⁷ Fragment n150 corresponds to E5/23, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012. See Sims-Williams 2012, pp. 199–211.

²⁸⁸ Fragment n153 corresponds to E5/48, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁸⁹ Fragment n497* corresponds to E5/6a, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁹⁰ Fragment n500* corresponds to E5/41, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁹¹ Fragment n503 corresponds to E5/80, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁹² Fragment n505 corresponds to E5/125, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

In particular, in the first fragment *āalph* is connected three times to final *mīm*; in fragment n153 and in two cases in fragment n505 it is connected on the left to *yūdh*; in fragment n153 it is contiguous to *ṭēth* (V/3: ; ) , as in n497, where there is also an *āalph* connected on the left with final *wāw*, and more than once in n500; finally, *āalph* appears to be connected once to *rēsh* in n503 and it is connected also with a barely legible letter (probably a median *nūn*) in n505/V/5²⁹³. However, in none of these cases *āalph* can be considered joined in ligature with the letter that follows it, because its *ductus* is independent of that of the next letter. The *ductus* of *āalph* in E5 is very similar to that already observed in the annotation on f. 37v of MIK III 45, in Hudra C, Hudra L and Psalter G²⁹⁴. The only difference can be the rounding of the angle by the scribe of E5. It is likely, in fact, that he, instead of drawing the two lower strokes to form an angle, merged these two movements into an arc; however, it is difficult to say whether the arc began on the right or the left side.

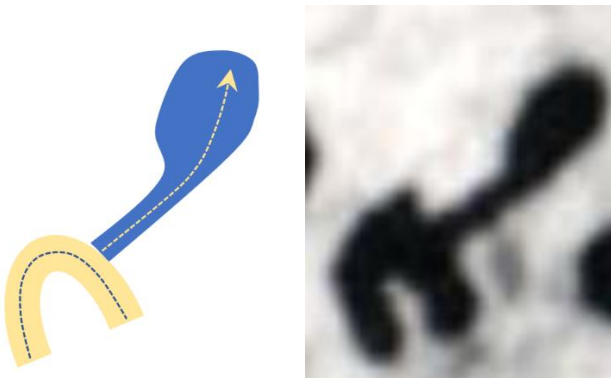


Figure 7: Model and *āalph* in n505/V/2.

Secondly, it has been noted that on other occasions but in the same circumstances, i.e., when followed by *yūdh*, *ṭēth*, *mīm* and *rēsh*, *āalph* is neither contiguous, nor connected to what follows it. Examples of what has just been said can be observed for the unjoined sequences: *āalph-yūdh* in n502/V/17 () and n505/V/1 () ; *āalph-ṭēth* in n153/R/10 and n153/V/9 (; ) ; *āalph-mīm* in n502/V/17 () , n505/R/5 () and n505/V/3 () ; *āalph-rēsh* in n162/R/1 ()²⁹⁵ and n505/V/4 () .

As far as the sequence *āalph-ṭēth* is concerned, what suggests the lack of join, in addition to the *ductus* of *āalph*, is above all the lack of the connecting rod which *ṭēth*, if joined to the preceding letter, would normally have. This is an oblique rod similar to that observed in triangular *taw* and which allows connections and ligatures. Examples of *ṭēth* provided with a rod have been observed at Turfan, for example, in Hudra F (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/2 ) , Service-book E14 (e.g., SyrHT 83/side (a)/2  and /12 ) , E6 (e.g., n203/V/4 ) and E26 (n125/R/5 ) . However, it seems almost as if, in Turfan fragments, *ṭēth* is affected by a similar fate as *taw*, which in its vertical form is often contiguous to the letter preceding it and it shows no oblique rod²⁹⁶.

An interesting realization of the word w'nw on the seventeenth line of n505/R () is perhaps worth a few lines. Here, the *ductus* becomes unclear and difficult to follow, perhaps due to a correction made by the

²⁹³ The median *āalph-nūn* sequence is confirmed by the reading {< w'nw >} in Barbati 2016, p. 200.

²⁹⁴ See p. 108.

²⁹⁵ Fragment n162 corresponds to E5/91, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁹⁶ The scribe of Hudra F always endows *ṭēth* with connecting rod when it is preceded by *ḥēth*, *yūdh*, *nūn* and *shīn* (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/4  and /2 ) and sometimes, when preceded by *waw*, *lāmādh* and *mīm* (e.g., SyrHT 199/side (a)/4 and /3 ) . *Ṭēth*, on the other hand, never connects on the right with *bēth* and 'ē.

scribe, and it is not clear whether the connecting line between *āalph* and the next letter was deliberate or is only a secondary result of the correction²⁹⁷.

He is connected with the next letter in five fragments of manuscript E5: n158 [part]/R/right folio/5 and 6 ()²⁹⁸, n166/V/2 ()²⁹⁹, n413a2/V/1 ()³⁰⁰, n497 (e.g., R/6  and V/2 )³⁰¹ and n503/R/7 (). In the first fragment, the two cases appearing in n158 ( ; ), *hē* is used in two short Syriac sentences which follow the rubric in red and constitute the *incipit* of the reading. The two sentences are separated by the Sogdian language translation of the first of these. This is followed by the rest of the text in Sogdian³⁰². In the case of n166 (), the final *hē-mīm* sequence appears in the Sogdian text in the name *Abraham*, as reconstructed in Barbati (2016)³⁰³, a name of clear Semitic derivation. The same is the case of n497/V/2 in which the final *hē-mīm* sequence appears in the Sogdian text within the name *Abraham*; the other occurrence of *hē* in fragment n497 (R/6) is found in the toponym *yhwḏy*, which indicates Judea³⁰⁴ and whose etymon is also Semitic. In n413a2/V/1 () *hē* is found after the rubric, within the Syriac text preceding the Sogdian one³⁰⁵. Finally, also in the case of n503/R/7 () the *hē* connected to final *yūdh* is part of the Syriac text of *incipit*; this text, in black ink, follows the rubric in red and precedes the Sogdian text³⁰⁶. Thus, it is perhaps significant to note that the cases of *hē* contiguous to or connected with the next letter found in manuscript E5 concern in their totality the Syriac text or terms of Semitic origin.

With regard to *wāw* in Gospel Lectionary E5, it is usually contiguous or connected on its left side within words, while sometimes it is not joined at the beginning of words (e.g., n152/R/4 ).

Finally, in E5 *taw* shows an inconsistent behaviour: it is sometimes, but not always, connected or contiguous to a letter other than *āalph*, as, for example, in n153 (R/4 ; V/6 ; V/7 ) and in n157 (V/4 ) (but n497/V/3 ; n499/V/18 ; n500/R/18 ).

As for the *taw-āalph* sequence, it appears connected in seven fragments, sometimes more than once in the same fragment: n153 (e.g., R/2 ), n158 (e.g., n158/R/right folio/3 ; n158/V/left folio/12 ), n166 (e.g., V/3 ), n497 (e.g., R/14 ), n499 (e.g., V/10 ), n500 (e.g., R/8 ) and n503 (R/5 ). In five of the cases just mentioned (n153, n166, n497, n499, n500), this sequence is found exclusively in the Sogdian text; in the remaining two cases (n158 and n503) the following circumstances occur: in fragment n158 *taw* is connected to *āalph* both within the Sogdian text (as in n158/V/left folio/12 ) and within the Syriac text (n158/R/right folio/3 ); in fragment n503 the sequence is found exclusively once and in the Syriac text (n503/R/5 ).

It is important to point out, however, that there are a number of other cases where *taw* and *āalph* are not connected in E5. Some of these cases are found, for example, in n505 (n505/R/4  , /9 and /12  ).

Among the manuscripts with hagiographic content, quite peculiar is the script of the already mentioned E24. In ten fragments of the said manuscript, *āalph* is connected (e.g., n180/R/11 ) or contiguous (e.g., n179/R/1  , R/3 ; n180/R/5 ; n183/R/6 ) to the next letter, usually *ṭēth*, *mīm*, *qāph* and *shīn*.

²⁹⁷ For the *w'nw* reading see Barbati 2016, p. 199.

²⁹⁸ Fragment n158 corresponds to E5/75a, according to the concordance in Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁹⁹ Fragment n166 corresponds to E5/5.

³⁰⁰ Fragment n413a2 corresponds to E5/76b.

³⁰¹ Fragment n497 corresponds to E5/6a.

³⁰² See Barbati 2016, pp. 152-158.

³⁰³ Barbati 2016, p. 95.

³⁰⁴ Barbati 2016, p. 96 and p. 99.

³⁰⁵ See Barbati 2016, p. 156 where n413a2/V/1 corresponds to *IIside 1/18/*.

³⁰⁶ Barbati 2016, p. 171.

It should also be mentioned that the cases where *āalph* is not connected to the left are equally numerous as can be seen from the examples in n180/V/9 () , in n181/R/6 () and n183/R/2 () .

As for *hē*, it is connected or contiguous to the next letter in four fragments a total of nine times: in two cases - namely, in n181/R/12 and in n181/V/ 4 - in the term  (respectively ) , in the remaining seven - n183/R/7 () , n183/V/3 () and 9 () , n184/V/6 () , n185/V/2 () , /7 and /8 () () - in the toponym  .

The writing of E24 is a compact script and the scribe tends to connect *wāw* on the left very often or to write it contiguously to the next letter, both in the initial and medial position.

Particularly interesting in E24 is the case of *šādē*, which seems to be written contiguously to the next letter only in fragment n183 (n183/R/8 () and n183/V/9 () , /11 () . The peculiar form in n183/R/8 () , very different from the very more common form in the manuscript () , is found only here and in fragments n181 (n181/R/11 ()) and n189 (n189/R/3 ()) , where it appears alongside the latterform. In the case of fragment n181, it is unfortunately difficult to distinguish with certainty whether or not the letter is contiguous to the next letter.

As for *taw*, it is connected to *āalph* in eight fragments and with a letter other than *āalph* in seven fragments. The sequence *taw-āalph* is always connected in manuscript E24 and the rods of the two letters often cross (e.g., n179/R/1 () ; n183/V/11 () ; n184/V/9 () . In contrast, the behaviour of *taw* in different sequences is not constant, even in the same fragment, as can be seen from the cases in n184/V/1 () and n184/V/3 () .

E26 is an interesting sample codex. The fragments belonging to it contain several texts apparently by the same hand: a polemic against the Manicheans, a text on omens, and the lives of John of Dailam and St. Serapion³⁰⁷ .

There are three main distinguishing features of these fragments from the palaeographical point of view in relation to the phenomenon studied here: the very frequent tendency of *āalph* in the medial position to be connected (perhaps even joined in ligatures); the tendency of *šādē* to join in ligature on the left with *nūn* within the preposition *cn*; the presence of East-Syriac ligature³⁰⁸ .

Āalph is connected or, in some cases, joined in ligatures with the subsequent letter at least once in twenty-three of the seventy-two fragments that make up the manuscript (e.g., n111/R/16 () ; n125/R/5 () ; n132/V/1 ()) ; however, in other cases *āalph* is not connected on the left (e.g., n110/R/6 () ; n111/R/8 ()) ; many of these cases involve the sequence *āalph-ṭēth* (e.g., n87/R/9 () ; n146/V/14 () .

If we look at the case of n125/R/5 () or n132/V/1 () and try to hypothesize the *ductus*, we can see that it is different from those seen previously. It is likely that the scribe first draws the connecting line after the letter preceding *āalph*, e.g., after *wāw*, then lifts the *calamus* (or the brush) and draws the body of *āalph* in a single movement. As can be seen, the skeleton of the letter is thus able to join or connect easily to the next letter.

³⁰⁷ As Sundermann first pointed out, two fragments, E26/3 and E26/28, both show the same fascicle number on the *verso*, so it is more likely that the set of fragments initially referred to E26 did not constitute a single manuscript, but rather came from two or more independent codices written by the same scribe, named Solomon. See Sims-Williams 2015, p. 6.

³⁰⁸ See, for more details, Chapter III of this contribution.

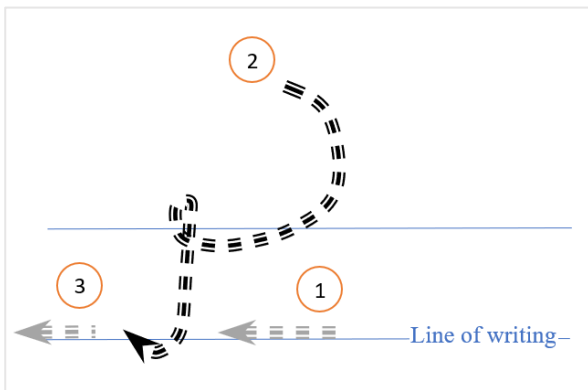


Figure 8: *Ductus* of *ālaph* in ms. E26. 1: final part of the letter preceding *ālaph*; 2: *ductus* of *ālaph*; 3: initial part of the letter following *ālaph*.

As for *šādē*, this letter joins with *nūn* in the preposition *cn* in nineteen fragments of E26 (e.g., n96/V/5 ) . This particular ligature has already been discussed in IV.2. Here we add that such a realization of *cn* is not the only one found, for example in fragment n88, in which a very different, unjoined realization also appears (n88/R/4 ) .

The E26 scribe usually tends to link *wāw* with the next letter (e.g., n146/V/5 ) and sometimes connects *hē* with the letter on his left (e.g., n87/R/11 ) . However, he connects *taw* with letters other than *ālaph* less frequently (e.g., n111/R/11 vs , n88/V/8 ) and generally he does not connect *taw* to *ālaph* either (e.g., n110/R/11 ) . However, in some cases the scribe joins *taw-ālaph* sequence using the East-Syriac ligature, as in n109/R/5  and 7  ³⁰⁹.

The last Sogdian manuscript examined in this paragraph is E28. It is a codex that has come down to us in numerous fragments, with varied contents. This codex stands out with regard to the phenomenon described here above all for a palaeographical *datum*: the compactness with which the letters are written. In this regard, *ālaph* is often connected or contiguous to *ṭēth*, on the left. In contrast to E26, manuscript E28 contains a very high number of examples in which the letters in the sequence *ālaph-ṭēth* are connected or contiguous. This often occurs in the conjunction *'θ*, but also elsewhere, especially at the beginning of words. To report on just a few of these cases, see fragments n291 (e.g., n291/R/6 ) , n368 (n368/R/8 ) and n459 (n459/V/10 ) . Consider that the last fragment alone contains as many as eight contiguous *ālaph-ṭēth* sequences. However, the sequence *ālaph-ṭēth* is never joined in ligature, as the *ductus* of the two letters is independent.

Another consequence of this type of compact script is the presence of three cases in which *šādē* is written attached to the next letter: in the first and second cases, respectively in fragments n211 (R/7 ) and n282 (R/7 ) , *šādē* is contiguous to *ṭēth* in the same word. In the third case, the sequence containing *šādē* is at the end of the line in n529³¹⁰, precisely on the fourth line of the *verso* () . This last realization of *šādē* perhaps responds to the need to justify the text which moves the scribe in other cases in the rest of the manuscript (e.g., n291/V/9 ; n292/V/8 ) and in the same fragment (such as the pronounced extension of *qāph* in n529/V/7  and of *x* in n529/V/28 () .

Generally, the scribe joins *wāw* either at the beginning, or within words (e.g., n211/R/14  ; n291/V/7 ) ; *hē*, in the rare cases where it is found, is usually contiguous and slightly turned to the right (e.g.,

³⁰⁹ Another example of a reduced *taw* is found, within this manuscript, in n146/R/10 .

³¹⁰ E28/12.

n291/R/4 ³¹¹. *Taw*, finally, shows inconsistent behavior: in many of the cases where it is followed by a letter other than *āalph*, but not all, it is connected or contiguous to it (e.g., n282/R/10 ; n291/V/4 ; n366/R/6 ; n469/V/11 vs. ; n375/V/7 ); it does not show a specific habit when followed by *āalph* (n282/V/4 vs.  n369/V/4 ).

In conclusion, we wish to reflect briefly on the three graphemes added to the Syriac alphabet to write the sounds *f*, *x* and *ž* of the Sogdian language³¹². In all Sogdian manuscripts, the graphemes for *f* and *x* are always joined with the next letter (e.g., n375/R/4 ; n168/R/1 ); in contrast, the grapheme for *ž* never joins on its left (e.g., n146/R/16 ). In my opinion, it is probable that the use of not joining this last grapheme is intended to avoid the risk that this letter becomes indistinguishable from *shīn* when connected on the left, especially within words.

To summarize, the tendency of some Syriac letters to connect to the next letter even when their *ductus* does not allow ligatures, already found in some cases within the Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East, is also found in the Sogdian fragments from the Turfan oasis. What emerges from the Turfan data is a strong recurrence of this phenomenon, especially with regard to certain letters, such as *hē* and *wāw*, in both Syriac and Sogdian fragments. In addition, a ligature between *āalph* and *šādē* has been detected in Sogdian E26.

The fact that a significant number of Sogdian fragments in Syriac script seem to confirm the tendency of *āalph*, *wāw*, *hē*, *šādē*, and *taw*, already found in the Turfan fragments in Syriac script, to be connected or contiguous to the following letter is a relevant feature. The relevance of this lies in the fact that the Syriac script was adopted by the Sogdian scribes with the particularities already found in the Middle East. It seems almost as if the tendency from which these peculiarities originated, and which in Syriac mainly involved very common sequences in the Syriac language, such as those opened by the conjunction *wāw* or the ending *taw-āalph*, was in a sense ‘bent’ to the Sogdian language, involving sequences more common to Sogdian speakers, such as the conjunction *’θ* (*āalph-tēth*) and the preposition *cn* (*šādē-nūn*).

Finally, in this regard we point out the interesting case of some *clusters* normally unjoined in the Sogdian script and sometimes instead written as a single term in the Sogdian fragments from Turfan. These are, first, some combinations resulting from the juxtaposition of the conjunction *’θ* with the preposition *pr* and with *qθ* or with enclitic personal pronouns and, second, the juxtaposition of the preposition *qθ* and enclitic personal pronouns³¹³.

Some examples, pointed out to me by Barbati³¹⁴, can be seen respectively in n396/V/4 e/V/7 (; ), n148/V/1 (), n98/R/5 (), and n145/R/20 (). The first fragment cited contains the conjunction *’θ* (*āalph-tēth*) connected to the preposition *pr* (*pe-rēsh*); the second the preposition *’θ* connected to the conjunction *qθ* (*qāph-tēth*); the examples relating to fragments n98 and n145 show *’θ* and *qθ* connected to the enclitic third person singular pronoun *šn* (*shīn-nūn*) respectively.

I believe that it may be useful to study in greater detail such clusters of conjunctions, prepositions and personal pronouns in the Sogdian fragments from Turfan, also in relation to similar joins already observed in Syriac fragments. We recall the cases of Syriac words ending in *taw* followed by personal pronoun suffix, in

³¹¹ The rotated realization of *hē*, found in n291/R/4 (), is also common to other Sogdian and Syriac fragments in the *Berlin Turfan Collection*. See in this regard the Sogdian manuscripts E33 (e.g., n302/R/9 ) and the Syriac manuscripts Hudra F (e.g., SyrHT 82/side (a)/3 ) , Hudra Y (e.g., SyrHT 320/side (a)/2 ) , Hudra Z (e.g., SyrHT 245/side (a)/left folio/1 ) , Psalter F (e.g., SyrHT 91/side (a)/4 ) .

³¹² See in this regard Sims-Williams 1985 and 1988, pp. 145-156.

³¹³ For the terms mentioned and possible combinations, see Sims-Williams 2016, pp. 33-34 and 95.

³¹⁴ Thanks to Barbati for sharing her observations and thoughts on the examples mentioned. E-mail dated 18/05/2020.

which the consonant *taw*, although not usually connected with the following letter, is instead connected to the personal pronoun suffix, as in the case of SyrHT 126/side (b)/17 (Hudra H; )³¹⁵.

V.3 JOINS BETWEEN LETTERS IN THE BILINGUAL SYRIAC-SOGDIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT FROM THE BERLIN TURFAN COLLECTION.

To this category, i.e., bilingual Syriac-Sogdian fragments, belong all of the Gospel lectionaries, except E5, and perhaps the two fragments n222 (E54) and n322 (E50), for a total of just nineteen fragments from manuscripts E1, E2, E3, E4, E6, E50, and E54.

The contents of n222 (E54) and n322 (E50) are unclear. Concerning manuscript E50, of which the only surviving witness is the small fragment n322 (4 x 3.75 cm), Sims-Williams writes that the text on one side appears to be Syriac and on the other Sogdian, but that the amount of text makes it difficult to know for sure whether it is a bilingual text or not³¹⁶. The same consideration is also expressed in Hunter and Dickens (2014)³¹⁷.

As for E54 (n222), only one fragment survives, about 1 cm thick and 39 cm long. Sims-Williams, Hunter and Dickens assume the presence of Syriac and Sogdian terms in it. The large format suggests, according to Sims-Williams, that it is perhaps a bilingual lectionary³¹⁸.

On the basis of the above evaluations the fragments just mentioned, i.e., n222 and n322, cannot be with certainty included within the category of bilingual fragments. It is noted that in both fragments there are cases of *wāw* joined or connected with the following letter. In n222, for example, *wāw* joins in ligature in R/8 ()³¹⁹. Similarly, in n322 there are examples of *wāw* joined on the left in V/3 () and V/4 (). On the other hand, there are no examples of *ālah*, *hē*, *šādē* and *taw* joined, nor connected or contiguous to the next letter.

First, what emerges is that, of the codices containing bilingual lectionaries, only E6 shows cases of the letters *ālah*, *hē*, *wāw*, *šādē* and *taw* connected or at least contiguous to what follows them. It must, however, be borne in mind that while ten fragments have come down to us from the E6 manuscript, of the rest of the manuscripts at most one (E3 and E4) or three fragments (E1 and E2) have come down to us.

Secondly, note that manuscript E6 is the only codex showing connected or contiguous *ālah* and *šādē*, in eight and two fragments respectively. The rest of the bilingual lectionaries, in fact, show exclusively *wāw*, *hē* and/or *taw* connected or contiguous on their left.

With regard to E1, in the three fragments of it that have come down to us, n177 (E1/1a), n178 (E1/1b) and n213 (E1/2), *wāw* is always joined, connected or contiguous to the following letter at the beginning and inside the words (e.g., n177/V/3 ) and n213/R/6 ). The same occurs with *hē* and *taw* (e.g., n213/V/6 ), which, however, are much less frequent.

In Gospel Lectionary E2, of which fragments n214 (E2/1), n223 (E2/2b) and n224 (E2/2a) survive, as far as *hē* is concerned, the only example in n214/R/4 (), where the word is truncated due to a material *lacuna* in the *folio*, does not give us the possibility of discerning whether or not it is connected with the following letter. This manuscript shows, on the other hand, several instances of *wāw* contiguous to the following letter (e.g., n223/V/5 ), but this does not occur consistently (e.g., n214/V/6 ); in only one case is *taw* connected

³¹⁵ See the preceding paragraph on Syriac fragments.

³¹⁶ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 193.

³¹⁷ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 390.

³¹⁸ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 194. Hunter and Dickens 2014, pp. 376-377.

³¹⁹ It is possible that, in n222, there is more than one example of *waw*. Unfortunately, given the extremely limited width of the fragment, which, as mentioned, is only one centimeter wide, some letters appear dumb and are not easily recognizable.

on the left, in particular, with *āalph* (n214/V/7 ) at the end of the last word of the line; in the rest of the occurrences *taw* is not connected to the letter following it (e.g., n214/V/7 .

In the only fragment of manuscript E3, n190 (E3), there are occurrences of *wāw*, *hē*, and *taw* contiguous to the next letter. It seems that *wāw* and *hē* are always contiguous to the letter on their left (with the only exception, concerning *wāw* at the beginning of a word, in n190/V/13 ) ; as for *taw*, however, the scribe has no attitude, connecting this letter on the left only in some cases or writing it contiguous, both when followed by *āalph* (n190/R/9 ) and when followed by another letter (n190/R/19 ) , or leaving a blank space in others (e.g., n190/R/21 .

As for n212, the *recto* of the only fragment that has come down to us from E4 was originally left blank; later, it was partially written by a different hand than that of the *verso*; it is, however, hardly legible. On the contrary, the *verso* of the fragment contains the text of the lectionary, in red and black ink. It also shows the letters *wāw* and *hē* almost always connected to the next letter (e.g., n190/V/1 ; V/5 ; V/10 ) . *Taw* seems never to be written connected or contiguous on its left, not even with *āalph* (e.g., n190/V/6 ) , except in two cases on line seven: here, in two words following each other the scribe connects first *taw* with *bēth* and later *taw* with *shīn* (n212/V/7 .

Finally, to the Epistle lectionary E6 belong all eight fragments in which *āalph* appears contiguous to the letter that follows it. In most cases *āalph* is contiguous to *tēth* within the conjunction 'θ, as in n200/R/1 () and in n411/R/4 () , although this sequence is not always joined (e.g., n203/V/4 ) . The letters in the sequence *āalph-tēth* are sometimes written contiguous to each other or connected via a short line, as in n411/V/3 () , but it is never joined in ligature.

With regard to *tēth* it must be pointed out that, in cases where the two letters of the sequence closed by *tēth* are contiguous, it always lacks an oblique rod connecting it to *āalph* from above (thus it is not properly joined to the preceding letter). In other sequences containing *tēth* in the same fragment, however, it sometimes shows the oblique rod (e.g., n203/V/4 ) , but not in n203/R/3 ) and in n203/V/7 ) . It is interesting to note that within E6 manuscript, the consonant *tēth* always has the oblique rod when preceded by *qāph* (e.g., n203/V/4 ; n205/V/9 ) and never when preceded by *āalph* and *pē* (e.g., n411/V/3 ; n203/V/7 ; n205/V/3 .

As for *hē* and *wāw*, they are usually contiguous to the following letter following them in the Epistle Lectionary E6 (e.g., n203/R/2 ) and n203/R/8 ) respectively).

Moreover, in E6 the only two occurrences of contiguous *ṣādē* in the Syriac-Sogdian bilingual fragments appear. These are in n200/R/15 () and n205/R/8 () . In the first *ṣādē* is written contiguous to *nūn*, which in turn is followed by *wāw*, at the end of the line; in the second it is followed by final *yūdh*. On all other occasions, the scribe, as one would expect, leaves a short blank space before the next letter (e.g., n203/V/7 ; n206/R/8 .

Finally, as far as *taw* is concerned, it is often, but not always, contiguous to the next letter, as in n203/V/5 () and V/9 () ; one of the exceptions can be easily noted on the same line ) . The same occurs with the sequence *taw-āalph*, of which some connected realizations and some exceptions can be observed in n201 (e.g., n201/V/4 , 15 ) , but e.g., n201/V/3 .

It seems, therefore, more than relevant to consider that in each of these lectionaries, the Sogdian text and the Syriac text seem to have been written by the same hand, as one would expect. Therefore, in my opinion, it makes even more sense to have devoted a separate paragraph to the study of this phenomenon in the bilingual Syriac-Sogdian manuscripts of Turfan.

If we compare, in fact, the data shown in the previous paragraphs with those relating to the bilingual fragments, we note, firstly, that most of the occurrences of connected or contiguous *ālah* are found in E6 within the Sogdian text and, in particular, within the Sogdian conjunction 'θ.

CHAPTER VI. A CASE STUDY: OPEN AND CLOSED *MĪM* AND FINAL *MĪM*

The letter *mīm* represents an interesting case study.

A distinction can be made between open *mīm* and closed *mīm*. Open *mīm* has an opening in its lower part (SyrHT 162/side (a)/10 ) , unlike the ‘closed’ *mīm* (SyrHT 162/side (a)/3 ) .

Hatch³²⁰ argues that in fifth-century manuscripts the letter *mīm* is generally open and that the upper part of the letter is only slightly curved³²¹. Representative cases of such a realization of *mīm* can be seen in Plate XVI, which shows f. 154 of the codex London, British Museum, Add. MS. 12150, dated 411 A.D. and written in Edessa. In this *folio*, open and closed realizations of *mīm* in the initial and median position can be observed; *mīm* in the final position is, instead, always closed.

Hatch notes immediately afterwards how ‘the open  was the preferred Estranghelâ form of the letter for a long time, but in the twelfth century the closed form prevailed over its rival. Nevertheless, the open  occurs in the Estranghelâ script as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth century’³²². On the closed realization of *mīm* he writes, however, that ‘the closed  with the top sharply curved and the left-hand stroke usually more or less elevated is found in the earliest Serṭâ codices, and this form of the letter was characteristic of the Serṭâ style of writing down to the end of the sixteenth century’³²³. Examples of the realization of *mīm* just described can be seen in Plate XVII, which shows f. 40 of the ms. London, British Museum, Add. MS. 14548, dated 790 A.D.³²⁴. As can be seen, the execution of final *mīm* in the manuscript just mentioned is, however, less rounded than that in initial or medial position. An example of final *mīm* is found on the tenth line of the same folio ().

Furthermore, regarding *mīm* in the East-Syriac context, Hatch writes that the East-Syrians used to realize *mīm* both open and closed. This can already be seen on f. 55 of ms. London, British Museum, Add. MS. 14460³²⁵ (Beth Nuhadra district³²⁶, 599-600; e.g., f. 55/2 , f. 55/3 ).

The following table shows the forms of *mīm* in some East-Syriac manuscripts compared in this work (see the table in Chapter II) and dated from 599-600 to the thirteenth century. They confirm the presence of both open and closed forms of *mīm*. Final *mīm* has both curvilinear and angular form and is endowed with a more or less extended *descender*.

³²⁰ Hatch 1946.

³²¹ Hatch 1946, p. 33.

³²² *Idem*.

³²³ *Idem*.

³²⁴ Hatch 1946, Plate XCVI. The place of production of the manuscript, according to Hatch, is unknown.

³²⁵ Hatch 1946, Plate CLX.

³²⁶ Episcopal seat whose heart was the region extending from the Khabur River to the Tigris.

	Codex	Year (A.D.)	initial <i>mīm</i>	medial <i>mīm</i>	final <i>mīm</i>³²⁷
1	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14460 (from f. 55r, Hatch Plate CLX)	599-600			
2	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14471 (from f. 70r, Hatch Plate CLXI)	614-615			
3	London, British Library, Add. MS. 7157 (from Wright Plate XII) ³²⁸	767-768			
4	Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, N 801 (formerly AS 94) ³²⁹	794			
5	London, British Library, Add. MS. 14492 (from f. 88r, Hatch Plate CLXIV)	861-862			
6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 342 ³³⁰	893/4			
7	London, British Library, Add. MS. 12138 ³³¹ (from f. 306v)	899			
8	New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Library, Cod. Z 107.31 (from f. 118r, Hatch Plate CLXVII)	917-918			
9	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 1 (from f. 2v) ³³²	928-929			
10	Mosul, Mar Ishaya Church (relocated; from f. 238r)	X-XI th cent.			
11	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 467 (from f. 52v) ³³³	1186/1187			
12	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 354 (from ff. 5v-6r) ³³⁴	1186/1187			
13	Newton Center, Massachusetts, Andover Newton Theological School, MS. ZE 607-1198 (from f. 81r, Hatch Plate CLXVIII)	1198			

³²⁷ Some of the manuscripts considered also show the open form of final *mīm*, but here we have chosen to insert only one image for final *mīm* for representative purposes.

³²⁸ Hatch Plate CLXIII.

³²⁹ From <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/503258> (last accessed 07/2023)

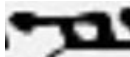
³³⁰ From <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc101733d> (last accessed 07/2023). See also Hatch 1946, Plate CLXV.

³³¹ Hatch Plate CLXVI.

³³² From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.1 (last accessed 07/2023).

³³³ From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.467 (last accessed 07/2023).

³³⁴ From <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1095587> (last accessed 07/2023).

	Codex	Year (A.D.)	initial <i>mīm</i>	medial <i>mīm</i>	final <i>mīm</i>³²⁷
14	Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon 24; (formerly Codex 12.22; Diarbekir 10; Notre Dame des Semences, XV; from f. 4r) ³³⁵ .	1199/1200			
15	Cambridge, Massachussets, Harvard university, Houghton Library, Harvard, Syr. 4 (from seq. 7) ³³⁶	1197-1198			
16	Mingana 544 (from f. 2r) ³³⁷	XII-XIII th cent.			
17	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 471 (from f. 3v) ³³⁸	1224			
18	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 417 (from f. 13r) ³³⁹	1246			
19	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 148 ³⁴⁰	1267			
20	Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, N. 22 (f. 4v) ³⁴¹	1287			
21	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 622 (from f. 149v) ³⁴²	1298			

VI.1 OPEN *mīm* AND CLOSED *mīm*

If we consider the Sogdian fragments in Syriac script, open *mīm* appears only in manuscripts E24 and E39. The manuscript E24 contains hagiographic texts and has already been mentioned for its peculiar writing³⁴³. Of the manuscript E39, only a strip of paper measuring 6 x 13.5 cm has survived, whose identification is uncertain³⁴⁴.

³³⁵ From <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/503232> (last accessed 07/2023).

³³⁶ From [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:44443013\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:44443013$1i) (last accessed 07/2023).

³³⁷ From <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/facilities/cadbury/birmingham-quran-mingana-collection/mingana-collection/virtual-manuscript-room.aspx> (last accessed 07/2023).

³³⁸ From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.471 (last accessed 07/2023).

³³⁹ From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.417 (last accessed 07/2023).

³⁴⁰ From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.148 (last accessed 07/2023).

³⁴¹ From <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/129987> (last accessed 07/2023).

³⁴² From https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.622 (last accessed 07/2023).

³⁴³ See Chapter II, p. 71. The hagiographic works contained in the manuscript are *The Legend of the Invention of the Cross by St. Helen*, *The Martyrdom of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus*, and *The Legend of St. Barshabbā*. Sims-Williams 2012, pp. 73-77.

³⁴⁴ Sims-Williams 2012, p. 187.

Specifically, open *mīm* appears, along with the closed form, in the following fragments of E24: n179 (E24/2a; e.g., 179/V/1  and 2 ), n180 (E24/7; e.g., n180/V/3  and 1 ), n181 (E24/1; e.g., V/10  and 4 ), n182 (E24/6; e.g., V/4  and 5 ), n183 (E24/5; e.g., R/6  and 9 ), n184 (E24/3; e.g., V/6  and 4 ), n185 (E24/4; e.g., V/1  and 3 ), and n186 (E24/8; e.g., R/2  and 1 ). See, in this regard, Plate XIX. Fragment n188, on the other hand, shows exclusively the open form of *mīm* (E24/2b; e.g., n188/V/1 ).

The only fragment that has come down to us of E39, SyrHT 343, contains open and closed realizations of *mīm* (E39; e.g., R/1  and )³⁴⁵.

In five of the fragments mentioned, all belonging to the manuscript E24, some of the final *mīm* are open (e.g., n180/V/9 ; n183/R/10 ; n184/V/2 ; n185/V/10 ; n188/V/1 ).

With regard to Syriac fragments, open *mīm* appears in four liturgical manuscripts (MIK III 45, Hudra D, Hudra F, Hudra DD), in three psalters (Psalter L, Psalter M and Psalter O) and in the fragment SyrHT 386 ('Reverse Psalm'). The fragments in question, in which both the open and the closed forms of *mīm* appear, are as follows:

MIK III 45³⁴⁶:

First scribe

- f. 1r and 1v (open forms:  ; closed forms:  )
- f. 2r and 2v ( ;  )
- f. 4r ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 5r and 5v ( ;  )
- f. 6r and 6v ( ;  )
- f. 7r ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 8r and 8v ( ;  )
- f. 9r and 9v were originally blank; f. 10r is blank
- f. 10v ( ;  )
- f. 11r and 11v ( ;  )
- f. 12r and 12v ( ;  )
- f. 13r and 13v ( ;  )
- f. 14r and 14v ( ;  )
- f. 15r and 15v ( ;  )
- f. 16r and 16v ( ;  )
- f. 17r and 17v ( ;  )
- f. 18r and 18v ( ;  )
- f. 19r and 19v ( ;  )
- f. 20r and 20v ( ;  )
- f. 21r and 21v ( ;  )
- f. 22r and 22v ( ;  )
- f. 23r ( ;  )

³⁴⁵ On side a of fragment SyrHT 343 (E39) *mīm* occurs three times. Although the second of the two graphic forms of *mīm* on side 1/1 and the realization of the same letter in side 1/2 lie along the irregular margin of the fragment and are partially incomplete, it appears that at least the *mīm* at the end of the first line is closed.

³⁴⁶ It is better to remember that, as well explained in Hunter and Coakley 2017, the text of MIK III 45 is written by two distinct hands, the first of which until the end of f. 33r. Hunter and Coakley 2017, pp. 4-11.

- f. 23v and f. 24r were originally blank
- f. 24v ( ;  )
- f. 25r and 25v ( ;  )
- f. 26r and 26v ( ;  )
- f. 27r and 27v ( ;  )
- f. 28r (the initial and medial open form is missing - ;  )
- f. 29r and 29v ( ;  )
- f. 30r and 30v ( ;  )
- f. 31r and 31v ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 32r and 32v ( ;  )
- f. 33r, up to about the middle of the fifth line from the bottom ( ;  )

Second scribe

- f. 33r, from about the middle of the fifth line from the bottom and f. 33v ( ;  )
- f. 34r and 34v ( ;  )
- f. 35r and 35v ( ;  )
- f. 36r and 36v ( ;  )
- f. 37r ( ;  )
- f. 37v and f. 38r were originally blank
- f. 38v ( ;  )
- f. 39r and 39v ( ;  )
- f. 40r and 40v ( ;  )
- f. 41r and 41v ( ;  )
- f. 42r. and 42v ( ;  )
- f. 43r and 43v ( ;  )
- f. 44r and 44v ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 45r and 45v ( ;  )
- f. 46r and 46v ( ;  )
- f. 47r and f. 47v ( ;  )
- f. 48r and 48v ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 49r and 49v ( ;  )
- f. 50r and 50v ( ;  )
- f. 51r and 51v ( ;  )
- f. 52r is blank
- f. 52v ( ;  )
- f. 53r was originally blank; f. 53v and 54r are blank
- f. 54v ( ;  )
- f. 55r and 55v ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 56r and 56v ( ;  )
- f. 57r and 57v ( - the final open form is missing;  )
- f. 58r and 58v ( ;  )
- f. 59r (the only example of open *mīm*: ;  ); f. 59v ( - the final open form is missing; )

- f. 60r (the only example of open *mīm* ; ); f. 60v ( - the final open form is missing;  - the final closed form is missing)

Hudra D:

- SyrHT 130 (side(a)/15 ; only example of open *mīm* in final position)
- SyrHT 162 (side (a)/10  and )
- SyrHT 165 (side (a)/12  and )
- MIK III 45 (fr. 2) (side (a)/2  and side (b)/ )

Hudra F:

- SyrHT 231 (side (a)/2 ³⁴⁷ and 4 )

Hudra DD:

- SyrHT 89 (side (a)/1  and )

Psalter L:

- SyrHT 203 (side (a)/10  and side (b)/5 )

Psalter M:

- MIK III 110 (side (a)/4  and side (b)/3 )

Psalter O:

- SyrHT 314 (side (b)/3  and side (a)/2 )

Reverse Psalm³⁴⁸:

- SyrHT 386 (side (a)/2 and  4 )

Among the Syriac manuscripts, examples of open forms of final *mīm* can be observed only in Hudra D and MIK III 45. As for Hudra D, there are only three open realizations of final *mīm*: one of them, as mentioned above, appears in SyrHT 130 alongside closed forms of final *mīm* (side (a)/15 ); the second open form of final *mīm*, which appears in the *verso* of SyrHT 162 (side (b)/ 2 ), represents the only realization of *mīm* at the end of a word within the fragment; the same is true of the last example of such a realization, which is observed in MIK III 45 (fr. 2) (Hudra D; side (b)/1 ). As for MIK III 45, the occurrences of open final *mīm* are much more numerous and concern both hands that produced the manuscript, as can be seen from the presence of this type, for example, in 1r/7  and 33v/8 ; they appear alongside closed realizations of the letter *mīm* in fifty-one folios of the manuscript.

As for the literary genre, these are fragments of various contents, specifically texts of a liturgical nature and psalters. It is interesting to note that such forms of open *mīm* are not found, however, in the New Testament lectionaries and the Syriac evangeliaries in Syriac script. In the latter, in fact, one would perhaps imagine finding open forms of *mīm* more easily and this, firstly, because of their content, i.e., the text of the New Testament, generally written in more monumental and less cursive forms in the Syriac world, and, secondly, because of the intended use of these texts, generally related to liturgical functions and collective proclamation and not small codices intended for personal use, in which one would instead expect the cursive to prevail, and therefore have closed realizations of *mīm*.

³⁴⁷ From the mere observation of the letter in question, however, it is not possible, in my opinion, to define with certainty whether it is open *mīm* or rather *hē*.

³⁴⁸ See Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 340 and p. 430. The fragment contains Psalm 148:1-3 according to the Peshitta version. The verses are written in reverse order.

An example of the absence of open forms of *mīm* in lectionaries can be seen in Plate XX, which shows the *recto* of a fragment from Lectionary B, where *mīm* is always closed (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/3 , 4 ).

VI.2 FINAL *Mīm*

There are three main realizations of the letter in question, which are already found in manuscript evidence from the regions of the ancient Near East:

- 1) closed, but also open, squarish final *mīm* with short descender sloping slightly to the left (e.g., n180 or E27/7; R/12 );
- 2) final *mīm* with curvilinear shape and more or less short descender slightly inclined to the left (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/3, Lectionary B; );
- 3) final *mīm* with curvilinear shape and more or less short descender not inclined, but perpendicular to the line of writing (e.g., n108 or E26/24b; V/27 .

It is usual to associate the first type of final *mīm* with the *eṣṭrangēlā* and East-Syriac script and the remaining types with the cursive West-Syriac or *serṭā* script.

It is also possible to detect *descenders* of moderate length. In this case, the horn and the *descender*, i.e., the initial and final extremities of *mīm*, on the left of the letter, are usually of similar length and mostly, but not always, not perpendicular to the line of writing. Such realizations of final *mīm* are already found in Syriac manuscripts classified as *serṭā* in Hatch's³⁴⁹ *Album*, in the West-Syriac script. An example can be seen on the tenth line of f. 58v of London, British Library, Add. MS. 14734 ()³⁵⁰.

Again in the *Album*³⁵¹, we see how in many *serṭā* manuscripts dated from the eighth to at least the tenth century the most used form of final *mīm* is very similar to the first type described here, that is, characterized by an angular shape with a short descender inclined to the left (e.g., )³⁵². In the *serṭā* codices after the tenth century, according to what can be observed from Hatch's plates, a rounded final *mīm* begins to appear, and then to be more frequent. However, in most cases, it does not present a markedly elongated descender (e.g.,  from Hatch PLATE CXXIV, tenth line)³⁵³.

In the documentation from Turfan, both in the Sogdian and in the Syriac fragments, the realizations of the final *mīm* are mainly the curvilinear form with horn and descender, of more or less the same length and inclined (e.g., SyrHT 241/side (a)/3; Lectionary B; )—similar to the one observed in our East-Syriac manuscripts (4) and (19)—the one with a rounded body and a more extended descender, not perpendicular to the line of writing (e.g., SyrHT 330; Prayer-amulet B; side (a)/2 ) and a graphic form very similar to the first type, but with the upper side of the body of the letter slightly concave, as in fragment n337 or E28/108, unidentified; V/9 ). Sometimes, as can be seen from the above example, the descender of such a *mīm* reaches a greater length.

³⁴⁹ Hatch 1946.

³⁵⁰ Hatch Plate CXXIV, dated A.D. 1085 and written in the convent of St. Mary Deipara in Nitria; tenth line. The manuscript contains the *History of Bar Ṣaumā*.

³⁵¹ Hatch 1946.

³⁵² PLATE XCVI, London, British Library, Add. MS. 14548, fo1. 40, nineteenth line. The manuscript is dated A.D. 790 and belongs to the codices which Moses of Nisibis brought to Nitria in A.D. 932.

³⁵³ See note 349. An exception is observed in Hatch in Plate CXLII, i.e., in f. 196 of ms. London, British Library, Add. MS. 7194, seventeenth line . The manuscript to which the folio belongs is dated A.D. 1335. The place of production of the codex is unknown.

There are also, to a lesser extent, realizations of a very angular final *mīm*, as is often the case in Hudra D, for the Syriac fragments, and in E24, for the Sogdian fragments (e.g., SyrHT 130, Hudra D, side (a)/13 ; n182 or E24/6, V/12 ). They are similar to the final *mīm* forms found in some of the East-Syriac manuscripts in the table of Chapter II, e.g., (6), (8) and (9). Other examples of final *mīm* with a slightly less angular shape, which is generally accompanied by a similar form of initial and medial *mīm*, can be seen in the fragments SyrHT 157 (Psalter D; side (b)/3 ) and n193 (E29; R/6 initial: ; final: ).

Despite the fact that, as just mentioned, the graphic form of the final *mīm* with a curvilinear body and equally extended and inclined horn and descender is more common, in the manuscripts here studied it has also been possible to find realizations of the final *mīm* with a rounded body and a very extended *descender*, perpendicular to the line of writing (e.g., n99 or E26/14; R/20 ) as well as cases of the final *mīm* with a rounded body and a shorter, but perpendicular descender (e.g. SyrHT 84 or E14 ).

I think it would not be a valid choice to classify each of the graphic forms of the final *mīm* attested at Turfan, forcing their affiliation to one of the three typologies described above and this, firstly, because within the documentation of Turfan, as well as that coming from the Near East, there are 'mixed' forms, not easily ascribable to a single type. An exemplary case is found in SyrHT 62 (Psalter H) with an angular form of the letter *mīm* together with a long descender perpendicular to the line of writing (side (b)/9 ). Second, because, it is important to remember that all the scripts found herein are cursive writings and cursive scripts presuppose a greater freedom of the scribe and a wider variety of forms.

On the contrary, even the smallest peculiarities of a graphic form must be taken into account when they occur constantly within the same manuscript. This is the case, for example, in Hudra D, in which there is a constant use of the final angular *mīm*, usually closed, although with a different inclination of the descender (e.g., SyrHT 130/side (a)/13 ; SyrHT 214/side (b)/1 )³⁵⁴.

Finally, it is maybe interesting to report some cases of fragments, among those studied, that show different final *mīm* forms. A first example is SyrHT 227 (Hudra F), in which both the angular form (side (a)/3 ) and the rounded form (side (a)/7 ) of final *mīm* appear. The same happens, for example, in the Sogdian fragment n506 or E5/126, where the scribe uses in the same fragment both a more rounded form (V/11 ) the most frequent in the E5 manuscript, and a less rounded form (V/19 ) of the final *mīm*.

We have seen, on the one hand, how within the above-mentioned documentation, there is actually a presence—albeit small—of open realizations of *mīm*, both in the initial and medial position, and in final position³⁵⁵.

On the other hand, we have wanted to study and investigate the graphic forms of final *mīm* observed in Turfan in relation to the realizations observed in Syriac codices from the Middle East. What emerged is a wide range of executions that reflect the variety found in the Middle East.

The presence at Turfan of the final cursive graphic forms similar or identical to executions observable in the Syriac manuscripts in Western *serṭā* script is not surprising. In some cases, as already pointed out, for example, by Hunter and Dickens in their description concerning SyrHT 1³⁵⁶, a cursive realization of final *ālap̄h* identical to that typical of manuscripts in West-Syriac script *is* often observed at Turfan. The same occurs sometimes, on the basis of what I have observed, in relation to final *kāph* (e.g., SyrHT 42/right folio/side (a)/9

³⁵⁴ The only three examples of open final *mīm* of Hudra D are observed, as already written, in SyrHT 130 (Hudra D; side (a)/15 ) , SyrHT 162 (Hudra D; side (b)/2 ) and MIK III 45 (fr. 2) (Hudra D; side (b)/1 ).

³⁵⁵ This modifies, in my opinion, what has previously been known, namely the assumed absence of open forms of *mīm* in the Christian Sogdian and Syriac fragments from the Berlin Turfan Collection. See in this regard Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 12.

³⁵⁶ Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 16.

; Hudra E) and final *lāmadh* (e.g., MIK III 45, f. 9r/1 )³⁵⁷, of which it is possible to appreciate some realizations similar to those found in manuscripts in the West-Syriac script coming from the Middle East.

The use of final *kāph* of the *serṭā* type had already been observed by Dickens in his *Scribal Practices in the Turfan Christian Community*³⁵⁸. He reports, moreover, how Hatch himself argues that it is possible to find within codes in East-Syriac script (defined by Hatch as *Nestorian*) the final forms of *kāph*, *mīm*, *qāph* and *shīn* of the *estrangēlā* type and the final forms of *kāph* and *nūn* typical of the Western *serṭā* script. After this, regarding the Christian fragments of Turfan, Dickens points out how in them it is possible to detect only *estrangēlā* forms of the final *mīm*, *qāph* and *shīn*. We believe that the data reported in the present chapter may partly modify this last observation about the absence of the West-Syriac forms of the final *mīm* in Turfan.

³⁵⁷ The text on f. 9r-v was written later than the main text and by a different hand, as specified in Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 1.

³⁵⁸ Dickens 2013, p. 11.

CONCLUSIONS

Some interesting considerations have emerged from this work. First of all, the almost total absence of a monumental or purely *estrangēlā* form of the Syriac script. Moreover, the co-presence of graphic forms related to different Syriac scripts has been shown. This feature is not unknown in Syriac material from the Middle East and has been given more attention in recent years³⁵⁹. As we have seen, there is a general tendency to distinguish some Syriac scripts on the basis of the graphic forms typified mostly in late manuscripts, or on the basis of forms shown in the grammar tables for purely indicative purposes. In fact, Syriac manuscripts themselves show that the use of graphic forms generally associated with one or another Syriac script is not as rigid as one might think.

The Turfan fragments provide evidence not only for the use of forms generally associated with different Syriac scripts to render different letters, but also for the use of different forms to render the same letter within the same fragment. It also became clear that the literary genre of the manuscripts analyzed each time seems to influence, at least in part, the latter phenomenon, which appears less frequently in fragments containing lectionaries and gospels and more in liturgical fragments and psalters. A clear example of this is Lectionary B, in which the scribe shows a marked consistency in the use of the same graphic form for *āalph*, *gāmal*, *kāph*, *rēsh* and *taw*.

In addition, some distinctive handwritings found in the fragments under examination have been described, such as the interesting hand of the Sogdian manuscript E24, containing texts of hagiographic nature³⁶⁰.

A central issue is the presence at Turfan of some late East-Syriac forms and ligatures. These are the reverse C-shaped realizations of *dālath* and *rēsh* (e.g., SyrHT 58/side (a)/left folio/7  and SyrHT 58/side (a)/left folio/18 ; Hudra M) and the East-Syriac ligature *taw-āalph* (e.g., SyrHT 95/side (a)/right fol./14 ; *Legend of St. George*). Thanks to this study it has been possible to record that such a realization is more used for *rēsh* than for *dālath* and more in the Sogdian fragments in Syriac script than in the Syriac fragments. It has been seen, furthermore, that the reverse C-shaped *rēsh* appears in Turfan in a wider range of literary genres than the same form of *dālath*.

As for the East-Syriac ligature *taw-āalph*, it is found in twenty-two of the Syriac fragments from the Turfan region and is absent in the Christian fragments in Sogdian language and Syriac script. In spite of the small number of occurrences in the material under investigation, the marginal presence of this ligature is, in my opinion, a not insignificant factor and is in line with the first known appearances of this ligature in the Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East. In this regard, ms. Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon, N 801 (*Lausiac History*, 794)³⁶¹ is the first codex known to the author in which the C reversed-shaped realizations of *dālath* and *rēsh* (e.g., f. 3v  e ), the *taw-āalph* ligature (e.g., f. 3v  e  and the *v-shaped taw* not followed by *āalph* (e.g., f. 3v  e )) begin to appear.

It is important to note that none of the Syriac fragments from Turfan in which such a realization of *taw-āalph* sequence appears belong to the genre of the evangeliary or the New Testament lectionary.

Another issue to which particular attention has been paid is the fairly common use at Turfan of a ‘vertical *taw*’ (e.g., SyrHT 122/side (a)/4 ; Hudra H), already seen, but less frequently, in manuscripts from the Middle East, and of a peculiar realization of *šādē* (n184 or E24/3, R/5 ; *Legend of the Invention of the Cross*), referred to as type 2 of *šādē* in the proposed taxonomy.

³⁵⁹ See in this regard Bush, Penn *et alia* 2018 and Penn 2020.

³⁶⁰ See Sims-Williams 2012, pp. 73-77.

³⁶¹ Corresponding to manuscript (4) in the table on page 27.

It was useful to look for instances of these two particular forms in the epigraphic and manuscript material from other regions of Central Asia. It has been, thus, noted that in the funerary epigraphs from the Semirechie region (present-day south-eastern Kazakhstan), dated between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the vertical *taw* type is quite frequent and used alongside other *taw* forms (see Plates VI, VII and VIII). Similarly, Euting's plates in Chwolson (1890) already reported a form of *šādē* found in Semirechie epigraphs and very similar to our type 2 (). It is interesting that, as shown, a very similar realization of *šādē* is found in the Syriac Psalter of Leiden () , a palimpsest written probably in the tenth century on an Armenian commentary of John Chrysostom. This realization had already been noted by Géhin due to 'un tracé bouclé très caractéristique'³⁶².

Particularly striking is the alternation of *šādē* types 1 () and 2 () in the Sogdian manuscript E5, the bilingual lectionary E2 and the Syriac fragments with instructions in Sogdian SyrHT 66, SyrHT 83, SyrHT 87 and SyrHT 88. In these manuscripts the scribes always use type 1 of *šādē* within the Syriac text and type 2 within the Sogdian text (e.g., n153  and n162 ). It seems that this use may be the result of a conscious choice of the scribe. It appears to be reasonable to me that, in Sogdian words, the letter *šādē* is used to mark the voiceless postalveolar affricate (tʃ), a missing phoneme in the Syriac language.

We have also reflected on the different and numerous realizations of the sequence *cn* (*šādē-nūn*) in the Sogdian fragments, of which perhaps the most interesting is the one observed in manuscript E26 (e.g., E26/12 n87 ; *Life of John of Dailam*). Here, within the sequence *cn* the descender of *šādē* begins its descent, then rises above the line of writing joining the beginning of the letter *nūn* and forming a loop. This distinctive ligature is not attested elsewhere in the studied Turfan fragments, and it seems to be missing in manuscripts and inscriptions from Central Asia and Middle East.

The fifth issue I discussed concerns the observation of particularly compact scripts at Turfan, scripts in which even letters that normally Syrian scribes tend not to connect on their left side are written contiguous, connected to, or even in ligature with the letter that follows them. This is a phenomenon sometimes found in the Middle Eastern manuscripts as well, but it is particularly evident in our Turfan fragments.

Very interesting is the frequent tendency of *ālah* in medial position to be connected to the following letter in the codex E26 (e.g., n125/R/5 ; n132/V/1 ). This manuscript, as we have seen above, contains examples of *šādē* and *nūn* joined in ligature within the preposition *cn*, as well as the East-Syriac ligature *taw-ālah*. Although already in some other manuscripts the letter *ālah* is sometimes written without any space after it, manuscript E26 shows, after several *ālah*, what appear to be deliberate connecting strokes. As we have seen in the related chapter, the *ductus* of this letter seems to be different from those seen in all other manuscripts discovered in the Turfan area.

The phenomenon of the compact scripts assumes even more relevance as it seems to have influenced some very frequent sequences in Sogdian, such as the conjunction 'θ (*ālah-īēth*) and the preposition *cn* (*šādē-nūn*), often written contiguous or connected at Turfan, as it occurs in Syriac about very common sequences, such as the final ending *taw-ālah*.

Moreover, it is possible that this tendency of scribes to join some letters on the left has somehow favoured the production of some clusters normally not joined in Sogdian and sometimes instead written as a single term in the Sogdian fragments in Syriac script from Turfan. Some examples are combinations resulting from the juxtaposition of the Sogdian conjunction 'θ with the preposition *pr* and with *qθ* or with enclitic personal pronouns and, secondly, from the juxtaposition of the preposition *qθ* and the enclitic personal pronouns (i.e., n148/V/1 ).

³⁶² Géhin 2017, p. 280.

It may be useful to study in more detail such clusters of conjunctions, prepositions, and personal pronouns in the Sogdian manuscripts also in relation to similar juxtapositions already observed in the Syriac fragments in the same collection. Let us recall, by way of example, the cases of Syriac words ending in *taw* followed by a pronominal suffix, where the consonant *taw*, although not usually joining on the left, is instead joined with pronominal suffixes, as in the case of SyrHT 126/side (b)/17 (Hudra H; ).

Finally, attention has been paid to the open and closed forms of *mīm* and to the numerous realizations of the final *mīm* in the Turfan fragments. What arises is a low presence of open forms of *mīm* in the initial, medial and final position (e.g., SyrHT 89/side (a)/1 ; MIK III 45/7r/20 ; MIK III 45/1r/7  and 33v/8 ) together with some forms of final *mīm* very similar to those found in Syriac manuscripts in the West-Syriac cursive script from the Middle East (e.g., n99 or E26/14; R/20 ).

In the light of what has been described in these last pages and in the whole volume, one can attempt to reflect on the general picture that has emerged.

First of all, I think it is useful to go back to the question of the almost total absence of monumental writing in Turfan, which is rather replaced by distinct semi-cursive or cursive scripts, mostly book hands, as in the case of the manuscripts with liturgical or New Testament content. There are a few exceptions where a utilitarian and everyday script is used, such as the fragments containing lists of names (e.g., SyrHT 161), calendrical fragments (e.g., SyrHT 69) or those containing scribal exercises (e.g., SyrHT 265). In any case, these are scripts which, although they sometimes share common elements, cannot, in my opinion, all be indicated by the same wording. The expression *East Syriac Estrangela*, suggested by Hunter and Dickens in their catalogue of Syriac fragments in Turfan³⁶³, is perhaps not the most appropriate. In fact, *estrangēlā* means the monumental Syriac script, a script whose name is connected to its use in the gospels and not to the form of its letters, a fine and elegant script, extremely standardized in its forms and, therefore, almost entirely devoid of any markedly individual character³⁶⁴. East-Syriac, instead, means a Syriac cursive script, derived from the *estrangēlā*, but having its own characteristics that make it a distinct type of writing, rich, moreover, as every cursive script, of idiosyncratic elements proper to the scribe. Consequently, such terminology is perhaps not the most suitable to describe in totality the forms found in the manuscripts examined, because these scripts are not monumental, but cursive scripts.

In any case, later Hunter and Coakley (2017) make a distinction between a so called ‘Turfan Hand’ and the script of other manuscript discovered in Turfan, such as that of the manuscript MIK III 45³⁶⁵, which do not share the same letter forms. In particular, Hunter and Coakley define the script of both scribes of MIK III 45 as ‘the modified or ‘medial’ estrangela that, with some differences, was the product of both eastern and western Syriac scribes in about the eighth and ninth centuries’³⁶⁶. They adhere to a terminology adopted by Brock and Van Rompay in their catalogue to describe the script of other manuscripts and fragments kept in the Library of Deir al-Surian in Egypt³⁶⁷. Without detracting from what other scholars have expressed, I would like to propose to indicate the handwritings of the MIK III 45 manuscript as semi-cursive scripts. These are not purely cursive scripts as shown, for example, by some open forms of *wāw* and *mīm* (e.g., f. 5r/3 ; f. 8r/21 ) and some angular forms of *dālath* (e.g., f. 5r/5 ). At the same time, however, the flow of the scripts in MIK III 45 is not set as in *estrangēlā A* or monumental scripts and as, maybe, even in *estrangēlā B*³⁶⁸; the scribes tend to

³⁶³ Hunter, Dickens 2014, p. 9.

³⁶⁴ See Macler 1930, p. 85.

³⁶⁵ Hunter and Coakley 2017, p. 11-12.

³⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 4-5.

³⁶⁷ Brock and Van Rompay 2014, pp. XXI-XXII.

³⁶⁸ Moller 1988. See *supra* p. 21.

connect letters not only in final position (e.g., f. 19v/19 , but even within words (e.g., f. 8r/24 ; f. 49r/14 , giving birth to some characteristic ligatures of sequences introduced by *taw* (e.g., f. 26r/6 ; f. 39v/30 ; 45v/18 ).

Generally, although among the Christian Sogdian and Syriac fragments in Syriac script of the Berlin Turfan Collection there are graphic forms that can be traced back to the *esṯrangēlā* script, such as the rare angular realizations of *dālath* and even rarer of *rēsh* (see Chapter III.1), the few realizations of *ṣādē* with acute-angled descender, traceable, *inter alia*, also to the East-Syriac script (type 3; e.g., SyrHT 254/side (a)/6 , Hudra W), the only occurrence of open *hē* in MIK III 110 (vd. Hunter and Dickens 2014, p. 354) and the few occurrences of open *mīm* just mentioned, these graphic forms are used, with perhaps the only exception of MIK III 110, with numerous cursive forms of others or the same letter in the same fragment.

Secondly, with regard to the coexistence of graphic forms belonging to different Syriac scripts in the same fragment, we recall Del Corso's observation about the mixed script theorized by Lidia Perria in the Greek context:

Una scrittura simile, più che costituire una stilizzazione autonoma e indipendente, sembra piuttosto il prodotto di mani che sono abituate a scrivere documenti, oltre che testi letterari, e, di fronte alla necessità di allestire un manoscritto per intero, incrociano e sovrappongono elementi diversi della propria educazione grafica³⁶⁹.

If this assertion were completely acceptable also for the Sogdian and Syriac fragments in Syriac script studied by us, one would wonder why in the lectionaries and gospels, as for example in the Lectionary B, scribes show a greater consistency in using always the same graphic form for a letter than what emerges from the fragments belonging to other literary genres.

Certainly, even in the manuscripts discovered in Turfan, scribes seem to have juxtaposed different graphic forms for the same letter and probably they also had the task of drawing up administrative documents. We do not know much about scribal habits, scribes' tasks in Turfan and their education, but we should keep in mind that the phenomenon considered here was also present in Syriac manuscripts from the Middle East, codices from which Turfan scribes may have copied or that they somehow knew about³⁷⁰.

Although the use of different graphic forms at Turfan may also have been facilitated by the fact that the scribes wrote various types of texts, including administrative documents related to the management of the community, this is not sufficient to clarify why they show more graphic consistency on some occasions than others. I believe that it is wrong to reduce this phenomenon, in its totality, to a mere result of random acts of the scribes.

With regard to the question of coherence, I would like to remind readers of the extremely interesting case of the alternation of types 1 () and 2 () of *ṣādē* in the Sogdian manuscript E5, in the bilingual lectionary E2 and in the Syriac fragments with instructions in Sogdian SyrHT 66, SyrHT 83, SyrHT 87 and SyrHT 88. This is, in my opinion, a palaeographical phenomenon strongly related to the language of the terms within which these forms occur, the Syriac language for type 1, Sogdian for type 2. It is probably related, as I have explained, to the phonetic reading of *ṣādē* in the Sogdian words in these texts and, if so, this is evidence of the scribes' clear awareness of using one graphic form rather than another.

³⁶⁹ Del Corso 2008, p. 110, in D'Aiuto 2008, p. 26. See *supra*, chapter II.1. Translation: 'Such writing, rather than constituting an autonomous and independent stylization, seems rather the product of hands that used to write documents, as well as literary texts, and, faced with the need to prepare a manuscript in its entirety, cross and overlap different elements of their graphic education'.

³⁷⁰ The education of scribes and scribal activity are little known issues, even in the Middle Eastern context. We have already reflected on the ambiguity of the term *scriptorium* for what concerns the Middle Eastern context (see note 28). It is not known, in fact, whether the reality of the transmission of texts and scribes in the different Eastern traditions can be perfectly described by the term *scriptorium*, which usually indicates 'a considerable number of monks working together under the same roof copying manuscripts' (Kotsifou 2012, p. 216).

Similarly, consider the regularity with which *ālah* and especially *taw* are not contiguous nor connected to the next letter in the prefix of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* forms. This is often the case even when in the fragment in question the consonant *taw* joins on the left in almost all other cases, as for example in the fragment SyrHT 71 (Psalter E; e.g., SyrHT 71/3a/10  and 14  vs. SyrHT 71/3a/5  and 13 ) and in SyrHT 93 (Psalter F; e.g., SyrHT 93/side (a)/4 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/5 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/6  vs. SyrHT 93/side (a)/3 ; SyrHT 93/side (b)/7 ).

Therefore, even if we cannot speak, taking up Del Corso's words, of "stilizzazione autonoma e indipendente" (i.e., autonomous and independent stylization) for the Turfan script or, better yet, the Turfan scripts, I think that the process of overlapping and juxtaposition of graphic forms related to different Syriac scripts is not always due to chance. I believe that for some issues, such as the alternation of types 1 and 2 of *šādē* or the tendency not to connect *taw* in the prefix of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* forms, the scribes were aware, some more than others, about how to use such scriptural forms.

One may ask, therefore, where this awareness comes from. If these are not isolated scribal uses, since they involve more than one manuscript and more than one scribe, one wonders if it is possible to imagine the presence of a secular or religious center where these scribal uses were learned and perpetuated. As already said, it is maybe preferable to avoid using the term 'scriptorium' in Eastern contexts, because there is no evidence of places where 'a considerable number of monks working together under the same roof copying manuscripts'³⁷¹.

The hypothesis that all the manuscripts discovered in the Turfan oasis were written in a monastery of that site seems to be unlikely. The contents and the monastic nature of many of the texts seems to validate this assertion, but there are manuscripts, such as MIK III 45 that have probably been written elsewhere, probably in the city of Merv or its environments³⁷².

The geographical and chronological coordinates hypothesized so far outline a relatively narrow window of places and times. The only fixed point is given by the radiocarbon dating of only the paper of the MIK III 45 manuscript, that is fixed between 771 and 884 A.D.³⁷³. For this manuscript a provenance from Merv has been hypothesized by Hunter and Coakley on the basis of several criteria, among them the handwriting (not the so called 'Turfan hand'), the kind of paper, the contents (no indication of a monastic origin) and the liturgical observances for saints which veneration was somehow linked to the city of Merv³⁷⁴.

It seems reasonable that some of the manuscript material discovered in the Turfan air comes from other regions. With regard to the other manuscripts, we continue to ask ourselves to what extent and in what modality a production in Turfan is conceivable, whether in one or more centers, in lay centers or in monasteries, in collective or individual form.

Thanks to Anna-Grethe Rischel³⁷⁵ and her study on the paper of MIK III 45 and of the fragments SyrHT 71 (Psalter E), 72 (Psalter C) and 221 (Prayer-booklet H), we know that the paper of the last three differs from that of the MIK III 45 manuscript. As revealed by microscopic observation, the paper of MIK III 45 is composed of rag fibres that have undergone a mechanical defibration process, while, on the other hand, those of SyrHT 71, 72, and 221 show, in addition to the rag and mulberry fibres found also in MIK III 45's paper, large starch grains. This is, according to Rischel, an innovation to facilitate the processing of the fibres, probably devised in China and little known in the more western regions of Central Asia.

³⁷¹ See in this regard Kotsifou 2012, p. 216.

³⁷² See Hunter and Coakley, 2017.

³⁷³ Hunter and Coakley 2017, Appendix A, pp. 273-280.

³⁷⁴ Hunter and Coakley 2017, pp. 11-16.

³⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, Appendix A, pp. 273-280.

These data lead to the hypothesis that the paper of the fragments SyrHT 71 (Psalter E), 72 (Psalter C), and 221 (Prayer-booklet H) was produced in China and perhaps it can be hypothesized that this paper, as that of many others of the manuscripts discovered, was also written in China, probably in the region of Turfan.

In my opinion, it is highly probable that at Bulayīq—and possibly other sites in the area of Turfan, as well—it was possible to learn Syriac language and its script. Within the manuscript material discovered in the Turfan oasis, some fragments that seem to contain scribal exercises were also found: SyrHT 265, SyrHT 321, SyrHT 322, SyrHT 323, U 7252. It seems more likely that such fragments were written locally as a result of some training activity; whether in one or more monastic centers or even lay centers, such as village schools, it is hard to say.

It is reasonable to think that some manuscripts were written in more distant regions and that they were imported into the region for evangelization purposes or liturgical celebrations, but it seems equally reasonable that some of these manuscripts were copied or written *in loco* according to the needs of the communities. These communities were indeed made of people who spoke different languages and that needed liturgical books that were easy to consult for non-Syriac monks and believers.

In my opinion, the manuscript material discovered in Turfan is not the result of sporadic manuscript production. Somehow, some scribal uses and some forms have been assimilated and re-proposed. This is, for instance, the case of the alternation of *šādē* types in E5, in E2, and in the fragments SyrHT 66, SyrHT 83, SyrHT 87, and SyrHT 88; this seems to occur when a space after *ālaph* and particularly *taw* is almost always found in the prefix of *ethpe'el* and *ethpa'al* forms, even when elsewhere in the same fragments no spaces are found after *taw*; this is the case, again, of some clusters of conjunctions, prepositions, and personal pronouns in the Sogdian manuscripts (for example 'θ-qθ, e.g., n148/V/1 ) , clusters that usually are not joined elsewhere and are written as a single term in many of the Sogdian fragments discovered in Turfan.

The reflection on a lack of total uniformity (incidentally, the main reason why I have suggested that the expression *East Syriac Estrangela* was maybe not the most appropriate to describe the writing material here studied in its entirety) cannot be adduced as proof of the lack of local small centers of manuscript production, but must rather take into account various factors, as the variety of genres, the fairly large chronological parenthesis and the open geographical context in which part of this production seems to have taken place.

The present book attempts to be one first step in the field of Syriac palaeography in Turfan. Perhaps the Central Asian epigraphy together with the most recent studies carried out in the field of Syriac palaeography will represent in the future others of the keys for the understanding of such a complex material as that of Turfan.

In the same way, it is reasonable to assume that, on the basis on what we have so far observed, the study of the Syriac script in Turfan could help to better understand the development of the Syriac script and the Syriac manuscript production as a whole.

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LIST OF CITED MANUSCRIPTS³⁷⁶

INDEX OF CITED EAST-SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS

AMSTERDAM

Vrije Universiteit, Peshitta Institut

- Ms. N. 4 (1306/7) = ms. (23): 29

BAGHDAD

Chaldean Patriarchat of Babylon

- N 801 (formerly AS 94; 794) = ms. (4): 27, 74, 99, 105, 124, 133
- N 24 (formerly Codex 12.22; Diarbekir 10; Notre Dame des Semences XV) (1199-1200) = ms. (14): 28, 125

BERLIN

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek

- Cod. Syr. 88 (1259-1260): 84n

BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham

- Mingana 544 (XII-XIIIth cent.) = ms. (16): 85n, 87, 105, 106, 112, 113, 125

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts)

Harvard University, Houghton Library,

- Harvard, Syr. 4 (1197-1198) = ms. (15): 28, 125

JERUSALEM

Greek Orthodox Patriarchate

- Ms 12: 36n
- Ms 4: 36n

Greek Patriarchal Library

- Cod. Syr. 10 (1380): 84n, 99, 99n

LONDON

British Library (BL)

- Add. MS. 14460 (599-600) = ms. (1): 27, 73, 105, 105n, 123, 124
- Add. MS. 14471 (614-615) = ms. (2): 27, 73, 73n, 99, 99n, 124
- Add. MS. 7157 (767-768) = ms. (3): 27, 105, 105n, 124
- Add. MS. 14492 (861-862) = ms. (5): 23n, 27, 99, 99n, 124
- Add. MS. 12138 (899) = ms. (7): 28, 74, 74n, 86, 87, 124
- Add. MS. 7174 (1702) = ms. (25): 29, 73

³⁷⁶ n = cited in note; P = cited in Plates.

- Add. MS. 7179: 36n

MANCHESTER

John Rylands University Library

- MS. Syriac 4 (752-753) = ms. (26): 29, 107, 112

MARDIN

Chaldean Cathedral (CC)

- N. 22 (1287) = ms. (20): 29, 125
- MS 60.19 (XIVth cent.) = ms. (24): 29

MOSUL

Mar Ishaya Church

- (relocated) (X-XIth cent.) = ms. (10): 28, 74, 85n, 87, 105, 105n, 124

NEW HAVEN (Connecticut)

Yale University Library

- Cod. Z 107.31 (917-918) = ms. (8): 28, 28n, 75, 75n, 124

NEWTON CENTER (Massachusetts)

Andoven Newton Theological School

- MS. ZE 607-1198 (1198) = ms. (13): 28, 28n, 124

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

- Ms Syr. d. 8: 36n

PARIS

National Library of France (BnF)

- Cod. syr. 342 (893-894) = ms. (6): 28, 28n, 74, 74n, 99
- Cod. syr. 354 (1186-1187) = ms. (12): 28, 125, 125n

PRINCETON

Theological Seminary

- PTS Syr 13: 36n
- PTS Syr 2: 36n

VATICAN CITY

Vatican Apostolic Library (BAV)

- Vat. sir. 1 (928-929) = ms. (9): 28, 124, 124n
- Vat. sir. 467 (1186-1187) = ms. (11): 28, 75n, 124, 124n
- Vat. sir. 471 (1224) = ms. (17): 28, 125, 125n
- Vat. sir. 417 (1246) = ms. (18): 29, 99, 99n, 125, 125n
- Vat. sir. 148 (1267) = ms. (19): 29, 75n, 125, 125n

- Vat. sir. 622 (1298) = ms. (21): 29, 75n, 90, 90n, 125, 125n
- Vat. sir. 22 (1301) = ms. (22): 29, 99, 99n
- Borgia, Syr. Ms 60 (1687-1688): 36n

INDEX OF OTHER CITED MANUSCRIPTS

BERLIN

Preussische Staatsbibliothek

- Cod. Syr. 26 (Sachau 321) (740-741): 105, 105n

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts)

Harvard University, Semitic Museum,

- Cod. Syr. 115 (Xth cent.): 19n

LEIDEN

Universiteitsbibliotheek

- Oriental 14236: 100, 102, 134

LONDON

British Library (BL)

- Add. MS. 12150 (411): 21, 104, 104n, 123
- Add. MS. 14425 (463-464): 104, 104n
- Add. MS. 12135 (726): 98, 98n
- Add. MS. 17170 (774-775): 61, 61n
- Add. MS. 14548 (790): 19, 123, 123n, 129, 129n
- Add. MS. 12151 (804): 105, 105n
- Add. MS. 14623 (823): 86, 87
- Add. MS. 12152 (837): 61, 61n
- Add. MS. 14668 (865-866): 86, 87
- Add. MS. 14580 (866): 86
- Add. MS. 12159 (867-868): 99, 99n
- Add. MS. 17194 (885-886): 86, 112, 112n
- Add. MS. 17111 (927): 99, 99n
- Add. MS. 12165 (1015): 22, 22n
- Add. MS. 14734 (1085): 87, 129, 129n
- Add. MS. 14679 (1102): 87
- Add. MS. 14711 (1222): 87
- Add. MS. 21210 (1242): 99, 99n
- Add. MS. 7194 (1335): 129, 129n

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

- Marshall MS. 671 (1128-1129): 99, 99n

PARIS

National Library of France (BnF)

- Cod. Syr. 69 (615): 104, 104n
- Cod. Syr. 27 (720): 104, 104n
- Cod. Syr. 55 (1202-1203): 98, 98n
- Cod. Syr. 31 (1203): 98, 98n

VATICAN CITY

Vatican Apostolic Library (BAV)

- Vat. Sir. 137 (564): 22, 22n
- Vat. Sir. 92 (823): 21, 21n, 99, 99n

INDEX OF CITED EPIGRAPHS

ST. PETERSBURG

Hermitage

- SA 14347 (1264): 91, 164P
- SA 14302 (1318): 91, 166P
- SA 14417 (1341-1342): 100, 100n
- SA 14354 (1322-1323): 100, 100n
- SA 14412: 100, 100n

PARIS

Louvre

- AO 28052 (1307): 90, 91, 165P

INDEX OF THE MENTIONED FRAGMENTS³⁷⁷

MENTIONED SYRIAC FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

- SyrHT 1: 26, 26n, 45, 45n, 130, 130n
- SyrHT 2: 26, 26n, 29, 45, 85, 85f
- SyrHT 3: 42, 69
- SyrHT 5: 31, 113n
- SyrHT 6: 31, 113n
- SyrHT 19: 45, 69
- SyrHT 28: 37, 109
- SyrHT 41: 26, 35
- SyrHT 42: 26, 35, 35n, 111, 130
- SyrHT 43: 26, 35
- SyrHT 44: 34, 107, 108, 109
- SyrHT 45&46: 44, 69, 109, 110, 114
- SyrHT 48&49: 44, 69, 110, 114
- SyrHT 55: 36, 111
- SyrHT 56&57: 34, 109
- SyrHT 58: 39, 75, 79, 133
- SyrHT 59: 34, 85, 94
- SyrHT 60: 34, 109
- SyrHT 62: 31, 62, 130
- SyrHT 65: 34, 61, 65, 108, 109, 109f
- SyrHT 66: 42, 96, 96n, 97, 98, 134, 136, 138
- SyrHT 69: 44, 135
- SyrHT 71: 26, 30, 75, 79, 110, 137, 138
- SyrHT 73: 36, 110
- SyrHT 76: 42, 69, 81
- SyrHT 81&82: 35, 62, 63, 64, 115, 115n, 119n
- SyrHT 83 (see E14): 42, 96, 96n, 109, 110, 115, 134, 136, 138
- SyrHT 84 (see E14): 42, 96, 96n, 110, 130
- SyrHT 87: 32, 42, 96, 96n, 134, 136, 138
- SyrHT 88: 42, 96, 96n, 97, 134, 136, 138
- SyrHT 91: 30, 119n
- SyrHT 92: 30, 113, 113n, 170P
- SyrHT 93: 30, 110, 111, 113, 137, 170P
- SyrHT 94: 45, 69, 69n, 80, 81, 97, 98, 107, 110
- SyrHT 95: 44, 44n, 80n, 81, 93, 133
- SyrHT 96: 31, 68, 108, 108f
- SyrHT 99: 43, 70
- SyrHT 106: 32, 35, 84, 89

³⁷⁷ f = cited in figure; n = cited in note; P = cited in Plates.

- SyrHT 108: 31, 70, 160P
- SyrHT 111: 38, 62, 64
- SyrHT 112: 38, 112
- SyrHT 114: 43, 114
- SyrHT 116: 43, 114
- SyrHT 119: 30, 69, 70, 159P
- SyrHT 120: 31, 83, 89
- SyrHT 122: 36, 59, 68, 70, 78, 83, 90, 111, 133
- SyrHT 123: 33, 66, 107, 110
- SyrHT 124: 36, 37, 111
- SyrHT 125: 37, 70, 111, 112, 112n
- SyrHT 126: 37, 107, 110, 111, 112, 112n, 120, 135
- SyrHT 128: 80, 82
- SyrHT 130: 34, 128, 130, 130n
- SyrHT 133: 41, 75, 79
- SyrHT 142: 37, 111, 112, 112n
- SyrHT 145: 35, 84
- SyrHT 146: 42, 69
- SyrHT 151: 35, 81
- SyrHT 152: 43, 80, 81
- SyrHT 153: 30, 98
- SyrHT 157: 30, 130
- SyrHT 158 (see E15): 43, 96
- SyrHT 159: 34, 69, 70, 111, 159P, 169P
- SyrHT 161: 45, 135
- SyrHT 162: 34, 123, 128, 130n
- SyrHT 163: 34, 109
- SyrHT 165: 35, 128
- SyrHT 166: 42, 69,
- SyrHT 172: 30, 84, 89
- SyrHT 176: 31, 84
- SyrHT 185: 69
- SyrHT 186: 41, 69, 69n
- SyrHT 187: 34, 65
- SyrHT 199: 36, 115, 115n,
- SyrHT 203: 31, 62, 128
- SyrHT 204: 37, 110, 111
- SyrHT 206: 43, 114
- SyrHT 207: 38, 83
- SyrHT 211: 37, 112, 112n
- SyrHT 212: 36, 88, 88n, 91
- SyrHT 213: 39, 88, 88n, 90
- SyrHT 214: 35, 130
- SyrHT 221: 44, 88, 90

- SyrHT 222: 38, 88
- SyrHT 223: 42, 69
- SyrHT 231: 36, 128
- SyrHT 241: 33, 66, 110, 113, 129, 178P
- SyrHT 242: 83
- SyrHT 245: 41, 81, 119n
- SyrHT 247: 88, 90
- SyrHT 249: 40, 59, 101
- SyrHT 253: 35, 84
- SyrHT 254: 40, 80, 81, 91, 136
- SyrHT 255: 45, 69, 80n, 81
- SyrHT 264: 44, 81, 82
- SyrHT 265: 45, 81, 135, 138
- SyrHT 274: 43, 80, 81, 110
- SyrHT 277: 33, 34, 83, 84, 89, 113, 114
- SyrHT 285: 45, 69, 80n, 81
- SyrHT 287: 37, 68, 75, 111
- SyrHT 295: 31, 113n
- SyrHT 301: 41, 110
- SyrHT 314: 31, 128
- SyrHT 320: 41, 98, 119n
- SyrHT 321: 45, 78, 80, 82, 138
- SyrHT 323: 46, 82, 138
- SyrHT 324: 33, 66, 67
- SyrHT 325: 33, 66, 67
- SyrHT 326: 33, 67
- SyrHT 330: 43, 70, 70n, 107, 110, 129
- SyrHT 335: 43, 78
- SyrHT 347: 84
- SyrHT 355: 45, 69
- SyrHT 359: 44, 92, 93
- SyrHT 360: 44, 44n, 80n, 81, 93
- SyrHT 361: 44, 44n, 81, 93
- SyrHT 362: 44, 44n, 93n
- SyrHT 364: 44, 44n, 93n
- SyrHT 365: 44, 44n, 78, 80n, 81, 84, 89, 93
- SyrHT 366: 98
- SyrHT 373: 33, 113
- SyrHT 381: 44, 44n, 93
- SyrHT 382: 31, 113n
- SyrHT 383: 33, 78
- SyrHT 386: 32, 107, 110, 126, 128
- SyrHT 389: 45, 69, 80n, 81
- SyrHT 391: 69

- SyrHT 392: 69
- MIK III 45: 23, 26, 27n, 34, 35, 59, 106, 107, 107n, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 126, 126n, 127, 128, 131, 135, 137
- MIK III 45 (fr. 1): 41, 110
- MIK III 45 (fr. 2): 35, 128, 130n
- MIK III 110: 31, 61, 128, 136
- n121: 36, 98
- n176 or E10/1: 42, 69
- n301: 31, 113n
- n312: 69
- n327: 33, 110, 113
- n394 or E9/1: 42, 88
- n396: 119
- n397 or E10/2: 42, 69
- n415: 45, 69, 80, 80n, 81
- n417: 45, 69
- n419: 45, 69
- n420: 69, 80, 80n, 81
- U 338: 26, 44, 68n

MENTIONED SOGDIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

- n1 or E23/8: 48
- n7 or E23/13: 48, 65
- n8 or E23/18: 48
- n9 or E23/7: 48, 65
- n13 or E27/4: 50, 98
- n17 or E27/11a: 51, 98, 101
- n58 or E27/137: 53, 98
- n72 or E27/1d: 50, 102
- n79 or E27/26a: 51, 94
- n87 or E26/12: 49, 63, 64, 65, 101, 117, 118, 134
- n88 or E26/9: 49, 101, 118
- n96 or E26/11: 49, 118
- n98 or E26/15a: 49, 119
- n99 or E26/14: 49, 130, 135
- n108 or E26/24b: 49, 129
- n109 or E26/25: 49, 118
- n110 or E26/26b: 49, 117, 118
- n111 [part] or E26/27a: 49, 117, 118
- n117 or E26/32a: 50, 102, 167P
- n123 or E26/31: 50, 101

- n125 or E26/10: 49, 115, 117, 134
- n132 or E26/7: 49, 117, 134
- n145 or E26/3: 49, 119
- n146 or E26/1: 49, 85f, 117, 118, 118n
- n148 or E28/2: 53, 63, 75, 79, 83, 102, 119, 134, 138
- n149 or E5/19: 46, 67
- n150 or E5/23: 46, 84, 114, 114n
- n152 or E5/23: 46, 116
- n153 or E5/48: 46, 94, 94n, 98, 114, 114n, 115, 116, 134
- n157 or E5/73: 46, 116
- n158 [part] or E5/75a: 46, 94, 116, 116n
- n159b or E5/83a: 47
- n162 or E5/91: 47, 75, 79, 94, 98, 115, 115n, 134
- n163 or E5/109: 47
- n164 or E5/127: 47, 94
- n165 or E5/130a: 47, 94
- n166 or E5/5: 46, 116, 116n
- n168 or E28/16: 54, 119
- n170 or E28/28: 54, 100, 101
- n175 or E37/2: 58, 71, 162P
- n179 or E24/2a: 48, 117, 126
- n180 or E24/7: 48, 101, 116, 117, 126, 129, 177P
- n181 or E24/1: 48, 117, 126
- n182 or E24/6: 48, 71, 126, 130, 161P
- n183 or E24/5: 48, 116, 117, 126
- n184 or E24/3: 48, 91, 101, 117, 126, 133
- n185 or E24/4: 48, 117
- n186 or E24/8: 48, 126
- n188 or E24/2b: 48, 126
- n189 or E24/11: 48, 117
- n193 or E29/3a: 57, 101, 130
- n195 or E29/4: 57, 101
- n197 or E29/6: 58, 75, 79
- n211 or E28/14: 54, 118
- n216 or E30/6a: 58, 94
- n282 or E28/24a: 54, 119
- n287 or E28/104: 57, 102
- n291 or E28/13: 54, 118, 119, 119n
- n292 or E28/111: 57, 118
- n299 or E35/1: 58, 98
- n302 or E33: 58, 119n
- n337 or E28/108: 57, 129
- n343 or E28/85a: 56, 88, 90
- n349 or E36/1: 58, 83, 89

- n355 or E31a: 58, 98
- n364 or E34b: 43, 58, 94
- n366 or E28/20a: 54, 119
- n368 or E28/10b: 54, 118
- n369 or E28/20b: 54, 119
- n375 or E28/11b: 54, 119,
- n413a2 or E5/76b: 46, 116, 116n
- n452 or E28/26a: 54, 101
- n459 or E28/19a: 54, 118
- n466 or E28/128a: 57, 91
- n469 or E28/25: 54, 119
- n478 or E27/69a or MIK III 64: 51, 52 102
- n485 or E27/87a or MIK III 71: 52, 101
- n486 or E27/13 or MIK III 72: 51, 102
- n490 or E27/54 or MIK III 76: 51, 102
- n495 or E27/53 or MIK III 81: 51, 102
- n497* or E5/6a: 94, 114, 114n, 115, 116, 116n
- n498* or E5/21b: 94, 97
- n499* or E5/38: 46, 67, 67n, 116
- n500* or E5/41: 46, 67, 114, 114n, 115, 116
- n502* or E5/79: 47, 115
- n503* or E5/80: 47, 114, 114n, 115, 116
- n505* or E5/125: 47, 94, 114, 114n, 115, 115f, 116
- n506* or E5/126: 47, 130
- n507* or E5/6a: 46, 67, 67n
- n529* or E28/12: 54, 101, 118
- M 7340 or E37/1: 58, 71
- U7252 or E47: 46, 59, 138

MENTIONED BILINGUAL SYRIAC AND SOGDIAN FRAGMENTS IN SYRIAC SCRIPT

- n177 or E1/1a: 60, 120, 171P
- n178 or E1/1b: 60, 95, 120, 171P
- n190 or E3: 60, 67, 102, 121
- n200 or E6/5: 60, 121
- n201 or E6/3: 60, 67, 68, 121
- n203 or E6/7b: 60, 115, 121, 173P
- n204 or E6/12: 60, 95
- n205 or E6/20a: 60, 91, 121
- n206 or E6/20c: 60, 121
- n212 or E4: 60, 62, 121, 172P
- n213 or E1/2: 60, 67, 95, 120

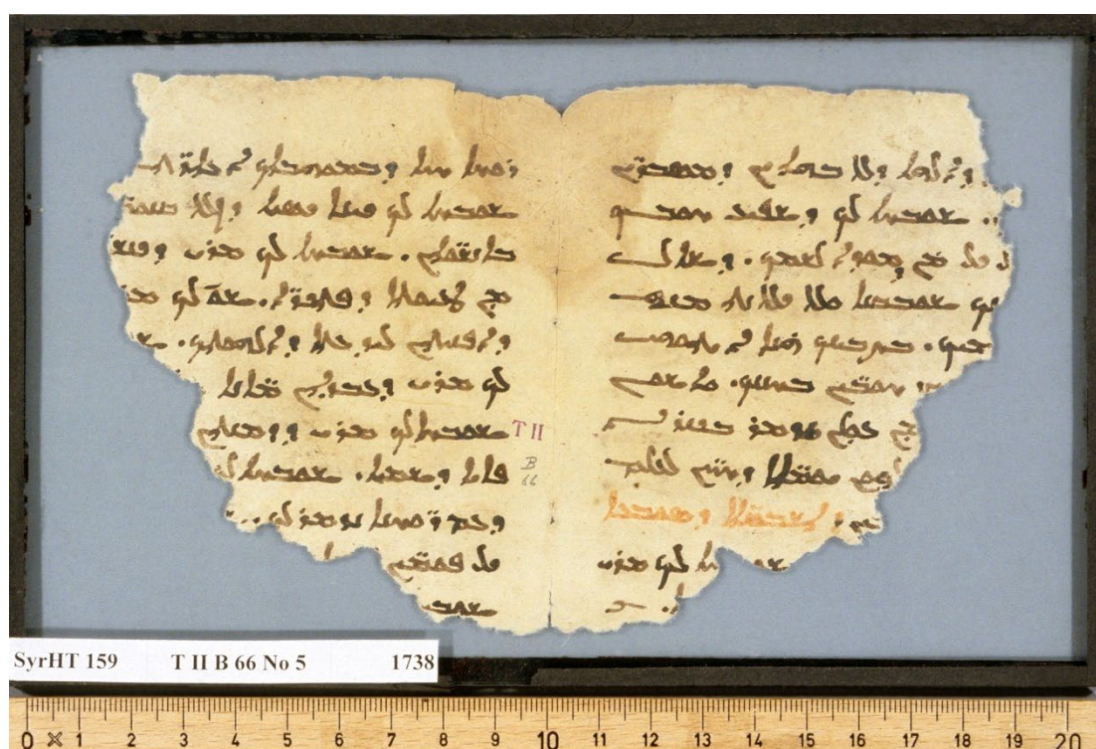
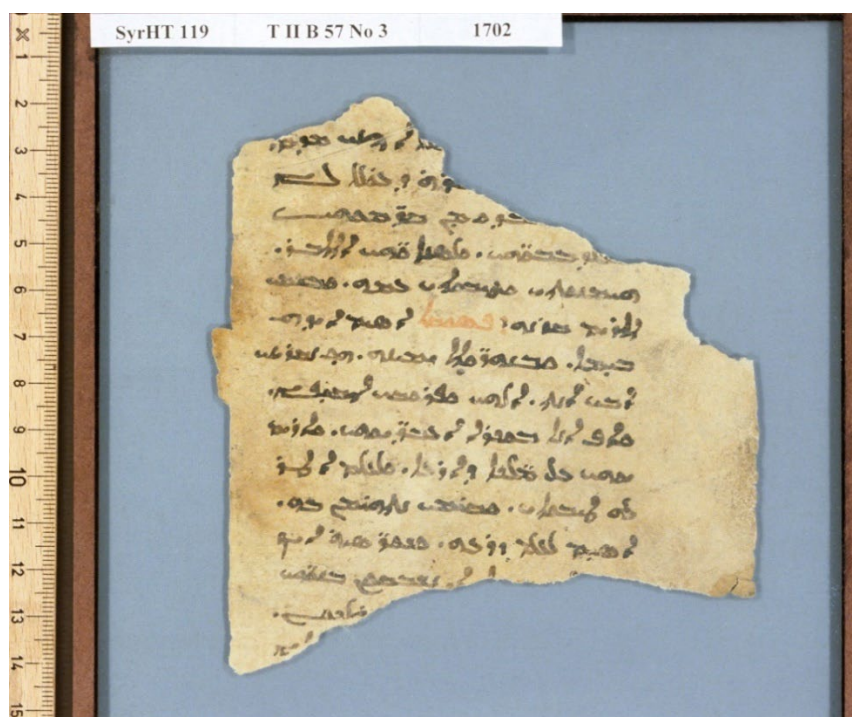
- n214 or E2/1: 60, 67, 120, 121
- n222 or E54: 60, 120, 120n
- n223 or E2/2b: 60, 95, 95n, 120
- n224 or E2/2a: 60, 95, 95n, 96, 120
- n322 or E50: 60, 120
- n398 or E6/18: 60, 83, 89, 95, 95n
- n411 or E6/20b: 60, 121

OTHER MENTIONED TURFAN FRAGMENTS

- SyrHT 393: 80, 82
- U 338: 84, 89
- U 5545: 68

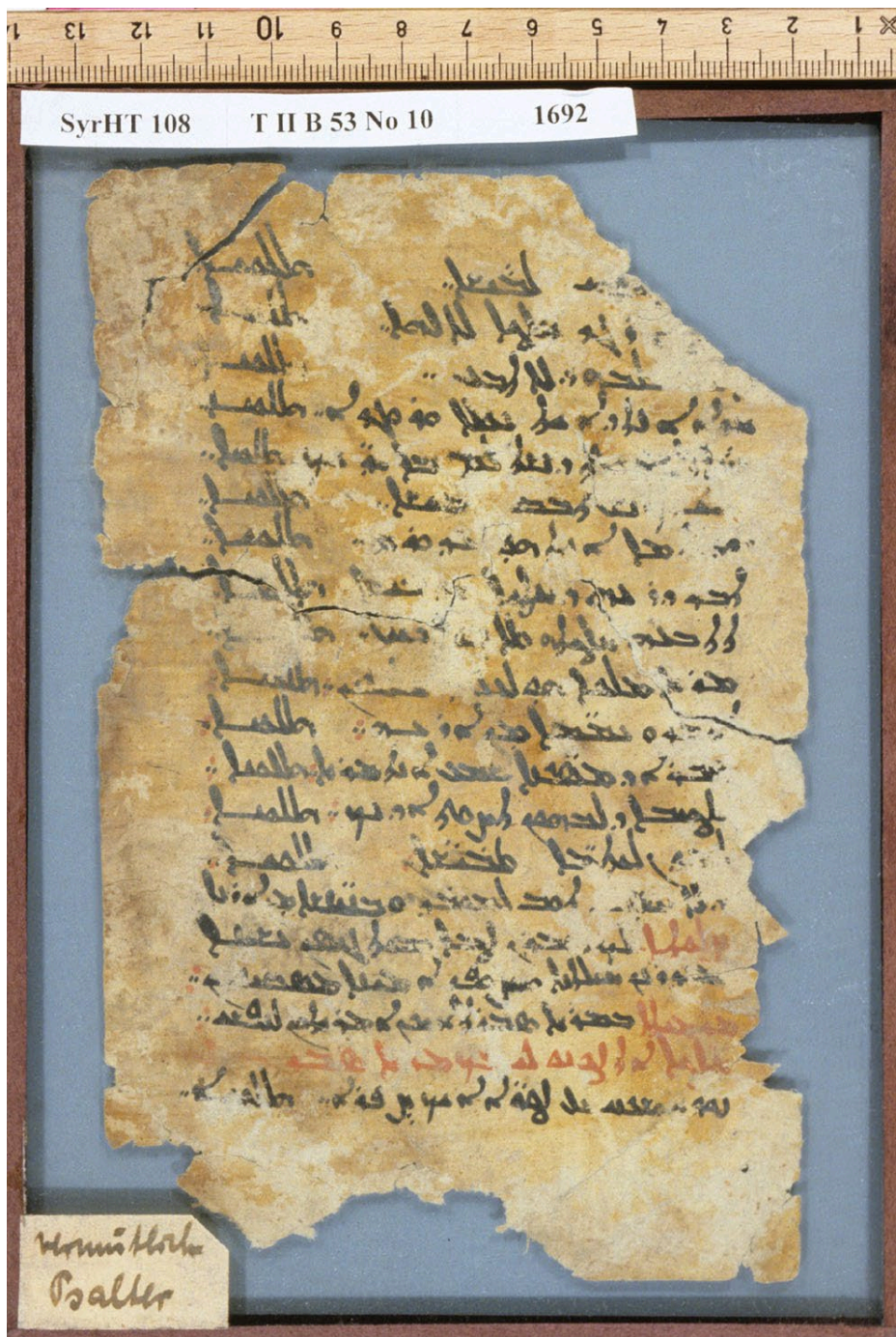
PLATES

PLATE I



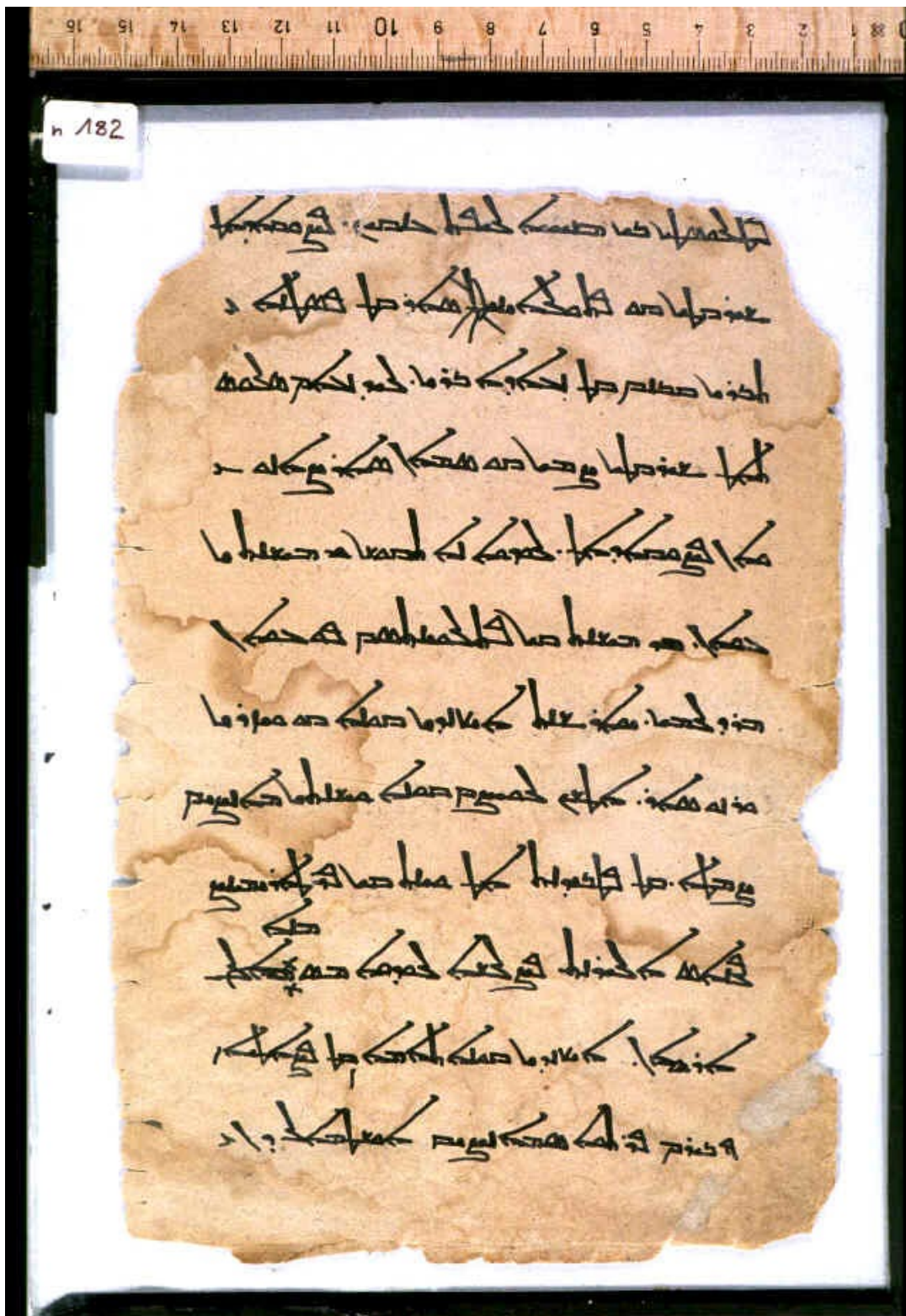
SyrHT 119/side (a) (Psalter D) and SyrHT 159/side (a) (Hudra B). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. Images of manuscripts in the Berlin Turfan Collection reproduced in the plates are also available on the website of the Digitales Turfan Archiv <https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html> (last accessed July 2023).

PLATE II



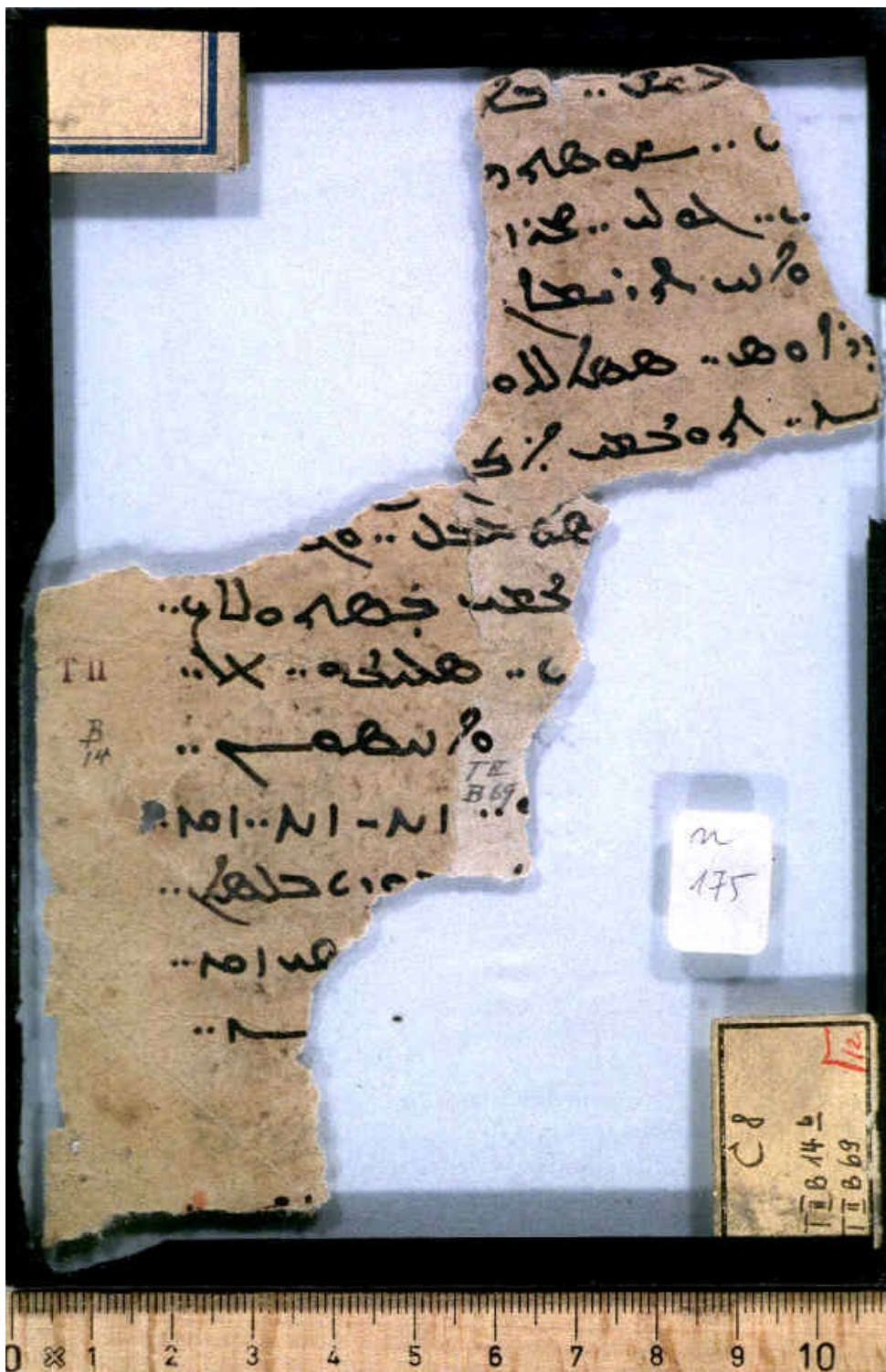
SyrHT 108/side (a) (Psalter I). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

PLATE III



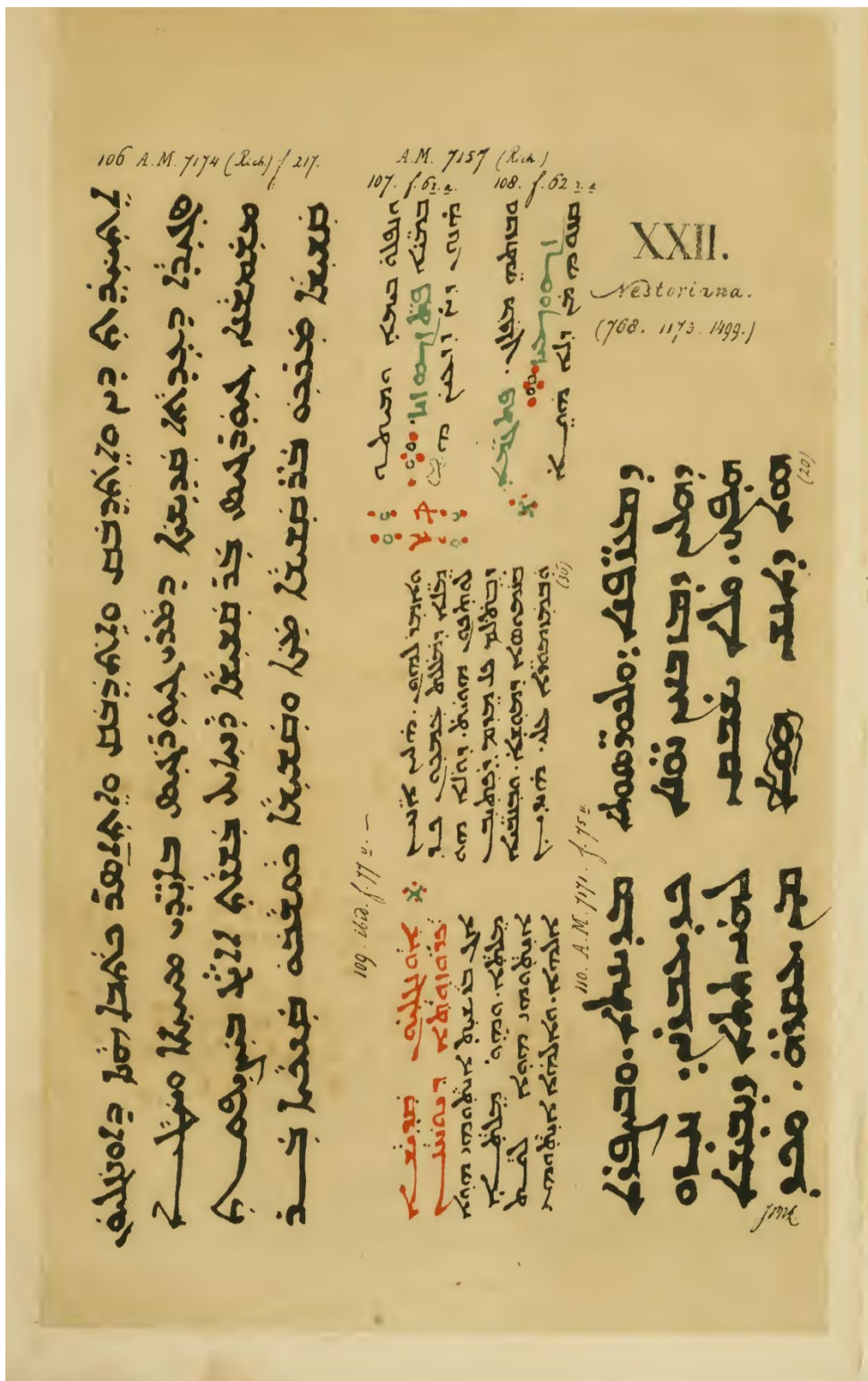
Fragment n182/V (E24/6). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

PLATE IV



Fragment n175 (E37/2). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

PLATE V



Land 1862, Tomus Primus, Tab. XXII.

PLATE VI



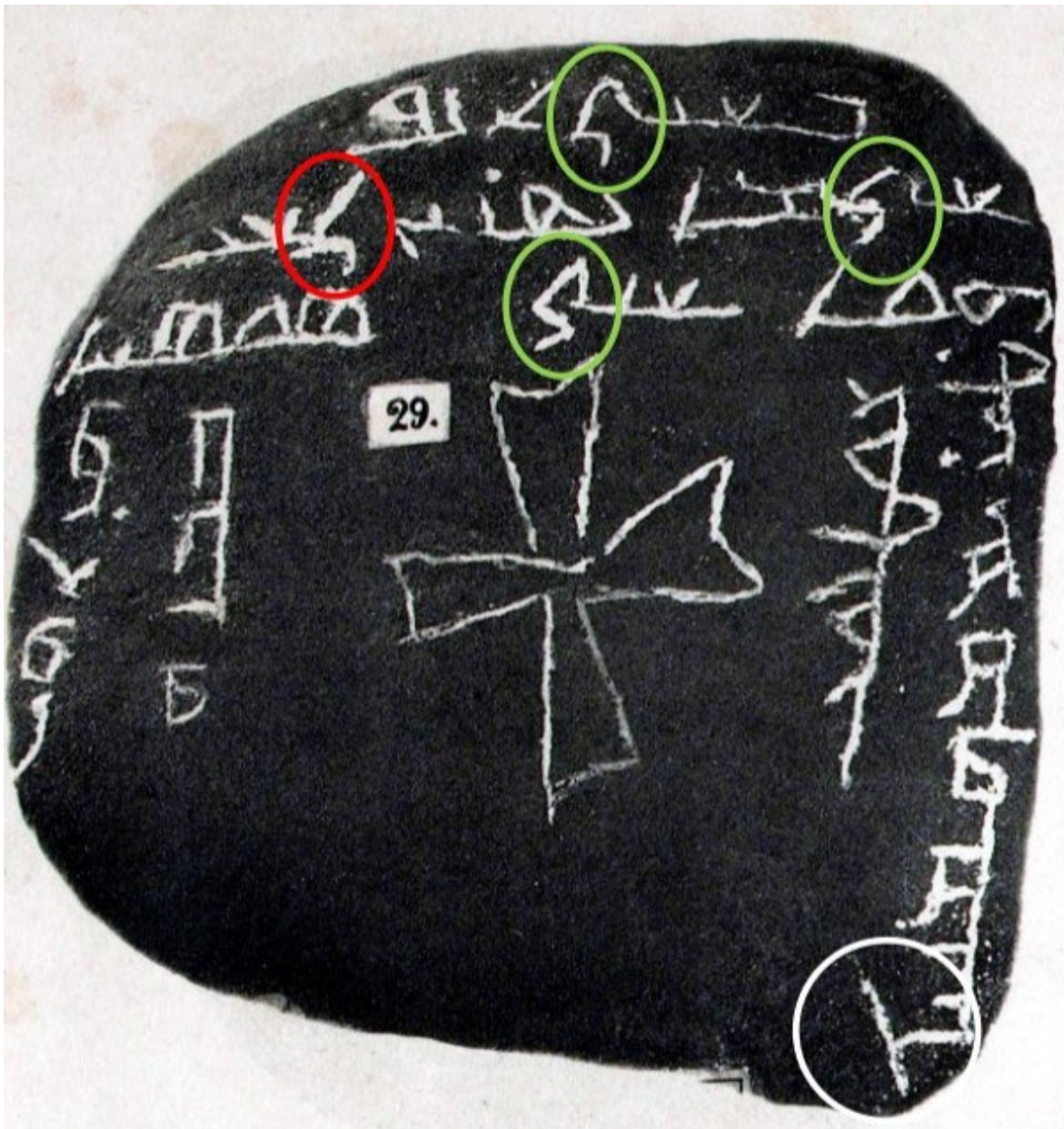
Funerary epigraph, dated to 1575 A.G., year of the Rat. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, SA 14347. From Chwolson 1890, Taf. 1.

PLATE VII



Funerary epigraph, dated to 1618 A.G., year of the Sheep. Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 28052.
© 2016 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Mathieu Rabeau.

PLATE VIII



Funerary epigraph, dated to 1629 A.G., year of the Horse. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, SA 14302. From Chwolson 1890, Taf. III.

PLATE IX



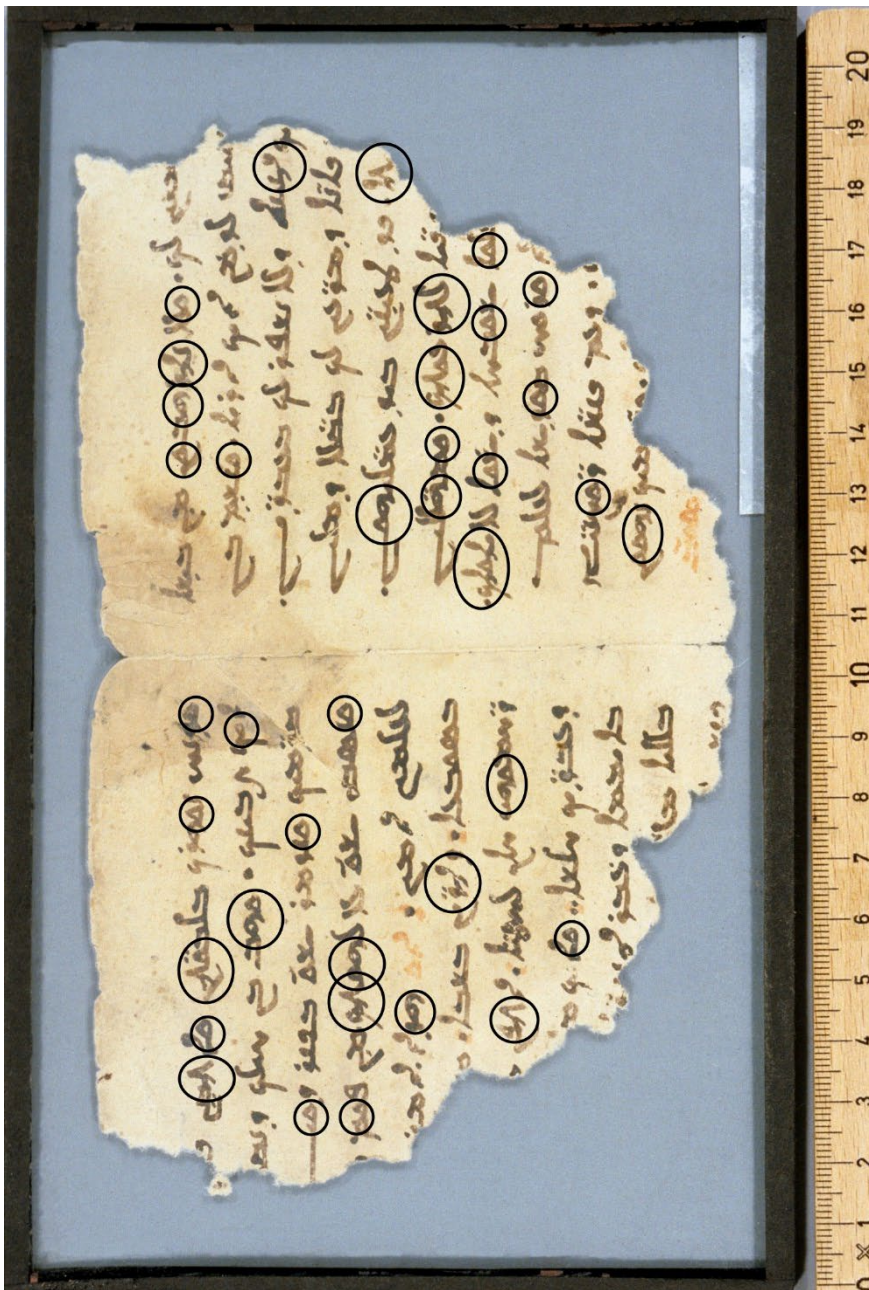
Christian Sogdian fragment n117v (E26/32a). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. Circled in white some realizations of *šādē* that stand out for their type and their modulus.

PLATE X



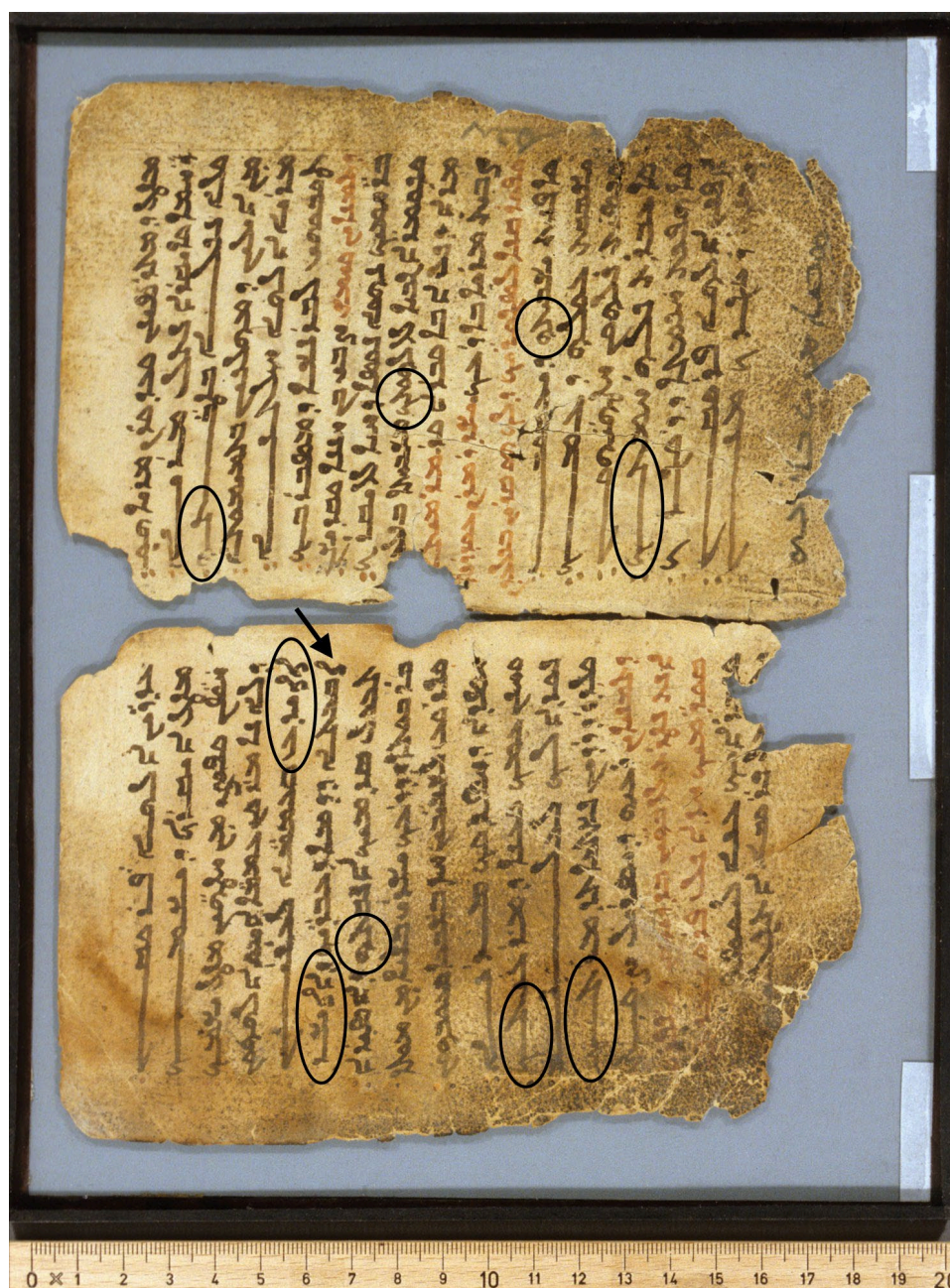
Christian Sogdian fragment n490v (MIK III 76 E27/54). Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

PLATE XI



SyrHT 159/side (b). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. Circled in black are numerous examples in which *wāw*, *hē* and *taw* are contiguous or connected on their left to the next letter.

PLATE XII



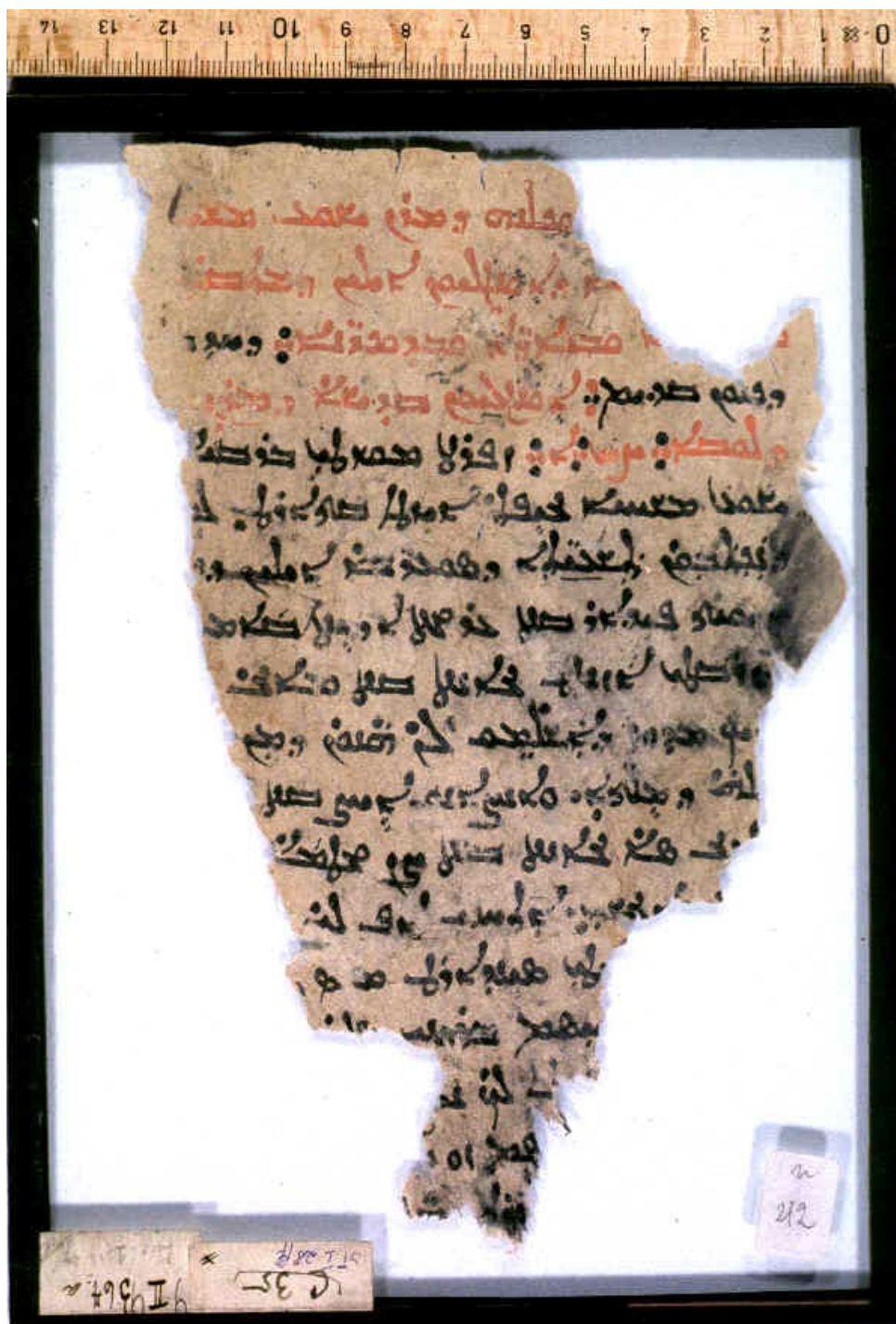
Side (a) of fragments SyrHT 92 and SyrHT 93. Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. Circled in black some examples in which *taw* is not joined in the prefix of *ethpe'el* or *ethpa'al* forms and is joined, instead, with pronominal suffixes. The arrow indicates the only case in which *taw* is not joined with the next letter.

PLATE XIII



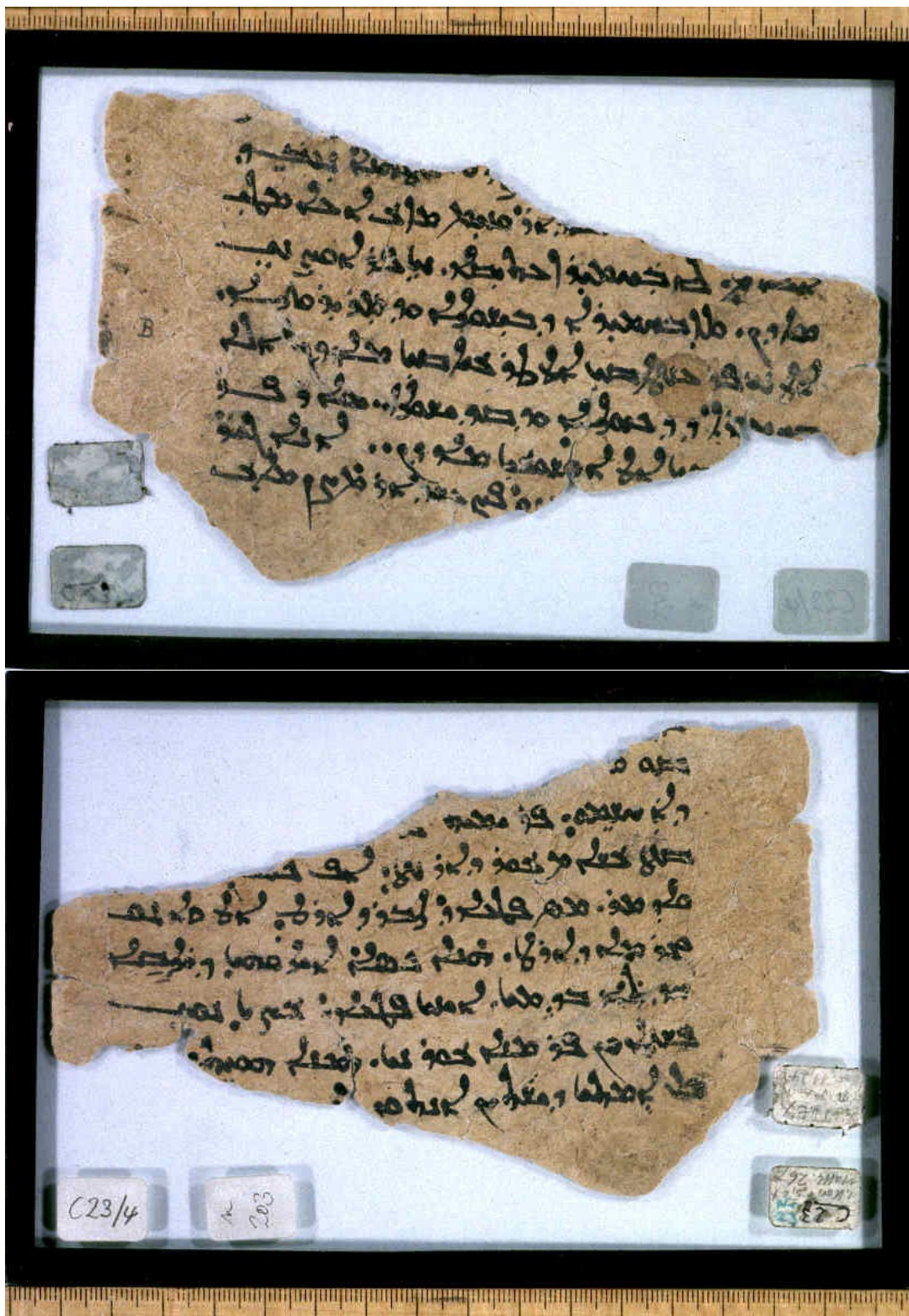
Fragments n177 (E1/1a) and n178 (E1/1b), verso. Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. *Wāw* is always connected to the next letter on the left.

PLATE XIV



Fragment n212 (E4), verso. Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. It shows *wāw* and *hē* almost always contiguous or connected to the next letter on their left (e.g. n190/V/1 **معد**; V/5 **معد**; V/10 **معد**). *Taw* seems not to connect, neither to *ālah* (e.g. n190/V/6 **معد**), except in two cases in the seventh line: here, in two words following each other, the scribe links on the left first *taw* with *bēth* and then *taw* with *shīn*.

PLATE XV



Recto and verso of fragment n203 (E6/7b). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

PLATE XVI

411 A. D. Plate I

London, British Museum, Add. MS. 12150, fol. 134.²

PLATE I
411 A. D.¹

The Clementine Recognitions: ^a Tius of Bostra, Four Discourses against the Manichaeans; Eusebius, On the Theophany; ^b id., On the Confessors of Palestine; id., A Eulogy of the Confessors' Virtue; ^c and a Martyrology. Vellum; 36.5 to 37 cm. X 28.4 to 28.6 cm.; 255 leaves; three columns; 38 to 42 lines to the column; columns ruled with lead; ink black and brown; Estrangeli.^d The scribe's name was Jacob, and the manuscript was written in Edessa.

The passage reproduced in the plate is taken from the work of Tius of Bostra against the Manichaeans, Discourse IV. See P. A. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostrani contra Manichaeos Libri Quatuor Syriace* (Berlin, 1859), pp. 181 f.

¹ Second Teshrin, An. Graecorum 723. The day of the month is not given. This is probably the earliest dated codex in any language that is still extant.

² For a description of this codex see W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1870-1872), Part II, pp. 631 ff. (No. DCCXXVI). The date is wrongly given here as 412 A. D. It is corrected to 411 A. D. on page 1236 of Part III.

³ There are four discourses (numbered 1, 3, 4, and 14) and a section entitled 'From Tripolis in Phoenicia'.

⁴ This treatise is in five books.

⁵ The title of this work is *Ἐκδοκὴ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιστολῶν*.

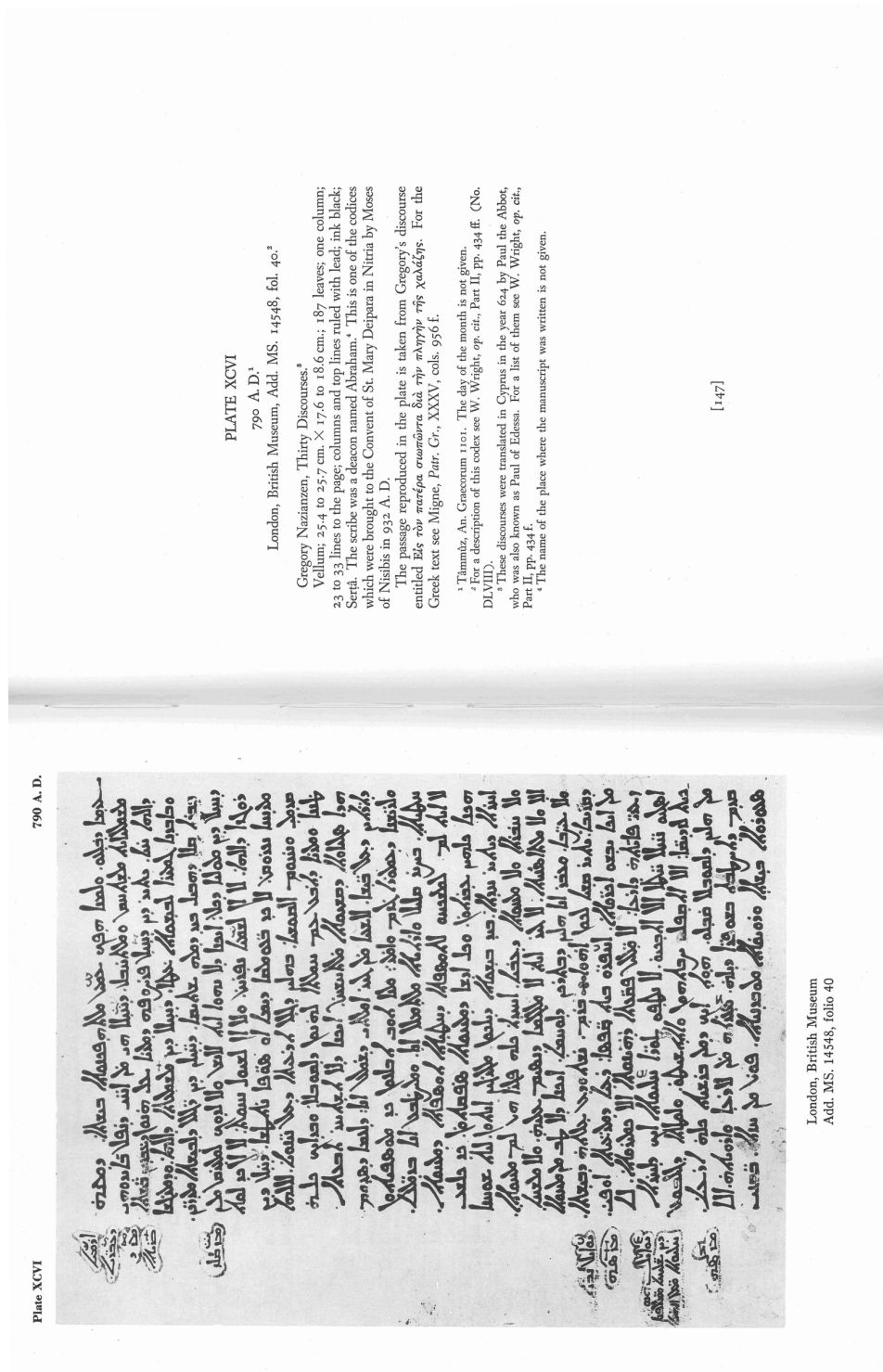
⁶ ^a ¹ and sometimes ² have the Sert form. See *supra*, pp. 31 and 36.

[52]

London, British Museum
Add. Ms. 12150, folio 134

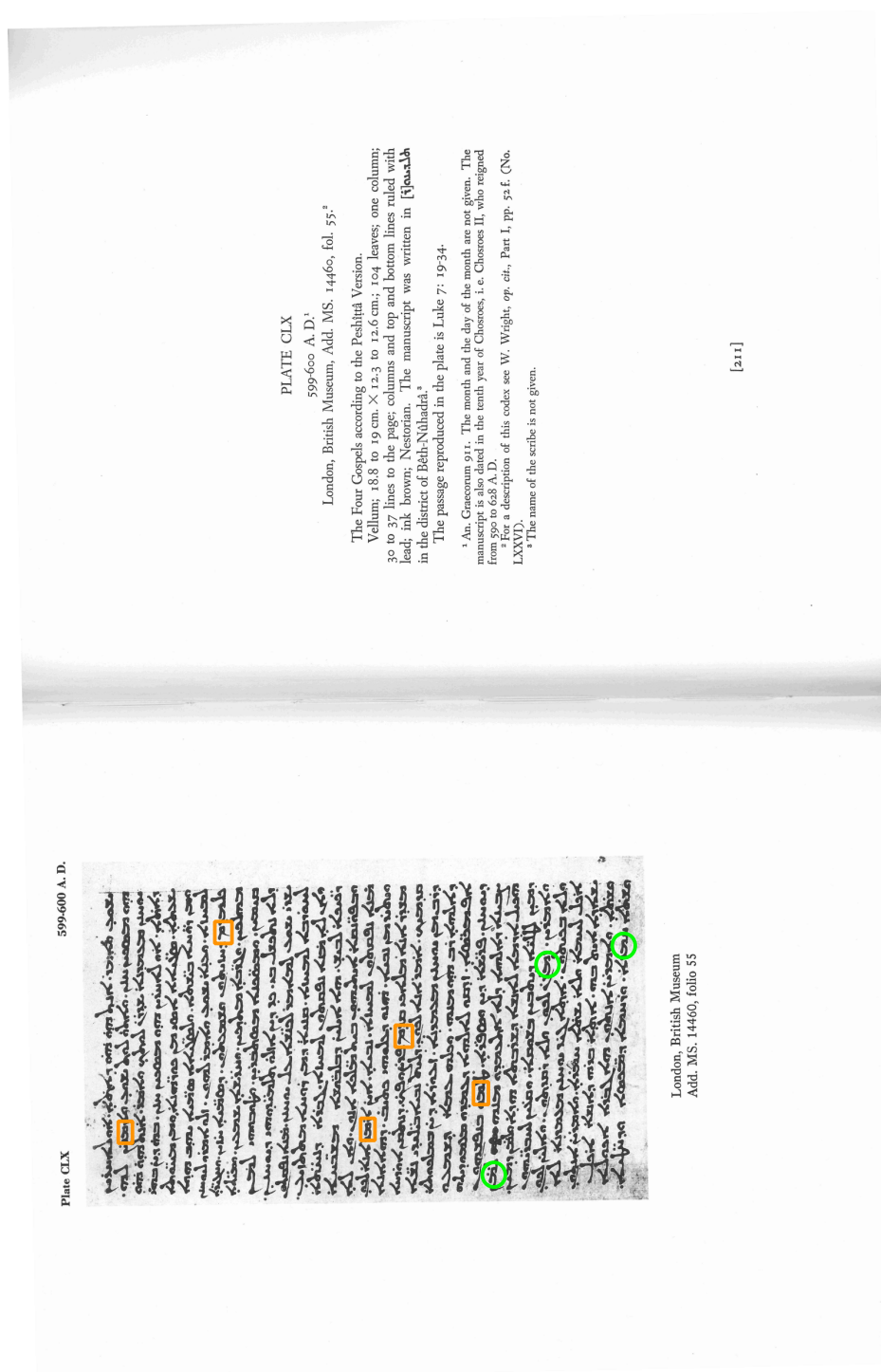
In this folio (Hatch 1946 PLATE I), open and closed realizations of *mīm* in initial and medial position are found; *mīm* in final position is, on the other hand, always closed.

PLATE XVII



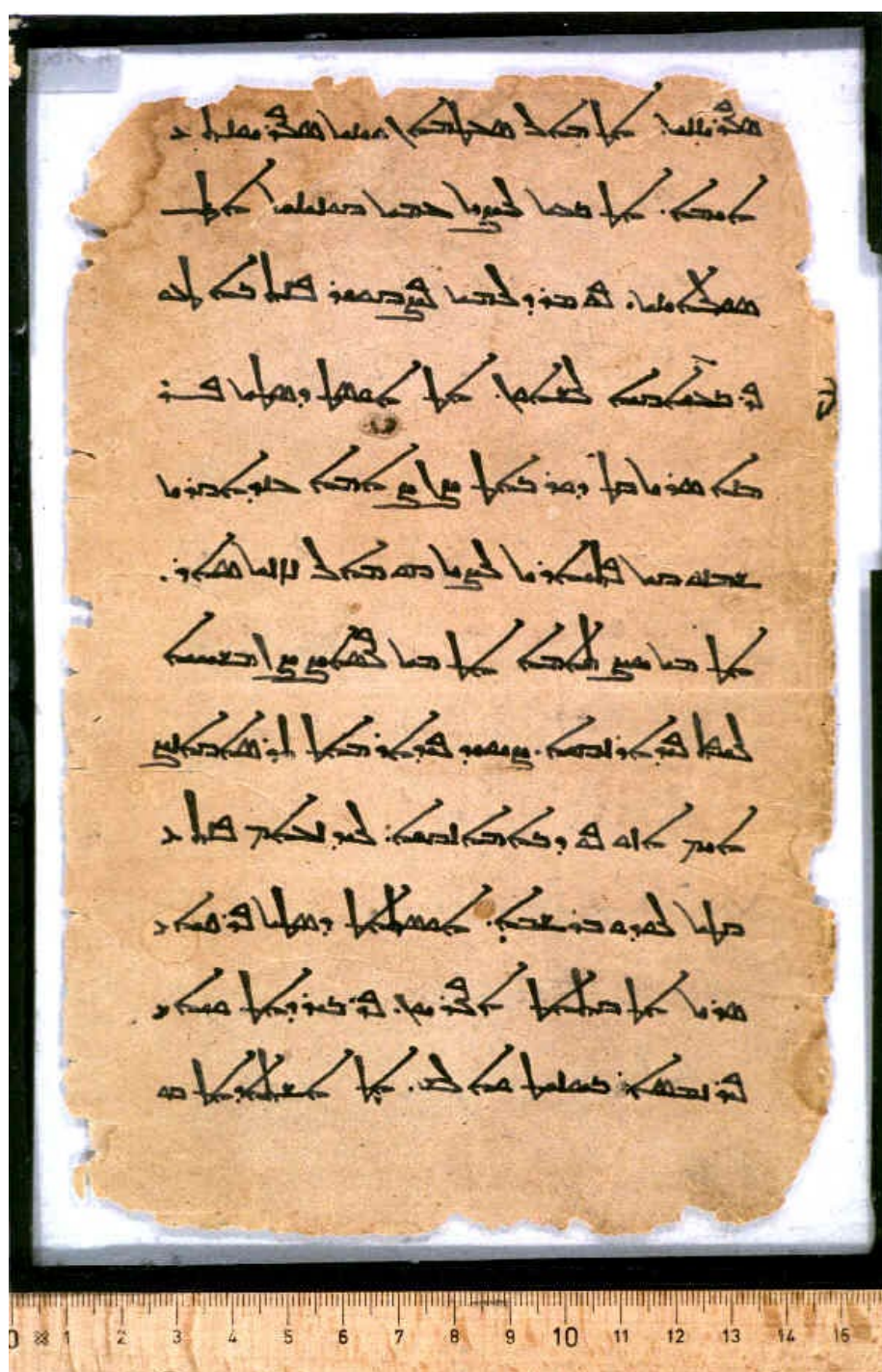
In the image (Hatch 1946 PLATE XCVI), it is possible to observe rounded and closed realizations of *mīm* in initial and medial position (circled), which differ from the angular shapes used for final *mīm* (highlighted through a rectangle).

PLATE XVIII



In the image (Hatch 1946 PLATE CLX), open realizations of initial and medial *mīm* (circled) and closed forms of *mīm* in initial, medial, and final position (highlighted through a rectangle) can be noticed. *Mīm* in final position is always closed.

PLATE XIX



Verso of fragment n180 or E24/7 (Legend of St. Barshabbā). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. Open and closed angular *mīm* shapes can be observed. Note also the open realizations of *mīm* at the end of the word such as that at the beginning of the ninth line.

PLATE XX



Recto of fragment SyrHT 241, from Lectionary B. Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung. The scribe uses only rounded and closed forms of initial and medial *mīm*. In final position the body of *mīm* is rounded and the letter shows a descender of comparable length to that of the horn, i.e. the upper extremity of *mīm*.

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON CHRISTINE NÖLLE-KARIMI UND FLORIAN SCHWARZ

Nr. 1–21: Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission,
Nr. 22–29: Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik,
Nr. 30–31: Herausgegeben von Bert G. Fragner
Nr. 32–68: Herausgegeben von Bert G. Fragner und Velizar Sadovski
Nr. 69–88: Herausgegeben von Bert G. Fragner und Florian Schwarz

- Nr. 1: Manfred Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen. Unter Mitarbeit von János Harmatta, Walter Hinz, Rüdiger Schmitt und Jutta Seiffert. 1973 (SBph, 286. Band)
- Nr. 2: Karl Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rašid ad-Dīn*. 1973 (Dph, 114. Band)
- Nr. 3: Manfred Mayrhofer, *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. 1977 (SBph, 308. Band, 5. Abhandlung)
- Nr. 4: Karl Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašid ad-Dīn*. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar. 1977 (Dph, 129. Band)
- Nr. 5: Ronald Zwanziger, *Zum Namen der Mutter Zarathustras*. (Sonderdruck aus *Anzeiger*, 114/1977)
- Nr. 6: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos*. (*Iranica Graeca Vetustiora*. I). 1978 (SBph, 337. Band)
- Nr. 7: Manfred Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*. 1978 (SBph, 338. Band)
- Nr. 8: Karl Jahn, *Die Indiangeschichte des Rašid ad-Dīn*. Einleitung, vollständige Übersetzung, Kommentar und 80 Texttafeln. 1980 (Dph, 144. Band)
- Nr. 9: Oswald Szemerényi, *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names: Scythian – Skudra – Sogdian – Saka*. 1980 (SBph, 371. Band)
- Nr. 10: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegelinschriften*. 1981 (SBph, 381. Band)
- Nr. 11: Kaikhusroo M. Jamsaspasa, *Aogāmadaēcā. A Zoroastrian Liturgy*. 1982 (SBph, 397. Band)
- Nr. 12: R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese I*. 1982 (SBph, 401. Band)
- Nr. 13: Manfred Mayrhofer, *Lassen sich Vorstufen des Uriranischen nachweisen?* (Sonderdruck aus *Anzeiger*, 120/1983)
- Nr. 14: Reinhard Pohanka, *Zu einigen Architekturstücken von Tell-e Zohak bei Fasa, Südiran*. (Sonderdruck aus *Anzeiger*, 120/1983)
- Nr. 15: Wilhelm Eilers, *Iranische Ortsnamenstudien*. 1987 (SBph, 465. Band)
- Nr. 16: Reinhard Pohanka, *Die Masdjed-e Djoume in Darab, Südiran*. (Sonderdruck aus *Anzeiger*, 121/1984)
- Nr. 17: R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese II*. 1987 (SBph, 458. Band)
- Nr. 18: Wolfgang Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Außenpolitik des Sāsānidenstaates*. Erster Band (224–309). 1985 (SBph, 456. Band)
- Nr. 19: Reinhard Pohanka, *Burgen und Heiligtümer in Laristan, Südiran*. Ein Surveybericht. 1986 (SBph, 466. Band)
- Nr. 20: N. Rastegar and W. Slaje, *Uto von Melzer (1881–1961)*. Werk und Nachlaß eines österreichischen Iranisten. 1987 (SBph, 477. Band)
- Nr. 21: Ladislav Zgusta, *The Old Ossetic Inscription from the River Zelenčuk*. 1987 (SBph, 486. Band)
- Nr. 22: Wolfram Kleiss, *Die Entwicklung von Palästen und palastartigen Wohnbauten in Iran*. 1989 (SBph, 524. Band)
- Nr. 23: Nosratollah Rastegar, *Zur Problematik einiger handschriftlicher Quellen des neupersischen Namenbuches*. 1989 (SBph, 525. Band)
- Nr. 24: Dorit Schön, *Laristan – eine südpersische Küstenprovinz*. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte. 1990 (SBph, 553. Band)
- Nr. 25: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Epigraphisch-exegetische Noten zu Dareios’ Bīsūtūn-Inschriften*. 1990 (SBph, 561. Band)
- Nr. 26: Jost Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen. Band I–II. 1993 (SBph, 606. Band)
- Nr. 27: R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese III*. 1997 (SBph, 651. Band)
- Nr. 28: Xavier Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde. Le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d’Asie Centrale d’après les sources primaires*. 2001 (SBph, 690. Band)
- Nr. 29: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Die iranischen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons*. (*Iranica Graeca Vetustiora*. II). 2002 (SBph, 692. Band)
- Nr. 30: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Meno-logium Bagistano-Persepolitenum*. Studien zu den alt-persischen Monatsnamen und ihren elamischen Wiedergaben. Unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von Velizar Sadovski. 2003 (SBph, 705. Band)
- Nr. 31: Antonio Panaino, *Rite, parole et pensée dans l’Avesta ancien et récent*. Quatre leçons au Collège de France (Paris, 7, 14, 21, 28 mai 2001). Edité par Velizar Sadovski, avec la collaboration rédactionnelle de Sara Circassia. 2004 (SBph, 716. Band)
- Nr. 32: Roman Siebertz, *Die Briefmarken Irans als Mittel der politischen Bildpropaganda*. 2005 (SBph, 722. Band)
- Nr. 33: Rüdiger Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme in den erhaltenen Resten von Ktesias’ Werk*. (*Iranica Graeca Vetustiora*. III). 2006 (SBph, 736. Band)
- Nr. 34: Heiner Eichner, Bert G. Fragner, Velizar Sadovski und Rüdiger Schmitt (Hrsg.), *Iranistik in Europa – gestern, heute, morgen*. Unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von Hannes Hofmann und Vera Giesen. 2006 (SBph, 739. Band)
- Nr. 35: Uto v. Melzer, *Farhangnevīs*. Materialien zu einem Persisch-deutschen Wörterbuch. Hrsg. von Nosratollah Rastegar. Band I–IV. 2006 (Dph, 339. Band)
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UND VELIZAR SADOVSKI

Begründet von Manfred Mayrhofer 1979

Herausgegeben von Manfred Mayerhofer und Rüdiger Schmitt, ab 1996 von Heiner Eichner und Rüdiger Schmitt, ab 2003 von Rüdiger Schmitt,
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