

CAMBRIDGE, LEIPZIG, SINAI: TISCHENDORF AND BENECEHEVITCH

In 1876, the Cambridge University Library bought forty-four manuscript fragments from the heirs of Constantin Tischendorf (1815–1874), German Biblical scholar and palaeographer, best known for his travels to remote libraries in the Near East and for his discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* in St. Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai.¹ The fragments bought by the UL were part of a small collection that Tischendorf kept until his death, by contrast with most of the manuscripts he had brought back from his three travels, which he subsequently sold or donated to libraries in the UK, Germany, and Russia.² In the Cambridge UL, the Tischendorf manuscripts received shelf-marks 1879.1 to 1879.24 for parchment fragments and shelf-marks 1880.1 to 1880.20 for paper fragments, and were catalogued for the first time in 1962, by P. Easterling.³

Among the paper fragments is Cambridge University Library Add. 1880.7, consisting of two folios measuring 218 × 155 mm, written in the 14th century minuscule with 36 lines to a page, on Western paper,⁴ and containing Libanius’ *Letters* in the following order:⁵ 1508 (*inc. mutile*]ένθυμοῦ, πόσιν παρὸν ἐν πόλει διατρίβειν), 1517, 1518, 1524, 1526, 1527, 1533, 1536, and 1540 (*des. mutile* ἔπαινον οὐκ ἐψεύσατο· ἐκρότου γὰρ [.

While researching the Tischendorf manuscripts in European libraries,⁶ I noticed a paper manuscript in the Leipzig *Universitätsbibliothek* containing among other texts Libanius’ *Letters*. The manuscript was first men-

¹ I thank A. K. Gavrilov, *Bibliotheca classica*, St. Petersburg, for drawing my attention to literature about Russian Byzantinists; P. E. Easterling, Cambridge, for her comments and suggestions; P. Géhin, *IRHT*, Paris, for his expert advice on Sinai manuscripts; and Ch. Mackert, *Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, for his kind help during my visit to the library.

² N. Tchernetska, “The Tischendorf Greek Palimpsests”, *Appunti romani di filologia* 2 (2000) 107–126, at 107–109.

³ P. Easterling, “Hand-list of the Additional Greek Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge”, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 302–323.

⁴ Easterling (n. 3) 320.

⁵ Numbered as in: R. Förster (ed.), *Libanii Opera* IX (Leipzig 1927). Förster describes the Cambridge manuscript in vol. IX, 96–97.

⁶ I thank the British Academy for supporting in 2007–2009 my project “Greek manuscripts of Constantin Tischendorf” (Award number SG-4698).

tioned by Tischendorf in 1845, upon return from his first journey in 1844. Shortly afterwards the manuscript was given to the library in Leipzig under the shelf-mark Cod. Tisch. VII.⁷

The manuscript, **Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek Gr. 38** consists of 33 folios measuring ca. 220×150 mm, written in minuscules in 36 lines to a page, on Western paper with watermarks. At some point, folios were rearranged and are now in a confusing order. The manuscript contains works by Aelius Aristides, Plutarch, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Libanius, as follows:⁸

- (1r–5v) Aelius Aristides, *Cyzicena panegyrica*: title Κυζικῶν περὶ τοῦ νοαοῦ, *inc.* Ἄ]πασι μὲν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, *des.* καὶ ἴσως μετρίως ἔχει (W. Dindorf, *Aristides* I [Leipzig 1829, repr. 1964] 382–400)
- (5r–7r) Aelius Aristides, *De Smyrna epistula*: title Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ σεβαστῷ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομόδῳ σεβαστῷ Αἴλιος Ἀριστείδης χαίρειν, *inc.* Πρότερον μὲν, ᾧ θειότατοι βασιλεῖς, *des.* οὐδεπώποτ' ἂν ἤλπισεν (Dindorf 762–767)
- (7r–9v) Aelius Aristides, *Palinodia de Smyrna*: title Τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλινῳδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ, *inc.* Ἐμοὶ δέ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνας, συνέβη ταῦτόν ὅπερ, *des.* Ἑλλησι νῦν τε καὶ ὕστερον (Dindorf 428–438)
- (9v–16v) Plutarch, *Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus*: title Πλουτάρχου πῶς ἂν τις αἴσθοιτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, *inc.* Τίς τῶν λόγων, ᾧ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, *des.* οἷς ἂν εἰς ὄνυχα ὁ πηλὸς ἀφίκηται (F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's moralia* I [Cambridge, Mass. 1927, repr. 1969] 400–456)
- (16v–21v) Plutarch, *De curiositate*: title τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης, *inc.* Ἄπνουν ἢ σκοτεινὴν ἢ δυσχέιμερον οἰκίαν, up to ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς νόσου, continues on f. 33r

⁷ C. Tischendorf, “Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844”, *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 110 (1845) Anzeige-Blatt 8–9 nr. 12, without identifying the texts. He mentions Libanius in the following issue: *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 112 (1845) Anzeige-Blatt, 40–42; and the rest in his “Die Manuscripta Tischendorffiana in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig”, *Serapeum* 8 (1847) 67 nr. 14 (Cod. Tisch. VII); and in *Anecdota sacra et profana ex oriente et occidente allata...* (Leipzig 1855) 38–43.

⁸ Based partly on V. Gardthausen, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig* (Leipzig 1898) 51–52, and on Förster (n. 5) VI (1911) 291–292.

- (22r–24v) Libanius, *Filii abdicati defensio* (*Declamatio* 46): continues from f. 32v τούτων οὐκ ἐσκέψατο παραμυθίαν, *des.* θρηνῶν τὴν γυναικα τεθνήξομαι (Förster, *Libanii opera*, vol. VII)
- (24v–28r) Libanius, *Demosthenis se incusantis oratio* (*Declamatio* 20): no title, *inc.* Μετὰ τὰ ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ Φίλιππος, *des.* ἐγὼ δὲ σεμνύνων τὰ ὑμέτερον κατορθώματα (Förster, *Libanii opera*, vol. VI)
- (28r–30v) Nicephorus Gregoras, *Liber prosphonematicus*: title Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ λόγος προσφωνηματικὸς εἰς βασιλέα, *inc.* Ὡς λίαν ἡδὺς καὶ φαιδρὸς, *des.* ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδους εἶη συνήδεσθαι
- (31r–32v) Libanius, *Filii abdicati defensio* (*Declamatio* 46): no title, *inc.* Ἔχον τις γυναικα καὶ ὦν ὑπὸ πατρὶ ἀπεδήμησεν, [up to] βιωσόμενος ἐν δάκρυσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀντι, continues on f. 22r (Förster, *Libanii opera*, vol. VII)
- (33r) Plutarch, *De curiositate*: continues from f. 21v, ταύτης καὶ φύσει πρῶος ἀγνοήσας, *des.* καὶ συγγένειαν τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος (M. Pohlenz (ed.), *Plutarchi moralia* III [Leipzig 1929, repr. 1972] 311–332).

Similarities between the Cambridge and Leipzig fragments leave no doubt that the two originally belonged to the same manuscript, as is frequently the case with Tischendorf, who – deliberately or not – would split the manuscripts obtained into several parts. This fact was noted by many scholars, who successfully reunited *membra disiecta Tischendorfiانا*, and even connected them to original manuscripts, some of these still preserved in St. Catherine’s Library in Sinai or in other libraries “in the East”.⁹ Likewise, the story of the Libanius *et al.* manuscript does not end with the reunification of the Cambridge and Leipzig parts.

In 1911, Vladimir Benechevitch (1874–1938), the leading Russian palaeographer and one of the best experts on Sinai,¹⁰ published the

⁹ For examples, S. G. Engberg, “Sinai, Tischendorf, and the Greek manuscript fragment Cambridge University Library Add. 1879.1”, *C&M* 39 (1988) 253–258; M. van Esbroeck, “Deux feuillets du Sinaiticus 492 (VIII–IX siècle) retrouvés à Léningrad”, *AB* 96 (1978) 51–54; N. Tchernetska, “Membra disiecta Cantabrigiensia: Two Tischendorf fragments identified”, *Scriptorium* 56, 1 (2002) 119–126.

¹⁰ For his biography, see И. П. Медведев (ed.), “В. Н. Бенешевич: Судьба ученого, судьба архива”, in: И. П. Медведев (ed.), *Архивы русских византистов в С.-Петербурге* [I. P. Medvedev, “V. N. Benechevitch: fate of the scholar, fate of the archive”, in I. P. Medvedev, *Archives of Russian Byzantinists in St. Petersburg*] (СПб. 1995) 339–380. For Western readers, the most accessible of Benechevitch’s work is *Les manuscrits grecs du mont Sinaï et le monde savant de l’Europe depuis le XVIIe siècle*

first volume of his catalogue of Sinai manuscripts,¹¹ based in part on unpublished notes by Porphyry Uspensky (1804–1885), another traveller “to the East”.¹² At the end of his catalogue, Benechevitch compiled a list of manuscripts and fragments of Sinaitic origin kept in European libraries. This proceeding was a brilliant innovation, given the history of the library and its manuscripts, and one that distinguishes the Benechevitch catalogue from his contemporaries. Particular attention was paid by Benechevitch to the then Public Library in St. Petersburg, as it hosted manuscripts brought back by both Tischendorf and Uspensky.¹³ But Benechevitch also examined holdings of other libraries, including those with manuscripts coming from Tischendorf, such as the Leipzig *Universitätsbibliothek*. In some cases, Benechevitch managed to trace down dispersed fragments to their original manuscripts, most often still kept in St. Catherine’s Library. In other cases, he only suggested Sinaitic origin, without being able to indicate the original manuscript precisely.

In his catalogue, Benechevitch indicated that the Cambridge and Leipzig fragments of Libanius’ *Letters* belonged together and were in fact parts on the same manuscript, **Sinai Gr. 1198**.¹⁴ He referred to a 1876 journal article by R. Förster,¹⁵ editor of Libanius, who was the first to connect the Cambridge and Leipzig fragments to each other and to the Sinai manuscript.

Sinai Gr. 1198 is a paper manuscript of 115 folios, measuring ca. 215×150 mm, copied in the 14th century. It contains Libanius’ *Declamations*, *Orations*, and *Letters*.¹⁶ The text begins on f. 1r with *Legatio Menelai*

jusqu’ à 1927, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 21 (Athens 1937).

¹¹ В. Н. Бенешевич, *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря св. Екатерины на Синае* [V. N. Benechevitch, *Description of Greek manuscripts in St. Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai*] I (СПб. 1911).

¹² П. Успенский, *Первое путешествие в Синайский монастырь в 1845 году* [P. Uspensky, *The first journey to the Sinai monastery in 1845*] (СПб. 1856); idem, *Второе путешествие в Синайский монастырь в 1850 году* [*The second journey to the Sinai monastery in 1850*] (СПб. 1856). Produced in the 1850s–1860s, these notes were intended to become the first catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the library, see Benechevitch (n. 11) xiv, xxii.

¹³ The Tischendorf manuscripts entered the library in the late 1850s, the Uspensky manuscripts in 1883, *Собрание греческих рукописей. Опись. Он.¹ 672 а* [*Collection of Greek Manuscripts. Inventory. Nr 672 a*] (Л. 1985) 1–2.

¹⁴ Benechevitch (n. 11) 524–525 and 649.

¹⁵ R. Förster, “Zur Schriftstellerei des Libanios”, *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 22 (1876) 491–504.

¹⁶ Based on Benechevitch (n. 11) 524–525; V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford 1886) 246; and Förster (n. 5) I (1903, 2) 335–336, IX (1927) 96–98, as well as on a microfilm of the manuscript available in the *IRHT*.

(*Declamatio* 3): *inc. mutile*]καὶ ποῖς ἂν τις χρήσαιτο τοῖς λοιποῖς μετέθηκεν, ὦ Τρωες;¹⁷ on f. 2v *des. καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἑτέρων*. The text finishes on f. 115r with *Epistula* 342 Σελευκίω: no title, *inc. Εἰ μὲν ἐλάττω σοι πέμπειν, des. τὸ βραδέως ἁμείνω μακρῶ που βέλτιον*.

Tischendorf mentions the manuscript in 1845, among manuscripts that he saw in the monastery's metochion in Cairo, during his first trip to the East.¹⁸

Förster established that the Cambridge two folios originally fitted between f. 111 and f. 112 of the Sinai manuscript.¹⁹ Indeed, on f. 111v of Sinai Gr. 1198 the last words are καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείναις λουτρῶν, which come from *Epistula* 1508 Σελεύκω, and the text continues on f. 1r of Cambridge UL Add. 1880.7: ἐνθυμοῦ, πόσοι παρὸν ἐν πόλει διατρίβειν. On f. 2v of the Cambridge fragment the last words are ἔπαινον οὐκ ἐψεύσατο· ἐκρότουν γὰρ, which come from *Epistula* 1540 Ἀμμιανῶ, and the text continues on f. 112r of the Sinai manuscript: καὶ Ἡράκλεις ἔλεγον (the title τῶ αὐτῶ on f. 2v of the Cambridge fragment refers to the title Ἀμμιανῶ of the preceding letter). As for the Leipzig folios, Förster believed that they originally were at the beginning and at the end of the Sinai manuscript.²⁰

These identifications either had never been noticed or were subsequently forgotten by the libraries in question. The Benechevitch catalogue remained unfinished: the third volume only appeared in 1917.²¹ Moreover, due to its gaps, sometimes idiosyncratic descriptions,²² and perhaps the fact that it was written in Russian and published in St. Petersburg, it has been all too often ignored by scholars. Yet, imperfect and incomplete as it is, it has remained the best and most reliable scholarly catalogue of the Sinai manuscripts for the large part of the 20th century, and even until today.

¹⁷ In fact, the first line of f. 1r became illegible until the words ὦ Τρωες, and the beginning is copied by a later hand on the opposite verso.

¹⁸ *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 112 (1845) Anzeige-Blatt 32: “Ms. III auf Papier, in Quart, aus dem vierzehnten Jahrh. Das Manuscript ist zu Anfang mangelhaft. Der erste Titel heisst: περὶ ἀπληστίας, der zweite ὅτι τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως etc. Es sind also Deklamationen des Libanius, dem auch der weitere Inhalt angehört, nämlich πρὸς φωνητικὸς ἰουλιανῶ und λιβανίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ ἐπιστολαί”.

¹⁹ Förster (n. 5) I (1903, 2) 336: “Inter 111 et 112 duo folia exciderunt quae hodie sunt in bibliotheca universitatis Cantabrigiensis Ms. Add. 1880.7”.

²⁰ Förster (n. 5) VI (1911) 291–292: “Per se stat codex Lipsiensis bibliothecae universitatis gr. 38 (Tischend. VII) (=Li) saeculo XIV diligenter exaratus e monasterio S. Catherinae Sinaítico, cuius cum codice gr. 1198 olim unum volumen ita effecit ut ipse principium et finem, ille medium teneret, a Tischendorffio Lipsiam transvectus”.

²¹ Benechevitch (n. 11) III (СПб. 1917).

²² For example, his description of Gr. 1198 concludes with words “this is not interesting”, Benechevitch (n. 11) 525.

The subsequent numerous lists and inventories often only add to confusion around the Sinai manuscripts.

After the discovery of new holdings in the St. Catherine's Library in 1975,²³ there has been a renewal of interest in Sinaitic manuscripts, and scholars have begun connecting dispersed fragments systematically. Among the most prominent projects of recent years are the *Specimina Sinaitica*,²⁴ the St. Catherine's Library Conservation Project,²⁵ which focuses on bindings, and the latest endeavour to reunite all parts of the *Codex Sinaiticus* virtually.²⁶ In this context, it might be useful to pay closer attention to the descriptions, claims, and identifications of the Benechevitch catalogue.

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В университетской библиотеке Кембриджа хранится греческая рукопись XIV в. из коллекции К. Тишендорфа, содержащая письма Либания (Add. 1880.7). Ее сходство с рукописью того же собирателя из библиотеки лейпцигского университета (Gr. 38) позволяет предположить их принадлежность к общему источнику. В качестве такового Р. Ферстер в 1876 г. предложил Синайский кодекс (Gr. 1198). Эту идею поддержал В. Бенешевич в своем каталоге синайских манускриптов (1911–1917). Автор статьи привлекает внимание к этим атрибуциям, а также к каталогу Бенешевича, который, несмотря на незавершенность, и по сей день остается наиболее авторитетным сводом синайских рукописей.

²³ L. Politis, "Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinai: Rapport préliminaire", *Scriptorium* 34, 1 (1980) 5–17; Τα νέα ευρήματα του Σινά (Athens 1998).

²⁴ D. Harlfinger – D. R. Reinsch – J. A. M. Sonderkamp – G. Prato, *Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai* (Berlin 1983).

²⁵ Directed by N. Pickwoad.

²⁶ See the website of the Codex Sinaiticus project at www.codexsinaiticus.org.